White, White, White, Black: How U.S. Vogue Balances Diversity and Homogeneity: An Investigation of Racial and Body Type Representation in the High-end Fashion Industry

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White, White, White, Black: How U.S. *Vogue* Balances Diversity and Homogeneity

An Investigation of Racial and Body Type Representation in the High-end Fashion Industry

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ABSTRACT

My motivation for this research study comes from my own experience with and observations of body image issues among female students on the Boston College campus, as well as my observations of and research into the homogenization of beauty in the high-end fashion industry. Through various social institutions, namely high-end fashion media, our society supports an extremely narrow definition of beauty for women (read: White and thin/ultra-thin). There is an overwhelming lack of representation of women of color and women who do not fall in line with the thin body standard. I aim to contribute where there are holes in the conversation regarding diversity and exclusionary practices in the high-end fashion industry. Chiefly, I seek to contribute to an understanding of how fashion industry producers might continue to engage in the homogenization of beauty while evading liability with intermittent diversification effort. I conduct a content analysis of 11 issues (past and contemporary) of the high-end fashion magazine, U.S. *Vogue*. The units of measurement for my data collection are images, articles, and text produced by *Vogue*, as well as featured advertisements produced by other industry players. My data consists of recorded frequencies and two major codes (Race and Body Type) with various sub codes. I ultimately conclude that: (1) despite our society's supposed increased sensitivity to diversity and diversification effort, we have made little progress on this front in the fashion industry (especially body type representation); and (2) U.S. *Vogue* does in fact continue to engage in racial exclusion while concealing its liability via the practice of racial capitalism.

INTRODUCTION

My Senior Honors Thesis explores the institution of the high-end fashion industry in the U.S. through the lens of the media. Today's fashion industry is a thriving, "$1.2 trillion global industry, with more than $250 billion spent annually on fashion in the United States" (Maloney,

2015). The industry houses an elite and massively influential circle of producers and consumers. It acts as a cultural production system, producing and reproducing cultural beauty ideals for an ever-growing audience of American women. The beauty standards set by the fashion industry are based on an extremely narrow representation of women; nevertheless, this narrow representation communicates the standards to which all women are held (and cannot possibly all fit). The industry's producers may or may not believe that they have the ability to challenge existing conventions. In any case, they have not widened their representation of women, but they have only maintained the industry's exclusivity over the years. This industry has great power over social opinion, which forms and maintains social hierarchies and expectations for women. The high-end fashion magazine, U.S. *Vogue* (first published in 1892) is indisputably the most trusted and revered opinion in the industry with a print audience of 11.9 million, an average monthly online audience of 8.5 million, 5 billion monthly press impressions, and 23 international editions. Producers and consumers alike look to *Vogue* as not only an authority on fashion, but also a lifestyle guide ("Vogue," 2015). The high-end fashion industry is a highly exclusive institution, and its widely circulated media outlets like *Vogue* play a primary role in determining who may participate and who may not (read: who is beautiful and who is not).

My thesis uses U.S. *Vogue* as a means to gain insight into the institution of the high-end fashion industry as a whole. I examine the ways by which U.S. *Vogue* represents certain women and excludes others through fashion model selection and featured responses to allegations of discrimination (both explicit and implicit, proactive and retroactive). I study the beauty standards created and reproduced by *Vogue* producers and advertisers, analyzing dominant race and body type representations. My study also examines instances of political and media backlash against the fashion industry in response to race and body type exclusion. Utilizing previous literature, I

determine *Vogue*'s participation in exclusionary and exploitive practices through an analysis of the presence and absence of racial and body type diversity in the publication.

The literature demonstrates how the high-end fashion industry reproduces a specific beauty ideal (White, ultra-thin, middle to upper class female) by way of its lack of significant diversification effort. This narrow portrayal of beauty is often advanced along with intermittent racial and body type diversity, however, the industry ultimately maintains the dominant White, ultra-thin ideal; in my study, I hypothesize and conclude that this pattern is present in U.S. *Vogue*. Beauty standards exert intense pressure and have major psychological consequences (e.g. negative body image and body dissatisfaction) for both fashion models in the industry and "real" women outside of the industry[1]. In my review of previous literature, I expose the processes by which fashion media outlets act as macro social forces, disseminating beauty ideals and setting the standards for women in society. As a media outlet in the high-end fashion industry, *Vogue*'s reach is unparalleled, therefore it has the greatest impact on the producers and consumers involved in and affected by this particular industry. I uncover the ways in which the fashion industry benefits from its exclusionary practices in an effort to understand why and how this system persists, even in the midst of so many backlashes. I study both political and social movements to see what has been done to widen the representation of women in the media. Ultimately, I reveal *Vogue*'s own beauty ideals and its stance on the homogenization of beauty. I hope that my analyses here will help the reader to understand how fashion media produces beauty standards, how those standards affect women, and how we can work to break standards

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[1] I do not delve into the psychological effects of beauty ideals in this thesis. Rather, I focus on the institutional structure of the high-end fashion industry and its systematic production and maintenance of beauty ideals. For further reading on the psychological dimension of the issues discussed here, refer to Dr. Sharlene Hesse Biber's (2007) book, *The Cult of Thinness (2nd Edition)*.
Hesse-Biber, S. (2007). *The Cult of Thinness* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

down. I aim to inform the reader on these issues so that she can better recognize her own body image, carefully consume media images, and support a more inclusive society for women.

LITURATURE REVIEW

Introduction

To inform my content analysis of U.S. *Vogue*, I pull from previous literature that deals with the power structure and conventional practices of the high-end or "editorial" fashion industry, as well as the various exclusionary and exploitive practices in which this industry engages. I gather a combination of both classic and contemporary literature, which guides my search for the presence of discriminatory practices in *Vogue*. The literature identifies the implications of the homogenization of beauty for race, class, and gender hierarchies. Section 1 of my literature review is an investigation of the high-end fashion industry's standards, rationalizations, market strategies, and criticisms. Section 2 explores racial diversity in the industry and defines various racially charged industry practices. The literature I review here reveals the social hierarchy by way of analysis of the White, ultra-thin beauty standard; it aims to answer the question: Why and how does the fashion industry continue to represent an extremely narrow segment of the American population of women? In my study of U.S. *Vogue*, I aim to contribute where there are holes in the conversation: there is a lack of literature on internal contradiction in fashion media publications (e.g. the simultaneous presence and absence of racial and/or body type diversity), as well as on the non-White, non-Black female experience in the fashion model market.

Section 1: BEHIND THE LOOK

Industry Standards and Rationalizations

Ashley Mears' (2011) book, *Pricing Beauty: The Making of a Fashion Model* is an in-depth, comprehensive, empirical study of the interworking of fashion model selection in the U.S. high-end fashion industry. Chapter 5, "Size Zero High-End Ethnic" describes the preferred look of fashion models and proposes several explanations for (1) how the look came to be the standard and (2) why it persists. In this section, I use Mears (2011) and Elizabeth Wissinger's (2015) shared concept of "the look" to reference the overwhelmingly White and ultra-thin fashion model population.

Like the great majority of fashion models, model bookers and clients are also overwhelmingly White. "Booker" is an industry term for an agent who works at a modeling agency, representing fashion models and earning commission on the jobs they book. A "client" is someone who hires models for jobs, usually through a modeling agency. The particular model look preferred by these bookers and clients is a constructed beauty ideal – it is shaped by, and simultaneously influences, "their everyday understandings of femininity, race, and class" (Mears, 2011, p. 172). Mears (2011) explains that model selection in the high-end fashion industry is troublesome for bookers and clients because there is much uncertainty regarding what type of look to feature; the fashion industry is especially susceptible to uncertainty, as it is characterized by "fleeting aesthetic preferences" for apparel that change regularly with the seasons. As a result, those in control of model selection consistently fall back on a particular look, which they can practically guarantee will achieve sales effectiveness and resonate with consumer audiences, designers, magazine editors, advertisers, and the like (p. 186). Seeking to appeal to all sides of this "cultural production market," industry producers (e.g. model bookers, clients, fashion designers, and magazine editors) are constrained to pre-established institutional conventions. They must rely on industry conventions and imitate what others have already done, "a normal

fact of production markets," in order to dodge the ever-present risk that the high-end audience will not understand or accept the look they have chosen; in this industry, one's "status in the field [is always] at stake." Producers "are entangled in an institutionalized production system" in which fashion models are "goods" and model selection is "embedded in a historically shaped and commerce-driven network of agents, designers, and editors" (p. 186). So, although aesthetic preferences for apparel shift regularly in the high-end fashion industry, the same is not true for fashion models. Thus, ironically, the ever-changing fashion apparel market coexists with a perpetually uniform fashion model market; the vast majority of fashion models on runways and in high-end fashion magazines today can fit a single mold: White and ultra-thin. In this way, an "isomorphism" of the model look has been created and persists, "frequently bemoaned in popular presses as the homogenization of beauty" (p. 186). In my content analysis of U.S. *Vogue*, I study the presence of this homogenized representation of women.

The editorial look reflects the contemporary ideal female body, which "research consistently suggests … has been sliming since the end of the 1950s, evidenced among Playboy playmates, Miss America contestants, and fashion magazine advertisements" (p. 172). Consequentially, the gap between fashion's ideal body weight and the body weight of the average American female has been growing steadily. The average weight of a fashion model is "23 percent lower than that of the average woman, whereas twenty-five years ago, the differential was only 8 percent." Today's average American fashion model has a BMI of 16.3 at 5' 11" tall and 117 pounds. Today's average American female has a BMI of 28 at 5' 4" tall and 163 pounds (p. 172-173).

A portion of Mears' (2011) field research in Chapter 5 ("Size Zero High-End Ethnic") focuses in on the ultra-thin standard and industry producers' own ideas about its origins and

persistence. Her research reveals two common justifications for the absence of body type

diversity among high-end fashion models: (1) that sample-sizes produced by designers and then

provided to clients are available in small sizes only ("a standard size US 0–4"), and (2) that high-

end designer clothing simply looks better on very thin and tall bodies than on "fuller" body types

(p. 183). Bookers and clients believe, undividedly, that it is not their own aesthetic preferences

that create the ultra-thin standard, but it is the small sample-sizes provided to them by designers.

At the same time, though, these bookers and clients claim that the clothing looks best on very

skinny models; this contradicts their previous declaration that the thin standard has nothing to do

with their own tastes. Still, some of the producers who consistently cast the size zero look admit

to Mears (2011) that "those bodies at times look unhealthy [and] 'freakish.'" It is evident here

that conventions can override personal tastes in the high-end fashion industry. Designers also

play the blame game when they are asked about the small sample-sizes they create; they claim

that design school teaches students to make clothing in small dimensions, that mannequins are

traditionally small, and that industry bookers and clients provide only very thin models (p. 184).

Whether or not industry producers are capable of or willing to affect change in this market, they

do not take responsibility for the conventions in place; they "diffuse blame and social

responsibility to one another" and to market traditions (p. 208). These rationalizations for the

dominance of the ultra-thin look suggest that producers imagine themselves powerless "under

[the] institutional [constraint]" of the sample-size convention, for which there is no single

scapegoat (p. 186). Thus, the ultra-thin standard has become "locked in," unchallenged, and

accepted as "just the way things are done." Model selection conventions therefore "constrain the

potentially limitless field of possible alternate ways of" representing the female body in the high-

end fashion industry (p. 184). In my study, I examine the degree to which the ultra-thin ideal dominates U.S. *Vogue*, and I determine whether attempts to deviate from this norm are present.

Mears (2011) argues both sides of the "structure versus agency" debate: although the high-end market's conventions affect producers' decisions, producers' "cultural understandings of race, class, and gender" structure the market as well. Bookers and clients in this industry are predominantly White; therefore, Whiteness is "the air they breathe, the invisible yardstick against which they judge all bodies," and the driver behind the culture that they create and reproduce. The exclusive editorial look thus maintains a White-centric social hierarchy shaped by producers' "shared [White] social positions of class, sexuality, and race" (p. 208). My study of U.S. *Vogue* investigates the extent of the presence of the White cultural beauty standard in the publication.

Class-driven Motivations

A key factor in the persistence of the look is the industry's desire to set high-end fashion apart from and superior to the "commercial look," which is used in lower-end, mass-market fashion industries and media outlets. While both the high-end and commercial fashion markets are enormously lucrative, there is a fundamental difference in the way that these two industries are structured: the high-end market charges high-ticket prices and is accessible to a small segment of the population, while the commercial market is far more affordable and is accessible to a large segment of the population. Among high-end industry producers, there are strong, shared understandings about the distinct differences between editorial and commercial fashion (Mears, 2011, p. 176).

Editorial fashion is exclusive by nature; anyone who is not a member of the circle of high-end consumers and producers is not expected to "understand" the ultra-thin, often

"freakish" look that industry insiders deem fashionable and "edgy." For the insiders, the look is a

way to impress one another; it is a "[marker] of elite taste" and "a wink and a nod to each other's

cultural competences to appreciate coded avant-garde beauty." In this way, the editorial-

commercial fashion divide acts as a socially constructed tool for differentiating between two

distinct classes: the elite high-end insiders and the "masses." The high-end consumer must

embody or at least appreciate the White, ultra-thin look, and she or he must also have the

economic means to participate in the high-ticket price marketplace (p. 177). It is important to

note that lower income individuals can participate in the high-end market, but only if they are

willing to use their limited economic resources to pay the exorbitant high-end prices.

Aspirational purchases can offer lower income individuals access to the editorial world,

however, economic constraints will limit their ability to participate to the same extent as upper

class individuals.

  While the editorial look is considered elite, the commercial look is undervalued in the

high-end circle. The editorial look is almost exclusively White and ultra-thin, and the industry

itself is almost exclusively populated by White, middle to upper class consumers and producers;

the high-end market works to keep this exclusivity intact in order to maintain its superior status.

The commercial look, on the other hand, is characterized by its diversity and its ability to appeal

to a mass-market audience, which comprises multiple races, classes, and body types. The

commercial look is typically "slightly older, slightly more racially diverse, and ever so slightly

fuller in figure." Editorial industry producers believe that full-figured models cannot effectively

sell high-end designer collections; not only will full-figured models not fit into sample-sizes

physically, but they will also not appeal to the exclusive editorial audience. In the commercial

fashion market, "diversity in shape and color is more prevalent because commercial modeling is

a deliberate attempt to reach a buying demographic" that is more diverse itself (p. 178). In contrast, the editorial industry targets a very specific racial and economic niche in the market (read: White and middle to upper class). Thus, both editorial and commercial looks "materialize out of institutional arrangements and conventions that vary systematically" between the two industries; each market's looks are chosen with a class-specific audience in mind, rather than deliberate "sexist or racist agendas." In this way, the markets' diverging looks embody and communicate "ideas of gender, sexuality, and race that are mediated by class" (p. 206).

My content analysis studies the class-specific beauty ideals promoted by the high-end fashion magazine, U.S. *Vogue*. I understand U.S. *Vogue*'s consumers and producers to be overwhelmingly White and middle to upper class. There are no official racial demographic statistics available, however, there are published economic demographic statistics for *Vogue*'s audience. *Vogue*'s print media audience has a median household income of $62,087, with 68% of readers having obtained higher education, 64% employed, and 24% in professional or managerial positions. *Vogue*'s website media audience has a median household income of $73,095, with 74% having obtained higher education, 68% employed, and 33% in professional or managerial positions ("Vogue," 2015). In 2014, the U.S. median household income was $53,657 (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2015). Also in 2014, the percent of Americans having obtained higher education was 34% ("Fast Facts: Educational Attainment," 2015). As of November 2015, the percent of employed Americans was 59.3% ("Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey," 2015). This data reveals that on average, *Vogue*'s audience is wealthier, better educated, and more employed than the American population.

