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The Global Scapes of Postmodernity: A Proposed Model for “global cultural flow” in Fashion Education

Abstract:

This article proposes the use of Arjun Appadurai's global scapes model, highlighted in 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', as a tool for teaching fashion theory. Originally designed as a one-off lecture on globalisation for undergraduates on a 'Fashion and Society' module, it has now been extended to cover the whole of the teaching on this module for a semester, with all subsequent classes referring back to Appadurai's theory of scapes. Globalisation is a hugely complex subject area, which is very important for students of fashion today. The reworking of this model to fit the worldwide network that makes up the fashion industry helps students to see their own place, and that of others, on a global scale. It also opens up discussion on important subjects that are all connected to fashion, such as ethics, geo-politics, discourse and practice.

Keywords: globalisation, postmodernity, pedagogy, Arjun Appadurai, global cultural flow

Introduction

Globalisation as a subject of study emerged in the 1970s at the point it was named as a phenomenon in its own right. It could be defined as the term which is “used to designate the power relations, practices and technologies that characterize, and have helped bring into being, the contemporary world”, however Tony Schirato and Jen Webb state that this is oversimplifying a very complex thing (2003: 2). Depending on which field of theory one is oriented in – economics, cultural studies, politics, history, and so on – it will be described somewhat differently, with alternate models applied to its analysis. It is often considered to come hand in hand with late capitalism and to a certain extent is synonymous with neoliberal policies around free trade, privatisation and deregulation. Whichever way we choose to define it, there are particular qualities attached to its manifestation which are often academic concepts in their own right, making it ripe for its own form of critique within these various academic fields. Some of these are: postmodernity, communication technologies, large-scale transport systems, private investment, international trade, and migration. Schirato and Webb say that “everyone has a stake in its meaning, and is affected by its discourses and practices, though there is no straightforward or widely accepted definition of the term, either in general use or in academic writings” (2003: 2). So, definitions aside, how can we look at globalisation in regard to fashion education and how might we bring this complex subject to the fashion table? There are two interesting terms in the above quote that make for a neat segue into taking a cultural anthropology/cultural studies approach to the globalisation of fashion, I suggest, and they are “discourses and practices”. These two concepts are very much embedded within cultural theory and, hence, lend themselves well to fashion theory, too. The model I am suggesting as a useful one that will help within fashion education is that proposed by Arjun Appadurai in ‘Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy’ (1993).

As well as deconstructing specific boundaries that are part of the globalisation process – such as global/local, centre/periphery or North/South - Appadurai’s model proposes a model in-keeping with postmodernity, one that dispenses with many of the dichotomies that we might attach to modernity and that might likely be problematic today: a model of “scapes” (1993). Some of the key concepts used in the study of postmodernity include breaking down the boundaries between binaries that appear in the various narratives on culture. Deconstruction, as a form of philosophical enquiry, is well-known for this approach, but many theorists that appear under the umbrella of poststructural theory also look at how binaries are embedded in a prioritising of one side of the division over the other when it comes to discourse. Teasing out the reasons behind these divisions helps one to reveal the ideologies contained within them.

Simon During says of Appadurai’s approach: “I would suggest that for Appadurai this globe of scapes contains much more possibility than the old world of colonies and centres, and of nations firmly bound to states” (1993: 220). Here we can see a nod to postcolonial critique whereby one can examine both the problems inherent in geo-political space and the division between colonies and nation states that underpins a model of modernity, a model of the past. Appadurai’s examination moves past this to reveal the tensions and nuances between the movement of people, products and ideas around the world that has come about during postmodernity. This model is more interested in flows and the disruptions to those flows, looking not just a geographical space but, also, ideological and technical spaces, too.

