

# Racial representation in KK and Det Nye

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# Racial representation in **KK** and **Det Nye**

## Master Thesis

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# Summary

Our construct of reality is in many ways shaped by the images we see. Visual cues shape our everyday and as society grows with both traditional and digital media. Visual imagery, in magazines, isn't an exception to this and that is why this thesis aims to look at how frequently and in what manner non-white models are portrayed in Norwegian magazines KK and Det Nye.

The hypothesis the research question rests upon is that in Norway, similar to other Western countries which magazine studies have been conducted, e.g. United States, will have low numbers of non-white models represented and that these models will be portrayed in a stereotypical manner such as appearing exotic by wearing patterned prints from predatory animals (*clothing*), they appear subordinate/in lower positions in terms of pose (*ritualization of subordination*) or appear smaller (*relative size*).

Editorial content and advertisements from the first six months of years 2006 and 2016 were analyzed using rubrics and stereotypical associations documented by Goffman (1979), Plous and Neptune (1997) and Milliard and Grant (2006) to assess how the magazines have developed since the mid-2000s.

The results showed that non-white models on average appeared in 6% of the total images from both magazines and years studied. Det Nye was more diverse with 9% non-white models, while KK significantly increased representation from 2% to 6%. Overall, Non-white models were also more prominent in advertisements by international brands, were less sexualized than their white counterparts (*body exposure*), and seldom appeared in animal prints modelled after predatory animals. Editorial content, arguably the content that impacts readers most, contained, on average, less than 2% non-white occurrences in the pictures covering more than half a page. Norwegian, but not international, advertisements also showed a similar pattern. This led me to conclude that non-white models were represented but with visible limits and biases present. These limits and biases were visible in the low numbers of non-white models in relation to the population, and in the way, they were portrayed. That is, confined to small size photographs that aren't memorable or command much visual attention. There have been strides made towards increased representation, but this thesis shows that the fashion magazines still have a long way to go.

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**“pole pole ndio mwendo”**

(slow is the pace = slow and steady wins the race).

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# 1 INTRODUCTION

Magazines have generally been a neglected area of research in comparison to newspapers. This holds true on both international and national (Norwegian) context. There has been significant gap in terms of its history with an exception of a short but informative introduction by Jostein Gripsrud (1999) who talks about the cultural and societal significance of Norwegian magazines from 1814 to 1999, to which I will quote below:

In every way, the weekly press is closely connected to main developments in the social and cultural-historical development since 1814. By virtue of being widely read, and by the broad spectrum of information and experiences it has passed on, it is obvious that the weekly press has been very important for everyday culture. (Gripsrud as translated and cited by Ytre-Arne, 2013, p 76).

As a medium, magazines provide entertainment but also information. It helps with shape our identity but also provide an arena for broader social understanding (Haveman, 2015, p 1). The word ‘magazine’ originally derives from the Arabic ‘makhazin’ meaning a ware/storehouse, referring to the variety of content and elements. While in a media context, magazine may allude to a news supplement, in this thesis it will denote the strongest association of the word: periodical/serial publications and in this instance fashion/women’s interest magazines (Ytre-Arne, 2012, 2013)

This thesis will take a look at racial representation in two Norwegian magazines, denoted as *ukeblader*, *magazines* or *glossy magazines* in several instances of this thesis. These terms will be used interchangeably. The two magazines *Kvinner og Klær*, hereforth referred to as KK, and *Det Nye* will serve as primary cases for study and lead the discussion to a broader context of the value of representation. KK and Det Nye are long running publications in Norway with a presence of over fifty years thus boasting a significant popularity among the Norwegian public. They are represented by publishers Egmont and Aller Media, respectively and are dedicated to the modern woman. Together they target readers between the ages of 18-48, with focus on fashion, beauty and features devoted to private life, careers, current affairs etc. Both magazines have print editions and digital platforms (Ytre-Arne, 2013; Egmont, 2017; Aller Media, 2017).

The research question this thesis aims to answer is: *How frequently, and in what manner, are non-white models represented/portrayed in Norwegian fashion magazines?* The preliminary idea was inspired by a YouTube video *How fashion “solved” its diversity problem* (Mic, 2015) and research on representation of race in American fashion magazines. This prompted me to investigate whether this issue can also be applied in a Norwegian context, and what can be learned from it. Theoretically, the term representation in this thesis highlights two elements as proposed by Stuart Hall (Jhally, 1997) in his lecture: the old view (showing) and the other the new (giving meaning). We will view representation as constitutive and thus explore how meanings constitute events (Jhally, 1997). Methodologically, this study borrows and draws inspiration from previous studies conducted by Erving Goffman (1979) on *Gender Advertisements*, Plous and Neptune (1997) and Milliard and Grant (2006) in their furthering of Goffman’s rubrics and exploring the element of race. The study uses content analysis and handpicked rubrics from the above-mentioned studies, and although representation is a qualitative subject matter, through Goffman’s (1979) rubrics it can be measured quantitatively in order to examine the situation in Norway. Contents of interest will be editorial content and advertisements featuring only women, since these magazines are aimed at a female audience, which have been deemed the dominant readership of magazines (Ytre-Arne, 2013, p 75). The sample included in this study are magazines from January to June, in years 2006 and 2016, meaning the dataset contains a year worth of content. For the magazines released weekly, which KK is, and Det Nye was, one was chosen through simple random sampling as representative of the month.

My research aims to fill in a gap that has been highlighted by Millard and Grant (2006) that research done on magazines and potential effects has largely been focused on the advertisements and no other photographic content such as those illustrating fashion styles, a gap they find significant and that of considerable effect on readers of glossy magazines. Additionally, Millard and Grant highlight that these fashion spreads are content specifically chosen by the editor not to promote only a certain brand and are least likely to get ignored like adverts that are seen more frequently on a daily basis (2006, pp 659-660). There is also another gap highlighted by Ytre-Arne in which she highlights there is a lack, under-researching, in terms of research of women's magazines within Norwegian media studies, their overall contribution to society and culture (2012, pp 12-16). Furthermore, my research positions itself within learning the context of these two glossies, that cover a considerable age group within the Norwegian readership, namely 18-48, and due to its comparative nature

captures the essence of some previous studies done by scholars such as Sarromaa (2011), values and social change portrays by Torsvik (1973), Ytre-Arne (2012) with hopes of further adding on to the movement of student theses on Norwegian magazine research (as mentioned in Ytre-Arne, 2012, p 13). While I aim to fill this gap, this thesis introduces a unique element in that it borrows from international studies on visual, gender and racial stereotypes which help in understanding and interpreting Norway from an international context. It has also encompassed fields such as cultural studies, media, psychology and anthropology, to highlight the interconnectedness of the field of media and communications to other fields such as social sciences and humanities.

The thesis' chronology will be as follows; the first chapter is this introduction. The second chapter is the background, which will dive into the concept of racism and how it has shaped racial relations between Western countries and other cultures. Central to this are theories from psychology and anthropology. It will then move to introduce Scandinavia and Norway, as our main geographical areas of interest. Finally, the chapter will end with looking at the history of magazines and their relevance in culture and society, and touch on the two magazines of interest for this thesis, *KK* and *Det Nye*. The chapter serves to create a backdrop for future concepts touched on the thesis. The third chapter covers the theoretical framework, which will introduce representation and stereotyping. Over the course of the chapter these concepts will be fleshed out as we dive into the literature by Erving Goffman (1979), Plous & Neptune (1997), and Milliard & Grant (2006) central figures to the theoretical framework and analysis of this study. The chapter will tie in these concepts to race and racialisation in the fashion industry. The fourth chapter covers the methodology used for this thesis. The thesis will use content analysis, and variables derived mainly from Goffman (1979) and Plous and Neptune (1997) paired with a few others of my own for validity of the study. The chapter contains the codebook and explanation of the variables and finish with the limitations imposed upon it. The fifth chapter covers the findings and analysis of the thesis. The chapter will guide us through the main findings, and will follow order according to the thesis' research question, namely frequency and manner. The manner variables will be presented and analysed independently of each other. The sixth chapter is the discussion which will lift main elements detracted from the findings and analysis into looking at them from a wider perspective in both the national (Norwegian) and international concepts. The discussion is covered in three sections: the journalistic duty of magazines, an overall critique of the fashion industry and the reciprocal cycle of influence between media and society. The thesis will end with a

conclusion, which will summarise the aim of this study and what has been achieved from it. It will highlight the main points to be taken from the thesis.

## 2 BACKGROUND

While racism is no new topic to most, for this study I discuss the constructs of racism as relevant in setting the stage set of this research. In this chapter I will explore the history of racial relations between the West and other cultures, then narrow down to Scandinavia and eventually, our focus country, Norway. The chapter will then lead to discussing magazines which will lead us to our theory on representation and stereotyping. Basing most research on anthropological, psychological and post-colonial takes in exploring matters such as the internalization of colonialism, inferiority/superiority complexes and racism. I do this with the purpose of creating a deeper historical and contemporary understanding of racism, stereotyping and their reinforcement through established, seemingly inescapable, power structures and hegemonic discourse revealing stratification in society which is later translated into the media.

Fanon describes Europe as having a racist structure that in turn shapes its people, the worldview and knowledge that stems from its civilisation. Additionally, racism in this case is used as a tool for maintaining a certain structure of dominance (Fanon, Bhabha, & Sardar, 2008, pp xv, xiii). The structure of this dominance as explored in the course of his book has many dimensions, such as: the writing of the Non-West's history, anthropology, language, globalisation etc. all stemming from a hierarchical, superior, Eurocentric perspective (2008, p xvi-xvii).

As a last note, I would like to clarify the usage of terms “white” and “black” that may appear within this chapter. The term white will denote the “European civilization and its representatives” – predominantly Caucasian - whilst black “the non-West in general” (Fanon, Bhabha, & Sardar, 2008, p xv). For most part these terms will appear in relation to cited work by Fanon et al. For most other references the term “non-white” will be used instead in line with the methodology chapter of this thesis. The term’s definition will be broader, insinuating to those with a darker skin tone as this is the meaning I derive from Fanon’s terminology. In simple terms, it will lump together different races that aren’t categorised as Caucasian to discuss racialisation and ethnicity.

## 2.1 Racism as an umbrella

Three epochs, namely; slavery, colonialism and post-World War 2 migrations really marked the beginnings of popular racialised representations (Hall, 2013, p 228). Racism in its basis favours one group over another, based on race/skin colour. This can also be extended to other physical and genetic characteristics that may be associated with being from a certain race. Such qualities are built on cultural belief that certain group members have distinctly observable features common to their group (*race based characteristics*) and that these features categorise the out-group group as inferior to the in-group. These associations are generally negative and in terms of social power are used to the advantage of one group over another and can be exercised in terms of social standards, laws, policies and within societal institutions. It can also create a dependency of sorts in the way that it limits opportunities for other members, in essence creating a hierarchy that systematically undermines another (Dovidio, Faertner & Kawakami, 2010, pp 312-313). Thus, racism can be used as an umbrella to explore racialisations in which we find in media culture today.

While racism has always, historically seen, been around and played roles in different societies, it gained scientific and formal status with European colonialism and imperialism around the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century. Gaining momentum in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, however it still made appearances earlier e.g. references to savages in relation to South American Indians etc., and any other race that was not European, regardless of country or continent, was considered 'primitive' (Pickering, 2001, p 51). Early explorers often described the societies they came across as primitive and in animalistic terms and thus differing from (civil, Western) modern human beings thus creating an alignment of Black/White, Self/Other (Jahoda. 1999; Pickering, 2001; Sardar in Fanon et al, 2008, p xiii). Thus, early formation of racism relied upon ethnocentric bias on Europeans as modern (Pickering, 2001, p xii). This structure created fertile ground for conquest and discrimination of the 'primitive'. The rationalisations then became used to justify the superiority and inferiority structures employed to colonise and exploit native groups, endorse subordination and slavery, if these societies were to evolve to the peak of social development that the West had reached (Pickering, 2001, pp 53-54).

Over time other scientific practices such as psychology added to concretising these hierarchies to different racial and ethnic groups based on human capacities e.g. intelligence and other race based characteristics (Dovidio et al, 2010, p 313). Extended to this are other

fields of human sciences such as anthropology, legal studies and other cultural forms that placed the white man at the top fostering a 'piori given' of the white man as 'the *predestined master of this world*' (Pickering, 2001, p 52, 58; Sardar in Fanon et al, 2008, xvi). Essentially all that was not the West was now a White Man's Burden.

The politics of representation here consisted of what the Other represented for 'us', for what it showed 'us', often more or less *unfairly*. 'Unfairly' because the study of the other, faraway peoples was not about them at all. It was about 'us' refracted through 'them', and 'them' temporally excised from the social exclusivity of 'us'. (Pickering, 2001, p 56)

The Other had no history, no progress, they only came to be represented in what they were in relation to the White Man, his discourse and progress (Sardar, 2008, xvi; Pickering, 2001, p 56). If anything, they came to further mediate the imaginary division of civilised/savage and threat of cultural difference and refinement (Pickering, 2001, p 59; Hall, 2013, p 232). And in this Fanon, links the feelings of inferiority by the colonized correlate with those of superiority the colonizer/European, he quotes "it is the racist who makes his inferior" citing the example of identity being bestowed upon one to highlight their differentiation from that of an imagined "us" (Fanon et al., 2008, p 69). While many of the colonies were subject to this spectacle and reinvention of race, Africa in particular took the brunt of racialisation concepts (Hall, 2013, p 229)

As Dovidio et al (2010) state, "Racism is rooted in normal psychological processes" in that it is built within the way humans tend to categorise things and people in order to gather meaning from environments "for human cognition, perception and functioning". It operates on three levels: cultural, individual and institutional. Cultural racism is that which encompasses superiority/inferiority framework between races especially in defining societal values. It is usually ethnocentric and pins all other cultures against one's own, usually with one's own values as the favourable and seeks to impose it upon others. It works in the fabric of the everyday, being dispersed by members of that society and is passed down to other generations. In this instance I find similarity in which Fanon describes hate: as something that isn't inborn but rather functions upon difference constantly being cultivated (Fanon et al., 2008, p 37).

"historically, cultural differences between Europeans (or Euro-Americans) and non-Europeans have always been framed in terms of superiority and inferiority. In the United States, Africans and other racial groups were deemed culturally inferior to "whites" (meaning those from north western Europe). Nineteenth-century evolutionary science attempted to rank racial groups from "primitive" to "advanced." They did not

simply use biology, but also what would come to be called culture.” (Mukhopadhyay & Chua, 2008, p 378)

A common example can be observed in the “assimilation” of members of a non-dominant group to that of a dominant group or the opposition to immigrants and their culture, and seeing them as a threat to the dominant culture (Mukhopadhyay & Chua, 2008, p 378).

Institutional racism can be spotted in formalities, e.g. institutions, laws and policies, based on biases to advantage one's own group over another. It is 'ritualised' within structures thus resilient to individual effort to dismantle and does not need individuals' support to expend it. Examples can be found in matters such as immigration or even the severity of punishments assigned to different groups for example marijuana possession between Black and White Americans or even incarceration rates. It creates the inevitable status quo in that “it is just the way it is” thus making it hard to recognise its racial and discriminatory nature (Dovidio et al., 2010; NAACP, 2017).

Individual racism is knitted along the lines of prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping based on race. Individual racism is basically fosters statements made to preserve differences (prejudices) between races/ethnic groups and deploys stereotypes to justify it thus leading to discrimination to preserve and boost one's own group advantage (Dovidio et al., 2010, p 314). All in all, racism is the broader umbrella in which prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping exist and build their framework.

## **2.2 Understanding Scandinavia from a post-colonial lens:**

When discussing racism and stereotyping, and applying a colonial background we often associate the topic with former colonial centres such as Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany etc. and let slip the Nordic countries. Their ties to colonialism are considered weak, and most focus is given to them as peace-building and co-operators (Mulinari, Keskinen, Irni & Tuori, 2009, p 1). However, there is leeway in which the Nordic countries fit into the colonial frame, and that is in terms of effect of colonial relations and colonial complicity. Firstly, this affect comes from within the fact that these countries are within Europe. As pointed out by Bhabha (2008), simply by being in Europe the Nordic countries operate within a racialised and racist structure and in turn benefit from its scope of perception on the rest of



the world, especially due to the current political shift to the right European countries are sharing (p xv; Skeie, 2014, p 37). Colonial complicity, as described by Mulinari et al. is “a process which (post) colonial imaginaries, practices and products are made to be part of what is understood as the 'national' and 'traditional' culture of the Nordic countries”. Colonial complicity therefore means that these countries still partake in post-colonial processes through the acceptance of hegemonic discourses and authority (Mulinari et al, 2009, p 2; Vuorela, 2009, p 20)

Scandinavia, and Nordic countries at large, have been the 'the odd ones out in the post-colonial Western world' and have been thought of by far as “good Westerners” within themselves and others (Palmberg, 2009, p 35). Their positing of themselves as largely untouched by the grips of colonialism has meant the slip in dialogue on addressing issues on general discourse on the presence of a colonial mindset in their respective countries and a thorough critique the period of colonialism, its projects or discourse “truths”. It’s argued that there is an internalisation of the colonial discourse and worldview, and even when we consider the values from Enlightenment, traces of evolutionist theory and hierarchical order are present. While several academic and social movements have touched and reflected upon the issue, the issue has otherwise been largely muted due to the sentiment of being untouched. In this way they can be regarded as invisible participants in the colonial legacy (Mulinari et al, 2009, p 2; Palmberg, 2009, p 35, 47; Vuorela, 2009, p 21, 24). The Nordics, Palmberg argues, are not exceptions in a post-colonial world where ideological scars of the colonial chapter run deep, and the West's influence still is strong; therefore, they should not be exempted to any higher moral ground than the colonial centres. This can be observed in, for example, sending missionaries which echoes a hegemonic ideology that originally scorned indigenous culture but also left lasting impressions in people's minds, especially of Africans, as in need of help (Palmberg, 2009)

### **2.3 Norway: nationalism and belonging.**

Mary Hilson (2008) states, the thought that Scandinavian countries have largely been ethnically homogeneous throughout history is a but an exaggerated myth. Historically, multi-ethnicity and language pluralism had long been tolerated in the kingdom of Denmark and the Swedish empire due to the extensiveness of their territories between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Adding to this lacking divisiveness was the strong hold of the Lutheran church and the

Scandinavian Reformation which favoured assimilation and centralization. Over the years, however, homogeneity and the question of ethnicity came as part of a nation building exercise and nationalism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that effectively tied in the Scandinavian countries in terms of similarity of linguistic roots and ethnicity as well common bonds among the nations (pp 148-150).

Stuart Hall (1993) mentions that dialogues expressed in politics and the media talk about the new rise of nationalism which believes in purity of culture - one people, one ethnicity, under one political roof (p 355-6). Nationalism in the West has come to be identified in that you have to belong to a particular country, through either shared history or land. It contains with it visual cues that act as symbols to solidify the feeling of 'us' and act as a social glue for identifying with a nation, as opposed to being too localised (Pickering, 2001, p 85). In the Norwegian context, this nationalism can be seen to originate from the 1800s with motto "En nasjon, ett folk" which was used to set pressure on the native population of the Sami, in order to foster Norwegianization (fornorskningspolitikk). Norway, Sweden and Finland have historically had the presence of the Sami as their historical indigenous population. The Sami, in most part of history, have been assimilated into Norwegian society but not always under humane terms. Their assimilation has been highlighted by Hilson (2008) as a form of state racism and Sami inferiority - "*a Nordic version of the white man's burden*". In the 1960s and 70s, however, the attitudes begin to shift again to incorporate the Sami within the framework of Norwegian society but acknowledging the cultural pluralism as opposed to the "homogeneity" ideal of the 1940s (pp 149-153).

It is, however, worthy to note that there is an identity crisis rising in Scandinavia, challenging its foundational self-image of solidarity and social justice, and it is only made worse by racism. This is what makes Norway an interesting point of study for my research. In Norway, the identity crisis as highlighted by Witoszek (as cited in Eriksen, 2011, p 2) is that to be Norwegian is to inherently be good, also echoed by historian Terje Tvedt (as cited in Eriksen, 2011, p 2) as the "regime of benevolence" which has come to mute critical debate due to this sense of higher morality. July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2011, marked a hallmark in Norwegian society as the country witnessed a terrorist attack killing 79 people in Oslo and the island of Utøya by right-wing extremist Anders Behring Breivik. The incident was at first rumoured to be work of Islamist terrorists, but was then found out that the attack was carried out by a Norwegian-born and raised man. This in turn brought to light not only anti-immigration sentiments but also

extreme right-wing sentiments slowly simmering away in Norwegian society thus also posing a considerable threat from within the country itself (Eriksen, 2011, p 2). A sentiment that, for a significant time and through considerable party politics, has been framed as being ascribed to a certain part of the population and brushed the topic of majority racism and xenophobia for broad societal reflection under the rug (Gullestad, 2006, p 186; Skeie, 2014, p 40). Nationalism in Norway has not in actuality been considered as something potentially negative, rather that is morally good and based on national identity more than nationalism – belonging rather than superiority. Gullestad argues, however, that this national identity hasn't been reflected upon in terms of geographical and cultural boundaries. “Some people's belonging usually implies other people's exclusion” and that balance has not been found. So even though the Norwegian national identity is arguably inside focused, it's still dependant on the negativity or even opposition of those outside it which has even shaped the result of Norway joining the European Union in 1973 and 1994 (2006, P 130; Skeie, 2014, p 37). Norway's different nationalism and unique position can in part be understood in Norway itself being: a young nation, effectively under firstly Denmark and then Sweden, prohibited to foster any international relations during colonial conquests, militarily passive since the Viking era, lacking in a feudal system that eventually led to a rural and egalitarian nationalism and occupied by Nazi Germany during the Second World War. All their independence, national symbols are positively associated and from a peaceful point of view and have structured the course of their character in many issues afterwards. It has thus shaped the ‘us vs them’ argument into the Norwegian nation vs the outside world. (Gullestad, 2006, pp 129-132; Palmberg, 2009, p 45)

Another aspect, however, surfaces when discussing belonging and national identity, and that is that the distinction of belonging appears to be most rooted in race/ethnicity as opposed to shared culture. In welfare states, distinctions like ‘nation vs immigrants’ are made and reinforced thus leading to discrimination in different spheres regardless of people's formal citizenship rights. This form of exclusion and “Welfare Nationalism” can be witnessed in Nordic countries and is argued as not necessarily exclusive but rather it subordinative and regulatory of the Other (Mulinari et al., p 4). This is similar to many other racialisations in different parts of the world including the United States. An example of this is using the term immigrant (*innvandrere*) as an umbrella term for distinguishing the West from the rest, to downplay conversations of race in institutions and politics and cover up poverty among different social groups. The term is by large culturally negatively connotated, and not simply

a dictionary word to specifically denote the term immigrant. It has little to no distinction of formal citizenship rights of different immigrants and is used as word of differentiation and domination (“them/outsideers”) and has by far grown to be used to explicitly refer to those with dark skin and from the Third world even though it is to be inclusive of other (“white”) immigrants such as Swedes, Danes etc. Yet serves as wordplay in which politicians can, and have, used it's connotated meaning to voice a xenophobic or racist agenda but be able to retract to its denotated meaning when called out upon it (Gullestad, 2006; Mulinari et al, 2009, pp 4-5). Similar to when Hall (2013) discusses Linford Christie and belonging, the definition of Britishness, similar to Norwegianness often assumes whiteness (p 220). But to add to this, socio-political values e.g. gender equality, human rights, the welfare state have entered and universalised the Norwegian identity, making its localism and politics distinct and complex (Skeie, 2014, p 37).

There are, however, differences between Norway to other countries where representation studies have been conducted, namely the United States and United Kingdom. Norway was voted the Happiest country, and although this may seem unrelated, there are aspects which one should consider as they feed in to why Norway differs. Norway is considerably richer due to oil revenue, has a solid welfare state, is regarded one of the most progressive countries when it comes to sexuality, equal treatment, gender equality and education. There are also similarities to be noted, and that is despite all this Norway is experiencing socioeconomic distinctions, urbanisation, gender gaps in the labour market, growth in international travelling and increasing immigration. Furthermore, despite the robust development of support and educational systems, Norway lags in establishing inclusivity in the education and labour for youth, and persons with migrant backgrounds, leaving them at a disadvantage for significant portions of their lives (Skeie, 2014, p 37-9). So, there is fragility in the Norwegian system despite the well-meaning intentions when it comes to citizenship, multiculturalism and belonging making Norway both a complex and interesting country for exploration.

## **2.4 Magazines: History, Role and Importance**

Magazines are a source of, not only entertainment, but also information. Along with other forms of mass media and the internet, they provide us with information and shape our understanding of not only ourselves but society. They also disseminate opinion that have subtle influence on our behaviour and knowledge, and this part in particular is applicable to

entertainment and fashion. Media is seen to weave “invisible threads of connection” between people and communities that are otherwise geographically dispersed and instil notions of shared values, goals and principles even outside the social realm of politics (Haveman, 2015, pp 1-2). Magazines in particular, bring together these geographically dispersed individuals into a “translocal” hub community of shared interest, beliefs and identities. Additionally, they act as a window to the things you're interested in the most. McKay (2006) called this the extension of one's social circle of like-minded people. Although she applies this mainly in concerning special interest magazines, *KK* and *Det Nye* can fit into this in that they provide content with special interests e.g. fashion and beauty or interior etc. they have the interest of the average girl or woman waiting to expand their horizons in bettering themselves. It creates an interaction ground for their readers to discuss the contents of what's presented to them. This, further ties in with that magazines are also a pledge of allegiance to certain values or interests, giving its readers community and identity. Magazines are acquirable and accommodating over different social strata as communication and community building tools (ibid, p 5, 7; Haveman, 2015, p 5-6)

In general, fashion magazines in particular have roles. Their first role is to please their advertisers, representative of media culture, and their consumers/readers. Their main source of profit, however, is advertising; therefore, their editorial content must add to and strengthen advertising, all the while trying to uphold or increase readership. This has led to their aligning of themes and images with those circulating in youth cultures and are diffused by the media (Crane, 1999, p 545). This explains why many studies have focused on advertising creating the gap, in assessing editorial content, that Milliard and Grant highlight (2006, p 661). Their second role is catering to and accommodating to their readers diversity in terms of goals and activities (Crane, 1999, p 545). Additionally, editorials in fashion magazines are powerful on their own. When we consider that people are bombarded by advertisements daily, editorials in essence provide a sense of fresh air even though they technically fulfil similar objectives to advertisements – selling a lifestyle. Editorials illustrate and promote style and fashion, usually in a highly aesthetic and thematic manner, and are less overlooked (Milliard & Grant, 2006, p 661). If advertisements please the advertisers, then editorials please the readers thus making both advertisements and editorials equal contenders for study in this thesis.

