

**Teaching girls a lesson:
The fashion model as pedagogue**

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The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains not material previously published or written by another person except where due acknowledgement has been made.

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For Braden and Regan

Abstract

There appears to be little doubt about the nature of the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl in contemporary Western culture. Dominant literature, emerging from medico-psychological and feminist research, situates the model as a *disorderly influence*, imbued with the capacity to infect and, hence, distort the healthy minds and bodies of ‘suggestible’ young girls. Opposing these perspectives is a smaller, more recent body of literature, emerging from post-feminist work that argues that the model-girl relationship is a *delightful influence*. Thus, the contemporary field of scholarship reveals an increasingly dichotomous way of thinking about fashion model influence: the model influences young girls in ways that are disorderly *or* delightful, never both.

This thesis argues that to assume that the model-girl encounter is ‘neatly’ disorderly *or* delightful is shifty at best. It suggests that, in their rush to judge the fashion model as either pernicious or pleasurable, existing literature fails to account for the *precision* with which young girls know the fashion model. Using poststructuralist theory, the thesis argues that ‘influence’ may be more usefully thought of as a *discursive effect*, which may produce a range of effects for better *and* worse. Following Foucault (1972), fashion model influence is interrogated as a *regime of truth* about the model-girl encounter, constituted discursively under specific social, cultural and historical conditions. In so doing, the thesis *makes different sense* of fashion model influence, and questions influence as an independently-existing ‘force’ that bears down on vulnerable young girls.

Drawing on a poststructural conceptual architecture, this thesis re-conceptualises the model-girl encounter as a *pedagogical relationship focused on the (ideal) female body*. It suggests that the fashion model, as an authoritative embodied pedagogue, transmits knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct to the young girl, as attentive gazing apprentice. Fashion model influence is re-interrogated as the product of certain forms of *disciplinary training* (Foucault, 1977a), with young girls learning a discursive knowledge about how to discipline the body in ways that are properly feminine. Such a perspective departs from the notion that fashion model influence is necessarily

disorderly *or* delightful, and makes possible a re-reading of influence in terms of *learning outcomes*.

A problematic arises conceptualising the fashion model in this way. To consider the model as a ‘good’ teacher breaches a number of discursive rules for best pedagogical practice in postmodern times: She is *not* a pedagogue of the mind; she is *not* student-centred, facilitative, asexual, interpersonally engaged, relational, or authentic. To create a space for thinking differently about the model as a teacher, then, the thesis looks to ancient historical times and places in which female-to-female and body-to-body pedagogies were practised and understood.

The first phase of the research project embedded in this thesis *defamiliarises* pedagogical work using *historical texts* from ancient Greece. It examines in particular the erotically embodied pedagogical relationships conducted between older, authoritative elite prostitutes known as hetairae, and their younger female apprentices. The discursive rules governing these pedagogical relationships are examined with a view to *diagnosing* the model-girl encounter in terms of these rules. These rules are then used to interrogate ethnographic data generated through observation of the model-girl encounter *in situ* in a modelling course, and through focus group interviews with groups of young girls.

Working through notions of corporeal embodiment, self as art, desire, discipline, stillness, spectacle, the gaze and the conduct of conduct, the study interrogates the model-girl encounter as a contemporary pedagogical encounter. To avoid reaffirming more traditional binaries, the reading of data is ironic, working within and between binaries such as disorder/delight. Three ironic categories of femininity are produced out of the analysis: *unnaturally natural*, *stompy grace* and *beautifully grotesque*. These categories ‘speak’ the fragmentation, fissure, contradiction, inconsistency and absurdity that permeate the talk of young girls and model-girl pedagogy in the modelling classroom. Thus, the thesis offers up an analysis of the model-girl encounter that refuses the neatness and uni-dimensionality that characterises existing literature.

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CHAPTER ONE

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CHAPTER ONE

TEACHING GIRLS A LESSON: THE FASHION MODEL AS PEDAGOGUE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This study arises out of the increasingly ubiquitous presence of the fashion model¹ in contemporary Western culture. There is little doubt about the omnipresent character of the fashion model in contemporary times, and her ever increasing popularity with young girls (Hartley & Lumby, 2003). There is also little doubt that the fashion model is a catalyst to ‘moral panic’² not just in research literature and popular critique but also in the wider political community. Indeed, the British government called a ‘summit’ in 2000 in order to explore how and to what extent thin fashion models were “damaging the nation’s mental health” (BBC News, 2000, para. 1). The then women’s minister, Tessa Jowell, called on ‘experts’ on fashion model influence to talk about how to overcome the fashion model ‘problem’. This problem is particularly linked with how the model influences impressionable young girls: “For many, poor body image can lead to low levels of self esteem, for some it is far more dangerous, leading to eating disorders and other forms of self-abuse” (ibid, para. 8). Through this sort of negative reaction, the fashion model body is situated as ‘infectious’ (Palmer, 1996), imbued with the capacity to leach into the healthy minds and bodies of vulnerable young people.

This theme is taken up in a burgeoning body of literature that seeks to resolve the fashion model as a problematic and pernicious presence in Western culture. As her apparent influence grows, so too, it seems, does the negativity in the public domain. How is it that the innumerable warnings that accompany magazine stories about the model are not heeded by young girls in the interests of ‘good’ health? If we now know so much about the influence of the fashion model on young girls, how is it that

¹ The ‘fashion model’, in this study, connotes the fashion model in abstraction rather than the particular people doing the modelling. The people do not count in any interpersonal sense, and this is the precise difference that distinguishes this study from others.

² See Kenneth Thompson (1998) for a relevant understanding of ‘moral panic’. The activities of the fashion model are typically presented as “potentially immoral and a threat to the established way of life” (p. 1). ‘Moral panic’ refers to a way of thinking and writing about the model that has not only mobilised policy changes but also rushes to judgment about the ‘wrongness’ of fashion modelling that has led to this practice being “dismissed as irrational” (p. viii).

she is being consumed by young girls now more than ever before? And do we need to be more worried about this?

These questions constitute the rationale for this thesis. It is the widening gap between an ever-burgeoning research literature advising caution and a proliferating consumer market that this study seeks to address. It takes as its point of embarkation the notion that the fashion model will not ‘go away’ despite so much research being conducted that aims to provide a solution to the fashion model ‘problem’. The specific point of interest is the contradiction and shiftiness that characterises the fashion model/young girl relationship in contemporary times. The point of the thesis, however, is not to resolve these competing and contradictory ideas, but rather to *work through and with* these understandings in order to unsettle the focus on continuity in existing literature that seeks to ‘make sense’ of this relationship. In addition, the thesis seeks to re-conceptualise how the model-girl relationship has been made sense of in existing accounts. It aims to undo the neatness of this “sense-making” (Lather, 1991b, p. 5) that aims to necessarily explain away the contradictions that may be produced in this relationship. It endeavours to avoid any ‘march of progress’ (McWilliam, 1999) logic that would focus on dissolving the model-girl relationship. It seeks instead to generate new questions with which to interrogate mainstream narratives about this relationship, questions that *make different sense* of the fashion model/young girl relationship in contemporary Western culture.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: MAKING ‘SENSE’ OF THE FASHION MODEL

The sex object is a mannequin, a shell. Conventional beauty is her only attribute. She has no lines or wrinkles (which would indicate she had the bad taste and poor judgement to grow older), no scars or blemishes – indeed, she has no pores. She is thin, generally tall and long-legged, and, above all, she is young (Kilbourne, 1994, p. 122).

This statement by Jean Kilbourne, a feminist writer that critiques advertising, makes explicit certain generally accepted ideas about the fashion model in contemporary Western culture. Although this is a characteristically negative feminist perspective of the fashion model, it is assumptions such as these about the model that implicitly

fortify much of the research examining the fashion model as an iconic figure (see for example Frost, 2003).

1.1.1 The fashion model as disorder/distortion

For some time now, there has been a tendency in the literature to interrogate the fashion model as a belligerent, disorderly figure (Malson & Swann, 1999; Marano, 1994; Voracek & Fisher, 2002). In the dominant body of literature discussing the model, particularly generated by feminist, psychological and medical researchers, she appears as the all-powerful, all-hazardous pervader of *disorder* to young girls (Bower, 2001; British Medical Association, 2000; Jones, 2001; Reaves, Hitchon, Park & Yun, 2004). The model body constitutes the prime spectacular exemplar of how not to shape the body as feminine in Western culture. In feminist literature in particular, the fashion model represents an example of how not to 'do' femininity, an example of the unattainable and unrealistic Western feminine ideal – a model of malignance. Medical and psychological literature emphasise how the fashion model embodies an ideal 'femaleness' that is flawed and defective, unmanageable and ill-disciplined (Santonastaso, Mondini & Favaro, 2002). Her body is increasingly reviled in the dominant literature as a case of disorder: she embodies a dangerous example of being too thin and too seductive for vulnerable young girls. The fashion model body is a body racked with disorderliness, an unsafe body infused with the capacity to irreparably corrupt the healthy minds and bodies of 'suggestible' (Thomsen, McCoy & Williams, 2001) young girls.

The fashion model is also situated in the dominant literature as a cause of *distortion* in others. She is imbued with the capacity to 'infect' the healthy minds and bodies of young girls. The potential of the model to distort is particularly highlighted in researchers' insistence on the inherent noxious-ness of the model body (Stice, Spangler, & Agras, 2001). The fashion model and her associated bodily practices, which in this body of literature include eating pathologies such as anorexia nervosa, are imbued with the potential to seep out and cause healthy young girls to become disordered and distorted (Thomsen *et al.*, 2002). This is particularly emphasised in medico-psychological literature on intervention, within which the fashion model body represents a health hazard in need of control. Some researchers go as far as to recommend posting 'health warnings' alongside images of fashion models in

magazines (Cross, 1998). Here the young girl is situated as being so 'at-risk' of being adulterated by images of the model body that direct intervention is required.

Feminist literature builds further on the notion of the fashion model as a cause of distortion (Kilbourne, 2004). Feminist writers argue that the fashion model embodies and imposes an ideal of feminine fraudulence and fakery, a fractured and superficial embodiment of identity that denies and conceals their 'real' identities (Russell & Tyler, 2002; Frost, 2001). An important element of the arguments of feminist researchers involves how they understand the body beautifying practices of the fashion model to be painful and, hence, oppressive. This is, for feminist theorists, the 'essence' of the patriarchal distorted-ness of the model body in Western culture (Oliver and Lalik, 2000). Feminist work, then, represents a 'call-to-arms' for young girls who are encouraged to reject all forms of fashion model embodiment and to look away from the model body to deprive it of its power to dominate and distort their lives (Malson & Swann, 1999).

1.1.2 The fashion model as delight

It is important to note at this point, however, that not all literature follows this negative thematic. A smaller and more recent body of post-feminist literature understands the fashion model as a liberatory figure, one that generates experiences for young girls that are abound with multiple pleasures and infinite enjoyment. Post-feminist writers celebrate the fashion model as delightful, an exemplar of female fun, power and emancipation: a model of feminine fantasy (Black, 2004; Bloustein, 2003). Post-feminist theory emerged primarily in response to the pessimism reflected in more dominant literature and injected scepticism into the contention that young girls have little, if any choice in practising the iconic feminine beauty embodied by the model. Furthermore, they eschewed the notion that valorising practices of femininity can be a wholly oppressive and disempowering experience for young girls. They suggest in contrast that there is a lot of fun to be had by young girls who engage with feminine bodily practices (Miller, 2002). Post-feminist writers argue that by manipulating their bodies to mimic those of fashion models, young girls are undermining the restrictive and oppressive codes of femininity in patriarchal Western culture (Scott, 2005; Walter, 1998). Theorists contend in particular that by engaging with the fashion model and the many 'masks' of femininity that she embodies, young

girls are presented with the opportunity to ‘play’ (Hopkins, 2002) with the feminine body. This play, they suggest, constitutes one way that the young girl can undermine patriarchal social relations.

1.2 RATIONALE

When taken as a field of literature, then, accounts of the influence of the fashion model in contemporary society are neatly divided. On the one hand, the fashion model constitutes a case of *disorder*, a ‘sickly thin’ body in need of medical intervention. She is also a cause of distortion; particularly it seems, amongst vulnerable young girls to whom she embodies disorderliness as a desirable feminine quality. On the other hand, the fashion model is increasingly *delightful*. She embodies multiple ways of ‘doing’ identity that can be ‘played with’ by young girls when they engage with the fashion model. These accounts are diametrically opposed, with neither proponent allowing the perspective of the other: the fashion model is disorderly *or* delightful, *never both*. Each of these bodies of literature are marked by ‘neatness’: that is, they may move too quickly to overlook inconsistencies and ambiguities in favour of a ‘tidy’ and simple explanation. Having glossed over the contradictions and ‘messiness’, the ‘problem’ of the fashion model is successfully and unproblematically resolved in each case.

It is the neat binary between these two opposing bodies of literature that this thesis seeks to unsettle by *re-conceptualising* the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl. It argues that there are incongruous elements of this relationship that cannot be simply explained away by way of either a positive or a negative accounting. Furthermore, the thesis suggests that by interrogating the fashion model in uni-dimensional terms, only a simplified, neat account is made possible, an account that speaks about the inherent nature of fashion model influence in modernist terms. However, the interest in this thesis is not only what the literature has said about the model-girl relationship, but in what the literature has been *unable to say* about this encounter.

1.3 MAKING DIFFERENT ‘SENSE’ OF FASHION MODEL INFLUENCE

It is the notion of fashion model *influence* that this study seeks to unsettle by asking new questions. This study contends that existing literature discussing the fashion

model/young girl relationship constitutes a discourse of influence. A particular type of 'truth' (Foucault, 1982) is produced about the sort of influence that the fashion model has on young girls.

Fashion model influence has been discussed at length by social commentators and, more specifically, researchers who have conducted a plethora of studies in order to determine the 'true' nature of this influence (see for example Stice, Maxfield & Wells, 2003). The physical and psychological impact that this influence produces constitutes an area of particular scrutiny in existing accounts, with researchers focusing intensive efforts on determining exactly what sort of 'threat' fashion model influence poses to young 'vulnerable' girls (see for instance Posovac, Posovac & Posovac, 1998). Through this research, fashion model influence is interrogated as though a verifiable fact, some-thing that exists 'out-there-in-the-world', that can be dissected and delved into in order to determine how it works. Fashion model influence has come to be taken for granted as a 'real' and necessarily true 'thing' that inflicts unsuspecting young girls. Conceptualised in this way, fashion model influence is never questioned: influence is a *regime of truth* that produces a particular way of thinking about how the model impacts upon the lives of young girls; a truth that "cannot be refuted because it was hardened into an unalterable form in the long baking process of history" (Foucault, 1984a, p. 79).

This study questions the notion that there is a clear, discernable 'thing' known as fashion model influence, and that it can have an impact on young girls. Given that the focus of existing literature has been on establishing model influence as a verifiable and study-able fact, this study seeks unsettle these ways of making sense of fashion model influence. An approach such as this demands new conceptual tools that move away from the logic of existing accounts that seek out 'solutions' to model influence. By drawing on postmodern and poststructural renditions of bodies and subjectivities, the thesis aims to *re*-interrogate the means by which the fashion model exercises influence in the lives of young girls. In so doing, the thesis is doing more than simply *adding to* an ever-expanding body of literature about the model-girl relationship. It deliberately makes a departure from the binary accounting of feminist, psychological, medical and post-feminist research.

To make a departure from existing accounts, the study uses *poststructural* renderings of social phenomena, and particularly the work of Michel Foucault (1972, 1977a, 1988b), to embrace discontinuity and contestation. It works through notions of fragmentation, inconsistency, parody and irony rather than marginalizing these notions in favour of ‘tidiness’. Re-reading the fashion model/young girl relationship in terms of a poststructural conceptual architecture allows for an understanding of this relationship as a *product of competing and intersecting discourses*. Discourses, as systems of language in use, are understood as inscribing the model-girl relationship in ways that make it knowable in terms of the discourse of influence. More importantly, a poststructural account of the relationship allows for an understanding of how the discourse of influence constitutes a *regime of truth* (Foucault, 1984c); that is, one version of propriety that counts as true at a specific social, cultural and historical time. Where a range of versions may be possible, in this study influence constitutes just one way of making sense of the model-girl encounter which is accepted and works as true in contemporary Western society. In order to better understand the model-girl encounter, and to produce a new yet equally discursive version of this encounter, this study seeks to unsettle influence. It seeks to *defamiliarise* (Foucault, 1984a) influence as something that *can and must be thought* (Foucault, 1985) in a specific social, cultural and historical moment. Rather than rushing to judge the ‘rightness’ or ‘wrongness’ of fashion modelling as a social practice, then, the study seeks instead to examine the historical conditions of influence as a discursive category that is taken for granted as the only ‘truth’ about the model.

1.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The primary aim of this research is to re-configure the influence that the fashion model has on young girls by re-describing this influence in *pedagogical* terms. The model-girl relationship will be re-read as a *pedagogical encounter focused on the (ideal) female body*. More specifically, it seeks to reconceptualise fashion model influence and impact as being produced discursively out of *disciplinary training* (Foucault, 1977a). Re-reading fashion model influence and impact in these terms signifies a move away from existing literature that insist on the nature of influence as necessarily negative *or* positive, never both. In this study, it is assumed that the model-girl encounter may produce a range of effects for young girls, for better *and*

for worse. These effects may be more usefully thought of as being produced *discursively* rather than at a ‘core’ social-psychological level. To interrogate the influence of the model in this way signifies a departure from existing accounts which seek to demonise *or* glorify modelling as a social practice. Hence, the thesis seeks both to challenge and augment this growing body of literature in order to better understand what it is that young girls may be learning from the fashion model, how this learning occurs, and what the implications of this instruction are.

1.4.1 Specific aims

Arising out of these concerns are a number of specific aims of the research. They are:

- to investigate current research accounts of the ‘influence/impact’ of the fashion model on young girls, identifying commissions and omissions in this literature;
- to develop a new conceptual model for understanding the ‘influence/impact’ of fashion models on young girls;
- to apply this conceptual model to analyse empirical data about the fashion model/young girl relationship in terms of discourse; and
- to discuss the implications of this discourse analysis in terms of the literature.

The focus is on how disciplinary knowledge (Foucault, 1977a) is taught to the young girl as the product of particular forms of bodily training. The study further suggests that, in situating the fashion model/young girl relationship as an encounter in which a particular type of embodied training is conducted, it may be useful to conceptualise this encounter *as a product of pedagogical knowledge transmission* to understand the effects of this relationship for young girls as ‘learning outcomes’.³ To do this work, however, the study demands a move away from more orthodox understandings of pedagogical relationships and to recover other pedagogical forms in different historical times and places to think pedagogy as embodied, performative, distant, *and* effective.

³ It is important to note here that the study employs the phrase ‘learning outcomes’ in an ironic way, as it uses it to refer to outcomes of training in an embodied discipline. This is very different from the meaning of this phrase implied in the vast literature that concerns itself with learning outcomes in social-psychological terms of “students’ growth” (Jennings & Shepherd, 1996, p. 47; Erwin, 1991; Payne, 1968). This use of the phrase is interested in aspects such as “cognitive-psychomotor skill” (Posner & Rudnitsky, 1997, p. 282) and how these represent the effective implementation of “deep” (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999, p. 90; Marzano, Pickering & McTighe, 1993) learning processes.

1.5 KEY ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

A number of key assumptions about the character of the fashion model/young girl relationship underpin this study. They are assumptions about how knowledge about bodily conduct might be transmitted between the model and the girl as an embodied discipline. The thesis is built out of the assumption that it is possible to interrogate this relationship as one in which a certain type of disciplinary training occurs.

Furthermore, the study assumes that it is possible to think of this relationship as a corporeal pedagogical encounter in which embodied knowledge is performed by the body of the fashion model, as spectacular pedagogue. For the young girl as gazing novice, knowledge is exchanged across ceremonious distance. Such assumptions develop from epistemological understandings arising out of poststructural theory, in particular the work of Michel Foucault (1991a, 1988b, 1982b, 1977a, 1976, 1972), pedagogical studies informed by French literary criticism (Cryle, 2001, 2000, 1997, 1994; Gallop, 1995, 1994, 1988, 1982) and new cultural theories of education (Angel, 1994; Grumet, 1995; Kirk, 1999, 1998, 1993; McWilliam, 1999, 1996a, 1996b, 1995).

These assumptions are:

- ‘Influence’ and ‘impact’ may be understood as discursively organised categories for understanding the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl and, as such, can be usefully understood in terms of a pedagogical relationship of power/knowledge;
- Knowledge may be exchanged between the fashion model and the young girl as a particular type of training in bodily discipline;
- The fashion model may be understood to instruct the young girl through displaying her knowledge as a spectacle and performer of embodied knowing;
- The pedagogical exchange conducted between the fashion model and the young girl constitutes a particular type of embodied self;
- Knowledge is enacted by the fashion model and the young girl as the conduct of conduct (Foucault, 1991a);
- The young girl learns through gazing across ceremonious distance at the body of the fashion model as a spectacle of a ‘knowing’ body.

1.5.1 Research questions

The research question that has been framed from these assumptions is: **What do young girls learn from the fashion model and how does this learning occur?** Out of this overarching research question emerges three sub-questions that indicate more specifically the key questions of this study:

- What sort of knowledge is being exchanged between the fashion model and the young girl?
- How is this knowledge being exchanged female-to-female pedagogically?
- What are the ‘learning outcomes’?

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMING: RE-CONCEPTUALISING PEDAGOGY

In proposing that pedagogical relations between the model and the girl might be produced out of certain forms of disciplinary training, the study not only unsettles influence but also *pedagogical orthodoxies* about how a ‘good’ pedagogical relationship ought to be conducted between a teacher and a learner. To suggest that the fashion model be situated as a teacher, in any way, transgresses many given ways of thinking about ‘good’ teaching and learning. This is especially evident in considering the many different qualities that a teacher ought to demonstrate as prescribed in conventional educational theory. A good or effective teacher ought to: be learner-centred (Schrenko, 1994) and teach the whole child (Turney, 1981); limit the use of the body in the classroom (Whitehead, 1932); be primarily a ‘facilitator’ (Rogers, 1969); share themselves interpersonally with the student (Goldstein, 1997); be asexual (Bruner, 1960); and be nurturing (Montessori, 1956). If we considered the fashion model in these terms, she is far from an exemplary female teacher. Her ‘pedagogy’ challenges many orthodoxies of conventional educational wisdom in her *self-centredness, disengagement, overt sexualness, non-nurturance, and bodily attentiveness*.

1.6.1 Defamiliarising pedagogy

The study seeks in particular to *defamiliarise* the rules of proper teaching as they are set out in conventional pedagogical theory. It aims to re-think notions of best pedagogical practice so as to think anew about the model-girl encounter as pedagogical work. To do this, the present study draws on new educational theory informed by sociology and cultural studies (Kirk, 1998, 1993; McWilliam, 1999,

1995; McWilliam & Taylor, 1996; Meredyth & Tyler, 1993b; O'Farrell, Meadmore, McWilliam & Symes, 2000; Symes & Meadmore, 1999) as examples of educational theorising that disrupt established orthodoxies of pedagogical theory. This theory thinks 'anew' about pedagogical relationships as encounters produced in particular discursive ways and, as such, it "flies in the face of much of the current logic about best pedagogical practice" (McWilliam, 1999, p. vi). It seeks to disrupt certain established ways of knowing pedagogical relationships, as evidenced in contemporary educational theory, as *a regime of truth* (Foucault, 1984b) about best pedagogical practice, and to re-think pedagogy as, for instance, body-focused.

Although these conceptual understandings of pedagogy 'go against the grain' (Popkewitz, 1999) of conventional ideas about good pedagogy, it would be erroneous to suggest that it was the first time that we have seen body-to-body teaching in history. Inquiry into ancient Greek history is particularly revealing in this sense as it illustrates a history of female-to-female pedagogical relationships wherein bodily knowledge was transmitted from an authoritative pedagogue to a young female novice (Cryle, 1994; Roberts, 1992). It is to these examples that the study turns in order to *historicise* (Goldstein, 1994a) the fashion model/young girl relationship as an instance of pedagogical knowledge transfer involving postural modelling as disciplinary training. In keeping with the work of Michel Foucault (1976, 1977a), Peter Cryle (2001, 1994), Jane Gallop (1982) and others who have informed and been informed by new French theory, the study draws on premodern accounts of pedagogy to do the work of re-configuring pedagogy as necessarily embodied, performative, as work on the self, teacher-centred, authoritative, desiring, disengaged and spectacular. It argues the usefulness of recovering this history for modern understandings of a powerful female model as influencing the minds and bodies vulnerable young females.

1.7 THE THEORY/METHOD NEXUS: POSTSTRUCTURALISM AS METHODOLOGY

Any project that seeks to unsettle taken for granted ways of knowing pedagogical relationships demands that the researcher think differently about research relations. In reading the model-girl relationship as an encounter produced with and through the body, the study requires methodological tools with which to re-read research

processes. It is maintained in this study that it is useful to make an epistemological break from assumptions about the unified, certain or ‘real’ nature of social phenomena and, hence, from positivist notions of research method and methodology.⁴ Such assumptions typically permeate research and theorising both about the fashion model and about the character of pedagogical work. It is necessary to move beyond traditional methodological assumptions and ‘metanarratives’ (Lyotard, 1979) underpinned by “the master code of positivism” (Lather, 1993, p. 674) so as to develop an epistemological ‘fit’ between theory and method. This works against more positivist understandings of science as a “purportedly value-neutral, logical-empirical method which promised the growth of rational control over ourselves and our worlds” (Lather, 1992b, p. 89).

An important aspect of doing poststructural empirical work is the “incompleteness” (Clifford, 1986, p. 7) as well as the conditionality of the research process. Poststructural theory is not applied to empirical research processes as “a rigid discipline in which the words of the authors have biblical weight” (Davies, 2004, p. 6); rather, this theory is used as “a set of creative possibilities”. Poststructural methodology is articulated in this study as “a way into the messy doings of science via risky practices that both travel across contexts and are remade in each situated inquiry” (Lather, 1997, p. 253). Traditional understandings of key research processes are, too, questioned in this study. For example, the processes involved in what has come to be known loosely as qualitative research, such as entry to the ‘field’, observation, interviewing and validation, to name only a few, have recently come under question, as have certain concepts. This shift is indicated by Elizabeth St. Pierre (2002) who suggests that whilst “we cannot ignore or give up the language and concepts of qualitative inquiry, concepts such as *data*, the *field*, *validity*, *interviewing*,...[w]e can, however, acknowledge that they have limits” (p. 419). These limitations, in poststructural empirical understandings, emerge out of not only the ‘situatedness’ (Usher & Edwards, 1994) of these processes and concepts but more importantly their discursive character; that is, how these concepts are “defined in a certain way within a certain discourse” (St. Pierre, 2002, p. 419). This study

⁴ Sandra Harding (1987b) indicates the difference between method and methodology, with method referring to “techniques for gathering data” (p. 2) and methodology meaning “a theory and analysis of how research should proceed”.

acknowledges the discursivity of these concepts and recognises that the capacity to document “true representations” (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 37) of research objects and subjects is shifty at best.

1.7.1 Phases of empirical work

The empirical research project is conducted in three phases. As discussed above, the research firstly conducts an *historical inquiry* to *problematise and historicise* what it means to do pedagogy properly in the model-girl encounter. This phase examines ancient Greek accounts of pedagogical relationships between the hetaira, as authoritative embodied pedagogue, and the young girl, as attentive apprentice as exemplars of properly embodied pedagogy. The study takes these premodern pedagogical performances as productive of (discursive) categories for analysing the fashion model/young girl relationship as produced out of both corporeal materiality and discourse. It then brings these categories to bear on data generated out of empirical research.

The two remaining phases of empirical work are conducted as an ethnographic inquiry into how the model-girl encounter is enacted in the present. These phases of work seek to produce and discursively generate *textual* data about what the fashion model teaches young girls, how this instruction occurs, and with what effects. First, using participant observation, instances of model-girl pedagogy are documented, with the researcher assuming the role of the participant observer in two modelling courses (Deportment and Grooming course, and Professional Models course) designed to train young girls for modelling work. The data generated foregrounds how the bodies of the modelling teacher and the young girls are discursively constituted or ‘written’ (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000) as *texts of discourse*. In addition, it notes how the body of the modelling pedagogue performs ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct in ways that may be *read* by young girls as knowledge about female-ness and performativity.

Secondly, young girls’ accounts of the fashion model are documented using focus group discussions with young girls. The focus in this phase of the research is on how young girls *perform* a particular type of *curriculum* in their talk about fashion models. It highlights how young girls produce talk about the model in ways that evidence

‘learning outcomes’. The types of knowledge that young girls have *come to know* (Lusted, 1986; Siegel, 1998) about the fashion model is explored, but not only in terms of how they *speak* this knowledge. Young girls’ talk is taken as evidence of how the girls materially ‘flesh out’ and *re-member* (Shapiro, 1994) the model body in their utterances.

1.7.2 Tools for reading ‘truth’

The analysis proceeds as a discourse analysis focusing on the pedagogical work being conducted in the textual data. It looks to the ways in which *bodies as texts* (Kamler, 1997) and *talk about texts* are produced discursively in the data generated. In particular, it seeks to make apparent the discursiveness of the fashion model/young girl encounters by showing it to be working out of discursive *rules* which seemed also to be present in premodern pedagogical performances. In order to do this, the research project primarily demands that the data generation and analysis be informed by an understanding that discourse produces *discursive practices* that, in turn, *constitute subjects and objects* in particular ways (Foucault, 1972). In this study, these include the bodily performance and the language of the model and the girl.

The analysis does the work of ‘muddying’ the clarity and ‘neatness’ of the binaries (disorder/delight, distortion/pleasure) that permeate existing research about the model-girl encounter. It does this by producing an *ironic* reading (Rorty, 1989) of the empirical data generated. Reading the data ironically makes it possible not only to make distinctions such as disorder/delight imprecise and ambiguous, but also enables a reading of the data that accounts for the inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes and absurdities that emerge from young girls accounts of fashion models.

1.8 THESIS STRUCTURE

The following outlines the ensuing chapters of the thesis.

Chapter Two: Mapping fashion model ‘influence’

Chapter Two sets out in further detail the themes of research discussing fashion model influence. It identifies the commissions and omissions in this literature to point up what the literature has been unable to say about the fashion model and her

relationship with young girls in contemporary Western culture. These themes indicate how the fashion model/young girl relationship has come to be thought. Furthermore, it explores how this literature makes the fashion model/young girl relationship discursively *knowable* in some ways and not others, and how certain ways of thinking ‘influence’ are allowed and disallowed. It charts the ways in which influence is constituted as dichotomous in the research literature: fashion model influence is either disorderly or delightful, but never both. The analysis indicates that in insisting that the fashion model influences young girls in either negative *or* positive ways, existing research continues to reaffirm the ‘neatness’ of the fashion model as a ‘problem’ with a ‘solution’.

Chapter Three: From influence to pedagogy

Chapter Three explores how the research literature about the model-girl relationship may be thought of as a *discourse of influence*. The terms of this discourse are examined to illustrate how they do a particular type of cultural work to produce the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl as one of influence. The analysis indicates how influence is talked about as a pre-existing ‘thing’ or ‘force’ that bears down on the lives of vulnerable young girls. Influence appears as though it can be prised apart with the ‘right’ tools and, as such, that a solution may be ‘discovered’ for influence. This chapter challenges these understandings of influence, and makes a case for *making different sense* of fashion model influence as precisely embodied *pedagogical work*. It argues that a shift from influence to pedagogy is required in order to better account for the model-girl encounter for better *and* for worse.

Chapter Four: Reconceptualising the model-girl encounter

Chapter Four investigates how it might be possible to think about the fashion model as a powerful pedagogue. It examines how situating the fashion model as a teacher transgresses conventional ideas about best pedagogical practice. The work of this chapter is to make the fashion model *thinkable* as a pedagogue to young girls. Drawing on new pedagogical theory informed by cultural studies and French literary criticism, it maps an *assemblage* of theoretical dispositions to be used for *making strange* conventional ideas about proper pedagogical practice, including notions of

the corporeal body, the self as embodied, the self as a work of art, performance, spectacle, the gaze, distance, and the conduct of conduct.

Chapter Five: Generating data: Theory/method relations

Chapter Five introduces a methodological framework for generating data about the model-girl encounter. It outlines how instances of model-girl pedagogies will be documented in line with the conceptual architecture discussed in Chapter Four. In doing so, it positions the research as postmodern, poststructural, even posthuman. How the analysis proceeds as a discourse analysis is elaborated, with a focus on how bodies and talk are produced as discursive *texts*.

Chapter Six: Educating female bodies: Lessons from history

Chapter Six presents an analysis of ancient pedagogies once conducted through different rules of best pedagogical practice. By analysing accounts of hetaira-novice erotically embodied pedagogical relationships, this chapter indicates how such pedagogical relationships, focused on the body, were once highly revered and widely practised. These accounts are examined in terms of the rules that governed these relationships, as well as how the body of the hetaira, and that of the young female novice, were discursively produced as bodies of desire. It details in particular the different ways that the hetaira shaped and re-shaped young female novice bodies by applying knowledge of what it meant to be ‘ideally’ feminine in ancient Greece. How this knowledge was instructed and applied to the bodies of the female novices is also documented in this chapter.

Chapter Seven: Teaching girls a lesson: A ‘curriculum’ of the body

Chapter Seven reads ironically the empirical data generated for the study. It produces an ironic account of the different ways that the fashion model is constituted as a text of knowledge in the focus groups and in the modelling classroom. More importantly, it investigates what young girls know about the fashion model, how this knowledge is transmitted body-to-body, and the effects of this instruction for better and worse. That is, it provides an account of the model-girl encounter as produced out of meticulous pedagogical labour. Reading ironically enables an understanding of how this pedagogical work is not *all* disorderly or *all* delightful. Instead, it shows how young girls hold such binaries in tension and also transcend this binary in their

accounts of the fashion model. The analysis produces three ironic categories to describe the model-as-pedagogue: *unnaturally natural*, *stompy grace*, and *beautifully grotesque*. The space *within and between* these categories is explored in detail in order to demonstrate how ideas such as unnaturalness and naturalness cohabit in the body of the model, where *both and neither* characteristics *are necessary and true* (Haraway, 1991).

Chapter Eight: Different sense making: Beyond fashion model influence

This final chapter summarises how the thesis has made different sense of fashion model influence. It demonstrates how the main objectives have been achieved: that is, to differently account for fashion model influence, an account that rejects the notion that influence can be properly ‘resolved’. The chapter concludes by reflecting on the significance of the study for future research, and, more specifically, the possibilities that are produced by an ironic perspective that eschews ‘neatness’ in favour of contradiction.

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is significant as a departure from existing literature investigating the fashion model/young girl relationship within a discourse of advocacy. Whereas traditional analyses have tended to demonise or glorify the fashion model/young girl relationship as having a pernicious or celebratory influence on young girls, this study moves to a post-structural theoretical approach to re-think this relationship as pedagogical work. It illustrates that the ‘learning outcomes’ are more complex than current accounts indicate.

A further contribution made by this study arises out of its re-configuration of the fashion model/young girl relationship as a pedagogical one. Reading this relationship in this way allows for an alternative consideration of how the effects of this relationship come to be manifested in young girls. Rather than interrogating these effects as one of negative or positive and ‘deep-seated’ social-psychical influence, this study examines how these effects can be understood as learning outcomes. In this way, the study argues that pedagogy is a way of re-reading of this relationship. It produces a single reading where many readings may be possible. This is not to suggest that existing investigations of the fashion model/young girl

relationship should be disregarded or ignored. However, in their prejudgment of this influence as good or evil, certain complexities of this relationship, such as the not uncritical precision with which the young girl reads the body of the fashion model, can be dismissed. What this study reveals is the degree of *precision* with which the young girl engages with the fashion model in postmodern times, something that has not been foregrounded in existing accounts. As indicated earlier, the tendency in such studies is to situate the fashion model as an uncontrollable disease, imbued with the capacity to inflict irreparable disorder by infecting the minds and bodies of young girls in Western culture. These accounts typically draw on dominant discourses of women's bodies as uncontrollable borderless entities in need of strict and proper management. The present study, however, diverges from this understanding of model and women's bodies respectively, to suggest instead that this relationship involves meticulous and precise bodily work.

A final point of significance involves what the study does not do. It does not offer up a definitive 'solution' to the 'problem' of the fashion model. As indicated in its poststructural approach to studying this phenomenon, the project rejects the idea that such a 'solution' is possible. Instead, it argues for the usefulness of interrogating the fashion model/young girl relationship not as a Western cultural disease in need of treatment, but rather as a relationship whereby knowledge about the conduct of bodies is exchanged through a specific type of disciplined bodily enactment.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Introduction

2.0.1 'You can't have it both ways': disorder *or* delight for young girls

2.1 Advocacy: the first 'generation' of influence

2.1.1 Liberating girls: feminism and the fashion model

2.1.2 Poststructural feminist salvage: reworking fashion models

2.2 Treatment: a second 'generation' of influence

2.2.1 Treating model bodies/identities: medico-psychological inquiry

2.2.2 Given the pop-treatment: fashion models in media

2.3 The backlash: a third 'generation' of influence

2.3.1 Inverting feminist advocacy: postfeminist rescue

2.4 Conclusion

CHAPTER TWO

MAPPING FASHION MODEL 'INFLUENCE'

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The review of the literature examining the fashion model/young girl relationship makes it apparent that the primary focus of most accounts is the notion of *influence* (Macklin, 1990). 'Influence', according to the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (Pearsall, 2002) means "the capacity to have an effect on the character or behaviour of someone or something, or the effect itself" (p. 727). This is most certainly the understanding of the model-girl relationship presented in mainstream research accounts, with researchers locating the fashion model as *influencing* the young girl in certain ways, ways that are powerful and compelling. Indeed, one researcher suggests that the lure of the media icon is "virtually impossible" (Durham, 1999, p. 212) to resist.

Researchers describe the influence of the fashion model in ways that are most indicative of the 'capacity to have an effect on' the young girl. For example, Garner and Garfinkel (1980) describe influence as the ability of the model to "exert intense pressure" (p. 490) over young girls. Grogan (1999) writes about how the model is adept at "manipulating them [young girls] into feeling bad about the way they look" (p. 110). Stein and Reichert (1990) explain that young girls undergo an "inordinate internalization of society's values about thinness in women" (p. 199). Martin and Gentry (1997) suggest that girls can get 'stuck in the model trap'. Finally, Nichter and Vuckovic (1994) express the influence of the model as the capacity to cause a "cultural model" (p. 126) to become "deeply embodied" in the minds of young girls. Taken together, these notions underline the power of fashion model influence as described in the literature.

The interesting aspect of these descriptions is that they appear to work directly out of a certain type of understanding of the term 'influence'. By far the most common understanding of this term in the literature is of something that is 'exerted' on young girls by the fashion model (Field *et al*, 1999). Researching the term influence in *Roget's Thesaurus* (Davidson, 2002), for example, reveals a range of terms which

might be used to more fully describe influence. The primary synonym for influence appears to be *modify*, denoting some change or transformation, just as the meaning from *The Oxford Dictionary* (Pearsall, 2002) above implies. Others include: bias, convert, cause, inducement, authority, affect, manipulate, impress – even troublemaker. However, other than modify the most common synonym used to describe influence is *power*. Indeed, it appears as though influence and power quite literally imply one another, with each entry in the *Thesaurus* sharing the following synonyms for influence: potency, mightiness, greatness, predominance, superiority, authority, control, sway, dominate, exertion – even infect.

There is little doubt about the widespread understanding of the fashion model among researchers and lay commentators alike. The model is discussed as a dominating, ‘mighty’, superior, even an irresistibly hypnotic person that pervades and controls most aspects of the lives of young girls. In fact, a large portion of the psychological literature examining the model-girl relationship describes the model in terms of her capacity to *infect* girls and cause various forms of physical disorder and psychological distortion.¹

2.0.1 ‘You can’t have it both ways’: disorder *or* delight for young girls

Although these accounts present many varying explanations of what this influence actually is, the underlying theme apparent in the work of researchers is that the influence of the fashion model manifests in young girls in either negative *or* positive ways in contemporary Western culture. The model is examined in terms of how she influences the bodies, minds and identities of young girls in either disorderly/distorting *or* pleasurable/celebratory ways. Indeed, the literature seems to be produced, and produced out of, a neat discursive binary between the ‘push and pull’ of pain and pleasure, of disorder and delight. As researchers insist that the model influences young girls in either disorderly *or* delightful ways, they present an oppositional understanding of this relationship, where neither proponent is willing to consider the perspective of the other. Nick Mansfield (2000) suggests that such accounts work out of a ‘metaphysical’ approach through which researchers are engaged in a ‘battle’ for the ‘right’ or ‘true’ way of understanding social phenomena

¹ See section 2.2.1 below for further discussion of this.

which will subsequently solve all the problems of humanity related to those phenomena. In the case of the model-girl relationship, researchers work towards determining “by the systematic analysis and scrutiny of ideas what the truth of a certain argument may be” (p. 5) in order that the influence of the fashion model may one day be overcome and ‘conquered’.

It is the negative influence of the fashion model on young girls that constitutes the focus of this literature, particularly in the work of feminist, poststructural feminist and medical and psychological researchers that examines the ‘nature’ of this influence extensively. This research insists on the capacity of the model to influence the lives of young girls in disorderly *and* distorting ways. In contrast to this literature, a smaller proportion of research, particularly the work of postfeminist writers, champions the positive influence that models have on young girls. These writers emphasise how girls experience pleasure by engaging closely with the feminine practices of the model.

The present study is informed by the idea that it is useful to be “more suspicious” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 83) of “the neatness” (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997, p. 4) of such binary oppositions. This emerges as particularly important given that researchers may overlook the possibility that this relationship may have effects for young girls for better *and* worse. Arguments presented in existing literature about the fashion model/young girl relationship appear to overlook an important Foucauldian (1977a) point: that relationships produced in power can have effects that are constraining *and* productive. As Foucault (1994, p. 256) states, “everything is dangerous”. Relationships may produce effects for better *and* worse, rather than better *or* worse. It is argued in this study, then, that existing accounts of the model-girl relationship are limited by the modernist epistemological assumption² that there is only one “right” (O’Farrell, 1999, p. 12) or ‘truthful’ way of knowing this relationship as either positive *or* negative for young girls. The study proposes that these accounts disallow other possible “ways of thinking” (Riessman, 1992, p. 125) about the model-girl relationship as produced out of power for good *and* for ill.

² Clare O’Farrell (1999) explains that modernist epistemology is underpinned by the understanding that “through the use of intellect and reason, principally in the form of science, humanity can understand the universe and find solutions to all the problems which plague existence” (p. 12).

It is in this way that the study makes a case for re-conceptualising the fashion model/young girl relationship from the perspective of poststructural theory,³ as a conceptual framework that acknowledges the enabling *and* constraining effects of power in social relationships. Poststructural theorising allows a consideration of the ways in which this relationship is *discursively produced* in certain ways as one of negative *or* positive influence. It understands that existing accounts of the model-girl relationship do a particular type of cultural work that constitute the model and the girl as particular types of subjects relating in either pernicious *or* pleasurable ways. Given that this thesis works to disrupt much of the commonsense about the model-girl encounter in existing literature, it is important to map these conventions in terms of the role they play in the discursive production of this relationship.

It is the task of this chapter, then, to map existing work that has been ‘generated’ interrogating the model-girl encounter. It seeks to make apparent how these studies produce this relationship in terms of influence. It does so with a view to ‘unsettling’ the idea of influence as socially, culturally and historically constituted in this research to gain a better understanding of this influence as discursively produced. More importantly, this chapter examines existing accounts of the model-girl relationship with a view to unsettling the modernist rationalities that underpin these accounts.

2.1 ADVOCACY: THE FIRST GENERATION OF ‘INFLUENCE’

The dominant body of academic literature and social commentary that examines the fashion model and her relationship with the young girl is primarily written in the register of critique. Broadly, this literature insists on the unhealthy and inappropriate nature of the fashion model’s influence on young girls, with researchers contending that they must work to ‘free’ young girls from this powerful ‘force’. It is “a culture of redemption” (Popkewitz, 1997b, p. 91) that drives investigations of the model-girl relationship, with efforts of researchers focused almost exclusively on how to ‘save’ the young girl from the heinous fashion model. Writers view this relationship through what Sinikka Aapola, Marnina Gonick and Anita Harris (2005) call a

³ See Chapter Three, Footnote One for a discussion of the definition of poststructuralism in this study.

discourse of ‘reviving Ophelia’: young girls are considered as inherently vulnerable and ‘at-risk’ (Harris, 2004), and in need of redemption and treatment. A ‘call-to-arms’ is made for example by (then Senator) Cheryl Kernot (1998) in a paper presented at the conference *Challenge the Body Culture*. In this paper, Kernot argues that the Australian government needs to intervene in order to “challenge the prevailing body culture” (p. 34) as consumers themselves “are – by and large – powerless”. “Teenage girls” and “young women” (p. 33) are situated as consumers that are particularly powerless when confronted with the “very powerful message[s]” (p. 32) that fashion models embody, as icons of the body culture. Particular concern arises out of the understanding that the messages conveyed by the body of the fashion model are “very difficult to resist” (p. 32). It is the work of writers and advocates for young girls such as Emme⁴ and Kaz Cooke (1994), that ‘come-to-the-rescue’ of those in danger of being “brainwashed” (Cooke, 1994, p. 15; Robinson, 1996) by the noxious fashion model.

In this manner, this body of literature constructs a particular discursive way of ‘knowing’ (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) the fashion model/young girl relationship. Two themes in particular dominate explanations of the model-girl relationship in this literature, these being disorder and distortion. The literature situates the model as the epitome of feminine disorder and distortion, imbued with the ability to seduce vulnerable young girls as a powerful icon of Western culture. Researchers argue that the model manipulates young girls into feeling bad about their bodies which, in turn, cause them to punish their bodies with painful beauty routines. This is alarming for researchers who express anxiety about the inability of young girls to resist the malevolent influence of the fashion model. Moral panics are produced out of this sort of collective anxiety, with researchers situating themselves as ‘advocates’ for young girls. They then work at producing a particular type of knowledge about the importance of ‘saving’ young girls from the model in contemporary society (Giroux, 1998a).

⁴ ‘Emme’, or Melissa Miller, is a supermodel in international “plus-size” modelling (Jewel, 1997, p. 63). She is renowned for being a top model despite her size 14-16 frame. Emme’s message to young women: “you don’t have to be a perfect size 6 to be happy”.

2.1.1 Liberating girls: feminism and the fashion model

The work of feminists such as Simone De Beauvoir (1949), Betty Friedan (1963) and Germaine Greer (1970) laid the foundations for a climate of advocacy in research investigating the fashion model, particularly in terms of her relationship with young girls. In the past, feminist researchers have by and large argued vehemently that young girls need to be emancipated or saved from the insidious influence of the fashion model as a powerful media icon. Concern centres on the degree of ‘suffering’ that young girls subject themselves to in their attempts to emulate the artificial femininity of the model. Simone De Beauvoir (1949) illustrates this viewpoint in her description of feminine beauty practices or feminine “elegance” as “bondage” (p. 549). Of greatest concern in feminist work, however is the danger that young girls expose themselves to by trying to sculpt their bodies to imitate the unrealistically thin proportions of the fashion model body. Further scrutiny focuses on how the model, referred to as “the Image” (Morgan, 1970, p. 588) or “the stereotype” (Greer, 1970, pp. 55-63), is understood by feminist writers to “inculcate false values in young girls” (Morgan, *ibid*). She is thought to cause “self-hatred that goes with continually trying to live up to an ideal” (Rhodes & McNeil, 1985, p. 254; Tuchman, 1996) that is, in most cases, unattainable. Feminist writers, then, situate themselves as advocates for the plight of young girls, working to save them from the perilous yet seductive influence of the fashion model.

It was the work of early feminist writers such as those above that marked the beginning of the outright rejection of fashion in general and, more specifically the fashion model. Feminist theorists argue that fashion is “dangerous” (Anonymous, 1985, p. 254) in that it coerces these girls into ‘suffering’ for the sake of being fashionable and feminine. As an icon of fashion and the embodiment of ideal femininity, it is the model and her associated practices with which feminist activists particularly ‘take issue’ (Women’s Studies Group, 1978). Feminist activists contend that the model influences young girls in ways that are oppressive and restrictive, causing them to ‘attack’ their bodies with feminine beauty practices. These practices of fashionable femininity undertaken by the model are condemned by feminist theorists as “trivialities which functioned ideologically to construct a false femininity” (Evans & Thornton, 1989, p. 1). False femininity is understood to be particularly harmful for “susceptible” (Wolf, 1990, p. 61) girls with underdeveloped

self-esteem, as this femininity masks and oppresses the “authentic self” of the ‘real’ young woman. In her embodiment of this superficial femininity, then, the model constitutes the *oppressor* that wields power over the young girl (Katzman, 1997) and whose influence feminist writers seek to *liberate* girls from.

One predominant theme of fashion model influence discussed in feminist literature pertains to the *disorderly* body of the model. Feminist writers argue that the representation of the model oppresses young girls, as she embodies unrealistic physical proportions, a body starved to attain the idealistic feminine standards demanded by Western patriarchal culture (Brumberg, 1988; Wolf, 1990; Tierney, 2001). As the model is culturally elevated as the embodiment of exemplary femininity,⁵ her sickly image punishes and ‘plagues’ (Orbach, 1986, 1982) young girls who cannot physically conform to this ideal. Young girls, they argue, are “trapped by the image [of the] perfect body” (Coward, 1984, p. 85) embodied by the model. Feminists suggest that this causes many young girls to adopt extreme fasting practices in order to measure up to this ideal body (Chernin, 1981, 1985; Lawrence, 1984, 1987). Young girls are situated as “prey” (Orbach, 1978, p. 20) to messages that assert that “if you want to be beautiful and happy and to get a boyfriend, then you need to look like the models” (Hesse-Biber, 1996, p. 97). It is these messages that feminist writers seek to undermine by calling for young girls to reject the model and her associated disorderly bodily practices. Romana Koval (1986) suggests, for example, that young girls “must learn to accept ourselves and to challenge those who try to manipulate us” (p. 172).

The feminist panic about the hazardous nature of the influence of the model is further compounded by young girls emulating other disorderly bodily practices conducted by her. The torturous nature of beautifying practices that the model performs with her body is highlighted in this work, with concern directed towards the pain and suffering that this body is subjected to in the process. “Pain is an essential part of the grooming process, and that is not accidental” according to feminist Andrea Dworkin (1974):

⁵ The cultural value of the ideal femininity embodied by the fashion model is demonstrated in the move to sell the ova of beautiful models to consumers by way of a website. Lemonick (1999) provides more detailed information about this topic in a media account in *Time Magazine*.

Plucking the eyebrows, shaving under the arms, wearing a girdle, learning to walk in high-heeled shoes, having one's nose fixed, straightening or curling one's hair – these things *hurt*. The pain, of course, teaches an important lesson: no price is too great, no process too repulsive, no operation too painful for the woman who would be beautiful...The adolescent experience of the 'pain of being a woman' casts the feminine psyche into a masochistic mold and forces the adolescent to conform to a self-image which bases itself on mutilation of the body, pain happily suffered, and restricted physical mobility (pp. 115-6, italics in original).

The manner in which young girls subject their bodies to the 'pain' of beautifying practices, then, is what feminists recognise as the process by which young girls become "enslaved" (Morgan, 1970, p. 586) by the disorderly body of the fashion model.

It is the torment that young girls subject their bodies to by adopting disorderly bodily practices that constitutes the focus of feminist liberatory work. Feminists contend that "[t]he body must be freed, liberated, quite literally: from paint and girdles and all varieties of crap. Women must stop mutilating their bodies and start living in them" (Dworkin, 1974, p. 116; MacCannell & MacCannell, 1987). Furthermore, feminist writers call for 'speaking out' against those disorderly bodily practices that young girls adopt in order to emulate the thinness of the model:

We must speak out forcefully about the dangers of the obsession with thinness. This is not a trivial issue; it cuts to the very heart of women's energy, power, and self-esteem. This is a major public health problem, one that endangers the lives of young girls (Kilbourne, 1994, p. 414).

Young girls are identified here as the primary target for redemptive intervention by feminist activists. They argue that without such intervention young girls will "risk their health" (Brown & Jasper, 1993a, p. 16), as well as perpetuate their own oppression. Young girls are thought to objectify and 'dismember' (Kilbourne, 1995, 2004) themselves for example in a "desperate attempt" (Brown & Jasper, 1993a, p. 16) to emulate the disorderly bodily practices of the model. Feminist argue that young girls will strive to achieve the model body regardless of how "impractical, painful, or life-threatening" (Fallon, 1990, p. 97) this process may be.

Of further concern for feminists is the degree to which young girls focus their energies on their bodies to the detriment of their identities. Feminists argue that this is another way that the fashion model constitutes an oppressive influence on the lives of young girls. The model epitomises the *distorted* identity, a superficial and vacuous feminine identity, devoid of psychological depth and consciousness (Brook, 1994; Freedman, 1986; Tolman & Debold, 1994; Wolf, 1990). The model “is more body than soul” (Greer, 1970, p. 55; Embree, 1970), as she invests all her energies into maintaining a faked feminine identity using various “feminine strategies” (Brownmiller, 1984, p. 19) that oppress ‘real’ or ‘authentic’ identity. The outcomes of living this way for the model are made apparent in feminist work where the model is described as “a shell” (Kilbourne, 1995), with “[c]onventional beauty” being “her only attribute” (p. 122). The model, being obsessed with frivolities such as hair styling, applying make-up and depilation, is understood to have no true or authentic identity (Chapkis, 1986; Perutz, 1970). She has only the identity that she makes up on her body, as the image of the model in Figure 2.1 demonstrates.

The extent to which young girls seek to conduct their bodies in a similar fashion constitutes a specific concern in feminist work. As prizing the body over the wellbeing of the identity is considered a significant risk for young girls,⁶ feminist work appears increasingly concerned with the state of young girls’ ‘real self’ and how it is distorted by injurious feminine body work. They worry about “what happens” (Friedan, 1963) to young girls when they “try to live according to an image that makes them deny their minds” (p. 59). For example, the notion that a preoccupation with feminine body work “diverts energy and attention from more important pursuits such as the development of their minds and spirits” (Kilbourne, 1986, p. 45) is a foremost concern for feminist writers. They suggest that when young girls focus their energies on maintaining an ideal femininity, as does the model, they construct for themselves a distorted and imbalanced feminine identity (Henley, 1977; Winkler, 1994). It is a feminine identity obsessed with images and ‘disconnected’ (Kilbourne, 2003) from their ‘real’ self (see Figure 2.1).⁷

⁶ Kimberly Oliver and Rosary Lalik (2000) suggest that having young girls focus their energies on fashioning a feminine body “distracts girls from becoming healthy people who pursue significant goals” (p. 2).

⁷ Feminist interrogations of popular media consumed by young girls, magazines especially, argue that young female identities become distorted due to the hollow and trivial representations of feminine

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available from the QUT Library

***Figure 2.1: The feminist view of the fashion model: Source: Elle Magazine
Australia, 2000, October, p. 25.***

identity that young girls have to draw from in order to develop identities for themselves (Carpenter, 1998; Currie, 1997; Duffy & Gotcher, 1996; Durham, 1998; Evans, Rutberg, Sather & Turner, 1991; McCracken, 1993; McRobbie, 1982; O'Brien, 1997; Peirce, 1993, 1990; Sanders, Gwynne & Gaskill, 1998; Schlenker, Caron & Halteman, 1998; Willemsen, 1998). It is the fashion model that embodies such representations in these cultural artefacts.

Furthermore, in doing this, the young girl is thought to be engaging with bodily practices that will take their minds away from more important social and political issues (McRobbie, 1997b). Jean Kilbourne (1995) identifies the adverse influence that this process has for a young girl, suggesting that she is “conditioned to view her face as a mask and her body as an object, as *things* separate from and more important than her real self, constantly in need of alteration, improvement, and disguise” (p. 122, italics in original; 1986). Catherine Valentine (1994) concurs with this assertion, suggesting that “idealized images of female bodily perfection and messages of perfectibility exercise control over women’s lives by constructing a self that is distorted and divided against itself, self-policing and self-destructive” (p. 113). It is the influence of the ‘distorted’ and ‘destructive’ identity of the fashion model, then, that feminists work to suppress in an attempt to save young girls (Rowland, 1988; Winship, 1980).

Feminist literature operates as a redemptive project, with feminists acting as ‘defenders’ for suggestible young girls. Championing the idea that “beauty images” (Callaghan, 1994a, p. ix) embodied by the fashion model work as “a sophisticated means of social control”, feminist advocates endeavour to save and emancipate young girls from the influence of the falsified and distorted model self (Oliver, 2001). They aim to liberate them from the dangers of being preoccupied with the “artificial burden” (Stannard, 1971, p. 130) of faked feminine beauty by offering up strategies for shunning representations of the fashion model: “While we cannot directly affect the images, we can drain them of their power. We can turn away from them, look directly at one another, and find alternative images of beauty” (Wolf, 1990, p. 277). Feminist literature stresses the importance of practising strategies such as ‘looking away’ as without these tactics young girls are thought to continue to be implicated in and controlled by patriarchal power in Western society by way of distorted fashion model images (Barthel, 1988; Brown, White & Nikopoulou, 1993; Morgan, 1970; Steinem, 1992).

2.1.2 Poststructural feminist salvage: reworking fashion models

A secondary body of feminist theory, working primarily out of poststructural theory focuses on how media icons, such as the fashion model come to influence young girls. Female bodies and feminine identities, including the model have been

scrutinized intensively by poststructural feminist theorists (see, for example, Frost, 2005; Probyn, 1993; Weitz, 1998) particularly in terms of how these bodies and identities are represented in Western culture (Bordo, 1993, 1988). However, it is important to note here that poststructural feminist work disengages itself from other feminist work in that it challenges the modernist notion, apparent in other feminist work (see, for example, Brownmiller, 1984; Coward, 1984; Dworkin, 1974; Friedan, 1963) that identities and bodies are static entities existing independently of reality (Balbus, 1988; McNay, 1992; Ramazanoglu, 1993a; Sawicki, 1988a; Weedon, 1987).

Drawing notably on the work of Foucault (1977a),⁸ poststructural feminist theory suggests that feminine identity, for example, does not become ‘fully-developed’ through a series of natural stages along the lifespan. They deny that feminine identity can be thought of as consisting of particular elements, such as “the mind and the intellect” (Rowland, 1988, p. 17) that can “internalize patriarchal definitions of ‘woman’” (p. 14). Instead, they suggest it is more useful to think of identity in terms of discursive “artifice” (Bartky, 1988, p. 64). Feminine identity is not “located within the psyche or the body of the individual...as a fixed and unified entity” (Sawicki, 1988b, p. 183), but rather is understood to be “constituted by the myriad of social relationships and practices in which the individual is engaged” (p. 184). Hence, poststructural feminist accounts suggest that female bodies and identities are fluid and unstable, socially constructed as they are by and in discourse and, hence, in power (Hartsock, 1990; Pleasance, 1991).

Despite the deliberate divergence from modernist understandings of female bodies and identities, however, poststructural feminist analysis continues to work as an archetypically modernist project of redemption (Milner, 1991). The main aim of this work is to transform patriarchal society and to emancipate women and young girls by producing “new discourses and so new forms of power and new forms of the self” (Ramazanoglu, 1993a, p. 24). The dominant discourses targeted in this literature are discourses of femininity, particularly projected in the media, as these are seen to be powerful cultural forces that overlay femaleness onto female bodies (Craik, 1995; Haber, 1996). For example, Margaret Duncan (1994) provides a revealing analysis

⁸ See Jana Sawicki (1991), Susan Hekman (1996) and Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (1988).

of *Shape* magazine, “a popular, successful glossy oriented around body and fitness concerns” (p. 52). Duncan draws on Foucault’s “metaphor of the panopticon, a particular prison structure that renders prisoners self-monitoring” (p. 48) in order to demonstrate the degree to which *Shape* magazine causes women to become “obsessively self-monitoring” (p. 60). Duncan suggests in particular that discourses of femininity portrayed in *Shape* magazine “invite women to internalize a rigid, unrealistic body standard” (p. 52).

It is poststructural feminist literature such as this, then, that works to undermine dominant discourses of femininity so as to emancipate young girls from the constraints of patriarchal discourse that, for example, socialise young girls into ‘study-obsessed she-nerds’ or ‘sex-crazed sluts’ (Ostermann & Keller-Cohen, 1998). The fashion model features conspicuously in this literature, as the epitome of “perfect female beauty” (Bartky, 1998, p. 20) prescribed in patriarchal discourses. She specifically features as a ‘problem’ for post-structural feminist theorists in two ways.

Primarily, poststructural feminist theory interrogates the *disorderly body* of the fashion model in Western culture. Images of female model bodies, they argue, are increasingly confined to a certain type of disorderly body that is unrealistic in its slim physical proportions (Corrigan & Meredyth, 1994; Malson & Swann, 1999). This unrealistic representation of the female body embodied by the model is seen as a pernicious influence in lives of young girls (Russell & Tyler, 2002). Susan Bordo (1997) describes how young girls learn about “the rules” (p. 94) for constructing the ideal feminine body, embodied by the model, “directly through bodily discourse: through images that tell us what clothes, body shape, facial expression, movements, and behaviour are required”. Moreover, Bartky (1998) highlights that “[a] host of discourses and social practices [are seen to] construct the female body as a flawed body that needs to be made over” (p. 20). Young girls’ emulation of the body of the model is read not only as a dangerous practice (Bordo, 1990; Robertson, 1992) but a disempowering one that oppresses them (Bordo, 1988; Pecora & Mazzarella, 1999; Young, 1990). As Bordo (1997) remarks, one only need look at fashion editorials in women’s magazines to understand how they “dramatically illustrate the degree to which slenderness...carries connotations of fragility and lack of power in the face of

a decisive male occupation of social space” (p. 96). Liz Frost (2001) suggests that this situation may produce for young girls far more sinister consequences, arguing in particular that “young women in the West might be said to be suffering from body-hatred” (p. 2). The degree to which young girls render themselves powerless by fashioning their bodies in line with ‘hyperslender’ fashion model bodies, then, is of central concern for poststructural feminist theorists:

Far from empowering individuals, social practices, such as those described above, leave young people feeling powerless, alienated from their bodies and reaching towards starvation diets and obsessive exercise as a means of regaining control over the base elements of their lives (Evans, Rich & Holroyd, 2004, p. 139).