Industry Backlash

It is true that in the editorial market, diversity is not a priority for producers. In fact, it is "far removed from the picture" (Mears, 2011, p. 177). Rather, sales effectiveness, convention, and the desire to display elite cultural competence control model selection. Despite industry indifference, though, "[waves] of headlines, conferences, and government inquiries" continue to launch in opposition to the "potentially deadly fashion world," in which several models are suffering from anorexia, bulimia, and other related illnesses (p. 183). Backlash has come from both outraged outsiders and concerned industry insiders.

In January 2007, the CFDA (Council of Fashion Designers of America) launched an international health initiative to address increasing concerns about ultra-thin fashion models and eating disorders, as well as the controversial issue of whether to impose formal health restrictions on industry models. In partnership with various industry producers including U.S. *Vogue*, the initiative has hosted a series of events to promote its set of suggested health guidelines and options for support-seeking models ("CFDA Health Initiative," 2007). The CFDA meets much criticism, though; when it first launched this health initiative, protestors organized monthly rallies "to pressure the Council of Fashion Designers of America to acknowledge and fight racial discrimination" in addition to body image related issues (Mears, 2011, p. 171).

In April 2015, the French legislature joined Spain, Israel and Italy in the fight for the prevention of eating disorders in the fashion industry when it passed a bill that effectively banned excessively thin models from working in France. French industry producers who violate the legislature's bill are subject to large fines and jail time. The bill follows Spain, Israel, and Italy's standard, prohibiting the participation of models with a BMI (Body Mass Index) score lower than 18 (approximately 129 pounds for a 5' 11" model), as was recommended by the French health authorities (Stampler, 2015). The World Health Organization recommends a BMI

score between 18.5 and 24.9 for adults over the age of 20 ("Body Mass Index – BMI," 2015). As cited previously, the average American fashion model has a BMI of 16.3, while the average American female has a BMI of 28.

In July 2015, New York Congressional Representative Grace Meng introduced the Child Performers Protection Act of 2015. Meng's bill seeks to establish official workplace safety regulations and requirements for underage workers, especially underage fashion models, who have become an industry trend because of their especially slight physiques (Friedman, 2015).

In September 2004, the Dove brand launched the Dove Campaign for Real Beauty after commissioning a global study, which revealed that 98% of women do not consider themselves beautiful. The campaign seeks to widen society's increasingly narrow definition of beauty and provoke much-needed discussion about the absence of women of color and women with fuller figures in fashion and beauty media. Dove's advertisements feature a group of women representing a wide range of races and body types in order to challenge beauty standards. In 2010, Dove launched a second, larger campaign, the Dove Movement for Self-Esteem ("The Dove® Campaign for Real Beauty," 2004).

The above-mentioned are just a few of the many social and political measures that have been initiated in response to the homogenization of beauty and the proven-dangerous idealization of thinness, which are both especially potent issues in high-end fashion industry. Yet, despite this flood of legislation and media frenzy, "the call for diversity on the catwalk has not accomplished much … on the whole, fashion magazines continue to underrepresent minorities" (Mears, 2011, p. 171). In my content analysis of U.S. *Vogue*, I survey whether these instances of industry backlash are mentioned, and I examine whether the magazine assumes any culpability regarding these pressing contemporary issues.

Section 2: RACE IN THE INDUSTRY

Racially Charged Exclusion

Mears (2011) theorizes that the model look is the product of industry producers'

imagined social differences between the intersecting social categories of race, gender, class, and

sexuality. These socially constructed differences are thus reproduced and maintained through the

production processes of the high fashion model market. The preferred White, ultra-thin look is

therefore "a mirror for social inequalities, [and] an expression of power" on behalf of the

industry's White majority (p. 175). Elizabeth Wissinger (2015) delves into the racial dimension

of this system in her book, *This Year's Model: Fashion, Media, and the Making of Glamour*. In

Chapter 8, "Black-Black-Black: How Race is Read" Wissinger (2015) reports the findings from

her research and empirical study of model selection in the editorial market, focusing on the Black

model experience specifically.

Levels of employment for both Black editorial models and Black industry producers are

"far lower than the representative numbers of the population" (p. 219). In 2014, the American

population was 62.1% non-Hispanic non-Latino White, 13.2% Black or African American, 5.4%

Asian, and 17.4% Hispanic or Latino ("USA QuickFacts from the US Census Bureau," 2015).

The New York Fashion Week Fall/Winter 2014 fashion shows featured 78.69% White models,

7.67% Black models, 9.75% Asian models, 2.12% Latina models, and 0.45% Other. This

imbalance has been consistent with insignificant improvement since at least the Fall/Winter 2008

fashion shows, when the popular feminist blog website *Jezebel* began recording race frequencies

at the shows. Refer to Appendix A for *Jezebel*'s bar graph depicting "Racial Diversity Among

New York Fashion Week Models Since 2008" (Dries, 2014).

The most common factor of success for a Black model in the editorial market is her ability to meet, or come as close as possible to, White beauty standards. Several Black models report that the industry favors "Black models who look like White models, but 'dipped in chocolate'" (Wissinger, 2015, p. 227). The majority of Black models working in the high-end market have "European American-looking hair and features." Naomi Sims, Beverly Johnson, Liya Kebede, Naomi Campbell, Tyra Banks, Joan Smalls and Jourdan Dunn are a handful of successful Black models in the industry with lighter skin, "straight hair, [small noses], and narrow features" (p. 228-229). Furthermore, Black models are held to far stricter height and weight requirements than their White counterparts; while being tall and slender is the baseline for any model's entry into the editorial market, Black models' baseline is much more extreme and unforgiving. A slightly shorter White model might be cast for a show if she has an "amazing body," but the same would not hold true for a Black model (p. 233). The standards are higher for Black models because there are limited opportunities for them in the high-end market – only so many Black models are hired. In this way, there is "an oversupply of applicants" for the few, coveted Black spaces; Black models vying for these spots must exceed baseline industry standards in order to stand out. Most of the time, this also means looking the most "White" (p. 235).

In addition to having to compete in a limited opportunity market, Black models also have to perform higher levels of "aesthetic labor" once they land modeling jobs. Often, Black models must supply their own makeup and style their own hair because the hired cosmetic professionals "do not have the right makeup colors or are inexperienced with styling Black hair." Black models end up investing more time and money to achieve the right look for the job, while White models can take advantage of the makeup and styling services provided (p. 234-235). This

experience narrows Black models' opportunities even further; those Black models who are either unwilling or unable to achieve the desired look with their own resources are inevitably "refuse, cast aside, not part of the fashion story" (p. 238).

While industry producers blame the ultra-thin standard on sample-sizes, they blame the lack of racial diversity on "aesthetic preferences." Because aesthetics are considered subjective in creative industries like high-end fashion, producers manage to deny allegations of racial discrimination by "saying that the choice of models for a particular job must fit a particular 'color scheme.'" In this way, producers act as "gatekeepers;" they exclude non-White models from the industry, using their creative freedom as an excuse for certain exclusions (p. 226). They "blur the line between" racial discrimination and "lookism," or appearance-based discrimination, while the obvious lack of racial diversity in the industry suggests that there is something else (something racial) happening. Only recently have court cases begun to challenge the "clearly racist overtones" of lookism, though. Editorial producers separate themselves from the issue of race as if it is unconnected to what they do; they "treat race as a thing on the macro level," while their everyday micro level decisions actually reinforce the White standard (p. 236). Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's (2012) theories in "The Invisible Weight of Whiteness: The Racial Grammar of Everyday Life in America" suggest that these producers are using "racial grammar" to excuse their exclusionary practices; racial grammar contributes to the maintenance of White social domination by "shaping in significant ways how we see/or don't see race in social phenomena, how we frame matters as racial or not race-related, and even how we feel about race matters" (p. 174). In the fashion industry context, White producers' framing of model selection as a non-race-related practice prevents the exposure of its racist undertones and protects an unchallenged White dominance of the industry. It is difficult to charge the fashion industry with racism

because of the assumed and accepted creative subjectivity of aesthetic markets. And, as long as producers are not charged, they will not have to increase racial diversity in the industry.

In my study of U.S. *Vogue*, I calculate the race frequencies of the featured female models in order to determine whether *Vogue* maintains the White standard and how its representation has changed over time. I examine the extent to which Black models display European American-looking hair texture, skin tone, and facial features. I also pay special attention to non-White, non-Black models of color in order to determine the levels of representation for Latina, Asian, Middle Eastern/Arab, and other racial categories. While much research has been done on the Black experience in the high-end modeling market, there is a lack of literature on the lived experiences of non-White, non-Black women of color, who are nearly invisible in the industry.

Exploitation and Exoticism

"Orientalism" is the social process by which White, Western society constructs the identity of the "Orient," or the "Other" as a cultural contrast to establish and maintain its own superiority and authority over non-Whites. The Other is situated in the context of White society and acts as a symbol of difference. What results is an ideology that elevates and supports White "institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, [and] even colonial bureaucracies." Orientalism can be understood as "the corporate institution … dealing with the Orient … by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it … [and] ruling over it." Western definitions of the Other are not necessarily negative; the Other is also often "admired and revered," however, upon further investigation, even seemingly positive definitions of the Other are latently racist (Said, 1979, p. 1-3).

Said's concept of Orientalism sheds light on exploitive, "Otherizing" practices in the fashion industry. When they are not being held to the industry's White beauty standard, Black

models are also often called to emphasize their "Otherness" for clients (Wissinger, 2015, p. 227).

While the most common path to success for Black models in the editorial industry is "looking

White," at the opposite end of the spectrum is another common path: exoticism, or primitivism.

This path is unique in that it is open to darker-skinned women. While many Black models are

excluded from the industry for their distance from the White beauty standard, with exoticism

they are exploited for it; they are "posed and styled in exotic juxtapositions to the normative

white body," presented as creatures more so than women to serve the "white gaze," or the

"West's cultural fascination with non-Western women's bodies" (Mears, 2011, p. 174-175).

While this practice may appear to admire the Black body, in actuality, this fascination only

works to support White authority and superiority. The result of exoticism is a set of stereotypical

images of Black women that solidify existing "racial attitudes linking black people with

'savages' from the 'bush'" in the industry's largely White audience. In this process, White

industry producers define "what Black should look like" and then call Black models to perform it

(Wissinger, 2015, p. 229). Exoticized representations of Black women ascribe an animalistic,

hyper-sexuality to non-White femininity, thus reinforcing the superiority of "pure" White

femininity in the fashion industry, and by extension, in the social hierarchy (Mears, 2011, p.

175).

Patricia Hill Collins' (2000) book, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness,*
and the Politics of Empowerment is an authority among the sociological literature dealing with

intersectionality and the unique Black female experience. Chapter 4, "Mammies, Matriarchs, and

Other Controlling Images" introduces the concept of "controlling images," which are socially

constructed stereotypes of Black women that are "designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and

other forms of social injustices appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday

life." These images maintain the Black woman as Other, therefore justifying her subjugation in relation to the normative White woman (p. 70). Controlling images subject Black women to a set of "intersecting oppressions" along race, gender, and class lines (p. 18). In the context of the editorial fashion industry, exoticism is one practice that reinforces the controlling image of the Black female as a deviant, hypersexual, and otherworldly creature to be observed and admired; this image most closely resembles Collins' (2000) "jezebel or hoochie" image. When placed in the context of White, female, heterosexual normality, the Black female is "a racialized, gendered symbol of deviant female sexuality … whose sexual appetites are at best inappropriate and at worst, insatiable." By likening Black women to creatures, exoticism works to define Black female sexuality as "animal-like" (p. 83, 140). Controlling images, as well as the processes by which they are reproduced, are "dynamic and changing," but they are consistent in their subjugation of Black women. Today, these stereotypical images are circulated largely by the media; they are embedded in the everyday practices of industries for which "selling images has increased in importance in the global market place" (p. 72). The fashion industry engages in exoticism to sell images to society, and in doing so, contributes to the social oppression of Black women, providing ideological justification for racist, sexist, and classist attitudes (p. 70).

Subordinating sexualization can also be seen in the American entertainment industry's fascination with the rear ends of Nikki Minaj (mixed-race Black rapper), Kim Kardashian (mixed-race Armenian reality television star), and Jennifer Lopez (Puerto Rican actress and singer). Perhaps one of the most blatant displays of exoticism in recent fashion media specifically was Black supermodel Naomi Campbell's photo spread in the September 2009 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, a high-end fashion magazine. Donning leopard and zebra print, Campbell is photographed in an African landscape; she runs alongside a cheetah, sits atop crocodile, rides an

elephant, and plays jump rope with monkeys. Refer to Appendix B for photographs of Campbell in this issue of *Harper's Bazaar* ("Is This All We Are About? Naomi Campbell's 'Africa Inspired' Harper's Bazaar Spread," 2009).

Wissinger (2015) explains how the practice of exoticism manipulates racial identities and imposes demands on non-White models "to manage their racial characteristics" as desired by White producers (p. 242). In the fashion industry, exoticism presents non-White women as objects to be admired; their racial identities "[become] something to work with, an aesthetic, a quality to be powered up or down," much like gender is manipulated in fashion images via androgynous styling and menswear-inspired trends for women (p. 241). In this way, non-White models' racial identities become subjects of Western cultural appropriation – races are treated as styling choices rather than social identities. The convention of "types" in the modeling market is another industry practice that relegates race to the status of aesthetic preference. Industry professionals rely on a shared set of model "types" to request the exact look they want to hire for a particular job; each type implicitly refers to a certain combination of qualities, including "age, gender, ethnicity, and appearance." For example, a designer who wants to book a model of color for a fashion show can veil his or her desire for a non-White model by simply requesting an "exotic" type from a modeling agency; the request for an "all-American preppy" type, on the other hand, would deliver a blue-eyed blond (p. 219).

My study explores instances of exoticism in U.S. *Vogue*. I examine the extent to which racial identities are manipulated and presented as deviant in relation to the normative White standard. I observe how different racial categories are represented in the publication in order to uncover stereotypes and determine whether *Vogue*'s models are called "to manage their racial

characteristics" (Wissinger, 2015, p. 242). Again, I also pay special attention to instances of exploitation of non-White, non-Black models and cultures.

Tokenism and Racial Capitalism

Another racially charged practice often carried out in high-end fashion media is "tokenism." Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) introduced this term to the sociological academy with her book, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, which analyzes the power structure of the corporate working environment in America. Focusing on males as the dominant group and women as the minority group, Kanter (1977) defines a tokenized environment as one in which the ratio of dominant group members to minority group members is heavily skewed in favor of the dominants (p. 966). Skewed ratios are a direct result of dominant group members' "secondary and informal assumptions" about the abilities of minority group members. In the context of editorial fashion, the ratio is heavily skewed in favor of White producers and models; Kanter's (1977) theory suggests that this imbalance can be attributed to White attitudes about non-Whites' ability to appeal to the editorial audience.

Tokenism exerts several concurrent pressures on the tokenized individual, one of which is the pressure to represent his or her entire group; tokens are obliged to represent the "culture and interactional capacities" of their group for the dominant group (p. 968). In this way, tokens are relegated to the status of "symbols rather than individuals" (p. 966). Tokens' actions are thus highly visible and may result in social consequences for the minority group; because of this, tokenized individuals feel great pressure to prove themselves as equally qualified in the presence of the dominant group. Inevitably, minority group members often try to assimilate to the standards of the dominant culture. However, tokenized environments actually have a polarizing

effect between dominant and minority groups, as they work to exaggerate differences between the two (p. 973).

