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THE ART OF THE DISTINGUISHED: HOW FASHION MAGAZINES INFLUENCE THE DEFINITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN GLAMOUR.

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THE ART OF THE DISTINGUISHED: HOW FASHION MAGAZINES INFLUENCE
THE DEFINITION AND UNDERSTANDING OF MODERN GLAMOUR

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
Professional Communication

by
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May 2012

Accepted by:
Dr. Susan Hilligoss, Committee Chair
Dr. Cynthia Haynes
Dr. Sean Morey

ABSTRACT

While the fashion world, including its influential print publications, is no stranger to inquiries about social status, aesthetics, and self worth, there is currently room for the examination of what type of appeals create and sustain the concept of “glamour” in modern society. This study investigates how fashion magazines construct the idea of glamour to influence readers’ understanding and definition of this term as well as its own placement on the social spectrum of sophistication through a visual analysis of the fashion spreads of four contemporary fashion magazines. Using Bourdieu’s understanding of taste and distinction, John Berger’s understanding of visual culture, and Baudelaire’s concept of the *flâneur*, I will investigate how one’s understanding of taste, personal and otherwise, may influence one’s self-perceived social status and understanding of the term glamour, consciously or subconsciously.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, Marilyn Frances Freeman Bowen. My most treasured experiences in life would have never happened without her support, encouragement, love, and inextinguishable faith. She has always been my place of refuge and for that I will never be able to express enough gratitude. Whether sewing Barbie clothes I designed or sitting front row at each and every awards ceremony, my grandmother never fails to show confidence in all that I do. She is my first best friend and I am her heart.

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CHAPTER ONE

A PLATFORM

I guess I've always lived the glamorous life of a star. It 's nothing new - I used to spend down to the last dime.

Freddie Mercury ...

I don't think I could live without hair, makeup and styling, let alone be the performer I am. I am a glamour girl through and through. I believe in the glamorous life and I live one.

Lady Gaga ...

I have just enough attention to feel glamorous and important.

Diane Lane ...

I love to do glamorous things, like wear Valentino.

Debra Messing ...

Glamour cannot exist without personal social envy being a common and widespread emotion.

John Berger

As seen by the quotations above, the term *glamour* can be linked to a multitude of activities, lifestyles, innate personality traits, social behaviors, and clothing, in particular designer attire. To support the murkiness of this concept one only needs to embark on a quick Internet search of the term. Immediately, information about publications, fashion shows, canine apparel, makeup tips, prosthetic breasts, non-profit organizations supporting teen self-esteem, film history, soft-core pornography,

photographers/photography styles, and even luxurious *yarn* will appear on the computer screen.

As seen above, the choice to designate a person, place, or thing as glamorous can be seen in many different realms. However, not surprisingly, glamour is a term heard/printed/coveted time and again in the fashion and beauty industry. Personally, I have encountered this concept countless times in the workplace. While I was always capable of interpreting what my colleagues were saying, I always wondered what they themselves thought they were conveying (and further if this reflection had ever taken place). This curiousness, this questioning, began during my undergraduate career. In college, my participation as a stylist, coordinator, and public relations assistant for Charleston Fashion Week introduced me to the glorious, colorful, and accelerated world of fashion. Later, I was exposed to the inner-workings of modern fashion magazines. As an intern at Punch PR and Marc Fisher Footwear, I was in charge of correspondences between the PR executives at my respective company and the fashion editors/assistants at numerous publications. Furthermore, at Marc Fisher I was trusted daily with sample pulls (the selection of specific shoes for specific fashion shoots) and deliveries to stylists and editors at some of the most influential magazines in the country (*Glamour*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Oprah*, *Instyle*, and others). It was through these experiences that I started to have a more comprehensive understanding of the term glamour and the importance of the fashion magazine in this creation.

This study investigates how fashion magazines construct the idea of glamour to influence readers' understanding/definition of this term as well as its own placement on

this particular social spectrum of sophistication through a visual analysis of the so-called fashion spreads of four contemporary fashion magazines. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine the scholarship pertinent to developing the concept of glamour.

Literature Review

To understand the concept of glamour, it is necessary to understand the scholarship of visual culture, specifically the culture associated with fashion and fashion publications, including power relations. In particular, research on the sociology of taste/glamour, visual communication, and the development of the flâneuse proved to be instrumental in this study.

Since this research is based on spreads featured in current fashion publications, it was first imperative to understand the production process behind the images displayed each month. In *More Than Just a Fashion Magazine*, Brian Moeran cites the nature of fashion magazines as both cultural products and cultural commodities as a reason why these publications are “sociologically interesting” :

As cultural products, magazines may be said to circulate in a cultural economy of collective meanings. They provide how-to recipes, illustrated stories...particularly in the realms of fashion and beauty...in which the reader’s ideal self is reflected and in which she can herself reflect and act....As commodities, magazines are products of the publishing and print industries and important sites for the advertising and sale of commodities. (727)

In this article, Moeran gives a helpful overview of the fashion magazine industry. He explains how the industry works on the Fall/Spring seasonal calendar (in accordance with

the autumn/winter and spring/summer collections shown in London, New York, Paris, and Milan) and how September is one of the most important issues of the year (728-9). Perhaps most importantly, Moeran describes the “fashion well” seen in almost every issue of every fashion magazine. In his words, “Textually, fashion magazines’ raison d’etre lies in the monthly ‘fashion well’-somewhere between 40 and 52 full-page color photographs of the latest designer clothes, uninterrupted by advertisements...” (729). As a testament to the importance of these fashion wells, they most always feature high-profile designers, photographers, and models (as well as use the best of the best in hair and makeup) (730). To photograph these shots, magazines must rely solely on clothes and accessories “lent” to the fashion editors at the publication. The retail value of these items can range in cost from mere dollars to millions of dollars, and involve lots of political strings. As Moeran explains, “The clothes themselves are lent by fashion houses, which are more or less cooperative and/or fussy, depending on the status of the magazine asking to use them in a photo shoot” (730). By this, he means that highly-esteemed and well-known publications get whatever they want, whenever they want (which can result in an frantic manhunt, or shoehunt, for a particular item requested) and lesser-known periodicals often have to settle with leftovers. Personally, this is a situation I have experienced numerous times. For instance, this past summer the editors at *ELLE* magazine requested a specific shoe for their fall fashion spread. Unfortunately, this shoe was out at another, “less important,” publication. As the sample coordinator, I was given the job of contacting the editors at the second publication, retrieving the shoe, and delivering to the editors at *ELLE* all within a matter of hours. Why do Public Relations

(PR) houses frantically rush to deliver merchandise to these magazines? Because, as a former boss once asked/answered, “Why do design houses send them [editors] millions of dollars of merchandise to photograph, at no cost, with no real expectation or promise of ever receiving these items back? Because, my dear, they make fashion. They validate it. They promote the glamour we sell.”

This promotion is primarily accomplished through the features displayed in the fashion well, in order to create a *fashion story*. Moeran describes the process of the fashion story through a personal account given by a leading editor in the business. This editor details how the fashion story begins when she sees the various shows during the different fashion weeks [London, New York, Paris, Milan]. From there, a certain “seasonal mood” is developed and a theme for the story is created (like Monotone Dress-Up Style or Elegant but Rough). After that, the ideas are then presented to a stylist who manages the photo shoot and incorporates his/her own ideas. These ideas are further developed by the artistic intervention of the photographer. After that, it goes back to the editor to decide what should and should not be featured in the magazine (732-3). One key aspect of this selection, if not always discussed in the industry, is the role of advertisers in the creation of a fashion story (and the entire fashion well). Fashion editors must carefully balance the desires of their readers as well as the desires of their advertisers (who financially support the magazine). As Moeran explains:

...editors publicly talk of reader circulations as an indication of success, thereby suggesting that it is the cultural content of their magazines that sells them. Yet it

is primarily advertising income...that enables a publisher to stay in business and make a profit. (727-8)

This results in a “delicate balancing act” for most fashion editors where they must “cooperate with advertisers subtly” (Moeran 734). As one of Moeran’s interviewee’s states, “We borrow different clothes for our fashion pages and have to choose our brands very carefully. We try to balance the interests of both readers and advertisers...we take turns among different products put out by different fashion and beauty companies” (734).

In addition to an understanding of the editorial process, previous theoretical research on visual culture establishes the conditions for, and definition of, fashion and glamour. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* by Pierre Bourdieu discusses the complex understanding of taste and how societies associate aesthetic choices to levels of sophistication, of which Bourdieu focuses largely on that of “bourgeois” and “intellectual” classifications. Bourdieu discusses the complex understanding of taste when he states:

Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in their objective classifications is expressed or betrayed. (6)

It is precisely these distinctions and classifications that result in one’s own, as well as the collective, understanding of the term glamour. Glamour, on its own, is nothing without the support, and awe, of persons willing to stand up and declare its existence. It is safe to assume that the discernment of persons, objects, and locales as “glamorous” is akin to

their designation as “beautiful.” What are the specifications to be declared as such? The answer is in taste. Social subjects, as referred to by Bourdieu, inherently classify themselves (into a certain group/social status) by making these classifications (6). Through this study, the actual indications of glamour will be observed. As modern fashion magazines are commonly accepted as pioneers of style and trends, more explicitly known for this are their fashion spreads. It is through these observations that a more current, and up-to-date, definition of glamour will be produced.

Glamour is an aspect of material culture. As stated by Crane and Bovone, “fashion can be conceptualized as the...creation and attribution of symbolic values to material culture” (320). From there, these two authors begin to discuss the interconnectivity of the sociology of fashion with the sociology of consumption. When considering fashion in these terms, the cultural production that takes place results in “new interpretations of symbolic values” which are “created and attributed to material culture” (Crane and Bovone 320). These new symbolic values are then internalized by the consumer (or would-be consumer) and used to develop an internal and external persona. As mentioned by Crane and Bovone, “Material goods express values; consumption of these goods is a means for the consumer to communicate messages about the values she holds” (320). The choice of particular material goods can alternatively be considered as decisions of taste, which Bourdieu would agree serves as a representation of an individual’s understanding and place in this world/social strata. These choices that serve to construct the *habitus* of the individual are perhaps so powerful because “they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny

or control by the will” (Bourdieu 466). Every individual in society creates a personal habitus, which is constructed by the judgments and choices she or he makes daily:

The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is constituted. (Bourdieu 170)

According to Bourdieu this space of life-styles serves to reassure the public as to what to expect from certain people as members of a particular social order. These choices allow society to categorize persons by their tastes, which often includes assumptions about the education, occupation, and pedigree of these individuals. Bourdieu describes this tendency to intermix material culture with social capital in detail in his discussion on Classes and Classifications:

Taste is a practical mastery of distributions which makes it possible to sense or intuit what is likely (or unlikely) to befall-and therefore to benefit-an individual occupying a given position in social space. It functions as a sort of social orientation, a “sense of one’s place,” guiding the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which benefit the occupants of that position. It implies a practical anticipation of what the social meaning and value of the chosen practice or thing will probably be, given their distribution in social space and the practical

knowledge the other agents have of the correspondence between goods and groups.(466-7)

These tastes, these judgments, create a societal link between material goods and social meaning, which in turn work together to create the material culture of an era. Each habitus that is observed/revealed not only affects society's perception of the represented individual, but also the classification and understanding of individuals *like* the person in question. These associations, or disassociations, serve to differentiate the social groups that appear in society...the "us v. them" mentality. It is important to note that these distinctions are entirely products of previous classifications made by society. Therefore, social construction works to determine how these choices, or tastes, should be received and evaluated. Hence, this ongoing and deliberative process should be understood in consideration of its fluid nature. As Bordieu states:

...between conditions of existence and practices or representations there intervenes the structuring activity of the agents, who, far from reacting mechanically to mechanical stimulations, respond to the invitations or threats of a world whose meaning they have helped to produce. (467)

A society's material culture that is comprised of meanings that members all "help to produce" is extremely important when investigating the definition of glamour.

Further, reactions to fashion are important in this investigation because:

"Clothing as a form of material culture is especially suitable for studying the relationship between personal values and values attributed to material goods because of its close association with perception of the self" (Crane and Bovone 321).

The relationship between personal values and values attributed to material goods is a key connection to understanding John Berger's discussion on the relationships among publicity, envy, and glamour. Berger's seminal work *Ways of Seeing*, provides the initial definition of glamour that is built upon in this study. For Berger, "publicity is the process of manufacturing glamour...and the state of being envied is what constitutes glamour" (131). To understand how glamour is "manufactured," Berger proceeds to discuss the social relations inherently connected to his idea of publicity (and the definition of publicity used in this content analysis). In this school of thought, publicity begins with a certain desire for pleasure. Most importantly, it is the *desire* for pleasure that creates glamour...not pleasure in itself. The strongest power of publicity lies in its promise of a better existence through the acquisition of some sort of product, service, etc. This better existence represents the future-self of the potential buyer/supporter as a more sophisticated and worldly human being because of his or her support in what is being, in essence, sold (132). This (potential) better existence causes the viewer to ponder his or her own level of happiness *and* how the reactions of others may influence this perception. As Berger explains:

Publicity is always about the future buyer. It offers him an image of himself made glamorous by the product or opportunity it is trying to sell. The image then makes him envious of himself as he might be. Yet what makes this self-which-he-might-be enviable? The envy of others. Publicity is about social relations, not objects.

