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**SUSTAINABLE FUTURING. LEARNING AND UNLEARNING THE PAST**

A Critical Discourse Study of 'Fashion Sustainability'-related

Discursive Formations in *Vogue Italia* (1965-2021)

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## Short Abstract

Recent scholarly works on the relationship between ‘fashion’ and ‘sustainability’ have identified a need for a systemic transition towards fashion media ‘for sustainability’. Nevertheless, the academic research on the topic is still limited and rather circumscribed to the analysis of marketing practices, while only recently some more systemic and critical analyses of the symbolic production of sustainability through fashion media have been undertaken. Responding to this need for an in-depth investigation of ‘sustainability’-related media production, my research focuses on the ‘fashion sustainability’-related discursive formations in the context of one of the most influential fashion magazines today – *Vogue Italia*. In order to investigate the ways in which the ‘sustainability’ discourse was formed and has evolved, the study considered the entire *Vogue Italia* archive from 1965 to 2021. The data collection was carried out in two phases, and the individualised relevant discursive units were then in-depth and critically analysed to allow for a grounded assessment of the media giant’s position. The Discourse-Historical Approach provided a methodological base for the analysis, which took into consideration the various levels of context: the immediate textual and intertextual, but also the broader socio-cultural context of the predominant, over-production oriented and capital-led fashion system. The findings led to a delineation of the evolution of the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse, unveiling how despite *Vogue Italia*’s auto-determination as attentive to ‘sustainability’-related topics, the magazine is systemically employing discursive strategies which significantly mitigate the meaning of the ‘sustainable commitment’ and thus the meaning of ‘fashion sustainability’.

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## **Introduction**

It is quite problematic that in 2023, it is still necessary to analyse and unveil the hidden and not easily definable ways in which fashion and sustainability are related. I personally found it of deep sadness that we, as a human species, have managed to reduce and impoverished our connection with the environment we are part of to the extent that our own long-term flourishing on this planet is put in question today. That sadness is the starting point of my work. It is the force that burdens but also urges me to understand how we got here so as to be able to imagine possible futures. I guess this research was my way of finding a grounded sense of hope that would mark my future actions as a human being.

The work is a result of my personal and academic evolution in the last five years, a path initiated during the Master in Fashion Culture and Management at the University of Bologna and intensified during the three years of PhD research at the interdisciplinary Department of Life Quality Studies, again at Rimini Campus, University of Bologna. These years transformed me profoundly on a personal level, a change that naturally resulted in a much more nuanced and knowledgeable understanding of our contemporary world, of which “fashion is a symptom” (Payne 2021). I believe this change of perspective, from looking at fashion as a point of arrival to finding it implicative of the problems of our society, thus necessarily a relevant subject of study, is one of the most important aspects of my personal growth, and for that, I am grateful.

This research is focused on and broadly concerns the relationship between fashion and sustainability. This complex interplay between the two, contradictory in nature terms, is explained in the first chapter of this work. The relationship has been a subject of academic research interest for a couple of decades now, and I consider delineating the evolution in the academic approach to the topic as a crucial starting point as it allows us to observe the foundations and consequently build the analysis on them. The current positions regarding ‘sustainability’ in the fashion context are explored through the terminology proposed by Payne (2019) and are enriched with observations on how those apparently contradictory positions influence the construction of reality (as we learn it).



Moreover, both fashion and sustainability are complex concepts and have been defined in ways significantly different from scholar to scholar. For this reason, in the first chapter, I discuss the positioning of both concepts within the current Anthropocentric world and consider the evolution of and the issues linked to the predominant, capital-led understanding of 'fashion' and 'sustainability'. I will converse about how the technocentric and market-oriented approach to *sustainability* (Entwistle 2015: 29) and its intrinsic relation to the economic-growth logic have only led to an acceleration of the problem. As for the concept of *fashion*, I adopt the ontological nature of fashion design and the view proposed by Payne (2021) in recasting the term as universal to include all human dress practices. Finally, I recognise the predominant fashion system as being entangled in the present-day globalised neoliberal capitalism, thus, presenting itself as a profit-led individualistic mechanism in which fashion-as-industry continuously capitalises on the commonplace of the indivisibility of the fashion-as-culture and fashion-as-change. Informed by the work on *Earth Logic* by Fletcher and Tham (2021[2019]), however, I prefer to groundedly imagine systems which put the emphasis on the use and relation with clothes that one might have, considering that *sustainable fashion's* definition must include an active pursuit of alternatives to the industrialised, hyper-production and resource deprivation industry. I recognise that this genuinely *sustainable fashion* system can be a tangible possibility only within a socio-cultural and economic background that is opposed to the predominant socio-political and economic system today, yet I consider that small-scale holistic integration of the environmental, social and cultural aspects of sustainability is feasible and has to be considered an aspirational necessity.

The first chapter concludes with an explanation of my decision to choose *Vogue Italia* archive as central to my study. The magazine's history is briefly touched upon, while the focus is on the positioning of the magazine as an institutional, industry-centred periodical which is part of one of the most important media conglomerates, Condé Nast.

The importance of the critical analysis of media production is detailed in Chapter Two, where I systemically delineate my methodological choices. Informed by the seminal works of the proponents of Critical discourse studies, I explain my understanding of the discourse as dialectical, which is its nature to be "socially constituted and socially

constitutive” (Reisigl & Wodak 2017: 89). For my analysis of the discursive formations found on the pages of *Vogue Italia*, I adopted the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) because being it concerned, “among the other areas of discourse analysis, with 1) discourse in the media (both classical printed media and new social media) and 2) discourse and ecology (climate change)” (see Reisigl 2018: 48), it is significantly in line with the object of my study. The decision is also influenced by my scholarly background and interest, which prefers the extra-linguistics aspects of the discourse, and emphasises the different levels of context. DHA differentiates among four levels of context: 1) the immediate or text-internal, 2) the intertextual and interdiscursive, 3) the extralinguistic social variables, and 4) the broader sociopolitical and historical context. The nature of my research organically asks for those levels to be considered for grounded observations to be made. Indeed, the DHA relays on the principle of triangulation, understood as “taking a whole range of empirical observations, theories, and methods as well as background information into account” (Datondji and Amousou 2019: 72), allowing in that manner a “methodological way to minimise the risk of critical bias.” (Wodak 2008: 12)

As will be explained in Chapter Two, the present research developed gradually and was a result of interwoven research interests but also external circumstances. Today, considering the still persistent lack of academic research in the area of ‘fashion sustainability’ symbolic production, I am confident that the work could shed some light on the ways in which fashion media discursive formations influence the perpetuation of some and the backgrounding of other ‘fashion sustainability’ information. In the second chapter, the research’s purpose and questions will be delineated, and particular attention will be given to the data collection process and the individualisation of the relevant discursive units from an archive of over 50 years.

Three, Four and Five are my analytical chapters where I analyse the developments of the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse. Chapter Three can be considered central insofar as it contains the analysis of the period going from 1989, when Franca Sozzani became editor-in-chief, to September 2021, when her successor Emanuele Farnetti was discharged in the announcement of the Condé Nast globalisation strategy. The chapter is divided into two parts corresponding to the two years of blooming sustainability on the one hand and

the three decades of discursive developments on the other. As it will be discussed, in these 33 years of continuous editorial practice, some quite evident discursive strategies were employed, which resulted in significant mitigation of the 'sustainability' and 'fashion sustainability'-related discourse. Some of the clearly identifiable discursive strategies (with example) were *intensification* (of the representations of fashion industry and selected fashion brands as engaged with sustainable practice), *predication* (of 1. young consumers as conscious and interested in sustainability, and 2. isolated, sustainability-related actions as paradigmatic changers and industry interest), *abstraction* and *partialisation* (of the information available in a given content unit). Through case studies, both intertextual analysis and detailed textual-level observations will be provided to support my position's critical nature.

The fourth chapter is presented as a back-and-forth interplay between the earliest 'sustainability'-related contents and the respective thematic observations from the period discussed in Chapter Three. This approach allowed for a critical discussion on how specific discursive strategies did not change over time but have simply evolved to adapt to contemporary circumstances and industry needs. In this chapter, the focus will be on the analysis of innovation representation in the fibre and textile sector so to open a discussion on the ways in which we adopt technological determinism without questioning the lack of information.

In the fifth and final analytical chapter, I propose a reflection on the discursive developments in *Vogue Talents*, the regular supplement issue published in February and September. It was considered for the analysis insofar as implicative of *Vogue Italia's* commitment to showcasing the new talents of the fashion system. Indeed, starting from the mid-2010s, the magazine has increasingly featured 'sustainability'-related content. As it will be discussed in the Conclusions, the supplement issue demonstrated some propensity towards a holistic representation of 'fashion sustainability' developments, yet it should not be taken in an overly optimistic manner since the context is still that of an institutionalised, industry-centred fashion magazine.

The final Discussion and the Conclusions will delineate the evolution of the analysed discursive formations in an overview of the findings per chapter. Regardless of *Vogue*

*Italia*'s auto-determination as attentive to 'sustainability'-related topics and engaged in "meaningful information and inspiration", it will be unveiled how the magazine is, in reality, employing discursive practices which significantly mitigate the meaning of the 'fashion sustainability' and 'sustainable commitment'. Parallely, the intensification of the industry-centred positions and fashion brands' commitment are discussed and the overly optimistic depiction of the predominant system as "galloping towards sustainability" is put in question.

## **Chapter 1: Fashion – Sustainability – *Vogue Italia***

This initial chapter is thought as a foundation on which the discussion of the analytical chapters three, four and five will be build. I retained it important to go in-depth in explaining the three core thematic aspects of my research. The relationship between fashion and sustainability, its non-linear developments and the paradoxality of the juncture is presented in the first part of the chapter where the prominent academic works on the topic are discussed and used to illustrate the current state of art. In the second part of the chapter, *1.2 Understanding Sustainability, Understanding Fashion*, the focus will be on the context in which this relationship has evolved, taking in consideration the reality of organic crises in which we find ourselves today. The question marks will be put on both “fashion” and “sustainability” in order to go deeper into the explanation of the manifestation of these often unclearly defined terms. Moreover, my understanding of sustainability as holistic, intersectional and de-growth oriented will be explained and accompanied by my position regarding the fashion system(s) as plural and local, hence the need of flattening the predominant understanding of the fashion system as exclusively industry-centred, capital-led and growth oriented. The following part of the chapter will be dedicated to the magazine, central to this research – *Vogue Italia*, the historical developments will be briefly touched upon while the focus of this part will be on justification of the decision to work precisely on the archive of this industry favourite and corporate fashion magazine. The final pages of the chapter will be dedicated to the clarification of the use of terminology.

### **1.1 Fashion and Sustainability – An Evolution**

“Fashion design triggers the manufacture of an estimated 150 billion items of clothing annually (Kirchain 2015), and the world fibre production continues to accelerate in response to growing (global) consumption” (Payne 2021: 1), which is projected to rise by 63 percent by 2030, from 62 million tons today to 102 million tons, an equivalent of an additional 500 billion T-shirts (Global Fashion Agenda and Boston Consulting Group, 2017). The environmental impact of fashion has been a subject of studies, and it has been made known that 25 percent of the worldwide produced chemicals are used for textiles

(AFIRM 2014), while 20 percent of global industrial water pollution is caused by textile dyeing and finishing (Kant 2012), contributing to the environmental footprint of clothing being recorded as high in comparison to other products (Chapman 2010, cited in Fletcher and Tham 2019: 17). In the last 50 years, major relocation of fashion production has been taking place from the global North to the South and East in pursuit of low labour costs, process which has contributed to significant social and economic inequalities. Nevertheless, this process of production relocation has also contributed to livelihoods and communities, taking in consideration that the clothing industry employs 25 million workers worldwide, especially women (Fletcher and Tham 2019: 17-18).

### 1.1.1 *On Fashion and Sustainability – the Paradox*

Fashion's relation to sustainability has been widely discussed in academia for the last couple of decades. In 2008, Sandy Black published her book *Eco-Chic: The Fashion Paradox* – an extensive collection of case studies thought as an attempt to present different possible solutions to the contradictory aspects embedded in the fashion system. The work aims to respond to the needed reconciliation between “fashion's planned obsolescence (and) the imperatives of sustainability and social justice, (as well as) fashion's economic importance with diminishing resources” (Black 2008: 18). Similarly, in 2007, following their 2004 research, Carla Lunghi and Eugenia Montagnini were wondering “Can fashion, an ephemeral phenomenon par excellence, represent an economically responsible form of action (intended as) a propensity to question the consequences of one's market behaviours especially those related to consumption? Is what we wear able to signal [...] the economic foundations of our life?” (2007: 9). In the first edition of the book *Sustainable Fashion, Why Now?* edited by Hethorn and Ulasewicz, they were asking if “it is okay to use the word ‘sustainable’ alongside the word ‘fashion’.” (2008: xiii) These questions were conditioned mainly by the view of fashion as unconditionally related to change and newness, thus implicative of planned obsolescence and overproduction/ overconsumption.

This dualist understanding of fashion, as implicative of ‘the West and the rest’ discourse (as discussed by Hall: 276-320) and exclusive to modern civilisation, was boldly

presented already in Simmel, who, as Sandra Niessen (2020) explains, “saw fashion as a signal and expression of European superiority” and contrasted it with all clothing that was not consistent with the concept of quick, superior classes-induced change. As discussed by Wilson (2003: 4), it is precisely this “rapid and continual changing of styles” that makes ‘dress’, understood as symbolic use of adornment, become ‘fashion’.. As cited in Kawamura (2005: 24-28), Flugel (1930), Blumer (1969a), Baudrillard (1981) and Lipovetsky (1994) have all described fashion as emblematic of the modernist “desire for change characteristic of cultural life in industrial capitalism” (Wilson 1985) while underlining that “(it) does not belong to all ages or to all civilisations” (Lipovetsky 1994), thus “largely removing fashion from the domain of traditional societies” (Blumer 1969a). Characterised in this manner, it is only natural to understand fashion as “never stationary, never fixed and ever-changing,” but also as manifested in the intangible elements included in the clothing (Kawamura 2005: 4). While clothing, or ‘dress’, in Wilson’s terminology, is universal, fashion is not and as such it can be understood as an instrument of cultural and social inequalities and discriminations. As discussed by Baudrillard (1981), “fashion masks a profound social inertia (since) the formal mobility of signs does not correspond to a real mobility in social structures.” It is precisely in this deceptive aspect of fashion where inequalities and discrimination happen. Positioning the early works on fashion and sustainability as continuative of the predominant conceptualisation of fashion is essential also because, as Niessen (2020) argues, recognising and questioning the ethnocentric aspect of both fashion practice and early fashion scholarship is crucial for the pursuit of sustainability.

Even though embedded in the above-discussed understanding of fashion as circumscribed to modern Western societies and presented through isolated examples and case studies, the complexity of the relationship between fashion and sustainability is evident in the early academic works exploring the interplay between the two oxymoronic concepts. Lunghi and Montagnini (2007: 14) individualise three categories of responsible action: *organic fashion* [it. moda biologica], mainly concerned with the ecological issues and fashion’s environmental impact, *supportive fashion* [it. moda solidale], seen as an “expression of a sensitivity towards worker’s rights and the exclusion of child labour, the enhancement of local craft techniques, (as well as) solidarity with socially disadvantaged

people,” and *second-hand fashion* [it. moda dell’usato] concerning (self-)moderation, recycling and anticonsumerism. Similarly, Hethorn and Ulasewicz (eds. 2008: xiv) propose three venues in which sustainability can be explored in the fashion context: *people*, *processes* and *environment*, venues which, as explained in the *Methodology* chapter, will also serve as categories in my research.

Through the years, fashion sustainability has been defined as encompassing different aspects: less polluting, more efficient, and more respectful practices (Fletcher & Grose 2012) in the processes of sourcing, making, using and post-consumer phase (Gwilt and Rissanen 2011); corporate responsibility, alternative business models, design for sustainability and comparative analysis of fast fashion dynamics. (Black et al. 2013, Section VII). The contributions featured in the second, updated edition of *Sustainable Fashion What’s Next?* (Hethorn and Ulasewicz eds. 2015) proposed an “exploration of systems that facilitate the least burden on the environment with the most benefit to people.” (2015: xx) In the same year, Farley Gordon and Hill (2015) proposed a historical perspective on individual sustainability-related fashion practices like *repurposing and recycling clothes* and *labour practices* and *raised the question of animal treatment*, to name a few. (see also Wallinger 2015: 151-159)

The observation that the concepts of ‘fashion’ and ‘sustainability’ are inherently contradictory, which was consistently present in the above-mentioned academic elaborations and, as explained, was a residue of a Eurocentric understanding of fashion, was addressed by Tham. By relying on the concept of *Languaging* (2010: 14-23), understood as “a continuous and co-dependent process of understanding through saying and defining, and by saying and defining, in turn, shaping our world,” she explains why “the attempts to change the intrinsic culture of the words ‘consumer’ or ‘consumption’ by transferring to their properties concepts like ‘ethical’ or ‘conscious’ are fundamentally wrong.” ‘Sustainability’ could not and should not be simply forcefully attached to fashion. Instead, we should change our approach, and, as Tham explains, by investigating the immaterial manifestations of fashion, “we might find sustainability latent within the capabilities and qualities of fashion.” (2010: 14-23) The logic of unlimited and perpetual economic growth is not in tune with the natural flows (Meadows et al. 1972; Klein 2014:



64-95); sustainability as a concept is inherently opposed to the capitalist and consumerist paradigm; thus, simplistic juxtapositioning of the concepts of fashion and sustainability within the predominant fashion paradigm is not possible. What is possible, instead, is a systemic approach towards a paradigmatic shift. To bring the concept of sustainability and the fashion system closer, the predominant system must be changed from within.

One of the first texts addressing the need for systematic and holistic change is *Sustainable Fashion and Textiles: Design Journeys* (Fletcher 2008 [2014]). In the preface to the second edition, she wrote:

*[...] sustainability continues to be elusive in fashion and textiles. It evades us not because we lack the technical expertise to produce fibre, fabric, and garments more efficiently; [...] But rather because we target our efforts (and our imaginations) at parts of a system operating separately from a whole, [...] Yet, the whole is the problem.*

A more systemic approach to the question of sustainability was also evident in the work by Fletcher and Grose (2012), where the need for transformation of the fashion systems is highlighted. More recently, Fletcher and Tham (2021[2019]) proposed a radical approach toward a more respectful and caring system (see also de la Bellacasa 2017: 1-24, 69-93). They convey this radical approach through the scheme of the six Earth Logic holistic landscapes, “each [one] containing an imperative to reformulate industry away from the physical accumulation of goods and towards care and maintenance” (Fletcher and Tham 2019: 42). Still, this need for a systemic change was not always perceived as needed in the academic works investigating the relationship between fashion and sustainability.

### *1.1.2 Sustainable Fashion – The Reality as We Learn It*

Starting from the 1990s, when the investigations on the environmental and social impacts of fashion activity started, both the sector’s global impact and the urgency of change have been solidified and acknowledged (Fletcher and Tham 2019: 17). Resulting from the hierarchical nature of fashion, the perspectives on sustainability in the fashion context have mainly been industry-centred and dualistic, emphasizing the humancentric view and

conceptualising natural environment and humans as two separate entities. Nevertheless, more systemic and holistic analyses have also been part of the discourse. In an article from 2019, Payne summarises the two polarising tendencies under the symbolic terminology of Prometheans and Soterians. Under the first position, and drawing on the dualism of human vs nature, technology is seen as “a force to enable mastery over nature.” (Payne 2019: 8) As such, this position is perceived as the language of the industry where, especially in the large fashion companies, “the framing of the movement toward environmental and social sustainability goals typically comes under the umbrella of Corporate Social Responsibility.” (Payne 2019: 11) Implicative of the Promethean views are also the academic works by business scholars who address the problem of sustainability exclusively from an industry perspective. In the study by Sheth and his collaborators (2011: 21–39), the problem of over-consumption, for example, has been investigated, and the concept of ‘mindful consumption’ has been proposed. Firstly, it can be argued that the term ‘mindful consumption’, similarly to ‘sustainable fashion’, is paradoxical. Furthermore, the concept can be somewhat limiting because, even though it is “premised on a consumer mindset of caring for self, for the community, and nature, (which can) translate behaviourally into tempering the self-defeating excesses associated with acquisitive, repetitive and aspirational consumption” (see Sheth et al. 2011: 1), it is still embedded in a system centred on production-consumption axes, without considering the possible practice-based approaches to sustainability. (Fletcher 2016)

Innovations in recycling technologies and the promotion of more or less effective alternatives to the cradle-to-grave model are also integral to the Promethean discussion. In this line, recently, Francesca Romana Rinaldi (2019) proposed *responsible innovation* as an industry-centred way forward which relies on the inventive development of “a product, service or, more comprehensively, a business model that is able to reduce the impact on the environment across the firm processes and to build a better balance with the people involved in the economic and non-economic activity of the company.” (Rinaldi 2019: 15) The focus on actions as *reduction of impact* or *improvement of balance* can be referred to as, as Payne (2019: 12) defines it, ‘taming’. Although the technological advancements are important and can significantly facilitate the transition towards a more sustainable system, if instrumentalised in the same overproduction and overconsumption

dynamic that led to the current problems, they would only “exacerbate the existing issues”. In this sense, the Promethean view remains “firmly positioned in the existing fashion system and implies that a sustainable future of continued capitalist expansion is nonparadoxical.” (Payne 2019: 12)

The Soterian view is “more system-based in analysing the fashion system’s dynamics and is explicit in the critique of the growth-driven industrial system” and widens the understanding of fashion as “beyond industry” (Payne 2019: 12-13). This position engages in showing how systems of fashion provision and expression alternative to the predominant economic-growth and consumerism-driven fashion system are both real and possible (Fletcher 2015: 15) and is concerned with the ethical implications of the fashion processes (Thomas 2017). Thus, the critical question is not if something is environmentally or socially-wise sustainable and feasible, but if it is ethical. The sustainable futuring of the Soterians is not about clothing only. More importantly, as Thomas (2017: 2) states, it is about “aspects of how people will want to live, their relationships, hobbies, responsibilities etc.” Proponents of the Soterian view do not disregard technology—but rather place the focus on sustainability via behaviour change and social relationships” (Payne 2019: 12-13). In this sense, the Soterian view goes beyond the dualist ontology characteristic of the prevailing versions of Western modernity, thus of the predominant fashion practices, and proposes, in Escobar’s words, “alternatives, increasingly conceptualised in terms of relationality [...] – concept (which) offers a different and much needed, way of re/conceiving life and the world” (Escobar 2018: 3-4).

Drawing on environmental circles, Payne uses the term ‘rewilding’ to indicate the new cultures and practices of using, making and remaking needed to transform conventional fashion production and consumption – a paradigmatic shift which, in the Soterian view, is seen as absolutely indispensable for the transition towards more sustainable and just fashion systems. For Payne, “‘rewilding’ in the context of fashion industry denotes actions that attempt to seize back fashion as cultural expression from industry’s neomania and profit motive,” features which, as discussed above, are prevailing nominators in the predominant fashion system. To be able to address the individual parts as a whole and

to holistically draw upon those systemically repressed practices in which sustainability might be found, the understanding of both sustainability and fashion system has to evolve beyond their industry-centredness and the association, in the case of the fashion system, with change and newness only and towards a more inclusive understanding of the multilayered and pluriversal manifestations of the production of and engagement with clothing.

## **1.2 Understanding Sustainability, Understanding Fashion**

### *1.2.1 The World That We Created*

Today we live on a planet irreversibly impacted by human activity – a single species behaviour that has put to an end the Holocene geological era of the past 11.000 years, when conditions uniquely suited to support life were created, and the Earth “was able to self-regulate to maintain the stable climate that allowed the flourishing of human civilisation” (St. Pierre 2015: 35-36). Bitterly, “the planet on which our civilisation evolved no longer exists. The [climatic] stability that produced that civilisation has vanished” (McKibben 2011: 27, cited in St. Pierre 2015: 34). We are now officially living in the Anthropocene, a geological era in which the unsustainability of industrial societies, their reliance on fossil fuels and the devastation, plundering and desecration of nature have led us to a state of ‘organic crises’ (Ang 2021: 598-615) where climate emergency is interwoven with social and cultural injustices and increasingly evident inequalities. Generally associated with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and the rupture between humans and nature, geologists have now agreed to “generally take the early post-World War II period to be the onset of the Anthropocene.” (Anthropocene Working Group 2019, cited in Chomsky and Pollin 2020: 5). However, what led to this new geological era was not the behaviour of the entire human population. Instead, as Payne (2021: 5-6) summarises it, the organic crisis is

*“stemming from a mode of being established in the West, understood as the social and cultural belief systems that emerged in Europe, and is now extending to citizens throughout the Global North, a mode of being that venerates the self-actualisation of the individual above all else, which has*

*in turn led to great wealth for some, advancement and well-being for many, and destruction and intergenerational injustice for many others.”*

In imposing these specific modes of being, the Global North has set and controlled the parameters of the direction of human development. As explained by Baker Jones (2014: 19-20), this hegemony has also led to a limited definition of progress and circumscribed development to the growth-oriented West-established model (see Durning 1991, cited in Baker Jones 2014). The globalisation of these modes and the imposed rules and regulations on development, characteristic of modernity and inherited from colonial power relations, has been crucial in the accelerated loss of social, cultural, linguistic, religious, as well as biological and other forms of diversity (see Kallis et al. 2020: 3) essential for a balanced life on Earth.

Within the context of fashion, the most apparent problem in terms of biodiversity loss comes from the fact that most of the natural fibres are sourced from industrial agriculture, meaning it prioritises large swathes of monocultures, which then erode the habitat and impact ecosystems (St. Pierre 2015: 37). Diversity loss is also eminent with traditional know-how, local wisdom, slow-making and remaking modes, and grounded engagement with clothing being wiped out under the unstoppable force of ‘predatory global neoliberal capitalism’ (as defined in Ang 2021: 598-615). Indeed, within the predominant hierarchy of fashion provision based by and large on a consumerist ideology, independent and shared expectations of creating fashion have been increasingly forgotten (Fletcher 2015: 19; de Castro 2021: 53; Sundberg 2023:75-90 [forthcoming]). One of the most problematic manifestations of the wicked dynamics is the systemic monopolisation by an industry-centred thought while marginalising, devaluing and invalidating all alternatives.

### *1.2.2 Sustaining What?*

The concept of sustainability was first introduced in the *Our Common Future*, a report by the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). There, in the context of sustainable development, sustainability was defined as the propensity to “meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. In less than thirty years, the initial model of sustainable

development was updated and adjusted a few times. In 2015, Agenda 2030 framework was adopted, and 17 Sustainable Development Goals were individualised to transform our world for good. Problematically, however, “despite the decades of ‘sustainable development’ narratives [...] unsustainability has only proliferated” (Payne 2021: 6). St. Pierre (2015: 33-42) argues that this missed opportunity for humans to “act as stewards of the Earth,” thus, to restore and protect the natural systems of our planet, is embedded in the systemic lack of ecological literacy. She quotes Oreskes and Conway (2011) and Nielsen (2007) to show how the “often manipulated media offer misleads information” and only compounds the systemic lack of “accurate information on ecosystems’ behaviour in ecology textbooks”.

Tied to this partialisation and mitigation of the discourse, Blühdorn (2017, cited in Payne 2021: 6) argues that the established and mainstream notion of sustainability has “consistently evaded all normative issues and insisted that environmental issues can be more effectively addressed by the means of science, technology, market and professional management.” Entwistle (2015: 29) explains how this predominantly science, technocentric and market-oriented approach to sustainability was also a result of the belated interest of social science in sustainability-related issues, resulting from the enlightenment tradition of a sharp division between the natural and the social world. As a result of these tendencies, science-based evidence on environmental issues has largely remained restricted to science circles. In contrast, the social sciences have, in a significant manner, dedicated their studies to the human side of the issue, emphasising human centrality and, in so doing, have further broadened the magnitude of the problems. The reliance on this industry and human-centric approach has resulted in continuous procrastination, which led us to the now formally acknowledged “time frame for averting the devastating effects of climate change is a decade” (IPCC 2018).

In the fashion industry context, this mainstream understanding of sustainability is manifested in the above-discussed Promethean academic approaches. Resulting of the very same hierarchy of thought, in the fashion system, there is also an eminent hierarchical positioning and comparison between the different design practices in relation to sustainability. Consequently, the discourse has prioritised technological advancement,

textile and fibre innovation and parameter-based solutions. Yet, the *Pulse of Fashion* report from 2019 has clearly stated that “fashion companies are not implementing sustainable solutions fast enough to counterbalance negative environmental and social impacts of the rapidly growing fashion industry” (Lehmann et al. 2019: 1), which, as Fletcher and Tham highlight, reveals the limits of those, industry’s so-loved, parameters that are nothing but “diddling with the details” (Meadows 1997) without looking at the big picture. Problematically enough, the very same agreements put in place to monitor and improve the status quo are ambiguous and misleading. As Segre-Reinach (2022: 33) explains, even though the Fashion Act proposed in New York in January 2022 presented itself as aiming to sanction companies that do not make the production process transparent, it was revealed in a BoF article that “it would limit itself to require transparency more as a recommendation than as a sanction against any pollution practices.” We must “pay attention to what is important, not just what is quantifiable” (Meadows 1997: 175).

Back to the prioritised practices, Payne (2021: 2-3) explains that avant-garde fashion design has been systemically regarded as superior to mass-market design practices, while fast fashion design has been pointed out as inherently wrong. In her work, Payne (2021: 2-3) seeks to flatten the concept of design, among other things, also because “when one considers the implications of designed objects for environmental sustainability,” no hierarchy in terms of designer fashion objects’ superiority can be found. Moreover, the predominant way in which humans “conceptualise and plan the artificial” (Buchanan 1995: 82, cited in Payne 2021: 3) involves intensive resource use and vast material destruction; consequently, as Escobar (2018: 1) explains, “design is central to the structures of unsustainability that hold in place the contemporary, so-called modern world.” Thus, flattening the socially and culturally created design hierarchies is instrumental in opening more sustainable relations. Important in this terms is the work by Alison Gwilt, Alice Payne and Evelise Anicet Ruthschilling (2018), who edited the volume *Global Perspectives on Sustainable Fashion*, in which case studies of diverse sustainability manifestations are presented and discussed.

It is important however to underline that the need to flatten the established and predominant hierarchies in the design practice does not imply that design is unsustainable by definition. It only puts the emphasis on the needed reorganization. Also because, design, in the fashion context (Fletcher and Grose, 2012; Fletcher, 2008 and 2013) or more broadly (Escobar, 2018; Margolin, 1998; Wood, 2007), can be a powerful tool for change generation.

### 1.2.3 Which Expressions of Fashion?

Payne (2021: 1) conceptualises fashion as “both industry and cultural practice deeply implicated in the converging environmental and social challenges of the twenty-first century.” By drawing on key ideas from design studies, Payne understands fashion design as ontological, thus “concerned with far more than designing clothes” and as opening up a possibility for “a widened view of fashion design practices wherever they appear.” Understanding fashion design practice as not circumscribed to the high-end ateliers, the institutionalised product development processes, and the self-actualised and questionable designer figure allows for the rediscovery of all those systemic oppressed practices which Tham (2010: 14-23) considered inherently sustainable. This awareness of the importance of plurality speaks the language of the *Earth Logic* (as conceptualised by Fletcher and Tham 2021[2019]) and unveils the needed conceptualisation of fashion practice as embedded in the pluriverse – *a world where many worlds fit* (Escobar 2018: xvi).

In order to resolve the impasse around the definition of fashion and to lay the foundation for further exploration of the flaws of the current fashion systems, Alice Payne (2021: 13-38) proposes a theoretical model to conceptualize any fashion system by synthesizing multiple perspectives in three facets: *fashion-as-culture*, *fashion-as-change*, and *fashion-as-industry*. The three, unavoidably interacting with each other, also compose the dominant fashion system which, as Payne explains, has two main features: its economic hegemony truthfully following the evolution of capitalism, and the close relationship between *fashion-as-culture* and *fashion-as-change*, where culture is progressively being perceived as exclusively associated with change. The dominant system has its roots in pre-industrial Europe and permeated the Western economic model in which industry



capitalised on the fashion-culture and fashion-change axes, particularly following the 1980s and the rise of Neoliberalism, thus the rise in attention on the self-determination and the sovereignty of the individual. (see Ien Ang 2021: 598-615)

The conceptualisation provided by Payne is fundamental in the relationship between fashion and sustainability. She conceptualises *fashion-as-culture* as “the attribution of symbolic meaning to material clothing” and specifies that even though in the dominant fashion system this element is predominantly framed around the consumer culture, the point of the *fashion-as-culture* facet is embedded in “the role dress plays in culture and meaning-making” (Payne 2021: 16-17). In line with this role, fashion has always been a place of active engagement against all kinds of injustices. Even in the context of the predominant fashion system, where fashion can be understood as yet another cultural industry “transforming creativity in merchandise” (Riva 2022: 73) purely aimed at consumption incentivisation, we can think of Moschino’s advertisement campaigns in the early 1990s (Iss.499: 135; Iss.506: 133; Iss.510: 91) addressing both social and environmental issues or recall Kathrine Hamnett’s political act from 1984 (Mower 2021). The history of fashion is rich in memorable moments of activism, with numerous runaways criticising issues of different natures. We can think of Alexander McQueen’s Fall 2009 runaway – a celebration of the decay or the “blast against the predicament in which fashion, and possibly consumerism as a whole, finds itself” (Mower 2009) or on the inclusive and more decentralised aesthetics in Jean Paul Gaultier’s S/S 1994 Ready-to-wear (Vogue Runways). However, fashion is, above all, a manufacturing industry encompassing all the ways in which human labour and technology produce clothing (Payne 2021: 16-17). This industry, relying on finite natural resources, has numerous environmental and social consequences. Hence, the positive impact of *fashion-as-culture*, understood as a tool for activism, must be examined alongside the negative impact of *fashion-as-industry* manifested in both manufacturing and creative processes, also because otherwise, it is nothing but a maintenance instrument for the already discussed globalised neoliberal capitalism.

#### 1.2.4 Position

*We are living in a moment of ‘civilisational conjuncture’ – a point in history in which, as Escobar points out, there is a need to change “an entire way of life and a whole style of world making” (2018: x)*

Informed by the academic works discussed above, I decided to adopt radical ways of thinking and acting in my research and this work. The word *radical* describes my work in that it 1) considers and observes the roots of the problems and 2) adopts a view which is significantly different, if not contradictory, to the predominant approach. In adopting this radical way of thinking and acting, I position my work in the tradition of the Soterian view of the relationship between fashion and sustainability also because “the laws of sustainability are inherently natural laws” (Capra 2013, cited in St. Pierre 2015: 34) of interdependence and can not be addressed in partial, industry-centred manner, but require holistic and systemic approach. I adopt the position that *sustainability* can only be attained through paradigmatic transition – “from the hegemony of modernity’s one-world ontology to a pluriverse of socionatural configurations” (Escobar 2018: 4). This position involves urgency for humanity to “grow out of growth” (Fletcher and Tham 2019: 42, Niessen, 2022) and move towards “reorienting lives and societies toward equitable wellbeing [...] (involving) policies and actions that work together to support modest living, enjoyed in solidarity, amid shared abundance” (Kallis et al. 2020: 1-7). I also understand sustainability as intersectional insofar as it must engage in illuminating the pluralities of problems characteristic of the predominant fashion system today. Following the tradition of intersectionality (explained in Kings, 2017), a term attributed to Kimberlé Crenshaw, I use it as a metaphorical and conceptual tool in order to highlight the single-axis framework(s) to address the experiences lived by the actors within the fashion system. It is to be recognized that class, race, gender, caste, age, religion, disability and sexuality are all interconnected and influence greatly how the unsustainable predominant fashion system is experienced. In this sense, the same system will be experienced in a completely different manner by an underpaid, female worker of colour in Bangladesh for example, and a white male CEO of a big fashion corporation. The process of creating a sustainable

(fashion) system(s) thus must diminish these differences and work towards a world where class, race, gender ect. will not be tools for discrepancies in the collective.

Concerning the *fashion system*, I adopt the view proposed by Payne (2021) in recasting the term as universal to include human dress practices. I also embrace the ontological nature of fashion design as a practice that goes beyond clothes design and is not limited to the socially and culturally accepted commonplaces in terms of where and by whom fashion should be created. Finally, I recognise the predominant fashion system as being entangled in the present-day globalised neoliberal capitalism, thus, presenting itself as a profit-led individualistic mechanism in which fashion-as-industry continuously capitalises on the commonplace of the indivisibility of the fashion-as-culture and fashion-as-change.

Flattening the term “fashion system” is, in my opinion, the first step towards the decentralisation of fashion practice. Understanding design as universally ontological, meaning that “all humans design and are in turn designed by their designing” (Fry 1999, 2009; Willis 2006, cited in Payne 2021: 3; Escobar 2018: 2), is crucial in that it is charged with the potential to “become a tool for reimagining and reconstructing local worlds,” (Escobar 2018: 4) or in Payne’s words, it can open a possibility for “‘fashioning’ of the self (and) the community in time, in place and in culture” (Payne 2021: 176). Although analysing the predominant fashion system only, the one embedded in the modernist and capitalist paradigm, and originated in the West, she underlines the necessity to “look to other fashion systems (and) more fundamentally [...] to other ways of being” (Payne 2021: 178).

Looking to alternative fashion systems and curiously observing relations of commonality and conviviality can open a practical revelation of the ontological design notion that everybody designs. It can thus lead to a wide range of ethnographic, participatory and collaborative investigations on what *sustainable fashion* can mean today. In her work, Payne proposes a definition which goes as follows:

*Sustainable fashion may be defined as a system of clothing production and use that are environmentally responsible, contribute to the social well-being of workers and wider communities and are based on values of cultural respect. (Payne 2021: 177)*

Informed by the work on *Earth Logic* by Fletcher and Tham (2021[2019]), I prefer to put the emphasis on the use and relation with clothes that one might have in this system rather than on production. Clearly, as Payne further explains her position, we can not pretend we can have this utopic exclusivity of artisanal production. Yet, I consider that sustainable fashion's definition must include an active pursuit of alternatives to the industrialised hyper-production and resource deprivation. I recognise that this genuinely *sustainable fashion* system can be a tangible possibility only within a socio-cultural and economic background that is opposed to the predominant system today to which fashion's environmental impact, injustices and inequalities are only a symptom. Still, I consider that small-scale holistic integration of this proposed system's environmental, social and cultural aspects is feasible and has to be considered an aspirational necessity.

In line with the concepts of *design for the pluriverse* (Escobar 2018) and the *Earth Logic* (Fletcher and Tham 2021[2019]), my view of sustainable fashion is, above all, plural and local. Also because, there is nothing sustainable about replacing one monoculture, in our case, the predominant, globalised, capital-led and extremely neoliberal fashion system, with another, let's say, restrictive and exclusively artisanal fashion practice. As Payne also advocates (2021: 179), we need to recognise "the diversity of fashion practices through fashion systems, plural, with responses as diverse as the practices, (even though) most of those responses will be inadequate." "Even so, (she wraps her position) (we) can still take steps." Steps that do not simply perpetuate the business-as-usual, but at the very least, question and destabilise the predominant paradigm.

#### 1.2.5 Use of Terminology

The scope of my study is not to provide definitions of sustainability, sustainable fashion or fashion sustainability nor to propose sustainable practices in the fashion context. Instead, my research, aimed at understanding the particularities of the fashion sustainability/ sustainable fashion discourse, examines how these concepts are represented in an institutional fashion magazine like *Vogue Italia*. For the scope of the research, I maintain a broad and not exclusively holistic view of the significance of these concepts. Since the socio-cultural and economic background in which the magazine is produced and engaged with is, broadly speaking, that of the predominant fashion system,

I nominate as 'fashion' or 'fashion system' the system of the four interrelated and interconnected networks: production, promotion, wearing and destruction, as conceptualised by Payne (2021:24-34), which is characterised, as explained above, by a specific relation between the three facets that compose any fashion system: fashion-as-industry, fashion-as-culture and fashion-as-change.

Similarly, the term 'sustainability' is used extremely broadly to allow an analysis incorporating as extensive as possible range of representations. Thus, 'sustainability' and 'sustainability'-related are used as umbrella terms that incorporate all those representations featuring sustaining practices centred around environmental, social and/or cultural aspects. Consequently, the terms 'sustainable fashion', 'fashion sustainability', 'sustainable fashion'-related and 'fashion sustainability'-related are used to indicate, again broadly speaking, practices, initiatives and positions which are concerned with environmental, social and/or cultural aspects of 'sustainability', restricted to the fashion context.

My personal position and understanding of sustainability and sustainable fashion are to be understood as background knowledge that will be used in the commentary through the analytical chapters but is not to be considered as signified by the above-discussed terms. The use of 'fashion sustainability' and 'sustainability' will thus not be exclusive to the holistic, plural, local and embedded in degrowth position. By opting for this broader and significantly generalised view of 'sustainability' and 'sustainable fashion', I foresee to unveil the particularities of *Vogue Italia's* 'fashion sustainability' discourse.