My proposal is that this ‘spatial’ formulation of scapes lends itself perfectly to the global flow of fashion, such that the various scapes that make up Appadurai’s model – ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes – can be readily translated to the global landscape of fashion, too. This article is putting forward Appadurai’s model as a way of orienting the

teaching of a number of themes under the rubric of fashion theory: in this instance, a module that might come under the general heading of 'Fashion and Society'. I am suggesting that his model of scapes enables a pulling together of multiple concepts and subjects that come under the study of society as it pertains to fashion and which helps to connect them to each other on a worldwide scale. This forestalls the various themes that relate to fashion and society from being siloed as seemingly separate subjects, where students can sometimes struggle to see how the topics and concepts that they study under the rubric of fashion theory connect together in an all-encompassing way. This article will explain how this can be carried out and demonstrates the value of such a method as a teaching aid that benefits both students and teachers of fashion context and critique. Before I begin to unfurl Appadurai's theory, I would first like to examine the use of his work within texts on globalisation and fashion historically, and also look at some of the writing that discusses the topic of globalisation in general in regard to pedagogy.

The subject of globalisation is well covered within fashion theory with edited volumes such as *Re-Orienting Fashion: The Globalization of Asian Dress* (Niessen, Leshkovich and Jones [2003], 2003). This text, while addressing many of the issues raised by Appadurai, does not refer to him. However, Margaret Maynard's *Dress and Globalisation* ([2004], 2004), takes an anthropological look at fashion, ethnicity, consumerism and style, and she does acknowledge the work of Appadurai stating: "objects circulate in different regimes of space and time, acquiring meaning and new value in the process of exchange, or in a local context of wearing" (Maynard 2004: 19). Maynard is reflecting upon Appadurai's model of fluid contexts and the multiplicity of meanings that fashion can take on across the world.

Patrizia Calefato's chapter 'Fashionscapes' in *The End of Fashion: Clothing and Dress in the Age of Globalization* (Geczy and Karaminas [2019], 2019) is actually modelled on Appadurai's approach to globalisation. Calefato begins her chapter by acknowledging the importance of the term "landscape" in regard to modernity, referring to Walter Benjamin and the significant place of the individual in the centre of the modern city, stating: "It was in the city that, during the last century, fashion transformed itself in response to historical processes" (2019: 31). However, now "[g]lobalisation has shattered the stable hierarchy of center and periphery, the neat distinction between the cities and the non-urbanized areas has faded, the mobility of people has immensely increased, and the means of communication have become places for social life" (Calefato 2019: 32). Here we can see some of the critical themes of globalisation that I have already mentioned and, also, how they have often become deconstructed in postmodernity. In regards to the fashion industry, the spaces of production, the movement of people, and communication as a tool, are all key to the industry itself, and by definition, to the study of it.

While the above texts cover Appadurai's model due to Calefato's contribution (which I will be referring to within this article), in Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward's *Global Denim* ([2011], 2011) it gets a brief mention in two of the chapters. Appadurai's theories do also get recognised in the following fashion related articles and I will be referring to them, where relevant, in my discussion here: 'The Centre of the Periphery in Fashion Studies: First Questions' (Garcia 2018) and 'Transcultural Flow of Demure Aesthetics: Examining Cultural Globalisation Through Gothic and Lolita Fashion' (Monden 2008). And, in terms of the difficulties I have alluded to in regard to teaching the subject of globalisation to students of fashion, the following article (which is very current), although not taking a fashion perspective, is in support of using Appadurai's theories as a guide to navigating the complexity of postmodern spaces: 'Global Interconnectivity and its Ethical Challenges in Education' (Rizvi 2019). And this article – 'Globalization, Pedagogical Imagination, and Transnational Literacy' (Lee 2011) – refers to Appadurai and highlights the importance of

teaching globalisation ethically. I will also be using Appadurai's own article on pedagogy entitled 'Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination' (2000).

I will shortly be introducing Appadurai's model as a proposed pedagogic approach. In this article I will breakdown the discussion into the relevant scapes as laid out by Appadurai, and refer these scapes to other topics and texts that can be used within a fashion teaching context. The discussion will demonstrate the usefulness of this specific paradigm as a way of: expressing the intricacy of the topic of globalisation as it is in postmodernity, drawing the subtopics contained within the general subject of fashion and society out and connecting the two, and providing a holistic view of fashion in the world today. Appadurai's model allows for the fluidity of postmodern spaces and their mutable relationship with each other, whether that refers to the ever-changing landscape of fashion promotion via social media, or the politics entrenched in the movement of people for the purposes of labour. This fashion related remodel of Appadurai's own model that I am laying out here is based on a real teaching setting and reflects the experience of its use in an undergraduate programme at a university in the UK: The School of Fashion at Manchester Metropolitan University.

