FASHIONING THE POSTCOLONIAL: READING CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS IN VOGUE MEXICO & LATIN AMERICA AND VOGUE ARABIA EDITORIALS

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Abstract

This study analyzes regional editorial content as produced by *Vogue* magazine. *Vogue* has developed an empire comprised of 22 international editions. *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, and *Vogue Arabia*, are the only two editions that encompass numerous countries, cultures, and voices. Using discourse analysis through a cultural studies lens, this study analyzes six editorial spreads to uncover what cultural messages are being produced, how these images impact national identities, and who is or is not represented in the fashion image. Intersections of fashion with culture, identity, race, and gender, are analyzed through critical discourse analysis to address constructions of power, specifically within a cultural and postcolonial framework. Visual narratives in *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* reflect values seemingly distinct to their region, but are charged with cultural assumptions and inaccuracies. For postcolonial cultures vying for identities independent of their colonial past, these marketable stereotypes continue to suppress their structural agency.

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Introduction

For over a century, consumers have turned to *Vogue* magazine for the dissemination of fashion, luxury, and beauty. *Vogue* magazine editions are published monthly by American media giant *Condé Nast*, whose media kit claims *Vogue* publications are "the most widely read highend monthly women's magazine" (*Condé Nast International*), boasting readerships that, "reflects it's unsurpassed power of attraction" (ibid). There are 22 editions of *Vogue* magazine worldwide, reaching 24.4 million readers annually. As the world's most read fashion publication, *Vogue* has an unmatched ability to define what is and what is not fashionable.

Since it's development in 1999, Vogue Mexico & Latin America has represented 13 countries in the region, consisting of: Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Columbia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Panama, and Venezuela. The Vogue empire recently expanded in March 2017 with the release of its 22nd edition, Vogue Arabia. Vogue Arabia represents the six Arabian countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), a political alliance consisting of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates, as well as countries included in the MENA region (Middle East and North Africa), including Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, West Bank and Gaza, and Yemen. Vogue Arabia represents 21 countries spread across two continents. The field of fashion has addressed cultural appropriation and marginalized communities in fashion media, but is yet to analyze the cultivation of national identities via cultural messages in non-Western fashion publications. With the new expansion of Vogue Arabia, (the second Vogue edition to represent multiple cultures, identities, races, and voices), the construction of cultural messages through the fashion image has become even more complex and controversial.

This study analyzes how cultural messages and identities are constructed in fashion editorials, and how the postcolonial body is represented in contemporary fashion imagery. Using a visual analysis methodology through a cultural studies lens, this study addresses power relations in fashion imagery. The visual analysis aims to answer what cultural messages are being produced by regional *Vogue* editions, what ethnic/cultural groups are or are not represented in the magazine's editorial images, and how these fashion images impact national identities. The deconstruction of editorial images will address constructions of power, specifically within a cultural and postcolonial framework to address intersections of fashion diversity.

This research aims to address how fashion images represent the postcolonial cultures, to determine if these editions of Vogue are producing images that are culturally specific to their respective region, or rather reinforce an ethnocentric model of fashion and beauty. A recent focus within the fashion industry has centred on diversity, with editorial content aiming to incorporate new and unique aesthetics. With a new focus on diversifying the industry, how difference is both constructed and integrated into mass media content is critical. This research is a first look at the new *Vogue Arabia* expansion, and a further revealing of how intersectional diversity is created in international editorial content. It is of value to assess the assemblage of fashion identities in non-Western contexts, and assess who is creating these identities, and how they are signified in mass culture. This study intends to decolonize fashion studies by illuminating the colonial gaze prevalent in non-Western regions' representation of fashion and beauty.

Literature Review

Due to the interdisciplinary approach to this research, the literature review will first situate the work within the context of Postcolonialism and it's theoretical prescriptions. Then providing an overview of pre-existing literature, intersections of fashion with identity construction, colonialism, photography, and media will be explored. This work aims to fill current gaps in postcolonial fashion literature by illuminating the significance of preceding works, and then contextualizing the significance of this analysis. Cultural (mis)representation and appropriation has repeatedly been discussed in Western fashion contexts, slapping publications on the wrist for insensitive or non-inclusive content. Western editorial content has been chastised for culturally inappropriate or misrepresentative content, however there is little research on non-Western magazine editions. A large gap in the field remains research on the cultivation of editorial content in regions of the world with developing fashion identities and economies.

Postcolonialism:

In order to understand Postcolonialism, it's colonial precursor must first be deconstructed. Colonialism has a longstanding history in the West as a geographic exercise of sovereignty and control. As early at the 15th century, colonialism became the Western conquest to have economic, political, and geographic control over non-Western states (Kohn and Kavita, n.p). Typically achieved through violence, exploitation, and coercion, colonialism is a relationship of power in which one state dominates another. Slave labour, religious and cultural conversion, and genocide are a few examples of the ways in which colonialism was used to exercise hegemony (ibid). The perpetrators of colonialism were usually European states seeking

expansion, such as the British, Spanish, or French (ibid). These European colonies erased populations, cultures, and identities through radical exploitation. Although geographic colonialism has since ceased, colonial systems of domination and oppression still operate in modern social systems (ibid).

Postcolonialism was developed by theorists as a means of analyzing the lasting sociocultural and economic effects colonialism has on former colonies. It is through Postcolonialism
that subaltern states are recognized for their robust cultural and political variation that should be
celebrated rather than suppressed (McDonald). The subaltern, a term developed by Postcolonial
theorist Antonio Gramsci, refers to any group discluded from the hegemonic power (Gramsci,
197). The Postcolonial doctrine explains development goals can not be universal, rather each
distinct culture will need to adopt models of development that work specifically within their own
cultural context, in aims of restoring sovereignty and independence to subaltern states
(McDonald). Postcolonialism acknowledges it's colonial precursor as a structural necessity,
where acts of remembering and forgetting are both part of the process of renewal (Samman, 51).
However, Postcolonialism does not suggest an erasure of colonial power systems, rather it aims
to investigate how cultural oppression continues to function beyond the realm of geographic
domination (McDonald).

Fashion & Postcolonialism:

Many of the countries included in *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* were once European colonies. Both editions of *Vogue* that represent numerous countries have the responsibility of representing fashion across the diverse cultural landscape. For fashion theorist Judith Butler, the search for a distinct identity mirrors the processes of colonialism. Butler

suggests this search for a distinctive identity "implicates us all into negotiating our identities, whether they are sexual, racial, social, or political, through a series of oppositions and exclusions: this marking off will have some normative force and indeed, some violence, for it can only construct through erasing" (109). This same process of erasing is what postcolonial countries aim to achieve in reclaiming a distinctive cultural identity. Development theorist Ananya Roy recognizes that in order for sustainable development to take place in postcolonial regions, subaltern development must be disrupted, meaning its negative connotations must be made positive ("Slumdog Cities: Rethinking Subaltern Urbanism", n.p). Subaltern development refers to Postcolonial communities that are still subordinated by power imbalances favoring Eurocentric development prescriptions, even though colonialism isn't necessarily still present (ibid). Roy recognizes international aid as one example in which subaltern communities are still subordinated by capitalist Eurocentric development, by implicating the subaltern into a relationship of economic reliance (ibid).

For the postcolonial individual, constructing a distinctive fashion identity amidst an environment still constructing a cultural identity is a complex task. Developing one's self identity is, "based on a universal need to define oneself in one's context" (Phinney, 30). The context of postcolonial communities is disrupted by a history of colonial hegemony and the reconfiguration of cultural independence. Thus, the creation of a unique self-identity can prove challenging in an environment still developing it's cultural context. Within these postcolonial countries, fashion images tend to emphasize affluence of upper class urban populations, and generally disregard the lower-class urbanites or individuals in developing rural areas (*Couture Consensus: Fashion and Politics in Postcolonial Argentina*, xxiii). For *Vogue Arabia*, their media kit outlines the publication as the "trusted style reference for these very consumers who

have luxury sensibilities, and spending power across the region" ("Vogue Arabia Media Kit"). Ironically, many of these upper-class urbanites belong to familial lines of the colonizing population. These themes of power, readership, and postcolonial identity construction will act as part of the Critical Discourse Analysis of the fashion editorial.

Fashion as Language & Identity:

Fashion is a symbolic language used to construct one's identity. Fashion theorists Diana Crane and Caroline Evans both argue class, culture, and gender identities are all constructed through fashion. Diana Crane's *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing,* asserts clothing to be the primary signifier when determining an individual's social, cultural, and gendered affiliations. Crane also suggests clothing to be a visual language, to communicate one's social identity (13). Thus, fashion is a communicative tool to situate oneself in a greater social context (Davis, 16). This visual representation of the self can inhibit or prohibit membership to social groups, and is the "social by-product of the opposition of processes of conformity and individualism, of unity and differentiation, in society" (23). For fashion theorist Malcolm Barnard, clothing is the first point of contact with someone's identity: it is what we see (and thus read) first ("Looking Sharp: Fashion Studies", 405). Fashion acts as a symbolic language used to construct identity.