### **1.3 *Vogue Italia***

*It started in 1909, when publisher Condé Montrose Nast purchased a weekly society gazette from New York called Vogue, that had been established in 1892. He soon transformed it into a monthly magazine, which would go on to become the best-known and most influential fashion publication in the world. (Condé Nast, Our History)*

Condé Nast entered the history books as the first publisher to establish international editions with the launch of *British Vogue* in 1916. In 1920, with the launch of *Vogue Paris*,

Les Publications Condé Nast was formed. Starting from 1959, a new era was marked as the company began a period of expansion with the launch of its first licensed edition – *Vogue Australia*. The same year, Samuel Irving Newhouse acquired Condé Nast as part of his media company Advance Publications. It remains with the Newhouse family to this day (Condé Nast, Our History).

In this period, in Italy, there was an ongoing evolution and consolidation of what is today internationally recognised as Italian fashion – firmly identified with “the codes of aristocratic elegance, the refinement of the fabrics and the artisan skills, but also with the simplicity of the attitude,” the *Italiana style* fitted perfectly in the European, and especially the American fashion circles. (Segre-Reinach 2011: 23) When on February 12<sup>th</sup> 1951, in his house in Via Serragli in Florence, Giovanni Battista Giorgini organised a fashion show with models by the tailors from Milan and Rome, he marked the official “date of birth” of Italian fashion. The previous year, out of the need to speak to the female, upper middle class public, Emilia Rosselli Kuster founded the magazine *Novità*. In 1962, four years after her death, but certainly as a result of her relations with the international publishing scene, the magazine was acquired by Condé Nast. The international publishing group was described as “the publisher of famous magazines such as *Vogue*, *House & Garden*, *Glamour*, *Mademoiselle*, *Maison & Jardin*, *Adam* and *Brides* in the most important countries of the world” (Lidia Tabacchi, Sept. 1965, Iss.172: 29 and Oct. 1965 Iss.174:51).



Figure 1: a. Cover of the first *Novità* issue available in the *Vogue Italia* archive, Oct. 1964, Iss. 163; b. Cover of the first *Vogue & Novità* issue, Nov. 1965, Iss.175; c. Cover of May 1966, Iss.181.

In the announcement to the public from September and October 1965 (Iss.172: 29 and Iss.174: 51), Lidia Tabacchi, a historic collaborator of Emilia Rosselli Kruster and responsible for the magazine *Novità* after 1958, explains how the magazine starting from 1962, underwent an evolution that brought it “closer to that typical chic magazine which has been the pride of Condé Nast for over half a century and which bears the prestigious name of *Vogue* in its six different editions.” As presented in the announcement, this evolution was reflected in the notable editorial improvements leading to “the title of distinction that (the magazine) deserves” (see Figure 2 a). Between 1962, when Condé Nast acquired the magazine, and October 1965, the title remained the original – *Novità*. As announced in the communications from late 1965, starting from November 1965, the magazine was called *Vogue & Novità*. It was enriched by the formation of the editorial office in Rome, led by countess Consuelo Crespi, and the adjunct of the January issue (Iss.172: 29). On the official Condé Nast website, this is the official start of *Vogue Italia*, and as such it is also the starting point of my research. In May 1966, the magazine’s direction visually announced the official transition to today’s title, the “& *Novità*” part of the title was significantly obscured (see Figure 1 c) just to be completely eliminated in the next issue from June 1966 (see Figure 2 b).



Figure 2: a. Announcement of the new title by Lidia Tabacchi, Sept. 1965, Iss.172: 29; b. Cover of the first *Vogue Italia* issue, June 1966, Iss.182.

In July 1988, Franca Sozzani was appointed editor-in-chief of *Vogue Italia*, “which, under her direction, became the most avant-garde edition of Condé Nast’s Vogue magazines”. In the documentary directed by her son, Valerie Steele notes, “She ushered in a new vision of fashion and fashion publishing” (Segre-Reinach 2020: 122). Maybe because, as Baz Luhrmann states in *Franca: Chaos and Creation*, “(she) wasn’t so much of a fashion journalist as a thinker who rewrote the rules of the game. She taught people to think, or rethink, and not just those in her field. She crossed over into other areas – music, cinema, the news. She reinvented everything, she took risks that could have cost her her job” (Iss.805: 548). This propensity to cross boundaries was visible also in her statements, “I thought that Vogue Italia could reach much higher than any other magazine ever did” (see Segre-Reinach 2020: 122).

The “Numbers” from *Vogue Italia* 2022 Media Kit (Condé Nast Italia) show the reach of the magazine, with over 114 thousand copies distributed, 625 thousand readers of the printed copies and a 10.6 million fanbase. Importantly however, as Emanuele Farneti stated, “*Vogue Italia (is regarded) as the least commercial but most relevant fashion magazine in the world. This magazine has never been about huge circulation. It has always been about creativity and being outside of the fashion industry’s comfort zone*” (Farneti in Kurochkina, 2020). Farneti was appointed editor-in-chief in 2017 after the untimely death of Franca Sozzani in late December 2016. In his first editor’s letter from March 2017, he writes, “The silhouette of Franca Sozzani stands out big in this magazine. The work that begins today will be done, as her son Francesco said in remembering her, not in her shadow, but in her light” (Iss.799: 55). The magazine under Farneti is considered to have become increasingly political (Iss. 852: 147), and in his last editorial, he would recall his years at *Vogue Italia* as “enthusiastic, (years) of which it can be said that (the team) has not made obvious choices nor has (it) been afraid to experiment” (Iss. 852: 38). Mentioning the iconic issues of *Vogue Italia*, the illustrations-only or the white cover issue among them (see Figure 3 a and b), Farneti wrote that in his opinion, (the team) has honoured the tradition of innovation and freedom that have made the magazine great” (Iss. 852: 38). In 2021 it was announced that he would be standing down, as part of Condé Nast’s strategy of global integration (Fernandez, 2021), which marked, with the



September 2021 issue (Fig. 3 c), the end of an era. That issue has symbolically marked also the end point of the research presented on the following pages.



*Figure 3: Vogue Italia covers a. January 2020, Iss.833; b. April 2020, Iss.836; c. September 2021, Iss.852*

#### **1.4 Why Fashion Magazine?**

The language we use shapes our thoughts and actions. It is intrinsic in configurations and narratives of our world (Fletcher & Tham, 2019) and instrumental in the very needed transition towards a more responsible, respectful, and inclusive fashion system(s). Central to the production, circulation and dissemination of fashion, the media have a crucial role in the field of fashion, and traditional and new fashion media are a subject of growing interest among academics (Bartlett, Cole and Rocamora (eds.) 2013). Even though, as Segre-Reinach (2022: 33) states, “analysing the evolution of discourses on this subject offers an eloquent picture of the position of fashion,” and there is an undoubtful need for firm steps “Towards Fashion Media for Sustainability” (Skjold, 2016; Fletcher and Tham, 2019), the critical reflection on the fashion media’s position concerning sustainability remains relatively limited and circumscribed to the analysis of marketing practices (Beard, 2008) and contestation of the misuse and devaluation of the “eco”-terminology (Thomas, 2008; Winge, 2008). Only recently, some more systemic discourse analyses have been undertaken (Baker Jones, 2019; Baker Jones and Hawley, 2017), focusing mainly on post-1990 sustainability editorials. Analysing the reception of

two 'sustainability'-related contents, one from *Vogue Italia* from 2011 and the second from *Vogue Scandinavia* from 2021, Segre-Reinach notes how the presence of eco- or sustainability-related commentary provokes completely different responses today, in comparison to ten years ago (2022: 33-36). In the forthcoming contribution, in an in-depth analysis of the *Vogue Italia Animal Issue* from January 2021, Laing (2023: 45-74) observes the ambivalence and the inconsistency of the magazine's positions. So far as it is of my knowledge, the period before 1987 is largely unexplored in terms of sustainability-related content, while the specific case of *Vogue Italia* has not been analysed in its entirety.

### **1.5 Why *Vogue Italia*?**

As will be discussed, in November 2019, Condé Nast officially declared a commitment to sustainability marking an increasing proliferation of 'sustainability'-related content within the conglomerate publications. The development steps of my research process and the why of the decisions are detailly explained in the next chapter. Here, however, I would like to emphasise the position of *Vogue Italia* as an institutionalised magazine owned by a large media conglomerate. Condé Nast's portfolio "includes many of the world's most respected and influential media properties which can be found across five continents, including Asia, Australia and Africa, in 32 markets." The cumulative print readership is 70 million monthly print subscribers, while the digital readership reaches over 370 million readers. (Condé Nast, Our Markets). As part of a powerful, industry-endorsing conglomerate, *Vogue Italia* enjoys the privilege of high levels of access to information and permission to report and share the industry's headlines, which results in the overreaching nature, and the influencing capacity of the magazine in question. With those privileges, there are certainly some responsibilities towards the same industry. As Fairclough (1995: 42-43) explains, patterns of ownership are important because as "(it) is increasingly in the hands of large conglomerates [...] the media becomes more fully integrated with ownership interests in the national and international economy, intensifying their association with capitalist class interests." This, he continues, can than be manifested in various ways, including how "media organisations are structured to ensure that the

dominant voices are those of the political, social, (or in *Vogue Italia's* case, the industry) establishment” (1995: 43).

Now, it is clear that the media are “pre-eminently profit-making organisations, they make their profits by selling audiences to advertisers” (1995: 42). These profits are certainly contributing to the creation and accumulation of not only economic but cultural and social capital also, and can thus be translated in broader awareness-raising and educational endeavours. Hence, media can be considered a tool that “broadens the space of critical interrogation [...] which educates public about the ethos of community, [...] producing the ideal of civility” (Lipovetsky 1994[1987]: 202). We saw, however, that the concept of monoculture, in the predominant socio-economic system manifested in the globalised neoliberal form of capitalism, can be problematic on various levels and is indeed indicative of structural and historical relations of power inequality. In this sense, culture and, thus, institutional media as an instrument of the predominant culture can be seen as nothing but “an instrument of conformity at the service of the market economy, the soft face of contemporary totalitarianism. [...] The media are an integral part of this culture which defuses the demands for change and also perpetuates the relationships of exploitation and dominion in cultural consumption” (Riva 2022: 73-75). In this sense, it is critical to acknowledge that “media language might work ideologically, [...] including particular ways of representing the world, (and) particular construction of social identities or social relations” (Fairclough 1995: 12). The fact that ideological or persuasive aspects might exist does not imply they indeed do. Furthermore, even if they exist, there could be a range of nuances that would require in-depth observation to be assessed. Hence the importance of in-depth analysis of media discourse. Since ideology often implies manipulation of truth, comparing and evaluating representations of truth or rightness is critical (Fairclough 1995: 46-47). Understanding what these representations “include and what they exclude, what they foreground and what they background, where they come from and what factors and interests influence their formulation and projection” could be essential in assessing the current position as well as in proposing possible improvements. To say it in Donella Meadow’s words (2009: 146-165), a comprehensive analysis could provide insight into identifying the *leverage points* – and can indicate the *places to*

*intervene in a system.* The detailed delineation of my methodology and work process follows on the pages hereafter.

## Chapter 2: Methodology

*A discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e., a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. [...] Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But it is itself produced by a practice: ‘discursive practice’ – the practice of producing meaning. (Hall 1992: 291)*

This second chapter of the thesis is dedicated, as the title states it, to the methodology employed for the analysis of the *Vogue Italia* archive. In the first two sub-chapters, I thought it would be useful to give a more general illustration of the term discourse and the methodological developments in the critical analysis of different discursive formations. In that sense the transition from a method based towards a broader understanding of the critical discourse studies is presented in the sub-chapter 2.2. The following part will be dedicated to the Discourse-Historical approach with specific attention to the understanding of the concepts ideology, power and critique, as well as the different levels of discourse analysis. Moreover, for better understanding of the selected method, the relationship between critical discourse analysis and media will be illustrated before moving to the delineation of the *Research Coordinates* presented in sub-chapter 2.5. Here, in individual sub-chapters the thought process behind the research will be presented, the purpose and the questions will be stated and the method selection logic will be explained. The expected limitations will be touched upon and addressed in the final part of this sub-chapter with scope of delineating some future research in this direction. The final part of this chapter will be dedicated to an in-depth exploration of the data collection and the selection of the analysed discursive units.

### 2.1 On ‘Discourse’

“The term ‘discourse’ may be used to refer to language use in general.” (Flowerdew & Richardson 2017: 2) However, it has been stressed, “‘discourse’ cannot fully be characterised in terms of an isolated, abstract verbal object but (it) also requires analysis in terms of its relations with various contexts.” (Van Dijk 1985, vol.2: 11) In this line, within

discourse analysis, 'discourse' "signals a particular view of language in use as an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements," (Fairclough 2003: 3) being also defined by Kress (1989) as "a specific set of meanings expressed through particular forms and uses which give expression to particular institutions or social groups." (Cited in Flowerdew & Richardson 2017: 2) In the extract from the seminal work on the formations of our modern world at the beginning of the chapter, we observe the dialectical nature of the discourse, linked to the "view of language as a means of social construction: (it) both shapes and is shaped by society." (Machin & Mayr 2012: 4) Discussed also by Reisigl & Wodak, (2017: 89) it is in the discourse's nature to be "socially constituted and socially constitutive." Hall's point of view also builds towards Lemke's definition from 1995 where discourse is referred to as "a social activity of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems in some particular kind of situation or setting." (Cited in Wodak 2008: 6) Phelan (2018: 287) points out how the work of Stuart Hall was pivotal in anticipating Fairclough's theoretical position which, by 1) interrogation of the positions where ideology and discourse are regarded as relatively superficial matters – characteristic of the Marxist theoretical reflex –, and 2) drawing on the different structuralist and poststructuralist sources, remained grounded in a broader Marxist analysis of capitalism. Thus, acknowledging the unambiguous interdependence between the discourse and the power structures, the language and the social contexts in which it is manifested.

In the earliest academic works on discourse analysis, "the formulation of criticism and alternatives" were individualised as a relevant aspect. (Van Dijk 1985, vol.4: 6) Discourse analysis was seen as "provid(ing) us with rather powerful, while subtle and precise, insights to pinpoint the [...] social problems in communication and interaction." (1985, vol.4: 7) It could be argued that it was precisely this propensity to develop methods and theory that could better capture the interrelationship between the language and the context that distinguished Critical Discourse Analysis from Critical Linguistics, where, as observed by Fairclough (1992), an "in-depth inquiry of the nature of the link between language, power and ideology was lacking." (Cited in Machin & Mayr 2012: 4)

## 2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) towards critical discourse studies

To better understand the relationships between language, power and ideology, it is important to define Critical Discourse Analysis first. More than as a research method, I prefer adopting Locke's view of CDA as a scholarly orientation. (2004: 2) Phelan (2018: 285-286) also proposes a theory and practice-led elimination of the capitalised identity embodied in the acronyms CDA and CDS within media studies, but I will return to this in section 2.4 of this chapter. Here, for truthful citations, I will continue with the original nomination. Indeed, CDA has been predominantly described in terms of its aims, scope of investigation and research interest, rather than being detailed in its methodology. Flowerdew & Richardson (2018: 1) define Critical Discourse Studies as "wedded to the principle of examining real-world examples of language in use, with the text as main unit of analysis". We see here the passage from CD analysis to CD studies, underlining the above-mentioned broader understanding in terms of orientation rather than a method. They continue, stressing that "CDS is problem-driven and aims to uncover hidden features of language use and debunk their claims to authority." (Flowerdew & Richardson 2018: 1)

The reason why CDA cannot be firmly delineated in its method lies in the interconnectedness between the text and the context, with the context being research-specific. Teun van Dijk (cited in Wodak 2008: 10) "sees context in cognitive terms and assumes 'context models' which lead to the recognition and knowledge of contextual information." For Weiss and Wodak (2003), "this kind of knowledge and these kinds of contextual models can be based only on implicit or explicit theories which draw on related disciplines, by means of integrative interdisciplinarity." (Cited in Wodak 2008: 10) On this line, no strict and always-applying methodological rules can be provided, even though directional suggestions and methodological principles to minimise the risk of critical bias have been largely discussed by the CDA founders. I will look at these principles in detail in section 2.3 of this chapter.

Back to the understanding of CDS as an interdisciplinary approach, it is essential to recognise 1) the embeddedness of the concepts of *ideology* and *power* in our

contemporary world, and 2) the need for a consequent grounded *critique* of the ideology and power-led dynamics. These three concepts are common to all variants of CDS.

Discourses are underpinned by *ideologies* understood as sets of beliefs and values belonging to particular social groups. From a critical social theory perspective, for Thompson (1990), “ideology refers to social forms and processes within which, and by means of which, hegemonic symbolic forms circulate in the social world” (Cited in Reisigl & Wodak 2017: 88). For Flowerdew & Richardson (2018: 3), “An ideology may be disseminated to promote the interests of specific social groups.” As characterised by van Dijk, ideology “may involve an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ situation, positive ‘in-group’ and negative ‘out-group’ representations” (cited in Flowerdew & Richardson 2018: 3). Gee (1990) suggests the understanding of ideology under Marx as “an upside-down version of reality [...] (where ideology) not only reflects reality but partially helps to create, to constitute it” (Cited in Flowerdew & Richardson 2018: 3). Importantly in terms of discourse, Flowerdew & Richardson (2018: 3) point out by citing McLellan (1986) how “Marx’s point about ideology relates not to issues of ‘logical or empirical falsity but of the superficial or misleading way in which truth is asserted.” However ideology is conceptualised, it is important to recognise that “CDA views discourse as coloured by and productive of ideology.” (Locke 2004: 1)

Another important concept for the CDS is the concept of *power*, which for Reisigl & Wodak (2017: 88), “relates to an asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions or belong to different social groups.” These asymmetric relations are understood by CD analysts as “not so much as imposed on individual subjects as an inevitable effect of a way particular discursive configurations or arrangements privilege the status and positions of some people over others.” (Locke: 1-2) This position builds on Gramsci’s (1971) theory of hegemony which, as cited in Flowerdew & Richardson (2018: 4), “explains how power may be exercised not just through physical coercion, but, covertly, through ideology and discourse.” Recognised the positions of power and ideological dynamics, the systemic analysis and interpretation of texts is seen “as potentially revelatory of ways in which discourses consolidate power, (reinforce ideologies) and colonise human subjects through often covert position calls.” (Locke: 2)



Thus, the common aim of CDS practitioners to challenge the inequitable distribution of power in society and as discussed by Fairclough (1995: 132)

*to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between 1) discursive practices, events and texts, and 2) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.*

As explained by Wodak and Reisigl (2017: 87), “*critique* carries many different meanings: some adhere to the Frankfurt School, others to a notion of literary criticism, some to Marxist notions.” For Machin & Mayr (2012: 5), “CDA typically analyses (language formations) exposing strategies that appear normal or neutral on the surface, but which may, in fact, be ideological and seek to shape the representation of events and persons for particular ends.” For them, the term ‘critical’ is linked to a process of ‘denaturalisation’ of the language in order to “reveal the kinds of ideas, absences and taken-for-granted assumptions in the texts.” (2012: 5) This ‘denaturalising’ of the language, however, is not to be understood as a scope in itself. Criticism in CDS, following Hegel, “has a positive emancipatory function [...] and (follows) specific agenda in bringing about social change, or at least supporting struggle against inequality.” (van Dijk 2001, as cited in Flowerdew & Richardson 2018: 5)

## **2.3 Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)**

### *2.3.1 Ideology, Power, and Critique in DHA*

Before I continue delineating the general principles and the analytical tools of the Discourse-Historical Approach as presented predominantly by Wodak and Reisigl, I would like to briefly stress the DHA understanding of the concepts of *ideology*, *power* and *critique*, explained above from a broader CDS perspective. Below, the concept of *ideology* as understood by the representatives of DHA:

*(It) is seen as an (often) one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group. (Those) serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining*

*unequal power relations through discourse. [...] Thus, we take a particular interest in the ways in which linguistic and other semiotic practices mediate and reproduce ideology in a variety of social institutions. (Wodak and Reisigl 2017: 88)*

For the DHA, “language is not powerful on its own – it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use powerful people (and institutions) make of it” (Wodak and Reisigl 2017: 88). It can be inferred, as Datondji and Amousou (2019: 77) argue, that power is not an absolute datum; it can be resisted. Consequently, the scope of DHA is to focus on and to critically investigate “the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power.” (Datondji and Amousou 2019: 77)

Martin Reisigl (2018: 50) denotes that there are at least three theoretical sources relevant to the understanding of *critique* as it prevails in the DHA:

*1) Critical Theory of first generation (Adorno, Horkheimer, Benjamin) [...] where it comes to criticising oppressive, discriminatory and exploitative ideologies, power abuse as well as (significant in the case of my analysis) the culture industry. [...] 2) The relationship to Foucault (is to be seen in the adoption of his) understanding of critique as an attitude [...] (which) challenges the naturalisation of social relationships. 3) The later Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas.*

The Discourse-Historical Approach proposes a science that includes critique in all stages. Wodak and Reisigl (2017: 88) sum up the three forms of critique as follows:

- 1. Text or discourse-immanent critique aims at discovering inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes and dilemmas in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.*
- 2. Socio-diagnostic critique is concerned with demystifying the – manifest or latent – persuasive or ‘manipulative’ character of discursive practices. Here, we make use of our contextual knowledge and draw on social theories as well as other theoretical models from various disciplines to interpret discursive events.*
- 3. Future-related prospective critique seeks to contribute to the improvement of communication. (See Reisigl, 2003:78–82; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 32–35 for extended discussions)*

Finally, it follows from (Wodak and Reisigl's) understanding of critique that "the DHA should make the object under investigation and the analyst's own position transparent and justify theoretically why certain interpretations and readings of discursive events seem more valid than others."

### 2.3.2 *Discourse, Text and Context*

The term *discourse* within DHA is understood by many points, similar to other CDS approaches. Its dialectical nature, relation to the context, and meaning-making capacity are undoubtedly in line with points one to three of Reisigl's delineation of the features of the concept of 'discourse' (see Reisigl 2018: 51-52). Still, in DHA, we find an in-depth hierarchical and functional division of the discursive elements. The micro-level semiotic units are seen as constitutive of the communicative and interactional macro-unit – the discourse. These semiotic units, which can occur in the form of texts, conversations, interactions and other semiotic events, and which relate to specific genres and other semiotic action patterns, are understood as serving a specific purpose and as being produced, distributed and received by social actors. (See points 4-5 in Reisigl 2018: 51)

As part of the discourse, the micro-level discursive units are "intertextually linked by a macro-topic that diversifies into various discourse topics, subtopics, content-related argumentation schemes, etc." (Reisigl 2018: 52). The 'intertextual' and the 'interdiscursive' aspects of the 'discourse', seen in the relations between the 'text' and the 'context' are boldly emphasised by DHA and must be considered by the analysis. (See Wodak 2008: 2) Intertextuality, as anticipated, refers to the fact that all texts, where 'text' is understood as a singular semiotic unit, "are linked to other texts, both in past and present, (while) interdiscursivity indicated that discourses are linked to each other in various ways." (Wodak 2008: 3)

Back to the particularities of the 'discourse' under DHA, we can find the discourse developing around social problems and as a subject to historical change in relation to social change. Reisigl also underlines that discourses are situated within fields of action that can be understood as functional frames. Here, the discourse becomes a part of goal-oriented dispositifs, "seen as networks of discourse, knowledge, power and subject

constitution.” At this level, discourses influence the organisation, construction, reconstruction and transformation of social realism, understood as not always consistent with reality, but perpetuated through social positions, relationships, and institutions, as well as by knowledge, identities and ideologies. (See points 8-10 in Reisigl 2018: 52)

In the above-stressed features of ‘discourse’ within DHA, we can already discern the characteristics of ‘text’ and ‘context’ within DHA. As stated earlier, the ‘text’ is equivalent to a concrete, singular semiotic unit and relates to specific genres. The genre(s) of the text depend on the macro and discourse-related topics and subtopics dictated by the object of research. Considering the definition of discourse as ‘text in context’ (van Dijk 1990: 164) and the attention to the multi-level structure of discourse exploration characteristic of the DHA, ‘context’ can be analysed on a micro-, meso- and macro-dimension. The Discourse-Historical Approach distinguishes among four dimensions of context, as seen below:

- *the immediate, language or text-internal co-text and co-discourse*
- *the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses*
- *the extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific ‘context of situation’*
- *the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to.* (See Wodak 2008: 13, Reisigl 2018: 53, Wodak and Reisigl 2017: 93)

The multi-layered analysis of the context is one of the most important features of the DHA, and it is at the base of the ‘principle of triangulation’.

### 2.3.3 *Methodological Principles and Analytical Categories in DHA*

The principle of triangulation, understood as “taking a whole range of empirical observations, theories, and methods as well as background information into account” (Datondji and Amousou 2019: 72), represents a “methodological way to minimise the risk of critical bias.” (Wodak 2008: 12) The DHA triangulation approach is based on a concept of ‘context’ which takes into account the four levels mentioned above and, in a recursive manner orients, the analysis to all of the four dimensions of context. (See also Wodak, 2007, 2008a). This “endeavour to work interdisciplinary, multimethodically and on the

basis of a variety of different empirical data, [...] is one of the most salient features of DHA.” (Wodak 2008: 12)

The discourse-analytical categories are not entirely fixed in DHA. They are research-dependent and “have to be, at least partially, modified, adapted and newly developed for each research object.” (Reisigl 2018: 52-53) Reisigl and Wodak (2017, 2018) propose an investigation of five discursive strategies, understood as “a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices), adopted in order to achieve a particular social, political, psychological, or linguistic goal.” (Wodak, 2001, cited in Datondji and Amousou 2019: 77-78) These discursive strategies are nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivisation, mitigation, and intensification (For a detailed explanation, see Reisigl 2018: 52 or Wodak and Reisigl 2017: 95, 104-113). In section 2.5.3 of this chapter’s final part, I delineate those pertinent to my research.

## **2.4 Critical discourse analysis and media**

*In thinking about media, we must keep in mind the texts they carry and help shape. These texts have power, [...] to help shape our consciousness and give us notions about how to live, what is right and wrong, and so on.*  
(Berger 2012)

As observed by van Dijk, the second half of the 1970s saw “suggestions for a more explicit and systematic account of media discourse.” (1984, p.3) He underlines the paramount role of the Glasgow University Media Group and the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham in unveiling the media “as a major cultural and ideological force”, being it a tool for the divulcation of ideas, positions, and knowledge of the predominant centres of power. Fast-forward a few decades, Gerbner (2011, p.13) notes how the critical analysis of media has reached new levels of urgency and social significance as “the rise of the industrialised and centrally managed discharges of massive symbol-systems into the mainstream of common consciousness” are observable.

Gerbner points out how, through mass production and distribution of message systems the selected private perspectives are transformed into broad public perspectives and, as such, are then maintained (but also reinforced or modified) through continued publication,

thus, instrumentalised as a tool of “community consciousness and of governance among large groups of people.” (Gerbner 2011, p.15) This is linked to the “‘public-making’ ability to form historically new bases for collective thought and action quickly, continuously, and pervasively.” (Gerbner 2011, p.15)

In his work titled *Critical discourse analysis and media*, Phelan (2018: 285-297) delineates the historical and contemporary interconnectedness between CDA and media studies, also proposing directives for future developments. He observes how CDA scholars have extensively worked on and developed a set of concepts for media analysis proposing “at least three levels of analysis that often come together in the same research project.” These three levels are linked to the following processes: 1) highlighting structural conventions of media texts and language (and this is the closest one to linguistics, a discipline in which CDA originated), 2) exploring how certain ways of representing the world are normalised in media space, and 3) examination of how media representations inflect the discursive construction of different social phenomena. (Phelan 2018: 288-289)

Even though CDA has provided a very needed methodological approach for media scholars, it is to be acknowledged that media studies are not to be reduced to an analysis of textual units present in media. In this line, Phelan (2018: 290) suggests, with a note on the practical and economic feasibility of his proposal, for critical discourse studies to “position itself as a field that addresses all four analytical tiers of the media studies totality of production, representation, distribution and reception.”

Following Phelan’s position to eliminate the capitalisation present in CDA in order to attune in a certain manner the CDA to the needs and the scope of media studies, as well as following Locke’s view of CDA as a scholarly orientation (2004: 2), in my work, I opt for the terminology critical discourse studies as orientation, adopting as methodological background the previously discussed Discourse-Historical Approach. My decision is based on my background as a fashion studies scholar, with my research interests being linked to the exploration of the less immediate aspects of the fashion system in its western, capital-led, neoliberal manifestation. I am less interested and certainly background-limited in undertaking research from a media studies perspective, even

lesser from a linguistic point of view. Even though in this study I focus exclusively on the 'representation' tier of media studies, I recognise the importance of the 'production', 'distribution' and unquestionably 'reception' aspect for unveiling numerous hidden aspects of the fashion system's relation to sustainability. The DHA, as pertaining to the field of critical discourse studies, "attempts to transcend the purely linguistic dimension and to introduce more or less systemically the historical, political, sociological [...] dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive event," (Wodak 2008: 12) also because, as Phelan suggests (2018: 291) the "focus on linguistic detail can inculcate a kind of 'aspect blindness' which obscures how the most politically convincing and illuminating answers to our research questions are something 'not to be found in the text'." Below is a detailed illustration of my research organisation.

## **2.5 Research Coordinates**

### *2.5.1 Development and Assumptions*

Without hesitation, I can say that the 'fashion sustainability' discourse is today a rather pervasive discourse embedded in various fields of action and control, which often come from the same public or private institutions. I find it important to specify here that I will be using the term 'fashion sustainability' regarding the discourse, which 1) is in continuous development in the context of the contemporary predominant fashion system, and 2) has as its macro-topic 'sustainability'. Informed by my holistic, intersectional and de-growth-based understanding of sustainability, as discussed in Chapter 1.2.4, the 'fashion sustainability' discourse in my research presents a variety of interrelated subtopics, which will be explained below. For clarity, I want to specify that, except in cases when it is otherwise explicitly stated, this terminology is not to be understood as implicative of 'sustainable' characteristic(s) of a fashion material object, brand, institution or likewise.

Reflecting on the fields of action and fields of control of the 'fashion sustainability' discourse, we can think of the academic institutions as fields of action linked to practices of knowledge production and dissemination. We can think of fashion brands largely contributing to forming public opinion, producing advertising, marketing and greenwashing content while taking bold actions to self-present themselves as

'sustainable'. We can think of corporations and national and international institutions who, within the fields of both action and control, are dictating the pace, the goals and the priorities of the predominant fashion system. Certainly, the 'sustainable fashion' discourse can be traced in the activists' actions and, finally, in the contents of numerous media, both traditional and new.

From the early stages of research planning, I was interested in the analysis of the representations of the "fashion sustainability" discourse. As explained in Chapter 1, this interest was grounded in the rather limited academic works on the topic. The selection of the primary object of study came about after different steps in which I was trying to obtain the maximum of my three-years PhD programme. I was initially interested in comparative research on 'fashion sustainability' representation between Italian, Macedonian (or more broadly Balkan), and English printed media. The first obstacle came after the impossibility of getting in touch with the institutions in my home country, Macedonia. The pandemic was making travel impossible, and I started to abandon the idea of comparative analysis, also because I had to focus on what I had available.

In November 2019, Condé Nast joined UNFCCC's Fashion Industry Charter for Climate Action. It was an official declaration of the commitment "(to) play a more proactive and meaningful role in informing (their) readers about the climate emergency and inspiring them to take practical actions." (Condé Nast) In January 2020, the issue of *Vogue Italia* was entirely dedicated to sustainability and creativity, and I got naturally interested in understanding how this declared commitment will evolve. More importantly, it sparked my interest to investigate how their commitment has evolved over time. My decision to dedicate myself to this research was informed not only by the consecutive events mentioned here but was firmly grounded in the institutional positioning, the overreaching nature, and the influencing capacity of the magazine in question. Fortunately, in the Central Library of Rimini Campus at the University of Bologna, where I am conducting my research, the entire printed archive of *Vogue Italia* is available for consultation, with an exception for a minimal number of issues. More importantly, the entire archive is digitalised, which came as a relief, taking into consideration that in Italy, during the first



year of my PhD research, many of the public institutions, libraries included, were closed or limited in access to the public.

Considering the corporate positioning of *Vogue Italia* as one of the many media brands owned by Condé Nast, I initiated my research with what Scannell (1998: 256) defines as 'hermeneutics of suspicion' (cited in Phelan: 292) concerning the ways in which the 'fashion sustainability' discourse is and was constructed on the pages of *Vogue Italia*. My assumptions that there is a high probability of partial and misleading information, if not greenwashing, were informed by 1) my knowledge and understanding of the predominant fashion system as "characterised by power imbalances, [...] (and) as resilient and as voracious as capitalism itself." (Payne 2021: 8) A system focused on newness, planned obsolescence and over-production and -consumption, generally linked to greenwashing practices. 2) I considered the magazine's positioning as the industry's favourite, unreachable, at least not until recently, even for influencers with a reach like Chiara Ferragni, who got her first *Vogue Italia* cover only in October 2021. (*Vogue Italia* 2021) Phelan (2018: 292), drawing on Scannell, points out how this initial 'hermeneutics of suspicion' are not to be replaced with an initial 'hermeneutic of trust'. Even less so, it is to be sought to superficially "juxtapose the falseness of the media representations with a relatively unproblematised notion of 'truth' directly accessible to the analyst" (Phelan 2018: 292) in the phase of critique. It is thus of great significance to always take a stance from ungrounded absolutisms and to position oneself as an observer of problematic discursive practices, questioning not only what seems inherently false or wrong but also recognising the in-betweens which are discursively emphasised.

Since greenwashing as a concept is present in my assumptions, I retain it as important to provide an well-circumscribed definition. As presented in Miller (2018: 23-24), the term has its origin myth linked to 1986 when Jay Westerveld attributed it to a hotel's host policy of towel use. Galles (2015, cited in Miller, 2018: 24) defines greenwashing as a process in which "a company tries to portray itself as a more environmentally minded than it actually is." In the attempt to outdo one another with eco credentials, companies do make selective disclosure, the exaggerate claims or simply make things up. As Miller (2018: 22-23) explains it, the greenwashing process is one of the key elements of the so-called

social licence to operate, embedded in the Corporate Social Responsibility principles under which the governmental regulations are almost non-existent while the correct conduct is left entirely in the hands of the companies.

I also assumed that the 'fashion sustainability' discourse, as represented on the pages of *Vogue Italia*, has changed over time. This assumption was informed by my previous knowledge of the developments in the relationship between fashion and sustainability. Furthermore, because 'sustainability' as a term was used for the first time in an institutional context only in 1987, with the Brundtland Report (1987), I was not expecting to find exact matches with the micro-topic within the discursive formations pertinent to the subtopics related to 'sustainability' in the fashion context. I was expecting, however, to find information on the environmental, social and industry-led understanding of sustainability as presented in some early works on the topic (see Hethorn and Ulasewicz eds. 2015). These final assumptions led me to the decision to analyse the entire *Vogue Italia* archive. A pursuit that will reveal itself as rather challenging, thus subject to diversified approaches in terms of the level of analysis, as will be explained below.

### 2.5.2 Purpose and Questions

Reflecting upon my knowledge base up to that moment, and considering my initial assumptions, I started delineating the purposes of my research which are listed as follows:

- On an immediate textual level, investigation if the concepts 'Eco/ Ethical/ Responsible/ Sustainable (Fashion)' were and are present in *Vogue Italia*. If yes, observation of the meanings attached to them.
- On an immediate textual level, understanding and questioning of the ways in which the 'Fashion Sustainability'-related discourse was formed in *Vogue Italia*.
- On the immediate textual level, observe the content-specific characteristics, and individualise categories and subcategories for micro-level discursive units' subdivision.

- On an intertextual level, understanding the formation and the development of the relationships between the discursive formations present in *Vogue Italia* and related to the macro-topic of 'fashion sustainability' understood as previously discussed.
- On an intertextual level, analysis of the evolution of the relationship between the sustainability-related subtopics and fashion in *Vogue Italia*.
- On intertextual level, analysis, pattern recognition and questioning of the content-specific categorisations so as to develop a grounded researcher position.
- On extralinguistic level, investigation and exposure of eventual manipulative and epistemologically and deontologically problematic aspects of the 'fashion sustainability' discourse as represented in *Vogue Italia*.
- On a broader, macro level, investigate and problematise the position and the agency of the mainstream fashion magazine in regard to the very-needed paradigmatic shift towards sustainable, responsible, ethical and inclusive fashion system(s).

Upon the delineation of the research purposes, the concretisation of the research questions followed:

- Were the concepts 'Eco/ Ethical/ Responsible/ Sustainable (Fashion)' present in *Vogue Italia*, historically and today? If yes, what are the meanings attached to them?
- How did *Vogue Italia* form the 'Fashion Sustainability'-related discourse?
- Which are content-specific categories and subcategories which were identified for micro-level discursive units' subdivision?
- How were the relationships between the discursive formations present in *Vogue Italia* and related to the macro-topic of 'fashion sustainability' formed and developed?
- How has the relationship between the sustainability-related subtopics and fashion in *Vogue Italia* evolved over time?
- Are there observable patterns in the content-specific categorisations? Is there space for questioning and problematising?

- Are there any manipulative, epistemologically, and deontologically problematic aspects of the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse as represented in *Vogue Italia*?
- Based on the grounded observations initiated from all of the above questions, can the position and the agency of the mainstream fashion magazine, in regard to the very-needed paradigmatic shift towards sustainable, responsible, ethical and inclusive fashion system(s), be individualised, questioned and problematised?

### 2.5.3 *Selection of the Methods*

As early as 1985, van Dijk points out how “integral discourse analysis is necessarily an interdisciplinary task and also its complexity forces us to make specific choices among many available methods, depending on the goals and the functions of our analysis.” (van Dijk 1985, vol.2, p.11) As proposed by Phelan (2018: 291), the challenge of the existing divisions between quantitative and qualitative methods and the interference in the status of discourse analysis as a purely qualitative approach could “mitigate the criticism that critical discourse research is based on ‘unrepresentative’, ‘self-serving’ samples, [...] (and) can enrich our understanding of media power.” (Phelan 2018: 291) These positions confirmed my decision to combine DHA with Content Analysis, which is instrumental to systemic cataloguing, content-based categorisation, and tracing the selected discursive strategies.

As explained earlier in this chapter, I find DHA significantly in line with the object of my study, being it concerned, “among the other areas of discourse analysis, with 1) discourse in the media (both classical printed media and new social media) and 2) discourse and ecology (climate change)” (see Reisigl 2018: 48). As already stated, the decision is also influenced by my scholarly background as well as by my interest which prefers the extra-linguistics aspects of the discourse, and puts the emphasis on the different levels of context.

Confirmation that the content analysis can be usefully combined with a more critical, systemic discourse analysis can be found as early as 1970 in work by Halloran and his associates. (as cited in van Dijk 1984, p.4) As he states, especially for large amounts of

discourse data, and in order to establish frequencies and apply statistical methods, (content analysis) has become an important practical tool in the social sciences. (van Dijk 1985, vol.2, p.9) I will not explain the salient features of CA in detail, but, in the *Coding Overview* presented below, I will illustrate how I employ its principles based on my research subject, aims and questions.

With Machin and Mayr's work on Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (2012), significant steps were made towards the acknowledgement of the needed broadening in terms of the object of CDA, traditionally limited to the analysis of linguistic units. Since much of the meaning of the micro-level discourse units can be communicated by their visual features, the proponents of MCDA are "interested in showing how images, photographs, diagrams and graphics also work to create meaning." (Machin and Mayr 2012: 9) Even though I recognise the importance of a systemic analysis of the visual elements, especially in the context of media-focused research, in this study, in regards to the visual elements, I had to limit myself to qualitative observations only. The decision is mainly influenced by the quantity of the analysed data, covering the entire *Vogue Italia* archive, resulting in extremely diversified discursive units. Thus making the systemic analysis of all the visual elements not feasible at this point of my research. What I consider feasible were the qualitative observations which will be presented as integrative and enriching element as I go through the individual case studies and linguistic contents commentary. The focus of the observations will be on the *connotations* of the visual elements and the ways in which those interact with the linguistic contents. Thus, I will provide commentary and a possible reading on what are the ideas and the values that are communicated 1) through the visual elements accompanying the selected and analysed linguistic discursive units, and 2) through the way in which those elements are represented. Certainly, a systematic and more structured investigation of the features of all of the visual elements related to the selected discursive units could be a possible future step after the present language-focused analysis; a possibility for an insightful further exploration of the role that fashion media play in the construction of the 'fashion-sustainability' discourse.