Revisiting Globalisation

I rediscovered Appadurai's text (having first studied it as an undergraduate cultural studies student) when trying to work out how I might attempt to approach the huge subject of globalisation in a single lecture with second year undergraduate fashion students who had not been taught any theory before (this was a new module for them and the post I was in was a new one in the School of Fashion). Upon re-reading it I realised it lent itself perfectly to looking at the journey of the production, movement and selling of jeans around the world. This enabled me to bring a number of related subjects to the lecture - such as design, manufacture, labour, distribution, media and technology, marketing - all topics relating to the various fashion programmes the students were on. It also meant I could deal with a number of themes that would appear under the umbrella of a sociological/cultural approach to fashion – which is what the course was about – such as ethnicity, ideology and ethics. Originally this model was used in a one off lecture on globalisation, but I have since rewritten the whole module around Appadurai's scapes. The first lecture now introduces globalisation within the framework of his model, and subsequent lectures on that module always refer back to his scapes in one way or another (I will show how this can be done later).¹ This way the scapes themselves become the underlying themes of the module and also, conveniently, appear in the form of a handy mnemonic for the students.

Appadurai's text that lays out his model of global scapes - 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy' - first appeared as an article in *Theory, Culture and Society* in 1990 and later, in extended form, in his book *Modernity at Large* ([1996], 1998). The text alludes to many of the more abstract and complex themes of postmodernity such as: flows, intensities, representation, difference, discourse, cultural imagination, subjectivity, and deterritorialisation². But, one of the key components of the text, as Doring makes apparent in his introduction to it, is that it is against the homogenising thesis that "local cultures are becoming more homogenous" (1993: 220), also reconfirmed by Appadurai in *Modernity at Large*: "globalization is not the story of cultural homogenization" (1998: 11). Appadurai does not believe that since the world has opened up

¹ Placing my lecture on Appadurai and globalisation at the forefront of the existing lecture series, and then referring all later classes back to Appadurai's mediascapes, was the idea of my colleague Dr Joanna Blanco-Velo, Senior Lecturer in Fashion Business at Manchester Fashion Institute and tutor on the Fashion and Society module at that time.

² De/reterritorialisation are terms often used in poststructural theory, such as by theorists like Félix Guattari where he uses the term to refer to how individuals can reclaim spaces in a subjective way based on their individual desires that then serve to operate against dominant power structures (Genosko 2002).

geographically that the vernacular has become more uniform, a theory which is based on the idea that the more contact individuals have with each other and the world around them the less distinct their culture becomes. He thinks that the openness of space creates flows which often encourage individuals to look in, thus local cultures are still heterogeneous.

Appadurai's theory of scapes attempts to deal with many of, what he considers, the failed prior attempts at rethinking the problems of globalisation: those that do not address the "disjunctures between economy, culture and politics" (1993: 221). Already we can see how these three aspects of society and everyday life for individuals around the world directly relates to fashion: the economy, culture and politics are intrinsically bound up in the fashion industry, and implicitly and explicitly influenced by them (and the reverse is also true). What Appadurai proposes is "an elementary framework exploring such disjunctures [that looks] at the relationship between the five dimensions of global cultural flow...: first, ethnoscaples; second, mediascaples; third, technoscaples; fourth, finanscaples; and fifth, ideoscaples" (1993: 221). All these scapes can be mapped onto the global flow of fashion, in either its physical or abstract dimensions. For Appadurai "[t]he new global cultural economy has to be understood as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" (1993: 221).