Magazines have gotten far less academic attention than newspapers, and reason for this may be due to the nature of magazines being softer than “hard news” or even newspapers and

books. More than the lightness of content, less attention is given to (consumer) magazines due to the inherent association to women's magazines in general, despite the presence and success of men's magazines. This has accorded magazines as less valuable, according to McKay, than what's considered as mainstream. The vague distinctiveness as to what a magazine is also weakens the flow of research into magazines since their content and appearance is so diverse as opposed to newspapers (McKay, 2006, p 5, 7; Haveman, 2015, p 4). In Norway, especially, fashion magazines are seen to have a small agenda, that is mainly fashion, and sales driven, according to editor of Elle Norway, Signy Fardahl (personal communication, October 12, 2017) in debate *Tabuer i norsk motemagasiner*. But magazines need to be given considerable attention due to their power of being dispersed locally and in some cases internationally, their long shelf life in comparison to newspapers – they're kept for longer and for future reference, and because their serial nature allows them to have interactions with their readers and gain feedback, adjust their structure to accommodate to their readers but also respond to their competitors' salvos (Haveman, 2015, p 4-5).

Mass marketed magazines came into the picture in the 1800s. In the US, the first fashion and women's interest magazine was Harper's Bazaar dating back 1867, and in the UK, Ladies Mercury dated back earlier to 1693 although struggled and failed within a short time. (Rooks 2017, p 1; Hughes 2008). By the middle of the twentieth century, women had and read publications and columns that “dealt” with their range of concerns from appearance to housekeeping in order to create the best possible socially presentable or even ideal images of themselves. Change came in the 60s with the rise of various movements and magazines came under fire of critique as damaging to women, old-fashioned and conforming to gender norms. Criticisms of magazines have come in that the scope of what's published for women is generally in limited scope and may have adverse effect on its readers in that the content is unrealistic, superficial and patronising to women. The producers of such paradigms are proposed to be well off white, male, heterosexual since the images embody male gaze and expectations. From a feminist perspective, criticisms have stemmed in that magazines aimed at women take on the role of defining and shaping “what women are and how they are perceived”. And due to this, the content then becomes of primary interest in terms of the imagery that is diffused to the readers in terms of roles females, across the spectrum, play or are expected to play (McKay, 2006, p 9; Cortese, 1999, p 1; Crane, 1999, p 542). Of course, you also have those who argue that magazines only play a small and minuscule significant

role in women's lives and that magazines are diverse and as argued by Rooks, complicated in terms of experiences (Hermes, 1995; Rooks, 2017, p 3).

Magazines' strengths lay within identification of niche markets and catering to those thus ensuring their success and continuation, even those produced weekly. Put simply, magazines are not for everyone, they are a select, and draw their profits from that basis. General interest magazines are also quite popular, and it can be observed in the UK for example in which Glamour only took 16 months from its launch to become one of the bestselling women's magazines in the UK and continued the success for years on (McKay, 2006, p 2, 209). Though they are specialised in winning over niche markets, magazines as stated above are likely diverse as their readers. This diversity is what has led to specialisations e.g. Cosmopolitan, the fearless (single) girl's bible for fun, or Essence magazine, a lifestyle guide catered for Black women. What this means is that there is no shortage of market as long as this diversity exists (Rooks, 2017, p 3; Hearst.com, 2017; Essence.com, 2017)

## **2.5 Our units of study**

### **2.5.1 KK**

KK stands for *Kvinner og Klær* (translating to Women and Clothes), and was first published in 1874 however under a different niche of needlework patterns. Only in 1940 did the magazine switch to be a women's general interest magazine and change its name to what we now refer to as KK, with the abbreviation being formed in the 70s (Ytre-Arne, 2012, p 83-84). Issues of the magazines live up to the idea of the ukeblad, in that it is published weekly. An important thing to note however is the difference between KK and other ukeblad, as Ytre-Arne suggests that it fits in more to the aesthetic of a glossy than an ukeblad like Hjemmet or Hør. In terms of operation, Ellen Arnstad (2015) has also highlighted how KK has operated according to the Norwegian press ethics. In their content, KK merges lifestyle and feature journalism, in which then culminates a variation from health and fashion to politics and social commentary (Ytre-Arne, 2012, pp 84). Their earlier feature journalism was a mix of light and heavy journalism, which did not shy from critical political and social stances. It critiqued and covered issues in Norway but also abroad. The readers, however, had mixed review regarding

the content, and in 2008 the editor, Bente Engesland resigned and was replaced by Gjyri Helén Werp who sharply redefined the content (Ytre-Arne, 2013, p 82-3)

The aesthetics, under editor Gjyri Helén Werp, have been moved to being more glamorous, brighter in colour and on glossier paper which culminates the “feel good” direction Werp wanted to take the magazine during her being hired by KK in 2010 (Ytre-Arne, 2012, pp 86-87). This direction was specifically chosen in order to highlight a lighter tone to the magazine while still maintaining its history. Werp wanted the focus to remain on the 'everyday lives of Norwegian women' that their readers could identify with while balancing both light and the heavy topics (Ytre-Arne, 2012, p 85). There is an element of aspirational being that is intertwined within the content of KK. While it sends the message to the readers that they are enough, they also toy with escapism that is embedded in magazine reading. By escapism I refer to Hermes' conception of magazine roles in the everyday. The magazine serves as means of occupation in someone's routine while being, at least partially, 'as tools in the formation of fantasy and imagined 'new selves'' (Gough-Yates, 2003, p13). Ytre-Arne states that KK's editor argued that there ought not to be any guilt in “wanting to be “an even better version” of oneself (Ytre-Arne, 2012, p 90). This ties in with Susan Sontag alluding to the importance of visual images in a capitalist society and their usage as a commodity. In advertising they act as building blocks of desire: be it in self-image, lifestyle, glamour etc. – and can later call on mimetic desire. (Berger, 2012, pp 147-148). A counterargument, however, is fronted by Hermes (1995) that the interpretation of women's magazines is intertwined with the readers' lives. They may not have quite a big role as we think, but rather serve as means of occupation in someone's routine. They carry content readers can browse through without considering deeper meanings since they have other sources of information that they receive critical perspectives from, to keep them well informed (ibid.; Brochmann, 2017; Fardahl, 2017). They do however construct, at least partially, 'as tools in the formation of fantasy and imagined 'new selves'' (Gough-Yates, 2003, p13).

This in turn can sum up that contents within magazines, including photographs and advertisements, are not objective. The whole process of it considers the way in which images can be presented in order to be interpreted in a certain way, and utilising pre-learned cultural codes (Berger, 2012, pp 136-139). There is a power that exists in imagery and that people who make them, in this case the cultural producers, should in turn be careful of the moral



implications of it all. This power goes to the extent where seeing is believing; imagery should be created in foster beliefs that are not individually or socially destructive (Berger, 2012, p 7)

### **2.5.2 Det Nye**

Det Nye was established in 1957, and has had a significant role in young women's lives from the period after the second world war and had a prominent place as the only magazine targeted towards young girls for forty years. Its target market then was those between the ages of 15-25. Their role was, in essence, to capture, mirror and shape the discourse and representation of this age group. In its roots, the magazine was a trailblazer since it drew inspiration of its basis from the United States (Sarromaa, 2011).

Sarromaa also highlights that the roots of Det Nye have to be understood in the context it was established in. The magazine established itself when youth was associated with the individualisation of young people from their parents in terms of tastes and styles. This made Det Nye take on "oppdragerens rolle innen mote og skjønnhet, og bekymret seg mindre for atombomben og mer for uren hud, ufikse frisyrer og guttenes påtrengende seksualitet" to which translates to: "educator's role within fashion and beauty, worried less about the atomic bomb and more about blemished skin, bad hairstyles and boys' intrusive sexuality" (Sarromaa, 2011, p 25).

Over the years it has witnessed changes such as altering its publication times from monthly to weekly, as was the case in 2006, and for some time even targeted boys (Sarromaa, 2011, p 26). Currently it has placed itself as the go to guide for a reader who wants the best in terms of what to buy, fashion and beauty, this is what they consider to be their strongest trait. This trait is something that has been passed on throughout their history. The magazine targets readers ranging from 18-35 and brags a 95% brand awareness among Norwegian women. It is the most read fashion magazine according to official readership statistics and has experienced a readership growth in 2014. The magazine is available not only on print but also mobile devices, online which are currently prioritised areas for development for the magazine (Egmont, 2017). It is arguably one of the oldest magazines targeting young women (Sarromaa, 2011, p 5). The ideal reader of Det Nye has, as per their website, been described as she who "lives a social life and is concerned with identity forming interests such as fashion, beauty, exercise and diet, as well as being an engaged woman who cares around the world around her." (Egmont, 2017)

The content ranges with some fixed elements such as lifestyle, travel, fashion and beauty, and other content such as career, education, identity and relationships. The magazine targets a broad spectrum of topics which young women can relate to, and also save room in which they and their readers can have honest dialogue on these themes. Det Nye has also set itself apart in which retouched photos are highlighted as retouched (Egmont, 2017).

Together, these two magazines have managed to cover both a young and mature audience covering the ages of 18-48 (Bladkongen, 2015). From the information, we can see that both have had a presence in Norway for over 50 years, specialising in women's general interest/fashion, thus being well established within the Norwegian public. Furthermore, these magazines have been present in fronting women's liberation over the decades (Ytre-Arne, 2013, p 82). Their agenda is not only to forward fashion and entertainment, but also more serious matters that have a societal impact for their target market. Due to this, they accumulate all the reasons as to why their content is of importance to study even as singular representations of their target market similars.

# 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will introduce the theoretical concepts that will be central in chapters 5 and 6: findings & analysis and the discussion chapters. What will be presented first here is the concept of representation as explained by Stuart Hall in his lecture *representation and the media*, produced and directed Sut Jhally (1997). This will lead into sections on stereotyping and discrimination. Pulling from media effects, this will reveal levels of bias we can find in society and how they operate and affect society's perceptions and biases towards others. From there we will look at the role and importance of advertising and representation which will follow and talk about Goffman's (1979) work more closely. It will explain why advertising has been ground for significant research especially in discussing women's magazines but also for influencing social norms. The third section will look at the concept of race and racialisation in the fashion industry while linking it to the entertainment sector and magazines, and their negative impact on ethnic minorities. Lastly, the chapter will end with how all this ties in with forming and shaping the methodology of this thesis. The section looks at Plous and Neptune (1997) and the findings from their study. This is done with the intention of using Goffman (1979) and Plous and Neptune (1997) as central to interpretations in the findings and analysis chapter of this thesis.

## 3.1 Representation

When we consider media and mass media, we consider two schools of operation. One in which the media is considered as an independent variable, able to exert its influence on the dependent variable that is us (the individual) following an effect paradigm. "What the media do to people". The other, borrows from cultural studies in which the we (the individual) are seen as agents, competent and powerful in assessing discourses purveyed by the media according to their own background and needs. They are able to decipher and challenge the ideologies proposed by the media (Hjarvard, 2013, p 2). As the main focus of this thesis, we need to ask what is representation? The concepts of representation will be borrowed from Stuart Hall, a pioneer in the field of cultural studies and assessing media's role in society with his main work on representation dating back to the 90s (Jhally, 1997). Based on his lecture, Hall's interpretation of representation argues for the understanding of the media and representation in a much more complex manner and its relation to the individual, as an agent,

but also society and culture. Meaning, assessing the relation in terms of power and knowledge.

In the beginning of this lecture, Hall (Jhally, 1997) states that we live in a media saturated world, a notion that other media academics have agreed with. By living in a media saturated world, individuals in society are constantly swimming in images – still and moving – permeated by and through different media. This then brings representation of visual imagery to centre stage as this media saturated culture is not only limited to the Western world, but due to globalisation and the rapid increase of communicative systems, notions of this visual culture have spread worldwide (Hjavar, 2013; Webster, 2006). He presented two ways in which we can deal with representation, one he dubs the old view (showing) and the other the new (giving meaning). The new view refers to representation as constitutive and has no fixed meaning but rather follows the meanings derived from the individual's deciphering of it. In essence it tries "...to find out how the meanings enter into the event themselves and how they have to constitute the event" (Jhally, 1997). For our research question we apply both the old and new view of representation. The frequency part encapsulates the showing, and manner relates to the meanings taking form through symbolic representations constructing the shared maps of Norwegian society. These terms will be elaborated in the paragraphs to follow.

We are putting culture as a primary element, regarded as the means to which things are made sense of or given meaning to. A negotiated "system of values and ideas about the world" if you will (Hermes, 1995, p 27). Negotiated because as individuals our perceptions and conceptions differ from one another, however we have shared meanings which are what enable us to make sense of the world in broad terms. This becomes particularly interesting when we apply it to visual images we're presented with. Some conceptual maps of our world, such as racism and discrimination, were stated, earlier in the background chapter, as inherent parts of our biology, that allow us to 'classify' things. Hall (Jhally, 1997) in his notion of culture applies that certain norms or understanding/meanings of our world aren't just from biology but rather learned. He states that becoming a human subject entails learning to internalize shared maps of meaning with the rest of the individuals in your culture. Thus, to become cultured one must "internalize, how within oneself, is kind of the beginnings of the grid of one's culture". This instance ties in with visual imagery, in that while notions of classifying race for example are biological, creating meaningful concepts when it comes to representing members of different racial backgrounds is thus culturally learned via osmosis

(Berger, 2012, pp 148). Images also tend to linger because once an individual is exposed to a concept, it is stored although it isn't within our sight. Communication, or as Hall (Jhally, 1997) refers to it, language becomes the final piece of the circle that completes the systems of representation. He specifies that “language externalizes ... meanings that we are making of the world and of events”. Concepts are communicated to us creating fantasy worlds which mirror images of worlds not only within our own reach but also those that don't immediately exist in our picture. Through communication, they (meanings) receive body and weight socially. This in specific ties in with notions of derogatory images of black, and by extension an array of non-white, people that we're generally exposed to which will be discussed explicitly below.

Hall (Jhally, 1997) also states that representation can't be addressed without accounting for power. Meanings are produced, and this is called signifying practices. The media, although not alone, acts as a courier due to its powerful and extensive circulation system into society. Although we still have physical face-to-face interaction and communication, the media is an institution with complex technology and in some ways an extension and substitute for personal communication (Hepp, 2011, pp 40-1). The circulation of any meaning comes to relate to power due to the elements present in assigning meaning to things and communicating that meaning further. In other words, meanings are produced, framed and communicated by those representing a white, heterosexual, male ideology (Cortese, 1999, p 1). Stereotyping, like ideology and power, endeavours to fix meaning through limited definitions of something. Stereotypical images foster identification and knowledge, as naturalised (a given and free of a producer) since what we know is what is represented. There have been different ways in which people have tried to counter stereotypes, but the complexity of stereotypes makes it hard to counter them.

As a last point, I would like to bring in another side of representation to be considered, which is the journalistic duty of representation in magazines. As stated before magazines are sources of entertainment but also information (Haveman, 2015, pp 1-2). They shape and inform, and women's magazines specifically, since conception, have shaped and catered to women's issues and general understandings whether fashionably, socially, politically etc. and in some instances, like KK, even follow press ethics (Rooks, 2017; Arnstad, 2015). Magazines as part of print journalism have an editorial room and staff, who create the content or hire necessary parties to create the content that goes out in their publications, which includes images. Danby Choi (personal communication, October 12, 2017) in debate *Tabuer i norsk motemagasiner*,

questioned whether magazines, editorial staff regard themselves as journalists, and if so, wouldn't that entail representing society? The answer is a nuanced yes. In response, Fardal (personal communication, October 12, 2017), editor of Elle Norway, stated their duties are similar in that they collect information, try to understand it, provide an edit/selection and find the best way to communicate it. However, they are still knitted to the commercial and entertainment section. Although the two concepts may seem contradictory to each other, it's what makes magazines interesting and powerful. They form the collective understanding regarding cultural transformations and shifts (Rooks, 2017, p 2) thus defining and solidifying what it is to be, as Hall (Jhally, 1997) argued, a human subject in the "grid of one's culture" (Jhally, 1997).

## **3.2 Discrimination and Stereotyping**

In this section, I will highlight levels of bias we can find in society, mainly discrimination and stereotyping as expressed by Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick & Esses (2010). Furthermore, it will discuss the levels in which these biases operate on individual, cultural and institutional levels that in turn affect society's way of perceiving members of other groups and systems kept in place to justify biases against those members of out-groups.

Stereotyping is generally complex in nature, as the way we understand it has come to vary. Earlier, stereotyping was put along the same lines as prejudice in which it was based on specific rigid thoughts a group holds against another. Recently it has come to encompass the manner in which stereotypes act as simplifiers in processing information. In essence, they supply intergroup information in terms of social roles, beliefs, and certain traits of groups thus affecting emotional responses one group or person can have towards another (Dovidio et al. 2010b). In relation to the concept of the Other, Pickering (2001) suggests that stereotypes are rooted and bound into power structures. Understanding Othering opens understanding of the embedding of stereotypes in identification p 69). As Chimamanda Adichie (2009) phrased it on her TED Talk, *The Danger of a Single Story*: "The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story." Homi Bhabha (1997) describes this as 'an arrested, fixated form of representation' (p 75).

This single story is most often what makes cultural stereotypes, their priming effects and absorption easy. Furthermore, stereotyping comes from, creates and reinforces a framework for discrimination and emphasising differences between groups in the manner in which it is self-seeking for those attributed traits (Dovidio et al, 2010b, p 7). In this, and relating back to Adichie, it creates a ready emotional stance for group members to take against one that is not their own, or if indeed is one of their own creates a different and fragmented mental picture. This mental picture, depending, can be enriching or limiting and arouse an array of feelings, attitudes and anxieties ranging from pride and connection to anger, jealousy, pity or even disgust (Dovidio et al, 2010b; Adichie, 2009; Hall, 2013, p 216). Pickering goes further to state that whether this picture is positive or negative, the Other is always the object to which contrasts can be drawn from in relation to the subjects.

Othering, however, actually implies proximity rather than distance, that there is familiarity of that body (subject) and knowledge. The catch, however, is that although the proximity exists, it is simultaneously being alienated and distanced from being “normal”, which in the racial instance implies being White. Once a body is Othered, it embodies the essence of that otherness. Narrowing it down specifically to race, it all comes down to the skin. That skin becomes a manifestation of that difference and thus is interpreted as such. Skin therefore becomes a barrier of who is in the in group and who isn't and whether or not they can become or come into any of the groups (Brilling, 2017, p 139-140).

### **3.2.1 Discrimination**

As aforementioned, stereotyping comes from discrimination – with some of their roots taking hold in instances of history that tend to bias one culture or group over the other thus limiting equal treatment. This discrimination can thereafter seep into culture and institutions, this solidifying individual prejudices and group bias into more rigid structures. A contemporary example is current immigration policies which tend to favour White immigrants over non-whites, and historically in forms of slavery and seizing of native lands (Dovidio et al, 2010, p 10). Thus, stereotypes cannot be understood without considering the historical background of the people it is aimed at; they are still part consequence of what was learned centuries ago which in most part were made to pronounce the superiorities of the whites to their colonised counterparts (Pickering, 2001, p 13). As Hall (2013) argues, meanings given to images are not

one off but rather are accumulated over time and thus when put in context tend to play off against each other (p 222)

The worry about discrimination, especially once solidified into institutions is in the manner in which it starts to work independently from an individual. The institutions' prejudices need no basis of support of individuals to operate, meaning that even if the attitudes of individuals may change those of an institution do not. In short it becomes normalised and status quo, and institutions such as the media tend to downplay these institutional biases in public discourse (Dovidio et al, 2010b, p 10). Thus, rationalising forms of institutional discrimination often get blamed onto policies than to group membership, and on the other hand, the media perpetrates this by covering or fostering this as warranted. Forms of this can mainly be spotted in covering issues like crime, violence or rape in which non-white immigrants are often portrayed as perpetrators due to their status ethnically and economically (ibid., p 11). Such discrimination in the fashion industry can be seen in the refusal or neglect to cast ethnic/non-white models. The reasoning behind it are founded on old mindset and ideas e.g. black models don't sell products, are not a targeted demographic, they are regarded as a demographic without spending power (Yanofsky, & St.Phillip, 2010). Thus, insinuating that it's only Caucasians that sell and are the lucrative market despite studies like Ben Barry (2015) showing the opposite. He states:

By justifying the lack of diversity in fashion as a supposed consumer preference, the fashion industry seems to accept that its consumer market maintains a racist belief system. But my own research into whether there is a business case to support diverse models in fashion has revealed that it is the fashion industry, not consumers, that upholds a racist belief system.

On the other hand, there's cultural discrimination, which like cultural racism, is tied within the everyday, and passed in terms of history, standards and behaviour. It acts as the governing point for society's values and is used both as a privilege and a code of conduct in which other (out) groups must also adhere to. It deploys a superiority/inferiority set of beliefs on heritage and the way it is acted upon on both individual and institutional levels. Additionally, it works in an interesting manner in that, in some instances, members of an out group may develop ideologies that allow them to sympathise with or support the aspects of the dominant ideology even though they may actually be of disadvantage to them. There is a blur in inequalities and thus causes members to act and comply to a status quo without really knowing it. Dovidio et al call this the development of a "false consciousness" (Dovidio et al, 2010, p 11). For



example, Eastern Europeans and migrant workers from these countries experience a deal of discrimination based on their countries of origin. However, as cited in Fox, Moroşanu & Szilassy (2014) their Eastern European subjects in the United Kingdom would deny discrimination and bargain for status among the erected barriers of discrimination by the majority group. They labelled this as a whitewashing in its own way of these people (p 742; Fox, 2013, p 1876). In this particular case, the false consciousness relates to merits rather than institutionalised or cultural forms of discrimination.

### **3.2.2 Stereotyping and the media**

What makes stereotypes unique is their unlikeness to categories, in that they do not change over time due to their relation of fixed order and power. They act on the subtraction of individuality (reduction) and overgeneralising/exaggerating de-contextualised attributes (essentialising), simplifies and in the end fixes (naturalisation). In assessing the development of prejudices, discrimination and stereotyping, we are in a current frame in which we realise that these things are omnipresent in us and the societies we live in albeit in different proportions depending on individuals (Dovidio et al, 2010b; Hall, 2013, p 247). They are seemingly inescapable.

Through the media to we get to experience what is happening in the world around us. The media whether consciously or unconsciously influences the images we have regarding certain things. This is where representation and stereotyping merge. As Adichie (2009) framed it, by receiving only one-sided images/stories of certain places, and this I will extend to people, you slowly start believing that things are so. In current affairs, for example, this can be witnessed in the way Islam is automatically linked to terrorism and suicide bombings (von der Lippe, 2012, p 138). However, studies have also demonstrated that when people are exposed to certain frames they slowly start to display tolerant attitudes to members that to them belong to an out-group e.g. Schiappa, Gregg & Hewes' (2005) study on exposure to characters that were gay and male. The same theory can be applied to matters of race and representations. In Norway, sociologists such as Vassenden (as cited in von der Lippe, 2011), have demonstrated the influence of the media in people's attitudes and opinions towards ethnic minorities (134). So, while it is difficult to directly imply whether media exposure may increase or decrease prejudice, but they support that they can influence and prime groups (Mutz & Goldman, 2010, p 247). This is important because when we discuss racial representation in magazines, a

merital bargaining chip of status against discrimination cannot exist. Relying only on visual cues, a reader essentially is unable to differentiate nationality of a white model to another. It is however easier to differentiate the non-white models since the Otherness (epidermalization) is visible on the skin (Sardar, 2008, p xiii). Therefore, by a lack of representation, there is a continuation of marginalisation of minority ethnic groups. While this may not be a malicious intent, it is one that appeals to the maintenance of the discriminatory status-quo. It, in turn, makes it harder to eventually break down race barriers in terms of the development of racialised beauty standards and representations of Europeanness in not only local magazines, but also European in large. As study by Turner, Crisp & Lambert (2007) suggests, simply having a presence of an out-group displayed (imagined contact) can act as way to reduce in-group/out-group bias. This can also be applied to other ideas outside of race, for example gender, in which women have been confined to values and norms e.g. home-maker, sexual objectification and subordinate in advertising (Kang, 1997, 981; Courtney and Lockeretz 1979).

In their forms racism, prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping create and solidify the notion of the “Other” and their proposed threat or unlikeness to members of the in-group. Despite their irrationality, they are taken at face value because of the hierarchies it gives that ensure esteem, security and power to those in the in-group and marginalises those of the out-group. In informal terms stereotyping can be seen to serve a purpose of putting people, mainly subordinates, into their place according to learned social and cultural norms and without really having to consider the implications or validity of these norms because they somehow benefit you and your image. In essence, stereotypes come into play where science cannot prove or provide basis for their presupposed, usually derogatory, claims (Brilling, 2017, p 141).

In summation, when discussing representation and stereotyping, especially when assessing images, we do have to consider the historical context of connotative information that has been passed down throughout history, since meanings given to images are not one off but rather are accumulated over time and thus when put in context tend to play off against each other (Hall, 2013, p 222). Epidermalization in effect becomes inescapable, and so is contextualising other cultures outside of the meanings/discourses and, I also extend this to history, given to them by The West (Lidchi, 2013). This then brings us down to seeing that certain manners of framing content, although detracted from, largely, an American perspective, are also applicable to a

Norwegian context but may however have varying degrees of influence. So, as we further go into the contexts of this thesis, this is an important aspect of you, the reader, to bear in mind.

### **3.3 The role and importance of advertising and representation**

Within research, many have been fascinated with gender stereotypes and differentiating manners in which women are and have been depicted in advertising throughout the decades (Goffman, 1979; Kang, 1997). To another extent, others have taken it further to explore the notion of racial stereotyping and representation in the same way (Plous and Neptune, 1997; Shuey, King and Griffith, 1953; Milliard and Grant, 2006). Focus on advertising rightfully serves as fertile ground for research because it in many ways, shaped the discourse of domesticity, racialisation through translating things into signs and symbols which fostered imperial expansion but shaping some of the most iconic imagery of racism we have to date e.g. Pear's Soap whilst simultaneously erasing women's domestic labour. As McClintock (1995) states '...no pre-existing form of organised racism had ever before been able to reach so large and so differentiated a mass of the populace' (p 209; Hall, 2013, p 231). In essence, it not only showed, but also gave meaning to racialisation as a justified social structure.