The practice of tokenism in the fashion industry is partially responsible for the limited opportunities and strict aesthetic standards that Black models face. Mears' (2011) interviews with industry professionals reveal that Black models are often turned away from jobs when clients feel that they have already hired too many Black models; a small handful of Black models, oftentimes even just one, will suffice as a "symbolic stand-in for diversity." Limiting Black models' chances even more is the industry trend of using "that one Black girl that all the designers [use] in one season;" this trend harkens back to industry producers' tendency to look to one another for aesthetic direction in order to guarantee market success. Furthermore, modeling agencies feel much hesitation when signing Black models because they are aware of the risk involved, as Black models' "direction and … longevity" are so unstable in the exclusive editorial market (p. 204).

Nancy Leong's (2013) concept of "racial capitalism" elucidates the motivations behind the industry's desire to display a degree of diversity via tokenism. Leong (2013) defines racial capitalism as "the process of deriving social and economic value from the racial identity of another" in the context of markets. Racial capitalism values non-Whiteness in particular, as it delivers certain social and economic benefits to White individuals and institutions. For example, a predominantly White company can acquire non-White racial capital by hiring a small number of non-White employees; then, with this trivial degree of diversity in the company's ranks, it can "deflect charges of racism [and] … avoid reputational harm that [would] translate to … financial repercussions" (p. 2190). Non-Whiteness can also deliver the status of being "progressive and inclusive" to predominantly White institutions. By way of "showcasing," institutions place "non-

White people in highly visible positions" in order to display sensitivity to racial diversity and attract customers who care about racial diversity (p. 2193-2195). Institutions often disguise their desire for racial capital as sincere diversification effort. Institutions can "actually preserve existing racial hierarchies" in their ranks while flaunting their "diversity" with a select few minority employees (p. 2195). Although racial capital can be extracted from any racial identity, Leong (2013) explains that "in the United States, [it is] generally White people and predominantly White institutions … who most often engage in racial capitalism," as they are the dominant group in the U.S. context (p. 2190-2191). The practice of racial capitalism by Whites is ironic, though, in that Whites derive value from the very same racial identities that are systematically devalued in society.

Racial capitalism can be carried out in multiple ways in the market. In the context of editorial modeling, it is most often manifest in the practice of tokenism. Mears (2011) makes a conclusive point about tokenism in the industry: "It's not so interesting to ask why there are so few ethnic models in editorial modeling but, rather, why are there any at all? The answer is born of producers' deliberate attempts to not seem racist." Producers exploit non-White, "ethnic" looking models' racial identities to communicate sensitivity to their audience (p. 203). Behind a façade of liberalism and racial equality, they practice "new, color-blind forms of racism and sexism" (p. 208). Racial capitalism has become so commonplace as to be expected in the industry; an entire lineup of White models without one or two Black tokens would likely get noticed and "seem out of the ordinary" on today's editorial runway. Still, a fashion show of all Black models would also seem out of the ordinary, "as [did] the July 2008 issue of Italian *Vogue*," which garnered much attention for its "exclusive use of Black models" (p. 203-204). Italian *Vogue* certainly derived social and economic value from the racial identity of the models

in this particular all-Black issue – sales distribution in the U.S. increased by 40%. Yet unsurprisingly enough, the all-Black issue's first thirteen pages of advertisements "for Valentino, Prada, Gucci, Dolce & Gabbana and Dior … all [featured] white faces" (Stewart, 2008).

In the editorial market, the use of non-White tokens legitimizes non-White exclusion by "[offering] the false resolution of racial tension." Moreover, a single Black models' success in the industry can "[obscure the] bitter [struggle]" for representation that the majority of Black models still face. Tokenism thus ensures that only so many Black models succeed in the industry; each Black female victory "inadvertently naturalizes the slim chances for everyone else" and relieves social pressures on the industry to diversify (Mears, 2011, p. 203). This system drives underground the underlying social order in the fashion industry – a social order that works to the advantage of Whites while disadvantaging everyone else deemed Other. In this way, real racial disparities are suppressed from the public consciousness and "post-racial ideology" prevails, forwarding the "false resolution of racial tension" that Mears (2011) identifies. Post-racial ideology is a system of ideas that "popularly [assume] that the civil rights movement effectively eradicated racism to the extent that not only does racism no longer exist, but race itself no longer matters" (Joseph, 2009, p. 4).

In my content analysis of U.S. *Vogue*, I record instances of tokenism and I analyze how different racial categories are represented in group contexts. I also examine instances of contradiction, wherein both diversification effort and White preponderance are present in a single issue (e.g. the contradiction of Italian *Vogue*'s all-Black issue, which featured a majority of White advertisements). There is a lack of literature on contradiction in the editorial fashion media context. There is also a lack of literature focused on racial capitalism in the editorial modeling market specifically. I use my own term, "body type capitalism," for the purposes of my

study; I believe that industry producers may derive social and economic value from featuring limited body type diversity much like they derive value from featuring limited racial diversity. ("Diversity capitalism" is another original term I use to encompass both racial capitalism and body type capitalism).

Conclusion

The literature I have shared here on the interworking of the high-end fashion industry exposes biased aesthetic preferences, the exploitation of non-White female bodies, and the social and economic gains derived from veiled racist practices. The industry practices discussed here are both shaped by and contribute to the ongoing formation and maintenance of social inequality. The result of these practices is a dangerously narrow beauty standard, which makes its way into the public consciousness via fashion media outlets like the revered and renowned U.S. *Vogue*.

METHODOLOGY

My methodological approach is a content analysis of U.S. *Vogue*. U.S. *Vogue* is an appropriate sampling source for my investigation because my research question grapples with exclusionary practices in the high-end fashion industry, wherein *Vogue* is an especially influential media outlet. The producers and consumers of U.S. *Vogue*, as well as a great majority of editorial industry insiders, consider the publication to be the ultimate authority "[defining] the culture of fashion" for a global audience. *Vogue* is a resource for industry producers to extract inspiration, direction, and contemporary cultural trends. The publication's producers consist of "internationally recognized editors, photographers and writers" who create an air of exclusivity and superior know-how, contributing to *Vogue*'s unshakable credibility. *Vogue* is an industry leader and considers itself "a cultural barometer" and influencer not only in fashion, but also in "how we dress, live and socialize; what we eat, listen to and watch; [and] who leads and inspires

us." *Vogue* is the ultimate lifestyle guide for the high-end circle. I believe that the content

featured in U.S. *Vogue* is most representative of the culture of the fashion industry as a whole.

Each magazine issue contains hundreds, if not thousands, of high-end fashion advertisements,

providing an industry-wide picture of fashion model preferences at any point in time. The highly

influential subsidiary mass media publication company, Condé Nast publishes *Vogue* monthly in

23 different international and regional editions. The U.S. print edition alone garners 1,050,142

annual subscriptions and an average circulation of 1,237,939 sales per issue, and it has a total

audience of 11,909,000 readers. The U.S. *Vogue* website attracts 8,736,245 average monthly

visitors. The influence of this publication is massive and unparalleled in the high-end fashion

industry. In addition, the print media audience is 87% female, indicating that U.S. *Vogue* likely

has a great impact on the development and internalization of cultural beauty ideals for women in

American society ("Vogue," 2015).

The units of measurement for my data collection are images, articles, and text produced

by *Vogue*, as well as featured advertisements produced by other industry players. I sampled from

both past and contemporary issues for historical comparison and trajectory analysis. I analyze 6

contemporary September issues from the past 5 years (2010-2015) as well as 5 past September

issues in intervals of 10 years going backward from 2015 (2005, 1995, 1985, 1975, and 1965[2])

(total: 11 issues). I analyze only the first 150 pages of each magazine issue, as the issues range in

page length from 184 pages to 954 pages; this renders a total of approximately 1,650 pages of

analysis (150 pages x 11 issues). I accessed these issues via The *Vogue* Archive in the ProQuest

Database (online). Using both past and contemporary issues, I track changes and consistencies in

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[2] There were two *Vogue* issues published in September 1965: one published on September 1st,
1965 and the other published on September 15th, 1965. I chose one of these two issues at random
(the September 15th issue).

the representation of women over time, as well the discussion regarding diversification. The September issues are an especially suitable source because they are particularly indicative of dominant industry trends; the most prominent fashion magazines in the industry generate considerable publicity and anticipation specifically for the publication of their annual September issue. September issues of *Vogue* are usually several hundreds of pages longer than other months' issues, and the bulk of the pages are fashion advertisements; as mentioned, the issues in my sample range from 184 pages (1965) to 954 pages (2005). These issues take anywhere from 9 months to one year for *Vogue* to plan and assemble. They sell the most copies year after year, indicating that they have the greatest impact on *Vogue* readers, who eagerly await their arrival. *Vogue*'s September issues have steadily grown in both popularity and page count over the years. This "September issue" phenomenon is even the focus of a documentary film made in 2009: *The September Issue* follows U.S. *Vogue*'s editor-in-chief, Anna Wintour as she and her staff produce the September 2007 issue of the magazine (Chernikoff, 2013).

My data consists of recorded frequencies and two major codes with various sub codes. First, I record race and body type frequencies of the women represented. Then, I scan for specific codes and sub codes.

The categories I use to record body type frequencies are "ultra-thin," "thin," "average," "fuller than average," "full-figured," and "overweight." The categories I use to record race frequencies were not be pre-established; I identified and tallied the race of each model as I scanned the magazine issues.

One of my two major codes is "Race," with sub codes "Diversity," "Conformity," "Exoticism/Exploitation," "Tokenism," and "Typecasting." This code encompasses all racial phenomena playing out in the magazine issues, and it facilitates my analysis of White and non-

White representations. I employ this code especially when non-White models are featured and when racial diversity is mentioned explicitly. I categorize an instance under the sub code "Conformity" when: (1) there is clear homogeneity in a group context (White), and (2) when a White model takes up several pages for an advertisement or other photo spread. The "Conformity" sub code helps me to identify evidence of maintenance of the White beauty standard.

My second major code is "Body Type," with sub codes "Diversity," "Conformity," "Tokenism," and "Typecasting." This code addresses the representation of different body types in *Vogue*, and it facilitates my examination of how different body types are portrayed. I employ this code especially when fuller-figured models are featured and when body type diversity is mentioned explicitly. I categorize an instance under the sub code "Conformity" when: (1) there is clear homogeneity in a group context (thin), and (2) when a thin or ultra-thin model takes up several pages for an advertisement or other photo spread. The "Conformity" sub code helps me to identify evidence of maintenance of the thin beauty standard.

There is considerable overlap between sub codes both within and between the "Race" and "Body Type" codes.

The "Race" and "Body Type" codes help me to answer my research questions regarding diversity in the high-end fashion industry. I study racial and body type diversity to determine how often *Vogue* features models outside of the White, ultra-thin norm, as well as whether the publication draws attention to its own diversification effort. I examine whether industry backlash is ignored, challenged, accepted, or mentioned without a specific stance. I study how previous literature's exclusionary theories play out in the magazine issues, and how often.

Using the "Race" and "Body Type" codes, I also extrapolate instances of contradiction. I define contradiction as instances when diversity is both present and absent within a single magazine issue. I employ this term when racial and/or body type diversity are simultaneously promoted and neglected. This term helps me to answer my research questions regarding the conflict between *Vogue*'s actual and claimed degree of diversity. It facilitates my examination of *Vogue*'s promoted beauty ideals and any deviations from that ideal. This term contributes to my understanding of how *Vogue* might continue to engage in the homogenization of beauty while concealing its liability with intermittent diversification effort.

Methods Sources

To guide my methodology, I pull from the Writing Studio at Colorado State University (2004) and Kristin Luker's (2009) research project handbook, *Salsa Dancing into the Social Sciences: Research in an Age of Info-glut* (Chapter 10: "Data Reduction and Analysis").

I borrow two major concepts from Colorado State University's (2004) content analysis guide ("An Introduction to Content Analysis"): "conceptual analysis" and "relational analysis." I follow the step-by-step process of conceptual analysis in my study: I identify my research questions, choose a sample, code my content into relevant and "manageable content categories" by "selective reduction," and quantify the presence of selected objects and terms, both implicit and explicit. Selective reduction involves "reducing the text to categories consisting of a word, set of words, or phrases … that are indicative of the research question." I also incorporate relational analysis in my study by going beyond the mere quantification of conceptual analysis to "[explore] the relationships between the concepts [I identify]" and look for "semantic, or meaningful," connections among my set of codes and sub codes (Colorado State University, 2004).

I borrow Luker's (2009) coding scheme for content analysis in order to facilitate pattern recognition in the content that I collect. I first identify two major, overarching codes (Race and Body Type). Then, I break these codes down into smaller parts, or sub codes. I clearly define the criteria for each sub code, while remaining aware of the possibility of overlap – what Luker (2009) calls "the messiness and the contingency of social life." Before conducting my data collection, I followed Luker's (2009) step-by-step model for code creation: (1) name the code, (2) provide a brief description, (3) define when to use it, (4) define when not to use it, and (5) provide an example (p. 215-216).

Data Collection Guidelines

- I go beyond the 150-page limit if an advertisement, article, photo spread, etc. is interrupted at the 150-page mark or continued on pages later in the magazine.

- The models I deem ultra-thin have extremely narrow and/or boney physiques. Models who cross the line from the thin category into the ultra-thin category appear visibly and unquestionably underweight.

- If I could not determine a model's body type due to an excess of clothing, I did not record anything for her body type. However, I made a best estimate for every model's race.

- Each separate appearance grants a model a frequency point for her race and body type. For example, if a model appears 5 times in 5 different advertisements, her race and body type are each tallied 5 times.

- I focus on women only, not men.

- I focus on human representations only (i.e. not drawings of women).

- I count every woman represented in the issues – not only the models, but also the "regular"-looking women.

LIMITATIONS

With a sample of 11 monthly magazine issues and a limit of 150 pages of analysis per issue, my data collection capacity is small, therefore I was not able to recognize patterns that may have manifest themselves or become clearer with a larger sample. With exclusively September issues, I may have missed especially relevant and evocative issues published in other months. Overall, my sample is limited in its ability to determine the frequency of related race and body type practices in U.S. *Vogue* as a whole. Finally, as I investigated only one high-end fashion publication, I was not able to recognize consistent patterns across a wide range of fashion media outlets; despite *Vogue*'s unparalleled reach and sway in the editorial industry, I am limited in my ability to generalize about the industry as a whole. However, because each *Vogue* issue mostly consists of high-end fashion advertisements, I do have access to an industry-wide picture of producers' fashion model preferences.

With a total of 1,650 pages of analysis, I narrowed my recorded results down to the most relevant and evocative instances of racial and body type diversity and conformity. Thus, not every instance I observed is recorded in the results section of this thesis. This limits the scope of my data for analysis.

My own social positioning as a 22-year-old, White, very thin, and upper middle class woman renders me vulnerable to biases as a researcher. My categorization of races and body types is subjective, and my categorizations may differ greatly from others'. It is difficult to be certain of a model's exact race and body type, especially if she is wearing heavy makeup and/or clothes that hide her physique. I am thus limited in my ability to accurately categorize the models, however, I put myself in the average reader's shoes – the average reader can only speculate about a model's race and body type.