According to poststructural feminist writers, when young girls engage with the model they are complicit in their own oppression and subjugation.

The fashion model is similarly targeted in poststructural feminist critique as the embodiment of a *distorted identity*. Writers argue that feminine identity, embodied by the model is socially constructed according to certain dogmatic patriarchal discourses that dictate how a particular type of distorted feminine identity ought to be fashioned (Smith, 1988). This is highlighted in Jennifer Craik’s (1994) discussion of the many feminine identities of the model, suggesting that “[t]he emphasis in modelling is on self-formation through the body to the exclusion of other attributes” (p. 91). Again, the central concern for poststructural feminist writers is the influence that this “frantic pursuit of bodily perfection” (Duncan, 1994, p. 49) has on young women. Researchers suggest that this type of bodily work always “depletes women of the resources that might otherwise be used to combat real political inequities” (Duncan, 1994, p. 49). Young girls are seduced by the powerful fashion model into constructing a limited and “fragmented” (Bartky, 1990, p. 25) feminine identity from the model as the embodiment of patriarchal feminine discourses.⁹ Liz Frost (2001) states for example that as young girls “are invariably heavily identified with their bodies”, they may “distance/separate/dissociate their bodies from themselves” and,

⁹ This is conspicuous in poststructural feminist research investigating the representation of the fashion model in cultural artefacts such as teen magazines and romance novels (Christian-Smith, 1993a; Gilbert, 1993; Roman, Christian-Smith & Ellsworth, 1988; Smith, 1990). Feminine identities presented to young girls in these cultural artefacts by way of the model are critiqued in terms of how they are limited and oppressive representations. They present young girls with idealistic and unrealistic representations of femininity (Gilbert & Taylor, 1991) and culturally sanction those girls who do not conform to this ideal.

hence, inevitably produce for themselves “only a disjointed and contradictory subjectivity” (p. 198). Having young girls construct distorted feminine identities based on those embodied by the model is considered a counterproductive influence for young girls, as it may cause “appearance-based damage” (Frost, 2003, p. 66) for example.

Feminine identities represented by the model are regarded by poststructural feminists as restricted and oppressive (Oliver, 1999; Walkerdine, 1998, 1997). For example, Sandra Bartky (1990, p. 80) explains that to construct and maintain a particular type of feminine identity, a young girl

checks her make-up half a dozen times a day to see if her foundation has caked or her mascara run, who worries that the wind or rain may spoil her hairdo, who looks frequently to see if her stockings have bagged at the ankle, or who, feeling fat, monitors everything she eats.

Fashioning and sustaining a discursive feminine identity, the young girl becomes a “self-policing subject, self committed to a relentless self-surveillance” (ibid). Despite stating that subjecting the body to disciplinary practices render the body ‘useful’ and ‘productive’, Bartky (1990) concludes that “self-surveillance” (p. 90) conducted by young girls constitutes “a form of obedience to patriarchy” that oppresses girls that “fail to measure up” (Bartky, 1998, p. 20).

Despite providing a different account of the model-girl encounter as discursively constituted, poststructural feminist theorists continue to emphasise the need to ‘deliver’ young girls from the powerful influence of the harmful model. This theory constructs a particular understanding of the relationship between the model and the young girl that works out of a project of advocacy and redemption. The young girl appears vulnerable and “trapped” (Bartky, 1998, p. 24) by the “insidious influences of fashion and beauty practices in Western culture” (Corrigan & Meredyth, 1994, p. 49) embodied almost exclusively in the pernicious yet seductive model. As such, it is precisely these powerful representations of the model that poststructural feminist theorists seek to emancipate young girls from, particularly through different forms of critical literacy (Oliver & Lalik, 2004).¹⁰

¹⁰ Mary Jacobus, Evelyn Fox Keller and Sally Shuttleworth (1990), for example provide an intervention strategy for liberating young girls from patriarchal discourses played out on the body of the fashion model. Young girls must “wrest the feminine body away from the competing discourses

2.2 TREATMENT: A SECOND GENERATION OF 'INFLUENCE'

It's not longer possible to deny the fact that images of models in the media have a terrible effect on the way women see themselves. Women who have eating disorders are most influenced by fashion models. A model backlash has already begun (Garner, 1997, p. 34)

Emerging from the highly critical feminist work outlined above, a second body of research sets itself up similarly as an advocacy project. This perspective is reflected in the statement by Garner (1997) above. It would appear that model influence is an indisputable fact: it exists 'out-there-in-the-world' and needs to be intervened upon. It is understood in terms of 'terribleness' and how the model can and will skew the view that women have of themselves. Such a perspective is not surprising given the damning appraisal of the model by feminist researchers. The work of psychological and pop-psychological researchers, then, augments feminist literature by seeking out and 'discovering' model influence as an indisputable "truth" (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p. 77; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982). Researchers set out to overcome model influence by interrogating the model-girl relationship in terms of malady and possible intervention (see for example Wykes & Gunter, 2005).

This literature, overwhelmingly written in the register of critique, is one of *treatment* in which medico-psychological and pseudo/pop-psychological researchers interrogate the model-girl relationship in terms of the adverse physical, psychological and social influence that it has for young girls (Schwartz, Thompson & Johnson, 1981). These accounts particularly produce a certain type of 'medicalized' (Riessman, 1992) discursive knowledge about the model as a cause of physical disorder and psychological distortion in young girls, who are identified as "potential victims" (Pollay, 1986, p. 27) of "the esteem-deflating effects of the thin ideal" (Irving, 1990, p. 238).

In this way, these accounts discursively construct the fashion model/young girl relationship as one in need of medical intervention. Much of the research is underpinned by increasing worry and moral panic about the 'riskiness' and 'dangerousness' of having young girls engage with the "invidious" (Pollay, 1986, p. 27) fashion model, particularly in powerful media such as teen magazines. Kirsten

that simultaneously inscribe and appropriate it...relocating it in the alternative discourses of a liberatory, feminist body politics" (p. 10).

Cross (1998) goes to the extent of recommending the posting of ‘health warnings’ alongside photographs of fashion models in magazines reading, “This model is clinically underweight. Trying to imitate this image will cause serious health problems for most people” (p. 67). In keeping with the spirit of advocacy in feminist and poststructural feminist literature, then, psychological research and pop-psychological research is undertaken with a view to ‘delivering’ the young girl from the model as a pernicious representation of the thin ideal (Segal, 1997).

2.2.1 Treating model bodies/identities: medico-psychological inquiry

Building on the work of feminist researchers, medical and psychological researchers set about ‘discovering’ how the fashion model influences and impacts upon the lives of young girls in particular ways. These researchers primarily work out of a concern for the health and well-being of the young girl, particularly given that having girls engage with the model is considered a significant ‘risk’, even a “health hazard” (Ring, 2000, p. 45). Medical and psychological researchers situate not only the model as a case for treatment in need of remedy (Marano, 1994; Vaughan & Reimer, 1985) but, in addition her relationship with the young girl (Brownell, 1991; Harrison, 2000; Martin & Gentry, 1997; Martin & Kennedy, 1994; Murray, Touyz & Beumont, 1996; Stice & Shaw, 1994; Waller, 1998). Many researchers suggest that intervention into this relationship is necessary in order to protect “vulnerable girls” (Stice, Spangler & Agras, 2001, p. 270; British Medical Association, 2000) from the “dangerous” (Gustafson, Tomsen & Popvich, 1999, p. 18) and “unreasonable” (Thompson & Heinberg, 1999, p. 394) model. It is medico-psychological research that works to ‘get-to-the-bottom’ of what is ‘going on’ in the relationship between the model and the young girl in order that intervention targets the ‘problem’ in this relationship effectively.

The ‘problem’ recognised by a number of researchers is foremost the fashion model herself. They argue that the ‘dangerous’ influence of the model arises out of her embodiment of a *case* (Foucault, 1973b) of bodily *disorder* (Etkoff, 1999). Minna Rintala and Pertti Mustajoki (1992) provide a particularly famous account of the model body as a case of disorder in their anthropometric measurement of body fat on shop mannequins, which are incidentally modelled on the bodies of live fashion models. They found that women “with the shape of a modern mannequin would

probably not menstruate” (p. 1576) which, they conclude, “is not without dangers”. David Garner and Peter Garfinkel (1980) similarly identify the model as a case of disorderly physicality in their study that found models to more commonly display anorexia nervosa than other women of similar age and class. Abigail Morris, Troy Cooper and Peter Cooper (1989), Claire Wiseman *et al.* (1992), David Garner *et al.* (1980) and Martin Voracek and Maryanne Fisher (2002) conducted studies which literally measured the bodies of models as cases of disorderly female physicality. All three studies found that the model, embodying culturally ideal female physical attractiveness,¹¹ had become “thinner” (Wiseman *et al.*, 1992, p. 88; Garner *et al.*, 1980; Voracek & Fisher, 2002; Wiseman *et al.*, 1993) and “dangerously unhealthy” (*ibid.*, p. 89). In all of these studies and others (see Chapman, Marks & King, 1992; Marano, 1994; Santonastaso, Mondini & Favaro, 2002; Vervaet & Van Heeringen, 2000; Young & Wagner, 1993), the body of the model is interrogated by researchers as a case of bodily disorder, even ‘monstrosity’ (Berg, 1994) fraught with ailments such as anorexia and embodying impossible thinness that an individual with a normal diet could not possibly emulate (Paquette & Raine-Travers, 2000).¹² However, the problem of the model as a case of bodily disorder is not the only concern for medical and psychological researchers. These researchers are more troubled by the possible threat that the disorderly yet seductive body of the model poses for ‘suggestible’ (Thomsen, McCoy & Williams, 2001) young girls.

The fashion model is interrogated most prominently in medico-psychological research as a *cause of distortion*, particularly in young girls. Researchers suggest that young girls are “detrimentally” (Martin & Gentry, 1997, p. 28; Bower, 2001; Sanders, Gaskill & Gwynne, 1995) influenced by the representation of the model in

¹¹ Studies conducted by Richard Ashmore, Michael Solomon and Laura Longo (1996), Martin Voracek and Maryanne Fisher (2002), Amanda Bower and Stacy Landreth (2001) and Patricia van Hanswijck de Jonge and Eric van Furth (1999) suggest that the fashion model embodies ideal female physical attractiveness.

¹² Extensive study has been conducted with the Barbie doll, as an exemplar of fashion model physicality (Dixon, 1990; Magro, 1997; Motz, 1983; Randolph, 1998). Studies have shown the Barbie doll to comprise wholly unrealistic physical proportions (Brownell & Napolitano, 1995; Norton, Olds, Olive & Dank, 1990; Pedersen & Markee, 1991; Urla & Swedlund, 1995) and that in playing with these dolls, they may “forsake or damage their own feminine identity” (Kuther & McDonald, 2004, p. 50). Ann Ruth Turkel (1998) even suggests that Barbie dolls “are intended to control those who attach themselves to them” (p. 175), which inevitably “leads almost every female to feel inadequate” (p. 172). For Turkel, possible outcomes of being ‘attached’ to the Barbie doll include “negative self-image, which in turn leads to anxiety, insecurity, inferiority, and depression” (*ibid.*), which are all thought to cause eating disordered behaviour, with young girls “begrudging and afraid of what each bite of food will do”.

Western culture, particularly in terms of factors such as “distorted perceptions of healthy body weights” (British Medical Association, 2000, p. 44).¹³ In order to ‘measure’ the extent to which this is occurring, research involves ‘testing’ young girls with different measures after being “exposed” (Crouch & Degelman, 1998, p. 586; Martin & Kennedy, 1993; Tan, 1979) to images of highly attractive models. Researchers argue that ‘exposure’ to these images causes young girls to compare themselves with these models and usually “they come up short in those comparisons” (Botta, 1999, p. 37; Jones, 2001; Martin & Kennedy, 1994; Reaves, Hitchon, Park & Yun, 2004; Schutz, Paxton & Wertheim, 2002) which, in turn can have “serious consequences” (Brownell, 1991, p. 1) such as ‘self-objectification’ which incidentally can lead to disordered eating (Attie & Brooks-Gunn, 1989; Barber, 1998; Murnen & Smolak, 1997; Nagel & Jones, 1992), depression (McCarthy, 1990), and even sexual dysfunction and lower levels of performance in mathematics examinations according to one study (Fredrickson *et al.*, 1998).

Researchers emphasise the notion that “no one can withstand appearances...No one is immune” (Etcoff, 1999, p. 6), with the ‘consequences’ for the health and well-being of young girls featuring as centrally important in medico-psychological research. The distorting influence of the model is thought to come in many forms for young girls, such as “pain and agony” (Thompson & Smolak, 2001a, p. 2). Girls, according to some researchers, are “doomed to perceive a discrepancy between their bodies and...those of the fashion models” (Posavac, Posavac & Posavac, 1998, p. 194; Cash & Roy, 1999).

One way in which medical and psychological researchers discuss the fashion model, as a distorting influence for young girls is in terms of *self-esteem* (Martin & Gentry, 1997; Irving, 1990; Thornton & Maurice, 1997). The focus here is on the possible distorting and, hence negative influence of the model on young girls’ self-esteem. Studies conducted by Marsha Richins (1991) and Mary Martin and James Gentry (1997) found that “exposure to highly attractive images can negatively affect feelings about the self” (Richins, 1991, p. 81), with young girls rating their own bodies and

¹³ Advertising and fashion magazines have been studied in terms of how the fashion model negatively influences those young girls that consume them (Levine & Smolak, 1996; Levine *et al.*, 1994; Ring, 2000; Shaw, 1995; Thomsen *et al.*, 2002).

those of other young women as less attractive (Martin & Gentry, 1997). A further study conducted by Robert Gustafson, Steven Tomsen and Mark Popvich (1999) and Dale Cusumano and J. Kevin Thompson (1997) yielded different results with young women hardly noticing the potential ‘danger’ of the images of the “thin ideal” (p. 13) they were exposed to. However, both groups of researchers state that this is not due to young women’s indifference to these images. Rather, they argue that young women’s self-esteem has been effected so extensively by these images that they “are accustomed to seeing ultra-thin models and they do not readily perceive the danger in this stereotypical portrayal of beauty and success” (Gustafson, Tomsen & Popvich, 1997, p. 17). Cusumano and Thompson (1997) suggest that the young girls are reflecting a “numbing” and a “desensitization consequent to the constant bombardment of images” (p. 718). In all these studies, the model is understood to distort the self-esteem of young girls in different ways and, as such, she is situated as a point of particular concern for medico-psychological researchers, especially considering the further complications which may arise for young girls out of diminished self-esteem.

A second form of fashion model distortion discussed in the literature concerns the distortion of *body image* (Cattarin *et al.*, 2000; David *et al.*, 2002; Fabian & Thompson, 1989; Groesz, Levine & Murnen, 2002; Grogan, 2000, 1999; Heinberg & Thompson, 1995; Shaw & Waller, 1995). This is understood by researchers to ‘develop’ as a result of the already distorted self-esteem of young girls (Henderson-King & Henderson-King, 1997). Medical and psychological researchers suggest that young girls experience significant “body image disturbance” (Botta, 1999, p. 36; Dittmar *et al.*, 2000; Gilbert, 1998) and “body image dysphoria” (Thompson, Coovert & Stormer, 1999, p. 50) having been ‘exposed’ to images of the model in the media (Durkin & Paxton, 2002; Grogan, Williams & Conner, 1996; Ogden & Munday, 1996; Pinhas *et al.*, 1999; Turner & Hamilton, 1997). This, they argue, leads to “body dissatisfaction” (Grogan & Wainwright, 1996, p. 665; Dunkley, Wertheim & Paxton, 2001; Nichter & Vuckovic, 1994; Presnell, Bearman & Stice, 2004; Sypeck, Gray & Ahrens, 2004) where “vulnerable” (Stice, Spangler & Agras, 2001, p. 270) young girls become increasingly dissatisfied with the size and shape of their bodies (Myers & Biocca, 1992; Stice, Maxfield & Wells, 2003; Tiggemann & Pennington, 1990). This is concerning for researchers, as is evident in the work of

Andrew Hill, Sarah Oliver and Peter Rogers (1992) who identify body dissatisfaction as a form of “psychological disturbance” (p. 103) and “neuroses”. In particular, moral panic surrounds the notion that the more young girls compare their own bodies with that of the unrealistically thin model, “the more they strive to be thin, the more they dislike their bodies, and the more they engage in unhealthy eating behaviours” (Botta, 1999, p. 37; Stice & Whitenton, 2002; Thompson & Stice, 2001). This is discussed at length in medico-psychological research as another way that models distort the lives of young girls.

The most conspicuous way that the fashion model is situated as a cause of distortion in young girls involves the possibility that young girls, having become dissatisfied with their bodies, will strive to emulate the distorted and unrealistically thin body shape that the model embodies (Champion & Furnham, 1999; Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2002). This literature focuses on the notion that the model may cause distortion in young girls by inciting them to engage in drastic slimming behaviours and, subsequently develop “disturbed eating” (Berel & Irving, 1998, p. 415) and “eating disorders” (Harrison, 1997, p. 478; Mondini, Favaro & Santonastaso, 1996). Researchers claim that there may be a link between young girls being exposed to images of thin models and their pursuance of “extreme dieting behaviours” (Stein & Reichert, 1990, p. 108; Harrison, 2001; Irving, 2001). As Thomsen, McCoy and Williams (2001) suggest, researchers “know the link exists” (p. 49) and that young girls “internalize the impossible thin ideal that appears to drive...illness” such as anorexia nervosa. This link has been described by researchers as a “psychological path from media exposure to dysfunctional eating behaviours” (Hitchon & Reaves, 1999, p. 72) that needs to be disrupted to prevent the “cumulative impact” (p. 73). Images of exceptionally thin models in the media are thought to transmit “a dangerous message about the desirability of a skinny body, and therefore the appropriateness of extreme dieting” (Harrison, 1997, p. 496). Kristen Harrison and Joanne Cantor (1997), for example found that exposing young girls to what they call ‘thinness-depicting and thinness-promoting’ media “appears to be associated with a subsequent increase in eating disorder symptomatology” (p. 40), as do a number of other studies.¹⁴ Arnold Andersen and Lisa DiDomenico (1992) even go to the extent

¹⁴ Studies interrogating the fashion model as a cause of eating disorders in young girls are numerous, working out of a range of different medico-psychological perspectives (Bunnell *et al.*, 1992; Faber &

of stating that images of the model, who embodies unrealistic cultural norms about thinness, constitute “an essential part of the onset of eating disorders” (p. 286). Digital manipulation of images of models are central to this process, according to Jacqueline Hitchon and Shiela Reaves (1999), as this “threatens to disassociate young women from the realities of leading productive, healthy lives” (p. 74). By engaging with models in the media, young girls are thought to be “more vulnerable to self-disparagement” (Garner, 1997, p. 34) and that this sort of “early programming may be difficult to undo”. It is this point that provides the impetus for another body of medico-psychological research concerned with preventing the influence of the model on girls.

As medical and psychological researchers consider this type of fashion model distortion a serious threat to the health and well-being of young girls, many researchers offer up intervention strategies for ‘treating’ this threat and ‘saving’ young girls (Piran, Levine & Steiner-Adair, 1999). They suggest a range of possible ways that the relationship between the model and the young girl may be remedied in order that the “physical and psychological safety” (Pipher, 1994, p. 283; Cooke, 1994; Crook, 1992; Robinson, 1996) of young girls be ‘protected’. Interventions are particularly aimed at leading young girls “to perceive the fashion models as dissimilar others and inappropriate targets for social comparison” (Posavac, Posavac & Weigel, 2001, p. 336). Some strategies are commonly proposed, such as urging “advertisers to opt for the use of models in a range of sizes” (Grogan, 1999, p. 113; Fay & Price, 1994; Waller, 1998) and the possibility of recruiting the influence of teachers in school-based educational programs that ‘inoculate’ young girls “against sociocultural pressures” (Wertheim *et al.*, 1997, p. 353; Brownell, 1991; Collins, 1988, 1991; Friedman, 1996; Rockett & McMinn, 1990; Stice & Shaw, 1994). Another strategy, already mentioned above, involves the printing of ‘health warnings’ alongside images of fashion models in magazines in order to “make those images more responsible” (Cross, 1998, p. 66). This suggestion is extended further by Hamilton and Waller (1993) who advise clinicians to recommend that their young female patients avoid reading fashion magazines altogether. Other medical and

Wright-Isak, 1997; Fay & Price, 1994; Killen *et al.*, 1994; Ogletree *et al.*, 1990; Paxton, 2000; Paxton *et al.*, 1991; Rolland, Farnill & Griffiths, 1997; Schur, Sanders & Steiner, 2000; Silverstein *et al.*, 1986; Silverstein, Peterson & Perdue, 1986; Stice & Shaw, 1994; Stice *et al.*, 1994; Striegel-Moore, Silberstein & Rodin, 1986; Tiggemann & Pickering, 1996; Waller, 1998; Wertheim *et al.*, 1997).

psychological researchers call for more extreme measures in ‘treating’ the influence of the model-girl relationship. For example Martin and Gentry (1997) suggest that “to help prevent detrimental effects on female pre-adolescents” (p. 31), formal legislation needs to be introduced that “control[s] the use of models in advertising”. A similar proposal is discussed by Grogan and Wainwright (1996) who argue that if young girls are to be ‘saved’ from the pernicious influence of the model, “a cultural shift in the social construction of beauty” (p. 673; see also British Medical Association, 2000) would be required. Levine and Smolak (1998) suggest that it is a combination of factors that need to be overcome, including ‘buffering’ and ‘reversing’ “the weightism and sexism embodied in today’s media” (p. 49). All of these strategies are aimed at intervening into, either directly or indirectly, and ‘treating’ the malevolent influence of the model in contemporary Western culture with a view to ‘protecting’ and ‘saving young girls from this influence.

2.2.2 Given the pop-treatment: fashion models in media

Ironically, the representations of the fashion model in the media that spawned feminist and medico-psychological research also generated a barrage of criticism from the media themselves. Media commentators produce what might be termed pop- or pseudo- psychological literature that interrogates the influence that images of the model in the media have on young girls. The intended purpose of this commentary appears to be to increase public awareness of the influence of the model as a ‘risk’ to young girls. It serves to illustrate how the image of the model as a disorderly body and a distorted identity influences healthy young girls in negative ways.¹⁵ This is conspicuous in media commentators’ use of graphic visual representations of the model that present her as a case for *treatment*. These visual images particularly present the model as a case of *disorder* and *distortion*, as do feminist, poststructural feminist, and medical and psychological researchers, which are, in turn, imbued with the potential to *cause* disorder and distortion in others. In this way, the intentions of media commentators parallel those of medico-psychological researchers, emerging as a project that seeks to highlight the evils of the emaciated bodies and misguided lives of the model (see for example Weiss,

¹⁵ See Abigail Bray’s (1994) analysis of “[t]he portrayal of eating disorders by the popular media” (p. 4) for further discussion on how the media sensationalises the disorderly fashion model.

1993; Gambotto, 2004).¹⁶ They do so with a view to ‘treating’ the model to control the pernicious influence she has on young girls. The focus again appears to be on concern for the well-being of vulnerable young girls, with three images of the model specifically targeted by media commentators.

The first image of the fashion model interrogated by media commentators as a case for treatment focuses on the disorderly body of the model in her embodiment of the *monstrous anorexic*. Here the body of the model is examined in terms of how it personifies nightmarishly and dangerously thin physical proportions. The model appears in this commentary as though she has subjected her body to prolonged starvation in order to attain the slender bodily ideal highly valued in modelling work (Johnson, 1996; McDowell, 2004). The work of Robert Erwin (1998) illustrates this type of commentary in the following passage:

Forehead taut as though gripped by a medieval torture instrument. Cavities where her cheeks ought to be. A chin like the blade of a hatchet. Stringy neck and bony arms. Wafer breasts. Not enough belly to digest lunch. Not enough lap to hold a cat. Legs like the shafts of golf clubs. Feet – or at any rate shoes – you could slide through a mail slot (p. 30).

Other commentators specifically target particular fashion models as disorderly exemplars of the ‘monstrous anorexic’, in particular Kate Moss and Jodie Kidd. Kate Moss is a fashion model renowned for embodying the 1990’s ‘super waif’, “[w]eilding sharp hip bones, knobby knees and hollow-cheeked chic more shocking than striking”, according to Kristina Johnson (1996, p. 50). Louise Lague (1993) reflects upon a face-to-face encounter with Moss: “At 5 ft. 7 in. and an estimated 100 lbs...Moss looks as if a strong blast from a blow dryer would waft her away” (p. 74). Articles by Tracey Cox (1997) and Shonagh Walker (1996) are illustrated with photographs of ‘emaciated’ fashion model Jodie Kidd, whose body is presented in these articles as the epitome of disorderly anorexic monstrosity (see Figure 2.2). Another article discusses fashion model Eva Herzigova “wasting away” (‘Is Eva Anorexic?’, 2003, p. 16) which is accompanied by a picture of her that has been ‘dissected’ (see Figure 2.3), with arrows pointing to the parts of her body that

¹⁶ Daniel Harris (1993) suggests that the ‘perfect’ fashion model promotes “the quaint myth that consumption is expression, that coercion is license, that imitation is originality” (p. 140) and that, as a result, young female consumers are tricked into masking their ‘real’ person, something that “destroys that most precious of all commodities, the personality”.

provide 'evidence' that she has an eating disorder: oversized shoes, cold sores, downy hair on her arms and so on. Here, both these female model bodies represent the archetypal thin and, hence, sick fashion model body, one that needs medical intervention.

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Figure 2.2: The 'monstrous' anorexic: Jodie Kidd. Source: Cosmopolitan Magazine Australia, 1997, May, p. 25.

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*Figure 2.3: Eva Herzigova. Source: New Weekly Magazine Australia, 2003,
February 24, p. 16.*

It is images of the monstrously thin and disorderly body of the fashion model that inflame moral panic among media commentators.¹⁷ They argue that these images influence young girls in ways that are detrimental to their health and well-being. In these articles, the disorderly model body is situated as a cause of disorder in young girls, with the central concern being that impressionable young girls are being seduced by this ubiquitous and unhealthy image of the model (Leland, 1996). Discussions of the model-girl relationship centre on the image of the disorderly model as ‘monstrous anorexic’ and the ‘dangerousness’ of having the “vulnerable” (Schneider, 1996, p. 64) young girl engage with these images. Of particular concern to media commentators here is how these images make looking starved and ill sexy, glamorous, and powerful. An interesting element of this literature is that often these articles are offset with articles about models who have been ‘cured’ and have resumed eating ‘normally’ following their harrowing experiences ‘battling’ eating disorders (see for example Gordon, 2002; Kay, 2003; Kidd, 2002; Munro, 2001; Robson-Scott, 2002). Thus, commentators argue that the relationship between the model and the girl demands intervention if young girls are to avoid themselves becoming cases for treatment.

The *doped-out junkie* is the second image of the fashion model examined by media commentators as a case for treatment that sensationalizes the fashion model as a distorted identity. This image shows the model being doped-to-the-eyeballs, usually having ingested ‘hard’ drugs such as heroin or cocaine. The most recent case of the ‘doped-out junkie’ model to be critiqued by media commentators is Kate Moss (see Figure 2.4) who was ‘caught’ on camera snorting cocaine in a recording studio (Hart, 2005; Kate’s cocaine binge, 2005; Kate’s drug shame, 2005; Moyes, 2005). Larry Writer (1998) describes a photograph of James King (see Figure 2.5), a model that was made famous for being drug addicted at fifteen years of age: “[S]he is slumped on a scuzzy bed. Her leggings are torn. Her face is ashen, sullen, her eyes unfocused, arms as thin as twigs” (p. 30). Beverley D’Silva (2000) draws attention to the distortedness of a photograph of Amy Wesson “as she stares back balefully from her emaciated body, veering between habituee of opium-den or concentration camp” (p.

¹⁷ Jill S. Zimmerman (1997) who is, paradoxically, also a media commentator, presents a strategy for intervention that involves young girls’ confronting “the media bullies” (p. 26) and discovering different “ways to detoxify ourselves”.

3) in an advertisement for Valentino. Catherine Wilson (1998) talks to fashion model Iris Palmer about her distorted friend, also a fashion model, who “was like a mad skeleton: she had started doing loads of cocaine” (p. 93). Media commentators discuss how the model embodies the distorted identity of the ‘doped-out junkie’, as they do images of the disorderly fashion model as ‘monstrous anorexic’, and they sensationalise this identity as a case in need of ‘treatment’ and therapy.

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Figure 2.4: The ‘doped-out junkie’: Kate Moss. Source: Wikipedia, retrieved February 6 2006 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kate_Moss

Media commentators are highly critical of the ‘heroin chic’ (McKee, 1999) look embodied by the model as ‘doped-out junkie’, arguing that it ‘glamorises’ (Schoemer, 1996) drug addiction, with many famous models making “a career out of looking wasted” (p. 51). Moral panic again surrounds images of the distorted model such as these, as they are understood to be laden with ‘danger’ and ‘risk’. Media commentators understand the distorted model to be instilled with the power to cause distortion in susceptible young girls by seducing them into a life of drug abuse. In

particular, the model as ‘doped-out junkie’ is condemned by commentators in terms of how she makes drug addiction sexy (Kearney, 1999; Lawlor, 1999; McKee, 1999; Milliner, 1999). As such, many commentators highlight different ways that this situation may be remedied in an attempt to intervene in the seduction of young girls by the ‘doped-out junkie’ (Wilson, 1998; Writer, 1998).

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Figure 2.5: The ‘doped-out junkie’: James King. Source: Who Weekly Magazine Australia, 1991, May 11, p. 31.

The *pre-adolescent sex pot* is the third image of the fashion model is criticised for is the distorted identity of the ‘pre-adolescent sex pot’. Media commentators highlight the distortedness of this model identity by drawing attention to how she embodies an overtly sexed-up version of child-like feminine girlhood, with sultry eyes inviting the attentions of the spectator, partially exposed belly and breasts, short skirts, chests, cheeks and lips flushed with sexual desire and posing in sexually suggestive ways (see Figure 2.6). Marion Hume and Jennifer Sexton (1999) emphasizes the distortedness and inappropriateness of a fashion show in Milan opening with “a tiny child, her blond hair tumbling down to her thighs...her barely developed body under the couple of layers of sheer chiffon a designer thinks suits her” (p. 13). Alix Clark (1999) reflects on a similar image that caused controversy:

The gaze is direct, the pout just perfect. The hands on the hips scream confidence. Or is it bravado? The fashionably clad image on the cover of a department store catalogue entices buyers to spend on the goods and chattels she has to offer. It's a grown-up's world. But it is increasingly populated by people playing dress-ups. This model is just nine years old (p. 77).

This “provocative” (Griffith, 1999) image appeared on the cover of a David Jones catalogue and was the subject of scathing criticism deeming the image “incredibly inappropriate...in the wake of so much discussion about paedophilia” (p. 10). An equally controversial campaign was launched by Calvin Klein, featuring young female models in “sexually titillating” (Brady, 1995, p. 1) poses and “in various stages of undress”. Another article discusses how a “Brisbane Year 4 student” (Halfpenny, 2003) was depicted in a catalogue “in a dark denim dress, smouldering under a Heidi Klum-style fringe with nightclub eyes and full woman warpaint” (p. 30). Support was then provided by an “outraged” psychologist who stated: “It’s almost like prostitution to be representing a child in this way” (see also on this ‘case’ Dibben & English, 2003; Hayne, 2003; Tsavdaridis & Clifton, 2003).

Media commentators launch scathing attacks on the depiction of young girls in these ways, dubbing this practice “irretrievably immoral and horribly vulgar” (Cotic, 1999, p. 4). They argue that making-up young fashion models to simultaneously embody a pre-pubescent physicality and project an adult sexuality is highly inappropriate (Casey, 1997; Cassrels, 2002; Milliner, 1999) and may encourage “hidden paedophilic desires in the viewer” (Lumby, 1998, p. 48). Furthermore, commentators suggest that these images seduce young girls into distorting their own identities, with younger and younger girls being presented in ever-increasing states of undress.

Of particular concern for media commentators is how these “baby models” (Hume & Sexton, 1999, p. 13) are projecting an image of “kiddie porn” (Martin, 1995, p. 24). Their concern is that this warps the minds of young girls who will, in turn, fashion themselves into the distorted ‘pre-adolescent sex-pot’. Many media commentators have found this possibility reprehensible, with scathing criticism directed at how the distorted fashion model, as ‘pre-adolescent sex-pot’, promotes “children as ‘sex-objects’” (Casey, 1997, p. 48) and encourages paedophilia. Commentators situate

this image as a serious threat to the innocence of proper childhood that young girls should be encouraged to experience (Griffith, 1999), as no young girls are “immune” (Tulloch, 1999, p. 97) to the influence of this distorted model. They suggest that this image may be “potentially damaging” (Koch, 2002, p. 14) for the young girl who sexes herself up like the ‘pre-adolescent sex-pot’ model. She may develop a distorted perception of herself which, in turn, could be detrimental to her healthy identity development. According to media commentators, young girls need to be protected from this distorted model influence as it places girls “seriously at risk” (Tulloch, 1999, p. 98).

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Figure 2.6: The ‘pre-adolescent sex-pot’. Source: The Australian, 1999, October 1, p. 13.

2.3 BACKLASH: A THIRD GENERATION OF ‘INFLUENCE’

The most recent literature to examine the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl and how this relationship influences young girls in particular ways emerges from ‘postfeminist’¹⁸ theory. This literature emerged in direct response to the notably negative appraisal of this relationship in feminist, poststructural feminist, medico-psychological and pop-psychological literature. Postfeminist theorists are highly critical of existing interpretations of this relationship that focus almost exclusively on the disorderly and distorting influence of the fashion model on young girls and how harmful this influence can be. They suggest that these accounts leave little room for those young girls who enjoy engaging with the fashion model and embrace those practices of femininity. Postfeminist accounts are informed by a discourse of ‘girl power’ (Aapola, Gonick & Harris, 2005): young girls are considered to be ‘can-do’ (Harris, 2004) girls that proactively shape their own destinies. As such, the work of postfeminist theorists constitutes a deliberate move away from negative understandings of this relationship as disorderly and distorting. Instead, they seek to account for this relationship in terms of how the young girl may find engaging with the model a pleasurable and emancipatory experience (Lumby, 1997a; Paglia, 1994; Wolff, 1990). Such postfeminist accounts emphasise the positive and *liberating* influence that the model has on the young girl.

Despite the shift towards optimism, however, postfeminist literature works out of a similar ideological framework to those accounts discussed above, particularly feminist and poststructural feminist perspectives. Postfeminist accounts discursively produce the fashion model/young girl relationship in a way that seeks to emancipate the young girl from a particular type of patriarchal oppression. For feminist and poststructural feminist researchers, this patriarchal oppression is embodied by the fashion model who manipulates young girls into ‘suffering’ for the sake of feminine beauty. Postfeminist researchers, however, suggest that young girls need to be emancipated not from the model, but from the negativity apparent in existing accounts that understand the model as necessarily harmful and oppressive. In doing

¹⁸ Lynne Alice (1995) states that postfeminism is a term “coined in the period between the achievement of women’s suffrage in the US and the rise of ‘second-wave’ feminism during the 1960’s...[which] denoted the successful outcome of struggles by women for the right to vote, hold public office and the choice to occupy many more personal spheres” (p. 7). Alice notes that more recently, postfeminism has come to signify a certain ‘hostility’ towards more ‘traditional’ feminist ideas and towards a more positive understanding of women’s relations with men and with culture in contemporary society.

so, these accounts construct the model-girl relationship in terms of *redemption* (Popkewitz, 1997b), as do the accounts discussed above. They argue that the young girl needs to be 'saved' from the dogmatic negativity of feminist and medico-psychological research for example which will, in turn emancipate the young girl from oppressive patriarchal social relations.

2.3.1 Inverting feminist advocacy: postfeminist rescue

As stated above, postfeminist theory emerges primarily in response to the pessimism reflected in existing literature discussing the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl (see for example Hoff Sommers, 1994). Postfeminist theorists find it troubling that feminist theorists, for example, particularly situate young girls as passive cultural 'dupes' who "can't be trusted to manage their own bodies" (Lumby, 1997b, p. 107; Hartley & Lumby, 2003) and, as such are seen to "need to be protected from the brute reality of a male world" (Lumby, 1997a, p. xvii). They are sceptical of the contention that young girls have little, if any agency in practising the iconic feminine beauty embodied by the model (Steele & Brown, 1995).

Furthermore, they eschew the notion that sculpting an ideal female body and valorising practices of femininity can be a wholly oppressive and disempowering experience for young girls (Faludi, 1991; Radcliffe Richards, 1980). As such, postfeminist arguments work fundamentally to counteract the negativity that infuses existing accounts of the model-girl relationship. They suggest in particular that whilst the sexuality and femininity of the model is highly influential for young girls, there is a lot of fun to be had by young girls who engage with feminine body-sculpting practices and fashioning 'girly' identities for themselves. Rather than being constrained by these practices, postfeminist writers argue that by manipulating their bodies and identities to mimic those of fashion models, young girls are undermining the restrictive and oppressive codes of femininity in patriarchal Western culture (Driscoll, 1995; Lamb, 2001; Maynard, 1999).

It is the work of postfeminist writers, then, that introduces the notion that the fashion model constitutes a *delightful* influence on the lives of young girls. These arguments suggest that the young girl experiences pleasure in her engagement with the model and her associated feminine practices (Ballaster *et al.*, 1991; Stassinopoulos, 1973). The work of Natasha Walter (1998) discusses some of the pleasures to be had by

young girls that embrace the feminine identities and beautifying practices of the fashion model:

When I think back over a lifetime of contact with the beauty culture – whether it was insisting that my mother plait my hair and tie it up with dinky ribbons at the age of five; or dressing up with my sister to go to teenage parties, carefully and lovingly doing each other’s eyeliner and hair; or visiting salons where women young and old, white and black, preen in front of mirrors and engage their hairdressers or manicurists in fascinated conversation...– I adore the funny, female, comfortable atmosphere that rises back at me. An atmosphere that cossets the body, certainly, but doesn’t degrade women or imprison them (p. 88).

By emphasising the delights that young girls experience in their engagement with fashion models, postfeminist arguments work to counteract the pessimism of feminist and medico-psychological accounts that emphasise the adverse and harmful influence that this relationship has on young girls. Postfeminist theorists situate the model not as a malevolent ‘problem’ for young girls but as a source of enjoyment and possible emancipation. They interrogate the relationship that the young girl has with the model as a positive, pleasurable influence, an encounter to be *celebrated*.

Although postfeminist literature recasts the fashion model/young girl relationship as empowering for young girls, this literature still strongly adheres to the ideological climate of *advocacy* apparent in existing literature. Even though postfeminist literature re-reads the disorderly body and the distorted identity of the model as pleasurable and celebratory, this literature continues to work out of the redemptive ideology (see for example Waggoner, 1997) evident in the work of feminist, and medico-psychological researchers that it critiques. Postfeminist theorists suggest, as do feminist writers that young girls need to be emancipated from patriarchal social relations that seek to oppress and control them in certain ways, as well from what they consider the more joyless and “miserable” (Walter, 1998, p. 95) interpretations provided by feminist, medical and psychological research. It is the fashion model and her associated practices, in post-feminist theory that is imbued with the potential to ‘deliver’ young girls from oppression. The model is discursively situated as the *liberator* by theorists who argue that emancipation for young girls comes through embracing the model and engaging closely with her feminine identities and beautifying practices.

A predominant area of concern in postfeminist literature is the emancipatory potential of the feminine identity of the fashion model. Postfeminist writers discuss the positive influence of the model as access that young girls have to subversive power and, hence, liberation through engaging with the feminine identity of the model.¹⁹ Of particular importance in this literature is the understanding of the feminine identity of the model as a faked identity, an identity constructed through artifice. In contrast to feminist theorists that criticise superficial femininity as the denial of an authentic self (see for example De Beauvoir, 1949), postfeminist theorists suggest that young girls can draw on faked femininity as a source of powerful duplicitous-ness. They argue that constructing multifarious faked feminine identities as “masquerade” (MacDonald, 1995, p. 113; Wolff, 1990) offers up young girls the opportunity to be anyone they want to be. Paula Black (2002) further suggests that young girls’ “investment in these feminine strategies then brings rewards in the sense that forms of body capital are investments, and avoids some of the worst consequences of disidentification with femininity” (p. 15).

Theorists contend in particular that by engaging with the fashion model and the many ‘masks’ of femininity that she embodies, young girls are presented with the opportunity to ‘play’ (Hopkins, 1996; Bloustien, 2003) with femininity. This play, they suggest, constitutes one way that the young girl can undermine patriarchal social relations (see Figure 2.7). The work of Susan Hopkins (1996) highlights the emancipatory potential of feminine identity play:

To postmodern girls, femininity is entered into as a game, something which they manipulate in a self-aware manner. The act of toying with the self suggests a way of being plastic but powerful. It is a detachment which need not imply objectification in the sense of slavish internalization of the male gaze. Rather it is an ironic and playful detachment from an increasingly unreal and chaotic world (p. 57).

For young girls, then, freedom from restrictive patriarchal social relations comes in the form of playing with the feminine identities of the model as a form of “creative

¹⁹ Postfeminist research that investigates popular media consumed by young girls, particularly magazines have demonstrated how young girls are offered up positive models of identity upon which they can draw and construct their own identities (Betterton, 1989; Blix, 1992; Bow, 1996; Brabazon & Evans, 1998; Budgeon & Currie, 1995; Driscoll, 1995; Duke & Kreshel, 1998; Frazer, 1987; Gamman & Marchment, 1989; Hermes, 1995; McRobbie, 1999; Radway, 1991; Tasker, 1991; Winship, 1985).

resistance” (ibid, p. 54). Jane Ussher (1997) concurs with this suggestion, in her discussion of the empowering possibilities that may arise out of “doing girl” (pp. 445-455), that is constructing feminine identity as artifice, as opposed to “being girl”: “Doing girl is arguably femininity harnessed for the pleasure and empowerment of the woman who enacts the display”. Young girls who embrace ‘doing girl’, as does the model, can take “genuine delight in everything associated with the performance of femininity” (p. 451) and enjoy playing with their identities by enacting the many faces of the model.²⁰ Postfeminist writers, then, understand playing with the feminine identity of the model as a pleasurable and celebratory influence for young girls in contemporary society (Black & Sharma, 2001; Black, 2004; Entwistle, 1997). It is argued in particular that having young girls fashion their identities in line with those enacted by the model is a liberating practice for young girls.

One particular feminine identity ‘played-out’ by the fashion model is interrogated at-length by postfeminist writers as the epitome of emancipatory feminine fakery, this being the ‘sex-object’. The preceding analysis has pointed out the degree to which feminists deride the fashion model as the distorted embodiment of feminine sexual objectification (see for example Kilbourne, 1995, 1994). The fashion model as sex-object is discussed as the oppressor from which young girls need to be ‘saved’. Postfeminist analyses of this fashion model identity, however, situate the sex-object as a revolutionary figure that unsettles the patriarchal social order in her blatant display of feminine sexuality. They contend that when fashion models present themselves as sex-objects, they embody ultimate power in their ability to perpetually hold the gaze “of the mass of men” (O’Brien, 1991, p. 66).

²⁰ Meaghan Morris (1999) and Hilary Radner (1995) further explore the pleasures that young girls experience from ‘shopping’ for this identity. Conversely, Laura Langman (1992) describes shopping malls as ‘neon cages’ which only make available to young girls an “enfeebled selfhood” (p. 40).

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Figure 2.7: 'Playing' with fashion model Kate Moss. Source: ELLE Top Model Magazine, 1996, p. 54.

Having the young girl sex herself up as a sex-object, as fashion models do is a practice invested with great power and emancipatory potential in postfeminist literature. It is the “ultimate prize” (Hopkins, 1997, p. 7), a state of embodiment to be embraced and celebrated, particularly when “visual manipulation” (Arnold, 2001, p. 3; Gordon, 1984; O’Brien, 1991; Steele, 1991) has the power “to seduce and ensnare” (see Figure 2.8). Joshua Miller (2002) further explains the sex-object as powerful liberator:

Sexy dressing, the use of beauty or clothes to stimulate desire in the pursuit of power or advantage, is sometimes an analogue to political action for women that creates power in the service of equality and constitutes ‘resistance’ to restrictive cultural norms (p. 280).

For Miller (2002), beauty and fashion are used by the fashion model as sex-object to her advantage as a “risky strategy for advancement” (p. 281). Further work by Susan Hopkins (2002, 1999, 1997) reflects similar understandings of the fashion model as

sex-object, arguing that sexual “objectification needs to be understood in terms of its seductive strategy” (1997, p. 9). As a sex-object, “[t]he model is the object of the actions and desires of others: their attention is directed towards her, but she remains indifferent” (p. 7). For postfeminist theorists, then, having young girls engage with the model as sex-object and make themselves into sex-objects is understood as a significant source of liberatory power that can be used ‘skilfully’ (Miller, 2002) by young girls to their advantage. For example, young girls may manipulate the male gaze (see Figure 2.8) in ways that deliver them from restrictive and repressive patriarchal social relations (Lumby, 1998; Paglia, 1994).

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Figure 2.8: Manipulating the male gaze: Source: Harpers Bazaar Magazine Australia, 2002, pp. 26-27.

A number of other postfeminist theorists call attention to the liberatory potential of having young girls engage with the feminine bodily practices employed by the fashion model (Radner, 1989; Rossi, 1988; Wright, 1989). In these arguments, the feminine bodily practices of the model are instilled with the potential to ‘save’ young girls from an oppressive and restrictive patriarchal social order (Scott, 2005). Two bodily practices of the model constitute the particular focus of postfeminist interpretation, these being make-up application and dressing-up. Nancy Friday (1996) for example suggests that young girls may draw “full power” (p. 365) from feminine beauty and beautifying practices if they learn how to “use it” to their advantage (see also Rubin, 1997). Feminine artifice is not considered a practice that

will “imprison” (Walter, 1998, p. 88) young girls. Feminine decoration such as this, according to Catherine Waggoner (1997) “illuminate[s] the performative nature of the code of femininity, suggesting that womanliness is a mask that can be worn or removed rather than a natural essence of women” (p. 263). Postfeminist theorists have also considered dressing-up and other practices of fashionable femininity in these terms. Writers argue that having young girls embrace practices of fashionable femininity, as the model does, “is not just degrading” (Walter, 1998, p. 99; Craik, 1984; Paglia, 1994) as such an interpretation dismisses “the richness of its cultural and political meanings” (Wilson, 1985, p. 13). For postfeminist theorists, fashion, as well as beautifying practices, offers up a range of subversive pleasures that constitute a celebratory influence for young girls.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The position of the fashion model in her relationship with young girls in existing literature appears quite clear. The fashion model is discursively constituted in these accounts as a powerful influence on the lives of young girls in Western culture. More specifically, the literature constructs the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl in terms of either disorderly *or* delightful influence, situating the young girl as the ‘recipient’ of this influence. It is important to note at this point, however, that the issue here is not whether the literature documented *itself* constitutes a disorderly or delightful influence on young girls. Rather, what is of interest to this study is how this literature discursively constructs a particular way of understanding and knowing the relationship between the model and the young girl in the research presented. More specifically, the thesis understands that, in accounting for the model-girl relationship in terms of certain categories of influence, these research accounts are doing a particular type of cultural work that produces this relationship as one of influence.

Documenting how existing accounts discursively produce the fashion model/young girl relationship in terms of a socially, culturally and historically constructed influence, then, has been the task of this chapter. The chapter has mapped the ways that these accounts make the model *knowable* in discursive ways as a disorderly/distorting or delightful/pleasurable influence and, in turn, how the young girl is discursively constituted as the vulnerable *or* empowered ‘recipient’ of this

influence. Chapter Two documents accounts of the model-girl relationship in these terms with the intention of questioning or ‘unsettling’ the notion of influence, as it is presented in this literature.

It is the task of Chapter Three, then, to ‘muddy’ the clarity which pervades influence accounts by making an epistemological break from these accounts and drawing on new conceptual tools that enable this ‘muddying’ work: tools that allow for a different way of interrogating the notion of fashion model influence. Indeed, this chapter proposes a different way of thinking about the term influence itself, as so much a ‘familiar’ term used to describe the model-girl relationship that it “may be presumed to ‘go without saying’ as real, identifiable conditions or practices” (McWilliam, 2003, p. 59). Rather than considering the term influence as a ‘definable given’, Chapter Three aims to treat this term as a *knowledge object* (Foucault, 1988a). That is, influence is re-read as a discursive category of knowledge that has emerged as a result of “a set of material practices” (Silverman, 1985, p. 89) at a certain point in history. Thus, influence as a term that commonly ‘goes without saying’ is rendered “problematic, difficult, dangerous” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 84): it is not a ‘thing’ that exists but a ‘knowledge object’ that has been made and re-made by and through the workings of discourse. Chapter Three, then, will make a case for interrogating model influence as a discursively constituted and, hence, socially, culturally and historically specific category.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Introduction

3.1 Unsettling the work of 'influence'

3.1.1 Power, knowledge and 'influence'

3.2 Uprooting 'impact'

3.2.1 Training, embodied discipline and 'impact'

3.3 Training as pedagogical work?

3.4 Disturbing conventional 'ways of knowing' pedagogy

3.4.1 Making room for pleasure in disciplinary pedagogy?

3.4.2 Discipline and pedagogical pleasure

3.5 Conclusion

CHAPTER THREE

FROM 'INFLUENCE' TO PEDAGOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two has indicated that the fashion model is measured and probed as either a disorderly *or* delightful influence on the lives of young girls in contemporary Western culture. In doing this, 'influence' researchers construct a discursive way of knowing the model-girl relationship. This is not to suggest that the literature examined in Chapter Two is not useful in understanding this relationship. Rather, it is argued that 'new sense' needs to be made of this relationship which is only made possible by employing new ways of thinking. Thus, the challenge for Chapter Three is to examine ways of re-thinking *thinking* about the model-girl relationship and the notion of influence.

This study re-thinks existing literature discussing the fashion model/young girl relationship as a *discourse of influence*. Discourse is understood here to mean "an individualisable group of statements" (Foucault, 1972, p. 80) or "groups of utterances which seem to be regulated in some way and which seem to have a coherence and a force to them in common" (Mills, 1997, p. 7). Discourses are organised as bodies of knowledge which individuals can use to "make sense of" (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p. 31) the world around them in particular ways. Medicine (Foucault, 1973a; 1973b), psychology, psychiatry, sexology, religion (Foucault, 1976, 1985, 1986), penology, criminology (Foucault, 1977a) and science (Foucault, 1970), are all identified in Foucault's work as discourses, as they provide ways "of talking about the world...way[s] of constructing the world through language" (Meadmore, 1999, p. 2).

Accounts of the model-girl relationship produce a particular type of 'truth' (Foucault, 1982), where truth is taken to mean "a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements" (Foucault, 1984b, p. 74), about the sort of influence that the fashion model has on young girls as a "pressure" (Wiseman, Gunning & Gray, 1993, p. 60) or "ideological grip" (Brown, White & Nikopoulou, 1993, p. 194) for example. It is suggested that

situating the fashion model as “placing stress upon” (Mazur, 1986, p. 281) and “exert[ing] an influence” (Harrison, 1997, p. 478) over “vulnerable girls” (Stice, Spangler & Agras, 2001, p. 270), and that this influence is the “cause” (Posavac, Posavac & Posavac, 1998, p. 187) of “severe consequences” (p. 195), constitutes a particular discursive way of knowing the model-girl relationship in contemporary Western culture. As influence researchers position young girls “at the age of greatest hazard” (Killen et al., 1994, p. 236) and, as such, “at-risk” (Stein & Reichert, 1990, p. 120) of over-“dose” (Andersen & DiDomenico, 1992, p.286) or over-“exposure” (Tiggemann & Pickering, 1996, p. 202) to the unrealistic ideals embodied by the model, this study reads these explanations as discursively constituting the model, the young girl and their relationship with one another in specific ways. The study contends that, as existing accounts endeavour to ‘discover’ the specific “psychopathological mechanisms” (Killen et al, 1994, p. 237) at work in the model-girl relationship, these accounts produce discursive truths about model influence. More importantly, the study is interested in how discourses of influence “induce a whole series of effects in the real...[how] they crystallize into institutions, [how] they inform individual behaviour, [how] they act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 81).

A noticeable theme in influence research involves how researchers insist on the incontestable nature of fashion model influence for young girls. Influence is written and spoken about in such a way that it is given a life or ‘essence’ imbued with the capacity to independently impact upon the wellbeing of young girls. This is particularly apparent in the work of negative influence research. Researchers appear to discuss the ‘truth’ of influence as an independently-existing ‘force’ that the model can manipulate to pressure young girls into emulating her embodied ideal. Medical and psychological researchers’ use of metaphorical analogies to describe model influence especially illustrates this. For example, Myers and Biocca (1992) provide a compelling description of how “the ideal” (p. 129) that the model embodies “puts its hook in the young women’s self-image” and that the influence of the model constitutes a “psychological dynamic tugging at these young women’s body images” (p. 127). Here, the harmful influence of the model is seen to (in)directly impact the mental health of young girls and, as such, appears to have an independent existence in a “deeper reality” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 39) outside the domain of human

interpretation. That influence exists independently of our interpretation of it is further implied in the recommendations that medico-psychological researchers make about how to prevent young girls from being influenced by the model. Hamilton and Waller (1993, p. 839), for instance, propose that to protect young girls from the influence of the model, “clinicians might advise [young girls] to avoid publications” (Hamilton & Waller, 1993, p. 839) such as magazines that depict them. This statement indicates that there is little room for young girls to dispute the invasive influence of the model and almost certainly no space for a positive influence in these accounts.

This chapter seeks to challenge these understandings of the model-girl relationship while refusing to eschew them. It is not that these accounts do not provide valuable ways of understanding the model-girl relationship. It is rather that this relationship demands a re-consideration only made possible by drawing on new ways of thinking. The study questions influence as an unquestionable ‘thing’ that exists independently of human understanding, some-thing that researchers may delve into and explain. It is situated as a new ‘generation’ of work that seeks to unsettle the adequacy of ‘the hook’ as a metaphor for influence. Furthermore, it queries the notion that this influence can only be positive *or* negative for young girls and not for better *and* worse. It seeks to *make different sense* of the model-girl relationship and, more specifically, the notion of influence, as a departure from existing ‘generations’ of influence research. Influence is re-thought as conditional and tentative rather than universal or essential, as is indicated in existing literature. To do this, this chapter maps a theoretical terrain which provides a pathway to understanding how influence may be re-conceptualised as a particular type of discursive knowledge. It argues for thinking anew to enable “the not-yet-thought” (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000, p. 4) about the model and the young girl as subjects that enact a discursive knowledge of influence in particular ways. Informed by new theory that works against the *either/or* understandings of model influence, it allows an approach which cuts across these binaries.

3.1 UNSETTLING THE WORK OF ‘INFLUENCE’

It is to *poststructural theory*¹ and particularly the work of theorist Michel Foucault (1982, 1977a, 1976, 1972)² that the present study turns in order to destabilise the work of influence because this theory enables a different understanding of influence as discursively constituted. This means understanding the fashion model/young girl relationship *as different from* influence research that aims to uncover the independently existing and ‘true’ mechanisms of social-psychological influence. Instead, the study reads this relationship as a *product of discourse*, where “a discourse is something which produces something else...rather than something which exists in and of itself and which can be analysed in isolation” (Mills, 1997, p. 17). The study maintains that influence has “no independent existence in a different realm” (ibid) outside the work of influence research. Influence is not “a great, unmoving, empty figure that erupted one day on the surface of time, that exercised over men’s thought a tyranny that none could escape” (Foucault, 1972, p. 128). It is not a ‘thing’ that can be studied in itself through the application of appropriate empirical and scientific measures.

The study suggests conversely that influence was invented through the interplay of different socially, culturally and historically contingent discourses such as psychology, psychiatry, medicine, feminism and the media. ‘Influence’ is understood to be a historically contingent (Foucault, 1984a) discursive category, not as an imperious ‘entity’ that exists in itself. Influence is read as indicative of what “count[s] as truth” (Foucault, 1984c, p. 60) about the model-girl encounter at any given historical moment.

¹ Michael Peters (1996) expresses concern about how setting out a definitive definition of poststructuralism is an endeavour fraught with danger, as this term appears to defy such classification. Although literature discussing this term indicates that it does have characteristics that are taken to be demonstrably poststructural, it is that this term “problematizes the very notion of definition” (Stronach & MacLure, 1997, p. 2; Poster, 1997). Certain writers point out that poststructuralism is “not a monolithic theory with a rigid and uniform set of shared assumptions” (Shrift, 1995, p. 6) but rather “a loose association of thinkers” or “a complex skein...of thought” (Peters, 1996, p. 1).

² It is important to note that whilst Foucault’s writing is most frequently identified as poststructuralist in character (Baker & Heyning, 2004a), Foucault worked to distance himself from labels such as this (Davies, 2000). Bernadette Baker and Katarina Heyning (2004a) suggest that Foucault is taken to be “postmodern or poststructural *precisely because* he refused to be labeled these or to prescribe universal solutions” (p. 2, italics in original). Foucault is also recognised as a poststructuralist due to his work that attempts to re-think more accepted ideas about the subject and power and the ways in which certain forms of discipline produce social and power relationships (Alvesson, 2002).

The study proposes the relationship between the model and the girl also needs to be re-considered in terms of how it, too, is discursively organised. It argues that understanding the relationship in these terms renders it impossible to delve into the model-girl encounter to discover what is going on ‘inside’ this relationship, as does existing research. The study particularly situates the model-girl relationship as a discursive *event* (Foucault, 1984c). It purports that it is only possible to explore the “discursive surface” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 37) of this relationship and its influence and impact. The encounter between the model and the girl needs to be re-thought of in terms of how this relationship is produced discursively as “an emergence: a particular configuration of forces” (Wilson, 1995, p. 167). It makes a case for thinking about the model-girl relationship not as an entity in itself in which influence works implicitly in the lives of young girls, but rather as an encounter that is made ‘thinkable’ according to a discursive body of knowledge about influence and impact. It suggests that it is more valuable to look at “the various bits and pieces [or the *conditions*] that had to be in place to allow” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 37) this relationship to be made possible³ than to ‘burrow’ inside to ‘find’ the underlying workings of influence. The project thus proposes that the model-girl relationship may be better understood in terms of its discursive *conditions of possibility* (ibid) or the “possible conditions of [its] existence” (Threadgold, 2000, p. 49, italics removed) as indicative of the work of a discourse of influence.

3.1.1 Power, knowledge and ‘influence’

The usefulness of a poststructural approach is made particularly evident in how this approach enables a ‘fresh’ understanding of power as other than a wholly oppressive ‘force’. Throughout mainstream accounts of the model and her relationship with the young girl runs an understanding of power as a ‘pressure’ or ‘force’ that is imposed on the lives of young girls in the form of fashion model influence. Power emerges as something that the model ‘possesses’ and can wilfully impress upon young girls or, in the case of the positive influence literature, relinquish to young girls.

³ As Foucault (1972) suggests, it is not possible to study a discourse, such as that of influence, by burrowing inside discourse and searching for how it is made up, as there is no ‘outside’ (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) of discourse. A discourse can only be spoken or written about using the terms of reference employed and produced by that discourse.

The understanding of power that poststructural theorist Foucault (1977a) employs in his work differs markedly from this more conventional conception of power as a repressive force “possessed” (p. 26). Foucault (1980b) suggests that a more useful understanding of power is as relational:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody’s hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a new-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power. They are not only its inert or consenting target; they are always also the elements of its articulation. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application (p. 98).

For Foucault, an analysis of power is not about “a descent into the depths” (Sax, 1989, p. 773) but rather those ‘local’ multiple “practices, actions and institutions that operate on the same level as that of discursive practices”. Power is less about ‘force’ than it is about ‘strategies’ (Sax, 1989).

Following Foucault (1977a), the study interrogates the model-girl relationship in terms of a Foucauldian understanding of power. This enables a new understanding of the model not as a sovereign figure wielding supreme power that can either be forced upon or relinquished to the young girls. Power in the model-girl relationship is produced *within and between* bodies in a relational manner, and is practised through the various bodily, spatial, and subjective practices enacted by the model and the young girl.

Foucault’s notion of *power/knowledge* is also productive in thinking otherwise about the model-girl relationship.⁴ Of particular importance is Foucault’s (1977a, p. 27) understanding of the workings of “power-knowledge relations”⁵ and the ways in

⁴ The type of relationship that Foucault (1977a) understands to be going on between power and knowledge is one in which “power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (p. 27).

