

UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the master thesis

Exoticism and Non-White Fashion Models – A Thematic Approach

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / academic degree aspired

Master (MA)

Wien, 2011

Studienkennzahl :

A 067 805

Studienrichtung::

Individuelles Masterstudium:
Global Studies – a European Perspective

Betreuer/Supervisor:

Ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Monika Seidl

I dedicate my Master's thesis to my parents,

康正山 陳月鶯

and my three sisters,

康美俐 康湘屏 康彥君

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to analyze how models of color on the fashion runway are dressed by synthesizing the concept of fashion with cultural hegemony. It is assumed in this paper that fashion, through its dominant leadership, produces a certain image of different cultures, namely non-Western cultures, and assimilates them into the same categories by promoting the exoticization of the Other. Exoticizing the Other is associated with the rise of Western culture; in turn, the proffered image of these non-Western cultures as opposite or inferior is a result of Western cultural hegemony.

Hence, the numbers of non-white models used on the runway in four Fashion Weeks –Paris, Milan, London and New York – will be examined by using a thematic approach in order to determine if the West exoticizes non-Western cultures by tending to use non-white models to fit certain themes.

Diese Masterarbeit untersucht auf der Grundlage der Analyse farbiger Models auf den Laufstegen, inwieweit heutige Mode mit kultureller Hegemonie verbunden ist.

Die Forschungshypothese geht davon aus, dass Mode durch ihre bedeutende Stellung in der Gesellschaft, ein bestimmtes Bild einer anderen, nicht westlichen Kultur darstellt, das zentral durch das westliche Stereotyp des Exotischen geprägt ist. Diese These wird auf dem Hintergrund des Prinzips und der Theorie der kultureller Hegemonie westlicher Kultur erläutert. Das inszenierte Bild dieser nicht westlichen Kulturen wird in diesem Kontext als andersartig und untergeordnet konstruiert.

Auf der Grundlage der thematischen Methode werden farbige Models der Fashion Weeks –Paris, Milan, London, and New York – analysiert, inwieweit diese westliche stereotypische Vorstellungen des Exotischen widerspiegeln, welche farbige Models in westlichen Deutungsmustern kategorisiert.

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Introduction

The challenge of this paper is not to talk about fashion, but to tear the concepts of fashion apart and put them in an academic way of speaking. It might be as difficult as to put John Galiano's crown on Edward Saïd's head or to clothe Antonio Gramsci with Alexander McQueen's refined *kimono*. But if the size fits, why not? Apparently, these two theorists are going to contribute their great works to this fashion-based paper and moreover, their theories are the most important ones that support the whole argument and ideas that how fashion is operated by the Western influences.

This paper will first start elucidating a brief history of the fashion phenomenon and fashion here refers to sartorial fashion. The history will be focused on one region – the West – but starting from the modern Europe period. The whole concept of the historical part is to link fashion as a creation of the West and how the transformation and development of the Western society change the concept of fashion which it used to function as a means of class distinctions but later became its opposite – a means to erase the class boundaries. The process of the transit accompanied with the two major developments in the West, that of the economic growth and the expansion of cities. These two factors play essential roles in transforming the concept of fashion into a more democratic scale, because on the one hand the economic growth resulted in the emergence of the bourgeoisie who became more capable to concern their appearances and to pursue, or imitate, the nobility's taste; on the other hand, in the cities, a self-image could be re-established regardless of one's class belongings which will be explained in a more detailed sense in the first chapter. While fashion was achieving a more democratic scale, its unique characteristics were invisibly determined. Thanks to the imitation of higher classes from the lower ones, in order to distinct the class differences, the higher classes needed to create a new sense of taste and the situation started rotating; hence, fashion was

labeled by two notions – change and imitation.

After the introduction of the fashion history, this paper will go deeper on the notion of imitation. Imitating the taste of aristocrats is in way of accepting their lifestyle and this acceptance is based on one's will; but if the situation is happening in one society that a certain way of living is influencing the mass and drawing the mass to follow, it is a practice of cultural hegemony. Thus, this paper is using this concept to explain how the Western fashion influenced the non-Western countries in the form of cultural hegemony. Simply put, cultural hegemony is all about the relationship between the dominant and the dominated and how the dominant produces a certain way of social life which is applied by the dominated but without imposing any power and force; that said, in the field of fashion, the West processes the leadership and the non-West is given a certain directions of fashion products or ideas to follow and the whole practice is based on an invisible agreement between them. Furthermore, the paper will go in depth that how the West uses its dominant position in the field of fashion to translate non-Western fashion as a contrast of it which brings about the concept of exoticism, meaning, to put non-Western culture into certain images. And these certain images will be illustrated in a more practical and detailed sense through investigating the four fashion weeks in Paris, Milan, London and New York. The purpose of the case study is to assist in answering the main research question of this paper that how fashion produces exoticism in a form of cultural hegemony.

Clothing as the Embodiment of Fashion

Unraveling the mystery of the term fashion by connecting it to the history of dress, as most fashion historians attempt to do, no longer represents a novel to approach. However, fashion, very arguably, for some scholars, is always linked to clothing production while for some others is not. As Joanne Finkelstein suggests,

considering fashion only with regard to clothing would be misleading,¹ because undoubtedly, fashion is not necessary only in relation to material goods; this means, the pursuit of an idea or a certain behavior can also be implied as fashion. Likewise, clothing itself does not convert directly into fashion; rather, the meaning of clothing is given and constructed, but one thing that is sure is that clothing has a very intimate relationship with fashion since most fashion authors start talking about fashion by making explicit reference to clothing. Therefore, it is taken for granted that clothing is one of the means to practice fashion. By the same token, this chapter is going to use the term fashion by linking it directly to clothing; moreover, the focus is to illustrate how the Western clothing system, from the historical point of view, interprets the fashion system.

Most fashion authors who address fashion do so in reference to Western culture and in so doing further perpetuate the idea that the Western fashion system is a role model for the rest of the world to follow. For example, Jennifer Craik is of the opinion that:

*histories of fashion and records of Western clothing systems are usually centered around high fashion (haute couture or elite designer fashion) which become designated retrospectively as the norm of fashions of the moment.*²

To support the argument that Western fashion has a preponderant position on the study of fashion, the notions of civilization and modernity are often linked to the creation of fashion; further that, these two notions are also connected to a positive result of economic development first found in the Western societies, as Mary Roach-Higgins suggests, a fashion system only exists under

¹ Joanne Finkelstein, *After A Fashion*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996: 6.

² Preface to Jennifer Craik, *Face of Fashion*, Routledge, London and New York, 1994: i.

Even though Craik is arguing in her book that fashion is not equated with modern European high fashion, she does not evade the idea that high fashion may dominate popular consciousness about fashion and let other fashion systems interact and compete with it (Craik, *Face of Fashion*: ii.).

the circumstances that visible and short-term changes in clothes can be found; this happens only when human beings produce a surplus in economic resources and have the ability to make choices in dress beyond the minimum demands for physical survival.³

For this, the origin of fashion, namely the general recognized idea of fashion,⁴ should be introduced for the purpose of defining fashion as more specifically a Western creation. Following, the ethnocentric underpinnings will be examined in order to prove that the West has their idea of cultural privilege influenced by the Enlightenment period which is broadly accepted as the flowering of modernity and civilization.

The Origin of the Fashion Phenomenon

With the end of the devastation and pillaging of barbarism, Western Europe became amenable to a flourishing – the flourishing of civilization – which, to use Gilles Lipovetsky's term, was not found elsewhere in the world.⁵ As for the civilization, Norbert Elias points out the process in Europe

*was concluded at exactly the time when the consciousness of civilization, the consciousness of the superiority of their own behavior and its embodiments in science, technology or art began to spread over whole nations of the West.*⁶

³ Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, 'Awareness: A Requisite to Fashion' in Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins, Joanne Bubolz Eicher and Kim K. P. Johnson (eds.), *Dress and Identity*, Fairchild Publications, New York, 1995.

⁴ Bell Quentin, *On Human Finery*, Allison and Busby, London, 1992 [1946]: 61.

Even though Bell Quentin suggests that fashion might have taken place in the ancient Egyptian, Sumerian, Hellenic, Chinese or Byzantine civilizations, yet they were seen as a temporary phase in the history of fashion because they did not have sharp changes in clothing compare to most fashion historians generally recognize that the 14th century as a point in time when fashion have begun. And this short time fashion is what Bell coins the term *micro-fashions*.

⁵ Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1994 [1987]: 38.

⁶ Norbert Elias, 'On the Sociogenesis of the Concepts of "Civilization" and "Culture"', in Norbert Elias, Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom and Stephen Mennell (eds.), *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, trans.

Starting in the 11th century, the beginning of continuous economic growth promoted the vast land clearings and agricultural and technological revolutions that resulted in the expansion of cities in Western Europe; further, the progress of material civilization and the decline of monarchic power brought about the revenues of the aristocracy and an advance of a patrician living standard.⁷ However, the civilizing process in Europe was not a comprehensive project at the beginning but was only practiced by certain groups of people, namely the nobility, who started appropriating refined objects embedding the meaning of culture – cultural goods – in order to display their wealth and distinguish themselves from the others below them. Cultural goods, to give a more general idea, are not necessarily related to material objects but the manner of using cultural practices that can simply be such as receiving education, going to museums or concerts, or reading newspapers; yet, beyond this manner exists an imponderable meaning which distinguishes the different modes of cultural acquisition. As Pierre Bourdieu argues, the production of cultural products is neither simply the effect imposed on consumption, nor a conscious effort to meet consumers' needs; rather, it is a direct result leading to a homologous relationship between production and consumption. To be more precise, there is an objective orchestration existing “in the specialized field in which products are developed and in fields [of social classes] in which tastes are determined”.⁸ The producers of cultural productions are in competitive struggles of constant changing cultural products (the changing taste is a very important characteristic of fashion which will be explained later) in order to meet the demand used to express an oppugnant relation between different classes, or to differentiate away classes. Simply put, the products that only please

Edmund Jephcott, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, rev. ed. 2000 [1939]: 43.

⁷ Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*: 38.

⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge and Massachusetts, 1984 [1979]: 230.

the low class are considered vulgar, while others that can only be appreciated by sophisticated tastes are noble.⁹ In this case, sartorial fashion can be an appropriate symbol to interpret cultural goods because it was one of the sites of frequent struggles for status and it leads directly to the sense of taste which, according to Bourdieu, is determined and displayed by the field of social classes.¹⁰

However, clothing itself does not bear any meanings, only if it is given a value to depict one's social position; neither does the production of cultural goods which can only be defined through the consumption of them based on the legitimate social conditions. In other words, the pursuit of distinction in societies was through the consumption of cultural products that required different economic and cultural appropriations (taste). Thus, the representation of fashion through clothing possesses the function of distinction, which Bourdieu also suggests is a perfect case to elucidate because fashion results from an orchestration in the field of production that is organized in the logic of the opposition: old / new, expensive / cheap or rear guard / avant-garde.¹¹

Fashion, which first appeared in a hierarchical circumstance, was given a value as a system of social pressure and regulation during the Middle Ages in Europe where a strict distinction between the powerful and the weak in the field of fashion was found. At that moment, there were sumptuary laws released in order to, on the one hand, protect national industries and prevent the waste of precious metal and stones;¹² and, on the other hand, to prohibit people in the lower social ranks from dressing as those

⁹ Ibid: 226-228.

¹⁰ Ibid.: 1-3.

¹¹ Ibid.: 232-233.

Here it should be mentioned that Bourdieu's theory of distinction is not completely applied because he also specifies the distinction between class fractions who altogether occupy a dominant position in the field of fashion, but this might not be useful if the paper is going to focus on how Western fashion system as whole influence the rest of the world.

¹² Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*: 30.

above them.¹³ To be more precise on the latter, those who were located in the higher ranks had their own creation of fashion which differentiated them from the common people. Certainly, the sumptuary law was not the only difficulty for those who were from the lower classes to pursue what the nobility was wearing, but also the given value of the clothes that the production and the affordability for each class was determined; this is to say, the people from the lower ranks were not the target consumers of the production for the nobility. Consequently, during that time, according to the clothes that were worn, the wearer's position in the society was defined; this is also why Spencer explains fashion primitively as social control, because it manifested the relationship between superiors and inferiors.¹⁴

Later on in the late Middle Ages, expansion of cities resulted in the further development of Western economies because it opened the gate for greater financial fortunes to come – including the emergence of trade fairs, distant trading outposts and commercial exchanges – and it directly resulted in the increase of an upper bourgeoisie that started to be able to imitate the manners and taste of the nobility and this is, according to Lipovetsky, how fashion gained its foothold.¹⁵

More importantly, when the taste of the nobility began to be copied, this provoked greater instances of international exchange, the urban renaissance and new dynamism in the craft industries.¹⁶ In the late Middle Ages, clothes-making was nourished by the textile industries and international commercial traffic. To be more precise, due to increased access to textile materials worldwide, the weavers and dyers throughout Europe were able to produce luxury fabrics through fairs and sea trade; furthermore, a high degree of intensive specialization in trades and a division of labor was seen

¹³ Yuniya Kawamura, *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies*, Berg, Oxford and New York, 2005: 24.

¹⁴ Spencer Herbert, Introduction to *The Principles of Sociology*, by Jonathan H. Turner, Transaction Publishers, New Jersey, 2003 [1898]: xli – xliii.

¹⁵ Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*: 38.

¹⁶ Ibid.: 39.

to succeed in giving an exact aristocratic ideal of refinement and elegance.¹⁷ In this case, on the basis of separation of tasks, fashion was fostered into a very high quality art with sophisticated production and refined details; such as buttons, laces and so on. But the affordability of those fine clothes was only limited to people in a high social position. As Fernand Braudel suggests, material civilization before the 19th century was only confined to the privileged arena – what he called the *rich zone*.¹⁸ Consequently, the birth of fashion is always viewed as a direct result of economic expansion and the first growth of upper bourgeoisie, which is regarded as witness to an enhancement in the lust for social development and an acceleration of mimetic contagion.¹⁹

Generally speaking, before a more advanced economic situation emerged, fashion was only presented by the highest-ranking members of aristocracy in the princely courts which were seen as the fertile ground of fashion and an arena in which to display wealth. But since the upper bourgeoisie had gained a certain economic power in the society, they started to seek distinctions between classes lower than them. In this case, they wished to imitate the upward cultural practices, and of course here this means fashion, as a means to show their social strata. In the same way, the nobility needed to look for newer modes of fashion so as to maintain the social distance from the upper bourgeoisie; namely, once their idea of fashion was overtaken, they were forced to innovate and to change their appearances with the purpose of differentiating themselves from the others. Owing to this social transformation, fashion, at this time, gained its mutability through the practice of distinction and imitation.²⁰

However, fashion's trickle-down effect was not limited only between the nobles and the upper bourgeoisie, but it continued to

¹⁷ Ibid.: 39-40.

¹⁸ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th to 18th Century: The Structure of Everyday Life*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1992: 23-24.

¹⁹ Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*: 41.

²⁰ Ibid.: 41. And Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2003 [1985]: 24-25.

the lower classes with the transformation of economic and social dynamics. And the trickle-down effect should be phrased through Georg Simmel's idea in *Fashion* in 1904 that a new fashion first emerges in the upper class and then is adopted by the lower ones through the class pyramid;²¹ this spread with a downwards trend leads to the desire for people from the lower classes to resemble the rich. This trickle-down effect started being witnessed in society as a more general phenomenon during the period of industrialization when the world began to be dominated by the machine which transformed the making of clothing (mass production), the city life and the rapid communication.

Fashion Erases Class Distinctions

The Industrial Revolution played a very crucial role in the field of fashion due to the sustained growth in average income and population which in turn resulted in the outpouring of the bourgeois who were provoked into desiring for social advancement that resulted in the acceleration of the imitative contagion of noble lifestyles.²² Furthermore, as mentioned before, industrialization also changed the mode of production, created a new city characteristic and more advanced communication means that indeed led fashion into an undeniably new phase.

When assembly lines rather than manual human labor dominated the production process, the quantity was restively higher than the Middle Ages' standard. So too with clothing: when small details were no longer dependent on hand-stitching, in tailoring or in decorating, the accessibility of fashion was

²¹ Georg Simmel, 'Fashion', *International Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 1, Oct. 1904: 130-133.

This trickle-down effect cannot be applied to the field of fashion completely, because, for example, Mylene Mizrahi argues that the presentation of jeans is not originally from the noble class but was introduced through a upwards direction to the upper class. (Mylene Mizrahi, 'Brazilian Jeans: Materiality, Body and Seduction at A Rio de Janeiro's Funk Ball', in Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward (eds.), *Global Denim*, Berg, New York and Oxford, 2011: 120-122.)

²² Lipovetsky, *Empire of Fashion*: 41.

expanded. Therefore, as fashion was becoming more generally widespread and the scale of city centers were growing the lust for fashion was brought forth even more because, according to Elizabeth Wilson, cities in the industrialized era were very different from the cities of the Renaissance. In the new cities, one's origin could be hidden or one could find a new identity, on the one hand; personal qualities were more important than one's rank or wealth, on the other.²³ This is to say, through the demonstration of fashion (usually through the imitation of noble taste), one's real class and identity could be confused. However, access to fashion and the possibility to create a new identity were not enough; the most important part was how one could get the ideas or images of fashion. Thus, with the new forms of rapid communication, including transportation, media and printed media, the nobility's fashion styles were easier to obtain more quickly and reliably.²⁴ With all these developments, Lipovetsky addresses this period as the first time in Europe that class barriers, estates and conditions were crossed as nowhere else.²⁵ Not only could the economic and material factors be used on to explain the theory of fashion. So too could social logic – social recognition – which truly was pushed forward by increasing economic power. Nevertheless the most essential factors were the desire and tendency to imitate the nobility.

So to speak, the emergence of industrialism had a very different impact in society because it generated a less hierarchical society; namely, it generated a more elastic wealth and ranks which made it possible for people to cross class boundaries to achieve the lifestyles of those above them.²⁶ This development imports an idea of promoting a more egalitarian society where class boundaries are erased. Thus, according to Yuniya Kawamura, fashion yields a certain degree of mobility and fluidity that

²³ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*: 26.

²⁴ Ibid.: 27.

²⁵ Lipovetsky, *Empire of Fashion*: 41.

²⁶ Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*: 24.

stimulate social mobility.²⁷ And the mobility and the fluidity mentioned above originate in the basic characteristic of fashion – imitation.²⁸ Through imitating or allowing the imitation of the elite fashion, the distinction of wealth and power between superiority and inferiority becomes blurry and therefore leads to a more democratic society.²⁹ Hence, in Simmel's view, fashion is a form of imitation and social equalization which speeds up the increase of wealth because, as mentioned already, when the mass imitates the fashion which is initiated by the elites in order to obliterate the external distinctions of class, the elites forsake it for a newer mode and the situation rotates. In this case, to place fashion in the industrial period when fashion is no longer for the rich and instead mass-production fashionable styled clothes are made, through the variation of fashion products, people can freely choose whatever they wish according to their preferences to put on. As a result, the lower class wants to resemble the noble in style and the upper class has to create new ideas to keep their social status; fashion itself thus becomes a means of self-enhancement and self-expression for the majority.³⁰ This idea is also essential to fashion in the modern world – modern individualism.