The Journey of Jeans

In this first lecture – the one on the subject of globalisation – I begin by introducing an existing model of the lifecycle of Levi's jeans, which encourages students to start thinking globally about a fashion item of which they are all familiar and has meaning to them. This lifecycle model gets them to consider the global journey of jeans on a fundamental level, for example, in regard to cotton production, the transport of materials and the final jeans themselves which they buy from the store (or online). At this point I introduce the title of Appadurai's text and cover the meaning of the two, quite complex, terms he uses in his title "disjuncture and difference".³ This enables one to begin explaining to students the subtleties of peoples and spaces in relation to their own and others' perspectives. Students can begin to understand ideas around power and discourse, and the local and the global, and one can start to challenge their, sometimes, dichotomous ideas around how the world appears, especially if one is teaching predominantly Western students (it is possible at this level to introduce some of the more basic concepts that underpin deconstruction to students without even using the term itself or ever mentioning Jacques Derrida to them). In his discussion on global interconnectivity Fazal Rizvi says that as educators the question of ethics requires "approaches that assist students to make better sense of the contradictory world in which they now live and learn, and develop a practice of ethics that foregrounds difference, complexity, contingency and uncertainty" (2019: online).

Appadurai states that his scapes are "deeply perspectival constructs, inflected very much by the historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation states, multinationals, diasporic communities" (1993: 222) and these can all be tied in with jeans production from both a cultural, sociological and manufacturing standpoint. Students will also be able to see where they are positioned within this global flow, as either the consumers of jeans, or the designers of them, or, indeed, someone who may be marketing them. Appadurai is interested in "the multiple worlds which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the world" (1993: 222). He then connects these imagined worlds directly to capital (and even

³ In a basic sense I introduce students to the dictionary definition of 'disjuncture' as being where something connects or, in this case, becomes disconnected. The term 'difference' is something I cover with students under the heading of 'the other', or 'sexual difference', or also when we look at binary opposites in more depth.

to our very subject under discussion here, clothing) by stating that the use of the term *scape* “allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes which characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles” (1993: 222).

Appadurai’s first *scape* is *ethnoscape*. He says that *ethnoscares* refer to “the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers” (1993: 222). I introduced this *scape* by taking three differing perspectives on ethnicity in regards to jeans, two of the more obvious ones, ‘sweatshops’ and child labour, but also I want students to think beyond some of the more highly politicised (in the West at least) ideas around ethics and jeans production. So we also looked at artisan design and tourism, where I provided examples of recycled jeans that are made locally and that tourists can buy while on holiday. While it is useful to note the historical domination of the West, it is important that students understand that they should not situate minorities as ‘victims’ inasmuch as they are not passive recipients of the negative side of a specific power dynamic. It is also the case that in the West we must not apply our cultural norms to the rest of the world. While students of anthropology or cultural studies will understand this concept relatively quickly in terms of their own learning and study, outside of these fields it is possible that these types of ideas do not arise at all, when in fact it is an important part of fashion education: “[t]eachers can no longer work from assumptions of homogeneity with which they once sought...to accommodate minorities into the dominant cultural norms” (Rizvi 2019: online).

Appadurai expands on this in his discussion on difference when he states “culture is not usefully regarded as a substance but is better regarded as a dimension of phenomena”, by seeing culture more as an adjective (1998: 12-13). He later says “it will no longer serve to look at ethnicity as just another principle of group identity” (1998: 139). We can see here how Appadurai’s *ethnoscape* enables us to consider the intricacies of ethnicity when it comes to how we may view those who are picking the cotton for our jeans or are manufacturing them in countries like India or Pakistan. What is key here, in terms of fashion education, is what Ezra Yoo-Hyeok Lee discusses in regard to his own teaching practice: “I relate research as practice of the academic imagination to the classroom, which is a basic and essential part of the academy, in order to consider how thinking and imagining otherwise can become possible in the formal learning environment, i.e. education as a way of encouraging responsible mind-changing” (2011: 2). Using Appadurai’s model is especially useful for talking about difference in this regard: by placing us (as educators of fashion) in relationship with our students, and then orienting ourselves within the wider global sphere and considering where ideas about the other stem from in regard to power. This opens up discussion on culturally embeddedness in regard to the ideas we have about others.