⁵ It is important to clarify here how Foucault characterises *knowledge*. Knowledge, for Foucault, is discursive knowledge “which categorizes the individual, marks him by his [sic] own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him” (Foucault, 1982, p. 212). This understanding of knowledge “poses a sharp challenge to sociologists who divorce regimes of knowledge and truth from power and claim that knowledge is neutral, objective or innocent” (Best, 1994, p. 42).

which ‘power/knowledge’ makes individuals *knowable* in specialized ways according to bodies of discursive knowledge. He argues that power-knowledge relations “invest human bodies and subjugate them by turning them into objects of knowledge” (p. 28). In *Discipline and Punish* (1977a), Foucault discusses the example of punishment and how it is applied to the physical body. He argues that, where punishment was once played out on the body of the prisoner “as a spectacle” (p. 8), changes in the “mechanics of punishment” led to the body of the prisoner being punished in a different way. He describes the new way to punish as being derived from “a whole new system of truth, [a] corpus of knowledge, techniques, ‘scientific’ discourses” that made the body the object of “a system of constraints and privations, obligations and prohibitions” (p. 11) such as “rationing of food, sexual deprivation, corporal punishment, solitary confinement” (p. 16). Here, the prisoner is made knowable as a particular type of subject through certain types of discursive knowledge. This, in turn, allows the body of the prisoner to be made the object of certain “dispositions, manoeuvres, tactics, techniques” (p. 26) of punishment.

It is a process similar to this that the study suggests is developing in the model-girl relationship. The model and the young girl are invested with power-knowledge relations in such a way as they are “made” (Foucault, 1982, p. 208) *subject to (and subjects of)* a discursive knowledge of influence. They are made knowable as particular types of subjects by forming their bodies as objects of a discursive knowledge of influence.⁶ This represents a departure from understandings of power that permeate influence literature; that is power as a ‘force’ wielded externally “from above” (Foucault, 1980a, p. 39, italics removed). Rather, power is a capillary or “synaptic” network of relations, “reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes”.

For the purpose of understanding how discursive knowledge might come to *mark* the fashion model and the young girl, the study argues for interrogating this relationship in terms of what Foucault terms *biopower* (Foucault, 1976). Biopower constitutes a

⁶ David Armstrong (1994) highlights how the body of the patient comes to constitute a particular medical body of knowledge through various medical discourses: “It seems clear that medical history, like clinical medicine, medical sociology, and all the other humanist bodies of knowledge that play on the body of the patient, is another of the mechanisms through which the patient’s body becomes in itself an arcane body of knowledge, whether of biology, or, more recently, of experience” (p. 26).

specific form of power that works to make individuals knowable according to discursive knowledge by identifying and subjugating their bodies' in particular discursive ways. Foucault argues that this form of power emerged during the classical era when "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques" (ibid) provided 'experts' (Johnson, 1993; Rose, 1993) an abundance of mechanisms to use to analyse, control, regulate and define the body of the individual according to particular discursive bodies of knowledge (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000). Biopower emerged in two specific forms (Foucault, 1976): one form focused on the body and its mechanisms by way of bodily discipline and a second form which concentrated on the statistical measurement and, hence, regulation of populations of individuals as a whole.⁷ In these two forms, biopower "brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life" (Foucault, 1976, p. 143).

This first form of biopower discussed by Foucault (1976), in which the bodies of individuals are made knowable in specialized ways⁸ as objects of discursive knowledge, is of particular interest in this study. The study suggests that it is useful to consider how the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl are constituted as objects of biopower. This understanding of the body, as classified and regulated, is explored by Ian Copeland (1996) in his analysis of "the factors involved in the identification of dull, deficient and backward pupils in British Elementary Education between 1870 and 1914" (p. 377). Copeland examines how the 'Royal Commission on the Blind, The Deaf and Dumb, etc of the United Kingdom' for example constructed categories which sought to classify and, hence, regulate the lives of school pupils in particular ways. "[E]xceptional" (Copeland, 1996, p. 380) students, that is those "unusual" students that do "not follow the rule" of normality were identified not only as those children who were "blind, deaf and dumb" (p. 381), but also those that were "backward", "idiots and imbeciles" and "feeble-minded" (p. 383). The Commission report goes on to describe the subtle differences between idiots and imbeciles stating that "idiocy means a lower degradation of intellect, a

⁷ Ian Hacking (1982) provides further explanation of what Foucault understands as "a biopolitics of the population" (p. 279, italics removed). In particular, Hacking describes the ways in which "[l]ife became not only an object of thought but an object of power: it was not merely individual living persons who might be subjected to the orders of the sovereign, but Life itself, the life of the species, the size of the population, the modes of procreation".

⁸ See Foucault's (1976) *The History of Sexuality: Volume One* for further explanation of this subject.

greater deficiency of intellect, and imbecility means a lesser degree of such deficiency” (RCBDD, 1889, p. 705, cited in Copeland, 1996, p. 384). These categories enabled the identification and classification of ‘exceptional’ pupils in British elementary schools. This subsequently enabled the British government to regulate the lives of these pupils, in this case particularly by separating them “from ordinary scholars in public Elementary schools in order that they may receive special instruction” (RCBDD, 1889, p. 106, cited in Copeland, 1996, p. 383). By applying the categories of ‘exceptionality’ to pupils in British elementary schools, the bodies of pupils were made knowable as ‘dull, deficient and backward’. Pupils constitute objects of biopower that are classified and regulated in certain ways.

Reading the fashion model/young girl relationship in terms of biopower makes it possible to understand how the model and the girl are made knowable in discursive ways. It argues that influence, as a particular type of discursive knowledge can make the bodies of the model and the young girl identifiable in specialized ways as objects of discursive knowledge and, as such, make them knowable as particular types of subjects. By understanding the model and the girl in this manner, this study knowingly disrupts the understanding of much existing research that this relationship is conducted on a deeper level of ‘core’ identity. It denies that influence manipulates embattled young girls to conform, and argues instead that influence might be enacted as a particular type of discursive knowledge which makes the model and the young girl knowable in either negative *or* positive ways. As such, the study suggests that there is a need to re-conceptualise not only influence but also the idea that this relationship has a deep-rooted impact on young girls.

3.2 UPROOTING ‘IMPACT’

The project seeks to ‘uproot’ the notion that the fashion model/young girl encounter has an *impact* on young girls in a ‘deep-rooted’ manner. The study challenges the idea, upheld in existing literature that the model-girl relationship has an impact on the young girl that probes the depths of “self-esteem” (Gustafson, Tomsen & Popvich, 1999, p. 18) or causes “eating pathology” (Stice *et al.*, 1994, p. 839) or “psychological disturbance” (Hill, Oliver & Rogers, 1992, p. 103) or “body-size dissatisfaction” (Tiggeman & Pennington, 1990, p. 306). In this study, impact demands re-consideration in light of the poststructural theory of Foucault (1972)

whose work suggests that such relationships might only ‘exist’ and be interrogated in terms of discursive surfaces.

3.2.1 Training, embodied discipline and ‘impact’

Following this proposition, the study suggests that impact may be better understood as *the effect of certain forms of discursive training*. It is argued that it may be useful to re-read the impact of the model-girl encounter in terms of the management of discursive surfaces. In order to do so, the study proposes that the notion of impact requires re-conceptualisation as a systematic process of training whereby young girls are taught a precise form of knowledge. This assumption is informed again by the work of Foucault (1977a) who calls attention to how particular types of discursive knowledge might be enacted with the body of the individual by subjecting this body to “a precise and calculated training” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 153).

It is in this way that the project understands the fashion model and the young girl as being trained in certain ways according to particular bodies of discursive knowledge. Here, the body of an individual is broken down into its specific parts, for example the arms and the legs, and knowledge is applied in ways that “train...the moving, confused, useless multitudes of bodies and forces into a multiplicity of individual elements” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 170). This approach disrupts much of the modernist logic, apparent in existing literature, that insists on the influence of the model causing a “clear” (Hamilton & Waller, 1993, p. 839) and “inescapable” (Marano, 1994, p. 50) impact in the lives of young girls because it re-conceptualises impact as discursive knowledge. More importantly, thinking differently about impact in this way may be productive in how it may be enacted *on and with* the bodies of the model and the girl as a form of knowledge.

In this study, the application of this knowledge to the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl is read as an embodied *discipline* (Foucault, 1977a).⁹ Discipline here refers to particular methods of bodily “investment” (pp. 136-138) that constitute “a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its

⁹ The use of the term ‘discipline’ here departs from the more conventional understanding of this term used in progressive educational discourse as ‘punishment’ (see for example Edwards, 2004; see also Slee (1992) for a discussion of these issues).

elements, its gestures, its behaviour”. Foucault argues that “[d]iscipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)”. For Foucault (1977a), then, discipline constitutes a way

not of treating the body *en masse*...as if it were an indissociable unity, but of working it ‘retail’, individually; of exercising upon it a subtle coercion, of obtaining holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself – movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body (p. 137).

Foucault (1977a) provides an example of such techniques from the work of La Salle who explains the process of training school students in “[g]ood handwriting” (p. 152):

The pupils must always ‘hold their bodies erect, somewhat turned and free on the left side, slightly inclined, so that, with the elbow placed on the table, the chin can be rested upon the hand, unless this were to interfere with the view; the left leg must be somewhat more forward under the table than the right. A distance of two fingers must be left between the body and the table; for not only does one write with more alertness, but nothing is more harmful to the health than to acquire the habit of pressing one’s stomach against the table; the part of the left arm from the elbow to the hand must be placed on the table. The right arm must be at a distance from the body of about three fingers and be about five fingers from the table, on which it must rest lightly. The teacher will place the pupils in the posture that they should maintain when writing, and will correct it either by sign or otherwise, when they change this position’.

Discipline divides the body of the student into its constituent parts and governs this body by way of applying the calculated movements of specific disciplinary techniques that make up ‘good handwriting’. The body of the student is trained in how to embody and, hence, do ‘good handwriting’ in a disciplinary sense.¹⁰

It is this form of disciplinary training that this study suggests is produced in the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl. The model and the young girl enact discursive knowledge as a set of disciplinary “techniques” (Foucault,

¹⁰ Alison Jones (2000) explores how handwriting constitutes a very refined form of bodily discipline, discipline that extends corporeally throughout the different parts of the body at the “cellular” level: “[H]olding the pen just so, keeping the body erect, inclining the head slightly, shaping letters, moving in a prescribed way across the page. Through the whole body of the pupil, a microphysics of power is at work” (p. 152).

1977a, p. 139) systematically applied to the body as a specialised form of training.¹¹ Thus, the study proposes that it is useful to think of the model and the girl as engaging in a form of training similar to that of ‘good handwriting’ wherein specialised disciplinary techniques are applied to their bodies in order to govern them in certain ways.

3.3 TRAINING AS PEDAGOGICAL WORK?

It is in this way that the study argues for re-conceptualising the fashion model/young girl relationship in terms of *pedagogy* (Lusted, 1986). It argues that the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl might be better understood as an encounter in which a particular type of *training* occurs and, as such, may be interrogated as a *pedagogical* encounter drawing on pedagogical theorising as “a relevant set of tools for reading” (McWilliam & O’Donnell, 1998, p. 88) this encounter. It contends that the relationship is conducted in a way that a certain type of training is made possible whereby the young girl “come[s] to know” (ibid, p. 3) about the model and her associated practices in a pedagogical way.¹² In light of this, this study further contends that it is useful to think differently about the model-girl encounter as a precise pedagogical transfer of knowledge about bodily conduct. It thinks otherwise about the discursive *effects* this encounter has on young girls, as a pedagogical encounter, in terms of *learning outcomes*.¹³

¹¹ A similar argument has been made by Jennifer Craik (1994) who suggested that fashion models produce their bodies as “ideal technical” (p. 91) bodies through the application of certain disciplinary techniques. However, Craik concludes that as “[t]he emphasis in modelling is on self-formation through the body to the exclusion of other attributes”, fashion models are “trapped in their images”. Such an argument again situates the fashion model in a negative way and, as such, works out of an emancipatory redemptive project.

¹² Sharyn Pearce (2003) follows a similar argument in her analysis of the movie *American Pie*. Pearce suggests that this film might be considered an “up-to-the-minute sex education manual which is attuned to today’s young people” (p. 70). Catherine Driscoll (2005) also provides an account of the Barbie doll as a pedagogical tool for young girls. The Barbie doll, Driscoll suggests, can be thought of as a puberty manual, a resource through which young girls can learn lessons about “their imagined and lived body, and training them in the complicated disciplines of femininity” (p. 238).

¹³ ‘Learning outcomes’ is employed in this study in an ironic way, as it uses it to refer to outcomes of training in an embodied discipline. This is very different from the meaning of this phrase implied in the vast literature that concerns itself with learning outcomes in social-psychological terms of “students’ growth” (Jennings & Shepherd, 1996, p. 47; Erwin, 1991; Payne, 1968). This use of the phrase is interested in aspects such as “cognitive-psychomotor skill” (Posner & Rudnitsky, 1997, p. 282) and how these represent the effective implementation of “deep” (Prosser & Trigwell, 1999, p. 90; Marzano, Pickering & McTighe, 1993) learning processes.

It is significant to note at this point that by proposing that certain types of training can be thought about in terms of pedagogy, the project knowingly disturbs given conceptions of how ‘good’ teaching and learning relationships ‘ought’ to be conducted. It ‘goes against the grain’ of contemporary¹⁴ educational wisdom that insists on thinking about training as a lesser form of pedagogical work focused on “the narrow qualities of technique” (McWilliam, 1999, p. 5) to the neglect of, for example “the good of the mind” (Hirst, 1965, p. 113) of the learner, compatible with liberal humanist theories of education as the only “appropriate end” for pedagogical work. As Rosie Turner-Bissett (2001, p. 11) states:

Teaching is not a matter of skill or competency alone. The kinds of deep understanding of several different knowledge bases, the processes of pedagogical reasoning, the skills of teaching and the beliefs of the teacher, comprise a sophisticated professional expertise.

The study’s disruption of such established understandings of pedagogy as *not training* is particularly apparent in its suggestion that the young girl is trained by the fashion model in a specialized form of bodily discipline. This argument, particularly evidenced in the discourse of educational progressivism,¹⁵ would surely demonstrate how the relationship involves “narrow technical skill” (McWilliam, 1999, p. 5) rather

¹⁴ The term ‘contemporary’ is used in this thesis to describe more recent pedagogical theorising which incorporates educational progressivism. The study argues that dominant understandings of “effective instruction” (Killen, 2003, p. 1) as “requir[ing] active involvement of learners” for example constitute the rules of proper contemporary pedagogical practice which directs education in ‘postmodern’ (Usher & Edwards, 1994) times. Contemporary educational ideas are those taken for granted notions about best pedagogical practice that have become diffuse: they now form part of “the standard equipment of modern teachers’ vocabulary and practice...part of a common knowledge in education embraced by all” (Darling & Nordenbo, 2003, p. 305). Contemporary educational theory is the ‘commonsense’ that makes it possible to *think* ‘good’ pedagogy teachers in some ways and not in others. The difficulty in employing this term for this thesis is in how the reader may also understand new educational theory informed by sociology and cultural studies as part of contemporary pedagogical theorising. More importantly, the term contemporary implies that these ideas are only recent, when notions of ‘caring’ for students, for example, can be traced as early as classical Greek philosophy.

¹⁵ In the context of this study, the term ‘progressive’ is taken to mean a philosophical pedagogical persuasion developed “as a reaction against the formalism, verbalism, and authoritarianism of traditional schooling” (Guttek, 1988, p. 293) and that shares “a common core of beliefs” (Zilversmit, 1993, p. 3; Cunningham, 1988) about the harmful influence of “the pressures and trappings of traditional education – including military-type discipline, canings, forced learning, rigid examinations” (Lawson & Peterson, 1972, p. 1) on young students and how “[t]he traditional role expected of teachers in the past – as a deliverer of information – will not suffice to meet the needs of students today” (Rallis, Rossman, Phlegar & Abeille, 1995, p. 6; Galton, 1989). Here, a ‘progressive’ education is one that focuses “on meeting the needs of children” (Zilversmit, 1993, p. 2; Semel, 1999) and developing schools and pedagogies “in which children would find a nurturing environment that would allow them to develop their individual capacities” (p. 3). However, this study further extends the use of the term ‘progressive’ to encompass not only a particular philosophical conceptualisation of education but also the broader discursive climate of ‘progressivism’ (Carpenter & Tait, 2001; Chouliaraki, 1998) which has rendered “the *traditionalist* conception of education...strangely *unfamiliar* today” (Darling & Nordenbo, 2003, p. 296, italics added).

than the complex pedagogical relations exchanged between a teacher and a learner in a classroom.¹⁶ Woods and Jeffrey (1996) state that “[t]eaching is not a mechanical exercise” (p. 4). It is only “[t]he poor teacher [that] engages children in routine, undemanding tasks” (Cullingford, 1995, p. 163). The study focuses on training as pedagogy with the express purpose of troubling such orthodoxies that prescribe *the* rules of best pedagogical practice. A move is made away from the notion that pedagogical relationships ‘ought’ to be conducted in specific ways, and to instead inquire into other ways of knowing effective pedagogies in different times and places.

3.4 DISTURBING CONVENTIONAL ‘WAYS OF KNOWING’ PEDAGOGY

In order to understand the fashion model/young girl relationship as an encounter in which a particular type of training occurs and, as such, a pedagogical encounter, the study proposes that it is necessary to *historicise* (Halperin, 1994) this relationship. It suggests that it is valuable to re-read this relationship in terms of the other ways that pedagogical relationships have been thought of in different historical times and places. In particular, it seeks to interrupt the notion that pedagogical relationships can only be thought of in those ways prescribed in conventional educational wisdom. It suggests that it is useful to “make the present strange” (Meredyth & Tyler, 1993a, p. 4) by recalling how such relationships were otherwise conducted in the past and bringing this to bear on the present. As such, the present study works against any imperative “to accept the taken-for-granted components of our reality and singular ‘official’ accounts of how they came to be the way they are” (Dean, 1994, p. 4). This kind of historiography seeks to unsettle the ‘official accounts’ of how pedagogical relationships ought to be conducted, as is projected in progressive pedagogical theory for example, as moving unproblematically forward to best practice. It endeavours to think otherwise about pedagogical relationships as they are typically known in the present by reflecting on how such relationships were thought in the past.

3.4.1 Making room for pleasure in disciplinary pedagogy?

¹⁶ Daniel Duke (1990) argues that training has a “narrowing effect” (p. 199) as it involves “a specific set of skills necessary to perform a particular set of functions [which] serves to limit rather than expand students’ options”. Edgar Stones (1992) also suggests that training involves “teaching physical (motor) skills such as sawing a piece of wood” (p. 81) and that, as such, training “will demand the use of different pedagogical actions from those likely to produce satisfactory learning of conceptual material”. Thomas Green (1964-65) supports Stones’ ideas stating that “[t]raining...has to do more with forming modes of habit and behavior and less with acquiring knowledge and belief” (p. 288).

This move is also a significant one in how it disrupts the oppositional discourse of disorder/delight set up in existing literature, wherein researchers reject the idea that this relationship may have a range of effects. The study particularly disrupts this notion by suggesting that the young girl derives pleasure from engaging with the discipline of the fashion model in pedagogical ways, as such a proposal refuses any necessary discursive opposition set up between positive and negative, delight and discipline.¹⁷ However, pleasure has long been ‘properly’¹⁸ divorced from pedagogical relationships as ‘risky’ and ‘inappropriate’ and as messing up the properly disciplined relations in the classroom. Conventional educational theory sets up a discursive opposition between *discipline* and *pleasure* (see McWilliam, 2003 for an analysis of this). Because the study argues that the model/girl relationship might be enacted as a bodily discipline with possible pernicious *and* pleasurable effects for young girls, the project demands new ways of thinking about pedagogical relationships that challenge the progressive understanding of pedagogy as properly disciplined and, as such, devoid of sensual pleasure.¹⁹ Discipline, as a meticulous form of cognitive mastery, is juxtaposed with pleasure and desire, as physiological sensualness and ‘feelings’.

A properly disciplined pedagogical relationship is evidenced in the foundational work of Hoyle (1969) who situates ‘good’ pedagogical discipline as necessarily separate from pleasure. Hoyle states that of all the customary norms that should be observed by teachers in their pedagogical practice, the most imperative is “the maintenance of ‘social distance’ from the pupils” (p. 43). He states that “undue familiarity with pupils on the part of the teacher” is taken to be a considerable “threat” to “the good order of the school”. Hoyle goes on to note that such intimacy

¹⁷ The work of Gordon Tait (1993a) indicates how young women might derive pleasure from a meticulously disciplined body in his investigation of anorexia nervosa. Whereas the severe fasting practices adopted by young women are usually discussed as a negative experience for these women due to their being “sick” (p. 195), Tait suggests that such practices constitute a way of producing a particular type of “self” (p. 205). This understanding of anorexia nervosa implies that young women may derive pleasure from these practices, evidenced in how practising such discipline allows “young women some control over their circumstances” (p. 203).

¹⁸ As Entwistle (1970) states, “[d]ivorce rather than prolonged union is the proper consummation of the successful pupil-teacher encounter” (p. 70).

¹⁹ John Amos Comenius (trans. 1910) asserts that “a school that fulfils its function perfectly [is] where the emotions and desires are brought into harmony with virtue” (p. 76). John Locke (1884) also contended that pupils must “silence their desires” (p. 87) by way of the teacher who ensures that they are adequately “suppress’d” at all times. Finally, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (trans. 1979) discusses “dangerous passions” that “ferment” (p. 91) and “corrupt the soul” of the student and that the ‘good’ teacher will work hard at “diminishing the excess of the desires over the faculties” (p. 80).

acts as a catalyst to “the spread of indiscipline” among the students and, as such, he suggests that ‘undue’ pleasures and desires be necessarily divorced from a properly disciplined student population. This is not to say that relationships are not important for the progressive teacher; on the contrary, relating well with students as an important imperative in literature about effective teaching (see Chapter Four, section 4.4). However, the bodies of the students and the teachers ought not to be the basis for these relationships: “When the body is the focus of attention, there is a risk to rational debate – a risk that reasonableness may be displaced” (McWilliam, 1999, p. 107). It is in this way that Hoyle constructs a particular discursive way of understanding ‘good’ or ‘proper’ pedagogical relationships as being disciplined in a manner that disqualifies pleasure. Hence, as what may seem a ‘non-issue’ for progressive educational theorists constitutes a fundamental part of thinking about how the model-girl relationship is conducted as possibly pleasurable (if also pernicious) disciplinary pedagogical work, the study turns to examples of pedagogical relationships in other historical times to re-read model-girl pedagogy.

How it might be possible then to think of typically messy and unruly pleasures as being taught must be addressed. This is difficult if the study were to think pleasure in the conventional, modernist way as something that an individual *feels* as a physiological drive or “appetite” (Turner, 1996, p. 44) or as a circulation of inner heat or fire (Cryle, 2001). Established educational wisdom would surely insist that pleasures and desires have little, if anything, to do with training or discipline, as the ‘taught’ (O’Farrell, Meadmore, McWilliam & Symes, 2000) body is typically also a body disciplined to perfect ‘tautness’ and necessarily separate from ‘unruly’ pleasures and desires. The study proposes that to make it possible to think about pleasure as *trainable*, it is valuable to draw on other ways of knowing pleasure in pedagogical relationships. By drawing on accounts of pedagogical relationships in history, this study is able to address the learning of pleasure as a pedagogical act and demonstrate how pleasure might be enacted as an embodied discipline.

3.4.2 Discipline and pedagogical pleasure

Accounts of pre-modern female-to-female pedagogical relationships, documented in pedagogical theory informed by French literary criticism (Cryle, 2001, 2000, 1994; Gallop, 1988, 1982) are valuable in this way. They provide examples of pedagogical

relationships wherein *pleasure was taught* by an all-knowing female pedagogue to a younger female apprentice as particular type of bodily discipline. These accounts offer up a different understanding of pleasure that “ignores the ‘natural’ spontaneity of desire in favour of a cultural discipline of the body” (Cryle, 1994, p. 207). The work of Peter Cryle (1994) is telling on this point because he understands pleasures to be “discursively organized” (Cryle, 2000, p. 23) arguing that they can be taught and learned by individuals in a systematic way. He notes that in pre-modern French erotic literature, desire is not an impulsive inner fire that threatens to overwhelm the individual, although it appears this way in the texts, but rather it resembles the practice of modelling a set of postures, of “showing desire to be itself a kind of discipline” (p. 211, italics added).²⁰ Cryle argues that in pre-modern times an individual, particularly a younger female “disciple” (p. 7) was taught how “to desire according to the model” (p. 217) of an older female “keeper of the secrets” (p. 7), by way of a process of “imparting a body of knowledge” (p. 75). Desire is here conceptualised as a discursively embodied discipline organised as a set of practices which can be applied to the body. The all-knowing authoritative pedagogue instructs this knowledge in an embodied manner to a young female novice which, in turn, shapes the body of the novice as a body of desire. The interest for this study in this type of relationship is in how knowledge is instructed *through and with the body* as a pedagogical knowledge object. The young novice *reads* the body of the erotic pedagogue as a text of knowledge about properly embodied erotic propriety. The importance of this work for this study is in how desire can be thought of as calculable, measurable and precisely angled through and with the body.

Jane Gallop (1982) also works through these understandings about pedagogy as embodied. Gallop is particularly interested in the notion of what it means to “teach someone a lesson” (p. 117) and how this ideas works through the work of The Marquis de Sade’s *Philosophy in the Boudoir*. What Sade’s writing demonstrates, for Gallop, is pedagogy as “continually, repeatedly represented [as] a confrontation between ignorance as innocence and knowledge as power” (p. 117). An

²⁰ The work of Foucault (1985) is also useful here as it highlights how it might be possible to think of individuals as focusing “their attention on themselves, to decipher, recognize, and acknowledge themselves as subjects of desire” (p. 5). Foucault understands individuals to be practising “a hermeneutics of desire” (ibid) where individuals fashion themselves according to certain types of discursive knowledge that specify particular discursive ways of knowing about desires and pleasures (for example, as an embodied discipline).

understanding of the teacher as authoritative master of the domain of knowledge is implied in this work, according to Gallop. The role of the teacher is to instill knowledge as a process of ‘master teaching’. The process of instruction constitutes the process of a students’ “mastery over knowledge, a mastery only possible by mastering desire” (p. 122). Gallop’s work is particularly important in how she draws attention to the *pleasure of calculation*: “I suppose not all teachers experience as I do a diffuse yet unmistakable pleasure when calculating grades at the end of the term” (p. 128). For Gallop, the pedagogical pleasure is produced through certain forms of precise calculation: adding, subtracting and measuring constitute the means by which desire is enacted in a pedagogical setting. This understanding of pleasure as calculation, of understanding how pleasure can be produced through particular types of measurement constitutes the important point for this study. Here, Gallop unsettles the line between pleasure and calculation, and, hence, desire and discipline.

The work of both Cryle and Gallop offers the project an understanding of how *somebody* (Ungar, 1982) can be *taught a lesson* as embodied pedagogical moment. Furthermore, this work enables the study to think through pedagogical desire and pleasure as calculable, postured and measurable. This project suggests, then, that it may be useful to work through Cryle’s and Gallop’s accounts that differently read proper pedagogical practice.

It is in this way that the current project seeks to unsettle the oppositional discourse of discipline/pleasure insisted upon in conventional educational theory. It works out of accounts of premodern female-to-female pedagogical relationships to re-read the orthodox pedagogical understanding of pleasure as unruly and messy and, hence, necessarily expelled from pedagogical relations. It does so by suggesting that it may be possible to think about the young girl as experiencing pleasure in her relationship with the fashion model *as the product of certain forms of disciplinary training*. In so doing, it offers up a new understanding of how this relationship might produce a range of discursive effects for young girls, both pleasurable and pernicious, and how these effects are produced out of training in embodied discipline. The discursive opposition between discipline and pleasure set up in conventional pedagogical theory is, in this project, *undone*. It makes possible a re-reading of pedagogical pleasure as being produced out of embodied disciplinary training.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The theoretical terrain mapped in this chapter provides a basis for thinking anew about the fashion model/young girl relationship as produced out of meticulous corporeal pedagogical work: discursive work that is shifty and fragmented and ‘played out’ across the surfaces of bodies and subjectivities. Moving away from the understanding that the young girl is subject to the ‘inescapable’ influence of the fashion model, this chapter has made a case for re-considering this relationship from a poststructural theoretical perspective. This shift makes it possible to think differently about influence not as an independently-existing ‘thing’ that beleaguers the lives of young girls but as a product of discourse. It considers influence as a form of discursively constituted knowledge that produces the model and the girl as they perform as subjects of influence. More importantly, this re-reading enables an understanding of how the young girl may draw pleasure/desire from engaging with the pain/discipline by moving beyond the notion that discipline is necessarily oppositional to desire.

This move, however, is not without dangers. Many social commentators would argue that situating the fashion model as a teacher contravenes much of the accepted wisdom about how a ‘good’ or ‘proper’ teacher ‘ought’ to conduct pedagogical relationships in the classroom.²¹ If a research project was to position the fashion model as a pedagogical figure, then, how might such a study move beyond certain taken-for-granted understandings of how a ‘good’ or ‘proper’ teacher ought to conduct themselves? This question constitutes the focus of Chapter Four.

²¹ Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell (1995) draw attention to the problematic assumptions made about the way a teacher ‘ought’ to look, for example. They state that people have preconceived images of a teacher as “an authoritative, joyless woman” (p. 1) with “orthopaedic shoes, inch-thick glasses [and] hair tied back in a neat bun”. Furthermore, they illustrate that many people find an image of a teacher that “look[s] like a model” (ibid) challenging, as the image does not reflect “what teachers are ‘supposed’ to look like” (p. 2).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Introduction

4.0.1 De-familiarising 'ideal' pedagogy

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4.1.1 The 'dangerous' body of teacherly desire

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CHAPTER FOUR

RECONCEPTUALISING THE MODEL-GIRL ENCOUNTER

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three argues that it may be useful to draw upon new, poststructural conceptual tools to re-think *thinking* about the influence of the fashion model on young girls. To move beyond more conventional ways of knowing influence as a universal and essential ‘thing’ that exists independently of researchers’ interpretation of it, Chapter Three re-conceptualised influence as a *product of discourse*, a body of knowledge which produces the model and the young girl as subjects of a discourse of influence. It further proposed that the ‘impact’ of the model-girl relationship requires re-reading as a product of specific forms of *disciplinary training* and, in turn to understand the model and the girl as doing particular types of corporeal *pedagogical* work on themselves.

To situate the fashion model as a teacher, in any way, is almost certainly a move that so-called contemporary educational theorists would consider improper, if not downright risky. Overwhelmingly in the influence literature, the fashion model represents a body of ‘danger’ in need of control, hardly the image of an ‘ideal’ female teacher.¹ More importantly, the fashion model transgresses many other protocols of ‘good’ (Brown & McIntyre, 1993; Clark, 1995; Clemson & Craft, 1981; Hight, 1951; Moore, 2004) or ‘suitable’ (Killen, 2003) or ‘great’ (Kottler, Zehm & Kottler, 2005) or ‘best’ (Stone, 2004) or ‘effective’ (Burden & Byrd, 2003; Cooper & McIntyre, 1996; Cullingford, 1995; Kindsvatter, Wilen & Ishler, 1992; Kyriacou, 1997; Perrott, 1982) or ‘ideal’ (Jacobsen, Eggen & Kauchak, 1993) or ‘expert’ (Turner-Bisset, 2001, 1999) or ‘quality’ (Glasser, 1993; Jay, 2003; Stones, 1992) teaching and learning. As Bryan Wilson (1962) states, ‘good’ or ‘effective’ teachers

¹ Paula Salvio (1999) provides an interesting account of the similarly ‘pernicious’ pedagogy of poet and pedagogue, Ann Sexton. Salvio argues that Sexton’s teaching unsettles “the ‘given’ social expectations and anxieties about the psychic, emotional and physical borders that should circumscribe a teacher’s body, particularly a female teacher who suffers with addictions, anxieties, and mental illness” (p. 639). Sexton represents a body of teacherly ‘danger’, as her body constitutes a perilous mix of “teacher + addict; teacher + illness”. Most dangerous of all Sexton’s teacherly characteristics according to Salvio, however, is that “[s]he gives the lower regions (legs, belly, feet, buttocks, genitals) priority over the upper regions (head, spirit, reason)” (p. 642) and, as such, “Sexton’s pedagogy opposes a severance of the material body from conceptions of reason ascribed to the academic, the intellectual, or the ‘good’ teacher”.

“must be certain sorts of people” (p. 22) and, according to Thomas Popkewitz (1998) are guided by a moral calling to lead young students along “rational paths to salvation” (p. 7). This is especially evident in considering the characteristics that a ‘good’ or ‘proper’ teacher ought to demonstrate as prescribed in contemporary educational theory.

A teacher ought to be learner-centred (Schrenko, 1994; Tileston, 2004), where the teacher is a ‘facilitator’ (Fenstermacher & Soltis, 2004; Moore, 2004; Murdoch & Wilson, 2004; Rogers, 1969) and the learner “becomes the sun” (Dewey, 1902, p. 34) in a pedagogical relationship. A teacher ought to share themselves and engage personally with the learner in order to develop “good teacher-student relationships” (Morganett, 1991, p. 260; Brady, 2005; Goldstein, 1997; hooks, 1994; Wolfgang, 2005; Wragg, 2005), bearing in mind that such sharing should never occur on a sexual level (Bruner, 1960). A teacher ought to nurture the learner by supporting their “development with prudent and affectionate care” (Montessori, 1956, p. 65; Marzano, Marzano & Pickering, 2003). A teacher ought to be concerned with teaching “the whole person” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 1996, p. 283) or “total person” (Moore, 1995, p. 209) and should ensure that they have a good “knowledge of pupil characteristics” (Turney, 1981, p. 86; Squires, 2003) at all times. Most importantly, the teacher ought to ensure that bodily pedagogies are only employed to foster within each learner ‘a healthy mind in a healthy body’ which will, subsequently maximise the more ‘mindful’ capacities of the learner and “guard against...mental dryrot” (Whitehead, 1932, p. 2). Clearly, the fashion model would challenge many of these pedagogical orthodoxies of contemporary educational wisdom in her self-centredness, disengagement, overt sexualness, non-nurturance, disinterestedness and bodily attentiveness.

The point is that the ‘ideal’ teacher *familiar* to us is not like this (Moore, 2004). However, it is precisely the notion that pedagogical relationships may only be thought of in those (discursive) terms expressed in the work of contemporary pedagogical theorists that this study rejects. This chapter seeks to enter what Popkewitz (1998) calls a “risky terrain” (p. 7). It challenges predominant ideas about ‘best’ pedagogical practice by making it apparent that certain ‘rules’ of pedagogical propriety exist which govern good or proper teaching and learning. It is a certain

type of logic that makes it possible to *think* ‘ideal’ pedagogy in particular discursive ways.

In keeping with the work of Foucault (1984b), the study understands this to be a *regime of truth*² about pedagogy, as literature about contemporary pedagogy constitutes what counts as ‘true’ about good and bad pedagogical relationships at a particular historical moment. ‘Ideal’ and effective pedagogy as we have come to know it in the present is taken to be “something that can and must be thought” (Foucault, 1985, p. 7). An example of a regime of truth has been explored in the work of Lynn Fendler (1998) who questions how we have come to know the ‘educated subject’. Fendler suggests that ideas prescribing what it means to be ‘educated’ are socially constructed and specific to a particular historical time and place. She notes most importantly that certain “features of the educated subject that are now taken for granted were at one time or another controversial” (p. 40). In much the same way, the present study is interested in pointing up how ‘ideal’ pedagogy was thought of differently in other historical times and places. For example, the notion that teachers ought to be kind and to care for their students in order to support healthy psychological and spiritual development is a very new idea according to Dave Jones (1990) having been ‘invented’ and legitimated as ‘truth’ about the ‘proper’ way to teach only in the early twentieth century. Prior to this ‘truth’ of the teacher as an ancillary child psychologist and “mother-made-conscious” (p. 74), the ‘normal’ way of teaching involved a distant, aloof teacher that imposed upon the students “a brutal and machinic discipline” (p. 72). This study suggests, then, that it may be useful to *make strange* the ‘truth’ that is produced by contemporary educational theorists about the more familiar good teacher and, hence, to problematise the prevailing commonsense about good and bad pedagogy in Western culture.

² Foucault (1984b) states that “[e]ach society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true” (p. 73).

4.0.1 De-familiarising ‘ideal’ pedagogy

It is the task of this chapter, then, to interrogate and *de-familiarise* (Goldstein, 1994a, 1984)³ ‘rules’ of pedagogical propriety as they are set out in contemporary educational theory. This chapter makes a case for re-thinking pedagogical work by drawing on new pedagogical theory informed by sociology and cultural studies (Jones & Jenkins, 2000; Kirk, 1998, 1993; McWilliam, 1999, 1995; McWilliam & Taylor, 1996; Meredyth & Tyler, 1993b; O’Farrell, Meadmore, McWilliam & Symes, 2000; Shilling, 1991; Symes & Meadmore, 1999) as examples of pedagogical theorising that disrupt established pedagogical orthodoxies. It draws attention to the usefulness of *thinking otherwise* about pedagogy as embodied (O’Farrell, Meadmore, McWilliam & Symes, 2000), as productive of pleasures and desires (McWilliam, 1995), as disciplinary training (Kirk, 1999), as a performance of knowledge (Grumet, 1995) and so on. Hence, this chapter aims to think anew about pedagogical relationships as encounters produced in discursive ways (Donald, 1992): it “flies in the face of much of the current logic about best pedagogical practice” (McWilliam, 1999, p. vi).

This study seeks to further challenge orthodoxies of pedagogical theory by disrupting certain established pedagogical terms as terms that necessitate specific discursive ideas about how pedagogical relationships ought to be conducted. Just as the term ‘influence’ was in Chapter Two, terms such as ‘teacher’ and ‘learner’ are thought to convey certain ideas about what ‘good’ or ‘best’ pedagogical practice should represent at a particular historical moment. Thus, the project substitutes terms such as *facilitation* for *instruction*, as terms that have been discursively constituted in ways that are aligned with ‘unsuitable’ pedagogical practice. More generally, re-thinking the model-girl relationship as one of *instruction*, rather than of teaching and learning, may be useful in thinking otherwise about this relationship as a pedagogical encounter enacted using the *body*. Such terms re-embody pedagogy by aligning the rules of proper pedagogical practice with the imperative, discussed in Chapter Three, of *teaching some body a lesson* (Gallop, 1982; Ungar, 1982). Pedagogical work is foregrounded as an embodied “confrontation between ignorance as innocence and

³ The concept of de-familiarisation was demonstrated by Michel Foucault (1988b) in his paper ‘Technologies of the self’, where he makes a case for looking to other times and places to examine how it became possible to think about the self in the way that we are familiar with in contemporary times.

knowledge as power” (Gallop, 1982, p. 117). ‘Instruction’ recalls more traditional historical ideas about how a teacher would embody “a mastery over knowledge” (p. 122) and how this would be imparted to pupils in systematic and embodied ways. Instruction implies a mastery performed as displaying *what it means to know things* about certain types of knowledge (McWilliam, 1997c).

More importantly, instruction implies something opposed to the proper work of teaching and learning in contemporary times in that it hints at a certain “*corpor/reality*” (McWilliam, 1997b, p. 41, italics in original) that is customarily eschewed in contemporary ideas about best pedagogical practice. Instruction hints at how the body of the teacher does certain types of discursive work as a *body of knowledge* (Stinson, 1995).⁴ The work of Megan Boler (1999) for example indicates how ‘instruction’ is considered different to and necessarily separate from proper educative practices: “[e]ducation is by no means merely ‘instruction’ and transmission of information. Education shapes our values, beliefs, and who and what we become” (p. xvii). As this thesis thinks differently about contemporary understandings of ‘good’ pedagogy, terms such as ‘instructor/novice’ or ‘pedagogue/apprentice’ are made use of in this study, displacing ‘teacher/learner’, in keeping with historical traditions of schooling discourse which have their roots in philosophy and eroticism.

Chapter Four, then, outlines a conceptual framework that allows the fashion model/young girl relationship to be investigated as a pedagogical encounter produced out of a precise bodily disciplinary training. In keeping with the poststructural framework that emphasises the ‘constituted-ness’ of social phenomena, the conceptual framework presented in this chapter is itself generated as more of an ‘assemblage’ (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988; Rose, 1994) of conceptual ‘tools’ (Popkewitz, 1998), “a mosaic” (Grosz, 1995, p. 3) or “a patchwork of overlapping alliances” (Fraser & Nicholson, 1990, p. 35) rather than the outcome of one overarching, seminal theory. More importantly, the intention in this chapter is not to describe the precise *meaning* (St. Pierre, 2002) of the concepts ‘assembled’ below

⁴ Jennifer Hester (2005) provides an account of how women made decisions about contraceptive devices as bodies of knowledge. The women in Hesters’ study filtered “disembodied information...through their bodies” (p. 79) to make decisions about perceived risks of different contraceptives.

but rather to indicate how these concepts may be useful in the work they *do* (Davies, 2000) to enable thinking otherwise about the model-girl encounter as pedagogical work. Poststructural conceptual work is characterised “not with questions such as which concepts should be included or excluded” (Davies, 2000, p. 9) but rather with questions of “what work do these concepts achieve; what can they make visible and what do they occlude”. These are the questions that work through this chapter, with the aim being, as is the aim of Elizabeth Grosz (1995), to “place some of their interests beside my own to see what contaminations and cross-fertilizations occur among them” (p. 4).

This approach stands in opposition to existing accounts of the model-girl relationship presented in influence literature that seek out a single theory that will ‘explain’ the model-girl relationship and, hence, discursively re-*inscribe* this relationship as a relationship of perniciousness *or* of pleasure.⁵ It follows the logic of John Van Maanen (1988) that the notion that a researcher can display “confident possession of some grail-like paradigm is at best a passing fancy or at worst a power play” (p. xiv). Instead, the framework is developed out of what Patti Lather (1992b) terms a “Foucauldian shift from *paradigm* to *discourse*” (p. 96). The focus then becomes demonstrating how the relevant concepts are useful in the ways that they work together to examine the model-girl relationship “in a complex of apparatuses, practices, machinations, and assemblages within which human being has been fabricated” (Rose, 1996, p. 10). Thus, it aims to re-*describe*⁶ the conditions that make possible this relationship as a historically, culturally and socially situated and, hence, “fragmented, multiple, contradictory” (ibid, p. 9) phenomenon.

4.1 EMBODIED INSTRUCTION

The study argues that it is useful to think of the fashion model and the young girl relating pedagogically in terms of *the body*. Because the fashion model is body-

⁵ It is understood in this study that such perspectives work out of the epistemological assumption that their approaches “do not distort, manipulate, or constrain their objects [of study]. Instead, they describe and/or explain them without loss or residue” (Grosz, 1995, p. 27).

⁶ It is important to note that the author of this thesis acknowledges that the notion of re-*describing* the model-girl relationship is by no means an innocent endeavour; that is, the study is simultaneously engaged in a labour of re-*inscribing*. The author understands that by re-conceptualising this relationship, the study “moves into a different discourse, a different way of doing and thinking that does not operate within humanist discourse” (St. Pierre, 2002, p. 417) and, hence, is doing certain types of work which discursively re-constitutes the model-girl encounter in different terms.

focused in her vocation, it is as a *body of knowledge* (Stinson, 1995) that she instructs knowledge to the young girl. It is a *bodily knowledge* in particular that is transmitted pedagogically, with this knowledge being modelled on the body of the model.⁷ The young girl gazes upon this body of knowledge in the most precise sense, as an authoritative body of culturally-elevated knowledge, and learns from this encounter about how to do the model ‘catwalk’ for example. To situate the model as culturally-elevated seems odd given the typical alignment of the model with notions of populism. However, in this way the study departs significantly from more contemporary understandings of teaching and learning relationships that regard the ‘unruly’ body with caution in the classroom. In *re-membering* (Shapiro, 1994) the body and “the body’s role in the process of knowing” (p. 61), this project unsettles educational orthodoxies that marginalise the body as the “excess baggage” (McWilliam, 1996a, p. 370) of ‘ideal’ pedagogical relationships. As Susan Stinson (2004, 1995) indicates, bodies in the classroom “carry germs and emit odors. They sweat and produce other fluids which are not highly regarded in an age when a pair of rubber gloves must be regarded as a part of every teacher’s essential gear” (1995, p. 45).

This is not to suggest that a contemporary education is not inclusive of bodily pedagogies. Indeed, contemporary educational theorists throughout history have emphasised the importance of schooling the body as well as the mind in order to maximise the developmental capacities of the learner (Dewey & Dewey, 1962; Kilpatrick, 1936; Montessori, 1964; Piaget, 1965; Rogers, 1969, 1983). “It is, after all”, according to Helen Thomas (2003, p. 13), “through our bodies that we feel, see, smell, touch, think, speak and experience the world”. However, despite the recent interest in the body in sociological and cultural studies research,⁸ the body is sidelined as an “absent presence” (Shilling, 1993, p. 11, italics removed) in the

⁷ The understanding of knowledge that is being employed here is one not only as discursive knowledge (see Chapter Three, Footnote Five) but as “social practice that generates action and participation” (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998a, p. 5). Knowledge then is articulated in terms of “a material practice that constitutes the ‘self’ in the world” (ibid). Knowledge “is an activity...and not a contemplative reflection. It *does things*” (Grosz, 1995, p. 37).

⁸ Kathy Davis (1997a) calls this new interest in the body a “body craze” (p. 1). See for further discussion of this literature Bryan Turner (1996, 1992), Arthur Frank (1991, 1990), Chris Shilling (1993) and Peter Freund (1988).

progressive classroom.⁹ As Jane Roland Martin (1985) notes, “there is no place in it for education of the body” (p. 73), with the body literally being ‘written off’ (Beckett, 1998) in the progressive classroom as an ambivalent space of ‘disembodied learning’ (Golden, 2004). An example of how the body has been marginalised is epitomised by a text of the 1980s on teaching called *Anatomy of Teaching* (Turney, 1981). The interesting point about this book is that its discussion of the anatomy of teaching, including dimensions such as psychological considerations, skills, strategies, management and so on, eschews the bodily ‘anatomy’ of teaching. This text is typical of much contemporary progressive pedagogical literature which overlooks the notion that to teach means to “teach some body” (Ungar, 1982, p. 82).

One of the central ways that the body is sidelined in contemporary education relates to how “the body’s importance has been perceived, in the main, in terms of the necessity of its careful management in order to enhance or to avoid distracting from ‘mental effort’” (McWilliam, 1996b, p. 341).¹⁰ Progressive educators understand the body in terms of how a ‘healthy body’ will subsequently produce a ‘healthy mind’, therefore maximising the intellectual development of the learner. Knowledge is understood as something which “grows in the minds” (Shulman, 1986, p. 9) not only of the learners but also the teachers. This understanding of the body is evidenced in the book *Teaching for Thinking* (Raths, Wassermann, Jonas & Rothstein, 1986) which discusses how the teacher ‘ought’ to promote “active learning” (p. 165) in the contemporary classroom:

Teaching for thinking requires that students actively engage in the process of thinking. That means more than sitting and listening to the teacher...it means classifying and interpreting data, suggesting hypotheses, examining assumptions, and involvement in activities that require the solving of real problems. It means that students not only listen to the teacher’s thinking but are themselves actively involved in the creation of ideas.

Even though the authors emphasise ‘activity’ as ‘more than sitting and listening’, the idea of ‘activity’ implied in this example is of an intellectual nature rather than

⁹ David Kirk (1999) supports this contention arguing that pedagogical work has been done to the bodies of young people in order to effectively regulate their behaviour. The ultimate aim of this was “to impose order on the body of pupils before the intellectual work of the school could begin, and at the same time produce bodies for an orderly society” (p. 181).

¹⁰ This is demonstrated in Kenneth Moore’s (1995, p. 116) statement that “thinking skills are the basis on which all other skills are developed”.

embodied.¹¹ Any bodily activity of the learner engages in is usually to produce ‘a healthy mind in a healthy body’, with learner bodies made the object of physical education in order to increase the development of more ‘mindful’ skills such as “good thinking” (Borich & Tombari, 1997, p. 139; Kincheloe, 2005; Sternberg & Spear-Swerling, 1996), ‘imagination’ (Egan, 2005), “genuine intellectual engagement” (Soltis, 1994, p. 248; Cooper & McIntyre, 1996; Kelly, 2005) or “deep” (Squires, 1999, p. 90; Murdoch & Wilson, 2004) or “real learning...integrated in the self” (Woods, 1993, p. 4). As Jerome Bruner (1960) indicates, there is a “difference between doing and understanding” (p. 29).

4.1.1 The ‘dangerous’ body of teacherly desire

It is the *corpor-real* (McWilliam, 1997b) nature of bodies and “the stuff of their corporeality” (Grosz, 1995, p. 31), such as sexual and visceral qualities (Stinson, 1995), that contemporary teachers work to expel from proper teaching and learning relationships in particular (McDade, 1987; Talbot, 1994). These elements of the body are expunged to ensure the proper development of the ‘reasonable’ mind of the learner (Hirst, 1965; Hoyle, 1969). This is evidenced in the move towards making learner and teacher bodies the objects of strict prohibitions in the classroom.¹²

Elaborate disciplinary mechanisms are applied to these bodies in order to produce a certain type of ‘controlled’ embodiment that limits the possible ‘dangers’ that may develop from undisciplined, ‘unruly’, ‘infecting’ (Palmer, 1996) teacher/learner bodies (Besley, 2002; Gore, 1998, 1997, 1995; Hall & Millard, 1994; Jones, 2000; Luke, 1992; Meadmore & Symes, 1996; Ryan, 1991; Sparkes, 1996; Tait, 2001b, 1993c; Wagener, 1998). The ever-present moral panic about how bodies inevitably

¹¹ The work of Cedric Cullingford (1995; see also Fisher, 2002; Good & Brophy, 1997; Prentice, 1994) also demonstrates this perspective, stating that “[l]earning is an active and idiosyncratic process. Learning is the human mind at work at a variety of levels” (p. 32).

¹² In the ‘Code of Conduct’ in the Queensland Department of Education Manual (Education Queensland, 2004), specific guidelines are provided to teachers and other educational professionals about what constitutes appropriate and inappropriate “physical intervention/restraint” and “touching/familiarity”. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (1996; see also Andersen & Andersen, 1982) state that “touching” (pp. 314-314) a misbehaving student on the “head or should lightly” can bring this student back into ‘check’. However, they emphasise that a teacher should be “obviously taking care to avoid any behaviour that could be construed as assault”. Neill and Caswell (1993) concur with this notion stating that “teachers have to be increasingly cautious in using touch” (p. 10). Moore (1995) outwardly rejects any form of physical contact with students by a teacher, stating that it is “unwise for a teacher to touch a student of the opposite sex” (p. 185).

represent the intrusion of sexualities and desires¹³ in the classroom even further illustrates this point, with the bodies of teachers in particular being subjected to extensive scrutiny in the classroom.¹⁴ Sarah-Eve Farquhar (2001), for example, notes that some teachers “feel they have no choice but to avoid any form of physical contact with children unless supervision or in an extreme emergency” (p. 87).

To think the model as a pedagogue, then, appears increasingly problematic given that the model body is, in this study, a female body, a body typically aligned with excess desires and sexuality (Trethewey, 1999). However, as Michael Eric Dyson (1993) suggests, so-called media icons such as Michael Jordan, embody not only “a public pedagogue, a figure of estimable public moral authority whose career educates us about the convergence of productive and disabling forms of knowledge, desire, interest, consumption and culture” (p. 64) but a pedagogue of desire, “a desire to dream Jordan, to ‘Be like Mike’” (p. 71).

The notion that the classroom ought to be “a privileged site where eros and knowledge converge” (Ungar, 1982, p. 81) is now as inappropriate as suggesting that a teacher should instruct a pedagogy of desire. Indeed, desire and eroticism appear to have no place in any classroom, according to discussions in new pedagogical theory (Jones, 1996, 2001; McWilliam, 1995, 1996d; Talbot, 1994). The task of the good teacher is “to teach children the ‘desire’ for education” (Fendler, 1998, p. 54) and “the love of learning” (Todd, 1997a, p. 1), not the desire for the body of the teacher, and certainly not the desire for the body of the model as improper pedagogue. More importantly, should the young girl desire to be instructed, a moral-ethical ‘truth’ pervades contemporary educational theory that governs the sort of proper teacher that the girl should desire to be instructed by, many characteristics of which

¹³ It is interesting to note that the notion of teacherly ‘passion’ is discussed in the literature (Fried, 1995). However, the idea of passion examined particularly in Fried’s (1995) work in no way implicates corporeal understandings of desire or passion. Being a “passionate teacher” (p. 1) is more about being “someone in love with a field of knowledge, deeply stirred by issues and ideas that challenge our world...a teacher who breaks out of the isolation of the classroom, who refuses to submit to apathy or cynicism”. Fried argues then that it is “only when teachers bring their passions about learning and about life into their daily work can they dispel the fog of passive compliance or active disinterest that surrounds so many students” (ibid).

¹⁴ Gordon Tait (2001a, p. 41) notes that “the moral panic over the sexual abuse of children in schools has resulted in a climate of fear and suspicion, particularly vis-à-vis male teachers. Male teachers are currently being forced to teach differently, not for pedagogic reasons, but simply to avoid the risk of suspicion or false accusation”.

are explored further in this chapter. McWilliam (1996c), for example, examines “the slippage between great and abusive pedagogy” (p. 2, italics removed), great pedagogy involving inspiration and abusive pedagogy slipping into seduction. A set of discursive rules limit the ways that pedagogy ought to be properly pleasurable, rules which eschew notions of seduction and desire. To be a good female teacher implies that there is a clear expectation about how to be ‘properly amorous’ (McWilliam, 1999).¹⁵

The desire to be instructed by an all-knowing teacher, however, still features strongly in pedagogical relationships (Le Doeff, 1977). Research conducted by Ester Faye (1994) on women’s pedagogical experiences in post-war Australia is informative on this point, as it discusses the “lack” (p. 55) that one woman felt having “never been taught”. The participant states that, as a result, “[s]ometimes I have this incredible desire to always have someone there that will teach me”. What this suggests, as demonstrated in the work of McWilliam (1995), is that “the embodied teacher...[fulfils] a desire on the part of the student for a teacher as quite specifically an instructor in what it means to know” (p. 22). It is such a *desire to be instructed* by an embodied and, hence, bodily-present instructor that this study suggests is central to the relationship of knowing between the fashion model and the young girl. The study argues that the girl desires to be instructed by the model as an embodied instructor of what it means to know things about being desirable, as the embodiment of culturally valuable knowledge about ‘ideal’ femininity.

Clearly, the body constitutes a source of ambivalence for contemporary teachers. To suggest, then, that the body not only constitutes *the* fundamental instructional ‘instrument’ in the model-girl pedagogical relationship but also that knowledge is embodied in many ways runs counter to contemporary ideas about ‘ideal’ pedagogy as a “a meeting of minds” (Hirst & Peters, 1970, p. 88). This study unsettles the contemporary notion of ‘ideal’ teaching being guided by what Gutek (1988) calls a particular “pedagogical posture” (p. 303), referring here to a contemporary teacher’s individual teaching values, attitudes and philosophy, rather than the contemporary

¹⁵ The sensationalised media coverage female teachers that are ‘improperly amorous’ with their younger male students illustrates these expectations (Heartbroken teacher pleads guilty to sex with student, 2006; Hunt, 2006).

teacher as “affected poseur” (Wolcott, 1992, p. 4). This study argues for *re-anatomizing* pedagogical posture by re-memorizing ‘posture’ as meticulously embodied and as ‘ideal’ pedagogy.¹⁶ In order to do this, the study needs to move beyond contemporary ways of knowing pedagogy that tend to emphasise the ‘less-than-ideal’ nature of embodied teaching and learning,¹⁷ and to instead move towards other conceptualising *effective pedagogy as embodied and as performing the pleasure of the discipline* (McWilliam, 1997d).

The work of Peter Cryle (2001, 2000, 1997, 1994) and other new pedagogical theory¹⁸ is useful on this point. Cryle particularly demonstrates that whilst contemporary educational literature may regard young girls engaging closely with the body of the model in a pedagogical manner with suspicion,¹⁹ even panic,²⁰ this has not always been the case. In his study of French erotic literature published in the mid to late seventeenth century, Cryle (1994) notes that in other historical times and places there once existed a powerful tradition of female-to-female embodied

¹⁶ In the introduction of the edited text *Body and Organization*, the editors draw attention to how some pedagogical moments are implicitly embodied such as the activity of listening to a story (Hassard, Holliday & Willmott, 2000). They take as their example the opening phrase of a children’s BBC radio programme, “Are you sitting comfortably? Then I will begin” (p. 1), and suggest that in this statement the act of “[l]istening is implicitly recognized to be an embodied activity; and it is understood that some forms of embodiment, such as sitting, are more congruent with being attentive to a story, and deriving pleasure from it”.

¹⁷ Embodied pedagogy is aligned with ‘traditional’ “didactic modes of teaching” (Raths *et al.*, 1986, p. 165) wherein the notion of ‘all-eyes-on-the-teacher’ was fundamental to ‘good’ pedagogy. The role of the teacher was “showing how” rather than engaging the learner actively and inviting them to question the ‘display’ of knowledge presented by the teacher. This is at odds with research that suggests that “the primary aim of schooling is to promote thinking and problem solving” (Barry & King, 1998, p. 9) and that “students’ learning improves when they are engaged in *higher-order thinking*, when learning focuses on the *deep knowledge* of the subject, when pedagogy focuses on producing *deep understanding*, and when students are engaged in *substantive communication* about the things they are learning” (Killen, 2003, p. 15).

¹⁸ Examples of new pedagogical theory informed by sociology and cultural studies include writers such as Jennifer Gore (1998), Barbara Grant (1997), Alison Jones and Kuni Jenkins (2000), Barbara Kamler (1997), David Kirk (1999, 1998, 1993), Erica McWilliam (1996a, 1996b, 1997a, 1999) and Chris Shilling (1993, 1991), and edited collections such as *Pedagogy, Technology and the Body* (McWilliam & Taylor, 1996) and *Taught Bodies* (O’Farrell, Meadmore, McWilliam & Symes, 2000). Writers of pedagogical theory informed by French literary criticism include Peter Cryle (2001, 2000, 1997, 1994), Jane Gallop (1995, 1988, 1982) and Steven Ungar (1982). Some dance pedagogical literature informed by sociology and cultural studies is also drawn upon in this study, such as Sherry Shapiro (2004, 1999, 1998, 1994), Susan Stinson (2004, 1995), Helen Thomas (2003, 1996, 1995, 1993) and Susan Leigh Foster (1997, 1996, 1995).

¹⁹ Frederick Froebel (1900/1974, p. 120) states that schooling that implicates “the physical” is “naturally evil, bad, and faulty”.

²⁰ Elsewhere (Draper, 2001; Dwyer, 2004a) the author discusses the customary understanding of the body of the fashion model body as disorderly stating that examinations of the fashion model/young girl relationship situate the model as an uncontrollable, disordered body, imbued with the capacity to infect the vulnerable young girl with her noxious physicality.

instruction. Cryle (1994) elucidates how erotic bodily knowledge was once instructed by an all-knowing female pedagogue to a younger female novice by way of a systematic process of “postural modelling” (p. 18). He states that this process involved modelling a series of erotic postures on the body of the female erotic pedagogue to instruct knowledge about the erotic arts to young female initiates. In this instance of ‘postural modelling’, Cryle refers particularly to an erotic text, *Retorica delle puttane* by Ferrante Pallavicino (1642) that recounts how “[a]n old woman, instructing a young one in the art of being a successful whore” (Cryle, 1994, p. 17) refers to *I Modi: The Sixteen Pleasures* by Marcantonio Raimondi, Giulio Romano and Pietro Aretino (1984, trans.)²¹ in order to teach her young apprentice to “apply this art in the shaping of her own body”.

The study argues that it may be useful to draw on these and other²² accounts of female-to-female and body-to-body erotic instruction in other historical times and places to re-read the instruction of bodily knowledge from the fashion model to the young girl as a systematic process of embodied postural modelling. These accounts highlight how knowledge was once instructed efficaciously using bodily postures. Knowledge was imparted by and through the body of the erotic pedagogue as a specialized type of performance. In this way, the study reclaims pedagogical ‘posture’ as *effective* pedagogy, with a particular focus on how “bodies matter schooling” (Corrigan, 1988, p. 153; Butler, 1993) in model-girl pedagogical work.²³

4.1.2 Corporeal bodies: the body as ‘project’

Thinking this way about bodies, however, requires a different understanding of bodies as *corporeal* (Kirby, 1997; Grosz, 1990). To think the body in those terms of contemporary educational theory insists on the body as “a fixed system of muscle, bone, nerves and organs, which is a trans-historical and trans-cultural entity,

²¹ This text depicts sixteen “positions of sexual intercourse, accompanied by a set of sonnets” (Lawner, 1984, p. 9) to be used as examples that individuals can model using their own bodies to achieve sexual satisfaction.

²² See for example Nikkie Roberts (1992), Reay Tannahill (1992), Sarah Pomeroy (1975), Paul Friedrich (1978), Hilary Evans (1979) and Lujo Basserman (1967).