Its promise is not of pleasure, but of happiness: happiness as judged from the outside of others. The happiness of being envied is glamour. (132)

Furthermore, Berger goes on to discuss the self-esteem boost the attainment of envy, and therefore glamour, gives to the procurer. While this achievement is indeed enviable, it is a lonesome and companionless place for the glamorous one, the envied one. To share this success, or to communicate with admirers of this world, is to decrease your status of glamour. In other words, “You are observed with interest but you do not observe with interest—if you do, you will become less enviable” (Berger 133). Berger notes that this concept is often illustrated in the far-off and indirect gazes of models seen in the modern fashion magazine. As Berger explains, this distance between the viewer and the example of glamour incarnate “...explains the absent, unfocused look of so many glamour images. They look out *over* the looks of envy which sustain them” (133).

In consideration of this desire to improve one’s future self, there are two types of transformations discussed in *Ways of Seeing*. In the last chapter, Berger introduces the concept of the “Cinderella” dream and the ideal of “The Enchanted Palace” (145). In the Cinderella dream, publicity suggests a particular personal change due to the utilization/purchase of a certain asset or product being publicized. According to Berger, this is a tactic chiefly used to influence the actions of what he considers to be “working class” people. In The Enchanted Palace ideal, “Middle class publicity promises a transformation of relationships through a general atmosphere created by an ensemble of products” (Berger 145). This “atmosphere” (or habitus) is one of the key components observed and studied in this research plan. Understanding how this state of being

enviable is presented to, and oftentimes accepted by, the unaware viewer is a subject that is understudied and worthy of further examination.

Another key text used in this research plan is Sturken and Cartwright's *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. This compendium of various visual culture theories offered one important connection to the research of fashion wells. Most importantly, it was here that the connection between Charles Baudelaire's nineteenth-century concept of the flâneur, and glamour as portrayed in the modern magazine was established. As presented in *Practices of Looking*, the flâneur is understood as type of "window shopper" (which could easily be related to the "window shopping-esque" nature of scanning a monthly fashion magazine) whom receives pleasure from "the act of looking at the gleaming offerings of commodity culture" (441). Sturken and Cartwright go on to discuss the emergence of this individual in modern times by saying, "There are many kinds of gazes at play in the visual culture of modernity, from the cinematic predecessors such as the panorama to the cinematic gaze to the gazes at work in the urban environment of pedestrians, commerce, and mall display. (272)" Again, the "window shopping-esque" nature of scanning this panorama could be related to the perusal of a monthly fashion magazine. I propose that this list can be broadened to include that of the modern fashion magazine. It is here that many present-day men and women spend their time browsing trends, perusing merchandise, and evaluating the styles of their contemporaries. The habits of these persons place them very close to, if not certainly into, the designation of the flâneur/flâneuse...which makes them imperative in the decision of what is allowed to be acknowledged as glamorous.

Anne Friedberg extends the idea of the flâneur when she explains how the flâneuse was a natural development following the emergence of the dandy-like flâneur of the nineteenth century and later the encouragement of women to venture into commerce sans escort (421). However, with this said, while the flâneuse shares many freedoms similar to her promenading male counterpart, she is still subject to the masculine gaze. This participation in the “panopticon of the sexual market” (421) is an intriguing link to the modern world of women’s fashion magazines. Certain themes presented in many fashion spreads could easily be linked to hegemonic decisions about the *appropriate* actions/dress/place for women in modern times, as well as in epochs of the past. As is the nature of the fashion magazines, these spreads exert power to influence women on *how* they should dress, *who* should be envied, and *what* they should strive for in the name of glamour.

In Friedberg’s words:

While acquiring new freedoms of life-style and choice, women became subject to new desires created by advertising and consumer culture—desires elaborated in a system of selling and consumption that depended on the relation between looking and buying, on the indirect desire to possess and incorporate through the eye.

(422)

An interesting example of a modern-day flâneuse is given by Helen Richards in her article titled *Sex and the City: a visible flâneuse for the postmodern era?*. In this piece, possible flânerie of the show’s lead character, Carrie Bradshaw (played by Sarah Jessica Parker) is shown. As detailed by Richards, the series focuses primarily on the daily life of

a single woman in New York City. This woman, represented by the Bradshaw, narrates the show and "...is a viewer's guide to life in the city. She is a voyeur who flits from place to place, event to event, sometimes walking the city streets to bring us views of contemporary New York City, its inhabitants and their daily lives" (148). This "walking the city streets" is an important starting point when comparing Carrie Bradshaw to the modern concept of the flâneur and Friedberg's concept of the female flâneuse. After introducing this comparison, Richards asks "Can Carrie be a visible flâneuse for the postmodern era?" (150).

In answering this question, Richards examines the understanding of the nineteenth-century male flâneur. According to her, flâneurs were men who "moved freely about the city, observing and being observed, but never interacting with others" (150). These men, whilst uninvolved with other city-dwellers, participated in the cultural trends and styles of the era. In particular, flâneurs were known to pay particular attention to their hygiene and dress (which suggests some desire to connect with and/or create envy among fellow citizens). Richards explains this further when she mixes her own description with that of Baudelaire, "Here was a man who rejoiced in the appearance of things, including the fashions of the day. The flâneur was "happy to be alive and nicely dressed," who noticed if a fashion or the cut of the garment has [sic] been slightly modified" (150). The importance of "being observed" and the dandy-like desire to be well-dressed serve as a basis for the comparison of flânerie and Carrie Bradshaw in this piece. Richards summarizes this comparison by saying, "Like the traditional flâneur of the modernist period, Carrie likes watching and to be watched" and also "...the one way that Carrie

does bring attention to herself, thus making her extremely visible, is her choice of clothes. Carrie is in the same mould as Baudelaire's flâneur..." (154).

In her discussing of the development of the female flâneuse, Richards addresses the association with prostitutes the women in this category often encounter. The idea of a single woman, without guardianship, was open to censure in both modern and post-modern times (a connection Richards makes with the backlash faced by Bradshaw on the show). However, Anne Friedberg is mentioned as a defender of the non-streetwalker streetwalker when her belief that these women were encouraged and created by the development of shopping malls is stated (Richards 151). Here, fashion and the act of observing are once again spoken of together in a discussion of flânerie. Richards says, "The department store was a public space where women were free to wander aimlessly, *to look at people and the latest fashions*, without the prospect of being labeled loose women." (151). According to Friedberg, Richards, and many others, this freedom is what gave birth to the female flâneuse -- a development that has been said to greatly influence the fields of journalism, fashion, photography...and television (as seen by the character Carrie Bradshaw).

This discussion of the flâneur (and flâneuse) can be connected with Berger's statement that the "glamorous" look out *over* the envious looks they receive (Berger 133). In this sense, Berger's glamorous citizens act much in the same manner as Richards' flâneuse. This similarity stands to support the claim that perhaps to be a flâneur/flâneuse is to be glamorous. Which further proposes the idea that paying attention to trends in fashion/maintaining an elegant appearance also lends itself to the obtainment of glamour.

Research Question

As stated earlier, this study investigates how fashion magazines construct the idea of glamour to influence readers' understanding/definition of this term as well as its own placement on this particular social spectrum of sophistication through a visual analysis of the so-called fashion spreads of four contemporary fashion magazines. For this study, I define "fashion magazines" as monthly periodicals that are openly geared towards women and fashion. The term "glamour" is initially referred to by the definition given by John Berger in *Ways of Seeing*, as "the state of being envied"(131) before a fuller, more in-depth answer is given by the content analysis conducted in this study. In addition, the "social spectrum of sophistication" is defined as the continuum used to gauge the "bourgeois" and "intellectual" tendencies of the magazine in regards to their cover spreads and fashion wells (as discussed by Bourdieu). The methodology for this research is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

A METHOD

The choice to examine fashion magazines for this study, as a determinant of what constitutes glamour, was easily influenced by my background in the field and the theories discussed in the previous chapter. For a thorough and complete research plan, the decision was made to complete a content analysis of four fashion magazines for the Fall 2011 season. The design of this analysis followed the model given by Gillian Rose in *Visual Methodologies*, which structured all aspects of my research (59-73). In this book, Rose states that, “The method of content analysis is based on counting the frequency of certain visual elements in a clearly defined sample of images, and then analyzing those frequencies” (61-62). For this study, all fashion wells (to use Moeran’s term) displayed in each issue of *ELLE*, *Lucky*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, and *Vogue* from September 2011 to December 2011 (aka Fall 2011). This data set is explicitly defined (because it includes all editorial fashion wells from the collected publications) and is without question a collection of images (fashion wells include limited text and act more as a storyboard of images, manufactured by some of the best photographers in the world). Furthermore, the choice to observe four of the widest circulated fashion magazines in the United States, as well as the decision to include every single editorial fashion spread, ensures that the representativeness of the data set is complete and true to the subject analyzed. In addition, the choice to observe fashion wells, as opposed to other areas of the magazine (i.e. celebrity interviews, advice columns, humor articles) was made because, as Moeran

eloquently states, these wells are the “raison d’etre” of the publication and the source of the most production costs (Moeran 729).

Selection Criteria

The publications chosen were all cited as having the widest circulation numbers in the Fashion, Beauty, and Grooming category by the Audit Bureau of Circulations (North America) as of June 30, 2011 (the most recent publication date upon the beginning of this study) (“Consumer Magazines...”). The choice to replace the magazine with the fourth highest Total Paid, Verified and Analyzed Non-Paid Circulation (*People Stylewatch*) with the next highest circulation (*Harper’s Bazaar*) was made due to the fact that *People Stylewatch* does not regularly include the editorial fashion spreads that will be analyzed for this study. Because of this, *People Stylewatch* exists more as a buyer’s catalogue than an artistic commentary on style and fashion. With that said, the final publications chosen for this project are *ELLE*, *Lucky*, *Harper’s Bazaar* and *Vogue*.

Brief Descriptions of Magazines

ELLE

Elle is a monthly women’s fashion magazine that operates with the mission to “influence women's whole lives, helping them to be chic, smart, and modern” (ellemediakit.com).

Elle originated in France in 1945 and gained its title from the French translation of the word “she.” The magazine is one of the largest publications in the world, with over thirty-six editions worldwide and sister-titles such as *Elle Décor*, *Elle Girl*, and *Elle Cuisine* (Sagaciti).

Lucky

Since its launch in December 2000, *Lucky* has been one of publishing giant Conde Nast's biggest successes, with circulation going from 500,000 to over 1.1 million (Lucky MEDIAKIT). This magazine is a mixture of the typical editorial content seen in magazines (how-to, celebrity interviews, fashion spreads) and a monthly shopping guide (complete with stickers to mark your favorite items). This relaxed format makes *Lucky* one of the most relatable and accessible fashion publications in the market today (Lucky MEDIAKIT).

Harper's Bazaar

First published in 1867, *Harper's Bazaar* is a monthly fashion magazine published by Hearst. It currently boasts twenty-seven international editions, all of which focus on fashion and beauty and continually feature the freshest trends. Each month, “*Harper's Bazaar* showcases the world's most visionary stylists and talented designers to deliver readers a visually stunning portrayal of the world of fashion and beauty” (Harper's Bazaar USA).

Vogue

Arguably the most influential fashion magazine out today, *Vogue* was established in 1909 as a spin-off of a popular weekly societal paper. Since then, it has evolved into a monthly guidebook on the who's, what's, and how's of the elite. Its transformation over the years has depicted, and influenced, the changing role of women from the early 20th century until current times. This magazine is known for illustrating the beautiful, and the glamorous, through the combination of expert photography and magnificent haute

couture clothing. Furthermore, the current editor-in-chief of the magazine, Anna Wintour, is responsible for garnering and fostering new talent in the fashion world, and is viewed for some as a legitimization tool for newcomers in the field (Angeletti 8).

Data Analysis

To maintain the scope of this project, and because I completed a full content analysis of the fashion spreads in four separate publications, only the Fall season will be examined in this project. The Fall season, commonly noted as the most important time in fashion, will cover the September Issue (released in early August) through the December Issue (released in early November). The decision to start with the month of September is not only made because it is the “beginning” of Fall, but also because it is the most influential month in fashion publications (as can be seen in the documentary *The September Issue*). This issue not only includes the most editorial content of the year, but also the highest number of advertising pages...which results in one heavy magazine! In addition, the last issue examined in this research plan, the December issue, is also one of the thickest (and most content-laden) of the year because of holiday shopping. The two issues immediately outside of this analysis, August and January, consequently happen to be two of the lightest and content-thin issues of the year (*The September Issue*). It is for this reason that I have limited my research to that of September 2011 through December 2011. These four issues represent a firm slice of one-third of the year, as well as the most heavily supported/slaved over season in fashion. In the words of one *Vogue* staffer, “September is the January of fashion... This is when I change, this is when I get back into those high heels...” (*The September Issue*).