As part of this symbolic language, fashion editorials combine text and image to convey a message. Fashion theorist Roland Barthes argues a fashion image cannot exist without supporting text: "Written clothing, in the form of captions and/or editorial, goes beyond photographic representation... it can endow the garment with a system of functional meanings" (Jobling, 73). For Barthes, the supporting text is crucial for providing both context and tone

when reading fashion images. Barthes approach is designed as a translation tool to read fashion image and text symbiotically: this "rhetorical system of written clothing" (ibid) is what Barthes argues is the key to uncovering the true message of the image. Although neither image nor text should be read independently, rather fashion editorials can be read as "a cultural reservoir that functions as literacy within a certain arena" (Jobling, 18). Fashion images have a unique lexicon and syntax, independent from other forms of photography (Shinkle, 4). Intertextuality thus becomes the dominant format of the modern fashion spread. Due to the rapid pace in which information is consumed, the bustling consumer likely does not have time to read, but rather look (Jobling, 20). The shift towards image culture has overcome 21st century society as the prominent mass media language. For fashion editorials, the culmination of short text and image conveys narratives to readers instantaneously. The fashion image, much like art and literature, are communicative tools central to understanding cultural processes.

Photography & Global Imperialism:

Prior to the creation of fashion images, photography was a medium developed by Western technology, and co opted as a tool for surveillance. Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest,* explores photography as panoptic power between colonizer and colonized, and the distribution of photographs as indisputable evidence (Sontag, 175). Photography is a universal visual language, however it was only accessible by those with capital means of acquiring this technology. During times of rampant global colonialism, photography perpetuated the "Western empirical tradition in which to "visualize" a culture or society almost becomes synonymous for understanding it" (McClintock, 122). Cameras were developed in the mid 19th century, the latter era of geographic

colonialism, and were a communicative tool to police and surveil: "the camera embodies the panoptic power of collection, display and discipline" (123). According to McClintock, "The depiction of the slums as foreign lands created an impression of apartness and distinctiveness that justified the social policy makers' voyages of enlightenment and reform. If these areas were strange, undiscovered and uncharted, they could be represented and disciplined without contest" (121). During the 19th century, photography became a medium used by police forces, the military, and journalists because it was overtly factual and nearly impossible to discredit. However, photographs in fact did the opposite: reality and infinity became blurred, where capturing single moments from single perspectives could not account for a realistic representation of the situational entirety (124). These captured moments became spectacles: "it was associated with those other panoptic Victorian phenomena-the exhibition, the museum, the zoo, the gallery, the circus-all of which involve the fetishistic principle of collection and display and the figure of panoramic time as commodity spectacle" (123).

When photograph technology was brought into colonized spaces, voyeurism and fetishism became central methods of consuming the colonial spectacle. McClintock argues it is through photography that, "Western knowledge and Western authority became synonymous with the real" (123). This pseudo-reality becomes problematic in the perpetuation of Western imperialism, but also with photography's inherent role as passive in the face of conflict. Photographers capture moments without having to actively engage with the subject matter. Novelist Susan Sontag suggests photography is, "like sexual voyeurism, it is a way of at least tacitly, often ex-plicitly, encouraging whatever is going on to keep on happening" (178), even if the result is, "another person's pain or misfortune" (ibid). This becomes vital in understanding imperial power structures present in modern fashion photographs, specifically in colonial spaces.

Cultural Messages in Fashion Images:

Benedict Anderson analyzes nationalism as an 'imagined' community, where "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (50). This comradeship, Anderson argues, is embedded in cultural values and is capable of compelling individuals to go as far as kill or die for the imagined community. Anderson suggests nationalism is perpetuated by print capitalism via language: where media vernaculars are produced to communicate with specific demographics of people. Ultimately, the national identity is perpetuated through print culture. For fashion publications like *Vogue*, language strengthens the national identity and readers are thus immersed in an 'imagined' community. Print culture has the ability to unite communities of likeminded individuals and continue to perpetuate national identities even outside geographic boundaries. Anderson concludes that national identities have the ability to predict actions and habits of community members, or in the case of media, consumers. Magazine publications ultimately have an impact on how individuals perceive their culture and nation, but also how they perceive themselves. In the case of regional *Vogue* editions, the imagined community expands beyond national borders, encompassing readership across the region. The analysis chapters aim to uncover what cultural messages print culture is circulating through the Latin American and Arabian regions, and how these messages can impact national identities.

A variety of scholars have analyzed fashion editorials, in historical and modern contexts. Sandra Miller traces the historical power of fashion imagery, and suggests the modern fashion magazine has become, "more than mere repositories of taste; rather they prescribed it. Thus the magazine's distinguished readership were told how to dress" (16). This prescribed fashion prevails as the main motivator for fashion editorials, to dictate taste. For Paul Jobling, the fashion

editorial has a "major part to play in the dissemination and promotion of body image" (107).

Jennifer Craik addresses this power as uniquely Western: Craik addresses the 'West vs. the rest' discourse in fashion, and argues fashion has been claimed as an exclusive aspect to Western culture. For Craik, "techniques of dress and decoration in non-western cultures are distinguished from fashion. They are regarded as traditional and unchanging reflections of social hierarchies, beliefs and customs" (18). Non-Western dress is static, and therefore unable to be 'fashionable'. The West acts as a gatekeeper, accepting limited motifs and aesthetics into its regime of fashion. Craik only addresses the social spaces non-Western dress can occupy in a Western setting, such as religious or ceremonial dress (weddings, funerals, etc.), however many key power relations between Western and non-Western fashion are outlined that proved useful in the critical discourse analysis.

More specific to fashion editorial content, scholars have studied representations of culture and ethnicity in Western editions of *Vogue*, focusing on appropriation, lack of representation, or Western imperialism. However, few look at foreign editions of *Vogue* to see what cultural messages are being cultivated overseas. Scholar Sarah Cheang looks at ethnicity and culture in American and European editions of *Vogue*, and traces the use of 'tribal' motifs. Focusing on the use of ethnic dress in the Western fashion editorial, Cheang found that fashion has become "understood as the product of Western, capitalist, commodity-driven-societies, the equivalent of which could not be seen in non-Western cultures" (36). Cheang concludes that Western editions of *Vogue* borrow ethnic motifs from the East to reiterate "exotic, attractive and/or unusual places that are used to tantalize or fascinate Western consumers" (43). Ultimately, Cheang suggests "These momentary vignettes of East/West contact bring models and local people together in

narratives that can be explored for some important conceptual relationships between ethnicity, ethnic difference and fashion" (36).

Similarly, Helen Kopnina, author of "The World According to "Vogue": The Role of Culture(s) in International Fashion Magazines", compares cultural representations in British, French, and Russian editions of *Vogue*. Kopnina's research surveys *Vogue* editions (loosely) using Geert Hofstede's 5-dimensional model for measuring cultural differences. Kopnina's findings reveal there is little to no cultural variation between the three editions; rather depictions of gender had greater variance. Scholars have yet to look at regional fashion magazine editions and how non-Western regions are represented in print media. There is little hope for non-Western publications to retain structural agency of their fashion editorial content when they are not discussed in the global fashion context. Representation structures reality, where currently the lack of representation of non-Western fashion leaves space for misrepresentation and stereotyping based on limited knowledge. Fashion scholars have advocated for the integration of diverse perspectives as a solution to cultural oppression, and this research aims to uncover which perspectives control non-Western *Vogue* editions and whom is or is not represented in editorial content. With the new release of Vogue Arabia, this research is at its peak relevance and pertinent to the progress of the diversifying fashion industry.

Methodology

The following chapter gives an overview of the methods used for analysis, including an overview of theoretical approaches, research sample, and self-reflexive statement. First, the method includes a content analysis of the six editorial spreads, shaped by the qualitative data collection questions outlined above. The content analysis will identify the observations, interpretations, evaluations, and hypotheses, suggested by Van Leeuwen and Jewitt in *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*. Following the visual analysis, a discourse analysis will be performed, which will critically dissect the qualitative findings to determine wider social, economic, and cultural structures shaped by power relations. Thus, the bulk of the research findings will be presented via qualitative data findings. The findings aim to determine the types of cultural representations prevalent in these *Vogue* editions, and how these images are read in terms of race, gender, and culture.

Critical Theory served as the philosophical foundation to this research. Critical Theory, as developed by philosopher Max Horkheimer, is the critique of social systems that prevent individuals from discerning power imbalances prevalent in everyday social life ("Critical Theory", n.p). Critical Theory seeks to make individuals aware of cultural and ideological assumptions embedded in mass-produced culture. Horkheimer argues Critical Theory seeks "human emancipation" (ibid), in social imbalances of power, domination, and oppression. The goal of Critical Theory is to make the masses aware of how oppression and domination are implicated in everyday social life, and shed light on the subconscious power disparities one may be unknowingly participating in (ibid).

For example, Edward Said critiques Orientalism through Critical Theory by deconstructing conventional definitions as found in popular literature and mass media (Said,

n.p). Through repetition and social conditioning, the Orient as 'other' and exotic has become socially normalized, and thus understood as factual. Through Critical Theory, Said explains how these preconceptions are not natural, rather they reflect embedded knowledge as perpetuated by cultural oppression (ibid). Critical Theory ultimately explains that oppression and domination need to be made conscious in order to become part of systemic social change.

Critical Theory as a methodological approach is defined by philosopher Piet Stryndom as the integration of three "semiotically mediated" (164) moments: Critical Theory must first "prioritize problems or social pathologies of reason brought to attention by a shift in the objective order of society itself" (ibid). Secondly, Critical Theory applies real situations, examples, and mechanisms to diagnose the shift in social order. Finally, Critical Theory provides grounds for discursive testing of hypotheses through "multilevel reflexivity" (ibid). This is characterized by assessing testable questions through discursive testing of "procedure, findings and proposed critical-ethical action orientation" (ibid).

Using Stryndom's methodological approach, the analysis deconstructs the postcolonial pathology presented by editorial content to challenge what messages visual culture is cultivating, and how these messages can be made conscious to readers to develop social change.