#### *2.5.4 Limitations of the Method*

Even though as stated in the chapter 2.3, the DHA “attempts to transcend the purely linguistic dimension and to introduce more or less systemically the historical, political, sociological [...] dimensions in the analysis and interpretation of a specific discursive event,” (Wodak 2008: 12) the fact remains that the present research with the selected methodology has some flows, linked primarily to two aspects.

The first is the lack of a more systemic analysis of the visual elements present in the fashion magazine in question, especially in the period after 1988, when Franca Sozzani took over the main editorial position. This lack is linked, among the other things expressed earlier, to the fact that the period in question was not subject to a cover-to-cover analysis which led to significantly restricted data collection. On this note, I tried to compensate with some qualitative observations but the future aim will be to incorporate even greater number of visual materials so to support my text-based findings in an even better way.

The second significant flow is linked to the fact that this research is predominantly focussed on the representation tier of media studies, leaving behind the remaining three tiers: production, distribution and reception. I recognise the importance of the ‘production’, ‘distribution’ and unquestionably ‘reception’ aspect for both this study and the critical discourse studies in general insofar those could unveil numerous hidden aspects of the fashion system’s relation to sustainability, as well as of other discourses presented in different media outlets.

## **2.6 Discursive Units and Data Collection**

### *2.6.1 Discursive Units*

As stated above, content analysis is instrumental in my research. Its principles served the research in terms that they provided for a systemic organisation of the corpus of the research data. The categories are research-driven, and the categorisation is informed by my qualitative observation and analysis. The process of unitising was informed by the CA principles as presented by Krippendorff (see Chapter 5, 2004)

In my research, the micro-level discursive unit, which is the smallest unit of research, is constituted of 1) 'text' and 2) 'advertisement' contents, present in the *Vogue Italia* archive and content-related to the 'fashion sustainability' discourse. Here, by 'text', I refer to a unit which is a result of an editorial decision by *Vogue Italia*'s editorial team, and it comes in the form of welcome letters, articles, editorials, interviews, shorter textual units, or side news. By 'advertisement', I intend content ordered by a third party, promoting a product, a brand, textile or fibre, or some initiatives, which is also containing significant linguistic data. In the digital archive, the advertisements are clearly identified in the title of the individual contents, which has facilitated the process and minimised the risk of untruthful information. The individualisation of the 'fashion sustainability' discursive formations is explained below.

Since the entire archive of *Vogue Italia* was object of study, no sampling process was conducted. The individualisation of the coding units, however, was organised in two separate phases. In the first phase, dedicated to the issues going from the first publication under the name *Vogue Italia* in October 1965 to December 1988, I did a cover-to-cover analysis of all the published issues. For the second period, from January 1989 to September 2021, keywords research was carried out through the digital archive. Additionally, third transversal research was undertaken in which almost all *Vogue Talents* supplement issues were read and qualitatively analysed from cover to cover.

The decision to separate in this manner the individualisation of 'fashion sustainability'-related discursive units was based on a few interconnected factors. Firstly, as stated above, the term 'sustainability' was unlikely in circulation before 1987, while the subtopics-related keywords were multiple and resulted in confusing and often irrelevant research results. I also consider the cover-to-cover analysis to be the most appropriate way to conduct a discourse analysis on printed media, especially when one follows DHA, because the context is of immense importance, and much can be discovered by the observation of the immediate intertextual level. In July 1988, Franca Sozzani became editor-in-chief, marking a whole new era for the magazine. Even though I would have preferred to do a cover-to-cover analysis of the entire archive, I was limited in terms of time to manually and single-handedly look through every single issue. Just for orientation,

in the 24 years of the first period, I looked at 311 issues, equivalent to more than 97 thousand pages. The second period contains 399 issues in 33 years. In future, it would be enriching to continue this research so as to analyse in detail at least the period between 1989 and the 2010s because, as it will be shown, for this period, the keywords research was not particularly fruitful. The endpoint of the research project presented here is September 2021, which was the last issue with Emanuele Farneti as editor-in-chief after the decision on global content integration announced on December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020. (Condé Nast) The process started in 2018, with the first steps being taken when the Condé Nast Traveller's US and UK Editions were merged (Fernandez 2018), and in the case of Vogue Italia, it was finalised with that farewell September 2021 issue. I see it as a rather symbolic point to wrap my research, taking into consideration that the questionable centralising strategy of Condé Nast comes in this historical period when always more academics are advocating the need for de-centring, de-colonising, and de-constructing of the predominant fashion system. Below is the graphic representation of the process.

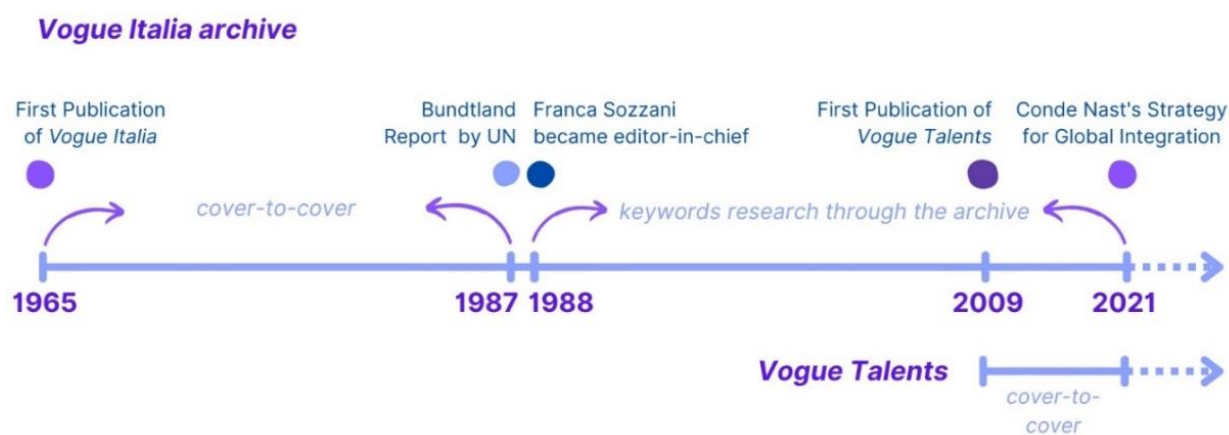


Figure 4: Graphic illustration of the data collection process

### 2.6.2 Data Collection – 1965-1988

For the first period of analysis, I started my research with the consultation of the printed archive. What I did was 1) careful analysing issue after issue, looking for keywords and their derivatives in the headlines of the text units or the texts of the advertisements. The



main keywords that I selected were *sustainable [sostenibilità]*, *ecology [ecologia]*, *environment [ambiente]*, *artisanal [artigianale]*. I also paid attention to the contents featuring new fibres/ materials/ textiles [it. fibre/ materiali/ tessuti], especially when those advertisements contained information on the technical and consumer-oriented features of the fibres, the textiles, or the products.

When it was happening to find such contents, I was 2) starting to read the textual part. If it was relevant to the research, I was 3) selecting it as a discursive unit and inserting it in the coding sheet, filling in all the necessary information as per instructions, consultable in the following section of this chapter. If the content was unrelated to some sustainable practices, nor was it implicative of how the above-listed concepts/keywords were used in relation to certain social and cultural dynamics, I was discarding it. As a scholar of Fashion Studies, I was finding numerous contents of general interest, which were, however, left behind. One particular category, which was not initially planned as a subject of my research, but on which I took numerous notes, was the representation of the 'luxury' segment. I found it very revealing how the representations of luxury content present some parallelisms with the 'fashion sustainability' discourse, but those parallelisms will not be discussed in the present work. The decision is conditioned by the time at disposal and my aim to provide rich contextualisation when discussing certain aspects. The amount of luxury contents that I found will require an additional sistematization and in-depth analysis which I will certainly pursue in future. During the cover-to-cover reading, around 300 advertisement units were individualised. Many of those were, however, repetitive or of very similar content. Through comparison, I was able to individualise around 140 unique advertisements, most of which will be analysed in the analytical chapters. The textual units were definitely fewer in number. From a total of 46 discursive units, 23 were selected as 'core', while 13 were strictly relative to materials.

### *2.6.3 Data Collection – 1989-2021*

For the second phase of the individualisation of the relevant 'fashion sustainability' discursive units, I started with the selection of the period of interest – 01-01-1989 – 30-09-2021 in the digital archive. I was using the archive of the ACNP Italian Periodicals

Catalogue [Catalogo Italiano dei Periodici], which is quite different from the interface of the official *Vogue Italia* Online Archive, which is available with a subscription only. Just for illustration, in the official archive, which I was able to consult during the short three-week trial period they opened in early 2022, the research process is quite intuitive. Most importantly, the results are immediately visually available for immediate observation. On the website page of the ACNP, the results are shown in a list (see Figure A.1) containing the title, the general information as issue number, month, year and pages, and the author, when available. This specific catalogue organisation required opening all the result contents in a separate tab and adjusting the format for effective consultation.

As a starting point, I individualised the first keywords group as follows *eco OR ecologia OR ecologico OR ecology*. Since this research resulted in a total of 825 unique contents, I thought it might be helpful to try more specific research formulas. So, I tried: *eco N/2 fashion*, *moda N/3 sostenibile*, and *sustainable N/3 fashion*, where N/number stands for the range of proximity between the two terms. Not in line with my expectations, this approach resulted in 38 contents only. From those, 30 were selected as relevant, respectively 4/5, 21/25 and 5/8 for the formulas above. Assuming the amount of data to be much bigger, I decided to go back to the initial formula *eco OR ecologia OR ecologico OR ecology* and to start building my discursive units corpus from there. I also used the formula *sustainability OR sustainable OR sostenibile OR sostenibilità*, resulting in 406 unique contents, which summed with the 825 'eco' units resulting in 1231 initial contents.

Similarly to my *modus operandi* for the first period, I analysed the keyword research results. I was looking for content related to the macro-topic of the 'fashion sustainability' discourse. However, many result units were not relevant at all, and that was immediately visible. For others, I needed more time to assess their positioning. Here are some bullet points for a more schematic representation of my work:

- Eliminated right away: table of contents results, results containing words and word divisions like 'eco' [echo], 'Eco' [as in Umberto Eco], 'eco-nomia' [economy], 'eco-nomico' [economical], 'eco-nomista' [economist] ect. Clearly, if the headings, the title or the text's emphasised sections suggested some

relation to the subject of interest, I was spending more time on the evaluation. In the case of multiple-page advertisements, often the system gives the different pages of the same advertisement as separate contents, combined with the words and the words divisions above, influenced considerably the reduction of the unique results units.

- Eliminated upon a quick overview of the keywords research results: contents where the keywords in question were used in a completely different context. As observed in the salient elements of these cases – headlines, subheadings, emphasised selections of the text – no correlation to the macro-topic ‘fashion sustainability’, nor connected to relevant transversal macro-topics such as ‘environmentalism’, ‘human rights’, ‘social rights’ and similar was found.
- There were also some overlapping results. As I was filling out the coding sheet, I kept noticing discursive units which had already been coded. I have not traced the overlapping numerically, but my estimation is around 200 to 250 units.
- Finally, after detailed reading and rereading the results, I managed to individualise a total of 445 discursive units, from which 372 are ‘text’ units, while 73 are ‘advertisement’ units.

#### 2.6.4 Coding Overview

In the phase of the data collection, all of those result units that were individualised as discursive units were right-away recorded in the coding sheet. During this phase, for both the first and the second period, I was usually recording only the general coding info for every discursive unit. As presented in Figure 5, under the general coding, the following information was recorded: *Issue number, Month, Year, Page, Type, Size, and Title*. The ‘type’ category was reserved for the ‘text’ discursive units only, and I was choosing among the following: *editorial letter, article, interview, short text, side news* and *photo editorials*. These six ‘type’ categories, plus the ‘advertisement’, are to be considered ‘discursive genres’. The photo editorial was included under the ‘text’ types because often, in the short linguistic inserts or the headlines of the photo editorials, insightful information was found.

The second set of categories, shown below, coincides with the second step in my research. After the grounded selection phase, which led me to individualise the sample of almost 450 discursive units, I started the first categorisation phase. Through careful reading and frequent rereading of the individual discursive units, I categorised the units on two levels of 'content division'. This stage was vital in order to obtain a more structured data corpus so as to facilitate further analysis. Also, in the first stage of individualisation of the discursive units, the selection was undertaken from a broad 'fashion sustainability'-related standpoint. Thus, a cyclical process of corpus building needed to take place. (see Mautner, 2008: 35-37) The first 'content division' categorisation has three categories for both 'text' and 'advertisement' discursive units: *Core*, *Context* and *Lexicon*. The 'core' category was reserved for the units which feature an undoubtful relation between the concepts of 'fashion' and 'sustainability', making them a focus of my 'fashion sustainability'-related discursive formations analysis. The 'context' category was thought of as an umbrella category to trace the multiple occasions in which *Vogue Italia* engaged with 'sustainability'-related content. This category was certainly subject to many analysis and reanalysis to arrive at a set of 10 subcategories that served to understand the content-based direction of *Vogue Italia*. The 'lexicon' category was not planned initially. Still, I consider it necessary to trace the cases in which *Vogue Italia* has used 'sustainability' words or phrases entirely out of context, and usually with scope to add a green allure to their photo editorials.

Clearly, everything printed in the institutional magazine was the subject of editorial decisions to be featured in the monthly issues. Still, for the scope of my research, I decided to divide my contents into different subdivisions. The second content-based subdivisions differ slightly for 'text' and 'advertisement' discursive units. Bellow the divisions with respective subcategories:

- *Text* discursive units
  - Core – the 'core' discursive units were an object of the detailed, discursive strategies analysis. Thus, the overly detailed subcategorisation at this stage was considered redundant. Bellow are the four subcategories:

- *editorial* – this category refers to all the discursive units in which *Vogue Italia*'s editorial team comments or takes a position concerning 'fashion sustainability'-related topics and subtopics. Here the predominant genre is the article, but insightful information was found in short texts and side news also.
  - *position* – is a category dedicated to other people's positions relative to the 'fashion sustainability' topics and subtopics. These positions were usually visible in content genres like interviews.
  - *info* – under the 'info' category, I recorded all those discursive units focused on straightforward informing on 'fashion sustainability'-related events, initiatives, conferences and similar.
  - *metoo* – this category was reserved for the contents, predominantly short texts and articles dedicated to brand representation and positioning as 'sustainable'. The 'metoo' nomination was inspired by the metoo movement when the hashtag was used by women around the world to show the gravity of sexual harassment. Here, the 'metoo' is used in a negative manner to indicate the often unsustainable green claims of many brands done with a single scope – so that they too can be a part of the green fever. A term which, as explained by Miller (2018: 16-19), has replaced the more negative term 'pollution' and opened the way for a series of processes that legitimised the business as usual practices, while undermining the systemic solutions of the environmental problems.
- Context – taking into consideration the amount of 'context' discursive units, I assessed it would be limiting to use only the four categories present in the core units, also because, in comparison to the 'core' units, the 'context' units were not object of the detailed third-level analysis. I thus found it important to differentiate them as much as possible in this step of analysis so as to obtain grounded opinions on the formation and evolution of the 'fashion sustainability' discourse. In this line, the 'context' units will serve mainly the scope of

delineation of the evolution of the 'fashion sustainability' and 'sustainability' discourses.

- Corresponding to the 'editorial' category of the 'core' units, for the 'context' units I differentiate between 1) *commentary*, 2) (eco, social or interrelated) *commitment*, 3) *eco news* (standing for technological news and solutions), 4) *eco-lifestyle* (where all 'sustainability'-related advises were given), 5) the already proposed *editorial* category (here, relative exclusively to Vogue's own position regarding the macro-topic of the research). Finally, two product-based categories were recurrent throughout the results; thus, I decided to dedicate time to those also, even though they were not directly linked to the 'fashion sustainability' discourse – 6) *cosmetics*, and 7) *jewellery*.
  - The *position* category is the same as in the 'core' units. This category recorded discursive units where broader 'sustainability' or 'social commentary' positions were presented.
  - In line with the 'info' category, for the context units I differentiate among 1) (eco and/or social) *events*, 2) *representation*
  - The '*metoo*' category is not present as a subcategory in the 'context' section because here, the product or brand contents were limited to categories other than 'fashion', understood as limited to garment and accessories products. This decision does not imply that the cosmetic brands, for example, were not employing a 'metoo' attitude, but I consider it redundant to further subdivide the categories of the context segment, also because those were not considered as the main focus of the research.
- Lexicon – based on the discursive units that I found, and which were recorded as 'lexicon', I individualised the following subcategories:
- material as eco – just a superficial claim of truth regarding a material with an eco emphasis;
  - eco as position (of a brand);

- processes – characterised as rightful, eco, or sustainable without any additional explanation;
  - style – for the cases of superficial use of words such as ‘eco’ or ‘sustainable and their derivatives only for aesthetics or stylistic purpose.
- *Advertisement* discursive units
    - Core – The subcategories here respond to the question ‘What is being advertised, promoted or endorsed?’. The ‘metoo’ category was excluded here because, in the cases of the advertisements, it would have meant to have one category only, which is the ‘metoo’. Out of the need to obtain an insightful answer to the above question, I selected the below categories. When limited textual explanations were available, I was recording the advertisements in question as ‘lexicon’.
      - brand/product
      - textile/fibre
      - info – standing, as in the ‘text’ units, for discursive units focused on straightforward informing on ‘fashion sustainability’-related events, initiatives, awards, conferences and similar.
    - Context - similar to the ‘context’ subdivisions of the ‘text’ units, but with the necessary adjustments needed for the ‘advertisement’ category.
      - The ‘editorial’ subcategory is not present in the subdivisions of the Advertisement discursive units because the nature of that kind of content is strictly dependent on a third-party choices and decisions.
      - The *info* category stands again for the advertising of events, initiatives, and competitions not directly linked to the fashion-sustainability relationship but talking about these topics from a broader standpoint.
      - And finally, the product-based ‘advertisement’ subdivisions: 1) *cosmetics*, 2) *jewellery&co*, 3) *cars* (similar, but much restricted, to the ‘eco-news’ subcategory from the ‘text’ units), and 4) *other/mix* (standing for a miscellany of product categories where the concepts of interest were found). I want to

stress here that the research significantly influenced the 'advertisement context' subcategories selection. In the process of individualisation of these contents, for both the first and the second period, I was focused on headlines and the emphasised linguistic sections where the relation to my research topic was visible.

- Lexicon – identical as in the 'text' units, except for the 'style' subcategory is not present here.
  - material as eco
  - eco as position
  - processes

Even though the main division of the discursive units was based on the text and advertisement content division. It is important to underline that fashion magazines in general are always very problematic in terms of strict divisions precisely because there is a large presence of the advertorial contents which are not clearly emphasised. Those contents contribute greatly to the misleading and the presentation of certain brands in the industry-wanted manner. This consideration could be taken as a starting point for future analysis in which the nuances of the fashion advertisement will be further analysed.

During this research phase, the 'venues of exploration' were also assessed for all 'core' discursive units. This categorisation was done following the model of exploration proposed by Janet Hethorn and Connie Ulasewicz in "*Sustainable Fashion: What's next?*" (eds. 2015). Originally proposed as a framework for the analysis of sustainability within the fashion system and an attempt to delineate 'who' and 'what' should be sustained in an interwoven texture of our fashion-related practices, the model can also be understood as a tool for assessment of the predominant understanding or representation of 'fashion sustainability'.

The three venues proposed by Hethorn and Ulasewicz (eds. 2015: xxiv-xxx), and illustrated through the work of the contributors to the volume, are briefly elaborated below:



- *people* – relative to the ways in which people can be sustained by, or through, fashion practices, this venue of exploration is predominantly centred on the social implications of ‘sustainability’. To mark this direction, in my research, I have labelled this venue as ‘people/social’, and I have recorded as such the discursive units having as main focus questions of social responsibility and commitment.
- *processes* – category used to indicate all of those contents where an integration of sustainable practices within fashion production, economic and socio-cultural processes was visible.
- *environment* – a category reserved for the discursive units in which environmental protection and flourishing are represented as the focal point.
- *interrelated* – often, the venues of ‘sustainability’ exploration, especially in the text units, interfere with one another. I aimed at the individualisation of the central theme in the coding unit. Still, when it was impossible to individualise one, I marked the unit as interrelated.
- *not applicable* – The venues of exploration are complex and multi-layered concepts. Thus, the available information was not always sufficient for an unforced assessment. Since the scope of this research is to provide grounded information, I opted for this category whenever the information was insufficient. This was particularly the case with the ‘advertisement’ units.

Sustainability as a ‘term’ was not present on the pages of *Vogue Italia* for the predominant part of the archive. However, the ‘venues of exploration’ can be understood in a much broader sense, as ‘sustainability-related’, not as ‘limited-to-sustainability’. Thus, in this research, the assessment was carried out also for the discursive units in which ‘sustainability’ as a word was still not present. This categorisation was instrumental in understanding the developments of the ‘sustainability’ discourse.

General coding - Info (all discursive units)						
Issue n.	Month	Year	Page	Type*	Size**	Title
Coding units - Content (all discursive units)						
Content division I		Content division II		Venues of exploration		Notes
Coding units - Discursive Strategies (core discursive units only)						
Sustainability	C/O	Facts	Argumentation claims	Mitigation	Intensification	

*\*The 'type' category applies to the 'text' units only, while in the case of the 'advertisement' units, the size category was filled for all of the units, not only the 'core' selection.*

*Figure 5: Coding Sheet categories for both 'Text' and 'Advertisement' discursive units.*

Finally, a qualitative analysis of the discursive units was carried out in the third part of the analysis. Informed by the Discourse-Historical Approach, and as presented in Figure 5, the analysis was centred on the 'core' discursive units at this stage. A total of 123 'core' discursive units were analysed, and an assessment was made on the following categories:

- presence of the term '*sustainability*' [sostenibilità] and its derivatives.
- C/O – standing for, broadly speaking, *concerns* and/or *opportunities*, understood as ways of representation of the 'fashion sustainability' discourse. This category is a result of my intention to investigate the focus of *Vogue Italia*'s representations and is to be understood as a tool for numerical representation of the grounded, qualitative analysis that I carried out.
- Similarly, the presence of '*facts*' within the discursive units was noted. Here, I was not interested in fact-checking, but I was curious to understand with which frequency *Vogue Italia* is presenting 'source-transparent' facts. By 'source-transparent', I mean facts for which, within the discursive unit where they are presented, information is provided on the academic or private institutions that are a source of the claims of truth or rightness in question.

- Under the *argumentation*, I was tracing the presence of *claims of truth* and *claims of rightness* related to the macro-topic of the research.
- Such categories are *Mitigation* and *Intensification*, which, together with the *Argumentation* category, are based on the discourse-analytical categories proposed by Wodak and Reisigl (2017: 95; 2018: 52); categories which, through a series of questions, aim at investigating the various discursive features and strategies present in the discursive formations. In the coding sheet, the presence of the ‘mitigation’ and ‘intensification’ discursive strategies was traced and marked as 1) *present*, 2) *absent* or 3) *mild*, when those were not directly related to the main subject of the discursive unit in question.

Clearly, the presence or the absence of the *argumentative* claims of truth or rightness, as well as the *mitigation* and/or *intensification* strategies, does not indicate anything in isolation. Still, through the interconnected comparison of the results of these – third-level analysis – categories, much on the discursive strategies employed by *Vogue Italia* could be unveiled. During the qualitative analysis, attention was also paid to the discursive strategies of *nomination*, *predication* and *perspectivisation* (as discussed by Wodak and Reisigl (2017: 95; 2018: 52), which will be included in the discussion of the results. Still, considering the volume of the data, those observations were not numerically represented.

The textual observations, represented in numerical form in the coding sheet, were then analysed intertextually and within the broader socio-cultural context of the predominant, over-production oriented and capital-led fashion system. These will be discussed in detail in the analytical chapters.

### Chapter 3: Mapping Sustainability - *Vogue Italia* 1989-2021

*Is it possible for an institutional fashion magazine such as Vogue Italia to be artistically avant-garde and simultaneously “adopt a progressive political vision in a conservatory fashion system” to impose a debate on each issue? Yes, and it is demonstrated by research carried out by the research group ModaCult at Cattolica University in Milan, directed by the sociologist of communication Emanuela Mora. (Iss. 852, p.146)*

This above is the initial paragraph to the conversation between Michele Neri and Emanuela Mora titled *The Progress, in our opinion* (Iss.852, September 2021, p.146-149), and demonstrative of *Vogue Italia*'s propensity towards topics such as racism and sustainability, as well as the magazine's political engagement. As stated by Mora, the innovation results from “the ways in which (the magazine) has engaged with politics [...] with the novelty that (the editorial team under Farneti) assumes the risk of what it entails to touch certain theme and to interact with the subjects involved.” (Iss. 852, p.147) The theme of “risk” is brought up also by *Vogue Italia*'s Creative Director Ferdinando Verderi in his last statement in the same September 2021 issue when he contemplates on the idea of “creativity as courage,” idea(s) which “transformed in actions become tools to put in discussion the world we are living in.” (Iss. 852, p.312) Back to ‘*The Progress*’ conversation, Mora later recalls Farneti's opinion on the responsibility that the editorial team has to exercise at all times – the responsibility towards the parent company and the investors on the one hand and the responsibility towards the readers on the other – and she defines it in terms of Weber's ethics of responsibility (see Starr, 1999, p.407-434). Farneti's reported statement continues with: “I am not in a position to give sustainability prerogatives; I can only look for a way to engage with it and consequently shift the attention of the magazine”, and Mora reads it as “I am aware that my position also leads me to make not-so-ethical choices, but I try to limit them, and with teamwork, I build different viewpoints.” “Not reducing the complexity is a political approach”, she confirms her position (Iss. 852, p.148).

Now, in this opening conversation, we see clear employment of perspectivisation as a discursive strategy (Wodak and Reisigl 2017: 95, 104-113) by Farneti, although closing the issue, we can find a reference to Verderi's (and Farneti's) understanding of the

magazine “as an opportunity for action”, thus an opportunity for risk-taking (Iss. 852, p.312). Farneti’s distancing from the problematic aspects of his professional position is, in a certain sense, softened by Mora’s final statement – *Vogue Italia* is political. And it is true, taking into consideration the numerical data of the research. The usage trend of lemmas such “razz”, “razzism”, “razzist”, “razzial”, or “ecology”, “sostenibil”, and “ambiental” has shown exponential growth, especially from the 2010s onwards. Weber’s ‘ethics of responsibility’ mentioned by Mora leaves room for additional questioning insofar as it refers to “Weber’s formulation of a political stance adequate to morally serious endeavour in a world characterised by inevitable and irresolvable conflict.” (Starr, 1999, p.409) Being the ‘ethic of responsibility’ “constructed as a form of moral endeavour within the context of the value struggle that emerges in ethical and institutional life” (Starr, 1999, p.418), we can argue how this kind of approach leaves space for ideological work dictated by the prevailing power structures. In our case, it is the *Vogue Italia* parent company Condé Nast and the investors, as stated by Farneti, as opposed to the general public. For this reason, “the hypotheses of cultural domination (or, in this particular case, of socio-cultural influence) at a macro-level need to be further strengthened and tested at the micro-level of detailed discourse and communication analysis.” (van Dijk, 1984, p.8)

Specific topics and terminology could be frequently used, thus can create an impression of commitment. Nevertheless, the fact that a selected group of socio-politically relevant topics are being incorporated into a fashion magazine does not imply a real socio-political commitment and position-taking by the magazine. This is why a systemic discourse analysis is necessary. Understanding the context in which these terms were used, the salient features and the nuances of the contents, as well as the interconnectedness between those contents, is of great significance in terms it can provide a solid base for a socio-diagnostic debate. What does this ‘ethic of responsibility’ imply? Which are *Vogue Italia*’s ways of being political? To focus on the ‘sustainability’ macro-topic, what does it mean, and how is it represented on the pages of one of the most influential fashion magazines? Let us start with the numbers.

For the second research period, going from the beginning of 1989 to September of 2021, as explained in the previous chapter, a total of 445 ‘sustainability’-related, discursive units

were selected from the *Vogue Italia* archive. The numbers showed that 128 of these 445 unique contents were concentrated in the last less than two years, from January 2020 to September 2021. This period, enclosed between the *Sustainability and Creativity* issue at the beginning of 2020 and the last *Vogue Italia* issue with Emanuele Farneti as editor-in-chief, denotes an undoubtful proliferation of sustainability-related content, as shown in Figure 6. It results clearly from the graphic that ‘sustainability’-related discursive units were present to a relatively minimal extent throughout the whole period, yet the first slightly more significant movements are observable from 2007 onwards. In the chapters hereafter, I will examine and present these discursive developments from a holistic and intersectional standpoint, introducing the positive instances and underlining the problematic points and missed opportunities for effective socio-political engagement. Considering the spike in ‘sustainability-related content in the last two years of analysis, I found it critical to start my analysis from here.

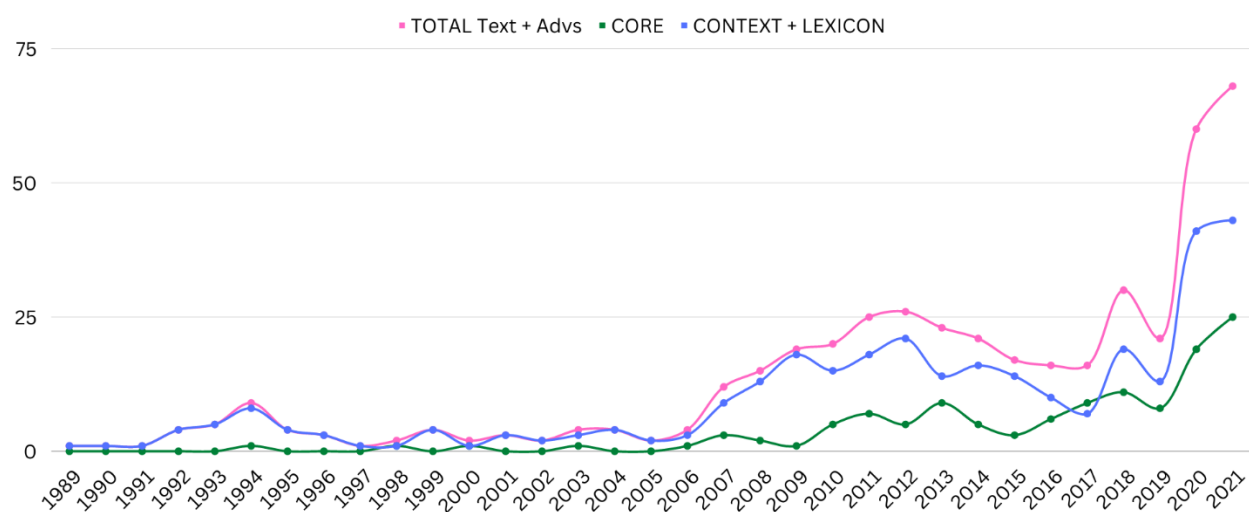


Figure 6: Graphic representation of ‘text’ and ‘advertisements’ discursive unit frequency per year for period 2: TOTAL, CORE and CONTEXT + LEXICON

### 3.1 Two Years of Blooming Sustainability (and Creativity)

*In the great global debate on sustainability and the values Vogue is committed to promoting in the next decade, I am choosing one especially close to heart: intellectual honesty. And in our case, it means admitting*

*that making a fashion magazine has a significant environmental impact. [...] Change is difficult, but how can we ask it of others if we do not question ourselves first? (Farneti, Iss.833. Jan. 2020: 14)*

The editorial letter opening the January 2020 issue of *Vogue Italia* was titled “*Vogue’s values*”. It was presented as a bold statement not only of the moral principles “in which the 26 *Vogue* editions believe in” (Iss.833: 14) but also a demonstration of the concrete commitment. This commitment, in the case of the special issue, came in the form of 1) an “exploration of alternative ways” of creative expression resulting in a volume made entirely without in-house photographs, 2) a decision to use biodegradable plastic only for the packaging, and 3) a benefit project ideated to help the gravely damaged Foundation Querini Stampalia in Venice. Commitment thought, as Vittoria Filipi Gabardi states it, “to reduce the carbon footprint and generate a concrete benefit” (Iss.833: 32). The costs saved through the ‘alternative ways’ of production were thought to be beneficial also because it would mean that something tangible would remain once the magazine “turns back to its production routine.”

The “Sustainability and Creativity” issue in question comes after the official Condé Nast declaration of the commitment “(to) play a more proactive and meaningful role in informing (their) readers about the climate emergency and inspiring them to take practical actions [...]” from November 2019, Condé Nast joined UNFCCC’s Fashion Industry Charter for Climate Action (Condé Nast). The announced commitment explains the proliferation of content linked to the macro-topic of sustainability, yet in the citation above, we can already trace some inconsistencies. It is true that with the paramount January issue, *Vogue Italia* demonstrated that things could be done differently, but it is only an *isolated case*, an object symbol, before going back to business as usual. As presented in this editorial letter, putting oneself in a discussion can thus look like an isolated case of commitment linked to a worthwhile project, while Condé Nast’s commitment was primarily concerned with information and inspiration. Indeed, starting from that issue n.833 onwards, *Vogue Italia* demonstrated particular attention to the topic in question, yet the practices of inspiration and information are to be discussed in detail.

### 3.1.1 Positions: *Vogue Italia* on ‘Sustainable Fashion’

In the overview of the special issue, Farneti points out how, in their opinion, uncomfortable questions are also necessary – “with its obsessive need of newness and possession fetish, could fashion aspire to be really sustainable?” (Iss.833: 14). On the same line, “*The challenge is open*” call for eco projects denotes the dark side of fashion as being it “the second most polluting industry” and emphasises how the “decisive rethinking of the sector’s dynamics” is crucial for reaching the climate objectives (Iss.833: 48). The same month, Filippi Gabardi positions *Vogue Italia*’s commitment within a system in which “there is no sector today that does not question itself on what can it do, or stop doing, to contribute to the challenge of sustainability” (Iss.833: 32). Later that year, Alberto Calabrese states “(t)he whole fashion system is questioning the future” with the first interrogative being “that of the sustainability of the system” (April 2020, Iss.836: 112) – both, rather intensified statements where the complexity of the required actions is being mitigated through generalisation. In line with *Vogue Italia*’s made-known commitment, also narrated in the next year’s January issue when Farneti stated, “we are committed to living sustainably and stand for independence, individuality and creativity” (Jan. 2021, Iss.844: 16), Sarah Mower (Sept. 2020, Iss. 840: 78) was wondering if “it would not be beautiful to consider 2020 [...] as a year of change.” She continues, “it is the year starting from which the fashion system has the opportunity to embark on a journey [...] that does not damage the planet and the people living on it,” and suggests the concepts of ‘zero waste’ and ‘zero tolerance’ for racism – consultable also in the Condé Nast’s Sustainable Fashion Glossary, which, in her opinion, “will arm you with the knowledge needed to distinguish [...] the misleading ecological policies from the authentic ones” (Iss. 840: 78).

Created in partnership with the Centre for Sustainable Fashion, London College of Fashion at the University of Arts London, the Sustainable Fashion Glossary is a resourceful tool to familiarise with sustainability-related concepts and is indeed well-organised, providing citizen-friendly orientation through the complexity of the topic. It results from my research, however, that, on the pages of *Vogue Italia*, the representation of the topic was not as multi-layered and certainly not congruent with the ‘system thinking’



(see Meadows 1997) needed to address contemporary issues effectively as it will be illustrated hereafter.

### 3.1.2 *Positions: On Second-hand and Upcycling – Reading the Unwritten*

The 'blooming sustainability' biennial 2020-2021 denotes diverse 'fashion sustainability'-related discursive contents. Conforming to the information-sharing scope of the magazine, 'text' and 'advertisement' discursive units were found reporting on relevant initiatives and, more importantly, noting the 'fashion-sustainability'-related socio-cultural shifts. In the already discussed January 2020 issue, Michele Fossi writes on the second-hand economy, which "also infects the fashion (system)" (Iss.833: 40-41). Even though overly simplified in its narration, as it will be later discussed, the article reports on examples of sharing economy, which can be found inspiring. Two other articles presented in "The gratitude issue" (Dec. 2020, Iss.843), both written by Samira Larouci, talked of vintage clothing as the moment's hot topic discussed by "the wave of independent magazines, podcasts, and start-ups" (Iss.843: 112-113), and as a central point of the "*Buy, wear, re-sell*" model presented by the founder and CEO of Reflaunt Stephanie Crespin (Iss.843: 113). Another recurrent subtopic was 'upcycling' traceable in student's projects (Iss.836: 112-115) but also presented as a symbol of the restart (Sep. 2021, Iss.852: 121-122; see also Iss.823: 209-215), a concept mainly employed in the conversation after the years of the pandemic. Without taking from the genuine scope of information, these contents require a more detailed examination which goes beyond the apparently opportunistic yet problematic representation.

First, there is an evident intensification of the representation of the fashion future as unquestionably sustainable. As if it is a doubtless and well-worked strategy of the system, and not only an aspiration which will require acknowledging the trouble, staying with it and with the loss related to the needed accelerated transformation (see Haraway, Fletcher and Tham). The inspiring, yet restricted to the concept of fashion-as-culture (Payne), student's projects are presented in *Vogue Italia* as "a journey in the not-so-far future when the sensibility for the collective good and the concern with the Planets' future will dictate the rules of the game" (Iss.836: 112-115). The creative upcycling employed by some high-end brands for isolated capsule collections is presented as "changing the very

concept of value,” a representation intensified by the vague statement by the WGSN’s Lorna Hall:

*“It is inevitable that the sector adopts this practice because the true luxury lies not only in the brand’s name or in the product itself but also in the fabric’s quality and the designer’s original idea. [...] what makes upcycling so attractive is the conceptual component of these pieces” (Iss.852: 121-122).*

Not questioning the truth of the claims, I am here interested in demonstrating how a very grounded, self-reflecting and caring process such as upcycling is reduced to an industry interest, not because it is genuinely sustainable in its concept, but because it is attractive. Linked to the concepts of attractiveness and industry-led interest is the second boldly emphasised aspect in the discursive units presented here – the consumer’ interest in the topic. “[...] The eco-conscious push of the Millennials and the GenZ has led the fashion industry to study every possible new scenery, getting ever closer to rethinking the life cycle of clothes and accessories” (Iss.843: 112-113). It is a generation that “just does not want to hear about waste” (Iss.852: 121-122). They have a “zero-waste vision” (Iss.843: 112-113) and a “sustainable mentality,” and as consumers, they “expect transparency and consciousness” (Iss.843: 113). The represented “collective awareness” (Iss.843: 112-113) is also supported by some traceable sources. “GlobalData estimate(d) an 69% growth of the second-hand market between 2019 and 2021 (Iss.843: 112-113), while the ThredUp report showed how between 2016 and 2019, the “American second-hand market has grown 21 times more in comparison to the traditional retail” (Iss.833: 40-41). Interestingly enough, source-traceable reports were also presented in support of GenZ’s and Millennials’ increased interest in luxury products (Iss.843: 112-113), as well as of the increased consumers’ propensity to diversify between high-end brands and second-hand clothing (Iss.833: 40-41).

What can be seen as a neutral representation of sociocultural and industry practices on a textual level, seen from a broader perspective, raises some question marks. On an intertextual level, we can undoubtedly observe an intensification of the industry-friendly aspect of these genuinely sustainable practices. The focus is not on the practice itself

but on the process of legitimisation through consumer interest and market-oriented reports. What is presented as necessary is not the need for transformation on a paradigm level but adaptation to the changing interests of the consumer. Thus, it is enough in a certain sense to offer a capsule collection of upcycled pieces (Iss.852: 121-122) or to opt for a “personalised approach to the circular economy” by deciding to control part of your product’s second-hand market, while being careful to the “perplexity that the second-hand market, once the exclusivity factor is eliminated, can damage the image, the value and the reputation of the brand” (Iss.843: 113). To soften the fear of exclusivity’s lost allure, there are all of the rental platforms that, under the tags of sharing economy and democratisation, “offer, finally, to the consumers with a lighter wallet the possibility to access the same levels of luxury and style of the wealthy classes” (Iss.833: 40-41). Problematic on so many levels, this statement not only, by generalisation and abstraction, mitigates the meaning and the genuine degrowth feature of the concept of sharing, but it also intensifies the business-as-usual aspects while recurring to outdated views on fashion as an aspirational tool embedded in class disbalances.