Flows and Fluid Boundaries

Appadurai defines *technoscapes* as the “global configuration, also as ever fluid, of technology [which] moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries” (1993: 222). Writing in 1990, Appadurai was unaware of how the internet would become the dominant technology it is today, although he was able to observe the burgeoning transport system that we now see in the form of global container traffic, both of which we can connect to fashion today - one that is used to market our fashion (for example, social media), the other to transport it (for example, container ships). Nevertheless, his discussion on *technoscapes* is still relevant to our technical landscape today: “the peculiarities of these *technoscapes*, are increasingly driven not by any obvious economies of scale, of political control, or of market rationality, but of increasingly complex relationships between money flows, political possibilities and the availability of both low and highly skilled labour” (1993: 222). What makes his description relevant to the discussion here is that

Appadurai's acknowledgment of the shift in how capital operated in modernity points us to the way that the fluid landscape of global capital enables individuals and the market to respond to "political possibilities" (1993: 222). We could also add "social possibilities" to this list today. The way social media has been used within fashion in the last ten years has completely changed its landscape. Social media is a key part of the teaching of fashion promotion/marketing students today. In my own lecture, when covering technoscapes, I provide a short film on two global places and one 'non-place' (or every-place): denim manufacturing in Turkey and the laser engraving of jeans in China. The non-place is social media. It is a non-place because it is both global and local and crosses (mostly, at least) international boundaries.⁴

Appadurai's technoscapes are both "mechanical and informational" (1993: 22) and, especially with the informational, cannot be easily separated from mediascapes and ideoscapes. And, while the mechanical implies a material existence of some form of object or other, it, too, can be connected to both these other scapes. The mechanical can be both the machinery used in fashion manufacture, but it can also be the form the technology takes in regard to information systems. This is where Calefato's text comes in: the fashionscape encompasses all of Appadurai's scapes within the one scape whereby she connects them all under the rubric of communication (for example, semiology and discursivity), because the landscapes of fashion are "marked by objects and signs, bodies and images, myths and narrations" and are made up of parts that "reproduce themselves and move as digital information impulses do, continuously travelling around the world" (2019: 32). Calefato's fashionscapes can also be related to Valerie Steele's discussion on domains in 'Fashion Futures' (2019). Steele sees the "intersection" of domains as being creative places and says that technology can be a part of this creative process, too (2019: 15).⁵

When discussing finanscapes with students I present them with a diagram of a pair of jeans which shows the individual cost of every single element that makes up the final jeans themselves: cloth, buttons, zip, labels, rivets and so on. This image also helps you point to the various parts of the process of the production of jeans where both value are added and labour employed. I also provide a corresponding interview with Thomas Range - co-author, with Jan Schwochow, of *The Global Economy as You Have Never Seen It* [2016] – the above image being an infographic from the book. Appadurai explains that the movement of capital is "now a more mysterious, rapid and difficult landscape to follow than ever before" due to the speed of transactions and the nebulous nature of where money is located (1993: 223). From this diagram of jeans alone it is apparent how complex the very make-up of jeans is in terms of the individual elements of which they are formed. These items appear in the final product that we call jeans (the assemblage which is jeans). This multitude of items, manufactured all over the world, reflect the flow of money around the world, too. Before they are assembled into a pair of jeans, they appear as individual (micro) monetary flows within the macro global flow of money around the world. Appadurai explains that the connection between finanscapes and ethnoscapes and technoscapes is "deeply disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable" (1993: 223). In relation to the multiplicity of elements that make up the jeans, we can see this reflected in Appadurai's own definition of what disjuncture means: "the paths or vectors

⁴ For Marc Augé non-places are "spaces of circulation, consumption and communication" (2008: viii), which ties in with Appadurai's model, however Augé's overriding concept of homogenisation is at odds with it as he sees one of the effects of super-modernity as being homogenisation (2008: ix).

⁵ However, Appadurai's scapes continually reminds us that we are talking about a "global configuration" and that technoscapes are "complicated", and he makes reference to the relationship between technoscapes and finanscapes inasmuch as in real markets it is almost impossible to compare the expression of monetary value across differing domains, for example the payment of labour against the value of land (1993: 222-223).

taken by these kinds of things have different speeds, axes, points of origin and termination" (2000: 5).