Coding Scheme

As previously mentioned, fashion wells and monthly covers will be examined in each issue. Fashion wells will be coded for the same cues as the cover in each issue. The codes fall into five categories and were decided upon after a preliminary coding one month's set. These codes are as follows: 1-Text, 2-Presented Gender Identity (Female or Male), 3-Habitus, 4-Naturalism in Photo and 5-Gaze of Subject. These five categories are further divided into subcategories, as seen below.

Text
Barthes Anchorage
Gendered Identity Cues (Female/Male)
Naturalistic/ Non-naturalistic Cues
Gendered Habitus Cues (Female/Male)
Material Ownership Habitus Cues (Plentiful/Limited)
Exotic Habitus Cues (Plentiful/Limited)

Presented Gender Identity (Female or Male)
Through Gendered Activity
Through Gendered Companionship
Through Gendered Costume
Through Gendered Footwear
Through Gendered Hair
Through Gendered Posture

Habitus
Signs of Material Ownership (Plentiful/Limited)
Signs of Material Co-Ownership (Plentiful/Limited)
Appeals to the Exotic (Plentiful/Limited)
Appeals to the Non-Exotic (Plentiful/Limited)

Naturalism in Photo

Very Naturalistic (akin to news photo)

Somewhat Naturalistic (realistic, but some abstraction)

Not Naturalistic (very abstract with obvious artistic choices)

Gaze of Subject

Indirect and/or Occluded

Direct with Smize/Direct without Smize

Operationalized Codes

Text

Anchorage

When investigating these magazines for cues on glamour construction, it was imperative to analyze the text used on the publication's cover, as well as in each fashion well. First, the text was examined for signs of anchorage to the image being displayed. According to Barthes, anchorage is when text is used to "direct the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others" (qtd. in Trachtenberg 275). In the case of fashion magazines, this tactic is often used to bring attention to a certain theme in the fashion story (as presented in the fashion well). For instance, if a fashion story featuring a selection of aquamarine sundresses were to be presented with text reading "Summer Blues," this would anchor the signified message of a blue dress as stylish summer apparel (and thus lessening the importance of other aspects of the photograph).

Gendered Identity Cues

While coding the text in each issue, it was extremely important to look at cues of gender

presented by the magazine. In regards to text, words explicitly related to femaleness were coded as feminine (woman, women, girl, girly, feminine, she, lady, ladylike, etc) while words explicitly related to maleness were coded as masculine (boy, boyish, masculine, male, he, man, manly, manliness, etc).

Naturalistic/Non-naturalistic Cues

When coding text for Naturalistic/Non-naturalistic cues, the “realness” or “believability” of the text was considered. The more “naturalistic” a text/image appears, the more it seems likely to exist, as is, in everyday life/reality (think news photo, minutes from a staff meeting, etc). Non-naturalistic cues are seen in text/images that contain a high level of abstraction, and thus are presented with detectable artistic choice (think the image of a woman as a mermaid, surrounded under the sea with talking sea creatures). In regards to text, words like “real, everyday, understandable, simple” were coded as naturalistic, while terms like “fantasy, dream, illusion” were coded as non-naturalistic.

Gendered Habitus Cues

When coding the text for gendered habitus cues, phrases referring to the surroundings pictured were analyzed. As discussed by Bourdieu, the habitus can be considered as a “life-space” (170) and this life-space is often delineated by gender. With this in mind, text was coded for female habitus cues when it referred to areas of society predominately associated with women (i.e. the home in general, the kitchen, the closet, the bedroom, the secretarial desk, etc). Text was coded for male habitus clues when it referred to areas of society predominately associated with men (the wilderness, the boardroom, the auto shop, etc).

Material Ownership Habitus Clues

Coding for ownership habitus clues within the text was important to illustrate if text was used to anchor the idea of glamour with material wealth and ownership in the habitus.

For this, text was coded as having material ownership cues when possessive phrases like “your home, your closet, your jewelry” were used often (plentiful) or rarely (limited).

Exotic Habitus Cues

This subcategory was used to determine if text was used to emphasize the exoticism and illusiveness of the image displayed by the magazine. For instance, terms like “faraway, culture, foreign, exotic, travel” were all signs of an exotic habitus. In contrast terms like “home, family, American” were viewed as non-exotic. Magazine covers and fashion wells were coded as having either plentiful or limited exotic habitus cues.

Presented Gendered Identity (Female or Male)

In coding for presented gendered identity (and its relation to glamour), the work of Berger was enormously beneficial. According to Berger, female stereotypes include “the serene mother (Madonna), free-wheeling secretary (actress, king’s mistress), perfect hostess (spectator-owner’s wife), and sex-object (Venus, nymph surprised)” (138).

Further, Berger also refers to the “physical stance of men conveying wealth and virility” as well as “the man as knight (horseman) become motorist” (138). Using Berger’s concepts, the following subcategories were determined.

***All examples listed in the categories below serve to describe potential instances in each coding category. These are a small sampling of coding opportunities and do not list all possibilities.

Through Gendered Activity

Male: Operating a motorcycle, repairing a vehicle, riding a horse, driving

Female: Mothering children, completing secretarial duties, hostessing, seducing

Through Gendered Companionship

One Female/ One Male: Reinforces heterosexual marriage, relationships, tradition

Female/ Female: Sign of lesbianism, untraditional

Group Female/ Individual Male: Harem reference, as in multiple women for one man's pleasure and use

Group Male/ Individual Female: Suggests female seduction, female power/choice

Group Female/ Male: Sign of youth, equality, public social outings

Through Gendered Costume

Female: Soft and delicate attire (silk, lace, tulle), dresses, skirts

Male: Suits, ties, top hats, vests, pants

Through Gendered Footwear

Female: Pumps, stilettos, heels, ballet flats, sandals

Male: Boots, oxfords, loafers, low heels

Through Gendered Hair

Female: Long, flowing, soft, curls, romantic

Male: Short, spiky, sideburns, slick

Through Gendered Posture

Female: Legs crossed, arms open, lying down

Male: Sitting with legs open, hands in pocket, arms crossed

Habitus

As mentioned when discussing text, the habitus, or life-space, was very important in determining what magazines used to depict a glamorous life style. The subcategories are listed below.

Signs of Material Ownership (Plentiful/Limited)

Signs of Material Co-Ownership (Plentiful/Limited)

Appeals to the Exotic (Plentiful/Limited)

Appeals to the Non-Exotic (Plentiful/Limited)

Naturalism in the Photo

This category was very important in detecting the realism displayed in the magazine as well as the magazine's relation of reality to glamour. As stated before, the more naturalistic an image, the closer it appears to unequivocally represent real life (like a news photo). The more abstraction and artistic choice become apparent, the less naturalistic an image becomes to the viewer. With this in mind, the covers and fashion wells were coded in regards to naturalism with the subcategories below.

Very Naturalistic (akin to news photo)

Somewhat Naturalistic (realistic, but some abstraction)

Not Naturalistic (very abstract, with a lot of artistic choice)

Gaze of Subject

When observing the gaze of the subject, it was very important to understand the theory behind the concept of the gaze. As mentioned in the last chapter, Berger makes reference to the “absent, unfocused look of so many glamour images” (133). For this study, this absent, unfocused look will be coded as indirect and/or occluded. For a gaze to be indirect, the subject is not directly looking at the camera (or viewer). When the gaze is coded as occluded the subject might be looking in the general direction of the camera, but her line of vision is blocked by accessories (most often sunglasses) or some other barrier. On the other hand, when the gaze is coded as direct the subject is looking directly into the camera. Upon a preliminary review of the magazines, it was discovered that, overwhelmingly, the direct gazes of the models fit into two categories. In the first instance, the direct gaze could be interpreted as hyper-sexual...as almost a carnal challenge to the reader of the magazine. In these cases, the model incorporates a playful smile with her eyes, or “smize”, to interact with the reader in a provocative and interactive way. This technique, famously introduced by Tyra Banks on the television show *America’s Next Top Model*, is used to create a non-antagonistic relationship with the viewer all through the “smiling” of the eyes and a direct gaze (Loren). When the gaze of the model was direct, with no smize, the result is a more serious stare towards the camera (and reader) or an almost drugged and lethargic look, which coded as “Direct Gaze without Smize-Serious” and “Direct Gaze without Smize-Sleepy,” respectively. With this information in mind, the subcategories for this coding category are listed below.

Indirect and/or Occluded Gaze

Direct Gaze with Smize

Direct Gaze without Smize-Serious

Direct Gaze without Smize-Sleepy

Analysis Procedure

These five coding categories, and twenty-three subcategories, work to present a content analysis that is “exhaustive, exclusive, and enlightening” (Rose 65). Each coding occurrence in each magazine was accounted for on a spreadsheet (SEE APPENDIX) and used to create a record of which appeals appeared most often overall, as well as among each magazine. From there, percentage rates were found for each instance in relation to overall number of fashion spread pages. Results were then rounded up to the next whole number. In instances where the page is being coded for a characteristic that may or may not exist on the page (such as gendered footwear), only pages that featured the characteristic were used in calculations (instead of averaged out of the entire page count). From there, the findings were determined and interpreted for the final report.

In the presentation of these results, images had to be kept at a minimum to avoid copyright infringement. This is a policy followed by other literature in the field (See Crane, Moeran, etc).

CHAPTER THREE

LUCKY FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Youthfulness is not only a goal at *Lucky*; it is also an undeniable fact. The magazine, which was first published in the year 2000, is over fifty years younger than the second youngest magazine analyzed in this study (*Elle*) and over a century younger than the most seasoned title studied (*Harper's Bazaar*). However, while still in the adolescence stage of publication, *Lucky* has managed to advance quickly and procure a sizeable circulation number in the United States (hence its placement in this research project). Perhaps, this age differential is partly responsible for the self-described “relaxed format” that “makes *Lucky* one of the most relatable and accessible fashion publications in the market today” (Lucky MEDIAKIT). For a detailed listing of all coding results, please refer to the Appendix.

At first inspection, *Lucky* drastically differs from the other magazines in this analysis. For example, as opposed to *ELLE*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Vogue*, the title font of *Lucky* magazine is designed in the chunky, sans serif style typical of American gothic fonts. In comparison, the other three publications analyzed displayed a very similar style known as modern or Didone, as seen below. These fonts are markedly characterized by the combination of thick and extremely thin strokes and the use of thin horizontal serifs. In addition to a vastly different logo, *Lucky* magazine separated itself from the other three subjects repeatedly during coding. See the results discussed below.

The Cover

As stated in the methods chapter, before coding the monthly fashion wells, it was crucial to examine the cover of each magazine in this study. Each cover was coded according to the same criteria as the fashion wells in the magazine. Interestingly enough, *Lucky* magazine produced numbers quite different from its competitors in its cover, as well as in several times in this research.

Lucky proved to be the only publication studied that chose a model/celebrity directly gazing into the camera, while smiling, for every issue in this analysis. Whether it was Jessica Alba, Rachel Weisz, Kim Kardashian, or Jessica Simpson, each month the magazine featured a smiling, smiling woman directly gazing into the camera (and at the viewer). Further, this smiling was consistently accomplished in a happy/open-mouthed/teeth-showing way. The overwhelming positivity given by these cheerful covers can presumably be linked to the relatability and accessibility referenced in the magazine's self-description (as, say, opposed to the aloofness often seen in *Vogue*). This jolliness serves as a fine example of Bourdieu's mention of the bourgeois and *la vie en rose*. When describing the difference between "intellectual" tastes and "bourgeois" tastes, Bourdieu states:

It is also an opposition between two world views, two philosophies of life...the centres of two constellations of choices, *la vie en rose* and *la vie en noir*, rose-coloured spectacles and dark thoughts, boulevard theatre and avant-garde theatre, the social optimism of people without problems and the anti-bourgeois

pessimism of people with problems--the opposition between material and mental comfort ... (292)

With this understanding in mind, it can be suggested that the smiling gaze, along with the toothy smiles, represent a “social optimism” and “material comfort” given by the magazine to the viewer, which are most likely attributes desired by the magazine’s target audience and determined by market research.

To support Bourdieu’s understanding of the relationship between the “bourgeois” and having “material comfort,” *Lucky’s* cover also showed the most occurrences of “Ownership Habitus Cues-Text.” On all four covers the magazine advertises “Giveaways” and on three out of four of the covers studied the publication names monetary value in dollars. For instance, on the September 2011 cover, there is a line that reads “\$600,000 Worth of Free Stuff! Our biggest giveaway yet” as well as a story titled “So Chic! Best looks under \$50”...not to be confused with the October 2011 cover that features “Free Stuff! 8,000 Giveaways!!!” and “Under \$50 Clothes You’ll Wear Forever.” For Bourdieu, this constant focus on ownership, the obtainment of goods, and material possessions is a clear sign that readers of this magazine show “bourgeois” tastes and thus subscribe to *la vie en rose*. As the old adage goes, “Those who talk about money don’t actually have it” or even better, “If you have to ask how much it costs, you can’t afford it.” In sum, it is unbecoming to talk about monetary cost...and *Lucky* goes there unabashedly.