Moreover, colonization played a large role in the geographic and cultural construction of the regions *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico and Latin America* represent. Of the 13 countries included in *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, all were former Spanish colonies (with the exception of Honduras, colonized by the British). The colonial occupation of Latin America began to cease during wars over independence in the late 19th to early 20th century.

For the 22 countries represented in *Vogue Arabia*, the North African region was colonized by the French, with scattered Italian, British, and Spanish colonies (Wright, n.p). The Middle East region was predominantly colonized by the Ottoman Empire up until the end of World War I, when the region was overtaken by the British and French during the Sykes-Picot agreement (ibid). The Sykes-Picot treaty divided Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon between British and French occupation. Independence in the Middle East began to be restored in the early 1970's, however still remains a region of colonial contest between European and American powers (ibid).

Sample Selection:

Cultural messages in *Vogue* editorial content were explored through visual discourse analysis. A sample of three editorial spreads were selected from both *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* editions, for a total of six editorial spreads. The six editorials each originate from a different month's issue. Editorial spreads were selected based on length and relevancy, and underwent the same process of qualitative content analysis followed by a discourse analysis. Firstly, the editorials were selected based on the guidelines: Editorial spreads must consist of six or more images, to ensure there is enough content to analyze and that the editorial is at the forefront of the monthly magazine content. Generally, editorials over six images are considered feature editorials, and often occupy the most-read pages in the centre of the magazine. For the purposes of reading cultural messages in these editorial spreads, selecting feature editorials will analyze the most-read editorials. In order to ensure relevance, the chosen editorial spreads must have been published within the past two years. *Vogue Arabia* is a new publication as of March 2017, thus all *Vogue Arabia* samples were selected from the 2017

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editions. In order to be uniform and compare samples of similar dates, *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* spreads were selected from publications released between January 2016 to January 2018.

Once the editorial series' was selected, the images were analyzed both individually, and in their respective series. The visual analysis was broken into steps, as suggested by Van Leeuwen and Jewitt in *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*. The analysis was divided into Observations, Interpretations, Evaluations, and Hypotheses. Sample questions include:

- Who is in the image (gender, ethnicity, age, etc.)?
- Who is the photographer/director?
- Who is the intended audience?
- What is being worn?
- Where is the shoot taking place?
- What does the accompanying text say?
- How is the model(s) posing?
- How are model(s) interacting with each other/ props?
- What is the overall tone/mood of the photo?
- How is culture portrayed?
- Is the editorial culturally specific to the publications' respective region?
- How do the individual images work together in a series? Does it tell a story?
- How do the images make you feel?
- Has there been conversation/ criticism of the images?
- What further questions do these images pose?

These sample questions were used to determine all aspects of mise-en-scène. Mise-en-scene, a term derived from film theory, is the consideration of all components of visual content that contribute to plot progression. This typically includes all aspects (both in front and behind the camera) that contribute to the creation of credible narratives (Hayward). Mise-en-scène analysis included the consideration of garments (designers, price-points, country of origin), setting (the who/what/when/where/why), and aspects of behind the scenes work (Photographers, directors, makeup artists, stylists, etc.). Once the images were analyzed, three core themes emerged, in which editorials were categorized and compared by theme.

Methods:

The Handbook of Visual Culture, and The Handbook of Visual Analysis addresses both how and why it is significant to analyze visual culture, and how to perform a thorough image analysis. Margaret Dikovitskaya's chapter in *The Handbook of Visual Culture* claims all images to rely on a symbolic hierarchy, which is central to cultural anthropology (74). Dikovitskaya suggests it is the image (and thus it's 'visual evidence') that grants cultural artifacts and practices worthy or unworthy of 'high' cultural distinction. Both the *The Handbook of Visual Culture* and The Handbook of Visual Analysis conclude that visual culture must be approached as an interdisciplinary field that combines the visual with the socio-cultural. In order to properly read images that intersect multiple fields, Van Leeuwen and Jewitt outline a comprehensive checklist for reading signs in an image. Theorist T.W Adorno argues culture is not quantifiable, however The Handbook of Visual Analysis reveals methods of visual analysis that are both qualitative and quantitative. First, Van Leeuwen and Jewitt suggest each image needs to be approached with a testable hypothesis, and should call to question the priority/salience of the image, the cultural biases or 'frames' of representation, and the historical representations of themes in the image ("Seeing Beyond Belief: Cultural Studies as an Approach to Analysing the Visual", n.p.). These themes can include gender, race, culture, politics, etc., but ultimately should reveal a positive or negative representation of subject matter (ibid). The following stage was to perform a content analysis, in which all aspects (both in front and behind the camera) of the visual are called to question. Finally, if the testable hypothesis has not yet answered, the empirical data collected should be used to support the qualitative claims, and form new research questions.

Aside from visual culture analysis, discourse analysis acted as the primary methodological framework to the research. Similar to Roland Barthes, the field of Discourse

Analysis too privileges the power of symbolic languages. According to Terry Locke, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):

"aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events, and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures... to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power" (Locke, 1).

As outlined by Locke's definition of CDA, power relations are central to discourse analysis. The power relations present in fashion editorials would be what political economist and cultural theorist Susan Strange would consider as 'structural power'. Structural power is the power to decide how things shall be done, the power to shape frameworks within which states relate to each other, relate to people, or relate to corporations (May, n.p.). Strange's theory of structural power highlights the ways in which power can be achieved through ideological coercion, often disseminated through mass media (ibid). Underlying messages in fashion editorials will point towards who has structural power, and how this structural power is being used. Strange references Edward Said's theory of Orientalism as an example of structural power: the West is able to shape ideological frameworks to infer cultural connotations of exoticism and otherness through structural power. This power is embedded in social ideologies and has no institutional enforcement or regulation (ibid). Rather, this power exists invisibly. Susan Strange's work has proven a useful analytic tool for analyzing cultural messages within visual content.

Self Reflexivity:

Self-reflexivity is generally used by scholars to eliminate bias and understand the lens in which the author presents their research and arguments. For sociologist Sarah Pink, participation of the ethnographer is essential in the development of analysis, and should be acknowledged rather than suppressed. There is a variety of factors to be considered when conducting subjective

research, including the participant's theoretical background, personal or lived experience and beliefs, and gendered and cultural ethnographies (ibid). Bias can be almost entirely eliminated in certain methodological processes, however visual research requires "reflexive appreciation of how such elements combine to produce visual meanings and ethnographic knowledge" (ibid). Subjectivity however, needs not be eliminated:

"the assumption that a reflexive approach will aid ethnographers to produce objective data represents only a token and cosmetic engagement with reflexivity that wrongly supposes subjectivity could (or should) be avoided or eradicated. Instead, subjectivity should be engaged with as a central aspect of ethnographic knowledge, interpretation and representation" (23)

In visual research, subjectivity is inevitable, and can be used as a tool to further reader's understandings of the analysis. In developing a clear and concise methodology, I found it ethical to outline my subjectivity throughout the process of conducting visual research. As a bicultural female growing up in a Western social context, understanding my ethnic identity came with its challenges. I racially pass as Caucasian, however there has always been a disconnect between my perceived and embodied ethnic identity. The Caribbean identity in North America is charged with misconceptions and regional homogenization, in which the stereotypes I succeeded or failed to conform to were quantifiable measurements of my ethnic identity. Regardless, I was raised in North America, surrounded by Western mass media and teachings. I was conscious of this subjectivity throughout the research process, and approached the visual analysis with a critical discourse on Western bias.

I became passionate about this research topic because it explores the representations of regional identities displayed in mass visual culture, and how cultural stereotypes are cultivated and perpetuated. Despite my positionality, I analyzed all six editorials with the same questions and standards as outlined in both handbooks of visual culture in order to remain objective. In recognizing my relationship to the research, my aim is to illuminate the subliminal cultural

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messages and assumptions created by editorial content to reveal discourses of structural power prominent in non-Western magazine editions through a critical lens.

Analysis

Fashion editorial content is created with specific commercial purposes in mind: These images are designed to sell products to consumers (Garner, 48). In order to create successful editorial images, "pictures must have a quality of credibility that persuades the viewer to suspend disbelief" (ibid). The *Vogue* brand has found success in creating credible narratives that sell not only high-end garments, but a complete luxury lifestyle. The analysis of six editorial spreads, 3 from each regional *Vogue* edition, will explore what cultural messages are being produced, and who is or is not represented in editorial content. In doing so, this research aims to address how fashion images represent the postcolonial identity, and determine if these editions of *Vogue* are producing images that are culturally specific to their respective region, or rather reinforce an ethnocentric model of fashion and beauty. The majority of countries represented in *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* are former European colonies, yet both editions are still published under American media giant Condé Nast. These illusive editorial narratives are constructed by predominantly Western perspectives, and frequently fail to integrate diverse viewpoints.

Postcolonial theory within the context of visual culture emphasizes that although geographic colonialism has ceased, "this relationship of power is still one that is practised in cultural terms... This erasure of identity (through homogenization) again makes the practice of imperialism a very 'untroubled' one for the West" (Hayward, 269). Upon first glance, regional editions of *Vogue* appear as a global homogenization of fashion and culture, however the focus of these editions still remains on reiterations of European fashions and notions of beauty. The culturally specific content that is curated by *Vogue* has inescapable undertones of Orientalism and cultural stereotypes.