Introducing students to finanscapes also enables one to open up discussion on theories of capital and political economy and means you can connect these to global supply chains, something of which fashion business students are familiar. The diagram of the jeans above (and the individual cost of each of the items) means you can start to introduce ideas around labour and the cost and price of items in the marketplace. The concept of space in relation to capital also opens up a transdisciplinary opportunity to talk about Marxian critiques of global capital and Appadurai reflects on how globalisation has altered the relations between what would have at one time been the proletariat and the bourgeoisie under modernity. He says "[g]lobalisation has shrunk the distance between elites, shifted key relations between producers and consumers, broken many links between labor and family life, obscured lines between temporary locales and imaginary national attachments" (1998: 9-10). Talking to fashion students about finanscapes demonstrates the interconnectedness of the various scapes of Appadurai's model and opens up discussion on: manufacture and labour, cost and price, and geography and production. These are subjects which are all embedded within fashion, as we can see by our own example, jeans.

Representation and Subjectivity

Talking to students about mediascapes is a relatively easy one because of the media savvy of the 'millennials' who make up most of our teaching cohort today. While Appadurai's examples of mediascapes includes the following "newspapers, magazines...print, celluloid" and even "cassette forms", one could actually cross out all of the examples he lists and read out his description of mediascapes and it be applied directly to the internet and mobile media alone. Students understand its relevance to the fashionscape straight away. Appadurai says that mediascapes also involve "the related landscapes of images" belonging to the various forms of media, and that recipients of the media "experience the media themselves as a complicated and interconnected repertoire" (1993: 223). In a relatively recent interview, Appadurai discussed the media in relation to globalisation and technology and states: "new forms of mediation always crowd, complicate, extend and enrich the existing field of mediating practices" (cited in Morley 2011: 44). In her article about fashion and digital media Agnès Rocamora says that "fashion lends itself particularly well to an analysis of contemporary instances of mediatization both in terms of practices of production – that of catwalk producers, designers and brands" (2017: 2). She says that mediatization is a complex term but includes "the idea that the media have become increasingly central to the shaping and doing of institutions and agents, to their practices and experiences" (2017: 2).

Rocamora's discussion on mediatization is connected to Calefato's fashionscapes in regard to the propagation of ideas through imagery. Referring to Appadurai in her discussion, Calefato describes her fashionscapes as the "stratified, hybrid, multiple, and fluid disposition of imageries of the clothed body of our time" (2019: 33). The concept of hybridity is Masafumi Monden's concern in his article on Gothic and Lolita fashion (and GothLoli). His discussion around identity and fashion is focused on "globalisation as hybridisation" (2008: 22) and the followers of these two forms of subcultural fashion are global, with their representations being part of today's mediascape.

Discussing mediascapes within a fashion-related lecture enables the teacher to introduce a number of themes: representation, audience theory, and consumer culture are but a few. In my initial lecture on globalisation I show the students some advertisements for jeans across the decades: a 1970s Brutus Jeans advert, the famous 1980s Levi's advert in the launderette, and the 2018 Diesel promotion entitled #GoWithTheFlaw. I also provide a reading from 'Consumer Culture and Global

Disorder' by Mike Featherstone in *Consumer Culture & Postmodernism* [2007] on how the "modern individual is confronted by a feverish change of fashion and bewildering plurality of styles" (2007: 113) which is heightened in today's social media environment. This helps open up the space for talking about ideoscapes, which is Appadurai's final scape and is deeply connected to the mediascape and his discussion on how it helps individuals produce "imagined worlds" (1993: 223). In the conclusion to his discussion on scapes, Appadurai discusses "commodity flows" and how it is that mediascapes change consumers "into a sign" making them believe that they have autonomy when really they are just a "chooser" (1993: 229). I will return to this concept of the effects of the sign on the individual in regard to media shortly, under the discussion on ideoscapes.