For Berger, the “how-to” nature of the ownership cues discussed above could represent an appeal to the “working class” through the Cinderella effect. According to

Berger, “Publicity principally addressed to the working class tends to promise a personal transformation through the function of the particular product it is selling (Cinderella)” (145). For instance, the largest story highlighted on the September 2011 cover reads “Fall’s Smartest Buys/ 981 Ways To Look Amazing This Season.” Clearly, this is attempting to convince the reader that through *purchasing* these “smart buys” she in turn will look “amazing.” Or, in Berger’s terms, through the agency of the Cinderella effect, *Lucky* magazine (and the PR houses who lent the magazine clothing) are hoping to persuade the reader that through purchasing these new Fall pieces, they will transform themselves into stylish fashionistas.

Another sign that *Lucky* magazine is geared towards a more general audience is the naturalism displayed on the cover (and in the fashion wells). By far, *Lucky* featured the most naturalistic cover photographs. See the chart below for final results.

Appeals to Naturalism (Cover)			
Magazine	Very Naturalistic, %	Somewhat Naturalistic, %	Not Naturalistic, %
<i>Lucky</i>	0	100	0
<i>ELLE</i>	0	75	25
<i>Harper’s Bazaar</i>	0	50	50
<i>Vogue</i>	0	0	100

Table 1-Appeals to Naturalism (Cover)

While a certain amount of artistic choice is unavoidable, i.e. the background chosen, the women featured were all the most realistic-looking when compared to the other magazines in this study and were the only covers with zero instances of “Not Naturalistic”. While scored as Somewhat Naturalistic because of the background, the

smiles, dress, color, and clarity shown on all four covers relayed a “relatable” and “accessible” feeling. All four of the models are featured with long, soft flowing hair, natural hued makeup (even Kim Kardashian!) and clothing that while stylish, is by no means shocking or avant-garde. In Bourdieu’s terms, bourgeois tastes only appreciate things that can be used for themselves or images suitable for an imagined self-placement.

As he states:

The bourgeoisie expects from art...a reinforcement of its self-assurance, and, as much out of sufficiency as insufficiency, it can never really recognize the audacities of the avant-garde, even in the most highly neutralized arts, such as music. (293)

With this in mind, it is easily seen why a magazine with the goal of being “relatable” and “accessible” would choose to place friendly, happy, and unthreatening women on the cover of its magazine each month. Further, this goal could also explain why *Lucky* exhibited the lowest score in the category “Habitus-Appeals to the Exotic.” This avoidance of exoticism (portrayed by the other magazines in the form of dress, locale, make-up, etc.) could be described as a bourgeois “pretension to the products of middle-brow culture or the most accessible products of legitimate culture...” (Bourdieu 294).

Fashion Wells

Not surprisingly, the fashion wells and fashion stories portrayed in *Lucky* oftentimes adhered to the trends displayed on the cover. For instance, over all four issues, *Lucky* showed the highest percentage of “Direct Gaze with Smize.” While, like all of the magazines covered, the indirect gaze was most common, *Lucky* had the highest “Direct

Gaze with Smize” percentage with 16% of pages exhibiting at least one instance. In comparison, *ELLE* came in at second with 14%, *Harper’s Bazaar* third at 13%, and *Vogue* last at 5% in this category.

Results of Gaze (Fashion Well)				
Magazine	Indirect and/or occluded, %	Direct w/ smize, %	Direct w/o smize (sleepy), %	Direct w/o smize (serious), %
<i>Lucky</i>	66	16	0	14
<i>ELLE</i>	63	14	5	17
<i>Harper’s Bazaar</i>	45	13	5	39
<i>Vogue</i>	75	5	4	15

Table 2-Results of Gaze (Fashion Well)

In addition, *Lucky* also scored the highest percentage rate of fashion wells coded for “Somewhat Naturalistic” settings. While all four magazines showed a strong tendency to feature “Non-naturalistic” stories, *Lucky* showed the highest ratio of “Somewhat Naturalistic” spreads. For example, 25% of the fashion wells published by *Lucky* in Fall 2011 were set in “Somewhat Naturalistic” settings (as opposed to 9% in *ELLE*, 10% in *Harper’s Bazaar*, and 17% in *Vogue*). These settings, while demonstrating noticeable artistic intervention, still maintain a “real world” vibe and could easily be reproduced by viewers. For example, in an October 2011 story titled “Cold Play,” a beautiful model sports modern clothing, with a retro twist, as she maneuvers through an urban jungle (and eventually a city park). While the clothing choice is definitely a throwback to the femme fatale of the 1940s, the modern influence seen through the choice of contemporary footwear, as well as from the depiction of city streets, relates

these images back to present day. Further, the choice of lighting is clear, realistic, and resembles a picture one would take with his or her own digital camera. As Kress and Van Leeuwen describe:

Pictures which have the perspective, the degree of detail, the kind of colour rendition, etc. of the standard technology of colour photography have the highest modality, and are seen as ‘naturalistic.’ As detail, sharpness, colour, etc are reduced or amplified, as the perspective flattens or deepens, so modality decreases. (159)

The woman portrayed in “Cold Play” is fashionable, yes. However, her habits have the potential to be easily imitated, her life-space is recognizable (urban streets/ city park), and her clothing is different enough to be stylish, but suitable in the most stringent testing fields of appropriateness (also known as the workplace). In Bourdieu’s terms, she is appealing to the bourgeois and is “...no doubt the form par excellence of the art the ‘bourgeois’ recognizes because [s]he recognizes [herself] in it” (293). She is the epitome of Berger’s quality of being “envious of [herself] as [she] might be” (132).

For the viewer, envy is created through the model’s well-manicured, tailored, and romantic appearance and supported through her cosmopolitan existence. Much like Friedberg’s flâneuse, she strolls through the urban hubbub companionless, all the while observing the scene with a peaceful and distanced curiosity. It is exactly this distance that makes her appealing to the unsuspecting observer. The lack of direct gaze offered to the reader is almost a type of schoolyard provocation. Is she cooler than us? Could we be like her? Could we BE her? Much like a social-climbing child, these are all questions that go

through the viewer's mind when presented with an image of a "more enviable," and therefore more glamorous, self.

This trend, this persuasion to accept certain aesthetics as fashionable, glamorous, and stylish through a new and improved self, is continuous through all four of the magazine titles studied. What separates them from one another is the type of aesthetics displayed and the reflection on tastes these fashion stories portray. As stated before, the more realistic and naturalistic a photo, the less apparent are cues for exoticism and "intellectualism" (to use Bourdieu's terms). As commonly seen in modern art, the more imagination required, the more highbrow the piece. It is here again, that the idea of the enlightened avant-garde appears.

Philip B. Meggs describes this movement in the art world below:

The first two decades of the twentieth century were a time of incredible ferment and change that radically altered all aspects of the human condition...Against this turbulence, it is not surprising that visual art experienced a series of creative revolutions that questioned its values, approaches to organizing space, and role in society. The traditional objective view of the world was shattered. Representation of external appearances did not fulfill the needs and vision of the emerging European avant-garde. (238)

For Bourdieu, subscribers to *le vie en noir* are likely to revere the avant-garde.

Conversely, subscribers to *la vie en rose* are apt to find their tastes in more predictable and material-based arts (292). Perhaps, it is this reasoning that explains the tendency for younger, less seasoned, and less elite magazines like *Lucky* to follow a safer artistic path.

When compared to the abstract fashion stories seen in other titles, it is easily discernable that the audience for this magazine differs drastically from that of *ELLE*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Vogue*. However, this is not to say that *Lucky* offers pages and pages of family-portrait style images. It is, after all, a fashion publication and particular artistic choices are perceptible quite often in the magazine. What differentiates these stories from those of the other, more established magazines is the level of abstraction and/or grandiosity seen in the spread, as seen by the coding categories for “Naturalistic and Non-naturalistic Cues” and “Habitus Appeals to the Exotic-Fashion Spread.” For example, *Lucky* showed appeals to the exotic habitus in 63% of the fashion stories for the Fall 2011 season, while *ELLE* finished at 72%, *Harper's Bazaar* at a striking 90%, and *Vogue* at 75% of fashion spreads. Moreover, when coding for “Habitus Appeals to the Exotic-Text,” *Lucky* concluded with 38% of fashion stories appealing to the exotic through text, while *ELLE* landed at 73%, *Harper's Bazaar* at 50%, and *Vogue* at 58% of fashion spreads. See the chart below for details.

Habitus Appeals to the Exotic (Fashion Well)		
Magazine	Visual Appeals,%	Textual Appeals,%
<i>Lucky</i>	63	38
<i>ELLE</i>	72	73
<i>Harper's Bazaar</i>	90	50
<i>Vogue</i>	75	58

Table 3-Habitus Appeals to the Exotic (Fashion Well)

Another interesting trend displayed in *Lucky* was the tendency to accentuate femininity through hairstyle and footwear. First impressions were borne out by the

coding. One quick glance at the four covers of the magazine is enough to educate the reader about the type of hairstyles preferred by *Lucky* stylists and editors. All four of the women appear, happily smiling, with long, wavy and ultra-soft tresses. Further, all four manes appear to be blowing in a slight breeze. In the coding, *Lucky* displayed the highest instances of “Presented Gender Identity Through Gendered Hair (Female)” with 73% of models appearing with super feminine, long, soft hairstyles. In comparison, *ELLE* featured 37% of models with female gendered hair; *Harper’s Bazaar*, 72%; and *Vogue*, 60%. In addition, *Lucky* also showed a propensity to feature female gendered footwear, as opposed to the menswear style featured in many fashion wells (or the absence of footwear altogether, also in some issues studied.). The coding category of “Presented Gender Identity Through Gendered Footwear (Female)” resulted in *Lucky* having the second-highest percentage of female gendered footwear with 77% of the pages that contained shoes presenting them in ultra-feminine styles (stilettos, pastels, silk, bows, ribbons, etc). In first place, *Harper’s Bazaar* (ever the wildcard) finished with a whopping 81% of pages featuring shoes presenting them as female gendered. Coming in at a tie for last, *ELLE* and *Vogue* had 65% and 65%, respectively, of their shoe pages as female gendered. Table 4 summarizes the results for gendered hair and shoes.

Female Presented Gender Identity (Fashion Well)		
Magazine	Through Hair,%	Through Footwear,%
<i>Lucky</i>	73	77
<i>ELLE</i>	37	65
<i>Harper's Bazaar</i>	72	81
<i>Vogue</i>	60	65

Table 4-Female Presented Gender Identity (Fashion Well)

Male Presented Gender Identity (Fashion Well)		
Magazine	Through Hair,%	Through Footwear,%
<i>Lucky</i>	30	20
<i>ELLE</i>	49	33
<i>Harper's Bazaar</i>	37	12
<i>Vogue</i>	46	31

Table 5-Male Presented Gender Identity (Fashion Well)

These statistics can be used to further support the claim that *Lucky* magazine proved to be the most bourgeois of all four magazines studied. As opposed to any avant-garde hairstyle/footwear choices, this magazine consistently prefers to portray the women featured in the most traditionally feminine ways. Further, when the clothing suggests masculinity in this magazine, the hairstyle and footwear is often used to display hyper-femininity, as seen by the stiletto/three-piece suit look in the December 2011 issue (172). To use Bourdieu's terminology, this dedication to a romantic and traditional past is not surprising for those who live *la vie en rose*.

CHAPTER FOUR

ELLE FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The next magazine to appear on the bourgeois to intellectual spectrum proved to be *ELLE*. While certainly a respected high-fashion publication, and a sizeable jump from *Lucky* on this scale, *ELLE* still trailed *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* in its level of abstraction and intellectualism based on an analysis of its cover and fashion spreads. Notably, *ELLE* is also the second youngest magazine featured in this study. The publication was created in 1945, thirty-six years after *Vogue* and seventy-eight years after *Harper's Bazaar*. For a detailed listing of all coding results, please refer to the Appendix.

As mentioned in the last chapter, the title typography used for *ELLE*, a modern font, corresponds closely with its two older companions. One can assume that this choice was a purposeful decision made by the creators of this magazine, who perhaps hoped to identify with the two more-established publications. Further, as the following results will show, *ELLE* relates much more to its senior publications in terms of naturalism, exoticism, and gendered appeals than its younger competitor, *Lucky*. However, among the three, *ELLE* still exhibits more bourgeois qualities than either *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar*.