Fashion in the Sense of Modernity

For Louis Dumont, individualism indicates the characteristic of democratic equality and a new type of social mores and interpersonal relations that have no equivalent in the past.³¹

²⁷ Ibid: 19-28.

²⁸ Georg Simmel, *Fashion*: 130-155.

²⁹ Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*: 24. See also Gabriel de Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, H. Holt and Company, New York, 1904: 303-309; Simmel, *Fashion*: 137-141, and René König, *The Restless Image: A Sociology of Fashion*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1973: 117-120.

Even though for Spencer, fashion has never tended towards to equalization because even though people from lower strata have the access to cross the boundaries to emulate the living style of upper class, but the elites still tend to make subtle differences to distinguish themselves from the others.

³⁰ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*: 12.

³¹ Louis Dumont, 'Essays on Individualism: Modern Ideology' in

Certainly, fashion interprets individualism very well because, if compared to the Middle Ages, fashion was only presented and accessed by a certain group of people; but later on, as most of the Western cities were leading to a more equal society, class distinctions were not as conspicuous as they once were. More advanced, unlike Marx and Émile Durkheim, who tend to analyze individualism by its inward, spiritual and self-isolating aspects, Burckhardt's conceptualization of modern individualism is more related to self-interest, self-discovery, self-fulfillment and the search for fame and recognition.³² He sums up four facets of modern individualism: firstly, *the recognition of the individual*, which to be more precise, is to recognize oneself as such and define self-interest apart from hierarchical collectivities; this is indeed a new identity of individual that through the adaptation of fashion, one's origin can be hidden. Secondly, the *perfecting of the individual*, in Burckhardt's defense, this concept is not only limited to achieving excellence of the sense in personality, but also in the physical and artistic spheres. Hence, since following the noble taste and lifestyle is to advance one's recognition in society, it is, to some degree, a way of exercising it. Thirdly, *the discovery of the man*, it involves the growth of self-consciousness and self-awareness through descriptions of individuals' outward appearances and inner characters in literature and art. Burckhardt uses the writing of autobiographies as an example. Since the rigid formulas of hagiography were broken away, the focus is more on one's unique and idiosyncratic characteristics through analyzing oneself. Similarly, in the fashion field, the decline of class boundaries also stimulates one to adapting fashion as a means of gaining social recognition. Lastly but not least, the *cult of celebrity* (*der moderne Ruhm*) that explains a social phenomenon – the desire for novelty that awakens the striving for fame; in other words, when the upper class abandons what has been copied by the lower ones, they

Anthropological Perspective, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1992 [1986]: 76-78.

³² Ibid.: 52-54.

innovate. So the celebrity creates new tastes and offers innovations continuously. Meanwhile the lower classes also keep pursuing their sensations – this is an endless circle.³³ However, one can still argue that modern individualism only ostensibly shepherds the society into a democratic condition; because although one has more freedom to cross class borders through fashion, the mass is still living under the influence of the upper class: what they wear is fashion; what they abandon is out-of-fashion.

By and large, fashion leaves individuals with relative autonomy with regard to appearance. To use fashion as an instrument for inscribing individual freedom is to achieve one's personal uniqueness and recognition. However, there is no need to mention that the principle of individualism is based on personal choices without being disturbed by external forces. If fashion itself is a matter of aesthetic, then how can one achieve fashion and be recognized as fashionable? The key point is through imitation. In Simmel's words, "imitation is a given example by which fashion satisfies the demand for social adaptation". Fashion also furnishes a general condition through which every individual's behavior is understood as a mere example; at the same time, it modifies the tendency towards dissimilarity and the desire of change, a constant change for content.³⁴

Nevertheless, to link fashion to modernity or civilization by elucidating upon its functions as to erase class distinctions (as a means to achieve democratic societies) and to provoke individualism is not enough. Fashion articulates another important concept – novelty.³⁵ As Wilson points out, fashion is the expression of a thirst for change and a longing for the tradition and stability devastated by the enthusiasm for the shock of the

³³ Roberta Garner, 'Jacob Burckhardt as a Theorist of Modernity: Reading The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy', *Sociological Theory*, vol.8, no. 1, Spring 1990: 49-50.

³⁴ Simmel, *Fashion*: 133.

³⁵ Christopher Breward and Caroline Evans (eds.), *Fashion and Modernity*, Berg, Oxford and London, 2005: 9-10.

new.³⁶ Likewise, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese puts it that Western fashion revolves around the concept of *newness* – or *nowness*³⁷ – and Tarde proposes that fashion is dominated by the charm of novelty which stimulates people’s desire to look more like contemporary innovators instead of like their ancestors.³⁸ And the innovation comes from, as mentioned before, the elite circle. From the psychological basis, fashion is the desire to create a positive self-image,³⁹ and this image is achieved, also discussed earlier, through the practice of imitating; but there is one element which, in the theory of fashion, is very contradictory to imitation – individual differentiation.⁴⁰ Once the mass follows the so-called high fashion style in order to look different, the nobility must create or look for newer fashion or style; in this case, one produces and one follows and one reproduces, repeating this routine. So to speak, the reason that fashion draws a host of followers is because its novelty and mutability provoke one’s ardent desire for anything new. This is why René König refers to fashion followers as *neophilia*, in that the enthusiasm for new things is a fashion-oriented behavior.⁴¹ In the same manner, Roland Barthes also correlates fashion to the concept of newness from consumption’s point of view that fashion is a phenomenon of *neomania* and has a clear-cut anthropological function which “derives from the ambiguity: synchronously unpredictable, systematic, regular and unknown and the new is defined by a purchased value”.⁴²

Thus, the renewal form of fashion becomes a social, or purchased, value with which people try keep up because it is new and they attempt to adopt the latest change constantly; Lipovetsky

³⁶ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*: 10-11.

³⁷ Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, ‘Yves Saint Laurent’s Peasant Revolution’, *Marxist Perspective I*, vol. 1, no. 2, summer, 1978: 58-93.

³⁸ Tarde, *The Law of Imitation*: 236.

³⁹ Kawamura, *Fashion-ology*: 27.

⁴⁰ Simmel, *Fashion*: 133.

⁴¹ René König, *The Restless Image*: 75-77.

⁴² Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Watt and Richard Howard, University of California Press, London, 1983 [1967]: 298-300.

interprets this life cycle of fashion as an ephemeral phenomenon. This is to say, as long as a new type of style is introduced, the old ones would be abandoned and at the same time lose the function of fashion. Consequently, fashion is always associated with the concept of contemporary, modern and novel; moreover, pursuing fashion is also recognized as an action of changing the old orders or tradition and of progressing. But this action does not necessarily seek to create a sense of rivalry with the past; for example, Vivienne Westwood, John Galiano and Alexander McQueen employed recycled garments to rehash contemporary fashion.⁴³ Regardless of newly created fashions or retro fashions, the principles of fashion – novelty and mutability – fully explain the need for wanting whatever is different from the past and, therefore, the activity of aspiring after fashion remains endless because there are always new concepts imported into the society that satisfy every individual looking for their uniqueness and identities which are socially accepted.

Fashion in a Hegemonic Sense

This chapter begins by continuing with the last two words of the last chapter: “socially accepted”. What does socially accepted mean? On the face of it, the definition can be understood as an invisible agreement made in public or in a society that most people do not oppose or feel antagonistic toward. Accordingly, it can be something authorized by power, such as regulations or orders, otherwise something taught with intentions, for example, morality

⁴³ Caroline Evans, ‘Yesterday’s Emblems and Tomorrow’s Commodities: The Return of the Repressed in Fashion Imagery Today’ in Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (eds.), *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000: 99.

Vivienne Westwood recycled the ideas during the 16th to 18th centuries and combined them into her late 20th century’s collections. John Galiano mixed the elements of the Belle Époque opulence with tribal imagery by evoking the seductive and vampish women at the beginning of 20th century. Alexander McQueen, who was famous for playing dark and cruel sexual elements in his collections, put the dark side of Victoriana into his designs.

or behaviors. Yet, since fashion is neither an enforced obligation nor a lesson from a story, how does it produce a value that is socially accepted? In this case, Colin McDowell suggests that “the Western high-fashion system is constituted by a group of fashion dictators; a mass of passive imitators and consumers”.⁴⁴ Also, Jennifer Craik points out that “the Western fashion system goes hand-in-hand with the exercise of power”.⁴⁵

From these two quotations, it is not difficult to reach the idea that in the field of fashion, there indeed exists a class in the leading position that determines the sense of taste and fashion. Obviously, it is the upper class which transfers the message of new fashion to the mass and draws a following. One of the strongest forces which leads people from lower classes to pursue the images of high fashion initiated by the elites is the longing for individualization⁴⁶ and this force generates what has been mentioned many times – imitation – or more precisely, *prestigious imitation*.⁴⁷ Prestigious imitation is when one

*imitates actions which have succeeded and which one has been successfully performed by people in whom one has confidence and who have authority over one.*⁴⁸

The performance of fashion by the dominant group is a successful action that draws imitation from the other classes and offers a socially valid standard of taste. Even though the fashion system

⁴⁴ Colin McDowell, *McDowell's Directory of Twentieth Century Fashion*, Frederick Muller, London, 1984: 9. For more on the “high-fashion system”, see Craik, *Face of Fashion*: 5-6.

Here are two points to explain, first of all, the term of fashion here is still, as before, only focused on sartorial fashion without including those in a larger perspective such as social custom and human activities. Secondly, high-fashion here represents the elite designer fashion represented by the upper class.

⁴⁵ Preface to Craik, *Face of Fashion*: x.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*: 32-33. And also Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*: 46-37.

⁴⁷ Marcel Mauss, ‘Techniques of the Body’, *Economy and Society*, vol. 2, no. 1, Feb. 1973: 73.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

still has, to some degree, the idea of hierarchy, it successfully overcomes the distance between the individual and one's society.⁴⁹ In the language of fashion theory, fashion trickles both up and down. Similarly, as Gabriel de Tarde observes, the mimesis of fashion diffuses essentially from the top down, from superior to inferior. In this sense, the role of fashion in the process of equalizing appearances is undeniable but only because it was accompanied by dual processes of progress: the economic ascension of the bourgeoisie and the growth of the modern state.⁵⁰ From this standpoint, fashion annotates the transgression of clothing as a hierarchical expression to an individual expression and conducts to a liberal society.

Consequently, the ability and the freedom to choose one's desired lifestyle is a basic concept of individualism and, through imitation, one can demonstrate it properly. Fashion consists of the imitation of a handful of superiors by a great deal of inferiors who long to destroy the borders between classes and offers access to a more open-class society where people hide their real strata by – through imitation – dressing themselves freely.

To make a preliminary conclusion, either to express oneself or to realize individualism by adopting fashion, imitation is one of – and indeed the most – fundamental way to achieve this. Imitation is widely accepted by the mass: since the modern period in Europe, elite fashion has become the most authoritative, if not the only, index of taste. In a few words, elite fashion belongs to and is dominated by the ruling group in the upper class in a society; this class has a good position economically and, simultaneously, through the exportation of fashion ideas, they gain their recognition for possessing good tastes which draw the admiration from the masses. Accordingly, it is not difficult to see that the fashion system functions in a hegemonic sense, yet it also indeed helps classes traverse themselves and gain a socially accepted

⁴⁹ David Frisby, *Simmel and Since: Essays on Georg Simmel's Social Theory*, Routledge, London and New York, 1992: 39-41.

⁵⁰ Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion*: 31.

identity.

However, how the fashion system is presented in a society cannot exclude a sense of domination by the upper class and the willing pursuance by the lower class; this evokes what Antonio Gramsci terms *cultural hegemony*: “the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group”.⁵¹

The Concept of Cultural Hegemony

Before talking about Gramsci’s idea of cultural hegemony, it is necessary to mention an important role – that of civil society – that recurs in his writings and his canon of intellectuals and national development. The development and exercise of civil society is involved with the concept, function, demise and power of the state. However, it is somehow regarded as possessing hostility towards the state because in civil society, there is also a leadership regulating the mass, but unlike the state which imposes authoritative laws on people through legal institutions, civil society does so through culture or ideology.

Gramsci developed his theory of civil society while capitalism was flourishing. He was of the opinion that the history of a nation cannot simply be a consequence of economic structure. In order to explain the complexity, it is necessary to research all the mental and practical activities,⁵² therefore Gramsci treats the concept of people in the development of the history of the state and thinks that if the civilization and moral standard of the masses want to cope with the progress requirements of the economic system, every individual must meet the demand for *collective man* (or man in mass) and receive education. In this instance, drawing consent and

⁵¹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from Prison Notebook of Antonio Gramsci*, Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (eds.), Lawrence & Wishard, London, 1971: 145.

⁵² Ibid.: 28-29.

cooperation between individuals is the key factor to transform the necessity and mandatory leadership (hegemony) into freedom.⁵³ For Gramsci, civil society is a core of hegemony, in which none of the activities are implicated either as sanctions or obligations. Moreover, the state deals with civil society in a way influencing customs, thoughts, morals and actions to achieve an objective.

As a matter of fact, Gramsci is not opposed to the state having the function of class power. The state is a form of hegemony draped by armor with forces. Gramsci endows the political function of the state with a superficial discourse that says if the state only operates its political-legitimizing functions, it can only keep the public order and ensure its people abide by the law. Rather, Gramsci is under the impression that the development of history should belong to every individual force, especially to civil society which is deemed to be the main force that constitutes the state.

In short, civil society emerged to contend with the state's coercive power imposed on people. In a state, there is law and there are people; in a civil society, there are structures and superstructures, namely these who are dominant and these who are dominated without compelling forces.

Cultural Hegemony as a Perspective of Historical Complexity

Gramsci develops his concept of the leadership with reference to class and social forces. A leading class is the class which is built by the union through political and ideological struggle and social forces from other classes; this leadership of union is to meet the consent of those who are led.⁵⁴ In short, for Gramsci, the concept of leadership needs to satisfy the following condition: that other classes agree to accept the thoughts and ideologies given by the leading class.

⁵³ Ibid: 502

⁵⁴ Mao Yun, *Gramsci: A Politician, A Prisoner and A Theorist*, Qiushi Press, Beijing, 1987: 67-68.

Therefore, he states that:

*the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership' ... are characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent.*⁵⁵

To understand this, there are two basic notions to follow: one is the collective consciousness which explains the formation of hegemony; the other is the intellectual and spiritual reform stands at the base of cultural hegemony, namely, the transformation and foundation of culture in the civil society.⁵⁶ To put it in the field of fashion, only if the masses agree that pursuing upper-class fashion is a means to achieving one's individuality and gaining social recognition will it become a collective activity; otherwise, elite fashion will collapse. Moreover, as history illustrate, elite fashion used to be untouchable for the common people; those who owned fashion created the class distinction through it. In this case, because of the value achieved to it, it represents a symbol of the enhancement of social status.

According to Stuart Hall's review of Gramsci's work, cultural hegemony is not applicable only to classes, but also to complex 'collective wills';⁵⁷ to be more precise, belonging to a class is important, but if any class wants to make its power influential without the identification from those who would be influenced, cultural hegemony would not exist. So, the main ideal cultural hegemony is that every class needs to traverse itself and through the connection with diverse struggles and democracy; hence, the certain class can, on the one hand, change its own identity and, on the other, thanks to the interconnection which makes it possible, to create a compound link between base- and superstructure models.

⁵⁵ Gramsci, *Selections*: 57.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 329-330.

⁵⁷ Slavoj Žižek, *Mapping Ideology*, Verso, London and New York, 1994: 240.

Therefore, Gramsci builds his concept of cultural hegemony upon the domain of superstructure. But cultural hegemony is not merely an abstract notion and thought; rather, it is a philosophy of praxis based on humanity which accentuates the human nature of mobility, consciousness, creativity and affinity. Gramsci understands history as a complex and it is through various combinations of superstructures that he interprets it as a reflection of the sum of social relations of production. This leads to the conclusion that only the ideology that embraces everything is able to mirror rationally the fundamental contradiction and to make tumble the objectivity of praxis.⁵⁸

Gramsci regards historical complexity as a function which processes organic combinations of human and nature, spirit and material, rationality and economic foundation, ideology and production and ideology and structure. In those combinations, the former elements are seen as the superstructure and the latter ones as structure. In this regard, to understand the historical development of fashion is a very important key point to realize that fashion is a producer of cultural hegemony because it is first given a value, a symbol, a function of social-recognition by collective people and hence exerts mimetic effects upon human behavior towards it. Therefore, Gramsci recasts this interaction by saying that the superstructure resembles human subjects and the structure of the development of relations between subjects and objects; sometimes the behavior of subjects can also be represented as an objective phenomenon. Superstructure and structure are positioned in a dialectical relation where structure produces forces of constraints on superstructure, while superstructure yields an architectural capacity of structure. Consequently, these two entities depend on different dialectical modes through the development of history to display their influences and further to promote the progress of society and history.

⁵⁸ Gramsci, *Selections*: 52.

Morals and Knowledge as Means to Gain Hegemony

Gramsci defines human nature as a complex of social relations whose change influences the formation of human beings. He sees human nature from a macro perspective and claims that the unity of people is not a formal but a dialectical development; for this reason, human nature should be placed in the whole history of the human species.⁵⁹

Gramsci further extends the concept of human from politicians to individual consciousness and this will conduct human's daily activities. Concretely speaking, this consciousness is a representation of hegemony in terms of 'collective will' which proceeds from the individual to the mass, from the mass to the whole society and then to the political life of the state. This transit from the economic foundation to the superstructure is exercised through human society, not by nature. This means, the upper classes are located in the dominant position in the field of fashion is not only because of their economic status but is also passively pushed to that position by a public cognition. This is how Gramsci interprets that moral and intellectual leadership constitutes a higher overall concept – a collective will – through a combination of ideology, it produces an organic glue of historical bloc⁶⁰ – this glue is, what Gramsci calls, hegemony.

However, there is no need to repeat that cultural hegemony is based on the principle of consent which essentially elaborates its function as a guide instead of as domination. Gramsci believes that, in Western societies, through morals and knowledge winning the consent from different social classes is the one and only way to achieve cultural hegemony; under which it reveals a compliance with social hegemony and political management. First of all, to ensure that the mass can freely agree on the orientation of social

⁵⁹ Ibid: 355-57.