Appadurai describes his ideoscapes as: "concatenations of images" which are "often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of the state and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it" (1993: 224). It is apparent to all scholars of cultural studies and anthropology the relationship between how Appadurai describes ideoscapes here and Louis Althusser's 'Ideology and the Ideological State Apparatuses' ([1970], 2006). This makes for a great opportunity to introduce students to ideas around subjectivity in regard to fashion and especially how individuals are interpellated as subjects through fashion imagery: "'ideas' or 'representations', etc., which seem to make up ideology...have...a material existence" (Althusser 2006: 112). While ideology is a complex concept - and there are multiple theories around it - it is useful to provide students with at least one theoretical definition, as they are exposed to the term almost every day on the news without any explanation of how it is being used in that context, nor what it actually means. I have found that presenting students with the effect that fashion imagery (advertisements in particular) has on them is a good way of describing interpellation. For Althusser it is a hail (2006: 117) or a call (as I usually describe it to students), which manifests as a form of acknowledgement in the individual being called to. I often show students the film *Minority Report* (Steven Spielberg 2002) and how the character John Anderton (played by Tom Cruise) enters his workplace and all the tailored adverts are literally calling to him, actually calling out his name. In 2002, when the film was released, adverts were not customised for us in the way they are now. Students do understand that their internet and social media is personalised to reflect their 'choices' and 'desires', but they do not necessarily understand how fashion adverts operate on their subjectivity or the ideological process behind the call of the message, nor do they usually understand the process of recognition of that message and its relationship with subjectivity. For Althusser, ideology is materially oriented within a practice and Rocamora also alludes to this in her discussion on mediatization when referring to "situated bodily practice (Entwistle 2000)" and "the product of both material and symbolic production (Bourdieu 1993)" in regard to fashion (2017: 507)

Appadurai says that his book *Modernity at Large* is "a theory of rupture that takes media and migration as its two major, and interconnected, diacritics and explores their joint effect on the *work of the imagination* as a constitutive feature of modern subjectivity" and he acknowledges how electronic media has changed the landscape (1998: 3). We can see here is reference to migration, which we can place under the rubric of 'the other', and we can use the ideoscape to talk to our students about the other of fashion in its various multiplicities: in regard to diversity and representation, for instance. Appadurai provides a useful example of media in terms of its influence on ideoscapes, which directly relates to the fashion workforce around the world, when he says that "ideas about gender and modernity...circulate to create large female workforces at the same time that cross-national ideologies of 'culture', 'authenticity', and national honor put increasing pressure on various communities to morally discipline just these working women who are vital to emerging markets and manufacturing sites" (2000: 5). We can also connect this back to the nation-state and the ideology of Althusser. Social media, since it is so key to not just the everyday lives of our

students, but also their potential work environment, is a useful hook to hang Appadurai's mediascapes and ideoscapes on (and connect back to globalisation) and one that students can directly relate to as it is such a big part of their life. From an Althusserian perspective it is a material practice that interpellates them as "concrete individuals" (Althusser 2006: 108).

Appadurai's ideoscapes concern a list of terms that he ties back to the Enlightenment, such as: "freedom', 'welfare', 'rights', 'sovereignty', 'representation'...and 'democracy'" (1993: 224). All the terms are key to the teaching of fashion from a socio-cultural perspective and enable us, as educators, to open discussion on: ethics, diversity, power and discourse. In my lecture on globalisation, when discussing ideoscapes I connect this to jeans by introducing students to an article on the Levi Strauss and Co. website: 'The Fall of the Wall: Jeans as a Symbol of Freedom in Eastern Europe' (Levi Strauss and Co. 2014). This article provides an overview of the heritage of jeans, but connects it to the historical period of the collapse of the Eastern Bloc by providing a letter to Levi Strauss by a schoolgirl in Russia in 1991, who talks about the symbolic nature of jeans in regard to representing Western ideas around freedom. Levi Strauss state:

After the Berlin Wall went up in 1961, Eastern Europe was closed to nearly every product or influence outside of the Iron Curtain. By this time, Levi's jeans had become coveted throughout Europe, but only local off-brands were sold in stores on the other side of the wall. In 1965 a young woman from East Germany escaped to the West because her father would not let her wear jeans of any kind. As soon as she received a small stipend at the refugee center in West Berlin, she immediately went out and bought a pair of Levi's jeans (Levi Strauss 2014).

A letter from a young woman (not the one above) to Levi Strauss says: "the buying of Levi's jeans (501) is one of the rich moments of my life. I'm 24 but while wearing my jeans I feel like a 15 year old school girl. I feel myself like a graceful, slender and beautiful girl" (Larisa Poki cited in Levi Strauss and Co. 2014). I show this letter to students so that they can begin to understand global themes like culture, ideology, the state and production, and the relationship (the differences and disjunctures, as they would be for Appadurai) between these areas.