RESULTS

Refer to Appendices C-E for graphic representations of race frequencies, body type frequencies, and cover girl frequencies (race and body type).
Refer to Appendices F-T for photographs from the magazine issues.

Below are my recorded frequencies and content analysis notes.

September *Vogue* 1965

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/thin (Kecia Nyman)

Race Frequencies: 144 White
Body Type Frequencies: 15 ultra-thin; 65 thin; 3 average

Code: Race, sub codes:
    <u>Diversity:</u> None

    <u>Conformity:</u>
1. Pg. 29: Ad for Celanese Fabrics. 3 White/thin models.
2. Pg. 138-141: Ad for Chanel. 4 pages. 7 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 150-152: "Beauty Bulletin: The Faces Fashion Designers Are Seeing With Their Clothes … All the Moore mannequins are blondes, hair short-cropped, teased in front, smoothed over into a pompadour, slicked back behind the ears. White faces, deep red mouths. … With the whitest of faces, the smokiest of eyes, he prescribed a begonia lipstick … This year, Norell has turned to, as his mannequins will tell you in chorus, 'a pale face, smudgy eyes, blushy cheeks …'"
4. Pg. 30: Ad for Berkshire Hosiery. A new stocking shade called "English heather." This shade appears to be for White and/or light-skinned women only; it is too light for darker skin tones.
5. Pg. 32: Ad for Vanity Fair lingerie. "Flesh tones and fresh flowers. This Fall, look as if you're in your skin. Go tan with Tawny Amber. Go pale with Dawn Nude … (loveliest lingerie print that ever bloomed next to the new next-to-nothing colors)!" Lingerie colors appear to be for White/light-skinned women only.
6. Pg. 36: Ad for Formfit Rogers dress-shapers. "The swan-diving bra in the color to plunge with – Powder Buff … Sizes: 32A to 38C in Powder Buff or White." Colors appear to be for White/light-skinned women only.
7. Pg. 47: Ad for Kayser lingerie. "Slip in new almost nothing Naturelle hue, of Satilene nylon …" Color appears to be for White/light-skinned women only.

    <u>Exoticism/Exploitation:</u>
1. Pg. 74: "Vogue's Notebook: Travel By George Bradshaw … Everyone in Hong Kong speaks English and is in invariably good humor … There is a splendor about the place that somehow wipes off on the inhabitants … It is Chinese, it is fascinating – and safe. One of the inbred fears of us Americans (isn't it?) is that we are going to be cheated. Well, you won't be in Hong Kong. You're safe. … You will bargain. You will bargain

loudly, savagely, using muscles to shrug that you didn't know you had. … You must never forget to bargain."

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Throughout the issue, several ads feature inclusive sizing information (e.g. "Available in all sizes;" "Available in sizes 4 – 16."). This shows some acknowledgement of body type diversity.

Conformity:
1. Pg. 29: Ad for Celanese Fabrics. 3 White/thin models.
2. Pg. 57: Ad for Westminster Checks clothing. "Tailored to fit you smoothly in perfectly proportioned Tiny, Typical and Tall sizes." It seems as though they offer a wide range of sizes, however, the "Tall" category likely implicitly refers to fuller body types. Does this show evidence of resistance to explicitly accept and embrace fuller body types?
3. Pg. 58: Ad for Smoothie lingerie. "Smoothie 'Slimlook' for the natural look of gentle curves. A smooth, supple waist; softly molded hips; a prettily rounded back …" This ad idealizes a slim body type ("Slimlook").
4. Pg. 138-141: Ad for Chanel. 4 pages. 7 White/thin models.

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. While this issue shows some acknowledgement of body type diversity via inclusive sizing information (see Body Type sub code Diversity #1), the body type representation in this issue is extremely narrow (15 ultra-thin; 65 thin; 3 average).

September *Vogue* 1975

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/thin (Lauren Hutton)

Race Frequencies: 131 White; 1 Asian; 1 Black
Body Type Frequencies: 2 ultra-thin; 67 thin; 3 average

Code: Race, sub codes:
Diversity: None

Conformity:
1. Pg. 52-53: Ad for Anne Klein clothing. 12 White/thin models.
2. Pg. 54: Ad for the American Fur Industry. 3 White models.
3. Pg. 122: Ad for Lord & Taylor. 4 White models.

4. Pg. C2: Ad for Countless Isserlyn Make-Up by Alexandra de Markoff. "Countless Isserlyn Creme, in ten gentle, beigier shades, gives your face a soft sheen." Makeup is only available in "beigier" shades, presumably for White/light-skinned women only.
5. Pg. 120-121: Ad for White Shoulders Perfume by Evyan Perfumes, Inc. " … Specifically created for American women … Evyan's salute to the women of America … With admiration for the great contribution American women have made toward the phenomenal growth and accomplishments of our country …" Does this ad refer to White women exclusively ("White Shoulders")? This ad might suggest that only White women are truly American/belong in America.

Exoticism/Exploitation:
1. Pg. 16: Ad for Leslie Fay clothing. "A real all out bash for a novelist friend of his who's off to the Orient for inspiration. An exotic destination like that calls for something equally intriguing like my latest Leslie Fay. The oriental touches on the pajama like the frog closing and trapunto work really capture the mood of the Far East." White/thin model is wearing an Asian-inspired pajama set. This ad normalizes Western, White culture while Otherizing Asian culture.
2. Pg. 67: Ad for I. Magnin department store. Black/thin model. Model has a dark skin tone and relatively narrow features. Her hair is not shown. She is dressed in winter clothing. The caption is: "Huntress or prey. Ralph Lauren's fleetness of Harris Tweed is well worth the answer to Diana's challenge." The juxtaposition of a black model with this "huntress or prey" language might play into controlling images of the black female as animalistic, aggressive, hypersexual, etc. This is likely unintentional, or inferential, racism. (Background information on "Diana:" In Roman mythology, Diana is the goddess of the woodlands, of wild animals, and of hunting. She also acts as a fertility goddess, who helps women conceive and give birth to children).
3. Pg. 100: Ad for Stanley Korshak clothing store and Albert Capraro clothing. "Albert Capraro and Stanley Korshak see you in Chinoiserie … This Oriental fantasy … a quilted challis kimono jacket, black satin tunic and black velvet evening trousers, from our Mr. Stanley collection, $210." Model is Asian/average body type. This text exoticizes the East as a "fantasy" land. The clothing is an example of Western appropriation of Asian culture. The term Chinoiserie evokes appropriation/exoticization/fascination with Asian culture. (Chinoiserie definition: the imitation or evocation of Chinese motifs and techniques in Western art, furniture, and architecture, especially in the 18th century).
4. Pg. 139: Ad for Higbee's department store. "Orient Express: our elegant new long look for evening by Richilene." White/thin model. She is wearing a long dress with a floral, Asian-inspired print. This ad shows Western appropriation/exoticization of Asian culture.
5. Pg. 143: Ad for Les Bernard jewelry. "RARE SPECIES: Tawny tiger eye from the far-off mines of Madagascar. Sculpted and polished into a most civilized collection of necklaces, bracelets, pins and earclips by the master craftsmen at Les Bernard …" This language ("civilized collection") evokes White, Western orientalism and "Othering," which are used to justify and legitimate Western dominion/ superiority. The tiger eye was exotic ("far off mines") and savage until the Western jewelry company "civilized" it for White women. (Tiger eye definition: a yellowish-brown semiprecious variety of quartz).

Tokenism: None

Typecasting:
1. Pg. 100: Ad for Stanley Korshak clothing store and Albert Capraro clothing. "Albert Capraro and Stanley Korshak see you in Chinoiserie … This Oriental fantasy … a quilted challis kimono jacket, black satin tunic and black velvet evening trousers, from our Mr. Stanley collection, $210." Model is Asian/average body type. The selection of an Asian model for this ad is an example typecasting; there are no other Asian models in this issue.

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Throughout the issue, several ads feature inclusive sizing information (e.g. "Available in all sizes;" "Available in sizes 4 – 16."). This shows some acknowledgement of body type diversity.

Conformity:
1. Pg. 52-53: Ad for Anne Klein clothing. 12 White/thin models.
2. Pg. 150: "Vogue Beauty Checkout: Exercise Game – Exercises derived from fencing techniques build balance and coordination without building muscle. … We checked with fencing coach and national competitor, Camille Lownds, a dashing string bean. … As Camille explained, the principal attraction of these exercises (and the sport of fencing itself) is that *they will not build bulk*. The workout stretches and elongates muscles, making the body sleek and graceful." This article idealizes a thin body type for women; it suggests: the slimmer, the better; the bigger, the less desirable.

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. While this issue shows some acknowledgement of body type diversity via inclusive sizing information (see Body Type sub code Diversity #1), the body type representation in this issue is extremely narrow (2 ultra-thin; 67 thin; 3 average). There are also multiple instances of conformity to the thin standard (see Body Type sub code Conformity #1-2).
2. While there is some (very limited) diversity in this issue, the racial representation is extremely narrow (131 White; 1 Asian; 1 Black) and there are multiple instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-5). Furthermore, each of the 2 instances of racial diversity is in a racially charged sub code category (see Race sub code Exoticism/Exploitation #2-3 and Race sub code Typecasting #1). While the Black model has a dark skin tone, her facial features are European American-looking and her hair is not shown.

September *Vogue* 1985

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/thin (Isabella Rossellini)

Race Frequencies: 88 White; 5 Asian; 1 Black; 5 White/Latina
Body Type Frequencies: 50 thin

Code: Race, sub codes:

    Diversity:

1. Pg. 30-31: Ad for Anne Klein clothing. Black model. Medium skin tone. Narrow (European American-looking) features. Straight hair. Her photo takes up 2 pages.
2. Pg. 67-69: Ad for Valentino. 2 group shots. 1st group shot: 3 White, 1 Asian, 3 Latina/White; 2nd group shot: 6 white, 2 Latina/White. All models are thin, but there is some racial diversity.
3. Pg. 104-105: "Designed to discover, inspire and honor America's most outstanding new designers, the More Fashion Award has become a launching pad for fashion's brightest stars. And an annual epic event … 5 finalists selected from over 400 entrants dazzled the SRO crowd with their creations. …" Pg. 105 shows 6 snapshots of the finalists' clothing creations on the runway. 3 Asian models.
4. Pg. 115: Ad for Calvin Klein clothing. Model appears to be White/Latina.
5. Pg. 134: Ad for Esprit Kids clothing. Child model, Asian girl. "Mei-lein Gruchacz, daughter of Lillian Jang, Esprit/USA Imports Manager, Age: 7 1/2."

    Conformity:

1. Pg. 20-21: Ad for Ultima II makeup. 3 White models. A daughter, mother, and grandmother.
2. Pg. 116-119: Ad for Valentino. 4 pages. 5 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 144-145: Ad for Salem cigarettes. 3 White/thin models (and 3 White men).
4. Pg. 74-81: Ad for Guy Laroche designs. 8 pages. 1 White/thin model.
5. Pg. 147-151: Ad for Georges Marciano, Guess Jeans. 5 pages. 1 White/thin model.

    Exoticism/Exploitation:

1. Pg. 11: Ad for Lillie Rubin salon. White/thin model is posed next to a large Thai Buddha head statue. She is wearing an Asian-inspired skirt, jacket, and headpiece. There is no text to connect the Asian influence to the hair salon, which suggests that the Asian cultural elements are purely decorative. This ad fails to provide any reasoning for its use of Asian culture; cultural elements are stripped of significance and reduced to decoration for this Western ad. This ad shows exoticization/appropriation/fascination with Asian culture. (Refer to Appendix F for photograph).
2. Pg. 12-13: Ad for Maroc fragrance by Ultima II. White model. The setting is Morocco, outside of a building. She is wearing a turban, traditional Moroccan dress, and sandals. Cultural appropriation by Whites, for Whites.

    Tokenism: None
    Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:

    Diversity:

1. Throughout the issue, several ads feature inclusive sizing information (e.g. "Available in all sizes;" "Available in sizes 4 – 16."). This shows some acknowledgement of body type diversity.

    Conformity:
1. Pg. 67-69: Ad for Valentino. 2 group shots. Some race diversity, but models are all thin.
2. Pg. 116-119: Ad for Valentino. 4 pages. 5 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 144-145: Ad for Salem cigarettes. 3 White/thin models (and 3 White men).
4. Pg. 74-81: Ad for Guy Laroche designs. 8 pages. 1 White/thin model.
5. Pg. 147-151: Ad for Georges Marciano, Guess Jeans. 5 pages. 1 White/thin model.

    Tokenism: None
    Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. While this issue shows some acknowledgement of body type diversity via inclusive sizing information (see Body Type sub code Diversity #1), the body type representation in this issue is extremely narrow (50 thin). There are also multiple instances of conformity to the thin standard (see Body Type sub code Conformity #1-5).
2. While there is some racial diversity in this issue (see Race sub code Diversity #1-5), the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (88 White; 5 Asian; 1 Black; 5 White/Latina) and there are multiple instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-5). There are also instances of cultural exoticism/exploitation/appropriation in this issue (see Race sub code Exoticism/Exploitation #1-2).
3. The sole Black model in this issue has a darker (medium) skin tone, however, she also has European American-looking facial features and hair (straight) (see Race sub code Diversity #1).

September *Vogue* 1995

Cover Girl (race, body type): 2 White, thin (Shalom Harlow and Amber Valletta)

Race Frequencies: 92 White; 5 Black; 1 White/Asian
Body Type Frequencies: 8 ultra-thin; 62 thin; 1 average

Code: Race, sub codes:
    Diversity:
1. Pg. 2, 44: 2 Ads for Nordstrom designers' clothing. Black/thin model, Tyra Banks. Banks is light-skinned. She has narrow, European American-looking facial features. She has long, straight, dyed light brown hair.
2. Pg. 85: Ad for Evian water. Black/average body type model. Model has a darker skin tone, and rounder facial features (not European American-looking).
3. Pg. 107-109: Ad for Prescriptives Exact Color makeup. "Have you been Colorprinted? … Colorprinting identifies your Exact Foundation from over 100 choices … your Exact Colors for lips, cheeks and eyes." 1 White/Asian, 1 White, 1 Black. Black model has a medium skin tone and European American-looking features. Each model has her own page.
4. Pg. 153 (continued from pg. 126): "Talking Back: Letters from Readers" section; responses to previous magazine issue (June 1995). "South African Style: VOGUE is one

of the few American magazines that frequently feature women of color in fashion, and I don't feel you get enough praise for doing so. I want to thank you for featuring Iman ['Traveling in Style,' photographed by Bruce Weber, June], who I think is one of the most beautiful women in the world, not just for her outer beauty but because of her intelligence and good nature. She may be married to David Bowie, but she will never forget to remain vocal when it comes to supporting her fellow Africans. Iman is truly an inspiration for women all over the world. Chantelle M. Jenkins, New York, NY." This is the first explicit mention of racial issues thus far. This letter praises *Vogue* for "frequently" featuring women of color. The reader thanks the magazine for featuring Iman, who she finds to be an especially inspiring woman of color. Does *Vogue* really feature women of color frequently, or is Iman just an instance of showcasing/racial capitalism? (Model Iman has a medium skin tone, narrow European American-looking features, and an ultra-thin body type).