²³ Elizabeth Grosz (1995) highlights an important point about ‘bringing the body back in’ (Frank, 1990) to analyses of social phenomena, such as teaching and learning relationships, stating that such analyses are not “simply a celebration of bodies...but more an enjoyment of the unsettling effects that rethinking bodies implies for those knowledges that have devoted so much conscious and unconscious effort to sweeping away all traces of the specificity, the corporeality, of their own processes of production and self-representation” (Grosz, 1995, p. 2).

amenable to scientific examination and a site of establishable and established fact” (Kirk, 1993, p. 1). This is less than useful for this study which reads the body as a discursive pedagogical knowledge object. The body is not an ‘essence’ but a social and historical entity, “a carrier and register of culture” (Bordo, 1992, p. 166; Shapiro, 1999) shaped and re-shaped in certain ways by and through discourse and, in the case of this study, through embodied instruction.²⁴ The corporeal body is understood as “an infinitely malleable and highly unstable” (Shilling, 1993, p. 74) body discursively *made* and *remade* as a contingent object. According to Elizabeth Grosz (1994), the corporeal body has “all the explanatory power of minds” (p. vii) and “is more or less marked, constituted as an appropriate, or, as the case may be, an inappropriate body, for its cultural requirements” (p. 143). It is a body “marked by the history and specificity of its existence” (ibid, p. 142), a body that is not simply an object but “an *event*” (Budgeon, 2003, p. 36, italics in original). The bodies of the model and the girl, then, are constituted in certain ways by and through the pedagogical work they conduct in which discursive knowledge “*informs the very matter of [the] body’s material constitution*” (Kirby, 1997, p. 3, italics added).²⁵

This understanding of the body is particularly reflected in the work of Foucault (1984a, p. 82) where he notes that it is possible to think of the body as “the inscribed surface of events” (p. 83) and historically imprinted or *marked*.²⁶ The corporeal

²⁴ In their work about ballet dancers’ experiences of injury, Bryan Turner and Steven Wainwright (2003; see also Dempster, 1995; Nettleton, 1994) indicate the ways in which the body can be constituted through instruction. They state that in the case of the ballet dancer “training and discipline construct the materiality of the body” (p. 284). Turner and Wainwright point out that this is indicated in the comments from the dancers themselves who recognise that the bodies of dancers in the 1930’s were different from their own bodies in the modern dance company. It is the modern ballet dancing body that is literally “located within the institutional web of the modern company”, with this body being constructed as part of “[t]he spirit of the company...Professional ballet is not just something that you *do* – it is something that you *are*”.

²⁵ The manner in which discourse can inform the ‘matter’ of the body is highlighted in Vicki Kirby’s (1989) earlier work where she discusses an example of “a man who is participating in the Hindu ritual festival of Thaipusam” (p. 1). Kirby states that in this ritual a “[m]yriad of metal spokes are driven into the skin and through the vital organs. The hands may also be pierced and even the tongue immobilised by long spikes through the face, lips, and neck”. For Kirby, the interesting point about this ‘torture’, which for most people would cause significant pain if not death, is that the man’s body “does not show any evidence that its boundaries have been breached”. It is in this manner that Kirby states that the ‘matter’ of the man’s body is informed by the system of belief to which he prescribes “even at the level of data in and between cells”.

²⁶ Mike Featherstone (1999) discusses one example of how the body is inscribed as a social, cultural and historical object, this being body modification. In body modification, an individual can inscribe certain social and cultural meanings onto the surface of their body through “practices” (p. 1) such as “piercing, tattooing, branding, cutting, binding and inserting implants...[which] alter the appearance and form of the body”. Other forms of body modification which do not directly alter the surface of

body is a 'lived' (Leder, 1994) body upon which historical events or happenings are discursively "written [and re-written] – they shape the way we perform, or act out, our bodily selves" (Danaher, Shirato & Webb, 2000, p. 46). The work of Melissa Tyler and Philip Hancock (2001; see also Gleason, 2001; Gremillion, 2002; Trethewey, 1999) demonstrates how bodies may be thought of as being constituted by and through discourse in their study of "the 'body work' of female flight attendants" (p. 28). They suggest that the bodies of employees such as flight attendants are made into 'organizational bodies' through "the manipulation of the presentation and performance of the body, which must be maintained in order to become and remain an employee of a particular organization and to 'embody' that organization". In this instance, the 'organizational body' of the flight attendant is 'written' as a body of a particular organizational discourse, constituted "through highly gendered techniques of corporeal management, demanding skilled labour or 'body work'" (p. 26). Hence, as Feher (1987) states, this body is "not a reality to be uncovered in a positivistic description of an organism" (p. 159), but rather "a reality constantly produced". Chris Shilling (1993) describes this body as a 'body project', that is, "an entity which is in the process of becoming; a *project* which should be worked at and accomplished as part of an *individual's* self-identity" (p. 5, italics in original). The bodies of the fashion model and the young girl, then, are *posthuman* (Halberstam & Livingston, 1995a) body projects constituted through discursive bodily work, and existing only as "the causes and effects of postmodern relations" (p. 3).

4.1.3 'Doing' the self as embodied

In foregrounding the body as a pedagogical instrument, the study deliberately disrupts the humanist or Cartesian (Cranny-Francis, 1995; Grosz, 1994; Turner, 1996, 1992) notion that the body is a necessarily separate entity to the self or subjectivity.²⁷ The body is not "a passive container which act[s] as a shell to the active mind" (Shilling, 1993, p. 26) in this study. Rather, the study understands the body as a

the body but which do culturally inscribe it as a certain type of body include "gymnastics, bodybuilding, anorexia and fasting".

²⁷ Bryan Turner (1996) discusses the tendency in classical sociology, theorists "make a sharp distinction between the self and the body" (p. 67). Turner cites George Herbert Mead (1962) as an example of this work: "We can distinguish very definitely between the self and the body. The body may be there and operate in a very intelligent fashion without there being a self involved in the experience" (p. 136).

corporeal tool by which subjectivity or the self²⁸ is discursively constituted. The body is not simply “the ‘natural’ foundation or passive surface upon which culture overlays a disciplinary system of meanings” (Budgeon, 2003, p. 51). It is not a fleshly facade upon which the self is merely ‘anchored’ (Sweetman, 1999) or a superficial ‘surface’ upon which the self is ‘crafted’ (Fournier, 2002). The body ‘becomes’ (Budgeon, 2003) or is *done* (Butler, 1990b) by the fashion model for example *as a discursive event*: work is done on and with the body to shape a particular type of self. In thinking the body and the self in these terms, this study obscures the boundaries of these concepts as definitively exclusive, as is so often alluded to in the influence literature discussing the model-girl relationship.

It is through the body as a corporeally ‘lived’ (Leder, 1990) entity, in this study, as it is in others (see Corrigan, 1988; Grant, 1997; McDowell, 1995; Ronsbo, 2003; Sparkes, 1996; Swain, 2003, 2002; Synnott, 1993; Tait, 1993c), that the self or subjectivity is produced by an individual. This conception of the self as embodied follows the work of Foucault (1982) who states that “human beings are *made* subjects” (p. 208, italics added).²⁹ By making the body the object of certain bodily ‘techniques’ (Mauss, 1973) and doing specific forms of work with their bodies, an individual can produce a particular type of self as embodied (Finkelstein, 1991). For Foucault, the self as an oeuvre, an embodied project ever-becoming.

²⁸ In this study, the terms ‘subject’, ‘subjectivity’ and ‘self’ displace terms commonly used in psychological discourse to describe ‘the person’ such as ‘self-concept’ or ‘identity’ (Henriques *et al*, 1984). This displacement is in keeping with poststructural theory that employs these terms “to help us to conceive of human reality as a construction, as a product of signifying activities” (Sarup, 1993, p. 2). In poststructural theory, these terms “call into question the notion of the self synonymous with consciousness; it ‘decentres’ consciousness” (ibid) and indicates an important shift away from humanist understandings of the person. This is not to suggest that, in employing the terms of poststructural theory this study “destroy[s] the humanist subject” (Davies, 2000, p. 133) completely. Instead, these terms are made use of in order to “see the subject’s fictionality” (ibid). It is also important to note that the author of this study understands, as does Nick Mansfield (2000), that whilst the terms ‘subject’, ‘subjectivity’ and ‘self’ are inextricably linked and do imply one another, they do imply different things. For example, the study understands that the term ‘self’ “does not capture the sense of social and cultural entanglement that is implicit in the word ‘subject’” (Mansfield, 2000, p. 2). Hence, the term ‘subject’ refers not only to a particular way of human ‘being’ but is also taken to imply the social, cultural, political, physical, emotional complexities and multiplicities that constitute “the tangled threads of life” (Davies, 2000, p. 10) within which that human ‘being’ is embedded. The subject in this study, as it is in poststructural theory, then, “exists as a process; it is revised and (re)presented” (Davies, 2000, p. 137); it “has no anchor, no fixed place, no point of perspective, no discreet centre, no clear boundary” (Poster, 1990, p. 11). Furthermore, the study understands that a ‘subject’ can then make up a range of ‘selves’ as part of their lived experiences or ‘subjectivity’, with the ‘self’ understood as “always in process, taking its shape in and through discursive possibilities through which selves are made” (Davies, 2000, p. 137).

²⁹ Foucault (1977a) suggests that the soul of the subject “is produced permanently around, on, within the body by the functioning of a power that is exercised” (p. 29).

4.2 THE SELF AS ART

Foucault's (1988b, 1986) concept of the *self as a work of art* is used in this study as a perspective that is at odds with the conception of the self so often eluded to in contemporary educational theory as a "stable" (Biehler & Snowman, 1990, p. 46),³⁰ 'fully-developed'³¹ entity, something that can be 'uncovered' (Eder, 1990) and that develops in "a relatively logical progression" (Woolfolk, 2001, p. 25). Progressive education discourses typically work out of an understanding of the notion of 'identity' (McInerney & McInerney, 2002; Woolfolk, 2001) or 'self-concept' (Gage & Berliner, 1998; Good & Brophy, 1986; Krause, Bochner & Duchesne, 2003) or 'personality' (Long, 2000), as terms privileged in educational psychology. Writers state that identity can be 'achieved' as an ahistorical, rational, non-ambiguous, unitary,³² "pregiven psychological" (Henriques *et al.*, 1984, p. 17) entity rather than a historically, socially and culturally contingent and, hence, discursively constituted subjectivity. This understanding of the learner self is demonstrated in contemporary educational theory that describes the learner as "composed of many parts – minds, hearts, emotions, and bodies – all developing toward an integrated whole" (Erickson, 1995, p. 192). Similarly, "the purpose of schooling" (Rallis *et al.*, 1995, p. 18; see also Bruner, 1966, Cullingford, 1995; Moore, 1995) is described as "enabling each child to reach his or her full potential" and to develop skills that "emerge as children and adolescents mature" (Krause, Bochner & Duchesne, 2003, p. 4; Cullingford, 1991; Woods, 1993). According to Valerie Walkerdine (1984), this understanding of the self totally saturates pedagogical practices in contemporary education which are underpinned by "the notion of a normalized sequence of child development" (p. 155). It is an understanding of the learner, as a 'whole child' (Jalongo, 1991), "progressing steadily along a universal path of development" (Tyler, 1993, p. 35) in order to 'achieve' a 'fully-developed' state of human being.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that in their discussion of 'identity achievement' in adolescents, Biehler and Snowman (1990) state that identity can be unstable and that it "is not a once-and-for-all accomplishment" (p. 53). The authors state that "[i]f an ego-shattering event (loss of a job, divorce) later occurs, identity achievement types may be propelled back into crisis and be faced with the task of re-building self-esteem". However, despite the illusion to identity as an unstable and shifting entity, they do emphasise the notion that an individual must work "to achieve a satisfactory identity again".

³¹ McInerney and McInerney (2002) state that some adolescents get 'stuck' at a particular 'unhealthy' stage of identity development and "can't proceed past" (p. 416) stages such as "identity diffusion or identity foreclosure" ("identity achievement and [identity] moratorium are considered healthy alternatives") (p. 416). This, the authors argue leads consequently to "difficulties in adjustment". Cullingford (1991, p. 11) also supports this notion stating that "we see both a definite progression and the possibility that some [students] never reach the later stages".

³² Krause, Bochner and Duchesne (2003) state that "[w]e each have a single self-concept" (p. 72).

This is conception of the self that this study departs from, as these understandings disallow thinking about the pedagogical work that the fashion model and the young girl do with their bodies as discursively constituting an outward sense of self. Progressive educational discourse is more concerned with the “inner structure” (Cullingford, 1995, p. 37) of the learner, with theorists such as Clark (1995) stating that “very high on the list of goals of the good teacher” (p. 14) is the proper cultivation of self esteem in students.³³ This understanding of the pedagogical self eschews the possibility that the postures and practices enacted by the model with her body contributes to the production of the self as embodied in different social contexts.

Re-thinking the self as a work of art (Foucault, 1988a) enables the study to read model-girl pedagogical work in this way. For Foucault (1986), the subject institutes “procedures, practices, and formulas” (p. 45), as prescribed in “a certain mode of [discursive] knowledge”, in the conduct of their ‘selves’ as “a [discursive] social practice”. The subject, for Foucault (1977a) is “not a substance. It is a form” (p. 290). Subjectivity is fabricated through what Foucault (1985) calls the “arts of existence” (p. 10); that is

those intentional and voluntary actions by which men not only set themselves rules of conduct but also seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make their life into an *oeuvre* that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria.

The self is crafted by the subject through a complex range of regimens that shape and re-shape subjectivity as a discursive practice (Janover, 1997; Rose, 1996). The self is “authored” (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p. 150), cultivated and re-cultivated “within specific social contexts, and with regard to particular mores and truths” (p. 151). This type of work on the self “implies certain modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes” (Foucault, 1988b, p. 18). It is a range of detailed *technologies of the self* (ibid) that make it possible for the subject to

³³ Other authors also list the development of ‘self-confidence’ in the learner as “[a]n important part of a teacher’s role” (Barry & King, 1998, p. 7; Biehler & Snowman, 1990; Cullingford, 1995, 1990; Hannell, 2004; Lawrence, 1996; McInerney & McInerney, 2002; Ridley & Walther, 1995; Woolfolk, 2001).

construct a discursive self as embodied.³⁴ These technologies “permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves” (ibid). Subjectivity produced by these ‘technologies of the self’, according to Nick Mansfield (2000),

is always and everywhere a fiction, and has no intrinsic reality or structure, neither one given to us at our birth or as a result of the relationships and experiences of our early lives. This fiction may be exploded, or remodelled as a subversion of the demands power places on us (p. 64).

An inquiry into how the self is produced as a work of art, then, would be an inquiry into the regimens of thought, practices, attitudes, skills, technologies and conduct that an individual employs in order to enact with the self an ‘arts of existence’.

This understanding of the self also informs new pedagogical theory. Studies such as that of David Schaafsma (1998; see also Atkinson, 1998; Ball, 1990a; Fitzsimons, 1997; Marshall, 1997; McMahon, 1999; Sparkes, 1996; Walkerdine, 1990)³⁵ have drawn on the notion of the self as a work of art in order to more fully understand how the self is discursively constituted through pedagogical work. Other studies such as that of Wendy Morgan (1996)³⁶ have focused on pedagogical relationships outside the context of the classroom (Fournier, 2002; Funnell, 1995; Hatcher, 2000; Jones, 1997; Marshall, 1997; Motion, 1997; Petersen, 1997; Reeve, 2002; Tait, 2003; Vaz & Bruno, 2003). An example of this type of work is Gordon Tait and Belinda Carpenter (1996), in a paper called ‘Youth, femininity and self-shaping’. They argue that young women shape for themselves a particular type of self through their reading of young women’s magazines. These magazines serve as “practical manuals which enrol young women to do specific kinds of work on themselves” (p. 150).

³⁴ Foucault rejects the idea that the self is “an objective reality to be described by our theories” (Hutton, 1988, p. 135). Rather, Foucault argues that the self is constructed “one continually being redesigned”.

³⁵ David Schaafsma (1998) examines how fictions constructed by students, and curricula created by teachers, can enact and perform the self in the classroom. Writing is an act of “self-construction” (p. 274) in which selves are constituted as “performing works of art, rather than merely enacting the ‘given’”.

³⁶ Wendy Morgan (1996) provides a reading of discourses of self-fashioning in personal training and suggests that these discourses produce particular types of bodies, as economic capital and selves, as “displays [of] mental discipline” (p. 32). Morgan argues that it is through the “salient exercise gadgetry that helps to manufacture the trained body” (p. 33) that the client and the personal trainer produce a particular type of “way of life and a ‘new’ self” (p. 36).

They detail a range of meticulous “practices and techniques” that young women can learn from in order to fashion a particular type of sexual self. Young women enact a particular type of pedagogical relationship with themselves wherein they come to know things from magazines about “what constitutes sexual normality for young women” (p. 153) not only through acquiring of certain sexual attitudes and behaviours but also by being ‘instructed’ about how to acquire specific “techniques of the body associated with sexual conduct” (p. 158).

This new pedagogical literature makes it possible in this study to re-conceive of the pedagogical work conducted by the fashion model and the young girl as productive of a discursive self as a work of art. The study argues that the model-girl relationship is available to be read as an ‘arts of the self’ whereby the model and the girl practice and posture their bodies in ways that produce a particular type of discursively constituted self. As the model instructs embodied knowledge, as a set of skills and attitudes, the girl learns how to enact the self particularly by way of the body and in specific contexts. Thus, this study seeks to understand how the self might be produced corporeally by the model and the girl as a specialised bodily performance of discursive knowledge.

4.3 PERFORMING PEDAGOGY

To argue that the self, in this study, is produced pedagogically and corporeally further implies a certain type of precisely embodied *performance*. It suggests that the self is performed as a display of what it means to properly embody ‘ideal’ femininity. The self constitutes an embodied performance of knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct.

In moving to thinking about pedagogy as properly a performance of knowledge, this study works through ‘riskiness’ inasmuch as contemporary educational theory emphasizes the importance of ‘authentic’ (Bonnett, 1978; Jalongo, 1991; Leibling & Prior, 2005) pedagogical relations between a learner and a teacher. As Colin Griffin (2002) notes, to situate pedagogy as “a kind of theatrical ‘performance’ has always been suspect” (p. 65). Fred Newmann and Gary Wehlage (1994) for example explain that there exist “two persistent maladies” (p. 206) that make schooling “inauthentic”, one of which is teaching that “does not allow [the students] to use their

minds well”. It is in this sense that we have come to know ‘authentic’ or ‘real’ pedagogy as good pedagogy; that is, as pedagogy that chiefly engages the mind of the learner and almost certainly does not concentrate on embodied performances.

Moreover, the good teacher has come to be known as a genuine “real person” (Lawrence, 1996, p. 24) rather than a person “hiding behind a ‘professional mask’”. The good teacher is “a vital *person*” (Rogers, 1983, p. 122, italics in original) not a “sterile façade”. As Cullingford (1995) states, “the art of the good teacher...[is] to draw attention not to his own performance but to the learning of the pupil” (p. 158). Moore (1995; see also Neill & Caswell, 1993) warns teachers that although non-verbal communication such as body language is “[o]f special importance to teachers” (p. 182), a teacher ought to “take care not to overuse gestures...Overuse can result in a listener’s attending to the gestures rather than the message” (p. 184). His advice to teachers is to ‘watch’ their students and, if they “appear to be attending more to your gestures than to your messages, curtail the use of some gestures” (ibid). To argue that the young girl attends only to the gestures performed by the model body unsettles accepted notions of good pedagogy as more than simply “showing how” (Raths *et al.*, 1986, p. 165).

Some progressive educational texts do suggest that learning by performance represents an important part of good pedagogy, particularly in discussions of the notion of ‘modelling’ (Bandura, 1969; Bruner, 1960; Good & Brophy, 1986; Squires, 1999). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (1996) state that non-verbal communication in the form of modelling is “a most useful device” (p. 354) and argue that using “demonstrations” (p. 356) to teach students through “imitation” is a highly effective method. However, again the authors advise teachers to employ caution in using these techniques,³⁷ as demonstrations have proven to be “more effective when accompanied by some verbalisation” (ibid). As John Dewey (1902) notes, for example, “[a]s a general principle no activity should be originated by imitation” (p. 129) in pedagogical relationships. Hence, a teacher using a demonstration “should not only show a student the physical movements involved in performing a

³⁷ Geoffrey Squires (1999) notes that teaching and learning procedures such as presentation and demonstration are generally to be used in association with “short quizzes, pauses for questions, or episodes of small group work” (p. 98) as, on their own they are “essentially one-way methods” that discourage interaction of the learners with the teacher.

task...[but] should also include explanations of the thinking that lies behind the movements”.

Another contemporary teaching and learning imperative is expressed in this statement; that is, the notion of a ‘good’ teacher as ‘verbal’ and the importance of ‘verbal communication’ for progressive pedagogies (Bingham & Sidorkin, 2004; Cullingford, 1991; Raider-Roth, 2005; Watkins, 2005).³⁸ As Killen (2003) states, “intellectual quality” (p. 15) is only produced when students are engaged in “substantive communication” (p. 17) in which “there is a sustained...dialogue between the teacher and the learners”. The fashion model, as pedagogue, transgresses this imperative in that she performs ‘mutely’. She does not engage the young girl in verbal communication about what she is performing and why she is doing so. Rather, she performs knowledge about bodily conduct as a *display*. The young girl comes to know things about this conduct by gazing at the body of the model as a display of embodied pedagogical knowledge. In her muteness, then, the fashion model sits outside notions of best pedagogical practice.

To better understand how the model performs knowledge, this study draws on the work of Judith Butler (1993, 1990a, 1990b). Butler (1990a) critiques the notion that the self exists as “an internal core or substance” (p. 136) and argues conversely that the self and, more specifically the gendered self, are “*fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means” (italics in original). For Butler, gender is “*a corporeal style*, an ‘act’ as it were, which is both intentional and performative, where ‘*performative*’ suggests a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning” (p. 139, italics in original). Butler argues that gender is not an essence but rather is discursively constituted at a specific social and cultural moment in time, particularly by way of a “*stylized repetition of acts*” (p. 140, italics in original). Of central importance in this performative display of gender is “the stylization of the body”. Gender is carefully performed in “the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and styles of various kinds constitute the illusion

³⁸ Moore (1995) states for example that one of the most “special skills essential to all teachers” (p. 13) is the ability to communicate with students: “You cannot teach effectively if you are unable to communicate with your students”. Later in the book, Moore reiterates this point stating that “[w]ithout communication, teaching and learning could not occur” (p. 178) and that chiefly this communication occurs in a verbal manner through “[t]eachers talk” (p. 179).

of an abiding gendered self” (ibid). As Butler (1990b, p. 272, italics added) states further, “[o]ne is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, *one does one’s body*”.³⁹

‘Doing the body’ is of central concern for this study, as the model and the girl are understood to be ‘doing’ and performing their selves as embodied. The performative work that the model and the girl do with their bodies does pedagogical work on the self (Sharma & Black, 2001; Tait, 1993b). As the model performs and ‘does’ her self dramaturgically, the young girl comes to know things about this ‘stylised act’ in a pedagogical manner. It is argued that fashioning a pedagogical self comprises a “labour of production” (Adkins & Lury, 1999, p. 599; see also Stein, 2003). Research conducted by Lisa Adkins and Celia Lury (1999; 2000) focuses on how “performative techniques...may...be deployed in the creation of workplace identities” (1999, p. 599). Such techniques are what Adkins and Lury identify as *the labour of identity* where “every person’s relationship to their (complex, contradictory) self-identity is assumed to be...a relation of performance”. Just as labour market identities are worked on in performing certain modes of production, it is assumed that the model and the girl do work or labour with the self in a pedagogical manner. To assume, however, that a performative pedagogical relationship is somehow ‘superficial’ in its focus on performance would be erroneous. As McWilliam (1997b; see also McWilliam, 1997c) states, “an embodied performance of knowing is not simply garnish to the pedagogical roast. It is important as a display of what it means to know things” (p. 2).

New pedagogical theory has recently interrogated pedagogical work in terms of its performative character (Dyson, 1992; Ellsworth, 1997; Kohli, 1999; Mallan, 2003; Styslinger, 2000). Madeleine Grumet (1995, 1988) presents a valuable argument of this sort that describes the manner in which pedagogical subjects (particularly the teacher in her research) “perform the play of pedagogy” (1995, p. 37). Grumet argues that pedagogy requires that teachers adopt many “masks” (p. 37) to perform

³⁹ Butler extends this argument further in her later work *Bodies That Matter* (1993). Butler suggests that not only gender but sex can be thought of as “an ideal construct which is forcibly materialized through time. It is not a simple fact or static condition of a body, but a process whereby regulatory norms materialize ‘sex’” (pp. 2-3). It is through the reiterative performance of discursive knowledge about ‘sex’, then, that Butler understands sex to materialise in certain forms in the body.

pedagogy and that these ‘masks’ mark out “the personal” or the subjectivity of the teacher on the body. Grumet understands teacherly subjectivity as “an appearance contrived for the public” that is performed in classroom situations. As Joseph Litvak (1995) remarks, “the reason I got into teaching is precisely that it seemed to combine the best of show business and guidance counselling” (p. 19). McWilliam (1997c) further suggests that “scholars perform what it means to know things, and these performances include inscriptions on the scholarly body” (p. 41). Elsewhere, McWilliam (1997d) indicates the importance of the postural performances of pedagogy and how these performances are demonstrative particularly of ‘academic authority’:

As textual and material ‘bodies of knowledge’, we pose and gesture what it means to be in authority for a range of audiences, from undergraduate to editors. The strategic use of authoritative citations in an academic paper, for example, is a gesture that may serve the same symbolic function that a lecturer’s body does when it grasps both sides of the lectern, leans forward, and utters measured and resonant sounds in a mass lecture. In both of these instances, the scholarly performance functions to shore up the authority of the writer/speaker (p. 219).

Finally, Denise Meredyth (1991) argues that “[i]n the lecture room, the exemplary figure of the lecturer provides students with a model of scholarly performance, conduct and demeanour against which to assess their own performance” (p. 41). It is precisely this form of performance that this study suggests is being conducted between the fashion model, as embodied pedagogue, a teacher of desire and a desired teacher and the young girl, as apprentice.

Pedagogical theory informed by French literary criticism may also be useful to re-read the model-girl relationship as performative, as this work provides examples of how pedagogical relationships in history were grounded in performance. For example, Cryle (1994) discusses how eighteenth century French erotic texts, “[w]hile fulfilling for readers the broad didactic function of listing and transmitting the standard figures of eroticism...regularly dramatize[d] the teaching of these figures to young pupils” (p. 71). Instruction of erotic postures in these texts constituted “the teacherly showing” (p. 72) of embodied postural knowledge to a young female novice, “a matter of performance – rhetorical and gymnastic” (p. 86). Cryle explains further: “Classical texts generally rehearse, and thereby enact, the teaching and

learning of erotic ‘attitudes’⁴⁰ as a set of venereal positions. In this way, they display the bodily discipline at work in an erotic culture” (p. viii).

The most revealing aspect of Cryle’s (1994) work is in how it makes known the practised nature of these performances in these French erotic texts. Erotic pedagogues are to perform for the novice “a set of figures that is culturally available, although not literally to hand” (p. 19). Those that performed the erotic arts needed to be proficient enough in their performance so as not to have to draw on the original figures. Erotic pedagogues “are required to know the paradigm already, to be able to imitate its particular elements, and to have the capacity to play over its range” (ibid). It is this form of practised⁴¹ pedagogical performance that the study argues is being conducted in the model-girl relationship. It holds that embodied knowledge may be performed by the fashion model for the young girl in the most precise sense. Although ‘modelling manuals’,⁴² which outline a range of modelling postures, are available for models to draw on, models are rarely, if ever, seen accessing this material on the catwalk.

4.4 THE SPECTACULAR PEDAGOGUE

As this study argues that the fashion model instructs embodied knowledge to the young girl as a precisely embodied pedagogical performance, the study further re-conceptualises this relationship in terms of *spectacle*. The model constitutes a pedagogical spectacle of knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct. She quite literally *makes a spectacle out of herself* (Russo, 1995) and that in doing so, she makes knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct available to young girls who gaze upon this display and comes to know things from it.

⁴⁰ In her work discussing the notion of “inclusive social fellowship” (Anderson, 2003, p. 23) in recreational badminton in Copenhagen, Sally Anderson notes how certain attitudes about inclusive sociality involve “more than inclusive cognitive categories and proper moral direction; it is a highly skilled, intricately coordinated, non-verbal performance” (p. 24).

⁴¹ It is interesting to note that even the term ‘practise’ is met with suspicion in progressive educational theory. Geoffrey Squires (1999) for example states that this term “is often associated with skill or motor tasks, usually in vocational and technical fields...indeed with anything that involves a degree of repetition of a standardized task, leading to a degree of overlearning, that is the capacity to run off the operation without conscious thought or control” (p. 95). Squires continues stating that “‘practise’ is not the word we would normally use of more complex cognitive tasks: we do not usually talk about practising our ideas” and instead suggests that the “word ‘exercise’ can have a less routinized connotation” and that this term can more adequately describe how students exercise their minds cognitively in the classroom.

⁴² See Marie Anderson Boyd (1997), Sandra Morris (1997) and Huggy Ragnarsson (1998) as examples of such work.

Suggesting that a pedagogical relationship could be properly conducted through a spectacular teacher again unsettles contemporary understandings of how ‘proper’ teaching and learning ought to be carried out. In recent times, efforts of educational ‘experts’ have been focused on ways to bring teachers “down to the students level” (Cole & Chan, 1994, p. 53; Marsh, 2000; Seaborne & Lowe, 1977) so that the teacher can approach teaching and learning in the classroom “from the student’s perspective”.⁴³ Sean Neill (1991, p. 108) for example indicates that “erect posture”, made conducive by the pedagogical platform, “is threatening” for students and that teachers should “sit down or kneel when they want to approach children in a non-threatening way”.⁴⁴ As Andersen and Andersen (1982; see also Andersen, 1979) state, “[t]eachers who want to convey warmth and immediacy must ascertain if the classroom has physical barriers which become psychological barriers and reduce communication” (p. 108). This is particularly evidenced in the move towards the removal of the raised platform or “the dais...from almost all rooms” (Marland, 1975, p. 27; Maclure, 1984) which once positioned the teacher as an authoritative spectacle of knowledge “dominant raised front-centre position” in the classroom. This architectural device was thought to facilitate “the exercise of authoritarian control by the teacher” (Darling & Nordenbo, 2003, p. 297) and that, as such, it needed to be “abandoned” (Marland, 1975, p. 27), as good teachers “always lead, they never boss” (Glasser, 1993, p. 1).

These understandings of proper pedagogy as ‘on-the-level’ developed particularly out of the discourse of ‘child-centredness’ (Entwistle, 1970; Chung & Walsh, 2000;

⁴³ Peter Cunningham (1988, 1987; see also Blyth, 1967; Cooper, 1981; Evans, 1979; Lowe, 1979) argues that such moves indicate that schools have come to physically embody the discourse of progressivism in their architecture, particularly with the advent of open plan schooling. Cunningham explains that certain types of architectural arrangements that were seen to be obstructing the flow of communication between the teacher and the learner were dismantled, according to Andersen and Andersen (1982) as “physical barriers become psychological barriers as well” (p. 108). As Jackson (1990) states, “[t]he hallmarks of today’s classroom are the movable desks and the collapsible walls, with the concomitant social movement each affords. Gone are the fixed rows and frozen postures of yesterday” (p. 128). Elizabeth Jones and Elizabeth Prescott (1984) even suggest that the architectural arrangement of traditional classrooms epitomise ‘hardness’ and that in order to make classroom environments “more comfortable” (p. 15), teachers must introduce “greater softness” into this environment, including improvements such as carpets and rugs, “cozy furniture”, “furry animals” and, most importantly, teachers “laps” are to be made “available for children to sit on”. It is “[a] civilized environment [that] includes softness” (p. 21).

⁴⁴ Andersen and Andersen (1982) support this contention stating that to communicate effectively, the teacher and the learner need to “interact on the same physical plane. Tall elementary teachers tower above their students. Many teachers have indicated that sitting or squatting while interacting with their students increases the immediacy of the interaction” (p. 102).

Fisher, 2002; Schrenko, 1994; Sugrue, 1997; Walkerdine, 1983) that infuse contemporary teaching and learning relationships. Here, the learner is the centre of the classroom, with control of the learning mostly ‘handed over’ (Woods, 1993) from the teacher to the learner. The teachers’ role in the child-centred classroom is that of ‘facilitator’ (Rogers, 1983; Gregory, 2002; Neill, 1966) who guides the learner rather than ‘bossing’ or ‘controlling’ them in an authoritative manner. This understanding of pedagogy as appropriately ‘student-centred’ and ‘on-the-level’ is clearly at odds with how the fashion model is thought to instruct knowledge to the young girl in this study.⁴⁵ It is argued here that the model instructs knowledge by way of a ‘catwalk’, a platform raised approximately one metre off the ground. She is quite literally physically elevated in an authoritative position as a spectacle of knowledge, which clearly breaches the idea that the good teacher ought to be ‘on-the-level’ of her students.

Another contemporary pedagogical imperative that the fashion model breaches as a spectacular pedagogue is that which asserts that good teaching and learning relationships require relational (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 1996; Cortis, 1977; Cullingford, 1991; Galton, Simon & Croll, 1980; Houlihan, 1988; Wink & Wink, 2004; Wubbels, Levy & Brekelmans, 1998-99) or “transactional” (Cooper & McIntyre, 1996, p. 116) engagement. In this study, the fashion model instructs the young girl in a one-way transmission of knowledge. The young girl appears to have little, if any input in this process, and comes to know things about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct not through communicating with the model but by silently gazing at her embodied display.⁴⁶ The model does not make herself available for communication with the young girl; instead she stares straight ahead and performs her movements with mechanical precision. For contemporary educational theorists, it is “[o]nly the most unprofessional and disenchanting teacher...[that] would be totally uninterested in the outcome of their teaching on their pupils” (Stones, 1992, p. 18) and only the “unskilled teacher...[that] stare[s] into space or at a fixed point at the back of the classroom” (Cole & Chan, 1994, p. 60). Progressive teachers always

⁴⁵ As Marland (1975) states, “[y]oung teachers hoping for a close rapport with their pupils tend to search for less and less dominating positions” (p. 27).

⁴⁶ In suggesting that the young girl learns ‘across distance’, the study does not imply that the young girl is passive in this learning. She is not passively consuming but actively *reading from* the body of the fashion model as a spectacular knowledge object. Furthermore, the model actively instructs knowledge to the young girl by making a spectacle of her bodily curriculum.

engage in pedagogy as “a two-way process” (Turney, 1981, p. 71), meeting the learner “on a person-to-person” (Rogers, 1983, p. 122) or “face-to-face” (Gage, 1978, p. 15) basis, as “[w]orthwhile learning cannot be a one-way process” (Stones, 1992, p. 16). Furthermore, progressive teachers are available to students at all times as “a complete person” (Barry & King, 1998, p. 16; see also Rogers, 1961) and, most importantly, they must “be approachable” (Cullingford, 1990. p. 190; James & Choppin, 1976-77). As Barry and King (1998) suggest:

The teacher who always has time to hear a student out, the teacher who is not a threatening adult, the teacher who makes students feel good about being with him or her on a one-to-one basis, is the teacher whom we see as being approachable (p. 101).

Relational communication between a teacher and a learner is of paramount importance in contemporary pedagogy. Progressive educational theorists emphasise “[m]eaningful eye contact” (Cole & Chan, 1994, p. 60) as fundamental to communication involving “a psychological sharing of the communication process”. Pedagogical relationships that are devoid of eye contact, such as that between the model and the girl, are thought to be “always detrimental to proficient communication as students feel they are not participating in a meaningful interpersonal relationship” (ibid).

Pedagogical theory in the Arts/Humanities argues the importance of spectacular instruction as a powerful pedagogical process (Litvak, 1995). Maria Angel (1994) contends that the spectacular body features in pedagogy as “a showing of power right through something – an example” (p. 61). It is a pedagogical premise whereby “someone is shown a body of evidence and learns something” (p. 62). Angel calls this process “authorization” and argues that it is through authorization, where the “body has been historically constructed as a specularised entity; something which can be pointed to and seen” (ibid), that powerful pedagogy occurs. Embodied teachers represent “sites and sights of authoritative display” (p. 63)⁴⁷ from which pupils are instructed by way of example. Pedagogical studies informed by literary criticism are also useful in this way, as they also draw attention to how bodies can convey a powerful pedagogical “drive to ‘teach someone a lesson’” (Gallop, 1982, p.

⁴⁷ Progressive pedagogical theorists such as Entwistle (1970) suggest that teacherly authority can be ‘problem’ in teaching and learning relationships: “The danger of authoritarianism seems particularly to threaten the educational relationship” (p. 61).

117). They highlight how bodies can serve to instruct knowledge about conduct by performing this knowledge as an *exemplary spectacular display*.

Cryle's (1994, 1997, 2000) work is again significant here as it shows that effective spectacular pedagogues have existed previously. His map of female-to-female pedagogy in eighteenth century erotic literature indicates the importance of the spectacle of one woman (usually of higher social class) posing or modelling "positional knowledge" to pupils as a "display" (Cryle, 1994, p. viii) of knowledge, usually from a literally elevated physical position on display for pupils to see. Cryle's (1994) work particularly draws attention to the "the teacherly showing" (p. 72) of embodied knowledge, "an event to be witnessed" by pupils. It may be argued that the performance of the fashion model shares parallels with pre-modern female-to-female instruction in that her literally elevated performance on the catwalk constitutes 'an event to be witnessed'. Furthermore, culturally elevated as an authoritative example of bodily conduct, the study considers the fashion model as 'a specularised entity' that instructs embodied knowing to young girls as spectators of that knowing. Employing this theory to interrogate the model-girl relationship, then, offers up a different reading of the embodied performance of the fashion model as a 'sight' and 'site' (Angel, 1994) of authoritative display. She instructs the young girl about bodily conduct by having her gaze closely at the model as spectacular and, hence, authorized embodied exemplar of knowledge.

4.5 THE GAZING PUPIL

The notion of *the gaze* (Foucault, 1977a) is imperative in this instruction. Following Foucault (1977a), the "gaze" (p. 173) is understood to constitute a particular function of 'power/knowledge' as "a locus of convergence for everything that must be known: a perfect eye that nothing would escape and a centre towards which all gazes would be turned". Foucault (1977a) explains that it is the gaze that facilitates disciplinary practices: "The perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly" (p. 173). There exist "simple instruments" (Foucault, 1977a, p. 170) through which 'perfect discipline' is made possible, according to Foucault, these being hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement. Foucault argues that discipline can be exercised only when "a mechanism that coerces by means of observation" is put in place, a mechanism that

makes individuals “clearly visible” (p. 171) to the supervisory gaze. Foucault notes that this mechanism can take the form of the architectural arrangement of space,

an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen...or to observe the external space...but to permit an internal, articulated and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it...an architecture that would operate to transform individuals...to make it possible to know them (p. 172).

This is what Foucault calls hierarchical observation. Foucault continues noting that “[a]t the heart of all disciplinary systems functions a small penal mechanism” (p. 177), that of normalizing judgement. Disciplinary systems, such as prisons, hospitals and schools, work out of “a kind of judicial privilege with its own laws, its specific offences, its particular forms of judgement” (p. 178). Individuals that form part of a disciplinary system are observed and judged according to particular ‘norms’ which prescribe what sort of activities, speech, behaviour, bodily gestures and so on are appropriate in a specific disciplinary apparatus. As individuals in the disciplinary system are subject to hierarchical observation, “the slightest departures from correct behaviour [are made] subject to punishment” (ibid) by the supervisory gaze, with punishments including physical and behavioural privations being dispensed.

The gaze (Foucault, 1977a) is a concept that has been used to interrogate more taken-for-granted notions of good pedagogy in new pedagogical theory (Case, Case & Catling, 2000; Tyler, 1993; Welland, 2001).⁴⁸ Researchers have drawn attention to how surveillance practices in the school invoke a certain type of all-encompassing gaze through practices of observation and normalization. For example, James Ryan (1991) notes, as does Foucault (1977a), how schools are pervaded by visualising and surveillance technologies which make students in schools objects of the gaze:

“Students are invigilated in hallways, classrooms, offices, gymnasiums, coat rooms, on playgrounds, and on occasion, even in washrooms. Very little student activity escapes the notice of vigilant teachers” (p. 113). These understandings of classroom practices have also been applied to early childhood settings in order to understand more fully how the gaze works to observe and normalise staff and students alike.

Chris Holligan (1999; see also Jones & Brown, 2001) explores how the nursery

⁴⁸ This notion has also been employed extensively in work problematising the health sciences (see for example Cheek, 2000; Cheek & Rudge, 1997; Heaton, 1999; Nettleton, 1989; Peckover, 2002; Pryce, 2000a, 2000b; Reuter, 2002; Shapiro, 2002), particularly the field of nursing (Gastaldo & Holmes, 1999; May, 1992; Walker, 1997)

classroom serves to produce staff and students as infinitely disciplined and surveilled ‘docile bodies’. For example, a multitude of ‘rules’, mostly derived from the “official discourse of the government’s curricular guidelines” (p. 145), “establish how they [students] must use their bodies in order to play properly” (p. 142). These rules also precisely define what constitutes improper play and specific procedures are instituted for ‘non-compliant bodies’ through “[t]he normalisation of deviance” (p. 141). Hence, clearly disciplinary practices that may seem ‘normal’ in this classroom are making individuals in schools objects of a pervasive gaze. This study follows these writers by arguing that the young girl comes to know things about the fashion model by way of a “disciplinary gaze” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 174) that makes the model and the girl ‘clearly visible’ and normalised according to certain discourses.

Of primary interest to the study, however, is how the young girl learns so precisely about the conduct of the self as embodied from the model by *gazing meticulously at* her spectacular bodily performance. Cryle’s (1994) analyses are again useful here as it offers up exemplars of effective pedagogy conducted through a very scrupulous gaze. Examining French erotic literature, Cryle (2001) notes that “erotic representation [from the Renaissance to the middle of the eighteenth century] foregrounds sculpture and the sculptural. Statues, paintings, and engravings of body shapes serve as model in the most precise sense” (p. 49). Cryle (*ibid*) explains how these erotic figures demonstrated “a particular attitude, allowing it to be held, named, and counted” and, as such, instructed and “learned as a set”. Young female apprentices in particular learned from these erotic postures, either as they were depicted in erotic art or as they were embodied on the all-knowing erotic female pedagogue. The female-to-female pedagogical relationships described by Cryle, in which an “erotic postural discipline [was]...propagated through the teaching and learning of figures” (p. 51), imply a consistent *gaze of the pupil* who looks at the body of the female pedagogue and learns from it as an authoritative exemplar. The present study argues that just as precise a gaze is also working in the model-girl relationship. The girl gazes at, and comes to know things about, the model body, as spectacular, authoritative exemplar of knowledge.

This transgresses the boundaries of pedagogy wherein a teacher ought to involve the learner in minimal amounts of gazing at any one time, as it promotes ‘passivity’ in

the mind of the learner and takes away from pedagogy as intellectual activity. This becomes especially apparent where prospective teachers are cautioned about the “dangers” (Bruner, 1960, p. 72) of pedagogical relations slipping into “spectatorship” and, as such, “passivity”. As Killen (2003, p. 3) suggests, a teacher “cannot leave students to make sense of the world through just their personal observation”. A good contemporary teacher promotes “[u]nderstanding” and that happens only “when learners think about and try to make sense of the world” (ibid). As Jane Gallop (1995) notes, danger lurks where a pedagogue is “showing students what to do, rather than letting them figure it out” (p. 9). This is not to suggest, however, that the gaze of the learner on the teacher does not work through contemporary classrooms (Marsh, 2000). The gaze of the learner is used by the contemporary teacher to measure the learner’s “attention and involvement” (Neill & Caswell, 1993, p. 10; Parkin, 2005). However, contemporary educational theorists do insist that there exists an “appropriate level of gaze [that] varies between situations” (ibid) in the classroom setting.

A different approach to this is developed in the work of new pedagogical theorists who suggest that powerful instruction happens through the gaze of the attentive pupil (Symes, 2000). This notion reintroduces the power of the visible pedagogue and the importance of the traditional teacherly notion of “I want every eye on me” (McWilliam, 1995, p. 17). The following comment by Erica McWilliam (1999) demonstrates well the power of the student gaze to observe pedagogical bodies in instruction:

Say “parabola” to me and even now I see in my mind’s eye not simply my high school mathematics textbook of thirty years ago, but the pendulous flesh of my elderly math teacher’s right underarm, swinging rhythmically one beat behind the movement of the chalk as she draws a geometrical figure on the blackboard (p. 109).

McWilliam, as an attentive student gazing at the body of her teacher, is instructed not only about mathematical calculation but about the precise movements and postures of her teacher’s body as she teaches. It is knowledge about the body of the teacher that is instructed in addition to mathematics. McWilliam states further that it is often the “*exceptionality*” (p. 115, italics in original) or “sight” of the stylistic adornment

of the female teacher that comprises the “focus of the student gaze” in pedagogy.⁴⁹ Similarly, Lynne Joyrich (1995) analyses the iconic teacher Jean Brodie in the film *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* and how she is *marked as spectacle*. Her analysis draws attention to how Jean Brodie represents an object ‘to be seen’ in the following comment from “the sewing teachers” (p. 50) in the movie: “She always looks so extreme”. While for the sewing teachers this appears as a negative characteristic for a teacher to embody, this works as a strategy of seduction for Jean Brodie. This study suggests that the model is ‘marked as spectacle’ in a similar manner. The model is marked as a ‘site/sight’ of ‘exceptionality’: she is the focus of the gaze of the young girl as attentive pupil. This reading of the model-girl encounter also implies a particular “physical proximity” (Foucault, 1976, p. 44) between instructor and pupil which suggests that such instruction might occur across distance.

4.6 PEDAGOGY AT A DISTANCE

The study argues that the fashion model/young girl pedagogical encounter is conducted, produced and regulated in *space* and *across (ceremonious) distance* (Cryle, 2001). This idea is developed in the work of Cryle (2001) in his examination of the thematics of eroticism in eighteenth century French erotic literature. A classical eroticism in the form of an *ars erotica* is made evident in texts such as Sade and eroticism within these texts is characterised by an “erotic discipline [that] works across ceremonious distance...and its privileged medium is the look” (p. 69). Cryle (1994, p. 13) notes elsewhere that “the space of effort available to the learner” in being taught *ars erotica*, “is likely to be numerically precise”. Instruction demands a scrupulous attention to the arrangement of bodies in space so as to effectively transmit embodied knowledge performed on the body of the erotic pedagogue as an erotic postural discipline. Of particular importance in this exchange is the notion that such a measured organisation of space maximises the learning capacity of the novice through the gaze.

For the most part, contemporary educational theorists may concur that a carefully and appropriately arranged classroom space does maximise the capacity for student

⁴⁹ Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell (1995) argue that through discourses such as the media, students as well as teachers come to know what the ‘good’ teacher ought to look like. Moreover, their work indicates that the teacher’s body constitutes an object of a very precise student gaze in that the students can draw these teacherly bodies, complete with ‘appropriate’ clothing.

learning (Cullingford, 1991; Ormond, 2003). Freda Briggs and Gillian Potter (1999) for example state that “[t]he careful arrangement and aesthetic appeal of the physical space contributes substantially to children’s endeavours and attitudes” (p. 167). However, the good contemporary teacher is different to the model in that she works to ‘overcome distance’ (Jennings, 1995; Cambre & Hawkes, 2004), both physical and interpersonal, between her and her learners. For example, if the teacher’s desk is “set apart” (Neill & Caswell, 1993, p. 11) from the students in the classroom, as is the case in more traditional classroom arrangements, this indicates “a psychological distance between her and the children. In the formal classroom, children who sit at the front or in the central positions are more involved than those on the periphery, distant from the teacher”. Contemporary educational theorists state that teaching and learning at a distance usually lacks “the social component of learning (the person-to-person interactivity)” (ibid, p. 105) to the detriment of the “full richness” encountered in “face-to-face” pedagogical interaction. The work of Clark (1995) is particularly indicative of this notion, with the students themselves stating their preference for a teacher that “does not show off or put distance between us” (p. 15).

In the area of distance education in particular, teachers work to ‘overcome distance’ between the teacher and the learner by encouraging “[c]ommunication...meaningful interaction...[and] personal support” (Black & Holford, 2002, p. 201), as “the face-to-face relationship between teacher and learners has been fundamental to education” (p. 189). As Peter Taylor (1996) notes, “‘high tech’ open learning may well offer students an impoverished ‘virtual’ world stripped of the social and cultural support provided through body-to-body interactions” (p. 69). However, overcoming distance in teaching and learning in the classroom environment more generally is also of paramount importance. As Andersen and Andersen (1982) demonstrate,

closer distances [between teachers and learners] result in more positive attitudes...Many teachers fail to establish much immediacy or interpersonal closeness with a class because they remain physically remote. Standing at the front of the room or sitting behind a desk is common behavior for teachers. In these remote positions, it is quite difficult for a teacher to develop a close relationship with a class, even if the teacher wants to develop such a relationship (pp. 101-102).

Given that the fashion model is physically elevated on the catwalk and positioned at-a-distance from the young girl, contemporary educational theorists may argue that

model-girl pedagogy may ultimately be ineffective because of its refusal to ‘overcome’ spatial and relational distance.

Another progressive pedagogical ‘rule’ for good pedagogy that the fashion model breaches as a pedagogue to young girls involves interpersonal distance. As mentioned above, the fashion model is remote not only physically, but also psychologically, socially and emotionally. She appears arrogant, indifferent, is not ‘withit’ (Kounin, 1970) and does not ‘care’ about the wellbeing of the young girls that gaze at her across distance so attentively. This breaches what it means to be an effective teacher in contemporary times.⁵⁰ “Effective teachers”, according to Cole and Chan (1994), “have positive regard for their students...Students should feel at ease in the presence of their teachers” (p. 54). The proper contemporary teacher must ‘genuinely care’ (Soltis, 1994; Boler, 1999; Capel, Leask & Turner, 1997; Noblit, 1993; Ridley & Walther, 1995; Steedman, 1988) for her students or at the very least display a “[c]ommittment to care” (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 145); that is, to demonstrate “human nurturance, connectedness, warmth and love”. Nel Noddings (2001, 1995, 1992) states, “teachers not only have to create caring relations in which they are carers, but that they also have a responsibility to help their students to develop the capacity to care” (1992, p. 18). The teacher should have a “deep affection for individual children” (Jackson, 1990, p. 8; Fibkins, 2003; McCabe & Rhoades, 1988). As Gilbert Highet (1951) argues, “[y]ou must throw your heart into it – you must realise that it cannot all be done by formulas, or you will spoil your work, and your pupils, and yourself” (p. viii). E. C. Wragg (1984a) also supports this notion, arguing that “[g]ood teachers, it is commonly held, are keen and enthusiastic...and are interested in the welfare of their pupils. Few would attempt to defend the converse: that good teachers are unenthusiastic, boring, unfair, ignorant, and do not care about their pupils” (p. 4). Research conducted by Ryans (1960) further maintains that qualities that both teachers and students ‘disliked’ in teacher included “arrogance, intolerance, sarcasm, and partiality” (p. 365).

⁵⁰ See for example Bennett (1976), Briggs and Potter (1999), Cole and Chan (1994), Davies (1982), Galton, Simon and Croll (1980), Hargreaves (1994), Jackson (1990), Marland (1975), Neil and Caswell (1993), Ryans (1960), Soltis (1994), Squires (1999) and Wragg (1984a) to name only a few.

It appears necessary, then, that the good teacher ought to represent a certain type of “social-ethical sensitivity” (Soltis, 1994, p. 248; Norlander-Case, Reagan & Case, 1999) and “moral goodness” in her relationships with her students, rather than presenting herself as a “cool disinterested authorit[y]” (p. 254). Indeed, Squires (1999; see also Capel, Leask & Turner, 1997; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 1996) even goes to the extent of suggesting that “counselling is a function of teaching” (p. 48). Some writers extend this notion of teacher-as-counsellor to include teacher-as-mother. As Jackson (1990) suggests, ‘good’ teachers should have a “level of emotional attachment” (p. 139) with their students which causes their role as teacher “to blur and to merge with the role of mother”. Hilary Burgess and Bob Carter (1992) have argued that the notion of teacher-as-mother, originating it seems in the work of progressive educational philosopher Friedrich Froebel (Steedman, 1988), so pervades progressive educational literature that it has come to represent a discourse in itself. A predominant part of this “Mumsy” (Burgess & Carter, 1992, p. 349) discourse, they contend, is the notion that “[t]he ‘real’ teacher is one who ‘knows’ the children” (p. 351).

This understanding of the good contemporary teacher is vehemently championed by progressive educational theorists. The ‘duty’ of all teachers is to not only “become knowledgeable of the background of your students, demonstrating understanding and concern” (Cole & Chan, 1994, p. 56; Bennett, 1976) but also to “recognize that students are unique individuals with developing minds and emotions that teachers needs to understand and respect” (Soltis, 1994, p. 254; Davies, 1982). The ‘good’ teacher ought to ‘get-to-know’ “each child individually, and how best to stimulate or intervene with each. In this activity she bears in mind the child’s intellectual, social and physical levels of development and monitors these” (Galton, Simon & Croll, 1980, p. 49; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 1996). The literature also often emphasises the importance of the teacher knowing the names and faces of her students (Marland, 1975; Ridley & Walther, 1995). Hight (1951) suggests that this is by no means an easy task which “[s]ome people find...easy, some very difficult, but it is a *must*” (p. 35, italics in original). A certain type of ‘selflessness’ permeates this notion of the ‘good’ contemporary teacher in the literature, as the teacher involved in the task of ‘getting-to-know’ her students “must never give up” (Marland, 1975, p. 14).

To regard the physically and interpersonally remote fashion model in terms of progressive protocols about good pedagogy, then, there is little doubt that she would not measure up as an effective teacher. New pedagogical theory, however, supports the notion that space constitutes an important aspect of analysis in interrogating pedagogical situations. In line with this theory, and with other work examining the arrangement of space in social situations (Barnett, 1999; Hillier, 1997; Spielvogel, 2002), this study understands space as meticulously and calculably arranged and, hence, discursively constituted in particular ways.

This literature has argued that an important part of how pedagogical relationships are produced and reproduced involves their arrangement in space (Benito, 2003; Gore, 1998; Hammerberg, 2004; Kirk, 1999; Nespor, 1997; Peters, 1996; Spencer, 2003; Symes & Preston, 1997; Tyler, 1993) and how some spaces are in themselves 'educative' (Spencer, 2003). In an examination of an art exhibition, Colin Symes (2000) notes that conducting the viewing of works of art as a pedagogical event involves the meticulous organisation of space in terms of physical distance: "[T]he various protocols of museum conduct demand their own modes of distancing and spatializing which regulate the degree of physical contact and level of interaction that is possible with a work of art" (p. 112). Jan Nespor (2000) also explores how field trips, such as that to a history museum, produce pedagogical relationships across distance. Nespor's work highlights the importance of a carefully managed space in producing a certain type of pedagogical relationship based upon a "reverential demeanour: stay quiet...keep our hands to ourselves, and under no circumstances touch anything" (p. 37). Here, the students learn from the historical artefacts across a certain form of (ceremonious) distance, with the bodies of the students being carefully 'estranged' or 'positioned' "as detached spectators" (p. 38) and the artefacts as 'spectacle'. Such 'modes of distancing and spatializing', this study argues, are at work in model-girl pedagogy. It is carried out at a distance and, as such, across space. As a 'detached spectator', the young girl learns from the body of the fashion model as spectacle and as a 'cold and lonely, lovely work of art'. Interrogating this encounter in these terms may demonstrate how the arrangement of space provides conditions which make possible the pedagogical instruction of knowledge as a spectacular performance.

4.7 THE CONDUCT OF CONDUCT

By reading the fashion model/young girl pedagogical relationship as embodied, as producing the self as a work of art, as performance, as spectacle, as pedagogy conducted by way of the gaze and across ceremonious distance, this study suggests that the model and the young girl are producing a certain type of *conduct*.⁵¹ Of particular interest is how this conduct is *conducted* by the fashion model and the young girl in their relationship with one another. It is to the Foucaultian concept of ‘*the conduct of conduct*’ (Gordon, 1991) that this study turns to highlight how the model and the young girl work to regulate and manage their conduct as embodied, performative, as spectacular and so on. In this idea, developed to describe the broader political rationality of “governmentality” (Foucault, 1991a, p. 102), Foucault refers to “a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons” (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). As an “art of government” (p. 87), governmentality takes as its object the regulation and management of people and populations as a method of governing by techniques of self-regulation (Rose, 1990). This perspective draws attention to how the conduct of individuals can be shaped by the individuals themselves and by others. More importantly, it also makes possible an understanding of how this form of conduct of conduct is applied to individuals “not just to control, subdue, discipline, normalize, or reform them, but also to make them more intelligent, wise, happy, virtuous, healthy, productive, docile, enterprising, fulfilled, self-esteeming, empowered, or whatever” (Rose, 1996, p. 12).

This notion of governmentality has been employed in recent times to re-examine not only social phenomena in general (Besley, 2002; Henman, 1997; Miller & Rose, 1993; Nadesan, 2002; Rimke, 2000; Sigley, 1997; Tait, 2001b, 2000b, 1993c, 1993b, 1993a) but also pedagogical relationships (Hunter, 1993; Keogh, 1994; Marshall, 1997; Meadmore, 1997; Weate, 1998). However, it is significant to note here that whilst the model-girl relationship may be interrogated as an encounter in need of regulation and self-regulation as part of the wider concerns of governmentality,⁵²

⁵¹ Mitchell Dean (1999) provides a useful outline of what Foucault understands ‘conduct’ to mean. Dean states that Foucault uses the term conduct in three senses. Firstly, conduct is taken to mean “to lead, to direct or to guide and perhaps implies some sort of calculation as to how this is to be done” (p. 10). Secondly, conduct is understood in terms of an “ethical or moral sense” meaning “to conduct oneself”. Finally, conduct “refers to our behaviours, our actions and even our comportment”.

⁵² Discourses of media, psychology and protection generally identify the body/identity of the fashion model as disordered/distorted, as the examination of existing literature above demonstrates. In doing

reading this relationship in this way extends beyond the scope of this study. Instead, this study interrogates how the model and the girl conduct the conduct of the self as a subset of the broader domain of governmental rationality (Dean, 1999). Foucault explains this further by stating that within the ‘broader domain’ of the conduct of conduct of populations there are three specific forms of government: “the art of self-government”, “the art of properly governing a family”, and “the science of ruling the state” (Foucault, 1991a, p. 91). These three forms of government work relationally to produce a particular type of governmental rationality, that is, governmentality.

Whilst it may be problematic to discuss any of these forms of government in isolation, it is not, as previously mentioned, the task of this study to consider the model-girl relationship in terms of the broader domains of governmentality. The form of governmental rationality that concerns this study is the “art of self-government” (Foucault, 1991a, p. 91) or self-regulation. It is this ‘subset’ of self-governmental practices that provides the focus for examining how the model and the girl ‘conduct their conduct’ through and with their bodies. It understands the model and the girl to be conducting a particular type of relationship with themselves as indicative of a style of *self-government* whereby they each enact “some form of control or guidance” (Gordon, 1991, p. 2). The fashion model is not, in this study, the all-powerful ‘governing body’ that controls the bodily conduct of young girls, as psychological and medical discourses might argue for example. Indeed, this study intentionally employs notions of governmentality to re-interrogate the model-girl relationship to “avoid the problems associated with employing a coercive model of power” (Tait, 2000b, p. 59) as well as to account “for its historical specificity”.

The interest for this study, then, is in how the conduct of the fashion model and the young girl “might be directed” (Foucault, 1982, p. 221) by them in their relationship with one another. It aims to explicate the “modes of action, more or less considered and calculated” (ibid) that the model and the girl enact with the embodied self as a means to conduct their conduct as a *political technology of the body* (Foucault,

so, these discourses accentuate the need to regulate and control this unhealthy and, hence, dangerous body/identity as an element of the “proper” (McWilliam, 1998, p. 395) government of populations.

1977a).⁵³ It seeks to show how these ‘modes of action’, when enacted with the embodied selves of the model and the girl, serve to situate them as ‘pedagogue’ and ‘apprentice’.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The conceptual understandings ‘assembled’ above provide a basis for which to re-read the fashion model as a powerful pedagogue to young girls. It is argued here that to think otherwise about the model as pedagogue, a departure is required from taken-for-granted protocols about ‘good’ teaching and learning relationships, evidenced in contemporary educational discourse. There is a need for a shift away from progressive ideas about ‘ideal’ pedagogy as necessarily mindful, geared towards ‘healthy’ psychological development, authentic, verbal, visually engaged, and interpersonally ‘intimate’. This chapter, then, has mapped a theoretical terrain, drawing on new pedagogical literature, with which to newly interrogate the model-girl relationship as embodied pedagogical work performed at a specific social, cultural and historical moment. It makes possible an understanding of model-girl pedagogy as a transmission of embodied knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct from the model, as an embodied performative spectacular remote pedagogue, to the young girl, as gazing attentive apprentice.