Orientalism. Rather, *Vogue* has created a regime of neoliberal colonialism that seemingly promotes democratic consumer choices, but in reality constructs Eurocentric stereotypes of non-Western culture that are being sold back to non-Western consumers. These images are sold under the guise of fashion identities specific to its respective region, but reflect a Western construct of what non-Western fashion should be. In doing so, *Vogue* has accomplished what Postcolonial Theory aims to counteract: the domination of Western fashion values by applying universal fashion prescriptions to regions that have different values, cultures, and tastes. By creating a neoliberal regime of colonial power within the fashion industry, *Vogue* has been able to distinguish themselves as, "the indisputable fashion, lifestyle, and luxury leader in the world" ("Vogue Mexico & Latin America Media Kit"). Visual narratives in *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico* & Latin America reflect values seemingly distinct to their region, but are charged with cultural assumptions and inaccuracies. For postcolonial cultures vying for identities independent of their colonial past, these marketable stereotypes continue to suppress their structural agency.

Throughout the six editorial series analyzed, racial (mis)construction, binary distinctions of fashion versus dress, and the male imperial gaze emerged as dominant and recurring themes. These themes will be explored to determine what cultural messages *Vogue* is producing and selling to non-Western consumers.

Binaries and the Distinction of Fashion vs. Dress:

Fashion is the forefront of all *Vogue* content. What *Vogue* makes apparent is that not all clothing is considered 'fashion'. Garments fall into two distinct binary classifications: One of which is fashion, the other is dress. Despite being a *fashion* magazine, editions of *Vogue*

illustrate both fashion and dress in order to strategically distance the two categories. In doing so, *Vogue* has greater control in defining what they value as fashion and fashionable, and disseminate these values to readers.

Fashion is a specific distinction within the practices of dress. Joanne Entwistle (60), explains this distinction by juxtaposing the terms 'fashion' versus 'dress'. For Entwistle fashion "refers to a special system of dress, one that is historically and geographically specific to western modernity" (ibid). Entwistle emphasizes two factors specific to 'fashion': the first, fashion as a tenet of Western modernity, and the second as frequent and consistent change. Entwistle explains fashion, "is not found in contemporary cultures where social hierarchies are rigid... Fashion, then, is a particular system of dress found under particular social circumstances" (ibid). As a Western social construct, fashion can only exist in particular circumstances that adhere to Western socio-cultural values. Dress however, is indicative of the opposite: Jennifer Craik suggests, "techniques of dress and decoration in non-western cultures are distinguished from fashion. They are regarded as traditional and unchanging reflections of social hierarchies, beliefs and customs" (18). Craik argues the West acts as a gatekeeper, accepting limited motifs and aesthetics into its regime of fashion. Dress becomes a category encompassing all aspects of clothing and adornment not included in fashion. Based on this distinction, dress is static and unchanging, whereas fashion is framed as progressive, and must systematically evolve.

Fashion refers to both garments and to bodies. Historically, fashion has manipulated and molded the body into idealistic fashionable forms. Garments like corsets, spanx, and push-up bras manipulate the human form in order to achieve a desired aesthetic. According to Entwistle, "the fashion system provides the 'raw material' of our choices but these are adapted within the

context of the lived experience of the woman, her class, race and ethnicity, age, occupation and so on" ("The Dressed Body", n.p). Western colonial discourses of beauty that differ from cultural traditions are divided into this fashion vs. dress binary. Presently, dominant fashion industry values embrace thinness, whiteness, youthfulness, wealth, and heterosexuality. Bodies that lie outside these dominant social discourses risk subjugation as unfashionable subjects. As suggested by Entwistle, fashion requires context (*The Fashioned Body*, 12): Thus, it is entirely possible for a single garment to represent either fashion *or* dress, depending on it's respective context. This context can include whom is wearing the garment, or how it is worn. Publications like *Vogue*, "the world's leading authority on the fashion zeitgeist" (Vogue Arabia Media Kit), has the power to create the visual representations of fashion, thus dictating what consumers perceive as 'fashionable'.

Vogue Arabia and Vogue Mexico & Latin America distinguish fashion and dress as a binary that separates the 'West vs. Rest' and discredits the agency of non-Western garments and values as unworthy participants in the fashion system. In both regional editions of Vogue, dress is framed as stagnant, functional, and Non-Western, whereas fashion is framed as progressive, luxurious, and upholds Western cultural values. The division between stagnation and progression is similarly found in development studies when referring to Western ideological frameworks of otherness. According to William Desmond, "we make otherness into a fixed idea, in a manner reminiscent of the Platonic eidos. By offering us otherness in the form of a fixed ideal, a static eternity seems to mitigate the instability that desire experiences in its own openness" (113). Postcolonial imperialism reflects an asymmetrical relationship where, "there is disequilibrium in the distribution of gains and losses, hence, what counts as loss for one party becomes gain for the other" (Ogueijofor, 1). Binaries are developed to distance the core from the periphery: to

distinguish Western from Subaltern, progression from stagnation, fashion from dress. The formation of discursive binaries are an exercise of ideological coercion and domination. By fixing otherness into a category of stagnation, Western socio-cultural values seemingly reflect the opposite: a notion of progression. Fashion is a reflection of this progression, dress a representation of a fixed idea. Fashion is symbolic of Western development values, whereas dress represents non-Western 'otherness'.

One aspect of 'fashion' the *Vogue* brand values across all editions is the use of almost exclusive luxury fashions. Luxury is a distinction of fashion, assigned to garments that belong at the peak of fashion's imperialist classification. According to Dimitri Mortlemans, luxury classification can be assigned to an object if it is socially and historically informed, and of the highest classification of economic or cultural capital. Vogue editorial content uses the most recent runway pieces from high-end European and American fashion brands, with garments ranging from \$500 USD to upwards of \$5000 USD per piece. Luxury is identified as one of the core values of the Vogue brand, appearing at the forefront of 2017's media kits for both Vogue Arabia and Vogue Mexico & Latin America. Vogue Arabia goes as far as to outline the ideal Vogue consumer as one with "luxury sensibilities, and spending power" (Vogue Arabia 2017) Media Kit). The fashion versus dress binary appears in both Vogue Arabia and Vogue Mexico & Latin America, outlining what Vogue idealises as fashion, and what garments and bodies are discluded from the fashion landscape. The *Vogue* brand has existed as the world's leading fashion publication for over 125 years, thus deeming it both socially and historically informed. With 22 international editions, Vogue is a trusted distributor of all things luxury. Mortlemans argues luxury "has the power to create a certain distance with someone situated on a lower rank

of the social ladder" (512), and is thus implicated in a hierarchical system of power classification.

For *Vogue Arabia*, garments considered 'fashion' change image to image, featuring an array of varied designs by luxury European fashion houses. However, garments that remain static throughout the series of images tend to be articles of clothing not typically valued in Western fashion culture (see fig. 1). Head coverings, turtlenecks, and undergarments that contribute to modest fashion values do not change image-to-image like other garments do.

Vogue Arabia's September 2017 issue featured editorial Untitled, featuring Luisiana Gonzalez photographed by Miguel Reveriego (see fig. 1). Gonzalez is styled in a selection of luxury pieces from European designers such as Balenciaga, Oscar de la Renta, Fendi, Dior, Dolce & Gabbana, and others. These European garments fall between \$300 USD and \$5500 USD per piece. Throughout the 9 images, all scarves (by Syrian designer Mona Sultan), and long-sleeve turtlenecks and leggings (by American fashion company *Tibi*) remain constant. The scarves (styled as head coverings) and the long-sleeved high-neck underpinnings all denote aspects of modest dress-values specific to the region Vogue Arabia represents. Aside from the repetition of these modest garments, their respective price points are also lower than that of their luxury counterparts that change image to image. Mona Sultan offers scarves at the \$100 USD price point, and Tibi offers pieces starting at \$200 USD. Typically, garments of this economic classification would not be considered a luxury item to Vogue's standards. Vogue Arabia is distinguishing their fashion values as dissimilar from their consumers by assuming aspects of modest dress are not considered fashion. These garments are included as part of the fashion ensemble to fulfill the Vogue Arabia region's consumer demands, whilst framing their fashion values as stagnant, and subordinate of the European luxury fashion garments. For Craik, this is

executed intentionally: "For western observers, the idea that non-western dress does not change is central to establishing its difference from western fashion, which is predicated on regular and arbitrary changes" (Craik, 18). The distinction between fashion and dress is one binary system of imperialism, where publications like *Vogue* can reinforce structural power over non-Western fashion cultures.

Moreover, of the 21 countries represented by *Vogue Arabia*, only a portion of these populations participates in modest dress practices. *Vogue Arabia* features both modest and more revealing fashions, however predominantly Arab-passing models are outfitted in modest fashions. Model Louisiana Gonzalez of the Dominican Republic does not participate in modest dress practices outside of the *Untitled* editorial, however unlike White models featured in *Vogue Arabia*, Gonzalez's body is covered in all nine images (see fig. 1). This is likely due to Gonzalez's ability to ethnically pass as Middle Eastern. Instead of showcasing Middle Eastern or North African talents, *Vogue Arabia* looks to ethnically ambiguous models like Gonzalez to showcase European fashions- seemingly a trademark for all regional *Vogue* editions.