The Cover

The first cover characteristic examined for *ELLE* was the gaze of the models used to represent the magazine each month. After *Lucky*, *ELLE* magazine displayed the highest instances of “Direct Gaze with Smize.” For the Fall 2011 season, *ELLE* featured models/celebrities gazing directly at the reader through smiling eyes in three out of four covers. *Lucky* magazine had all four covers displaying this type of gaze. In comparison, *Vogue* featured a model with this gaze only two out of four times. Lastly, *Harper’s Bazaar* only featured this characteristic on one of the four covers examined. See the results for gaze

Results of Gaze (Cover)				
Magazine	Indirect and/or Occluded, %	Direct w/ Smize, %	Direct w/o Smize (Sleepy), %	Direct w/o Smize (Serious), %
<i>Lucky</i>	0	100	0	0
<i>ELLE</i>	0	75	0	25
<i>Harper’s Bazaar</i>	25	25	50	25
<i>Vogue</i>	0	50	25	25

Table 6-Results of Gaze (Cover)

**Harper’s Bazaar* featured two models on the Dec/Jan cover.

ELLE also included two issues with the models actually smiling at the camera. Besides *Lucky*, which featured smiling cover girls on every cover, *ELLE* was the only other magazine to use this type of approach on the cover. This implicates that along with *Lucky*, *ELLE* magazine is more interested in projecting a happy and carefree look to potential buyers and that the magazine’s target audience is prone to appreciate these types

of images. Further, this result suggests that indeed, the editors at the magazine do subscribe (although not necessarily consciously) to Bourdieu's understanding of *la vie en rose* and contribute to *ELLE*'s placement on the lower end of the spectrum of sophistication for this study, along with the coding results for naturalism category.

However, this is not to suggest that *Lucky* and *ELLE* are identical. *ELLE* combines the accessible smiling cover models with overt sexualized costuming, including, but not limited to, swimwear (in October), exposed lingerie, see-through tops, and miniscule shorts. While the models on the cover of *Lucky* magazine are in fact smiling, this action produces a much different image than the women featured on the cover of *ELLE*. All of the models for *Lucky* are dressed somewhat conservatively (meaning you could easily purchase similar clothing at your local shopping mall). Further, their smiles seem sincere and uncalculated, as if they had just noticed an old friend. In contrast, the smiling women on the cover of *ELLE* are wearing much, much more extravagant (and revealing) clothing. Further, the smiles they project are markedly more seductive than friendly in nature. For example, on the October 2011 cover of *ELLE*, Victoria's Secret model Doutzen Kroes wears a neon green, zebra print bikini with a neon green cardigan sweater and over ten pieces of chunky, gold jewelry (including what seems to be a three-inch Yves Saint Laurent YSL choker necklace), set to the backdrop of blurred ocean waves. Moreover, her revealing outfit and long, tousled hair reinforce the sexualized smile she gives the camera. While this cover coded for "Presented Gender Identity Through Costume (Female)," much like many of the *Lucky* covers, the technique

in doing so was markedly different. Further, the tropical background, wild outfits, and overload of jewelry resulted in lower levels of naturalism on the *ELLE* covers.

Now, compare the cover from *ELLE* October 2011 with the same month's issue from *Lucky*. Here, the viewer is presented with the actress Rachel Weisz in a sleeved, boat-necked navy and white striped sweater and high-waisted skirt. In this photo, she wears three accessories: one soft flower petal necklace, a silver bracelet, and small stud earrings. Again, the smile projected here seems to be more of an affectionate greeting rather than a sexual challenge. The same comparison can be made with the remaining issue of *ELLE* that coded for a "Direct Gaze with Smize." This time, the model is Gwyneth Paltrow in a pair of skin-tight hot pants accompanied by a leather latticed work jacket with elbow length furry wool sleeves. Comparatively, the September 2011 cover of *Lucky* features Jessica Alba in a modest plum dress with ruffles. The point to be made here is that while *ELLE* does project an upbeat image on monthly covers, this delightfulness is presented in a completely different light, with drastically different tastes, than that of *Lucky* magazine.

Therefore the audience for *ELLE*, while still encompassing the bourgeois "social optimism of people without problems" (Bourdieu 292), demonstrates a less everyday exemplar with whom readers may associate themselves. It could be proposed that *ELLE* magazine is a more fitting example of what Bourdieu defines as bourgeois tastes (when compared to *Lucky*-who could be considered as lower bourgeois or working class).

The "coolness" displayed by Kroes and Paltrow, as well as Jennifer Aniston and Jessica Biel on the other two issues of this magazine studied, serves as a helpful example

of what the bourgeois may see as elite and glamorous. Bourdieu explains these tastes below:

Whereas the “intellectual” fractions expect rather from the artist a symbolic challenging of social reality and of the orthodox representation of it in “bourgeois” art, the “bourgeois” fractions expect their artists, their writers, their critics, like their courtiers, jewelers or interior designers, to provide emblems of distinction which are at the same time means of denying social reality. (293)

For *ELLE*, these emblems of distinction may be the super fit body showcased by a swimsuit model (October 2011), an overload of platinum jewels (December 2011), or simply a pricey jacket worn by a world-famous actress (September 2011).

For the readers of *ELLE*, the level of non-naturalism accepted is noticeably higher than that of *Lucky* (but less than *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar*). As mentioned above, there are many instances where the *ELLE* cover models are wearing over-the-top ensembles and covered in jewels. This quality, countered with a very clear full-body image of the model, resulted in the magazine's three out of four ranking for “Somewhat Naturalistic.” While the ensembles worn by the models worked as non-naturalistic cues, the photography suggested a higher modality. See results in Table 7.

Appeals to Naturalism (Cover)			
Magazine	Very Naturalistic, %	Somewhat Naturalistic,%	Not Naturalistic,%
<i>Lucky</i>	0	100	0
<i>ELLE</i>	0	75	25
<i>Harper's Bazaar</i>	0	50	50
<i>Vogue</i>	0	0	100

Table 7-Appeals to Naturalism (Cover)

As Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen explain:

“Pictures which have the perspective, the degree of detail, the kind of colour rendition, etc. of the standard technology of colour photography have the highest modality, and are seen as “naturalistic.” As detail, sharpness, colour, etc are reduced or amplified, as the perspective flattens or deepens, so modality decreases.” (159)

Expectedly, both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* featured covers with an intentional reduction and/or amplification of detail, sharpness, and color. *Harper's Bazaar* showed two instances of “Somewhat Naturalistic” and two instances of “Not Naturalistic.” The distinction of least naturalistic, in consideration of the magazine covers, went to *Vogue* with four instances of “Not Naturalistic.”

Fashion Well

When analyzing the fashion wells, the importance of model gaze was taken into consideration right away. The chart below details the findings for all of the four gaze categories.

Results of Gaze (Fashion Wells)				
Magazine	Indirect and/or Occluded, %	Direct w/ Smize, %	Direct w/o Smize (Sleepy), %	Direct w/o Smize (Serious), %
<i>Lucky</i>	66	16	0	14
<i>ELLE</i>	63	14	5	17
<i>Harper's Bazaar</i>	45	13	5	39
<i>Vogue</i>	75	5	4	15

Table 8-Results of Gaze (Fashion Wells)

When coding the *ELLE* pages, it was discovered that *ELLE* had the second lowest percentage of “Indirect and/or Occluded Gaze” with 63% of pages showing this technique. Unexpectedly, *Harper's Bazaar* scored for the lowest instances in this category, with 45% of pages displaying this choice. Lastly, *Lucky* and *Vogue* scored with 66% and 75% respectively. This result supported the more bourgeois tastes seen in *ELLE*, as it showed the magazine’s decision to limit indirect gaze more so than most of the other magazines in this research plan. Berger supports this claim when he states that glamour images tend to “look out *over* the looks of envy that sustain them” (133).

When scored for instances of direct gaze in fashion stories, *ELLE* differentiated itself in the category for “Direct Gaze without Smize –Sleepy.” While the number of occurrences was small, *ELLE* had the highest percentage of all four magazines. When a model was coded for this gaze, she was typically looking at the camera with a glazed-over look, open mouth, and sexualized position/dress/setting. For instance, in the September 2011 issue, a fashion story titled “Ray of Light” features a glistening blonde staring at the camera with lowered eyelids, an open mouth, and tousled hair. In this

photo, she wears a shimmery blue blazer and overall shorts...with no shirt underneath. Clearly, this image is attempting to connect to the reader through the model's sexuality. This seemed to be a continuous trend when coding *ELLE* magazine. Not surprisingly, *Lucky* magazine featured no instances in this category, while the other two publications featured less (however *Harper's Bazaar* equaled *ELLE* once results were rounded up). This outcome suggests that the tastes of the *ELLE* reader are inclined to appreciate a more sexualized, overt appeal to their sensibilities. For Bourdieu, this propensity would show the viewer's attachment to all things corporeal, which in turn opposes the artistic (and "intellectual") tendency to avoid works that focus primarily on the "human" (32). As he explains:

Rejecting the "human" clearly means rejecting what is generic, i.e., common, "easy" and immediately accessible, starting with everything that reduces the aesthetic animal to pure and simple animality, to palpable pleasure or sensual desire. (32)

It is here again that the subject of modern art is discussed, and its refusal of the ordinary, which will be discussed at length in the next chapter. *ELLE*, on the other hand, embraces "pure and simple animality" and thus moves back toward the bourgeois.

The last type of gaze to be coded was the "Direct Gaze without Smize-Serious" category. This type of gaze was shown when the model directly stared at the camera with a stern expression in the eyes (which was often coupled with a similar facial expression). In this grouping, *ELLE* finished with the third-highest percentage rate displaying this artistic choice. As shown in Table 8, *ELLE* finished with a percentage rate of 17%, while

Lucky ended with a score of 14%, *Vogue* at 15%, and as the oddball once again, *Harper's Bazaar* came in with a drastically larger 39% of model gazes fitting into this classification. Surprisingly, this type of gaze was exhibited quite often in *ELLE* by non-white models in undomesticated and/or masculine settings. As Sturken and Cartwright explain this binary, "The category of white is understood in European American contexts to be the primary category, whereas black (or brown, etc) is understood as **other** to that category-what white is not" (111). This choice, while consciously or unconsciously made, seems to support a narrow-minded and hegemonic belief system that exhorts that the ethnic equals wild, dangerous, severe, and/or unconventional. For example, in the September 2011 issue, the story "Hide and Seek" features an African-American model in a desolate desert setting covered in animal skins, which coded as non-naturalistic (exotic) habitus and clothing. This model shows masculinity in her dress, short hairstyle, and posture. Further, her gaze is always serious and without smile while simultaneously it is directly aimed into the camera (494-503). In addition, the December 2011 issue features a story titled "Auto Body" in which an Asian model is photographed in what seems to be a high-powered automotive garage, which coded as male-gendered habitus. Again, this non-white model is only shot two ways: indirectly looking at the camera or directly gazing with a serious and tough expression (310-317). In both of the spreads discussed above, the otherness of the model is supported by her habitus, dress, and expression. Perhaps, these types of fashion spreads are what encourage Wolf's suggestion that "Fashion has been generally been conceived as a form of hegemonic oppression, exerting an obligation to conform that weighs heavily on the female population" (Crane 541).

Notably, *ELLE* further supported its placement in the spectrum of sophistication when coded for “Habitus Appeals to the Exotic-Fashion Spread.” While an exotic habitus often accompanied ethnic models in this magazine, it was not solely limited to models representing “otherness.” The magazine with the least number of appeals to habitus exoticism proved to be *Lucky* at 63%, followed by *ELLE* at 72%, *Vogue* at 75%, and finally *Harper’s Bazaar* (yet again on the fringe) at 90% of fashion stories featured. As stated in the previous chapter, the exotic represents the unordinary, which tends to accompany Bourdieu’s understanding of the truly artistic. As he expounds upon below:

“It should not be thought that the relationship of distinction (which may or may not imply the conscious intention of distinguishing oneself from common people) is only an incidental component in the aesthetic disposition. The pure gaze implies a break with the ordinary attitude towards the world which, as such, is a social break.” (31)

In *ELLE*, this “break with the ordinary” shows itself in several different ways. In addition to the two stories mentioned above, the September 2011 issue contains a spread titled “Escape Artist” that features a model wandering about a deserted, exotic resort. The entire spread is centered on the wild beauty, luxurious adventures, and posh possibilities of a tropical escape. In fact, the spread’s visuals are summarized in the headline, “Tropical Prints, Hot Colors, And City-Slick Separates Set The Tone For Cool Sophistication When the Heat’s Still On” (448). The beach huts, tropical flowers, ocean scenery, and swanky amenities expose the exoticism of this spread page after page. Interestingly enough, here again we are shown an African-American model in a faraway

land. However, this spread does not seem to be as stereotyped as “Hide and Seek” because the model featured wears more naturalistic clothing (suits, summer dresses, etc) and does not contact the reader through a stern and challenging gaze. As shown above, *ELLE* has a penchant for the exotic, and thus continues the exotic travel theme with “From Russia with Love” (October 2011) and then ventures into more abstract exoticism with “The Color of the Night” (September 2011).

Again, it was apparent in this category that *ELLE* aligned itself more with the two older and more established publications in this study. When placed on the spectrum of sophistication, the similarity *ELLE* shows to both *Vogue* and *Harper’s Bazaar* is quite noticeable in the categories of gaze, naturalism, and appeals to the exotic. While *ELLE* still ranks as more bourgeois than the other two mentioned, it is more intellectual than *Lucky*.