5. Pg. 153 (continued from pg. 126): "Talking Back: Letters from Readers" section; responses to previous magazine issue (June 1995). "You really surprised me in your June issue with the article misleadingly entitled 'South Africa Now.' What were Iman and Bowie really doing apart from posing for a nice (even superb) photoshoot? Although the first photograph shows Nelson Mandela and Iman shaking hands, the portfolio very quickly and ludicrously degenerates into something else: an attempt to impose the Western model of fashion on Africa. Is that the price South Africa has to pay for its freedom – dressing according to the Western style? Or is your article telling us that all we need to know about South Africa is how to dress? Bowie and his wife disappoint us when all they do is reinforce the contrast between Western and African cultures and identities. And frankly, don't you find that wearing a $2,500 Gaultier dress in a shantytown is a little bit, how should I put it … out of place? S. Kiefer, Pittsburgh, PA." This reader accuses *Vogue* of imposing Western fashion standards on South Africa, and of reducing South Africa to a subject of fashion. She also accuses *Vogue* of Otherizing African culture by juxtaposing it with "superior" White, Western culture; she mocks *Vogue*'s decision to photograph Iman in an expensive dress in an area struck by poverty. This letter is a harsh critique, yet *Vogue* decided to put it on display for all to see. Is this a significant and positive decision, promising self-awareness and change for *Vogue*? Or, is it racial capitalism/showcasing – an attempt to look like *Vogue* cares without any follow-up action?

Conformity:
1. Pg. C2-1: Ad for Giorgio Armani perfume, Acqua di Gio. 4 pages. White/thin model (actress/model Diane Kruger).
2. Pg. 18-19: Ad for Cache clothing. 3 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 33-41: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 9 pages. 3 White/thin models.
4. Pg. 57-65: Ad for Estee Lauder. 9 pages. White/thin model.
5. Pg. 77-84: Ad for Ellen Tracy clothing and accessories. 8 pages. White, thin model.
6. Pg. 93-96: Ad for Escada. 4 pages. 2 White/thin models.
7. Pg. 97-104h: Ad for Bloomingdales designers' clothing. 16 pages. White/ultra-thin model (Linda Evangelista).
8. Pg. 104i-104l: Ad for Prada. 4 pages. White/thin model.

9. Pg. 104o-1-1 – 104u-1-2: Ad for Kenar clothing. 8 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin models. (Refer to Appendix G for photographs).
10. Pg. 104z-104aa: Ad for Keds shoes. 2 pages. 3 White/thin models.
11. Pg. 121-124h: Ad for Gucci. 12 pages. White/thin model (Amber Valletta) (and 2 white men).
12. Pg. 128-133: Ad for Bergdorf Goodman designers. 6 pages. 2 White/thin models.
13. Pg. 136-137: Ad for Gianfranco Ferre clothing. 7 White/thin models.
14. Pg. 150-151: Ad for Mondi collections. 4 White/thin models.

Exoticism/Exploitation:
1. Pg. 30-31: Ad for Clinique perfume, Aromatics Elixir. Features a Thai Buddha head statue. Cultural appropriation/exploitation/fascination without any explanation of its significance or relevance to the ad.

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
Diversity: None

Conformity:
1. Pg. C2-1: Ad for Giorgio Armani perfume, Acqua di Gio. 4 pages. White/thin model (actress/model Diane Kruger).
2. Pg. 18-19: Ad for Cache clothing. 3 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 33-41: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 9 pages. 3 White/thin models.
4. Pg. 44: Ad for Nordstrom, Pierrette B. clothing. "Sizes 1 and 2, imported from Switzerland." Only smaller sizes are available. This creates a norm/ideal for women, Otherizing bigger sizes and leaving them out of the fashion world.
5. Pg. 57-65: Ad for Estee Lauder. 9 pages. White/thin model.
6. Pg. 77-84: Ad for Ellen Tracy clothing and accessories. 8 pages. White, thin model.
7. Pg. 93-96: Ad for Escada. 4 pages. 2 White/thin models.
8. Pg. 97-104h: Ad for Bloomingdales designers' clothing. 16 pages. White/ultra-thin model (Linda Evangelista).
9. Pg. 104i-104l: Ad for Prada. 4 pages. White/thin model.
10. Pg. 104o-1-1 – 104u-1-2: Ad for Kenar clothing. 8 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin models. (Refer to Appendix G for photographs).
11. Pg. 104z-104aa: Ad for Keds shoes. 2 pages. 3 White/thin models.
12. Pg. 114-115: Ad for Lord & Taylor, Bill Blass. White/ultra-thin model. Her body appears to have been edited to look exaggeratedly thin; she looks like a cartoon.
13. Pg. 121-124h: Ad for Gucci. 12 pages. White/thin model (Amber Valletta) (and 2 white men).
14. Pg. 128-133: Ad for Bergdorf Goodman designers. 6 pages. 2 White/thin models.
15. Pg. 136-137: Ad for Gianfranco Ferre clothing. 7 White/thin models.
16. Pg. 150-151: Ad for Mondi collections. 4 White/thin models.

Tokenism: None

Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite some racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (92 White; 5 Black; 1 White/Asian) and there are many instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-14). Also, the majority of Black models (4/5) in this issue have European American-looking facial features.
2. Despite the fact that *Vogue* decided to feature one reader's explicit praise for its racial diversity (see Race sub code Diversity #4) and another reader's explicit critique of its representation of African culture (see Race sub code Diversity #5), this issue is overwhelmingly White.

September *Vogue* 2005

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/thin (Sarah Jessica Parker)

Race Frequencies: 51 White; 1 Latina; 2 Black; 1 White/Black
Body Type Frequencies: 12 ultra-thin; 25 thin; 1 average

Code: Race, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Pg. 2-3: Ad for Baby Gap clothing. Baby girl model appears White/Black.
2. Pg. 114-115: Ad for L'Oreal Feria Haircolor product. Black model (Beyoncé). Beyoncé is light skinned with long straight hair (dyed blonde) and European American-looking facial features. (Refer to Appendix I for photograph).
3. Pg. 135-142: Ad for Target. 8 pages. 1 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Black/thin. 1 Latina/thin. The Black model and the Latina model have 1 photo each, while the 2 White models have more than 1 photo each. The black model has darker skin, European American-looking features, and straight hair. "Design for All … affordable, wow, everyone, everywhere, Target" … This language evokes "mass-market" appeal, not high-end fashion exclusivity (White). Is the aim of the diversity in this ad to appeal to the mass-market? There is little to no diversity in the entire issue up until this ad for Target, which is a notoriously affordable, mass-market company. The higher end ads in this issue are exclusively White.

Conformity:
1. Pg. 10-17: Ad for Gucci. 8 pages. White/ultra-thin model. (Refer to Appendix H for photographs).
2. Pg. 22-27: Ad for St. John. 6 pages. White/thin model (Gisele Bündchen).
3. Pg. 30-35: Ad for Louis Vuitton. 6 pages. White/thin model (Uma Thurman).
4. Pg. 38-41: Ad for Yves Saint Laurent. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
5. Pg. 74-77: Ad for Prada. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
6. Pg. 89-92: Ad for Kenzie clothing. 4 pages. 4 White/thin models.
7. Pg. 102-107: Ad for Tiffany & Co. 6 pages. White/thin model.
8. Pg. 127-134: Ad for Calvin Klein. 8 pages. White/thin model.
9. Pg. 143-146: Ad for Boss by Hugo Boss. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.

10. Pg. 149-152: Ad for Ports. White/ultra-thin model.

     <u>Exoticism/Exploitation:</u> None
     <u>Tokenism:</u> None
     <u>Typecasting:</u> None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
     <u>Diversity:</u> None

     <u>Conformity:</u>
1. Cover: "Eat more to weigh less: The ten-week total-body makeover."
2. Pg. 10-17: Ad for Gucci. 8 pages. White/ultra-thin model. (Refer to Appendix H for photographs).
3. Pg. 22-27: Ad for St. John. 6 pages. White/thin model (Gisele Bündchen).
4. Pg. 30-35: Ad for Louis Vuitton. 6 pages. White/thin model (Uma Thurman).
5. Pg. 38-41: Ad for Yves Saint Laurent. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
6. Pg. 74-77: Ad for Prada. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
7. Pg. 89-92: Ad for Kenzie clothing. 4 pages. 4 White/thin models.
8. Pg. 102-107: Ad for Tiffany & Co. 6 pages. White/thin model.
9. Pg. 127-134: Ad for Calvin Klein. 8 pages. White/thin model.
10. Pg. 135-142: Ad for Target. 8 pages. 1 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Black/thin. 1 Latina/thin. Body type conformity despite racial diversity.
11. Pg. 143-146: Ad for Boss by Hugo Boss. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
12. Pg. 149-152: Ad for Ports. White/ultra-thin model.

     <u>Tokenism:</u> None
     <u>Typecasting:</u> None

Contradiction:
1. Despite some racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (51 White; 1 Latina; 2 Black; 1 White/Black) and there are several instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-10). The 2 Black models in this issue both have European American-looking features and straight hair. One of the Black models (Beyoncé) also has light skin and dyed blonde hair. The other Black model and the Latina model are featured in an ad for Target, a mass-market (non-editorial) brand.

September *Vogue* 2010

Cover Girl (race/body type): Black/thin (Halle Berry)

Race Frequencies: 104 White; 5 Asian; 8 Black; 1 White/Latina; 1 White/Asian
Body Type Frequencies: 24 ultra-thin; 77 thin; 1 full-figured; 1 overweight

Code: Race, sub codes:
     <u>Diversity:</u>

1. Cover: Halle Berry is light skinned with European American-looking features and straight hair.
2. Pg. 50-51: Ad for Tucker, Target. 2 pages. 1 White/thin. 1 Asian/thin. The White model has 2 photos, one alone and one with the Asian model. The Asian model has only one photo with the White model. Again, Target features diversity for their affordable, mass-market brand. "New York designer creates eye-catching prints and go-anywhere styles at a savings that's gorgeous." (See 2005 issue for first instance of Target's diversity).
3. Pg. 84-89: Ad for Gap. 10 pages. 3 White/ultra-thin. 2 White/thin. 1 Asian/thin. 1 Black/ultra-thin. Black model has a light/medium skin tone, European American-looking features and straight hair. 2 of the White/ultra-thin models have 2-page spreads and an additional photo, while the rest of the models have only one photo. This is a non-editorial mass-market brand.
4. Pg. 101-104: Ports ad. 4 pages. White/Asian/ultra-thin model.
5. Pg. 142-143: Ad for Fekkai. Black model. She has straight hair and light skin. Her features are not European American-looking.
6. Pg. 145: Ad for Kenneth Cole. Asian/thin model.

   Conformity:
1. Pg. 38-41: Ad for Burberry. 2 White/ultra-thin. 3 White/thin. (Also 4 White males).
2. Pg. 44-45: Ad for Miu Miu. 4 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 97-100: Ad for Nicole Miller. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
4. Pg. 105-120: Ad for Nordstrom designers. 16 pages. White/thin model (Coco Rocha).
5. Pg. 125-132: Ad for White House Black Market. 8 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
6. Pg. 148-153: Ad for Juicy Couture. 6 pages. 5 White/thin. 2 White/ultra-thin.

   Exoticism/Exploitation: None

   Tokenism:
1. Pg. 48-49: Ad for DKNY. 3 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Asian/thin. The Asian model is blurred and in the background, standing with a White model. The 3 models in the foreground are White. Is the Asian model a token? She is almost hidden. (Refer to Appendix K for photographs).
2. Pg. 52-53: Ad for Jones New York clothing, Macy's. "We've always been about dressing the modern American woman." A large group of businesswomen (20 total) in Grand Central Station, NYC. All models are thin. 16 White. 3 Black. 1 Asian. 2 Black models have a medium skin tone, 1 Black model has a dark skin tone. All Black models have long straight hair and European American-looking features. I deem this an instance of tokenism (not diversity) because of the overwhelming majority of White models in comparison to non-White models.
3. Pg. 76: Table of Contents preview. "Night of a Thousand Stars … Rocking Fashion's Night Out." 3 White/thin models (and 2 White males). 1 Black model (Naomi Campbell).

   Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
   Diversity:

1. Pg. 12-13: Ad for Revlon, women's cancer ad. 6 women at the "Run/Walk For Women, New York City, 2010" event. 1 is full-figured. 1 is overweight. These women are not models, but "regular" women captured in a photo, walking for cancer at this event. They are not selling anything, like a model typically does. (Refer to Appendix J for photographs).

   Conformity:
1. Pg. 38-41: Ad for Burberry. 2 White/ultra-thin. 3 White/thin. (Also 4 White males).
2. Pg. 44-45: Ad for Miu Miu. 4 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 52-53: Ad for Jones New York clothing, Macy's. "We've always been about dressing the modern American woman." A large group of businesswomen (20 total) in Grand Central Station, NYC. All models are thin. 16 White. 3 Black. 1 Asian.
4. Pg. 84-89: Ad for Gap. 10 pages. 3 White/ultra-thin. 2 White/thin. 1 Asian/thin. 1 Black/ultra-thin. 2 of the White/ultra-thin models have 2-page spreads and an additional photo, while the rest of the models have only one photo.
5. Pg. 97-100: Ad for Nicole Miller. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
6. Pg. 105-120: Ad for Nordstrom designers. 16 pages. White/thin model (Coco Rocha).
7. Pg. 125-132: Ad for White House Black Market. 8 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
8. Pg. 148-153: Ad for Juicy Couture. 6 pages. 5 White/thin. 2 White/ultra-thin.

   Tokenism: None
   Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite some racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (104 White; 5 Asian; 8 Black; 1 White/Latina; 1 White/Asian) and there are several instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-6) and tokenism (see Race sub code Tokenism #1-3). 8/8 of the Black models in this issue have straight hair, 7/8 have European American-looking facial features, and 4/8 have a lighter skin tone. Finally, each of the two instances of diversity in a group context is an ad for a mass-market (non-editorial) brand and gives more attention to the White model(s) (see Race sub code Diversity #2-3).
2. Despite some body type diversity, the body type representation in this issue is extremely narrow (24 ultra-thin; 77 thin; 1 full-figured; 1 overweight) and there is much conformity to the thin standard (see Body Type sub code Conformity #1-8). Furthermore, the 1 full-figured and 1 overweight are not models, but "regular" women (see Body Type sub code Diversity #1).

September *Vogue* 2011

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/thin (Kate Moss)

Race Frequencies: 67 White; 2 Asian; 4 Black; 1 White/Black; 1 White/Latina; 2 White/Asian
Body Type Frequencies: 17 ultra-thin; 46 thin

Code: Race, sub codes:

    Diversity:

1. Pg. 6-9: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 1 White/Asian/thin. 1 Asian/thin. Clothes, accessories and props show Asian motifs. This brand uses Asian models for its Asian-inspired designs. Is this significant in a positive way? Is Asian-inspired (American designed) merchandise not exoticizing/appropriative/exploitive if the brand uses Asian models to sell it? Or is it just a step in the right direction? Does this brand give credit where credit is due?
2. Pg. 34-35: Ad for Lancome. 2 White. 1 Black. Black model has a medium/light skin tone and European American-looking features.
3. Pg. 740-745 (continued from Table of Contents preview on pg. 136): Photo shoot spread by Vogue; not an advertisement. "Fashion & Features" section. 6 pages. Black/ultra-thin model (Jourdan Dunn). She has a light skin tone, straight hair (dyed blonde), and European American-looking features.
4. Pg. 93: Ad for Gap. White/Asian/thin model.
5. Pg. 130-131: Ad for Jones New York, Bloomingdales. "Works (and plays) well with others. Introducing the Broadway Blazer. See why it works for everyone at JNY.com/theblazer." 3 White/thin. 1 Black/thin. 1 White/Latina/thin. Black model has a darker skin tone, straight hair, and rounder facial features (not European American-looking).
6. Pg. 133: Ad for Piperlime. White/Black/thin model. Model has a very light skin tone and European American-looking features. Her hair is styled in a curly afro. This is the first afro I have seen thus far, in any issue; the first black model with visible natural hair. But, she still has European American-looking features and a very light skin tone.