In *Vogue Arabia*'s *Untitled* editorial, a single model displays both sides of the fashion versus dress binary. This binary is also prevalent in *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, however uses plural individuals to visually juxtapose fashionable from non-fashionable bodies. *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*'s October 2017 issue published editorial *¡Llego la Salsa!*, featuring Czech model Hana Jirickova poses in the streets Cali, Columbia amidst local civilians (see fig. 2). Jirickova's clothing is all credited to luxury European designers, whereas the Columbian locals in the editorial wear all unaccredited clothing. It is presumably not luxury fashions, and are used to exemplify differences between clothing in the image. Individuals not part of the image's fashion landscape are outfitted in much more simplistic assemblages than Jirickova. The

unaccredited outfits feature monochrome fabrics in hues of red white and black, garments are humble in construction, and outfits are easily assembled with little to no layering (see fig. 2). The outfits are seemingly unspectacular and rather practical. However, clothing is not the only distinguishing factor between model Jirickova and individuals included in the Columbian urban landscape. In order to create a division from what is and is not considered fashion in the images, all aspects of fashion intersectionality are used as a tool for contrast. Traditional Western fashion codes value thinness, whiteness, wealth, and heterosexuality. In *¡Llego la Salsa!*, Hana Jirickova is the epitome of 'fashionable'. Adorned in luxury European fashions, the 26-year-old, size 0, blonde-haired blue-eyed model ("Hana Jirickova", n.p.), represents Western fashion values. Regardless of Jirickova's positioning amongst other individuals in the mise-en-scène, she is unmistakably the object of fashion. Throughout the eleven images, all background civilians are considerably darker in complexion than Jirickova (see fig. 2). This contrast is what Pham considers a racial function, where "people of color [are] used as multicultural scenery, there to provide contrast and intensify the difference between them and the white model" (Pham, n.p). In the case of *¡Llego la Salsa!*, the contrast goes beyond race, magnifying all intersections of fashion diversity that categorize individuals as part of the fashion forefront, or rather background props used for disparity. The Columbian locals are not considered part of the fashion in the editorial, rather their clothing is unaccredited, and serve as objects of mise-en-scène to create credible sceneries.

In order to create this contrast, the Columbian locals represent binary opposites of what Jirickova is not: these binaries include age, race, and body type. The bodies that represent the Columbian locals are all over the age of 40, contrasting Jirickova's youthful 26-year old body. Jirickova is tall and slender, subscribing to the industry's dominant fashionable body type. The

Columbian locals represent the opposite: the Columbian civilians are shorter and heavier in comparison. The women are significantly larger than the standard fashion model, with visible signs of natural aging, including wrinkles and cellulite. Jirickova lies in the foreground of all eleven images, and performs a variety of fashioned poses. The 'unfashioned' bodies are positioned amidst the background of the composition, and unlike Jirickova, the Columbians are captured candidly. These background individuals represent the polar opposite of what Jirickova emulates. *¡Llego la Salsa!* constructs fashion images in a binary that distinguishes fashion from otherness. Fashion is inherently white, wealthy, thin, and young, whereas the 'other' encapsulates all aspects of non-Western cultural and fashion values. Otherness is used only to exemplify difference to reinforce Western fashion ideals.

The *¡Llego la Salsa!* editorial concludes with Jirickova holding hands and dancing alongside non-fashionable bodies, a seemingly fun and jovial conclusion. However, Pham argues, "just as racism doesn't require intention, exploitation doesn't demand dominance. It is entirely possible for fun and gratifying experiences to be exploitative" (Pham). The purpose of this final image is to unite the two contradictory categories of fashion and dress to relieve binary tension. Yet the multicultural landscape of the final image fails to reconcile the exploitative nature of the image series. Pham poses two litmus test questions in order to determine whether an event is exploitative: "Does one party benefit, not just more but disproportionately more, from the multicultural event than the other participating party? Does this relation of benefits mirror and repeat the prevailing social relations that already structure dominant society?" (Pham, n.p). To answer Pham's first question, the benefactor of this event is disproportionately *Vogue*. The images are published in *Vogue* for both cultural and economic capital gain, where *Vogue* owns the rights to the images, and has complete control over any and all creative decisions. The

Columbian locals are subject to *Vogue*'s control, and may have received minimal compensation. The *¡Llego la Salsa!* editorial also fails Pham's second testable question. The benefits *Vogue* reaps from these images mirror Eurocentric imperial power, where the images use binaries to separate high from low culture. To Pham's standards, *¡Llego la Salsa!* is an act of cultural exploitation.

In the case of *¡Llego la Salsa!, Vogue* utilizes diversity in a discursive binary that distinguishes fashioned from non-fashioned bodies, as a tool to create credible settings and reinforce Western fashion principles. This neocolonial narrative imitates the reality of dominant global social structures. In Pham's terms, the *¡Llego la Salsa!* editorial is an instance of exploitation. These images reflect binaries inherent to cultural stereotypes of non-Western culture, which are sold to Latin American consumers as a reinforcement of Western fashion and beauty ideals. Executed through ideological coercion, *Vogue* continues to operate within binaries to globally define what constitutes as fashionable bodies.

Voyeurism and the Male Imperial Gaze:

When readers engage with visual content, 'the gaze' becomes the predominant factor in how an image is read. Gaze is the perspective from which the visual content is created, and how these perspectives reproduce preconceived assumptions and opinions based on personal and cultural biases. Gaze is both produced by the creator of visual content, as well as the spectator, who "has the illusion of controlling that image" (Hayward, 157). For fashion editorial content, gaze and the construction of place and space creates the groundwork for how the visual content will be perceived. Feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey argues visual media is consumed under a 'male gaze', in which women are framed as the object of heterosexual male desire (833). This

'scopophilia', or the sexual desire derived from looking, subjugates individuals by displaying them as objects rather than subjects of the image. Mulvey argues, "This gaze fixes the woman and in so doing fetishizes her, makes her the object not subject of desire. It fixes her, attributes meanings to her that are derived from another (male) perception or reading of the female bodily text. To this effect the woman has no agency" (Hayward, 319). Although *Vogue's* readership is predominantly female, the vast majority of editorial images are created from a male perspective. Of the six editorial spreads analyzed for this research, exclusively male photographers captured all the images.

For regional fashion publications *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, female subjects suffer a double burden: the male gaze coupled with the imperial gaze. The imperial gaze, developed by feminist film theorist E. Ann Kaplan, is the idea that Western perspectives dominate visual media, and presume predispositions of the "other" based on cultural stereotypes. The imperial gaze subjugates subaltern perspectives and promotes Eurocentrism. For Kaplan, "the imperial gaze reflects the assumption that the white western subject is central, much as the male gaze assumes the centrality of the male subject... anxiety prevents this gaze from actually seeing the people gazed at" (78). Kaplan further argues that this gaze structure "fails to understand that, as Edward Said phrases it, non-American peoples have integral cultures and lives that work according to their own albeit different logic" (ibid). Together, the male gaze and imperial gaze work cohesively to ensure the *Vogue* empire remains at the top of fashion's systemic hierarchy. However, Kaplan argues that this power must be ignored by *Vogue* in order to reign true: "The gaze of the colonialist thus refuses to acknowledge its own power and privilege: it unconsciously represses knowledge of power hierarchies and its need to dominate, to

control" (79). Western male perspectives dominate fashion images thus implicating the editorial content of *Vogue* as participants of the imperial male gaze.

Vogue Arabia's October 2017 issue released "The Wanderer": seven images of Juana Burga captured by male photographer Élio Nogueira (see fig. 3). Burga appears to be alone in the desert, only meeting the camera's gaze in the first and last image of the series. The environment is barren and underdeveloped. The only objects in the images include leather and wicker suitcases, broken barbed wire, and an Alpaca (see fig. 3). The editorial is crafted through a male imperial gaze that assumes this underdeveloped, "nomadic" ("The Wanderer") landscape is indicative of a Middle Eastern or North African setting. In reality, the editorial was shot in Peru, and is not credited in the images (Morgan, n.p.). Much like the Arab-passing landscape, Juana Burga is racially ambiguous, and could pass as a model from the respective Vogue Arabia region. Together, the symbiotic relationship between model and animal, and use of barren landscape provide readers with a crucial power narrative: Non-Western culture as underdeveloped and exotic.

For Craik, "The term 'exoticism' can be used in two ways. It can refer either to the enticing, fetishised quality of a fashion or style, or to foreign or rare motifs in fashion" (16). Juana Burga is outfitted in predominantly European designs, however Peruvian designers are accredited for some garments and the majority of the accessories. Of the seven images in the series, the fashions interchange between muted tones and bold bright colours. Fur, animal print, and vibrant colours are used in conjunction as a repetitive motif, pictured in the first, fourth, and fifth image of the series. These "Kaleidoscope colors" ("The Wanderer") and fur/animal prints encapsulate stereotypes of 'exotic' fashions, yet are the garments of European fashion houses. These "foreign motifs" (Craik, 16), contribute to exoticism and the composition of 'otherness'

the editorial aims to illustrate. Peruvian textiles traditionally incorporate bright colours and patterns, such as the Peruvian rugs pictured in the first image. However, the majority of bright coloured or animal print garments are designed by European designers. The first image pictures Burga in a Missoni jacket from the Fall/Winter 2017 collection (see fig. 3). The tweed jacket has an accent fur collar in bright colour-blocked hues of blue, yellow, and orange. The fourth image centres Italian fashion house Etro's Fall/Winter 2017 jacket, complete with leopard print fur trim and paisley bodice. The final image features coordinates in pink, purple, and blue tweed by Chanel. The collective elements that comprise the exotic landscape presumes these foreign motifs to represent foreign designed fashions. In reality, these garments are created by European designers. Through the Male Imperial Gaze, exotic motifs found within undeveloped environments presumes these aesthetics are character of foreign designed fashions.