Conclusion and Further Teaching

This article sets out how Appadurai's five scapes can be directly mapped onto a fashion-related lecture on globalisation by connecting it to jeans, a hugely accessible item of clothing that students nearly all have a direct relationship with. As mentioned earlier, all the scapes can be put into context in an initial lecture – the unit I run is called 'Fashion Cultures 2: Fashion and Society' and is for second year undergraduates – and then subsequent lectures can always refer back to the scapes in order to orient the teaching, bringing everything back to this one, clearly defined and relevant model. The other lectures that I teach on this module can all be related to the scapes. This is a single semester module only, so I have to cover all areas of diversity in one lecture, which is no easy task. However, I use theories on 'the other' in order to do this, but it can also be tied into ethnoscapas, mediascapas and ideoscapes. I teach a lecture on class, labour and capital by utilising Karl Marx's example whereby he demonstrates how labour can turn cloth into a coat and how value is attached to this process through the work of individuals (e.g. the tailor). This evokes technoscapas (manufacturing and production equipment) and finanscapas (capital), but can also be connected to ethnoscapas. There is also a lecture on shopping spaces (mediascapas and ideoscapes) and one on the spectacle (finanscapas and ideoscapes). So, by these examples alone it is apparent how useful this model is within a fashion pedagogy.

On the subject of pedagogy Rizvi says that we need to help students “to view reflexivity as a core requirement of their ethical practice, trained into thinking about the decisions they and others make, in ways that are critical and self-referential” (2019: online) and Appadurai’s model is a very useful one for bringing this into play from a multitude of perspectives, it being rooted in anthropology. Rizvi goes on to say, referring to Judith Butler, that “reflexivity consists in actors ‘becoming objects of reflection’, not only in introspection but also in dialogue with others holding radically different opinions” (2019: online). Appadurai says of the university that “[t]here is a tendency in the Western academy today to divorce the study of discursive forms from the study of other institutional forms, and the study of literary discourse from the mundane discourse of bureaucracies, armies, private corporations and nonstate social organizations” (1998: 159). I believe that the use of Appadurai’s scapes model in teaching helps towards these ruptures by going some way to help us view these discourse more holistically. Garcia connects these breaks mentioned by Appadurai when alluding to dominant Western approaches in teaching: “The Eurocentric matrix as a boundary and model for fashion studies has been used indistinctively and is not aligned with the ‘sense’ of fashion in other places” (2018: 105). While Garcia is taking a cultural stance on this, in terms of cultural styles of fashion, she goes on to say that the “development of new approaches in fashion studies allows us to move forward with these issues” (2018: 106) and I suggest that looking at the scapes of global cultural flow are a productive way of doing this.

Appadurai’s model makes for a valuable overarching view of the connectivity of the multiple elements of fashion production and consumption. It also enables the discussion to be ever open to that of ethics in regards to both the fashion system and our teaching of it. So, too, does it enable us to see the social structures, and the challenges to those structures, that are played out in geopolitical space in regard to the various points in the chain of fashion that concern those working in it. Space, a concept not often highlighted in fashion studies, can then become an integral part of fashion education and help students to envision fashion as part of a global flow of both the material and abstract aspects of fashion: from the actual material that makes up jeans, say, to the flow of ideas that promotes the selling of them and the embedding of them culturally. In my lecture on globalisation I end with another infographic from Range and Schwochow. It is a map of the movement of people and objects around the world. There is no underlying map of the globe, showing the outline of the various countries, just the flows themselves, which somehow make up the actual map as we know it. It is a remarkable image. It is images like this, and seeing our own place in this global structure, that helps us help students to understand what globalisation is really about and to get to grips with what this really means in terms of: everyday practices in regard to fashion, the lives of others in the fashion chain, our choices as consumers of fashion, and who is at the winning and losing end of it. For Appadurai this would appear under something he calls “grassroots globalization” which “strives for a democratic and autonomous standing in respect to the various forms by which global power further seeks to extend its dominion” (2000: 3). Fashion is not exempt from this, and a good place to begin these discussions is in the classroom.

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