CHAPTER FIVE

VOGUE FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

*"My life isn't theories and formulae. It's part instinct, part common sense. Logic is as good a word as any, and I've absorbed what logic I have from everything and everyone... from my mother, from training as a ballet dancer, from **Vogue magazine**, from the laws of life and health and nature."*

— Audrey Hepburn (*Good Reads*)

Since its creation in 1909, *Vogue* magazine has vigorously served as a guide to the *who, what, and when* of the era it discusses in each issue. First developed as a spin-off from a weekly societal newspaper, this magazine was purchased by the publishing tycoon Condé Montrose Nast in the early twentieth century. From then until now, the publication has made substantial cultural leaps and has consistently placed itself at the forefront of modern fashion (no matter the era). Notably, the use of color photography and the importance placed on the photographer has resulted in the image-laden pages of this monthly publication (Angletti 8). In addition, it is through these pages that critically acclaimed photographic artists, including Irving Penn, Annie Leibovitz, Patrick Demarchelier, and Mario Testino, have displayed some of their most famous works.

The celebrity of *Vogue* can further be championed by the Audrey Hepburn quotation that introduces this chapter. As an archetype of Old Hollywood glamour, Hepburn is idolized to this day for her fashion choices and mannerisms. Every year, magazines reference black capri pants, ballet slippers, and/or short, thick bangs to Hepburn's stylish selections in the 1950s and 1960s. In fact, the minimalistic gamine

tradition (a style noted for charmingly boyish qualities) is partially attributed to Hepburn and her special relationship with the designer and fashion powerhouse Givenchy, whose designs are regularly featured in *Vogue* magazine (Nourmand 93). With this history in mind, Hepburn's placement of *Vogue* beside ballet (an aspect of elite culture) and the laws of nature show the respect Hepburn, and presumably women like her and women who strove to be like her, have given to this publication. After coding the *Vogue* Fall 2011 season, I realized that indeed, the revered and glorified reputation of this magazine is clearly supported by its own artistic choices.

The Cover

The first observable difference between *Vogue* and the other magazines is its lack of naturalism on the monthly covers. While most of the publications featured at least a few "Somewhat Naturalistic" covers, *Vogue* received a four out of four score for "Not Naturalistic" covers. The non-naturalistic cues shown on these issues included a world-famous model in the countryside wearing a Renaissance era ball gown (September 2011), a well-known actress dolled up as a close replicate of the iconic Marilyn Monroe (October 2011), a tough up-and-coming actress in a grey abyss with an avant-garde hairstyle and a dragon-covered dress (November 2011), and a beautiful model-turned-actress emerging from the sea in a shimmery, silver gown (December 2011).

Interestingly enough, many of these images seem to refer to past times in history, literature, cinema, and art (i.e. the Renaissance, the 1950s, 1980s punk, and ancient Greek sirens). These references to cultural pasts further separate the covers from the everyday life lived by their average viewer. As Kress and van Leeuwen explain, "Visual modality

rests on culturally and historically...standards of what is real and what is not...not on the objective correspondence of the visual image to a reality defined...independently of it” (163).

Combined with the styling choices of the models and the contextualization of the backgrounds, these covers also showed a lack of naturalism in the photographic lens used to finalize the image. This choice varied greatly among issues, but each time the lens decision was far removed from the average 35 mm developed photograph. For instance, in both the September 2011 and December 2011 issue the background of the image is blurred (a garden and the ocean, respectively). This editorial decision to blur affects the modality of representation for the magazine, which in turn reduces the naturalism observed by viewers (Kress and van Leeuwen 161). In addition, the frontal-isometric perspective (a way of shooting downwards where the subject’s head appears much larger than the rest of his/her body) displayed by Michelle Williams (as Marilyn Monroe) on the October 2011 cover also pushes the viewer to regard these images as unrealistic and abstract (Kress and van Leeuwen 162). Lastly, the absolute absence of color modulation on the November 2011 cover distances the reader from actively participating in the image displayed. In this photograph, the haunting Rooney Mara is dressed in a skin-tight ebony dress with dragon details and a thick collar while placed against a dreary brownish grey backdrop. In this photo, the lack of any other background color choices, absence of any shade differentials, and decontextualized setting propagate the dark and foreboding vibe of the image, and thus eliminate the naturalistic cues. In the words of Kress and van Leeuwen, “Within the naturalistic coding orientation, the absence of setting lowers

modality” (161). For Bourdieu, this rejection of the typical and mundane lends itself to a more intellectual classification of tastes. For instance, the overcast feeling portrayed on the November 2011 cover seems to track the artistic sensibility and *la vie en noir*, that is, “dark thoughts” and “the anti-bourgeois pessimism of people with problems” (Bourdieu 292).

However, this is not to say that *Vogue* is a somber publication. In contrast, the models on two out of the four covers studied were coded for “Direct Gaze with Smize.” Both featured femme fatales (a Marilyn Monroe lookalike and the reincarnation of a Greek siren) seductively looking into the camera. While these women were indeed “smizing,” the direct gaze in conjunction with the non-naturalistic setting tends to make the gaze less friendly and more sexualized. Take for instance Michelle Williams (as Marilyn Monroe) on the October 2011 issue. Here, she is directly looking at the camera and smizing as she poses with her breasts pushed forward and mouth slightly opened. Her retro, and thus exotic, hairstyle and costuming make her enviable as a representation of one of the most famous actresses of all time. She is appealing and not exactly unfriendly, however her exoticism creates an enviable distance that makes her character unapproachable.

The remaining two covers showed one occurrence of “Direct Gaze without Smize-Sleepy” and one occurrence of “Direct Gaze without Smize-Serious.” The instance of “Direct Gaze without Smize-Sleepy” was shown by the languorous look projected by Kate Moss on the September 2011 cover. In this photo, Moss is featured wearing an extravagant Alexander McQueen maroon organza-and-ostrich feather gown

that looks as if it has just wandered out from a dance into the royal gardens. While the dress Moss wears no doubt costs thousands of dollars, she still appears sleepy, uninterested, and bored. The contrast between her ornate surroundings (including dress) and her apathetic expression is shocking to the viewer, who themselves might cherish the opportunity she so blatantly disregards. In Berger's terms, perhaps this is an attempt by Moss and *Vogue* to maintain the exclusivity, separation, and allure of the iconic model and magazine. As he states in *Ways of Seeing*:

Being envied is a solitary form of reassurance. It depends precisely upon not sharing your experience with those who envy you. You are observed with interest but you do not observe with interest—if you do, you will become less enviable. In this respect, the envied are like bureaucrats; the more impersonal they are, the greater the illusion (for themselves and for others) of their power...It is this which explains the absent, unfocused look of so many glamour images. They look out *over* the looks of envy which sustain them.(133)

That is, set in costume and surroundings that scream wealth and exoticism, Moss must not seem to enjoy or even take notice. In contrast to Moss' disinterest, Rooney Mara's direct and pointed gaze on the November 2011 cover produced the only instance of "Direct Gaze w/o Smize-Serious." On this cover, her dark and blunt expression supports the image's sense of *la vie en noir*.

While all of the magazines besides *Harper's Bazaar* (ever different) featured more instances of indirect gaze, all publications, including *Vogue*, featured an overwhelming majority of covers with direct gaze (as in every single cover). This idea

suggests that, as will be discussed later, while *Vogue*'s fashion wells are allowed to be extreme and remote, the covers must somehow engage with potential buyers/viewers. Further, many more textual naturalistic cues were seen on the *Vogue*'s cover, as opposed to the fashion wells. However, with this said, *Vogue* still received a high score for "Non-naturalistic Cues-Text" and the second-lowest score for "Naturalistic Cues-Text" on the cover (only surpassed on each end of the spectrum by *Harper's Bazaar*). For *Vogue*, non-naturalistic cues on the cover emerged as storylines focusing on celebrity lifestyles, foreign countries, and influential persons regardless of celebrity. For instance, on the front of the October 2011 issue, one headline reads "The Most Powerful Woman On The Internet." Further, the November 2011 cover features headlines like, "Aerin Lauder: An Heiress Strikes Out On Her Own" and "Incredible Legends: Elizabeth Taylor, Diane Keaton, Annie Leibovitz." Lastly, the December 2011 issue highlights stories titled, "Hollywood Siren: Charlize Theron On Love, The Single Life, And Her Oscar-Worthy New Role" and a more altruistic, but still high-powered "Helping Haiti One Stitch At A Time: Donna Karan And Former President Bill Clinton On A Mission." The notability and at times, notoriety, of the names mentioned and places discussed on the covers only fuel the theory that *Vogue* magazine caters to different tastes than that of *Lucky* and even *ELLE* magazine.

Fashion Wells

For the Fall 2011 season, *Vogue* featured the most fashion stories and the most pages devoted to the stories compared to *ELLE*, *Lucky*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. In total, *Vogue* featured twelve fashion wells, which spanned 113 pages of the magazine from

September 2011 through December 2011. In comparison, *ELLE* showed eleven stories over 94 pages, *Harper's Bazaar* produced ten wells over 82 pages, and lastly *Lucky* featured eight stories over 56 pages. See Table 9 for details.

Magazine	Number of Fashion Wells for Fall 2011	Number of Pages Covered by Fashion Wells	Number of Pages Total in Magazine	Percentage of Magazine-Fashion Well Pages
<i>Vogue</i>	12	113	1,774	6%
<i>ELLE</i>	11	94	1,654	6%
<i>Lucky</i>	8	56	820	7%
<i>Harper's Bazaar</i>	10	82	1,376	6%

Table 9- Fashion Well Statistics

However, *Vogue* did not lead in percentage of the magazine given to the spreads; while *Lucky* produced the fewest fashion stories and pages, the short length of the magazine caused this publication to have the highest percentage of fashion well pages. After rounding the percentage up to the next whole number, *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *ELLE* all devoted 6% of pages to fashion wells.

Overwhelmingly, *Vogue* featured the highest percentage of models with an indirect and/or occluded gaze. Of all the fashion story pages in *Vogue*, 75% of these pages featured models not looking at the camera or glancing at the viewer with inhibited vision (via sunglasses, hats, etc). In this result, we can see what Berger meant when he stated, "They look out *over* the looks of envy which sustain them" (133). For instance, in the October 2011 issue, *Vogue* doesn't feature a single spread with a model gazing

directly and in an unobstructed way. In the fashion story “A Winter’s Pale,” supermodel Karen Elson wanders through what appears to be an abandoned beachside motel, in 1960s retro dress and on the arm of her “squire” the movie director John Hawkes (308-19). To elaborate the coding results, here is a rhetorical analysis of this fashion story. In “A Winter’s Pale,” the shots taken by Peter Lindbergh seem to suggest some sort of paparazzi situation. The camera angles, and the expressions of the models, give the feeling that the image was not requested and/or posed for willingly. Take for instance the first page. It is here that we see Elson and Hawkes exiting a Lincoln Town Car, both elegantly dressed, and looking up towards the camera in an expression that relays a mixture of confusion and frustration. In this instance, Elson is looking towards the viewer, but her gaze is blocked by a pair of (very chic) cat-eye sunglasses (308). Again, on pages 310, 312, and 317 the camera lens is used to blur the edges of the photograph as it zooms in on the two confidantes. For the viewer, this presents the possibility that the photographer is snapping these photos from behind fences, around walls, or any other structure that may inhibit a clear shot. When the photo is clearly taken, Elson appears to be unaware and merely conducting her personal business. For instance, on page 315 there is a double-page close-up of Elson sitting at a blurred picnic table and speaking on a cellular phone. She appears to be mid-speech and is covering one ear, as many people do to hear more clearly while on the phone. This mundane moment is surprisingly appealing and has the potential to stir feelings of awe and envy in an observer. Elson’s luxurious fur-lapelled coat, wild red curls, exquisite scarlet lips, mysterious shades, and uninterested expression somehow urge the reader to *care*. Thoughts like, “Who is this

woman? Why does she look so polished? Should I know who she is?” may enter the viewer’s mind.

In addition to “A Winter’s Pale,” the October 2011 issue features a fashion story titled “Fantastic Ms. Fox.” This spread, while vastly different than the Lindbergh shoot discussed above, is similar in instances of indirect gaze. Again, the model is photographed for pages and pages without one clear look at the camera. In this spread, the beautifully androgynous Stella Tennant is featured as a surveyor of a barren, dark, and animalistic world, coded as extremely non-naturalistic and male-gendered. She is draped in lavish furs and consistently staring into the deserted distance with a serious stare. Again, we see in *Vogue* the separation Berger describes when discussing publicity. Tennant is not like us. She doesn’t look like us, act like us, or even look *at* us. We exist on different planes.

The styling, setting, and actions shown in this spread work closely with the distant and indirect gaze featured to separate the viewer from *Vogue*’s world. The exotic scenery featured in this fashion well is certainly non-naturalistic and difficult to imagine visiting. Further, the androgyny of the model, the over-appearance of furs, and the impracticality of the ensembles lend to a more artistic, rather than utilitarian, interpretation of the spread. The perceived absurdity, or irrelevance to life, of this photo shoot could easily be called “weird” or “ridiculous” by an unappreciative audience. However, as Bourdieu explains, “...avant-garde artistic production is bound to disappoint bourgeois expectations” because they are “led by their cultural pretension to the products of middle-

brow culture or the most accessible products of legitimate culture...” (294). The “inaccessibility” seen here is precisely what makes *Vogue* so elite and glamorous.