⁶⁰ Historical bloc is "an alternative interpretation of the relationship between the elements of the social structure: a dialectical one, stressing "the dialectical unity of base and superstructure." (Ibid: 424.)

life that the ruling class provides with the purpose of keeping the prestige and public reliance of the ruling group; second of all, to execute the mandatory function of national organizations and to legally endeavor after the consent of inactive groups. Thus, the presentation of cultural hegemony is by means of obtaining the consent from the mass – to broaden the scope of ideology which can be recognized, it is necessary to extend the conception of intellectuals; in doing so, it is expected to produce the same functions within the society and the state. The conception of extending intellectuals depends on the concept of the world and values that are constructed by morals and knowledge. Accomplishing all the steps mentioned before, a common cultural ideology thus can be produced. For Gramsci, this organic ideology embodies neither an absolute class system nor a closed view of the world; contrarily, it incorporates with all the integral parts to form a complete organism.

To sum up, Gramsci sees civil society, intellectuals, and cultural hegemony as one entity. In his words, civil society is cultural hegemony and the function of organic intellectuals is the representation of cultural hegemony; cultural hegemony is, in practice, an ideological leadership. To succeed in exercising of cultural hegemony, gaining the public consent is the first step through which the awareness of thinking of the mass can be enhanced. However, the cultural hegemony produced by fashion is not only limited to the Western societies, but it extends further afield to an international context. The next chapter is going to explain how the West places itself in a cultural privileged position by comparing it to non-Western countries and through demonstrating how its portrayal of the non-Western societies is interpreted as the practice of cultural hegemony.

Enlightenment and Modernity's Other

As Saïd describes, the Enlightenment was seen as the starting point of the rise of the West when, during this period, the Western power made its imperial metropolitan centers accumulate

territories and subjects extensively.⁶¹ Michael Dolyer describes imperialism in both a formal and an informal way: the formal meaning refers more to force, political collaboration or economic dependence; and the informal is only the process or the policy establishing a dominant concept.⁶² This paper will take the latter definition, because it suits the topic at hand more and besides, cultural domination has fewer political and economic elements involved. Thus the imperialism such as it is described here is more the “practice, the theory and the attitudes of the dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory”.⁶³

The Enlightenment, for George Ritzer, was a period of time with social and intellectual forces which manifested themselves in Western civilization and at the same time brought about the development of modernity;⁶⁴ of which Foucault explains it by citing Charles Baudelaire saying that it is “characterized in terms of consciousness of the discontinuity of time: a break with tradition, a feeling of novelty, of vertigo in the face of the passing moment.”⁶⁵ Speaking of a break with tradition and a feeling of novelty, it can be tallied with what Georg Simmel describes in the field of fashion

*the motive of foreignness, which fashion employs in its socializing endeavors, is restricted to higher civilization, because novelty, which foreign origin guarantees in extreme form is often regarded by primitive races as an evil.*⁶⁶

He adds that savage is deemed to be afraid of strange appearances and anything new, which he does not understand and is not

⁶¹ Edward W. Saïd, *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage, New York, 1993: 7-8.

⁶² Michael Doyle, *Empires*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1986: 45.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ George Ritzer, *Modern Sociological Theory*, 7th ed., McGraw-Hill Higher Education, New York, 2007: 9-11.

⁶⁵ Michael Drolet (ed.), *The Postmodernism Reader: Foundational Texts*, Routledge, London and New York, 2004: 46.

⁶⁶ Simmel, *Fashion*: 173.

capable to consign to a familiar category, will put his career in danger. Thus, he is of the idea that civilization is the way to transform this feeling into its opposite, which means, whatever is exceptional or apart from the traditional norm, the feeling of insecurity can be removed through the progress of civilization.⁶⁷

Cultural Imagination of the Other from the West

For a long time, the Enlightenment and modernity were intertwined with each other and the whole picture of the knowledge system of modernity was supported by the rationality of the Enlightenment. Rationality provides science a paramount stratum of intellectual grounding and is seen as a model of general truth and knowledge to worship. This attitude ascribes to the Enlightenment a unique meaning in Europe, as some scholars treat it as a byword for progress; thus, it stands to reason that European society represents a role model of progressive society and European man as the pinnacle of human achievement.⁶⁸ To this point, the knowledge concept of modernity, to some extent, displays the attitude of cultural superiority – Euro-Centrism or Western Centrism. Consequently, the discourse about the cultural superiority of the West derives from the Enlightenment.

To delve into the discourse of the West and the Rest is to clarify how it is produced and by these means to underscore the cultural limitation and illiberality of (Western) modernity by laying bare the aspect of the Other which is derived from Western Centrism and Western cultural hegemony. Subsequently, this will extend the notion of the West and the Other to talk about the universality and difference by using the theory of exoticism in order to go back to the center idea of fashion, an invention of the West, producing cultural hegemony.

⁶⁷ Ibid: 174.

⁶⁸ Stuart Hall et al. (eds.), *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1996: 187.

The Discourse of the West versus the Orient

As a general idea, the West is based on an understanding on the geographic scale; to this point, the West ordinarily meant Western Europe (even though which part belongs to Eastern Europe is always debatable). However, with the expansion of its meaning, the West is no longer only the Western part of Europe but it includes also North America and Australia, along with New Zealand. Hence, the following discussion of the West will be focused on the historical and cultural angle of understanding instead of the geographic one. This is to say, the West is associated with a certain form of society which is regarded as progressed, industrialized, urbanized and capitalized modern society. This kind of society can be understood in four main arguments: firstly, a category label to differentiate societies; secondly, a system of operating cultural representation; thirdly, a standard to understand and judge the differences; and lastly, an outcome of the ideology of hegemony.⁶⁹ Any society with the characteristics mentioned above can be understood as part of the West in a broad sense, and the West is deemed to be a synonym of modernity.

To state it again, modernity as a grand narrative within Europe constitutes a Western type of modern society; at the same time it generates a conceptual system of cultural representation with reference to the West. The reason to interpret it as a conceptual system of cultural representation, in compliance with Hall, is because the West does not exist as an individual concept if not compared to the Other. This means, if there is no non-West, or the Other, then the West would not carry any meaning. By the same token, there would be no elite fashion or Western fashion if there is no other alternative to which to contrast it. Thus the West and the Other are two cultural concepts that must accompany one another. When the corresponding relationship between the West and the Other is examined for any types of discussion, the

⁶⁹ Ibid: 186.

discourse of the West and the Other is constructed.⁷⁰

In this regard, how does the West represent the Other by way of discursive practices and thereby solidify itself? Moreover, what kinds of power implications are involved in the discourse on the West and the Other? Concerning these two questions, one can start by clarifying the relationship between knowledge and power and, further, to extrapolate the cultural criticism of the Other in Western-centric modernity.

To get involved in the analysis of the discourse towards the Other from the Western point of view and the cultural imagination, Saïd's *Orientalism* offers a most suitable reference. However, Saïd's concept of the West and the Orient can only offer a basic post-colonial analysis which draws the outline of constructing the discourse of the West and the Orient in a wider context. The meaning of a wider context is because of the narrowness of Saïd's idea of Orient, in which he puts most of the focus on the Arabic and Islamic world – what is nowadays so-called “Middle East”. So far as the Far East is concerned, for example, areas like India, Japan and China, or other parts of the world that are located in the west geographically but culturally, for central West, are considered as the third world – for example, Latin America – are not among Saïd's points of discussion in his book and those regions should be included in the concept of the Other in the following chapters.

Simply speaking, Orientalism exists in a special position where the European Western experiences and the perspective from the West towards the Orient are found; in addition, it also helps to define Europe's contrasting long tradition of image and self-identity.⁷¹ For Saïd, this long tradition contains at least three interdependent complexities: first of all, any academic institutions

⁷⁰ The discourse here needs a group of statements that provides a language for presenting a specific topic, and if the statements make the topic within a particular discourse, then this discourse can make it possible to construct the topic in a certain way and at the same time, it limits other possibilities to construct this topic.

⁷¹ Edward W. Saïd, *Orientalism*, Vintage, New York, 2003 [1979]: 1.

that are designated for Orientalism, which means anyone who teaches, writes or researches about the Orient – the most general term for those people appear to be Orientalists – and the name for what they do is Orientalism. Second of all, Orientalism represents a way of thinking which distinguishes the Occident and the Orient upon an ontological and epistemological basis. This kind of Orientalism presupposes a fundamental difference between the West and East which reflects the works, theories and policies of Western poets, novelists and administrators. Lastly, Orientalism is a cooperative institution for dealing with the Orient by stating the viewpoint about it, addressing the authoritative point of view of it, describing it, by teaching it, placing it and ruling it. In a few words, Orientalism is an expression of Western power dominating, reconstructing and imposing authority over the Orient.⁷² From the definitions mentioned above, it is clear to see that Saïd sees the West and East as passive recipients under natural geography and, further he sees these two notions are human constructs. More importantly, he proclaims that the West and East exist in a cultural imagination in which a series power network of binary systems can be found. In this power network, the East is, in comparison to the West, a weaker cultural entity; to put it more clearly, the East's "irrationality, depravation, immaturity and abnormality" are the best contrasting characteristics of the West's "rationality, virtue, maturity and normality".⁷³

Saïd also indicates that, in order to rationalize its relativity, the Occident must incessantly emphasize the Orient exists in a world where not only the geographic position and natural environment are different from them, but also has other essential differences such as ethnicity, cultures and knowledge. Even in the field of fashion, non-Western development is also seen as less advanced than the West: as Stella Newton suggests, fashion did exist somewhere else, such as in imperial courts of Japan and China in the form of colors, adornments or other details; the difference,

⁷² Ibid: 2-3.

⁷³ Ibid: 203-204.

though, is that fashion there remained relatively unchanged compared to the rapidly changing styles of Western Europe in the 14th century,⁷⁴ thus this fashion in relative smaller scale societies and of unchanged styles (seen as traditional dress) is generally unrecognized.⁷⁵ And this is also why many fashion historians associate fashion in a teleological account as a marker of civilization,⁷⁶ an outstanding mark of modern civilization⁷⁷ or a modern phenomenon.⁷⁸ Equally, fashion is also treated as an actor existing in the framework of modernity, as Jean Baudrillard emphasizes: in politics, in technology, in art, in culture, modernity defines itself by the rate of change tolerated by the system without really changing anything in the essential order. Modernity is the code and fashion is its emblem.⁷⁹

Hence, in Saïd's defense, the Orient is a total creation by Western power and any kinds of writings or statements about the East from the Occidental perspective basically preclude and replace the real existing Orient, whatever it may be. And this Western power possesses certain influences on the following three dimensions. First of all, for the real Orient, the West creates its history and gives it its reality; furthermore, the West makes the Orient exist for the West and defines what it should look like. Second, for most of the Orientalists, the establishment of an objective Orient from the subjectively Western perspective on the one hand fulfills its cultural superiority, and on the other hand strengthens its unchallengeable intellectual authority. Last but not least, for those uninitiated readers who have not been influenced

⁷⁴ Quoted in Ibid.: 29-30.

⁷⁵ Aubrey Cannon, 'The Cultural and Historical Contexts of Fashion' in Anne Bryden and Sandra Nissen (eds.), *Consuming Fashion: Adorning the Transnational Body*, Berg, Oxford and Newyork, 1998: 23-24. And also Craik, *Face of Fashion*: 18.

⁷⁶ Craik, *Face of Fashion*: 4.

⁷⁷ Herbert Blumer, 'Fashion: From Class Differentiation to Collective Selection', *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1969: 275-291.

⁷⁸ Jean Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, trans. Iain Hamilton Grant, Sage Publications, London et al., 1993 [1976]: 89-92.

⁷⁹ Ibid.: 90.

by Orientalism in the Western world, they would very likely be restricted to a world view embedded in West-Centrism and be taught and imbued an Orientalist codification; moreover, the readers would follow the Orientalists' imperious attitude and arbitrary judgment upon the Orient.⁸⁰ Thus, the relationship between knowledge and power is established. The West becomes a spokesman of the East; it reduces the complicated Oriental worlds with endless possibilities into a single, limited form and structure.

Exoticism as a Less Specific Concept of Othering

Even though the concepts of the West and East accompany one another, an unequal and nonreciprocal relation indeed exists between them. If modernity is a self-projection for the West on the cultural sphere, then it reflects not only a compliment on the convergence of its own internal development, but also a disparagement for the external differences (namely, non-Western objects). The West is using this principle to build a self-centered image in a higher position. Samuel Huntington stresses the fact in his book, *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of the World*, that for four hundred years, relations among different civilizations were featured by subordinating non-Western societies to Western civilizations. He further argues that the reason the West is located in the dominant place is due to organized violence rather than by its superior ideas or values.⁸¹ In this sense, to present modernity as a universal value is actually an outcome under the operation of Western cultural hegemony; moreover, it combines the concept of

⁸⁰ Ibid.: 65-67.

⁸¹ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of the World*, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1997: 51.

However, the "organized violence" is not very proper to be presented in this paper since the formation of cultural hegemony is not based on any imposition without willingness. Here it can be interpreted as a very influential power that even it is somehow violating the nature of an ideology or culture, as long as it is accepted by the majority, it is not necessary against the cultural hegemony per se.

knowledge and power discourses in order to praise the West and belittle the Other. This dialectical relation between power and knowledge is in essence the practice of cultural hegemony – that the West is positioned in the superstructure and the East merely in the structure.

But applying only the heuristic of Orientalism seems insufficient in explaining the whole picture of cultural domination that fashion produces. Orientalism, as mentioned before, has its limit interpreting the non-Western culture (mostly focused on the Arab world); further, Saïd also notes that the unbalanced power between the West and the Orient is exercised in the context of imperialism as Orientalism and, at the same time, the West is using this approach to come to terms with its identity as a contrast or opposition to the East.⁸² To paraphrase Ahmad, the Orient was and still finds its origins in a historical construction linked to colonialism.⁸³ Since cultural hegemony does not necessarily have to do with the notion of imperialism,⁸⁴ here is another theory, which is close to Orientalism, that signals a special form of othering – that of exoticism.

Having the same principle as Orientalism – by using Western power to dominate the other non-Western cultures – but to a wider range, namely not narrowing down to only oriental regions. Under the given meaning of exoticism, if imperialism is defined as the expansion of nationality, then it is the aestheticizing means by which the pain of that expansion is converted into spectacle, to culture in the service of empire.⁸⁵ As with Orientalism, exoticism also sustains a myth of Western superiority by elaborating the

⁸² Saïd, *Orientalism*: 200-02.

⁸³ Aijaz Ahmad, *In Theory: Classes, Nations and Literatures*, Verso, London and New York, 1994: 162-65.

⁸⁴ As Gramsci defines it as a concept under the consent of the structures, therefore, imperialism, in this sense, is more through force and imposed ways of thinking from the superstructure to structure.

⁸⁵ Jonathan Arac and Harriet Ritvo (eds.), *The Macropolitics of Nineteenth-Century Literature: Nationalism, Exoticism, Imperialism*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1995: 3.

imaginative creation of the Other or the Orient. But Orientalism is more based on a uni-directionality due to its geographical tie to the colonial concept of the Orient, while exoticism is more open-ended and reversible. Moreover, it is seen as a strategic interpretative tool for reading cultural interactions.⁸⁶ To put it this way, exoticism and cultural understanding have a very intimate interaction and the exotic “marks the culture’s limits but points to the endless spaces beyond its boundaries from which the culture is viewed by others”.⁸⁷

Tracing back the original Latin word *exoticus*, it means: foreign, alien, or Other. Regarding foreignness, it depends on both the reviewers and upon which observed objects the beholders consider different. It is a matter of an exercise of human imagination in a certain way. From Stephan Foster’s point of view, exoticism functions as a symbolic system which demonstrates the foreign, the cultural differences and the extraordinary, so that the phenomena to which exoticism applies make them comprehensible and predictable.⁸⁸ Furthermore, Bongie also argues that in one sense, exoticism works as a control mechanism of cultural translation which transmits the other inevitably back to the same.⁸⁹ To sum up these two ideas, exoticism is a system that assimilates different cultures and attributes and provides familiar meanings and associations to unfamiliar things; this is to say, Western power introduces non-Western cultures as a whole to a certain image of “beyond modernity or beyond the confines of civilization”.⁹⁰ For Westerners, the Orient, the Orientals – Arabs, Muslims, Indians, Chinese and all the non-Westerners – are symbols of

⁸⁶ Kateryan Olijnyk Longley, ‘Fabricating Otherness: Demidenko and Exoticism’ in Isabel Santaolalla (ed.) *“New” Exoticism: Changing Patterns in the Construction of Otherness*, Editions Rodopi B. V., Amsterdam, 2000: 23-24.

⁸⁷ Longley, ‘Fabricating Otherness’: 30.

⁸⁸ Stephan W. Forster, ‘The Exotic as A Symbolic System’, *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 1, Sep. 1982: 21-30.

⁸⁹ Chris Bongie, *Exotic Memories: Literature, Colonialism and the Fin de siècle*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1991.

⁹⁰ Ibid: 5.

backwardness that continuously model themselves on the West and are simplified as quasi-avatars of the West – the Otherness which exists only to learn a huge and superior thing – Western modernity.

Now, the concepts of fashion, cultural hegemony and exoticism are introduced, the connection among them should also be clear. The adoption of fashion itself, as it is agreed that fashion emerged firstly in the West, is already a practice of cultural hegemony, and the way the West understands the non-West is also in a hegemonic sense that it uses the arguments of modernity and civilization to prove that it is overall more advanced than the non-West; moreover, the intention to deny, or to exclude non-Western clothes having participated the development of fashion history by terming their clothing lacking fashion characteristics (change and individualism) is also a way to put itself on the leading position and at the same time to exoticize non-Western fashion. Consequently, on the international stage, Western fashion is positioned as those who were in the upper class and the followers are non-Western countries, or were the lower classes.

To sum up, cultural hegemony, a universal given image or idea of interpreting cultures transmitted from one side to the other, can be practiced within a state, from a region to some regions or even from one region to the rest of the world. The fashion system can interpret this very well because it, historically, was only dominated by a certain group of people. Through the development of history (the changing forms of societies, economic situations and individual freedoms) and the recognition of the civilizing process (the Enlightenment and modernity), the West gains not only the name of fashion capital, but processes the power to define the non-Western categories. Therefore, the practice of othering in the presentation of fashion clothes will be examined in the next chapter. To be more precise, the most dynamic fashion information center – the fashion week – is going to be investigated by analyzing the use of non-Western models through the thematic approach.