Most importantly, this chapter has mapped a conceptual landscape that allows for re-thinking the fashion model and the young girl as postmodern *body subjects*, that is, as shifting, fluid, multiple ‘subjects’, discursively constituted and re-constituted by corporeal and material practices. It is implied in this study that as body subjects, the model and the girl are always engaged in the labour of inscribing and re-inscribing themselves as textual and material subjects of embodied pedagogical work. The model and the girl are understood to be continually shaped by and shaping the ‘sight/site’ (Angel, 1994) of their pedagogy such as the ‘modelling classroom’. It is this ‘sight/site’ of model-girl pedagogy that this study focuses on as locations wherein embodied pedagogical work is conducted body-to-body and female-to-female between the fashion model and the young girl. How, then, the ‘assemblage’ of theoretical dispositions elaborated in this chapter inform the research project

⁵³ The work of Tait (2000b) provides an analysis of how youth is constituted as object of government and how this process is conducted by way of particular practices of self.

embedded in this thesis and, hence, “orients the observer toward the empirical world” (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 15) is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

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CHAPTER FIVE

GENERATING DATA: THEORY/METHOD RELATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four has argued that it is useful to make strange the dominant rules for proper pedagogical conduct in order to begin to think about ‘ideal’ pedagogy as embodied, as producing the self as a work of art, as performative, as working through spectacle and the gaze across distance. It examined how these ‘rules’, steeped in a discourse of pedagogical progressivism, constitute a *regime of truth* about what it means to teach properly in contemporary times. In doing so, it made apparent how certain ideas about ‘ideal’ pedagogical practice come to be taken-for-granted as ‘truth’ about how best to teach. Furthermore, it questioned the notion that more familiar understandings of what constitutes an ‘effective’ teaching and learning relationship are universal or necessary and to instead suggest that these ideas are located in a specific social, cultural and historical space. The central aim of this problematising work was to suggest that in order to conceptualise the fashion model as a teacher to young girls, new ‘ways-of-thinking’ about ‘best’ pedagogical practice are needed.

It also demonstrated how contemporary ideas about pedagogy are underpinned by essentialist, individualist, universalist and modernist (Usher & Edwards, 1994) understandings of social phenomena. Social phenomena are interrogated as ‘things’ that exist ‘out-there-in-the-world’ that the researcher can locate themselves “outside or apart from” (p. 34) and discover their true ‘essence’. This study argues that a more postmodern (Lather, 1991a)¹ methodology is needed which casts a “suspicious” (Tierney & Lincoln, 1997b, p. viii) eye over research practices as “embedded in and expressive of culturally and historically specific conditions” (Terry, 1995, p. 135), as always already located in contradictory, uncertain and contested social, economic, cultural and political relations. Patti Lather (1991a, 1991b) observes that postmodern

¹ William Tierney and Yvonna Lincoln (1997b) describe the postmodern methodological climate in which research is conducted in contemporary times as “a culture of doubt” (p. vii). They suggest that as postmodern research workers, “[w]e are no longer sure if it is either possible or desirable...to ‘leave no footprints’ when we undertake a study” and that even familiar terms of research work we have come to know as characteristically modernist, such as “‘reliability’, ‘validity’, and ‘trustworthiness’” have become increasingly “contested” in contemporary times.

empirical work marks “the end of the quest for a ‘God’s Eye’ perspective, a disembodied, universal perspective that transcends time and place and human values, and the confrontation of the lust for absolutes, for certainty in our ways of knowing” (1991a, p. 6). Furthermore, postmodern empirical work requires that the researcher employ what Andy Hargreaves (1999) a “properly sceptical attitude” (p. 341) in approaching research practices infused with a sense of ‘doubt’ (Richardson, 1991).

5.0.1 Embodying the research process

More importantly, with concepts ‘assembled’ from poststructural readings of the nature of social phenomena, the study demands coherence or a “continual interplay” (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 15) between the conceptualisation of the ‘data’ and the methods used to generate this ‘data’.² Popkewitz (1998, p. 141) elaborates:

What is written as data relates to ‘theoretical’ dispositions, which enable certain ‘things’ to be explored and other ‘things’ to be removed from scrutiny. One’s observations place boundaries on what one can to interpret. Data collection and theory are bound.

Popkewitz’s (1998) insistence on the data/theory nexus is particularly pertinent to this study given the focus on the importance of the body as a trained, apparatus. What emerges in this study is the importance of a methodological approach that foregrounds or *re-members* (Shapiro, 1994) the body not only as a powerful pedagogical knowledge object but also as a ‘sight/site’ of empirical production and practice (Pillow, 1997). The study then requires a method that not only *re-embodies* (Pillow, 2003) the research process by “paying attention to the body, literally and figuratively” (p. 145) but also emphasises the embodied character of research relations (Moje, 2000).

Whilst shifting the focus onto the body as a research ‘sight/site’ is not new (Grosz, 1995; McWilliam & O’Donnell, 1998; Morgan & McWilliam, 1995; Pendergast, 1999; Pillow, 2003, 1997; Scott & Morgan, 1993), this study does privilege the transgressive-ness for educational research of ‘looking-at’ as opposed to ‘looking-away’ from the body of the fashion model. It suggest that doing so may highlight the

² Patti Lather (1997) suggests that theory and method are inseparable and that her work aims to deconstruct “the theory-practice binary” (p. 235) and to instead move “toward a third space of both/and and neither/nor of theory and practice, a space I presently call a theory of situated methodology”.

slippages between ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ research³ and open up new possibilities and positions from which to re-interrogate the body as an object of research, as well as an object of pedagogical knowledge transfer. More importantly, it enables a shift away from modernist, positivist, ‘traditional’ (Popkewitz, 1998) ways of doing research that work out of “[a]n unfeeling, avoidant awareness of the matter and sense of the body” (Casey, 2000, p. 53).

5.1 POSTSTRUCTURALISM AS METHODOLOGY

It is to poststructuralist modes of empirical enquiry that this study shifts that emphasise notions of hybridity, conditionality, contrivance, discontinuity, and intertextuality, and that ‘bring the body back in’ to research processes (Frank, 1990; Pillow, 2003). A poststructural approach to empirical research aims “to look awry at what seems commonsensical and normal” (St. Pierre, 2002, p. 417) and “to produce an awareness of the complexity, historical contingency, and fragility of the practices we invent to discover the truth about ourselves” (Lather, 1992a, p. 88). It is a climate of “dis-ease” (Baker & Heyning, 2004a, p. 2) that works through poststructural research, highlighting the discontinuities and “ruptures” (p. 5) of the ‘realities’ of social phenomena. This is not to suggest that modernist, positivist, traditional empirical methodologies are being eschewed entirely in this study. Rather, the research is done “across and between these traditions of research” (Tamboukou & Ball, 2004a, p. 2).

Empirical work is re-read in terms of what Ann Game (1991) calls a “methodology of multiplicity” (p. 191) in which a range of ‘potentialities’ are opened up to the researcher. Rather than reaching a definitive ‘eureka’ point in the research process, poststructural empirical enquiry is interested “in the lines of flight that make new realities” (Davies, 2004, p. 7, italics removed) and is always in the process of ‘becoming’ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988), rendering empirical work “supple” (St.

³ Carolyn Ellis and Michael Flaherty (1992a) indicate that to study subjectivity, that is “human lived experience and the physical, political, and historical context of that experience” (p. 1) is something that sociological researchers tend to “shy away from...in much the same fashion that individuals avoid unpleasant or dangerous activities”. To study subjectivity ‘properly’ appears problematic, according to Ellis and Flaherty, as subjectivity emerges as ‘improper’ in that it “can be both unpleasant and dangerous: unpleasant because emotional, cognitive, and physical experiences frequently concern events that...are deemed inappropriate topics for polite society;...dangerous because the workings of subjectivity seems to contradict so much of the rational-actor world-view on which mainstream sociology is premised” (p. 1).

Pierre, 2002, p. 25) and discontinuous rather than rigid and unwavering. The research project embedded in this thesis, however, is not ‘supple’ to the point of being rendered devoid of ‘rules’. The point is that poststructural empirical work is guided by different discursive rules “for transgressing modernist writing strategies and formats” (McWilliam, 1997d, p. 220). To make an epistemological shift from ‘traditional’ research methodologies “mean[s] *new* textual forms rather than *no* textual forms” (italics in original) and may make possible what Lather (2000) “a less comfortable social science” (p. 285). Even more interesting is that some writers argue that poststructural research is so hybridised and unstable that it “is not something that can be acquired as a sort of technique” (Sondergaard, 2002, p. 187; Davies, 2000). Sondergaard (2002, p. 187) states that “[i]t cannot be repeated too often that there are no recipes for creative analyses in this genre”. Rather, the researcher ‘assembles’ a research methodology in a more piecemeal fashion from the fragments, shreds, ideas and notions expressed about empirical methodologies in poststructural theory to ‘make-up’ “a productive, fun and transgressive way to do research” (Sondergaard, *ibid*).

The focus in this study is how the model and the girl produce discursive ‘realities’ as contingent, fragmented, and ‘partial’ (Dippo, 1993). Patti Lather (1991c) indicates that ‘facts’ about the model and the girl are always filtered through researcher values. Multiplicities of social, cultural and historical factors infuse the ways in which the research process is conducted in poststructural empirical work (Sondergaard, 2002). It is impossible to investigate research objects and subjects as “‘pure’ phenomena, as though they were ‘uninfected’ by culture” (Sondergaard, 2002, p. 189). The conditions within which these objects and subjects are studied are entirely and consistently ‘mediated’. Research subjects are in themselves “unknowable” (Lather, 1992b, p. 104). It is not possible to ‘truly’ know a subject as an object of research as “[i]dentities are continually displaced/replaced” (p. 101; Clifford, 1986) and the “subject is neither unified nor fixed”.

The ‘data’ produced in empirical work in this study, then, as well as the processes involved in producing this data, is *generated* rather than *collected*. Just as the discourse of influence ‘generates’ certain ways of thinking about the model-girl relationship, so too does the empirical work embedded in this thesis. The interest in

particular is how the ‘data’ generated makes known “the ways in which sense is being made, rather than the object of the sense making” (Davies, 2004, p. 4, italics removed). The model and the girl are understood as subjects of (and subject to) certain discourses such as that of fashion model influence. The study seeks to make apparent how “the real is constructed” (p. 5, italics removed) by the model and the girl as research subjects that are uncertain, fragmented and inventive.

5.1.1 Questions of ‘trustworthiness’: Towards a poststructural validity

Whilst the epistemological viewpoint that guides this inquiry clearly casts doubt as to the ‘purity’ and ‘truth’ of traditional as well as poststructural and posthuman research methodologies,⁴ it is acknowledged in this study that “[t]here will always be formal rules for the completion of any piece of research if it is to be validated” (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997, p. 12) as scholarly work. To suggest that human ‘realities’ and research practices are discontinuous, temporal, and contingent upon particular forms of contested ‘truths’, however, clearly ‘decentres’ the notion of validity or processes of validation “as about epistemological guarantees” (Lather, 1993, p. 675). As validity as a concept works out of and is produced by a paradigm which this study seeks to depart from, validity as a research ‘tool’ as well as a concept is rendered “problematic in a deep theoretical sense” (Mishler, 1990, p. 417; Scheurich, 1997).

For Lather (1993), validity demands ‘reframing’ in different terms as “multiple, partial, endlessly deferred” (p. 675). Lather argues that there exists a need to depart from more familiar discursive understandings of validity and to move towards an understanding of “what it means to rupture validity as a regime of truth, to displace its historical inscription [and to]...position validity as ‘an incitement to discourse’” (p. 674). To ‘defamiliarise’ validity in this way presents as challenging given that validity is more “a mess of entangled concepts and methods with an abundance of loose threads” (Mishler, 1990, p. 416) than a ‘concrete’, definitive methodological ‘tool’ that may be incorporated seamlessly into any research project. Lather (1995, 1993) however argues, as does Mishler (1990), that it is possible to re-vision a new, and equally discursive, form of validity that ‘fits’ epistemologically with poststructural research endeavours. This form of validity would be couched in terms

⁴ The author of this study acknowledges that truly ‘innocent’ research is not possible in that it is always caught up in the invention and re-invention of ‘truth’ about research objects and subjects.

of “the process(es) through which we make claims for and evaluate the ‘trustworthiness’ of reported observations, interpretations, and generalizations” (Mishler, 1990, p. 419). It is chiefly a “*validity of transgression*” (Lather, 1993, p. 675, italics in original) interested in “how discourse does its work”, with ‘legitimation’ of the research being produced through multiple forms of problematising work rather than “a technical problem to be solved by more rigorous rules and procedures” (Mishler, 1990, p. 417).

It is this form of re-configured validity to which the research project embedded in this thesis prescribes. The study understands validity as “a researcher’s ability to explore the resources of different contemporary inquiry problematics” (Lather, 1993, p. 676) and to regard the research process in terms of making methodological practices ‘visible’. Furthermore, validity in this sense is more about “the craftsmanship in research” (Kvale, 2002, p. 308; Kvale, 1989), with the emphasis throughout the empirical work being on ‘quality control’ through the different phases of knowledge work.⁵ The aim is, then, “not to govern a practice” (Kvale, 2002, p. 683) and the myriad ‘variables’ that may ‘sully’ this practice. Rather, the intention is “to theorize it, deprive it of its innocence, disrupt the ideological effects by which it reproduces itself, pose as a problem what has been offered as a solution” (ibid). This is not to suggest that the study adopts what Jill Julius Matthews (1994, p. vi) calls a “fantasy of free-ranging interdisciplinarity – of being able to do whatever one wants”. Rather, it is about recognising and working “with rather than against” (Angel, 1994, p. 61) the discontinuous, fragmented, contrived and contradictory character of social phenomena as well as of the research process. Most importantly, it is about acknowledging that just as empiricists, positivists, naturalists and so on prescribe discursive rules for doing research ‘properly’, the work of poststructural theorists also make available many “*rules for breaking the rules* of orthodox research events” (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997, p. 12, italics in original). They are ‘ex-

⁵ Mishler (1990) also states that validity may be produced in research when “the relevant community of scientists evaluates reported findings as sufficiently trustworthy to rely on them for their work” (p. 417).

centric' (Hamilton & McWilliam, 2001) rules that aim to disrupt traditional, modernist, positivist and even postpositivist⁶ ways of doing empirical work.

5.2 FOUCAULT'S 'TOOL BOXES': PRECARIOUS RATHER THAN INNOCENT RESEARCH

The work of Michel Foucault (1991d) is employed as theorising that consists “of interrogating anew the evidence and the postulates, of shaking up habits, ways of acting and thinking, of dispelling commonplace beliefs, of taking a new measure of rules and institutions” (p. 12). Foucault’s work provides a range of methodological postulates with which to re-interrogate social phenomena. However, this study seeks neither to outline nor to apply this work holistically. Indeed, it is generally agreed amongst poststructural researchers that to outline a definitive set of “definitional statements or a list of criteria for ‘truly Foucaultian research’” (Baker & Heyning, 2004, p. 3; Marshall, 1986; Prior, 1997; Rose, 1994) is problematic, if not unfeasible. No absolute or supreme ‘textbooks’ exist which outline Foucault’s methodological theorising and how to apply this pragmatically. As Patricia O’Brien (1989) states, the most useful application of Foucault’s work is “to deform his work, to make it groan and protest” (p. 46). This study seeks instead to draw on Foucault’s writings as ‘tool boxes’ whereby certain notions or analyses are used “like a screwdriver or wrench in order to short-circuit, disqualify or break up” (Foucault, 1989a, p. 149) the more taken for granted understandings about the fashion model/young girl relationship.

Foucault’s work is used as an example of methodological theorising that provides ‘rules for breaking the rules’ of traditional research practices. Scientific practices are not a set range of practices that will lead researchers to the absolute truth about a particular object under examination (Visker, 1995). Research, according to Foucault (1985) is produced within multiple “games of truth and error” (pp. 6-7) which, in turn, produce certain types of knowledge, social practices and so on, as legitimate or ‘truthful’ (Foucault, 1984b). Indeed, most of the basic concepts connected with positivist notions of research are made subject to question, with concepts such as

⁶ Although postpositivist empirical theory is aligned with postmodern empirical understandings, according to Michael Crotty (1998), postpositivism continues to work out of “the broad tradition of positivism and retains a number of its features” (p. 184).

“[t]ruth, objectivity and reason...reinscribed as...effects of power” (Lather, 1992b, p. 90; Lather, 1991a; Sondergaard, 2002). For example, there is no one innocent viewpoint from which to view social phenomena, as the researchers, as well as the researched, are discursive “material and textual bodies of knowing” (McWilliam, 1997d, p. 221). Research works through discursive “mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements” (Foucault, 1984b, p. 73); that is, they constitute truth as something that *can and must be thought* (Foucault, 1985).

In this study, then, empirical work is undergirded by the understanding that research processes and subjects are “produced through the workings of a set of discourses” (Potter & Wetherell, 1994, p. 47), discourses which have *material effects* (St. Pierre, 2002). It is these effects that this study seeks to document as they are produced in the model-girl encounter. To do this, however, means moving beyond the understanding of discourse presented in Chapter Three as a *system of language in use* that limits and ‘delimits’ (Foucault, 1972) what can and cannot be said, thought or done (Foucault, 1991b) about particular objects and subjects. Indeed, Foucault delivers a warning about understanding discourse simply as “a mere intersection of things and words: an obscure web of things, and a manifest, visible, coloured chain of words” (p. 48). For Foucault, discourse needs to be understood in terms of “a group of rules” (p. 49) that serve to ‘order’ certain “objects” (p. 49) in particular ways,⁷ that is, discourse as a *practice*.

5.2.1 Discourse as practice

The notion of discourse as practice, that is, discourse as a body of knowledge governed by discursive rules that “*systematically form the objects of which they speak*” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49, italics added) is made use of to *make different sense* of the relations produced in the fashion model/young girl relationship. The study understands the relationship between the model and the girl to not only be informed

⁷ Heidi Rimke (2000; see also Dean, 1995; Laurence & McCallum, 1998; Rose, 1988) provides an account of how the discourse of self-help literature orders or governs the population in certain ways. Rimke argues that “[s]elf-help techniques are an apparatus of governance” (p. 73) through which the ‘psy’ discourses, such as psychology and psychiatry are able to prescribe certain ways of ‘self-managing’. Individuals are enrolled to do certain types of self-fashioning work in order to produce themselves as a particular type of ‘model citizen’: an active citizen and “a unique, better, more productive or spiritual self” (p. 72).

by but literally constituted by “discourses as practices obeying certain rules” (Foucault, 1972, p. 138). Sarah Nettleton (1994) explores an example of how discourse is enacted as practice, discussing “the discursive context in which the mouth and teeth were invented” (p. 74) through the disciplinary practices of dentistry. She argues that “mouths, dental diseases, and teeth are not pre-existent natural entities, but rather objects realized through the discourse that surrounds them”. Here, discourse is taken to mean more than a system of language in use. It encompasses a wide range of procedures, locations, bodily activities and apparatuses which make up the discursive practices that we have come to know as dentistry. The discourse of dentistry constitutes not only the language that is produced, written and spoken, about people’s mouths “but also to the instruments used, such as the probe and the mouth mirror, and the locations of dental activity such as the bathroom or the dental surgery” (ibid). Furthermore, this discourse includes a multiple range of discursive practices, technical and material, associated with dentistry which make the mouth knowable “as a discrete entity” (p. 77) in certain ways.

How discursive practices are produced and governed according to a set of “unwritten regulations” (Mills, 1997, p. 75) or *discursive rules* is of interest in this study. Foucault (1972) identifies a discursive practice as “a body of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in the time and space that have defined a given period, and for a given social, economic, geographical, or linguistic area” (p. 117). These rules facilitate and guide the discursive practices that generate or make up discourses in certain ways: “Practices do not exist without rules, nor rules without practices. Knowing rules means knowing how to proceed” (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 4). These discursive rules, according to Foucault (1972), define or limit the “domain” (p. 41) of discourse; they define what the discourse “is talking about”; they give the discourse “the status of an object” and, hence, make the discourse “manifest, nameable, and describable”. These rules are those that separate “the true and the false” (Foucault, 1984b, p. 74) and that authorise and attach “specific effects of power...to the true”. At the same time, discursive rules delimit and authorise what can and cannot be said, written, and practised about certain objects and subjects of discourse. Foucault (1972) examines the example of the discourse of medicine:

[M]edicine (as an institution possessing its own rules, as a group of individuals constituting the medical profession, as a body of

knowledge and practice...recognized by public opinion, the law, and government) became the major authority in society that delimited, designated, named, and established madness as an object (pp. 41-42).

For Foucault (1972), then, as for this study, discursive rules which limit and delimit discursive formations “define not the dumb existence of a reality, nor the canonical use of a vocabulary, but *the ordering of objects*” (p. 49, italics in original).

Discursive rules define discourses not simply as a collection of symbols or signs or of things spoken or written about certain discursive objects and subjects but, rather, as being constituted by and producing certain forms of discourse as practice. This study used discourse, and the notion of discourse as practice, to analyse the model-girl relationship as an encounter produced out of certain pedagogical rules and modes of operation about proper pedagogy and ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct.

5.2.2 Discourse analysis: tools for reading discursive ‘rules’

To do this, the study was conducted as a *discourse analysis* (Threadgold, 2000) that serves to ‘make apparent’ the discursive rules by which the fashion model/young girl relationship is conducted. The study works out of an understanding of this relationship as being constituted in certain ways according to particular discursive rules. Discourse analysis was used as a method for *reading* how these rules regulate the conduct of the model and the girl in particular pedagogical ways.

It is important to note at this point that ‘detecting’ these discursive rules was far from a simple task, as the groups of discursive rules that operate in discourses, as systems of language in use, can be difficult to ‘find’. Kendall and Wickham (1999) draw attention to one aspect of the challenging nature of this task in their discussion of “discourse’s lack of an ‘outside’” (p. 38). Drawing on Foucault’s work, Kendall and Wickham state that there is “no outside” of discourse, as the identification of a particular discourse can only be possible using those terms of reference operating in the discourse. Industrial law is the example used by Kendall and Wickham to demonstrate this, stating that it is possible only to “recognise the domain of industrial law...by the operation of the particular forms of calculation and recognition that organise the spaces in which the objects of industrial law appear and operate”. Difficulties arise when trying to recognise the discursive rules that operate in the spaces in which industrial law is performed as it is only possible to think, speak and

write about these rules with reference to the discourse of industrial law. ‘Detecting’ the rules that operated in the model-girl relationship was equally challenging and required that the research employ a particular type of method that made these rules evident. This rule detecting work constituted the work of Phase One of the research project embedded in the thesis.

5.3 PROBLEMATISING FASHION MODEL/YOUNG GIRL PEDAGOGY

The first phase of the research project drew on the *problematizing* (Foucault, 1985; Dean, 1994) method developed in the work of Foucault in order to ‘detect’ the discursive rules operating in the model-girl encounter. The specific task was to make these rules apparent by showing them to be *contingent upon what counts as ‘truth’* about this relationship *at a particular historical time* (Foucault, 1991b). This method works out of the understanding that as “discourses are historically constituted” (Meadmore, Hatcher & McWilliam, 2000, p. 464) so too are the discursive rules that make them up. This phase of the research project, then, was informed by the notion that the discursive rules that constitute the model-girl relationship in particular ways are historically specific (Goldstein, 1994a); that is, that “*the present has not always been*” (Baert, 1998b, p. 121, italics in original; 1998a). According to Foucault (1988a), the present “which seem[s] most evident to us [is] always formed in the confluence of encounters and chances, during the course of a precarious and fragile history” (p. 37). In this way, the study rejects the notion implied in influence literature that fashion model influence is “constant, without a history” (Wilson, 1995, p. 162) and has pre-existed in this relationship awaiting discovery “through the judicious application of the right procedures” (Nightingale, 1999, p. 168). In contrast, this study endeavoured to undermine the “self-evidence” (Meadmore, Hatcher & McWilliam, 2000, p. 464) of fashion model influence by highlighting how this relationship was governed by historically contingent discursive rules.

To problematise the rules of the model-girl relationship, this phase of the research project involved going “back in time in order to show that at some point, radically new meanings were allocated to” (Baert, 1998a, p. 119) a relationship of this type. It sought to defamiliarise the rules of this relationship by demonstrating that relationships have existed in other historical times that have worked out of rules akin to, and different from, those apparent in the model-girl encounter. It aimed to point

up how a relationship of this type (a female-to-female pedagogical relationship) may have existed in other times but might have been ‘made sense of’ differently. It attempted to indicate that the discursive rules of the model-girl relationship pertain to a specific historical instance and, hence, to destabilise the “self-evident, universal and necessary” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 76) character of this relationship documented in existing literature. By illustrating how the rules of this encounter are contingent upon “a given [historical] moment”, the study sought to “pervert good sense” (St. Pierre, 1997, p. 280) about how we have come to know the model and the girl as ultimately embroiled in a relationship of influence.

The primary way in which the study problematised the model-girl relationship as socially, temporally and culturally contingent was to re-view this relationship as both *new* and *not new* (Castel, 1994). That the model-girl relationship is one conducted exclusively in postmodern times, and therefore should be studied in this context only, is precisely the understanding of this relationship that this study seeks to challenge. The study suggests that whilst the model-girl relationship is new, as it is enacted in contemporary times, it may also be not new or old in that it works out of discursive rules which may or may not be apparent also in pedagogical relationships in other historical times and places.⁸ It is to historical accounts, then, that this project turns to *analyse discourse* in the model-girl encounter by demonstrating that female-to-female pedagogical relationships have been conducted in the past out of rules which may or may not be apparent in the model-girl relationship.

5.3.1 An ‘effective’ historical inquiry

Michel Foucault’s (1984a) notion of *effective history* is particularly useful as a strategy where the researcher uses “history as a way of *diagnosing* the present” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 4, italics in original). Effective history,⁹ according to

⁸ For instance, Cryle (2001) notes how, in premodern erotic literature, erotic postures were instructed by way of an attentive pupil gazing at erotic art: “Statues, paintings and engravings of body shapes serve[d] as models in the most precise sense. They tend to demonstrate a particular attitude, allowing it to be held, named and counted, as one of [a]...finite set of positions”. It would seem possible that certain rules about how pupils are to learn from these ‘models’ in terms of the gaze, ‘ceremonious’ distance, verbal exchange, stillness, performance and so on, may regulate how this pedagogical work is to be conducted.

⁹ It is important to note here that although Foucault’s concept of ‘effective history’ arises out of a broader methodology developed by Foucault (1984a) called “genealogy” (p. 76), it is not a genealogy that this study pursues. Whilst genealogical method is a useful method for interrogating “traditional history” and for charting “the history of reason” as it is “fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien

Foucault (1984a) “differs from traditional history in being without constants. Nothing in man – not even his body – is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men” (pp. 87-88). Unlike traditional historical work, which is centrally concerned with clarifying and ‘refamiliarising’ historical ‘facts’, effective history seeks to *defamiliarise* “the phenomena of man, society, and culture which have been rendered all too transparent” (White, 1973, p. 50) by traditional historians. Using history in an ‘effective’ way means to “use it to help us see that the present is just as strange as the past, not to help us see that a sensible or desirable present has emerged...or might emerge” (Kendall & Wickham, 1999, p. 4). Drawing on historical material in order to re-read social phenomena in the ‘present’ (Foucault, 1977a) serves as a form of problematising cultural work (Dean, 1994) that enables the study to ‘wear away’ (Foucault, 1991b) at certain ‘self-evidences’ (Tyler & Johnson, 1991) about these phenomena: “[i]t disturbs what is considered immobile, fragments what is thought to be unified, and shows the heterogeneity of what is taken to be homogeneous” (Davidson, 1986, p. 225; Roth, 1981).

It is this use of history that the study employed as an approach to unsettling the “familiar landscape” (Tyler & Johnson, 1991, p. 2) of mainstream ideas about the model-girl encounter and to “decompose the great certainties” (Rose, 1994, p. 50) that existing literature has ‘discovered’ about this relationship. By moving to “unfamiliar places from which to look ‘back’ at” (Stronach & MacLure, 1997, p. 3) this relationship, the study demonstrates the “historical specificity and hence continual malleability” (Goldstein, 1994a, p. 100) of this encounter and the ways that it has been taken for granted in the influence literature “as given, timeless, and natural”. Historiographical work was here used as “a practice, a particular set of actions brought to bear on a particular material” (Dean, 1994, p. 15). History was ‘set-to-work’ to show how fashion model influence is not a pre-existing ‘force’ bearing down on the lives of young girls but rather “an unstable assemblage of faults, fissures, and heterogenous layers” (Foucault, 1984a, p. 82); that is, a fabrication.

forms” (p. 78), it primarily works at charting the development of discourses as they are constructed through historical time. Albeit that such a study of how discourses have developed through history in relation to the model-girl relationship would be informative, a genealogy in these terms exceeds the scope of this project.

Using history in this way is hardly a new idea. This historical method has been generously employed in studies of a diverse range of sites including management (Hatcher, 1997), psychoanalysis (Toews, 1994), youthful sexuality (Tait, 2000b), anorexia nervosa (Tait, 1993a), attention-deficit disorder (Laurence & McCallum, 1998) to name only a few. It is particularly popular in studying pedagogical sites (Baker, 2001; Faye, 1991; Hunter, 1994; Kirk, 1994; Meadmore & O'Connor, 1997; Meadmore & Symes, 1996; Tait, 2000a; Tyler, 1993). Dave Jones (1990), for example examines the 'urban schoolteacher' as a discursive pedagogical site regulated by "a set of often distorted and contradictory images and strategies" (p. 57). Jones' work seeks to unsettle the taken-for-granted character of the image of this teacher by demonstrating how it is discursively constituted. This is achieved by looking to the historical discontinuities that contributed to the make-up of the urban schoolteacher as it is known in the present.

It is important to recognise at this point that Jones' (1990) work is different to the work conducted in this study in that he traces the historical ideas that constituted the urban schoolteacher as a genealogy. Each 'historical accident' that contributed to constructing this discursive schoolteacher is mapped. The present study, however, is "less concerned with the overall logic, or otherwise, of Foucault's work than with its utility for specific kinds of historical research" (Driver, 1994, p. 116). Indeed, it would be fruitless to try to establish a resolute method for conducting such historical research, as according to Maria Tamboukou and Stephen Ball (2004a, p. 2), "there is no such thing". However, others have noted that such a method does have certain "internal rules of performance" (Meadmore, Hatcher & McWilliam, 2000, p. 466)¹⁰ guided mainly by the researchers' knowledge of "what would be *inappropriate* given the epistemological and ontological assumptions being made" (ibid, italics in original). The study drew, then, upon a particular aspect of the method used by Dave Jones. Rather than turning to history to show the "conditions of emergence" (Jones, 1990, p. 57) of the model-girl relationship, historical accounts were used to disrupt the idea that this relationship can only be thought of in terms of its present character.

¹⁰ Gary Wickham (1990) suggests that while the 'rules' for assembling histories do vary considerably according to the temporal and cultural space in which they are constituted, the fundamental rules for doing this research "cannot be painlessly escaped" (p. 51).

5.3.2 Diagnosing model-girl pedagogy: lessons from history

Drawing on ‘effective’ historical method (Foucault, 1984a; 1991b), the study *diagnoses* (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) that model-girl encounter as possibly *like and unlike* female-to-female pedagogical relationships in other more unfamiliar times and places. Historical accounts of woman-to-woman pedagogy informed the study in ways that render ‘the present’ (Foucault, 1977a) understandings of the model-girl encounter “strange” (Meredyth & Tyler, 1993a, p. 4).

The ‘unfamiliar’ historical time and place that this study moves to in order to diagnose the present is *woman-to-woman pedagogical encounters in premodern history*. Of particular interest were those pedagogical encounters that worked not only female-to-female but also *body-to-body*. Exemplars of this kind of bodily pedagogical work are evident, for example, in historical accounts of ancient Greece (approximately 750-300 B.C.) in female-to-female relationships of *erotic pedagogy*, where a usually older and more experienced woman instructs knowledge about ‘ideal’ erotic conduct as an embodied discipline to a younger female novice. In these relationships, knowledge about ‘ideal’ erotic bodily conduct, which Foucault (1976) identifies as *ars erotica* was instructed by and through the body, using the body as a pedagogical ‘tool’. It was an esoteric transmission of knowledge, where an all-knowing, authoritative erotic female pedagogue with a highly specialized knowledge of the ‘arts of love’¹¹ would impart this knowledge to a young female apprentice as a coveted ‘gift’ or ‘privilege’.

Nickie Roberts (1992) notes for example that, in the context of ancient Greek history, this practice was conducted between an elite prostitute or *hetaira* and a young girl in what she calls the *gynaceum* in ancient Greece. This was

a school where aspiring *hetairae* were educated and learned their trade. As well as perfecting the art of love-making, the young women and girls who lived at Aspasia’s *gynaceum* studied the arts and sciences of literature, philosophy and rhetoric. These women went on to become the wisest and most learned women in Greece (p. 24).

¹¹ Paul Turner (1968), in his introduction to his translation of *The Technique of Love and Remedies for Love by Ovid*, makes an important point pertaining to the use of the word ‘art’ to describe the ‘arts of love’. He suggests that ‘art’ is in fact an insufficient term to describe this form of erotic knowledge as “art now suggests an opposition to *science*, instead of including it” (p. 12). He argues that the Latin title (*Ars Amatoria*) constitutes a better description, as in Latin the term “*ars* (like the Greek *techne*) meant a technical treatise”.

What seems to be apparent, then, is that there once existed a strong history of powerful female pedagogues transmitting knowledge about ‘ideal’ erotic bodily conduct to young female apprentices. It would appear that pedagogical knowledge transmission using the body as a pedagogical ‘tool’ was indeed considered effectual, even ‘ideal’, pedagogy.

5.3.3 The ‘matter’ of research materials: ‘rummaging’ in premodern history

Phase One of the research project embedded in this study, then, involved the researcher enacting the role of what Foucault (1989a) calls “a rummager” (p. 149) in order to assemble historical accounts of premodern erotic pedagogical relationships. Much like Foucault’s (1972) understanding of the archaeologist, the researcher “remain[ed] at one site, digging in all directions, unearthing the specificities of a particular discourse” (Poster, 1997, p. 144). Phase One followed discontinuous historical ‘traces’ (Foucault, 1989b) of these relationships as “a profusion of entangled events” (Foucault, 1984a, p. 89)¹² rather than examining them in terms of any set linear path of development. It involved ‘mapping’ (Driver, 1994) these ‘traces’ of discursive knowledge in terms of what sort of knowledge was being transmitted and how this knowledge was being transmitted female-to-female and body-to-body. The reading of these historical ‘traces’ was “rooted in the analysis of history as discourse” (Thacker, 1997, p. 30; Hay, 1990). That is, the reading of the historical material was informed by the notion that “our only access to historical reality is through specific discourses that, in various ways, describe them” (Thacker, 1997, p. 32).

A close reading of a range of *historical texts* was conducted to point up the discursive rules by which erotic knowledge was instructed from an older female pedagogue to a younger female apprentice. This historical work required the researcher to conduct a meticulous and careful (Tamboukou, 1999b; Mahon, 1992)

¹² The concept of the event is taken, in this study, to mean “constructs used to show that what seems to be self-evident is not and to avoid historical analysis in terms of a single cause, to avoid essentialism” (Wickham, 1990, p. 43). For example, Foucault (1991b) states that “it wasn’t as a matter of course that mad people came to be regarded as mentally ill...it wasn’t self-evident that the causes of illness were to be sought through the individual examination of bodies” (p. 76). It was an event that produced these possible outcomes rather than something that happened as in terms of “self-evident truth” (Wickham, 1990, p. 43). The event “is the condition which enables historical discourse to establish the truth of alleged facts” (Cousins, 1987, p. 133).

reading of these texts, focusing on both secondary as well as primary sources. Both primary and secondary texts formed part of the range of discourses that produce historical knowledge about premodern erotic pedagogy between women.¹³ These texts were read as evidence of discursive “information produced by historians as they go about this task” (Munslow, 1997, p. 2; Ankersmit, 1989). More importantly, this reading did not attempt to engage with this material to ‘uncover’ some deep, hidden meaning in the texts or to “attempt to decide whether it is telling the truth or what is its expressive value” (Foucault, 1972, p. 6). Rather, the interest was in “the conditions of their manifest appearance...[and] the field where they coexist, reside and disappear” (Foucault, 1991c, p. 60).

From the reading of secondary sources also emerged the notion that erotic female-to-female pedagogical encounters in premodern times also involved a precise instruction according to *images*. There appears to be a history of women looking to and at displays of erotic art and, hence, applying this art directly to their bodies as a form of erotic postural discipline. One source of artwork that proved significantly useful for this phase of the research were images of illustrations made on domestic utensils such as hydrias, cups and jugs, in these instances particularly from ancient Greek history, as these items literally depicted erotic pedagogical encounters with, for example, younger female novices being instructed by an all-knowing female *hetaira* (see Figure 6.1: hetaira teaching girls to dance). These ‘artefacts’ clearly represented some of the ways in which knowledge about being a successful courtesan was transmitted by an ‘educated’ *hetairae* by way of the precise posturing body. They were particularly useful in making apparent the discursive rules which governed the arrangement of space and bodies in this type of instruction.

Thus, the research ‘matter’ analysed in Phase One of the research project included the following:

- Secondary historical written texts that examine premodern erotic pedagogical relationships;

¹³ Jeremy Black and Donald MacRaid (1997) note that histories of ‘attitudes’, such as those formulated in the work of Foucault, consider secondary sources “often containing rich historical analogies” (p. 88) as primary materials.

- Primary historical written texts that record, in some cases, instances of erotic pedagogy between women and, in others, individual accounts of these instances;
- Images of domestic artefacts from ancient history that display instances of erotic pedagogue-apprentice pedagogy.

5.3.4 Erotic bodily practices: discourse analysing premodern pedagogies

The analysis of these research documents and materials (Hodder, 1994) or scraps (Ankersmit, 1989) proceeded as a discourse analysis, taking as its central point of interest “the play of rules” (Foucault, 1991c, p. 55) that produced certain premodern female-to-female encounters as embodied pedagogical work. As is implied in the ‘origin-al’ meaning of the term ‘discourse’,¹⁴ the discourse analysis developed as a movement between these various texts in order to glean an understanding of the discursive rules that governed premodern erotic pedagogy between females. The analysis sought to make visible the discursive conditions, as “a set of rules for formation” (Foucault, 1991c, p. 54) for objects and subjects by looking specifically to certain *regimes of practices* (Foucault, 1991b). Localised practices made evident in texts and images of female-to-female encounters in premodern history were taken as indicative of these rules in terms of “programmes of conduct which have prescriptive effects regarding what is to be done...and codifying effects regarding what is to be known” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 75).

The historical research worked to isolate the mundane rules which governed these practices. Specific attention was focused on how the rules produced erotic pedagogical encounters as precise, bodily pedagogical work. That is, how knowledge about ideal feminine conduct was organised in a way that it may be instructed in a technical and systematic fashion using the body. Rules, for example, specifying how instruction occurred through the making and re-making of the corporeal self and as a performance by a spectacular pedagogue gazed upon by an attentive novice, were afforded particular attention. This analysis proved particularly useful in highlighting the discursive continuities and discontinuities of these

¹⁴ Hayden White (1978) notes that “[t]he etymology of the word *discourse*, derived from Latin *discurrere*, suggests a movement ‘back and forth’ or a ‘running to and fro’” (p. 3, italics in original).

relationships and in generating a montage (Tuchman, 1994) of rules of erotic pedagogical propriety.

Historical accounts and images, then, were read as productive of necessarily discursive (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) categories with which to re-read pedagogical instances occurring between the fashion model and the young girl. Certain discursive categories, in the form of a group of rules about pedagogical ‘correctness’, were generated about how female-to-female and body-to-body erotic pedagogical encounters were conducted and the types of knowledge being instructed. The notion of *a* group of rules is particularly important in this instance, as the study understands that all historical work such as this does a certain type of ‘sense-making’ work. It is thought to produce a certain type of ‘narrative’ that is as much “*invented as found*” (White, 1978, p. 83, italics in original), a certain type of ‘fiction’ rather than an incontrovertible arrangement of ‘facts’. As such, the empirical work in the first phase of the research works out of the notion that historical work “is fragmentary and always incomplete” (p. 83) and that, in turn, the ‘traces’ or categories of history are ‘assembled’ in much the same manner as “we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or play” (p. 84).

These categories were then used to *diagnose* (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) pedagogical instances occurring between the fashion model and the young girl in contemporary times. The categories problematised and, hence, made “more fragile” (Foucault, 1989c, p. 412) the (discursive) meanings associated with the model-girl relationship in influence literature in the ‘present’: the study literally “uncover the past to rupture the present” (Roth, 1981, p. 44). They were used in particular to analyse the model-girl relationship to show how the model-girl relationship may or may not be working out of rules of pedagogical propriety made apparent in historical accounts of premodern erotic pedagogical relationships. The particular value of this approach is that it “opens up paths for...new, improbable identities” (Tamboukou, 1999b, p. 210). It ‘dereifies’ and ‘unfreezes’ (Best, 1994) the mainstream notion that the model is always an all-powerful, influence-wielding disorderly entity, and enables thinking differently about the model as a pedagogue to young girls, as attentive apprentices.

A ‘diagnosis’ of the model-girl relationship that seeks to re-theorise this encounter as produced out of embodied pedagogical work, must, by necessity, look to and at the bodies and ‘tools’ deployed in a ‘pedagogical’ setting. Furthermore, the study requires an understanding of what girls come to know about the model in terms of ‘learning outcomes’. It is this form of ‘data’ that the study generated in Phases Two and Three of the research project embedded in this thesis; data ‘in the present’ that was re-interrogated and re-viewed using categories generated in Phase One of the research.

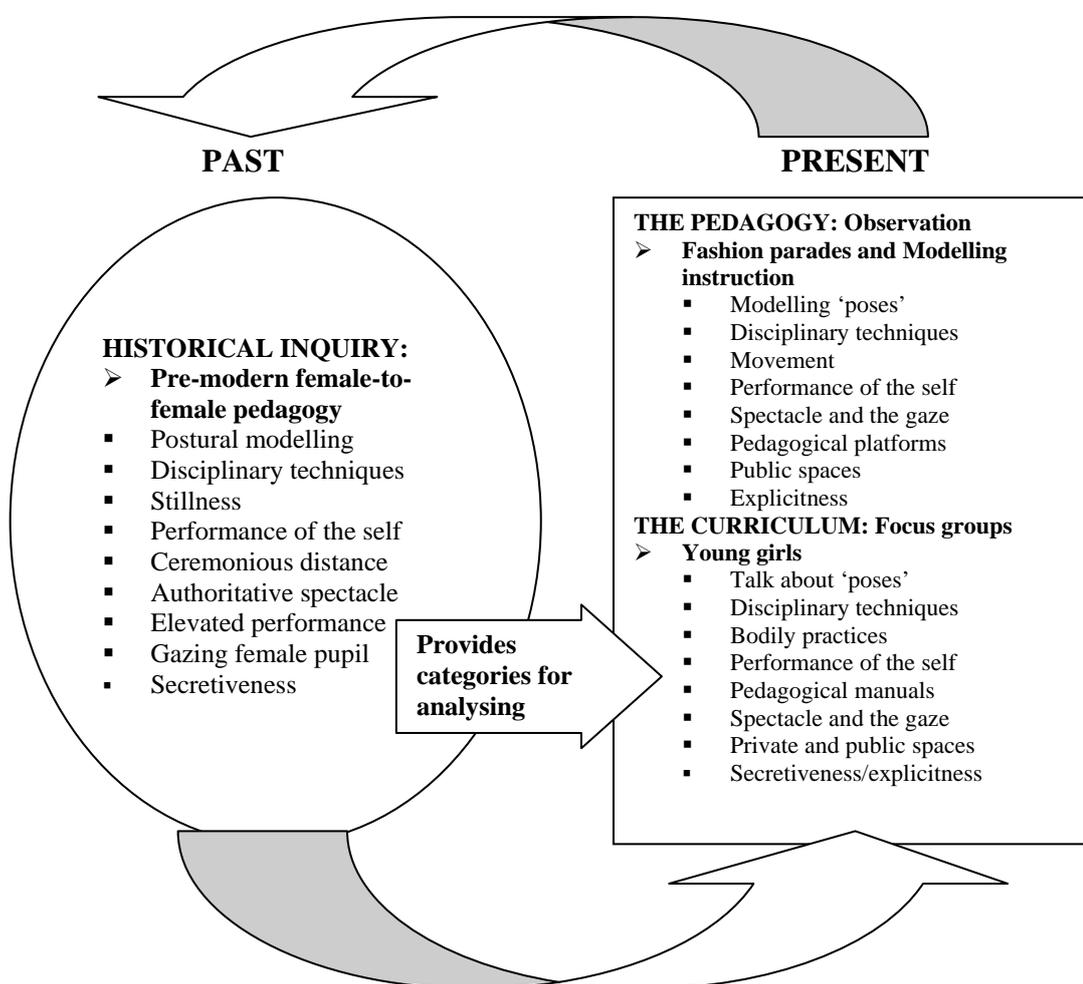


Figure 5.1: Discourse analysing model-girl pedagogical encounters

5.4 MODEL-GIRL PEDAGOGY *IN SITU*

The second and third phases of this research project work out of an *ethnographic* approach to data collection wherein empirical data will be collected by way of “watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions” (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 1; Fielding, 1993a; Hammersley, 1990) about pedagogical instances occurring *in situ* between the fashion model and the young girl. Instances of model-girl knowledge transmission as were enacted in the present (Foucault, 1977a) were documented. To better understand the dynamics of the model-girl pedagogy producing certain “practical effects” (Owen, 1995, p. 491) for young girls, Phases Two and Three of the research project were guided by the following three lines of inquiry. These were derived from the central research question guiding this thesis (see Chapter One):

- What sort of knowledge is being transmitted from the fashion model to the young girl?
- How is this knowledge being transmitted?
- What are the ‘learning outcomes’?

In moving to these questions, then, the ethnographic work in Phases Two and Three of the research project proceeds as a *qualitative* inquiry focused on generating sense data (Smith, 1987). It is a form of inquiry that “is richly variegated and its theories of method diverse to the point of disorderliness” (Smith, 1987, p. 173). This form of inquiry privileges the ‘sociality’ of research relations, and the social constitution of the physical spaces within which research relations are produced (Stimson, 1986), over conceptions of research experiences as ‘measurement’. Particularly important is the notion that qualitative empirical work and, hence, ethnographic research is “theoretically driven rather than determined by technical considerations” (Silverman, 1993, p. 29).

5.4.1 Re-considering ethnography: a poststructural practice?

To ‘fit’ the empirical methods with the conceptual tools assembled in this study, the empirical research was informed by literature that examines poststructural approaches to ethnographic research. These approaches point up the usefulness of ‘bending’ orthodox rules of ethnographic research to question the unified nature of research events, as is implied in ‘traditional’ literature about ethnographic method. Poststructural ethnography points up the incidental and emergent character of these

events. Such a perspective enables the researcher to ‘infuse’ their empirical work with the theoretical assumptions that guide the study. In these terms, ethnography makes it possible for example to think of the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl as “always already” (Davies, 2000, p. 133) caught up in the invention and re-invention of discourse. More traditional understandings of ethnographic research are skewed to enable an understanding of ethnography as ‘infused’ by poststructural and genealogical conceptions of social reality and research processes (Tamboukou & Ball, 2004b).

Infused by poststructural theory, this study refuses the modernist notions of what ethnographic research ‘ought’ to be, that is an ‘objective’, impartial observer accurately recording the details of everyday events as they occur ‘naturally’ in the field (Fontana, 1994; Manning, 1995; Tedlock, 2000; Van Maanen, 1995a). There is an underlying assumption that the ethnographer “is capable of producing truth from the experience of being there” (Britzman, 2000, p. 28; Geertz, 1988) in the field. This study, however, works through the understanding that ethnographic work “is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures” (Clifford, 1986, p. 2) as field ‘sights/sites’ and research events “do not hold still for their portraits” (p. 10). This is particularly the case with the fashion model and the young girl which, in the context of the modelling classroom, appear to be bodies “in motion” (p. 11). These are not tractable bodies that can be documented as static objects.

In some ways this study adheres to the ‘traditional’ ways of doing ethnography by for example, generating a sample and collecting data through observation. However, it is predominantly informed by the notion that data is “artfully composed” (Clifford, 1986, p. 4) by a researcher. The researcher themselves constitutes a ‘textualised identity’ (Britzman, 2000) that “both does and is the research” (Tamboukou & Ball, 2004a, pp. 11-12) steeped in temporal, emergent, and ‘fractured’ (Smith, 1990) moments of pedagogical uncertainty. For this study, ethnography constitutes a dialogue rather than a monologue (Tyler, 1986). Data generated are caught up in games of truth and error (Foucault, 1985) and, hence, constitute a certain type of ‘truth’ about research objects and subjects in ‘provisional’ spaces (St. Pierre, 200a).¹⁵

¹⁵ James Clifford (1986) calls such writing ‘fictions’, “something made or fashioned” (p. 6).

In line with the work of Thomas Popkewitz (1998), then, this study works as “a deliberate strategy to displace conventional ethnographies that take for granted the position of the actor, the knowledge of pedagogy, and the ‘naturalness’ of speech” (p. 17). Furthermore, in keeping with the ‘denaturalising’ or ‘problematizing’ work of stage one of the research project, the researcher employed what Kathy Ferguson (1991, p. 324) calls “a posture of subversion” in the final two stages of the empirical work. It aimed to invert the traditional interpretative strategies of ethnographic inquiry in order to “make the familiar unfamiliar” (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 139) through, for example ‘inventing’ categories rather than expecting them to ‘emerge naturally’ from the data.

5.4.2 The ‘matter’ of ethnographic texts

It is again to certain types of *texts* “understood as textual practice” (Lee, 1994, p. 29) that Phases Two and Three turned. This was for the purpose of elucidating the bodily and other practices, as embodied knowledge, produced in the model-girl encounter, and how these practices constitute embodied pedagogical work. The focus was on the multifarious discursive practices and “*assemblages*: the combinations of spaces, persons, techniques” (Rose, 1994, p. 51) that work relationally to produce the model-girl relationship as a precisely governed transmission of knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct.

However, whilst the ethnographic research drew on texts in the ‘traditional’ sense of written and spoken discourse, this research drew predominantly on texts in the poststructural and genealogical sense. Texts, in this sense, may include bodies and the various ‘tools’ applied to these bodies, spaces, images, and artefacts. All of these represent knowledge objects (Foucault, 1988a) fabricated in certain ways by and through discourse. Some researchers suggest that “everyday life is a text” (Fontana, 1994, p. 215) that can be interrogated as effectively as the written word. They contend that ethnographic research “may be expanded to encompass a multiplicity of texts” (ibid). The final two phases of the research project embedded in the thesis, then, work as “an intertextual practice” (Tyler, 1985, p. 95). The objects of re-interrogation incorporated two forms of texts in particular:

- the *performance* of the *bodies* of the model and the girl as *discursive texts*, and;
- the *performance* of ‘*speech acts*’ (Austin, 1975) in the talk of young girls.

5.5 ENACTING MODELLING DISCOURSE: THE PERFORMANCES OF ‘KNOWING’ BODIES

The second phase of the research project documented actual *events* (Danaher, Shirato & Webb, 2000), focusing on the enactment of the fashion model/young girl relationship as an *embodied pedagogical performance*. It took this performance as the enactment of discursive practices that produce the conduct of this relationship as a precise instance of pedagogical knowledge transfer. This phase of the research project takes as ‘evidence’ of these discursive practices, although by no means ‘transparent’ or ‘innocent’ evidence (Davies, 2004), the discursive production of the bodies of the model and the girl as they enact meticulous pedagogical work.

These bodily performances were documented using *observational methods* (Adler & Adler, 1993; Denzin, 1989; Angrosino & Mays de Perez, 2000) with the intention of precisely recording instances of fashion-model-to-young-girl pedagogical work. In doing this, this study worked through assumptions about the adequacy of the observer to properly ‘capture’ this performance. The study does, however, question positivist and post-positivist (Lather, 1992a) notions of ‘proper’ research method that privilege “the *eye* (the observer)” (Popkewitz, 1997a, p. 19) as the ‘all-seeing’ mechanism for producing objective, ‘truthful’ data. It rejects the notion that “people and events [are] ordered systems” (ibid, p. 20) that can be made transparent. For example, Valerie Janesick (1994) suggests that qualitative research is best designed “with real individuals in mind” (p. 210) as the aim of such research is to “study a social setting to understand the meaning of participants’ lives in the participants’ own terms”. Here Janesick assumes that researchers can gain access to a unified ‘reality’ of individuals that exists out there awaiting rigorous documentation. The poststructural ethnography that informed the present study suggests that it is not possible for researchers to document the ‘truth’ about ‘real’ individuals as realities are themselves fabricated and ‘situated’ (Popkewitz, 1997a) in time and space.

5.5.1 Embodying pedagogical knowledge: the body as discursive text

Observation sought to document the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl as *texts of discourse* (Foucault, 1984a). It argues that these bodies come to be produced discursively by way of being *written* (Danaher, Shirato & Webb, 2000) by discourse. The process of documentation was informed by Foucault's (1984a) genealogical notion that bodies can be read discursively as texts 'imprinted' by historical events and happenings. According to Foucault (1977b), "as bodies collide, mingle, and suffer, they create events on their surface, events that are without thickness" (p. 173). Foucault states that it is possible for bodies to be materially "inscribed" (ibid) as a discursive "surface[s] of events" and that, as such they can be *read* as texts of these events.

It is important to note, however, that the study does not go so far as to suggest that the materiality of the body exists only in its interpretation through discourse. Rather, the body is non-discursive in the material or physical sense, and that the materiality of the body may be inscribed, un-inscribed and re-inscribed through a range of discursive practices. Kendall and Wickham (1999) discuss this further:

Bodies are not discourse, they are non-discursive in their materiality. But bodies do not exist and operate in a non-discursive vacuum. Of course the word 'body' is itself a discursive production, but more than this, the entity that is the body is under the sovereignty of discourse...The body's form is not independent of discourse, and the articulations of the body (in a wide sense) are always discursive, yet the body itself is non-discursive (pp. 39-40).

Thus, this study regards the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl as non-discursive objects that are *written* as texts of discourse through discursive practices.

Examining the ways in which bodies are constituted as texts of discourse is not a new idea. Recent educational research demonstrates a wide application of the notion that the body can be written as a text of discourse (Brook, 2000; Jones, 2000; Kirk, 1993; Luke, 1992; Morgan, 1996; Nightingale, 1999; Tyler, 1993; Wagener, 1998). This is evidenced in the research of Barbara Kamler (1997) in her study of "the embodiment of discourses" (p. 369) in a group of law students at university. In her discussion of law Professor North delivering a lecture, the research foregrounds the idea that the professor

not only demonstrates his knowledge of the law...he *is* the law. His body can itself be seen as a text which is read by students and has

material effects on their bodies. He is silver haired and silver tongued. He wears finely tailored black suits, crisp white shirts, maroon striped ties with the Law school insignia...He looks distinguished, formal, carries a trim physique, an air of affluence that entices students with unspoken rewards they may find in their future profession.

For Kamler, then, the law professor not only instructs law to his students as an imparting of knowledge, he constitutes a 'text' of this knowledge that can be 'read' by these students. In this way, the textual body of the professor is seen to have discursive effects on the bodies of the students as it is "[t]hrough his bodily practices of walking and talking [that] students gain access to the power of the law" (p. 383).

Following Kamler (1997), observational research *read* the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl as discursive texts of pedagogical knowledge. Thinking about the body of the model as capable of being read as a text of knowledge offered up a range of possibilities for understanding what sort of knowledge she instructs to the girl and how this knowledge is being instructed. Furthermore, re-thinking about the body as a text proved useful for understanding how young girls *read from* the model body through the gaze and learned about 'ideal' femininity.

The performances of these discursive 'fleshly' texts were regarded as 'evidence' of how the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl are produced as discursive knowledge objects. Data generation involved *a* reading of the bodies of the model and the girl as discursive texts performing "the labour of [inscription and] reinscription" (Kirby, 1993, p. 26) of knowledge about 'proper' feminine bodily conduct. The study sought out the enactment of such discursive practices in everyday (Gubrium, 1988; Adler & Adler, 1994) situations in which the model and the girl perform their bodies as discursive texts of pedagogical knowledge. This research work sought to highlight "the mundane, trivial, everyday minutia" (Neuman, 1997, p. 361; Denzin, 1989) of bodily practices as they were performed by the research subjects in the field (Patton, 1990). These displays were interrogated as "always an effect produced entirely by bodies colliding, mingling, or separating" (Foucault, 1977b, p. 173).

5.5.2 The pedagogical 'sight/site': the modelling 'classroom'

The sight/site of model-girl pedagogical instruction that the researcher accessed was a modelling classroom. The proceedings of one ‘Department and Grooming Course’, seven weeks in duration, and one ‘Professional Models Course’, eight weeks in duration, were observed and notated. The focus was how the participants (a group of approximately nine young girls aged 13-18 years and one modelling teacher¹⁶) enacted, constituted and performed discursive knowledge in an embodied, disciplined, visual manner.¹⁷ Attention was be paid to how the model constitutes her body as an exemplary and authoritative *body of knowledge* (Stinson, 1995) and how this body *performs what it means to know* (McWilliam, 1997c) about fashion models. A detailed account was generated about what knowledge was made available to young girls and how this knowledge was made available through the precise bodily movements, poses and gestures. The point of importance was how discursive practices were enacted on and with the body to transform this body and invest it with capacities. This demanded precise yet by no means complete observation of the bodily and other (for example, spatial) practices being developed in the modelling ‘classroom’, and how these processes were distinctively pedagogical in character.

This form of observational research in the classroom has a long history in educational research. Many researchers argued that a period of observation in the classroom is useful in documenting instances of pedagogical knowledge exchange (see for example Gore, 1998; Jones & Brown, 2001; Wright, 2000). Some studies demonstrate the usefulness of conducting observation in a number of schooling sites to gather a broad spectrum of data about teaching and learning relationships (Davies, 1992; Holligan, 1999; Tunstall, 2001). Conversely, other studies (Comber, 1997; Luke, 1992; Moje, 1997) indicate that to focus on one classroom situation is useful as “it allows for a richly detailed picture of a particular group of students to emerge” (Baxter, 2002, p. 11). The number of sites in which observation was conducted in

¹⁶ The number of participants did shift during the courses, with some students deciding not to continue with the Professional Models course and other students, that had already completed a previous course and ‘sat-in’ on one lesson in order to ‘make-up’ a lesson that they had missed due to absence. The modelling teacher remained the same for the duration of both the Department and Grooming course and the Professional Models unless other ‘experts’ were invited in to conduct part of the class. For example a hair dresser was invited into the class to talk about how to care for the hair and suitable hair styles for certain types of ‘face shapes’ and so on.

¹⁷ Ruth Holliday (2000) provides an example of this type of work, arguing that through the use of video diaries it became possible to capture how queer identities were constituted not only through “the narratives of experience and lived cultural practices, but also the visual nature of the construction and display of identities through the use of cultural products” (p. 509).

the present study was limited to one for those reasons described by Judith Baxter, as well as because ‘good’ ethnographic research usually commands an “investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail” (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994, p. 248).¹⁸ However, this was primarily due to the lack of modelling agencies willing to have a researcher observe and notate their modelling ‘secrets’.¹⁹

The specific role of the researcher was a *participant observer* (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Denzin, 1989; Tedlock, 2000). Importantly, the researcher did not steadfastly position themselves as what Denzin (1989) calls a ‘complete participant’. Nor was the researcher located as a ‘participant as observer’, where the researcher makes their presence known in order to form relationships with the participants. The researcher aimed to enact a more shifting role incorporating a range of forms of participation and of observation. For example, the researcher would walk through the modelling routines with the other pupils in the class if a pupil was absent from class. At other times the researcher would be seated taking notes whilst the class was conducted. Participant observation in this research required the researcher to enact the *tension between* the ‘engaged participant’ and the ‘coolly dispassionate observer’. Barbara Tedlock (2000, p. 455) calls this role a ‘cross-dresser’: an “outsider wearing insiders’ clothes while gradually acquiring the language and behaviours that go along with them”. It was not about seeing through the eyes of (Bryman, 1988) but more about looking at and noting discourses being enacted, spoken, and written in the research site.

5.5.3 Looking ‘improperly’ at female bodies: perilous observations

To focus on ‘looking’ at the female bodies of the fashion model and the young girl emerged as a paradoxical, if not problematic (Pillow, 2003), set of circumstances. To look concertedly at the female body signifies a breach of feminist ideas that assert the ‘improperness’ of situating the female body as an object of the gaze in any way (see for example, Mulvey, 1999). Locating the female body in this way, according to feminist writers, is to risk slipping into “the ravages of...lookism” (Katzman, 1997, p. 71). Here, the body is examined only in terms of its “artificiality” (Kilbourne, 1995,

¹⁸ Alexa Hepburn (1997) points out, in her examination of how bullying is discursively organised, that a focus in depth “on a smaller amount of material [makes possible] a more detailed analysis” (p. 21).

¹⁹ Approximately twenty modelling agencies were approached with only one agency agreeing to participate in the research.

p. 122) and to imply that women's bodies (as well as the women themselves) are inherently one-dimensional or shallow. In addition, feminist and medico-psychological and media commentators alike (see for example Halfpenny, 2003; Kilbourne, 1986; Koch, 2002; Walkerdine, 1998) suggest that a multiplicity of dangers become apparent in looking closely at the bodies of young girls.²⁰ This emerges as infinitely problematic, with people being fervently advised to 'look away'. Always at work is the threat of this 'looking' collapsing into a voyeuristic and even paedophilic gaze (Giroux, 1998b) which is most certainly improper, if not completely unreasonable. To look at and scrutinize the female model body in detail also emerges as a risky move. Vociferous cautions arise from medico-psychological literature that insists on the need to 'look away' from the model body as a body of danger (Dwyer, 2004b).

However, there is little doubt as to the embodied character of the movements of the model on the catwalk for example. As such it would seem erroneous to 'look away' from the fleshly bodies of the fashion model and the young girl as they relate pedagogically. In this study, "the body replaces the mind as the mark of the subject" (Threadgold, 2000, p. 50). As Elizabeth Moje (2000) states in her discussion of how power was physically embodied in collaborative research partnerships, the body constitutes a powerful medium which *speaks* what we sometimes 'refuse to speak'. The study seeks to muddy the 'clear' waters that indicate the inherent dangerous-ness of 'looking at' the model body. The imperative in this study is to "turn our gaze differently at the social world" (Davies, 2000, p. 10) or *re-gaze* at the female bodies of the model and the girl from a different theoretical standpoint which allows for a gaze that does not rush to judge these bodies but rather seeks to carefully and patiently (Foucault, 1984a) document their embodied pedagogical movements.