    Conformity:

1. Pg. 2-3: Prada. 3 White/thin models.
2. Pg. 80-83: Ad for Bally. 4 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin models.
3. Pg. 101-116: Ad for Nordstrom. 16 pages. White/thin model.
4. Pg. 121-124: Ad for Dillard's. 4 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin model. 6 White/thin models (shown from the chest down).
5. Pg. 137-142: Ad for Calvin Klein Collection. 6 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
6. Pg. 147-150: Ad for Salvatore Ferragamo. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.

    Exoticism/Exploitation: None

    Tokenism:

1. Pg. 12-13: Ad for Gucci. 3 White/thin. 1 Black/thin. (And 3 White males in background). Black model is light-skinned with straight hair and European American-looking facial features.
2. Pg. 22-23: Ad for Dolce & Gabbana. 5 White/thin. 1 Asian/thin.

    Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
    Diversity: None

Conformity:
1. Pg. 2-3: Prada. 3 White/thin models.
2. Pg. 80-83: Ad for Bally. 4 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin models.
3. Pg. 101-116: Ad for Nordstrom. 16 pages. White/thin model.
4. Pg. 121-124: Ad for Dillard's. 4 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin model. 6 White/thin models (shown from the chest down).
5. Pg. 137-142: Ad for Calvin Klein Collection. 6 pages. White/ultra-thin model.
6. Pg. 147-150: Ad for Salvatore Ferragamo. 4 pages. White/ultra-thin model.

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite some racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (67 White; 2 Asian; 4 Black; 1 White/Black; 1 White/Latina; 2 White/Asian) and there are multiple instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-6). There are also instances of tokenism (see Race sub code Tokenism #1-2). 3/4 of the Black models in this issue have European American-looking features, 3/4 have a lighter skin tone, and 2/4 have straight hair.

September *Vogue* 2012

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/ultra-thin (Lady Gaga)

Race Frequencies: 91 White; 5 Asian; 6 Black
Body Type Frequencies: 15 ultra-thin; 77 thin; 1 average

Code: Race, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Pg. 22-23: Ad for Lancome makeup. Black model. "Available in 28 perfect-fit shades." Model has a medium skin tone. Her hair is pinned back (cannot determine whether it is straight or natural). Her features are European American-looking.
2. Pg. 24-27: Ad for Fendi. 4 pages. Black model. Light skin, straight hair, and European American-looking features.
3. Pg. 36-37: Ad for Clinique makeup. "And sheer optics instantly brighten all skins, fair to deep." This is the first explicit mention of skin (tones) that I have seen thus far. Previous ads offered several shades, but none explicitly mentioned that they cater to darker ("deeper") skin tones. Is the use of the word "deep" instead of "dark" significant in any way? Is "dark" not a desirable term? It seems as though this ad is treading lightly with its language.
4. Pg. 66-67: Ad for Donna Karan fragrance. 2 White. 1 Black. Black model has a medium skin tone and European American-looking features. Her hair is not visible.
5. Pg. 852-853 (continued from preview on pg. 76): 2 White/thin (Karlie Kloss, Arizona Muse). 1 Asian/thin (Liu Wen). 1 Black/thin (Joan Smalls). Black model (Joan Smalls) has a light skin tone, straight hair and European American-looking features. " … They each evoke a different idea of beauty, be it commanding (Kloss), lyrical (Wen), serene

(Muse), or strong (Smalls)." Do these descriptions of "beauty" play into racial stereotypes? The Black model as strong (stereotype: angry, animalistic, masculine)? The Asian model as lyrical (stereotype: exotic, oriental, docile)?

6. Pg. 102-103: Ad for Piperlime. 4 White/thin. 2 Asian/thin.
7. Pg. 127-130: Ad for Lanvin. 2 White/thin. 1 Black/thin. Black model has dark skin, natural hair, and rounder facial features (not European American-looking). This is significant – the first complete (skin, hair and features) departure from the White-looking Black model norm. (Refer to Appendix N for photograph).

Conformity:
1. Pg. 2-5: Ad for Prada. 4 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin. 3 White/thin.
2. Pg. 8-13: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 6 pages. 7 White/thin models.
3. Pg. 18-21: Ad for Louis Vuitton. 4 pages. 17 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin.
4. Pg. 60-63: Ad for Oscar de la Renta. 4 pages. 2 White/thin models.
5. Pg. 143-148: Ad for Brahmin. 6 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin models.

Exoticism/Exploitation: None

Tokenism:
1. Pg. 96-101: Ad for Gap. 3 White/thin. 1 Asian/thin.
2. Pg. 111-123: Ad for Nordstrom. 16 pages. 6 White/thin. 1 Asian/ultra-thin. 1 Black/ultra-thin. Black model is medium/light skinned with straight hair and European American-looking features. I deemed this an instance of tokenism because of the large gap between the number of ad pages (16) and the number of minorities represented (2).

Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Pg. 84-85: Ad for Bulgari. White/average body type model (Isabella Rossellini). Rossellini is 60 years old in this picture. She is not meant to be portrayed as the (young) ideal female. Is it significant that the only non-thin body type in this issue is a 60-year-old woman, and not a "real" (read: young) model? (Refer to Appendix M for photograph).

Conformity:
1. Cover: Lady Gaga's photo appears to be edited; an exaggeratedly tiny body. (Refer to Appendix L for photograph).
2. Pg. 2-5: Ad for Prada. 4 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin. 3 White/thin.
3. Pg. 8-13: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 6 pages. 7 White/thin models.
4. Pg. 18-21: Ad for Louis Vuitton. 4 pages. 17 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin.
5. Pg. 60-63: Ad for Oscar de la Renta. 4 pages. 2 White/thin models.
6. Pg. 852-853 (continued from preview on pg. 76): 2 White/thin (Karlie Kloss, Arizona Muse). 1 Asian/thin (Liu Wen). 1 Black/thin (Joan Smalls).
7. Pg. 102-103: Ad for Piperlime. 4 White/thin. 2 Asian/thin.

8. Pg. 127-130: Ad for Lanvin. 2 White/thin. 1 Black/thin. (Refer to Appendix N for photograph).
9. Pg. 143-148: Brahmin ad. 6 pages. 2 white, ultra-thin models.

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite some racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (91 White; 5 Asian; 6 Black) and there are multiple instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-5). There are also instances of tokenism (see Race sub code Tokenism #1-2). 4/6 of the Black models in this issue have European American-looking features, and 2/6 have a light skin tone and straight hair.
2. The one instance of body type diversity in this issue is a 60-year-old female with an average body type (see Body Type sub code Diversity #1). She is not a "real" (read: young) model.

September *Vogue* 2013

Cover Girl (race/body type): White/thin (Jennifer Lawrence)

Race Frequencies: 65 White; 3 Asian; 3 Black; 1 White/Asian
Body Type Frequencies: 12 ultra-thin; 38 thin; 1 overweight

Code: Race, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Pg. 6-7: Ad for Dior. White/Asian/thin model.
2. Pg. 18-19: Ad for Lancome makeup. 1 White. 1 Black. The White model has 2 photos (one solo photo), while the Black model shares one photo with the White model. Black model has a medium skin tone, straight hair, and European American-looking features.
3. Pg. 28-33: Ad for Chanel. 6 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin. 2 Asian/ultra-thin. White model: 3 solo photos. 2 Asian models: 3 photos together, without the White model. One Asian model has dyed blonde hair.
4. Pg. 92-93: Ad for Bobbi Brown makeup. "In 20 shades for all ethnicities and skin tones." This is the first explicit mention of ethnicity. This is significant in a positive way. The model for this ad, though, is Katie Holmes (White).
5. Pg. 94-97: Ad for Diesel. 1 White/overweight. 1 White (androgynous female). 1 Asian. 1 White/ultra-thin. (Refer to Appendix O for photograph).
6. Pg. 100-101: Ad for Clarins cosmetics. "Proven for all skin types, all ages, all ethnicities." Explicit mention of ethnicity.
7. Pg. 104-107: Ad for Tiffany & Co. 1 White/thin. 1 Black/thin (Joan Smalls). Smalls has light skin, European American-looking features, and long straight hair.
8. Pg. 139-142: Ad for Boss by Hugo Boss. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Black/thin. Black model has long straight hair, a light/medium skin tone, and European American-looking features.

Conformity:
1. Pg. 8-9: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 3 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin.
2. Pg. 123-138: Ad for Nordstrom. 16 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin model.

Exoticism/Exploitation: None
Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Pg. 94-97: Ad for Diesel. 1 White/overweight. 1 White (androgynous female). 1 Asian. 1 White/ultra-thin. The message of this ad is clearly "diversity." This is the first use of an overweight model thus far. Is this positive, progressive? Or is it body type capitalism? This ad features racial/sexual/body type diversity, but the overweight model could be considered a token in this ad, and the rest of this magazine issue is thin. (Refer to Appendix O for photograph).

Conformity:
1. Pg. 8-9: Ad for Ralph Lauren Collection. 3 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin.
2. Pg. 28-33: Ad for Chanel. 6 pages. 1 White/ultra-thin. 2 Asian/ultra-thin.
3. Pg. 104-107: Ad for Tiffany & Co. 1 White/thin. 1 Black/thin (Joan Smalls).
4. Pg. 139-142: Ad for Boss by Hugo Boss. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Black/thin.

Tokenism: None
Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite some body type diversity, the body type representation in this issue is extremely narrow (12 ultra-thin; 38 thin; 1 overweight) and there are instances of conformity to the thin standard (see Body Type sub code Conformity #1-4).
2. Despite several instances of racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (65 White; 3 Asian; 3 Black; 1 White/Asian) and there are instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-2). 3/3 of the Black models in this issue have straight hair and European American-looking features, and 2/3 have a lighter skin tone. In 2/5 of the instances in which White and non-White models share an ad, White models have solo photos while non-White models do not (See Race sub code Diversity #2-3)

September *Vogue* 2014

Cover Girl (race/body type): 6 White/thin (Cara Delevingne, Karlie Kloss, Arizona Muse, Edie Campbell, Vanessa Axente, Andreea Diaconu); 2 Black/thin (Joan Smalls, Imaan Hammam); 1 Asian/thin (Fei Fei Sun)

Race Frequencies: 72 White; 6 Asian; 1 Latina; 7 Black
Body Type Frequencies: 23 ultra-thin; 45 thin

Code: Race, sub codes:

Diversity:

1. Cover: Special pull out cover. 3 pages with 9 models. 6 White/thin. 2 Black/thin. 1 Asian/thin. "The Instagirls! Models of the moment in the clothes of the season." The 2 Black models have a light skin tone, straight hair and European American-looking features.
2. Pg. 2-7: Ad for Prada. 6 pages. Latina/thin model (Mica Arganaraz). She is accompanied by a White male model in 2/3 of the pictures.
3. Pg. 8-11: Ad for Dior. 4 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin. 1 Asian/ultra-thin.
4. Pg. 18-19: Ad for Estee Lauder. Black model (Joan Smalls). She has light skin, long straight hair, and European American-looking features. (Refer to Appendix P for photograph).
5. Pg. 34-35: Ad for Lancome makeup. Black model. Lupita Nyong'o. She has dark skin, natural short hair, and rounder facial features (not European American-looking). "Available in 28 shades for all skin tones." 3 shades of makeup bottles are shown; the darkest shade (Lupita's) is front and center – this is significant and unlike all other ads mentioning skin tone diversity thus far. The dark shade is positioned as if it is the "norm" in this ad. This is the second complete departure from the White standard (skin tone, hair and features). (Refer to Appendix Q for photographs).
6. Pg. 42-47: Ad for Chanel. 6 pages. 1 White/thin. 1 Black/thin. White model has 3 pages. Black model has 1 page. Black model is light skinned with natural hair and European American-looking features.
7. Pg. 84-85: Ad for MAC cosmetics. Black/thin model (Rihanna). She has a light skin tone, unnatural hair and European American-looking features. Her hair is dyed neon green for the ad.
8. Pg. 94-97: Ad for Chanel. 1 Asian. 1 White. Asian model has a close-up solo photo. White model wears sunglasses and is further away in her solo photo. Is this significant for the Asian model?
9. Pg. 102-105: Ad for La Perla. 1 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Asian/thin.
10. Pg. 130-131: Ad for DKNY. 5 White. 1 Black. 2 Asian. Black model has a medium skin tone, natural hair, and rounder facial features (not European American-looking). One Asian model has dyed blonde hair and eyebrows.

Conformity:

1. Pg. 12-17: Ad for Ralph Lauren. 6 pages. 3 White/thin. 1 White.
2. Pg. 20-25: Ad for Gucci. 6 pages. 4 White/thin. 2 White/ultra-thin.
3. Pg. 60-61: Ad for Dolce & Gabbana. 2 White. 2 White/thin. 2 White/ultra-thin. (Also 3 White males). (Refer to Appendix R for photographs).
4. Pg. 133-148: Ad for Nordstrom. 16 pages. White/thin model.
5. Pg. 149-154: Ad for Brahmin. 7 White/ultra-thin. They look like silhouettes.

Exoticism/Exploitation: None

Tokenism:

1. Pg. 50-55: Ad for Burberry. 6 pages. 1 Black/thin. 2 White/thin. One White model has all 6 pages; the other White model has 2 pages. Black model has 2 pages. Black model has a medium skin tone, long straight hair, and European American-looking features. I deem this tokenism because there are also 2 White males in the ad, and because the White models have the majority of the pages.

   Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
   Diversity: None

   Conformity:
1. Cover: Special pull out cover. 3 pages with 9 models. 6 White/thin. 2 Black/thin. 1 Asian/thin.
2. Pg. 8-11: Ad for Dior. 4 pages. 2 White/ultra-thin. 1 Asian/ultra-thin.
3. Pg. 12-17: Ad for Ralph Lauren. 6 pages. 3 White/thin. 1 White.
4. Pg. 20-25: Ad for Gucci. 6 pages. 4 White/thin. 2 White/ultra-thin.
5. Pg. 60-61: Ad for Dolce & Gabbana. 2 White. 2 White/thin. 2 White/ultra-thin. (Refer to Appendix R for photographs).
6. Pg. 102-105: Ad for La Perla. 1 White/thin. 1 White/ultra-thin. 1 Asian/thin.
7. Pg. 133-148: Ad for Nordstrom. 16 pages. White/thin model.
8. Pg. 149-154: Ad for Brahmin. 7 White/ultra-thin. They look like silhouettes.

   Tokenism: None
   Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite a racially diverse cover and several instances of racial diversity, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (72 White; 6 Asian; 1 Latina; 7 Black). There are multiple instances of conformity to the White standard (see Race sub code Conformity #1-5) and an instance of tokenism (see Race sub code Tokenism #1). 5/7 of the Black models in this issue have a light skin tone and European American-looking features, and 4/7 have straight hair. Finally, the sole Latina model in this issue is accompanied by a White male in 2/3 of her photos for the ad.

September *Vogue* 2015

Cover Girl (race/body type): Black/average (Beyoncé Knowles)

Race Frequencies: 82 White; 5 Asian; 2 Latina; 11 Black; 1 White/Asian
Body Type Frequencies: 5 ultra-thin; 60 thin; 1 average

Code: Race, sub codes:
   Diversity:
1. Cover: Black/average body type (Beyoncé Knowles). Beyoncé has a light skin tone and European American-looking facial features and hair.