Representing second-hand clothes as items that “allow you to have fun in changing your wardrobe quickly without the sense of waste guilt” (Iss.833: 40-41) in a sustainability-dedicated issue is somewhat problematic. It speaks of the inconsistency of the discourse on one side dedicated to meaningful informing (Condé Nast 2019), while on the other presenting misleading and questionable positions. On the representation of the industry-centred points of view, also the interview with CeCe Vu, the fashion and beauty lead of TikTok. She explains how “the hashtags #upcycling and #vintage ha(d) more than 13 billion visualisations combined [...] which let us intuit the potential of the platform in influencing shopping, and consequently the values that brands must put at the centre in order to remain desirable.” While giving market-oriented tips on how to remain desirable, relevant, and to reach the mass public, she adds the magic words of inclusivity “we work to be a place where our users feel comfortable showing themselves as they really are.” (Sep. 2021, Iss.852: 134)

In the discursive unit “Help Me Say Green,” “the fashion sustainability expert Matteo Ward suggests a three-word synthesis” on how the digital natives experience environmental

issues (July 2021, Iss.850: 32). He individualises ‘environmental grief’, ‘traceability’ and ‘greenwashing’ as the most representative words. Supported by source-traceable information, Ward underlines greenwashing as a tangible problem and points out how GenZ is ready to act accordingly. The well-grounded information on the greenwashing problem that we find in the discursive unit is, however, accompanied by a rather vague and generalised claim of truth on GenZ’s readiness “to verify and disseminate its discoveries through social media.” (Iss.850: 32). Although studies have shown that, in particular contexts, there is a significant correlation between a perceived greenwashing and young consumers’ decreased propensity to buy the products in question (see Lu et al. 2022), providing claims of truth in a simplistic and generalised manner can result in somewhat misleading information and can lead to a wrongful intensified understanding of the GenZ, in this case, as an unquestionable enabler of change. Secondly, reports the data from the Fashion Revolution survey evidencing that “79% of GenZ expects brands to disclose supplier names” (Iss.850: 32). Still, what is rather simplified and misleadingly represented is the following statement: “The only way for consumers to be certain that the pieces are in line with their values is transparency, which together with traceability of the supply chain, guarantees truly sustainable production.” (Iss.850: 32) The misleading here lies in the simplification of the meaning and the scope of transparency visible in the discursive utterance. The traceability and transparency concepts are to be understood only as tools to take brands accountable. As stated in the *Transparency Index (Ditty 2020)*, “transparency is a tool for change, not the end goal” and, as such, cannot “guarantee an actually sustainable production,” as claimed by Ward (Iss.850: 32). Instead, it can “provide a window into the conditions in which our clothes are being made (which can consequently) allow us to address them more quickly and collaboratively.” Orsola de Castro describes the pursuit of transparency in the fashion system as

*“one of the most disruptive agents when it comes to moving forward because it challenges everything that about the (fashion) industry (and) the culture it thrives on: closed doors, elitism, imbalances of power, and exclusion of practically everyone bar the anointed few.” (de Castro: 204)*

Eventually, through interchanging processes of 1) citizens and institutions requiring transparency and traceability, 2) companies improving their practices and 3) institutions

and citizens controlling the progress and keeping companies responsible and accountable for their actions, we can get closer to actual sustainable production.

### 3.1.3 *Positions: Others on 'Sustainable Fashion'*

The pages of *Vogue Italia* were not reserved for editorial opinions only. On the contrary, in the two years dedicated to commitment, there were many, both 'core' and 'context', discursive units where diverse points of view on many topics, sustainability included, were featured. Since the period coincided with the pandemic outbreak and developments, sustainability was often presented as a guaranteed formula for the post-pandemic world. An already tested formula with "sustainability, upcycling and reuse (being) the fashion's buzzwords well before the pandemic (has) forced us to rethink how we buy, what we wear for work, how many pairs of shoes do we need." (Feb. 2021, Iss.845: 72-73) The post-covid 19 world was seen as entirely different and "having nothing to do with that of the past" (April 2020, Iss.836: 53-54). Lidewij Edelkoort (Iss.836: 77) was forecasting that "Covid-19 would (have brought) an enormous change, social and economical, but also an in-depth change of our habits." She continues, "I believe we are now ready to draw a different, slower life [...] (where) free and avant-garde education will be the key for the future."

Similarly, Michelangelo Pistoletto, in conversation with Francesco Monico (Iss. 852:156-158), reflects on how human beings "through an artificial hand have created an artificial planet which leads us straightforwardly into a collision with the natural planet." And now, he continues, "to avoid catastrophe, we must put in equilibrium the artificial and the nature; [...] we must resaw our relation with nature and refind balance by making use of science and technology in a renewed ways." In these observations, we can find the answer to Monico's question "So today we need to change the paradigm, from the accumulation of power, money, goods to the perception of the relationship we have with the world and above all with ourselves and among each other?" (Iss. 852:156-158)

Alliniated in position also the question, "Should we, for example, renounce mass consumerism, move from the era of quantity to that of quality, from the enlightenment of the desires to the finiteness of possibilities?" (Neri, Iss.836: 53-54) More space-specific

and diagnostic of the Italian context, the answer predicts a form of “‘new ethics’, even in consumption,” focusing on personalisation and passion-driven purchases. (Iss.836: 53-54) A position on Made in Italy was also made by the famous trend forecaster Edelkoort who defines the Italian culture as “probably the most hand-made culture in the world,” but will be discussed in detail in light of the discursive developments in the earlier decades.

Through in-depth analyses of these position-contents, a few observations were made. On the positive side, we can notice the above-presented propensity to merge with the natural world and cherish slower and grounded practices like attention to the local dimension seen in the possible “rebirth of specialised shops, [...] artisanal ateliers, small brands and fashion houses,” (Iss.836: 77) or the prediction of the “grown attention to not being wasteful [...] and (facing) the duty of setting limits for ourselves so to be able to conquer the future ” (Francesco Morace, Iss.836: 53-54). This propensity could be read as ‘grounded imagination’, a concept coined by Kate Fletcher and Matilda Tham (2021[2019]), which envisions an approach different from “the fantasy of *escaping the conditions of the world*, which is what both economic growth logic and associated technological determinism try to do.” (2021[2019]: 35) In this sense, and exalted to a broader socio-cultural perspective, the ‘grounded imagination’ is interested in envisioning rightful relations between the humans and their Earth Logic-led positioning within the environment.

On the more problematic side, I noticed an intertextual intensification of the understanding of ‘sustainability’ as “already present” and embedded in the fashion system (Iss. 845:72-73; ). While instrumental in awareness raising, this opportunistic view could mitigate the complexity of the problem, leaving space for mixed conclusions and a perception that the necessary is being done already. Boldly intensifying and generalising, Farneti (May 2020, Iss.837: 10) presented “sustainability (as) already putting the foundations of the sector on a tough test.” He continues that it “should and has to be a fashion of consuming less but better,” yet, in an industry-friendly balancing, he underlines how “it does not go unnoticed how this involves a substantial paradigm shift.” As discussed in the first chapter, it is precisely the paradigm shift that is needed because “the levels of environmental impact have shown no net reduction, despite the significant increase in awareness, interest,

knowledge, measures and technologies directed to fashion and sustainability in recent decades” (Fletcher and Tham 2021[2019]: 20-22).

Secondly, here again, I observed an intensified representation of the consumers as sensitive to the topic and prone to rightful decisions. Edelkoort (Iss.836: 77) wrote, “It will be the moment of the truth: people will judge what is truly creative and sustainable by rewarding the brands that best know how to interpret the new rules of simplicity,” while Morace (Iss.836: 53-54) was predicting that “not only the environmental sustainability but also the dignity of work, its spaces and its times, will also be a fundamental requirement in consumer choice.” While Morace is at least multi-layered in terms of the subtopics of the discussion, presenting two different aspects of what it means to be sustainable, Edelkoort’s statement is abstract and misleading. It links the concepts of ‘sustainability’ and ‘creativity’ to the blurred ‘rules of simplicity’ – most probably to be understood in aesthetic terms – but certainly leaving unacceptably large room for speculation. In this way, her statement gets closer in significance to the vague, romanticised opinions presented in another discursive unit, where in a brand-presenting short text, it is stated: “Today fashion must rediscover that poetry, that quality and politeness, that professionalism and ethics of conduct; only in this way can it also be sustainable.” (Iss.851: 76). The difference in the representation put aside, both Morace’s and Edelkoort’s statements are presenting consumers decision-making capacity and rightness under the form of certainty, which considered the vagueness and the generalization can be particularly misleading.

#### *3.1.4 Positions: A More Radical Perspective*

As previously discussed, the editor’s letter from January 2020 (Iss.833: 14) also announced the need for the uncomfortable questions – “can fashion be really sustainable?” To give a glance at the complexity of the question is the author of *No Logo*, a critique of consumer society and activist Naomi Klein.

*Sustainability is becoming an empty word that we find everywhere, especially in fashion. It is a buzzword that sounds good, but, often, it is only a marketing play behind greenwashing. [...]The heart of the problem,*

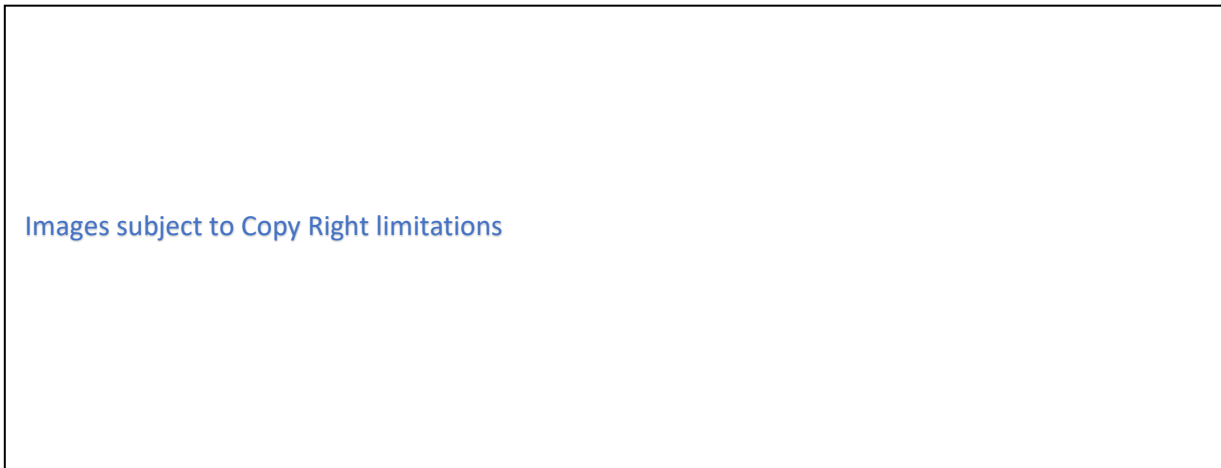
*what is truly unsustainable, is the idea that we need to have something new, to be constantly replacing something less new. This is the main problem. (Iss.833: 142-145)*

Acknowledging the fact that, in comparison to twenty years ago, there are much more consciousness and an increasing number of protagonists of the sector who understand that the world of fashion, as it is, is unsustainable, Klain affirms that “there is a need to talk about new systems [...] and exit the idea of infinite growth and infinite consumption.” (Iss.833: 144) In an integrative critique of the ideology of infinite growth and consumption, Klain touches upon various subtopics related to sustainability. She inseparably links the green revolution with the fight against inequalities, opines on globalisation and the birth of the new super-consuming and super-polluting countries as a result, and traces down the genealogy of influence. In terms of fashion, “save what you have,” and for everybody, “be political!” she concludes. Without going in-depth on the rightness of Klain’s claims, the valuable feature of the discursive unit featuring her interview is the multifaceted approach. Placing the ‘fashion sustainability’ debate and issues in a larger context and intertextually drawing correlations with the socio-cultural, political and economic macro level and the concrete manifestations of the sustainability’-related problematics allows for a broader understanding of the issues and minimise the risk of misleading and abstract reading of what is presented. Her questioning of fashion’s role in “feeding the fairytale of the infinite growth” lines up with the current and initially discussed flows in fashion studies (see chapters 1.1.2 and 1.2.2) and contributes towards a grounded dismantling of the paradigm.

Klain’s “save what you have” aligns perfectly with the positions presented in the much shorter text from February 2021. In a short interview by Sofia Mattioli, Orsola de Castro, author, activist, and Fashion Revolution co-founder, expresses her positions and concerns. “Mend, repair, rewear” is the mantra proposed and practised by de Castro to challenge “the system designed to be disposable” (de Castro 2021: 7). In a world driven by overconsumption, where people are often regarded for their commerce-based practices only, de Castro “prefer(s) the word citizens,” rather than the overused consumers. As explained in her book “*Loved Clothes Last*”, the word ‘consumer’ implies that something is being degraded. Scholars Fletcher and Tham (2019[2021]: 35-37)



propose the values 'care of the world' and 'care of the self', underlining the decentralised, grounded, and tradition-embedded relation with material objects (see also Meadows 2009: 184; Smith 2015: 139-146). It is precisely this perspective that is transmitted by the short discursive unit featuring de Castro as interviewed.



*Figure 7: Content units “The Good Turn” and “A Political Gesture”, Vogue italia, February 2021, Iss.845, pp. 68-70. Copyrights Condé Nast 2020.*

Interestingly enough, immediately before, there is a three-page interview with Rebecca Henderson, an economist, professor at Harvard Business School and a proponent of 'responsible capitalism', in her words, an alternative to the clientelist capitalism which has marked the delay of the social structures. Without going into the details of the proposed 'responsible' variant of a system which is genuinely unsustainable insofar based on a concept of infinite growth within a limited world, I found it rather representative in terms of the salience of the discursive units and how the juxtapositioning plays off emphasising the one instead of the other. Building the importance, we can also observe the visual elements strategically positioned on the first page of Henderson's unit and strangely dedicated to the 'fashion sustainability' discourse. Considering the size, the visual elements, and the titles stating "*The Good Turn*" compared with "*A Political Gesture*" of de Castro's discursive unit, we can argue how *Vogue Italia* strategically prefers certain discourses. Furthermore, it is to be underlined that Henderson's unit was not in the keyword research results from the first phase of my analysis. Indeed, the text does not feature the words 'sustainable', 'eco' and their derivatives. Nevertheless, it is boldly

supported by ‘fashion sustainability’-related statements by Fashion Revolution, Environmental Audit Committee and Naomi Klein, and as such, speaks of the importance of the cover-to-cover analysis of discursive formations. (see Figure 7)

At the beginning of 2020, in the “*Sustainability and Creativity*” issue, Angelo Flaccavento wrote his regular *Controcanto*, in that occasion titled “*Verba Volant*” – a rather provocative comment on the hypocrisy of the system in which “the decay is there for everyone to see” (Iss.833: 22). Being one of the very few discursive units in which a clear position is observable, it is a snap of a system where sustainability is “the topic of the moment, (even though) of the duration of the moment no information is given.” While “the assembly of powerful pontificates [...] loudly preaching a change while refraining from being the change,” what is relevant is the exclamation, “We have sustainable jeans also!”. Moreover, before the final “silence,” he writes:

*Woe to interrupt the wicked cycle of continuous disposable production or suggest to do so. [...] The sanctity of profit has given the coup de grace. The solution to such a ruin cannot be a banner to be flaunted by posing, an announcement to be pronounced on command, a noun to be fobbed off as a suppository. (Iss.833: 22)*

Summed up and depicted with clarity, the commentary would have been perfect to follow as a guiding principle in the selection of *Vogue Italia*’s content. Still, as stated at the beginning of the chapter, with *Vogue Italia*, we are confronted with the ‘ethics of responsibility’. The duty to balance the morally right and the position-circumscribed actions is particularly evident in the brand and initiatives-dedicated discursive units, which will be discussed hereafter.

### 3.1.5 *We Are All Sustainable*

The research I carried out in a few consecutive and interrelated phases resulted in 123 ‘core’ discursive units in which the relationship between the concepts of ‘fashion’ and ‘sustainability’ was clearly observable. During my analysis, among other things, I was analysing the type of textual information choosing among ‘information only’, ‘fashion sustainability’ ‘opportunities’ or ‘concerns’. When both opportunities and concerns were

present, I recorded the unit as containing 'both. From a total of 123 discursive units, the 'fashion sustainability'-related 'opportunities' were present in 92 discursive units, out of which 80 were exclusively dedicated to some kind of 'opportunity', understood as positive industry example, brand employing green-coloured practices or possibility offered by sustainability-wise initiatives. Observing the numbers, we can already discuss how *Vogue Italia* primarily focuses on presenting cases of isolated positive practices, which, inspired by a talk by Giulia Mensitieri (2022), I here define as 'sparkling sustainability'.

"*Vogue* believes in joy and optimism," states Farneti in one of the editorial letters. (844: 16) Seen from the discursive units, it also results that *Vogue Italia* believes the commitment can come in the form of isolated 'sustainability'-inspired collections. Looking at the 'text' units only, 37 out of 98 discursive units were classified as 'metoo' contents, presenting isolated projects, one-time collections, or even one-time single pieces. Twenty of these units were concentrated in the last two-year period.

Alberta Ferretti, Gucci, Guess, Saucony, Levi's, MiuMiu, Louis Vuitton, and many more committed to incorporating sustainability, or at least that is how *Vogue Italia* represents their actions. "Born in collaboration with the Eco-Age [...] and made with fibres certified for organic origin [in Italian, 'origine biologica'], low environmental impact and reduction of the use of chemicals," the new capsule collection by Alberta Ferretti "is the new chapter of a journey on the theme of sustainability" (Iss.833: 75). In October 2020 MiuMiu too "has launched a collection of 80 vintage pieces, creatively elaborated", while Louis Vuitton, under the creative direction of Virgil Abloh, for the S/S 2021 has proposed 50 pieces "made of recycled archive materials or fruit of the elaboration of pieces from the previous collections" (Iss.852: 121-122). Also, Gucci, with their sustainable 'Off The Grid' line, are pictured as "a utopia, an idealistic fashion turned reality which is manifesting itself around those who decide to live in harmony with nature, those who follow a mission outside the boxes." (July 2020, Iss.839: 63)

An important discursive strategy employed by *Vogue Italia* and present in all of these discursive units is the mitigation strategy. Through abstraction and partialisation of the information provided, the reader can be misled into questionable conclusions. Clearly, the reader's agency and ability is not put in question here, for assessment of the readers'

ability to individualise these kinds of discursive strategies we will need a separate research on the reception tier of the media studies. Rather, it is the negative impact that the abstraction and partialisation as discursive strategies might have on the reception of the contents. For example, in the discursive unit on Alberta Ferretti's capsule collection, we see how it has been defined as "the new chapter of a journey on the theme of sustainability." Here, without exploring the rightness of the statement in terms of intensifying the symbolic meaning of a collection and exalting it to a broader conduct symbol, we can observe how the focus is not on representing the effective processes and eventual plans for transition to a sustainable organization and conduct on a company level. Instead, the sustainability-themed journey is limited to the realization of a capsule collection, presented as a commitment. Similarly, the Off The Grid pieces are presented as "ideated to reduce the carbon emissions, made using solvent-free production processes packaged in FCS-certified recycled paper packs." (July 2020, Iss.839: 63) By providing partial information, in these cases limited to the collection features only, in comparison to, at least raising questions on the predominant production practices of the fashion giants, *Vogue Italia* mitigates the meaning of sustainable commitment by reducing it to a single-operation concept. With a focus on the materials only, the complexity of the problem is mitigated, leaving behind a whole range of interrelated sub-issues completely unmentioned. A line or a collection cannot be nominated as 'ethical' or 'sustainable' if the equally important questions, linked to the workers' rights, the condition of the labour practices and, more broadly, the general well-being of everyone involved, are not addressed.

What is also worth noting here are the predication strategies employed by *Vogue Italia*. The capsule collection by Alberta Ferretti is referred to as "the (ethical) horoscope" in the emphasis of the discursive unit, even though no mention of ethical nor responsible practices was made in the short text. (Iss.833: 75) The digit "LV Upcycled" printed on the heels of the "unique and completely personalisable" shoes by Louis Vuitton, in an intensification manoeuvre, was defined as "almost a prophecy for the future of luxury fashion" (Iss.852: 121-122). Sadly enough, in a discursive unit in which there is no mention of the workers' conditions, we see a romanticised representation of a group of social actors, famous artists and socialites, who, through a predication strategy, are

discursively characterized as “all activist(,) every one of them on the frontline of the environmental defence.” (Iss.839: 63)

The mitigation of the concept of sustainable commitment by reducing it to the importance of a single collection, project or object is one of the predominant aspects of the ‘fashion sustainability’ discursive formations in *Vogue Italia*, and it will be coming recurrently throughout the analytical chapters. In the biennial 2020-2021, at least ten more discursive units were assertively presenting this partial and limiting manifestation of sustainable commitment. With a “project dedicated to green fashion”, the American fashion brand Guess has decided to “cater to a generation imbued with green awareness and eager for escapism” (Iss.845: 131), while Saucony has thought on revisiting an iconic sneaker in an “eco-friendly version [...] so to embrace a wider and more inclusive community” (March 2021, Iss.846: 132). Likewise, to make a “statement against every form of waste”, Levi’s has collaborated with Marta Ferri. The “special project” consisted of creating a single wedding dress which, in a discursive predication, was characterized by *Vogue Italia* as “a real *aprosdoketon*, something unexpected, the one-of-a-kind on (their) pages” (Iss.846: 124-125). Instead of finding detailed information on the projects, highlighted as green, eco-friendly and waste-fighting, what is observable in these discursive units is a vague justification of the brand’s positioning. Levi’s is described as a company “pioneering in the conscious approach to denim thanks to the raw materials such as the cottonized hemp and the Tencel [...], and Waterless productive techniques as less as the personalization and recycling programs in the Tailor Shops” (Iss.846: 124-125) while Guess is legitimized by the fact that they are signatory “of the Circular Fashion System Commitment 2020 of the Global Fashion Agenda” (Iss.845: 131). The information on the supposedly “green fashion” project is limited to the claim that they “have brought to life 68 unique pieces created in Los Angeles between 1981 and 1999” (Iss.845: 131). In the case of Saucony’s “eco-friendly” sneaker version, Claudia Lunati, the brand’s global marketing director, vaguely claims the truth: “The project is studied in every detail to have a low environmental impact, even the label is printed with beetroot juice.” (Iss.846: 132) The Levi’s and Ferri’s collaboration resulted in “dress-sculpture, a unique piece to be worn.” The designer comments, “ I truly hope it could be lived, hopefully, sold through a charity (initiative)” (Iss.846: 124-125).

### 3.1.6 The Guess Case

Without going into a profound analysis of every single brand featured in the discursive units on the pages of Vogue Italia, I would like to point out the partial nature of the presented information. In the case of Guess, the legitimization is done by the information of the signing out of the Global Fashion Agenda's Circular Fashion System Commitment 2020. "The minimum requirement as a signatory of the 2020 Commitment is to set at least one (out of four) target for 2020 within one or more of the four action points" (Global Fashion Agenda 2020: 23). The four targets are immensely opened and general, thus leaving much room for engaging with what suits your company best. Below the targets as presented by Global Fashion Agenda (2020: 1):

- 1) Implementing design strategies for cyclability (40% of total targets set)*
- 2) Increasing the volume of used garments and/or footwear collected (25% of total targets set)*
- 3) Increasing the volume of used garments and/or footwear resold (14% of total targets set)*
- 4) Increasing the share of garments and/or footwear made from recycled post-consumer textile fibres (21% of total targets set)*

In the 2020 Final Report, Guess was positively evaluated as reaching the minimum requirement as a signatory because they have reached their targets two and three, standing respectively for:

- 2) (h)aving implemented an ongoing, customer-facing product take-back program in our retail stores in the United States and (having) expanded the programme's presence globally to a minimum of three markets.*
- 3) By 2020, (having) launched a resale platform for used GUESS products. (Global Fashion Agenda 2020: 34)*

When I went to check their "take-back program," the first Google result showed the following information: 1) *Bring back 5+ items of unwanted clothing from your wardrobe.* 2) *Receive 15% off. See offer details,* and 3) *Your items will be sent to Homeboy Recycling for upcycling, refurbishing, and recycling.* (Google research, 2022) The results seemed to be part of the Guess Sustainability Plan available at <https://www.guess.com/sustainability>. Strangely enough, when I wanted to get more

information by clicking on the website, it redirected the research to the official Guess website for Europe ([www.guess.eu](http://www.guess.eu)), where the keyword research for “sustainability” gave no results.

Aside from the fact that this ‘commitment’, circumscribed to the American market only, is problematic in itself, there are also problematic points with the extremely limited information on the ‘take-back programme’ available through Google research. Firstly, we can see how the take-back programme is actually ideated so to incentivize further consumption. People are invited to bring 5+ unwanted pieces to get 15% off. More problematically, it is stated that the collected items “will be sent to Homeboy Recycling for upcycling, refurbishing, and recycling”. Everything seemingly normal and transparent, it becomes a problem when we learn that 1) Homeboy Recycling is specialized in recyclable electronics, and 2) their Apparel Recycling Programme is predominantly based on the goals and needs of the individual brands with whom they collaborate, even though they claim to provide customised sorting, downstream allocation and transparent reporting. (Homeboy Recycling, 2022) The briefly examined Guess case only confirms how reports and official commitment pledges can frequently be extremely misleading. More important for the scope of my analysis, the case raises questions about *Vogue Italia*’s conduct and level of investigative journalism as opposed to the superficial industry lipservice.

### 3.1.7 *Vogue Italia*’s One-of-a-kind

Matching to the operation by Levi’s and Marta Ferri, in March 2021, *Vogue Italia*, in collaboration with the designer Christelle Kocher, realized a project, in a series of intensified phrases, described as “a triumph of upcycling and fantasy, [...] inclusive magic in service of important causes, deployed in defence of craftsmanship and sustainability” (Iss. 846: 126) The one-of-a-kind dress that was realized, through a predication as discursive strategy, was characterized as “tactile, green, (and) as for a good purpose”. The purpose, however, was not presented in the text. Or better, the only aspect related to eventual charity purpose was the designer’s statement: “My hope is that this piece too can be the pretext for thinking together about some solidarity project.” (Iss. 846: 126) The whole statement is fogged in the abstraction of hopes and eventual future possibilities,

requiring additional investigation into the outcomes of this collaboration. The designers' work is also portrayed in terms of the already discussed partial commitment insofar as recycling is represented as a "*modus operandi* dear to the stylist who every season offers the Re/Koché series made with textiles already in stock." (Iss. 846: 126)

Another *Vogue Italia* project speaks clearly the language of mitigation through abstraction. Their first capsule collection is described as "having sustainability, difference, individuality and community as its essence," where "the sustainable soul" of the collection is due to the 100% certified organic cotton [it., 'cotone biologico'], the use of natural colours, and the limited production in selected European companies. From June 2021, when the article was published, to late 2022, almost 50 items were added to the "You. In Vogue" collection. On January 12<sup>th</sup> 2023, it went on sale with up to 70% off on certain items (Vogue Shop, 2023), speaking volumes on its so-presented 'sustainability soul'.

Speaking of sustainable initiatives and projects, a few other discursive units are important to mention. In collaboration with Yoox, and "in order to change the rules of the game," at the beginning of 2020, *Vogue Italia* has launched the "Vogue Yoox Challenge – The Future of Responsible Fashion" (Iss.833: 48). In December of the same year, the winners of the contest were featured in the magazine. Even though the content unit primarily focused on legitimising the company through the opinions of Yoox Net-a-Porter's president Federico Marchetti and Emanuele Farneti, the discursive unit also provided a glimpse into this company's approach to sustainability in fashion:

*There are 2600 plant species capable of growing in saline environments; with the fibres extracted from the species we have grown in the laboratory, carbon-negative fabrics are produced that do not use fresh water and are biodegradable.* (Iss.843: 120)

Instead of underlining the Yoox Challenge support and connection to the brand or describing their work in poetic language, it would have been more beneficial to dedicate space to this innovative company and present their work in detail (Iss.843: 120). What is indeed needed on the pages of *Vogue Italia* are elaborate representations of companies like SaltyCo., their ways of developing planet-positive, carbon negative and



biodegradable materials, together with their vision “to build a planet-healing supply chain (which) begins with (their) approach to regenerative agriculture” (SaltyCo.).

### 3.1.8 *Featured in Vogue Italia*

Two of the very few discursive units in which no discursive strategies of mitigation and intensification are the short texts dedicated to the work of the brands *Garbage Core* (June 2021, Iss.849: 90) and *Rave Review* (March 2020, Iss.835: 196). Without going into presenting the work of these *Vogue Talents* brands, which is not the scope of this analysis, although it could further elucidate the discursive dynamics, I want to focus on the fact that the information is neutrally presented, the positive aspects are not exaggerated nor exalted on that level of ‘sustainability exhibitionism’ which, as previously discussed, was present in the intensified representation of 1) *industry* as undoubtedly ‘having a sustainability direction’, 2) *consumers* as absolutely ‘conscious of and committed to sustainable practices’ and 3) *brands* as ‘sustainability warriors’.

The founder of *Garbage Core* explains how “the idea starts from what (she) find(s); (she) does not have a precise design in mind, it all starts with the choice of fabric.” Riccardo Terzo from *Vogue Italia* writes, “(Giuditta) Tanzi personally takes care of the whole process of making the garments in the laboratory in Milan, a place shared with other creatives whose art merges with the fashion of (the brand).” She continues underlining the multidisciplinary dimension this creative environment adds to her creations. (Iss.849: 90). “RaveReview is born out of guilt. That of wanting to work in fashion knowing it is one of the most polluting sectors.” That is why, as presented again by Terzo, they realise their products with recycled or upcycled materials and include certifications in every phase of the brand, from packaging to delivery. (Iss.835: 196) What is important on a discursive level here is that the focus is on the concrete information obtained through an interview with the founders of the brands. To enrich the ‘fashion sustainability discourse’ and provide relevant information, as stated in the content units at the beginning, it would have been purposeful to detail the conversation and support it with source-traceable information to confirm the “zero impact” presented in the Rave Review text. Information mildly intensified, considering the fact that nothing is with impact zero. Still, these two

discursive units can be seen as some of the most grounded representations of brands' activities.

The problematic point on an intertextual level is that in *Vogue Italia*, again and again, the brands were being presented as 'sustainable warriors' in an immensely intensified manner, while the signification of 'sustainable commitment' is repeatedly mitigated (also seen in Iss.851: 103; Iss.830: 182; Iss.831: 140). Some discursive units from the 2020-2021 time-frame can demonstrate these intensification and mitigation strategies. Since the graduation collection, the work of *Patrick McDowell*, designer of the homonymous brand, "has been marked by the use of waste materials and the attention to the people with whom he works." (Iss.833: 76). In the short text, there is no additional information on his practices, but we do find details on the stylistic relevance of his pieces, and we see his aseasonal collection "Fire Fighting Aunties" being transformed, through predication strategy, in a symbol of "ecological vision." (Iss.833: 76) The recall on familiar and emotionally recognisable elements is present also in the discursive unit featuring Robert Wun (May 2021, Iss.848: 103). Defined in the heading as "a compromise between emotion and sustainability," the collection is predicated as "a love letter to his late grandmother," as the text starts. Regarding the 'sustainability' aspects, we learn from the text that

*"the designer wanted to give this collection a responsible character. He has, in fact, created it by working with small teams to produce small quantities and avoid waste. (He also has) used organic materials, fabrics and certified suppliers, as well as 100% recycled cotton viscose and synthetic leather made from recycled Pvc." (Iss.848: 103)*

Presented indeed as a 'sustainability warrior' case, the problem here is that we do not get any specific information. Emotional and style-wise representations shadow everything. We are exposed to the designer's willingness to confer responsible character to the collection, but no information is given on the small teams with whom he has collaborated. The brand uses "organic materials and fabrics from certified suppliers," but no further information is available. Importantly, in the fashion context, the undoubtful explanation of the terminology is critical. In the Italian context in particular, supporting the content with additional source-traceable data becomes crucial also because of the subtle linguistic

differences between the meaning of the Italian adjectives ‘organico/a/i/he’ and ‘biologico/a/i/he’, which in the English language are signified by the word ‘organic’. Debatably, as it will be seen further in the analysis, *Vogue Italia* often uses ‘sustainability’-related words in a rather unfounded and ambiguous manner.

Between the romanticised personal choices of the designer to be vegan and the legitimisation through his experiences in high-end brands, the “Collection Zero” by the brand *Piferi* is described by Serena Castrignano as “launch(ing) the challenge towards a truly responsible fashion.” (March 2021, Iss.846: 142) In the short text, the founder of the brand, Alfredo Piferi, describes the sustainability-related and animal-free features of his brand’s shoes:

*The soles of the shoes are made in Thunit, a recyclable rubber-based material. The suede is made from recycled plastic, and the nappa leather contains BioPolyol, made from corn oil not intended for food consumption. The heels are also in recycled Abs plastic, while the solvents are water-based and cruelty-free.* (Iss.846: 142)

Here again, it is not that an in-depth conversation on the brand’s productive processes is presented. The claims of truth and rightness presented in the short extract from the text invite further analysis. On a discursive level, it is essential to underline that none of these materials is put in question. They are represented as ‘the sustainable materials’ per excellence. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the following chapter, innovation is not always to be equalled with sustainability. What is lacking, here and in most of the *Vogue Italia* ‘sustainability’-related discursive units is a systemic questioning instead of the opportunistic, industry-supporting, ‘sparkling sustainability’ discursive formations. Before continuing with the following subchapter, I am offering an additional case study to wrap up some of the most common discursive strategies which, as discussed, have been observed on *Vogue Italia*’s pages.

### 3.1.9 *The Acheval Case*

The brand *Acheval*, “galloping towards fairer and sustainable fashion”, was presented for their innovative, circular economy project called *Keep Moving* (Iss.845: 134). From the text, we learn that circularity, in this case, is understood as a practice in which “the

wholesale buyers receive a discount on future orders if they return the unsold good from (the previous collection). [...] In turn, “the brand (claims they) will recycle the unsold items through donations to needy communities, transforming the garments into next season’s collection or selling them as vintage pieces on its website.” In collaboration with the local Warmi Sayajsunqo NGO, which is “creates jobs through microcredit,” the brand (claims they are) producing their collection of ponchos “made by the women of the local communities by using the ancient artisan skills.” Finally, the last section of the short text is dedicated to legitimisation through celebrity customers. (Iss.845: 134)

In this short text, many of the previously discussed discursive strategies can be observed. First, the opening statement shows a bold **intensification** of the brand’s position as a ‘sustainable warrior’. The ‘concept of sustainable commitment’ itself is **mitigated** through **partialisation, modification of meaning** and **abstraction** through the vague representation of the actual actions carried out by the brand. The isolated project *Keep Moving* is presented as representative of ‘sustainability commitment’. With this partialisation strategy, the concept of commitment itself is, first of all, reduced in meaning and significance, to be further mitigated as the text evolves.

Secondly, the project is presented as a circular economy, in their words, involving 1) discount on future orders for returned unsold goods, 2) recycling of those unsold goods through a) *donation* to communities in need, b) *transformation* of the garments for future collections or c) *selling* of the goods as vintage. Before going into detail, it is important to underline how the whole statement is vague because no straightforward information is provided on the selection procedures. Which of the returned garments will go where and why? Which are the communities in need, and how will those be selected? How is the brand planning to transform the garments for future collections? When will those unsold items be presented as vintage? All of these questions are left with no answers at all.

As observable in the case of *Acheval*, the circular economy is approached through 1) incentivised programme for unsold goods return and 2) recycling of those returned goods. The first point is problematic because it is limited to the wholesalers and incentivises buying of large volumes by the whole sellers. If they can not sell those large volumes, they can always return them and obtain a discount for other large volumes of goods. The

second point needs deeper analysis because there are many problematic aspects. Here, the recycling process is strictly limited to the concept of repurposing. However, with the fact that barely 1% of the globally produced textiles are effectively recycled, the academic works and publications on sustainability suggest a more systemic and well-thought recycling process (see Fletcher 2014[2008]: 122-136; also Gordon and Hill 2015: 20-26).

Back to the three ways of recycling proposed by *Acheval*, I will start with the most apparent mitigation of the meaning – *vintage* being presented as applicable to garments produced last year. It is to be clarified that goods produced a year ago cannot be sold as vintage unless the brand waits 20 years. In the fashion context, certain factors influence a garment to be considered vintage (Gordon and Hill 2015: 26-27). Secondly, in apparent mitigation through vagueness, no information on how the brand intends to *transform* the unsold items for future collections is provided. Finally, *donating* is presented as a recycling method. Giving unsold clothes to charity is immensely problematic because it does not help underdeveloped communities; on the contrary, it additionally damages the local industry and burdens the waste management of the countries of arrival. Donating to charity is the same as discarding; the only difference is that it is not the landfill near one's home but another, miles away. In this sense, the meaning of donating practice is intensified, equalled to 'recycling' and exalted to signify 'sustainable commitment'.

The discursive practices employed by *Vogue Italia* resulted in discursive formations that 1) intensify the representations of the fashion industry and brands as largely engaged with sustainable practices, 2) predicate young consumers as conscious and committed to the sustainable agency, 3) predicate isolated 'sustainability'-related actions as an industry interest, and 4) intensify those 'sustainability'-related actions elevating them to a status of a 'fashion sustainability' perfection, which thus significantly 5) mitigate the meaning of the concept 'sustainable commitment', and more broadly, the 'sustainability' in the fashion context. These discursive practices are not limited to the two years analysed in this first analytical section. On the contrary, as it will be demonstrated, those are practices firmly embedded in *Vogue Italia's modus operandi*, which, as it is structured today, will require a radical change before the magazine can present itself as genuinely dedicated to sustainability.

## 3.2 Eco – Etico – Sostenibile – The In-between

The discursive analysis of the two years, openly dedicated to socially relevant, including ‘sustainability’-related, topics unveiled significant aspects of *Vogue Italia*’s approach to informing and inspiring on ‘fashion sustainability’. The opportunistic and overly intensified positive representation of the fashion industry, the presented brands and their ‘sustainability’-related yet discontinuous actions, together with the generalised representation of young consumers as conscious and committed, result in a significantly mitigated representation of the concept of ‘sustainable fashion commitment’, and broadly ‘fashion sustainability’. As shown in the following part of the chapter, these ideologically and persuasively charged representations were 1) regular practice throughout the 2000s, 2) heavily supported by the frequently unfounded and entirely out-of-context use of ‘sustainability’-related terms, and 3) embedded in a context in which environmental and ‘sustainability’-related discursive units were frequently present, thus intensifying the perception of the fashion magazine as highly focused on the question of sustainability in the fashion context.

### 3.2.1 *Lexicon*

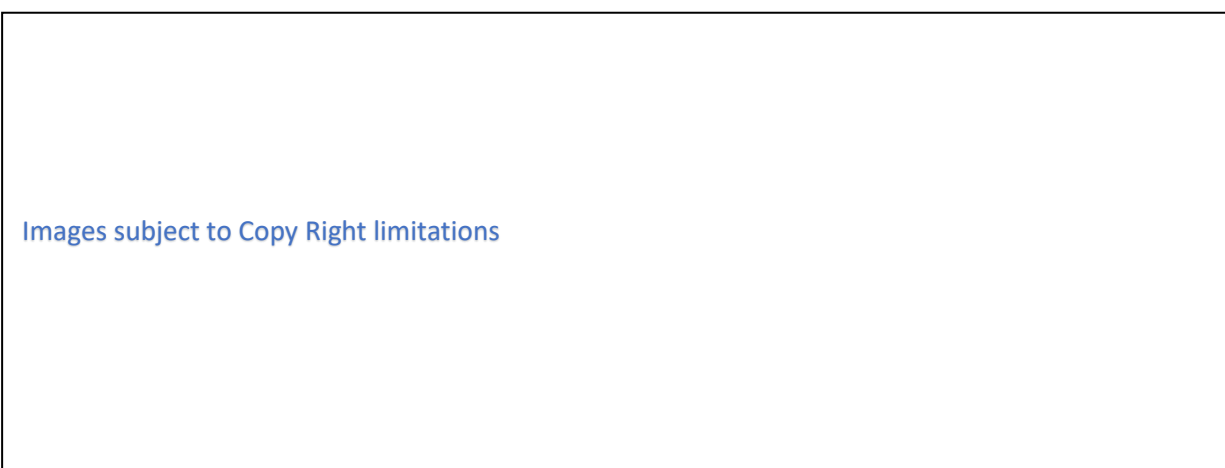
From a total of 445 discursive units, individualised through the keyword research, around 40 discursive units were classified as ‘lexicon’, meaning ‘sustainability’-related words were used entirely out of context, usually found in advertisements, photo editorials or brand-representing discursive units. In the two years ‘dedicated to sustainability’, the ‘lexicon’ discursive units were frequently dedicated to brands. For example, the page dedicated to *Collina Strada* contains the following sentence only: “The project by Hillary Taymour [...] is a platform that promotes sustainability and transparency with easy-to-wear pieces which invite a personal reflection.” (Iss.852: 178-181) Dedicating more space to the project and explaining, for example, the different kinds of sustainable materials used in the production process would have supported the otherwise bare claim of truth. As a comparison, a two-page advertisement is dedicated to the brand *Miriade* where at the end of a long brand-prising text, we find the following claim: “We will implement projects to support sustainability” (Aug.2021, Iss.851: 82-83) Completely vague,

formulated in the future tense, and misleading in terms that ‘sustainability’ does not need anyone's support, but it is the companies that have to change their business-as-usual practices, the discursive unit is, simply put, greenwashing (see Miller 2018). As it is another advertisement, where again, after an in-depth description of the aesthetic codes of the brand, with smaller font size, at the end of the discursive unit, we find: “The collections [...] take up the aesthetic codes that have always characterised *Yamamai*, reinterpreting them [...] also in highly technical and sustainable key.” (Iss.851: 77) “*Bisonte* introduces a vision of the future based on values of social, ambiental and commercial sustainability. Always part of their DNA” (Iss.852: 205), while *Adidas*'s sneaker is being advertised as “now more sustainable” (April 2021, Iss. 847: 40-41). Also, in photo editorials or extensive four-page brand-representation content units, descriptions of garments or materials as eco can be found. *Vogue Italia* proposes “shorts in eco denim” by *Gucci* (Iss.846: 204), “a sustainable cotton coat” by *Moncler* (Iss.845: 109), “shirt jacket in sustainable denim” (July 2021, Iss.850: 142) and “cardigan in recycled polyester” (Iss.849: 167) both by *H&M*, as well as “maxi dresses in sustainable textile” by *Chufi X Mango* or “recycled polyester dress and sustainable viscose pants” (Iss.851: 105-129) by *Stella McCartney*.