Within the issue of gender roles, messages within advertising have been labelled as stereotypical and reinforcing of stereotypical values and norms when it comes to women e.g. home-maker, sexual objectification and subordinate (Kang, 1997, 981; Courtney and Lockeretz 1979). As McKay highlights, the information the audience gets not only lies in editorial contents but also advertisements in the magazines (McKay, 2006, p 2). Erving Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements* deals specifically with that field, in which he addresses the transcendence of socially defined and constructed sex roles and behaviours assigned to women into the pseudo-reality of advertising. He insinuates how every pose defines a carefully constructed cue in which the reader participates in decoding gender relations. He sampled print advertisements from magazines and argued that men and women participated in 'hyper-ritualizations' (p 28) of social scenes, meaning that the commercial advertisements were laced with socialisations gathered from the everyday, of which their commonality was the symbolic subordinating of women. Feminist theorists have argued that

“Western thought has been constructed on a systematic repression of the feminine” thus fostering the advancement of female stereotypical roles, e.g. sex object, and sexism even though women are more independent in many areas of life e.g. financially, occupationally and educationally (Jones 1993; Whitford 1991; Zotos & Tsihla, 2014). Others have contended this as a backlash to this very progress and thus asserts male dominance (male gaze) by centring their worth and preoccupations within the confines of appearance and sexuality (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008, p 587). Such derogatory manner of representation thus yields a less favourable and limiting image of women in terms of capability to do other things unrelated to the dated assigned roles already in place (Milliard & Grant, 2006; Tsihla & Zotos, 2013). To support this, Goffman (1979) establishes an index with five categories: *relative size* (women visualised as smaller or lower compared to male counterparts), *feminine touch* (women always using their hands to touch/caress themselves or objects), *function ranking* (women in subordinate performative or occupational roles), *ritualization of subordination* (physically lowering of oneself etc.), and *licensed withdrawal* (women are passive and mentally removed/distanced scene at hand). These roles, per se, implicitly or explicitly subordinate women in relation to men in that they can appear subordinate in terms of size, being withdrawn from the scene or being dependent on a man etc. and have thus formed our notions of the reinforcement of gender stereotypes and cultural ideals in our everyday (Milliard & Grant, 2006, p 660). They are representations of performances in which we assume notions of masculinity vs femininity and power vs subordination (ibid, p 660; Cavan, 1981). Not only can his work Goffman’s (1979) work be translated into gender terms but can also serve to demonstrate relations between females and other females. What matters most is fulfilling the “two-slot format” with differentiated subjects/models. Thus, this applies to differentiation, and is not strictly confined to the realms of sexual identity but can also be included to explore race and racialisation (p 26). This work has received significant attention simply due to the very nature in which it highlights sex differences in imagery and how it touches upon reality and even creates a self-fulfilling image of these visual presentations (ibid., p 27). In many ways Goffman shows us the power of imagery and advertising as mirroring cultural ideals and real life, but also opened up further notions of differentiation to be explored.

With his work, Goffman, has inspired other researchers such as Kang (1997), Plous and Neptune (1997), and Milliard & Grant (2006) to push these notions of stereotyping further and explore them in an array of situations including race, and the unchanging and pervasive

nature of imagery (Bell & Milic, 2002, p 205) through content analysis. While his work can't be taken too literally or generalised due to the carefully picked sample of imagery used to construct his point, it is nevertheless still applicable since these patterns do exist and construct our notion of gender roles. Furthermore, despite progress of women, these role representations remain in advertising in varying degrees. The pseudo-reality created by advertisements is inspired by but distorted from the real. And with our understanding know this reality, to some, serves as both a voyeuristic and aspirational world (Goffman, 1979, p 23). His findings were that these advertisements weaken women according to the artful posing highlighted in his rubrics. Hyper-ritualization standardises, exaggerates and simplifies and that, in turn, extends to affect our perceptions (of women) limiting them to child-likeness and lack of seriousness. This can be linked to the way stereotypes function in their denial of complexity and individualism. These representations, albeit being distorted and limited in scope come to later influence social ideals and our own posing. What we can get from this is that, these depictions are not constructed out of thin air but rather they are directly picked from social situations and ritualizations then concretised/naturalised through advertising (ibid, p 84).

By and large, advertisers do not create the ritualized expressions they employ; they seem to draw upon the same corpus of displays, the same ritual idiom, that is the resource of all of us who participate in social situations, and to the same end: the rendering of glimpsed action readable. If anything, advertisers conventionalize our conventions, stylize what is already a stylization, make frivolous use of what is already something considerably cut off from contextual controls. Their hype is hyper-ritualization. (p 84).

Why the industry, and this can be applied to media in general, has been slow to change is a question that perhaps is not so easily answered. Some have attributed it to the diffusion of non-egalitarian and patriarchal patterns in culture and social institutions. This relates to the argument that advertising is a "mirror" in that it only reflects beliefs, drawing from different institutional factors e.g. political and socio-economical, already prevalent and influential within the culture's value system e.g. the intended/perfect consumer and hypothesised power holders/image producers (Cortese, 1999; Holbrook 1987; Eisend 2010; Gough-Yates, 2003, p 20). On the other advertising is not only a "mirror" but also a "mould" in that it can be considered as moulding/shaping and impacting of values to its audience and affecting of their relations (Pollay 1986, 1987; Lantos, 1986).

Gender stereotypes in the media, and the mass media in particular, have a long-recognized capacity to define “socially-acceptable” ways of being or relating to others, as well as to give, or withhold, public approval (and status) to, or from, certain groups” (Carter and Steiner, 2004)

The aim of this study however is to look that one step further and discuss race and racial bias within advertising and fashion editorials in fashion magazines, a notion furthered by Plous & Neptune (1999) and Milliard & Grant (2006) broadening the scope of Goffman’s theory. Media and advertising have far reaching hands, and is safe to say they have contributed to an overall dissatisfaction of our everyday from lifestyle to body (Lantos, 1987, p 104; Kilbourne, 1999). Furthermore, it should also be proposed that now advertising and their value systems can be seen to transcend national borders and infiltrate other cultures with aid of people as audiences and globalisation (Kang, 1997, p 980). With the availability of the internet and even national editions of the publications such as Vogue, Elle, Cosmopolitan among others, the value system of advertising is now broader. By broader, I hint not that it is changing or challenging its value system but rather the same value system is being applied to other places that may not necessarily have had the same ideals. This is permeated especially in the globalisation of beauty ideals across cultures and the continuation of sexualizing women (Yan and Bissell, 2014).

Jo and Berkwitz (1994) have looked at processes involving audience thoughts, and argue that messages transmitted through mass media to audiences call to mind ideas that carry similar meaning. These ideas in turn interpret other related ideas, somewhat like a domino effect, and inclinations to action. They tap into the idea that memory consists of networks harbouring feelings, thoughts etc. These networks are linked through different associations and their respective strength of these associations are influenced by contact, similarity, and relatedness of logic or language. All in all, this leads them to conclude that such networks when presented with a certain stimulus and meaning “primes” other interpretation that are similarly linked to the particular stimulus at hand whether through behaviour or feelings. Emotions, in particular, are noted as having the strongest potential to arouse feelings/thoughts and actions. Priming is subtle and happens automatically, even from just being exposed to words that may be semantically related to a certain stimuli e.g. hostile words or even names. This can in turn affect the way in which a person reads or evaluates other people or even interactions they later come across. This in turn can be related to the concept that indeed seeing is believing, in which priming sets off a particular manner in which to read a stimulus. These experiments

have been conducted on many forms of mass media like television, radio, films and thus lead to the belief that magazines or even printed content would not yield very varying results from the norm of adversely affecting the reading audience (pp 45-49). Goffman (1979), himself states that recurring pictorial representations ensure show clear patterns to the viewer even when presented differently (p 25). This comes from the fact that it is from media in which we learn or even practice the execution of our social cues and roles, both real and imagined/particularly stimulating to us.

In this part it worth considering the potency of photographs in particular. Photographs, among other visual content, are also some of the contents that draw an audience to buying magazines. They are an inherent part of magazines. There is pleasure of looking, and this is what sustains magazines even though film and television exist. Furthermore, there are other things that are possible due to the physical and tangible nature of photographic content in magazines that enables readers and others to use and keep the content e.g. cut, make collages/mood boards (McKay, 2006, p 173). Photographs as objects act as proof, and a marking of existence – this can be translated from snapshot to an art shot. Images act as codes, and people make sense of their signs from they have been taught or what they pick up from culture through ‘osmosis’, and from a young age imprints of certain codes unconsciously influence people. Rapaille called this the “cultural unconscious” (Berger, 2012, pp 148, 60-61). In advertising it is mages that take a central role due to the fact that they are what is read first, even ahead of the headline and text (Bovee and Arens, 1986. p 47).

In studying advertising, special emphasis needs to be put on visual images as nonverbal symbols. As a socializing agent, the visual imagery provided by the media can have a powerful impact on our attitudes, values, beliefs, and behaviors, since it can contribute meanings and associations entirely apart and of much greater significance (Kang, 1997, p 980)

Advertising is to be translated through a cultural lens, with emphasis on shared imagery and cultural practices by the people (Kang, 1997, p 980). This ties in with the concept that culture in itself is a negotiated “system of values and ideas about the world” (Hermes, 1995, p 27). In addition, this is especially potent when it comes to mass media forms of culture that fully come into purpose through their mediation from the creator to recipient, and how they are decoded (Berger, 2012, pp 68-71). The studying of visual imagery is vital within society because the representation within the images manage to contain sets of beliefs, particularly stereotypes, held by a particular society on other members of particular social groups (Millard

and Grant, 2006). Photographic content is argued to be tied to the real, but with the dawn of editing software and many possibilities of photo alterations and manipulation, the line has become increasingly blurred (McKay, 2006, p174.) Magazines not only contain unattainable set of beauty standards but also those harmful even beyond measures of racial representation, for example bodies and skin, that can be particularly negative both psychologically and physically to their readers/audience through cultural 'osmosis' (Millard and Grant, 2006/Malkin, Worian & Chrisler, 1999). It's also worth noting that the person who green lights what content and indeed photographs go in a magazine is the photo editor, and in some instances the magazine editor gets the final word on what goes – even though it may run contrary to the wishes of the photo editor or editorial staff, as displayed by Richard Macer in his documentary *Absolutely Fashion: Inside British Vogue* (McKay, 2006, p 174, 177; Macer, 2016). The edit plays a very important role in magazines, because it is here the score is accumulated. It's an area which is vital to drawing in the audience but also prove to the audience of the values and purpose, aesthetic and cultural, the publication holds and what content won't get overlooked (Macer, 2016).

Previous research conducted on representation and racial stereotyping have shown, similar to gender stereotyping, that the progress of equality is slow to come. Racial minorities have their established categories in which they frequently seem to appear. In the following section I will present cases to take into consideration in terms of cultural representation with the different forms of media. Cases presented mostly and specifically deal with American media, however as one of the biggest countries in terms of cultural production, some of the cases here may be applicable to the Western (including Nordic) media environment, at least to a small extent due to the far-reaching hands of globalisation but also hegemonic discourses as discussed in the chapter on discrimination and racism.

Black, here denoting African Americans, models “have frequently been stereotyped as unskilled labourers, athletes, entertainers, exotic foreigners, in traditional roles of “mammy” and “matriarch” or as inferior or subservient to White authority figures” (Millard and Grant, 2006. p 661). This view has not changed even within fashion in that Black people would still be represented in terms of “derogatory stereotypes” and in subservient positions, that were primitive or predatory in comparison to their White counterparts (Millard and Grant, 2006. p 661; Plous and Neptune, 1997). These tie in to Hall (1995) who states that when it comes to



minority or representing people of colour, interpretations are generally made in terms of oppositions: good vs bad, civilised vs primitive, repelling or fascinating (different vs. exotic). Within mainstream television at least in the US, Black and Latino Americans are seen to be clustered in sitcoms and crime dramas (Mastro, 2009, pp 326-327). Mastro (ibid) highlights that this becomes important in that it can be used to either depict a certain side of people or leave them unseen altogether depending on the viewer preference patterns (p 326). This relates back to Adichie's single story. A common feature within most of the media highlights that Whites construct a majority of the casting in television 73-80%, films 80%, advertising 86% (Mastro, 2009, p 326). These numbers decrease significantly when applied to other minority groups within the US, namely Black, Latino, Asian and Native Americans. A note to take account however is that even then, they would appear different to their White counterparts, either by being marginalised to an all same ethnic cast, being considerably under-represented in comparison to their proportion of the population, being assigned with specific occupational prestige roles or being put in minor roles (Mastro, 2009, pp 326-328). Looking specifically at Fashion magazines, Stockrocki, and Ogden and Russell's (2005) findings of different aged women's look on magazines, found that to appear exotic, non-white models were presented in either an eccentric or stereotypical manner in addition to this, they only found 2 non-white models featured in the particular edition.

### **3.4 Race, Racialization and the Fashion Industry.**

Brilling (2017) argues that although fashion is fascinated by skin colour, little has been done to diversify runways. Women are presented with young, thin, Caucasian, models on runways only to turn to the media they meet the same ideals but retouched, flawless and ready for consumption. This is the fashion body (p 143; Barry, 2012, p 3). The fashion industry has placed consistent emphasis on racialisation (Brilling, 2017, p 138), which in turn influences and gets relayed in magazines since the industry serves as the pool of inspiration for content e.g. trends etc. (Fardal, personal communication, October 12, 2017). Furthermore, Brilling (2017) finds a representational gap in the 'transformation' ideal of fashion magazines disseminate, and questions the intended recipient of this invite to transformation. Additionally, she puts forth that "White bodies" have the privilege of being disregarded or at least being detached from race (p 138) like analogy in Fanon et al (2008) of the superior that creates his inferior - White man that created the identity of a Black man to show difference

(pp xxviii, 69). In the magazines this translates to how White bodies are not represented as distorted as Black – non-white – bodies through paradigms such as dress, sexualization or pose.

Body – in terms of race – construction varies with history and culture, and even then, they are constructed to fulfil certain realities. In this body-verse, Othering also exists and to the very same paradigm of creating hierarchical structure used to discriminate and judge what's normal or strange. Many of the realities that Black bodies face are often stereotypical and fetishized, made to make up the image of the Black body as exotic and thus “desirable for the white consuming subject” (Brilling, 2017, pp 139-140). Such discourse has come to affect the ways in which Black women are represented in the fashion world which is often under limited to representations framed by specific garments/paradigms or the description of the garments/paradigms. Similar can already be seen in other mediums e.g. film, tv and music videos which exoticize and sexualise Black and Latina women, often reducing them to their looks and bodies (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012; Nittle, 2017). “The fashion system not only constructs feminine and female bodies as stereotypes but also racialised bodies as figures informed by apparatus of power of colonial discourse” tying in neatly into Goffman’s two-slot format (Brilling, 2017, pp 139-140).

We have already established that race is a hierarchical organisational system of different people/bodies. When it comes to representing race, especially of non-white people, stereotyping and racialisation are inevitable. As aforementioned, fashion does not shy away from colonial discourse but rather is one of them. Brilling (2017) defines fashion’s employment of stereotypical colonialist imagery as an act of white supremacy, as to which differences are pinned against how much one deviates from whiteness or the norm of whiteness (p 141). In the case of representation, non-white models are measured against this very scale especially in beauty – to be discussed below - being the most popular one even when we consider the fashion industry. Whiteness is and has become related to all things good and pure, but blackness is attached to the opposite. However, there is an occurrence in which Blackness, in all its contrast, becomes important - it represents what Whiteness isn't. From visual pleasure to forbidden desires the state of blackness becomes important but only in juxtaposition and fetishized/exotic difference to whiteness. Taking it a step further, she attributes the low numbers of the presence of Black models to the relationship between strangeness (alien) and proximity, that in turn makes the black presence that of a commodity.

She states that this can be concluded to affect the low numbers on black models being represented in magazines and the runway because these models are often only placed as figures whose difference are valuable if they can be consumed or be a canvas for white fantasies (Brilling, 2017, pp 141-2). Others, like McKay (2006) state that the lack of diversity in magazines may very well due to the publishers' dependence on advertisers, but all in all the point ties back to Brilling's point that ethnicity is valuable as long as it's consumable (p 209; Brilling, 2017, p 147).

### **3.4.1 The Eurocentric Beauty Ideal**

Beauty ideals can take many frames and vary not only across the globe but also according to different magazines. It is also one way in which racialisation is performed in the fashion industry. Whiteness, Fanon asserts, has become a symbol of purity, of Justice, Truth, Virginity. It defines what it means to be civilized, modern and human. // Blackness represents the diametrical opposite: in the collective unconsciousness, it stands for ugliness, sin, darkness, immorality. Even the dictionary definition of white denotes clean and pure ... in Roget's Thesaurus, over 134 synonyms for whiteness, most with positive connotations ... in contrast Roget's Thesaurus tells us black means dirty, prohibited and funeral. It provides 120 synonyms for black and blackness, none with positive connotation (Fanon et al., 2008, p xiii). But even more than that, Whiteness is defined as the identity without boundaries, definition or question – it is in essence limitless (Young & Pajaczkowska, as cited in Brilling, 2017, p 142). Yan and Bissell (2014) state that beauty ideals derived from North America and Europe have the commanding position when it comes to the 'standard' with other countries being in danger of assimilating them. With understanding the history of racism and colonialism, it is with no surprise that standards of beauty also tend to fall within a Eurocentric ideal since the structure of dominance being in large part constructed from it.

Beauty standards, for one, place non-white subjects outside of the beauty norm and fashion is also similar in that it plays constructs non-Western culture as 'non-fashion' or rendered traditional in comparison. They follow a colonial discourse in that the Other is outside of the white norm and is reliant on the becoming civilised by the coloniser. The justification for this being that colonised thus gains virtue from being colonised. The West is thus the “locust of all things fashionable” despite appropriation of fashions from the colonies. It continually

cultivates the ideology of civilised/uncivilised (savage), and modern/traditional (Brilling, 2017, p 141)

As studied by Yan and Bissell (2014), what are deemed cross-culturally as desirable characteristics are now “high eyebrows, large eyes, high cheekbones, a small nose, and a narrow face”. These features are predominantly based upon Caucasian features but due to the extensiveness of reach of Western media across the globe, these characteristics are also being absorbed in other societies (p 195). Documentary, *The colour of beauty*, further puts this issue into perspective. The documentary follows, black model, Renee Thompson who aspires to be a top model and make her way into New York Fashion Week, arguably be one of the biggest fashion week events of the year, with the rest being in Europe. In an aside her agent mentions:

...they (the models) really look like white girls that were painted black. That’s beauty, you know, to the industry’s perspective, to agents’ perspective when they see that. When they see a girl, who can look different by skin pigment and still have great features like that, it is sellable. (Peery in Yanofsky & St.Phillip, 2010)

In another instance he goes on to use adjectives like “great”, “elegant” or even “lucky” to have in describing those features. Although the documentary targets a small demographic, mainly the black experience in fashion, there are valuable points to consider regarding beauty ideals. So far, we have seen that race relations are loaded with power relations and the ability to be consumed in terms of what is depicted. Adding the influence of political powers as central to how images of ethnic minorities are represented in the media, these – often misinterpreted, either negatively or stereotyped – image representations stay with us (Berger, 2012, p 72). In this manner, advertising and editorials can largely be deemed as unregulated since their basis builds upon aestheticism but also culture (Vacker, 1993). Due to this, it has been argued to draw upon both racial lines and detrimental bodily ideals, to fulfil its purpose. In effect this then comes to marginalise models of colour since they must conform to certain beauty standards or appearance dominated by Eurocentric beauty ideals and white models (Wissinger, 2012; Mears, 2010). In different countries in Africa and Asia, skin bleaching is a phenomenon people are not too unfamiliar with, and has been proposed as stemming from colonial discourses, and that fairness is considered as more attractive. If not explicitly so, then it alludes to a link between one's skin tone and their perceived level of attractiveness and desirability. With pervasive brands like *Fair and Lovely* easily available over the counter or and at many shops, skin bleaching has been a means of attaining fairness or in some cases

whiteness and therefore beauty – despite the adverse health problems in which people can suffer from (Glenn, 2008; Li, Min, Belk, Kimura & Bahl, 2008; Hussein, 2010). This fits in with Fanon's description in that whiteness has come to symbolise the positive, and blackness – or lack of whiteness in that matter – is negatively perceived. Some have argued the phenomenon is cultural, however, it does not just stay in these countries, but it spreads with the diaspora that emigrate to different countries whether in Europe or the Americas. Applying this specifically to Norway, skin lightening products are easily available in salons and shops that cater to hair and beauty products for women of colour, arguably mostly those of African descent. It is advertised on both their sites and social media pages, thus highlighting the continuity of the practice that may possibly be passed on to other generations of people of colour (first or even second-generation immigrants). Representation, simply through showing, can begin to give new identity. It can give something identifiable to the non-white population or demographic that doesn't pit them against the norm of whiteness which can and has detrimental effects both psychologically and physically, through body or pigment modification.

### **3.4.2 Whitewashing and Blackfacing.**

As discussed earlier, in many Western countries, the under-representation of ethnic minorities or 'non-white' people has been more than noticeable, especially within the light of mass media. Focusing on only print media and targeted at women, the case is no different with underwhelming show of variety and diversity. While above I have highlighted cultural practices of physical skin lightening to alter skin tone, within the magazine industry a similar case is present. As a short summation, non-white women are usually portrayed in two ways: to be within the scope of yielding to a certain stereotype (exotic, animalistic) or in a manner that conforms to the Eurocentric categorization of beauty, also known as “whitewashing”.

Whitewashing is a term set forth to indicate the lightening of skin tones of darker skinned women, or of them not wearing their natural hair e.g. afros within the publications (Alvarez, 2008). This can equate to the digitally lightening the skin of women of colour in publications, to make them appear fairer/paler than they are. These cases have been noticed for example the lightening of actress Gabourey Sidibe's image for Elle in 2010, Rihanna in Esquire UK in 2012 as shown in Figure 1 and Elle India whitening Bollywood actress Aishwarya Rai Bachchan for their cover in 2010 ()

Whitewashing can also encompass the replacement of characters who are meant to be non-white with white characters. This has been dubbed 'yellowface' or 'blackface' and can be seen in many media categories like film and even in cases of publishing literature (Scherker, 2014; Zhang, 2015). In some situations, especially within film whitewashing usually involves taking a stereotypical stance to different races and accentuating them, usually to the majorities amusement but the minorities expense (Pickering, 2001, p 56). Examples of this can be seen in film with white actors playing non-white roles e.g. Mickey Rooney playing Mr Yunioshi in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, Jake Gyllenhaal as the *Prince of Persia*, Fisher Stevens as Indian engineer Ben Jabituya in *Short Circuit* and most recently, the whitewashing of original Japanese manga anime *Ghost in the Shell* with Scarlett Johansen as playing lead Major (originally Major Motoko Kusanagi) (Morenno & Arthur, 2016; Simons, 2016).

On the other side, in magazine editorials, several examples can be found, with models being 'black faced' for example Numero's editorial titled "African Queen" with model Ondria Hardin in 2013, and we experienced a more darkened Beyoncé in *L'Officiel Paris* in 2011 and lastly, model Arthur Sales for *L'Officiel Hommes* in 2010 as shown in Figure 1.2 (Rees, 2013). Blackface is performing as another race, typically reflecting Africans or those of African descent or diaspora. This is done via adding characteristics such as hair, costume and (painted) skin to oneself (National Museum of African American History & Culture, n.d.). Black face essentially fulfils the 'white girls that were painted black' notion (Peery in Yanofsky & St.Phillip, 2010). Brillling (2017) refers to this as a "white fantasy of transcending whiteness" interlaced with imperialist nostalgia and assertion of difference, power and privilege (p 144). Blackface is an act of being in the other's shoes – *eating the other* – whilst still maintaining own privilege and in effect not having to experience the actual effects of stereotyping such as discrimination. Blackface and the images of its production are detrimental because although they are just tied to entertainment, it is also closely tied to matters of discourse and power (Bhabha, 1983, p 19; Brillling, 2017, p 149).

We can witness its manifestation in fashion photography, in that it's not something seen as disturbing even though serving no real purpose, sales or aesthetic, except appealing to the white viewer. As documented, there have been many instances of it in various well-known fashion magazines. It becomes important to the issue of representation since it relates to transcending oneself momentarily, and ties back to Young & Pajaczkowska's (as cited in Brillling, 2017) notion that being White is to have no boundaries or limits thus enabling the

transformation into the Other and usually to a single sided story. Racialisation, here, is still a commodity because it isn't beauty or Black beauty that's being celebrated, but rather the caricature and not having to answer to one's whiteness as a problem (Brilling, 2017, p 148). It centres how the Black, marked body, is much of a social construction just as the white body is. Whitewashing and blackfacing essentially fulfil the same purpose, which is the erasure or the silencing of progressive new voices and identities. But considering that in fashion, the White body is normalised as the "centre" standard, unbound by race, space or time, Black bodies, and by extension non-white bodies are limited in varying degrees by racialisation but white bodies aren't and thus are able to transcend this without this being problematized. An example of this is that black bodies can transcend limitations by assimilating to the white centre/standard, and in effect confirming that to be better is to embody virtues of the coloniser, but to apologetically be oneself is in a sense to be radicalised. Such a debate can be witnessed in the long shaming of Afro hair, and its politicization (Wheeler, 2017). Representation in this instance can help in showing the limitations put forth for those who are non-white in comparison to their white counterparts, applying it to the notion of giving meaning. It can bring out further discussion on media power and strategy in terms of showing minority groups, which are already particularly disadvantaged, in discourse.

On that note, however, it is important to acknowledge some of the improvements being made in the fashion industry in terms of representation. There has been progress in racial representation in all four Fashion Weeks (New York, London, Paris and Milan) to date, and this year marks the most diverse in terms of race, gender, religious signification, body size, and age. The advertisements were also at an all-time high diversity (The Fashion Spot, 2017a & b). Some brands have also been shifting and trailblazing. Leading Scandinavian retailer, Hennes and Mauritz, has fronted the hijab, turbans on Sikhs, and even sheikh in its *Close the loop* campaign, Rihanna is currently Dior's ambassador and Dolce & Gabbana launched its hijab and abaya collection in 2016. Norway has also seen PS Magasin and Costume have women with hijabs on their covers (Figure 1.3a & b).