Furthermore, Burga sits upon draped Peruvian style rugs, a traditional Andean textile denoted by bold colours and striped patternings. The rugs are unaccredited, not part of the fashion landscape, however are significant in the composition's construction of setting. The rugs, a product of weaving traditions that predate Peruvian colonialism, are pictured alongside wooden and wicker suitcases. The style of suitcases originate from the early 1900's (Gross, n.p.), and are considered antiques today- an accessory atypical for the fashion forward aesthetics of *Vogue*. These suitcases are unaccredited in the images, and thus not pictured as fashion items but rather as antiquated props. The editorial title uses "nomadic", "free-spirit", and "wanderer", all terminology denoting displacement. Through the male imperial gaze, the components that establish the editorial setting assume "The Wanderer" as indicative of pre-industrialization and lacking Westernized development. For development theorist André Gunder Frank, "our ignorance of the history of these 'underdeveloped' countries leads us to assume that their past

and indeed their present resemble earlier stages of the history of the now economically developed countries" (17). The underdevelopment discourse becomes a Western tool for cultural measurability:

"Western cultures are obsessed with demonstrating their civilised ways- to show that they are different from, and superior to, other cultures, hence the emphasis on newness and nowness. But the technique of establishing signs of civility involves the assertion of distinctiveness against other forms of culture. Accordingly, western fashion systems relentlessly re-invent otherness, by references to the past (historical allusions), to non-and pre-industrial cultures (folk costume and ethnic looks), and to previous moments in fashion (cyclical re-vamping of the 'look' of earlier decades)" (Craik, 35).

"The Wanderer" editorial reveals no signs of Western industrialization and modernization: the desert appears vast and desolate. There are no signs of life aside from Burga, her Alpaca companion, and a single shrub. In the sixth image, a wooden pole wrapped in broken barbed wire reinforces the dangerous and inhospitable aspects of the landscape. The imperial gaze assumes the environment is in need of development in order to become hospitable and habitable. A frequent theme in colonial narratives is the perspective of otherness as 'animalistic', which is often paralleled with savagery, inferiority, primitive, stagnation, and non-Western (Hsu, 169). In the final image, both Burga and the Alpaca both sit staring into the camera. They are composed as equals: They share a similar firm expression as they sit nestled side by side.

Through the male imperial gaze, "The Wanderer" suggests fashion to be symbolic of Western development, where European fashions tame and control the underdeveloped environment.

Moreover, *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*'s "El Cuerpo del Poder" ("The Body of Power") editorial, from the March 2017 issue plays with these notions of voyeurism (see fig. 4). Model Alexandra Agoston's sightlines align with the camera in the last shot of the series, suggesting she is being watched, not knowing she is being photographed until the final image. Photographer Christopher Colls captures all nine images of Agoston, where the male gaze is the primary perspective. Although Agoston is clothed in all images, her sexual desire is alluded to

through gaze. The second image in the series captures Agoston from a low-level angle, looking upwards at her body, legs spread open, leaning over a car (see fig. 4). Her skirt and top are sheer, her leather jacket covering her breasts and shadows covering her pelvis. Entwistle suggests, "It is often said that nakedness is uninteresting, not 'sexy', while clothing adds a mystery to the body that makes it all the more provocative. The imagination is an important component in sexuality and clothing which keeps parts of the body hidden can stimulate fantasy and increase sexual desire" (168). Although the theme of the editorial is oversized "XXL" clothing, Agoston's sexuality is at the forefront. Described as a 'femme-fatale' in the editorial subtext, Agoston is equated to a stock character archetype of a sexy, dark, and mysterious woman. These same traits apply to the ways in which exoticism has been traditionally described and sexualized.

Voyeurism and the femme-fatale trope go hand-in-hand: the sexy yet dangerous female encompasses the sexual pleasure voyeurism aims to attain.

"The logic of voyeurism and hence part of the logic of the pornographic imagination is founded originally in the *loss* of control. The pleasure arises from mastering in fantasy a situation that is fundamentally dangerous and threatening...Voyeurism dramatizes the violation of a threshold: the keyhole, the window, the camera aperture. Voyeurism acknowledges a barrier to pleasure, a limit to power and then transgresses the limit, reclaiming power in a forbidden excess of pleasure. Indeed, the fact that an act is forbidden makes it pleasurable" (McClintock, 129).

Moreover, the imperial gaze presumes Agoston's hypersexuality based on cultural stereotypes. Latin women are eroticized in popular culture, where their sexuality is at the forefront of character traits. Hispanic women are generally stereotyped as "sexy, ery, and brazen" (Martinez, 2015). Postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha notes photography's "tendency to fetishise what is seen as foreign, exotic, alien, or other. Photography's voyeurism becomes exacerbated in the face of racial, cultural or sexual differences" ("Beyond Photography", 8). In the case of *Vogue* editorials, the gaze is performed by predominantly European men- the traditional perpetrators of colonial voyeurism. Model Alexandra Agoston is not Hispanic, but is

photographed from a male imperial gaze that transforms her into a credible stereotype of a Latin American female. Representation structures reality, where the trope of Latina as hypersexual has been reiterated to a point where it is an implicit assumption. Ironically entitled "The Body of Power", Agoston's power is subjugated by voyeurism and fetishism. For Hayward, voyeurism and fetishism go hand in hand, where "Voyeurism places the woman under constant surveillance and is a way of controlling her...Fetishism commodifies the woman's body by over-investing parts of the body with meaning (breasts, legs, torso in slinky dresses) and thereby denies its difference" (200).

Despite Agoston's discernable female sexuality, the editorial focus is outerwear in "XXL" dimensions. Five of the nine images in "The Body of Power" feature Agoston in suit jackets, characteristic of a 1990's menswear trend that has recently resurfaced in 2017 as a trend for both men and women (Woolf). Despite the larger silhouettes, Agoston's petite frame is accentuated with tailoring to emphasize her waist, hips, and bust. Agoston poses alongside a Cadillac Brougham, an American luxury vintage car, typically characterized as a symbol of American masculinity (Müller, 182). Agoston's short blonde hair, coupled with larger garments, posing on a Cadillac Brougham, all point towards a traditionally masculine aesthetic. Although Agoston performs selective 'masculine' traits, aspects of her femininity are both hyperperformed and sexualized. "The Body of Power" portrays a complex paradigm of power, where model Alexandra Agoston is powerful in her performativity of masculinity, however the male imperial gaze fixes her as an object of desire.

Race too plays a significant role in denoting what *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* suggests is a powerful body. Agoston's skin is noticeably whitened in the images (see fig. 7), despite the fact that Agoston would be racially categorized as 'white'. Anjali Vats writes on the

cultural phenomenon of 'racechange', the fluidity of racial identification, and argues that, "racial performances in high fashion demonstrate an underlying racial common sense that privileges the ideology of postraciality over that of racial equality" (131). Vogue's "Body of Power" editorial is thus problematic in what constitutes as a racially powerful body. For sociologist Dr. Nadine Ehlers, "whiteness has consistently been associated with agency, privilege, and freedom while Blackness has been associated with impotence, disfavor, and servitude" (Williams, 116). Assimilation theory predicts that cultural minorities will shift in racialized identification in favour of whitening, in order to reap the benefits of racial assimilation (Vasquez). By performing whiteness, Alexandra Agoston aligns her ethnic identity with *Vogue*'s idealized "body of power" identity. "The Body of Power" satisfies the gaze's assumption of the Western male subject as central through framing powerful female bodies as sexual objects that uphold Western male values. Although Vogue Mexico & Latin America likely did not create this editorial with the intent to reaffirm colonial structures of power, discrimination and oppression do not depend on intent. In order to break the systemic oppression rooted in the values of the fashion industry and Vogue brand, Vogue Mexico & Latin America will need to create editorial content that represents intersections of diversity outside the colonial power framework of what constitutes as fashion and beauty.

Representation of Race and Ethnic Identities:

In recent years, diversity has emerged as a trend within the fashion industry. The representation of diverse bodies has become the forefront for selling contemporary commercial fashion. This emergence of racial inclusivity is too new to be categorized as a systemic shift in the industry, but can currently represent a trend. As suggested by Pham, "to pass muster as real

change would require the racial dynamics of power that structure fashion's visual cultures and practices be disassembled" (Pham, n.p). By traditionally excluding intersectional identities, *Vogue* continues to promote a narrow definition of who and what can be considered 'fashionable'. This lack of representation places these unseen intersections in the category of 'other'. For theorist Jean-François Staszak, this is a discursive power and it is strategic: "although it seems that the Other is sometimes valued, as with exoticism, it is done in a stereotypical, reassuring fashion that serves to comfort the self in feelings of superiority" (Staszak, 1). If 'diversity' continues to be narrowly represented, representations will continue to structure narrow realities.

These narrow and brief moments of diversity are celebrated, but often overlook the construction of ethnic identities, and who is creating the content in which these ethnic identities are represented. Inaccurate representations promote cultural stereotypes that further reinforce racial assumptions. Spring 2017 editions of *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* capitalized on the diversity trend, creating spotlights for two up-and-coming models of colour. *Vogue Arabia*'s "All Eyes on Halima" (June 2017) features Somalian supermodel Halima Aden (see fig. 6), and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*'s "Caribbean Queen" (April 2016), showcases emerging talent Ysaunny Brito (see fig. 5). Aside from their racial categorization, Halima Aden and Ysaunny Brito aesthetically align with the dominant values of the fashion industry: both models are tall, size zero, and 22-years of age. For sociologist Ashley Mears, "A *really good* ethnic model, then, is one who embodies an attempt to reconcile contradictory social categories... basically, high-end ethnic means the only thing that is not white about you is that you are black" (196). Both Ysaunny Brito and Halima Aden have found success as high-end ethnic models due to their ability to blend Blackness with White, Western beauty ideals.