In accordance with the exoticism mentioned above, *Vogue* scored high for number of occurrences in the “Habitus Appeals to the Exotic- Fashion Spread” category. For the Fall 2011 season, 75% of the fashion spreads in *Vogue* incorporated exotic settings, backgrounds, and clothing into the fashion story. In comparison, only *Harper’s Bazaar* ranked higher (at 90%), with *ELLE* and *Lucky* following (with 72% and 63%, respectively). In *Vogue*, this exoticism was shown in faraway tropical settings, futuristic cafés, England during World War II, England during the rebellious 1960s, and reinterpretations of famous works of art. See Table 3 in Chapter Three for details.

One surprising result was the propensity for *Vogue* to feature male companionship in fashion spreads. In particular, the magazine showed an astounding rate of one female/one male spreads, all of which insinuate romantic involvement between the two characters. In the Fall 2011 season, 28% of the pages coded featured male/female companionship. This number appears quite substantial when compared to the 7% in *Lucky*, 2% in *Harper’s Bazaar* and 2% of issues with male/female companionship in *ELLE*. When compared to strong, avant-garde stories such as the “Fantastic Ms. Fox,” this traditional representation is surprising. However, as Crane states:

Fashion, as represented in fashion magazines, has several diverse and contradictory social agendas. This is consistent with both the interpretation of contemporary fashion as postmodernist and with the conception of media culture as expressing a conflicted hegemony (545).

No matter one's opinion on the magazine itself, it is impossible to deny the importance *Vogue* has had on modern culture. In Diane Crane's words, "As one of the leading fashion magazines throughout the twentieth century, *Vogue* exemplifies changes...in the representation of the fashionable woman and her clothing in photographs" (545). However, for Berger, the gaze, naturalism, and exoticism displayed by *Vogue* increase the enviableness projected to the reader. In addition, Bourdieu would suggest that these same qualities place the magazine's tastes closer to the "intellectual" and further from the "bourgeois."

CHAPTER SIX

HARPER'S BAZAAR FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Since its creation in 1867, *Harper's Bazaar* has proven itself to be one of the most influential fashion magazines in the world. As the publication's mission statement declares:

We believe in our famous editor Carmel Snow's dictum, "Elegance is good taste, plus a dash of daring," so *Harper's Bazaar* must own the good taste-and the daring, too. The founding statement in our very first issue, 145 years ago, declared that *Bazaar* lives to provide "fashion, pleasure, and instruction." That pledge remains fresh and even stronger today, for we have broadened it: America's first fashion magazine is now America's most complete fashion experience. (Mission Statement)

As stated above, *Harper's Bazaar* has striven to influence society's decisions of style since the mid-nineteenth century. Further, the magazine admits to considering taste in all decisions. In sum, *Harper's Bazaar* proclaims to enrich viewer's lives through artful exposure and submersion, i.e. a "most complete fashion experience".

The exposure and submersion of the reader into the illustrious world of fashion is primarily exercised through fashion features in the magazine. In particular, the extravagant fashion wells are used to present the reader with a highly visual way of understanding the magazine's definition of beauty, style, and glamour. The focus *Harper's Bazaar* devotes to visual representation and culture is by no means a recent

development in the publication's history. On the contrary, the magazine has played an integral part in the development of art direction, graphic design, and photography in the field. For instance, Alexey Brodovitch, a pioneer in graphic design and art direction, became an icon in publishing during his 24-year service to the magazine. In addition to serving as the magazine's art director, Brodovitch also made great strides in graphic design education. As stated by Philip B. Meggs in *A History of Graphic Design*:

Brodovitch's students learned to examine each problem thoroughly, develop a solution from the resulting understanding, and then search for a brilliant presentation. Brodovitch's impact upon a generation of editorial designers and photographers who came into their own during the 1950s was phenomenal, and editorial design experienced one of its greatest eras. (359-60)

The "brilliant presentation" was both taught by Brodovitch in the classroom and executed by Brodovitch in the magazine. He is credited with identifying and assisting some of the most renowned photographers in the field, including, but not limited to, both Richard Avedon and Irving Penn (Meggs 321). This celebrated history is still very important to the magazine and its projected ethos, as a story titled "140 Years of Harper's Bazaar" is prominently featured on their website. This page features many sub-stories, with titles like "The Avedon Years: 1945-1965," "Victorian Elegance: 1898-1912," "Alexey Brodovitch: 1934-1958," and "The Vreeland Years: 1936-1962." Clearly, this content-rich editorial displays the pride the publication takes in its legendary innovation and longevity in the industry.

The Cover

As mentioned briefly in previous chapters, the coding results of Harper's Bazaar quickly demonstrated the nonconformity and irregularity of the magazine. Covers were no exception. For instance, the magazine proved to be the only publication studied to exhibit instances of companionship, footwear, and gendered activity on the cover. On the December/January issue, the musician Madonna is featured as a photographer, while a young female model is posed lying down on a table. Here, *Harper's Bazaar* makes a wild leap from the single model/minimal background settings seen on the other issues in this study (including its own). On this cover, Madonna's dress is inspired by menswear, as she stands with legs-spread in black slacks, a prominent black belt, a black turtleneck, and a wide-brimmed fedora hat. Meanwhile, the model in the background has on a floor-length gown, long opera gloves, and stiletto heels. The gendered dress of Madonna, as the (male) Old Hollywood "photographer/ starmaker," is the only male-gendered appearance on any of the covers studied in this research. To further differentiate this issue, it is the only cover depicting footwear on the models. Again, *Harper's Bazaar* separates itself from the other publications in this study.

To anchor this image to the story featured in the magazine, there is a headline that reads, "Madonna and Her New Star." Not only does this information familiarize the reader with the celebrities on the page, it also informs the reader of the mentor/pupil relationship presented.

As Barthes says:

...the anchorage may be ideological and indeed this is its principal function; the text directs the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others...it remote-controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance. In all these cases of anchorage, language clearly has a function of elucidation, but this elucidation is selective, a meta-language applied not to the totality of the iconic message, but only to certain of its signs. (qtd. in Trachtenberg 275)

For this issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, the signified of the image is that of Madonna, the photographer-coach in serious clothes, with that of the muse, the young doll-like Riseborough. Gaze also supports the position of the two characters on this cover. Here, we see Madonna, the masculine expert, looking directly into the camera with a sleepy expression. In contrast, Riseborough is delicately looking into the distance. While Madonna is showing strength in her directness, the open-mouthed sleepiness of her expression expresses a small amount of femininity. Again, *Harper's Bazaar* is toying with the unexpected.

In comparison to the other magazines studied, *Harper's Bazaar* is the only publication to feature an instance of "Indirect and/or Occluded Gaze" (executed by Riseborough) on the cover. Further, this magazine only featured one cover showing a "Direct Gaze with Smize," as opposed to four out of four by *Lucky*, three out of four by *ELLE*, and two out of four by *Vogue*. As seen by these results, *Harper's Bazaar* seems less inclined to approach potential buyers with a salesman's smile. Instead, the publication "...contains a denunciation of the practical postulates which are the basis of

the bourgeois lifestyle” (Bourdieu 294). Perhaps, this is a way to turn away more bourgeois readers. Surely, the editors of this magazine have heard the idiom “You catch more flies with honey;” however it is likely that they do not want “more flies.” They want “better flies.” As Bourdieu explains:

In fact, everything takes place as if, although it embodies artistic legitimacy, the artistic producers’ taste for the avant-garde defined itself in a quasi-negative way, as the sum of the refusals of all socially recognized tastes: refusal of the middle-of-the-road taste of the big shopkeepers...(294)

Because of this value, the choice to portray more exclusive photos on the cover is used to filter out “middle-of-the-road taste.”

Harper’s Bazaar also used non-naturalistic cues on its covers to separate the magazine from bourgeois reality. After *Vogue*, *Harper’s Bazaar* showed the second highest occurrences for “Not Naturalistic,” with two out of four covers fitting into this category. *Vogue* led with four out of four; *ELLE* place third at one out of four, and *Lucky* had zero instances in this category. However, for *Harper’s Bazaar*, these choices were not always done through elaborate dress or, necessarily, extravagant makeup/hair (unlike *Vogue*). A rhetorical analysis of one non-naturalistic cover will show the particular way that *Harper’s Bazaar* manipulates the categories.

For instance, the October 2011 issue features a close-up shot of a (presumably) nude Lady Gaga. The singer, who is typically found in the most outrageous of outrageous ensembles, is uninhibited by clothing, makeup, or accessories. For sure, the decision to not feature apparel on the cover of a fashion magazine is somewhat peculiar. However,

the shocking simplicity-the photo shot in black and white-of this ordinarily flamboyant celebrity is perhaps more of a commentary on style than fashion. Moreover, there is the possibility that *Harper's Bazaar* is brandishing the magazine's ability to transform the most tawdry and over-the-top star into a work of art. As unpolished as the naked photo may sound, it is its naturalism that make it in fact, very non-naturalistic. Lady Gaga is a woman that is never, ever, seen without a full set of eccentric make-up, hair, costume, and accessories. Her followers know this, and *Harper's Bazaar* is tapping into the cultural capital of Gaga's audience-their knowledge of her that confers a certain elite status-in the reversal of her usual image. The candor of this photograph is frankly shocking. Its distance from the ostentatious, and thus its level of taste and transformation, can be explained by Bourdieu:

And nothing is more distinctive, more distinguished, than the capacity to confer aesthetic status on objects that are banal or even "common" (because the "common" people make them their own, especially for aesthetic purposes), or the ability to apply the principles of a "pure" aesthetic to the most everyday choices of everyday life, e.g., in cooking, clothing or decoration, completely reversing the popular disposition which annexes aesthetics to ethics. (5)

In accordance with Bourdieu, the metamorphosis of this over-the-top celebrity into an almost unrecognizable, plain creature shows the distinguishing power of *Harper's Bazaar* to reinforce what has become unrecognizable.

Fashion Wells

Generally, in its fashion wells, *Harper's Bazaar* coded quite closely to *Vogue* magazine. In most cases, *Harper's Bazaar* ranked as the most, or second-most, “intellectual” when scores were interpreted. However, there were several instances where the outcome in a particular coding category was completely unpredictable. The following discussion examines these results.

First, interestingly enough, *Harper's Bazaar* showed the lowest percentage of indirect and/or occluded gaze. At 45% of fashion well pages, this magazine ranked much lower than the 75% at *Vogue*, 66% at *Lucky* and 63% at *ELLE*. In contrast, *Harper's Bazaar* featured a much higher percentage rate of “Direct Gaze without Smize-Serious.” At 39%, this magazine ranked much higher than the 17% at *ELLE*, 15% at *Vogue*, and 14% at *Lucky*. As discussed in the previous chapter, the indirect gaze is often seen as a sign of glamour and separation. Berger details this phenomenon at length when discussing how models “look out over the looks of envy that sustain them” (133). However, with *Harper's Bazaar*, I suggest that the scarcity of indirect gaze does not lower the envy quotient of the publication. Instead, as opposed to, say, the direct glances in *Lucky*, I suggest that the large number of “Serious” direct gazes only furthers the refinement of this magazine. Because these looks are direct stares, not warmed with a smize or helpless with sleepiness, the effect of the photograph is an image that features a strong, defiant, and intriguing model. She is not trying to make you like her. She is not trying to be your friend. She is not necessarily trying to seduce you (although if that

happens, too bad). She is letting you take her photograph, because for some odd reason, you want it.

Consider for a moment the fashion story “The Season’s Riches.” This story, featured in the September 2011 issue, focuses on “opulent details” that “elevate fall’s investment pieces to a new level of GLAMOUR” (444). In this spread, a beautiful, slick-haired brunette is featured in jewel tone furs and silks, amidst a rocky beach. For many of the twelve pages, she directly stares at the viewer with not one sign of amusement in her eyes. While she may be unimpressed by the \$7,950 Giorgio Armani coat she wears on page 451, it can be assumed that the reader would take notice of such ornate outerwear (much like the gown worn by Moss on the *Vogue* September 2011 cover).

In consideration of the scenario above, if readers are to believe Crane and Bovone, that “fashion can be conceptualized as an example of a broader phenomenon, the creation and attribution of symbolic values to material culture” (320), where does this leave a viewer of the magazine? Undoubtedly, the answer to this question is dependent upon the culture, socioeconomic group, and education of the person presented with these images. As Bourdieu states, “To the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of ‘class’ (1-2). It can be assumed that a reader comfortable with, and not intimidated by, the idea of casually wearing a \$7,000 jacket is not the average grocery aisle shopper. For this image to appeal to, and not repel, readers suggests something strongly about *Harper’s Bazaar* readership.