Dressing Non-White Models

One the strength of the unique historical characteristics that had accompanied its development – modernity and civilization – the West positioned itself as a more advanced society partly through the exoticization of the Other as a lesser society; as a result, many non-Western countries responded by attempting to follow the West's lead in order to break from the tradition or old order. The term exoticism does not necessarily imply negative connotations: as mentioned earlier, to exoticize something is simply to define it as foreign or different. That said, to differentiate necessarily requires comparisons to be made, and that leads to murkier territory. While it is true that comparisons do not demand the construction of a superior/inferior dichotomy, common experience would belie this. The West uses its ostensibly superior conditions to impose relative negative images on the non-West in most if not all fields, including fashion. But again, if exoticism is seen as one of the outcomes of cultural hegemony, a unilateral force would not work; instead, this force needs the support of the masses, or, put another way, of those who are introduced a certain direction of social life. Consequently, one cannot say the dominant position of Western fashion is purely through the exercise of power; rather, it has achieved its position thanks in no small part to the world's acknowledgement of its leadership role in trendsetting.

This chapter is going to, firstly, portray Western fashion as a 'world' or 'global' fashion that effectively replaces the traditional dress of daily life. It will, be necessity, elaborate on the replacement process: this procedure implies a reformative meaning because this adaptation is not merely a matter of, for instance, the working classes in Zambia suddenly picked up Prada's newest collections and putting them on; rather, it requires a broad-based demand for changes, for differentiation. Therefore, with the increasing number of people in non-Western countries putting on

Western garments, the languishment of national dress becomes its regrettable upshot; additionally, traditional clothes, to some extent, are put into some certain uses other than as daily clothes. After that, this paper proceeds with its central idea: how this global fashion represents its collections with non-Western models and how it highlights its unique characteristics by contrasting itself with non-Western cultures. Further, this paper examines whether the term exoticism has influences upon the use and the way they dress non-Western runway models. If so, one can say that the unique position of the West in world history, which rationally exoticised non-Western fashion by seeing it as something unrelated to fashion or, more boldly, not modernized, is still at play in contemporary times. If so, it is this privileged position that allows the West to stand firmly and resolutely in its role as fashion capital.

Reputing Western Fashion as Global Fashion

As already noted, non-Western cultures are rarely termed in reference to fashion because of, apart from their unchanged styles, the reflections of social hierarchies. In comparison with Western dress, non-Western dress projects group identity rather than individuality if fashion is acknowledged as an art form with aesthetic implications. That means, while clothing in non-Western cultures were still presented as a strong social distinction, the Western clothing had already developed a concept of individualism that one can choose the style they want and which stimulates the speed of changing fashions and the passion for novelty; moreover, the fact that Western fashion changed in a near constant and arbitrary manner made non-Western fashion appear timeless and unchanging in comparison.⁹¹ Therefore, non-Western sartorial

⁹¹ Craik, *The Face of Fashion*: 18-19.

It needs to be clarified here that, to term Craik, non-Western dress and decorations did change, but synchronic studies of dress can barely demonstrate the cycles of change because the amount and pace of changing fashions is less distinct in cultures with imperceptible economic expansion. Therefore, the non-Western cultures, only compared to Western ones, are regarded unchanging.

styles were more often considered ‘costumes’ than as fashion in the proper sense, and the introduction of Western fashion to the rest of the world can result in a break from traditions, or a take-over of national clothes – a new modern cultural identity, a new order of things.⁹²

Hence, when non-Western countries gradually started to adopt Western fashion, fashion system that had hitherto been the province of the West gained its new name as world fashion,⁹³ or global fashion.⁹⁴ As Joanne Eicher suggests, world fashion is often associated with Western-styled dress and appears intimately linked to urban living;⁹⁵ in addition, the anthropologist Ernest Crawly explicitly states that *cosmopolitan fashion* has a tendency that is “observable at the present day ... towards a cosmopolitan types of dress, European in form”.⁹⁶ However, the adaption of global fashion should not only be focused on the items themselves, but the ideology embedded more deeply in them. Because global fashion introduces not only the concrete styled items for the non-West to adopt, but also the social phenomena – those of differentiation (individualism) and the lust for something new; more importantly, the influential power after the coming of industrial capitalism and the emergence of consumer society should also be taken into account. There is no need to repeat again how individualism and the constant tendency toward change, as

⁹² Ibid.: 26.

⁹³ Joanne Buholz Eicher and Barbara Sumberg, ‘World Fashion, Ethnic and National Dress’, in Joanne Buholz Eicher (ed.), *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, Berg, Oxford and New York, 1995. See also: Karen Tranberg Hansen, ‘Youth, Gender, and Secondhand Clothing in Lusaka, Zambia: Local and Global Styles’, in Eugenia Paulicelli and Hazel Clark (eds.), *The Fabric of Cultures: Fashion, Identity, and Globalization*, Routledge, London and New York, 2009: 113.

⁹⁴ Margaret Maynard, *Dress and Globalization*, Manchester University Press, Oxford and New York, 2004: 12, 90.

⁹⁵ Eicher (ed.), *Dress and Ethnicity*: 298.

⁹⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*: 296.

Eicher explains in her chapter that to phrase the fashion items adopted by non-Western people as Western fashion is inaccurate, rather, world fashion or cosmopolitan fashion are more apt.

the most basic characteristics of fashion, make fashion attract its followers. Neither the thriving of capitalism, as mentioned earlier, which led to a world dominated by machines and transformed city life;⁹⁷ city life is somehow a phenomenon of fashion and the city is where one's origins can be forgotten because the expression of personal qualities is taken into greater consideration and the choice of clothing is one of the means to exercise this expression.

In terms of fashion, the three factors mentioned above have a similar function – self-expression – that was extensively provoked by the birth of Industrial Revolution. This pivotal development in world history transformed the scale of production and, further, the pattern of consumption. Speaking of production, the largest change attributable to industrialization was the mechanization of tasks that had hitherto been completed using human labor – the establishment of mass production – which offers a variety of products as well as of accesses to them. However, mass production would not exist in the absence of mass consumption; this means, after the Industrial Revolution, consumers are no longer limited to the upper classes. Rather, the growing middle classes and working classes are becoming consumers as well and this change constitutes a new social phenomenon – the emergence of consumer society.⁹⁸ Certainly, the term consumer society is a result of the transformation of production and economies (not only increases in average incomes, but also decreases in costs); yet, the conversion of purchase value from the use-value to exchange-value plays a more significant role. To borrow Baudrillard's words, the movement towards the mass production of commodities obliterates the *natural use-value of goods* that is replaced by the exchange-value under capitalism; thus the consumption of commodities is no longer understood as the consumption of material utility or use-value but primarily

⁹⁷ Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*: 26-30.

⁹⁸ Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, trans. Chris Turner, Sage, London et al., 1998: 5-7.

consuming signs.⁹⁹ Baudrillard takes fashion as an instance that fashion itself represents nothing but a sign, for example, the continuous renewal form of fashion creates the passion for signs – something new, something in trend – even though Baudrillard sees fashion as a cycle through which things come back eventually, they will still be reproduced and reintroduced into a novel style apart from the past.¹⁰⁰ To put it this way, the use value of consuming clothing before mass consumption was to cover the body or to guard the body from the cold, but with the gradual alteration of consuming patterns, buying clothes is buying a sign – be it a sign to distinguish classes (for the nobility), or a sign to enhance one's social status (for the common people). Thus, as a product, fashion is more symbolic than material. As a result, the first three elements can be seen as impetuses which help push forward the development of consumer culture that makes fashion very distinctive to the West.¹⁰¹

The Cannibalism of National Dress by Global Fashion

Yet, the emergence of world fashion is regarded as a malignant force acting upon national fashion; it defines ethnic dress as its antithesis. In short, world fashion successfully exoticises ethnic fashion, compartmentalizing it into certain uses (e.g. as national, religious, or regional clothing signifiers) and interprets the term ethnic as traditional that further implies that it is a form of unchanging attires,¹⁰² namely everything but fashion. In other words, practicing global fashion leads to the disappearance of local or indigenous dresses and, subsequently, to the replacement of them by Western fashion as daily dress in non-Western countries. Whether Western fashion is combined with national varieties or, more starkly, fully accepted, the idea of distinction between

⁹⁹ Baudrillard, *Symbolic Exchange and Death*: 6-8.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.: 87-89.

¹⁰¹ Mike Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, Sage Publications, London et al., 2nd ed., 2007 [1st ed. 1991]: 82-85.

¹⁰² Maynard, *Dress and Globalization*: 12

individuals and the endless changing varieties make people tend to abandon what belongs to the tradition.

If one were to follow Craik's account, Western fashion would be conceptualized as cannibal of the non-Western fashion systems, rife with imperialistic intentions;¹⁰³ yet, the use of the term imperialism is rather too strong, since this paper emphasizes that fashion is a form of cultural hegemony and moreover, exoticism rests upon practices of reading cultural interactions and translating cultures. Hence, the idea of indoctrinating global fashions should be rearticulated as a process of persuasion and acculturation. This means, under the influence of global fashion, either its styled items of ideology, the wearers are convinced to adopt it because they agree with the given symbols and want to make an individual self-image out of it. What follow are a number of instances to illustrate further that the abandonment of national clothing, or the application of Western clothing, is a practice of pursuing new images and of breaking from the past.

According to the Nigerian experience, especially after its independence, the Western influences on fashion started carrying some weight with more Nigerian commoners while earlier Western dress was adapted only by highly educated people in Western-type occupations; during that time, it was the starting point when Nigerian people began to mix Western elements with national ones, for example, women wore their native dress *iro* (in Yoruba this means wrapper, which is usually combined with a headscarf) with handbags and uncovered braided hairstyles. Later on, men fully adopted Western suits as formal dress, replacing in the process their *dashiki* and *sokoto* (in Yoruba these mean shirt and pants respectively) in order to represent themselves as independent Nigerians.¹⁰⁴ The practice of abandoning indigenous clothing was

¹⁰³ Craik, *The Face of Fashion*: 26.

¹⁰⁴ Betty M. Wass, 'Yoruba Dress in Five Generations of A Lagos Family' in Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz (eds.), *The Fabrics of Culture: Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment*, Mouton, Paris and New York, 1979: 344-346.

not unique to Nigeria. The wider world is replete with similar processes: the abandonment of the veil in Algeria; the decline of Maasi people wearing *rubega* (robe in Swahili, known as covering half of the body) in Tanzania; the fez and clothing which caused class differences were banned in Turkey; and the imposition of tunic suits (also known as Mao suits which was inspired by the Western suit but with shorter stand-up collar and different cuttings) in China. The first two examples were more passive in nature, that is, they came about due to the influences of French and British culture, or cases of *cultural assertiveness*, to take Ali Mazrui's term; while the latter two had more political expressions involved.

In Algeria, the veiled women were regarded as a symbol of discrimination to the French eye; therefore, the veil ban was a *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) pursued by France to change the unequal situation in Algerian society in the name of modernization. By the same token, in Tanzania, Britain wanted to civilize the Maasi people by imposing "decent clothes" – Western styled clothes such as trousers and dresses – in order to make them look more modern.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, veiled women are still in Algeria, but during the period of French pressure, women did enjoy increased freedom and gained a higher status than they had prior; moreover, those who have taken to wearing Western clothes are mostly located in cities while those who have not tend to reside in rural areas due to stronger religious influences in the latter.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in Tanzania, those who were in favor of Western-styled clothes saw the traditional ones as a remnant of the past that was at odds with city life in modern Tanzania; conversely, those who

¹⁰⁵ Andrew M. Ivaska, "Anti-Mini Militants Meet Modern Misses": Urban Style, Gender and the Politics of "National Culture" in 1960s Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', in Jean Allman (ed.), *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2004: 104-121.

¹⁰⁶ Ghania Kelifi, 'The Veil of Algeria: A Bit of History', *Babelmed*, June, 14, 2008, http://www.babelmed.net/Countries/Algeria/the_veil.php?c=3296&m=11&l=en. And Carla Power, 'The Politics of Women's Head Covering', *Time Magazine*, July, 13, 2009, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1908306,00.html>.

insisted on wearing traditional clothes were, from their standpoint, preserving their own culture.¹⁰⁷ As a result, to apply the theory of fashion, those who attempt to preserve tradition are not considered properly part of the realm of fashion.

The other two examples, those of Turkey and China, are instances of a more spontaneous combination of Western fashion. In Turkey, Mustafa Kemal banned the fez and other clothing-marked class differences in 1925, the purpose of which was to modernize Turkey, to create a more liberal republic. At the same time, this ban was accompanied by the introduction of Western-styled clothes that aimed to disestablish the political power of Islam and to break away from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁸ Also, the introduction of tunic suit in China in the early 1900s was in effect an attempt to overturn the Manchu dress from the Qing Dynasty which worked as a tool of social control; additionally, the tunic suit was also a symbol of new peasant communism that was to abolish imperial China.¹⁰⁹ Another short example with a lesser political extent is in Korea, where the traditional female *hanbok* (in Korean this literally means Korean clothing, but also refers specifically to a traditional female dress) had used to be a kind of formal dress, but it was gradually replaced by the more progressive Western-styled suits because, besides the fact that they were less complicated to wear than *hanbok*, they were considered conveying a message of careerism.¹¹⁰

From the examples given above, one can ascertain the means and magnitude through which Western influences in fashion were transmitted to and within non-Western countries; the adoption of

¹⁰⁷ Ivaska, 'Anti-Mini Militants Meet Modern Misses': 109-110. And 'Battle of the Minis', *Time Magazine*, November, 01, 1968, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,839588,00.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Senem Ertan, 'The principle of Laicism and Counter State-Building in Turkey: Reflections on History and on Conjecture of Contemporary Politics', *Interdisciplinary Political Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, June, 2011: 84.

¹⁰⁹ Craik, *face of fashion*: 26-29.

¹¹⁰ Soh Chung-Hee, 'Skirts, Trousers or Hanbok? The Politics of Image Making Among Korean Women Legislators', *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 15, no. 3, June 1992: 375-77.

Western styles involved more or less revolutionary and reformative implications, namely of differentiating from the past, of deviating from tradition. Additionally, the abandonment of national dress is effectively a means to cut off historical bindings and is a manifestation of new ideologies. One thing needs to be made clear: even though fashion itself is provoking something new or abandoning something old, it does not imply that the behavior of keeping tradition or preserving national culture should be ascribed negative connotations; it is rather just an opposite of fashion, an insignificant improvement of novelty over the past. Therefore, the application of Western clothing or ideas of clothing does not only transform the habit of dressing itself, but also, to some extent, it endangers the existence of national clothes altogether.

However, one can argue that even nowadays, traditional national dress is still often worn by politicians in the international stage; for example, when delegates are attending United Nations' conferences, those ethnic dresses can be easily seen – they are even accepted by the United Nations as dress in formal attire.¹¹¹ Furthermore, we have an intriguing case from Cairo in the mid-1970s: modernization had the widespread effect of encouraging women to take off their veils, and the number of unveiled women had once surpassed the veiled ones. But until the late 1980s, a new movement *higab* – new veiling – provoked by the young lower-middle class women who re-veiled themselves as to fit in with the new image – a successful woman who combined family harmony and outside employment very well.¹¹² Yet, these two examples have very weak linkages to fashion. For the delegates wearing traditional dress, it is not a performance of individuality

¹¹¹ Global Model United Nations, *Code of Conduct*. GMUN 2011, <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/gmun/home/delegates/CoC>.

The only written requirement for the dress code to the conference can be found is under the Global Model United Nations Conference which has the same standard as the official one.

¹¹² Arlene Elowe MacLeod, 'Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo', *Signs*, vol. 17, no. 13, spring, 1992: 541-543.

but a representation of one's own country; this is why wearing ethnic clothing can be regarded as a practice of nationalism.¹¹³ And the new veiling movement, even though it is a reverse effect of demonstrating clothing as fashion, the religious concern is bigger than clothing itself to influence one's dressing habit; further, to re-veil is also regarded as a group identity with a certain class – a successful woman from lower-middle class – rather than an individual one.¹¹⁴

Now that the difference between global fashion and national fashion has been explained and elucidated through the examples given above, it is clear that the process of adopting global fashion implicates the assertion and reformation of certain identities. In addition, this process also shows that those non-Western countries were practicing two of the most important elements of fashion system provoked by the West – those of imitation and self-expression. They imitate the Western-styled dress and they create new images and new identities. No matter whether the influence from the West is a concrete type of clothes (the introduction of men's suits) or a concept (the idea of the unveiled style or more equal symbol), the principle is to be different from the past, to break away from tradition. The West is functioning as a role model of a relatively more advanced or modernized society and the fashion system is the outcome; the West demonstrates this outcome quite successfully by spreading the concrete items and the abstract ideas to the rest of the world. Moreover, Western fashion is performed beautifully in terms of cultural hegemony, because the importation of Western fashion would not be adopted if the non-Western countries did not agree with its given meanings and to approach modernity and civilization; even though in the Algerian and Tanzanian cases, they were imposed edicts directly

¹¹³ Craik, *Face of Fashion*: 26-27.

¹¹⁴ This might be confusing if it is compared with the tunic suit in China which was also a representative of a group identity – peasant communist –, but the difference is, on the one hand, peasant communist does not imply any class belongings; on the other hand, tunic suit is renovated unlike the veiling is already a centuries long tradition.

from the West at the first place, the Western clothes would disappear afterwards if no one continued the ideology. This is how Western fashion is transformed into global fashion, or more correctly, the West creates fashion and the non-West then takes the baton, so to speak, and transforms it into global fashion.

Global Fashion Portraying Exoticism

*Perhaps the most successful cultural bequest from the West to the rest of the world has ... been ... Western dress. Mankind is getting rapidly homogenized by the sheer acquisition of the Western shirt and the Western trousers. The Japanese businessman, the Arab minister, the Indian lawyer, the African civil servant have all found a common denominator in the Western suit.*¹¹⁵

Synthesizing the characteristics of fashion, the spread of fashion's items and ideology and the motive of applying fashion, no one can argue that Western fashion plays an important, if not the only, role in influencing today's fashion; hence, this highly desirable fashion is often equated with global fashion, as the evidence given in the previous chapter soundly demonstrates. However, today's fashion system is no longer treating Western fashion as the only role model to follow; namely, non-Western designers gradually come to the fore and infiltrate fashion's international stage, such as Issey Miyake from Japan, or Manish Arora from India, both of whom became world-famous by fruitfully combining Western and eastern elements in their collections that can be seen at Paris Fashion Week and London Fashion Week respectively.¹¹⁶ What does this suggest? Even though the order of the fashion system has changed and the West does not possess the only dominant power over the world

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Wilbur Zelinsky, 'Globalization Reconsidered: The Historical Geography of Modern Western Male Attire', *Journal of Cultural Geography*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2004: 83.

¹¹⁶ Rebecca Arnold, *Fashion: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 2009: 115-123. For more detail about Issey Miyake's design also see Craik, *Face of Fashion*: 39-42.

anymore and design ideas from non-Western designers can also be defined as fashion, unfortunately, to enroll in fashion's highest academy – fashion week – seems the one and the only way to receive a certificate of being recognized as fashion.¹¹⁷ Put this way, although global fashion is welcoming participants from all over the world to be more inspired by “something new”, it, to some degree, forgets its other feature – the break from the past, namely, global fashion still remains what history constitutes as the West taking a leadership role in fashion.