Vogue Mexico & Latin America's April 2016 issue starred cover model Ysaunny Brito of the Dominican Republic. Her centre-spread editorial entitled "Caribbean Queen" includes nine images shot by photographer Jacques Dequeker (see fig. 5). Brito is described as "a Latina that defines the new luxury of the Antilles" ("Caribbean Queen"). Her look can be described as what Mears' defines as "high-end ethnic". High-end ethnic "means the only thing that is not white about you is that you are black. Everything else, you are totally white. You have the same body as a white girl. You have the same aura, you have the same, the old, aristocratic atmosphere about you, but your skin is dark" (Mears, 196). Recent integration of ethnic and racial identities in the fashion industry reflect these racial biases. In the once colonized Latin American region, racial biases are embedded in the very construction of these societies. Colonialism was employed to disseminate European cultural values worldwide as a means of establishing political and economic domination (Kohn and Kavita, n.p.). This was partially executed through ideological coercion, which privileged European cultural values as a means of depreciating and dominating subaltern peoples (ibid). Although the social implications of race have evolved since colonial overtakings, racial hierarchies remain dominant in fashion and beauty sectors. Ethnic models must work to overcome their racial categorization, either harnessing ethnic differences to distinguish individuality, or manipulating their ethnicity to blend in with dominant fashion and beauty ideals.

In the case of *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, Ysaunny Brito blends race codes to embody the Queen of the Caribbean: the "high-end ethnic model" (Mears, 197). The only non-white features Brito possesses is her skin and natural hair. This is the 'high-end ethnic' look Mear's describes, blending refinement with diverse ethnicity (ibid). The industry operates with "tacit negative assumptions of the racialized body" (200), using whiteness as the standard for

measuring fashionable, beautiful bodies. Photography too is a medium that has traditionally valued whiteness for light sensitivity in colour processing. Film theorist Richard Dyer explains that in photography, "lighting discriminates on the basis of race and confines the black person to the shadows... it expresses a view of humanity pioneered by white culture" (Hayward, 212). Ysaunny Brito is photographed in a studio setting, using an unnatural light source. Brito's body casts a shallow dark shadow, suggesting she is lit from straight on, and captured with flash photography. Her skin has a reflective sheen, and looks overexposed. This technique makes Brito's skin appear lighter in the images.

Despite reigning over the Caribbean, Ysaunny Brito is unable to escape the sexualization tied to the Latin American female identity. Brito is hyper-sexualized through the rhetoric of the editorial, and the fashions used to dress her body. The second image of the series, "Working sexy girl", pictures Brito in a matching Moschino skirt and evelet jacket. Brito's skin is visible through the cut-outs of the jacket as she covers her right breast with a handbag, her left breast barely covered by fabric. The eighth image of the series pictures Brito in a black sequin corset by Lanvin, complete with garter straps and a flared mini skirt. The ensemble resembles lingerie, although her torso is covered entirely. These are two anomalies of the series. Silhouettes of the 9 "Caribbean Queen" images are not particularly racy, most of the fashions are quite modest. The language used to caption the images describe Brito's body in sexualizing terms. The first two images of the series are subtitled, "Fetish on the skin" (translated), and "Working sexy girl". The third image, "Dance Brunette!", is phrased as a command, assumably ordering Brito to dance. The text reveals Brito to have little agency as Caribbean Queen, as she is reduced to sexual or physical features. Brito's cover image reads, "Very very hot, the most sexy Caribbean style to take from the yacht to the cocktails" (translated). It is here that Vogue reveals the definition of

'queen' to not be synonymous with power and agency, but rather synonymous with luxury and wealth. Yachts, cocktails, and luxury fashions are essentials in *Vogue's* construction of royal subject matter.

European monarchies, the main successors in global colonialism, are typically assembled through Patrilineal kinship, where rulers (whether male or female) are selected through the male ancestral lineage. Even as monarch, female rulership is assembled through patriarchal systems of power (Beemer, 259). These same patriarchal systems assemble perceptions of Ysaunny Brito as a symbol of Black female power in the editorial. Brito's feature editorial captures her against pastel studio backdrops, each image picturing a different ensemble by European luxury fashion houses. Brito is outfitted in modern reconstructions of women's workwear. Pencil skirts, collared dresses, and pleats reoccur in the images- all aesthetics prevalent in the emergence of womens workwear in the latter half of the 20th century. These fashions have since been reintegrated into the fashion system, however the garments used in "Caribbean Queen" all resemble early renderings of these styles. Patterns used in the images include damask, Glen plaid, and argyle. These patterns are rarely pictured in modern luxury fashions, however historically have been used to denote nobility or royalty. For example, the Damask fabric pattern, named after 'Damascus' in Syria, originates from silk road trading, and worn by European successors to "exude exoticism and cosmopolitanism" (Anishanslin, 149). The "Caribbean Queen" editorial pays homage to previous eras of womenswear, blending modern luxury fashion with elements of traditional European sovereignty to denote Ysaunny Brito as Queen of the Caribbean. Despite her royal distinction, the editorial pictures Brito in degressive domestic spaces from previous eras. The set of the "Caribbean Queen" editorial uses colourful backdrops with pastel pillows, tapestry, and an ottoman: furnishing used to decorate living spaces. Pictured in the home,

wearing womenswear expressive of previous eras, *Vogue Mexico & Latin America's* depiction of Ysaunny Brito's womanhood is degressive.

Vogue Mexico & Latin America constructs Brito into the ideal high-end ethnic model: She becomes the "ethnicity-lite" (Mears, 197), model that satisfies baseline diversity and reflects Western heteronormative ideals of womanhood. Ysaunny Brito is framed as an object of sexual desire, but is placed in a setting indicative of wholesome or 'good' womanhood. Her racial identity blends Black and White race codes to evade labels of Black vulgarity and embrace white Eurocentric values of beauty, wealth, and power. The result is an 'Ethnicity-lite' construction of the high-end ethnic model. Ethnicity-lite, "blends mainstream white beauty ideals with just a touch of otherness" (196). This "touch of otherness" (ibid), makes Brito the logical candidate for Vogue's "queen" of the Caribbean: her high-end ethnic look blends racial categories and reinforces narrow deviations of diversity.

Additionally, the June 2017 "Celebrating Identity" issue, *Vogue Arabia* released the "All Eyes on Halima" editorial (see fig. 6). The editorial features Somalian supermodel Halima Aden posing alongside members of the crew whilst they construct the editorial. The images blur the boundaries of mise-en-scène, making the backstage labour visible, revealing how carefully constructed editorial images are. For Aden's *Vogue* debut, it is not about a fictional narrative but rather a focus on the reality of the construction of fashion images. Aden, best known for her runway debut in Kanye West's *Yeezy* FW17 show, became the first model to wear a hijab on international runways. She is also the first hijabi model to make the cover of *Vogue Arabia*. Since this debut, Aden remains the only hijabi model to be featured on the cover of *Vogue Arabia* was celebrated for its ethnic diversity, however it is reminiscent of racial tokenism. According to

Mears, the "token minority offers the false resolution of racial tension" (203). Mears argues, "In a market that prizes token difference, one person becomes the symbolic stand-in for diversity, thereby limiting every other minority's chances" (204). Race can be a tool to "strategically blend in or stand out from the pack" (198), where Aden's trademark has become her Blackness and hijabi. Aden's debut occurs amidst the 2017 diversity trend, where token diversity is selling. Brands using diverse models are garnering attention for their ethical practices and earning cultural and economic capital, but this model of diversity is deeply rooted in exoticism, where individuals like Aden are deemed exceptional due to their differences. Since Aden's *Yeezy* debut, within three-months she has skyrocketed to supermodel status. Mears explains, "if and when the token ethnic model hits the jackpot, her presence becomes a miracle on two counts: first to have triumphed in a seemingly magical contest, and second to have won as a racial minority" (203). It is no surprise *Vogue Arabia* selected Aden for 'The Identity' issue, as Aden embodies a new representation of high-end ethnic that has yet to be seen in the industry.

Aden's differences are capitalized on in the "All Eyes on Halima" editorial. Shot entirely in monochromatic black and white fashions, the "All Eyes on Halima" editorial interchanges black-and-white with colour photography (see fig. 6). Due to the monochromatic aesthetic of the images, dark and light hues become the forefront of contrast. The crew working on Aden consists of 5 members: 3 of which racially appear Caucasian, the other two Asian. Aden's significantly darker complexion becomes the contrast to the 'ethnically-lite' crew attending to her. Aden does not stand alone in a single image, she is accompanied by fragments of whiteness. Whether hands or whole bodies, Aden's Blackness is constantly contrasted by Whiteness.

It is this editorial in which *Vogue* chooses to blur the boundaries of a constructed reality.

The reader is forced to acknowledge the reality that editorial content is not natural. "All Eyes on

Halima" is an editorial meta-fiction: the images "self-consciously allude to the artificiality" ("meta-fiction"), of the narrative, making the reader aware of its unrealistic construction. This realism distracts from the glamour *Vogue* editorials traditionally aim to portray. Aden's agency as a Black hijabi supermodel is constantly undercut as she shares the spotlight with whiteness, where white perspectives construct her beauty. All garments showcased in the editorial are of luxury distinction and come from European or North American designers. Her cosmetics are applied in subscription to Western beauty ideals. American cosmetic company *Milk* even advertises amidst the editorial, with their logo printed across the industrial fans. Although Aden's triumph is her ethnically diverse identity, the crew's work on constructing her beauty is never complete. Each image alludes to a new obstacle in attaining Aden's perfected beauty. The editorial alludes that even as a high-end ethnic supermodel, Aden will never be enough to overcome the confinements of whiteness as the benchmark for beautiful.