These discursive predications of individual garments as eco or sustainable build towards the previously discussed mitigation of the concept of ‘fashion sustainability’ commitment. On the immediate textual level, they intensify the correlation between the brands in question and the concept of ‘sustainability’, a problematic point insofar built on partial and sporadic cases of minimal commitment, thus representative of greenwashing. On an intertextual level, in combination with discursive units which talk about the brands’ predicated ‘sustainable commitment’ (see the already discussed Iss.839: 63, chapter 3.1.5; see also 3.2.5), these ‘lexicon’ units can intensify even more the brand’s image as sustainable, contemporary mitigating, through partialisation, the understanding of ‘sustainable commitment’ as embodied in a single collection, initiative, or, in extreme cases like the above pointed out contents, single garments.

The lexicon units were not limited to the two years initially elaborated. And if in a certain sense, it was somewhat expected to find vague and misleading content in the early 90s,

it is absolutely problematic to encounter the perpetuation of the exact industry-centred representations in the late 2010s, clearly aimed at everything but “meaningful informing and inspiring” of one's readers. These eco ‘lexicon’ contents, during the 1990s, were usually found as part of photo editorials (Figure 8 a and c) or even in the description of a cover photo (Figure 8 b). They propose ‘sheath dress in ecological leather’ by Paco Rabanne (s.Iss.30: 405), ‘black dress in ecological horse hide’ by Alberta Ferretti (Iss.540: 8; also Iss.543:196-199) and ‘an ecological ermine stole’ (Iss.541: 506). In 1993, the advertisement of *Vogue Bambini* announced “ecological dress (practices)” (Iss.513: 4), while in 1994, the ‘2000s dresses’ were described as made in predominantly “synthetic materials and high-tech, to symbolise the advent of post-ecology” (Iss.525: 56) as if it was something on an aesthetic level only. With a distance of a decade but very similar in representation, the “Style” editorial in 2004 asks “designers’ or ecological” as if the two aspects cannot coincide (Iss.651: 102), while two years earlier, in a page dedicated to accessories, the bags made of leather and suede with metal and wood applications were described as “sustainable lightness” (Iss.626: 322).



*Figure 8: Selection of discursive units. a. March 1990, special Iss.30: 405;  
b. August 1995, Iss.540: 8; September 1995, Iss.541: 498-507*

The problem is that this tendency to use eco- or sustainability-related words without detailed explanation will continue through the mid and late 2010s and, as was presented, will be traceable also in the two years of “blooming sustainability”. In the photo editorial “Cross Style”, photographed by Steven Meisel, we find a styling composed of an “organza dress with sequin embroidery, golden fox collar, cap in eco-kidassia, goggles and a shiny



python bag” (Iss.731: 143-175) – quite problematic selection enriched with the one apparently-eco material. Furthermore, fur (Iss.795: 126; Iss.805: 220) or leather (Iss.814: 86; Iss.835: 188) garments and accessories were often presented as eco, while the term “emotional ‘sustainability’” was used without explanation (Iss.816: 80; also Iss. 781: 58).

The “eco T-shirt” by *Costume National* was also proposed among the enormous offer by *Vogue Fashion’s Night Out* in September 2009. An event of conspicuous consumerism with around 36 locations in Milan only. The event was globally organised by the national *Vogue* editions and was presented as an opportunity to meet celebrity stylists, models and fashion editors, and to get advice from exceptional personal shoppers and makeup artists” (Iss.709: 206, 210, 214, 218, 222). The event continued to be organised in the following years; problematically enough, there were always some indications of ‘sustainable’ proactivity. In 2010, the event was presented as having “a strong côté eco” (Iss.721: 330+), while in 2011 (Iss.731:130-131), for example, the official T-shirt was described as “made in eco-sustainable material” without any indication of what that might mean (see Fig. 9 a). During the event, among the many hyper-consumerist initiatives, the book by Marco Ricchetti and Maria Luisa Frisa, “*The beautiful and the good. The reasons of sustainable fashion. [it. Il bello e il buono. Le ragioni della moda sostenibile]*” was presented (Iss.733: 378; see also 369-377). The proceedings from the 2012 “Milan for charity” edition were donated in support of the Italian communities hit by the earthquake that year (Iss.745: 416+), while the 2013 “Milan, charity task” edition was dedicated to the support of a local sports centre (Iss.757: 381+). Earlier that year, the Milan fashion week, described as “between music and benefit,” was in the sign of the battle against cancer (Iss.752: 38). The sixth edition in 2014, when also a Rome event was inaugurated (Iss.769: 620-623), was in favour of the “municipal training centres for the introduction of young people in difficulty into the world of work” (Iss.769: 615-619). This annual event (see also Iss.781: 334) was only one of the many ‘sustainability’-related and not, initiatives featured in *Vogue Italia*, in which ‘sustainability’-related ‘core’ and ‘context’ content was found.

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*Figure 9: Selection of discursive units.*

*a. July 2011, Iss.731: 131; b. March 2013, Iss.751: 384-385*

### *3.2.2 Initiative after Initiative*

“What does it mean to have talent today?” This was the question asked to the White and Vogue project participants in 2010. The answer, “be able to combine functionality, design and ecology” (Iss.715: 369-373), indicated, even though with extreme vagueness, signs of increased sensibility towards the topic. In 2013 (Iss.751: 384-387; also Iss.752: 144-145), The Dubai Mall, “the biggest shopping destination in the world,” was announcing the “Scouting Manifesto Eco-Sustainability”– a call to all established and upcoming designers to “create a zero impact eco-project” (see Fig. 9 b). In this open call for eco-projects, ‘eco-sustainable’ is described as “a trend that not only aims to respect the environment but to guarantee producers and workers a fair treatment.” The term ‘zero-waste’ is understood as a process that “doesn’t alter the balance of CO<sub>2</sub>, methane or other greenhouse gases in the environment, [...] (while) waste, pollution, and other things harmful to the natural world (are kept) to a minimum.” The discursive unit also provides some suggestions on how to be ‘eco-sustainable’ and have ‘zero-waste’ processes. “One can always buy carbon credits or plant trees, of course, but “the ‘zero-waste’ is really achieved by reducing emissions, buying efficient machinery that pollutes less and

drastically reducing the routes raw materials and merchandise have to take.” Eco-sustainable fashion is described as follows:

*(it) puts an emphasis on renewable resources and the ability of the world to transform itself cyclically without having a profound negative impact on the delicate balance of the earth. It relies on recycled materials and natural products to make sure the least possible environmental impact is made. To be defined ‘eco-sustainable’, a product must be local [...]. It also has to have a simple design, be sturdy, be made up of natural and recyclable materials and use as little packaging as possible. (Iss.751: 384-387)*

The claims of truth and rightness seem to cover at least two important aspects of sustainability – the environmental and the social. However, these claims present generalisation and vagueness leading to a limited and partial understanding of the concepts in question. The definitions are clearly put in service of the industry insofar as they contain tips on some eco-practice: focus on renewable resources, natural products, buying carbon credits or investing in more efficient machinery. The aims are vaguely presented as the least possible impact, less polluting, and as little packaging as possible. In the underlined part of the quotation, the “world” is misleadingly represented as indicative of the man-made world as opposed to nature and its ‘delicate balance’. As we saw in the first chapter, this discursive dualism only perpetuates the unsustainable dynamic of the modern world, insisting on fitting the “trendy”, “simple design and sturdy” sustainability in the genuinely unsustainable capitalist world symbolised by the “biggest shopping destination in the world”. As if these contradictions were not enough for us to see the problematics within the discursive unit, the focus of the initiative is on the eco-projects, not inherently sustainable practitioners, but projects.

Later the same year, we can see that “one of the most significant trends of [...] the fashion scene,” which is the description of sustainability, is presented as embodied in the few industry-centred fashion projects, some eco-friendly collections and the work of selected emerging designers. Without going on and analysing the work of these designers and projects with the ten years gap presenting an obstacle, I note that the “window on the world of eco-sustainable International fashion” was inserted in the context of a selection of sparkling events like the “clam catwalk”, “the elite high fashion” event, an “exclusive

gala dinner” – “all for a good cause, to promote education in developing countries” (Iss.757: 354-355). The information available on the “good cause” was limited to the claims that “a portion of the proceeds from the fabulous fashion night” will go to Dubai Cares, “a philanthropic organisation working to improve children’s access to quality primary education in developing countries” – which developing countries, through what kind of actions, it is not stated.

These discursive units dedicated to charity initiatives were everything but rare in *Vogue Italia*. Predominantly classified as ‘context’, these units presented initiatives linked to both the eco and the social aspects of sustainability. We can think of the art exhibitions raising awareness of social (Iss.680: 16; Iss.682: 4) and climate emergencies (Iss.655: 190; Iss.656: 108; Iss.685: 90; Iss.691: 216; Iss.704: 20 and 92), events were often part of ongoing projects of social (Iss.704: 12; Iss.707: 94; Iss.709: 204) and/or environmental commitment (Iss.634: 46; Iss.637: 200). Here, I will focus on those projects and initiatives which had a fashion aspect to them. In 2013, Tommy Hilfiger created a limited edition bag in order to give, as the headline of the discursive unit says, “a concrete help in the fight against cancer” (Iss.757: 284). Yet, no concrete information is given except that the collaboration is with Breast Health International and that part of the profit will be directed to the organization. The following year the collaboration continued (Iss.770: 162). Similarly, the two initiatives, one by *Vogue Italia* and *Pomellato* (Iss.760: 76), the other by *Michael Kors* (Iss.760: 86-87); the first in support of the Fondazione Istituto Europeo di Oncologia (FIEO), the second in collaboration with World Food Program (WFP). Thanks to the first initiative, similar to another initiative from the following year (Iss.764: 20), scholarships for young researchers were guaranteed, while the second claimed that “every watch sold helped feed a hundred children around the world.”

Nothing to be taken from the proactiveness and the supposed genuine wish to help and contribute to a good cause, what is noticeable on an intertextual level is that without exception, 1) all of the cases feature a single collection or a project, 2) the philanthropic activity is interwoven with well promoted, celebrities- supported commercial operation and 3) they claim to raise awareness on the issues in question. Much of the focus of the articles (see also Iss.748: 90 and Iss.789: 60) is on the description of the exceptional

products, where they can be found and future plans. In the specific case of the *Michael Kors* campaign, a particular emphasis is put on the awareness rising, with the role of the individual being put in the focus. The aspect is underlined many times in the discursive unit: “hunger is everybody’s problem; [...] there is need to attract more attention, and therefore the resources necessary to support a project; [...] the individual donations have concretely allowed us to feed millions of Filipinos whose lives were turned upside down by the Typhoon Haiyan” (Iss.760: 86-87). Contradictory, however, in the same article, the executive director of the WFP, Ertharin Causin, explains how, “in the third world the main problem is the possibility of finding food, not the money needed to buy it.” Therefore, it seems, and I have discussed it in the first chapter, that the issues are much broader and systemic. While undoubtedly instrumental to awareness raising, the campaigns remain isolated and superficial tools for action. More importantly, this approach to the problems is mitigating their complexity; by buying a T-shirt, a watch or a bracelet, the wealthy Western citizen gets the sensation that they are contributing to the problem solving, while unfortunately, the systemic and most controversial dynamics remain the same. The ideological blackmail put in action here is that, as Fisher explains, “‘caring individuals’ could end famine directly, without the need for any kind of political solution or systemic reorganisation” (Fisher 2009: 15). The principle remains the same also when the Western research centres benefit of the campaigns. A few years research programs founded through campaigns such as those discussed could indeed be helpful, but they would not solve the underlying degradation of both educational and health systems. Instead, what isolated campaigns like those observed contribute to proliferating is the fantasy, as opposed to the “grounded imagination” as proposed by Fletcher and Tham (2019[2021]: 34-35), that “western consumerism, far from being intrinsically implicated in systemic global inequalities, could itself solve them. All we have to do is to buy the right products” (Fisher 2009: 15). The fashion-related representation problems will, however, be more evident in the discursive units discussed hereafter.

### 3.2.3 *Ecologically-correct and Early Representations*

One of the first discursive units I found through the keyword research dates to 1998; in the February issue of that year, the brand Ken Scott was presented as an example of a fusion between the “ecologically correct fashion and the social commitment” (Iss.570: 126). The brand’s representative of the time, Aldo Papaleo, claimed that they are engaged as sponsors in charge of protecting the vegetation in the area of the municipality of Milan, also contributing through the organisation of cultural eco-spirit events. The social aspect, on the other hand, in a significantly intensified manner, is represented as regarding the “entire humanity”. As Anna Gloria Forti, the writer of the article, says, the brand “provided two t-shirts to Amnesty International in 1997, [...] (while) for 1998 they have identified another fundamental need of humanity to devote to – the annulment of racial prejudices.” The mean to do so – a poster with the slogan “One world, one life.”

“The future of fashion finds out it has an eco-compatible soul” (March 2000, Iss.595: 208). This was the headline of the discursive unit dedicated to the experimental recycling design project by IED. The practice is described as “as old as the world” but also intensified with unnecessary, fashion-as-usual features. Roberta Franceschetti from *Vogue Italia* links the recycled object to “decontextualization: in order to be recycled, the object must rise to a new life, present itself unexpectedly and amaze the observer.” Recycling was presented as “the new frontier of the fashion industry” (Iss.684: 126,128), a practice so integrated that “a large part of contemporary creation (was presented as being) based on recycling” (Iss.632: 216). The bold intensification seen in these discursive units was one of the main traits of the ‘fashion sustainability’-related content in the early to mid-2000s. “Not a day goes by that new lines and boutiques of organic clothing are not talked about, or that a new celebrity has switched to a green lifestyle (is not mentioned)” (Iss.682: 114). Sustainable development was represented as a “common objective to a whole generation of designers obtaining training in the fashion schools (of the moment)” (Iss.682: 114). The fashion of the moment was defined as “bagcentric” because of the “nice intuition to entrust an environmental message of primary importance to a shopping bag capable of saving mountains of horrible plastic bags” (Iss.682: 114).

“The eco-compatibility front is expanding in fashion” (Iss.669: 114); this was the statement of the article written by Patrizia Gatti, one of the earliest attempts to cover different manifestations of the fashion-sustainability relation. Featured were the artistic and philosophical project “Entrance” – “a series of garments made with recyclable plastic combined with dry leaves and flowers,” and the exhibition “Well fashioned: eco style in the UK” held at Crafts council gallery in London. The description of the projects presented at the exhibition provided an insight into the understanding of materials essential for the “eco-compatible fashion” – cotton, hemp, linen or recycled materials, innovative materials such as Ingeo™, bamboo and soy, as well as some mixes between natural and technological textiles. Still, the frequent question was, “who knows if (eco-fashion) is yet another trend or a real turning point? (Iss.682: 114, as also seen in Iss.757: 354-355; Iss.751: 384-387; iss.715: 230)

Starting from the early 2010s, the ‘sustainability’-related content in *Vogue Italia* started to be increasingly more present (see Fig. 6). Even though the ‘context’ units were significantly more diffused, the ‘core’ units have also demonstrated certain stability. Exactly these ‘core’ units, found roughly from 2010 onwards, provide insight into how the discourse on ‘sustainable fashion’ or ‘fashion sustainability’ has developed in the last decade to arrive at the representations we can observe today. The structure of the discursive units was predominantly the same – topic-focused articles, with one or two text emphases, few visual elements, plus their description (see Figure 10). This structure went on until early 2017, when Emanuele Farneti was appointed editor-in-chief after France Sozzani’s untimely death in late December 2016.

In one of the first, if not the first, discursive unit (Dec. 2009, Iss.712: 84), I found the term “sustainable fashion [it. moda sostenibile],” the concept is presented as a conjunct between the eco, traceable in the use of organic materials, and the ethics [it. etico] aspect manifested in the work of the four selected and featured brands producing in a few developing countries. Content-wise, the ‘text’ discursive units identified through the keyword research were very similar to this article. The article’s central topic, usually supported by a few examples, was generally fitting some of the following sections present in *Vogue Italia* in those years: “Eco Living”, “The We Way”, “Spotlight On”, “Fashion

Notes”, and others. The position of the industry, the represented brands, consumers, and other social actors were clearly evident. As stated earlier, the focus of my research is not the evaluation and contestation of the claims of truth and rightness present in these content units. Even though analysis in that direction could provide critical insights into media practices, here, the focus will be on the strategies employed by *Vogue Italia*, which result in a definable and evident position in regard to the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse.



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*Figure 10: Selection of ‘text’ discursive units. a. December 2009, Iss.712: 84; b. March 2013, Iss.751: 254; c. January 2017, Iss.797: 76*

#### *3.2.4 How did the Discourse get Solidified?*

In the above-mentioned first ‘sustainable fashion’ unit, Gatti and Stone (Iss.712: 84) describing the concept, write, “it is talked about more and more.” In those years, fashion was seen as “moving away from the concept of aesthetic research as a point of arrival in itself to embrace the urgencies of contemporary society” (Iss.722: 156) and “cutting waste and producing with an eye on the environment” (Iss.789: 58). Sustainability was seen as “mandatory for fashion’s avantgarde, to the point that it is practically implicit” (Iss.751: 384-387) In those early years, there was an observation of “an always-growing number of ethical and eco-friendly brands” (Iss.722: 156), “inaugurating projects in the sign of sustainability” (Iss.751: 250), while the big groups of the textile-clothing sector were



described as “going even further (in their commitment) so that fashion industry can become increasingly aware of the respect for the environment” (Iss.728: 98). Famous brands like *Gap Inc.*, *Marks & Spence*, *Espirit*, *Levi Strauss & Co.*, *Adidas*, *Nike*, *Patagonia* and *H&M* were praised for joined the Sustainable Apparel Coalition and “agreeing on sustainable production procedures from the raw top the store” (Iss.728: 98). Headlines like “Certified Fashion” (Iss.728: 98), “Charity Fashion” (Iss.722: 156), “Sharing Fashion” (Iss.794: 146), “Counscious fashion” (Iss.732: 86-87), “The Counscious beauty” (May 2016, Iss.789: 58), “The ethics of fashion” (Iss.781: 228), “Democratic fashion” (Iss.722: 210), “A sustainable chain” (Iss.751: 254), “Eco-friendly runway” (Iss.727: 258), or “A sustainable craftsmanship” (Iss.753; 72-79) were populating the pages of *Vogue Italia*. Furthermore, “a new professional figure (was described as) roaming the world and supervising the fashion industry – the ethical manager.” The pioneer of the profession, Marina Spadafora, recounted the most important aspects of the work for *Vogue Italia* (Iss.781: 228).

At first sight, the commitment to ‘fashion sustaianibity’-related topics seemed undoubtful. Still, as we also saw earlier, the in-depth analysis of the discursive formations revealed some strategies employed by the magazine, which were, and still today are, undermining the seriousness of the issue. Already in the very few examples above, we see the industry-centredness of the discursive formations. In an overly assertive, intensified and generalised manner, the industry was again described as embracing sustainability. The Sustainable Apparel Coalition is represented as the way further, but there is no detailed information on the coalition’s concrete actions. The common aim is defined as “creating an index that measures and evaluates the sustainability of the clothing and footwear industry” (Iss.728: 98). The vagueness of the statements is absolutely misleading because it passes off as ‘sustainable’ actions which are actually industry-centred only. As stated on SAC’s website, their mission is “To transform business for exponential impact through groundbreaking tools, collaborative partnerships, and trusted leadership for industry sustainability”. True, their vision is slightly more inclusive, but again vague, “a global consumer goods industry that gives more than it takes — to the planet and its people” (SAC).

The coalition was created in 2009 after Walmart and Patagonia identified a lack of standardization. “Joining forces, they brought together peers and competitors from across the sector, to develop a universal approach to measuring sustainability performance and to drive collective action” (SAC), meaning it was created by the industry to measure the industry’s progress, employing the industry’s language. Today, as stated on their website, the coalition represents more than 280 organisations in 36 countries with annual revenue of more than \$845 billion. The Higg Index, created in 2009, “enables brands, retailers, and manufacturers from the apparel and footwear industry to measure, improve and share their social and environmental performance via a common ‘sustainability language’” (SAC). In 2019, ideated as a public-benefit technology company, Higg was launched to build software for assessment methodologies developed by the SAC. In addition to hosting the Higg Index, the platform capabilities of Higg are expanded “to include advanced analytics, tracking, and disclosure tools,” helping consumer goods businesses accelerate the transformation towards a more sustainable future. Today, available on subscription only, Higg is presented as a company that “brings brands and retailers value at every stage of the sustainability journey.” Thus, it is about value creation and “alignment with the industry standard” rather than a genuine transition towards more sustainable ways of production and consumption. Moreover, in late June 2022, the Higg Index was reported as insufficient to support brands’ environmental claims (Abdulla 2022).

The industry-centredness was, again, on an intertextual level, supported by the justification of the needed commitment, not by the authentic will to out-grow certain power inequalities and to bring about change in our relation to the environment, but by the fact that the consumers were, supposedly, more aware, conscious and committed. Already in 2008, Isabella Panizza wrote, “The consumers’ demand for ecological brands grows every day” (Iss.690: 260). In 2010, it was noted that “the attention of the consumers [...] pushes a growing number of companies to equip themselves with eco-friendly processes” (Iss.715: 230). The Dubai Scouting Manifesto presented earlier also underlined how “in the era of social media and with consumers being more and more informed, the ‘green-washing’ as a mere cosmetic operation would be rejected by the market for being insincere and surface level” (Iss.751: 384-387). The isolated activities were presented as “an ethical tomorrow that convinces the consumers” (Iss.789: 58), while Marina

Spadafora, in 2015, by drawing on recent market research, emphasised that “there is a strong desire for social justice and environmental protection”, especially among the Millennials (Iss.781: 228). And again, generalised but boldly intensified on an intertextual level, “millennials believe in responsible and long-lasting fashion [...] They (even) consider it more revolutionary than the low-cost” (Jan. 2017, Iss.797: 76).

The claimed consumers’ propensity to prefer the socially and environmentally right products put aside, the positive practices alone were also put in service of the profit-oriented system. The sharing economy, for example, was seen as an additional way to make more profits – “Renting is better than selling because if the garment is very popular it allows you to earn more.” The genuinely grounded practice was additionally mitigated through industry-centred statements “If the 30-times rule is imposed to stop compulsive shopping, it does not mean that the wearer of that piece can not be a different person every time” (Iss.797: 76). Furthermore, there was particular burden also on the shoulders of the individual, instead the pressure being added to the system, in our case incorporated by the predominant profit-led system. Just as an illustration, on at least two occasions, the Fashion Revolution slogan “Who made my clothes?” was misleadingly modified into “Do you know who made the clothes that you are wearing?” depicting the industry as the agent of change by “raising awareness among the consumers,” (Iss.781: 228), “urging (them) ask/ask themselves #whomademyclothes” (Iss.789: 58).

In 2012, in one of the apparently multi-view discursive units, *Vogue Italia* was asking, “Sustainable Fashion: Can the good and the beautiful coincide?” (Iss.739: 346,348) Federica Cellini, organising the ideas from the blog readers, wrote, “A possible challenge which can be won, with a different approach to production and consumption.” It is one of the very few units in which some decentralised points of view are present. The text starts with the opinion of Giorgia Lovisotto:

*When I think of an eco-friendly creation, my Glue Cinderellas forged in thermoplastic technopolymer don't come to mind, and neither do the Timberland boots with recycled rubber soles. No, I am thinking of the slippers I had as a little girl. My grandmother had made them for me. The sole was cut out of an old tire, the insole was a quilt made with dozens of*

*overlapping and expertly sewn fabrics, and the upper was black corduroy with little pink flowers made from an apron. They were splendid, made to measure with recycled materials at practically zero cost. [...] Sustainable fashion makes me think back to those slippers because they contained the wisdom of the tradition, the mastery of reuse, the craftsmanship of the territory. (Iss.739: 346, 348)*

After the initial detachment from the industry-centredness, however, the remaining two pages of the 'text' unit were dedicated to different initiatives and projects, presented in the form of readers' opinions. Among the mentions: the project by Ilaria Venturini Fendi *Carmina Campus* producing accessories in Africa (see also Iss.733: 286; Iss.684: 126,128), the *Green Carpet* by Livia Firth, also featured on numerous occasions, the invitation by Stella McCartney to "look to the world through eco-sustainable glasses, made in bio-plastics," as well as the shout out to the various events "organised to bring together the protagonists of the green turning point" (Iss.739: 346). Pity that the fashion system has not made paradigmatic changes, and the question of sustainability is still described as "the tension which for years now characterises the (fashion) industry – how to find a way to reconcile the need for newness and the respect for the Planet" (Iss.852: 121-122). Over and over again, we see the same dualist approach, placing the industry and the planet on two separate planes as if that very same industry was not dependent on the well-being of the environment.

The down-to-Earth view of Giorgia Lovisotto, seen above, is quite an exception among the analysed discursive units and, as such, could be easily annulled from the general picture. What is instead repeatedly reaffirmed was the industry's position. "The great gentlemen of fashion like Bernard Arnault or Tom Ford" advocated fashion's future as 'green' and "were discussing the big potential of the ethical luxury business" in early 2008 (Iss.690: 260). Valentino was mentioned for "joining the Greenpeace 'detox campaign'," while LVMH and Kering were endorsed by Spadafora for their "pursuing sustainability policies for years" (Iss.781: 228). On that note, in the discursive unit dedicated to the Conde Nast's International Luxury Conference, held in Seoul in 2016, Marie-Claire Daveu, the chief sustainability officer of Kering, presented 'sustainability' in the fashion context as "a necessity, not an option (which) concerns the entire production chain" (Iss.794:

146). What is problematic on the immediate textual and intertextual level, however, is the fact that, often, the concept of 'sustainable commitment' was significantly mitigated.

Contradictory enough, in the very same discursive unit, for example, the luxury sector is presented as torn "between the necessity to produce at the speed of social media and the wish to save quality and sustainability." For *Vogue Italia*, the Instagram fashion partnership head Eva Chen states: "The future of fashion is increasingly democratic, and it lies in the ability to find new engaging ways to recount oneself" (Oct.2016, Iss.794: 146). As explained in the text, that auto-narrative is instrumental to the profit-led system, "aimed at increasing the sales by inviting the followers to get to know the brands very closely by revealing their backstages and secrets." The statement is then supported by the opinion presented by Olivier Rousteing, who says he "believes in the power of see-now-buy-now, which finds in the social networks a very powerful vehicle," while *Vogue Italia* conflictingly predicated the two as "discussing the role of the social (media) in the transformation and the awareness raising in the luxury consumers." The impression, obtained by this content unit, but also by other advertisements of the fashion summit through the years (Iss.807: 229; Iss810: 287; also Iss.829: 165-168), is that the luxury sector was systemically appropriating the concept of 'sustainability' selling it as intrinsically linked to their *modus operandi*.

Even more problematically, the discourse was often subject to partialisation and vagueness. Nadja Swarovski, for example, presented the company's commitment as "focused on the water, around which the family company has launched a global awareness campaign that starts from India, Uganda, Brasil and China and aims to educate the little ones not to waste" (Iss.794: 146). In 2019, on the question, "What are those words that, in your opinion, will play a central role in the debate on climate and the environment in the years to come?" in particularly romanticised discourse, Stella McCartney and Al Gore individualise *beauty, emotions, transparency* and as proposed by Fossi (the lack of) *knowledge* (Iss.829: 165-168). The interview led by Michele Fossi comes across as a moment for giving each other applause. Al Gore is predicated as the "symbol of the fight against climate change, while McCartney as the designer who, "with (her) commitment to make fashion more sustainable, has helped to redefine the concept

of beauty in fashion, which now goes beyond mere aesthetics, increasingly including the attention for the Earth” (Iss.829: 165-168). These two examples open on reflection not only on the mitigation of the complexity of the issue by 1) partial focus on one segment only, 2) abstraction through both romanticisation of the situation and displacement of focus, but they also make us question who is allowed to speak and share opinions on the topic. Certainly, the space is not given to low-profile practitioners, even though, as previously stated and as it will be shown in the last chapter, *Vogue Italia* has systemically included in their editorial selections new brands and upcoming talents

### 3.2.5 *All those (un)Sustainable brands*

Already in 2010, the brands employing some pro-sustainability actions were defined as having “strong ethical content” (Iss.722: 156). Yet, the aim was to be “as sustainable as possible,” while the commitment was taking the form of donation of one's creations to charity (Iss.722: 156). In 2011, the capsule collection by *Alberta Ferretti*, in collaboration with Emma Watson, was presented as “made with ecologically certified materials” (Iss.728: 98), a statement which could have also been perceived as positive if it was not for the fact that ten years after, the company is still on the same point, promoting as discussed previously, “the new chapter of a journey on the theme of sustainability” (Iss.833: 75). And again the charity aspect, seen in numerous discursive units, – “part of the proceedings from the sales made exclusively on the Alberta Ferretti’s website (were planned to) go to People Tree, the non-profit with which the actress has been collaborating from 2009, which deals with fair trade according to the principles of World FairTrade Organisation.” What is observable again is the lack of transparency in regard to the proceedings, the fact that there are plenty of other items produced, distributed and sold by the company under unclear circumstances. Yet, what is important is the “Pure Threads” collection, as were important the “Love me” one, celebrating Earth’s Day, or the “Ethical horoscope” (Iss.833: 75), or yet again, the capsule sweater in recycled cashmere announced in late January 2023 “Save the Glacier,” made in collaboration with Skyway Monte Bianco (Skyway).

The collection of three bags produced with “zero deforestation”-certified leather by Gucci were described as a demonstration of “how one can be proactive on environmental issues by raising awareness and taking action against deforestation” (Iss.751: 254). The capsule was managed in collaboration with Green Carpet Challenge by *Vogue Italia*’s favourite, Livia Firth, the “celebrity supporter of sustainable fashion” (Iss.797: 76), who assures in 2013 that “from when (they) started the GCC adventure, three years prior, so many things have changed. In better.” Yet, as we saw earlier, in 2021, Gucci was still at that very same point in its sustainable evolution, producing capsule collections endorsed by celebrities (iss.839: 63). On that note, it is important to mention another aspect of *Vogue Italia*’s discourse on ‘sustainability’ – the position of socialites and celebrities. In 2011, the “eco-friendly runway” was organised at Rockefeller centre in New York (Iss.727: 256). Famous fashion houses, “Gucci, Prada, Marni, Balenciaga, Marc Jacobs, Burberry, Yves Saint Laurent, Givenchy, Diane von Furstenberg, Michael Kors, Manolo Blahnik, Oscar de la Renta, Stella McCartney, Rodarte, Alexander Wang, only to name a few, have created a garment dedicated to the green cause.” For the occasion, the pieces were available in advance on the website Net-a-porter.com, and, as per rule, part of the proceedings of the online sale was dedicated to non-governmental organisations. The focus of the initiative, however, was the “Green auction: Bid to save the planet [...] an evening in which philanthropists and collectors (were) able to purchase exclusive works of art or luxury goods at auction in order to raise funds and keep the attention on environmental protection high.” The special guests were three couples, Pinault-Hayek, Carter and Rockefeller, but, as David Rockefeller stated, “everyone can show their support for ‘Green Auction’ through the internet – a very democratic way to support our Mother Earth, [...] the online auction [...] allows people from all walks of life to participate in this initiative in an easy and effective way” (Iss.727: 256). Let alone the perversion of the “Bid to save the Earth” title, the initiative was extremely indicative of the inequalities and the power dynamics that mark the current fashion system embedded in the predominant social-economic paradigm. This tendency of the wealthy to organize initiatives, projects and produce collections in support of disadvantaged people and the environment alike was also present in around 40 ‘context’ units dedicated to environmental and/or social commitment: the “Earth Day” initiatives (Iss.704: 92), projects for reforestation to mitigate

one's CO2 emissions (Iss.721: 20; Iss.735: 82), or to clean oceans from plastic (Iss.775: 176; Iss.794: 118), just to give some examples.

Sometimes individuals were presenting themselves as “professional activists” (Iss.839: 64), but more problematically, brands were taking advantage of certain discourses and were coming up with “truly cutting-edge sustainable” projects and collections also supported by Fashion 4 Development. The projects were “Pinko for Ethiopia” (Iss.753: 72-79) and “YamaBali” (Iss.751: 250). For the first, the designer and “ambassador of ethical fashion in Italy, Marina Spadafora” designed a collection of bags which “reproduced the body paintings of the people of the Omo valley in southern Ethiopia [...] and were produced in Adis Abeba, by local artisans, with African cotton.” The second, the article claims, allowed “the creation of an embroidery school, thanks to which Balinese women (had) the opportunity to get out of unemployment, become independent and at the same time safeguard a high and ancient tradition of craftsmanship.” With almost ten years of time distance, it is hard to evaluate these projects groundedly, but I found it implicative of the underlying problems and the partial approach to the topics that even today, there is no transparency on these activities. Pinko's website has a page dedicated to the initiative with almost the same information available in *Vogue Italia's* article from 2013 (Iss.753: 72-79). On the web page (Pinko 2014), the collection designer, Spadafora, stated, “Africa will be the future; local craftsmanship is an immense treasure that lives in symbiosis with the environment. (The project) can bring attention to these distant peoples and benefit their protection. With a similar attitude, the president of *Pinko*, Pietro Negra, believed that “globalization can become a positive factor if it is able to bring well-being to cultures and populations on the margins of the world and if in the west it is able to stimulate people's curiosity.” Today Pinko is claiming to be engaged through their PINKO Take Care project of global sustainability and ethics, which includes environment, people and territory. Contradictorily enough, the in-depth analysis of the brand carried out by *Good On You* reports the following:

*PINKO's environment rating is 'not good enough'. It uses few eco-friendly materials. There is no evidence it reduces its carbon and other greenhouse gas emissions. There is no evidence it has taken meaningful action to reduce or eliminate hazardous chemicals. There is no evidence it*



*implements water reduction initiatives. Its labour rating is 'very poor'. It does not publish sufficient relevant information about its labour policies to give a higher rating. (Good On You 2022)*

Sadly enough, these issues did not stop *Vogue Italia* from collaborating and featuring *Pinko* in 2018 for an additional “eco-project” – “to incentivize the birth of a forest in Kenya” (Iss.812: 112). Even more problematic, *Yamamay* does not seem to have a website page dedicated to the above-mentioned or any other past project dedicated to sustainability. They do have a line, though, #YAMAMAYFORTHEFUTURE, “created with **sustainable** fabrics, born from a love and passion for our planet” (Yamamay 2023). They claim the line “represents a truly forward-thinking collection with the use of fabrics like **organic cotton** and **recycled fibres**.” Furthermore, “(the) processing of recycled fabrics, (they claim), means that they are more durable over time, maintaining a longer life cycle and wear” (Yamamay 2023). Extremely superficial, vague and abstract, the information present on the website required a little further analysis. I limit myself to the claims on the website's ‘Sustainable line’ section. There were more than 100 products marked as sustainable; at least half of them were 50% off in January 2023, with prices starting from 4.99€. In the product pages of the individual items, very poor information was provided, and problematically the exclusive use of recycled fibres was not found. The vast majority of the products are in mixed fibres and rarely was it stated that the material is “microfiber with recycled fibres,” without any detailed information, leaving much room for misconduct.

In the late 2010s, many brands proliferated the pages of *Vogue Italia*, claiming sustainable commitment. The designer Stella Jean created a capsule collection for *Benetton* with a “strong vocation for ethical fashion [...] produced in collaboration with Haitian artisans” (Iss.793: 254-257). The pieces of the “high sartorial sustainability” by *Giulia Heritage Collection* were presented as “designed to last, breaking the infernal pace of fast fashion” (Iss.805: 336). Their philosophy was clear “buy less, wear more,” even though no further details were provided. The high-end brand *Viktor&Rolf* was also depicted in a ‘sustainable’ light when in 2017, they created a collection with the warehouse stocks of their e-commerce (Iss.807: 120). In the same line, without detailed nor transparent information, increasingly vague and generalised, also the representations

of the capsule “Better Denim [...] in which the raw material is the awareness” by *Liu Jo* (Iss.829: 276), as well as the claimed commitment by *Ferragamo* in the discursive unit titled “The rainbow of the sustainability” (Iss.815: 90-91). In 2019, “the champion of Made in Italy,” Falconeri was featured for their sustainable commitment embodied in the Re-Generation Collection and joining the Sustainable Fibre Alliance (Iss.832: 114). Shame they, too, are evaluated extremely poorly by one of the most comprehensive ‘fashion sustainability’ platforms (GoodOnYou 2021).

### 3.2.6 *The H&M Case*

All of these generalised, vague and often intensified on intertextual level cases build towards the confirmation of what was seen in chapter 3.1. One particular case observed through the years, and highly intensified in the representation on an intertextual level, is the case of *H&M* – the Swedish fashion giant, which strangely enough, if we take into consideration all the negative representations around fast fashion, enjoys a particularly privileged position on *Vogue Italia*’s pages.

In my research, focused on ‘fashion sustainability’-related content, the brand *H&M* was central to or mentioned in at least ten discursive units out of roughly 100 ‘core’ units. It is around 10% of the second time period units dedicated to a single brand. In 2011, in the article titled “Certified Fashion (Iss.728: 98), we could find *H&M* being endorsed for the launch of their “Conscious Collection [...] made of pieces in organic cotton and linen, recycled polyester and Tencel [...] in line with the message of pureness that *H&M* (wanted) to transmit, confirming the journey going on for a few seasons (at that time).” The brand was also predicated as a “(True) eco-label” (Iss.764: 96), being supported for their “clever care labelling, [...] thought as a guide for the consumers to a sustainable care of the garments.” In an extremely vague and generalised manner, the article also promotes the Conscious collection of that year, focussing on the “pieces produced in recycled materials.” Misleadingly, the brand is presented as “starting with sustainable materials and extending (their engagement) to other areas. The *H&M Conscious Foundation*, (the article vaguely claims), is active on education, drinkable water and female emancipation” (Iss.764: 96). And while these claims were everything but

reassuring, the collaborator on the Conscious collection, Alexia Niedzielski proudly stated “*Those who really want to live responsibly must not settle but aim high. It is only by trying to push ourselves beyond our limits that it will be possible to experience new and better lifestyles for us and the environment*” (Iss.764: 96). Supporter of Global Fashion Exchange, the brand was also predicated as “one of the ten biggest buyers of organic cotton,” (Iss.789: 58), which in reality does not mean anything considered that it is the “the second largest international clothing retailer, [...] operating in 75 geographical markets with 4,801 stores under the various company brands” (Wikirate 2022). In 2017, the Conscious collection, which, again, is only a collection and absolutely not representative of the brand’s entire activity, was made with allegedly “80% sustainable materials,” representing in that way the “creative culmination of processes that the Swedish group (was) trying to implement globally on all its productions. To date, 20% of *H&M*’s garments (were) made from more sustainable materials, and the company aimed to use only cotton from sustainable sources by 2020” (Iss.799: 156; also in Iss.811:254). The brand, which in *Vogue Italia*’s words “has made sustainability a long-run battle,” pledges to produce only with recycled materials by 2030.

It can be argued that the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse around this, and many other brands as discussed above, is significantly mitigated even if we focus on the discursive strategies employed by the magazine only, but I will support some of the misleading information also by the contradictory data available on the brand’s website. On both textual and intertextual levels, the intensification of the brand’s commitment is clearly evident, as it is the mitigation through abstraction and vagueness. Season after season, it is predicated with ‘sustainability’-wise adjectives and depicted as “inaugurating new ways of sustainability” (Iss.811: 254) and “intensifying the green commitment” (Iss.764: 96), while the facts are that the company is particularly poorly rated exactly in the *Know Show and Fix* section of Fashion Revolution’s annual *Transparency Index* (Simpliciano et al. 2022), which is focussed on accessing if, and to what extent, companies identify, prevent, mitigate and remedy their actual and potential adverse impacts (Simpliciano et al. 2022: 69). It is from 2013, that the brand “pledges living wage for textile workers in Bangladesh and Cambodia” (Farrell 2013), two of the top three production countries of

the brand (Fashion Checker 2022), and yet as of 2022, there is still no evidence that the garment workers are fairly paid.