However, while the phenomenon of approaching global fashion is getting more common, bearing the name of “global fashion” on one's shoulders is not an easy task, especially for those who are regarded as the main leader – the West. Despite fashion's most controversial issues such as the exploitation of cheap labor in sweatshops or the provocation of mass production which results in the waste of energy that draw a great many criticisms, its creations are also examined by the masses, meaning the taste of designs and the presentation of products. Particularly the latter brings about more discussions than the former because on the one hand, taste is a matter of subjectivity; on the other hand, the presentation of products involves more polemical elements such as the choice of models, the understanding of cultures or the message of images. For example, the most popular and the oldest term linked with global fashion is perhaps racism. Right after fashion's greatest event – fashion week – not only the newest collections in the season are introduced, the calculation of how many models of color are used is also published by Jezebel.com. Following the same thread, Deutsche Welle also titled an article in 2007 *Runway Racism Clouds Paris Fashion Shows*¹¹⁸ and *Fashion Week*

¹¹⁷ The fashion week here refers to the ones in four of the most recognized fashion capitals: Paris, Milan, London and New York. See Shelley Emling, ‘Big 4 Fashion Weeks Get New Company’, *The New York Times*, October, 03, 2006. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/03/style/03iht-Rweeks.3015966.html?_r=1.

¹¹⁸ Martina Zimmermann, ‘Runway Racism Clouds Paris Fashion Shows’, *Deutsche Welle*, October, 08, 2007. <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,2804627,00.html>.

Features Few Black Runway Models in 2008 from Reuters.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the most influential fashion magazine, *Vogue*, has been criticized many times for not using enough models of color on its cover pages: until 2010, of 1,416 covers published in the United States since 1982, only 14 of them featured black women.¹²⁰ These published criticisms are basically arguing that fashion industry prefers white models than models of color, and this situation continues apace and will continue indefinitely because the West is portraying white people as a standard of beauty or a privileged race, that the overall effect is that they sell more than non-white models.¹²¹

Nevertheless, racism is a very complicated and controversial topic to talk about and since, as proved earlier, that fashion is a creation of the West, even though fashion is selling to the whole world now, it is not absolutely wrong or ignoring other races if the West is using its own race to present their own creations. Moreover, the central point of the paper rests on the practice of exoticism in fashion, which means, the presentation of products is going to be examined as well, but more from the angle of how the West interprets non-Western cultures. What follow are examples to prove that the West exoticizes the non-Western cultures, namely by portraying them as not modernized, or by fitting them in certain stereotypes through the presentation of fashion pictures and ideas.

If keeping traditional clothes or ideas of clothing is against fashion's constant demand for novelty, *Christian Dior's* ad campaign

¹¹⁹ Christine Kearney, 'Fashion Week Features Few Black Runway Models', *Reuters*, December, 12, 2008.
<http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/09/12/us-fashion-models-idUSN1145982120080912>.

¹²⁰ Lope Navo (ed.), 'White Supremacy: The Most Racist Fashion Magazines in 2010', *Fashionindie*, April, 27, 2010.
<http://fashionindie.com/white-supremacy-the-most-racist-fashion-magazines-in-2010/>.

¹²¹ Hannah Pool, 'Fashion Probably Is a Bit Racist', *Guardian*, February, 22, 2011.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2011/feb/22/leomie-anderson-model-racial-discrimination>.

in 2010 under the title “Shanghai Dreamers” can be a good example.¹²² In the picture, the woman in a *Dior* dress looks particularly distinguished out of a group of men in Mao suits. This image evokes China during 60s and 70s when people tended to dress alike and further stresses that the West’s fashion is, during the same time, more modernized.¹²³



Figure 1.1 Quentin Shih, Shanghai Dreamers.

¹²² Quentin Shih, ‘Shanghai Dreamers’, jpg.
<http://trendland.net/christian-dior-shanghai-dreamers-quentin-shih/christian-dior-shanghai-dreamers-quentin-shih-11/>

¹²³ Heather Horn, ‘Is Dior’s New Chinese Ad Campaign Racist?’, *The Atlantic Wire*, August, 30, 2010.
<http://www.theatlanticwire.com/entertainment/2010/08/is-dior-s-new-chinese-ad-campaign-racist/23210/>.

Another example with the same concept is from *Vogue* magazine when Keira Knightley, in a *Bottega Veneta* dress, was photographed feeding an elephant with a Louis Vuitton blanket; and in another picture, she was in *Madewell* jacker shirt and *Timberland* boots standing up there next to a group of Maasa men in 2007. Even the colorful *rubega* could not compete with the modern dress on her; on the contrary, the traditional clothes made it even more outstanding.¹²⁴



Figure 1.2 Arthur Elgort, Out of Africa I.

¹²⁴ Plum Sykes, 'The Chronicles of Keira', *Vogue*, June, 2007.
<http://www.vogue.com/magazine/article/keira-knightley-the-chronicles-of-keira/>.
 And Arthur Elgort, 'Out of Africa' I and II, jpg.
<http://www.vogue.com/magazine/article/keira-knightley-the-chronicles-of-keira/#/gallery/keira-knightley-the-chronicles-of-keira/6> and
<http://www.vogue.com/magazine/article/keira-knightley-the-chronicles-of-keira/#/gallery/keira-knightley-the-chronicles-of-keira/1>



Figure 1.3 Arthur Elgort, Out of Africa II.

In a similar scene taken in Africa, Noemi Campbell was used to promote a new collection from Alexander McQueen and Blumarine, but she was captured running with a cheetah or playing jump ropes with monkeys.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ 'Naomi Campbell And Wild Things in Harper's Bazaar', Genius Beauty, August, 25, 2009.
<http://geniusbeauty.com/fashion-and-wear/naomi-campbell-wild-things-in-harpers-bazaar/>.
 And Jean-Paul Goude, 'Wild Things' I and II, jpg.
<http://ficdn.fashionindie.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/naomi2.jpg>
<http://ficdn.fashionindie.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/naomi1.jpg>



Figure 1.5 Jean-Paul Goude, *Wild Things I*.

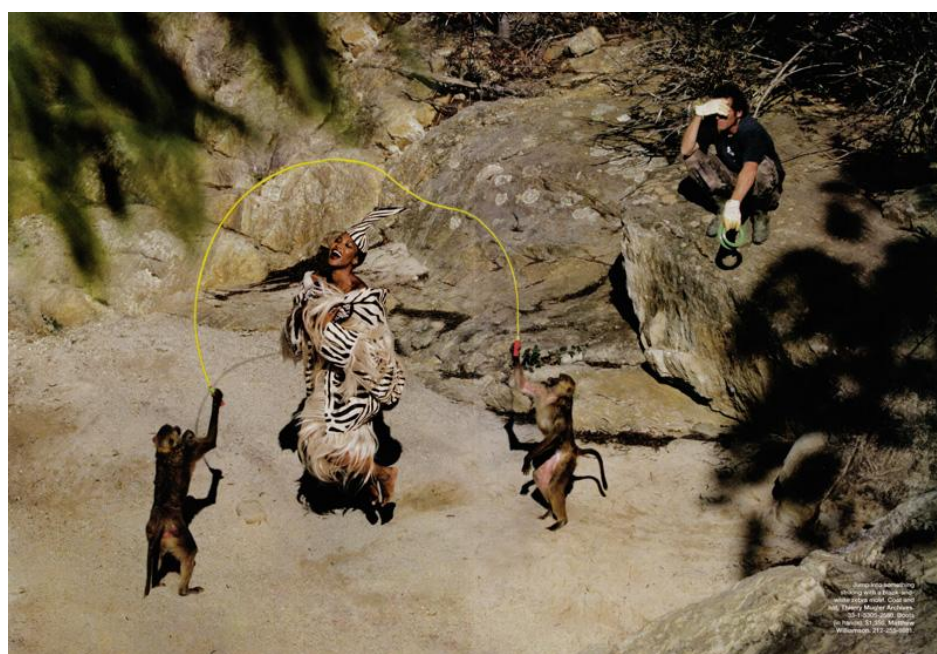


Figure 1.6 Jean-Paul Goude, *Wild Things II*.

From the examples given above, it is clear that fashion images portrayed by Western eyes are under the influence of exoticism; in other words, if the items are presented by a white model, they look more modernized than the others surrounding them (in the pictures are non-white people), conversely, when a non-white model is displaying the collection, they are put into a certain image or a stereotype. However, merely a few examples cannot fully generalize that the West is exoticizing non-Western cultures in order to manifest its cultural supremacy. Therefore, in the following chapter, a more explicit analysis will be provided to answer the question of whether fashion is producing cultural hegemony under the influence of exoticism. This analysis contains ten years statistics on four fashion shows – Paris, Milan, London and New York – in each fashion show, three designers will be selected and the numbers of non-white models will be counted; in the end, those numbers will be examined according to the themes the designers are using, in order to determine whether non-white models are only walking for certain images that the West imposes on them.

Analysis of Fashion Weeks

Before starting this chapter in earnest, it bears clarifying a crucial point made earlier: to the practice of exoticizing things is not necessary wrong or bad, it is merely a way of interpreting other cultures. From this understanding that exoticizing can be potentially *neutral*, this paper endeavors to examine whether the West is using exoticism to generalize non-Western cultures as less advanced or less modernized than itself through the presentation of fashion products (this, of course, would be using exoticism in a negative, rather than neutral, way). The examples presented in the previous chapter introduced the idea that the practice of exoticism in fashion does in fact exist in contemporary times; this means that a certain fixed impression on non-Western cultures still plays a role when it comes to interpreting other cultures through Western eyes. Otherwise, one might well ask why it was not Keira Knightley

(rather than Naomi Campbell) playing jump rope with monkeys, or why Dior opted not to use Chinese people in normal clothes in daily life instead of having them in identical clothes in the respected period of time. However, images like these still involve more diversified cultural aspects than purely from the Western perspectives. For example, the picture with Keira Knightley standing up on a rock was not only presenting the work from Western designers but also a parachute skirt from Thakoon (Thai designer) and the photographer of Dior's Shanghai Dreamers is Chinese. What does this mean? Since this paper is stressing the point that global fashion is mostly Western fashion, the analysis should be more specific from a single (Western) cultural aspect to the interpretation of the others' (non-Western) cultures. Therefore, this chapter will accordingly be concerned with Western designers individually, and it will dissect the presentations of their work directly from fashion shows. The purpose will be to examine whether there is a system behind the use of non-Western models according to the themes the designers are using. To put it more precisely, the goal is to determine whether models of color are put into use due to certain themes that contains certain images (beyond modernity or civilization, etc.).

Now that the goal of understanding how exoticism influences the presentation of fashion products from the Western eye has been made clear, the paper turns to the case study of fashion weeks. Before launching into the analysis, the purpose of fashion week should be introduced briefly. Fashion week is a semi-annual event that four main cities take turns in hosting, the goal of which is to exhibit the latest collections; these four cities – veritable 'fashion capitals' – are Paris, Milan, London and New York.¹²⁶ The fashion week is composed of a variety of fashion shows from different designers and within the shows designers display their latest sartorial styles. The fashion show has been treated as the

¹²⁶ Ashley Mears and Frédéric C. Godart, 'How Do Cultural Producers Make Creative Decision? Lessons from the Catwalk', *Social Forces*, vol. 88, no. 2, Dec. 2009: 672.

most quintessential tool to sell designers' works and concepts in the upcoming season since Paul Poiret's first fashion parades in the early twentieth century.¹²⁷ During Paul Poiret's time, the fashion show was originally intended as a vehicle to promote designer's works and create awareness; nowadays, the principle remains the same, but more aspects are involved. For example, the audience does not expect only designers' creations, but also to enjoy the correspondence between the collections and the set design, the light, the music, the models, etc.¹²⁸ Likewise, the range people who are members of the audience has also expanded from buyers and celebrities to magazine editors, critics and the media,¹²⁹ and the whole event is broadcasted through means of mass media which makes increases overall diffusion and accessibility. Due to this openness, it indeed opens the gate for more fashion lovers to follow and to obtain the information; yet, it also draws a great deal of criticism from the public and the most cliché one is perhaps the pronounced lack of colored models on the runways.

This chapter follows a similar thread to this marked and pervasive criticism, but through an angle that is distinct from the most commonly used one. In contrast to most published articles that claim the fashion industry is racist for not using enough models of color, this paper takes another approach, namely, to explain *why* and *in which situations and contexts* the fashion industry *does* use models of color. Why is choosing models important? Basically, the fashion industry is a profit-making business and fashion shows are regarded as a marketing tool; accordingly, designers are wont to make very good use of their roughly 20-minute long opportunity to impress buyers or potential buyers. This means, not only is the design itself important but also the way in which these designs are presented. Therefore, associating presentation and designs, models should be considered as playing

¹²⁷ Elizabeth Bye, *Fashion Design*, Berg, Oxford and New York, 2010: 78-79.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Mears and Godart, 'How Do Cultural Producers Make Creative Decision?': 671.

one of the most critical roles in presenting or as a part of the products because the selection of them is not simply finding an arbitrary girl to walk for the show but through a systematic and rigorous process in order to fit the right models into the “right look”¹³⁰ – the right look, of course, means a look that sells. However, the right look involves more than the facial look, such as the physical attributes. Sometimes the color of skin¹³¹ is also very crucial and is accordingly taken into explicit account. To define the right look or the look which sells is a very subjective job and it might touch on the topic of racism which this paper soberly goes to pains to avoid; besides, the process of selecting models is very complicated in that it contains not only the designers’ decisions but also needs to cooperate with modeling agencies and fashion houses.¹³² Consequently, this process is not going to be introduced because, on the one hand, apart from its complexity, as mentioned already, this decision-making procedure is not an open-door activity to the public, meaning that there is no appropriate and robust information available to do the research. On the other hand, even though the use of models is going to be inspected, this paper only examines the final result of how the designers apply the models they chose, rather than from which agency they are claiming the models or how competitive the selection process is. Given that now the relationship between models and the designs has been made clear, this paper moves to defining some parameters: the criteria on which the analysis is based on, for example, from what kind of fashion shows, from which designers and during which period of time that the fashion shows is going to be taken into consideration and, perhaps most importantly, how white models and non-white models shall be defined.

¹³⁰ Ibid.: 677.

¹³¹ As one can see at the beginning of this chapter, there are news pieces given criticizing the lack of diversity of models on the runway.

¹³² For more information about selecting models for fashion weeks, see Mears and Godart, ‘How Do Cultural Producers Make Creative Decision?’: 677-683.

Parameters of the Research

Generally speaking, fashion week is a week during which a variety of fashion works can be seen; in simple terms, it can be regarded as having the function of semester exams at school, only the grading system is open to public. In short, fashion weeks draw people in to see the fruits of months of work by designers.¹³³ There are many fashion weeks happening around the world in different cities such as in Tokyo, Miami, Rio de Janeiro and etc., but the most recognizable ones are in Paris, Milan, London and New York. These four cities are each given the name of 'fashion capital' due to the main fashion weeks they hold. The reason that these fashion weeks are treated as the main ones is because, on the one hand, they draw the most impact media; on the other hand, they contain the most designers – the scales are significantly larger than those of the others.¹³⁴ Therefore, in the context of this paper, references to 'fashion week' will refer to those of these four 'fashion capital' cities. Fashion week takes place twice every year with the purpose of displaying designers' ready-to-wear collections in two seasons: spring/summer and fall/winter; apart from these two seasons, there are also separate fashion shows held particularly in Paris such as *Haute Couture*, or in-between season collections such as Resort and Pre-fall in specially selected cities (not only in these four main cities) and these individual fashion shows are only with selective fashion houses.¹³⁵ Therefore, these fashion shows will not be considered in the paper because of the following two

¹³³ Natalio Martin Arroyo, *1 Brief, 50 Designers, 50 Solutions in Fashion Design: An Intimate Look at Fashion Designers and The Muses That Inspire Their Style*, Rockport, Beverly, 2011: 72-77.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ For information about the selection of *Haute Couture*, see 'What is Haute Couture', *Haute Couture News*, <http://www.hautecouturenews.com/what-is-haute-couture/>. And information for Resort and Pre-fall fashions, see <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/resort/>. And <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/pre-fall/>.

key reasons: firstly, the main target cities are already located, regarding the scale and popularity of fashion shows, the bigger and more famous ones are to help the research more credible. Secondly, even though Haute Couture is shown in one of the fashion capitals, it does not completely speak to the concept of fashion as defined earlier in the paper; to put it more precisely, as noted already that fashion produces a sense of a more liberal and equal society and the emergence of Haute Couture (also known as made-to-order) is related somehow to a logic of class distinctions, namely, for the upper classes to be in search of honorific recognition.¹³⁶ In addition, Lipovetsky also sees ready-to-wear as a democratic revolution that directed fashion toward a new path – a path that “offers explicitly fashion-oriented products of aesthetic quality at reasonable prices”.¹³⁷

Now that the selection of fashion shows is clear, the next step is to present the database on which this research is going to be based. In order to have a clear and individual image of collections and models, the research uses as its primary source the website style.com, where complete information about four fashion weeks has been compiled since 2001; this means, given the data available, analysis of fashion shows that were held before this date is not possible. Additionally, it is worth noting that these fashion weeks contain collections for both genders, meaning menswear and womenswear. However, this research is going to take into consideration only ready-to-wear collections for women. This is not because this paper has a gender preference, but rather because the data for menswear are only available since 2005,¹³⁸ and thus makes the project of a proper decade-long comparison impractical if not impracticable entirely. It also must be mentioned that designers such as Karl Lagerfeld also put his men’s collection in

¹³⁶ Lipovetsky, *Empire of Fashion*: 82-82.

¹³⁷ Ibid.: 94.

¹³⁸ Style.com/,
<http://www.style.com/fashionshows/menswear/?pageNum=2>.

women's;¹³⁹ in such cases, the use of male models will not be counted in order to make the research more complete and internally coherent.

From a mass of collections for womenswear, the research is going to take three brands from each city from 2001 to 2010, thus making the task one of analyzing at least 200 fashion shows. The quantity of three brands from each city is very appropriate for this paper of this length: it is large enough to make a valuable contribution to the knowledge base without suffering the setback of too small a sample size, and is thus can allow meaningful conclusions to be drawn. At the other end, it is small enough that it condenses the scattered data into a more manageable amount and does not lose the purpose of analysis.