To enable this patiently meticulous re-gaze at the bodies of the fashion model and the young girl, the researcher had to regard these bodies differently to the treatments of these evident in influence literature. Rather than examining the bodies of the model and the girl as unified, definitive objects, this phase of the research was focused on

²⁰ The work of Emilce Dio Bleichmar (1995), for example contends that a range of harmful effects may result from looking at the young female body, one of these being the young girl experiences "a constant feeling of being looked at" (p. 377) and, as such, the young girl comes to recognise that "what is visible to the eye constitutes the core of her identity".

the discursive ‘surfaces’ of these bodies as “complex system[s] of distinct and multiple elements, unable to be mastered by the powers of synthesis” (Foucault, 1984a, p. 94). How these bodies were *done* in everyday discursive practices was the focus of the observation. Reading the bodies of the model and the girl, then, required the researcher to regard these bodies with “perpetual disintegration” (p. 83). That is, to focus in isolation on each of the precise, systematic movements of each of the parts of these bodies as they were enacted. It meant thinking about and analysing these bodies as ‘events’ by looking carefully at “the multiple processes which constitute [them]” (Foucault, 1991b, p. 76).

The type of work done by a range of other texts in the modelling classroom also constituted a point of interest for the study, including various notes photocopied and distributed by the modelling teacher in classes. Observational work involved a careful reading of these and other texts that produce this modelling ‘classroom’ as a pedagogical ‘sight/site’ in certain ways. This includes props and other technical devices including clothing “as a technology of the body” (Dussel, 2004, p. 88) which “turns bodies into ‘readable’ signs” (p. 89). David Armstrong (1994) provides a useful example of such a prop: the stethoscope. Armstrong states that although the stethoscope may be considered a very simple instrument in its physical make up, this instrument embodies a complex element in constructing certain types of bodies: “Every time the stethoscope was (and is) applied to a patient, it reinforced the fact that the patient possessed an analysable body with discrete organs and tissues which might harbour a pathological lesion” (pp. 23-24). Margaret Somerville (2004) and Maria Tamboukou (1999a) further suggest that bodies literally produce the space that they are enacted in as certain types of texts. Within the modelling ‘classroom’, then, notes, props, clothing, spaces and so on were all ‘read’ as

‘prescriptive’ texts – that is, texts whose main object, whatever their form...is to suggest rules of conduct...texts written for the purpose of offering rules, opinions, and advice on how to behave as one should: ‘practical’ texts, which are themselves objects of a ‘practice’ in that they were designed to be read, learned, reflected upon, and tested out, and they were intended to constitute the eventual framework of everyday conduct. These texts thus served as functional devices that would enable individuals to question their own conduct, to watch over and give shape to it, and to shape themselves as ethical subjects (Foucault, 1985, pp. 12-13).

It was also the relations between these texts and “the ways in which texts depend on and refer to other texts” (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997, p. 8) that was of interest in this second phase of the research project. The type of work these “non-human bits and pieces” (Parker, 2000, p. 81) did intertextually in their movements and stillness was a central part of the observation work conducted in the modelling ‘classroom’, as “a bricolage of bodies, words and things”.

5.6 PRODUCING ‘TRUTHS’: PERFORMING TALK ABOUT MODELLING ‘CURRICULUM’

The third phase of the research project regarded as its object the *performance* of *curriculum* in the *talk* of young girls. It considered that young girls perform certain kinds of talk about a particular form of ‘curriculum’ about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct. This phase of the research project was focused on how these discussions comprised ‘learning outcomes’ that may be produced by young girls engaging with the fashion model in a pedagogical manner. The interest was in documenting how young girls talked about these ‘learning outcomes’, about what they had “come to know” (Siegel, 1998, p. 20) about model bodily conduct as a highly specialised curriculum of embodied knowing.

To explore how young girls talked about this ‘curriculum’, the final phase of the research project employed *interview techniques*²¹ (Berg, 2004; Fontana & Frey, 1998; Fielding, 1993b; Jensen, 1989; Kvale, 1996) with young girls. This phase of the research was informed by the understanding that the researcher cannot ‘truly’ access or capture the ‘voices’ of the young girls. These are always already caught up in the knowledge that young girls have of more widely accepted ‘truths’ about the model and modelling knowledge. As Britzman (2000) suggests, all talk is produced arbitrarily: “every telling is constrained, partial, and determined by the discourses and histories” (p. 32; Jensen, 1989; Scheurich, 1995). Foucault (1970) suggests that empirical work, particularly that of a problematising and, hence, transgressive character, is more usefully guided not by “a theory of the knowing subject, but rather [by] a theory of discursive practice” (p. xv).

²¹ The specific interviewing techniques are discussed further below.

This understanding goes against the grain of advice provided in ‘traditional’ research texts that assume that interviewing allows the research to apprehend a range of “discrete facts” (Fontana, 2003, p. 53). These understandings of interviewing are frequently predicated on the idea of interviewing as “a conduit” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003a, p. 3; Kogan, 1998; Prior, 1997) for directly transmitting information about ‘real’ experiences from the participant to the objective, dispassionate researcher. Research manuals contend that a research participant can be interrogated so as to entice them to reveal ‘concrete’ information about their subjective experiences. However, as Mansfield (2000, p. 6) suggests, to attempt to explain the human subject as a totality would be erroneous as this subject is not “susceptible to final explanation”. It is assumed, in this study, that interviewing techniques provide the researcher with “clues – perhaps indirect and uncertain – but still clues” (Alverson, 2002, p. 111) to the social processes governing social relationships. This study, then, is interested in pointing up these ‘clues’ as “contradictory realities” (Britzman, 1991, p. 9). The ‘clues’ are those discontinuous shreds of knowledge expressed by the participants, as “discursing subjects [that] form part of a discursive field” (Foucault, 1991c, p. 58). What this phase of the research did *not* aim to do was give young girls a ‘voice’ or a ‘space’ within which to express their grievances about the model and, hence, become ‘emancipated’ through what Pillow (1997, p. 352) calls “victory narratives”. As this is the focus of more ‘redemptive’ (Popkewitz, 1997b) research, this study moved away from this way of interrogating the model-girl encounter.

The objective was also not simply to generate data that represented verbal ‘descriptions’ about the bodily conduct of the fashion model. It sought also to generate data about the ‘inscription’ and ‘re-inscription’ of female bodies. It set out to learn something about how the model body is literally *fleshed out* (Witz, Halford & Savage, 1996) in certain discursive ways. There is little doubt that interview encounters are “active, meaning-making occasions” (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 68), with participants understood to be actively constructing and assembling knowledge in collaboration with the researcher. However, this understanding is underpinned by the tradition that “to know something is to be able to put it into words” (Ross, 2004, pp. 170-171), with spoken words being the primary form of activity that analyses would typically focus on in interview encounters. This study

seeks to broaden this understanding by insisting that interview processes can also ‘make up’ bodies in certain ways. The utterances of the young girls were taken to be indicative of the discursive production of the body as a text of discursive knowledge.

Here the study is working from a similar perspective to that discussed by McWilliam (1997d): “I am extending the metaphor of narrative ‘voice’ by trying to foreground the ‘bodies of knowledge’, both material and figurative, which produce written and spoken language as a stylised and performative *utterance*” (p. 220, italics in original). The work of Kamler (1997) is again revealing as it highlights the understanding of the ‘body as text’ but also of the ‘text as body’. Kamler notes her surprise when she found that “corporeal traces of students’ bodies were literally written into their spoken interview texts” (p. 384). The students’ interviews demonstrated a particular type of knowing about “the discursive and bodily practices of learning to be a law student as a material process with material effects”.²² It is in line with this understanding of spoken texts as discursively producing bodies in certain ways that the study approached the speech acts of the young girls. The data generated were approached as instances of knowledge production wherein the bodies of the model and the girl are *fleshed out as knowledge objects* (Stinson, 1995) in terms of a detailed bodily ‘curriculum’.

5.6.1 A performative ‘curriculum’: the speech act as pedagogical text

In order to examine how the young girl constituted the model body in her talk, this phase of the research project took the spoken texts of the young girl as functioning in a distinctly *performative* (Austin, 1975; Searle, 1969) manner. This is different to the idea of talk as simply describing instances of fashion model/young girl knowledge exchange, as it read the talk of these subjects as “the performing of an action” (ibid) by way of ‘speech acts’: “The act of stating is doing something” (Cherryholmes, 1988, p. 7). As J. L. Austin (1975) states, “[i]n very many cases it is possible to perform an act of exactly the same kind *not* by uttering words, whether written or spoken, but in some other way” (p. 8, italics in original). This is particularly useful in this study as speech comes to be understood as *material*

²² This approach is also evidenced in Dennis Atkinson’s (1998) research that “explores the material nature of language in specific practices which construct the pupil as a subject within the art curriculum” (p. 27).

(Cherryholmes, 1988). The young girls did not simply describe how the model performs the ‘catwalk’ for example. Rather, the utterances were regarded as producing ‘real’, material effects in fleshing out bodies. As Cherryholmes (1988) states, “[i]f all speech is action, there is no firm distinction between discourse and practice. All discourse is material” (p. 7).

Young girls, then, *performed* certain *practices* in their speech acts. These speech acts were read as *truths* (Foucault, 1977b), truths produced out of discourse, as a system of language in use that regulates what *can and cannot be said* (Foucault, 1991c) about the model. How the young girls “speak the truth” (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p. 37) about the model-girl encounter as pedagogical work, and about the ‘learning outcomes’ of this encounter, then, was the focus of this phase of the research.

5.6.2 Talking about an embodied ‘curriculum’: focus group research

Focus group interviews (Edmunds, 1999; Fern, 2001; Frey & Fontana, 1993; Greenbaum, 1993; Krueger, 1994; Merton, Fiske & Kendall, 1990; Morgan, 1988) with groups of young girls were conducted to generate data about how young girls *talk* about the model body and ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct. These focus group interviews were each approximately sixty minutes in length. The participants were sampled using a type of ‘snowball’ technique (Berg, 2004), where staff members,²³ who were known to have contact with a young girl aged 13-18 years, were invited to have this young girl assemble a group of their ‘friends’ to participate in a focus group interview. These staff members were then invited to nominate another person they knew that had contact with young girls that may be willing to participate in a focus group interview.²⁴

Although focus group interviews were originally developed as a method used in marketing research (Wells, 1974), this technique has been used widely both in educational research specifically (see for example Allard, 2002; Cooks & Sun, 2002;

²³ These were staff employed within the School of Cultural and Language Studies in Education, Faculty of Education at the Queensland University of Technology at the time this research was conducted.

²⁴ The intention was to engage young girls from a diverse range of social class, cultural and ethnic backgrounds by broadcasting an advertisement on community radio calling for young girls that would be interested in participating. However, this technique did not produce any responses from the public.

Olafson, 2002) and social research in general (see for example Boynton, 1999; Hollander, 2002; Stephens, Budge & Carryer, 2002). Focus group interviews have proven useful in a number of ways for social researchers, particularly given that this method enables access to an increased ‘variety’ of discourse. It allows the researcher to probe for meanings, and enables the researcher to “experience being in a group with our respondents and hearing them talk with their peers” (Wilson, 1997, p. 221).

However, the usefulness of focus group interviews for this research project is demonstrated in how it makes possible the *relational* generation of talk (Cooks & Sun, 2002). Jocelyn Hollander (2002) found focus group methods particularly useful for this purpose in her research about the social construction of ‘alternative’ genders that resist conventional constructions of feminine gender as necessarily ‘vulnerable’. Hollander suggests that as the construction of gender “is an inherently collaborative process” (p. 477), focus group discussions enabled her to observe how gender was constructed by participants “in conversation” and within “the interplay and negotiation between their individual contributions” (ibid). The present study worked out of similar assumptions about the usefulness of focus group methods for ‘accessing’ data indicating how girls were considered as “negotiat[ing] and construct[ing] reality and identities during the course of talk and interaction” (Crossley, 2002, p. 1471). The focus in this study, however, was the discursive fabrication and re-fabrication of the model body and of knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct.

In keeping with the poststructural theoretical viewpoint which works through this thesis, the focus group process was not definitively informed by any one, absolute ‘theory’ about how best to interview respondents. Instead, the interviewing process was taken to be “more a set of orienting sensibilities” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2003a, p. 4), part of which included an understanding of ‘proper’ interviewing as what David Silverman (1993) calls *semi-structured interviewing*. Silverman suggests that semi-structured interviewing is useful in three ways: it enables the respondents to draw on their own distinctive ways of characterising reality; it rejects the notion that one, fixed set of questions are suitable for all respondents; and it allows the participants to raise additional issues which were not originally included in the interview schedule. Talk was considered “a form of discourse between speakers” (Mishler, 1986, p. 7),

with an emphasis on “pluralism and polyvocality” (Coffey, Holbrook & Atkinson, 1996, 8.1). Such an open-ended approach was particularly useful in its allowances for the talk of the girls to progress as “the circulation of competing regimes of truth” (Britzman, 2000, p. 36) that constitute the model as an authoritative pedagogue. This also enabled a shift away from attempting to ‘extract’ the ‘truth’ about the ‘deep’ influence of the model body on the lives of young girls, as may be the concern of influence researchers.

A total of three focus group interviews were conducted, with approximately five young girls aged 13-15 years engaged in each group interview. This number of focus groups would be considered quite minimal, even ineffective. Writers of focus group method typically suggest that three focus groups would be the “bare minimum” (Morgan, 1988, p. 43), with the aim to conduct from four to eight groups (Morgan, 2004) up to “several dozen groups” (Krueger, 1994, p. 6). The understanding that underpins this notion is that focus groups “should be conducted until the moderator can predict the participants’ responses because they are redundant” (Vaughn, Schumm & Sinagub, 1996, p. 49). That is, the aim is to achieve ‘saturation’, with some researchers conducting as many as 42 focus groups (Warner, Weber & Albanes, 1999).

The number of participants in the focus group interviews conducted for this phase of the research project would too be questioned by writers of focus group method. The ‘ideal’ or ‘proper’ number of participants being between eight and twelve people (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). However, a number of studies have used as few as two (Germov & Williams, 1996; Jackson, 1999) and three (Boynton, 1999; Olafson, 2002) focus group interviews, with the aim being “not to achieve generalisability or statistical representativeness” (Crossley, 2002, p. 1472). The interest in the present study was to explore what young girls know about ‘model’ bodily conduct and the ‘play’ of discursive rules that governed the ‘knowing’ of this information (Foucault, 1984b). The object was to explore what is allowed and disallowed, said and unsaid about this knowing and how certain intersecting ‘regimes of truth’ produce certain kinds of talk about this knowing (Britzman, 2000).

5.6.3 Re-membering and remembering the model body in focus groups

Embodiment was the central notion that informed the focus group interviews with young girls. The questions worked through the space between conventional understandings of pedagogical remembering and poststructural notions of instructional *re-membering* (Shapiro, 1994). The interest was in how the young girls moved within and between this space, and how they did this in their talk and using their bodies. Five sections of questioning guided each of the focus groups (see Appendix One, p. 363 for the discussion guide used in the focus group interviews):

- **General knowledge questions:** The focus groups opened with what might be ironically termed ‘general knowledge’ questions. These questions were designed to introduce re-membering. Questioning in this section explored what young girls had already come to know about the fashion model and the forms of bodily conduct that they executed on the catwalk. Furthermore, it examined how the talk of the young girls did particular types of cultural work that constituted the model as spectacular in their talk. These questions particularly worked through the assumption that the young girls would re-member and remember the bodily conduct performed by the model through and with their own bodies.
- **Discussion of video segment:** General knowledge questions were followed by a *pedagogical moment*. The participants viewed a ten minute video segment called *Beyond the Catwalk*, a television special produced by Channel Ten in 2002 about the Sixth Annual Australian Designer Collections in Melbourne. This was designed to explore further how they remember *and* re-member the more precise movements of the ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct embodied by the models in the video by gazing meticulously at the model body as a spectacle of knowledge. It particularly worked through the idea that girls would be able to *flesh out* the movements of the model body in their talk and with their bodies.
- **Body work:** This section of questioning focused on the types of bodily work conducted by the fashion model. They highlighted the various elements of the *labour* (Adkins & Lury, 2000) involved in configuring a particular type of ‘ideal’ feminine body and the systematic ways in which this work was done to and with the body of the model as a pedagogical *body of knowledge* (Stinson, 1995). They also worked through the idea that the model body is a shifting and malleable body, a body re-configured in line with current discursive trends about what it means to be ‘ideally’ feminine. Thus, these questions explored the discursive

bodily practices used to shape and re-shape the model body as youthful, for example.

- **Poster discussion:** To further investigate the degree of *precision* with which young girls read the model body, the fourth section of the focus group engaged young girls in remembering and re-remembering the model face/body. It worked out of the assumption that the young girls had gazed at and come to know the body/face of the model in meticulous enough ways to be able to explore the knowledge that they had of them. The stimulus material was a selection of pictures of ‘teen’ models, ‘teen’ celebrities, ‘supermodels’ and other young popular music artists that featured in advertisements and editorials taken from issues of various current young women’s magazines.²⁵ The picture selected were of individuals deemed ‘popular’ icons in media discourse at that particular historical moment and were cut out of the magazines and pasted on to cardboard (see Appendix Two, p. 364 for a graphic of this poster). The young girls in the focus groups were then asked to tell the researcher what they knew about the people pictured in order to explore the ‘montage’ of knowledge that the young girls had of model bodies.
- **Magazine discussion:** The final section of the focus group interview involved engaging young girls in reading young women’s magazines. The latest issue of *Girlfriend* magazine was selected at the time the focus group. Prior to distributing the magazines to the participants, the researcher requested information about what they expected to see in the magazines. This strategy was used to generate data about the type of bodily conduct that models enacted in the magazines. It was informed by the supposition that young girls had the capacity to enact and perform postural forms of bodily discipline in ways that worked through notions of stillness and muteness. The assumption was that young girls could re-member the bodily postures of the model by applying this knowledge in erudite ways as an embodied discipline (Foucault, 1977a).

The spoken texts of each focus group interview were recorded *in situ* using audio tape and video tape. The decision to use video taping in the focus group interviews was a complicated one, as writers of focus group method appear to regard the use of

²⁵ These magazines included *Girlfriend*, *Dolly*, *Chik*, *Cleo*, *Cosmo Girl*, *Teen Vogue* and *Barbie*. These magazines were current as at November 2004.

a video camera in a focus group setting with suspicion (see Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; Krueger, 1994; Merton, Fiske & Kendall, 1990; Morgan, 1988). They claim that this “hideously complicated” (Morgan, 1988, p. 62) equipment inhibits the focus group process due to its “intrusiveness” (p. 61) and its “invasion of privacy” (p. 62). They argue further that as video cameras make the participants feel uneasy, they are not only less likely to contribute to the discussion but also likely to denigrate the impartiality, objectivity and ‘truthfulness’ of the data. Participants, they argue, may feel swayed to provide specific answers for the camera or to “withhold participation in the group discussion” (Fern, 2001, p. 19).

This perspective is clearly at odds with a poststructural conceptual framework that emphasises the importance of the visual display and performance of physical bodies as ‘evidence’ of how discourse is materially enacted (Christensen & Dwyer, 2004; Holliday, 2000). For example, when discussing the fashion model ‘catwalk’, the young girls not only spoke about the bodily movements necessary to perform this walk but they also literally enacted these movements using their bodies as exemplar. Using a video recorder enabled the researcher to document visually how the young girls enacted a ‘curriculum’ of model feminine bodily conduct by posturing their bodies in precise ways. This would not have otherwise been possible using tape recording alone, as is made evident in the work of Lyn Mikel Brown (2001, 1997) who also draws on video recording for these purposes in her research examining how ‘white working-class girls’ perform dominant normative definitions of femininity. The interesting aspect of this process in the present study was that the girls appeared to enjoy ‘(en)acting-up’ to the camera. Some girls even proclaimed other girls in the groups ‘experts’ for their ability to systematically enact a repertoire of model ‘poses’ and the model ‘catwalk’ with their bodies.

5.7 MAKING THE PRESENT STRANGE: DISCOURSE ANALYSING BODY TEXTS/TALK

The analysis of the data generated developed as a *discourse analysis* (Foucault, 1972). In much the same manner as the analysis of materials in phase one of the research, the central concern in phases two and three was exploring the discursive rules that govern and, hence, produce the model-girl encounter as a body-to-body pedagogical encounter. This analysis sought to make apparent certain discursive

conditions that enabled, as well as constrained the model-girl relationship as pedagogical work: “the conditions for both the creation and the manifestation of phenomena, ... the conditions which make possible their speaking into existence and/or materialisation” (Sondergaard, 1999, p. 6). For example, how the young girls made themselves and their bodies amenable to knowing was of particular interest in both observational notes and in focus group transcripts.

Transcription formed an important part of this analytical process (see Appendix Three, p. 366 for coding system for transcripts). Although these processes were conducted conscientiously, with meticulous attention properly given to the ‘correctness’ of the interactions in the classroom and to talk of the young girls on the audio tapes, the researcher does not claim to have perfectly represented these details. The researcher was less interested in the “technicism” (Greene, 1994, p. 424) of producing accurate accounts, which has increasingly become a standard for measuring the value of research according to Mishler (1991). Instead, the interest was in documenting “versions – sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, but always multiple” (Dippo, 1993, p. 37), versions that are always already entangled in shifting, fragmented discourses. The analytical work, then, looked scrupulously at localised discursive practices that were enacted, spoken, written in the modelling classroom and focus group interviews. The main focus was how the participants were “created *by*, and creators *of* their own conditions” (Sondergaard, 1999, p. 6) in these research sights/sites.

An analysis of how the body was constituted, re-constituted, and de-constituted was an aspect given particular attention not only in the analysis of observational notes but also of focus group transcripts. The data was considered in terms of how the body was materially written and overwritten, invented and re-invented as a text of discourse in both the body texts in the modelling ‘classroom’ and the body talk in the focus group interviews. In terms of focus group transcripts, the analysis was concerned with how this body talk ‘fleshed out’ (Witz, Halford & Savage, 1996) a ‘curriculum’ of knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct. How are certain parts of the talk spoken as taken for granted? How and when are certain topics spoken as taboo or remain unspoken in silence? What parts of the talk are “told as a rupture” (ibid) which undermine other talk? How are parts of the talk spoken as

legitimate or illegitimate? In terms of observation, the bodies of the model and the girls were read as texts of pedagogical knowledge with reference to a range of questions. How was the body made the object of discipline as “a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviours” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 138)? What practices served to “invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 24)? How was the body of the model pedagogue produced as a spectacle of knowledge to be gazed at? How did the arrangement of space permit as well as forbid bodily movements and engagements in the modelling ‘classroom’? How was knowledge about bodily conduct performed on the body of the modelling pedagogue in such a way as to allow it to be instructed?

Asking such questions of the data enabled the researcher to make visible the discursive rules which governed these model-girl relationships as pedagogical encounters; that is, “the ensemble of rules according to which the true and the false are separated and specific effects of power attached to the true” (Foucault, 1984c, p. 74). These rules formed the discursive categories by which to “make the processes of constitution explicit” (Sondergaard, 1999, p. 13),²⁶ and to make strange those processes of constitution and materialisation which have come to appear ‘normal’. The analysis worked through peculiarities, discontinuities and ambiguities, as well as consistencies, clarities and regularities, to make possible an analysis that works “at the edges, the places where the ‘mainstream’ starts to fragment” (Laws, 2004, p. 120).

The central way that the analysis worked to make peculiar what we have come to know as ‘normal’ in the model-girl relationship was by *problematizing* and *diagnosing* the data using the categories produced in Phase One of the research project. Sondergaard (1999) emphasises the importance of this type of ‘destabilising’ work being part of a poststructural discourse analysis. She suggests that to make visible “the obvious, taken-for-granted and invisible assumptions of...discourses” (p. 32), it is useful to employ “an alienating language, alienating phrases and terms and concepts” to avoid an analysis that “reproduces truisms” of

²⁶ Steven Ward (1996) examines how the notion of self-esteem came to be taken for granted as truth in Western culture by looking to the processes of ‘truth-making’: those “human and non-human actants” (p. 1) that mobilised and produced self-esteem as a discursive concept used for classifying individuals.

certain discourses. In the present study, the historical categories were used to illustrate the ‘oldness’ of the data, in that it appeared to work out of ‘old’ discursive rules of operation, as well as draw attention to its ‘newness’, in that it worked out of ‘new’ discursive rules. This challenges more accepted versions of this relationship, steeped in “stultifying empirical/analytical compulsivity” (Seidman, 1991, p. 190). It problematises the discourse of influence, by “disrupting certainties and seeing possibilities...in the cracks/silences opened” (Laws, 2004, p. 119).

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined one approach to re-interrogating the model-girl encounter as a pedagogical encounter. It has attempted to infuse this research design with the ‘assemblage’ of theoretical dispositions elaborated in Chapter Four to promote slippage between theory and method. It has endeavoured to *re-member* research relations by foregrounding the body as always already ‘caught-up’ in, and productive of, research relations. Working through more posthuman ways of thinking about social phenomena, this chapter has aimed to distort the supposed “clear distinction between different texts” (Crotty, 1998, p. 206). It points up the usefulness of engaging a form of ‘intertextuality’ which motivates the researcher “to move at random between them [texts] and to read one into the other”. Such an approach highlights “the play of possible meanings” (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997, p. 30) between, across and ‘against’ (Britzman, 2000) different data ‘sets’ rather than analysing each data set in isolation. The study moves away from more familiar interpretations in existing literature that take the model body to be the fundamental ‘axis’ around which the model-girl relationship is ‘caused’. Conversely, it gives “more attention...to unlikely or marginal instances and...tr[ies] to establish a certain *distance* from the core assumptions” (Stronach & MacLure, 1997, p. 3) of orthodox influence literature.

The analysis in the following chapters seeks not ‘closure’ or ‘answers’ (Brown, 2004) but to continually ‘pose questions’ (Grosz, 1995) of the data. By moving to thinking differently about the model-girl relationship, the following chapters aim to drive “the sensibilities of readers in new directions” (Britzman, 2000, p. 34). It works through an understanding of this relationship as discursively ‘fictioned’ (Foucault, 1979) as an ‘assemblage’ of corporeal, pedagogical devices and practices.

The model-girl relationship is read as a curious array of randomly dotted discursive emergences rather than any one linear, temporal progression of rational ‘influence’. It links “together...things that are inappropriate” (Foucault, 1970, p. xix), such as linking the fashion model with pedagogy, to make more familiar understandings of the model-girl relationship, strange (Kirk, 1994) and undefined. Furthermore, it aims to point up the possible ways of thinking about this relationship that existing accounts have *prevented* (McArdle & McWilliam, 2005). The analysis presented in the following Chapters Six and Seven seeks to fulfil precisely this task.

In line with poststructural notions of becoming and incompleteness, the research data generated and documented in the ensuing chapters is in no way intended to be definitive. The study insists on a more ‘partial’ (Clifford, 1986; Lather, 1997; Lincoln, 1997) account of the ‘goings-on’ female-to-female pedagogical encounters, an account that thinks the research context not as an array of “jigsaw pieces ‘out there’ to be assembled by the researcher” (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997, p. 12). Rather, the research context is persistently produced and re-produced, formed and re-formed as a ‘slippery’ range of interplaying and intertextual ‘surfaces’ and contrivances.

CHAPTER SIX

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CHAPTER SIX

EDUCATING FEMALE BODIES: LESSONS FROM HISTORY

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five has mapped a research design which aims to ‘make strange’ and, hence, to allow a re-interrogation of the fashion model/young girl encounter. This is centrally a research design informed by postmodern, poststructural and even posthuman (Halberstam & Livingston, 1995) ways of thinking about research relations as always already caught up in social, cultural and historical contexts and subjectivities. Emphasised in this chapter is the usefulness of slippages within and between the theoretical concepts assembled in Chapter Four and notions of ‘proper’ research processes, pointing up in particular the importance of *re-embodiment* (Pillow, 2003) these processes. Foregrounding the body in empirical research work is just one of the ways that this study seeks to make possible an account of the model-girl relationship that appears to have been otherwise unspoken in existing research accounts.

In line with these postmodern, poststructural ‘rules for breaking the rules’ (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997) of more traditional research practices, it is the task of this chapter to begin by making strange contemporary understandings of proper pedagogies between women by recalling certain historical renderings of female-to-female pedagogical propriety. Working through and with notions of historical incompleteness and contingency, the data generated for analysis in this chapter constitute randomly dotted instances of erotic pedagogical knowledge transmission as they are presented in extant primary (and some secondary) historical texts from ancient Greece (particularly 800-500 B.C.).¹ Each of these instances creates a focus for scrutinizing how the rules for the proper conduct of pedagogical relationships were once radically different. The specific aim will be to point up the *embodied* character of these relationships by

¹ In line with the work of classical historians such as Sue Blundell (1995, p. 10), in this thesis the phrase ‘ancient Greece’ indicates the “limited period, beginning in 750 BC and ending in 336 BC. This comprises what are generally known as the Archaic and Classical Ages”. This period in history was chosen specifically because it incorporates part of history generally considered to be “by all accounts the great age of the hetairai” (Stewart, 1996, p. 147).

examining how a meticulous knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct was transmitted body-to-body using instructional techniques such as postural modelling (Cryle, 1994). These examples were drawn from increasingly fragmentary primary historical accounts of erotic pedagogical relationships between women. They were considered discontinuous, discursive and emergent as well as indicative of practices specific to a particular historical time and space. When explored together, these examples build a certain type of discursive ‘patchwork’ (Clark, 1993) or ‘montage’ (Tuchman, 1994) of rules of embodied erotic pedagogical propriety. The analysis augments the work of Chapter Four in that it aims to defamiliarise the notion that good or proper pedagogical encounters between women are necessarily student-centred, facilitative, asexual, mind-centric, relational, authentic and interpersonally engaged. It seeks to make apparent the ways in which good pedagogies have become *thinkable* in contemporary times as a ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault, 1984b) which excludes other versions of good pedagogical relationships in different historical times and places.

6.0.1 Risky pedagogical liaisons: problematising contemporary pedagogies

The usefulness of moving to historical examples of erotic pedagogical encounters in particular is indicated in how morally unsettling these versions of pedagogy may appear for more progressive educational theorists. The notion that knowledge is properly performed on and with the spectacular body of an interpersonally and physically distant female pedagogue for a passive, gazing pupil may emerge as increasingly problematic for good teachers in contemporary times. In fact, to suggest that ideal pedagogical knowledge is in any way erotic or sexual in character in itself *goes against the grain* (Popkewitz, 1999) of contemporaneous versions of good pedagogical practice. The dangerousness of this notion is only eclipsed by the suggestion that the ideal, authoritative pedagogue is a prostitute, an unthinkable idea given that prostitution is traditionally understood as an “enigmatic poison which can...only produce ruinous consequences” (Bassermann, 1967, p. xi).² More importantly, to also suggest that young

² The impropriety of being a prostitute and a teacher was recently highlighted in a case in Queensland, Australia, where a teacher was found to be moonlighting as a prostitute. This case, as do the moves to “a prohibition on teachers working as prostitutes” (Sweetman, 2005), clearly indicates the widely accepted notion that only a particular type of person is allowed to be a teacher; that is, not a prostitute.

girls are instructed by the fashion model in these terms is a particularly chancy move given the burgeoning literature that indicates the riskiness of having young girls constituting themselves as ‘sex-objects’ (see Walkerdine, 1998) and, hence, objects of the ‘adult sexual look’ (Bleichmar, 1995).

However, it is precisely these types of moral-ethical discourses that this thesis works to depart from in that they rush to judgement about the ‘rightness’ or ‘wrongness’ of the model-girl encounter. More importantly, these accounts tend to overlook aspects such as how *precisely* young girls know about the model body.³ Thus, historical exemplars of pedagogical practice that privilege pedagogical performance and embodiment, such as those accounts discussed by Peter Cryle (2001, 1994), offer up points of analysis which may have been unspoken and unthought in more progressive versions of pedagogical practice. By linking together things that might otherwise be thought improper and recalling these historical pedagogies, an account that heretofore has been unthinkable in influence literature is enabled. It makes it possible to think differently about the model-girl encounter in terms of the precisely embodied pedagogical work that is being enacted. More importantly, by using these accounts of erotic pedagogies to ‘diagnose’ (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) the empirical data, an account of the meticulousness of model-girl embodied pedagogical work is made possible.

6.0.2 ‘Rummaging’ in premodern history: using incompleteness with in-tension

Just as the poststructural methodology (see Chapter Five) embedded in this thesis recognises and works through notions of ‘incompleteness’ (Clifford, 1986) and conditionality, so too was the historical research for this research project. The study did not aim to amass ‘facts’ with which to temporally (re)construct ‘the great story’ (Berkhofer, 1995) of premodern female-to-female erotic pedagogical relationships. Nor did it seek to provide a succinct or ‘truthful’ history or ‘essence’ (Roth, 1981) of these relationships by revealing the hidden layers of the past. This study does not endeavour to “seek out the ‘meaning’ ...of [these] texts” (Prior, 1997, p. 65; Bennington & Young, 1987) or to treat these texts as though they “preserve...the voice of the subjects, the

³ See Chapter Seven for further discussion of this point.

consciousness of those long dead” (Poster, 1997, p. 142). The interest, rather, was in “working on the surface” (Tamboukou, 1999b, p. 208; Pavlich, 1995) of the various events and emergences and discontinuities (Foucault, 1991c) that produce these premodern relationships. The study looked closely (Tamboukou & Ball, 2004a; Wilson, 1995) at the discursive social practices produced and how these practices constitute these encounters as erotically embodied pedagogy.

The notion that history is always ‘becoming’ (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988) was made especially apparent in the process of doing the historical research. A number of ‘problems’ were encountered in this process related to the incompleteness of historical discourses. The central issue that emerged from the historical research was the apparent lack of what Gerda Lerner (1986) calls ‘women’s history’. This is particularly the case in ancient Greece in which the “extant formal literature of classical antiquity was all written by men” (Pomeroy, 1975, p. x; Clark, 1993; Fantham *et al.*, 1994; Foley 1981a; Just, 1975; Schaps, 1979) and women represent “a ‘muted group’” (Gould, 1980, p. 38; Pomeroy, 1991). Feminist writers have discussed this issue extensively (Bridenthal, Koonz & Stuard, 1987; Duby & Perrot, 1992; Hartman & Banner, 1974; Miles, 1988; Rowbotham, 1974; Scott, 1996a) and argue that women’s history has been silenced by male historians, and particularly histories of women whose lives are intersected by ethnicity (Bond & Gilliam, 1994) and social class (Pomeroy, 1975). When accounts of women do appear in history, they increasingly focus on how women are “incomplete, inferior, and imperfect” (Thompson, 1999, p. 19) in relation to men, prone to hysteria and ‘wandering wombs’ (Shorter, 1982). The work of feminist historians involves doing the “valuable and very necessary spadework of collecting and collating evidence in pursuit of a lost history” (Archer, Fischler & Wyke, 1994a, p. xiv; Roberts, 1992). They work to “strip away myths about womanhood and restore real women to history” (Bridenthal, Koonz & Stuard, 1987, p. 1). Informed by feminist ideology, however, feminist ‘herstorys’ (Wells, 1982) increasingly rush to judge the accounts of male historians and eschew them as accounts by “male academicians who misogynistically write to justify the patriarchies’ oppression of women” (p. v).

The apparent absence of historical accounts of women's lives and women's accounts of their own lives highlights the impossibility of charting a coherent history of erotic relationships between women in ancient Greece. However, the researcher did not consider this a 'stumbling block'. The point was not to present this data as "an intelligible whole" (Arthur, 1984, p. 7) but to map these relationships in terms of their discursive make up in a piecemeal fashion (Foucault, 1984a) drawing on primary and secondary historical sources. It does not seek to provide 'the great story' (Berkhofer, 1995) or to dis-cover the 'naked truth' (Koloski-Ostrow & Lyons, 1997) about erotic pedagogical relationships between women in ancient Greece. It seeks to build up a set of discursive rules that govern instances of erotic pedagogy as, for example, embodied knowledge transmission.

Equally, though, the intention is not to completely eschew these accounts as modernist 'truths' working to uncover the otherwise hidden messages of these relationships. Rather, this chapter endeavours to hold together these two approaches to history *intention*. In one sense, it takes for granted that the primary sources examined below are authentic and, hence, real accounts of certain types of pedagogical practices, whereas, in the same instance, it analyses these accounts in terms of their discursiveness and historical context. In doing this, this chapter works through and with the *ironic tensions* (Haraway, 1991; Rorty, 1989) between 'traditional' (Wilson, 1995) historiographical work and 'effective' (Foucault, 1984a) historiographical work and makes use of the paradoxes and contradictions that these tensions offer up. In part, the following analysis will describe these historical moments in a more traditional, modernist sense in that it will chart the what, when, where, how and who of these historical accounts but does so with a view to making apparent the discursive rules of erotic pedagogical propriety. In addition, the chapter will attempt to juxtapose, but not contrast this with, the practices of Foucault's (1984a) effective genealogical history by analysing these accounts using the theoretical concepts assembled in Chapter Four. It is by bringing together these two disparate ways of doing history that this chapter aims to make apparent certain discursive rules which implicitly governed these erotic woman-to-woman pedagogical encounters.

Working out of notions of incongruity, precariousness, suspicion and fragmentation, this chapter seeks to briefly examine historical understandings of good or proper pedagogical relationships between women in order to point up the historically situatedness of how we have come to *think* good pedagogies in the present. More importantly, the analysis produced in this chapter will serve to make less familiar contemporary renderings of the fashion model/young girl relationship as necessarily one of either positive *or* negative psycho-social influence in order to move to re-thinking this encounter in terms of embodied pedagogical training (Foucault, 1977a).

6.1 A SPECIFIC HISTORICAL TIME AND PLACE: SOME DISCURSIVE BACKGROUND

We have courtesans for pleasure, concubines for the daily tending of the body, and wives in order to beget legitimate children and have a trustworthy guardian of what is at home (Apollodoros, trans. 1999, p. 161).

The now oft cited quote above is taken from a legal oration written by Demosthenes in approximately 340 BC (Kapparis, 1999) for prosecutor Apollodoros in a case against an ageing courtesan or *hetaira*⁴ named Neaira. Apollodoros brought the case against Neaira in retaliation to the past legal proceedings and accusations brought against him by Stephanos, Neaira's 'keeper' (Hamel, 2003) or 'master' (Licht, 1932). Apollodoros argues that Neaira was living illegally with Stephanos as his wife, while her activities clearly indicated that she was a courtesan: "Neaira here was dining and drinking in the presence of a number of men, as a courtesan" (Apollodoros, trans. 1999, p. 97).

What this quote indicates is that in ancient Greece, there appeared to be little doubt about the status of women (Licht, 1932). On the one hand, they were *legitimate* (Clark, 1989; Lucian, trans. 1915), having been born of legitimate, 'citizen' (Cox, 1998; Keuls, 1985) men and women and then married as a wife into legitimate families and producing legitimate heirs for the family estate. These women were highly respected as there was no greater moral duty in ancient Greece than "to ensure the continued existence of the

⁴ The term *hetaira* is a feminine derivative of the term *hetairos* which meant 'companion', 'partner', 'comrade' (Dover, 1989; Lidov, 2002; Kurke, 1999). *Hetaira* translates as 'companions of men' (Roberts, 1992) but there are instances of women using this term to describe other women as friends (Dover, 1989).

state by the procreation of descendants” (Licht, 1932, p. 34). On the other hand, women were *illegitimate*, having been born of slaves, *pallakai*⁵ or courtesans,⁶ all of which were usually foreigners, born of illegitimate descent, or orphaned or ‘exposed’ (Lucian, trans. 1961; Plutarch, trans. 1932). While legitimate citizen women and wives were “accorded full respect” (Just, 1989, p. 147) by men, illegitimate women belonged to a “legally dehumanised group” whose existence revolved around ‘tending to’ the bodies of citizen men and “fulfilled no more than a sexual need” (ibid).

6.1.1 The hetaira: the revered and reviled

It is the erotically embodied pedagogical work of the illegitimate, yet elite prostitutes known as hetairae⁷ that is of interest in the following analysis. Hetairae were considered “the top end of the sexual market” (Blundell, 1995, p. 148; Fantham *et al.*, 1994) and were “distinguished for beauty” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 213) and “especial charm” (p. 215). They eclipsed the *pornai*,⁸ the *auletrides*,⁹ *orxestrides*¹⁰ and the *hierodoules*¹¹

⁵ This term is translated as ‘concubines’. Concubines could be any class of prostitute, but more commonly they were *auletrides* and hetairae that had been purchased by legitimate citizen men for a negotiated sum of money (Cox, 1998). After the purchase, the prostitute then became a concubine who was to reside with the citizen for a set period of time, usually outside the family estate and home so as not to offend the legitimate wife (Cox, 1998).

⁶ There is increasing debate in classical historical literature about how the term ‘courtesan’ is used interchangeably to describe a number of different types of women (Hawley, 1994), even wives in some accounts in ancient Greece (Aristophanes, trans. 1959). The term is used to refer to prostitutes in general; however, it is most commonly used to refer to elite prostitutes such as the *auletrides* and hetairae. The term also incorporates concubines.

⁷ Singular is hetaira.

⁸ *Pornai* were the most affordable and more common prostitutes in ancient Greece that staffed the brothels (Fantham *et al.*, 1994). A *porne* was generally considered ‘cheaper’ than an *auletride* or hetaira as ‘cheapness’ was reflected in the number of customers that a prostitute may have and the length of their relationship with them (Dover, 1989). *Pornai* were also distinguished from higher class prostitutes in terms of their status as a sexual ‘commodity’, whereas *auletrides* and hetairae negotiated their relationships with their ‘keepers’ in terms of ‘gift giving’ (Davidson, 1998).

⁹ The *auletrides* were slaves, usually foreigners that were skilled in the arts of music, dance, singing and sexual and conversational intercourse. They were particularly known for their flute-playing skills and were considered ‘on the level’ with the hetairae in many ways such as their superiority “in dress, in speech, in bearing” (Scott, 1968, p. 64), their professional accomplishment in entertainment and music, their power to “earn great fortunes for themselves” (Roberts, 1992, p. 29), their power to choose to live wherever they wanted, and their freedom to “indulge in long-term liaisons with individual clients, hetaira-style” (ibid). The *auletrides* would perform at public ceremonies and, most commonly, symposiums, a space in which they could be paid by a citizen male attendee for sexual favours.

¹⁰ The *orxestrides* were skilled female acrobats (Gilhuly, 1999) that performed at symposiums and other public ceremonies, and could be paid by male symposiasts for sexual acts as did the *auletrides*.

¹¹ *Hierodoules* were prostitutes that worked in the temples of Aphrodite (Kurke, 1999). Enlisting and paying for the sexual services of a *hierodoule* was considered a form of worship to Aphrodite (Friedrich, 1978).

in their market value, as their beauty, intelligence and wisdom were highly prized among legitimate male citizens in archaic and classical Greece. There are a few instances recorded in the historical texts of male companions “spending huge sums for each visit” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 67) to see their hetaira companion. They were experts in the arts of eroticism, seduction, conversation and witticism, and were well-versed in philosophy, literature and rhetoric. Their companionship was greatly sought after with instances scattered throughout historical accounts such as Lucian (trans. 1961)¹² of citizen men “in tears” (p. 367) and crying for days over the loss of the companionship of an hetaira. Other stories describe many jilted and vengeful male companions “choked with rage” (p. 367) and bringing charges against an hetaira for leaving (Alciphron, trans. n.d.). Indeed, the company of the hetaira was so desired that they would often play one suitor off against another to see who could offer her the most valuable and practicable gifts and the most agreeable conditions of ‘companionship’ (Basserman, 1967).

As a result, these women were increasingly financially autonomous in that their income was not controlled by a husband or father (Fantham, 1975). This was denied legitimate young women and wives (Blundell, 1995; Dillon & Garland, 2000; Schaps, 1979). Despite having “complete control of domestic affairs” (Licht, 1932, p. 18) and whose task it were to “make an intelligent use of” (p. 38) the money and property earned by the husband, the legitimate wife could never actually claim the income as their own. Some hetairae accumulated vast wealth, such as Rhodopis who is said to have amassed enough wealth to erect a pyramid (Lidov, 2002). Polyarchis also earned a great fortune and paid for and erected a statue of Aphrodite made of gold in the temple of Aphrodite in ancient Greece (Lefkowitz & Fant, 1982).¹³

This autonomy was not restricted to financial affairs. Hetairae were also accorded the freedom to wander outside the confines of their residences, a freedom that was increasingly denied the domestic housewife or matron who was ensconced in the family

¹² See for example dialogue three, ‘Philinna and her Mother’ (pp. 367-371).

¹³ The specific location of this statue in ancient Greece is not provided.

home (Cox, 1998; Schaps, 1979).¹⁴ They were allowed to walk through the streets of ancient Greece at any time and anywhere, and they were free to attend public ceremonies, and political speeches. They were given license to speak to whomever they chose about topics such as politics, philosophy and rhetoric, topics considered ill-fit for the ears of ‘good’, legitimate wives and daughters. Hence, Nikkie Roberts (1992, p. 20) argues that hetairae might “accurately be described as history’s first feminists”. They were liberated and accorded freedoms in a way that legitimate wives and daughters were increasingly disallowed.

The interesting thing is that at the same time that hetairae are lauded as greatly successful businesswomen (Grigson, 1976; Wells, 1982), the hetairae are also increasingly derided in primary and secondary sources precisely for those characteristics described above (Sissa, 1990). The hetaira was recognized as “the ‘other’ woman; as a body in public defined by her availability and involvement in the economies of pleasure” (Gilhuly, 1999, p. 12). She was identified by and described in terms of all those characteristics considered unsuitable and eschewed by good Grecian women.¹⁵ Indeed, citizen men were openly chided by their male peers for having indulged in such extravagances as ‘keeping’ an hetaira and paying what was considered by most as extraordinary sums of money for her sexual and emotional companionship: “Limit your embraces to the ladies who run the houses and not squander unprofitably the cash belonging to your sons” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 71).

Thus, opinions about the hetairae, both in primary and secondary sources, appear to be increasingly divided, even juxtaposed as binary opposites. On the one hand there is much discussion about how highly regarded they are for their scholarly insight, sexual

¹⁴ A play by Aristophanes (trans. 1959) called the *Lysistrata* mocks seemingly respectable women as “grain lettuce bean seed mark girls” and “garlic and onion bread bakery girls” (p. 27).

¹⁵ The hetaira for example was a fairly common sight in the streets of ancient Athens in their walks to the local graveyard to arrange meetings with clients, whereas the “modest, well-brought-up young woman was hidden from the public eye” (Pomeroy, 2002, p. 3). It is important to note that Spartan women were the only known exception to the notion of Athenian female seclusion (Pomeroy, 2002). Documentary evidence indicates that Spartan women were increasingly involved in activities related with literacy and physical education, and so were often seen outdoors. This was mostly because they were responsible for running the household without men, who spent extended periods of time in barracks in military training, but also that they trained for sports and prepared ceremonious festivities.

proWess and their “extraordinary beauty” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 203). At the same time, however, they are scorned and mocked for using their bodily pleasures to earn their keep as this was considered “a trade that was anything but honourable or even respectable” (Plutarch, trans. 1932, p. 190). The analytical work that follows will not ‘police’ the boundaries of these opinions but rather is interested in how these seemingly oppositional ways of thinking appear to cohabit in the hetaira. She is *revered* for her wisdom, be it sexual or academic, whilst at the same time *reviled* for her wickedness in primary and secondary texts. It is this discursive tension between the reverence and revulsion of the hetaira that constitutes the central purpose for using the hetaira as a point of intersection for analysing the fashion model. Just as such oppositional discursive ideas as reverence and revulsion appear to cohabit in the body of the hetaira in ancient Greece, so too are such oppositional ideas reflected in the body of the fashion model. Discursive oppositions such as disorder/delight and desire/discipline (Dwyer, 2004a) appear to be at once embodied by, and to cohabit in the body of the fashion model, as are similar discursive opposites reflected in discursive accounts of the hetaira in ancient Greece.

6.2 “MOTHER, YOU HAVE TRAINED ME WELL, AND SO TO HEAR IS TO OBEY”:¹⁶ THE HETAIRA/NOVICE PEDAGOGICAL RELATIONSHIP

The interest in this analysis is how the hetaira once acted in the role of the erotic *pedagogue* by making over and training young girls so as to shape them as hetirae, as female bodies of sexual pleasure. The usually older, authoritative, all-knowing hetaira would shape these young female ‘novices’ as hetirae by transmitting certain types of knowledge about ideal feminine bodily conduct. There are a number of mentions of these types of relationships and about the hetaira as a pedagogue in the historical texts. For example, there are discussions about Sinope “who had transferred her practice of harlotry from Aegina to Athens” and went on to become a very wealthy ‘madam’ (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 207, p.211). In *Life of Lycurgus* (trans. 1932), Plutarch notes

that the most virtuous matrons would make professions of it to young girls, yet rivalry did not exist, and if several men’s fancies met in one person, it was rather the beginning of an intimate friendship, whilst they

¹⁶ (Plautus, trans. 1942, p. 89).

all jointly conspired to render the object of their affection [sic] as accomplished as possible (p. 64).

Companionship with men is here described as an ‘accomplishment’. More importantly, it appears to have been a pedagogical accomplishment where young female apprentices were carefully instructed in order to ‘make professions of it’.

The experienced hetaira became the authoritative erotic instructor that would transmit a body of knowledge about erotic sexual technique and attitudes. A letter from the hetaira Thais to her companion Euthydemus, who had been neglecting Thais to study philosophy, examines this question further (Alciphron, trans. n.d.):

Do you suppose that a professor is any different from a courtesan? Only so far anyhow as regards our methods of persuasion; the end that we both propose to ourselves is the same – money. But how much better and more religious are we! We do not deny the existence of the gods; we believe our lovers’ oaths of fidelity...Perhaps we do not know about the origin of clouds and the nature of atoms, but for all that we are just as good as your professors. I have talked to many of them and spent hours with them...As for teaching young men, we do that quite as well as they. Compare a courtesan like Aspasia with a sophist like Socrates, and consider which produced the better pupils: the woman trained Pericles, the man Critias...We will have a bottle or two first and then we will discourse one to another on the purpose of life – which is pleasure. You will find that I am philosopher enough to convince you (pp. 175-176).

Here Thais argues that the work of hetairae like herself was to some extent pedagogical in character. She suggests that it was a pedagogy of pleasure increasingly focused on the body as ‘teaching a lesson’ (Gallop, 1982) about pleasure. However, it appears that by doing this training with the body, certain types of erotic attitudes about *what it means to feel pleasure* were also shaped.¹⁷ This embodied pedagogy it seems was not only successful with instructing clients of hetairae about erotic pleasure; hetairae enacted this ‘discipline’ (Foucault, 1977a) with such skill that they could then name their price for the young female novices that they trained. The work of Machon (cited in Athenaeus, trans. 1937) is revealing in this sense. Machon recounts how a man scoffed at the high price set by the hetaira Gnathaena for a night with her granddaughter Gnathaenion. Gnathaena then stated “I know certainly and am quite confident that as the night draws

¹⁷ This subject is explored in further detail in section 6.4 below.

on you will give it to my little girl doubled over” (p. 135). The young novices that trained with famous hetairae, such as Thais, Phyrne, Gnathaena or Aspasia, were particularly sought after for companionship. The hetaira Gnathaena wrote a book called *Rule for Dining in Company* that ‘lovers’ and companions were to follow in the company of herself and her daughter, Gnathaenion (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 155).

There are a number of historical fragments that liken hetaira with teachers of philosophy. The hetaira Glycera suggested to Stilpo, a philosopher, that “[w]e both fall under the same charge, Stilpo. For they say that you corrupt all who meet you by teaching them good-for-nothing, eristic sophistries, while I in like manner teach them erotic” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 149). Aspasia, arguably one of history’s most famous hetaira through her relationships with philosophers Socrates and Pericles, “belonged to the Socratic circle [and] imported large numbers of beautiful women, and Greece came to be filled with her prostitutes” (ibid, p. 79). Aspasia was widely known for “political sagacity” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 179) and “her rare political wisdom” (Plutarch, trans. 1960):

Socrates visited her from time to time with his disciples and some of his close friends brought their wives to listen to her conversation, even though she carried on a trade that was anything but honourable or even respectable, since it consisted of keeping a house of young courtesans (p. 190).

Apollodoros (trans. 1999), in his speech *Against Neaira* discusses a famed procuress and ‘bawd’ Nikarete, “a freedwoman of Charisios of Elis, and wife of his cook Hippias” (p. 95). Nikarete was known as an hetaira “of no mean birth, but, so far as parentage and culture go, she was very desirable; she had studied with the philosopher Stilpon” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 217; Macurdy, 1942). All these ‘shreds’ indicate that it was not unusual that the hetaira was aligned with understandings of pedagogy in ancient Greece. She was generally admired for her intellectual and philosophical capacities, but mostly for her ability to instruct knowledge of seduction and pleasure: she was a pedagogue of the erotic body who shaped young female bodies as feminine bodies of desire.

The young female *novice* is described in historical accounts in three ways: as an orphan left exposed by another woman and ‘saved’ by an hetaira or ‘madam’ (Plautus, trans. 1912); as an illegitimate child born of a ‘companionship’ between an hetaira and a particular client; and as a young girl bought for a sum of money from a slave trader (Apollodoros, trans. 1999). Authoritative in her years of experience, the hetaira would train these novices to shape them as hetairae (Plautus, trans. 1912):

Because we are the free-daughters of slaves, both I and your mother we became courtesans; she brought up yourself, and I this girl (pointing to Gynasium) by chance-fathers. Nor yet for the sake of vanity have I driven her to the calling of a courtesan, but that I mightn’t starve (pp. 188-189).

These forms of erotic pedagogical instruction between a usually older, more authoritative female hetairae and a younger female apprentice were, it seems, quite common. Nikarete (Apollodoros, trans. 1999), for example, was very well known in ancient Greece for her ability “to see the potential for beauty in very young children and knew how to bring them up and train them skillfully having practised this trade and made a living out of it” (p. 95). Once the young girl began working with her body, she is known as a *hypoparthenos hetaira*, according to Aristophanes, a “not-yet-maiden-harlot” (Keuls, 1985, p. 157). The use of this term to describe these young girls would indicate that female-to-female pedagogical relationships between older hetairae and younger novices were not uncommon in ancient Greece.

This is also illustrated in masks used in comedies from ancient Greece, such as those of Menander. The mask worn by the ‘practising courtesan’ is characteristically ‘dishevelled’: “the hair...is neither smoothed down, nor does it go all round. It is not covered by a cloak in public and thus flattened, but is designed to be exhibited” (Wiles, 1991, p.178). The mask for the ‘nubile courtesan’ is described as having “literally an ‘unbeautified face’ (*akallopiston*), suggesting that the mature courtesan has reddened her face by applying rouge” (ibid). This demonstrates that the young female apprentice would achieve or ‘accomplish’ the position of hetaira as part of a process of instruction

by a successful and more accomplished hetaira: “Well, then, don’t dismiss your scholar half instructed! ‘Twould be wrong!” (Plautus, trans. 1942, p. 72).¹⁸

6.3 EMBODYING EROTIC KNOWING: THE HETAIRA AS EROTICALLY EMBODIED PEDAGOGUE

The passages discussed above chiefly indicate that the body seems to have been signified a, if not *the*, fundamental ‘tool’ of erotic pedagogies between women. By way of a meticulous process of instruction focused on the training of the body, the young female novice was discursively constituted as hetaira. In accounts such as that above, the body of the hetaira in ancient Greece appears to be shaped and reshaped as an hetaira, and, once established and ‘authoritative’ in her skills, this body constitutes the trainer and producer of other female bodies as hetaira. While the hetairae embody a particular type of ideal female body achieved pedagogically, they likewise constitute the authoritative pedagogue which serves to form and achieve these bodies. The body of the hetaira, then, appears in these historical accounts as the *product* of pedagogies, a discursive achievement, and as the *producer* of pedagogies that shapes other young female bodies as hetairae.

6.3.1 Training the inexpert female body as hetaira: ‘Artful devices’ and postural re-figuring

First of all, to make their gains and plunder their neighbours, they count all other means as trivial, but stitch plots against all. And once they have become rich, they take into their houses fresh prostitutes, who are making their first trial of their profession. They straightway remodel these girls, so that they retain neither their manners nor their looks as they were before. Suppose that one girl is too small: a cork sole is stitched into her dainty shoes. Another is too tall: she wears a thin slipper, and cocks her head on one side when she walks abroad. This reduces her height. One has no hips: she sews together a bustle and puts it on beneath her dress, so that all who catch sight of the fine curves of her back cry out in applause. One has too fat a stomach: for her they have bosoms made of the stuff the comic actors use; padding themselves straight out in such a fashion, they then pull forward, as with punting-poles, the covering of their stomachs. Another woman has eyebrows too

¹⁸ It is important to note that this play by Plautus is technically a Roman source but it was adapted for a Roman audience “from a Greek comedy by Demophilus, *The Ass-Driver*” (Sugden, 1942, p. 61).

light: they paint them with lamp-black. Still another, as it happens, is too dark: she plasters herself over with white lead. One has a complexion too white: she rubs on rouge. A part of one's body is beautiful: this part she displays bare. She has pretty teeth: she must, of course, laugh, that the company present may see what a nice mouth she has. But if she doesn't like to laugh, she must spend the whole day indoors, and like the wares always displayed by the butchers, when they offer goats' heads for sale, she must keep a thin piece of myrtle wood upright between her lips; hence in course of time, she opens her mouth in a grin, whether she wants to or not. It is by such artful devices that they make up their bodies and faces (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, pp. 67-69).

This historical 'shred' or 'trace' (Foucault, 1989b) comes from a primary historical source composed by Athenaeus called *The Deipnosophists* (Book 13) or *The Banquet of the Learned* (Licht, 1932) or *Experts at the Dinner-Table* (Hawley, 1994). This text is a collection of passages related to the different aspects of the symposium (drinking party) compiled approximately "at the end of the second century C.E." (McClure, 2003, p. 1), and includes the most extensive extant discussion of the hetairae in ancient Greece.¹⁹ Whilst most of this text is anecdotal, classicists suggest that it is "no less credible" (Stewart, 1996, p. 147). Athenaeus is here quoting from a play written by Alexis entitled *Fair Measure* of which this appears to be the only existing fragment (Arnott, 1996). While plays such as those written by Alexis may be considered theatrical or 'fantastical' rather than 'real', historians generally support the notion that theatre, serious and comical, reflects a broad range of social and economic circumstances that would have been replicated in ancient Greek society (Csapo & Slater, 1994; Green, 1994; Norwood, 1931). As such, these types of fragments have been subject to extensive and cautious interpretation by historical analysts (see for example Dalby, 2002; Sebesta, 2002). It is these and fragments from other historical texts that form the central object of analysis in this chapter.

The fragment above from Athenaeus (trans. 1937) is one of the few extant fragments that indicates that the hetaira in ancient Greece was not born 'gifted' for example in the erotic arts of seduction and intercourse. Rather, the fragment demonstrates that this was

¹⁹ *The Deipnosophists* of Athenaeus is a unique classical text as it provides numerous fragments from other classical works which are no longer extant.

a particular type of discursive achievement: the hetaira was *produced* in certain ways according to particular types of discursive knowledge. Rather than being naturally beautiful or talented, the hetaira appears in historical accounts as very carefully fashioned through the instruction, application and incorporation of particular types of knowledge using the female body. The body of the hetaira above appears to be made the object of certain forms of discursive knowledge about the ideal shape of the female body²⁰ in ancient Greece, with many discussions about hetairae being abused for ‘decking themselves out’ (Alciphron, trans. n.d.). Those girls whose skin is considered too pale apply ‘rouge’; those girls that do not smile must physically re-train their mouths to ‘grin widely’ by forcing the lips apart with a piece of ‘myrtle wood’; those girls that are considered ‘too small’ have their height augmented by stitching a ‘cork sole’ into their shoes.

The notion that the hetaira was constituted through particular types of bodily labour or work on their appearance is also indicated in plays from ancient Greece. Andrew Dalby (2002, p. 114) notes that in a play by Aristophanes called *Ecclesizausae*, one woman trying to draw the eyes of men tells the audience “that she has plastered her face with *psimythion* (‘white lead, lead carbonate’) and *ankhousa* (‘alkanet’) and is dressed *krokoton* (‘in saffron’)”. In a play where women are the irrefutable rulers of the world and have decided that men must satisfy older women before the younger women, Dalby (2002) states that to have the woman make this pronouncement seems superfluous. However, according to Dalby, she does this for an ‘obvious’ reason:

[S]he must make it clear to the audience that she has spent time on her appearance, ridiculous as it no doubt is, simply because that is what hetairae did, with results, in terms of dress and make-up, such as she now displays (p. 114).

What becomes apparent in this example, and the example from Athenaeus quoted above, is that a very specific type of training was applied to the body of the hetaira in order to constitute it as an ideal female body. Athenaeus (trans. 1937, p. 123) mentions an hetaira named Melitta who “[i]n height, to be sure, she fell somewhat short of the other women of her age; but with voice and conversation she was well supplied; very good

²⁰ See Hans Licht (1932) for a discussion of these ideas in ancient Greece.

looking too, and stunning, with many lovers, both citizens and foreigners”. In similar fashion to those hetairae in training described in the excerpt from Athenaeus above, Melitta appears have been trained in conversation and singing to make up for the shortcomings in her height. Her body was augmented and re-shaped to make it ‘properly’ female in accordance with ancient Greek norms. These and the other practices described by Athenaeus appear to have been conducted as particular types of cultural work that *constituted* the body of the hetaira as an ideally-shaped female body in ancient Greece.