My main criticisms with most of these studies, however, is their focus on the interrelations between White and Black people as opposed to other races, or a minority vs majority discourse. Whilst the literature is generous and readily accessible, it still has a limiting factor since it cannot be applied, at least in a Norwegian context, where ethnic minorities in their own groups generally constitute small portions of the immigration population and it is only

when they are put together as a whole that deeper meanings begin to take shape. This in turn provides a challenge in the way the data will be translated or paired with my study, since I aim to infer to larger sections of the population namely White (Caucasian) and non-white (non-Caucasian). As a last note, I would like to make clear that for the purposes of this study, I am not arguing that commercial interests come first and foremost for these magazines, but that this sense of community in the dispersing of information is important in understanding the way in which foster for some cultural values to retain position over long periods of time (McKay, 2006, p 2, 3).

### **3.5 Shaping our study**

As for my main research question, I ask: how often are non-white models portrayed and in what manner? In answer to that, studying the period of 1980 and 1990, Plous and Neptune (1997) found that Black models were generally under-represented, except when it concerned black females in White women's magazines. White females ended up having an increased body exposure in the time frame of the study (10years) and were portrayed in low-status positions almost twice as often as other models. Last, but not least, they also uncovered that Black women were, by majority, those that wore animal prints, mostly patterned after a predatory animal (p 627).

They highlight that when we consider that 52% of what's present in (American) magazines is advertisements, it becomes apparent that this is something not easily ignored, both visual and textual messages they diffuse to their readers (ibid., p 628). Although they state that little can concretely be said regarding the effects of being exposed to such a significant portion of advertising, when we examine some previous studies, at least on gender stereotyping, they propose that advertisements influence how people see and relate to one another (ibid., p 628). This point relates to Kang in that advertisements are deciphered through a cultural lens and its customs (Kang, 1997, p 980). Goffman (1979) also points out that although producers of magazine content, photographers and models, are “drawn from a very special population”, viewers see their final product as something “only natural” until the (role) reverse is done then awareness of things such as stereotypes becomes apparent (p 25). Thus, being constantly exposed to similar messages in turn can affect the way you view and interpret other situations and people. This in turn makes it very relevant in that representation, both presence and in a constructive manner, is needed to help relational abilities between the majority and minority.



This echoes similar to Schiappa et al., (2005) and Mutz & Goldman (2010) have shown; when exposed to certain frames people slowly shift and begin to display tolerant attitudes to their perceived “out-group” members.

Taking it back to gender biases, studies such as Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) have shown four things:

- (a) "A woman's place is in the home,"
- (b) "Women do not make important decisions or do important things,"
- (c) "Women are dependent and need men's protection,"
- and (d) "Men regard women primarily as sex objects; they are not interested in women as people."

Out of these four, the image that has considerably seen improvement is in the 40-year period is advertisements no longer show women bound in the confines of the home but also in independent positions outside of it. This, however, is somewhat short-lived in that it still puts women in decorative roles, thus still reinforcing the surface/objectified aspect (sexual and beauty) of women touching on Goffman's concept of the “carry over of sex” (Plous and Neptune, 1997, p 629; Goffman, 1979, p 25). Studies like Zimmerman & Dahlberg, (2008) show that although there is overt sexualization present in advertising and in media content overall, there is a general cultural acceptance and neutral reactions to such content whether offensive or irritating to women (p 75). This has been attributed to the sheer pervasiveness and accessibility of the images, which in effect, increased public tolerance (Barry, 1997, p 267).

While Plous and Neptune (1997) do not dismiss that women portrayals can be very one sided, they also highlight the difficulties in using what they consider, subjective categories. By subjective, they mean categories that are related to personal taste and thus not very concrete to base many assumptions on, e.g. the term alluring or being scantily clad. This in turn makes it hard to determine whether such variables increase.

In light of this research, I focus on the same two things that many other racial based studies have sought to answer: representation of minorities (referred to as non-white model appearances) and their role (manner of portrayal). What is mostly interesting about such studies is the recurring result of under-representation and focus on certain “roles” - mainly stereotypical as discussed by Mastro (2009; Plous & Neptune, p 629). Exploring this from another perspective, we can see that there's a binding nature in which women and minorities

are portrayed in magazines, a gaze if you will, both reliant on stereotypes that are not particularly constructive to neither parties. For women, I have highlighted this as being an archetype of objectification (sexual and beauty), for minorities being given particular roles e.g. athletes, doctors, servants etc. and thus not fully exploring all the multifaceted capabilities. It simplifies. (Milliard and Grant, 2006, p 660)

An interesting point relating to this found in Plous and Neptune's study is in the highlighting of the fact that despite growth of representation of African Americans in advertisements from 1950-1970, the representation percentage never reached statistical parity to the population and seems to have fallen since the early 1980s (Green, 1991, 1992; Kern-Foxworth, 1994; Zinkhan, Qualls, & Biswas, 1990). This raises an interesting question in my research in that, is this pattern also applicable to Norway? Has representation in Norway reached statistical parity and what has this number done throughout the years? Journalist and social activist, Kadra Yusuf (2015), tallied representation frequencies of non-white models on covers from in KK the years 2013-2015 and found that all were white, and this pattern was similar for other magazines. This preliminary finding makes it interesting to see if the contents ring similar or if they will mirror society's multiculturalism.

In regard to the methodology of this study, I borrow from Plous and Neptune their goal of examining the interaction of the portrayal of models and how racial differences interact. Especially of the racial and gender biases combining to put Black women at a certain disadvantage compared to men and White women, as some authors such as Collins (1990) have argued. Goffman in this sense comes to play an important role as I employ one of his variables: *Relative Size*. This variable sought to show *social weight* (e.g., *power, authority, rank, office, renown*) as portrayed through “*greater girth and height*” (width and height) guaranteeing the image's outward narrative is understood immediately. Though this is a gender related variable, I use it to explore both gender and race. Results of this variable have shown that the male often occupies a superior status over the female, for the purposes of my research I use it to explore racial hierarchy, and if non-white women are indeed at a particular disadvantage when pictured with white women. One thing that is apparent, and highlighted by Goffman is that women occupy a superior role in instances which social class and status/occupation are displayed (Goffman, 1987, p 28). Another aspect of disadvantage is explored through the usage of animal prints. In this study I will also look out for whether non-

white models would appear wearing “animal-print” and striking poses that are animal-like even in a Norwegian context (Plous & Neptune, 1997; Plous & Williams, 1995).

What Plous and Neptune (1997) found is that African Americans appeared in a little over ten percent of the overall advertisements, but this is figure didn't reach demographic parity. However, it still showed an increase in relation to the other content analyses (Green, 1992; Kern-Foxworth, 1994). Furthermore, this percentage went up significantly over the 80s to the 90s, with significant increase in appearances of Black women in White women's magazines. Racial segregation in advertising was visible with most of it happening across gender lines, with almost no recorded interracial couples (p 633-4). This disparity may be due to the fact that black models, until recently in comparison to white models, have rarely been used by advertisers and they have been limited to specific sections in magazine culture e.g. sports (Milliard & Grant, 2006, p 661)

Regarding body exposure, women were exposed around four times more than men, with White women taking the lead, followed by Black women and the lowest percentage being allocated to White men. Body exposure of White women grew significantly over the period researched. This change was statistically important and consistent with earlier content analyses highlighting an increase in magazine advertisements' portrayal of women as sexual (Plous & Neptune, 1997, p 634). Body exposure in magazines did coincide with the respective race it was aimed at, meaning white women were predominantly exposed in magazines aimed at white women etc. (Milliard & Grant, 2006, p 660). This means that sexual objectification of white women, in Norway, will most likely also be higher for white women as opposed to non-white, due to the population in itself being predominantly Caucasian and thus a significant portion of the readership of the magazines will also be Caucasian. This in turn can be related to Hall's concept of identification with what you see. Advertising appeals to us because it has claims to identity. It uses people, setting, mood in order to appeal to the reader and give them the possibility placing/projecting themselves onto what is being represented. And since editorials have been argued as for the readers, content will follow similar pattern since the readership is assumed to be predominantly White. The link doesn't have to be direct but if one can, even in the slightest, imaginatively or imaginarily identify with a picture – be it editorial, news or advert – then it has arrested you and you are now involved in its meaning (1997).

The Body Position hypothesis presumed that African American women would be depicted in “low status positions” more frequently than any of the others examined counterparts. This, however, was proved to be incorrect. White women were depicted in such positions almost twice as often as Black women, suggesting that Goffman's (1979) symbolic "lowering of women" – portraying women as physically lower than men, laying/submissive, or on the floor – is perhaps more relevant to White than Black women (Plous & Neptune, 1997, p 636).

In the clothing category, perhaps as expected, women were more probable than men to be pictured in sexual attire. A notable portion of the advertisements that had women (Black and White), portrayed them in a bikini-style swimsuit or undergarments. Black women, also, wore animal prints more frequently by than White men and women, or Black men, as hypothesized. Of the advertisements displaying animal prints, nearly three quarters insinuated a predatory jungle cat (e.g. tiger, leopard, cheetah) (Plous & Neptune, 1997, p 638). Many other studies have also shown similar trends when it comes to representation of black women. This sort of representation plays on colonial discourse, which as we have seen earlier in this chapter, that fashion magazines do not necessarily stray away from. Other times it is even used white models to display this with instances of blackface. In debate *Tabuer i norsk motemagasiner*, what fashion journalism should do according to Ida Elise Eide Einarsdóttir (personal communication, October 12, 2017), editor at Vixen.no, is that it should “entertain, inspire, engage, surprise, challenge and provoke” which entails critical evaluation of the branch in which they operate in. So, whilst such instances may be considered provocative challenging, we still know that advertising and their value systems transcend national borders and permeate other cultures, thus constant portrayal or association with Black people as primitive and animalistic only widens stereotypes of, especially, Black women and affects the way they are evaluated or interacted with by others (Kang, 1997, p 980; Jo and Berkowitz, 1994, pp 45-49). As expressed earlier, historical lineage has to be considered due to the nature of accumulating, passing on and the reflexivity of meanings and contexts assigned to images (Hall, 2014, p 222). Furthermore, it ultimately doesn't challenge or criticise its own value system, but rather privileges it thus only fostering continuation of stereotypical representations and thus stagnation in change. As Berger (2012) puts it “seeing is believing”.

The one thing I would like to highlight, that will make this study differ from Plous and Neptune is that it focuses on magazines catered only to women, in a country where the vast majority of the population can be classified as Caucasian. Thus, when comparing my results,

it is useful that we do not disregard this point as this theoretical framework stands predominantly as a guiding but not really a direct replication of the study.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

For the methodology of this study, I have chosen to use Content Analysis of photographic content. Content analysis is a quantitative, systematic and objective way of analysing message characteristics. It has seven elements, of good science, involved namely: objectivity, reliability, priori design replicability, validity, generalisability and hypothesis testing. What these elements infer is that content analysis works openly and deductively to test a derived hypothesis or multiple hypotheses. It ensures that all elements set to be measured are determined beforehand thus avoiding bias. Additionally, it can be replicated and cross checked for the findings to be as objective as possible, eliminating idiosyncrasies and encouraging the confirmation or challenging of yielded results (Neuendorf, 2002).

The reasoning behind this choice of methodology is that my research broadly aims to analyse photographic content and chart two things: how often non-white models represented (frequency) and how are they represented (manner). Although manner can be discussed qualitatively, both instances comply with content analysis as a quantitative measure. In this thesis it felt right to mix the two because together they give insight to interpreting already documented meanings of similar types of research. The hypothesis is based on theoretical research, thus employing mixed methods can be of use to explore and test it further. There's always an element of theoretical research that depends on data to bring something forward. Social research has tended to be given utmost importance due to the standardised and systematic nature of observation, assessing and analysing data. But this, according to came to change with the rise of new approaches and other forms of practise (Rahman, 2016, p 102). Goffman's original study is qualitative in that it didn't use any means of quantity to explain itself and its premises. It comes to explain phenomena, and in Goffman's case the phenomena of gender roles in advertising. Plous and Neptune took this further, however, to include a statistical aspect of this and began to quantify this. Their basis came from the research in that they had seen already done the qualitative aspect but not the quantitative. Representation although a cultural and social construction that can be assessed qualitatively, can also be measured quantitatively due to the nature of the variables. This is rather useful since this thesis looks at both the longitudinal aspect, but also stands in comparison to Plous and Neptune's research, in that it seeks to measure aspects of their findings in a different cultural context.

The variables I used from Plous and Neptune (1997) and in extension Goffman (1979), have already been predefined and thus set the frame as to how I can conduct my research and make it easier to quantify them and make them compatible with content analysis. I therefore use a quantitative approach of executing them to comparatively explore these variables in a Norwegian context. My research although aiming to discuss representation does not aim to assess the feelings or deeper motives of the variables, but rather seeing if the phenomena exists or not and to whom do they apply most to. By defining the variables qualitatively but applying them quantitatively the data becomes enriching because it helps provide a visual image of how the variables are interpreted and thus explaining why they have categorised a certain way. While many of these qualitative variables contain sub-variables on their own, there is ease in grouping them together and defining the space under one umbrella. This makes the research much more compact and straightforward given limitations of time and budget. On a large-scale study though, I do think that all these sub-variables can be interesting to explore alone but for the purposes of this study, it has to be done on a more compact basis. Here we use the powerful nature of qualitative research methods, which is the fluidity of incorporating a variety of views in combination with a strength, and in instances an argued weakness of quantitative research, that is limitation and boundary for compact information (Van Maanen, 1979, p. 520).

The first question, in that the goal is to create count and measure the “frequency” of appearance of white versus non-white models in the magazines. The second touches upon quantitatively measuring other variables depicting mannerisms within my codebook through a tally of either 0 or 1, denoting the presence or absence of the variable in question. The final aim then is to compare data derived from my two chosen units, *KK* and *Det Nye*, and derive conclusions about representation and stereotyping from magazines to their audience.

While there are many other ways I could approach my topic, content analysis was most suitable in that my assessment will only be based on what is put out in the magazines. As stated before this thesis already assumes, from previous studies, the lack of racial diversity and stereotypical representations in magazines have a negative effect on readers on ethnic minorities, as discussed within the earlier chapters of this thesis (Milliard & Grant, 2006; Ogden & Russell, 2013; Pickering, 2001). Other strengths of my chosen methodology are that it is a modest and inexpensive method of analysis and is both useful and popular in topics within the social sciences and that may be longitudinal in nature, such as this study (Insch et

al. 1997, Harris 2001). Thus, content analysis comes out as the most viable methodology for the research.

## 4.1 Codebook

As stated earlier, content analysis works openly to ensure replicability. This means that there is disclosure of elements involved in the methodology, such as codebook, guidelines and procedures etc. In terms of my codebook, I have combined research from previous studies along with my own variables to ensure validity. The codebook has been extracted from research by Plous and Neptune (1997), Kang (1997) in his revisit of Goffman's Gender Analysis, and Millard & Grant (2006). From these studies I have extracted variables set to measure stereotypes and mannerisms of the representation of non-white models in the magazines. Variables will vary from the original studies due to my modifications so that categories do not overlap or measure the same thing. For example, there are many similarities between Goffman and Plous and Neptune, but situated in different categories, so the best way to counter this was merging the categories.

The basis of this study is in the assumption, that magazines will have both under- and stereotypical representations of non-white models (Milliard & Grant, 2006; Ogden & Russell, 2013; Plous & Neptune, 1997). By stereotypical representation I insinuate a difference in which non-white models will be depicted and at a disadvantage than that of white models. This includes non-white models appearing in more predatory and animal-like in manner and poses, in clothing with (predatory) animal prints – based on hegemonic discourses of the savage vs civilised man, the original hypothesis of Plous & Neptune (1997; Pickering, 2001). White models will also appear larger/predominantly occupy the frame in terms of size in order to show hierarchy and superiority, that is usually assigned to white men in gender stereotypes (Kang (1997; Goffman, 1979). This is especially due to the fact that my chosen magazines are aimed and produced in Norway, that has over 90% of its population as ethnically Caucasian, and less than 10% of its population consisting of immigrants or second-generation immigrants that aren't ethnically Caucasian. However, unlike Plous & Neptune, however, my research will primarily focus on women and female representations since the magazines are aimed at a female audience of varying ages, thus meaning that men may be a rare occurrence.



Both advertisements and editorials will be coded. I have chosen to include editorials for the same purposes as highlighted in Plous & Neptune (1997) in that they serve similar purpose to advertisements which is to show, through the models, and sell a product and that as content they are least likely to get ignored by their readers, as proposed by Milliard and Grant (2006). The advert/editorial page needs to contain a human face in order to be within the sample (Kang, 1997).

The first checkpoint is in assessing the *Descriptive Checklist* for each advertisement/editorial. The descriptive checklist helps in the gathering of general information about the advertisement/editorials which will help in answering the comparative questions for my findings.

#### **4.1.1 Coding categories**

1. *Race: White, Non-white, unable to tell.* This variable is used to record the race of the model as observed by the coder. This variable answers the first part of my research question: “who” is represented. If any model cannot be placed in the category white or non-white, they will therefore be placed in the unable to tell category. This removes the barrier for the coder to determine either or, and adds an interesting observational element in that ambiguity can be a way to manipulate our visual cues to thinking there is representation where there isn't.
2. *Advertisement or fashion/editorial piece?* This variable is used to determine whether the picture in question belongs to an advertisement or is part of the editorial content. These are also the two main fields of interest to this thesis since both work to promote a certain lifestyle to the magazine's readership and according to Milliard and Grant (2006) are least likely to get ignored. This arouses an interesting point of exploration in observing the together and separately the interplay of content put forth by business interests (advertisers/commercially sponsored content) and that which is determined by the editorial team itself. Since editorials, in the scope of my literature, have largely been absent, there are bound to be comparative differences between them and advertisements.
3. *Picture size: Full, Half, Quarter or less.* It is without saying that the size of a photograph matters in a magazine, for both advertisements and editorial content. The size of a photograph determines what is centre stage and what is in the periphery or support. This

category measures whether the image takes up more, or less than half a page in the magazine. Pictures taking up more than half a page are regarded as “large” and the opposite as “small”. This variable is present to observe the differences, if any, between who is featured in large or small photographs. Large pictures effortlessly grab our visual attention whereas smaller images can easily go unnoticed or are slightly less memorable due to their role as supporting content. Additionally, from personal experience, if there are many smaller images it's easy to only gloss over them rather than taking the time to actually assess or absorb the full visual impact of what is presented.

4. *How many people are there? Alone or with others?* This variable records the number of models present within an image. It goes in support to the Relative size variable and also *Ritualization of Subordination/Body Position* since it represents the opening of the “manner” question in my research question.

5. *Is the brand internationally famous e.g. Dior, YSL, Chanel?* This is used to determine specifically if international advertising content tends to be more diverse than Nordic brands. This variable matter because it will be interesting to observe if international brand are the ones increasing the number of non-white model representation or not, thus in essence promoting diversity in the content.

The following four theoretical definitions from Goffman's *Gender Advertisements and Plous & Neptune's Racial and gender biases in magazine advertising* (1997) are used to answer the manner aspect of my research question:

6. *Relative Size.* This category is derived from Goffman and demonstrates the show of *social weight* (e.g., power, authority, rank, office, renown) in social situations through *greater girth and height*. This is usually from a gender perspective in which the males occupy status of superiority over the female. In this study it will assume that non-white women will be at a particular disadvantage of lower status than that of white women when pictured together, as per statement of Plous and Neptune and in consideration of historical disadvantage of non-white people. In a male/female dynamic, men will be at the highest advantage similar to Goffman's findings.

7. *Ritualization of Subordination/Body Position.* Considered a “classic stereotype of deference” it includes *lowering oneself physically in some form or other* to show subordination or lowering of women. This includes *appearing in a low-status or animal like,*

*on all fours, kneeling, crawling, laying down, sitting.* In a racial dynamic, this variable's presence in this study is for similar reasons to the variable above, non-white models will be at a disadvantage although Plous and Neptune found this out to be the opposite. I propose that in this context non-white models would also appear in more subservient and predatory positions highlighting contrast to their white counterparts (1997).

8. *Body Display/Exposure.* Sometimes the stereotyping of women is revealed through “high degree of nudity”. Merging together both Plous & Neptune's and Goffman's variables, this aims to measure the level of body display/exposure in terms of nudity or areas of the body associated with sexual display. Nudity includes being *unclothed/no clothing, nothing but a towel and close ups showing bare shoulders. Sexual body display includes buttocks, cleavage, upper legs, stomach and back.* This variable will be tested to see if it falls in line with what Plous and Neptune found, in that white models displayed more body exposure than their black counterparts.

9. *Clothing.* This contains categorization into 2: Sexual attire and Animal prints. Sexual attire, has been expanded to include Goffman's body-revealing clothes like *mini-skirts, tight skirts or evening gowns which expose cleavage, "short"-shorts, "see-through" clothes, halter dress, bathing suits, lingerie and translucent under apparel,* along with Plous & Neptune's *form-fitting underwear and bikini.* Animal prints include models wearing or holding *fabric patterns representing of animal fur, hair or skin.*

#### **4.1.2 Limitations and Research boundaries**

There are, however, limitations in my chosen path of methodology. Firstly, content analysis tends to lean more on description of what's present, without necessarily revealing deeper motives (*'what' but not 'why'*). Therefore, it can be more effective when combined with other methods, such as conducting interviews. There is a benefit in understanding the environments that surround the magazines in Norway e.g. the target market, the editors/editorial staff behind the magazines, international events such as fashion weeks, assessing the modelling agencies used and how they scout models etc. Conducting interviews in addition to the current methodology would have helped with uncovering the deeper insight and attitudes concerning the frequency question “who is represented?”. Interviews could also benefit further research when conducted on some of the magazine readers similar to Milliard and Grant's (2006) approach which also sought after the impressions the images create.

Secondly, over the course of collecting my units, a problem arose in that my subscription for *KK* ended in October whilst *Det Nye* continued until December. As means of solving this issue I decided on narrowing down my data collection to six months instead of twelve as intended in my original proposal. Ultimately the data set then accounted for 12 months in total – including the magazines from 2006. This means that issues used were those published up until October and others were dismissed. Additionally, *Det Nye* releases its publications monthly while *KK* does so weekly. This meant that for every copy of *Det Nye*, I had 4 from *KK* and thus choosing determining units became an obstacle. As a solution I chose to randomly sample publications from *KK* through *Simple random sampling* in which the magazines were selected by two of my family members. The magazines were turned upside down so as their covers were not visible to the picker, thus not swaying their choice in any manner in favour or disfavour of the study. The potential weakness in this is the hole in data, with effects that are twofold:

1. Findings may be skewed due to missing components that retain the integrity the content produced by *KK*. There is a danger of loss of meaning due to isolating the publication issues that may make the results misleading in terms of what has been released in *KK*.
2. Off the top of my head I could imagine that perhaps more non-white models will be used in the warmer months as opposed to colder ones. Although this effect is only speculative, it is worth having a note on as a weakness that may affect the results due to omission of publications released in the later summer months.

Last to be discussed are the concepts of validity and reliability to this study. Validity attests to the degree of confidence that the test measures the concept it is set out to measure. Reliability on the other hand seeks to measure the consistency in results. When we assess these two in correlation to each other, and in relation to this thesis, validity is paramount since reliability will prove impractical if validity is lacking (Phelan & Wren, 2005). Working as a single coder and on limited resources, the reliability of this thesis can be improved. Throughout the course of the thesis, some of the content was revisited and recoded after the initial coding to provide intra-coder reliability, however not all content was covered and thus could be improved with more time and in further research. On the case of validity, the coding variables used for this thesis were pre-determined from previous studies within the field and topic of representation. Furthermore, the variables have explicitly been broken down to clarify what I perceive as

interpretive of the core elements found from the studies, as implemented in my thesis. For my research question, my aim was to organise the information well whilst remaining true to the rubric.

In the assessment and coding of the magazines, a framework of assessment had to be made to identify elements that will be included and excluded. This applied for both the magazines. Here are elements excluded from all publications of Det Nye: *Innhold, Letter from the Editor or Redaksjon, Favourites (from any of the editors or staff e.g. Annettes favoritter), Det Nyeste, Health/Food and Fitness pages, Reise/livstil, Interiør and inspirasjon. (2016). Vibrasjoner, 10 på topp, Personal feature stories, Avslort av, Velvære, any contained booklets, sex og samliv, "hvem, hva, hvor", Interior, any promotional trip advertisements (2006), Neste nummer, Dill på, Finn formen, Impulser/tokens. Elements excluded in KK were: Innhold, Interiør, Hagekos, Denne Uken, Mat og Fritid, any puzzles or trivia (2006), any contained booklets, personal editorial features, Neste uke, annonse guide. As a rule, neither advertisements with children nor advertisements with only men in them were included in this research. This was solely to leave focus on women for two reasons: they are the main interest of my study, the main target market/audience and buyers of these ukeblader. Features (Portretter) were excluded to avoid due to my lack of knowledge of celebrities in 2006. As all publications from 2006 were accessed from the National Library and thus not my property to take with me to confirm the 'celebrity status' or the influence of those featured. However, those who were featured on the cover pages of the publications did get counted in e.g. Dagny (Det Nye, June 2016) and Haddy and Lisa Njie (KK, June 2016). Covers in this case were treated as editorial content. *Relative size* as a variable was only used in areas which a man and a woman or models of different racial backgrounds appeared together in the same advertisement.*

In most part, percentages are used as the comparison point for the tables. This is because the numbers tend to vary and thus would make it hard to compare unless converted into something absolute. Percentages tend to eliminate that obstacle and thus allow for us to take those numbers at face value. Model appearances that were categorised under "unable to tell" were although included in the data, are excluded when discussing representation since they were an ambiguous set, unable to be placed in neither the white nor non-white categories. For this category two terms will be used interchangeably to refer to the same thing: unable to tell and uncategorised.

## 5 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In the following chapter, findings from my study will be presented and analysed in two parts. These two sections will correspond with the underlined areas of my research question: “*How frequently and in what manner are non-white models represented/portrayed in Norwegian fashion magazines?*”. The hypothesis this question rests upon is that in Norway, similar to other Western countries which magazine studies have been conducted, such as the United States, will have low numbers of non-white models represented and that these models will be portrayed in a stereotypical manner such as appearing exotic or eccentric and animalistic in terms of style of dress e.g. wearing patterned prints from predatory animals (Plous & Neptune 1997; Stockrocki et al, 2005), they will appear subordinate to their white counterparts – in lower positions in terms of pose (*body position*) or appear smaller (*relative size*). In summation, non-white models will mirror role typically assigned to “black” models in various of my cited studies, and thus be portrayed at a certain disadvantage and inhabit the subordinate role typically assigned to women when assessing gender roles.