After the orientation of which fashion shows to use, now it comes to justifying the choice of the fashion houses. Regarding the aim of the paper – examining the interpretation of non-Western cultures through Western eyes – the fashion houses (the brands) should also be Western-based ones, which is to say those founded in the West.¹⁴⁰ In order to choose three brands from numerous options, the criteria will follow the logic of how influential or powerful the brands are, in this sense, to which conglomerates the brands belong will be first priority; therefore, the three most famous luxury goods groups – Moët Hennessy • Louis Vuitton (also known as LVMH), Pinault-Printemps-Redoute (known as PPR) and Compagnie Financière Richemont (known as Richemont)¹⁴¹ – will be taken into account as the index to decide which fashion house to refer to because they are worldly

¹³⁹ See complete collection

<http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/F2009RTW-CHANEL>.

¹⁴⁰ The reason to choose only Western based / founded brands instead of non-Western ones is to make it more coherent to the main concept of the paper; this to say, if the non-Western fashion houses exoticizes models of color is not considered in the context of “through Western eyes”.

¹⁴¹ Jean-Noël Kapferer and Vincent Bastien, *Facets of Luxury Today in The Luxury Strategy: Break the Rules of Marketing to Build Luxury Brands*, Kogan Page, London and Philadelphia, 2009: 91-95.

recognized in the fashion field according to the acquisition of premium brands.¹⁴² Falling under Moët Hennessy • Louis Vuitton, there are Christian Dior, Louis Vuitton, DKNY,¹⁴³ Marc Jacobs and Fendi, and under Pinault-Printemps-Redoute are Gucci, Yves Saint Laurent and Alexander McQueen while Compagnie Financière Richemont has a joint venture with Polo Ralph Lauren.

Thus, for Paris, it will be Christian Dior, Yves Saint Laurent and Louis Vuitton and for New York, they are Marc Jacobs, Ralph Lauren and DKNY; Gucci and Fendi will go to Milan and Alexander McQueen to London. Then, there are still three brands missing. This gap will be filled with Prada for Milan and Burberry and Vivienne Westwood for London. Prada, according to the published articles, has long been claimed as the most racist brand¹⁴⁴ and this might be a good challenge to put in the research if Prada does have its limitation using models of color. Reversely, Vivienne Westwood, known as the mother of punk, is famous for criticizing the lack of colored models in fashion industry,¹⁴⁵ thus, her collections might have a very different perspective presenting models of color which makes it possible to draw a more diverse result. Lastly, as mentioned already, the choice of the brand should, to some extent, be influential in the field of fashion; in this case, Burberry would be a proper case to study for London, due to its historical background. This brand was, at the beginning, endorsed by the British royal family and thus it got its well-known reputation

¹⁴² Mark Tungate, *Luxury World: The Past, Present and Future of Luxury Goods*, Kogan Page, London and Philadelphia, 2009: 9-10

¹⁴³ Here it should be noted that DKNY is not the abbreviation of Donna Karen New York but a cheaper version line.

¹⁴⁴ Vicki Woods, 'Is Fashion Racist?', *Vogue*, July, 2008. <http://www.vogue.com/magazine/article/is-fashion-racist/>. And also Alice Fisher, 'Why Are the Catwalks So White?', *The Guardian*, April, 6, 2008. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/lifeandstyle/2008/apr/06/fashion.features>.

¹⁴⁵ Roya Nikkhah, 'Dame Vivienne Attacks Racist Magazines', *The Telegraph*, October, 14, 2007. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1566142/Dame-Vivienne-attacks-racist-magazines.html>.

by holding “royal warrants” for a long time.¹⁴⁶ This brand was established in the mid-19th century and it holds good balance of keeping its traditions while being able to innovate itself to compete the world market.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, it is known as a brand which represents British identity, or ways, a brand with a quintessential symbol of British style and culture.¹⁴⁸

Now, it comes to the most crucial and difficult part – the definition of white models and non-white models. White and non-white here mostly refer to the colors of skin and the appearance. In 1735, Carolus Linnaeus first outlined four basic varieties of humans in regards to the skin color: “Europeans are described as white, Africans are black, Asians are sallow (yellowish), Americans (Indians) are red” and he further continued the physical descriptions: Europeans ... have blue eyes ... Africans have black, frizzled hair, flat nose, and tumid lips ... Asians have black hair and dark eyes ... Americans have ... black hair ... wide nostrils ...¹⁴⁹ Later on, from 1770 to 1781, a German scientist categorized humans into five groups based on geography: “Caucasian – white; Mongolian – yellow; Ethiopian – black; American – red; Maylay – brown”.¹⁵⁰ This research is going to apply the basic principle provided above, namely, to distinguish models according to the colors of skin, eyes and hair, but one thing that should be noted is that, nationality will not be used as a grouping category or tool to determine whether a model is white or not. This is because, as an example, Yasmin Warsame, whose nationality is Canadian, has a very distinct color of skin (see figure 1.6);¹⁵¹ likewise, Behati

¹⁴⁶ Matt Haig, ‘Burberry: The Heritage Brand’, in *Brand Royalty: How the World’s Top 100 Brands Thrive & Survive*, Kogen Page, London and Philadelphia, 2004: 142-143.

¹⁴⁷ Alistair O’Neill, ‘Burberry’, in Valerie Steele (ed.), *The Berg Companion to Fashion*, Berg, Oxford and New York, 2010: 105-106.

¹⁴⁸ Jennifer Craik, ‘Case Study 32: Burberry’s Brand of Britishness’, in *Fashion: The Key Concepts*, Berg, Oxford and New York, 2009: 316-318.

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, *Race and Racism: An Introduction*, Altamira Press, Oxford, 2006: 10-11.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Ibid.: 11.

¹⁵¹ Yasmin Warsame, jpg.

Prinsloo has a Namibian nationality but she is blond and has hazel eyes (see figure 1.7),¹⁵² If taking the standard given above, she will not be recognized as African. The classification of Africans (cases as Behati Prinsloo will be regarded as white) or Asians might be relatively easier to define because their features are very different from Caucasians; but when it comes to “Latino”, it will be very challenging because for them to have European, Afro-European, Euro-African or mestizos features is very possible due to the combination of races.¹⁵³ Therefore, nationality is again proved that it might be a misleading factor in the matter of defining white and non-white models. Concerning the complexity of Latin Americans’ origins, ambiguous cases will be listed in the appendix III. Here are two examples to give a preliminary idea: Isabeli Fontana, who is from Brazil, will be considered as white model, on account of her pale skin, blue eyes and her Italian ethnicity (see figure 1.8);¹⁵⁴ while Bruna Tenório, also from Brazil, who has black hair and dark eyes will be considered as having Latin American descent (see figure 1.9).¹⁵⁵ To make it a more simple way, models with Latin American nationalities will be first examined if they have Caucasian features, namely, the color of their eyes and hair, but if the models possess European ethnicity, they will be automatically classified as white models.¹⁵⁶ Lastly,

http://www.fashionmodeldirectory.com/models/yasmin_warsame/showphoto/79823/.

¹⁵² Behati Prinsloo, jpg.

http://www.fashionmodeldirectory.com/models/behati_prinsloo/showphoto/221878/.

¹⁵³ Fluehr-Lobban, *Race and Racism*: 16-18.

Two things should be clarified here: Latin America is geographically located in the West, but according to the definition of the West given at the beginning in the first chapter, it should be categorized as the Other. In addition, either Hispanic or Latino is not considered as a race but a ethnic group.

¹⁵⁴ Isabeli Fontana, jpg.

http://www.fashionmodeldirectory.com/models/isabeli_fontana/showphoto/350135/.

¹⁵⁵ Bruna Tenório, jpg. <http://models.com/models/Bruna>.

¹⁵⁶ Among all the models on the runway for the chose four fashion houses from 2001 to 2010, the ones from Latin America who are categorized to white

models possessing Western nationalities but with Asian, African, Native-American and African-American are also regarded as non-white models.¹⁵⁷



Figure 1.6 Yasmin Warsame.



Figure 1.7 Behati Prinsloo.

models are coincidentally having only European ethnicities; namely, none of them inherits Caucasian ethnicities from North America, Australia and etc.

¹⁵⁷ All the models counted during the time frame from 2001 to 2010 for the chosen 12 fashion houses have mixed ethnicity are only the mentioned ones.



Figure 1.8 Isabeli Fontana.

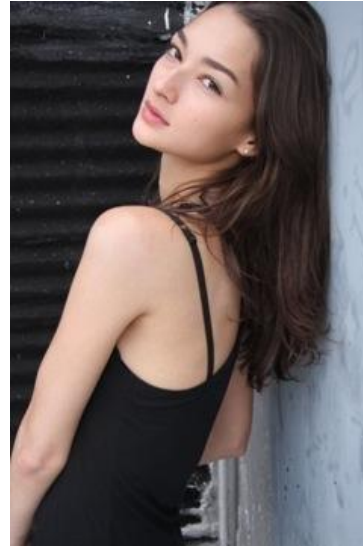


Figure 1.9 Bruna Tenório.

All in all, the task of defining a model as white or not can be very subjective, and as such will prove a most controversial point in this research. In order to help combat this controversy, and to make this research as objective as possible, this part will take *Fashion Model Directory* and *Model.com* as references where collective profiles of models can be found, and the profile contains models' feature descriptions such as color of eyes, hair along with the nationality and the ethnicity of models.

Non-White Models on the Runway

The target objects of this research are based on twelve fashion houses that were founded in the four main fashion capitals – Paris, Milan, London and New York – and the presentations of their work on the fashion week from 2001 to 2010. The numbers of total fashion shows come to 222 and in which nearly 900 models are used. Among those models, only 12 percent of them are regarded as non-white models; and if they are put into numbers, they are barely up to 120. There were fashion shows using zero non-white models as well as the ones giving them more than ten turns, for example; yet, in general, the use of non-white models is

increasing year by year as one can see from the provided tables. To note it again that the purpose of the analysis is to examine if the certain themes are influencing the application of models, namely, if non-white models are only used more due to the certain images that are given from those Western eyes.

However, the original idea was to compare the numbers of non-white models of the fashion houses all together and to further if there is a logic in choosing models of color to present the collections, but owing to the differences among those brands are too big, for example, Prada did not use more than five non-white models in these ten years, while Vivienne Westwood had mostly more than ten models of color each season; besides, the diversity of themes from each brand also has very different results, such as DKNY and Burberry Prorsum, as their collections are more for commercial purpose, the inspirations were almost basically from their belonging city girls (New York and London); while Alexander McQueen had relatively theatric and dramatic approach to display his works that provided more various themes. As a result, the difference of the amount of colored models will only be compared with the brand itself within ten years and the cases which were chosen to further investigate will be the ones with the most models of color. Because at the one end, all the references are given by the website *style.com*, in which an individual review of each collection can be found, but there are no concrete names of the themes for the shows, but only the descriptions; at the other, using models of color should be regarded as common as using white models (even though the numbers are obviously different) since Western fashion is considered as global fashion and applied also by non-Western countries, it is reasonable that the means of displaying the collections go more diverse. To make it more precisely, according to the reviews, there are sometimes very clear directions about the themes of fashion shows and inspirations of designers, while there are quite a few of them, for instance, are only describing designers' innovative ideas of combining different materials, colors or vintage collections to make a new concept of

way of dressing; in addition, the main idea of this paper has been proven earlier that fashion does exercise exoticism, and the case study of fashion weeks is only to make this argument stronger, therefore, it would be more relevant to the topic if only investigating the fashion shows with the most models of color and to answer why they are using so many of them instead of going into detail case by case.

Cases will start with the ones have very clear themes, firstly, on the given table, Christian Dior used the most color of models in the following two seasons: 2002 S/S and 2002 A/W, titled “street chic in a form of virtual world tour”¹⁵⁸ and “ethnic color and prints”¹⁵⁹ respectively. In both seasons, John Galliano (the designer) put many ethnic elements in his collections, in 2002 S/S, according to the review, *Dior has gone globetrotting* that such cowboy hats, hip-hop jeans and refined Bedouin clothes are smartly combined together. But the most worthy thing to pay attention to is among the seven turns walked by models of color, four of them were put into representing Mexican serape-print bathing suits with extraordinary puffy hair and face painting.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ Armand Limnander, ‘Review of Christian Dior fashion show 2002 S/S’, *Style.com*/, October, 09, 2001, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2002RTW-CDIOR>.

¹⁵⁹ Sarah Mower, ‘Review of Christian Dior fashion show 2002 A/W’, *Style.com*/, March, 07, 2002, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/F2002RTW-CDIOR>.

¹⁶⁰ Sylvain Belan, ‘Alek Wek’, jpg. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-CDIOR?event=show260&designer=design_house27&trend=&ipphoto=37#slide=39.

Sylvain Belan, ‘Fernanda Tavares’, jpg. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-CDIOR?event=show260&designer=design_house27&trend=&ipphoto=37#slide=40.

Sylvain Belan, ‘Reica Oliveira’, jpg. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-CDIOR?event=show260&designer=design_house27&trend=&ipphoto=37#slide=41.

Sylvain Belan, ‘Oluchi Onweagba’, jpg. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-CDIOR?event=show260&designer=design_house27&trend=&ipphoto=37#slide=42.



Figure 2.0 Sylvain Belan, Alek Wek. (left)



Figure 2.1 Sylvain Belan, Fernanda Tavares. (right)



Figure 2.3 Sylvain Belan, Reica Oliveira. (left)



Figure 2.4 Sylvain Belan, Oluchi Onweagba. (right)

Similarly, John Galliano again integrated several elements from all over the world in his 2002 A/W collections, for instance, Peruvian knitted hats, Hungarian and Indian prints, Chinese quilting and etc., and that time nine out of fifty Galliano's girls (this time each girl had only one turn), who were non-white, walked his collection to complete his multi-ethnic collection. These two cases can be seen as very proper examples that non-white models are used to interpret different cultures, namely, non-Western culture elements. Because on the one hand, these two seasons had a very clear direction that Galliano was leading his audience to have a world tour by enjoying his mixed-up works; on the other hand, the collections with more Western cultural base, for instance, the 2006 S/S collection was in the name of pomp and power of the French upon the business of fashion¹⁶¹ or the 2007 A/W was influenced by Hollywood movies during the forties;¹⁶² or the collections with more market-oriented mode, in the reviewer's word, more wearable clothes targeting global consumers such as his 2007 S/S and 2008 A/W works,¹⁶³ he used nearly a quarter amount non-white models in these themes than the ones with more ethnic elements.

The collection with clear direction of ethnic themes is also practiced by Alexander McQueen. In his 2002 S/S work, he dressed his girls in a form of bullfighters to represent his inspirations from matador dress and señorita dress.¹⁶⁴ Even

¹⁶¹ Sarah Mower, 'Review of Christian Dior fashion show 2006 S/S', *Style.com*/, October, 04, 2005, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2006RTW-CDIOR>.

¹⁶² Sarah Mower, 'Review of Christian Dior fashion show 2007 A/W', *Style.com*/, February, 27, 2007, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/F2007RTW-CDIOR>.

¹⁶³ Sarah Mower, 'Review of Christian Dior fashion show 2007 S/S', *Style.com*/, October 03, 2006, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2007RTW-CDIOR>. and Sarah Mower, 'Review of Christian Dior fashion show 2008 A/W', *Style.com*/, February 25, 2008, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/F2008RTW-CDIOR>.

¹⁶⁴ Armand Limnander, 'Review of Alexander McQueen fashion show 2002

though bullfighter is also a part of Spanish culture, but to ignore the Spanish influences in Latin American is almost as difficult as to distinguish Latin American models from Hispanic models; additionally, McQueen did give his collection a name – a bravura, Latin-themed romp – and had eighteen turns walked by seven Latin American models, one Spanish model and one French model with Caribbean ethnicity. Besides that, Liya Kebebe (Ethiopian) was also clad reformed señorita dress twice.¹⁶⁵

S/S,' *Style.com*/, October, 06, 2001,

<http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2002RTW-AMCQUEEN>.

¹⁶⁵ Sylvain Belan, 'Fernanda Tavares with A Spear', jpg.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show260&designer=design_house43&trend=&photo=0#slide=60.

Sylvain Belan, 'Noémie Lenoir in Señorita Dress', jpg.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show260&designer=design_house43&trend=&photo=0#slide=23.

Sylvain Belan, 'Liya Kebebe in Señorita Dress', jpg.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show260&designer=design_house43&trend=&photo=0#slide=28.

Sylvain Belan, 'Noémie Lenoir in Matador-like Dress', jpg.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show260&designer=design_house43&trend=&photo=0#slide=43.



Figure 2.5 Sylvain Belan, Fernanda Tavares with A Spear. (left)
 Figure 2.6 Sylvain Belan, Noémie Lenoir in Señorita Dress. (right)



Figure 2.7 Sylvain Belan, Liya Kebebe in Señorita Dress. (left)
 Figure 2.8 Sylvain Belan, Noémie Lenoir in Matador-like Dress. (right)

This collection had a potential for using models of color (mainly Latin Americans) to portray a proportion of Latin or Spanish culture and topped all of his collections in these ten year with the most models of color. Another and the last collection which had a clear color of certain cultural influences will go to Ralph Lauren's 2009 S/S work. He intended to provide a relaxed mood and looked to North Africa for references.¹⁶⁶ Ethnic elements, such as harem pants and turbans, were put into use with shirts or linen suits; especially turbans, there are sixteen looks interspersed by them. In this show, seven non-white models were hired and contributed eleven turns (the second highest one in the ten years), within which, seven of them were presenting the looks with turbans. Additionally, there is one important thing to mention, which was also mentioned in the review, that the close shot of this fashion show was presented by a black model in a gold gown and breaded-like turban, that is one of a very few cases in the study of fashion shows in these ten years.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ Nicole Phelps, 'Review of Ralph Lauren fashion show 2009 S/S', *Style.com*/, December, 12, 2008, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2009RTW-RLAUREN>.

¹⁶⁷ Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, 'Aminata Niaria in Turban', jpg, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2009RTW-RLAUREN?event=show1862&designer=design_house80&trend=&ipphoto=11#slide=1
 1.
 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, 'Bruna Tenório in Turban', jpg, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2009RTW-RLAUREN?event=show1862&designer=design_house80&trend=&ipphoto=11#slide=1
 2.
 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, 'Ubah Hassan in Turban', jpg, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2009RTW-RLAUREN?event=show1862&designer=design_house80&trend=&ipphoto=11#slide=1
 8.
 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, 'Ubah Hassan in Turban at the Close Spot', jpg, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2009RTW-RLAUREN?event=show1862&designer=design_house80&trend=&ipphoto=46#slide=4
 6.



Figure 2.9 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, Aminata Niaria in Turban. (left)
Figure 3.0 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, Bruna Tenório in Turban. (right)



Figure 3.1 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, Ubah Hassan in Turban. (left)
Figure 3.2 Marcio Madeira and Maria Valentino, Ubah Hassan in Turban at the Close Spot. (right)



What message are these examples trying to deliver? The interpretation of cultures. These fashion shows are among the highest rate of using colored models and it is clear that they were of the purpose of embracing ethnic elements from a global or regional scale and the numbers of non-white models they were using can further prove that the fashion shows embedded certain cultural influences had preference for using non-white models to

interpret.