While the instances of “Not Naturalistic” spreads were still quite high, *Harper’s Bazaar* surprisingly scored lower than several of the other magazines in this study. For instance, with a rate of 80% “Not Naturalistic” spreads, *Harper’s Bazaar* fell behind both *Vogue* and *ELLE* (with 83% and 90% respectively) and above *Lucky* (with 75%) for cues in this category. Naturalism is associated with the bourgeois while movement away from naturalism is, in Bourdieu’s terms, associated with the intellectual or artistic. While this statistic for *Harper’s Bazaar*’s non-naturalism was initially surprising, it soon became clearer when the coding category was examined more closely and set into context with other results and the more artistic aspects of the magazine. The low score on non-naturalism is not to say the spreads in *Harper’s Bazaar* are altogether “common.” For instance, take the December/January spread “Everybody’s Invited.” In this fashion story, “Bazaar’s favorite talented young things” (260) party the night away in what seems to be a posh urban nightclub. While certainly not an everyday outing, this setting is by no means intrinsically unattainable for the reader; it was coded as “Somewhat Naturalistic” habitus. The models photographed are dancing, drinking, talking, and canoodling, as thousands of club goers do every weekend (albeit maybe not in designer clothes and perfect makeup). It is with this spread that *Bazaar* again shows its separation from the other magazines featured. When coded, *Harper’s Bazaar* showed a markedly higher percentage rate for group companionship (more than two persons) in photos. As opposed to the 9% of group companionship seen in *Vogue* fashion well pages, 4% in *Lucky*, and 0% in *ELLE*, *Harper’s Bazaar* featured a noticeable 17% of these types of spreads. These scores indicate the importance the magazine places on social activities, and therefore,

social status. The magazine isn't about looking sexy for your partner. It is about looking fabulous for society...and your adoring public.

Therefore, the long-standing history of the publication as a forerunner of the unspoiled fashion terrain suggests that the lower score on naturalism, taken with other coded factors, shows the magazine's ability to turn the real into the un-real. Bourdieu explains this reflective power below:

...the typically right-bank luxury taste, which has some accomplices among the artists; and finally, refusal of the teachers' "pedantic taste," which though opposed to bourgeois taste is, in the eyes of the artists, merely a variant of it, disdained for its heavy, pettifogging, passive, sterile didacticism, its "spirit of seriousness," and most of all for its prudence and backwardness. And so the logic of double negation can lead the artists back, as if in defiance, to some of the preferences characteristic of popular taste. (294)

Interestingly enough, the magazine seems to recognize the uniqueness of their clientele with pride. On the magazine's website, there is a page strictly devoted to "MMR Demographics" which claims that *Harper's Bazaar* delivers to "affluent, educated professional women" (The Reader). On this page, the table presented states that the magazine's readers have an average household income of \$262,917 a year and an average net worth of \$975,720 ("The Reader"). Needless to say, this is not in any way comparable to the average American income. Further, the fact that the magazine decides to display these statistics online suggests a desire to distinguish themselves as **the** fashion choice for

financially powerful citizens. Without question, *Harper's Bazaar* has declared allegiance to the upper-echelon of society.

In the end, and in opposition to the previous spread discussed, everyone is not truly invited. *Harper's Bazaar* is only appealing to/ intended for persons with the cultural competence to appreciate the “art” displayed on every page. While its scores were irregular, this diversity is exactly why this magazine ranks as the most Bourdiean “intellectual” of all the magazines featured in this study. Readers of this magazine expect a certain level of innovation in each issue to reflect the advanced perception they have of themselves and their own tastes. As Bourdieu eloquently states:

Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in their objective classifications is expressed or betrayed. (6)

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

When beginning this research plan, my ultimate goal was to research the cues used by fashion magazines to define “glamour” and to illustrate the glamorous. Further, I wanted to analyze how the selected magazines compared in exclusivity to one another. For me, it was important to compile results from magazines that people actually *buy*, in order to examine cues presented *to* the general American audience, if not *for* it.

After coding *Lucky*, *ELLE*, *Vogue*, and *Harper’s Bazaar* with a Bourdieuan lens (which was then enriched with the work of Berger, Meggs, Crane, Moeran, and others) it became apparent that the “bourgeois” and “intellectual/avant-garde” characteristics Bourdieu discussed in the 1970s still exist today. Further, the results showed how persistently these traits appear in the spreads of modern fashion magazines. As discussed in the previous chapters, *Lucky* placed on the lowest end of the sophistication spectrum with a distinction for the “most bourgeois.” *ELLE* followed, although with a designation much closer to the more “intellectual” magazines in the group. *Vogue* ranked as the third most bourgeois magazine featured in this research, while *Harper’s Bazaar* took the title for “most intellectual /avant-garde.”

In accordance with the theories of Bourdieu and Berger, the more frequent the appeals to the exotic and the more limited the appeals to naturalism, the instances of direct gaze w/ smize, and the textual mention of monetary ownership, the more

“intellectual” a magazine appeared on the spectrum. That some of the most interesting inferences were drawn from a magazine’s having lower scores along the spectrum may be explained by Bourdieu’s characterization of taste as negation. It can be suggested that indeed Bourdieu was correct when he stated:

Tastes (i.e., manifested preferences) are the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference. It is no accident that, when they have to be justified, they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes. In matters of taste, more than anywhere else, all determination is negation; and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance (“sick-making”) of the tastes of others. (56)

Therefore, the lack of naturalism, the near-absence of smiling models (and limited smizing models), and the reluctance to discuss the price of clothing all contribute to higher rankings of “intellectualism” in the titles analyzed. Conversely, the approachable and friendly image projected by *Lucky* resulted in a more “bourgeois” ranking on the spectrum of sophistication.

In summation, Berger’s definition of glamour as “the happiness of being envied” (132) should be broadened to include unrealistic activities, abnegation of material price, exoticism, and a certain amount of secretiveness. Further, as displayed by the varying results shown by *Harper’s Bazaar*, the ultra-glamorous should understand the social power of the unexpected. To obtain the highest “intellectual” regard, it is necessary to “shock the bourgeois.”

As Bourdieu explains:

The aesthetic intention can only contradict the dispositions of the ethos or the norms of the ethic which, at each moment, define the legitimate objects and modes of representation for the different social classes, excluding from the universe of the “representable” certain realities and certain ways of representing them. Thus the easiest, and so the most frequent and most spectacular way to “shock the bourgeois” by proving the extent of one’s power to confer aesthetic status is to transgress ever more radically the ethical censorships...which the other classes accept...(47).

This power to transform is yet another example of the importance of exclusivity to the term glamour. The majority of society does not have the inspiration, know-how, or perseverance to take on such a task. However, the few that do are worthy of acclaim and distinction, no matter how desirable or undesirable the attention. Thus, they become glamorous.

To build upon this study, I suggest that another study examine the entire year cycle of the magazines’ issues, in order to determine if the trends discussed here follow seasonal patterns and/or require new coding categories. Further, having multiple analysts would improve inter-rater reliability of coding results. A larger study could also analyze the editorial content featured in the magazines, along with the fashion stories examined in this research. The detailed findings from such a study would only enrich the current literature on the issue.

In conclusion, my research serves as a commentary on the tools used most often and to what effect in today's fashion publications. Practitioners in the field (i.e. publishers, editors, writers, designers) should understand the reasoning of the (potentially subconscious) decisions they make. While the goals of these professionals may indeed be executed perfectly by their editorial choices, there may be times where an unintentional reversion to hegemonic presentation occurs, as in *ELLE*'s choice to feature ethnic models as threatening/ existing in unusual habitats. As a member of the fashion/publishing community, I certainly intend to use this knowledge to enlighten and inspire my future professional decision

APPENDIX

Appendix

Please see the charts below for a cumulative description of all results.

1. Covers

a. Presented Gendered Identity (Female or Male)

Presented Gendered Identity (Female or Male)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Through Activity (F)	0	0	25	0
Through Activity (M)	0	0	25	0
Through Costume (F)	100	100	75	100
Through Costume (M)	0	0	25	0
Through Hair (F)	100	100	100	75
Through Hair (M)	0	0	0	25
Through Footwear (F)	0	0	25	0
Through Footwear (M)	0	0	0	0
Presented Gender Identity Through Companionship (Male or Female)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
1 Woman/ 1 Man	0	0	0	0
1 Woman / 1Woman	0	0	25	0
1 Woman/ Many Male	0	0	0	0
1 Man/ Many Women	0	0	0	0
Group (M/F)	0	0	0	0

b. Gaze of Subject

Gaze of Subject (Cover)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Indirect and/or Occluded	0	0	25	0

Direct with Smize	75	100	25	50
Direct without Smize-Sleepy	0	0	50	25
Direct without Smize-Serious	25	0	25	25

c. Naturalism in Photo

Naturalism in Photo (Cover)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Very Naturalistic	0	0	0	0
Somewhat Naturalistic	75	100	50	0
Not Naturalistic	25	0	50	100

d. Text

Text (Cover)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Barthes Anchorage (Yes)	100	100	100	100
Barthes Anchorage (No)	0	0	0	0
Gendered Identity Cues (Female)	100	25	75	75
Gendered Identity Cues (Male)	0	75	25	0
Naturalistic Cues (Yes)	100	100	50	75
Non-Naturalistic Cues (No)	0	0	25	100
Gendered Habitus Cues (Female)	0	100	0	0
Gendered Habitus Cues (Male)	0	0	0	0
Exotic Habitus Cues (Plentiful)	0	0	25	50

Exotic Habitus Cues (Limited)	100	100	75	50
Ownership Habitus Cues (Plentiful)	50	100	75	25
Ownership Habitus Cues (Limited)	50	0	25	75

e. Habitus

Habitus (Cover)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Signs of Material Ownership (Plentiful)	50	75	75	0
Signs of Material Ownership (Limited)	50	25	25	100
Signs of Material Co-Ownership (Plentiful)	0	0	0	0
Signs of Material Co-Ownership (Limited)	100	100	100	100
Appeals to the Exotic (Plentiful)	50	0	25	100
Appeals to the Exotic (Limited)	50	100	75	0
Appeals to the Non-Exotic (Plentiful)	75	100	50	25
Appeals to the Non-Exotic (Limited)	25	0	50	75

2. Fashion Wells

a. Presented Gendered Identity (Female or Male)

Presented Gendered Identity (Female or Male)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Through Activity (F)	0	2	2	0
Through Activity (M)	5	0	7	4
Through Costume (F)	59	66	78	73

Through Costume (M)	12	23	39	35
Through Hair (F)	37	73	72	60
Through Hair (M)	49	30	37	46
Through Footwear (F)	26	66	54	31
Through Footwear (M)	14	20	12	17
Through Posture (F)	28	39	62	35
Through Posture (M)	30	16	33	23

Presented Gender Identity Through Companionship (Male or Female)				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
1 Woman/ 1 Man	2	7	2	28
1 Woman / 1 Woman	0	0	1	0
1 Woman/ Many Male	0	0	0	4
1 Man/ Many Women	0	2	4	0
Group (M/F)	0	4	17	9

b. Gaze of Subject

Gaze of Subject				
	<i>ELLE, %</i>	<i>Lucky, %</i>	<i>Harper's Bazaar, %</i>	<i>Vogue, %</i>
Indirect and/or Occluded	63	66	45	75
Direct with Smize	14	10	13	5
Direct without Smize-Sleepy	5	0	5	4
Direct without Smize-Serious	17	9	28	15

c. Naturalism in Photo

Naturalism in Photo				
	<i>ELLE</i> , %	<i>Lucky</i> , %	<i>Harper's Bazaar</i> , %	<i>Vogue</i> , %
Very Naturalistic	0	0	10	0
Somewhat Naturalistic	9	25	10	17
Not Naturalistic	91	75	80	83

d. Text-Percentage of Spreads

Text				
	<i>ELLE</i> , %	<i>Lucky</i> , %	<i>Harper's Bazaar</i> , %	<i>Vogue</i> , %
Barthes Anchorage (Yes)	100	100	100	100
Barthes Anchorage (No)	0	0	0	0
Gendered Identity Cues (Yes)	91	88	50	59
Gendered Identity Cues (No)	9	13	50	42
Naturalistic Cues (Yes)	36	38	20	25
Non-Naturalistic Cues (No)	55	63	80	83
Gendered Habitus Cues (Female)	0	13	10	8
Gendered Habitus Cues (Male)	0	0	0	8
Exotic Habitus Cues (Plentiful)	73	38	50	58
Exotic Habitus Cues (Limited)	27	63	50	42
Ownership Habitus Cues (Plentiful)	18	0	40	17
Ownership Habitus Cues (Limited)	82	100	40	83

e. Habitus

Habitus (Spread)				
	<i>ELLE</i> , %	<i>Lucky</i> , %	<i>Harper's Bazaar</i> , %	<i>Vogue</i> , %
Signs of Material Ownership (Plentiful)	45	25	50	25

Signs of Material Ownership (Limited)	55	75	50	75
Signs of Material Co-Ownership (Plentiful)	9	0	10	25
Signs of Material Co-Ownership (Limited)	27	100	80	75
Appeals to the Exotic (Plentiful)	72	63	90	75
Appeals to the Exotic (Limited)	27	38	10	25
Appeals to the Non-Exotic (Plentiful)	27	25	10	25
Appeals to the Non-Exotic (Limited)	73	75	90	75

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