The fragment from Athenaeus (trans. 1937) cited above illustrates that the notion of corporeal embodiment was particularly central to the hetaira. To forge a prosperous life as an hetaira required increasing manipulation of the material female body as a contingent, corporeal object (Kirby, 1997; Grosz, 1990). The body of the hetaira is shown in this passage to be malleable and unstable (Shilling, 1993), a body ‘in progress’ rather than ‘finished’. More importantly, the matter of the body of the hetaira was very carefully fashioned through certain types of discursive bodily practices and more specifically through the employment of various ‘props’. By performing these practices and utilizing these props, the hetaira fashioned and re-fashioned a particular type of female body, a body reminiscent of a bodily project (Shilling, 1993): it is made and remade according to particular types of discursive knowledge.

The passage above indicates that the body of the hetaira, as a corporeal bodily project, was primarily produced pedagogically. That is, it is evident that the body was made the object of certain forms of bodily disciplinary training (Foucault, 1977a) in the form of the different mechanisms, techniques and props that were employed to shape the female body as an hetaira. In this way, the body of the hetaira was scrupulously trained according to certain types of discursive knowledge. This knowledge was applied to the body and, hence, constituted the hetaira body as a product of this training.

This is particularly exemplified by the body of the young female novice whose body was ‘remodelled’ through a range of discursive bodily and technical practices. The

contours and ‘corpor-reality’ (McWilliam, 1996b) of the body were built and re-built, sculpted and re-sculpted through the application of artificial, non-bodily props and ‘devices’. The surface of the body was literally re-coloured and, as such, discursively reshaped in line with a specific set of dominant norms about the ideal female body in particular. The corporeal ‘matter’ (Butler, 1993) of the body of the hetaira was augmented by the various artificial gadgets. It appears to have *materially in-corporated* objects such as cork soles, bustles, lamp black, white lead, rouge and fake bosoms, as these contrivances came to discursively mark the female body as an hetaira body in ancient Greece. A statement by an hetaira called Tryphena in Lucian’s (trans. 1961) *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, indicates that the use of hair dyes and wigs are common amongst hetairae:

Take a close and careful look at her temples, the only place where her hair is her own. The rest of it is a thick wig. But along her temples the grey hairs show pretty well all over, whenever the dye she uses loses its effect (p. 431).

‘Artful devices’ such as these, dismissed by Athenaeus as trivial fripperies employed for swindling clients, constitute just some of a range of erudite ‘tactics’ (Foucault, 1977a) employed by hetairae to manage the female body as a particular type of ideal female body. It is a body discursively marked as ‘appropriately’ feminine, desirable, and consumable (Davidson, 1998; Henry, 1992) through “different procedures of corporeal inscription” (Grosz, 1994, p. 142).

The shape and bearing of the body of the young female novice was also manipulated through various disciplinary practices of postural re-figuring. Just as the body of the school pupil (Foucault, 1977a, p. 152) is meticulously, physically shaped through certain discursive understandings of ‘good handwriting’ (Jones, 2000), so too was the body of the novice manipulated and shaped in Athenaeus (trans. 1937, pp. 67-69) in terms of particular ideas about the ideal female body of desire in ancient Greece. For example, if the young novice was ‘too tall’, the girl was trained to walk with her head cocked to one side so as to appear shorter and, hence, more desirable to men according to historically specific norms of female beauty. This form of disciplinary training, through which the body is broken down into its constituent parts and movements and

“the position of the body, limbs, articulations is defined” (Foucault, 1977a, p. 152), serves to shape the body of the hetaira from without *and* within as a discursive object.

Foucault’s notions of the micro-practices of power/knowledge are also made evident in these practices. Micro-practices of power work through and on the female body of the hetaira by making this body *knowable* as an ideal female body of desire in ancient Greek times. By training the body of the hetaira discretely through the meticulous and even calculable movement and placement of certain limbs or parts of the body, the hetaira becomes knowable as an ideal female body as this body in-corpor-ates particular aesthetic understandings about the ideal female shape specific to ancient Greek times. Also indicated in this training is how the work that the hetaira does in shaping herself an ideal body concurrently works to shape a particular type of feminine *self* as embodied.

6.4 PEDAGOGIES OF FEMININITY: MODELLING AND RE-MODELLING THE IDEAL EMBODIED FEMININE SELF

It is a particular type of *feminine embodiment* that is reflected in the fragment from Athenaeus (trans. 1937, pp. 67-69) examined above. It is a body marked discursively in certain ways in order to align its appearance and movements with particular historically specific norms about ‘ideal’ feminine beauty. This form of embodiment is far from natural: it is expertly engineered by the hetaira to successfully lure companionship. The shape, height, skin tone, and configuration of the female body are all shaped and reshaped in ways that constitutes it as properly feminine: “Daphnis’ daughter wore rags before she grew up, but you can see what a figure she cuts now, when she goes out with her gold, her gay dresses and her four maids” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 391). More importantly, these practices and ‘props’ described in the fragment constitute part of a regimen of disciplinary training. It involves a calculated manipulation of the movements of the body which, in turn, align and sculpt this body in line with particular understandings of the ideal feminine body of desire in ancient Greece. The body of the hetaira is primarily a malleable and shifting body that can be formed and re-formed, even as scrupulously as changing the shape and appearance to cater to the desires of different companions (Lucian, trans. 1961).

Other fragments from historical texts indicate that ideal feminine embodiment was achieved by the hetaira through a stringent pedagogical process. This process incorporated two dimensions: *gazing at* other successful hetairae bodies; and *conversing about* the bodies of other successful hetairae in *fleshly chats*, usually with their mothers. An example from the work of Lucian (trans. 1961) incorporates both of these dimensions. A young girl, Corinna, is engaged in a ‘fleshly chat’ with her mother, Crobyl. This chat serves to train the flesh of Corinna, as Crobyl instructs her about how to achieve an ideal feminine hetaira body with the best results. Crobyl begins stating that she will give Corinna “instructions about what to do and how to behave with the men” (p. 387). This is something that Crobyl had planned in order that “it would be easy for you both to keep me and provide yourself with clothes, that you would be rich, and have purple dresses and maids”. From this point, Crobyl discusses the movements and behaviour of the ‘fleshly’ body of the hetaira Lyra as an exemplar of the rules for behaving as an ideal feminine hetaira whilst in the company of possible clients:

Crobyl: ...In the first place, she dresses attractively and looks neat; she’s gay with all the men, without being so ready to cackle as you are, but smiles in a sweet bewitching way; later on, she’s very clever when they’re together, never cheats a visitor or an escort, and never throws herself at the men. If ever she takes a fee for going out to dinner, she doesn’t drink too much – that’s ridiculous, and men hate women who do – she doesn’t gorge herself – that’s ill-bred, my dear – but picks up the food with her finger-tips, eating quietly and not stuffing both cheeks full, and, when she drinks, she doesn’t gulp, but sips slowly from time to time.
Corinna: Even if she’s thirsty, mother?

Crobyl: Then most of all, Corinna. Also, she doesn’t talk too much or make fun of any of the company, and has eyes only for her customer. These are the things that make her popular with the men. Again, when it’s time for bed, she’ll never do anything coarse or slovenly, but her only aim is to attract the man and make him love her; these are the things they all praise in her. If you can learn all this, we’ll be just as prosperous as she is (pp. 387-395).

Crobyl describes a number of ‘rules’ which discursively constitute a particular understanding of ideal feminine bodily conduct: attractive dress; ‘gay’ but not ‘cackly’; ‘sips’ only a small amount of drink; only eats food quietly with her ‘finger-tips’; and is not overly chatty. The degree of specificity in these descriptions is of particular note. There appear to be very precise, calculated ways of behaving ‘properly’ as a feminine

hetaira in ancient Greece, right down to the point of smiling “in a sweet bewitching way”. The female body is here made the object of particular types of discursive knowledge in order to fashion it according to rules about ideal feminine bodily conduct in ancient Greece. Moreover, ideal feminine bodily conduct serves here to fashion the body as a corporeal feminine subject, a subject which can be deliberately constituted and reconstituted to suit discursive changes in ideals of beauty.

Most importantly in this passage, the body of Lyra is made the object of Crobyle’s gaze. Crobyle chats about Lyra’s ‘fleshly’ body and, in this way, indicates how precisely she has come to know about the movements and gait of this body. It is by way of fleshly chatter that Crobyle makes a spectacle of the ideal feminine bodily conduct performed by Lyra. In this way, she instructs Corinna about the rules for behaving properly as a successful hetaira. In this instance, Lyra’s body, as a well-trained, successful hetaira, constitutes the ‘site’ and ‘sight’ of authoritative pedagogical display (Angel, 1994). Her body is the authoritative ‘site’ of proper hetaira bodily conduct, as well as the ‘sight’ of this conduct as a spectacular discursive knowledge object. The ideal feminine bodily conduct of the successful hetaira Lyra constitutes a spectacular example of what Maria Angel (1994) calls ‘authorization’: “a showing of power right through something – an example” (p. 61). Lyra’s feminine body is “something which can be pointed to and seen” (p. 62) and, as this body moves in public spaces, it is a body that performs pedagogically as an exemplary spectacular display. It is a ‘body of evidence’ which Corinna is shown, in this instance through fleshly chatter, and from which Corinna comes to know things as a spectacle of how to embody an ideal and lucrative example of femininity. Thus, even when used as an exemplar in fleshly conversation, bodies of successful hetairae such as Lyra serve as ‘fleshly’ knowledge objects. They are pedagogical tools from which young female novices can learn about the finer arts of being a successful hetaira, part of which involves shaping the hetaira body as an ideal female body of desire.

6.5 INSTRUCTING EROTIC ATTITUDES: EMBODYING THE EROTIC SELF

There appears to be little doubt that the hetaira body was considered a body of desire in ancient Greek times. Indeed, in many ways the body of the hetaira was culturally-elevated as exemplar of the ideal female body of desire in ancient Greece. This is particularly indicated in sculptures of Aphrodite, the ancient Greek goddess of love, fertility and sexual passion, which were most frequently modelled on the bodies of famous hetairae. According to Athenaeus (trans. 1937, p. 187), the hetaira Phryne “was the model for Apelles when he painted his Aphrodite Rising from the Sea. So too, the sculptor Praxiteles, being in love with her, modelled his Cnidian Aphrodite from her”. These statues were greatly admired and worshipped by the ancient Greeks, with the Cnidian Aphrodite “ensconced in a beautiful garden” (Friedrich, 1978, p. 137).

The point of interest in these historical accounts is how the body of the hetaira is ‘artfully’ composed as a body of desire. Far from contemporary moral panics about the dangerousness of desire intruding into classroom relationships (Ungar, 1982), the hetaira carefully crafted her body in line with historical understandings of the ideal feminine body of desire. Desire, eroticism and seduction feature as central to the embodied ‘curriculum’ of the hetaira in ancient Greece. Desire here is not a subjective feeling or ‘inner fire’ that wells up inside an individual and overwhelms them (Cryle, 1994). In contrast, the body of the hetaira is a body artfully and corpor-really composed as sexual and visceral. Interestingly, while personal historical accounts do discuss desire as ‘frenzied’ and passion as “a violent thing” (Alciphron, n.d., p. 218), this runs in parallel with a discursive understanding of what it means to feel desire properly as postural and trained. Also interesting is that these texts sometimes discuss these skills as both ‘god given’ as well as trained (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, pp. 99-101):

Young girls, who welcome many strangers with your hospitality, ministrants of Persuasion in rich Corinth – who on the altar send up in smoke the auburn tears of fresh frankincense the may time that ye fly in thought up to the Mother of the Loves, heavenly Aphrodite; upon you, my children, free from reproach, she hath bestowed the right to cull the fruit of soft beauty in your desired embraces.

While the gift of ‘desired embraces’ has been bestowed by Aphrodite, these women are at the same time the ‘ministrants of persuasion’, using their knowledge of seduction to lure in clientele. In parallel with the work of Peter Cryle (2001), desire emerges here as a discursively organised repertoire of embodied knowledge. It is an embodied knowledge that can be “held, named, and counted” and, most importantly, “learned as a set, rehearsed as such in erotic art, and applied severally in the exercise of pleasure” (ibid, p. 49). More importantly, these forms of erotic knowledge of desire appear to have been arranged in such a way that may be acquired through meticulous training rather than as a spontaneous welling-up of feelings or inner passions.

The ancient Greek historical accounts reflect two dimensions of acquiring and achieving this repertoire of erotic knowledge through training: a set of erotic sexual positions systematically applied to and practised with the body of the hetairae; and an array of erotic sexual attitudes. It is important to note that even though the following discussion is divided into two sections according to these two dimensions of erotic knowledge, these two dimensions are by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed, in historical texts they appear in some ways indivisible. This is particularly significant given that in more contemporary accounts of eroticism, the discipline required to achieve and hold erotic sexual positions appears, on the surface, at odds with and oppositional to notions of desire and pleasure. To experience the self as ‘desiring’ and ‘desirable’ implies a subjective experience of a certain type of ‘feeling’. This is a notion far removed from discipline which indicates the masterful control of the various movements of the body (Foucault, 1977a). Ancient Greek historical texts, however, appear to collapse this divide between the body and the self. The erotic body (in terms of sexual positions) implies how a person experiences the erotic self (in terms of erotic attitudes). The erotic self is constituted by doing certain types of erotic cultural work and, more importantly, certain forms of training, with and on the self as embodied (Foucault, 1988b).

6.5.1 Corpor-realities of desire: Instructing desire as an erotic postural discipline

Foremost in the historical accounts of the hetaira is a discursive knowledge of erotic sexual positions. There is much discussion of the sexual skills of the hetairae: “they say

that Lamia also once bestrode the king with graceful art, and received praise therefore” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 119). Another example from Athenaeus, particularly from the work of Machon, discusses the hetaira Mania:

[A]t a symposium...in Mania’s house, one of the guests, a very vicious man, took his turn to embrace her. And when he asked, ‘Do you wish to come together from before or from behind?’ she said with a laugh, ‘From before, good sir. For I am rather afraid that otherwise you will bite off my braids’.

More commonly in the historical texts, however, discussion focuses on how hetairae and other courtesans were “equipped and ready for all alike...as you wish and in whatever way you wish” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 79). Drawing on the work of Foucault (1976) suggests that these forms of erotic knowledge constitute an *ars erotica*, a discursive knowledge that is “understood as a practice and accumulated as experience” (p. 57). An *ars erotica* is a body of discursive knowledge that “is experienced as pleasure, evaluated in terms of its intensity, its specific quality, its duration, its reverberations in the body and the soul” (ibid). Moreover, this *ars erotica* is discursively organised in such a way that it may be instructed using, in this case, the female body of the hetaira as a pedagogical tool.

This knowledge was commonly set out in the form of ‘sex manuals’ whose purpose it was to patiently list, describe and enumerate positions for sexual intercourse (Parker, 1992). Unfortunately, these texts are generally now considered “a vanished literature” (Parker, 1992, p. 93) and are only known in contemporary times as ‘shreds’ or as they are discussed in secondary historical texts. Women are frequently said to be the writers of these texts. However, this is difficult to verify given that it was very common in ancient Greece for men to write under a female pseudonym in order to legitimate and authorize the text.²¹ These texts are considered to have begun in the work of Astyanassa, a “[h]andmaid of Menelaus’ wife Helen” (*Suda on line*, 2005) according to the *Suda* (Byzantine encyclopedia compiled in the tenth century A.D.). Astyanassa was a servant who cared for her mistress’s personal and bodily appearance and bodily health. She is

²¹ The erotic arts and seduction were generally considered to be the domain of women in ancient Greece. Women were considered the “experts in sexual technique” (Humphreys, 1995, p. 103).

thought to have written a text entitled *On the Postures for Intercourse* in which she “first invented the sexual positions and wrote about forms of sexual intercourse” (*Suda on line*, 2005). However, these texts are most commonly attributed to women who are masters in *ars erotica* such as hetairae, as these classes of women were expected to have attained a broader knowledge base of these types of skills given their extensive sexual experiences. Two hetairae in particular, Philaenis and Elephantine, are said to have authored such texts in imitation of the work of Astyanassa. The only extant fragment is from Philaenis entitled ‘How to flatter women’ (Marcovich, 1975). The text of this fragment, however, is increasingly damaged with only scant ‘evidence’ indicating about how to flatter old and young women, and how to seduce women more generally. The text goes on to discuss how to kiss women, but this is where the fragment ends.

The historical texts are explicit about *some* of the ways in which the courtesan is to stand or lie during intercourse, this being most commonly determined by the amount of money that the suitor had to offer for the courtesan’s services. The hetairae appears to have been, by far the most skilled courtesans in the ‘arts of love’. They could set any price they chose for their sexual companionship depending on the ability of the specific hetaira to master these arts. A quote from a text written by the Greek comic poet Machon (in Athenaeus, trans. 1937) called *Bright Sayings* demonstrates this point:

Moerichus was asking Phryne the courtesan from Thespieae, for her favours; when she then demanded a mina, Moerichus said, ‘Too much; didn’t you, the other day, stay with a stranger after you had received only two gold pieces?’ ‘Well then’, said she, ‘you too wait until I feel like indulging myself, and I will accept that amount’ (p. 145).

These skills appear to be particularly important in distinguishing hetairae from other courtesans and prostitutes in ancient Greece. Machon (in Athenaeus, trans. 1937) states that the hetaira Gnathaenion was once confronted by a very angry Andronicus, her companion at the time, when he discovered that she had had sexual relations with a coppersmith while he was abroad. The significance of this situation is demonstrated in that it was not that she had slept with the coppersmith that had so enraged him, but that she had done so using a sexual posture that “she had never granted him” (p. 137). Gnathaenion replied saying

I did not think it fit, you poor fool, to clasp in my arms a man who was covered with soot up to his mouth; so I gave way, after receiving a large sum in gold, and I cleverly contrived to touch the part of his person which projects farthest and is smallest (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, pp. 137-139).

Gnathaenion is here referring to a position for sexual intercourse more commonly known in ancient Greece as the ‘lioness’ (Stewart, 1996), a form of what Martin Kilmer (1993, p. 33) describes as copulation *a tergo*:²² “any approach in which the male is behind the female”. One hetaira was particularly known to be adept with the ‘lioness’, as her working name ‘Leaena’ literally meant ‘lioness’ (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 119; Stewart, 1996).²³ Another hetaira boasts that she had “learned completely all the love-affairs of Sappho, Meletus, Cleomenes, and Lamynthius” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 265). It would appear that not only knowledge of sexual postures but also the ability to practise these postures expertly was particularly important in maintaining the status of a successful hetaira.

The most prolific ‘evidence’ of the sexual postures of the hetaira is ancient Greek erotic art and domestic pottery. These visual representations usually depict men having intercourse with various hetairae at symposiums. While there are examples of erotic art in the form of frescos, mostly on the walls of brothels, these depictions are quite rare.²⁴ The most common depictions of erotic postures are found on pottery, such as hydrias (water vessels), amphora (used for carrying water, wine, or fruit), krater (punch bowls), oinochoe (wine pitchers), pelike (vases), and particularly kylix (drinking cups). Historians suggest that these depictions would have been for use mostly at symposia and for the entertainment of the male viewer/drinker/diner (Llewellyn-Jones, 2002a; Kurke, 1997; Kilmer, 1993). Alongside this interpretation of these forms of pottery, some historians argue that the purpose of these depictions may have also been pedagogical in

²² It is important to note that copulation *a tergo* was different from anal sex, which was used very commonly by hetairae and other courtesans in ancient Greece as a form of contraception (Dillon & Garland, 2000).

²³ Book thirteen of *The Deipnosophists* (Athenaeus, trans. 1937) contains an extended commentary on the different nicknames of hetairae in ancient Greece. These names were most commonly referred to the physical characteristics of the women that they were associated with. Hypereides, in his *Speech against Aristagora* (cited in Athenaeus, trans. 1937), speaks about sisters who were called “Anchovies because they were light of colour, thin, and had large eyes” (p. 161) like the anchovy fish.

²⁴ Some examples of this type of work are still extant in Pompeii (Varone, 2001).

character: that is, so that women may learn from it and “acquire the talents of an hetaira” (Stewart, 1996, p. 149). It seems possible also that, just as courtesans in the sixteenth century gazed at and learned from the sixteen erotic postures of Aretino to “do it according to the book” (Marcantonio, Romano & Aretino, trans. 1984, p. 78), so too did young female *hypoparthenos* hetairae gaze upon and enact erotic postures at the symposia in ancient Greece. They meticulously gazed at and, hence, came to know about how to properly hold desire as a postural discipline (Cryle, 1994).

Given that historians suggest that depictions of erotic sexual encounters were mostly for use at symposia, it raises the question of the degree to which young female apprentice hetairae gazed upon and enacted the postures with their companions in these settings. Evidence to support this contention is indicated again in pottery, where young female apprentices are shown gazing precisely at and learning from an older, authoritative hetaira in order to ‘learn their profession’ (Williams, 1993; see also Dalby, 2002; Sebesta, 2002). A red-figured hydria estimated to have been produced in Athens between 440-430 BC (see Williams, 1993, p. 99; see Figure 6.1)²⁵ illustrates that young female novices gazed at and learned from the female body of the authoritative hetaira or ‘madam’ as a pedagogical ‘tool’. Three female figures are depicted on the hydria, all of which are standing. One of the figures is clothed while the other two are naked except for amulets encircling their left thighs (Williams, 1993). The clothed female figure is wearing what appears to be an ‘elaborate’ (Dalby, 2002) garment which is marked by a stripe of a darker colour which would indicate that she is an hetaira: “among the Syracusans there was a law that a woman should not put on gold ornaments or wear gaily-coloured dresses or have garments with purple borders unless she admitted that she was a common prostitute” (Athenaeus, trans. 1933, pp. 347-349). The two naked female figures have their right arms extended over their heads, one has her left hand on her left hip and the other has her left hand near her left hip. Both of the naked women

²⁵ These female figures are assumed to be hetairae because ‘respectable’ women are usually depicted (if they are depicted at all) fully clothed on Greek pottery: “respectable women, like goddesses, should not be seen naked nor shown naked” (Williams, 1993, p. 99). However, Dyfri Williams (1993) notes that depictions of ‘respectable’ women are virtually non-existent on Greek pottery, as this would have been considered as possibly sullyng their reputations and that of their husbands and extended families. Most depictions of women on Greek pottery, then, are considered to be hetairae, particularly those women who are elaborately dressed (Sebesta, 2002).

are gazing at the body of the hetaira in the centre of the scene. She appears to be modelling the next dancing movement for the other two females to imitate as they watch carefully.

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available from the QUT Library

Figure 6.1: Hetaira teaching younger female apprentice hetairae how to dance. Red-figured hydria, c. 440-430 BC. Source: Dyfri Williams, 1993, p. 99.

In this display, the body of the authoritative hetaira constitutes a spectacular discursive knowledge object (Angel, 1994). Erotic knowledge, in the form of certain postures, and in this case dancing postures, are enacted on the body of the hetaira and instructed to young female *hypoparthenos* hetairae. Young female novices in training gaze meticulously at the movements of the body of the hetaira and model the postures on their own bodies. In this way, young novices come to know in a discursive pedagogical manner about what it means to properly enact and perform pleasure posturally. The postures of the hetaira are taken as an authoritative spectacular model for the bodily enactment of pleasure and desire. It displays desire as the “*appearance of substance*” (Butler, 1990b, p. 271, italics in original) which onlookers “come to believe and perform in the mode of belief”.

6.5.2 Counting desire: The precise discipline of ‘ideal’ feminine conduct

This form of instruction, involving the hetaira as pedagogical erotic spectacle of knowledge and the young female as attentive apprentice, appears to have been increasingly *precise*. The body of knowledge transmitted to younger novices appears to have mostly involved a meticulous posturing of the body of the hetaira as erotic pedagogue. On another Greek hydria, an hetaira is illustrated instructing a younger novice in the art of spinning wool.²⁶ Whilst sitting, the older hetaira demonstrates how to ‘properly’ (Sebesta, 2002) hold the fingers in order to allow the wool to twist freely. The younger apprentice stands opposite the hetaira. With her fingers holding the wool, she appears to imitate the finger movements of the hetaira by curving her fingers around the wool as the hetaira demonstrates. This scene illustrates the precision involved in the training of young female apprentices as hetairae. The novice gazes closely at the movements of the authoritative hetaira to learn about how to ‘properly’ hold a piece of spinning wool. This precision echoes that which appears in the hydria described above where the hetaira instructs young novices how best to embody and enact dance steps. It appears to have been a very close gaze (Cryle, 1994) at the body of the hetaira. In turn, a meticulous and systematic enactment of the various angles and movements of this body as a spectacular ‘fleshly’ knowledge object.

The precision of these forms of erotic female-to-female pedagogical relationships is particularly indicated in depictions of sexual postures on Greek pottery. While the historical texts are useful in gaining some understanding of how these forms of embodied postural knowledge were so central to being a successful hetaira in ancient Greece, they give only a limited indication about the different types of postures and how many of them there were.²⁷ Greek pottery, however, is particularly useful in understanding more fully the range of postures that were engaged in ancient Greece. In

²⁶ While spinning is typically aligned with respectability in women, historians believe that hetairae would learn spinning to augment their income from companions (Fantham *et al.*, 1994). Spinning is also generally considered to indicate the “craftiness, sexuality and danger” (Sebesta, 2002, p. 126) of women.

²⁷ As is discussed above, this form of detailed information about erotic practices in ancient Greece is thought to have been recorded in texts such as that of Philaenis and Elephantine of which there are few, if any remaining extant fragments (Parker, 1992).

his work *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*, Martin Kilmer (1993)²⁸ catalogues most, if not all known examples of depictions of erotic scenes on Greek pottery of the late Archaic period (530-460 BC). Kilmer's work indicates that ancient Greek hetairae²⁹ were trained to enact a specific number of heterosexual postures for intercourse. Heterosexual postures for copulation are classified in three ways in Kilmer's work: heterosexual copulation *a tergo* (male behind female), heterosexual frontal copulation, and heterosexual intermediate copulation.³⁰ Specific postures within these categories are also described as:

Heterosexual copulation *a tergo* (seven postures):

- Male standing, female standing, bent over
- Male standing, female kneeling
- Male standing, female supported
- Male sitting
- Male lying prone, female lying prone
- Male lying supine, female sitting
- Male lying on side, female lying on side

Heterosexual frontal copulation (five postures):

- Male standing
- Male sitting
- Male lying prone, female supine, feet up
- Male lying prone, female lying supine
- Male lying on side, female lying on side

Heterosexual intermediate copulation (four postures):

- Male standing, female supported
- Male standing, female lying on side
- Male sitting
- Male lying prone, female on side

This list seems to indicate that there once existed a finite number of postures for sexual intercourse in ancient Greek times. These categories of postures for sexual intercourse highlight how erotic conduct in ancient Greece may be thought of as calculably specific and finite. Furthermore, the fastidious precision of these postures is highlighted in

²⁸ These forms of pottery are mostly held in international museums which the author of the thesis was unable to access directly. For this reason, Kilmer's (1993) work, as one of the best known catalogues of these artefacts in ancient Greece, is drawn on in this thesis in place of travelling to view these artefacts.

²⁹ As mentioned in footnote 23, historians generally consider that most depictions of women on Greek pottery were of hetairae. This is particularly the case with depictions of sexual intercourse: only women deemed disreputable were depicted in this manner.

³⁰ Kilmer (1993) uses the term 'intermediate' to indicate "those examples in which the positions do not meet the definition of copulation *a tergo*...and still are clearly not frontal" (p. 49).

Kilmers' descriptions of the positions of the female and male bodies in each of these postures, and how each of the limbs is angled. They demonstrate in a precise manner how the *stillness* of the body transmits knowledge about desire as a meticulously *angled and calculated* bodily discipline. 'Calculation' is also evident in the number of depictions that are classified within the categories themselves. For example, in the category of 'heterosexual frontal copulation – male lying prone, female supine, feet up', Kilmer (1993) notes that there are eight separate pieces of pottery that depict this sexual posture, each following a similar configuration:

The woman is on her back...and with her hands on the floor pushes up her shoulders (both curl forward)...Her partner...has his hands on the floor below the woman's shoulders. His feet are strongly bent, knees a little bent: his weight is on toes and flat hands. The woman has her legs parted, coming up just below the man's shoulders. Penetration is obvious: the man's penis, angled upwards, is cut off by the line of the woman's buttock. Their faces are almost touching, eyes in position for direct contact. The man's lips are slightly open, the woman's closed (p. 45).

Postures such as this one, through which desire appears to have been enacted as a bodily discipline, are precise as well as calculable. They echo the range of postures for sexual intercourse set out in erotic 'manuals' such as *The Kama Sutra* (Vatsyayana, trans. 1963) and *I Modi: The Sixteen Pleasures: An erotic album of the sixteenth century* (Marcantonio, Romano, & Aretino, trans. 1984). The body of the female, as well as the male, is scrupulously angled in order to properly embody a body of pleasure. Desire is here achieved through calculation. Desire, as a discursive knowledge, is applied to the body, as a discursive text, in the form of a set of postures. The female body can be trained as a body of desire, as desire may be applied and enacted systematically as a form of embodied knowledge. The precision of these postures for sexual intercourse appear also to parallel the specificity required of enacting erotic attitudes.

6.5.3 In-corpor-ating desire: Erotic attitudes as a pedagogical achievement

Acquiring erotic postural knowledge in ancient Greece not only implied a particular type of pedagogical training with the body, but also with the *self as embodied*. By making her body the object of erotic disciplinary training, the hetaira simultaneously constituted

a specific type of erotic self. The erotic self involves certain forms of erotic cultural work or labour (Adkins & Lury, 2000, 1999) with and on the self as embodied, including bodily training. A discursive knowledge of what it means to be 'erotic' and to *perform* (Butler, 1990a) erotic feminine bodily conduct is applied to the self as embodied. The erotic self was done through and with the body as a discursive material object. In fact, some bodily postures appear to have been read in such a way that implied particular types of erotic attitudes at particular moments in time. Consider the types of erotic attitudes that are implied by the bodily postures and gestures in the following discussion between two hetairae, Ampelis and Chrysis (Lucian, trans. 1961):

Ampelis: If a man isn't jealous or angry, Chrysis, and never hits you, cuts your hair off, or tears your clothes, is he still in love with you?

Chrysis: Are these the only signs of a man's love, then?

Ampelis: Yes, these are the signs of a burning love. All else, the kisses, the tears, the vows and the frequent visits are the signs of a love that is beginning and still growing. But the real flame comes from jealousy. And so, if Gorgias hits you, and shows jealousy, as you say, you may be hopeful, and should pray that he always continues in the same way.

Chrysis: In the same way? What do you mean? That he should go on hitting me for the rest of his days?

Ampelis: No, but that he should be hurt, whenever you have eyes for another man. For, unless he's in love with you, why should he be angry at your having another lover?

Chrysis: I haven't one. But he wrongly imagined the rich fellow was in love with me, just because I happened to mention his name once.

Ampelis: That again is nice for you – having him thinking you're sought after by rich men. It will hurt him the more, and make him the more eager not to be outdone by his rivals for your affection.

Chrysis: But all he does is show temper and hits me. He never gives me anything.

Ampelis: He will – for he's jealous – particularly if you hurt him.

Chrysis: Somehow you seem to want me to be hit, my dear Ampelis.

Ampelis: No, Chrysis, but in my opinion that's the way great passions start, even though the men believe they're being slighted. But if a man is confident he has you to himself, his desire for you somehow dwindles.

That's what I tell you after twenty whole years as a courtesan, whereas you, I think, are eighteen or even younger (p. 403).

In this fragment, the physical gestures and movements of tearing clothes, cutting hair, hitting, kisses, and tears, are all taken to demonstrate the self 'in love'. It may be possible to train the body to enact and embody a particular type of erotic subjectivity that indicates being 'in love'. In this way, the self reflects an embodied project that can

be shaped and reshaped in line with particular types of erotic attitudes and in certain contexts: it is moulded as a work of art (Foucault, 1988b, 1986). Discursive knowledge, about how best to properly perform the self ‘in love’ may be applied by the hetaira to her own body or may be used to ‘measure’ the extent to which her clients are committed to her companionship. For example, the hetaira Thais demonstrates that she “is madly in love” (Alciphron, trans. n.d., p. 196) with her client but “with good reason: the young fellow has just inherited from his rich father”. Such knowledge is applied and used strategically and appears to form just part of a complex array of erotic attitudes that are instructed pedagogically using the body.

The successful embodiment of seduction, for the hetairae, included disciplinary training in the areas of the dramatic arts of music, dance, singing, acrobatics, as well as the erotic arts of erotic postures and seduction. Every aspect of the subjective as well as physical embodiment of the hetaira was made the object of specific forms of training, even their voices and their conversation: “They taught them, also, to speak with a natural and graceful raillery, and to comprehend much matter of thought in few words” (Plutarch, trans. 1932, p. 64). Conversation and wit in particular feature as fundamentally important in luring companionship, with examples of ‘mothers/hetairae’ instructing their ‘daughters/novices’ on how to properly converse with companions at symposia. The hetaira Megalistrate was said to be “a poetess and able to attract lovers to her by her conversation” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 239). This, combined with other forms of erotic cajolery, ensured a successful career as an hetaira (Plautus, trans. 1942):

So it is with me, my house here is the trap, the fowler I; My sweet daughter is the bait; her lovers are the birds so shy; They grow tame by kindly greetings, by her soft and warm embrace; By her kisses and her speeches full of sportiveness and grace; If one steals his arm around her, that just helps the fowlers’ game; If he takes a kiss, why, let him; I shall catch him all the same (p. 72).

Towards the end of the conversation between Ampelis and Chrysis, a very dominant part of the erotic subjectivity or self of the profitable hetaira is demonstrated: the art of erotic seduction or “trickery” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 87). The employment of different tricks by hetairae appears to have been common in ancient Greek times: “It was a dirty trick, dearie, but only to be expected; it’s a common practice of us girls”

(Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 359). ‘Tricky-ness’ emerges as part of the self as it is embodied by the hetaira. Writers from ancient Greece frequently criticise the use of erotic tricks by the hetairae “to make their gains and plunder their neighbours” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 67), with a number of references in historical fragments made to their ‘shiftiness’ and ‘untrustworthiness’. Writers frequently make appeals to young men urging them to avoid hetairae on the basis that they are not “real ‘companions’” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 86) who shun the use of trickery. There are many forms of hetairae trickery described in the historical texts, with descriptions focusing on how to enact particular types of trickery as an embodied achievement or ‘accomplishment’ (Lucian, trans. 1961). The ‘tricky’ hetaira, discussed frequently in the plays of Menander (Henry, 1985), employs ‘shyness’ for example as a ‘ploy’ to lure companionship. The novice hetaira is carefully instructed on how best to gain the companionship of a man through the use of trickery.

In the discussion between Ampelis and Chrysis, Ampelis is instructed by Chrysis about the importance of making a companion jealous as part of a regime of ‘tricks’ that the hetaira may enact using her body. She instructs her as an ‘authoritative’ source of knowledge about how to sustain companionships by using the trick of jealousy, having been working as a courtesan for “twenty whole years” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 407). Ampelis describes an experience from her own life as a courtesan where she had enacted the trick of jealousy: she locked her companion out of the house while she slept with another man, and did not speak to him. This drove her companion at the time ‘mad’: “He began to weep and strike me, he threatened to kill me, he tore my dress” (ibid, p. 407). Ampelis then explains that “he gave me a talent and kept me for himself alone for eight whole months” (ibid). She then advises Chrysis to “use the same treatment on Gorgias. He’ll be a rich young fellow if anything happens to his father” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 407). Other hetairae warn, however, that whilst this is a useful means of seducing a companion, an hetaira must also “take care that we don’t strain the rope to breaking point” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 371). ‘Shutting out’ emerges as a common trick used by hetairae to ‘inflame’ the enactment of jealousy in their companions: “[T]ake my advice and shut him out once or twice. Then you’ll find him burning with passion and

really mad in his turn for your love” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 439). Other more general “tricks and wiles” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 201) used by hetairae include ‘love potions’ and spells (Detienne, 1977), and ‘wit’ (Athenaeus, trans. 1937). Tricks used to lure back wayward or negligent companions include ‘hugging’, ‘turning him to me’, ‘kissing’, and ‘talking sweetly’ (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 375).

While these more general forms of trickery form an important part of the art of eroticism in the ancient Greek texts, the hetaira appears to have been most expert at other, more meticulous forms of trickery, and particularly the art of seduction. Hetairae are described as “tuneful decoy-birds which lure the coin” (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 71) and it would appear that this was made possible through various forms of precise instruction. Athenaeus (*ibid*) quotes the work of Ehippus:

[S]he greets him with pleasant flattery; she kisses him, not tightly pressing her lips together, as if he were hateful to her, but opening her mouth as fledgling sparrows do; she gives him a chair, she speaks consoling words, she makes him cheerful, and soon takes away all his gloom, and renders him jolly again (p. 89).

This passage indicates that there are certain types of conduct befitting an hetaira and that the hetaira is very carefully trained about how to do this correctly. She opens her mouth at a particular angle, and she knows about what pressure to apply in the kiss to make it a kiss that may be read as ‘kindly’ rather than ‘hateful’. The body is here made the object of measurement: precise angles for performing eroticism precisely and properly.

Another example from the work of Eubulus (cited in Athenaeus, trans. 1937) reinforces the notion that seduction requires particular types of conduct deemed appropriate for a ‘well-behaved’ hetaira:

How well-behaved she was at the dinner-table! Not like other women, who stuffed their jaws with leeks which they rolled up in balls, and greedily bit off pieces of meat in ugly fashion; no! From each portion she would take a small taste, as demurely as a young girl from Miletus (p. 89).

Evidenced in this passage is a meticulous discipline of seduction. The hetaira precisely constitutes her self as the embodiment of feminine desire. The erotic feminine self

seems to be produced out of a regime of disciplinary practices, activities, bodily conduct, all of which serve to constitute the self as embodied.

6.6 CONDUCTING THE EROTIC BODY AS AN ART OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

Described here is a regime of practices that serve as *technologies of the self* (Foucault, 1988). These practices imply not only certain forms of bodily training, through the acquisition of a range of physical skills, but also suggest the acquisition of certain erotic attitudes. In applying express types of discipline to their bodies, hetairae constitute a particular type of self: a regimen of thoughts, practices, attitudes, skills, technologies and conduct that the hetaira employed to enact an erotic ‘arts of existence’. The hetaira self was performed as a form of self-governance by applying knowledge, in the form of bodily discipline, to their bodies as corporeal discursive knowledge objects. The self of the hetaira was enacted as a discursive social practice (Foucault, 1986), constituted contingently in specific social, cultural and historical spaces, and by way of particular forms of bodily conduct.

Included in this discipline of bodily conduct is the hetaira ‘swagger’ (Kurke, 1997). Anakreon, a poet who wrote frequently about symposia, expresses his disgust with womanly movements more generally, stating that such “[w]omanly movements and indulgences and luxuries must be curtailed entirely; for luxuriousness of movement in walking about and ‘going swaggeringly’ are altogether meretricious” (Gentili, 1958, pp. 83-84). Leslie Kurke (1997, p. 115) notes in her translation of this fragment that ‘meretricious’ can be literally translated as ‘hetairic’. Although the finer details of how to perform this ‘swagger’ no longer exist, the fragment supports the notion that the body of the hetaira was a body trained to move in certain ways so as to enact a particular type of erotic feminine self. More importantly, that there was a specific technique for walking which is described as ‘hetairic’ would indicate that this may have typically been part of the training for novices. To lure the ‘eye’ as well as the ‘coin’ of companions, the hetairae ‘swagger’ emerges as another trick through which desire is ‘in-corpor-ated’. Seduction and eroticism are enacted as an embodied discipline.

Anakreon's words also indicate that the bodily conduct of the hetaira was known quite intimately in ancient Greece. Leslie Kurke (1997) notes that a common topic in the work of poets, such as Anakreon, Theognis, and Alcaeus, is the 'proper' behaviour of women. Given that the only women permitted into symposia were hetairae (Schaps, 1979), this discussion is thought to be about hetairae. Some writers talk about the spectacle of the hetaira that enacts the 'unfeminine' self: "Do not babble like the swell of the sea, drinking your cup down greedily together with noisy Gastrodore" (Kurke, 1997, p. 140). Philinna is chided by her mother in the work of Lucian (trans. 1961) for ignoring a companion at a symposium: "Be angry by all means, my daughter, but don't insult him back. Lovers insulted love no longer" (p. 369). Paradoxically, however, it was how the hetaira avoided making a spectacle of her self as embodied that made her so well known in public discourse.

It appears as though the hetaira rendered her erotic conduct thoroughly and spectacularly knowable in public discourse by not 'making a spectacle of herself' (Russo, 1995). The bodily conduct of specific hetairae appears to have become quite well known in terms of the movements of their bodies and how they conducted themselves in public spaces. The bodily conduct of Phryne, the hetaira upon whom Praxiteles modelled his statue of Aphrodite, was very well known. Paradoxically, however, she did not make her body readily available for gazing upon (Dalby, 2002). She was better known for being "more beautiful in the unseen parts. Hence one could not easily catch a glimpse of her naked; for she always wore a tunic which wrapped her body closely, and she did not resort to the public baths" (Athenaeus, trans. 1937, p. 187). The hetaira Theodota was particularly notorious for embodying beauty that was "beyond description, and that painters went to her to take her portrait, to whom she showed as much of her person as she could with propriety" (Xenophon, trans. 1872, p. 458). Emerging in the historical accounts is a tension between how known and knowable the feminine bodily conduct of the hetaira was (Cox, 1998), and in some instances, how this bodily conduct was carefully concealed from the gaze (Dalby, 2002). The body of the hetaira is ironic (Rorty, 1989): it is *seen and unseen, known and unknown* in public discourse. These

practices appear to have worked as a form of self-government, a way of working with their subjectivity to enact very precise and calculated ‘modes of action’ (Foucault, 1982a). The hetaira enacts a way of governing the self in such a way as to lure companionship which appears to have worked: upon hearing of Theodota’s remarkable beauty, Socrates visited her and “contemplated her figure” (Xenophon, trans. 1872, p. 458).

6.7 CONCLUSION

Working through and with notions of irony, incongruity and incompleteness, this chapter has demonstrated that ‘proper’ pedagogical relationships were once conducted differently in other times and places. Using the ancient Greek relationship between the hetaira, as authoritative embodied pedagogue, and the young female novice, as attentive pupil, this chapter has illustrated how ‘good’ pedagogies were properly embodied, precisely performed, enacted, and discursively constituted in time and space. Each of the randomly dotted historical instances scrutinized above have drawn attention to how pedagogical relationships were once conducted in ways that pedagogical theorists in contemporary times would consider inappropriate. The analysis has particularly focused on how these relationships were conducted ironically (Rorty, 1989). For example, it has illustrated how desire was once instructed pedagogically as a set of disciplinary techniques and attitudes, an idea that, at first glance, is unfamiliar in contemporary times. Thinking together oppositional ideas such as desire and discipline in this analysis has made it possible to think otherwise about ‘good’ pedagogy. It has made less familiar the notion that proper pedagogical relationships are necessarily asexual or disembodied for example. Furthermore, rather than affirming more familiar contemporary ideas about ‘best’ pedagogical practice, the challenge of this chapter was to render these understandings strange by pointing up the discursive and historically contingent character of pedagogical relationships.

The analysis has particularly highlighted some of the discursive rules of propriety through which these relationships were conducted in ancient Greek times, and the types of embodied cultural work that this required. In doing so, the chapter has explored how it may become possible to think of pedagogy as a necessarily corporeal, embodied

cultural performance conducted through and with notions of desire as discipline, 'fleshly' chatter, spectacle and the gaze, and the conduct of the feminine self as an erotic work of art. The focus in the following chapter is on re-interrogating the fashion model/young girl encounter in terms of the discursive rules of pedagogical propriety elaborated above. It seeks to point up how the model-girl encounter is constituted pedagogically through and with notions of precise corporeal embodiment, desire as discipline, postural modelling and performance, the feminine self as a work of art, spectacle and the gaze. In doing so, it seeks to problematise more familiar renderings of the model-girl encounter as necessarily one of medico-psychological influence that impacts upon the young girls for good *or* for ill. Drawing on the categories of pedagogical propriety above, it aims to demonstrate that thinking in this way about female-to-female pedagogical relationships is nothing new, but at the same time is not old. By foregrounding the discursive 'rules' of pedagogical propriety and scrutinizing the model-girl encounter in these terms, the following analysis seeks to disrupt the notion that influence can be 'exerted' on girls as a 'pressure', and 'ruptures' (Roth, 1981) the meanings associated with this encounter in the present.

CHAPTER SEVEN

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CHAPTER SEVEN

TEACHING GIRLS A LESSON: A 'CURRICULUM' OF THE BODY

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six interrogated erotic pedagogical relationships between women as exemplars of how pedagogical propriety has been thought otherwise in other historical times and places. In the form of 'shreds' from ancient Greek historical texts, the data considered how the hetaira, as corporeally embodied pedagogue, transmitted a discursive knowledge of erotic conduct to young female novices in the form of a precise bodily discipline. They were examined in terms of the sort of knowledge that was being transmitted (erotic attitudes as discipline of desire, ideal feminine bodily conduct) and how these pedagogies were made possible through precise corporeal embodiment, postural modelling and performance, the self as a work of art, spectacle and the gaze. The focus was on highlighting the types of discursive 'rules' that governed these pedagogical encounters to use these rules to 'diagnose' (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) the model-girl encounter in the present. This is the purpose of this chapter: to re-read the model-girl relationship in terms of these rules of pedagogical propriety so as to explore how this relationship may be thought otherwise as an instance of embodied pedagogical knowledge transfer.

The chapter examines empirical data about the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl in the present. The various 'assemblages' of practices (bodily, performative, self, spatial, spectacular, and so on) that constitute the model-girl relationship as a pedagogical encounter are the focus of this analysis. As Chapter Five explains, this data was 'generated' in two ethnographic sites: fifteen weeks participant observation in one 'Deportment and Grooming Course' (seven weeks) and a 'Professional Models Course' (eight weeks) in a modelling agency in Brisbane, Queensland; and three focus group interviews with groups of five young girls aged 13-15 years in Brisbane, Queensland.

The aim in the following analysis is to examine the performances of the ‘knowing’ bodies and how these bodies discursively enact a particular type of knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct *in a pedagogical manner*. It traces how these performances do specific types of pedagogical cultural work which, in turn, constitute the bodies of the model and the young girl as pedagogical ‘texts’ (Kamler, 1997) of knowledge. The analysis is also interested in the ‘effects’ (Owen, 1995) produced by these performances as ‘learning outcomes’ for young girls: how do young girls perform a precise ‘curriculum’ of the body in their talk about fashion models? The data examined in this chapter in no way attempts to exhaustively represent young girls’ knowledge of models or the knowledge instructed to participants in the modelling courses. As is argued in Chapter Five, to attempt this would be futile as meaning is characteristically mobile, fluid and contingent at the best of times (Game, 1991; Lather, 1997). The analysis works through and with historically specific ‘truths’ and discursive knowledges enacted in precise times and places.

The challenge in this chapter is to open up a space within which to problematise and historicise the notion of fashion model influence. Utilising Foucault’s understanding of ‘effective history’ (Foucault, 1984a), the chapter seeks to demonstrate the arbitrariness and ‘shakiness’ (Foucault, 1977a) of the notion of model influence as absolute and necessary. It considers how this body and its constituent movements are constituted in time and space and, hence, are discursively contingent in that they are produced as *like and unlike* premodern body-to-body pedagogies. Informed by the categories explored in Chapter Six, this chapter suggests that the model-girl relationship may be both *new and not new* (Castel, 1994). It aims to demonstrate that while the model-girl encounter is new in its contemporaneousness, it is also not new or old in how it is produced out of discursive rules that parallel those that once governed erotic premodern pedagogical relationships between women. Empirical data generated for analysis is interrogated and ‘diagnosed’ (Kendall & Wickham, 1999) using these rules to re-read the notion that influence can only be thought as a pre-existing ‘thing’ that can be prised apart and examined in detail.

7.0.1 Accounting for precision

One of the central elements of young girls' accounts that remains unspoken in the literature is the meticulous *precision* with which young girls *know* the body of the model. It is the degree to which young girls *know precisely* about the embodiment of fashion models that is unaccounted for in existing literature due to the inability of the categories to think beyond disorder/delight. While young girls' comments about their knowledge of models imply that they are inexpert because all the models 'look the same', their talk about the bodies of models, and even specific models, contradict their inexpertness. In focus group two, for example, two girls argue about a picture of so-called 'supermodel', Cindy Crawford, in the stimulus material (see Appendix Four, p. 367 for young girls' talk about 'Claudia Schiffer'). One girl insists that the name of this model is 'Claudia Schiffer' because "she has a mole" (FG2: 1356-1357): "It IS! I REMEMBER THE MOLE!" (FG2: 1359). Another participant argues with her about this, stating that it is not 'Claudia Schiffer' because "CLAUDIA SCHIFFER HAS BLOND HAIR AND SHE HAS A ROUND FACE!" (FG2: 1461-1462). Each of the participants is here situating themselves as experts of the model body and the model face. They *know* authoritatively about Claudia Schiffer's face shape and her hair colour. While they cannot quite remember the name, they are adamant that they are expert enough to properly know the physical features of this model. They have 'just seen' Claudia Schiffer, for example, in enough refined detail to have the authority as an 'expert' on the shape of this body.

The most striking aspect of this example is that it is this type of precise knowledge that young girls have of models that is not accounted for in the influence literature examined in Chapter Two. By insisting that the model is a disorderly influence in need of control, medico-psychological and feminist researchers overlook the scrupulousness that young girls employ in their accounts of the model body. Similarly, by insisting that the model is unadulterated delight for the young girl, post-feminist work neglects to notice the disciplined (Foucault, 1977a) precision that young girls display in their knowledge of the model. A comment from a young girl such as the following one may produce limited readings using more uni-dimensional categories of understanding: "Everything about them's perfect even right down to the fingernails" (FG3: 269). In terms of the literature

of disorder, the young girl may be thought of as comparing their bodies with the bodies of models and, hence, ‘damaging’ their self-esteem for example (Frost, 2003). While this literature may note that the girls are looking closely at the body of the model, this precise looking is a ‘problem’ in need of proper control if the self-esteem and psychological well-being of the young girl is to be properly protected. Looking closely is aligned with wrongly revering the model body. The ways that the young girl may be meticulously looking at and reading from the body of the model as a discursive text goes unnoticed in these ways of thinking. More importantly, using existing categories of understanding, the question would still be whether or not the young girl ought to engage with the fashion model as opposed to exploring *how* this happens and with what effects.

7.1 LEARNING TO READ IRONICALLY

The central theme emerging from the analysis is *irony* (Rorty, 1989). Points of fray, fragmentation, disruption and, most importantly, *tension* infused the data generated in the empirical research. Whereas the dominant literature discussing the model body appears to be neatly divided into two oppositional ‘final vocabularies’, one emphasising disorder and pain, and the other delight and pleasure, the young girls’ accounts of these bodies holds these oppositional understandings together. For example, while the young girls continually talk about the face of the model as ‘perfect’ and ‘pretty’, they also consistently refer to this face as ‘odd shaped’, ‘scary’, ‘weird’ and ‘disgusting looking’. It appears that the young girls’ accounts contradict the perspectives of dominant oppositional accounts in that they hold these opposites together in tension. Their talk about the model move beyond the uni-dimensional and dichotomous character of the categories heretofore used to explain influence. They do not ‘neatly’ map onto the dominant categories for understanding model influence in the research literature. Young girls, then, appear to *think opposites together* (McArdle & McWilliam, 2005). The contradictions and points of fissure in their accounts do not “resolve into larger wholes” (Haraway, 1991, p. 149). They hold seemingly “incompatible things together because both or all are necessary and true” (ibid).

As such, the analysis in this chapter works through irony as an analytical tool for re-reading the model-girl encounter. For Richard Rorty (1989), the notion of irony may be used as an analytical tool to *re-describe* (and hence, re-inscribe) more taken-for-granted understandings of social phenomena. Rorty states that “the opposite of irony is common sense” (p. 74), a way of thinking about social phenomena as necessarily existing out-there-in-the-world, as intrinsic, true, transparent, essential and real. Irony offers up a useful standpoint as it insists on calling into question these ‘final vocabularies’ (Rorty, 1989) underpinned by commonsensical thinking. McWilliam, Lather and Morgan (1997) suggest that irony constitutes an important part of a characteristically postmodern, poststructural analysis which may also include the following “typical practices” (p. 30):

- pressing the literal meaning of a metaphor till it yields up unintended meanings
- looking for contradictions
- identifying gaps
- setting silences to speak
- focusing on ambiguous words or syntax
- demonstrating that different meanings can be produced by different readings
- reversing the terms of a binary pair and subverting the hierarchies

To use irony as an analytical tool, then, is to work through an analytical ‘lens’ of doubt, contingency, contradiction and tension. Ironic analysis recognises the duplicitous character of research relations, with the ironic researcher working to cut across more familiar categories for thinking about social phenomena such as the relationship between the fashion model and the young girl.

7.1.1 Holding together the ‘properly’ separate: Three ironic categories

The central task of the chapter is to cut across the neat discursive binaries that typically organise accounts of fashion model influence as necessarily negative *or* positive. A move is made away from more ‘clear cut’ explanations of influence as disorderly *or* delightful, painful *or* pleasurable, and as necessarily impacting upon the lives of young girls in negative *or* positive ways. The more ‘neat-and-tidy’ and, hence, less challenging, ways of thinking influence are re-interrogated and made problematic as discursive categories that are ‘always already’ (Davies, 2000) frayed and unstable. This move is particularly important given that the accounts that young girls produce about the model appear to reflect a similar logic. In the focus groups, young girls appear to refuse

binaries such as disorder/delight, pain/pleasure, preferring ambiguity and partiality over ‘neatness’. They appear to make strange the notion that the model has effects that are only disorderly *or* delightful, and they do this by drawing together dichotomies such as these. They do not just revere, but at the same time they put revulsion on hold. In this way, young girls repudiate and call into question what Richard Rorty (1989) calls ‘final vocabularies’ such as these binaries. Young girls’ accounts of the fashion model *think opposites together* (McArdle & McWilliam, 2005) in an *ironic* way: the model is conceptualised in these accounts as “serious play” (Haraway, 1991, p. 149). This is similarly reflected in field notes from participant observation where the fashion modelling teacher tells her pupils that they are to ‘practise walking naturally’, as though walking naturally is something that can be trained and practised.

Both data sets appear to make a space in their accounts for thinking differently about the fashion model as *both and neither* disorderly *and* delightful, painful *and* pleasurable, a space that refuses modernist binaries. Such a space privileges ‘messy’ (Lather, 1997) elements of accounting for social phenomena such as the model; it is a space *between* the binaries where *both* ways of thinking are considered necessary and true (Haraway, 1991). The analysis in this chapter, then, intermingles certain ways of thinking about the fashion model which, until now, have remained ‘properly’ separate. In line with the perspectives of young girls and the participants in the observations, the analysis proceeds as an *ironic* (Rorty, 1989) interrogation of the space *between* the binary categories that have shaped the literature. It is not about simply rushing to judge the ‘rightness’ of having young girls engage with the model, or about insisting on debating whether or not young girls ought to be doing this. Rather, the following analysis seeks to ask new questions about how the young girl engages with the model and what effects this produces for better *and* for worse. It has identified a gap or space between the binaries which has yet to ‘speak’ (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997).

The analysis is structured around three key ironic categories or new spaces between the binaries, with which to ‘set silences to speak’ (McWilliam, Lather & Morgan, 1997):

- 1 Unnaturally natural:** This analysis explores the *technologies of the body* (Foucault, 1977a) that shape and re-shape the body of the model as unnaturally natural. The central focus is how the fashion model embodies and performs particular types of knowledge about what it means to be appropriately natural in a contrived manner. A curriculum of the body is explored in terms of how it *trains* the young female novice body to perform the ‘natural’ model catwalk, for example, and other forms of ‘natural fakery’ as a specialised discursive knowledge of conduct. The processes enacted in instructing young girls about how to properly embody naturalness are elaborated. Notions of naturalness will also be interrogated in terms of how they are expertly engineered and contrived in ways that manufacture an abiding sense of naturalness. In line with the hetaira-novice relationship explored in Chapter Six, seemingly ‘natural’ ways of human being, such as desire and eroticism, are rendered artificial in this analysis. It points up how the model enacts notions of ‘disciplined spontaneity’ and ‘unnatural naturalness’.
- 2 Stompy grace:** The different bodily practices that produce and reproduce the model *self as a work of art* (Foucault, 1988b, 1986) are examined in this analysis. It explores how the fashion model body is constituted /inscribed/enacted as ‘stompy’ and ‘graceful’ which serve to produce the self as embodied. The focus is how the female model body is trained in ways that shape the model self as ‘ideally’ feminine and, as such stompy *and* graceful, soft *and* hard. Furthermore, how young girls come to know about this bodily conduct as a *curriculum* of the body is explored with an emphasis on how this knowledge transmission is pedagogical in character. It also examines how the body of the model constitutes a text of discursive knowledge, a pedagogical knowledge object that teaches young girls a ‘lesson’ (Gallop, 1982) about this curriculum, as did the hetaira in ancient Greek times. The analysis will point up how the model body is constituted in terms of a meticulously embodied knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct.
- 3 Beautifully grotesque:** This analysis will investigate how the model-girl relationship is discursively constituted as beautiful *and* grotesque. These ways-

of-being were particularly aligned more generally with ‘orderliness’ and ‘disorderliness’¹ in the data; that is, if the model body was beautiful it was also orderly or ‘normal’ in particular ways. A curriculum of embodied knowledge about ideal feminine bodily conduct and the rules of propriety for producing this conduct are examined. How different types of embodied work shape the grotesquely beautiful feminine self of the model will also be explicated, with a focus on how this self is performed as a corporeal regime of attitudes. The analysis will also examine how being ‘grotesque’ implies certain types of bodily movements such as ‘jiggleness’. A particular point of focus will be how the model is constituted and normalised in terms of moral-ethical discourses, and how the self is governed by the fashion model in ways that are comfortable *and* tense.

Albeit that it might be useful to identify the binaries in the literature, merely examining the accounts of participants in these dichotomous terms simply reinforces binary thinking. Approaching the analysis in an ironic way, however, allows an exploration of what the literature has been *unable to say* due to the binaries that have shaped this literature up to this point. The categories are proposed in order to make a space, an ironic space, where binaries meld and the contradictions, impossibilities and ‘haziness’ of the participants’ perspectives are enabled. Each of these categories acts as a mechanism or “rhetorical strategy” (Haraway, 1991, p. 149) for thinking, re-thinking and un-thinking more modernist and dichotomous ways of conceptualizing the model-girl relationship. The unsaid, the points of rupture, the ‘back-flips’, and the tensions in-between binaries are all made possible by way of these categories. With this territory comes an awareness of how these categories are doing particular types of discursive work: they allow thinking otherwise about the model and, therefore, they constitute a new and equally discursive perspective from which to produce and reproduce the model.

More importantly, however, these categories represent categories of *achievement*. They *flesh out* the meticulous pedagogical ‘labour’ (Adkins & Lury, 1999) required in order to

¹ For an analysis of how the model is constituted as disorderly in existing literature, see Chapter Two.

achieve particular modes of bodily conduct. Interrogating the data with categories of achievement allows a departure from categories of *advocacy* that rush to liberate and free young girls from the model. Categories of achievement signify an important shift away from moral panic about the model body to a patient documentation of how this body is discursively organised. An important focus in the analysis, then, is making apparent the different discursive rules which govern and make possible the achievement of particular types of conduct.

In the first instance, these categories of achievement will be examined as ‘properly’ separate, and will *re-describe* the dimensions of categories such as ‘natural’ and ‘unnatural’ as a particular ‘regime of truth’ (Foucault, 1984b). The accounts of young girls, for example, will be explored in terms of how they constitute the model body as a text of discursive knowledge that is ‘properly’ natural. The slipperiness and discursiveness of these categories will be demonstrated in how they are contingent upon what *counts as truth* (Foucault, 1984c) about the fashion model at a particular historical moment. *Re-inscription* is the central task of the next part of the analysis, drawing particularly on notions of irony. The ‘leakiness’ (Haraway, 1991) and ‘dis-ease’ (Baker & Heyning, 2004) of these categories is explored by *thinking together in tension* oppositional categories, such as beautiful and grotesque, and, hence, thinking them otherwise (Lather, 1991b). Here the data will be re-interrogated in terms of the space *between* binary understandings of the model, the point at which binaries begin to appear ‘hazy’, and ambiguity, tension, fragmentation and fissure are made apparent and are embraced over ‘neatness’. It is not about favouring one category over the other, or comparing one with the other, but about the tension and friction that they generate when taken together.

7.2 UNNATURALNESS

Unnaturalness emerges as an important discursive rule for being a fashion model in contemporary Western culture. The model, it seems, is scrupulously “fake” (FG1: 388; FG3: 1385). The bodily movements, such as the catwalk may be considered fake and ‘unnatural’. In addition, the manner in which the model conducts the self as embodied constitutes a regime of social practices which constitute the model self as ‘unnatural’ and contrived. It appears that all aspects of the bodily practices of the model are conducted as thoroughly unnatural. The unnaturalness of the model may be measured in terms of the degree to which the bodily practices surface and re-surface, configure and re-configure the body of the model. So too the model body constitutes the focus of the analysis in how this body is produced as an ‘ideal’ feminine body through specific forms of training that shape it from within and without.