Late and recent studies within the field of media studies, cultural studies, sociology and even psychology have, for the most part, come to reveal the lack of diversity and its adverse effects on individuals and in turn society. Similar, studies that have analysed advertising and print content have also had like results across the varying contexts in which these studies have been conducted. Though Scandinavia, and Norway in particular, have not been the prominent groups of focus for such studies, it is nonetheless within reason to think of this assemblage of information as supporting the idea that the lack, or under-representation of non-white models in Western society is a concept that is generally applicable across borders, albeit in varying degrees. In Norway especially, this concept becomes interesting to explore due to the lack of direct colonial ties but also the underlying myth of a homogeneous population which by far steers the discourse of nationalism, politics, identity and belonging (Mulinari et al, 2009; Vuorela, 2009; Hilson, 2009; Gullestad 2006)

In addition to that findings from the two magazines, KK and Det Nye, will be compared against one another to create a picture of representation, as well as longitudinal changes in the years studied. This is to see how representation functions in magazines targeting two different target groups but also their development over the years when it comes to both frequency and manner. The longitudinal aspect of the study specifically gives us insight into what has

changed, over ten years in these magazines, and whether they are they better or worse off now than a decade ago. In some instances, it has been noted that the industry is slow to change and Plous and Neptune (1997) highlighted that in some instances they found that little has changed from when Goffman (1979) conducted his research to when they did theirs. Thus, a longitudinal aspect of this becomes a central and important area to look at. As a note, interpretation of the results of this thesis must be cautiously handled due to the limited nature imposed upon it. Limits in the sample size, time, and resources. However, these results provide good grounding for further investigation on racial representation in Norwegian women's interest magazines and thus, serve as firm starting ground for further research and criticism.

Some of the categories will be shortened, e.g. white to wh, unable to tell to UTT, non-white as nonw or nw, advertisements to adverts or ads etc. Please note that all frequencies noted below stand for number of occurrences.

## **5.1 Frequency**

### **5.1.1 The magazines in comparison**

In 2006, Det Nye contained 395 model occurrences in total. Of this total, the clear majority was white, but non-white and those under unable to tell were also present in a notable, although not large, percentage. In 2016, model occurrences decreased and with that so did white appearances. Non-white appearances increased by a few percent, but most notable of increases were appearances under unable to tell which saw the most increase, quadrupling in the ten-year period. This marks a total reduction in model occurrences from 2006 to 2016 across the board, but it's clear that Det Nye have worked to increase their non-white model occurrences.

KK on the other hand started 2006 with a total less than that of its counterpart with 235 model appearances accounted. But in that, their percentage of white model occurrences was overwhelming, leaving very marginal percentages to non-white and uncategorised appearances. In 2016, 423 model appearances were counted in total marking an almost doubling of content. Of this, white models constituted, without surprise, a majority but not in an overwhelming capacity as ten years before. Non-white models appeared nearly three times

more, which is a significant increase, and no appearances were placed under unable to tell. This marks an increase in model appearances and also an increase with both white and non-white models. In terms of race/ethnicity, ambiguity was much rarer in KK than Det Nye, which is visible when you consider the low number of occurrences placed under the unable to tell category.

Table 1: KK and Det Nye model appearances in comparison to each other.

Magazine	Year	Models	White	Non-white	Unable to tell	White %	Non-white %	Unable to tell %
Det Nye	2006	395	368	25	2	93,16 %	6,33 %	0,51 %
Det Nye	2016	341	302	32	7	88,56 %	9,38 %	2,05 %
KK	2006	235	230	4	1	97,87 %	1,70 %	0,43 %
KK	2016	423	396	27	0	93,62 %	6,38 %	0,00 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>1394</b>	<b>1296</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>92,97 %</b>	<b>6,31 %</b>	<b>0,72 %</b>

In summation, throughout the two years studied and for both magazines, the number of white model occurrences totalled to much higher – over tenfold - than non-white models and those under unable to tell combined. This number I would argue is helped by the fact that Det Nye had more diversity than KK but, also that KK did take a turn to include more non-white occurrences, thus bringing the totals to a percentage in the low nineties from 1394 appearances. What this means is that throughout the total study, white appearances generally tended to dominate these two publications. In answering the presence aspect of Levels of representation, it is to be noted that non-white models were very much included in the mix. This in turn, proves my hypothesis. Det Nye has proved better at representation of non-white models than KK when we only consider the basic frequencies. In terms of content, the magazines differed in terms of approach between the two years. KK increased overall appearances while Det Nye reduced it.

### 5.1.2 Photo Size

In the photo-size category, images were classified as either large or small sized. Large size photos, considered as those bigger than half a page, white models took the largest chunk of appearances of the time in contrast to non-white models and those under unable to tell that attributed for almost five and one percent respectively. This means that white models dominated images that take centre stage in these publications far more than non-white and uncategorised models. In this category KK dominated with most white appearances than Det



Nye by a small percentage. Over the years however there was a decrease in both magazines for white appearances and an increase for non-white appearances in the four percent range.

Overall, large photos were most popular with advertisements than editorials, but the totals did experience random patterns of change in the magazines, as can be seen in the table below. It can be seen that advertisements increased for KK whilst Det Nye decreased, and editorials decreased in KK, whilst maintaining the same in Det Nye.

Table 2: Distribution of Large size photos.

Magazine	Year	Wh.	NW	Un.	Models	White	NonW	UTT.	Covers	Editorials	Ads
KK	2006	98.68%	0.66%	0.66%	152	150	1	1	6	68	37
Det Nye	2006	95.93%	4.07%	0.00%	246	236	10	0	6	49	109
KK	2016	96.00%	4.00%	0.00%	275	264	11	0	6	66	51
Det Nye	2016	89.80%	9.52%	0.68%	147	132	14	1	6	49	65
<b>Total</b>	All	95.37%	4.39%	0.24%	820	782	36	2	24	232	262

In small size photos, those smaller than half a page, however, we see a significant increase in that non-white appearances that were present almost double to large size photos, whilst the uncategorised quadrupled, but white models were present almost ten times more than their counterparts combined. These numbers were compared against the 574-appearance total. Similar to large size photos, there was a decrease in the decade long time frame, with Det Nye pioneering in having the best representation frequencies of non-white appearances in the two years studied. As noted before KK had rare uncategorised appearances, and by far the most overwhelming quantity of white appearances. Small size photos were more popular in editorial content than advertisements, thus running in direct opposite to large size photos. The amount increased in both magazines over the years, but surprisingly so in advertisements as well. Most notable, however, is the significant growth of non-white appearances in KK, and a surprising, although small decline in Det Nye. I can speculate that this number may have gone down since model ambiguity did increase. This shows that although KK had most white appearances, they also had much more room for improvement when it came to non-white representation, especially since their content was much easier to define and thus separate when it came to the question of race.

An interesting thing to be considered is the presentation of small photos in the magazine covers that in 2016 came to cease. Covers of 2006 would have some supporting images generally present on the covers if they wanted to highlight something the reader can expect e.g. fashion editorials in the later pages. Such trends can even be found even now in other magazines such as Grazia (Figure 1.4). I have highlighted this finding here as opposed to the

large size photo section because the numbers there since covers in themselves are considered large size photographs due to their generally occupying a full-page spread. Having small size photos on the covers then becomes a novelty

Table 3: Distribution of small size photos in KK and Det Nye

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Covers	Editorials	Ads
KK	2006	96.39%	3.61%	0.00%	83	80	3	0	2	64	15
Det Nye	2006	88.59%	10.07%	1.34%	149	132	15	2	4	104	30
KK	2016	89.19%	10.81%	0.00%	148	132	16	0	0	90	39
Det Nye	2016	87.63%	9.28%	3.09%	194	170	18	6	0	148	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>89.55%</b>	<b>9.06%</b>	<b>1.39%</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>514</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>115</b>

### 5.1.3 Editorials and covers

In editorials and covers, from now on collectively considered as *editorial content*, for both 2006 and 2016, out of 730 appearances, non-white and uncategorised accounted for less than ten percent of the total appearances, leaving white model appearances as dominant. Covers mainly consisted of white models in both KK and Det Nye. The only exception to this pattern appeared in KK's June 2016 publication in which Haddy and Lisa Njie were the models on the covers – standing as the main and only cover in which non-white models appear and in a prominent manner (Fig 1.5: *KK #22, 2016*).

In 2006, editorial content had 351 appearances. Both magazines started with a very high percentage of white appearances, but again KK dominated – though Det Nye wasn't far off either from an overwhelming amount of appearances being white. Both came to decrease these percentages by almost the same amount when we look at 2016, even though model appearances increased. There was significant reduction of white appearances, and almost quadrupled non-white appearances, and double of those under unable to tell. This also meant that there was a significant surge in the increase on non-white model appearances, with Det Nye being the only one to have general ambiguity when it came to some of the models' race.

Table 4: Editorial and covers totals

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Covers	Editorials
KK	2006	98.69%	1.31%	0.00%	153	151	2	0	8	132
Det Nye	2006	95.50%	3.50%	1.00%	200	191	7	2	10	153
KK	2016	91.46%	8.54%	0.00%	164	150	14	0	6	156
Det Nye	2016	88.26%	9.86%	1.88%	213	188	21	4	6	197
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>93.15%</b>	<b>6.03%</b>	<b>0.82%</b>	<b>730</b>	<b>680</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>638</b>

In the two years, large size editorial photos, 301 model appearances were counted. White model appearances were most frequent in large editorials including covers than non-white

models that accounted for only five appearances. 2006 strikingly carried only white model appearances in editorial content. 2016 had 130 appearances, amounting to least of the two. Naturally there was a decrease of white appearances and an increase of non-white appearances with Det Nye made the most improvement carrying more non-white occurrences than its counterpart.

Table 5: Large size editorials

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Covers	Editorials
KK	2006	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	87	87	0	0	6	68
Det Nye	2006	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	86	86	0	0	6	49
KK	2016	97.30%	2.70%	0.00%	74	72	2	0	6	66
Det Nye	2016	94.64%	5.36%	0.00%	56	53	3	0	6	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>98.35%</b>	<b>1.65%</b>	<b>0.00%</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>231</b>

In small size editorial photos, a total of 429 appearances were accounted for with almost ninety percent of these were white. The rest was divided to non-white and the unable to tell category, however a significant portion of this were non-white appearances. In 2006 small size editorials had, as per many of the results so far, the majority – conceding of over ninety percent – of white with marginal results left to non-white and those under unable to tell. In 2016 there were 247 total occurrences with the highest total, thus far, of non-white and unable to tell appearances. These totalled to almost fourteen percent of appearances. This is the one of the places that non-white models triumphed significantly in the results. Most non-white occurrences were, again, in Det Nye, which carried two thirds of the total non-white appearances. 2016 had a bit over two thirds of the non-white occurrences. The fact that 2016 carried the most non-white appearances is not striking due changes in the world with globalisation but also advancements in terms of immigration and travel.

Table 6: Small size editorials

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Covers	Editorials
KK	2006	97.06%	2.94%	0.00%	68	66	2	0	2	65
Det Nye	2006	92.11%	6.14%	1.75%	114	105	7	2	4	104
KK	2016	86.67%	13.33%	0.00%	90	78	12	0	0	90
Det Nye	2016	85.99%	11.46%	2.55%	157	135	18	4	0	148
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>89.51%</b>	<b>9.09%</b>	<b>1.40%</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>407</b>

Overall, the total number of editorials occurrences from 2006 to 2016 saw a notable increase in both magazines. Det Nye can be seen to have better representation although not by a such significant margin in reference to large editorials. It has been striking that 2006 carried only white appearances, but it would have been considered even more striking if a decade before it was better off. However, it has to be noted that there is a dramatic difference of the 1.65 % in

large editorials to the 9 % in small size editorials, which shows a clear preference of keeping non-white occurrences confined to smaller images.

### 5.1.4 Advertisements

Out of 377 advertisements that contained 664 appearances, in near identical pattern to editorial content, white model appearances dominated in contrast to non-white and those unable to tell. Similar again to editorial content, white models also appeared in the majority of large size advertisements. When we look at both years combined, in comparison to editorial content, there was a decrease in the occurrences featuring and thus an increase to appearances of non-white models and those under unable to tell took out of the 262 ads with 557 appearances. Staying with this comparison, it could be seen to have a significant improvement, going from no non-white appearances to having almost five percent, and even some in the unable to tell category. Both magazines can be seen to start in the high nineties, but it is Det Nye that makes the most impressionable drop once again and this can be the basis to which ensured the average over the decade stayed in the low nineties. Additionally, both had room for ambiguity but not by a big amount which marks the beginning of seeing KK in this category.

Table 7: Advertisements total in KK and Det Nye

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Advertisements
KK	2006	96.34%	2.44%	1.22%	82	79	2	1	52
Det Nye	2006	90.77%	9.23%	0.00%	195	177	18	0	139
KK	2016	94.98%	5.02%	0.00%	259	246	13	0	90
Det Nye	2016	89.06%	8.59%	2.34%	128	114	11	3	96
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>92.77%</b>	<b>6.63%</b>	<b>0.60%</b>	<b>664</b>	<b>616</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>377</b>

2016 was, again, an improvement, both when compared to 2006 and editorial content with slight increase for non-white appearances. Overall, Det Nye carried two thirds of the non-white appearances. 2016 was more diverse than a decade before, as it carries a sizeable chunk of the non-white occurrences, which in difference between the two magazines is actually very slight in comparison to 2006. It's also worth noting that large size advertisements are more open to diversity than its editorial counterpart. This finding does not appear to be too surprising, as commercial interests would be more open to targeting diverse ethnographic groups since diversity has proven successful and lucrative as demonstrated by Barry (2015).

Table 8: Large Advertisements

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Advertisements
KK	2006	96.92%	1.54%	1.54%	65	63	1	1	37
Det Nye	2006	93.75%	6.25%	0.00%	160	150	10	0	109
KK	2016	95.57%	4.43%	0.00%	203	194	9	0	53
Det Nye	2016	86.81%	12.09%	1.10%	91	79	11	1	65
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>93.64%</b>	<b>5.97%</b>	<b>0.39%</b>	<b>519</b>	<b>486</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>264</b>

In contrast, there was a total of 147 appearances in small size advertisements in the two years, which is quite a stark contrast when we look the difference here to large size adverts. The results here nearly matched those of the editorial content but when assessed in terms of percentages, adverts had a fraction smaller tally of non-white model occurrences, but those of white model occurrences and those under unable to tell were nearly on par with each other. 2006 had 52 appearances with a high percentage of occurrences going to non-white occurrences, beating 2016's Editorial small photos. It carried most non-white appearances in small size photos. This however changed in 2016. Total number of appearances went up to 95 appearances, and so did the percentage of white appearances, significantly. This of course affected non-white appearances which took a deep dive back to less than five percent. This result can be interpreted as a reversal of allocation of representation. Where they felt that non-whites were significantly represented in large size adverts, they didn't need to be so in the smaller content. In this instance as well, Det Nye carried eight out of the thirteen occurrences.

Table 9: Small Advertisements

Magazine	Year	White	NonW	UTT	Models	White	NonW	UTT	Advertisements
KK	2006	94.12%	5.88%	0.00%	17	16	1	0	15
Det Nye	2006	77.14%	22.86%	0.00%	35	27	8	0	30
KK	2016	93.10%	6.90%	0.00%	58	54	4	0	39
Det Nye	2016	94.59%	0.00%	5.41%	37	35	0	2	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>89.80%</b>	<b>8.84%</b>	<b>1.36%</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>115</b>

Advertisements from in the ten-year span saw a decrease in Det Nye but an increase in KK. Overall, there was a decrease from 191 to 186.

The results have shown a favourability of white models over non-white in both editorials and advertisements that were larger than half a page in size, with the less than 5% being accounted to non-white appearances. They did however favour them in smaller images, which can be counted as support images but not really the “big picture” with less than 10%. This means that non-white models are constantly kept occupying a small portion of the magazine

It is evident that in large editorials the boundary is set for less than 7%-10% visibility when it comes to large and small size pictures. The bigger limit being accounted specifically to smaller images and less to larger images. But, it's not to be disregarded that KK had only white model appearances. But in some instances, there were spikes of non-white model occurrences which we have seen, spanning higher than 10%, although this hasn't proved to happen in any patterned manner. But overall, we can see that in larger, eye catching images, advertisements tend to shy away less than editorial content when it comes to representation and diversity. As explained before, this may be due to trying to expand and reach a wide profit base as possible which means tapping into minority markets and markets that are under-represented and underserved or in that matter, excluded from the imagined "perfect consumer" of these magazines.

Over the ten-year period studied, we can see a shift in both magazines however in different directions. The thing that the two magazines had in common was that white models did constitute the largest portion of appearances in editorials and advertisements. The direction in which the two magazines differed can be accounted to, according to personal observation, the fact that Det Nye has undergone significant changes and has refined itself in terms of aesthetic from 2006 and 2016, which is noticeable in terms of physical, content and aesthetic quality. Their style of presentation has changed to become more streamlined and defined, devoting a lot more towards the promotion of fashion and beauty oriented content. This can be observed in the lower amount of content in 2016. KK has changed, but in many aspects maintained its formula for presentation and content, but improved significantly in terms of the quality of aesthetic to echo the vision, stated earlier in the thesis, of then editor Gjøry Helén Werp – hence no decline in content. Both have changed towards having no advertising booklets or random small advertising slots of e.g. ringtones and wallpapers for download towards cleaner and more put together aesthetic which coheres well with the magazines' values of promoting content and fashion. This ties back in with how magazines as a medium have particular advantage in that it has unique potential to adjust their structure to accommodate to their readers but also respond to their competitors (Haveman, 2015, p 4-5).

For most part, non-white models are being represented but in low numbers as expected. In this field we can see that Norway is like the findings derived from Plous and Neptune's study which was done on American magazines. This doesn't come as a surprise as Western society, in general, has common traits, like what Bhabha used to claim as a commonality of a racist

structure in Europe. When compared against the population, Det Nye, in both years, can be seen to exceed demographic parity whilst KK doesn't. But, we have seen that it is only by a marginal amount that the frequency on non-white appearances do not reach demographic parity. This entails that tendencies in Norwegian fashion magazines can at least be said to follow their American counterpart, or at least seem to fit in their general discourse of representation. However, I would argue for the point that the findings have shown us, which is Det Nye has lifted the average of this finding and thus diversity level. If we consider their target markets, this makes sense. The younger generation tends to be slightly more diverse or at least experience diversity in a different manner than the generation before them. Det Nye's target market is younger and, can be considered more 'modern'. I use this term to denote the younger and progressive way of thinking. I bring this back that their ideal reader is one who is socially competent, occupied with 'identity forming interests' e.g. beauty, fashion, beauty, exercise but is also engaged with the world and what is happening around her (Egmont, 2017). This in my view translates further into other occupations such as travelling for pleasure, exploring other cultures which can generally be seen as a new, or young at least, phenomenon (Skeie, 2014, p 38). The younger generation by far has been afforded more opportunities such as travelling, but also have been opened to experiencing diversity in a different manner than the generation before them in their everyday but also through the media. This can be seen in one of Norway's contemporary youth focused show *Skam* which turned out to be both a national and international success and among various ages (Skeie, 2014, p 40; Fjellveit, 2016; Lindblad, 2016; Klette, 2017). In the series, we observe the interaction of a Muslim and hijab wearing girl, Sana, being close friends and in the same circle with "ethnic" Norwegians, and the opposite with Even hanging out with Elias and his Muslim friends.

When we looked further, especially in the variable of Photo Size, trends started to emerge. There is a pattern of low levels of representation of non-white models in large images. This means that the images that can be remembered easily do not contain diversity for the majority of content in KK and Det Nye the publications. This in turn means that they are easy to forget, but also easy to miss out on the bigger point. The point is to show people and if we can't see them in at least memorable roles that when we see that it almost becomes shocking. This can also be seen when black models get chosen for covers of magazines, especially if they aren't celebrities and also stunts that magazines pull e.g. Vogue Black by Vogue Italia. There is a lot of media attention around it, and hailing it as revolutionary while in some instances, it can be

argued that this should be normal. This was brought forth in a debate, *Tabuer i norske motemagasiner*, where editor of Tableau magazine Tove Sivertsen (personal communication, October 12, 2017), states that although present in fashion magazines, seamless diversity was missing, which drove her to start her own magazine. Fashion magazines felt formulaic and sensationalist in their method of handling cases, for example dedicating an issue to one thing e.g. plus size models, then swiftly marking the duty as done. This way of working, was voiced as problematic, since such instances of diversity should be a natural part of creating a magazine which as it stands, it isn't.

The most notable finding in this variable is that non-white models are generally confined to smaller images than larger ones. The predominant representation of white models in larger photos means that they were in bigger articles including covers, content that one would naturally assume is of more importance due to the space it has been allocated. We allocate space in terms of importance, and this is visible even in the editing room where articles that are deemed more important or even interesting are given larger coverage, so to say. This larger coverage denotes more work and time to present them in the best way possible. Once we look at this in reverse, it becomes that the most important parts of the magazine are dedicated to white models as opposed to their counterparts. Having minorities or non-white people in smaller images is a cop-out for diversity. It demonstrates presence of diversity but when assessed deeper, it can be deemed almost conditional that they appear. Whilst they do represent non-white models, on the larger scheme of things the photos are small, subordinate and do not command the same level of attention or retain their place in memory on the reader's part. These photos do not have an impact. Comparing this to another media genre, it rings similar to Mastro's (2009) findings that ethnic actors get assigned specific occupational prestige roles or get put in minor roles, depicting a certain side or leaving them unseen altogether depending on the viewer preference patterns (pp 326-328).

Why representation becomes important here is that fashion magazines are rooted in the commercial, with their main focus being selling and making profits. By not including different demographics than they are, although not outwardly, professing that this demographic isn't profitable similar to the basis of racialisation we can find in the fashion industry (Yanofsky & St. Phillip, 2010). Aside from that, this in some way mirrors the Norwegian society as per several reports published that state immigrants (predominantly non-white) tended to be in lower socio-economic positions in comparison to ethnic (white)



Norwegians. It takes them a lot more time to integrate and be integrated into society and find their foothold that can lead them to get relevant jobs and thus support themselves. Second generation immigrants however outperform their parents in social mobility and the equalisation process (Skeie, 2014, p 39; Norges offentlige utredninger, 2017).

In the debate editor of Costume magazine, Kine B. Hartz (personal communication, October 12, 2017), stated that changes come when the readers demand it be so. This coincides with Crane and Haveman's arguments that magazines have two major roles, pleasing their advertisers and their readers, and that there is flexibility of change of content when needs be (1999, p 545; Haveman, 2015, p 4-5). An interesting point that could help in dissecting this further is getting insight to the two magazines' subscriber demographic. Because in this instance, there may be this lack of diversity because the readers have not particularly spoken out about this being an issue. If the readership, for example, is predominantly Caucasian – as may be the case with KK – then there is no real basis for discontent with the lack of racial diversity in the magazines. The key factor of advertising is identification with what you see (Hall, 1997). So, if one sees themselves represented, then identifying with the content is not a problem. It is the minority that would generally point out the lack of representation because they do not identify with the content and would see themselves as disregarded. The question then becomes, why don't they then speak out? The one thing would be that they then avoid buying the magazine and opt in for other options. It is already evident that undeserving certain markets leads to the creation of niche specialisations. In the magazine world, Essence magazine, stands as a clear example of a magazine that came to represent for an underserved African American community (Weekley, 2017, 58). The second would be that they can be passive to it because they are used to not seeing themselves represented. Due to this passivity, the act of under-representation becomes normalised because one part sees themselves, but the other is used to not being seen thus creating a cycle. As Gullestad stated, one's inclusion implies another's exclusion, but if you see yourself as represented then you don't really consider who is not represented.

Two interesting moments in Norwegian fashion magazines happened this year with PS Magazine and Costume debuting their cover girls with hijabs, in February and September respectively. Danby Choi (personal communication, October 12, 2017), moderator at the debate *Tabuer i norske motemagasiner*, intensely questioned why this is only happening now, although the hijab has been present in Norway since the 60/70s with the migration of skilled

workers from different parts of the world into the country. Editor, Hartz (personal communication, October 12, 2017), attributed it to the way representation has been handled in Norwegian society in general, something which is valuable to pay attention to. She argues that, for example, Norwegian Muslim girls haven't been part of “influential” or editorial positions until the making of the character Sana Bakkoush (Iman Meskini) who gave insight of what it felt to be and live in the Norwegian society as a Norwegian Muslim girl from an immigrant background. This then made the choice of her being the cover girl natural, since she was an exciting new face but also a celebrity. This gives an interesting, and perhaps unintentional, insight in that we need to question power and who is in the editorial room since it can affect the content that is produced and overlook representation. Choi (ibid.), however, asserted that aside from celebrities, models also appear on covers. Featuring diversity whether racial or religious should be something an editor should strive for regardless of the celebrity status of the model. This brings us to the fact that PS Magasin had a hijab story but with a model as opposed to celebrity on the cover which didn't seem to get much media attention as Costume's cover released seven months later. Although fault may also be due to the circulation, we still see the interplay of power and content, in which influence plays a key role in representation and the development of its discourse. What this means is that we have to be observant of those around us, who are especially making an impact as they're more likely to be featured or create a wave that calls for difference and representation.

This introduces an interesting dynamic in which there are instances of which race cannot be seen without power relations (Hall, 2013). Continuing with Iman Meskini's cover for Costume, though there wasn't any formal negative attention to the cover itself, some Facebook comments were negative and knitted the instance to women's oppression (in discussion chapter). Fardal (personal communication, October 12, 2017), during the debate spoke about religion, and Islam not being a symbol most widely associated, at least in Norway, with women's liberation. Here she reveals the dynamic of representation and discourses permeated by the media but also Norwegian values. This again can be attributed to that everything in the media is framed, and that for many there are distorted images and “othering” of other cultures and even religion. It relates to the media due to the domino effect of audience thoughts calling to mind ideas bearing similar meaning for the interpretation of other related ideas and relatedness of logic or language (Jo and Berkowitz, 1994, pp 44-5). Hall (1997) pointed to this as seeing people in the opposite of what you stand for. Non-white people are always seen to represent a contrast rather than harmony and integral part of

society. Based on this logic alone, it may be intimidating for editors or editorial rooms to take the leap and really root for diversity. Fardal (personal communication, October 12, 2017) constantly reminded the audience and moderator Choi that the first and foremost for fashion magazines in “tiny Norway” is to sell and that imposes its own set of restrictions which is visible in other formats including television shows, radio, and film. Furthermore, the falling in between entertainment and a societal voice, makes the role and responsibilities of fashion magazines even more nuanced and limited in achieving agendas that other people may consider valuable such as diversity.