Certainly, interpreting other's culture is the principle of exercising exoticism, yet, fashion shows do not always have very a distinct cultural belongings, or say, most of the fashion shows, that were analyzed, did not have a very clear reflection of certain cultures, in this case, when non-white models were not used as a means to interpret cultures, they were imposed some certain images that in some fashion shows made them very eye-catching. In Alexander McQueen's 2005 S/S collections, it was regarded as a big one with a lot of Alexander McQueen in it, but the central idea was to take his audience in a time machine that the route went from the contemporary tailored jackets and blazers and traced back to eighteenth century's puffball skirts, floral chiffon dress and corsets, and then to a futuristic scene where streamlined sci-fi bodysuits dominated the runway.¹⁶⁸ In this show, nine non-white models were used and seven of them were presenting clothes in the form of the eighteenth century while the rest, including contemporary and futuristic styles were devoted to the white models.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Sarah Mower, 'Review of Alexander McQueen fashion show 2005 S/S', *Style.com*/, October, 08, 2004, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2005RTW-AMCQUEEN>.

¹⁶⁹ Marcio Madeira, 'White Models in Contemporary Dress (Lily Donaldson, Heather Marks and Maria Dvirnik)', jpg. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipfoto=7#slide=0. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipfoto=7#slide=3. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipfoto=7#slide=4. Marcio Madeira, 'Non-white Models in Eighteenth Century Dress (Dawning Han, Julianna Imai, Caroline Rebeiro and Katja Shchekina)', jpg. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipfoto=7#slide=7. http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQUEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipfoto=7#slide=7.



Figure 3.3 Marcio Madeira, White Models in Contemporary Dress (Lil Donaldson, Heather Marks and Maria Dvirnik).

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQ-UEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipphoto=7#slide=9.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQ-UEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipphoto=7#slide=21.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQ-UEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipphoto=7#slide=19.

Marcio Madeira, 'Black Models in Warrior Dress (Ajuma Nasanjana and Awaoi)', jpg

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQ-UEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipphoto=26#slide=26.

http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2005RTW-AMCQ-UEEN?event=show1261&designer=design_house43&trend=&ipphoto=26#slide=32.



Figure 3.4 Marcio Madeira, Non-white Models in Eighteenth Century Dress
(Dawning Han, Julianna Imai, Caroline Rebeiro and Katja Shchekina).

This image corresponds to the situation mentioned in the first chapter that the West is considering itself more modern than the Other; which means, the use of non-white models is somehow a means for the West to be nostalgic of the out-dated styles if they have to appear in the form of modern.

However, this case cannot be compared to his 2005 A/W work which was under the impression of the '60s rock style (there were none models of color),¹⁷⁰ because the whole collection is a retro, renewed form of '60s and there was no clear comparison between the present and the past as this one. Therefore, this fashion show

¹⁷⁰ Sarah Mower, 'Review of Alexander McQueen fashion show 2005 A/W', *Style.com*/, March, 04, 2005, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/F2005RTW-AMCQUEEN>.

can demonstrate the argument that the West considers the Other as less modernized than it is very well and besides that, this collection is the only one that had such a comparison among all the fashion brands that were investigated. As mentioned already that there were nine non-white models in the show, if seven of them went to the eighteenth century, then the last two were to display a more modern scene? Unfortunately not. The two non-white models left were black and clad as warriors, and they were the only two.



Figure 3.5 Marcio Madeira , Black Models in Warrior Dress (Ajuma Nasanjana and Awaoi).

Seemingly, to be dressed as warriors does not really necessary give an impression that the West is trying to exoticize black models into a picture which tells that black people are bellicose or fierce, but after the ten years of research, this case was not the only one that transformed black models (also some small proportions of other non-white ones) into warriors, or say, there are cases turning runway models into warrior girls and used more black models.

First, one can follow Karl Lagerfeld to his 2003 S/S work that he turned his runway into a gladiatorial field where he launched a

posse of warrior girls, dressed for battles.¹⁷¹ The opening shot was given to a black model, or more correctly, the first five turns were accomplished by black models and which was a very rare case in these ten years of research.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Sarah Mower, 'Review of Fendi fashion show 2003 S/S', *Style.com*/, September, 27, 2002, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2003RTW-FENDI/>.

¹⁷² 'Black Models as Warrior Girls at the Opening Spots (Yasmin Warsame, unknown, unknown, Ana Bela Santos and Liya Kebebe)', jpg, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2003RTW-FENDI>, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2003RTW-FENDI?event=show942&designer=design_house23&trend=&iphoto=0#slide=0, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2003RTW-FENDI?event=show942&designer=design_house23&trend=&iphoto=0#slide=1, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2003RTW-FENDI?event=show942&designer=design_house23&trend=&iphoto=0#slide=2, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2003RTW-FENDI?event=show942&designer=design_house23&trend=&iphoto=0#slide=3, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2003RTW-FENDI?event=show942&designer=design_house23&trend=&iphoto=0#slide=4.



Figure 3.6 Black Models as Warrior Girls at the Opening Spots (Yasmin Warsame, unknown, unknown, Ana Bela Santos and Liya Kebebe).

The turns taken by non-white models in this collection were in total fourteen times that was the highest one in Fendi from 2001 to 2010. The show started with five black models in swimwear and then it was a series of daily clothes tightly tailored in metallic leather or with metal accessories that illustrate a tough image of those warriors. Yet, Karl Lagerfeld did not send a very clear order what his warrior girls should fight for but only dress them like one, while Vivienne Westwood was sending her imaginative jungle dwellings to fight for climate change which has long been the main concept of her works. She transformed her runway models into eco-warriors and assigned them a mission to struggle with global

warming.¹⁷³



¹⁷³ Nicole Phelps, 'Review of Vivienne Westwood fashion show 2008 F/W', *Style.com*/, February, 25, 2008, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD>.
Marcio Madeira, 'Non-white Models as Jungle Warriors with Face Paintings (Sessilee Lopez, Ajuma Nasanyana, Lily Shen, Honorine Uwera, Sessilee Lopez and Aminita Miara)', jpg, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD?event=show1702&designer=design_house968&trend=&ipphoto=2#slide=2.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD?event=show1702&designer=design_house968&trend=&ipphoto=8#slide=8.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD?event=show1702&designer=design_house968&trend=&ipphoto=19#slide=19.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD?event=show1702&designer=design_house968&trend=&ipphoto=13#slide=13.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD?event=show1702&designer=design_house968&trend=&ipphoto=27#slide=27.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/F2008RTW-VWESTWOOD?event=show1702&designer=design_house968&trend=&ipphoto=29#slide=29.



Figure 3.7 Marcio Madeira, Non-white Models as Jungle Warriors with Face Paintings (Sessilee Lopez, Ajuma Nasanyana, Lily Shen, Honorine Uwera, Sessilee Lopez and Aminita Miara).

It was her 2008 F/W collection, in which there were twenty one turns out of fifty five were performed by non-white models. In this show, there are two results that are worthy to pay attention: all the models of color carried face paintings on the runway,

especially on the models with darker or black skins that can be associated with the tribal traditions in Africa; this argument might be quite subjective but it should not be totally ignored because it could be a picture that through Western eyes to see black people. The other image imposed on non-white models is more related to the theme – jungle. If comparing with Vivienne Westwood's 2009 F/W collection whose concept was also related to climate change¹⁷⁴ but without indicating where her models came from and she used only twelve runs with non-white models. Therefore, to imagine non-white models living in jungles is also exoticizing them in a life which is less advanced than urban city life.

Nevertheless, to have only one example to elucidate that locating non-white models in the jungle is a form of exoticism might be weak, therefore, one can follow Tom Ford to his jungle collection for Yves Saint Laurent in 2002 S/S, where jungle of queens were put on attire with leopard spots.¹⁷⁵ Tom Ford paired a sleeveless top with a tight skirt full of leopard spots for Liya Kebebe to walk the open shot; it was another rare case that had a non-white model at the beginning.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Nicole Phelps, 'Review of Vivienne Westwood fashion show 2009 F/W', *Style.com*/, March, 06, 2009, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/F2009RTW-VWESTWOOD>.

¹⁷⁵ Armand Limnander, 'Review of Yves Saint Laurent fashion show 2002 S/S', *Style.com*/, October, 10, 2001, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2002RTW-YSLRG>.

¹⁷⁶ Sylvain Belan, 'Non-white Models in Leopard Prints (Liya Kebebe, Caroline Bwomono, Caroline Rebeiro and Omahyra Mota)', jpg, http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-YSLRG?event=show260&designer=design_house3&trend=&ipphoto=0#slide=0.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-YSLRG?event=show260&designer=design_house3&trend=&ipphoto=2#slide=2.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-YSLRG?event=show260&designer=design_house3&trend=&ipphoto=38#slide=38.
http://www.style.com/fashionshows/complete/slideshow/S2002RTW-YSLRG?event=show260&designer=design_house3&trend=&ipphoto=38#slide=39.



Figure 3.8 Sylvain Belan, Non-white Models in Leopard Prints (Liya Kebebe, Caroline Bwomono, Caroline Rebeiro, and Omahyra Mota).

In the whole fashion show, non-white models occupied seventeen runs out of forty six and the total number of models of color came to seven; in addition, this collection had the most colored models for Yves Saint Laurent in the ten years. One thing to note, Tom Ford was the only designer who put a great number of leopard spots in his work and connected this element with

jungle; this collection shows a clear message that non-white models were indeed exoticized into a form of wildness or non-civilized if one still can remember the earlier example in which Naomi Campbell was wearing leopard-skin clothes running with a leopard and the picture was titled “wild thing”.

To sum up, the seven given examples above, they, on the one hand, had very clear themes or inspirations upon their collections and if one goes deep enough to see the pictures model by model, they certainly sent clear messages that those non-white models were to fit in some certain images. On the other hand, these collections were using the most and the second most models of color in comparison to their own brands in the ten years, therefore, one cannot deny the situation that non-white models are exoticizing into certain images is still existing. Indeed, seven cases out of two hundred and twenty two which barely occupied four percent are very few, but as noted already, most of the fashion shows did not have very clear directions that the designers want to present, or say, these seven examples, in comparison, had very distinctive themes that designers wanted to work on and thus applied more models who matched the images they intended to send to the audience. To give reverse examples, if one observes the table of all the themes, DKNY and Burberry Prorsum had very similar ideas that the designers were working basically on their own city or country girls – New York chick and British lady – (see appendix II) and if these are the messages they wanted to send, from the number of non-white models used, it is very clear that they tend to choose models who were more relevant to their culture (Western culture) or who look more alike to their people (white population) in order to fit in the images they wanted to present. Moreover, the amount of using non-white models has no standard to measure, or put it this way, to use colored models or not can be a very personal decision; perhaps Donna Karan and Christopher Bailey, or Roberto Menichetti¹⁷⁷ preferred white

¹⁷⁷ From 2001 A/W to 2002 S/S Burberry Prorsum changed from Roberto Menichetti to Christopher Bailey. See Nathan Cooper, *2002 S/S Burberry Prorsum*

models than models of color which resulted in their ranking of using non-white models were among the lowest ones.

And so as Prada, which had the lowest rate of non-white models, it proved the criticisms that they had very small diversity of models (meaning it uses most of the time Caucasian-looking models), the first nine seasons there were zero models of color and its themes in the ten years were mostly focusing on femininity or something chic which did not attribute to evident cultural aspects (see appendix I and II); under this situation, Prada will be regarded as a case which could not be analyzed because it used much less models of color at one end, and it did not give a clear theme for its collections at the other. The similar cases will go to Louis Vuitton and Marc Jacobs, if one observes the table, it is obvious that the themes they were using in general had quite the same idea as Prada – that of something chic, something attractive to women – therefore, these two cases will also be treated as the ones that cannot be analyzed. But it is worthy to note that, Louis Vuitton, Marc Jacobs and Prada had a similar tendency that the number of colored models increased year by year, and there were not any cases with a sharp increase but a gradual growth. This evidence can make it more convincing that the use of non-white models among these three brands did not reflect on the themes, but for which reason is beyond the scope of this paper.

After all these, there is still one fashion house left which was not mentioned at all – Gucci – that it will be regarded as a fail case. In its 2002 S/S, 2002 A/W and 2003 S/S collections, there were separately fifteen, thirteen and thirteen walks by non-white models for the shows (see appendix I). These three cases had unclear themes but ranked the highest rates of using colored models in this brand from 2001 to 2010. The respective themes in chronological order goes relaxed and laid-back feelings, rock chic and short skirts and dresses (see appendix II); ostensibly these themes did not send clear pictures and were quite abstract that

Review, Style.com/, October, 3, 2001,
<http://www.style.com/fashionshows/review/S2002RTW-BURBERRY>.

they could be everything, and essentially, if one examines the whole presentation picture by picture, it is very difficult to judge if those models of color were exoticized into a certain form and this is against what is just mentioned before that a sharp increase number of colored models reflects on the themes the designers were using. To this extend, Gucci is a reverse case which disproves the fact that the West is exoticizing non-white models into a certain image by giving them more turns on the runway.

Conclusion

After a series of introduction from how fashion produces cultural hegemony in Western society to the spread of its influences of clothing habits upon the non-Western countries, and then the West places itself in a dominant position that draws a worldwide attention to follow their so-called fashion. In the process of heightening the West itself to possess the leadership in the field of fashion, the West first attaches itself with two labels – modernity and civilization – accompanied with the later coming Industrial Revolution and the expansion of cities that resulted in the increase of income, the decrease of cost and the desire of cross class practices as well as the re-establishment of self-identity. The behavior of pursuing fashion has a very intimate relationship with these phenomena, for example, people have surplus to access fashion products and the products become cheaper thanks to the mass production and the imitation of the nobility's taste is regarded as a way of creating a new individuality; therefore, the economic growth is leading to the increase of fashion followers and pursuing fashion is pushing the society to a more democratic realm. Owing to these two unique historical developments, fashion was the first time exercised by all the classes and this is how fashion got its two determined characteristics – imitation and novelty. Fashion reflects a trickle-down effect that it starts first through the imitation from the lower classes of the higher ones' styles and when the higher classes' tastes are imitated, they have to abandon them as the matter of individuality and the situation rotates. Therefore, fashion is all about something from the past should be abandoned or renewed in a different form in order to catch up its ephemeral phenomenon that there is always something new coming up; and this constant change makes people to follow the newness and give up the outdated. All these factors coming together make fashion a very strong image that the pursuit of it is not only to put on its materiality, but also to put on the idea it is concerning – self-image and the novelty.

With the expansion of Western fashion, both in form of material products and ideas, the West is using its dominant position to define traditional clothes as the opposite of fashion, because they belong to the past and do not have major changes; consequently, following Western fashion is deemed a practice giving up religious, hierarchical or traditional ties that keep people stay in the past, from moving forward. Therefore, there were examples explaining how non-Western countries adapted Western fashion (both ideas and clothes) as a symbolic step forward to a more egalitarian phase or a more modernized society. And because of these adaptations, the dominant position of the West stays even more firmly in the field of fashion because it is regarded as a role model that produces a lifestyle which draws non-Western countries' attention to follow its path and to imitate it. From the Western eyes, it was a progress for non-Western countries, in a way of pursuing fashion, to approach modernity and civilization (as creations of the West) and to follow this logic, the West is positioning itself in a more advanced and modernized form than the non-West because of their successful models had certain influences on the non-West that they wanted to be like it. Hence, this trickle-down effect is moving from between classes and classes to the West and the non-West. What does it mean? The whole situation is a matter of exoticism. Keeping traditional or national clothes itself does not imply any meanings, but due to the definition the West gives to fashion that constant change is its central principle and the outdated items should be abandoned or renewed because once there is something newer, the older ones become not fashionable. As well as the matter of the meaning that fashion produces, namely individualism and the erase the class boundaries, the West is portraying these two elements as counterparts of restrains and hierarchical society that should be replaced if one wants to achieve modernity and civilization. In this case, the West needs to exoticize the non-West as they were less advanced or less modernized and further to influence them to follow its path to reach the progress. But again, this impact would

not be tenable if non-Western countries do not agree on that and this is how cultural hegemony works – the cultural influences are constructed upon the collective consent instead of forced power.

To note again, the practice of exoticism is a way of translating one's culture or putting one's culture into certain images and these images still can be seen, in the field of fashion, when it comes to the presentation of fashion items. To be more precise, on the runway, non-Western (non-white) models are still, to some extent, used with the purpose to present certain themes. As the case study shows earlier, the collections with the most models of color did have a certain message or a cultural representation to send. Colored models were used in order to display ethnical elements from Christian Dior's works, to illustrate a definite culture as one can see from Alexander McQueen's Latin theme or Ralph Lauren's North Africa theme, or to contrast the West's modernity that models of color were dressed in a nostalgic sense and then to picture most black models as jungle dwellings or warriors. Certainly, in those collections there were many white models, which means, white models were also sent to become jungle queens, warriors or to present ethnical elements, but the main argument is, these collections had the most or the second most non-white models; besides, themes were tend to convey the messages, such as city girls, urban life or the elegance had quite fewer non-white models. Even though the given examples were very few if the statistics are based on two hundred and twenty two fashion shows, their numbers indeed told us a message that non-white models are still constructed on certain pictures through the Western eyes and those certain pictures were composed by the ideas of contrasting modern, civilized life or the ideas of representing one specific or multi-ethnical cultures.

All in all, exoticism is not a matter of good or bad, it is just the way that how people translate other's culture through their own eyes or under the fixed impressions, and this practice would not work if no one agrees on that; furthermore, the non-white models were not necessarily put into negative images but they just had

more distinctive appearances that can demonstrate the messages that designers wanted to deliver. And also because of the different looks from the white models, colored models are exoticized in such ways.