Focussing on what is presented in the discursive units, the meaning of 'sustainable material' is often mitigated through abstraction and vagueness. I noticed a preference for terminology like 'trying', 'planning', 'aiming to', 'looking forward to', "wanting to", implying actions which are not yet implemented. Then again, even when there are claims of commitment already in action, the language is misleading: "20% of the garments is produced in more sustainable materials" – 'more' compared with what? (Iss.799: 156; also in Iss.811:254); or "Today, 95% of the cotton and more than half of all the materials we use are made from recycled fabrics of sustainable sources" (March 2020, Iss.835: 192) – what are the actual percentages, why is there no transparency regarding the sources, how do they operate? In order to assess the extent of the misleading statements, I checked the claims on H&M's website.

The brand, which has been repeatedly nominated as a symbol of "democratic fashion" (Iss.840: 164; Iss.738: 188; also Iss.818: 116), as opposed to the particularly hated "fast fashion", disclosed that at the end of 2019, "80% of cotton used is from other more sustainably sources"; 16% was disclosed as "organic," while only 0,6% was "recycled" (H&M, Cotton 2023). In the discursive unit, however, the focus is on 'recycled' material, both cotton and other (Iss.835: 192). Even more problematic, *H&M* states that "most of (their) cotton is sourced through the Better Cotton Initiative (BCI) (and as such) [...] is mixed with other cotton on its journey from the field to the final product – (process) called a mass balance system" (H&M, Cotton 2023). The fact that they are not disclosing the details and make use of vague terms, such as "most of" or "other cotton", means that there is much room for misconduct. Similarly, in the discursive unit it is stated that "more than half of all the materials used are made from (one) recycled and (second) fabrics sustainable sources." On the official website of the brand, however, the data for 2019 indicates that 54.9% of the materials are "more sustainably sourced and (only) 2.2% were recycled" (H&M, Materials 2023).

As of 2021, in regards to 'sustainable materials', H&M claims to use "18.9% of recycled materials and 62.1% other sustainably sourced materials" (H&M, Materials 2023), while the percentage for cotton, which reportedly constitutes 64.1% of their materials, the percentages are "7% recycled, 21.7% organic and 71.3% other more sustainably sourced cotton" (H&M, Cotton 2023). Again, the 'more' term, which, in lack of unit of comparison, remains meaningless. And if these few observations were insufficient, in June of 2022, H&M Group was sued for "misleading environmental claims" (Abdulla 2022). All of the discussed cases and the observed discursive strategies lead to the assessment of how 'sustainable commitment' is represented in *Vogue Italia*.

### 3.2.7 Sustainable Commitment is...

In 2014, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the magazine, in the 'context' unit "our social commitment," Carlo Ducci (Iss.764: 244-249) wrote, "*if one of the aims of the magazine is to make the reader dream, it is equally vital to make them think, give them ideas, stimulate their thought – the first task of any form of journalism.*" Five years later, Farneti, as editor-in-chief, was writing, "*it is up to us all to ensure that the words that today characterise the conversation of this industry (diversity, inclusivity, sustainability) do not become depleted of meaning, that they do not become cunning cliches used to sell one more t-shirt, one more copy*" (Iss.829: 67-68). *Vogue Italia*, on occasions, was that politically engaged space where the 'superficiality' of the fashion magazine was revealing itself anew, leaving room for genuine critique. These discursive, both 'text' and 'context' units, however, were atypical and extremely rare. In the discussion up to this point, I presented some of them (Iss.833: 22; 142; Iss.840: 78; Iss.845: 70; see also Iss.823: 84), and some will also be presented on the following pages. Under Sozzani's direction, *Vogue Italia* was particularly dedicated to the environmental question. Among the 'context' units that have been individualised, around 65 had the 'eco' common denominator: *eco lifestyle*, *eco news*, *eco solutions*, the already mentioned *eco events* and *eco commitment*. The *social commitment*, *events* and *commentary* were equally important. Those discursive units, however, were not critically analysed in-depth insofar as they were not strictly related to the 'fashion sustainability' discourse.

What is observable from the critically analysed discursive units, on the other hand, is quite contradictory with the statements of both *Vogue Italia*'s editorial team and Condé Nast's declared commitment. Through chapter 3.2, it was observed how often a 'sustainability'-related lexicon was used to intensify a brand's or industry's positions, elevating some isolated actions, collections, or even garments to a level of 'sustainable commitment'. Similarly, centred on consumerism and embedded within the business-as-usual practices, the 'sustainable' initiatives were resulting predominantly in contradiction with the soterian concept of sustainability, as discussed in the first chapter. The fact that the same discursive practices have been repeated for more than two, if not three, decades now, with the only significant difference from a discursive perspective being the fact that gradually more and more 'fashion sustainability'-related contents were present on the pages of the fashion magazine. The thematic diversification of the discursive units will be briefly touched upon in the following chapter. The intertextual intensification of the brands as sustainable and responsible, depicted in the previous section, is thus only a confirmation of the general observations. Through a series of systemic discursive strategies like intensification, predication, abstraction and partialisation, the meaning of the concept of 'sustainable commitment' within the fashion context is significantly mitigated and weakened on the pages of *Vogue Italia*.

As discussed in the first part of chapter 3 and confirmed in this section of this work, the mitigation of the meaning of the concept of 'sustainable commitment' was also intensified by the predication that young consumers are conscious and committed to sustainable agency. "It is a general trend, in all of the sectors, the consumers are asking if the brands are respecting their values [...] (Consumers) are increasingly conscious of the fact that they can influence the economy which they are part of in the direction of sustainable practices by what they choose to acquire every day". (Al Gore in Iss.829: 165-168) On the question, "Do you have the feeling that young people today are more sensitive to the (sustainability) cause?," Stella McCartney answers, "A new sensitivity is clearly in the air" (Iss.829: 165-168). Indeed, what is seen throughout the discursive units is, as Fairclough (1995: 12-13) discussed, the conversationalisation of the discourse. "Interestingly, all these voices are conversationalised in similar ways, (which) not only helps naturalise the ideological presupposition noted above, it also ideologically presupposes, in itself, that

(all the different social actors) belong to the same lifeworld, the same world of ordinary experience.” (1995: 13) Even though, discursively, there is an observable insistence to normalise the predominant and industry-centred behaviours, in one of the discursive units dedicated to sharing practices, it is clearly stated, “buying a high-end garment or an accessory is certainly not within everyone’s reach” (Iss.797: 76), but the ideologically incorporated fantasy of owning one can be “resolved” by renting one. So again, the solution is instrumental to the industry, while the ungrounded fantasy is not questioned at all.

‘Sustainable commitment’ was also legitimised through systemic intensification of the role of the fashion initiatives and ‘sustainability’-wise coalitions, alliances, and organisations. We saw in detail how these initiatives and organisations are often not other than the industry’s (successful) attempt to legitimise business-as-usual practices. As Stella McCartney, in perfect neoliberal spirit, comments on the Fashion Industry Charter for Climate Action signed on December 10 2018, in Katowice, Poland (and renewed at COP26 in Glasgow, UK, in November 2021) (UN Climate Change), “in the absence of the adequate laws, it is up to us to roll up our sleeves and define the new production standards of the future” (Iss.829: 165-168).

Over the years, another particular kind of abstraction, which I here term ‘abstraction by synonymization’, was observed. Because of the repetitive use of a particular vocabulary, the concept of ‘sustainable commitment’ could easily be understood as, and exclusively associated with the use of “organic textiles, quality products” (Iss.751: 384-387), incarnated in “garments with clean and researched forms, enriched by organic textiles – linen and cotton [...]” (Iss.722: 156) Similarly, there was ‘intensification by sinonimization’ related to the concept of Made in Italy. Already in 2010, the Italian textile companies were described as “already having an eco-sustainable line” (Iss.715: 230). In 2013 Andrea Guolo wrote on the “entirely ethical Made in Italy,” emphasising the meeting point between the world of luxury accessories, eco-sustainable materials, antique artisanal workshops and the advantages of social enterprises (Iss.757: 234). This intertextual insistence on the relation between ‘sustainable’ and ‘Made in Italy’ proliferated, however, in the two years of blooming sustainability. The founder and creative director of *Vitelli*

claimed, “the vocation for sustainability is therefore intrinsic to my, to our Made in Italy” (Iss.844: 73). The brand *Superga*, a symbol of the “Made in Italy”, was also depicted as having ‘sustainability’ in its DNA, “born in a time not yet invaded by plastic, their shoes have been handmade with natural materials for over a century” (Iss.846: 130; Iss.815: 90-91). In early 2020, Carlo Capasa, the president of the Camera Nazionale della Moda Italiana [it.], upheld the position that “CNMI was the first chamber to deal with sustainability” (Iss.833: 50), while Francesca Romana Rinaldi saw responsible innovation as an integral part of the lasting recovery of the fashion sector in Italy (Iss.840: 104-105) – all implying that ‘sustainable commitment’ is... also ‘Made in Italy’.



## Chapter 4: *Vogue Italia* 1965-1988 – Back and Forth

In the Methodology chapter (2.6), it was explained how the data collection process for the first period was significantly different from that of the second period. For the timeframe 1965-1988, I carried out a cover-to-cover reading of all of the published issues. Almost always, on the occasion of the runways, in March and September, *Vogue Italia* was publishing two volumes per month. Sometimes even the months of April and October were double-issued to cover the high fashion shows in Rome. As foreseeable, the first time period was not rich in discursive units directly dedicated to the ‘sustainability’ discourse, even lesser to the discourse on ‘fashion sustainability’. Nevertheless, these decades revealed interesting findings which allowed me to go back and forth in time and to connect the dots in a grounded analysis of how the backgrounding of some and foregrounding of other information can shape the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse in a significant manner. The focus of the chapter will be on the representation of innovative fibres and textiles, with attention to the discursive similarities through the decades. Also, an observation of the correlations between the beauty world and the concepts of ‘eco’ and ‘sustainable’ will be made.

### 4.1 “Eco” Beauty and Lifestyle

The limited representation of ‘sustainability’-related content on the pages of *Vogue Italia* in the earliest decades of its publication was certainly expected. More than half of the textual discursive units I have individualised were dedicated to the concept of ‘lifestyle’. Mostly embedded in the ‘context’ units, these contents anticipated what has become the predominant part of the ‘sustainability’-related discourse of *Vogue Italia* in the later decades. In October 1971, in the ‘Beauty’ section of the magazine, Alberto Rizzo wrote:

*In pursuit of 'ecological' cosmetics. It is not necessary to be an expert in ecology, the most current science, the most 'contemporary' and now even the most 'snob'; (every up-to-date lady knows that in order for a social meeting to be successful, the new character 'the ecologist' cannot be missing), to learn a very simple truth – winter will force us to live in environmental conditions that are hostile to our skin, especially if we live in a large industrial city. How to fight these forces opposing our beauty,*

*forces of nature, the climate, but also of technological progress? With the dream of long escapes to a remote island of the Caribbean Sea or other unspoiled places? [...] the reality that we have to live day by day is another. And then we might as well face it with real, tangible weapons that have nothing of dreamlike but rather contain the complex simplicity of Science (when science becomes within everyone's reach). The finest cosmetologists have recently intensified their studies in this direction that we can well call 'ecological' (as it deals with the relationship between environmental factors and the skin and any modifications produced by them). [...] (Iss.240: 281).*

In this first quote, we already see the tendency to mitigate the concepts of 'ecology' and 'ecological' by presenting them as something superficial and implicative of certain social circles just because it is trendy. The human-centric approach is also evident with the 'natural forces' being understood as something 'to fight'. Even though 'technological progress' and 'the industrial city' are also questioned and identified as the "cause of the different skin problems" (also in Iss.243: 55), the focus remains on the need to use 'tangible weapons' against the 'harsh environment'. Numerous were the contents with this tone. The relationship between humans and nature was symbolically depicted in an article from 1973:

*It has been talked about, and it is talked about: the term 'pollution' has even become the most popular mood symbol for pop music festivals, art exhibitions and fashion shows. But despite this superficial exploitation of the term, the fear of pollution really begins to shake public opinion. We begin by fearing for the lawn under the house, public gardens and national parks, and above all, for ourselves. Smog, exhaust gases, fumes penetrate the lungs, sophisticated freeze-dried t.v.p. foods certainly do not neglect their attack on the stomach. And all these factors together, of course, only ruin the skin, hair, nails and eyes. But remedies and counter-proposals are not lacking. Among these, for more natural and, therefore, more human cosmetics, the campaign that the great beauty houses have started by flooding perfumeries and pharmacies with products based on fruit, vegetables, milk, honey, eggs and medicinal herbs. [...] centres of 're-education to nature' are born, and those emporiums are multiplying where herbal teas, creams, decoctioned infusions and absolutely 'ecological' poultices are empirically prepared. Perhaps from the new beauty of women, the true beauty of Nature will be reborn. (Iss.255: 118-123)*

The “more and more fashionable, [...] (talked about) in living rooms” (Iss.247: 92) and central to the popular culture events, the superficial exploitation of the eco-related terminology was acknowledged – implicative of the modern society’s tendency to commodify environmental problems. What is, above all, observable is that the discursive units insisted on the human-centric representation of the problem. The “hard battle to save nature from destruction”, fought by “ecologists from the whole world”, was seen as centred on “saving man, forced to live in an increasingly polluted atmosphere” (Iss.247: 92). The discourse is charged with abstraction strategies, contributing to the weakened correlation between human actions and the environmental destruction. Ecology is not seen as an interrelationship between organisms and their environment, thus meaning that humans must be seen as part of the environment. Instead, the dualism is between harsh environmental factors and human health. The remedies come, once again, in the form of “*more natural, ever more genuine products naturally starting from the idea of an unpolluted nature [...] (where) 'naturalness' [...] lies in the fact that its ultimate purpose is to restore lost balance to the skin*” (Iss.247: 92; also in Iss.314: 379). Indeed, cosmetics were represented as “running towards the research for even more natural resources, precisely in the sense of elements that come from nature and that despite the ecological imbalances which are so talked about, humans have not yet exploited enough” (Iss.243: 52). Implying that the captivating titles such as “When the chemical synthesis does not kill nature” (Iss.241: 144) were only a result of ‘cosmetic’ operation.

Speaking of the understanding of humans as detached from the environment were also the offers for trips “for those who decide to inaugurate a completely natural season,” described as “*a new way of life entirely dedicated to herbs, plants, honey flowers, water: in London you can find all the places to eat, put on make-up, heal yourself, lose weight and even smoke, always remaining in line with the new ecological imperative*”. (Iss.257: 321) Furthermore, the ‘natural’ or ‘eco’ attitude was seen in some well-defined consumer practices, like the acquisition of goods in natural materials, where ‘natural’ is used without any note of what the always-increasing demand would mean for the environment. The synonymization of ecological with ‘healthy’ (for humans) and ‘natural’ materials was seen from the earliest discursive units. At the beginning of the 1970s, “to live in the healthiest way possible amid the contaminations of industrial civilization (meant) one must also

dress healthily using only '*matières naturelles*'" (Iss.244: 85). The "health-boutique" opened in Paris was described as a place where "you can breathe very healthy air" while the preferred materials were "'sauvage' silk, alpaca, cotton, wool without additives", composing "a super-natural line, very open air, countryside, weekend, boat, as less city-time as possible" (Iss.244: 85). The superficial use of terms like 'natural' and 'eco' was also emphasised in few photo editorials (Iss.381/II: 161-179; s.Iss.6: 636-641) and linked to aesthetic solutions implicative of the return to the 'rustic', 'artisanal' stylistic choices (Iss.363: 461; Iss.360: 158-159; Iss.386/II: 454-459).

Since extremely atypical and absolutely rare on the magazine pages, the discursive units discussed above are to be understood only as implicative of the dynamics which were becoming more prominent in later decades. *Vogue Italia* was informing on the fiction works such "Soylent Green" by Richard Fleischer (Iss.282: 217) and was allowing space for opinions such as that of ethologist Konrad Lorenz who pointed out that "evolution is always a risk, but not necessarily progress, (and that) modern men are subjected to grave dangers due to the complexity of their culture" (Iss.290: 166). However, technological determinism and the obsession with innovation continued, as discussed, in the following decades. On that note, it is important to underline how the 'sustainability'-related discursive units from the second period were dominated by specific 'sustainability' sub-topics. In the period between 1989 and 2021, more than 50 discursive units were dedicated to the alleged sustainable agency in the cosmetics sector. From the focus on the duality between nature and humans (Iss.471: 156-165; Iss.498: 134) to the aesthetic associations with "wild chic" (Iss.511: 200) and the "eco-chic" (Iss.545: 86,90; also in Iss.729: 110), the cosmetic industry was proposing "formulas without additives (and) natural essences – the ecological ways of the beauty case" (Iss.524: 64). Starting from the mid-1990s, the first units dedicated to eco packaging were identified (Iss.531: 54), but throughout the decades, the discourse is always there, "packaging on low environmental impact" (Iss.719: 104; Iss.734: 306; Iss.793: 348; Iss.799: 307; Iss.769: 569-573). Similar to the proliferation of the 'fashion sustainability'-related content, starting from the early 2010s, 'sustainable cosmetics' became a hot topic within the magazine as much as the titles such as "Pollution free ('planet saving' cosmetics)" (Iss.734: 306), "The new eco-style" (Iss.719: 104), "Slowing down" (Iss.793: 362), "Zero impact wave" (Iss.759: 128),

“Conscious Tanning” and “Organic Healing” (Iss.791: 108 and 112) or “Haircare goes green” (Iss.793: 348) were there to satisfy the “eco addicts” (Iss.709: 362 and 374).

Without going on to investigate in detail the claims of truth and rightness present in all of these units, some questions are to be made mainly because the very same strategies are used even today, with the difference that now we have decades of research behind us and an acknowledged plastic pollution problem which persists and grows bigger. *Vogue Italia* has even addressed the question in various content units, which I have categorised as ‘context’ (Iss.745: 150; Iss.750: 158; Iss.742: 64; Iss.843: 40). Yet, in the last two years of the research, more than a half of all the ‘cosmetics’ units were concentrated, promoting again and again eco packaging (Iss.852: 222-223; Iss.844: 83; Iss.848: 150; Iss. 842: 157), vegan products (Iss.835: 310; Iss. 842: 157), all inspired from “the analysis of the consumers” (Iss.835: 310), and having the inevitable solidarity aspect (Iss.833: 140, Iss.840: 286; seen also previously in Iss.800: 189; Iss.781: 376; Iss.762: 230). L’Oréal has declared commitment to fighting climate change” (Iss.852: 208). At the same time, the discursive unit dedicated to Hermes’s first cosmetic line ever was symbolically titled “We are planting a tree” (Iss.834: 252-253), even though no information on any environmental commitment is available in the text. Finally, one of the many contradictory statements by the CEO of the company Kiko, Cristina Scocchia – when asked “Let’s talk about the environment. With the Green me collection, you have shown sensitivity towards ecological issues. Are you planning to expand it to the whole Kiko world?”, in an extremely generalised and abstract manner responds:

*We care a lot about environmental respect; we are working on various fronts to reduce the production of plastic packs by replacing them with bioplastic made from rice and corn; we are trying to use more and more water-based paints, which are decidedly less polluting. Finally, we are working on more eco-sustainable solutions to find secondary packs which could be disposed of within the compostable chain. Within our small reach, we want to be at the forefront (Iss.829: 406-407)*

Problematically enough, immediately after, in answer to the following question, she reveals the plans of the company, “the goal is to become an increasingly global brand by continuing to invest throughout the Middle and Far East and in e-commerce.” The pages of the magazine were populated with this kind of contradiction. Here, however, I will not

go on to discuss them also because they were mainly part of the 'context' section of my research and, as such, were only taken into consideration as implicative of intertextual intensification of the perception of *Vogue Italia* as committed to informing and inspiring on 'sustainability'-related subtopics. In the following section of the chapter, I will discuss some of the most interesting observations noted during the cover-to-cover reading of the issues published between 1965 and 1988.

#### 4.2 How Innovative is Innovation? – an Introduction

The *BoF Sustainability Index* was published on 22 March 2021. To measure fashion's progress towards more sustainable and responsible practices, BoF examined how the 15 largest fashion companies are performing across six interrelated categories. With an overall score of 32 per cent, *Materials* is a category with significant challenges, considering the fact that "the fashion industry (still) relies on an extractive business model" (Kent 2021: 24). While there is a significant shift towards certified materials, actual quantitative data able to demonstrate the positive impact that changed sourcing has on environmental and social outcomes is lacking. As of 2021, the traceability and transparency of raw material supply chains are very poor to non-existent. Furthermore, the elimination of virgin polyester seems to be a problematic and anything-but-immediate endeavour. Looking at the results of the *Sustainability Index*, and taking into account the limits to the current approaches to sustainability, as discussed in the first chapter, it could be argued that innovation in the fashion industry is still acting along relatively isolated lines.

As for production, today's fashion industry is still characterised by an industrial, embedded in the modernist understanding of the world, *modus operandi*, relying mainly on a linear business model. As discussed by Fletcher (2013: 562), at the core of this model, there is a technocentric design based on technological solutions and minimising problems, focused on products and processes on a larger scale where it is the quantity that matters. Innovation in the fashion industry primarily happens on a technological level. There is a shift towards sustainable design with quality and smaller-scale production, but

a holistic approach that also encompasses socio-cultural aspects is lacking. Academics discuss this need for holistic action, yet concrete measures are still missing.

In this line, I consider it of great importance to investigate the relationship between 'fashion sustainability' and fibre and textile innovation. By analysing the representations of innovative textiles and fibres on *Vogue Italia's* pages, in this section of my study, I aim to provide insight into how innovation was promoted and perceived in the past. The findings are then discussed in light of the Soterian views on 'sustainable fashion' today, pointing to the problems deriving from technological determinism (as discussed by Fletcher and Tham 2021[2019]) and the need for more integrated approaches towards sustainability. The focus will be on the representations of the first period of analysis, but observations and parallelisms will also be made on the discursive units found in the second period. The analogy between the ways in which ground-breaking innovation was once presented in fashion media and how we continue to accept partial information offers a reflection that could be translated into actual actions for more fact-based, grounded and holistic informing in future.

The discussion of fibres and textiles has been integral to the sustainable fashion debate from the very beginning. In her book of 2008, Sandy Black dedicates an entire chapter to fibres and textiles in the fashion industry, explaining the production processes and the environmental and societal implications of the most widely used fabrics. Materials have always been central in investigating how fashion can become more sustainable. As Fletcher explains (2014 [2008]: 7-8), our understanding of sustainability during the 1990s was associated with everything natural and recycled. With the turn of the millennium, organic, Fair Trade and rapidly renewable fibres started to gain relevance and lead the populist ideas about sustainability innovation. "Natural fibres were generally regarded as good,...capable of being recycled. Synthetics...have been seen as derived from oil...and more problematic to recycle" (O'Mahony 2011: 43). In a contribution to *Sustainable Fashion: What's Next?*, Gail Baugh (2015: 313-345) questions the polarization between natural and organically grown fibres on the one hand and manufactured fibres on the other and suggests, although with some limitations, that the fashion industry should shift the familiar fibre choices towards new possibilities offered by innovation in the textile

industry. In the chapter, she writes extensively on *the New Developments in Manufactured Fiber*, as well as on *Recycled Fiber* developments and *Fiber by Design* inventions. Marie O'Mahony also gives a similar overview of the new innovative fibres in her contribution to *Shaping Sustainable Fashion* (2011). Going back to the work of Sandy Black, in the chapter dedicated to reshaping fashion practices, she explores the *Future Visions* of the *Techno-Eco* possibilities presenting companies and individuals working in technological fashion innovation. In the eponymous work from 2012 focused on the clothing industry's technological innovation, Bradley Quinn (2012) explored *Fashion Futures*. Although not related to the question of sustainability, the presentation of the possible futures of design disciplines leads the reader to discover maverick practitioners, unconventional textile solutions and an intimate merging between fashion and the most recent technological advancements.

Statistical studies (Garside M. 2019, cited in Patti et al. 2020) report that the production of chemical and textile fibers from 1975 to 2018 has increased approximately from 23.94 million metric tons to 105.6 million metric tons, meaning an increment of more than four times in about 40 years.

Innovation in fibres and textiles is indeed presented as an essential component of our commitment to a sustainable fashion industry. And while it is extremely important to integrate the technological advancements into contemporary practice groundedly, it is imperative to acknowledge that what is also needed is "to think beyond materials and to link [...] an industry with the ecological and cultural systems that support it." (Fletcher 2014 [2008]: 8). It is crucial to acknowledge that "the dominance of material-led innovation is (due to) its status as a quick fix, (producing) more of the same but 'greener' without demanding ground-shaking business reform" (Fletcher 2014 [2008]: 12-13). Hence the need for a broader understanding of sustainability, not as exclusively linked to revised fibre and textile choices, but as an integrated system in which the focus is not solely industry-centred. As Rinaldi (2019: 15) explains, innovation should be integrated with ethics and aesthetics in a Responsible Innovation seen as innovation, comprehensively related to the (entire) business model and not limited to textile choices. Moreover, the paradigmatic status quo following the growth logic must be questioned so as to evolve



past the technological determinism and towards more holistic landscapes of fashion agency embedded in the paradigm where Earth logic comes first and dictates the ways in which we envision and construct our world (Fletcher and Tham 2021[2019]).

To allow for this transition to happen, we must all make informed decisions. The circulation of information, however, is conditioned by the system. In times when sustainability is a buzzword (Payne 2021: 4) and companies use greenwashing to falsely present themselves as sustainable, our awareness must be exercised, and responsible actions must be undertaken. Since innovation in fashion textiles is often presented as being “eco”, “green”, and “ethical”, a critical investigation of the ways in which fashion brands are presenting themselves, their products and their activities, innovation initiatives included, is thus essential. This chapter was conceived as a throwback in time to spur reflection and hopefully initiate new, broader and more critical ways of perceiving and thinking about fashion innovation today.

#### 4.3 How Innovative is Innovation? – The Discourse in *Vogue Italia*

This chapter of my thesis is primarily based on the advertisements units presenting new textiles and fibres. However, instrumental to the analysis, some product or brand advertisements were also taken into consideration when containing information on the innovative aspects of the brand’s practice, or in the case of the products, when those were made of new innovative materials. The cover-to-cover reading of the issues from the first period yielded more than 290 advertisement discursive units. As explained, many of them were similar to one another and even repetitive, so I further compared them and ended up with a selection of around 140 unique advertisement units. It is essential to underscore that the advertisements of products in innovative materials were selected only when the advertisement itself offered some information on the technological characteristics of the textile or consumer-friendly features linked to the material used to create the specific product. For the exploration of representations of fibre and textile innovation, the analysis focuses primarily on the textual parts of the advertisements. Comments on the visual representations are also made when considered significant to the discourse. The ‘advertisement’ section is also enriched by additional ‘text’ contents from both the first and the second periods insofar identified as insightful to this study. This

referencing, covering a few decades, allows for a broader understanding and critical addressing of the discursive developments. The content units presented in this analytical chapter are consultable in *Appendix II*.

#### 4.3.1 *The Pursuit of Practicality*

In the very first issue of *Vogue & Novità*, one specific characteristic of the new synthetic textiles becomes evident: *practicality*. Textiles like *Rhonel* and *Terital* are presented as crease-resistant: they do not wrinkle, so there is no need for ironing, plus they are washable at home (Iss.175: 5 and 18; Iss.270: 49-46). The innovation here is described as innate to the fibre features, while the textile is not superficially treated. Combined with *Terital*, the cotton was stain-resistant and fresh long after other textiles had withered (Iss.175: 18). In a blend with wool, the same fibre is presented as soft, fluffy and again practical as it is warm but much lighter than regular winter wear (Iss.175: 26). New materials like *Velicren* and *Acribel* were promoted as being resistant to moths, washable at home (Iss.176: 46, 152; Iss.180: 16), and preferred because they do not deform with time and multiple washes (Iss.176: 152; Iss.180: 16; Iss.185: 6 and 24; Iss.187: 50; Iss.191: 6; Iss.195: 97; Iss.208: 16). Ease of drying was also a common feature in many fibre and product advertisements (Iss.175: 22; Iss.176: 46; Iss. 185: 6 and 24; Iss.208: 16; Iss.225: 18). *Courtelle* was defined as the “noble artificial fibre” (Iss.201: 2). Similarly, *Qiana* by DuPont was promoted as a symbiosis between elegance and practicality (Iss.255: 165; Iss.268: 131). Editorials such as “The big ones of Italian couture express themselves in (*Qiana*)” (Iss.217: 269-280) and the repetitive advertisements during the analysed period speak of the emphasis put on artificial materials. Many of those materials were promoted for their stain-resistant qualities and ease of cleaning. They included *Acrilan*, *Courtelle* and the famous *Meraklon* (Iss.175: 157; Iss.176: 2; Iss.198: 18-19; Iss.223: 306), created by Nobel prize winner Giulio Natta (Danese 2005: 111).

#### 4.3.2 *Guaranteed Quality*

The latter was also highly valued for its durability and resistance “even to cats’ claws” (Iss.175: 157). The fibre was promoted as nearly “impossible to tear apart or deform” (Iss.176: 2). Durability and maintenance of form were presented as features of both

*Courtelle* and *Acrilan* fibres, with the former being associated with revolutionary innovation (Iss.198: 18-19). At the same time, the latter was advertised as “an investment that lasts over time” (Iss.223: 306). Related is the long-lasting quality of the bright colours in materials such as *Euroacril* (Iss.184: 144), *Velicren* (Iss.176: 152), and *Vestan* (Iss.230: 26). Titles such as “If the tights are made with *Lycra*, you have found great tights” (Iss.331: 230), “There is not much that can be said about the beauty of these pants. Let’s talk instead about...the qualities of *Lycra*” (Iss.332: 114) or “You can rely on *Klopman* textiles” (Iss.190: 52), also spoke of – or at least promoted – the guaranteed quality of the products. This approach was also characteristic of natural fibres (Iss.349: 115-117), where the material itself was a sufficient guarantee of quality (Iss.332: 110). Wool advertisements promised that the “*Pure Virgin Wool* [it. *Pura Lana Vergine*]” symbol was a guarantee of controlled quality (Iss.313: 105; also in Iss.175: 25). The quality features of the natural materials, in particular, will be broadly presented on the pages of *Vogue Italia* during the 1980s, also as a symbol of the Italian textile industry.

Through the decades, wool was the only natural material that was regularly advertised in *Vogue Italia*, and it was the specific *Pura Lana Vergine* wool. Also, some products in cotton were featured recurrently, almost in all of the issues. However, the characteristics of the fibre were not always presented. During the 1980s, an increased interest in natural materials was noted, even though it is not to be related to the rise of environmental questions. Instead, it was a way to confirm the tradition and the quality of selected companies through editorials of over twenty pages, each dedicated to the producers of linen (Iss.446: 45-61), or wool (Iss.450: 277-316; Iss.457: 133-160), relevance, sometimes emphasised also by the involvement with the art scene and the sponsorship of some exhibitions (Iss.440: 129). Indeed, the name of the textile producer was extremely important as much as it was often presented as the guarantee of quality (Iss.329: 335). It was not a surprise that, at the time, the advertisements for fashion collections always included the name and sometimes even the contact details for the fibre and textile manufacturers (Iss.184: 30-33; and 52-64, 34, 35). Sometimes textile companies advertised themselves through dedicated ads (Iss.178: 16-17). However, the promotion of the industrial giants usually came in the form of extensive editorials such as “*Vogue* presents...” (Iss.179: 10-34) or “*SNIA* fibres in spring-summer high fashion 1971”

(Iss.234: 189-197). The fibre producers introduced their products by listing the fibre trademarks and the textile producers. They presented garment collections by the great Italian stylist produced using their fibres (Iss.234: 189-197; Iss.235: 205-215). “*Rhodiatocce* presents some of the creations made with their fibres”, and similar editorials (Iss.201: 93-102; Iss.217: 193-204; Iss.223: 57-74; Iss.190: 26-31) were confirmation of the pre-established strategy for vertical integration between the Italian fibre and textile manufacturers and the nascent fashion product industry. The plan sought to overcome the market’s uncertainties regarding the new textiles and to guarantee facilitated planning of future textile demand (Danese 2005: 110).

#### 4.3.3 *Emotional Value*

The advertisements often conveyed an emotional value, a consequence of the previously discussed promotional strategy. For example, *Velicren* was presented as “mum’s knitwear” (Figure 11, c). Words such as “warm” and “soft” were used to evoke familiar feelings (Iss.176: 152), while the Mohair Super Kid from Lineapiù was depicted as implicative of “maximum softness and sweetness” (Iss.384: 148-149). Another ad depicting two young women walking hand in hand says, “Hand in hand with *Velicren*” (Figure 11, b), suggesting a friendly environment (Iss.195: 97). Another advertisement features three women depicted in youthful energy with the title “We like *Euroacril!*” (Iss.179: 126). Other *Euroacril* advertisements convey intimate emotional values positioning the garments “between you and the night” (Iss.188: 5) in a place where one can “dream in colour, dream in *Euroacril!*” (Iss.184: 144; Iss.196: 168). The materials used in interior design add to the intimate, delicate ambience in the home; they are the reason for “better living” (Iss.196: 46).

The concept of “freedom” is also often used to create an allure of desire around the newly developed textiles. *Warner’s* used the slogan “free and spontaneously beautiful” (Iss.203: 12-13), while *Voile di Lycra* was presented as a “light veil of liberty” (Iss.270: 18). In other ads for the same fabric, we see a barefoot woman in a light dress apparently dancing (Iss.284: 18) or a group of three casually dressed women and the title “Full-time comfort” (Iss.264: 44-45). The *Crimplene* and *Nailon* advertisements also suggested “Wear Crimplene... Choose your freedom!” (Iss.203: 151; Iss.212: 56) or “New freedom of

living!” (Iss.175: 59), while the marketing team at *Bayer fibre di qualità* were focused on “happiness” as a concept for promotion, as consultable in *Figure 11, a.* (Iss.217: 298; Iss.229: 80; Iss.230: 26 and 52). Similarly, the *Acetate* yarn, in multiple pages editorials, was presented as a “joy to be worn” (s.Iss.24:193-200).

Images subject to Copy Right limitations

*Figure 11: Selection of ‘advertisement’ discursive units. a. October 1969, Iss.218: 22; b. September 1967, Iss.195: 97; c. December 1965, Iss.176: 152. © Condé Nast 2020*

#### 4.3.4 *Aesthetic and Technological Improvements*

The innovative fabrics featured both aesthetic and technical improvements. The new textiles were available in “all the (bright) colours (and designs) that you love” (Iss.176: 29; Iss.175: 158; Iss.179: 126; Iss.201: 63; Iss.225: 18; Iss.236: 19-31; Iss.264: 44-45; Iss.265: 134-135; s.Iss.24: 193-200). Fibres with specific aesthetic features like the metallic finish of *Cromoflex* were also promoted (Iss.175: 48). The new threads were synonymous with style: “your style is called *Euroacril*!” (Iss.182: 104). Furthermore, numerous advertisements focused on the aesthetic benefits to the body image of a particular product in innovative materials. This was most common with shapewear, seen in content with titles such as “No weight, all momentum!” (Iss.176: 46) and “Glamour gives you ‘cover-girl lines’” (Iss.185: 6). The products were designed to support, control and emphasise the body (Iss.175: 22 and 54; Iss.185: 24; Iss.187: 50; Iss.191: 6 and 30; Iss.195: 26; Iss.208: 16 and 59; Iss.213: 159). *Terital* promised a “flawless line” (Iss.175: 26), and the products in *Maeran* were able to “trace your figure with lightness” (Iss.185:6).

The aesthetic qualities of the new fibres were presented as a direct result of the technical improvements. It is also stated in an article from 1971, "From the new industrial techniques a diverse way of dressing is born" (Iss.241: 138-141). The essential element for the revolution in shapewear was the widely promoted elasticity (Iss.176: 46; Iss.185: 24; Iss.191: 30; Iss.216: 27) and the advancements in anatomic shapes of the garments (Iss.191: 30; Iss.195: 26; Iss.203: 13). Blended with natural fibres, the artificial threads were able to produce many consumer-friendly features (Iss.175: 5 and 26; Iss.185: 6; Iss.197: 47; Iss.201: 63; Iss.296: 48; Iss.305: 483; Iss.361-362: 162-163). Textiles like *Cotton* and *Lycra* were represented as the perfect symbiosis of the natural and the artificial (Iss.296: 48). *Lycra* alone was nominated as the secret ingredient to make all textiles much more wearable, adding comfort and needed freedom of movement (Iss.305: 483) while standing up to all weather conditions (Iss.334: 123). The materials were becoming lighter and space-saving (Iss.175: 22, 54 and 59) and resistant, waterproof and impermeable to the wind (Iss.175: 54 and 59; Iss.186: 11). "Constant research made for great innovation" (Iss.361-362: 162-163), allowing you "to find what you were looking for" (Iss.208: 30-31). Unique treatments were used to make some natural fibres resistant to water (Iss.186: 2; Iss.201: 2; Iss.229: 65), while other synthetic materials were well-suited for extreme weather (Iss.175: 59; Iss.315: 294). Versatility was identified as yet another characteristic of the newly adopted materials. *Nailon* was used in many product categories, from winter wear to underwear, from technical clothes to beachwear (Iss.175: 22, 54 and 59; Iss.185: 24; Iss.190: 26-31, 67-72 and 89-104). *Dralon* was used in the home as artificial velvet (Iss.178: 9; Iss.185: 62-65) and to produce fashionable garments (Iss.217: 298). Advertisements depicting a couple in a living room promoted *Crylor* fibre: "in this photo, everything is *Crylor*" (Iss.203: 31).

#### 4.3.5 *New Features of Familiar Natural Fibres*

While in 1965, the thing that mattered the most was to "not mistake a (specific) wool" and to "choose it wisely from a credible producer" (Iss.175: 25), as time passed, the softness and lightness of the material were not the only characteristics associated with it. Wool was promoted as shrink- and felt-resistant (Iss.218: 171) and machine-washable (Iss.262: 306). Trevira ads from the period speak of the irreversible changes in the fibre and textile

industry “For her, there were wool, silk, cotton. There were. Now for her there are wool, silk, cotton, *trevira*. *Trevira*” (Iss.192: 49). While in the past the well-known features of pure cotton implied “peace of mind, freshness, comfort, hygiene and wellness”, protecting us from skin irritation (Iss.180: 26), as time passed the need for upgraded characteristics dictated the market offer, and *Trevira* became increasingly present in the collections of the famous stylists (Iss.217: 221-224). As the decade came to an end, a dynamic contrast to this pursuit of manufactured fibres was also unfolding. In 1979 Maidenform launched “*Insolita*”, a bra that was indeed unusual at the time since it was made with natural fibres like silk and cotton (Iss.343: 22), in line with the increasing interest in natural fibres that was observed in the following decade. As mentioned above, during the 1980s, the Italian companies producing natural fibres enjoyed certain privileges on the pages of *Vogue Italia*, only a confirmation of the magazine’s tendency to represent the industry’s positions that was also observed in the previous chapter.

Furthermore, natural fibres were central to many discursive units in these years. The first fifty years of the International Wool Secretariat were celebrated in 1987 (Iss.452: 132), while the qualities of the alpaca wool were discussed in a six-pages editorial dedicated to Perù (Iss.422: 92-97). In 1988, Sidney was presented as “the fashion capital” (Iss.455: 16-20) on the occasion of the bicentenary of the establishment of the British Colony – a celebration problematic in itself and implicative of the colonial dynamics present, in disguised form even today. The consumer-friendly features of the fibres were emphasised even more (iss.338: 262; Iss.403: 120-121), and the first, although extremely vague and in service of the brand promotion, signs of attention to the production chain were noticed in the case of the *Agnona mohair* (Iss.363: 272-279). In the analysed period, another practice was noticed – the production of artificial leather, or what would later become eco-leather. No information about the process was given in the advertisement. Instead, the focus was on the aesthetic value and the “authentic leather-like” aspect (Iss.334: 35-38). The focus again is on the practicality, versatility, and aesthetic properties of the leather-like material, which is “more than leather” (Iss.439: 488). Interestingly enough, these new artificial materials were described in some ‘sustainability’-related terms. The leather-like material *Lorka* was linked to “no waste, no shrinkage” (Iss.439: 488) because it was coming in rolls, While *Acetate* was presented as material coming from “renewable

resources” (s.Iss.24: 193-200), which is absolutely misleading. The same eco-alternatives, already in 1994, were contested as pure hypocrisy because, as Corine Cobson stated for *Vogue Italia*, “to spare the animals poison the rivers” (Iss.525: 895). This statement was, however, in service of the use of purely synthetic materials, which we today know are one of the main reasons for fashion’s industry environmental impact. The animal question was also observed, but it will be a focus of discussion in future works.