## **5.2 Manner of appearance:**

### **5.2.1 Relative size**

Relative Size seldom appeared, and in most instances happened when comparing a gendered (male to female) relationship as opposed to a racial (white to non-white) relationship. Instances total up to 16 for this variable. However, racial instances did appear once in 2016, in 2006 it once again appeared on 2 occasions. The two instances it denoted a racial relationship, happened to be the same advert repeated in different publications of the magazine. The advertisement was by Swatch, in which the non-white model appeared in a lower status (by height) compared to the other 4 female white models she was posed with, however still being larger than the man in the frame (he stood a bit far back). In 2016, the non-white model appeared smaller than the white model due to distance. The white model was closer to the camera than the non-white model.

This shows that gender relationships are still quite strong and prominent in magazines and magazine culture from when Goffman did his study. Counter to my hypothesis, this relationship even in the rare occasions it appeared was not racial. In the times that it did appear, an example being an advert from Shiseido, the white model appeared in a lower position than her two non-white counterparts (Figure 1.6). But it is important to note the different ways in which relative size has been portrayed in this study, and that is by using distance to illustrate a point. Models were placed to appear bigger by simply employing a visual illusion of distance rather than actually posing the model to appear in any smaller position if they were of the same sex but not ethnicity (Figure 1.7). It is also worth noting the rarity of this variable which means that from the sample as a whole, there have been strides of

improvement made in order to counter or at least lessen gendering photographic content to a high degree as for example when Goffman did his study.

Table 10: relative size in both magazines

Magazine	Year	Relative Size
Det Nye	2006	9
KK	2006	2
Det Nye	2016	3
KK	2016	2
<b>Total</b>	All	16

The popularity of this variable was mostly to be found in advertisements as opposed to editorials, and in large size photos. This variable was not at all in use in editorial content from 2016, but was present a decade before when it comes to racial comparison.

Table 11: Occurrences of relative size in advertisements and editorials

Magazine	Year	Relative size occurrences
Advertisements	All	11
Editorials and Covers	All	5
Large Size Ads	All	9
Large Size Editorials	All	5
Large Size Photos	All	14
Small Size Ads	All	2
Small Size Editorials	All	0

What this variable showed us that gendered relationships were still particularly strong, in relation to racial relationships, but still infrequent in magazine culture. Milliard and Grant (2006) pointed out that this relative size wasn't as frequently used as other rubrics developed by Goffman in contemporary magazines targeted towards a White audience (p 660). In the instances it did happen in this thesis, the use of distance was there thus making the size seem natural or justified because the non-white model would be at a longer distance from the camera than the white model. This is interesting because what it subtly hints to, or at least a meaning that can be derived from it is that the person closest to the camera is generally the one of interest, unless they are blurred out using shallow depth of field. In the two instances this variable denoted a racial relationship, the models were not blurred out thus highlighting they could all be considered as of equal importance in the frame. Thus, distance becomes the main signifier of who is most important. Barry (1997) says that relative size relates to distance and the mental impact since it relates to importance and personal space. Whatever appears larger is more important, the same as when angle is used to manipulate the sense of power or the lack of it (p 137). In other instances, Relative size merged in with other variables like

ritual of subordination. Referring specifically to the Shiseido advertisement, although all models were seated, the white model was in the lowest position thus appearing smallest (fig 1.6). Alternatively, this could also stand to show that the variable is rare, but considering Goffman's (1979) sample was purposive, the results showed frequent presence. It becomes seldom when you look at other research, due to varied sampling methods and in this thesis, particularly, the sample was for most part random which can explain the natural difference, but also insinuate that the presence of the variable may not have been frequent or popular to begin with.

As Goffman stated, instances in which women would appear larger or superior are when it concerned social class and status/occupation (Goffman, 1979, p 28). Despite the infrequency of this variable, considering Norway's egalitarianism, this would be even more uncommon. Whilst, there are economic differences in Norwegian society there is generally no outward of the differences, egalitarianism is something internalised by the populous. Egalitarianism, by definition, is the value of equal opportunity and rights for everyone, as well as in the way they treat and refer to each other. In Norway notions of egalitarianism can be seen in the educational system, the welfare state, and in the general informality and element of trust in relating to each other. This transcends economic, educational and social status as well as gender (Arneron, 2013; Skarpenes & Sakslind, 2010; Solheim & Instefjord, 2007). This then can to a certain degree come to make sense that it was most visible in advertisements as opposed to editorial content, which we know is chosen and more directly handled by the staff of the magazines. It is, of course, to be regarded that egalitarianism is contested and even in the context of Norway as a culturally and internationally marketed myth, but that is not of centrality to this thesis (Abram, 2008)

Previous studies have shown that to really stereotype people racially, they would explicitly put them in a position displaying their low social class or continually confine them to certain areas which outwardly demonstrate subservience or limit their diversity (Millard and Grant, 2006, p 661). Relative size in this sense can be deemed too subtle a variable for people who come to magazines to decipher this "class" meaning.

"And here exceptions seem to prove the rule. For on the very few occasions when women are pictured taller than men, the men seem almost always to be not only subordinated in social class status, but also thoroughly costumed as craft-bound servitors who it might appear can be safely treated totally in the circumscribed terms of their modest trade" (Goffman, 1979, p 28)

If we take an example of Kiera Knightley in *Vogue* (figure 1.8), she appeared larger thus fulfilling the relative size variable but there are other cues to express why she may have commanded superiority and authority in the image. We can assess her dress which fills a large portion of the frame, the fact that the Maasai sit and stand below her as she is perched on a rock and she is infinitely more glamourized. The location also adds to the context as she is seen to almost survey the location. There are multiple levels of differentiation in which size becomes amongst the players in the construction of its preferred meaning. Magazines play on the same premise as colonial discourse in that representation comes to visualised as something of difference. The constructing of the black body as different – through various methods e.g. dress or pose – to that of the white body. Fashion and by extension the magazine industry perpetrate colonial discourse in that the way they operate is through contrast. Of course, this specific editorial did not shy away from the fact that it pay homage to the colonial discourse – the nostalgic and supposed glamorous side - but in my opinion, this as a standalone variable doesn't really yield full effect now as it may have in 1979 when Goffman executed his study.

Whilst magazines permeate certain social and indeed gender norms and values, they are in effect also intended to create a world out of the ordinary, the hyper-real, if you will. Magazines are a source of inspiration in the construction or fantasizing of a new, and often better self (Gough-Yates, 2003, p13). This is made possible through the usage of images. The point in highlighting this is that, one of the main factors that contributes to the purchasing and sales of magazines is this sense of escape. The escape is delivered through being provided content on how you can be better and improve yourself, but I would argue, rarely does it show you how you can be superior to other people. Many magazines have a focus on body and beauty ideals but not class. Their level of empowerment to women rests upon, perhaps unfortunately, lowering their esteem through targeting fears but then relieving them with quick beauty or fashion (shopping) related solutions (Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2012, p 874; Cortese, 1999, p 62; Barry, 1997, p 266). As a last point, I would argue that glossy magazines don't reflect social class. They are catered for a certain demographic, which would be their ideal reader but within the contents or aim for that since they are obtainable and accommodating regardless of social strata, and catering to common interests and values (McKay, 2006, p 5, 7; Haveman, 2015, p 5-6).

But often as has been the case throughout this study, the findings have to be taken with a grain of salt due to the limited number of non-white models appearing.

### 5.2.2 Ritualization of Subordination

Ritualization of subordination was quite prominent whilst analysing the magazines. Over the two years studied, subordination had increased in one magazine and not the other. In 2006 KK had the lowest number of subordination but this pattern changed in 2016, with Det Nye managing to reduce this variable to whilst KK increased. Assessed from a wider perspective however, the variable appeared in 135 instances out of 1046 (12.9%) in the two years studied with a relatively low growth percentage between the ten-year period. The most prominent form of subordination was portrayed through sitting and laying, even in the absence of a male figure in the picture. Other forms of subordination included crouching in one form or another and slightly lowering oneself by a slight leaning in or bending of the knees.

Table 12: ritualization of subordination as experiences in both magazines in 2006 and 2016

Magazine	Year	Subordination
Det Nye	2006	39
KK	2006	25
Det Nye	2016	25
KK	2016	46
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>135</b>

Like Plous and Neptune, white models did appear in low-status positions more than their non-white counterparts. In this case it exceeded being twice as often, and was 13 times more. Most of these instances were in large size photos. Most instances of subordination were documented in advertisements.

Table 13: the distribution of ritualization of subordination as per model occurrences and content

White models	Non-White	Unable to tell	Covers	Editorials	Adverts	International ads.
184	14	2	4	52	79	32

With non-white appearances, KK carried most subordination poses and especially in 2016 while Det Nye did so in 2006. Compared to Plous and Neptune, I found a percentage of non-white models in advertisements that closely corresponds to theirs, but with mine being slightly higher although not significantly (Figure 1.9).

It is interesting that ritualization of subordination increased in 2016, a year one would consider having less subordination of women in general due to visible progress for women in terms of equality and feminism. Additionally, both magazines are targeted at women and young women who want to imagine a better version of themselves and are independent and forward. But as academics such as Kang (1997), Plous and Neptune (1997) have shown, very little has progressed in the world of print. An attribution that can account for this is more appeal towards leisure. Goffman (1979) created his rubric to reveal gender stereotypes which often put women in more decorative, passive roles. Ritualization of subordination is a regular occurrence in fashion photography, when it comes to photographs with women in them, and thus aren't particularly alarming or consciously associated with gender roles. They are rather more associated with fashion and posing. As he (ibid) put it, these posed performances are made to appear natural, but gender expressions can also be considered the same (p 84). Subordination has become part of a woman's every day. These poses are seen and recognised as familiar and in turn are taken-for-granted in that as a simple magazine reader, one no longer associates this as composite of gender relations and socialization behind these relations that in effect portray women in a weaker position. What we see in magazines is often similar to what we associate in everyday life, although in magazines it may be "hyper-ritualised" but this comes back to feed into our realities as we try to emulate and achieve these same standards of appearance (ibid). The most frequent forms of subordination were models either sitting or lying down than physically lowering themselves when upright. Laying was a characteristic found most in advertisements as opposed to editorials, whereas editorials frequently posed models in seated positions.

### **5.2.3 Body Exposure**

Body exposure is an interesting variable to compare because it is one that Plous and Neptune (1997) also studied, and others like Milliard and Grant (2006), have been interested in assessing. The most prominent form of body exposure was in that the model appeared nude, or would show certain parts of their body mainly cleavage and stomach. In the two years studied, body exposure appeared in 74 instances out of 1046. Here, body exposure has come in less than the two other studies mentioned. While the two studies found that this variable was present between thirty to forty percent of the time (Plous & Neptune, 1997, p 634; Milliard & Grant, 2006, p 663), in this thesis the percentage was a lot less, not even reaching ten percent. What we can draw from this is that in comparison to magazines such as Vogue,



Cosmopolitan etc. KK and Det Nye are much more considerate when it comes to this stereotype. Like Plous and Neptune, though, most of body exposure was with white models, as indicated in the table below. However, this doesn't necessarily mean that white models were more notorious for it, but rather they represent a bigger sample because the magazines themselves contained a limited number of non-white models.

Table 14: the distribution of ritualization of subordination as per model occurrences and content

Model occurrences	White	Non-White	Unable to tell	Covers	Editorials	Adverts	Body Exposure displays
<b>123</b>	110	11	2	2	24	48	74

There were only three instances in which white models were absent in this variable meaning that their presence here was significantly higher than Plous and Neptune's average. However, if we consider that in white women's magazines the percentage was much higher, my results can be found within proximity although it still higher (Plous & Neptune, 1997, p 634). Keeping the same comparison, non-white models were also in range but in a lower percentage. The range of difference here is almost similar.

In terms of year, the number of Body Exposure was almost split evenly in terms of occurrences. It was more popular in advertisements, and in terms of size tended to appear in the large size photos, both in editorials and advertisements. So, this can mark that it was obviously visible and hard to miss. Det Nye was by far the largest perpetrator of this variable, carrying over three quarters of the occurrences in the decade long period. Over the years, the variable can be seen to increase for both magazines as well.

Table 15: Body exposure displays in both magazines and non-white occurrences

Magazine	Year	Body Exposure	NW
<b>Det Nye</b>	2006	28	6
<b>KK</b>	2006	5	0
<b>Det Nye</b>	2016	30	3
<b>KK</b>	2016	11	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>11</b>

31 instances appeared under “appeared nude” which in this variable entails them appearing *unclothed*/no clothing, nothing but a towel and close ups showing bare shoulders. Appearing nude is generally a format very popular with shots which demonstrate makeup or cosmetics and in some instances hair products. It is made this way to avoid distracting the viewer of the image from the focus, which is generally the face. This format is generally acceptable in

beauty photography. The number of white models was seen to increase substantially through the period studied, just as Plous and Neptune found thus echoing other content analyses they highlighted that revealed an increase in the sexual portrayal of women (Figure 2) (p 634).

When we analyse body exposure, it's inevitable to disregard it from the impact the media has on individuals and its association with sex/sexual attraction (Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2012, p 870; Cortese, 1999, p 22). This variable falls neatly in elements of what magazines try to sell. The sexualization of bodies is present in any type of fashion photography and advertisements. The sexiness of the object, in this case the model, is the fundament of the sales strategy (sex sells) used to seduce the viewer. Fashion bodies, for marketability and ease of consumption appear flawless, desirable and open (Brilling, 2017, p 143).

As discussed earlier, there is an element of escapism when women buy magazines. Escapism into a world out of the ordinary that facilitates fantasization of a new, and better self (Gough-Yates, 2003, p13). This new imagined self is often a sexualised and polished ideal created by the industry. Women/girls and readers of these magazines get exposed these ideals and begin to internalize these standards and in effect experience levels of dissatisfaction, self-objectification, and eventual body surveillance (comparison) which can start at an early age and proceed throughout. This applies in terms of beauty, body and lifestyle (Lantos, 1987; Kilbourne, 1999; Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2012). Magazines, in particular, have been seen to affect readers both directly and indirectly with the different aspects of self-objectification with fashion magazines being significant in the internalization of beauty ideals (Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2012, p 879). Body surveillance and can, and has contributed to on mental health issues such as developing eating disorders, and on a racial impact, paired with elements post-colonial psychology and national history/beliefs, skin bleaching among people with darker skin across Africa and Asia (Glenn, 2008; Li et al, 2008; Hussein, 2010).

Fashion magazines objectify females in a different way... Magazines “teach” readers how to modify their appearance according to the current ideals. In addition, they present beauty combined with fashion as one of the most fundamental aspects of a woman’s life. For instance, working on one’s appearance is proposed as a possible solution to increase family happiness. (Vandenbosch & Eggermont, 2012, p 874)

We can see here that the ideals magazines put out shape what is considered “being beautiful” and in effect yield success in other areas of life. The ideals here usually translate to a skinny or slender body size, and although it may not be maliciously intended white models tend to dominate. This then leaves a significant portion of people unrepresented, and thus out the

paradigm of what is considered beautiful. And because such objectification is linked to many other aspects of one's life e.g. romantic relationships or life goals, whilst it is detrimental to those being unrepresented (non-white models), those represented (predominantly white models) are under undeniable scrutiny of being regarded as not good enough and can be better. This presents a double-edged sword in that both sides experience negative effects from the disposition, or lack of, to media content in magazines. Whilst white models are objectified in magazine content, we have seen many representations of for example black women tending to be sexualised in music videos, and Latina women in television series e.g. Eva Longoria or Sofia Vergara, who have often been portrayed to use their looks and bodies to advance their agendas. Asians are those that would most be missing from this pool; however, they too fall under the exotic category of fitting into this notion of Orientalism and sexualised fantasies or the perfect wife, both denoting subservience (Frisby & Aubrey, 2012; Nittle, 2017; Uchida, 1998)

What we can see about Norway is that these images aren't as prevalent as their American counterparts. This could partly be due to how KK and Det Nye have followed women's liberation throughout the decade (Ytre-Arne, 2013, p 82). Det Nye had more body exposure than KK, and this can be attributed to the target market's ages. Pappas (2011) has argued that magazines tend to use younger looking models or celebrities on the covers, with very few ranging over forty years of age. Covers aren't the only thing, they also say similar for editorial content and advertisements, which could in turn affect older women's sexuality. In this I am not implying that KK sees that their readers aren't sexual but that focus on sexuality becomes a secondary rather than a primary occupation. Alternatively, KK could be avoiding making their readers feel like they need to modify their bodies in order to achieve happiness since research has shown correlation between consumption of fashion magazines and body dissatisfaction (Swiatkowski, 2016, p 2). There is a cultural aspect to this as well in that although sex and sexuality is common, what is deemed appropriate varies with culture and country and develops over the years. Sex was beginning to break form in the early 90s and 2000s, and now in 2017 the threshold for what is deemed acceptable has risen to encompass massive changes in attitudes towards sex. Norway in particular, is considered as sexually liberal and progressive with legal sex entitled from 16 years of age (Kennair, Schmitt, Fjeldavli & Harlem, 2009, p 6). Additionally, it appears more in Det Nye than KK because of the age group they're targeting, that have been considered as the generation unprecedentedly washed by the image but also because of a different perception of these images as denoting

‘being in control of their sexuality’ (Gorman, 2013; Crane, 1999, p 542, 550). By featuring it in predominantly larger pictures, it only highlights the prominence of sex in fashion as a selling point for product or lifestyle but that it takes centre stage pairing both commercial and cultural sexual attitudes.

### 5.2.4 Clothing

This variable contained categorization into two: Sexual attire and Animal prints. Each was ranked as half when present and 1 when both elements were present. The clothing variable appeared 146 times out of 1045 possible occurrences when both years are combined. This totals to 13.97%. Out of the total model appearances, a significant portion were white, leaving the non-white and under unable to tell categories to take up just under ten percent of the count.

Table 16: the distribution of clothing as per model occurrences and content

Model occurrences	White	Non-white	Unable to tell	Covers	Editorials	Advertisements
199	180	18	1	4	88	53

In 2006, a total of fifty instances included either sexual attire or animal print. Non-white models appeared four times, but ranked most on the only in the sexual attire category with attire such as bikini, short shorts and revealing cleavage. Additionally, there were less instances in which clothing was both sexual and represented animal prints than instances in which animal prints only were depicted.

Ninety-six instances occurred in 2016 with this variable, depicting either sexual attire or animal prints. Most instances, however, depicted sexual attire. Identical to 2006, there were similar amounts of instances that depicted the model having both sexual attire and prints. In 24 instances, animal prints appeared. However, only in one instance was a non-white model pictured in “animal print”, which was feathers on the shoes. Non-white models, when depicted, mostly appeared in the sexual attire category with attire such as miniskirts, short shorts and revealing dresses.

Table 17: the distribution of clothing under sexual attire, animal prints or both by years

Year	Instances	Sexual attire	Animal prints	Both sexual & prints
2006	50	45	15	5
2016	96	77	29	5

In the breakdown of items of clothing that would be considered as Animal skin, fur (or clothing imitating fur) was popular and to a lesser extent feathers. Leopard print was the most prominent print type.

Comparing the two years, Sexual attire and animal prints both increased. There was neither an increase nor decrease in photographs depicting both sexual attire and animal prints, with both maintaining the same number of occurrences. The variable itself increased in frequency from 2006 to 2016 with most of the photographic content analysed here being from editorials, followed by advertisements and lastly covers.

Non-white models though seldom appearing, did make a significant contribution in that, running counter to my hypothesis, their occurrences contained less displays of exoticism. One of the instances in which non-white models appeared exotic and sexually were Naomi Campbell in launch of her perfume "Cat Deluxe" in which she appeared nude and covering her intimate areas in pink fur (reflecting cat hair and the colour of the perfume packaging, figure 2.1).

What we can extract from this variable is that portrayals of exoticism were less frequent than those of sexualization/objectification. Although certain aspects of exoticism such as usage of feathers and prints had increased. Furthermore, this variable was mostly present in instances containing white models. Like the body exposure variable, however, it must be considered that this variable appeared mostly with white models due to the significant number of instances in which white models appear in relation to non-white models. The objectification of women comes as no surprise, and as elaborated upon in the previous variable can be regarded commonplace in Western culture, but exoticism appears to take a different route. There is an element in which culture can prove to be of influence. Since the numbers here ran counter to Plous and Neptune (1997), Norway may then be considered as more likely to use sex as opposed to notions of exoticism to sell or promote products and fashions.

The increase of this variable over the 10-year period I would suggest is due to similar reasons as those posed for the body exposure variable since they have overlapping commonalities. The same can be applied to sexual attire being more popular than animal print. Sexual attire corresponds to body exposure since by nature it is more likely to reveal parts of the body. Things such as mini-skirts, evening gowns which expose cleavage, "see-through" clothes,

lingerie and translucent under apparel, would naturally leave elements such as buttocks, cleavage, stomach etc, exposed thus it makes sense it also increased over the years. The minimal appearance of animal prints in comparison to sexual attire and rarity of them together could in part be due to their main sources of inspiration and promotion being Scandinavian brands, which have an own Scandinavian style. Ytre-Arne has called this *Nordic inspiration*, which proposes that journalistic content is affected by ownership (publishers) structure and pan-Nordic import/exportation of magazine brands. The Scandinavian/Nordic style is more minimalistic, and thus less “loud” or fussy in terms of accessories and often rooted in practicality and ease (Ytre-Arne, 2013, p 81; Conlon, 2017). KK and Det Nye are can also be considered as very Norwegian publications, since they’ve been present in the Norwegian market for very long, thus following in line with the going for more Nordic design values. This can may be rooted in the lack of direct colonial history that can be used to frame non-white models e.g. the civil/primitive oppositions as may perhaps be more frequent in American or British magazines (Hall, 1993). There is also one more weakness I can spot as to how these variables may be striking so low, and that is I only studied units provided from January to June, meaning the summer months were not included. Although we can’t be sure, I think sexualisation would be more popular in hotter months due to getting the readership in a summer mindset, which includes having goals towards a summer body, looser and perhaps more revealing clothing that can be comfortable for holidays abroad in warmer areas – thus the content may be more fitting and diverse.

From this we can conclude that although Norway benefits from instances of colonial complicity, imagery featuring colonial discourse are very rare especially with non-white models. Sexualisation is the most popular frame but even that, due to cultural differences, has appeared at a lower result compared to its international counterparts. An interesting point of study would be to study only Scandinavian publications and see if they match or differ.

### **5.2.5 Non-white model appearances**

My aim for this study was to look at the frequency and ways non-white models were represented in magazines KK and Det Nye, comparing years 2006 and 2016. What I found in confirmation to my hypothesis is that non-white models were under-represented in comparison to the population of Norway. They were not excluded in the content, but they were underrepresented. The numbers did increase from 2006 to 2016, which highlights that

there is changes towards more representation (frequency) on non-white models in conjunction with the growing number of immigrants coming into Norway or Norwegians being born to immigrant parents. Det Nye can be said to be more proactive in representing non-white models as it was the publication that topped the percentages in both years. But it is not to be dismissed that KK has also experienced significant increase, more than Det Nye, if we look back to table 1. The increase can be said to have been the most dramatic due to the extremely low level of representation it started with. So, both magazines can be said to be actively engaging representation in their content.

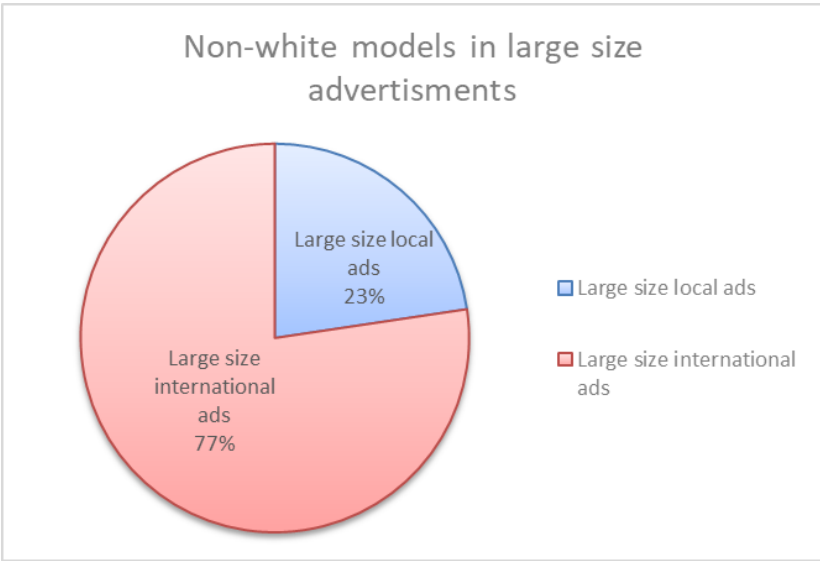
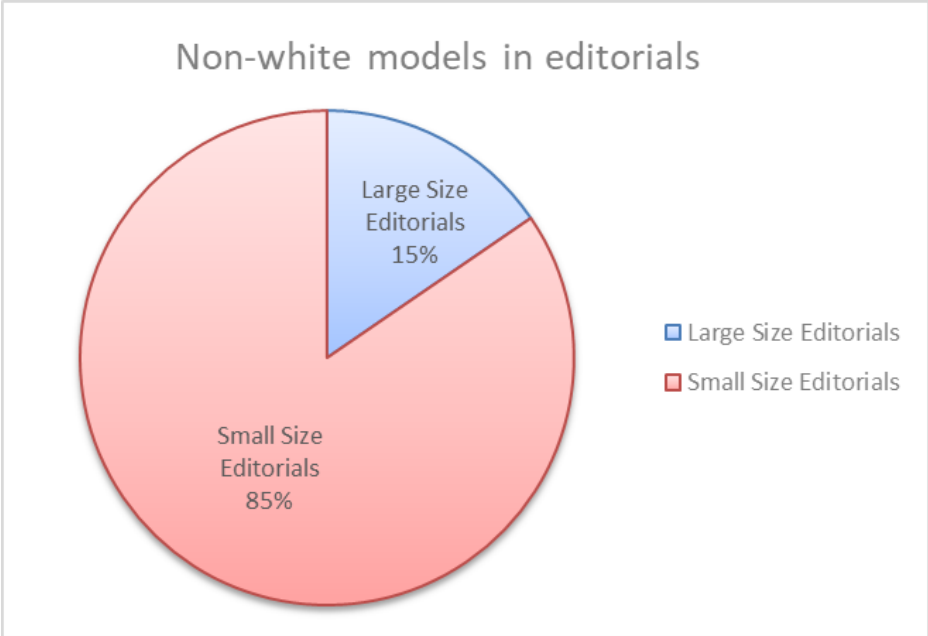
*Relative size* relating to racial instances was very low, demonstrating a decline in the variable in general but also the lack of superiority being shown in racial terms. Non-white models didn't appear too much in *Ritualization of Subordination* either, with only 10 occurrences, mostly advertisements. They appeared most in subordination in 2016, with all instances being in KK – which was the one carrying all the subordination instances for the year. Their subordination was highly visible with most instances appearing in large size photographs, including a cover. This shows that they were largely visible in being subordinate. 6 of the instances were accounted for by international brands' advertisements, meaning there was a large import.