The accredited creative crew for the "All Eyes on Halima" editorial include Greg Kadel, Paul Cavaco, Teddy Charles, Hung Vanngo, and Ernesto Qualizza: an all male crew, predominantly native to Europe and North America (see fig. 6). The exclusively Western crew that assembles Aden's look reveals what Minh-ha T. Pham argues is a flaw of the fashion industry: "Fashion's racial problem is not that white models far outnumber non-white models...The racial makeup of fashion's visual cultures is only a symptom of a much deeper problem: the almost-exclusive control of white perspectives to define what is beautiful" (n.p). Pham describes this exercise of control as "racial functions", however these functions can be applied to all facets of fashion diversity. These functions utilize diversity for contrast, and to conceal *Vogue*'s systemic oppressiveness. Pham's "racial functions" would be what political economist and cultural theorist Susan Strange would consider as 'structural power'. Structural

power is the power to decide how things shall be done, the power to shape frameworks within which states relate to each other, relate to people, or relate to corporations (May, n.p.). Strange's theory of structural power highlights the ways in which power can be achieved through ideological coercion, where the West is able to shape ideological frameworks to infer cultural connotations of exoticism and otherness. By selling racially diverse editorials created by predominantly white perspectives, *Vogue* is selling cultural stereotypes back to the individuals they aim to represent. *Vogue* thus holds structural power over the consumers in these regions, and is colonizing fashion perspectives by smearing Western beauty values across a region with entirely diverse socio-cultural values.

In summary, the content within regional *Vogue* editions does not greatly differ: Editorial content in both regional editions feature predominantly luxury European fashions, created by White Western perspectives. Seemingly, the purpose of these international editions is to promote the *Vogue* brand's fashion ideals to a global audience. In each of the six editorials, structural power was developed in the creation of 'credibility' in the images. Cultural stereotypes, racial assumptions, and Exoticism become the foundation in which these images were created. The visual analysis found representations of fashion and beauty in both *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* are predicated on Western dominant discourses. Across all six editorials analyzed, Whiteness, thinness, youthfulness, and wealth were at the core of all intersectionality.

Racial, cultural, and ethnic diversity are constructed to juxtapose Western cultural values. These regional editions use diverse bodies as comparative tools to include or disclude specific identities. Although both *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* use visually diverse models, 'diverse' identities are not necessarily included in the fashion landscape. *Vogue Arabia*

uses ethnic identities predominantly in depictions of modest fashion. However, non-Western fashion values, such as modest fashion, is framed as stagnant and unchanging. For *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, ethnic diversity is subdued, using "ethnically-lite" (Mears 196), models to depict the Latin female identity.

In both regional editions, exoticism and the Gaze employed similar mechanisms of control traditionally found in colonial discourses of power. For *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico* & *Latin America*, all images were assembled through a Male Imperial Gaze, that assumes the White Male as the central reader, but also creator of these editorials.

The three core themes, Binaries of fashion vs. dress, the Male Imperial Gaze, and the construction of race, were executed through methods of colonial power that promote Eurocentric sovereignty over fashion and beauty values. Despite these non-Western publications ability to transcend language barriers, the content of these editions is problematic as they assemble cultural identities through oppressive stereotypes and binaries.

Conclusions

As found in the analysis, the focus of editorial content in regional *Vogue* editions remains on replications and reiterations of Western fashion and beauty. Visual narratives in *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* are constructed from Western perspectives and sold back to the cultures they aim to represent. As found throughout the six editorials analyzed, racial misconstruction, binary distinctions of fashion versus dress, and the Male Imperial Gaze were recurring themes. These themes mirror colonial mechanisms of control, where ideological coercion over cultural representation is dominated by Western perspectives. Due to the lens in which these editorials are constructed, the content that is curated by *Vogue* has inescapable undertones of Orientalism and cultural stereotypes.

This research expands the field of visual analysis by integrating non-Western editorials into discussions on diversity and social inclusion. By identifying the ways in which cultural identities are constructed in non-Western editorial content, this research is a foundation for further research to explore content outside of Western contexts. These narratives of recurrent colonial power suggest an imbalance of structural assemblage within the industry that will need to be addressed in order to overcome cultural bias and oppression. The field of fashion will need to address these recurrent themes of colonial power as a next step to decolonizing the industry's visual representations of fashion and beauty.

This study advocates for further research into non-Western editorial content, to uncover what local communities are producing, and how these perspectives can be incorporated into international visual media. The inclusion of subaltern voices furthers the processes of decolonization and promotes positive self-representation for communities continuously suppressed by inaccurate cultural depictions.

Postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha suggests hybridity as a solution to challenge cultural homogeneity. For Bhabha, cultural hybridity opens a space between colonizers and colonized, to create new identities- not on the basis of cultural imperialism- but rather to embrace and negotiate cultural differences. Bhabha suggests it is, "the recognition of this ambivalent space of cultural identity may help us to overcome the exoticism of cultural diversity in favour of the recognition of an empowering hybridity within which cultural difference may operate" (Ashcroft et al, 97). Bhabha's hybridity theory could pose as a solution for postcolonial representation within the fashion industry. By collaborating with, and including voices that can accurately speak for the cultural specificity of the region *Vogue* aims to represent. Bhabha suggests cultural differences are, "the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism or multiculturalism of the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity" (*The Location of Culture*, 38). By creating a space for hybrid voices, perhaps editorial content will begin to represent accurate cultural realities bereft of cultural tokenism.

Regional *Vogue* editions likely do not create editorial content with the intent to reaffirm colonial structures of power, however discrimination and oppression do not depend on intent. In order to break the systemic oppression rooted in the values of the fashion industry and *Vogue* brand, *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* will need to create editorial content that represents intersections of diversity outside the colonial power framework of what constitutes as fashion and beauty.

Evidently, regional *Vogue* editions would benefit from creating culturally specific content, rather than replicating Western fashion prescriptions in Postcolonial spaces. By using the same designers, models, photographers, etc. across all editions, the *Vogue* brand is able to

operate like a colonial force within the fashion industry. By taking Western fashion prescriptions and applying the same principles to a different region, with individuals with different culture, values, and taste, only affirms Eurocentric development goals: domination of Western fashion, beauty, and cultural values. This is precisely what postcolonial theory aims to counteract- that development goals can not be universal, rather each distinct cultural identity will need to develop models that work specifically in their cultural context. *Vogue Arabia* and *Vogue Mexico & Latin America* will need to create editorial content using local models, designers, and concepts in order to affirm what fashions correctly represent their cultural values. Issues of (mis)representation and stereotyping are a direct result of limited and privileged perspectives exclusively involved in decision making processes and the development of editorial content. In diversifying perspectives, international and specifically regional editions of *Vogue* will be able to retain structural power over their fashion identities. This would provide a platform for regions to showcase local talent, tastes, and accurate accounts of what local industries can contribute to the global fashion landscape.

Appendix A:

Figure 1: Reveriego, Miguel. "Untitled." Vogue Arabia, Condé Nast, Sept. 2017.











2017. Sones de picardía, versos de amor y pura rumba...
Porque esto es Cali, la ciudad colombiana donde la fiesta se lleva en vestidos floreados y los accesorios irradian como joyas Punto de Vista

Figure 2: Kim, Sebastian. "¡Llego la salsa!" *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, Condé Nast, Oct. 2017







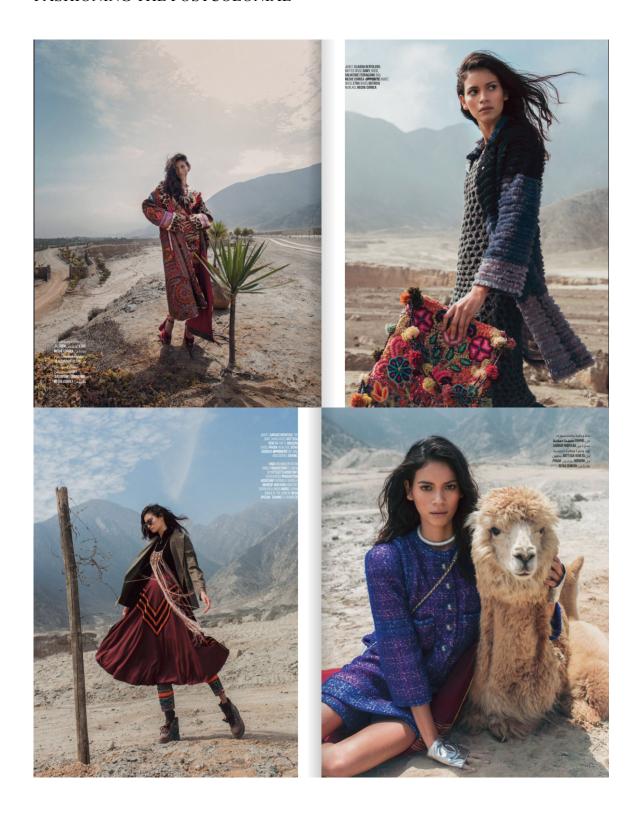


Figure 4: Colls, Christopher. "El Cuerpo del Poder", *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, Condé Nast, Mar. 2017.





Figure 5: Dequecker, Jacques. "Carribean Queen", *Vogue Mexico & Latin America*, Condé Nast, April, 2016.





























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