2. Pg. 36-37: Ad for Lancome. Latina model (Penelope Cruz). "Available in 11 shades for all skin tones."
3. Pg. 44-45: Ad for Estee Lauder. Latina model (Eva Mendes).
4. Pg. 50-53: Ad for Dolce & Gabbana. 11 White/thin. 2 Asian/thin. 1 Asian/ultra-thin. 1 Black/thin. Black model has a medium/dark skin tone, straight hair, and rounder facial features (not European American-looking). Still, a great majority of white models.
5. Pg. 66-69: Ad for Clinique. 1 White. 1 Asian. (Refer to Appendix S for photographs).
6. Pg. 70-73: Ad for Celine. 2 White. 1 Black. Black model has a medium skin tone, natural hair (afro), and rounder facial features (not European American-looking). A significant departure from the beauty "norm." (Refer to Appendix T for photograph).
7. Pg. 98-99: Ad for La Perla. Black/thin model (Naomi Campbell). She is shown to have a medium/dark skin tone, long straight hair, and European American-looking features.
8. Pg. 102-109: Ad for Sam Edelman. 8 pages. Asian/White/thin model (Rocky Barnes).
9. Pg. 112: Table of Contents preview for Vogue photo shoot: "Kicking into gear. Hustle & bustle, p. 732." Black/thin model (Liya Kebede). Model has a light/medium skin tone, straight hair and European American-looking features.
10. Pg. 117: Ad for Vogue.com. 13 White. 5 Black. 4/5 of the Black models have short natural hair, and 3/5 have dark skin.
11. Pg. 120: Ad for Valentin Yudashkin. Asian/thin model.
12. Pg. 756-761 (continued from Table of Contents preview on pg. 112): Beyoncé's featured article and photo shoot. Explicit discussion of Beyoncé's racial implications. Is this an instance of racial capitalism? Direct quotes from the article:
    a. "In an age when roles and styles morph as quickly as computer images, she's a shape-shifting virtuoso. She can evoke Rita Hayworth or Naomi Campbell, flappers and B-girls. She can be a blonde, a brunette, or both; she wears cornrows and cascading curls and a decorous ponytail; she samples an Audrey Hepburn pixie cut or an Erykah Badu-esque gele" (pg. 758). This quote evokes Beyoncé's "black liminality[3]" and ethnic ambiguity. Does Beyoncé have the ability to "pass" as White? Does she conform to White beauty standards, and is it necessary for her to do so in order to be successful? What are the implications here? Can she truly represent the Black female experience in America?
    b. "Her appropriation and assemblage are based on the understanding that a mass audience is a mass of niche audiences. Each has its own history, with its own desires, and she empowers them all" (pg. 758). Again, this quote speaks to her liminal blackness and her ability to cross racial boundaries.
    c. "Beyonce opens us room for a lot of cultural conversations. The sexuality she flaunts has raised the ire of conservatives and even some women, who feel

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[3] In her article, "Framing Condi(licious): Condoleezza Rice and the Storyline of 'Closeness' in U.S. National Community Formation," Nikol G. Alexander-Floyd (2008) defines "black liminality" as the quality possessed by Black public figures who occupy an "indeterminate space between social positions," and who are "perceived as [both] acceptable and unacceptable, insider and outsider." By "social positions," Alexander-Floyd (2008) means Black and White. These Black celebrities forward a post-racial vision of America by way of their apparent transcendence of race, gender, and class boundaries (p. 428-429).

she's playing into demeaning racial and gender stereotypes. (Sometimes on her own, sometimes with Jay Z.) But the most powerful thing about her persona is the unabashed pleasure she takes in her own body: its beauty, its power, its versatility. It's an exuberance reminiscent of Josephine Baker, who cooly noted that most people's derrières were only good to sit on. 'It is the intelligence of my body that I have exploited,' Baker declared – and she was right" (pg. 759). This quote speaks to (sexual) stereotypes and controlling images of Black women; intersectionality is key here. Does Beyoncé play into stereotypes or does she reclaim them?

d. "And there's an interesting racial story here, too, perfect for the age of Obama, at whose 2009 inaugural ball Beyoncé channeled Etta James's glorious 'At Last'" (pg. 759). This evokes colorblindness and post-race ideology. Beyoncé is a "safe" Black celebrity with an apolitical narrative.

e. "People often Google the question 'Is Beyoncé black?' The answer is as complicatedly simple as race history in America. Beyoncé is what we now call African-American, and like many African-Americans she is also of mixed – Native American and French – ancestry" (pg. 759). This quote touches on the social construction of race (Is she Black?), but it seems to deemphasize Beyoncé's blackness by claiming that her blackness is partly "complicated" and mentioning her mixed ancestry. Why deemphasize her blackness? Who does this benefit?

Conformity: (Present throughout)

Exoticism/Exploitation: None

Tokenism:
1. Pg. 2-7: Ad for Prada. 1 Black/thin. 6 White/thin. Black model has a light skin tone, short natural hair, and European American-looking features.

Typecasting: None

Code: Body Type, sub codes:
Diversity:
1. Cover: Black/average body type (Beyoncé Knowles). She is thin, but she is known for her curves. Her curves push her into the average body type category; she is not as thin as the rest of the women I have deemed thin. Is it significant that she is Black, not White? Is the Black female okay to portray with an average body type, but not the White female? IS the White female held to different or higher standards? Does this play into stereotypes about Black women's "more voluptuous" bodies?

Conformity: (Present throughout)
1. Pg. 50-53: Ad for Dolce & Gabbana. 11 White/thin. 2 Asian/thin. 1 Asian/ultra-thin. 1 Black/thin. (Refer to Appendix S for photographs).

Tokenism: None

Typecasting: None

Contradiction:
1. Despite several instances of racial diversity and explicit discussion of racial issues in (cover girl) Beyoncé's article, the racial representation in this issue is extremely narrow (82 White; 5 Asian; 2 Latina; 11 Black; 1 White/Asian). There are instances of conformity to the White standard throughout this issue, as well as an instance of tokenism (see Race sub code Tokenism #1).
2. Despite a cover girl with an average body type, the body type representation in this issue is extremely narrow (5 ultra-thin; 60 thin; 1 average) and there are instances of conformity to the thin standard throughout the issue. The 1 average body type is the cover girl, Beyoncé.

Trends Present Throughout (1965-2015)
1. There are instances of both race conformity (White standard) and body type conformity (thin standard) in all 11 issues. Many of these instances overlap (e.g. they fall under both Race sub code Conformity and Body Type sub code Conformity).
2. There are far fewer instances of body type diversity than racial diversity in the 11 issues. In addition, virtually all instances of racial diversity overlap into the Body Type Conformity sub code.
3. Contradiction is present in all 11 issues. Racial and/or body type diversity are shown and/or explicitly acknowledged in each issue, yet the overwhelming majority of models in each issue are White and thin.
4. The racial representation is extremely narrow in all 11 issues. There is an overwhelming White majority in each issue.
5. There are zero (identifiably) Middle Eastern/Arab or "Other" race women represented in the 11 issues. All represented races are shown on the graph in Appendix C ("September *Vogue* Race Frequencies 1965-2015").
6. The majority of featured Black women have either European American-looking hair, European American-looking features, a lighter skin tone, or some combination of these traits.
7. There is only one instance of race typecasting in the 11 issues.
8. The body type representation is extremely narrow in all 11 issues. There is an overwhelming thin majority in each issue. Ultra-thin is the second most common body type in each issue, except for 1975 (2 ultra-thin; 3 average) and 1985 (0 ultra-thin).
9. There are zero "fuller than average" body type women represented in the 11 issues. Of the two "overweight" women represented, one is portrayed not as a model, but as a "regular" woman. The one "full-figured" woman represented is also portrayed as a "regular" woman. There are only 4 "average" body type women represented between 1995-2015, after 3 in 1965 and 3 in 1975. For a visual aid, refer to Appendix D ("September *Vogue* Body Type Frequencies 1965-2015").
10. There are zero instances of body type tokenism in the 11 issues.
11. There are zero instances of body type typecasting in the 11 issues.

IMPLICATIONS

Despite our society's supposed increased sensitivity to matters of diversity, evidenced by various counter movements and instances of backlash, we have made little progress on this front in the fashion industry. Body type representation in *Vogue* is virtually without deviation from the thin standard, and it proceeds without progress. Just last month (April 2016), *The New York Times* reported that the Advertising Standards Authority of Britain banned a Gucci advertisement for its "irresponsible" use of an "unhealthily thin" looking model (Bilefsky, 2016). Meanwhile, racial representation in *Vogue* shows signs of (incremental) progress over time, yet it is still far from representative of the population of women in the U.S. As mentioned in my review of the literature, in 2014 the American population was 62.1% White; between 2010 and 2015, White representation in *Vogue*'s September issues ranges from 80-90%. The high-end fashion industry is characterized by exclusivity, convention, and imitation. While fashion designers take outrageous and necessary risks with their clothing designs in order to remain relevant in the market, they do not do the same with their models. Year after year, White, thin models dominate the runways at New York Fashion Week; some racial diversity is often sprinkled into the mix, but convention (read: Whiteness) ultimately prevails. When I look at the statistics (Appendices A, C, & D), I am cautiously optimistic about racial representation in the industry's future; however, there is nothing to be said for the dismantling of the thin standard.

In regard to the lack of literature on the non-White, non-Black female experience in the fashion model market, my study only reconfirms the overwhelming absence of such individuals in the industry. In my data collection, I identify zero Middle Eastern/Arab or "Other" race women in the 11 *Vogue* issues. Asian women have sustained a small, yet static amount of representation over the years, while Latina representation is so marginal as to be negligible.

I observed no mention of industry backlash in the 11 issues; however, I found some explicit mention (though limited) of racial issues. In the September 1995 issue, *Vogue* features a letter from a reader who lauds the magazine for its representation of women of color: "*Vogue* is one of the few American magazines that frequently feature women of color in fashion, and I don't feel you get enough praise for doing so" (refer to notes for pg. 153). By featuring this letter, *Vogue* draws positive attention to its diversification effort; my data on racial representation in *Vogue* tells an entirely different story, though. In the same September 1995 issue, *Vogue* features another letter from a reader who harshly critiques the magazine for a photo spread that she feels Otherizes and exoticizes African culture (refer to notes for pg. 153). *Vogue*'s decision to feature this second letter suggests that the publication is self-aware and strives to improve its racial representation; again, my data shows little progress on this front. The third and final instance of explicit mention of racial issues occurs in the September 2015 issue: cover girl, Beyoncé's featured article touches on various aspects of her racial implications, including her ethnic ambiguity, her post-racial narrative, and the potential consequences of her sexuality for the Black female community (refer to notes for pg. 756-761). Is all of this talk just *Vogue* engaging in racial capitalism? Are these discussions just instances of racialized showcasing? My data leads me to believe that these are merely attempts to make *Vogue* look like it cares, without any real follow-up action. In regard to the lack of literature on internal contradiction in fashion media publications, my study contributes to an understanding of how *Vogue* continues to engage in racial exclusion while dodging its liability via racial capitalism.

Big picture: *Vogue* is part of a larger network of fashion media outlets and industry producers – a network that acts as an ever-present macro force in society, disseminating strict beauty standards through a consistently narrow representation of women. As mentioned in my

thesis introduction, the high-end fashion industry is a massively lucrative and influential market in the contemporary social sphere; its opinions are held in high regard across race and class boundaries. The literature regarding the social processes of this specific institution is exceedingly important in our digital age; being informed about the homogenization and dissemination of beauty ideals is more vital than ever. The high-end fashion industry is a powerful institution with a strong foothold in the media and great implications for social hierarchies and body image issues. I have hope that with continued investigation, we can begin to dismantle the monsters within the industry.

Future Research

Given my study's limitations with content analysis, I recommend that future research involves direct participant observation and includes in-depth interviews with fashion industry professionals.

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Appendix A

**Racial Diversity Among New York Fashion Week Models Since 2008**

	FALL '08	FALL '09	FALL '10	SPRING '11	FALL '11	SPRING '12	FALL '12	SPRING '13	FALL '13	SPRING '14	FALL '14
White Models	87%	82%	83.9%	81.8%	84.8%	82.4%	79.9%	79.4%	82.7%	79.98%	78.69%
Black Models	4.9%	7.4%	7.9%	8.4%	7.3%	8.5%	8.0%	8.1%	6%	8.08%	7.67%
Asian Models	5.4%	6.5%	6.4%	7.1%	6.2%	6.8%	8.8%	10.1%	9.1%	8.1%	9.75%
Latinas	2.7%	3.9%	1.5%	2.3%	1.5%	2%	2.4%	1.9%	2%	3.19%	2.12%
Other	0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%	0.9%	0.5%	0.3%		0.45%

Legend: White Models, Black Models, Asian Models, Non-White Latina Models, Models of Other Races

* No data collected for Spring '09 or Spring '10

Appendix B

Appendix C

September *Vogue* Race Frequencies 1965-2015
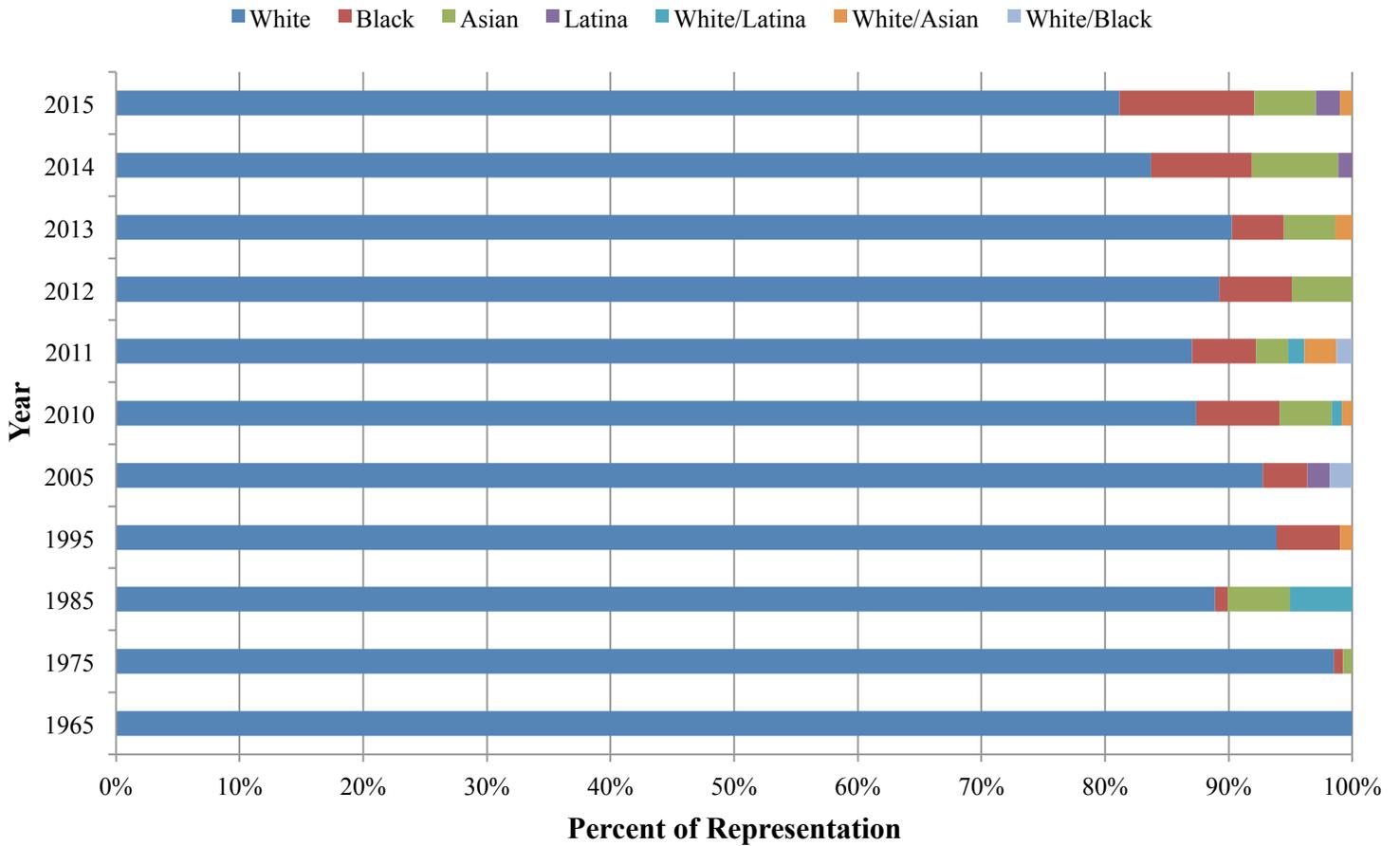
	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
White	144	131	88	92	51	104	67	91	65	72	82
Black		1	1	5	2	8	4	6	3	7	11
Asian		1	5			5	2	5	3	6	5
Latina					1					1	2
White/Latina			5			1	1				
White/Asian				1		1	2		1		1
White/Black					1		1				