In terms of *Body exposure*, only eight instances had non-white models featured which means that white models once again dominated and appeared most exposed. These were distributed evenly in 2006 and 2016. This result as per findings for Plous and Neptune white models would have been more exposed. There was no prediction or hypothesis for this variable on the part of this thesis, so this finding rather confirms Plous and Neptune's findings. Again, advertisements took the largest portion of non-white models displayed, with half of the advertisements being international brands, covering half the instances the non-white models appeared in.

The last variable was clothing. Non-white models, for most part, were pictured in either sexual attire or animal print but never both. Most of the clothing was categorised as sexual attire, with 2016 being the most popular year of this display. Det Nye carried the largest number of these instances, which corresponds with the fact that they had the highest number of non-white representations throughout the study. They appeared in 15 instances, and 11 of these instances were in large size photos. Editorials dominated but the number was split, and non-white models appeared in both large and small size photos equally. Advertisements put

non-white models in large size photos in all their occurrences, with most of them being international adverts.

What we can see here is that non-white models did occur most popularly in advertisements as opposed to editorial content, and they were likely to be placed in larger images in advertisements too. When we consider if the advertisements were local or international, we also spot a problem. Local, Nordic, advertisements can also be seen to struggle with representation. International advertisements bring in significantly more diversity into the magazines as can be seen in the charts below (figure 2.2) thus raising the average percentage of non-white representation in the two magazines.





Overall, non-white models were underrepresented, and confined to smaller images. This can be said to have them removed from the frames of beautiful or sexy since they appear far less than their white counterparts in the magazine content. On the other hand, they are escaping the clutches of image depletion which white models and the audience are very much subjects to. This, however, creates a difficult paradox since they aren't really being seen. It becomes a paradox to then ask for representation when through the magazine lens is to be put under the same objectification paradigm of magazine content, but on the same note absence of this representation may continually foster ideals that do not challenge or widen the frames of beauty that have been set by the fashion industry. Furthermore, by featuring non-white models in small pictures mirrors a continual marginalisation of non-white people. It makes their appearances in larger pictures surprising which isn't good since they are seamlessly present in everyday society. This creates an ideal fashion world in which non-white models seldom appear. This isn't an accurate presentation of Western society or even the fashion hubs. Their lack of appearance in editorial content is also alarming since this is the content created by the editorial staff itself, catered specifically to the audience of the magazine. It shows that as a group, non-white models are overlooked as promoters of fashion and beauty by the editorial staff, and are used mainly by commercial interests.

### **5.2.6 Things I would change: critiquing the variables**

If I were to repeat the study, there are things in the codebook that would need some revision. The clothing category would probably be divided into 2 as opposed to a joint category. This would make a better differentiation in seeing the differences in the manners which white and non-white models are treated in terms of attire and for further easing of replication of the study by others. Additionally, the category sexual clothing and body exposure tend to overlap, and this can be considered that it's double counting of elements present. The variables should then be developed so that they don't overlap so much thus making sure we're measuring broader elements portrayed in the pictures. An example of this would be for examples models in bikinis. This would automatically mean that they are displaying cleavage, stomach/belly and upper legs. For this study I tried to separate the two categories as much as possible and not to count these elements as present in body exposure if they were highlighted as sexual attire. I do however think that this could be streamlined and revised a little bit better to render the most accurate results. Additionally, feathers were not included in neither Goffman's

(1979) nor Plous and Neptune's (1997) list, but to which I decided to include since it applies to animal skin and that can be considered as a symbol of exoticism.

The lists in which I obtained my variables was by no means exhaustive. To stick as closely as possible to the original studies already done, it came to my attention that any other items of clothing were not addressed. While coding the magazines, I found attire such as gym clothing, short dresses or dresses revealing cleavage in general, among others, were not covered. In other instances, models due to their size to that of the average woman, tend to be a lot thinner and with significantly less visible cleavage. While some dresses were very low cut and in my opinion deemed to be adequate in showing off cleavage, it was hard to judge it as such on a runway model.

It is also worth pointing out that in this study, the number of images featuring, primarily, White models is not equal to how many models are displayed. In editorials, it is quite usual in both publications that one or more models is reused. All their appearances were counted as individual frequencies, reason being in the active decision to show forth the frequency in which white models appear as opposed to non-white models in the study.

## 6 DISCUSSION

When we really think about it, magazines are part of a media culture in which we consume. Magazines such as *KK* and *Det Nye* have subscriptions which add to frequent exposure to images that are arguably unrepresentative and objectifying. Magazines have been argued to be less valuable and research worthy (McKay, 2006), but their impact goes beyond those subscribing. Women, in general, are exposed to magazines online, through friends, and albeit uncertain, some are exposed to the covers of these magazines in shops and supermarkets thus permeating ideals over a wide scope (Sypeck, Gray & Ahrens, 2004, p 343). Focusing solely on racial representation, over the course of other studies such as Plous and Neptune (1997), Milliard & Grant (2006) we see that there is very little representation of models who aren't white. Relating to Norway in specific, this thesis, has come to show that there is similar pattern in Norway, with most models featured being white both in magazine content and covers, as investigated by Kadra Yusuf (2015). The overall point that begins to stand out here is that, once we discuss representation, it gets hard to remove it from reality which entails journalistic duty of fashion journalism, critique of the fashion industry and its nucleus, and social discourse which need to be addressed to understand the wider perspective around the topic. In this chapter, these three concepts will be explored but following the general literature on representation encountered in the theoretical framework of the thesis, as opposed to Goffman (1979) and Plous and Neptune (1997) who shaped most of the methodology and findings and analysis chapter.

### 6.1 Journalistic critique in magazine content

As Choi (personal communication, October 12, 2017) posed repeatedly to ask in debate, *Tabuer i norsk motemagasin*, do magazines see themselves as journalists, and if so doesn't that entail representing society? For most part what the other debaters argued, coinciding with the background in this thesis holds true: historically and traditionally seen, there are three aspects to magazines: (1) magazines have a tight knit relationship to the commercial, (2) they are not customarily identified for critical evaluation as a regular format and (3) they have significant voice when it comes to assessing what fashion is and should be (Choi et al, personal communication, October 12, 2017; McKay, 2006). As fronted by Fardal (personal communication, October 12, 2017) fashion magazines, especially in Norway, hold a small

agenda thus what consumers expect of them differs from what they would expect from, for example, news. In this sense, striving for diversity is slightly different as they are, first and foremost, catered to a fashion forward woman, regardless of age, ethnicity or religion (Fardal, *ibid.*). The editors professed that they operate regardless of the above factors (Fardal, *ibid.*), race being one of them, and even follow press ethics (Arnstad, 2015) to which then the question as to why there still is little diversity still stands. The repetitive nature of nominating or featuring the same – usually white – faces and fashion bodies doesn't mirror the development of a moving and changing society, or that of Norway, in this instance (Brochmann, personal communication, October 12, 2017; Barry, 2012). Issues arise when covers, highlighted editorials, and adverts don't have diversity. While fashion magazines' agenda may be small and more fashion oriented, the fact remains that it tends to forget certain groups thus not fulfilling its journalistic duty (Choi, personal communication, October 12, 2017; Yusuf, 2015) which Arnstad (2015) backed by Fardal (personal communication, October 12, 2017) guaranteed they do. Fardal (*ibid.*) compared the work that goes into fashion magazines to that of journalists, namely; collecting information, trying to understand it, providing an edit/selection and finding the most fitting way to communicate it. So, this imparts that whatever is presented is actually framed, whether in journalism or simply with images, framing also means exclusion. This has been uncovered by this thesis, as we see non-white models predominantly placed in small size images, and only one cover with non-white models in the yearlong sample studied.

Hermes (1995) has argued that magazines don't have a big role in readers' lives as we think. However, magazines in as a genre and also our units KK and Det Nye have a platform and influence, due to their long presence and popularity. As Brochmann (personal communication, October 12, 2017) states, when afforded such assets and a platform, you have a mandate to lift up new voices. For example, Hollywood - as the main source of entertainment in Western world - should strive to represent all sides of society even though they don't consider themselves as press or journalists. They still get - and rightfully so - backlash when caught exercising "whitewashing", as discussed earlier in this thesis, or lacking diversity in their movies as like the #Oscarssowhite movement (Trufaut-Wong, 2017). So here we see that even fictional forms of entertainment get critique, and thus magazines should not be exempt. As mentioned before, changes as such should not wait for feedback from the readership in order to be implemented. Because if you are used to seeing yourself represented, the fact that others are not being represented may not automatically cross your

mind, hence shock or wow factors received when magazine's do stunts like Vogue Black. Whether targeting young women or older women, the current Norwegian society is multicultural and to one extent or another, people are or have come across others within their vicinity who are of a different racial background (Yusuf, 2015; SSB, 2017). As Reitan (Jensen, 2015) stated, once you leaf through the magazines with actual attention to representation, the images become unsettling as you notice the lack of representation. It in turn makes one question the editorial profile of the magazine and the cultural maps/ "system of values and ideas about the world" presented (Jensen, 2015; Hermes, 1995, p 27; Jhally, 1997).

Taken from a personal perspective, both sides of the argument are comprehensible. Magazines and magazine journalism fall in between two genres: journalism and entertainment. They should be allowed content unattached to the deciphering of deeper meanings (Hermes, 1995; Brochmann, personal communication, October 12, 2017). But, as sources of influence, inspiration and aspiration towards a better self (Gough-Yates, 2003, p13), the low representational levels within their content unsettles. Content here can be seen to provide a distorted view of reality similar to some mirrors in culture, e.g. advertising as demonstrated by Goffman (1979). Geared towards a "feel good" vibe, magazines can be argued as not to strictly follow journalistic guidelines, but in that sense then Choi's question remains unanswered.

However, the power that magazines ultimately hold should not be downplayed, despite the fact that the reader is well and critically informed from other sources, and come to fashion magazines they aim for something that is lighter e.g. fashion, trends to take them out of the everyday (Fardal, personal communication, October 12, 2017; Arnstad, 2015; Gough-Yates, 2003). Considering the evidence and literature cited in this thesis, it is apparent that magazines have a position of privilege. As highlighted by McKay, (2006) and Haveman (2015), they aim and do speak to many people ranging across different age spans and areas, and have a clear position within society and indeed consumer market, which entails a clear responsibility regardless of whether it can be argued under journalistic practice or not. Their responsibility lies in advocating society, fashion and representing their demographic. The fashion industry also consists of multiculturalism and some have advocated for different marginalised demographics even though controversial. An example being the rise in modest fashion and also campaigns such as "*I am an immigrant*" by W magazine (Cusumano, 2017).

It is a basic obligation that comes with the privilege and position they have within society, and even more so since they're not fictional publications excluded from the real world. They are within societal structure and thus have to try harder to represent everyone and be a voice for all those interested in fashion and all its different dynamics.

Choi (personal communication, October 12, 2017) insisted on raising the question of why magazines aren't more critical of the industry they operated in, and in that instance, it seemed to lean towards written criticism of the industry. But, in the case of magazines, as publications focused on and revered for their aesthetic presentation, criticism can come in the form of better representation. To be better at critiquing doesn't necessarily entail more critical pieces but rather opening up and improving on the things not done correctly, which the representation debate fronted by Yusuf (2015) has already highlighted for over a year now. As Hall (Jhally, 1997) stated in his lecture, we are engulfed by media and content; fashion magazines are only one of the contents in a larger scheme of things. Even though their agenda may be small their voice among readers isn't. They must accept that they are part of a bigger frame that can lead to change within the whole fashion industry at large and a more inclusive society altogether. Criticism doesn't always have to be written, but can be shown through action. We have seen modelling agencies and catwalks having models with hijabs on, and such statements undoubtedly can make a big impact in widening the horizons, perspectives and possibilities of fashion and publications fronting fashion.

## **6.2 An overall examination and critique of the fashion industry and its nucleus**

While I have mentioned that the fashion industry is multicultural, this isn't by a large scale. My second point of discussion is to draw upon the fact that the fashion industry, where fashion magazines globally draw inspiration from, is slow to change. Referring back to documentary, *the colour of beauty* (Yanofsky & St. Phillip, 2010), we observed the magnitude of the issue of racialization in the fashion industry, and the myths and limitations surrounding non-white models trying to break into the industry. The documentary also revealed the Caucasian demographic is the ideal and lucrative target market, and thus others must conform to that ideal. This ties back to the notion ethnicity is valuable as long as it is consumable (Brilling, 2017, p 147). Consumable in this case reflects race so, non-white models are still expected to have Caucasian features, which in this very documentary have

been described as “great”, “elegant” or even “lucky” to have. Such standards or even ways of describing Caucasian features as elegant or great are automatically demeaning and devaluing of natural racial characteristics that come with other ethnicities e.g. the African, Aboriginal or Asian diaspora. It reflects classic racism and idealises the Eurocentric ideal of beauty as top of the hierarchical organizational system of bodies and thus anything else is a deviation from the ‘norm’ which is whiteness (Dovidio et al., 2010, pp 312-313; Brillling, 2017, p 141). The issue of diversity has exploded several times, and the reply to such explosions has been either indulging in tokenism - featuring one model of colour - or a stunt, such as the famous all-black edition of Vogue Italia which was a huge international success, but ultimately did nothing for improving the situation at large (Tant in Yanofsky, & St.Phillip, 2010). If we consider this strategy of gathering models according to Eurocentric norms, then naturally the pool of non-white models conforming to those ideals would be particularly limited which can be seen in the low frequencies of non-white models as presented in this study, and disparities such as having 88 non-white occurrences to 1296 white occurrences (Table 1). In effect, modelling agencies end up not having much diversity since clients (designers or magazines) are not hiring models outside the norm, meaning that it boils down to the designers generating and perpetuating the problem of the lack of diversity and representation in the fashion industry altogether (Beker, 2010). One goes even further to say that fashion is so far behind actual movements in society towards multiculturalism and ethnic diversity, that it is uncertain as to when they will come around to realising that Western societies are multicultural (cited in Yanofsky, & St. Phillip, 2010; Lewis, 2015). This is why studying the nucleus around fashion such as the modelling agencies could add valuable insight for further study.

Others speculate that is economic factors that continually foster this lack of diversity, but emerging markets such as in Asia, the Middle East, Africa reflect the changing tides of fashion consumerism and the neglect of diversity means failing to speak to these markets which leads to the risk of becoming irrelevant. This in itself run proves that the marketers who claim casting and using only white models reduce risk are ultimately wrong (Tant in Yanofsky, & St. Phillip, 2010; Business of Fashion, 2017; Lewis, 2015). It is no longer validated that ethnicity can be used as an excuse for not having diversity, since diversity has proven successful and lucrative with emerging markets gaining power. The lack of diversity is more of an industry than a supposed consumer preference (Barry, 2015).

In his survey conducted in the US and Canada, Barry (2015) found that Black women were more likely to buy a product advertised by a model of the same race whilst Caucasian women would purchase the item regardless of the model's race. The reason for this was identification, since Black women seldom see themselves represented, it created more positive feelings towards the products and brand. For the Caucasian models, it resonated with their values of empowerment and inclusion and could picture themselves in the outfit regardless of the model's racial background. This again appears in Milliard and Grant's study, in that black models were perceived as more sociable, goal-oriented and intelligent than their white counterparts, and as more attractive in advertising (p 667-8). Regarding Asian models, Chinese respondents leaned towards the Chinese models since, again, they were easier to identify and resonate with in terms of achieving image likeness (Barry, 2015). Thus, it can be seen that excuses such as diversity not selling or non-white demographics having less spending power do not uphold to their status when truly confronted.

Fardal (in personal communication, October 12, 2017) mentioned that fashion magazines are influenced by global trends but what they strive for is exciting content set aside from religious or racial lines. In effect these magazines highlight the racialization of the fashion world which tends to favour white over non-white models, photographers, stylists and editorial rooms (Business of Fashion, 2017). So, the industry within itself has a representation issue. Barry is right in that the fashion industry needs to work on its mono-formulaic belief system that upholds ethnocentric and often racist ideologies as a priori given. Whilst this racist ideal did not start with fashion but rather history, literature and even drama; what fashion does is that it normalizes the white body and others the non-white body whilst reactivating stereotypes of Black, Asian, (and from religious group) Islamic women when designers steal or, supposedly, draw inspiration from other cultures (2015; Lewis, 2015). But this can be tackled from the inside simultaneously as the outside. The fact that there are prominent non-white figures (celebrities, models, supermodels, bloggers, influencers) in society and abroad makes working on this on the outside relatively easy to think outside the box. On the other side, however, we see that Norwegian magazines benefit from the imports. As pointed out in the findings, international adverts outdid local, Nordic, advertisements when it came to representation, and the gap between them was significant. So, what this shows is that even the outside sources of inspiration to these magazines are seen to be taking note of the shifts and adjusting accordingly. From a critical perspective, Norwegian magazines do not need to sit idly by as they wait for a wave of change to happen in the fashion industry. For the local market, they



can be the trailblazers for change, inclusion. What the fashion industry perpetrates is not law and thus means there is room for change and trailblazers similar to Hennes and Mauritz, Dior, and Dolce & Gabbana and even all four Fashion weeks.

### **6.3 The cycle of influence between media and society and vice versa.**

From the first point, I have demonstrated that magazines due to their unique placement and privilege in society have a basic obligation to represent as means of demonstrating a changing world and society both in Norway and abroad. In the second part, I discussed the changing – albeit slow – patterns of the fashion industry (runway and print) for more inclusivity and diversity. The last point of this discussion will be discussing the social influence of imagery absorbed from magazines as part of a larger scheme in society. This will highlight the interplay of knowledge, values and perceptions between media content and society.

We live in a media saturated world and we're constantly engulfed in images, that our construct of reality is shaped by the images we see by and through different media (Hall, 1997; Hjavard, 2013). There exists a reciprocity of influence from the media into society and other institutions/cultural phenomena and vice versa (Hjavard and Petersen, 2013, p 53). Visual cues shape our everyday and our societies are growing with the media, both traditional and digital media. Thus, much of what we rely on then becomes dependant on the media to reflect what is out there. So even though we know there are discrepancies/distortions and that the media isn't accurate representation of something, we still consider it in a way more influential than we comprehend (Cortese, 1999). Visual imagery in magazines aren't exceptions to this which is why representation becomes an important topic.

The one way in which this thesis has come to understand and explain the disparity in representation is that Det Nye is targeted towards a much younger, millennial target audience which was explained as more exposed to people of different due to the epochs of immigration into Norway and, of course, Norwegians being born to immigrant parents and general positivity to diversity post July 22nd (Skeie, 2014, p 38, 42). KK's pattern, however, although rising to have more diversity, still is considerably less than Det Nye. Yusuf (2015), speculated that magazines targeting an older/mature demographic assume that their readership does not want to see diversity or will act negatively if they ventured out with using people of colour as

testament to what an editor of *Ukeblad* said in her NRK interview. This corresponds with that magazines have to please their advertisers and their readers, and that representation cannot be discussed outside the frame of power which readers and advertisers hold (Crane, 1999; Hall, 2013). It is here that considering the history of Norway is of importance, and the concept of identity and belonging in how it shapes representation in the media, and vice versa.

Over the years Norway has experienced movements towards more right-wing politics when it comes to immigration and even self-determination away from Europe (Skeie, 2014). Here I would like to propose that diversity is a challenge to the Norwegian national identity which, in the Norwegian context, is linked to race/ethnicity but laced with socio-political elements (Skeie, 2014; Eriksen, 2011; Gullestad, 2006). We will take representation in both its definitions, showing and giving meaning, while tackling this point. To discuss this point, I will go back the already referred example of Iman Meskini's cover for Costume magazine and the Facebook comments following the picture which illustrate the complexity of the Norwegian identity and how representation quickly becomes tied to something political or social. The comments read:

“Brave women have fought long for equality! Hijab is woman-repressive, and THIS picture comes on your front page?! Do you want to reverse the gender equality?”

“Thank you for supporting Sharia and women's oppression 🙄” (my translations)

For the record, I don't believe that showing non-white models essentially is the problem, but rather the meanings that are derived from it, something that we cannot eliminate from current discourse and history. The problem here is twofold: Norwegianess like Britishness is usually associated with whiteness (Caucasian), which Meskini is not. Secondly, her religious background is a contrast to Norwegianess which has historically been Lutheran but now is said to fall into a Christian/Humanistic and secular value system (Rasmussen & Bangstad, 2017; Skeie, 2014, p 40). In both instances she is seen to represent something foreign, different and in contrast to what is associated with being Norwegian as shaped per political and historical discourse and debate within society at large (Hall, 1997; Jo & Berkowitz, 1994). It is here that we see the interplay of what is portrayed in the media and what enters people's thoughts. In both instances, Meskini is being subjected to Otherness, and associated with values she, as an individual, necessarily does not stand for. This reflects the notion of us vs. them, a shared cultural map among Norwegians that has been used in public debates by politicians or even on an individual level (Gullestad, 2006). Additionally, von der Lippe

(2011) states that it is more legitimate to religiously than racially discriminate others. Islam, in particular, has become more commonplace to discriminate against and skin colour is used as a signifier for this. Thus, the epidermalization of darker skin becomes a danger in that it can warrant discrimination (p 132, 137).

As previously mentioned in the theory chapter, some Norwegian sociologists have demonstrated the influence of the media in people's attitudes and opinions towards ethnic minorities (von der Lippe, 2011, 134). Whether these magazines are aware or not, they are creating norms, and the norm, racially, in the fashion and magazine industry, as well as in Norwegian culture (the 'us') is being white, causing everything else is characterised as different (von der Lippe, 2011; Gullestad, 2006; Brillling, 2017). So, it becomes necessary to challenge the norm and the ethnocentrism of these norms. This can be achieved through representation. If we keep seeing wider frames and meanings of non-white models (ethnic minorities), our view expands. Studies like Schiappa, Gregg & Hewes, (2005) have also demonstrated this. Exposure to certain frames leads to the display of tolerant attitudes to members regarded as belonging to an out-group. At the end of it, macro level narratives tend to appear at micro level. Earlier I mentioned that representation is tied to power and knowledge. It diversifies and challenges our perceptions. Editor of Costume magazine, Kine B Hartz made clear her choices for having Iman as a cover girl: the need of diffusing and reflecting upon themes like identity, faith into the public sphere of society as part of mirroring the society we live in (Ansari & Revheim, 2017). It is about challenging the dominant framing put out in other media that is often, as Pickering (2001) states, at the expense of the ethnic minorities. Islam, and the perception around Islam, in this instance is easiest to make an example of. When the primary image we receive is of Muslims is negative and mainly associated with e.g. suicide bombings, then our view becomes distorted. It leads to associating all Muslims with suicide bombing. So, media framing is part to blame in this continual distortion. When we assess the beauty aspect of the industry then it is notions of body size and race that become problematic. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, magazines have been a cause for widespread body dissatisfaction among women and young adults. The pervasiveness of unattainable body ideals has negatively affected and continues to affect many. In the case of race, and discussed in the criticism of the fashion industry, they employ classical racism in their standards of beauty which has led to presumptive notions that other race based characteristics, e.g. big lips, classify as ugly or undesirable. This finds roots from ethnocentrism, but it's prevalence is due to continually being exposed to people through

magazines and other media. This ultimately links to Goffman's context of hyper-ritualization. These representations are fashioned after what is displayed in social situations and then conventionalise it (1979; p 84). It can be argued that it does similar to ethnic minorities as it's done to women: standardises, exaggerates and simplifies these representations that in turn extend to affect our perceptions and limiting them to certain frames. If, for example, magazines avoid putting people of colour in their magazines, so it averts controversy or upsetting their readers, they can avoid criticism from a macro narrative. But then again, if the micro narrative doesn't challenge the macro narrative, then we are left in an unchanging cycle, reinforcing the often polarised and distorted themes conveyed in other media. Magazines are part of a culture industry, along with other forms of entertainment such as music, film, tv, radio etc. They contain sets of images that not only promote a lifestyle or product but also the socialisation and aspects of culture. Advertising, especially, is mistaken as face value of social reality since it draws on the shared maps society has. It then becomes important to have representation because these images reveal power structures, social arrangements and cultural beliefs. It is within these structures that processes which can affect people's attitudes and behaviours originate from. In theory they can help shapes attitudes towards racial diversity (Cortese, 1999; Jhally, 1997).