#### 4.3.6 Observations

The analysis of the representations of fibre and textile innovations on the pages of *Vogue Italia* in the period between November 1965 and December 1988 revealed a few significant characteristics. First, the innovation was presented as *consumer-oriented*. This is evident in the numerous ads where practicality was the main focus; the new textiles facilitated people’s lives and offered unprecedented quality. Furthermore, the advertisements were conceived to create an emotional bond. The second characteristic is related to the apparent *upgrade in textile characteristics* compared to natural fibres. The focus is placed on the qualities of artificial fibres that are lacking in natural fibres, which on the other hand, were usually represented as implicative of tradition and industry’s know-how. Moreover, natural fibres were presented as often treated to enrich their performance. Not extensively presented here, but noticed during the analysis, is the rather populist allure attributed to the newly invented fibres compared to the natural fibres, which are presented in rather detached, elitist and even luxurious manners. One of the most prominent characteristics is the *lack of clear technical information*. The focus is instead on aesthetic features of the innovative textiles. There are explanations on how a specific material could enrich and simplify the life of the consumer. However, no details are given on the actual processes used to produce those materials.

A half-century later, we are still dealing with the same lack of information. Today we know about the environmental impact behind the rush to innovation during the 19th and 20th centuries, but we are not systemically educated to evaluate those processes critically. We are still living in the paradigmatic status quo of the same system that gave birth to those unsustainable modes of operation. As discussed at the beginning, academics are



writing extensively on the topic. It seems, however, the lack of information, the foregrounding on certain aspects and the backgrounding on others is still the norm.

Concerning the discursive formations dedicated to the representation of materials, the second period demonstrated a couple of articles dedicated to the shifting sensibility towards natural fibres such as wool and cotton in the late 2010s (Iss.691: 300; Iss.680: 122; Iss.742: 70). In the mid-2020s, the focus of the discussion was the ‘sustainability’ of innovative materials, and again following the discursive strategies employed by *Vogue Italia* half-century earlier, the focus is on the performance and the consumer-friendly features of the material as can be observed below:

*The exclusive weaving of nylon microfiber and lycra elastic fibre offers extraordinary performance, lightness, breathability and three-dimensional elasticity. The Sensitive® Fabrics are the quintessence of contemporary lifestyle, thanks to the characteristics of quality, functionality and versatility that allow for the creation of a personalised style. (Iss.805: 402-403)*

Again, no information is provided on the actual production processes. The focus was on the ‘sustainable’ collections like the case of the “ocean-friendly” T-shirts, hoodies and jeans made in *BionicYarn* obtained from ocean waste in combination with cotton (Iss.775:176). What is characteristic of the selective disclosure of the brand and the partialisation of the issue as discursive strategy is the fact that the recycling process is still in its infant phase mainly because of the lacking standard definition of textile recycling technologies (Harmsen et. al. 2021) And while the scientists confirm that the very few “good recycling options (are related to the) mono-material streams within the cellulose, polyamide and polyester groups,” (Harmsen et. al. 2021) the problem of mixed fibers is not mentioned at all even though the *BionicYarn* allegedly coming from ocean waste is mixed with cotton. Similar are the numerous capsule collections or individual pieces in Alcantara® (Iss.726:158; Iss.750:254-255; Iss.761:100-103; Iss.767:107; Iss.772:96,98; Iss.808:86-87; Iss.841:148), a material which recurrent promotion in *Vogue Italia* could be discussed as highly problematic among the many things also because of the fact that they are deeply linked to the fossil fuels industry and obtain their carbon-neutrality exclusively through carbon credit offset.

Finally, if we look at the advertisements from the first period, we can find fibre, textile and product characteristics that could be actually perceived as relatively sustainable. Durability, performance, wearability and emotional bonding, also discussed by de Castro (2021), are all factors that could help the life-long use and care for our clothes. As discussed in the first chapter, there are polarised sustainability currents, with the one embedded in the growth logic being supported by the industry and by the predominant system of production and consumption. What is to be learned from the past is that aesthetic and emotional values are needed but insufficient. Clearly, as underlined by the Soterian views on 'fashion sustainability', innovation is everything but inherently wrong; natural fibres have their flaws and are deeply embedded in the dynamics of contemporary colonialism. We should learn to use innovation conscientiously while respecting the Earth's limits. We do not need innovation for innovation's sake. Still, we need innovative textiles that can respond to specific issues while respecting the ecological and social systems.

## **Chapter 5: Research for the Talented and Responsible – Reflection on *Vogue Talents* (2009-2021)**

In the previous two chapters, my research focused on the discursive units individualised through an in-depth analysis of the entire *Vogue Italia* archive. It was discussed how the discursive strategies employed by the magazine, and observable especially in the two years of what I called ‘blooming sustainability’, were contributing to mitigate the concept of ‘sustainable commitment’, intensifying at the same time the role of the industry and the consumers as actively engaged in the pursuit of better future. It was explained how, around the early 2010s, the ‘sustainability’-related content started to proliferate on the pages of the magazine, and while the ‘context’ units were predominant and flourishing, the ‘fashion sustainability’-specific content was observed as slowly gaining importance. One of the first articles on ethical fashion, in which the term ‘sustainable fashion’ is used, dates to December 2009. As was discussed, it recounts the cases of fashion brands engaging in projects empowering communities in developing countries (Iss.712: 84). In the following decade, numerous articles, brand showcases, and discussions on this specific, so-called ‘social’ and ‘ethical’, aspect of sustainability in both fashion and not, was making it to the pages of one of the most influential fashion magazines. 2009 was also the year when the first issue of the *Vogue Talents* supplement was published. Starting from the late-2010s, on the pages of *Vogue Italia*, an increasing number of discursive units dedicated to talent scouting and awards started to appear (Iss.806: 332; Iss.810: 166; iss.811: 269-275’ Iss.822: 144; iss.823: 209-215). Those units inspired me to broaden my research to the *Vogue Talents* special issues, the contents of which will be discussed in the following pages.

### **5.1 The New (sustainable) Creatives of the Fashion System**

Right from the beginning, *Vogue Talents* was conceived as a platform for showcasing the new creatives of the fashion industry. For the first five years, the supplement was regularly published once a year in September (Appx. IV: 1-4). The well-recognisable format contained four mandatory sections: *Graduated from*, *Womenswear*, *Menswear* and *Accessories*, plus the expected shoutouts to academic fashion institutions, scouting contests, prices, articles on where to find and buy emerging brands or simply talent-

related updates. In the first section, the presentation of the newly graduated designers was divided by academic institution and country; only the name and contact information of each designer were provided. Here the display was supported by photos and other visual material. No specific explanations of the creative process or information on production were available. Thus, only the aesthetic choices, often inspired by cultures and perspectives different from the dominant Eurocentric codes, could be a point of discussion here. It could be argued that the diversified aesthetic solutions showcased through the designers' works talked about a multitude of perspectives and were implicative of *Vogue Italia's* awareness of the needed decentralisation of fashion. Yet, it would come as a rather forced deduction. On the other hand, the *Womenswear*, *Menswear* and *Accessories* sections were dedicated to already operating brands, providing more detail on each brand's identity and collections. In these brief descriptions, we see the first, although distant, signs and mentions of sustainability and responsible fashion practices (s.Iss.721: 19).

In September 2010 issue, Christopher Raeburn stated that he is mixing sustainability and fun; for him, "fashion (was) an opportunity to create clothing and products in an intelligent, sustainable, greener way" (s.Iss.721: 21). Marco Corso was inspired by the environmental crisis (s.Iss.733: 20). Still, in neither of the two cases, additional information is given. The reader could only imagine what this means in practice. We see the first slightly more detailed info on some responsible practices a year later when *Partsparts Imseonic* gives a partial description of their processes and explains how those respond to the production waste problem (s.Iss.757: 26). In the short overview on *Womenswear* of the same issue, the editor highlights the "eco-conscious dying techniques" as on-going practice (s.Iss.757: 22). While some designers were proudly emphasising that they were using "ecological fur only" without actually explaining what it is or what they meant by 'ecological' (s.Iss.757: 23), others like Vincent Billeci were completely immersed in the exploration of the traditional craftworks via collaborations with artisans, silversmiths and leather goods manufacturers (s.Iss.757: 22). The latest is maybe one of the first examples of *localism*, attention to the crafts of a specific place, and openness to *Diverse ways of knowing and Learning*, as discussed by Fletcher and Tham (2021[2019]). In line with the traditions, but also with respect to the environment, were the vegetable-tanning skills employed in the

production of the accessories by *Nasha Meksavanich* and *PB0110* (s.Iss.757: 31 and 32). Furthermore, the founder of *PB0110* stated, “I believe in the significance of the beloved objects, in things that develop an individuality through daily use” (s.Iss.757: 32). This statement, as well as the philosophy of “creating editions, and not collections; clothes, objects and accessories that outlive the cycle of a season” (s.Iss.757: 22), thus usable for a very long time, reflect the philosophy of the “craft of use” (Fletcher 2016), as well as the message of the *Loved Clothes Last* (de Castro, 2021).

True, the designers were promoting an eco-friendly attitude towards fashion, also reflected in their “modular composition and (creation of) garments (that) can be assembled and disassembled to create different solutions” (s.Iss.757: 27), or were creating collections starting from an elaborated vintage leather jacket (s.Iss.721: 21). However, these early discursive units were predominantly on a level of ‘lexicon’ as discussed previously. Almost all of the units were short texts of few sentences only with attention to the aesthetic and stylistic choices, while ‘sustainability’-related characteristics such as revisited design, use of apparently sustainable materials and attention to local crafts were depicted as a plus, a valuable feature for finer brands’ positioning. In these initial years of the supplement publication, most of the brands’ activities appear to be best positioned within the mainstream business-as-usual framework, and no reference to the growing-out-of-growth logic was noted.

## 5.2 Decentralising Fashion or Commodification of Diversity?

While these early mentions of the topic of ‘sustainability’ were popping up on the pages of *Vogue Talents*, the special issue’s editorial team was also investigating the fashion capitals of tomorrow. (s.Iss.757: 2). Significant for the decentralisation of fashion, *Dublin’s Redress* initiative was also a symbol of encouragement for “better ethics and sustainability”. These were the years in which, also on the pages of *Vogue Italia*, some discursive units dedicated to ideas “to re-brand Africa” (Iss.741: 122-123) or use “fashion to empower” (Iss.741: 114-115) were featured. These units recounted the positive changes initiated by Fashion4Development and supported by United Nations to empower women from developing countries (Iss.741: 114-115 and 122-123; also iss.733: 286;

Iss.724: 90; Iss.751: 250). In these units, few features, observable on an intertextual level, were noticed.

First, the work of the Western organisations and private companies was described as “giving an outlet to realities that struggle to make themselves visible, to young talents who follow the rules of fair trade and doing something concretely useful for others” (Spadafora, Iss.741: 114-115). The engagement in social projects was aimed at “improving living conditions of the poor communities in Africa (Iss.716: 10) while “creating opportunities and business of sustainable fashion” (Iss.712: 84). The social responsibility norms created and put in effect by the West were also represented as effective in the “safeguarding of the skilled textile workers in the developing countries” (Iss.781: 228), providing disadvantaged populations with “concrete possibility of redemption” (Iss. 716: 10; Iss.724: 90), but also as an “effective form of protection” for the vanishing tribes of Africa (Iss.751: 250).

The second feature was the fact that often, the collections are designed by western designers (Iss.751: 2013; Iss.684: 126,128; Iss.712: 84; Iss.733: 286), or by designers who have western legitimisation through education or period spent in some Western counties (Iss.712: 84). Furthermore, the ideas to re-brand the continent were ideas from the Western citizens, readers of *Vogue Italia*, issue problematic in itself because it gives the word to those who are already in a privileged position, while there was an indirect and discomfoting implication of initial prejudices concerning the aesthetic value of the production. “No stereotypes nor African-sick melancholy, the creations leave the pleasure and happiness of discovering a new aesthetic fashion with global appeal” (Marchetti, Yoox.com, Iss.741: 114-115). “If the local imprint given by the colours, designs and models is decisive, surprising are the creative quality and potential expressed in the reworking of the traditions making the creations portable and therefore attractive for the market” (Iss.741: 114-115).

The discursive units were predominantly representing individual projects and featuring collections by western brands, which in a certain sense, were “adding value to (their) consumer product” (Iss.684: 126, 128), as parallel to the operation of “adding economic value to the garment and accessory production of the continent” (Iss.741: 114-115). In

both cases, the dynamic is certain, and it is in line with the predominant fashion system, embedded in market practices and instrumental to the economic growth logic.

Starting from 2015, the February edition of *Vogue Talents* was introduced, and it was initially dedicated to talents from around the globe. The format was also changed, giving more space to the individual presentation of brands. Consequently, we learn more about designers' paths, philosophies, and inspirations. The analysis of the section "Scouting for Africa" showed that many brands acknowledging the need for more socially responsible fashion practices were actively engaged in community empowerment. Different from what was observable in *Vogue Italia*, where western designers engaged with the communities in developing countries, here, we see African designers engaging with local communities, empowering women, and providing educational workshops and skill-learning opportunities (s.Iss.774: 3 and 7). The 'legitimisation from the West' aspect was persistent also here, yet, the promotion of African fashion products and aesthetics was significantly more emphasised. The focus was on preserving traditional techniques and promoting local crafts (s.Iss.774: 6, 7, 16 and 18). Still, no discussion on cultural inspiration, as opposed to cultural appropriation, is present on these pages. Fashion was perceived and used as an empowering tool to lift people out of poverty (s.Iss.774: 7, 16, 17 and 19).

The *Plural* landscape proposed by Fletcher and Tham undoubtedly involves honouring the numerous non-Western perspectives. In this line, the "focus on the countries to watch for new talented emerging designers" issue of *Vogue Talents* (Appx. IV: 6) does a great job of featuring the new generation of creatives from Nigeria, Sudan, Ghana, Senegal, Mozambique, but also from Ukraine, China, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, and Russia. What is to highlight are not only the different geographies represented by individual designers but also the crafts and traditions which are usually suppressed by the pervasive, capital-driven system. In that sense, it could be argued that *Vogue Talents* was putting a foot forward in setting fashion free from its prominent association with Western-approved aesthetics and modes of operation. Contradictorily, what it fails to do is to set fashion free from the predominant consumerist ideals in fashion, mainly because the success stories are always contextualised within

the predominant fashion system, and as explained above, one of the main features of the discursive units was precisely the process of commodification of the diversity.

### 5.3 Some Sustainable Steps

#### 5.3.1 *Tradition, Craftsmanship, Collaboration*

Moving to the September issue of the same year, we see the comeback of the classical *Vogue Talents* format, this time enriched by a selection of twenty emerging designers chosen by the combined efforts of *Vogue Italia* editors and the readers of *Vogue.it*. The keywords with which these brands are described are *customisable, handcrafted, collaborative, craftsmanship, tradition, and handwork* (s.Iss.781: 1). The stance away from the industrialised production processes characteristic of the fashion system is underlined. It is in this issue that the first, even though implicit, features of degrowth, understood as “purposefully slow[ing] things down in order to minimize harm to humans and earth systems” (Kallis et al., 2020, viii), can be perceived. In the *Womenswear* section, the editor emphasises the need for agency regarding socio-cultural concerns and engagement for traceability in the supply chain (s.Iss.781: 18). Moreover, the editorial choice to boldly present practices related to artisanal and handmade methods is reflected in articles such as *Italians handcrafting innovation* (s.Iss.781: 24), where examples of brand collaborations with experienced craftspeople are showcased, emphasising once again the observed role of *Vogue Italia* as a promotor of the Italian fashion system. Also, an updated view of luxury is proposed, imagined as “quality and traceability rather than a logo” (s.Iss.781: 23). In the examples of this edition of the special issue, we can observe traces of values such as *Co-creation, Grounded imagination, reliance on Diverse ways of knowing*, characteristic for the *Earth Logic* (Fletcher and Tham 2021[2019]). Clearly, that is what can be perceived from the limited, often vague representations in the supplement only, while the assessment of the actual integration of these values by the brands would require additional, brand-focused analysis.

#### 5.3.2 *Towards Less Logic, but Not There Yet*

The traditional skills and local craftsmanship continued to be topics of interest and action for the brands featured in *Vogue Talents* also two years later (s.Iss.810: 7, 15, 17, 22, 25;



s.Iss.817: 13). Eco-sustainability was increasingly emphasised (s.Iss.810: 17, 25, 19 and 20), but alternative fashion practices were also consistently more present. Upcycling was becoming a thing, with designers “going to vintage shops, choosing items and then re-laborating them” (s.Iss.810: 6 and 28). Brands were becoming more attentive to minimising or eliminating production waste (s.Iss.810: 6 and 25), also by introducing the make-to-order principle (s.Iss.810: 27). These practices that were announcing a shift away from the predominant reliance on virgin materials, as well as the more resource-wise design approaches and the active listening of the community are all features of fashion entities that could be well located within the *Less* landscape. Ultimately, however, *Less* means living within a framework of decreased production and consumption. Thus, it “is the largest provocation associated with the transition to sustainability” (Fletcher & Tham, 2019[2021]: 45), especially within the context of capitalist realism where “capital’s ‘need of constantly expanding market’ (and) its ‘growth fetish’ mean that capitalism is by its very nature opposed to any notion of sustainability” (Fisher, 2009, 18-19). In fact, all of the featured steps towards a more sustainable fashion system were reasonable and appreciable but not enough. Unfortunately, the results of the questionnaire administered to 950 young people from 53 countries in 2018 showed that 90% of them are interested in sustainability “but thought that saving on fabric cuts and fewer seams is enough.” Only “Few believed it is necessary to tackle the entire production chain with a holistic approach and be transparent with consumers” (s.Iss.810: 10).

### 5.3.3 *Vogue Talents’ Sustainability*

While emerging brands were gradually exploring different approaches to sustainability, *Vogue Talents* began to emphasise sustainable fashion brands in a more systemic way. As the September issues changed, still featuring the newly graduated designers but introducing the *Scouting* section, which replaced the well-known *Womenswear*, *Menswear* and *Accessories* divisions, the ‘Sustainable’ label was also placed alongside brands that were considered sustainable (Appx. IV: 9). Out of 46 brands featured in the *Scouting* section, seven were marked as ‘Sustainable’. The analysis showed that these brands were mainly focused on small production (s.Iss.817: 17, 28 and 33), the use of natural, ethically sourced materials (s.Iss.817: 13 and 33), or however materials that

would be otherwise burned or destined to landfill (s.Iss.817: 24, 28 and 32). Furthermore, the brands showed attention to transparency and traceability (s.Iss.817: 13) and engagement in collaborations with artisans and craftspeople (s.Iss.817: 17). In contrast to this practice, the neo-colonialist approach of many luxury brands, which take inspiration from the traditional work of minority cultures without giving back to the interested communities, was also contested (s.Iss.817: 35).

However, sustainable practices were also observable in the description of six other brands, which were not emphasised as 'sustainable', most likely because of their focus on social and ethical questions, with the environmental engagement not clearly expressed. This mode of representation is questionable since the focus on community, local artisans and craftsmanship (s.Iss.817: 19), the preservation of the traditional culture (s.Iss.817: 30), as well as the small production and attention on workers' rights (s.Iss.817: 15 and 18), are all building blocks of a righteous fashion system. This eco-centred approach in the sustainability presentation, as detached from the socio-ethical and cultural issues, is rather problematic and could perpetuate fashion injustices. Starting from 2019, this will slowly change, moving towards a more holistic understanding of the fashion system's impact and consequential presentation of positive brand examples.

In the editorial message from February 2019, Sara Sozzani Maino writes, "From today, we must strive to change the way we produce, distribute and consume. [...] Our commitment is to highlight some of the designers and enterprises that are seeking to improve the present system." "Now we must try to encourage creatives of the future to tread a more sustainable path" (s.Iss.822: 2). Indeed, the supplement pages became a platform for awareness-raising and education, featuring responsible brands, which here are not an exception but the norm. An increasing number of articles dedicated to sustainability enriched the traditional showcase of emerging designers whilst highlighting the complexity of the fashion-sustainability relationship (s.Iss.822: 2, 19, 23 and 24). Community engagement and eco-friendly practices were presented as equally important (s.Iss.822: 4, 8, 9, 10 and 21). While in 2015, the information was still sporadic, without an evident *fil rouge*, featuring only some isolated responsible actions or occasional sustainable practices, here, the combination of "sustainability" with "social commitment"

was represented. The need for an integrated, transparent and traceable approach is also underlined. The concept of *Less*, as discussed by Fletcher and Tham (2021 [2019]), is reflected in upcycling processes where creativity is conditioned by the available second-hand objects or dead-stock materials (s.Iss.822: 5, 8 and 20). Other caring practices, such as repairing (s.Iss.822: 8) and designing carry-over pieces (s.Iss.822: 9), are also featured. The selection is enriched by texts with tips on ‘what can we do, follow, visit’ or ‘where to study sustainability’ (s.Iss.822: 27, 31 and 3).

Starting from December 2013, when a special issue of *Vogue Talents* was published (Appx. IV, 5), the supplement was dedicating special mentions to, as the title states, “the ones who have succeeded”. Fashion is understood as “a bridge between cultures”, while adhering to the ethical fashion programme of the ITC of the United Nations is presented as the right path to undertake (Appx. II, 16). The “success stories” (s.Iss.822: 29) were also present in the 2019 issues, confirming, as suggested in the title, an alignment with the predominant system, even though an apparent preference for a ‘sustainability’-charged focus was always present in the context of the emerging talents’ awards. The Green Carpet Talent Competition from 2017 was dedicated to the “new talents of sustainable fashion” (Iss.806: 332), while the selected designers of the 2018 edition were nominated “creative and aware!” (Iss.810: 166). The Next Green Talents awards of 2018 and 2019 were both in the sign of upcycling (Iss.811: 269-275; Iss.822: 144; Iss.823: 209-215), while the Remix Awards were problematically incentivising the young creatives to “demonstrate how natural fur can be responsible”, “eco-friendly” (Iss.824:96-97), “ethical and green” (Iss.812:158-159).

The commitment to encourage responsible fashion practices continued in the following issues of *Vogue Talents*. Similar to the discursive units in *Vogue Italia*, the concept of sustainability, also here, was at the centre of many competitions, awards and projects presented in the supplement (s.Iss.829: 3, 5, 28-29, 40-43 and 74-75). The new talents representing the hope for a just world (s.Iss.829: 6 and 8) were “refusing to be implicated in the waste, destructiveness and lack of care for workers which the clothing industry wreaks on the planet.” “Upcycling, responsible sourcing and localism (were) becoming the new normal” (s.Iss.829: 6). This statement is reflected in the *New Avantgarde* section

of the same issue (s.Iss.829: 62, 68 and 71) and in the February issue the following year (s.Iss.834: 6, 8, 12, 14, 16, 20-22, 24, 25, 28, 29 and 32-34).

Following *Vogue Italia*'s 'Sustainability and Creativity' issue from January 2020, the February supplement boldly stated the commitment to a better future. The issue started with the '10 Reasons for Radical Change' by Matteo Ward (s.Iss.834: 4) and continued with the already mentioned selection of designers integrating the different aspects of sustainability in their practice. The next issue underlines the importance of fashion media and the redesign of communication practices (s.Iss.840: 4), actively emphasizing the importance of the *Language* and *Learning* landscapes, as proposed by Fletcher and Tham ([2019]2021). The focus is on upcycling and reusing with brands counteracting the business-as-usual approach (s.Iss.840: 6, 10, 23 and 24) while centring on alternative practices based on values like *Care*, *Co-creation* and *Interdependency* (s.Iss.840: 43-46). More so, a reflection of the editorial choices to decrease the industry's impact are the editorials such 'Morning light, the origin of everything' – a celebration of responsible fashion brands (s.Iss.834: 39-46) and "Tender is the Night" completely illustrated by Yuliya Yg (s.Iss.840: 49-53). The latest was designed to save precious resources, usually needed during photo shootings – something that *Vogue Italia* also did for the January issue of the same year. It also recalls the past magazine practices when fashion was not so accelerated, harmful and unjust. Articles on 'Europe's best practices' (s.Iss.840: 26) and 'Amsterdam's sustainability offer' (s.Iss.834: 36-37) only broaden the understanding of how sustainability should be integrated into the larger context. In the latest issue, Sara Sozzani Maino wraps up the reasons behind the editorial decisions and provides an undoubtable definition of what fashion today should be:

*'Along with a commitment to more environmentally friendly fashion industry, (the) inclusive sense of responsibility also embraces society, artisans, people and local territories, conveying thought-provoking messages that raise awareness in present and future consumers.'*  
(s.Iss.852: 3)

#### 5.4 Some Observations

As presented in the previous chapters, the sustainability-related contents are not a recent feature of *Vogue Italia*; still, the more concrete delineation of the relationship between fashion and sustainability is observable only after 2010. Specifically, in the context of the supplement *Vogue Talents*, this relation demonstrates a clear evolution and developments regarding the meanings associated with the oxymoron 'sustainable fashion'. From the ungrounded use of the word 'sustainable' within the so-called 'lexicon' units in the early 2010s to the holistic understanding of what it means to be responsible in the fashion industry visible in the latest issues, we saw how the aspects of social responsibility and ethics were gradually integrated with the environmentally-centred dimension, the latest, for a long time being perceived as the only association to sustainability in the fashion context. The ways in which the global perspective is presented by the "emerging designers of all continents" are certainly opening for a discussion on the underrepresented nuances of *plurality*.

Significantly, in the *Vogue Talents* context, the first appearances of social responsibility and community engagement are almost exclusively related to non-western realities speaking volumes of the importance of the opening to *Multiple centres*. The supplement's contents, reflective of the gradual yet implicit introduction of the degrowth logic, add towards developments in a responsible direction, even though the road is still to be traced. The revisited understanding of where and who could envision, practice and recount fashion today certainly builds towards a more just and holistically sustainable fashion system but it has to be systemically put in action. The observations of the discursive contents in *Vogue Talents* indeed denote a subtle introduction of postcolonial thought whose multiple logics embedded in activism and critique challenge the predominant fashion system. In spite of that, the argument should be approached with caution because overly optimistic generalisations could do as much harm as the most pessimistic, and aimed at its sake, critique. What is to be considered is the fact that the selection of the brands was object of institutional decisions which today, after Condé Nast's globalisation (which reads centralisation) strategies, are even more restricted and controlled from the core, as opposed to the needed dissemination of thought and practice from the periphery.

For this reason also, it is to be underlined that the context of *Vogue Talents* is isolated in that it is ideated from the beginning to feature only a selection of fashion brands. Furthermore, in my analysis, the focus is on the discursive formations, not the characteristics of the single featured brands. Thus, the observations are made in regard to what is represented, not the actual integration of sustainability-related aspects by the brands. What is to highlight is that throughout the decade, we observe the evolution of both the meaning of the term 'sustainability' as well as the quantity and quality of sustainability-related representations. If in 2010 there was only one unclear mention of "sustainability", starting from 2019, the pages are dedicated to born-sustainable fashion practices. Here, it is helpful to remember that born-sustainable does not always mean holistically integrated (see Maksimova and Piancazzo 2022). Although in this study we observe a gradual development of a holistic approach to sustainability, represented by an integrated understanding and presentation of the various sustainability aspects on the fashion magazine level, there are no practical frameworks able to efficiently convey the various levels of sustainable action undertaken by single concerns. In order to understand one brand's levels of sustainability-oriented commitment, the information available in *Vogue Talents* is not sufficient, and we must further investigate the brand. Bearing this in mind, it is essential to investigate and actively foster new modes of understanding and communicating fashion more systematically, also because otherwise, the margin between the apparent truthful information and misleading statements is almost nonexistent.

The latest issue of *Vogue Talents* reveals yet another layer. It is called *Fearless Generations*, and it somehow implies that future generations, those that have nothing to lose, have to bear the burden or at least the responsibility to change the system for good. In order to paradigmatically shift the predominant system, we need the contribution of everyone, certainly including the efforts of those that have many things to lose. And here, *as discussed by Fisher, everyone is to be understood, not as implicit of multiple individual efforts, but as a call for collective subjectivity, required in facing systemic issues.* (Fisher, 2009)

## Discussion and Conclusions

Language, as intrinsic in configurations and narratives of our world (Fletcher & Tham, 2019), is instrumental in the very needed transition towards a more responsible, respectful, and inclusive fashion system(s). It is also central to producing and disseminating fashion ideas through fashion media. As discussed in the first chapter, the current academic research on the 'fashion sustainability' discourse production is limited, with some more critical approaches noticed only in the last couple of years. As argued in the second chapter, discourse creation, recreation, reinforcement and/or modification is crucial for the creation of our reality, as different from the real, construct, which as Zupancic (cited in Fisher 2009: 17) argues, "is itself ideologically mediated." Given the persistent and pervasive extent of the predominant fashion system's negative environmental, social and cultural impact, it is, in my opinion, crucial that we critically analyse the production and reproduction of 'fashion sustainability'-related discourse(s) so as to unveil another essential reason-why of the perpetuation of the environmental, social and cultural injustices of the fashion system in its globalised, capital-led form. My hope is that this work can be positioned within the area of academic inquiry interested in the symbolic production of sustainability, contributing to shed light on the not-so-evident aspects of meaning production through language.

The purpose and the research questions delineated in Chapter Two led me through the complex analysis process, which involved the analysis of over 50 years of *Vogue Italia*'s archive. They resulted in the individualisation of over 700 discursive units in *Vogue Italia* and *Vogue Talents*, out of which more than 400 were discussed in the previous chapters.

### 1. Findings - *Do Not Look at What I'm Doing. Hear What I'm Saying*

The position of *Vogue Italia* as an institutionalised, conglomerate-conditioned and industry-centred magazine was crucial for the decision to analyse it as an example of centralised media power and investigate how it creates and recreates 'fashion sustainability' discourse, hence how that discourse is implicative of the power dynamics which characterise the predominant fashion system. At the beginning of Chapter Three, I illustrate how, systemically, the magazine presents itself as political and engaged with

'sustainability', a position also confirmed by the parent institution's commitment to "meaningful information and inspiration of its readers." The findings presented in the three analytical chapters, however, based on a grounded analysis and supported by detailed textual and intertextual examples, as well as empirical data from the broader social, cultural and economic standpoint, showed discursive strategies which significantly mitigate the understanding of 'fashion sustainability' as a concept.

Central to the research, Chapter Three covered 33 years of *Vogue Italia*'s editorial work. The findings, however, showed that the highest concentration of 'sustainability'-related content was accumulated in the two years of 'blooming sustainability'. Regardless of this concentration of related content, these two years, as discussed in Chapter 3.1, presented obvious discursive strategies which significantly impacted the meaning creation around the topic of inquiry. These strategies resulted in discursive formations which:

- Intensify the **fashion system** as intrinsic to the fashion industry.
- Intensify the representation of the **fashion industry** and **fashion brands** as engaged in 'sustainable' actions and responsible practices.
- Predicate **young consumers** as conscious and committed to sustainable agency, intensifying the predication on an intertextual level.
- Predicate isolated '**sustainability**'-related actions as 1) wanted by the (young) consumers, hence 2) instrumental to the industry's further economic development.
- Elevate, through intertextual intensification, those same '**sustainability**'-related actions to a level of 'fashion sustainability' groundbreaking commitment;

These characteristics of the discursive formations resulted in an observable

- Mitigation of the **concept of 'sustainable commitment'**, thus the concept of '**fashion sustainability**', which is in an intensified manner depicted as not only possible but flourishing in today's predominant fashion industry.

This mitigation of the meaning was predominantly resulting from generalised, vague and abstract claims of truth or rightness, unsupported by source-traceability or partially representing the complexity of the problem. The intensification of the fashion system as



exclusively linked to the fashion-as-industry concept was observable in the predominance of the representation of the production/consumption axes. Even in the cases where more community base and caring practices were presented, those were instrumentalised and put in service of the predominant paradigm. The intensified representation of high-profit fashion brands and the fashion industry as genuinely engaged in sustainable practices was a result of a systemic predication in ‘eco/green/responsible/ethical’ terminology, while on an intertextual level, a recurrent presentation of their sporadic, isolated, project/collection/initiative-centred activities was dominating the discourse. Through these nomination and predication strategies, the high-end fashion brands, and thus the industry, were elevated on a level of ‘sustainable warriors’. Those exact isolated ‘sustainability’ actions through partialisation, generalisation and vagueness were represented in opportunistic terms and needed, not because they were genuinely right but because of the consumer’s sensitivity to the topic, which transformed these practices into an instrument for further industry growth.

The mitigation was also supported by the partial, overly-optimistic representation of apparently positive, predominantly project/collection/initiative-based actions. The discourse has always been in service of the industry; no uncomfortable questions were asked, even though there were some, very few, discursive units proposing alternative positions or, at the very least, discussing the complexity of the issues. The problem is that those units were not emphasised on a textual or intertextual level; instead, they remained in the realm of yet-another position, arguably instrumental to the magazine image formation as ‘predicating sustainability’. What the analysis and the detailed observations have shown, however, was *Vogue Italia*’s alignment with the Prometheans’ view on sustainability, embedded in the technological progress and industry’s innovation. It could be argued that, at least, there is a certain level of engagement employable in the transition towards a more sustainable fashion system. Nevertheless, scholars have discussed how this one side, dualistic – as opposed to system thinking – approach to sustainability, is only a perpetuation of the problem, if not hugely harmful insofar as presenting a rather human-centric viewpoint.

## 2. Positioning and Consolidation

The discursive units observed in Chapter 3.1, are to be positioned in the larger context in which 'sustainability' and 'fashion sustainability' discourses evolved on the pages of *Vogue Italia*. From what is observable, the discursive strategies individualised in the two years of blooming sustainability were actually only a perpetuation of the practices in motion for a much more extended period of time. As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the concept of 'fashion sustainability commitment' was also mitigated by a recurrent use of 'eco/green/sustainable' terminology completely out of context, usually referring to individual garments without further explanations, practice clearly aimed at 'green' positioning of the brands. Parallel to these discursive solutions and building towards what was observed in the first part of Chapter Three, starting from the late 2010s, the 'sustainability'-related content was increasingly present on the pages of the magazine.

These discursive units, from one side and on a superficial level, contribute to the consolidation of the perception of *Vogue Italia* as political. On the other side of the coin, however, the discursive units show significant internal contradictions seen in the positioning of 'eco/sustainable/green' initiatives in highly consumeristic and often elitist contexts. In these units, another important characteristic is observable – the benefit allure around the high-end fashion events and projects more broadly. As discussed in Section 3.2.2, these events were characterised by (again) a single collection/garment/initiative linked to a commercial operation supported by a celebrity figure with the aim of raising awareness, thus putting the solution in the hands of the 'conscious consumer of the West' instead of asking systemic changes.

Furthermore, the earlier discursive units shed light on how the industry-centred 'fashion sustainability' discourse was solidified and, more importantly, legitimised. This practice was also observable in the biennial 2020-2021, yet it was much more prominent and implicative of the need for common sense placement that was in motion. The isolated brand activities were usually supported by alleged rightness seen in the adherence to International, industry-originated sustainable fashion alliances, which, when examined in detail, showed significant margins for business-as-usual practices. In this period, also,

the conclusions were supported by numerous textual and intertextual examples, allowing for a grounded assessment of the actual “meaningful informing and inspiration” capacity of the magazine, also questioned in the other two analytical chapters of the work.

### 3. Back and Forth

Chapters Four and Five were meant as a possibility to investigate further the thematic sub-categories linked to the ‘fashion sustainability’ discourse. Even though observations were made on social injustices and fashion workers’ conditions, as well as the animal question, the focus of the two chapters remained, respectively, on the representations of innovation in the fibre and textile and the question of decentralisation of fashion. The findings from the observed, predominantly ‘advertisement’ units from the first period implied an undoubtful *focus on the consumer*. Material innovation was presented as facilitating people’s lives while creating an emotional bond. The second characteristic is related to the apparent *upgrade in textile characteristics* compared to natural fibres. The focus is placed on the qualities of the artificial fibres that are lacking in natural fibres, which are presented in rather detached, elitist and even luxurious manners, as opposed to the populist representation of the artificial fibres. As discussed in Chapter Four, problematically enough, the *technical information is always lacking*, a characteristic that was found even more problematic today when transparency and traceability are loudly required by both scholars and activists.

Chapter Five explored the developments of the ‘fashion sustainability discourse’ within the supplement *Vogue Talents*, which has been regularly published since 2009. The inspiration to analyse also the supplement came from the increasing number of discursive units dedicated to talent scouting and awards with a strong ‘sustainability’ charge which starting from the late 2010s, began to appear on the pages of *Vogue Italia*. In the context of the supplement, an evident development was observed, moving from the ungrounded use of the word ‘sustainable’ in the early 2010s to the gradual integration of the social and ethical aspects with the predominant environmental association of sustainability. However, one of the most important aspects was the observed supplement’s role as a platform for decentralised and, later, sustainable views. Analysed also in comparison to

the discursive units found in *Vogue Italia*, and implying a ‘West and the Rest’ dynamic, it was noticed how *Vogue Talents* discursive units show a tendency towards postcolonialism as a form of knowledge that incorporates critical thought and activism (see Young 2016). Contradictory, the discursive units identified in *Vogue Italia* only a few years to a decade earlier were much closer to, if not implicative of the development theory, perpetuating the power dynamics inherited by the colonial and neocolonial era, which under the programmes of ‘structural adjustments’ imposed the neoliberal economic agenda on the so-called Third World (Young 2016).

#### 4. Being Critical: The Position of the Mainstream Fashion Media

Quantitatively speaking, *Vogue Italia*’s auto-determination as political and engaged in “meaningful informing and inspiring” can indeed be confirmed. For almost two decades now, the magazine has been intensely reporting on much broader socio-cultural topics, ‘sustainability’-related issues included, which goes beyond the traditional scope of a predominantly female-oriented fashion magazine. Being conditioned by the economics of the parent institution, the magazine is undoubtedly seen as a business, while the media content, reduced to a commodity, is undoubtedly subject to the effects of commercial pressure. In this sense, as explained by Fairclough (1995), and discussed in the previous chapters, the media organisations act so as to ensure “that the dominant voices are those of the political, social (and in our case, industry-based economic) establishment.” In so doing, media engage in ideological working, “creating meaning in service of the power” (Fairclough 1995). Still, generalising and claiming such ideological work would be as problematic and as harmful as the ideological work itself. Hence the need for an in-depth analysis before jumping to conclusions.

What was discussed through the analytical chapters and is briefly summarised here is, in that sense, a result of a grounded analysis. What is observed upon detailed critical analysis is that *Vogue Italia* not only performs in a purely business manner, selling advertisement space to the industry giants, but it significantly intervenes in industry-centred meaning creation through the discussed discursive strategies. The findings revealed how regardless of *Vogue Italia*’s auto-determination as attentive to

'sustainability'-related topics and engaged in "meaningful information and inspiration", the magazine is, in reality, employing discursive practices which significantly mitigate the meaning of the 'fashion sustainability' and 'sustainable commitment'. Parallely, the industry-centred positions and fashion brands' commitment are intensified so as to result in an overly optimistic depiction of the predominant system as "galloping towards sustainability".

On these lines, the Italian fashion magazine works ideologically to confirm and disseminate the predominant common sense, firmly embedded in the contemporary capital-led system and urging further economic growth, this time dressed in green and attentive to the pressing social injustices, as opposed to a systemic approach to the contemporary issues.

##### 5. Contribution: Sustainable Futuring: Learning and Unlearning the Past

In the introduction of this thesis, I stated that my research comes from a state of profound sadness for the human condition today. Condition of rupture and detachment that have brought us to the necessity to urgently envision alternatives to our globalised ways of being. I also stated that this work is my way of approaching the problems, trying to acknowledge how our contemporary world works, an understanding which can hopefully provide the necessary strength to move forward and find meaningful ways to imagine and enact a better world(s). In this sense, the work presented here is in its current state diagnostic. Demonstrative of the recurrent discursive strategies employed by the fashion magazine and implicative of a state where 'sustainability commitment' as discourse is so widely disseminated in the contemporary unsustainable world, this work opens for future analysis and identification of the leverage points for change (Meadows 2009) within the fashion media segment. Even at this stage of my research, what is certain is that as scholars, and more broadly, as citizens, we have the responsibility to look beyond the obvious, engaging in grounded futuring of the systems we are part of. This grounded, sustainable futuring will not always come easy. Nevertheless, questioning, learning and unlearning could shed some light on our path towards a more just, community-based and caring system(s) of life.