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Appendix

Appendix I

Turns taken by models on the runway of 12 fashion houses:¹⁷⁸

Fashion Houses in Paris:

Fashion Houses
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¹⁷⁸ All the references see 'Reviews of fashion shows', *Style.com*/, <http://www.style.com/fashionshows/>

Fashion houses in Milan:

Fashion Houses Year / Season	Fendi		Gucci		Prada	
	Turns taken by models on the runway					
	By Non-White models	Total turns	By Non-White models	Total turns	By Non-White models	Total turns
2001 S/S	6	62	8	49	0	57
2001 A/W	2	54	8	45	0	59
2002 S/S	6	58	15	43	0	51
2002 A/W	6	54	13	42	0	49
2003 S/S	14	70	13	44	0	43
2003 A/W	7	68	6	44	0	45
2004 S/S	8	69	8	40	0	54
2004 A/W	8	57	7	39	0	50
2005 S/S	10	70	5	40	0	57
2005 A/W	9	50	4	42	3	52
2006 S/S	0	50	1	42	0	53
2006 A/W	0	51	1	42	3	47
2007 S/S	0	42	1	43	5	47
2007 A/W	0	39	1	46	3	43
2008 S/S	1	34	0	52	2	45
2008 A/W	0	45	0	46	2	42
2009 S/S	1	35	2	49	2	39
2009 A/W	2	43	5	49	0	40
2010 S/S	7	42	4	46	3	36
2010 A/W	2	38	6	48	4	44

Fashion houses in London:

Fashion Houses Year / Season	Alexander McQueen		Burberry Prorsum		Vivienne Westwood	
	Turns taken by models on the runway					
	By Non-White models	Total turns	By Non-White models	Total turns	By Non-White models	Total turns
2001 S/S	6	49	0	64	N/A	
2001 A/W	3	67	0	42		
2002 S/S	10	66	N/A			
2002 A/W	0	57	0	36		
2003 S/S	4	57	0	39		
2003 A/W	1	57	0	41		
2004 S/S	N/A		0	42		
2004 A/W	0	54	2	42		
2005 S/S	9	36	2	42		
2005 A/W	0	48	0	45		
2006 S/S	2	56	3	59	0	67
2006 A/W	0	51	3	57	12	52
2007 S/S	6	46	5	52	8	54
2007 A/W	3	49	2	53	12	58
2008 S/S	9	55	2	45	3	58
2008 A/W	1	42	2	48	21	55
2009 S/S	4	41	0	47	20	48
2009 A/W	2	46	2	43	14	55
2010 S/S	4	45	6	48	23	53
2010 A/W	N/A		6	53	18	53

Fashion houses in New York:

Fashion Houses Year / Season	DKNY		Marc Jacobs		Ralph Lauren	
	Turns taken by models on the runway					
	By Non-White models	Total turns	By Non-White models	Total turns	By Non-White models	Total turns
2001 S/S	2	31	0	52	11	59
2001 A/W	N/A		0	52	11	61
2002 S/S	N/A		0	43	3	39
2002 A/W	2	31	1	28	4	43
2003 S/S	4	48	0	46	6	52
2003 A/W	4	41	2	54	2	46
2004 S/S	5	48	2	52	4	48
2004 A/W	2	51	2	52	2	52
2005 S/S	N/A		1	46	2	49
2005 A/W	N/A		1	59	4	58
2006 S/S	N/A		4	63	1	48
2006 A/W	4	33	4	58	2	54
2007 S/S	6	55	8	53	5	52
2007 A/W	5	58	8	57	6	51
2008 S/S	2	42	9	72	5	56
2008 A/W	3	54	7	57	3	47
2009 S/S	9	61	7	53	11	47
2009 A/W	6	45	10	60	13	55
2010 S/S	7	46	6	51	4	50
2010 A/W	3	41	6	56	7	50

Appendix II

Themes / main concept and inspirations for the fashion shows:¹⁷⁹

Fashion houses in Paris:

Fashion Houses	Christian Dior	Louis Vuitton	Yves Saint Laurent
Year / Season	Themes / main concepts of show		
2001 S/S	Tough babes	Uniforms	Powerful women
2001 A/W	Hip-hop queen	Monochromatic (black)	Exclusively in black
2002 S/S	Street chic go globetrot	Dreamy / romantic aesthetic	Leopard prints
2002 A/W	Ethnic color and prints	A fill-up of the neglected ground between the glamorous and the everyday	Adult-erotic frame of mind
2003 S/S	A current of new fluorescents, khakis and metallics	'50s-and-'60s style	Surrealist phase
2003 A/W	18 th century clothes	'60s and '80s	'70s
2004 S/S	Marlene style	The way a young women wants to look and feel	Women as dandy
2004 A/W	The Edwardiana / teddy boy revival of the 1950s	Scotland, Tissot, a little Foujita	Retro of the 1977 collection
2005 S/S	A mish-mash mix of old references masquerading as something new	'40s	Something between '50s and '80s
2005 A/W	From the mod sixties vibe right through to the romantic Empire look	Retro vs. modernism and restraint vs. opulence	Chic, considered, and rigorous
2006 S/S	A veritable who's who of Parisian society	'80s Italian fashion	Picasso / Dada
2006 A/W	Goth-metal rock chick	A collection that translated the look from Manhattan-American into Louis Vuitton French	Powerful clothes women might want to wear
2007 S/S	Women who are looking for something to wear	Romantic-cum-sporty, casual-but-pretty	Modesty, humility, and virginity
2007 A/W	A camp-fabulous Hollywood spectacular	Scarlett Johansson and Vermeer	Upper-body volume
2008 S/S	'20s-through-'40s styling	References from Richard Prince	Goddess and stars
2008 A/W	Optimism and opulence of the '60s	Darts, folds, and pleats	About cut and about looking at the clothes
2009 S/S	'80s	Little Parisienne princess	An extreme simplicity
2009 A/W	Paul Poiret	All those great French muses of the late '80s	A confident vision of modern city wardrobing
2010 S/S	A '40s film noir theme	The movement that came after punk	A natural and honest chic
2010 A/W	Equestrian-themed	And God created woman	'70s-influenced shapes

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

Fashion Houses in Milan:

Fashion Houses Year / Season	Fendi	Gucci	Prada
	Themes / main concepts of show		
2001 S/S	Strong / powerful look	Sleek and lean look	Schoolmarm charm
2001 A/W	Black / white '60s street style	Sexiness	Carnaby Street Chic
2002 S/S	Strong, confident and aggressive women	Relaxed, laid-back feeling	'50s notions of jet-set elegance
2002 A/W	Barbarian deluxe – furs	Rock chic	Sexiness
2003 S/S	Warrior girls	Short dresses and skirts	'60s
2003 A/W	The epitome of sophisticated modernity	Strong beauty	A vision of high chic
2004 S/S	Softness and femininity	She's eye candy	Feminine, vintage but new
2004 A/W	A major fur moment	The Gucci woman: the embodiment of sexual confidence, burnished to a high gloss and bursting with predatory power	A dream of extreme romanticism
2005 S/S	Print, color, and jersey dressing	A touch Indian, but transformed into a statement of Italianate sexuality	Something more young and sporty, tall and narrow
2005 A/W	Fur / oversized coats	Elegance and rigor	Something structured, strong, and womanly
2006 S/S	(Only descriptions of materials)	It's colorful and floral prints	Natural and simple
2006 A/W	Short volumes à la the '60s	It's less romantic and more about energy and showing off	Women should go back to strength
2007 S/S	The most traditional craftsmanship with the most futuristic of fabrics	The seventies disco	A powerful woman
2007 A/W	The out-and-out luxe side of things	Dresses of '30s and '40s	Simple but strange
2008 S/S	Originals	'50s style and floral prints	Late '60s and early '70s
2008 A/W	The extra extras in the furs	Rock chick deluxe	Something that was feminine and strong
2009 S/S	Transparency, pale color, and bouncy crinolined skirts	Gucci Exotica	Glamour and eroticism
2009 A/W	A strong silhouette with a subtle undercurrent of glamour	All urban teenagers are rocking	Freedom, nature and serious
2010 S/S	Wispy fabric, ivory and ecru, off-pastels, and fraying edges	A glam, athletic, almost sci-fi path	From business to beach
2010 A/W	Less fur, more coats	More mature clothes for more mature women	Classics. Revising the '90s Prada

Fashion houses in London:

Fashion Houses	Alexander McQueen	Burberry Prorsum	Vivienne Westwood
Year / Season	Themes / main concepts of show		
2001 S/S	Gothic / theatrical		
2001 A/W	Hard-as-nails girls	Interaction between classic notions of elegance / cutting-edge materials	N/A
2002 S/S	Latin-themed	N/A	
2002 A/W	Power to the women	(Only descriptions of materials)	
2003 S/S	Underwater scenes	Young / casual British feel	
2003 A/W	Travel through Eurasian ethnic into punk and on to motocross	'80s	
2004 S/S	N/A	British summer shower	
2004 A/W	All theatrics and focus purely on design	'30s	
2005 S/S	It was a lot of McQueen, all in one big collection	Britishness	
2005 A/W	'60s (Filched movie and rock n' roll themes)	'60s London, Marianne Faithfull, and Yorkshire,	
2006 S/S	(A more wearable collection)	A young English girl dressing as if she was an old-fashioned deb	(Only descriptions of materials)
2006 A/W	A state of the art hologram	the Duke and Duchess of Windsor	Layered-up look
2007 S/S	Barry Lyndon, Goya, and the Marchesa Casati	Making things lighter and more joyous	(only descriptions of materials)
2007 A/W	A thing of the past	It's the same Burberry girl. She's just rocking a bit more	Big knit furs and blown-out plaids
2008 S/S	A tribute to the late Isabella Blow and Philip Treacy's hats	The sexiest version of Burberry	A lot of different, seemingly unrelated looks packed onto the runway
2008 A/W	A fantasy of crinolined princesses and British-colonial romance of such beauty	(Only descriptions of materials)	Eco Warrior
2009 S/S	Charles Darwin and the deleterious results of industrialization on the natural world	Garden Girls	Bustles, exposed undergirdings and swaddled fabrics
2009 A/W	High-drama satires of twentieth-century landmark fashion	The arty intellectuals of the Bloomsbury group of the '20s and '30s	+5°
2010 S/S	An apocalyptic forecast of the future ecological meltdown of the world	Burberry gone short, draped, deluxe, and glamorous, and aimed at the very young	Anti-consumerism and pro-green
2010 A/W	N/A	Strong and sexy, masculine and feminine	From Kings Road punks to ravished Hardy-esque milkmaids

Fashion houses in New York:

Fashion Houses Year / Season	DKNY	Marc Jacobs	Ralph Lauren
	Themes / main concepts of show		
2001 S/S	Men's suiting	Mid-'80s	Graphic and geometric
2001 A/W	N/A	Self-consciously glammed-up evening looks	Equestrian uniforms
2002 S/S	N/A	All about color	Infatuation with Americana
2002 A/W	Pop culture / current trend	Subdued look	Serious / elegant
2003 S/S	Flippy pleated minis. etro-tinged dresses. Cargo capri pants. Short shorts and pencil skirts.	Hard and soft, past and present, good girl and bad girl	Romantic swoon
2003 A/W	The sidewalk society of her beloved New York City	'60s	Transposing menswear into a feminine key
2004 S/S	New York woman's road trip	Pretty clothes and gentle colors	Classic sportswear with a sense of luxury
2004 A/W	Smart, snappy and a little bit trendy	She's got a proper/naughty thing going on	Simple, perfectly cut clothes in excellent fabrics
2005 S/S	N/A	Colors	'30s society in Hollywood and Manhattan
2005 A/W		Volume	(Only descriptions of materials)
2006 S/S		Teen spirit	Charms of a more rustic nature
2006 A/W	The young urban woman's current uniform	High-school good girls gone bad	Modern shooting party
2007 S/S	Girl tribes of New York at work and at play	Light, kindness, peace, and generosity	Black-and-white motif
2007 A/W	(Only descriptions of materials)	The gangly teenage girls onstage hold themselves like proper ladies	Urbane show
2008 S/S	It's about the modernity of New York	Transparency	"I drew upon everything I ever loved, and that was it"
2008 A/W	'60s' baby-doll silhouettes	Calm. Glamour. Casual. Beautiful women	(Only descriptions of materials)
2009 S/S	Cool girl's uniform	An American in Paris	North Africa
2009 A/W	Modern, grown-up polish	The good old days (80s) in New York	Great-looking outerwear and subtly glamorous evening options
2010 S/S	Florals	A trip to the theater, the ballet, the opera	The worker, the farmer, the cowboy, the pioneer women of the prairies
2010 A/W	'60s school girl	A sweetly romantic palette of soft neutrals and pale pastels	The Edwardian tailoring and romantic florals

Appendix III

Non-white models in exceptions:¹⁸⁰

Models regardless of their European ethnicity / Caucasian features categorized as non-white models due to distinct darker skin:

Name	Nationality	Ethnicity	Color of eyes / hair
Karoline Amaral	Brazil	Brazilian	Black / Green
Roza Gough	Dominica	Dominican	Brown / Green
Daniela de Jesus	Mexico	Mexican	Brown / Green
Ana Beatriz Barros	Brazil	Portuguese / Spanish	Light brown / Green

¹⁸⁰ For models' profiles see Fashion Model Directory, <http://www.fashionmodeldirectory.com/models> or Models.com, <http://models.com/>.

Curriculum Vitae

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Name	KANG CHIA-CHING
Nationality	TAIWAN
Date of Birth	15 TH NOVEMBER 1983
Home Address	700 No. 176 Kai-Shan Rd., Tainan City, Taiwan
Current Address	Hietzinger Hauptstraße 93/1/13, 1130 Wien, Österreich
Tel.	+43 676 380 6034
E-mail	JKANG1115@GMAIL.COM

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Dates (From – To)	09. 2004 – 06. 2008
Name and type of organization providing education and training	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology, Kaohsiung, Taiwan Dept. of Applied German Language, College of Foreign Languages
Principal subjects / occupational skills covered	German language courses, European culture studies, economic and political science, electronic commerce, trade correspondence in German
Title of qualification awarded	Bachelor of Art
Level in national classification	Level A

Dates (From – To)	10. 2009 – 08. 2010
Name and type of organization providing education and training	University of Leipzig, Germany Global Studies – A European Perspective
Principal subjects / occupational skills covered	Social science, history, economic and political Science and cultural studies in a context of globalization
Title of qualification awarded	Master of Art
Level in national classification	Level B

Dates (From – To)	10. 2010 – 08. 2011
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Name and type of organization providing education and training	University of Vienna, Austria Global Studies – Global History
Principal subjects / occupational skills covered	Social science, history, economic and political science and cultural studies in a context of globalization
Title of qualification awarded	Master of Art
Master thesis topic	Exoticism and the Non-White Fashion Models - A Thematic Approach

WORKING EXPERIENCES

Dates (from – to)	05. 2004 – 06. 2009
Name and address of employer	Ms Zhang Rui-fang / 708 No. 369 Ping-tong Rd., Anping District, Tainan City, Taiwan, R.O.C.
Type of business or sector	Education Institutions
Occupation or position held	English Teacher
Main activities and responsibilities	Phonics, Pronunciation, English magazine reading and listening comprehension training

Dates (from – to)	06. 2009 – 09. 2009
Name and address of employer	Mr Huang Song / 10560 No. 33-3 Guanfu N. Rd., Songshan District, Taipei City, Taiwan
Type of business or sector	Daily News Department
Occupation or position held	Journalist
Main activities and responsibilities	Daily news report: specialized in consumption and real estate

INTERNSHIPS

Event	1 st Internship Camp of Citizen Journalist	08. 2007- 09. 2007
Organizer	Taiwan Public Television Service	
Responsibilities	Self news-making, editing and reporting	

Company	Twinstars Cable TV Station Co., Ltd.	02. 2009- 05. 2009
Department	News Dept.	
Position	Journalist Assistant	
Responsibilities	Assist with news-making process, foreign news translating and editing	

VOLUNTEER

Event	Zwischen Mythos und Realität: Begegnung mit Roma	06. 09. 2011- 08. 09. 2011
Organizer	Romano-Centro	
Responsibilities	Organizing fashion shows for Roma kids	
Website	http://www.romano-centro.org/NEW/index.php?option=com_eventlist&view=details&id=50%3Azwischen-mythos-und-realitaet-begegnung-mit-roma&lang=de	

SOCIAL, ORGANISATIONAL AND COMPETENCE

Conference	GLOBAL INITIATIVE SYMPOSIUM TAIWAN 2010	07. 2010
Position	Delegate and Presenter of Workshop Presentation under the Topic of “Kazakhstan as an Emerging Country?”	
Organizer	National Taiwan University	
Co-Organizer	Ministry of Taiwan Foreign Affairs	
Website	http://gis-taiwan.ntu.edu.tw/2010/	

Activity	SCENARIO PROCESS: “SOUTH AFRICA 2010”	04. 2010- 08. 2010
Organizer	Daimler AG Society and Technology Research	

Organization	AN HONORARY MEMBER OF THE PHI TAU PHI SCHOLASTIC HONOR SOCIETY OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA	06. 2008
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Student Union	VICE-PRESIDENT OF STUDENT ASSOCIATION OF APPLIED GERMAN DEPT.	09. 2006-06. 2007
Website	http://www.ifad.nkfust.edu.tw/	

Activity	EMCEE OF 2006 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES – CROSS CULTURAL COMMUNICATION	05. 2006
Guidance	National Science Council	
Organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology, Taiwan College of Foreign Languages	
Co-organizer	Dept. of Applied German	

Activity	NATIONAL KAOHSIUNG FIRST UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY'S 11TH ANNIVERSARY PARTY MC	12. 2005
Organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology	

Activity	EMCEE OF 14TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF GERMANIST- AND GERMAN SCHOLARS ASSOCIATION	12. 2005
Organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology Dept. of Applied German	

Activity	MASTER OF 7TH GERMAN OKTOBERFEST PARTY OF DEPT. OF APPLIED GERMAN	10. 2005
Organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology Dept. of Applied German	

Event	Master of 2005 Enhancing the Global Competitiveness of the Industry in Taiwan Through the Cooperation of the Industry, Government and Academia Southern Taiwan Forum and Exhibition of Achievements in the Collaboration of Industries and Technological Institutes	09. 2005
Organizer	Ministry of Education 、Ministry of Economic Affairs 、Environmental Protection Administration 、Council of Agricultural and National Science Council	
Co-organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology	

Activity	MASTER OF 23RD RHEIN CUP ACADEMIC COMPETITION	05. 2005
Organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology, Taiwan Dept. of Applied German	

Activity	MASTER OF 6TH GOETHE CUP ACADEMIC COMPETITION	04. 2005
Organizer	National Kaohsiung First University of Science and Technology, Taiwan Dept. of Applied German	

Student Union	PUBLIC RELATION OF STUDENT ASSOCIATION OF APPLIED GERMAN DEPT.	02. 2005- 01. 2006
Website	http://www.ifad.nkfust.edu.tw/	

Activity	COORDINATOR OF DANCE PERFORMANCE SHOW OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES IN TAIWAN	05. 2001
Organizer	Dance Club at Tainan University of Technology	
Co-organizer	Tainan Municipal Cultural Center	

College Club	PRESIDENT OF STREET DANCING CLUB AT TAINAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY	09. 2000- 06. 2001
Website	http://club.tut.edu.tw/e04/index.htm	

College Club	VICE-PRESIDENT OF STREET DANCING CLUB AT TAINAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY	09. 1999- 06. 2000
Website	http://club.tut.edu.tw/e04/index.htm	