## **6.4 Further research**

As actor, Riz Ahmed, mentioned in his speech to the House of Commons 'representation is not a benchmark' but is rather fundamental (referred to in Khosla, 2017). Although in this thesis I have used comparative measures to the population – following replicating my chosen studies – it underlines a weakness. I state this because, when we look back at the results non-whites are underrepresented although statistical parity is not far within reach, at least to my measure. This brings out a problem; how do we measure representation? In this study representation is difficult to measure since ethnic minorities span across all the categories provided by SSB. They are from Europe and North America, etc. not just confined to majority countries and continents we associate with non-white populations e.g. Africa and Asia. This means that the results aren't concrete and thus bear room for errors, and perhaps where Norway differs in their measurements of their racial demographic from the US. This entails a difficult course ahead since it begs us to ask, "how much representation is enough representation?" That is a question without an easy answer. Going back to Ahmed's speech,

he identifies the inherent message of belonging which members of society seeks from the media. This ties back in with the manner of representation. What we have learned from the findings, is that while strides are being made in the right direction towards having more representation (frequency) there are conditions and limitations to where we see these appearances. This also calls begs me to clarify certain aspects of my language in the findings chapter. I did state that the white appearances were dominant or overwhelming, and if we go stay true to the finding that statistical parity was almost achieved, then the wording is unfair. I clarify the usage of my words in what can be seen in the results. The content is overwhelmingly white because the non-white appearances happen not only over ten times less but also are confined and less memorable. Non-white models see most prominence in small pictures which command less visual attention. When portrayed in large photographs they were subordinate, or mainly in advertisements. Overall, non-white models were most prominent in advertisements as opposed to editorial content, which is exclusively done by the editorial room for, and to please as McKay states, the readers. Editorials were also said, by Milliard and Grant, as least likely to get ignored since people are bombarded by advertising regularly. In this short study we can see that the conditions imposed are not necessarily exclusive but are subordinative and regulatory of the Other. Ahmed argues that a lack of representation causes the people to shut off and seek other, often fringe, narratives which are more complex in meaning and more in tune with the multicultural reality that is presented to them (Khosla, 2017). But that's dealing with extremism. In the magazine industry, this can be translated to seeing the continuation of even smaller niche markets. And while it was highlighted earlier as a strength, it also means further fragmentation of markets, a tendency rather common in Norway. From Ytre-Arne's study it shows rapid fragmentation to a slow increasing, and even declining gendered readership. Furthermore, since the establishment of new magazines tend to be quite similar in genre - lifestyle or general interest or crossovers between the two – their impact is weakened due to intense competition as a result of the fragmentation (2013, p 79).

Images in magazines are a big selling point since they arrest the viewer and captivate them with narratives they can engage with and use to transcend themselves. But if the narratives of some remain limited, then what is seen can become a reinforcement of what's on other media of these selected view and not challenge the audience thought. What this then results to is that magazines may unintentionally be sending out a message they don't wish to convey, that reinforces a discriminatory attitude towards their minority population. On several instances

has the word 'inspire' been used to describe what magazines aim to do, but with this such bias in representation the question is then who or what are we inspiring? It leaves some of the important elements that representation can bring about such as fostering more tolerant attitudes to members considered as the out-group, a healthier identity formation. (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994; Jhally, 1997; Reitan in Jensen, 2015; Mutz & Goldman, 2010).

To better this study, there are several areas of question presented that need to be further explored in order to create a well-rounded picture of what has been observed. The first is to get editorial insight of the magazines, regarding the editorial room and staff and magazine making processes would add an interesting depth. Second, to examine the nucleus around the magazines such as, the modelling agencies, fashion shows e.g. Oslo Runway and their level of variety when it comes to non-white models. This would be interesting of forming a better and representational dimension of the constructs around what is produced and trending in Norway. The readership would construct the third aspect of this. Since they are the taste making aspect of content, it is worthwhile to consider their race and economic status in order to determine the class, if any, of the targets these magazines aim for. Class would be tied to the economic aspect of the case and give insight to the disparities, which in several instances presume ethnic minorities as not so profitable (Cortese, 1999, p 3). The fourth, would be to see how Norway compares to its Nordic peers, who would be somewhat similar in terms of their shared/pan-Nordic bonds to reflect the magnitude of the situation. Some have argued that the situation is not better there either (Reitan in Jensen, 2015). These things will show or challenge the idea that proposes that the mechanisms for change are in place, but why is the change slow to come? As mentioned earlier, some of the initial weaknesses of this study were the limited sample size and missing out on Norwegian literature due to language barriers. Filling in this gap would better help understand Norway and its own innate structure. Further incorporating fields like the history and Norwegian art history would open up for insight on how discourses have shaped the relations to other minority groups like the Finns, Kvaerner etc. and people who aren't ethnically Norwegian. It may also reveal contemporary attitudes towards issues such as representation, immigration – since some studies, have shown that Norwegians aren't racist despite the hard-line stance they take towards immigration (von der Lippe, 2011, p 132).

## 7 CONCLUSION

Representation as a concept is most popular in the field of cultural studies but often finds itself as a topic of interest in the field of media and communications when looking at discourses of culture, gender, ethnicity and meaning in social life. Goffman began his course of exploring and deconstructing advertisements and their implied meanings as shown through hyper-ritualizations found within society. He used that to reveal the symbolic subordination of women in culture and society but also gave a framework for expansion and exploration in the realms of print and differentiation (Othering). Similar to gender relations, ethnicity/racial relations reveal the power struggle and stratification found within society, thus, to understand and assess racial constructions is vital to understand the wider implications it acts as an agency to social movements, atrocities and ethnic conflict (Jhally, 1997; Hall, 2013; Goffman, 1979; Cortese, 1999).

Magazines in themselves have also proved to be not only expansive but extremely nuanced mediums, that truly command more research than they have been subject to. Magazines are essentially caught in between the pillars of journalism and entertainment which makes their course of representation very nuanced to navigate due to their commercial nature yet intent of being relevant. Within their own limited and supposed dwindling market, they fight for relevance and prevalence amongst the Norwegian populous, whilst facing sharp competition and market fragmentation (Ytre-Arne, 2013). Operating in “tiny Norway”, as Fardal (personal communication, October 12, 2017) referred to it, also adds to the challenge. As we have seen, Norway is a country of complex and diverse discourse historically, politically and even culturally. Bringing these three together means that the topic of representation becomes particularly problematic and nuanced to discuss or completely comprehend due to the multitude of views, opinions and discourses that exist simultaneously and even contradict one another and in turn generate more questions than answers. What this means is that options for further exploration are not short of being plentiful.

The aim of this thesis was to see how frequently and in what manner non-white models are represented/portrayed in Norwegian fashion magazines, using rubrics and stereotypical associations as documented by Goffman (1979), Plous and Neptune (1997), Milliard and Grant (2006). The results came out that non-white models were shown on average 6.31% of the total occurrences calculated from both magazines and years in study. Det Nye was

considerably more diverse and also held the record for the highest percentage of non-white occurrences (9.38%) as seen in Table 1, but KK has made significant improvements in having non-white models over the 10-year course studied (1.7% - 6.38%). Non-white models were also more prominent in advertisements, small size images, sexualised but not as much as their white counterparts. They did however not appear in animal prints modelled after predatory animals. What the results have shown us is that Norway follows similar patterns to countries like the United States, but is also different in part to its own young history and culture.

Magazines have two roles, to please their advertisers and readers. They have been said to be mediums that have the role of defining and shaping the what a woman is and how she's seen, and thus what is put forth in their content is of utmost significance and importance. However, there are others who have contended that magazines only play a small role, and with that we should be careful on how seriously we perceive the content. That magazines should be able to produce content for their readership can leaf through without thinking about deeper meanings. (Hermes, 1995; Brochmann, personal communication, October 12, 2017). And on their opposite, are those who argue that images are made in contextuality whether historical, political and cultural (Brilling, 2017; Lewis, 2015). While both sides have their merits, the concept of representation here goes deeper. It goes down to the basis that imagery captivates and arrests us, and creates symbolic meanings. It taps into humans' connection with visuals as part of socialisation, differentiation and identity forming processes, and how these visuals may sometimes be biased and distorted. Furthermore, it taps into the power of imagery to enhance or diminish feelings, fears and connections to one another. From behaviour to beauty norms, image and media-saturation has transcended national borders and its influence is undeniable (Hjarvard, 2013; Hall, 2013; Yan & Bissell, 2014).

Whilst still representing, there are visible limits when it comes to the portrayal of non-white models in Norwegian magazines. The study was not aiming to implicitly state that Norway is racist but rather that it follows similar structuralizing which contains elements of racialisation and bias towards non-white people. This has helped in understanding and interpreting Norway in relation to the United States, while also emphasizing their differences in history and culture. Although they contain somewhat parallel narratives, the US has deeper racial history with slavery, segregation etc. whereas in Norway, the Sami oppression was an institutionalised assimilation which neglected and in some way wanted to erase Sami culture and language, thus favouring the ethnic Norwegian culture as superior finding reformation in



the 1970s. With this in mind, when we look at these magazines we can observe patterns of bias showing through via low numbers of non-white models in relation to the population, but also in the way that we see there are limitations in the way non-white people are portrayed. That is, the confinement of advertisements and small size photographs that aren't memorable and don't command much visual attention. They are subordinated in this manner. These biases, however, take a different turn from, for example, colonial imaginaries of the exoticized or eccentric Other. There is sexualisation/objectification, through body exposure and sexual attire, as per common gender norms visible in magazine advertisements and content but at a smaller degree. Paired with my suggestions for further studies, this picture can be fully developed and thus reveal the true magnitude of the problem and thus draw more generalisable comments on Norway. As per this study, I have revealed the complexities of the topic of representation and its measurements and how gender biases are still prevalent. Magazines, on average are failing in representation. The fact that the editorial content, arguably the content that matters most, has an average of less than 2% non-white occurrences highlights lack of diversity and that there is still a long way to go. It also reflects that the staff behind the content either lack understanding or comprehension of the problem of representation and how they need to bring it into their magazines. Advertisements show more progression towards this than editorials. When we consider the figure stating a 6% overall average, it is easy to argue that it is slowly getting better. This, however, masks the significance of problem that is there still stands a neglect of the non-white people as a market and part of the population but also bias against visible changes in the society and shift in global fashion culture.

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## **PERSONAL COMMUNICATION**

Danby Choi, publisher and sub-editor, Subjekt

Ida Elise Eide Einarsdóttir, editor, Vixen.no

Kine B. Hartz, editor, Costume

Ragnhild Brochmann, Fashion culture historian and sub-editor, Tableau Talks ·

Signy Fardal, editor, Elle Norway

Tove Sivertsen, editor, Tableau Talks

# Appendix

Figure 1. Examples of Whitewashing images of Rihanna in Esquire, July 2012 and Gabourey Sidibe in Elle, October 2010.



Figure 2. Examples of black face, traditional and modern as cited by Rees (2013) and National Museum of African American History & Culture (n.d)





Figure 1.3. Progress in diversity levels in the four biggest Fashion Weeks as cited by The Fashion Spot (2017 a & b)

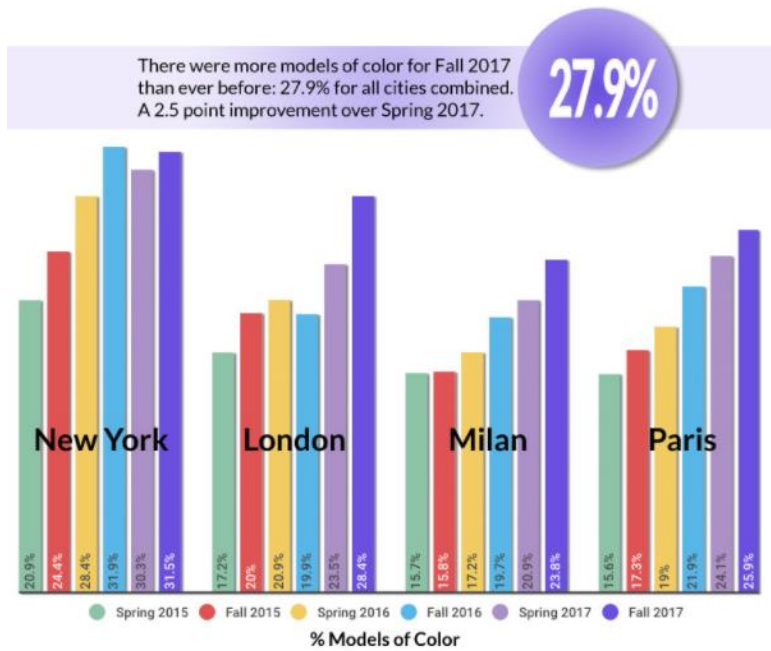


Figure 1.3b. Images of Costume’s September and PS Magasin.’s February covers debuting models with hijabs



Copyright Costume September 2017. Retrieved from <http://costume.no/manedens-magasin/nytt-costume-i-butikk-na-1000214307/> / Copyright PS Magasin Retrieved from <http://www.ps-magasin.com/magasin>

Figure 1.4 An example illustrating the usage of smaller images on the cover. Copyright Grazia UK, February 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.graziainternational.com/edition/uk/>



Figure 1.5: KK Cover, with Haddy and Lisa Njie, June 2016, issue 22. Copyright KK. Retrieved from <http://www.kk.no/livet/det-var-som-a-fa-en-vegg-tilbake-i-livet-igjen-67759090>





Figure 1.6. Shiseido advertisement where white model appeared in a lower position than her two non-white counterparts. Scanned from magazine, Copyright KK 2016, issue 10/11, p 19.



Figure 1.7. Bianco advertisement. Denoting Relative Size employed through distance. Image scanned from magazine. Copyright KK 2016, issue 1, p 14.



Figure 1.8. Kiera Knightley, Vogue, June 2007. / An example of relative size with superiority emphasised through dress. Copyright Vogue. Retrieved from <https://www.vogue.com/article/keira-knightley-the-chronicles-of-keira>



Figure 1.9 Tables showing the Ritualization of Subordination of Non-white models

SUBORD OF NW									
Magazine	Year	NW	Un.	Co.	Ed.	Ad.	Size	Int.	
Det Nye	2006	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.50	1
Det Nye	2006	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	1
KK	2006	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	1
Det Nye	2006	1	0	0	0	0	1	1.00	1
KK	2016	2	0	0	0	0	1	0.10	0
KK	2016	2	0	0	0	0	1	0.75	1
KK	2016	2	0	0	0	0	1	0.75	1
KK	2016	2	0	1	0	0	0	1.00	0
KK	2016	1	0	0	0	1	0	0.50	0
KK	2016	1	0	0	0	0	1	2.00	0
		<b>14</b>		<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>			<b>6</b>

Figure 2. Body Exposure increase by both magazines in both years

Magazine	Year	Body Exposure	NW
Det Nye	2006	28	6
KK	2006	5	0
Det Nye	2016	30	3
KK	2016	11	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>11</b>

Figure 2.1. Naomi Campbell Cat Deluxe displaying usage of print/fur. Copyright unknown. Retrieved from <https://www.fragrantica.com.br/perfume/Naomi-Campbell/Cat-Deluxe-876.html>



Figure 2.2 Nordic, advertisements can also be seen to struggle with representation

Large size ads	Year	Wh %	NW %	Un. %	Mo.	Wh.	NW	Un.	Ad.
<b>Local</b>	2006	98.9 %	0.0 %	1%	95	94	0	1	55
<b>Local</b>	2016	95.6 %	4.4 %	0%	225	215	10	0	63
<b>International</b>	2006	91.5 %	8.5 %	0%	130	119	11	0	91
<b>International</b>	2016	84.1 %	14.5 %	1%	69	58	10	1	53
<b>Local</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>96.6 %</b>	<b>3.1 %</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>320</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>International</b>	<b>All</b>	<b>88.9 %</b>	<b>10.6 %</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>1</b>	

# Diagrams for tables

Table. 1 - The magazines in comparison. Non-white model appearances in comparison to each other in KK and Det Nye.

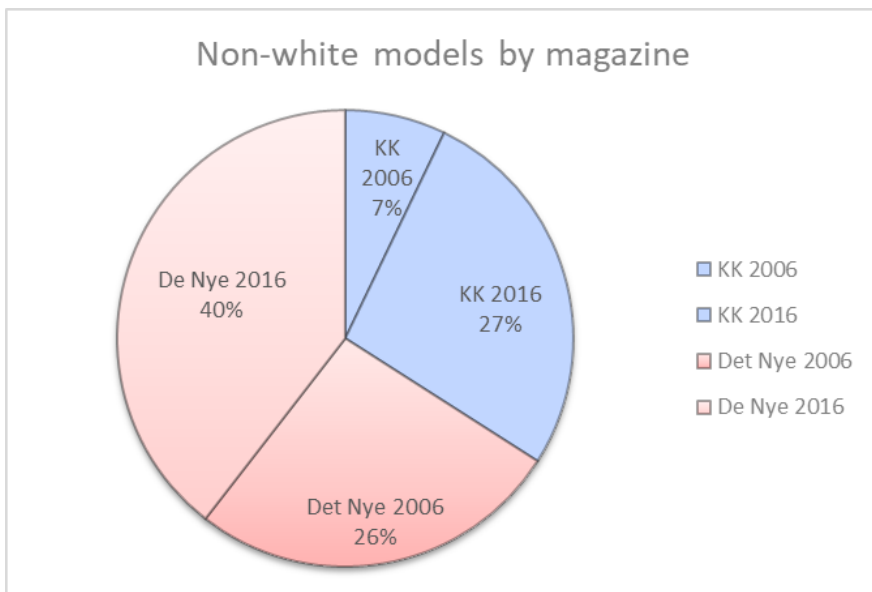
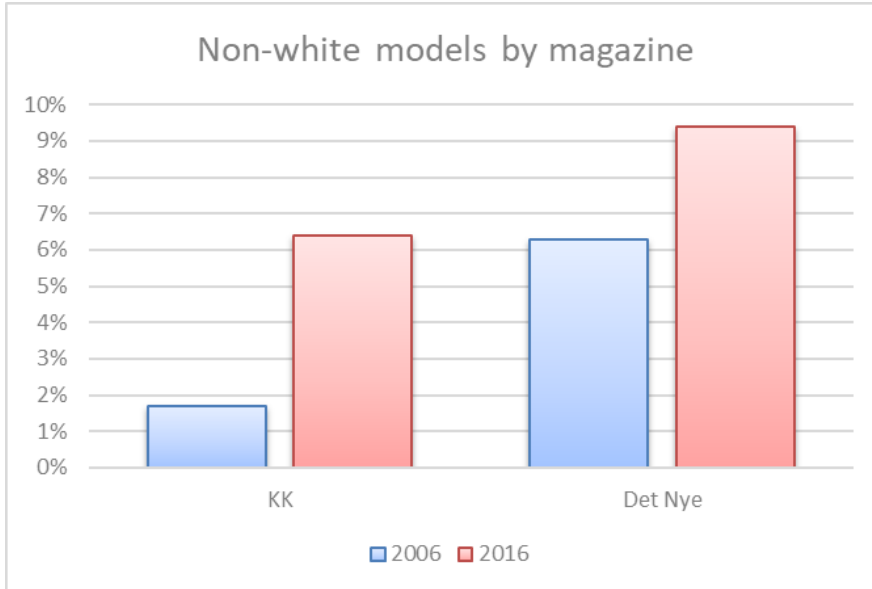


Table 2 & 3. Distribution of non-white model occurrences in large and small size photos.

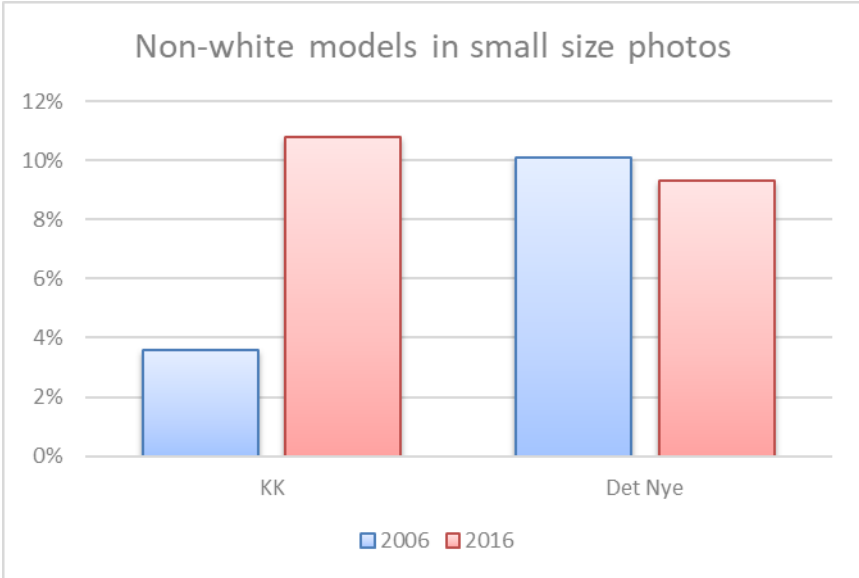
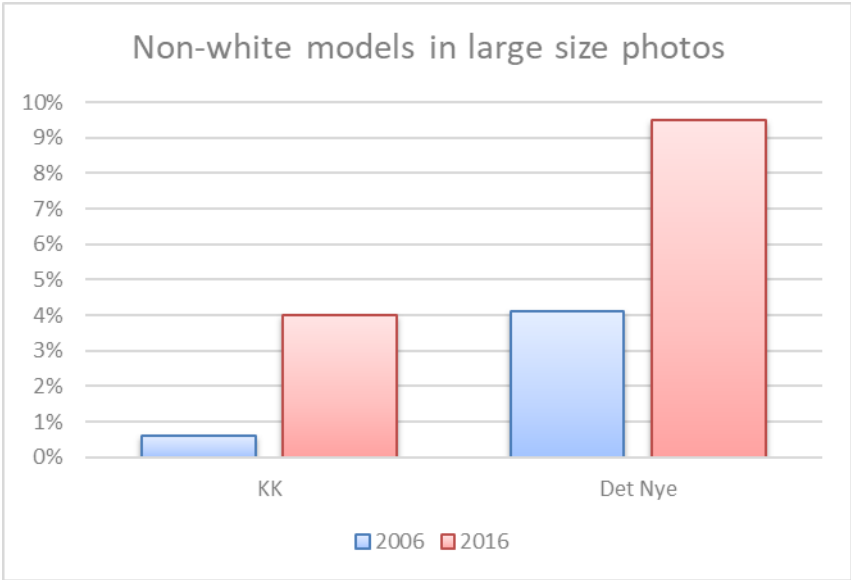


Table 4. Editorial and covers.

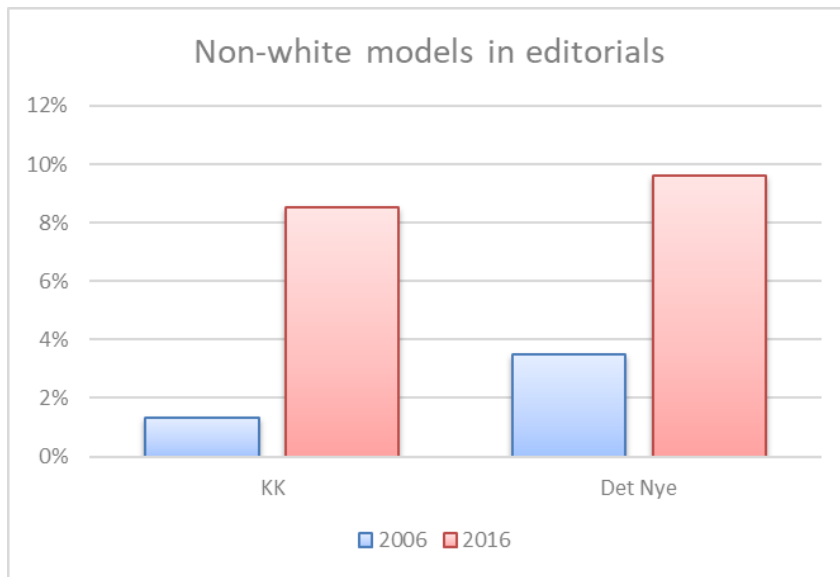


Table 5 & 6. Distribution of non-white model occurrences in large and small size editorial photos

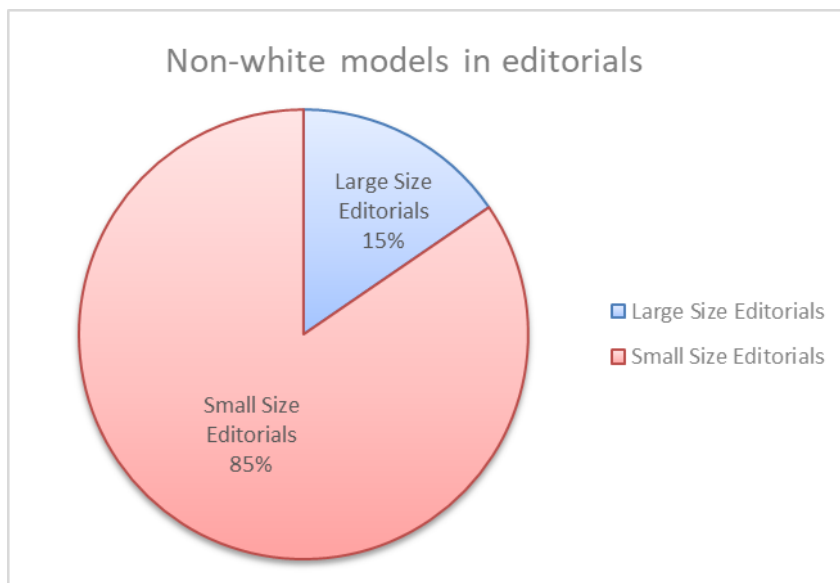




Table 7. Advertisements total in KK and Det Nye

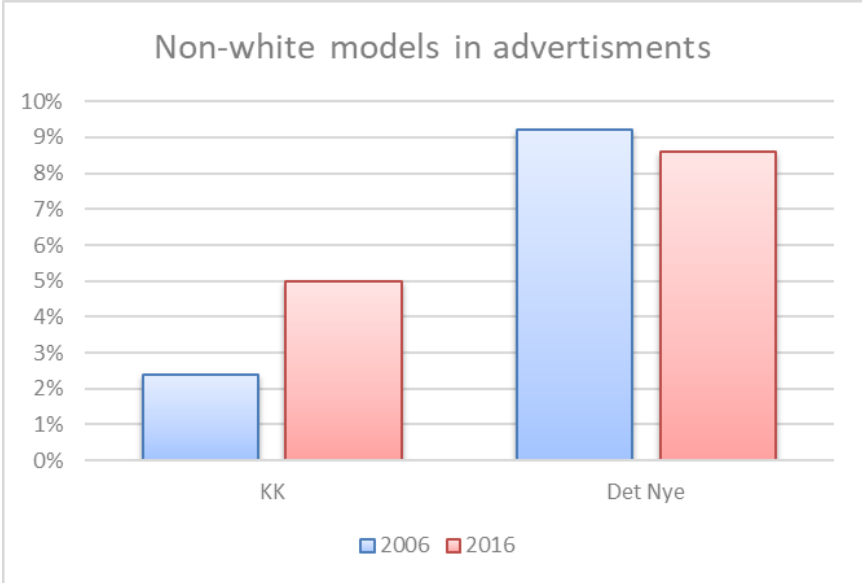


Table 8 & 9. Distribution of non-white model occurrences in large and small size advertisement photos