### Appendix I – Disursive Units Chapter 3

n.	Issue	Month	Year	Pages	Title	Content I	Type
1.	S.30	March	1990	402-405	Galactica	lexicon	photo ed.
2.	513	May	1993	4	Vogue Bambini	lexicon	adv.
3.	525	May	1994	56	EN Vogue People & Events: Abiti 2000	lexicon	short text
4.	540	August	1995	8	In copertina	lexicon	short text
5.	541	September	1995	498-507	New luxe	lexicon	photo ed.
6.	543	November	1995	196-199	All mixed up	lexicon	photo ed.
7.	570	February	1998	126	Ken Scott - la moda ecologicamente corretta	core	article
8.	595	March	2000	208	Disegni ecologici	core	article
9.	626	October	2002	322	News: Borse di materica	lexicon	short text
10.	632	April	2003	216	Scarpbook: Reare riciclare	core	short text
11.	634	June	2003	46	Benefit: Project in Amazon forest	context	short text
12.	637	September	2003	200	Rolex eco award sviluppo eco sostenibile	context	article
13.	651	November	2004	102	Style griffato o ecologico - cosa vuol dire ecologico	lexicon	short text
14.	655	March	2005	190	Events: Expo Aichi	context	article
15.	656	April	2005	108	Green: Buga 05 exhibition	context	article

16.	669	May	2006	114	Si amplia il fronte con ecocompatibilità	core	article
17.	680	April	2007	16	Benefit: Art for need	context	short text
18.	682	June	2007	4	Idea verde	context	short text
19.	682	June	2007	114	Eco stylish	core	short text
20.	684	August	2007	126,128	Fashion: riciclo	core	article
21.	685	September	2007	90	Arte: un eco project	context	article
22.	690	February	2008	260	Interview Katharine Hamnett	core	interview
23.	691	March	2008	216	Arte: opere verdi	context	article
24.	704	April	2009	12	Benefit: a little piece of mind	context	short text
25.	704	April	2009	20	Events: Mostra a parigi nel segno della sostenibilita	context	info
26.	704	April	2009	92	Earth day	context	article
27.	707	July	2009	94	Travel: turismo solidale	context	article
28.	709	September	2009	204	Benefit: Nepal - need of initiatives	context	article
29.	709	September	2009	214	Milano Fashion night	lexicon	info
30.	712	December	2009	84	Eco Living: Goodwill fibers by P. Gatti and M. Stone	core	article
31.	715	March	2010	230	(Spotlight on) In bio stat virtus	core	article
32.	715	March	2010	369-373	White & Vogue Italia	core	adv.

33.	721	September	2010	20	Un progetto per l'uomo	context	short text
34.	721	September	2010	330+	Vogue fashion's night out	lexicon	info
35.	722	October	2010	156	Eco Living: Moda benefica by Marta Casadei	core	article
36.	722	October	2010	210	New Wave: Democratic fashion by Tiziana Cardini	core	article
37.	727	March	2011	266	Eco-friendly runway	core	article
38.	728	April	2011	98	Moda Certificata by Barbara Sini	core	article
39.	731	July	2011	130-131	Vogue fashion's night out by QVC	core	adv.
40.	731	July	2011	143-175	Prêt-à-porter	lexicon	photo ed.
41.	732	August	2011	86-87	Counscious Fashion by R. Morabito and N. Scevola	core	article
42.	733	September	2011	369-375	Vogue Italia Fashion's night out, Milano	context	info
43.	733	September	2011	376-378	Vogue Italia Fashion's night out - Special events	context	info
44.	735	November	2011	82	For Forest Sake	context	article
45.	738	February	2012	188	Democratic luxury	core	article
46.	739	March	2012	346, 348	New Talents: My vogue Citizen Journalism by Cellini F.	core	article
47.	745	September	2012	416+	Special events – Milan for charity	context	info
48.	751	March	2013	250	The we way: Tribal touch by barbara amadesi	core	article
49.	751	March	2013	254	The we way: A sustainable chain by Patrizia Gatti	core	article



50.	751	March	2013	384-387	Scouting Manifesto Dubai Mall	core	adv.
51.	752	April	2013	38	Milan fashion week tra musica e benefit	context	info
52.	752	April	2013	144-145	Scouting Manifesto Dubai Mall	core	adv.
53.	753	May	2013	72-79	Yamamay&Bali	core	adv.
54.	757	September	2013	234	Hand made: Social arts&crafts	core	article
55.	757	September	2013	284	Together for hope	context	article
56.	757	September	2013	354-355	Fashion Dubai Experience	core	adv.
57.	757	September	2013	381+	Milan Charity task	context	info
58.	758	October	2013	241-243	Fashion Dubai Experience	core	adv.
59.	760	December	2013	76	Chains for love	core	article
60.	760	December	2013	86-87	Helping Hands: Hunger fighters	core	article
61.	764	April	2014	244-249	Our Commitment by Carlo Ducci	context	photo ed.
62.	764	April	2014	20	Helping Hands, A cool Idea by Sofia Matteoti	core	article
63.	764	April	2014	96	(True) eco labels by Marta Casadei	core	article
64.	769	September	2014	615-619	Milan on the top - shopping benefico	context	info
65.	769	September	2014	620-623	Rome charity calling	context	info
66.	770	October	2014	162	Begs with a cause	core	article

67.	775	March	2015	176	Oceans of Hope	core	article
68.	781	September	2015	58	The fashion cartographer	lexicon	short text
69.	781	September	2015	228	The etics of fashion by Marina Spadafora	core	article
70.	781	September	2015	334+	Vogue fashion's night out A charity time	context	info
71.	789	May	2016	58	Il bello consapevole by Benedetta Pignatelli	core	article
72.	793	September	2016	254-257	Benetton	core	adv.
73.	794	October	2016	118	Eco Living: The ocean's voice by Barbara Amadesi	context	article
74.	795	November	2016	126	Furry Ideas	lexicon	short text
75.	797	January	2017	76	All mad about: Sharing Fashion by Marta Casadei	core	article
76.	799	March	2017	55	Editor's Letter by Farnetti	context	ed. letter
77.	799	March	2017	156	A touch of green by Marta Casadei	core	article
78.	805	September	2017	220	Esemplare	core	adv.
79.	805	September	2017	336	Style/Talenti: Comprare meno indossare più	core	article
80.	807	November	2017	120	Style/L'idea: A volte ritornano by Michele Fossi	core	article
81.	807	November	2017	229	Condé Nast Language of Luxury	context	adv.
82.	810	February	2018	287	Condé Nast Language of Luxury	context	adv.
83.	811	March	2018	254	Style/Il progetto eco: Tutto si crea nulla si distrugge	core	article

84.	812	April	2018	112	Style/progetto eco: le parole per dirlo	core	article
85.	814	June	2018	86	Style: Patti's eyes	lexicon	short text
86.	815	July	2018	90-91	Vogue per Salvatore Ferragamo	core	adv.
87.	816	August	2018	80	Style: Patti's eyes	lexicon	short text
88.	823	March	2019	84	Regaliamoci un gran finale by Paola Antonelli	context	article
89.	823	March	2019	209-215	Nuovo destino by Francesca Bottenghi	core	article
90.	829	September	2019	67-68	La danza by Emanuele Farneti	context	ed. letter
91.	829	September	2019	165-168, 170	Words matter: Vedi alla voce speranza by Michele Fossi	core	interview
92.	829	September	2019	276	La grammatica della sostenibilita'	core	article
93.	830	October	2019	182	Il senso della misura by Elisa Pervinca Bellini	core	article
94.	831	November	2019	140	Dalla materia perdutata	core	article
95.	832	December	2019	114	Un caldo abbraccio by Elisabetta Caprotti on falconari	core	article
96.	833	January	2020	14	I valori di Vogue by Emanuele Farneti	context	ed. letter
97.	833	January	2020	22	Controcanto, Verbavolant by Angelo Flaccavento	context	article
98.	833	January	2020	31-35	Il circolo virtuoso by Vittoria Filippi Gabardi	context	article
99.	833	January	2020	40-41	Ieri,oggi, domani by Michele Fossi	core	article

100.	833	January	2020	48	La sfida e' aperta: cercasi progetti eco	core	info
	833	January	2020	50	La via Italiana	core	article
101.	833	January	2020	75	Sotto una buona stella	core	short text
102.	833	January	2020	76	Vogue Talents: In caso d'incendio by Alberto Calabrese	core	short text
103.	833	January	2020	142-145	La moda e in fiamme - conversation with Naomi Klein	core	interview
104.	835	March	2020	188	UNIC Concerie Italiane, sustainable leather	lexicon	adv.
105.	835	March	2020	192	Il contrario della città	core	article
106.	835	March	2020	196	Che nulla vada perduto vogue green talents by R. Terzo	core	article
107.	836	April	2020	53-54	Consumismo, game over? by Michele Neri	context	article
108.	836	April	2020	77	A che gioco giochiamo by Lidewij Edelkoort	context	article
109.	836	April	2020	112-115	A riveder le stelle	core	article
110.	837	May	2020	10	Una conversazione by Emanuele Farneti	context	ed. letter
111.	839	July	2020	63	La casa sull'albero	core	short text
112.	839	July	2020	64	Professione Attivista by Margherita Tizzi	core	interview
113.	840	September	2020	78	0: Un nuovo inizio per l'industria della moda by S. Mower	core	article
114.	840	September	2020	104-105	2021: Odisea nella moda?	context	article
115.	840	September	2020	164	Cronache di un matrimonio by Gaia Passi	core	article

116.	843	December	2020	112-113	Seconda vita! vintage	core	article
117.	843	December	2020	113	Compro indosso rivendo	core	article
118.	843	December	2020	120	La via del sole - il premio Vogue Yoox Challenge	core	article
119.	844	January	2021	16	I draghi e noi by Farnetti	context	ed. letter
120.	844	January	2021	73	Nativo sostenibile	core	article
121.	845	February	2021	70	Un gesto Politico by Sofia Matteoti con Orsola de Castro	core	short text
122.	845	February	2021	72-73	Immagineremo tutto da capo by Michele Neri	context	article
123.	845	February	2021	108-111	Fuori dalla nicchia	lexicon	article
124.	845	February	2021	127-129	La nostra dozzina	core	short text
125.	845	February	2021	131	Formidabili quegli anni by Barbara Amadesi	core	article
126.	845	February	2021	134	Sogni, Natura e spirito Libero by Federico Chiara	core	article
127.	846	March	2021	124-125	Immagino una sposa compeste	core	article
128.	846	March	2021	126	Per fare un abito	core	article
129.	846	March	2021	130	Qualcosa di naturale	core	article
130.	846	March	2021	132	A tempo di Jazz by Sofia Mattioli	core	article
131.	846	March	2021	142	Nelle mie scarpe by Serena Castrignano	core	article
132.	846	March	2021	194-207	@Urfavepixie	lexicon	photo ed.

133.	847	April	2021	40-41	Adidas	lexicon	adv.
134.	848	May	2021	103	Rondini e Soldati by Alberto Calabrese	core	article
135.	849	June	2021	86	Noi insieme by Scalia Lella	core	article
136.	849	June	2021	90	Vogue Talents: Nato in cucina	core	article
137.	849	June	2021	164-175 (167)	I am the art	lexicon	photo ed.
138.	850	July	2021	32	Aiutami a dire Green by Matteo Ward	core	short text
139.	850	July	2021	140-151 (142)	(I) Confess	lexicon	photo ed.
140.	851	August	2021	76	Lettere dal mare by Margherita Tizzi con Francesco Scognamiglio	context	article
141.	851	August	2021	77	Yamamay	lexicon	adv.
142.	851	August	2021	82-83	Vogue Italai per Miriade	lexicon	adv.
143.	851	August	2021	103	Vogue Italia per Neubau Eyewear	core	adv.
144.	851	August	2021	105-129	Mona e Jean a Napoli	lexicon	photo ed.
145.	852	September	2021	121-122	L'inizio dopo la fine	core	article
146.	852	September	2021	134	Compro come sono by MM	core	article
147.	852	September	2021	146-149	Il progresso secondo noi	context	article

148.	852	September	2021	156-158	Il dilemma di Venere - Francesco Monico con Michelangelo Pistoletto	context	interview
149.	852	September	2021	178-181	Volo da solo - *colin strada	lexicon	photo ed.
150.	852	September	2021	205	Il Bisonte	lexicon	adv.
151.	852	September	2021	312	One last thing	context	short text

#### Appendix II – Discursive units from Chapter 4

n.	Issue	Month	Year	Pages	Title	Content I	Type
1.	172	September		29	Announcement of the new title* in chapter 1	context	ed. letter
2.	174	October		51	Announcement of the new title* in chapter 1	context	ed. letter
3.	175	November	1965	5	Moda giovane per ore eleganti. Rhonel	core	adv.
4.	175	November	1965	18	Terital. Rhodiatoce	core	adv.
5.	175	November	1965	22	Il suo nome è Nailon Rhodiatoce	core	adv.
6.	175	November	1965	25	L'importante è non sbagliare lana	core	adv.
7.	175	November	1965	26	Terital. Rhodiatoce	core	adv.
8.	175	November	1965	48	Cromoflex	core	adv.
9.	175	November	1965	54	La natura copre, il Nailon Rhodiatoce veste	core	adv.

10.	175	November	1965	59	Una nuova libertà di vivere. Nailon Rhodiatoce	core	adv.
11.	175	November	1965	157	Niente paura, è Meraklon	core	adv.
12.	175	November	1965	158	Ecco Euroacril	core	adv.
13.	176	December	1965	2	Niente paura, è Meraklon	core	adv.
14.	176	December	1965	29	Orlon ovunque quest'anno	core	adv.
15.	176	December	1965	46	Niente peso, tutto slancio! Glamour Maeran	core	adv.
16.	176	December	1965	152	Velicren la maglieria della mia mamma	core	adv.
17.	178	February	1966	9	Velluto Dralon per la casa	core	adv.
18.	178	February	1966	16-17	Fratelli Fila Industrie laniere	core	adv.
19.	179	March	1966	10-34	V&N presenta: gli assortitori tessuti novità accreditati presso CNdM	core	adv.
20.	179	March	1966	126	A noi piace Euroacril!	core	adv.
21.	180	April	1966	16	Elegante e morbidissima! È la maglieria in Acribel!	core	adv.
22.	180	April	1966	26	Martazz è la marca della maglieria fine e moderna	core	adv.
23.	182	June	1966	104	A me piace Euroacril!	core	adv.
24.	184	September	1966	30-33	*Group of advertisements of different designers with Rhodiatoce adv. on each one of them	core	adv.



25.	184	September	1966	52-64	*Group of advertisements of different designers with textile producers adv. on each one of them	core	adv.
26.	184	September	1966	144	Euroacril, un sogno a colori	core	adv.
27.	185	October	1966	6	Glamour dà anche a Voi la linea da "ragazza copertina" Maeran	core	adv.
28.	185	October	1966	24	La guaina del potere di controllo inalterabile al lavaggio! Playtex Wonderlastic	core	adv.
29.	185	October	1966	62-65	Il Dralon in casa	core	adv.
30.	186	November	1966	2	Aquascutum	core	adv.
31.	186	November	1966	11	What matters most in a coat? Rodex	core	adv.
32.	187	December	1966	50	Triumph l'ha disegnato "su"	core	adv.
33.	188	January	1967	5	Tra voi e il vestito Tra voi e la notte mettete un soffio.. La Castellana	core	adv.
34.	190	March	1967	26-31	*Group of advertisements. Nailon. Armonia	core	adv.
35.	190	March	1967	52	Potete appoggiarvi ai tessuti Klopman Dacron-Cotone	core	adv.
36.	190	March	1967	67-72	*Group of advertisements of different designers with Rhodiatocce adv. on each one of them	core	adv.
37.	190	March	1967	89-104	*Group of advertisements of different designers with a description of the textile and info on textile producer	core	adv.
38.	191	April	1967	6	Triumph, la forma nella comodità	core	adv.

39.	191	April	1967	30	Warner's la prima guaina a profilo naturale	core	adv.
40.	192	May	1967	49	Trevira	core	adv.
41.	195	September	1967	26	Quando ogni movimento è grazia.. la guaina maidenform	core	adv.
42.	195	September	1967	97	A braccetto con Velicren	core	adv.
43.	196	October	1967	46	Pietro Radici Tappetificio Nazionale Velfloor	core	adv.
44.	196	October	1967	168	Euroacril dal mattino alla sera	core	adv.
45.	197	November	1967	47	Ingualcibilmente Trevira	core	adv.
46.	198	December	1967	18-19	Evvia la rivoluzione Courtelle	core	adv.
47.	201	March	1968	2	Aquascutum	core	adv.
48.	201	March	1968	26-31	Courtelle nobilita la moda pratica	core	adv.
49.	201	March	1968	63	Il più raffinato tessuto ingualcibile in Dacron-Cotone	core	adv.
50.	201	March	1968	93-102	Rhodiatoce presenta: alcune delle creazioni realizzate con le sue fibre	core	adv.
51.	203	May	1968	13	Warner's: libere e spontaneamente belle	core	adv.
52.	203	May	1968	31	In questa foto tutto e Crylor	core	adv.
53.	203	May	1968	151	Crimplene ...follemente libera	core	adv.
54.	208	November	1968	16	Triumph, la linea nella comodità	core	adv.

55.	208	November	1968	31	Hai trovato quello che cercavi. Maidenform	core	adv.
56.	208	November	1968	59	Warn-elite by Warner's	core	adv.
57.	212	March	1969	56	Vestiti in Crimplene... scegli la tua libertà	core	adv.
58.	213	April	1969	159	Warner's ha inventato Warnatural	core	adv.
59.	216	July/August	1969	27	Tric-o-lastice della Maidenform	core	adv.
60.	217	September	1969	193-204	Rhodiatocce nei modelli dell'alta moda italiana	core	adv.
61.	217	September	1969	221-224	*Trevira in different collections	core	adv.
62.	217	September	1969	269-280	Qiana (DuPont) I grandi della couture italiana si sono espressi in...	core	adv.
63.	217	September	1969	298	Felici in Dralon	core	adv.
64.	218	October	1969	171	Pura lana vergine irrestingibile	core	adv.
65.	223	March	1970	57-74	Rhodiatocce nei modelli dell'alta moda italiana	core	adv.
66.	223	March	1970	306	Acrilan: l'investimento che dura nel tempo	core	adv.
67.	224	April	1970	75-76	Brecket pantaloni che hanno della stoffa	core	adv.
68.	225	May	1970	18	Con Swan (Original) il mare è più bello	core	adv.
69.	229	October	1970	65	Signori del tempo, signori del Trend in Trevira	core	adv.
70.	229	October	1970	80	Felici in Vestan	core	adv.

71.	230	November	1970	26	Felici in Vestan	core	adv.
72.	230	November	1970	52	Felici in Jersey-dor	core	adv.
73.	234	March	1971	189-197	Le fibre SNIA nell'alta moda primavera-estate 1971	core	adv.
74.	235	April	1971	205-215	Le fibre SNIA nell'alta moda pronta primavera-estate 1971	core	adv.
75.	236	May	1971	19-31	Correre incontro all'estate con Armonia	core	adv.
76.	240	October	1971	281	Alla ricerca di una moda 'ecologica'	context	article
77.	241	November	1971	138-141	Il design nella moda: da nuove tecniche industriali nasce un diverso modo di vestire	core	adv.
78.	241	November	1971	144	Bellezza: Quando la sintesi chimica non uccide la natura	context	short text
79.	243	January	1972	52	Bellezza: "Eaux vivantes" per una bellezza naturale	context	short text
80.	243	January	1972	55	Bellezza: Una filosofia nuova guida la cosmesi	context	short text
81.	244	February	1972	85	Health fashion boutique	core	side news
82.	247	May	1972	92	Bellezza: La bellezza diventa "ecologica"	context	short text
83.	255	February	1973	165	Qiana: questo nome vi dice eleganza (DuPont)	core	adv.
84.	255	February	1973	118-123,152	Bellezza e ecologia	context	article
85.	257	April	1973	321	Flash: Un viaggio a Londra per chi decide di inaugurare una stagione tutta "nature"	context	short text

86.	262	September	1973	306	Questo marchio garantisce la lana vergine lavabile in lavatrice	core	adv.
87.	264	October	1973	44-45	Confort a tempo pieno Voile di Lycra, un confort in più	core	adv.
88.	265	November	1973	134-135	Svestirsi di colore. Linea Faber	core	adv.
89.	268	February	1974	131	Qiana eleganza-praticità	core	adv.
90.	270	April	1974	18	Voile di Lycra	core	adv.
91.	270	April	1974	49-56	Ma che cosa ci trova la moda di interessante in una fibra Diolen?	core	adv.
92.	282	April	1975	217	Se ne parla: Fantascienza ecologica: ma che brutto futuro-only movies presentation	context	side news
93.	284	June	1975	18	Botto Linea crociera in Voile di Lycra	core	adv.
94.	284	June	1975	18	Cotone e Lycra confortevole e aderente	core	adv.
95.	296	June	1976	48	Lycra confort nel movimento	core	adv.
96.	290	December	1975	166	Se ne parla: il papa' dell'etologia	context	short text
97.	305	March	1977	483	Pura lana vergine vale più di quanto spendi	core	adv.
98.	313	September	1977	105	Collezione sci 1977	core	adv.
99.	314	September	1977	379	Farsi bella: Verso una bellezza tutta naturale	context	short text
100.	315	October	1977	294	Belleseme Moda con puntiglio	core	adv.

101.	329	September	1978	335	Se in un collant trovi Lycra, hai trovato un grande collant	core	adv.
102.	331	October	1978	230	Seta solo seta	core	adv.
103.	332	October	1978	110	Funzionale Lycra elastico	core	adv.
104.	332	October	1978	114	Le "autentiche" borse Hunting World	core	adv.
105.	334	December	1978	35-38	Un anticipo, dalla collezione 1979, per voi, se correte al sole quando nevica	core	adv.
106.	338	March	1979	262	Pura lana vergine	core	adv.
107.	343	June	1979	22	1979: Maidenform Lancia "Insolita". La natura sulla pelle	core	adv.
108.	349	October	1979	115-117	Filato "Merinos Baruffa"	core	adv.
109.	360	June	1980	158-159	Lo stile retrò: parla del ritorno della moda anni 50 e i lati negativi. sono menzionati i secondhand shops pero è una cosa a parte	lexicon	article
110.	361-362	July/August	1980	162-163	Una linea che arriva lontano 1980: Nocciolino di LineaPiù	core	adv.
111.	363	September	1980	272-279	Agnona: Il lungo viaggio della lana mohair	core	adv.
112.	363	September	1980	461	Il punto di vista di Vogue: Alta moda oggi coi ricami afferma il suo prestigio artigianale e riprende il filo folklore	lexicon	article
113.	381/II	October	1981	161-179	Moda naturale Scioltezza massima: Indumenti come coperte	core	photo ed.
114.	384	January	1982	148-149	Lineapiù. Finezza della lana mohair	core	adv.

115.	386/II	March	1982	454-459	Golfino o Golfone, a loro piace rustico.	core	photo ed
116.	403	October	1983	120-121	Maglieria Ok'd	core	adv.
117.	s.6	March	1984	636-641	Borse e scarpe tropico	core	photo ed
118.	422	April	1985	92-97	Oro e alpaca	context	article
119.	439	October	1986	488	Lorica - la moda cambia pelle	core	adv.
120.	440	October	1986	129	Gruppo Ratti Magia e fashino del cashmere	context	short text
121.	446	April	1987	45-61	I maestri del lino	core	editorial
122.	450	September	1987	277-316	L'inverno della lana	core	editorial
123.	452	November	1987	132	I miei primi 50 anni	core	article
124.	455	February	1988	16-20	Australia - collezione in lana per il bicentenario	context	adv.
125.	457	April	1988	133-160	Lana - un classico super leggero	core	editorial
126.	iss.24	October	1988	193-200	Acetate Yarn	core	adv.
127.	471	July	1989	156-165	Sole, vento, sabbia	context	article
128.	498	February	1992	134	Bellezza: Fantacosmesi o naturalità	context	short text
129.	511	March	1993	200	Selvaggio chic	context	short text
130.	524	April	1994	64	E' la via ecologica del beauty case	context	article
131.	525	May	1994	87-95	Synthetic materials	core	editorial

132.	531	November	1994	54	Bellezza: Esterni forti eco packaging	context	article
133.	545	January	1996	86, 90	Vogue bellezza Stile eco-chic	context	side news
134.	680	April	2007	122	Cotone orcanico	core	article
135.	691	March	2008	300	Eco fashion	core	article
136.	709	September	2009	362	Belezza: Roll-on ladies	context	article
137.	709	September	2009	374	Belezza: Back to brightness	context	article
138.	719	July	2010	104	Beauty News: New eco-style	context	article
139.	726	February	2011	158	Focus on: Easy & sustainable by Serena la Rosa	core	article
140.	729	May	2011	110	Beauty News: Glam Lavander - coscienza eco-chic	context	article
141.	734	October	2011	306	Beauty News: Pollution free	context	article
142.	742	June	2012	64	Eco Living: take a fresh breath	context	article
143.	742	June	2012	70	Fashion Notes: All you need is wool	core	article
144.	745	September	2012	150	Face to face Cleaning the earth	context	article
145.	750	February	2013	158	Eco Living New plastic waves	context	article
146.	750	February	2013	254-255	Alcantara endless creativity	core	adv.
147.	759	November	2013	128	Beauty news: zero-impact wave in cosmetics by vittoria filippi gabardi	context	article



148.	761	January	2014	100-103	Alcantara New Wave supported by Vogue Talents	core	adv.
149.	762	February	2014	230	Beauty news: la fleur de	context	article
150.	767	July	2014	107	Alcantara New Wave supported by Vogue Talents	core	adv.
151.	769	September	2014	569-573	Advertorial Mugler - Lusso responsabile	context	adv.
152.	772	December	2014	96,98	Fashion Notes: On New talents' side	core	article
153.	775	March	2015	176	Oceans of Hope	core	article
154.	781	September	2015	376	Beauty news: Commitment-bellezza al servizio di cause umanitarie e sociali	context	article
156.	791	July	2016	108	Beauty news: Conscious tanning	context	article
157.	791	July	2016	112	Beauty news: Organic healing	context	article
158.	793	September	2016	348	Beauty news: Haircare grows green	context	article
159.	793	September	2016	362	Beauty news: Slowing down	context	article
160.	799	March	2017	307	The new hydration: Eco-friendly	context	article
161.	800	April	2017	189	Beauty News: Sotto l'albero saggio	context	article
162.	805	September	2017	402-403	Sensitive® Fabrics	core	adv.
163.	808	December	2017	86-87	Vogue Italia per Alcantara	core	adv.
164.	833	January	2020	140	Nulla vada sprecato	context	article

165.	834	February	2020	252-253	Stiamo piantando un albero	context	article
166.	835	March	2020	310	Colori consapevoli	context	short text
167.	840	September	2020	286	Fare felici tutti	context	article
168.	841	October	2020	148	Guardami, Toccamì	context	short text
169.	842	November	2020	157	Green bond	context	short text
170.	843	December	2020	40	Questa non è una fotografia di moda	context	short text
171.	844	January	2021	83	Beauty. ovipositor	context	editorial
172.	848	May	2021	150	Con Rispetto parlando	context	short text
173.	852	September	2021	208	L'Oréal ci impegnamo a combattere il cambiamento climatico	context	adv.

### Appendix III – Discursive units from Chapter 5

n.	Issue	Month	Year	Pages	Title / Name of the featured brand*	Content I / Section	Type
1.	684	August	2007	126, 128	Fashion Riciclo	core	article
2.	712	December	2009	84	Eco Living: Goodwill Fibres by Patrizia Gatti	core	article
3.	716	April	2010	10	Handmade in Africa	core	short text
4.	s.721	September	2010	19	short description	womenswear	short text

5.	s.721	September	2010	21	*ERRO	womenswear	short text
6.	721	September	2010	26	*Christopher Raeburn	menswear	short text
7.	722	October	2010	156	Eco Living: Moda benefica by Marta Casadei	core	article
8.	733	September	2011	286	Fashion Notes: From the village to the store	core	article
9.	s.733	Sep 2011	2011	20	*Marco Corso	womenswear	short text
10.	741	May	2012	114-115	Fashion Notes: Fashion to Empower	core	article
11.	741	May	2012	122-123	New talents: Ideas to rebrend africa	core	article
12.	751	March	2013	250	The we way: Tribal touch by Barbara Amadesi	core	article
13.	s.757	September	2013	2	The Fashion Capitals of Tomorrow	editorial	article
14.	s.757	September	2013	22	short description	womenswear	short text
15.	s.757	September	2013	22	*Cristaseya	womenswear	short text
16.	s.757	September	2013	22	*Vincent Billeci	womenswear	short text
17.	s.757	September	2013	23	*Kamenskakononova	womenswear	short text
18.	s.757	September	2013	23	*Alcoolique	womenswear	short text
19.	s.757	September	2013	26	*Partsparts Imseonoc	womenswear	short text
20.	s.757	September	2013	27	*FlaviaLaRocca	womenswear	short text
21.	s.757	September	2013	28	*Tigran Avetisyan	menswear	short text

22.	s.757	September	2013	31	*Nasha Mekraksavanich	accessories	short text
23.	s.757	September	2013	32	*PB0110	accessories	short text
24.	s.774	February	2015	3	*Ituen Basi	/	short text
25.	s.774	February	2015	6	*Maki Oh	/	short text
26.	s.774	February	2015	7	*Studio One Eighty Nine	/	short text
27.	s.774	February	2015	16	*A A K S by Akosua Afriyie-Kumi	Scouting for Africa	short text
28.	s.774	February	2015	17	*Loza Maléombho	Scouting for Africa	short text
29.	s.774	February	2015	19	*Orange Culture	Scouting for Africa	short text
30.	s.774	February	2015	18	*Mafrika by Sadia Mustafa	Scouting for Africa	short text
31.	s.774	February	2015	18	*O 'Milua by Olajumoke Ademilua	Scouting for Africa	short text
32.	s.781	September	2015	1	-whole section	Supported by	short text
33.	s.781	September	2015	18	short description	womenswear	short text
34.	s.781	September	2015	23	*Etienne Derceux	womenswear	short text
35.	s.781	September	2015	24	Italians handcrafting innovation	editorial	article
36.	806	October	2017	332	Un premio per I nuovi talenti della moda sostenibile	core	short text
37.	s.810	February	2018	166	creativi e consapevoli	core	short text

38.	s.810	February	2018	06	*Kozaburo	/	short text
39.	s.810	February	2018	07	*Problem	/	short text
40.	s.810	February	2018	15	*Yohei Ohno	/	short text
41.	s.810	February	2018	17	*Moon Choi	/	short text
42.	s.810	February	2018	22	*Etiqueta Latina	/	short text
43.	s.810	February	2018	25	*Chain	/	short text
44.	s.810	February	2018	25	*Kenneth Ize	/	short text
45.	s.810	February	2018	27	*Proudrace	/	short text
46.	s.810	February	2018	28	*Style wars	/	short text
47.	s.810	February	2018	10	ITS is back	/	article
48.	s.810	February	2018	19	*Bav Tailor	Scouting for India	short text
49.	s.810	February	2018	19	*N&S Gaia	Scouting for India	short text
50.	s.810	February	2018	20	*Shift	Scouting for India	short text
51.	s.810	February	2018	21	*Ara Lumiere	Scouting for India	short text
52.	s.810	February	2018	20	*Uvrashi Kaur	Scouting for India	short text
53.	811	March	2018	269-275	Read my t-shirt by elisabetta caprotti	core	photo ed.
54.	812	April	2018	158-159	Remix Awards Eco-friendly and talented	core	short text

55.	s.817	September	2018	13	*Soster Studio	Scouting	short text
56.	s.817	September	2018	15	*Victor Von Schwarz	Scouting	short text
57.	s.817	September	2018	17	*Phipps	Scouting	short text
58.	s.817	September	2018	18	*Kay Kwok	Scouting	short text
59.	s.817	September	2018	19	*Armando Takeda	Scouting	short text
60.	s.817	September	2018	24	*Germanier	Scouting	short text
61.	s.817	September	2018	28	*Nathalie Ballout	Scouting	short text
62.	s.817	September	2018	30	*Emmy Kasbit	Scouting	short text
63.	s.817	September	2018	33	*Gabriella Coll Garments	Scouting	short text
64.	s.817	September	2018	32	*Tiziano Guardini	Scouting	short text
65.	s.817	September	2018	33	*Grassi 10000 by Anna Grassi	Scouting	short text
66.	s.817	September	2018	35	*Alama	Scouting	short text
67.	822	February	2019	144	Il pensiero etico - The next green talents	core	short text
68.	s.822	February	2019	2	New Frontiers of Awareness	editorial	article
69.	s.822	February	2019	2	Waterworld: Everything the see has to offer	editorial	article
70.	s.822	February	2019	3	Where to study sustainability?	editorial	article

71.	s.822	February	2019	19	What is the future of our planet? What can we do to safeguard it?	editorial	article
72.	s.822	February	2019	23	The Challenge to Climate Change and the Cooperative approach to production	editorial	article
73.	s.822	February	2019	24	Natural Mimesis	editorial	article
74.	s.822	February	2019	27	How to be sustainable. 15 resources to go greener while buying or making fashion	editorial	article
75.	s.822	February	2019	29	Success Stories	editorial	article
76.	s.822	February	2019	31	What's going on. Summits, Awards and Exhibitions during 2019	editorial	article
77.	s.822	February	2019	4	*Bethany Williams	Scouting	short text
78.	s.822	February	2019	4	*Soster Studio	Scouting	short text
79.	s.822	February	2019	5	* Germanier	Scouting	short text
80.	s.822	February	2019	5	* Helen Kirkum	Scouting	short text
81.	s.822	February	2019	8	* Ahluwalia Studio	Scouting	short text
82.	s.822	February	2019	8	*Maggie Marilyn	Scouting	short text
83.	s.822	February	2019	9	* Hazza	Scouting	short text
84.	s.822	February	2019	9	*Bite Studios	Scouting	short text
85.	s.822	February	2019	10	*Cara Marie Piazza	Scouting	short text

86.	s.822	February	2019	10	* Escudo	Scouting	short text
87.	s.822	February	2019	20	*Matthew Needham	Scouting	short text
88.	s.822	February	2019	21	*Cora Bellotto	Scouting	short text
89.	s.822	February	2019	21	*John Alexander Skelto	Scouting	short text
90.	s.822	February	2019	21	*Cesta Collective	Scouting	short text
91.	823	March	2019	209-215	Nuovo destino by Francesca Bottenghi	core	article
92.	824	April	2019	96-97	Remix Awards	core	short text
93.	s.829	September	2019	3	NABA	Vogue Talents for	short text
94.	s.829	September	2019	5	CNMI	Vogue Talents for	short text
95.	s.829	September	2019	28-29	Fashion 4 development	Vogue Talents for	short text
96.	s.829	September	2019	40-43	Woolmark company (award)	Vogue Talents for	short text
97.	s.829	September	2019	74-75	Fidenza Village	Vogue Talents for	short text
98.	s.829	September	2019	6	Federico Marchetti	Voices on talents	short text
99.	s.829	September	2019	8	Sara Mower	Voices on talents	short text
100.	s.829	September	2019	6	Clare Press	Voices on talents	short text
101.	s.829	September	2019	62	*Carlota Berrera	The New Avantgarde	short text
102.	s.829	September	2019	68	*Duran Lantink	The New Avantgarde	short text



103.	s.829	September	2019	71	*Salim Azzam	The New Avantgarde	short text
104.	s.829	September	2019	71	*Oloapitreps	The New Avantgarde	short text
105.	s.834	February	2020	4	10 Reasons for Radical Change	editorial	article
106.	s.834	February	2020	6	*Vitelli	The New Avantgarde	short text
107.	s.834	February	2020	8	*Sevali	The New Avantgarde	short text
108.	s.834	February	2020	12	*Leandi Mulder	The New Avantgarde	short text
109.	s.834	February	2020	14	*Collina Strada	The New Avantgarde	short text
110.	s.834	February	2020	16	*Amesh	The New Avantgarde	short text
111.	s.834	February	2020	20	*Morphine.online	The New Avantgarde	short text
112.	s.834	February	2020	21	*re;code	The New Avantgarde	short text
113.	s.834	February	2020	22	*Weiyu Hung	The New Avantgarde	short text
114.	s.834	February	2020	24	*Style wars	The New Avantgarde	short text
115.	s.834	February	2020	25	*Kowtow	The New Avantgarde	short text
116.	s.834	February	2020	28	*Kudsuper	The New Avantgarde	short text
117.	s.834	February	2020	29	*Vanta Design Studio	The New Avantgarde	short text
118.	s.834	February	2020	32	*Fantabody	The New Avantgarde	short text
119.	s.834	February	2020	33	*Mama Tiera	The New Avantgarde	short text

120.	s.834	February	2020	34	*Manuel Manufactures	The New Avantgarde	short text
121.	s.834	February	2020	30-31	African Fashion Foundation	Vogue Talents for	short text
122.	s.834	February	2020	36-37	Walking in Amsterdam: The home of sustainability	editorial	article
123.	s.834	February	2020	39-46	Morning light, the origin of everything	editorial	photo ed.
124.	s.840	September	2020	4	Communication as a force of change	editorial	article
125.	s.840	September	2020	6	*Av Vattev	New Generation	short text
126.	s.840	September	2020	10	*Arturo Obegero	New Generation	short text
127.	s.840	September	2020	23	*Florentina Leitner	New Generation	short text
128.	s.840	September	2020	24	*Vaquar	New Generation	short text
129.	s.840	September	2020	26	From energy to culture: Best practices in Europe	editorial	article
130.	s.840	September	2020	43-46	Entire section	Artisans and Community	article
131.	s.840	September	2020	49-53	Tender is the night	editorial	photo ed.
132.	s.852	September	2021	3	Fearless Generations	editorial	photo ed.

#### Appendix IV – List of Vogue Talents issues

N°	Issue	Date	Page format	N° of pages	Title	Subtitle + Heading
1	721	Sept. 2010	A3	34	Fidenza Village is proud to support Vogue Talents	160 emerging designers
2	733	Sept. 2011	A3	34	Fidenza Village & Vogue Talents Explore a world of new talents	180 emerging designers
3	745	Sept. 2012	A3	34	Fidenza Village & Vogue Talents Discovering fashion's future generation of talents	190 emerging designers
4	757	Sept. 2013	A3	34	Samsung and Vogue Talents present a new generation of fashion designers and Samsung Accessories Talents Scouting	200 emerging designers
5	760	Dec. 2013	A3	8	The Dubai Mall and Vogue Talents present "The ones who have succeeded... The new generation of fashion designers"	--
6	774	Feb. 2015	A3	26	The Dubai Mall and Vogue Talents present "A focus on the countries to watch for new talented emerging designers"	New Countries to watch out for
7	781	Sept. 2015	A3	34	Camera Nazionale della Moda Italiana and Vogue Talents present Spotlight on 2015's fashion designers	200 emerging designers
8	810	Feb. 2018	A3	30	Camera Nazionale della Moda Italiana and Vogue Talents present Countries to watch for New Talented designers	Vogue Italia Talents
9	817	Sept. 2018	A3	36	Vogue Talents Spotlight on 2018's fashion designers	--
10	822	Feb. 2019	A3	30	Vogue Talents The New Frontiers of Awareness	--
11	829	Sept. 2019	21x28.5	88	Vogue Talents 10 (anniversary)	--
12	834	Feb. 2020	21x28.5	48	Vogue Talents The New frontiers of Awareness	--
13	840	Sept. 2020	21x28.5	56	Vogue Talents Strength of purpose	--
14	845	Feb. 2021	21x28.5	48	Vogue Talents The New frontiers of Awareness	--
15	852	Sept. 2021	21x28.5	64	Vogue Talents Fearless Generations	--

## Appendix Figures





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































The Vogue Italia Archive

Eco OR ecologia OR ecologico OR ecology

825 results [Modify search](#) [Recent searches](#) [Save search/alert](#)

Filter or sort your results >

Select 1-20    

<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Ci Vengono A Trovare In Sogno</b> Monico, Francesco. <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 844, (Jan 2021): 40-41. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Con Rispetto Parlando</b> <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 848, (May 2021): 150. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>A Tempo Di Jazz</b> Mattioli, Sofia. <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 846, (Mar 2021): 132. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Operazione Trasparenza</b> Morello, Marco. <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 844, (Jan 2021): 62-63. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Willy And Olivier In Stadspark</b> <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 849, (Jun 2021): 142-155. Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Accorciare Le Distanze</b> Mattioli, Sofia. <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 852, (Sep 2021): 151-152. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Il Dilemma Di Venere</b> Monico, Francesco. <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 852, (Sep 2021): 156-158. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>L'Ingrediente Segreto</b> Cristino, Veronica. <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 848, (May 2021): 150. Abstract/Details Full text	   Full Text
<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>Ovipositor</b> <b>Vogue Italia; Milan</b> Iss. 844, (Jan 2021): 83-89. Full Text	   Full Text

A.1 List of keyword research results, example

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