Appendix D

September *Vogue* Body Type Frequencies 1965-2015

Thin Ultra-thin Average Fuller than Average Full-figured Overweight
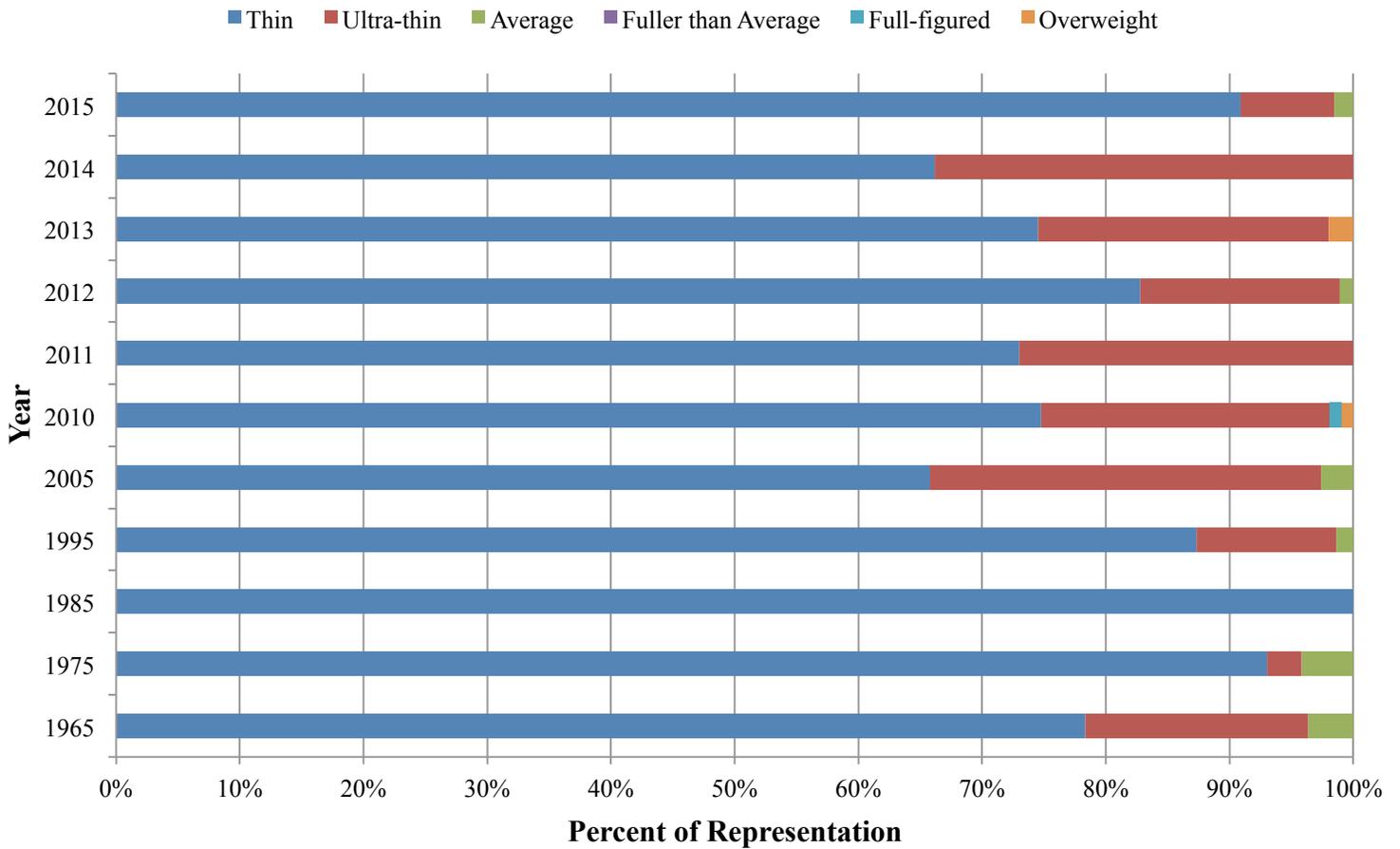
	1965	1975	1985	1995	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Thin	65	67	50	62	25	77	46	77	38	45	60
Ultra-thin	15	2		8	12	24	17	15	12	23	5
Average	3	3		1	1			1			1
Fuller than Average											
Full-figured						1					
Overweight						1			1		

Appendix E

September *Vogue* Cover Girls 1965-2015
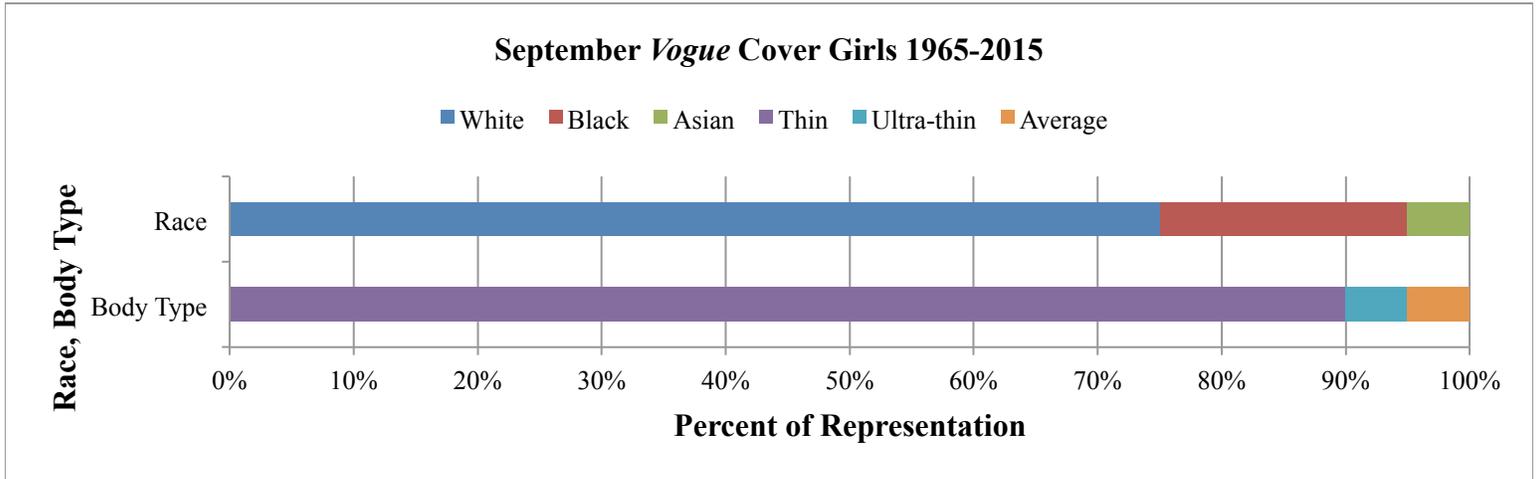
Appendix F
(September 1985, pg. 11)

PHOTO DANIEL DE AZOULAY HAIR CAMI

Lillie Rubin

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PHOENIX   SCOTTSDALE   TUCSON   ST LOUIS   SAN MATEO   SAN DIEGO   WOODLAND HILLS   PALM DESERT   CORTE MADERA   SHERMAN OAKS   DEL AMO   SOUTH COAST PLAZA   LA JOLLA

Appendix G
(September 1995, pg. 104o-1-1 – 104u-1-2)

Appendix H
(September 2005, pg. 10-17)

Appendix I
(September 2005, pg. 114-115)

Appendix J
(September 2010, pg. 12-13)

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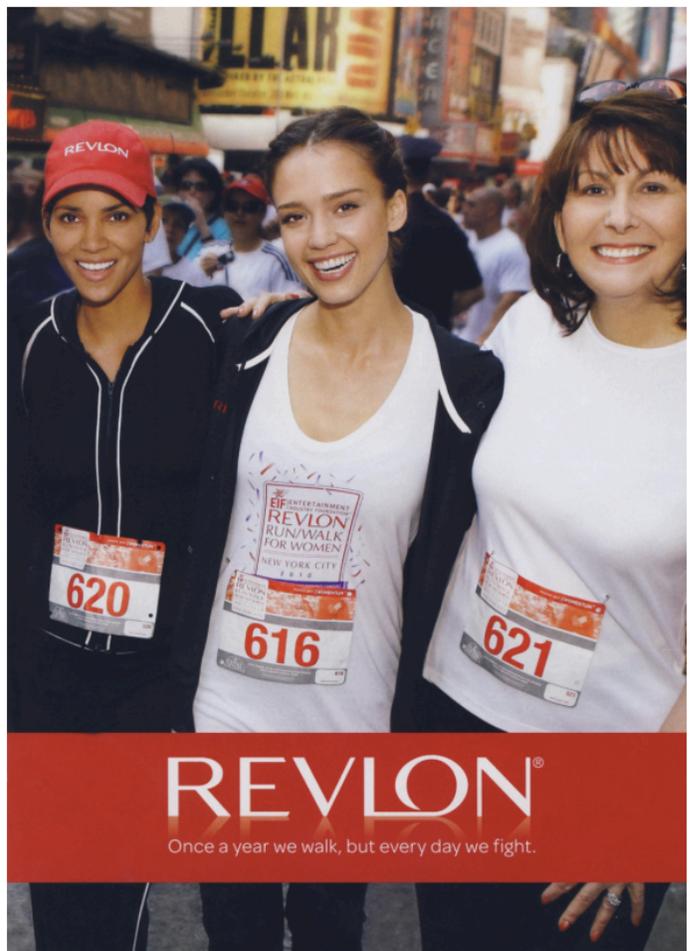
Appendix K
(September 2010, pg. 48-49)

Appendix L
(September 2012, Cover)

VOGUE

SEP

916
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Appendix M
(September 2012, pg. 84-85)

Appendix N
(September 2012, pg. 127-130)

Appendix O
(September 2013, pg. 94-97)

Appendix P
(September 2014, pg. 18-19)
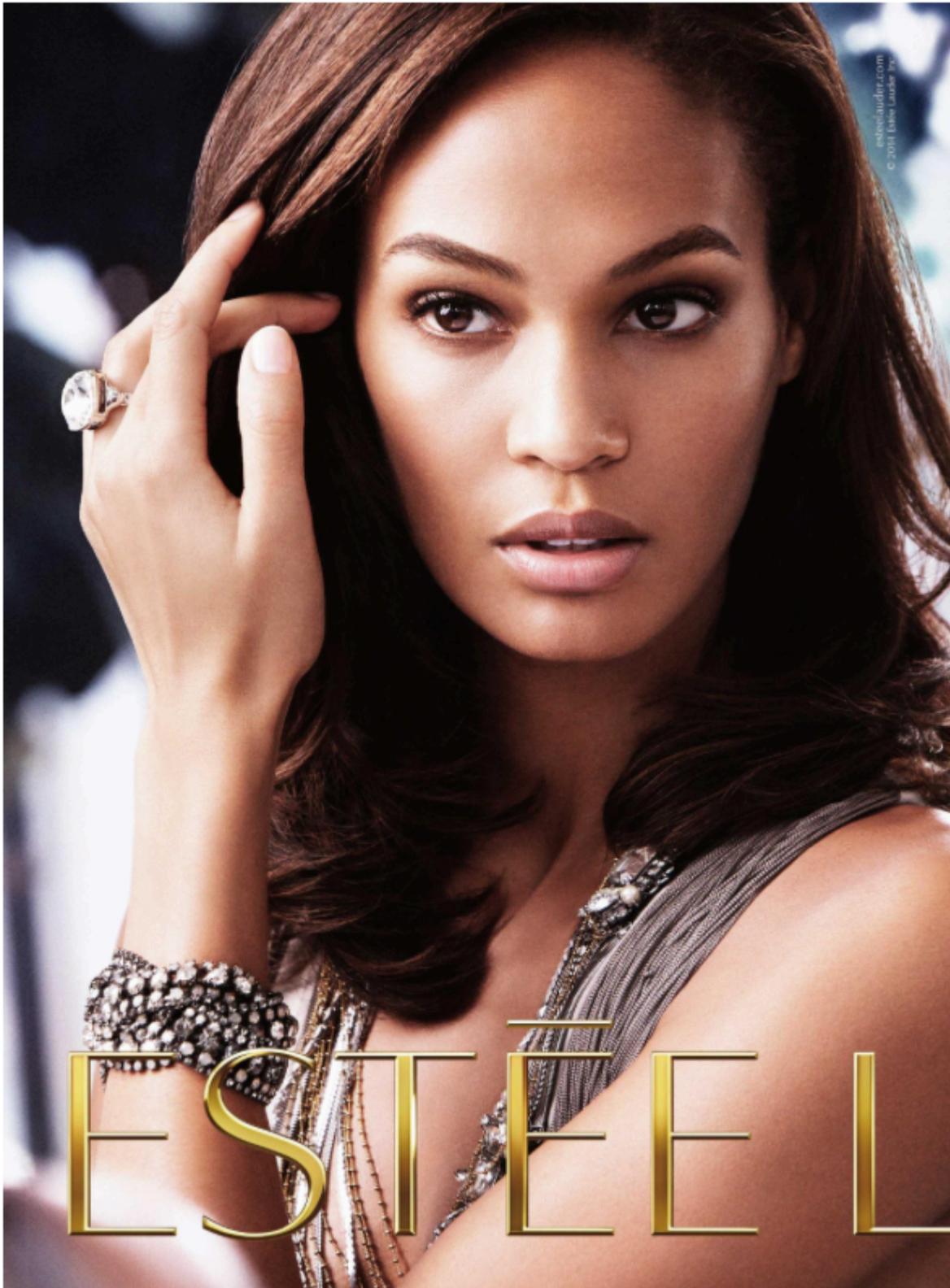
Appendix Q
(September 2014, pg. 34-35)

Appendix R
(September 2014, pg. 60-61)

Appendix S
(September 2015, pg. 50-53)

Appendix T
(September 2015, pg. 70-73)