7.2.1 ‘Maybe they’re jist trained to do that’: the unnaturalness of ‘good posture’ and catwalking

The notion of training is paramount in shaping the female body as an ‘ideal’ model body. Just as the young female novice in ancient Greece was re-configured to be ideally desirable, so too is the model body produced and reproduced through a myriad of disciplinary practices which serve to shape the body as ‘ideally’ model-like. The seemingly ill-disciplined and disorderly model body that ‘infects’ healthy young girls, is a ‘taught’ body, a body “trained, shaped and toned to perfect tautness in minute detail at every turn and under every circumstance” (O’Farrell *et al*, 2000, p. 1). In addition to aspects such as exercise (FG2: 31), the movements of the model on the catwalk in particular appear to be the product of regimented training and practise. By the end of the fifteen weeks of training in the two modelling courses, it appeared as though the bodies of the novice models were so carefully trained that *no-body forgets* the movements of the catwalk, for example:

The teacher drills three students for half an hour, repeating the same moves over and over again until the girls get it ‘right’; that is, all the girls are walking at the same pace, their feet are moving at the same speed, all of them have the same ‘seductive attitude’, and all of them are doing the ‘hip flick’ correctly.

The novice models were trained and drilled to the point that an embodied knowledge about ‘walking properly’ had been *enfleshed* in their movements. The ‘flesh’ of the novice models, which in modernist paradigms is typically considered ‘natural’, was corporeally configured and re-configured (Kirby, 1997; Grosz, 1990) in terms of a discursive knowledge of ‘good posture’ and the model catwalk.

‘You will feel better about yourself by standing this way’: Doing ‘good’ posture

One of the key ways that the model body is discursively trained unnaturally was in terms of “really good posture” (FG3: 400, 251). The art of properly embodying ‘good posture’ is the first form of training that the bodies of model novices are subject to, as ‘bad posture’ produces ‘back problems, low confidence and internal problems (squashed internal organs)’. The pedagogy of good posture was couched in terms of ‘looking taller, gaining respect and confidence’. More importantly, good posture was talked about by the modelling pedagogue as something the novice models were to practice if they wanted to achieve ‘feeling better’ about themselves. Implied in this teaching is the *old* notion, reflected in texts such as the *Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana* (trans. 1963) that by adopting a certain posture, it was then possible to achieve a particular *feeling*: work on the self is done through work on the body.

The pupils were made to stand up in a line at the back of the catwalk (platform on which they walk) and their bodies were positioned by the teacher in terms of a discursive knowledge about ‘good posture’. Every movement and angle of this ‘good posture’ was demonstrated firstly on the body of the model pedagogue. Firstly, the pupils are trained to stand in what is called ‘first position’.

Teacher demonstrates ‘good posture’ and position one with her body and feet: left foot positioned straight ahead at ‘twelve o’clock’; right foot at a about a 45 degree angle from the left foot at about ‘two o’clock’; her left and right foot are almost touching at the heels with about a two inch space separating them; her right knee is slightly bent in towards her left knee so that her right foot is resting on the ball of her foot and the weight of her body is on her left side.

To properly embody ‘first position’, other elements of the bodily posture of the pupils needed to be re-configured in terms of an embodied discursive knowledge about good

posture. Good posture, then, is achieved properly only when first position was combined with the following regime of bodily practices:

- Line up in one line near the steps. No messiness
- Standing up straight as though a string is pulling you up through the middle (vertically)
- Shoulders back
- Chin up
- Tummy pulled in
- Bottom tucked under
- Hands by your sides
- SMILE!
- Always remember – make sure you keep your head up
- Don't lean on the back wall thank you

All of these elements needed to be applied to the body of the model novice “before you even walk along the catwalk”. The instruction of ‘good posture’, then, required a very precise regime of bodily *discipline* (Foucault, 1977a). The body is scrupulously positioned by applying a discipline of precise angles and movements aligned with a particular discursive understanding of good posture. Its movements are shaped and reshaped to produce a docile body (Foucault, 1977a), a body that becomes productive through meticulous and calculated forms of bodily constraint.

Good posture emerges as a product of very precise forms of bodily training as opposed to something that ‘comes naturally’. It is very scrupulously achieved with and through the body. This is particularly emphasised in the talk of the model pedagogue in the modelling classroom when instructing these techniques to novice models:

- There's a lot of things that you need to concentrate on all at once: posture, walk, smile. Your smile is very important
- Watch your posture. Be in position oneish
- Just watch, you get a bit movey or fidgety
- Think about your stance and your posture
- You really have to concentrate on that

What is made apparent in these comments is Foucault's (1991a; Gordon, 1991) notion of *the conduct of conduct*. That is, it is a form of governmental rationality (Gordon, 1991) that works “to shape with some degree of deliberation aspects of our behaviour according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends” (Dean, 1999, p. 10). The

novice models are trained to be aware of their bodily movements and to be planning every movement carefully before they execute these movements on the catwalk. This form of awareness is certainly not sporadic. The novice models are encouraged to be continually thinking about how best to conduct their bodies to properly embody good posture.

'You have to walk properly': Doing the model 'catwalk'

The model catwalk emerges as 'unnatural' in the manner that it is produced through hours of meticulously angled and practised training. The modelling pedagogue notes that learning this catwalk involves a lot of work: "It's hard to correct their little nuances". Instructing the model catwalk in the modelling classroom amounted to approximately 24 out of the 32 hours that comprised the deportment and grooming and professional models courses. 'Walking properly' was reiterated consistently as one of the most imperative aspects of being a model: "This is how you should be walking". The body of the model pedagogue was the primary pedagogical 'tool' in instructing the model catwalk as the pupils gaze silently and carefully at the modelling teachers' body (see Appendix Five, p. 368 for observation notes describing the model catwalk). As the model pedagogue walked down the catwalk, she would stop intermittently to draw the visual attention of the pupils to a particular movement or to the position of her foot, arm, or hip a certain moment. The phrase "[d]o it like this" was repeated every week by the modelling pedagogue, and was followed by the teacher demonstrating in minutiae every precise movement and angle of 'ideal' feminine bodily conduct. Notions of *stillness* appear to be particularly important in the proper achievement of the model catwalk; paradoxically, however, so too do notions of *movement*. The model pedagogue appears *like and unlike* the hetaira in ancient Greece in the way that she instructs as both still *and* moving, with and through her body as a spectacular, authoritative pedagogical apparatus.

Despite the idea that these forms of knowledge are specialised, the young focus group participants demonstrated a strikingly detailed knowledge of model catwalking. When considering the details of the catwalk in the observational notes, the young girls in focus groups illustrated an equally precise and refined knowledge of this catwalk to the extent

that they may be considered ‘expert’ in the techniques of catwalk propriety. They described this catwalk more generally as ‘unnatural’, ‘tense’ (FG3: 438), and ‘practised’ (FG3: 527), and then proceeded to describe in extended detail the precise movements required to properly enact the model catwalk (see Appendix Six, p. 369 for young girls’ talk about the model catwalk). They described the good posture required by the model, and the movements involved in doing the proper model catwalk: ‘walking on line’, ‘swaying the hips’, ‘swinging the arms’, ‘turns’, and ‘looking straight ahead’. The movements of the model catwalk were known so precisely by the young girls that even seemingly mundane details about how models “point their toes inwards” (FG3: 110-111) were keenly scrutinised. They also described, as well as demonstrated, the different aspects involved in *not* doing the model catwalk properly, including ‘slouching’, ‘bending over’, and ‘looking down’. That young girls know about these movements in such precise detail indicates that they are gazing very meticulously at the model body as it performs the model catwalk. They demonstrate a highly refined ‘curriculum of the body’: they know about the bodily movements and postures required to properly achieve the unnaturally trained model catwalk.

These ideas about the fashion model catwalk, however, were not only spoken as a curriculum of the body; they were quite literally *enfleshed* by the young girls. The process of remembering the model catwalk, as it was performed in the video segment in particular, moved into the ‘third dimension’ and constituted a process of discursive *remembering* (Shapiro, 1994). Across all three focus groups, the young girls never hesitated to enact and perform the model catwalk either in their chairs or standing up to walk around the room.

Victoria: Just a straight line, you watch their feet they’re basically-, They walk like this-

Jill: They walk like that (elevates her feet above the floor and moves one foot in front of the other alternating)

Victoria: And then the hips (sitting in chair, moves her hips from side to side, giggles)

Researcher: What else do they do?

Victoria: Jill, Jill come on.

Jill: Alright.

(T, V, J, L and K get up and cross to the dining area of the room where there is approximately three metres of floor space without furniture.

They move to this area in a straight line (one standing behind the other) and then they turn back on themselves to the left as though that is the start of the 'catwalk'. They form two lines and walk down in pairs (T, K; J, T; V). Before walking they noticeably stand up tall and push their shoulders down and back, sticking their chests out a bit. Each girl walks putting one foot directly in front of the other; their hands move alternately with each step; their shoulders move back and forth; they move their hips as they walk so that their 'butts wiggle'; V walks as though each foot step is going either side of a line on the floor) (FG1: 175-195).²

Even sitting in a chair, the girls were proficient in demonstrating the movements of the model catwalk. They had come to know about the model catwalk as a precisely detailed bodily discipline, and were able to apply this discipline, as a regime of bodily practices and movements (Foucault, 1977a). The participants were able to systematically shape their bodies in terms of a discursive knowledge about 'ideal' feminine bodily conduct, a body marked as an 'appropriately' (Grosz, 1994) conducted body.

The precise character of the knowledge that young girls had of the model catwalk is particularly evidenced in how they interrogated specific elements of this walk. The model catwalk was often described as not only increasingly 'unnatural', but also 'weird' and contradictory. The young girls appear to visually *dissect* the model catwalk in terms of the different bodily movements and practices that constitute it:

Susan: It's hard to walk in a straight line and not swing your hips. I can't do it.

Lucy: I can look. Look, look, I can walk in a straight line without swinging my hips. See you jist walk in a straight line (stands up and walks heel to toe as though she were walking on a tightrope, alternating feet, with her knees bent, looking down at the ground and putting her hands out to her side to steady herself).

Michelle: (imitates Lucy).

Susan: Yeah but you're not doing it naturally (FG2: 477-483).

Alessandra: It's weird how their bodies walk because the hips sway but the shoulders stay exactly-

All: Yeah, mm.

Alessandra: In the same place like-

Marty: Yeah it looks really strange.

² All names of participants have been changed to preserve anonymity.

Alessandra: Its like they're made in two they're split in two (draws 'square' shoulders in the air and then two straight lines as 'hips' as separate from shoulders – draws a horizontal line between them).

Marty: Cos that's like unnatural cos you know if you're gunna move your hips then [your whole body would be moving too] (moves her shoulders back and forth)

Alessandra: Your shoulders move too (imitates M's moves)

Marty: Yeah.

Alison: And your arms (swings her arms back and forth) would swing and everything (FG3: 424-437).

The young girls in focus groups here break down and dis-member the movements of the model body on the catwalk and *normalise* (Foucault, 1977a) them in terms of what it means to embody 'natural' walking: "They don't walk like normal people, they deliberately flounce and strut when they walk" (FG3: 57-58). Girls have clearly learned about what it means to walk naturally and normally: "You walk the way you're comfortable not like everyone's watching you" (FG3: 130). They know that there are certain bodily movements required of walking naturally which are not embodied by the model catwalk. For young girls, then, the model body constitutes a site and sight of spectacular contradiction and inconsistency. The model catwalk is juxtaposed with the walk of other 'normal' people as thoroughly unnatural and contrived and, hence, not normal.

'You might wanna gather 'round girls': instructing girls as a spectacle of conduct

To effectively instruct good posture and 'walking properly', the model pedagogue was required to situate herself as a *spectacle* of how to properly embody a very specific form of 'ideal' feminine bodily conduct. The model pedagogue *makes a spectacle* (Russo, 1995) of her bodily conduct in order to *teach girls a lesson* (Gallop, 1982) about properly embodying good posture. With and through her body, the model pedagogue displays what it means to embody good posture. The stance and movements of her body constitute how instruction is a 'demonstration' and 'authorization': her body is something which can be pointed to and seen as a site and sight of pedagogical display (Angel, 1994). Young female model novices gaze meticulously at the body of the model pedagogue and come to know about how to properly embody good posture, and how not to embody 'bad posture' as a discursive practice of 'good health'. The novice hetaira

was too set to work on their posture to align it not with notions of good health but with proper desirable femininity in ancient Greece. Like young girls in contemporary times, the novice hetaira was instructed about how to do this “good carriage” (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 359) by looking concertedly at the spectacular bodies of older, all-knowing hetairae. Like the model, the expert hetaira makes a postural spectacle of her bodily knowledge so as to instruct this knowledge to young female *hypoparthenos* hetairae.

One of the key elements that rendered the model body a spectacle of knowledge was physical *elevation*: “Look how high she looks from here” (FG2: 681). This physical elevation is emphasised in the position of the audience when they look at the models parading on the catwalk: “They mostly sit there and watch” (FG2: 383). The model is also ‘lit up’ as a spectacle on the catwalk: “All the light was on the stage where they were walking” (FG1: 241). Physical elevation emerges as an imperative of the proper training of young female novices. The modelling pedagogue made a spectacle of herself not only by demanding the visual attention of the young female novices (“See how I’m actually spreading that around?”) but also by physically elevating her body. In the modelling classroom (see Figure 7.1), the ‘catwalk’ was the fundamental ‘tool’ by which the model body was elevated as a spectacle of knowledge. The model catwalk here refers to “a big platform”:

Michelle: A skinny platform about two people wide (puts her hands out in front and demonstrates the same way as S but with her hands vertically flattened to show depth of ‘platform’, as though she is holding onto a shoebox by its top and bottom).

Susan: Sometimes they have two doors- (puts hands up in front of face; hands are flattened and motioning inwards towards one another)

Lucy: No not two people wide. It’s a-

Susan: Coming in like that (stands up, walks three paces and then turns right and continues walking) and then the stairs come up like that (puts her forearm out at an angle to indicate a slope; the top of the slope is the finger tips and the bottom of the slope is the elbow).

Lucy: It’s about three people wide cos sometimes they have two people walking at the same time.

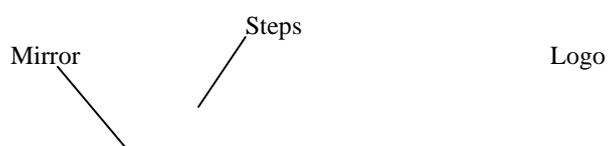
All: Yeah (FG2: 312-326).

This platform or ‘catwalk’ was elevated approximately one metre from the floor in the modelling classroom (see Figure 7.1 for a graphic of the modelling classroom). Whilst

walking up and down the catwalk, the modelling pedagogue is shaped as a ‘specularised’ (Angel, 1995) object of knowledge, an authoritative, all-knowing example from which young female novices learn through a meticulous gaze. The pupils ‘look up to’ her both physically and culturally as an authoritative exemplar of proper feminine bodily conduct. She draws attention to the notion of how bodies perform powerful pedagogy as spectacle (Gallop, 1982): “Do it like this”. She trains the gaze of the young female novices on her body as an exemplar of proper beauty. As the model pedagogue instructs in this way, she embodies understandings of good pedagogy reflected in erotic pedagogical relationships between women in ancient Greece: effective pedagogy means ‘every eye’ must be on the teacher. She instructs young girls as an all-knowing and ‘all-seeing’ pedagogue of embodied knowledge: “I looked from basically all angles except the back so they’re seeing like everywhere” (FG1: 234-235).

The young female novices equally made spectacles of themselves under the fastidious gaze of the model pedagogue: “I’m just going to use you as an example”. Every movement of the novice body on the catwalk was ‘specularised’ and could be made a spectacle of in the instance of incorrectly or correctly performing a particular element of the model ‘catwalk’:

- Don’t look down, eyes are straight ahead
- When you turn, you’re crossing your foot over too much. Make sure you put your foot right in front so that your legs are in line
- Don’t look at the crowd you should be focusing at the back
- Walking lightly
- Shoulders back
- You really wanna stand out
- You shouldn’t slouch
- Can you lift your shoulders forward?
- Smiling, keep smiling
- No leaning on walls EVER, any wall EVER
- Shoulders
- Head up
- Right leg first! Right leg first! Right leg FIRST!



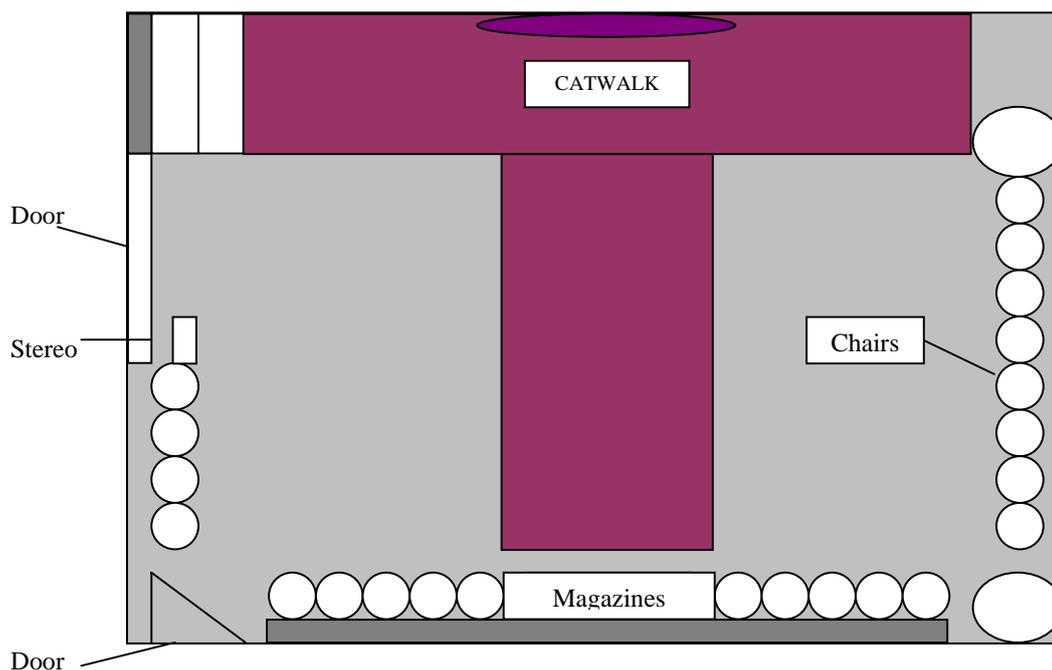


Figure 7.1: Architectural layout of modelling classroom

Even before the novice models stepped onto the catwalk, their bodily conduct was scrutinised by the model pedagogue: “Before you go on the catwalk, make sure you have got your posture right and everything right, smiling, and then go on”; “Pull yourself up into position before you get on there”. When discursive rules about properly performing the model catwalk were breached, the erroneous performance of the pupil was made a spectacle of: “Don’t ever do that!” Rendering the model novice a spectacle of how not to do the model catwalk or good posture served to reinforce the cultural elevation of the model pedagogue as *the* authoritative body of knowledge about proper ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct. The observational data indicates that there is not a single case of a student questioning or refuting something that was said or done by the modelling pedagogue. She is the unquestionable authoritative, all-knowing body on the proper performance of good posture and catwalking.

7.2.2 ‘We can put like foundation on to make our skin look like Barbie’: Resurfacing the model body

The model body is shaped and reshaped as unnatural through various bodily practices which seek to *re-surface* this body. It is a body corporeally (Kirby, 1997) ‘done up’ (FG3), redone and undone as a “plastic” (FG2: 1387) body: “She looks like a Barbie doll!” (FG2: 1385). In parallel with the hetaira of ancient Greece, certain types of ‘artful devices’ are put to use by the model in order to re-surface the body in specific ways, including products such as “age defying cream” (FG1: 673) and “skin firmness cream” (FG1: 678). The tone of the skin was re-surfaced in terms of norms about ‘ideal’ skin colouration using “fake tan” (FG2: 1628). The teeth of the model were also made the object of re-surfacing with “that teeth whitening stuff” (FG2: 1418). In fact, the participants in focus group three noted about one model that her “teeth jut out, they come out at the sides” (FG3: 1345) and that this ‘imperfection’ had been ‘disguised’ and re-surfaced by ‘whitening’ the teeth: “You can’t see ‘cos they whitened them but they jut out” (FG3: 1348). The model body, then, is primarily a body moulded and remoulded as a “dolled up” (FG3: 465-467) body.

Doing ‘dolled up’: making up and making over

The most prominent way of ‘dolling up’ and re-surfacing the model body was through the use of make-up. Models who “weren’t actually that pretty” (FG2: 707-708) could be re-surfaced and re-made as ‘pretty’ putting “lots of make-up on them” (FG2: 708-709), the brand of which was “nearly always Maybelline” (FG2: 1062). The art of ‘making-up’ the face was imperative in learning how to be a model, with three two hour classes dedicated to the proper application of make-up. The notion of make-up as ‘artful’ was continually highlighted in the classes: “It’s fun! Enjoy it! It’s like painting!”. Notions of ‘blending’, ‘shading’, ‘mixing’ (“Mix, mix, mix, mix, mix!”) and ‘building up colour’ were imperative if a make-up was going to achieve the desired affect: “Thick concealer – no blemishes!” There seems to be a way of doing pleasure properly in this setting: you can have fun but that comes only by doing various forms of work (McWilliam, 1999). The young novices are encouraged to enact *the pleasure of the discipline* of doing make-up properly. Proper make-up was ensured by ‘touching up a lot’ and ‘practise’: “The whole key to make-up is practise, practise, practise, practise, practise!” Make-up was also associated with ‘drama’ (“You could even go much more dramatic than that but

we've gotta ease you into the dramatics of the smoky eye") and 'intensity' ("That's great but we need you more intense underneath"). These types of resurfacing were not achieved without intensive labour: "Really good dark make-up will take you up to half an hour to do".

In the modelling classroom, make-up was discursively inscribed by the 'expert' make-up instructor as a 'natural facelift': "Did you see the difference there? It looked like it had lifted an inch. Concealing without the botox!". Other forms of make-up such as lip liner were used by novice models to 'fix up any imperfections' and 'reshape' the lips. The young girls in focus groups noted that, as models "they don't need too much but they still spend ages" (FG1: 415). When models did "nearly always" (FG2: 1059) wear make-up, "[t]hey emphasise jist one feature on the face like say it's the eyes or the lips" (FG3: 751) in order to "make it stand out" (FG1: 500). This was also an important aspect of doing make-up properly in the modelling classroom. The pupils were instructed to have either 'smoky eyes' with light lips or light eyes with dark coloured lips. To do both at the same time was out of the question because the model is then made up to look like a 'tart'. The rules for re-surfacing the face as properly feminine (Grosz, 1994) are made very clear by the model pedagogue. Doing 'dolloed up' means to do it in a scrupulous way, with certain shades, 'looks' and techniques being closely aligned with certain discursive ideas about proper feminine bodily conduct. More importantly, a very refined idea of what it means to do femininity properly through the art of make-up is imparted here: that is, as not 'tarty'. This precise practice reflects the work that novice hetairae did with their own faces to reshape them as ideally feminine. For example, novice hetairae would apply white lead and rouge to resurface their skin tone as ideally desirable in line with ancient Greek norms.

How make-up was used to re-surface the model face was highlighted in the modelling classes and in the focus groups through the idea of 'layering'. Make-up was described by focus group participants as "layered like there's like that much make-up on her face (makes a one inch space between her thumb and forefinger of her right hand)" (FG1: 416-417). Foundation was applied by novice models in 'two to three coats' in the

professional models course. Make-up was discursively inscribed by the ‘expert’ make-up instructor as a ‘natural facelift’ but only if you have got a ‘thick base’: “Did you see the difference there? It looked like it had lifted an inch. Concealing without the botox!”. Other forms of make-up such as lip liner were used by novice models to ‘fix up any imperfections’ and ‘reshape’ the lips. Here, make-up serves as a discursive practice that shapes and reshapes the corpor-reality (McWilliam, 1996b) of the body as properly feminine.³

Type of make-up	Forms of make-up
Eye shadow	‘every possible colour’, frosty and matte, paste
Lipstick	gloss, matte, stay-fast, ‘slick’, ‘plastic shine’
Foundation	liquid, pancake, pancake to powder, ‘mousse’
Powder	loose powder, pressed powder, ‘translucent’ powder
Concealer	stick, paste
Blush	pancake, dust, paste, gloss
Eye liner/lip liner	liquid, pencil, dust
Mascara	‘never anything but waterproof!’

Figure 7.2 *Descriptions of make-up in the modelling courses*

Novice models were instructed didactically and very precisely about how to properly apply these forms of make-up. For example, concealer should only ever be applied with the ring finger as this is the ‘weakest’ finger and will decrease the possibility of developing wrinkles. In the modelling classes, a system of ‘layering’ and ‘process’ was used to instruct the art of make-up to young female novices. A systematic and orderly way of applying make-up was instructed in particular, starting with ‘the basics’ like foundation and working up to the ‘finishing touches’ like mascara and a second ‘coat’ of blush. Novice models learned about how to start with a ‘naturally made-up’ look and how to ‘build’ on this natural look by adding further layers of make-up to achieve a make-up that was suitable for photographic work. Additional layers of foundation,

³ Different types of make-up discussed in the modelling classes and the focus groups are listed in Figure 7.2, as are the different forms of these make-up types.

powder, concealer, mascara, blush, eye shadow (black or dark grey for ‘smoky eyes’), eye liner, lipstick and lip liner were all applied and reapplied in order to ‘build up’ a make-up that would enable the complete re-surfacing of the surface of the models’ skin. Finally, some ‘shine’⁴ was added to the ‘apples’ of the cheeks and the ‘bridge’ of the nose in order to give the girls a ‘soft dewy look’. The teacher, as the all-knowing, masterful pedagogue of knowledge, shares her ‘secrets’ (Foucault, 1976) with the pupils about ‘finding the apples’ of the cheeks: smiling. A very precise knowledge of the apposite application of make-up is being instructed here. This was instructed very systematically: there was one ‘right’ way of applying make-up and that was her secret to impart. This is reminiscent of the erotic pedagogical relationship between the hetaira and the young female novice, wherein the hetaira would impart the ‘secrets’ of the successful elite prostitute.

Young pupils that deviated from this ‘orderly’ and proper way of applying make-up were corrected and sometimes scorned by the authoritative model pedagogue. This included both the tone or ‘shade’ of the make-up (“No lighter or you will look washed out”) and the technique being used to apply the make-up. For example, a key technique for doing eye shadow properly was the notion of ‘outside in’. Starting at the outer corner of the eye, eye shadow is applied with a brush “from out to in only. It’s like making a V”. When instructing the art of ‘photographic make-up’, the teacher states that “we talked in day make-up about ‘outside in’ and it’s never been so important as today!”. Later, the teacher chides one student for applying eye shadow in an improper way, specifically from the wrong direction: “You’re going THE WRONG WAY! Outside in ONLY! NEVER inside out! If I see you do that again...”. Proper make-up technique and process is emphasised clearly in this instance, with the student doing this the ‘wrong way’ being made a spectacle of ‘impropriety’ from which to learn. The transgressive student body becomes an erroneous exemplar: “something which can be pointed to and seen” (Angel, 1994, p. 62). By gazing at this spectacle of authorization, other pupils are ‘taught a lesson’ (Gallop, 1982) about how *not* to do make-up properly.

⁴ Focus group participants highlighted how the models ‘shine’ after they undergo a make over in a magazine.

The modelling pedagogue displays what it means to know about proper make-up: she demonstrates “a mastery over knowledge” (Gallop, 1982, p. 122).

‘Detecting’ unnaturalness

The participants in the focus groups it seems were increasingly expert at measuring the types of make-up that had been used to re-surface the skin of the model: “I think she’s got white eye liner on” (FG3: 1315). Here young girls gaze closely and very meticulously at the re-surfaced model face to determine the extent to which it was ‘done up’ and how it was ‘done up’. This *precise gaze* was particularly evident when one participant detected a ‘fake sparkle’ in the eye of one of the models in a Girlfriend magazine:

Alessandra: What the hell is with the fake sparkle that she wears?

Clare: She looks semi old.

Alessandra: Check her out like that’s-

(All laugh)

Marty: Is it a fake sparkle in there in her eye?

Alessandra: Yah:

Marty: How stupid is that? (FG3: 1628-1634)

Even the seemingly minute and undetectable forms of re-surfacing the model body are subject to visual scrutiny by the young girls appear who are ‘experts’ of detecting unnaturalness and fakery in images of the model body. They have *read* (Kamler, 1997) the bodies of models as texts of knowledge and, hence, *come to know* (Lusted, 1986) in detail about how to *do* naturalness with their bodies.

The modelling pedagogue also demonstrated an interesting form of specialised ‘expertise’ for picking unnatural parts of the catwalk performed by novice models. The teacher alerts one student to the way that she puts her feet down as she walks. The teacher states that the pupil is walking “almost toe to heel rather than heel to toe, it’s like you’re putting your toes down first when you should be putting your heel down first”. This was considered “too kind’ve unnatural” for catwalking. The teacher then demonstrates to the student how she should be walking in order to walk ‘properly’, walking heel to toe down the catwalk. The pupil continues to do the catwalk and the teacher draws her attention to doing it: “It’s okay. Old habits are hard to break so you’ll

hafta think about it a few times”. It appears that to do the catwalk means embodying an awareness of how the different parts of the catwalk are to be performed in a way that is natural rather than unnatural. There is a certain way of doing the catwalk as properly natural. Any bodily conduct that does not fit with this discursive understanding of the natural catwalk is re-configured. The body of the pupil is re-shaped through the meticulous application of bodily discipline so as to align it more closely with ideas about proper bodily conduct.

7.2.3 ‘Why do twelve year olds have plastic surgery? To look like supermodels’: Re-configuring the model as plastic

The corporeal notion of model *plasticity* and ‘re-configurability’ featured across all three focus groups and in the modelling classroom. Modelling apprentices were instructed about how best to configure and re-configure their bodies in terms of discursive ideas about proper youthfulness in particular. Re-configuring the model body could be executed at a number of different levels: the model ‘flesh’ could be discursively re-configured through the practice of cosmetic surgery; the shape of the model body could be re-configured using a range of ‘artful devices’; and the model body could be re-surfaced through the use of virtual imaging.

Becoming plastic: re-configuring model ‘flesh’

‘Plastic surgery’ (FG1: 152) was one of the central ways that the fashion model was deemed unnatural by the focus group participants. When asked about how models stay beautiful and young, various plastic surgery techniques were listed by the young girls: “collagen injections” (FG3: 922), “boob jobs” (FG3: 924), “liposuction” (FG3: 474, 948; FG1: 680), and “nose jobs” (FG1: 477). Plastic surgery appeared to be thought of by the girls as taken for granted as part of the necessary ‘upkeep’ work involved with being a model. Being ‘made over’ to shape the body as discursively youthful was something that a model had to ‘adapt to’. Plastic surgery also emerged as a *discursive social practice* (Foucault, 1972) that, when applied to the model body, could re-configure this body as ‘correctly’ beautiful and young. It served to reshape this body to align with historically specific ideas about what constitutes proper model beauty.

The other way that the flesh of the fashion model is unnaturally re-configured is through regular exercise. However, this is not just any exercise. The exercise needs to carefully and thoughtfully tailored in a way that ‘targets’ particular areas of the model body. Novice models were instructed about how different types of exercise can re-configure different areas of flesh: bicycling for the thighs; running for the legs; weights for specific areas that need ‘toning and firming’; tennis for the arms; and swimming for toning the whole body. Even a models ‘balance’ can be re-configured and ‘improved’ by doing yoga and dancing. All of these forms of exercise *plasticise* and discursively re-configure the flesh of the model body from without and within as properly youthful for example. The flesh of the model is quite literally worked on as a material artefact (Kirby, 1997): discourse is in-corpor-ated into the model body. This is not only superficially marking the body, however. These practices “help constitute the very biological organization of the subject” (Grosz, 1994, p. 142).

‘Artful devices’: re-configuring model shape

Paralleling the ‘artful devices’ of the hetaira in ancient Greece, there are a range of different props and devices used by the fashion model (see Appendix Seven, p. 371 for a list of ‘devices’ included in a models bag). The focus group participants were aware of the unnaturalness of these props and the ways that they were applied to the model body:

Lillian: And they don’t ever wear glasses.

Michelle: No.

Susan: Except sunglasses.

Michelle: Contacts.

Lillian: Yeah.

Michelle: They probably wear contact lenses.

Lillian: They put like contacts in.

Susan: Cos they usually look better without glasses.

Michelle: [Mm:]

Lillian: [Mm:]

Susan: If, If, If they’re like model office like stuff they might have glasses.

Researcher: Oh.

Susan: But it’s not anything special with their eyes. It’s jist to make them look smart (FG2:499-516).

The young girls here have learned about the unnaturalness of models wearing glasses. They know about how models do this to produce a particular type of ‘smart-looking’ self rather than wearing glasses to enhance their vision.

Other props used by fashion models did different types of cultural work on the body, work that discursively shaped the body of the model in particular ways. Young female novices were instructed in the professional models course about different types of props that might be used to do this. Some of the props were very specifically employed to re-configure the body of the model as appropriately beautiful. Fake tan, for example, was talked about as “a must” for any models bag: “If you are doing swimwear you hafta have colour!” A properly beautiful body does not have tan lines either:

Student: You can’t have tan lines can you?

Teacher: Oh no definitely not!

Student: Oh no, I’ve got really bad ones!

Teacher: They’ll put make-up on you darling so don’t worry about it.

Where the model was ‘lacking’ in some aspect of being properly beautiful and ‘ideally’ feminine, the model was taught about how to utilize these props to re-configure their body as properly beautiful and to align it with ‘ideal’ femininity. For example, cream coloured masking tape was generally used to tape the soles of the shoes for better ‘slippage’ on a carpeted catwalk, and to tape up hemlines that come down before the clothes have been modelled. The most common description of this tape by the modelling teacher, however, was as “your best friend” because a model can “tape your boobs up”. Modelling apprentices were told that ‘chicken fillets’⁵ were important for this reason too: “You can magically have breasts even if you are an A cup, give ‘em a boost”. Sanitary pads can be used for a similar purpose. When a particular skirt or pair of pants are not ‘filled out’ enough by a models’ hips, sanitary pads can be stuck onto the inside of the skirt or pants to ‘pad it out a bit’ and make it fit properly. Clothing too served as a way of re-configuring the female shape in line with ideas about ‘ideal’ femininity. The modelling teacher states that there are many ways that you can use clothes to “emphasise a ‘non-waist’”: “If you wear clothing that accentuates ‘curviness’

⁵ ‘Chicken fillets’ are silicone, tear-drop shaped inserts that can be put into a brassiere to enlarge a models’ breasts and enhance their ‘cleavage’.

you can make a waist for yourself". This notion clearly maps onto the shaping of the hetaira body in ancient Greek times, where the female body was carefully reconfigured.

The shape of the model body here appears to be in constant flux (Shilling, 1993). It can be configured, re-configured, and even un-figured (taping the breasts flat to the chest for example so that they are not visible) as a corporeal body project through various props and 'artful devices'. This particularly highlights how creating a particular type of 'ideal' feminine bodily shape may be achieved in thoroughly unnatural ways: as the product of certain forms of meticulous disciplinary training and labour. In conjunction with different types of exercise, a feminine shape is created artificially through a rigorous pedagogical process by which the female body is conceived as a feminine body. Also evidenced here is how the body is constituted as an object of power/knowledge. The body of the model is made the object of power through bodily practices. As the hetaira once did in ancient Greece, this produces a docile body, a body that is suitably constrained to produce a productive body, a body that will yield "the bigger fee" (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 395) for the pupil and the modelling agency.

'Not every model's perfect': Becoming 'computerised' and being virtually unreal

Another social practice that could be used to re-configure the model body so it was properly beautiful was the notion of being "computerised" (FG1: 683; FG3: 1308). The appearance of the model body in a picture was 'corrected' virtually through the use of computers:

Tracey: Really in magazines they use this computer and if you don't look that good-

Jill: Yeah they're computerised.

...

Victoria: They get on the computer and they computerise it...So it's like all smooth and they take wrinkles out.

Researcher: Like brush it all up?

Victoria: Yeah so nothing's wrong.

Tracey: My friends' friend's a model and she's like really pretty and everything but like and she's like all perfect but she got her like photo taken and then they had to like scale it down...To make it look right (FG1: 668-698).

The *newness* of the model body is highlighted here in how it is ‘computerised’. Natural ‘imperfections’, that discursively and visually mark the model body as ‘too old’, are erased in unnatural ways using the latest in computer technology. This re-configures the model body as ‘unnaturally young’ and, therefore, fake: “[H]er eyes cannot be that white either. Like her eyes have been whitened” (FG3: 1361). The participants stated that this may be at the request of the model in the photograph, with Alessandra enacting how the model may request this: ““Make my cheeks puffy!”” (FG1: 309). Model bodies that transgress the ideal size for a female body in contemporary Western culture are also ‘scaled down’ to make them ‘look right’. Implied in this example is a way of being ideally female and the understanding that the model is normalised and re-contoured in line with these discursive norms. It is reinscribed through discourse as an appropriately female body “for its cultural requirements” (Grosz, 1994, p. 142).

7.3 NATURALNESS

Despite all the labour that marks (Grosz, 1994) the body of the model as natural, one of the most imperative elements of shaping oneself properly as a fashion model is naturalness. The model must appear natural in her walk, her poses, even in her smiles. There are very precise ways to look properly natural and certain rules must be adhered to in order to achieve this. The notion of being natural was highly revered by the young female participants in the focus groups. In focus group three in particular, the participants produced a distinction between looking ‘normal’ and ‘natural’, and looking ‘perfect’ (FG3: 1846-1847): “this is getting better because I usually not read it and read Chik⁶ because they only had you know the most beautiful girls in the world but now they’re actually putting in more natural looking girls” (FG3: 1863-1865). The focus group participants reflect a knowledge about what it means to be properly natural rather than ‘perfect’ and, hence, ‘unnatural’.

7.3.1 ‘See that one looks more natural because you can see the pores of her skin’: the rules for appearing properly natural

⁶ This is an Australian girls’ magazine.

There are, it seems, very specific ways of appearing natural if you are a fashion model. Ironically, embodying naturalness is not something spontaneous. It requires increasing work from the model in the modelling classroom.⁷ The novice model, in particular has to corporeally shape her body and perform certain movements in very precise ways to appear properly natural. This is reinforced by comments from the modelling teacher. For example, when instructing the art of make-up to young female novices, the modelling pedagogue tells them to do their eyes in a specific way that is ‘not like drag queens’. The modelling pedagogue is here not only reinforcing the idea of the importance of naturalness in model make-up. She is also highlighting the notion that there is a particular orderly way of doing naturalness with make-up; that is, a way that is not aligned with ‘drag queens’ make-up. Despite the explicit training involved in properly embodying and doing naturalness as a model, the imperative is still to perform as a model in a way that “doesn’t look too done up” (FG3: 1364). This is at odds with the hetaira in ancient Greece whose appearance was carefully contrived in every way. There was a certain way that a female was to look hetaira-ic and this did not seem to imply appearing natural. Rather, it meant being ‘done-over’ with props and artful devices with which to augment the shape and colouration of the female flesh as unnaturally and properly feminine.

‘You can see all her pores’: Defining the rules of appearing properly natural

In focus groups, the more natural the model was, the more she was considered ‘real’ by young girls and, more importantly, ‘beautiful’. In fact, being properly beautiful was defined almost exclusively in terms of being natural:

Marty: Yeah that’s the girl who won. Yeah see she looks really, really natural there. She’s like around our age but she looks so much older.

Alison: Who?

...

Marty: I like all these girls Kirsten Dunst, Maggie Gyllenhal, Julia Stiles because they are all really natural. They’re not like, They’re beautiful they’re not pretty.

...

Clare: She jist looks natural.

Marty: Yeah she looks like natural.

⁷ See section 7.4 below for more on this.

Clare: There's Gisele see she's like-

Marty: See? Natural!

...

Alessandra: Liv Tyler she is so: beautiful.

Marty: I know Liv Tyler she is really natural.

Alison: She is gorgeous.

Marty: She looks really natural (FG3: 1660-1751).

The model was only considered properly beautiful and 'not pretty' if she was natural. The figure of the model was also aligned with naturalness which was, in turn, thought of as 'good': "She's got a pretty natural figure and that's good" (FG3: 1532). The girls here seem to have produced a precise way of measuring the body of the model in line with a particular type of discourse about naturalness. They have come to know in detail about properly embodying naturalness from the model body.

The naturalness of the fashion model was measured in two ways: the visibility of the freckles of the model, and the pores of their skin. Freckles were discussed in both the focus groups and the modelling courses as one of the key ways that the model could 'do' naturalness. The model body can be inscribed as correctly natural by having freckles. The young girls talked about how magazines used models with freckles because young girls now want to see more 'natural' models:

Alison: Mmm: Well in this book they're actually pretty normal looking which is good because they used to not be they used to always be like perfect looking.

Researcher: Mm hm

Alison: But you know now they're getting-

Clare: Like recently they're getting normal well not normal jist like.

Alison: Yeah kinda realised that 'Hey no one looks like that'.

Clare: See like they put that picture of that girl with the big freckles in it (FG3: 1846-1852).

'Normality' and naturalness are here aligned with having 'freckles': embodying naturalness means having freckles. This notion was emphasised by the modelling pedagogue in the modelling courses who stated that "You don't wanna hide your freckles. Embrace your freckles. Your freckles are your face". The naturalness of the model was also indicated in the visibility of the pores of her skin:

Alessandra: See that one looks more natural because you can almost see the pores of her skin (FG3: 1378-1379).

...
 Marty: She looks really natural there. She doesn't look done up 'cos you can see all her pores (FG3: 1638-1639).

Evidenced here is a refined way of *reading* the body of the model as a text (Kamler, 1997) of discursive knowledge of naturalness. Young girls have come to know pedagogically (Lusted, 1986) about how the model body is corporeally constituted and re-constituted as properly and, most importantly, precisely natural. Girls know how naturalness may be accurately shaped in ways so that pores of the skin, for example, are made visible. The pores of the skin constitute the spectacle of proper naturalness. In contrast, proper conduct as an hetaira in ancient Greece meant being heavily made-up – they made spectacles of femininity by being thoroughly 'decked out' (Alciphron, trans. n.d.) using make-up.

7.3.2 Training the natural: Doing natural make-up

Ironically, the central imperative for shaping the model body as properly natural was make-up. Just as certain angles of the body were discursively marked (Foucault, 1984a) as 'obvious' and, hence, 'unnatural', so too were particular ways of doing make-up: "They don't really make the face the make-up noticeable 'cos then it doesn't attract attention to the face" (FG2: 1071). Ensuring that your make-up was natural was all important for novice models. Very clear discursive rules defined what was considered natural make-up and unnatural make-up. In a discussion about some models having their eyebrows tattooed on, the modelling teacher makes it clear that this is unacceptable: "Not a good look, it's not natural". The imperative for natural make-up was that "you don't want people to see your make-up. You wanna look balanced". The most important element of applying make-up in a way that was aligned with naturalness was the notion of 'highlighting'. 'Truly' natural make-up was make-up that highlighted all of your features: "You don't want people looking at your eyes and lips, it should all be natural". Specific colours of make-up were aligned with naturalness in the modelling classroom: "Natural look is all warm tones". If make-up was put on by the pupils in a way that was considered unnatural, the pedagogue told them to 'knock it back' or "just take it back. It doesn't hafta disappear completely".

The young pupils were instructed by the model about naturalness by drawing on transgressive or spectacular (Russo, 1995) examples of female bodies. The example of having tattooed eyebrows, in accord with the drag queen example, serve to discursively define apposite naturalness and the ways that this naturalness can be achieved through and with the body as inscribed cultural text. More importantly, these examples instruct as grotesque spectacle. They are the authoritative *seen* exemplars of transgressive make-up practise; their bodies enacts as site and sights of cultural authorisation (Angel, 1994).

7.4 UNNATURALLY NATURAL

The analysis above has indicated that the fashion model may be discursively marked as natural *and* unnatural. It appears that unnaturalness and naturalness are *both and neither necessary and true* (Haraway, 1991), in the training of the novice models as well as in the young girls' accounts of models. Naturalness in particular is not something spontaneous that 'flows' out of the model instinctively. Being natural is achieved by carefully conducting and training (Foucault, 1977a) the body of the model. While it may be simpler to separate these oppositional ways of thinking, doing, instructing and performing, as existing research has done, it would appear that such an approach will not fully account for how the model is trained and discursively produced *unnaturally natural*. For example, the modelling pedagogue emphasises the importance of not embodying 'messiness' in any way, with every movement carefully trained and choreographed. At the same time, however, to train the body as properly natural, she suggests that the students 'just shake and loosen'. It would seem that the novice model is being instructed to perform in ways that are loose and natural as well as 'controlled' and unnatural. Moreover, the model enacts these opposites *together* in the movements of her body, and how she holds her body in ways that may appear contradictory, impossible and absurd. The following analysis points up the different ways that the model performs and instructs *naturalness as scrupulously postured*, and enacts *spontaneity as meticulously disciplined*.

7.4.1 Avoiding the 'teapot arm': Posturing proper naturalness

Doing unnaturally natural as a bodily discipline in precise ways was reinforced in the modelling classroom. The role of the modelling pedagogue was to scrutinise the movements and postures of the novice models in order to ensure that they were properly embodying and doing naturalness. However, it was a very precise form of bodily training that produced this naturalness: to be properly natural meant understanding how to *do* and *enact* naturalness as a regime of bodily practices. Naturalness is applied to the body of the model as an embodied discipline. It is a set of discursive ideas or knowledges that set out the *rules* (Foucault, 1972) for what it means to be properly natural.

There were very precise ways that the model was to achieve proper naturalness. Any movement considered inappropriately unnatural by the modelling pedagogue was 'corrected'. In the modelling classroom, the postures of the novice models were made the object of visual inspection, with certain 'unnatural' ways of doing 'good' posture being the focus of corrective comments. For example, in standing in position one with their hands on their hips, the pupils are told that there is a very precisely natural way of holding this arm so it appears natural. Relaxing the muscles in the wrist of the hand on the hip emerges as imperative: "A lot of you are ending up with like teapot arm". 'Teapot' arm was an arm marked as 'unnatural' in that it was not properly relaxed and, hence, natural. In addition, the angles of specific parts of the body in position one were visually checked: "Your foot angle. Maybe not quite that far out 'cos you don't want it to look like obvious". Looking 'obvious' here is aligned with embodying unnaturalness by the modelling teacher who corrects the pupils' stance by saying: "You want it to be really cas' (casual). Just like you're standing waiting in a bank queue". Being 'cas' is constituted as properly embodying 'naturalness'.

'Sinking the hip' (slightly bending the right knee in towards the left knee when standing in position one) emerged as another rule of propriety for properly achieving naturalness. When standing in position one, the novice models are told that they must "obviously sink your hip or you'll look stiff". The modelling pedagogue then *trains* the pupils by showing them how *not* to 'look stiff' and *not* 'sinking the hip'. After the pedagogue

illustrates this ‘stiffness’ with her own body, the pupils enrol the teacher to ‘check’ the degree to which they may be doing ‘stiff’ instead of doing ‘natural’: “I feel like I’m too stiff”. The teacher assures pupils that “if you’re stiff, I’ll tell you”. The visual surveillance of the modelling pedagogue served to corporeally shape and re-shape, train and re-train the pupils in a way that they came to embody their own inspectors of natural and unnatural bodily movements. Naturalness is overwhelmingly manufactured and wholly contrived. Sustained meticulous work is done on and to the body as an object of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977a) that discursively *inscribes* and *performs* appropriate naturalness (Butler, 1997; Grosz, 1994).

7.4.2 ‘Just shake and loosen’: Training the movements of proper naturalness

The movements of the model body were also trained through the application of bodily discipline. A discursive knowledge about how to move the body as properly natural was instructed and systematically applied to the various movements and elements of the bodies of the novice models. Again, any movements that were positioned outside of naturalness were corrected by the modelling pedagogue. Unnatural bodily movements were particularly movements that appeared as though they were being ‘thought about’ by the pupil. Unnatural bodily movements were ‘deliberate’ rather than ‘flowing’: “Don’t do excessive amounts of hands. It looks too much like your thinking about it”. Moving the model body in a way that is properly natural, then, implies that there is a way of doing this while looking as though it is not being done consciously. The students ask the modelling teacher about what they should do with their arms: “For now just let them hang and sway naturally”. While the teacher presented this as a ‘simple’ thing because it is a ‘natural’ way of doing the arms, the novice models follow this comment with questioning the teacher about how far the arms should sway forward so as to appear properly natural. One student states that her arm swinging is “too big” and that she cannot do the “natural sway” properly. Here, the *right* natural movements of the model body are instructed as a regime of bodily practices.

Naturalness was very important when posing in photo shoots. The young female novices were trained to pose in a way that was ‘natural’ when it came time to do the

photo shoot: “Make sure you’re relaxed or the photos will look stiff”. The pupils were told that they had to practise in order to make sure that they looked sufficiently relaxed in the final photographs. If a model novice was looking stiff at any stage they were told to ‘just shake and loosen’. Unlike the hetaira in ancient Greek times, certain bodily practices are employed in contemporary times to inscribe the model body as properly natural. ‘Shake and loosen’ can be read as a way of training the body repetitively to sculpt it from without and within as ‘relaxed’ and ‘cas’, and, hence, natural.

The apprentices were even instructed about employing props such as chairs in a way that ensures that they have ‘freedom of movement’.

I ask the photographer why it is important that we sit on the edge of the chair rather than at the back. The photographer tells me that it is important that you sit up straight and so it gives you more movement in the photos. He tells me that because the chair has arms and if you sit back it restricts your movements.

Novice models are taught how to overcome the ‘restriction’ of movement by particular props. Naturalness is meticulously instructed and trained. In the group photo done for the class at the end of the course, the photographer talks to the students as they pose: “It’s much more fun with you guys playing. Do you guys muck up at all? Oh you guys are stiff!” Here the photographer governs the bodily practice of posing to ensure that it is properly natural when the photo is taken. The bodily postures of the models are shaped as ‘stiff’ and improperly natural. ‘Fun’ and ‘playing’ are situated as the forms of bodily conduct that they are to employ to overcome and corporeally *undo* ‘stiffness’. A knowledge about what it means to be properly natural (playing) is applied to the bodies of the apprentice models as a regime of corporeal bodily practices (Butler, 1990b).

7.4.3 ‘It doesn’t look tense it jist doesn’t look natural’: training the model catwalk as ‘second nature’

One of the central ways that the model performs as unnaturally natural is the model catwalk. Bodily training as an imperative of performing the model catwalk as properly natural has been highlighted above. It appears that every movement and posture that the model enacts is scrupulously trained in order to appear properly natural. Discursive

ideas about proper naturalness, as a form of bodily knowledge, are meticulously applied to the model body. The focus group participants suggest, however, that properly natural model catwalk can be trained to the point that it becomes ‘second nature’. While typically notions of training and notions of ‘second nature’ might appear opposed, the focus group participants talk about how the model literally enacts both of these things together. This is illustrated in a discussion of famous model Naomi Campbell as she appeared in the video segment for the focus group:

Clare: Naomi Campbell was doing it like way different like the arms going (swings her arms back and forward at her sides) the legs and everything and it all looked really practised.

Alison: And that meant everyone looked at how like everyone noticed her.

Alessandra: Yeah everyone noticed that she was a lot better than most of the models.

Marty: I know yeah but it looked kind’ve ah really normal on her.

Researcher: Mm hm

Alessandra: She’s always does it.

Marty: Cos you always see her doing that even like you know walking down the the red carpets and stuff like that she you know always that kind’ve a-

Alessandra: Really confident.

Marty: Yeah.

Alessandra: Like it’s like a second nature to her.

Researcher: Mm hm.

Alessandra: And she probably realised that when you look at her and you look at the rest of the models she’s a lot better.

Marty: Yeah.

Alessandra: And you can tell it by the way she walks. She’s so confident (FG3: 527-544).

This section of transcript illustrates how young girls discursively constitute the model catwalk as unnaturally natural. The model catwalk, a style of walking that is achieved only through many hours of training, is here described as ‘second nature’. Naomi Campbell has achieved the model catwalk in such a way that it has become ‘second nature’. That is, it may be thought of as “a tendency or habit that has become instinctive” (Pearsall, 2002, p. 1294). The young girls *naturalise the unnatural model catwalk* as it is performed by Naomi Campbell in the video: that which is trained is also spontaneous. While the general ‘model models’ know how to do and hold naturalness as a set of manufactured bodily practices in the model catwalk, Naomi Campbell

conducts her body in a way that is at once unnatural *and* natural, disciplined *and* spontaneous. There appear to be very precise ways that the body can be postured and moved to make it look comfortable *and* tense.

7.4.4 ‘They hafta pretend like they’re not pissed off’: Doing the happy self as an embodied discipline

The other aspect of the model that may be considered an example of doing ‘unnatural natural’ is model happiness. How the model constitutes a particular type of ‘happy’ self as embodied is made evident in focus group and observational data. Happiness is foremost a bodily achievement, in both data sets. There are certain specific ways that a model must hold and posture her body to appear properly happy and relaxed. This contradicts the notion that happiness is spontaneous. Happiness is something that can only be ‘experienced’ or achieved if the body is *done* or *performed* as correctly happy.

Doing the happy body meant ‘having more energy’ on the catwalk: “You don’t hafta have more speed, just more energy”. When asked how to do ‘more energy’ properly as opposed to simply increasing the speed of the catwalk, the modelling teacher is specific about how to do this: “Just mainly smiley, moving more, put a spring in your step”. There were very specific ways of doing happy properly, as is indicated in comments from the modelling teacher such as “Don’t let your left arm swing so much for serious corporate. It looks too happy”.⁸ Proper happiness emerged as something that could be achieved in differing degrees: “Good girl – you could still be a bit more happier though”. Doing happiness properly also meant getting into a particular ‘mindset’: “Think happy, think party. You need a lot more energy on stage, you’re having a ball, think about the best funnest time!” Precise angles of the body are aligned with proper happiness. The authoritative, all-knowing model pedagogue measures the angles and movements of the novice body in order to inscribe and shape the flesh of this body as appositely happy. This is like the training of novice hetairae in ancient Greece. Young female novices were trained to properly enact happiness, as well as a range of other ‘emotions’, so as to perform the self in ways that were not ‘too serious’ (Lucian, trans. 1961). Just as

⁸ See section 7.5.2 below for further discussion of this comment.

happiness is produced through training the model body in contemporary times, so too were hetairae bodies inscribed as happy through careful training of the body in ancient Greek times.

Young girls in the focus groups appeared to know about how to properly embody happiness as a set of postures. They indicated that ‘natural’ happiness was something that was achieved ‘unnaturally’ by the model: “Um some poses like they look like they’re having fun” (FG2: 1531). They particularly highlighted the degree to which happiness was achieved as a type of bodily labour, a labour of the self as embodied:

Jill: Most of them like in Dolly they’re like (leans in towards V, hangs her arm over V’s shoulder and smiles with her mouth open)

Victoria: Yeah they hafta pretend like they’re not pissed off.

Jill: Like they’re [having fun n stuff].

Victoria: Yeah.

Jill: They hold these poses like they’ve probly been posing like that for like an hour doing your hair n stuff.

Victoria: Cos they take the pictures like run up the end and they’re like still happy.

Jill: Yeah sometimes they’re like all happy but like in the end they’re like (sitting down puts her hands at her sides and shifts her right shoulder to the front and puts a serious, non-smiling face on) and they’re hair looks like crap.

Researcher: So serious sort’ve.

Jill: Yeah, yeah.

Victoria: Yeah like that.

Jill: Depends like what they’re in.

Victoria: And like all happy.

Stacey: They’re all like happy like come and jist skipped round the block.

Tracey: Yeah (giggles) (FG1: 704-721).

Clare: In like the younger girls magazines the poses they do they’re like-

Alison: Usually tiddly-

Clare: Usually more natural like having fun.

Alessandra: Yeah (FG3: 1533-1536).

The notion that the model has to ‘pretend’ and perform happiness in ways that are ‘not pissed off’ implies that the model does the happy self as unnaturally natural. It infers that the happy self is here produced as a *stylized repetition of acts* (Butler, 1990a), as a performance of what it means to do happiness properly. These understandings were reflected also in the modelling course: “Sometimes it’s much harder to act happy than it

is to act serious on the catwalk”. The notion of happiness, typically described as a spontaneous ‘emotion’ or ‘feeling’, is here performed using the body. The naturalness of happiness is entirely contrived and unnatural in relaxed ways. Postures and movements, that are discursively aligned with ideas about proper happiness, are applied to the body and, hence, shape and inscribe the happy model self as embodied.

7.5 STOMPINESS

It would appear from the empirical data that an important part of being properly ‘model-like’ is being stomp. Throughout the transcripts of focus groups and the observational data, the bodily movements of the model were situated and inscribed as ‘stomp’.

Stompiness emerges as a discursive rule of propriety for enacting proper model-ness: the movements of the model need to be stomp to look properly model-like. Paris Hilton, for example, is derided for her inability to properly do the model catwalk: “Paris Hilton needs to learn how to walk properly...for one, because it looks like she’s got chafing and she needs ointment” (FG3: 33-36). Stompiness, however, not only implies a particular type of shaping and re-shaping of bodily comportment. In the observational data in particular, stompiness is aligned with a particular type of *self as embodied*. A discursive knowledge of what it means to be stomp is applied as a *regime of bodily practices* and movements and as *a set of attitudes*.

7.5.1 ‘They walk differently to as you would if you were like walking in a shopping centre’: The stomp model catwalk

Emerging from the empirical data are a raft of different ways in which the fashion model catwalk is characterized as stomp. Stompiness emerges as a requirement of properly embodying the model ‘catwalk’. The model catwalk was described in focus groups as “jutting” (FG1: 107), “bouncy” (FG1: 161; FG2: 547; FG3: 60), “jolty” (FG3: 326), “jerky” (FG3: 387) and “really weird” (FG1: 158): “They don’t walk like normal people they deliberately flounce and strut when they walk” (FG3: 57-58, 521-523). The participants state that this ‘bouncing’, ‘flouncing’, ‘strutting’ and ‘stomping’ is due to how the models “press down really hard (sitting in chair stomps feet left and right, heel to toe)” (FG3: 70-71). This pressing down really hard is identified as the source of ‘stompiness’: “they really like stomp (sitting in chair, stomps her feet heel to toe alternating)” (FG3: 65). The participants indicate that they have come to know in detail about how to enact and re-enact the stomp as they *fleshed out* the movements of ‘stompiness’ using their own bodies:

Alessandra: And they let down really hard with their heels so they lurch forward (sitting in chair, steps sharply on floor heel to toe and jerks her

upper body and chest area forward sharply, makes her hair flick forward into her face).

Alison: Their hips and their hips really kind've go from side to side (puts her hands up in front of her parallel and swings them from side to side staying the same distance apart, about two feet).

Marty: From side to side yeah like you know instead of walking normally they you know make everything bigger so they walk really hard rather than just normally.

Alessandra: Exactly (FG3: 95-104).

These participants it seems have come to know about stompiness in very precise detail. They know how to move the parts of the body so as to embody stompiness. More importantly, their knowledge of this emerges as scrupulous to the point that they know about the propriety involved in properly embodying stompiness. The young girls demonstrate an understanding of how all these different movements need to be embodied in a systematic manner. It is not simply a matter of randomly enacting different moves of stompiness. There is a methodical and orderly way of applying these movements to the model body that enables the model to appear properly stompiness. For example, the young girls demonstrate a clear idea about how walking 'heel to toe' is important for appearing stompiness. For the model to embody proper stompiness, however, she must also 'put one foot in front of the other', which then causes her to 'sway her hips', which then enables her to achieve the 'flick'. Just as the *hypoparthenos* hetairae were instructed systematically in the arts of eroticism, the hetaira 'swagger', and dance or 'swaying about' (Alciphron, trans. n.d.), so too have young girls come to know about the proprieties required of executing model stompiness.

The expertness of the focus group participants at enacting model stompiness is indicated in how their performance parallels stompiness demonstrated by the modelling pedagogue. Stompiness was instructed in the modelling course as a way of modelling particular types of clothes, for example, business wear and 'street' styled clothing like 'punk' and 'gothic': "You really hafta alter your whole walking style depending on what you're wearing". Stompiness appears to be a 'specialised' form of the model catwalk, where the model aims to make every part of the model catwalk 'much bigger'. Not only this, the stompiness model catwalk should also be 'speedier' and 'sharper', even 'blunt':

Student: Should it be a bit more blunt?

Teacher: Yes much sharper

The stomp model catwalk, then, is discursively constituted as stomp through the bluntness and sharpness of the movements of the body. The bodily movements were scrutinized meticulously by the modelling pedagogue, particularly those movements that were considered too stomp:

One novice stops at the end of the catwalk and puts both of her hands on her hips. The teacher tells her that she has not got enough attitude to do this. “You really need full on attitude or it will look funny”.

It appears, then, that there are various levels of stompiness that a model can achieve through the manipulation of the movements, angles and postures of her body. This, however, must be achieved very precisely. The stomp attitudes must align with the ‘sharpness’ and ‘bluntness’ of the stomp bodily movements. Stompiness emerges as an attitude that may be performed as thoroughly embodied.

7.5.2 ‘With a bit of ‘tude’: The stomp model self

The stomp model catwalk is fully achieved and enacted only when the model is able to also enact a range of stomp attitudes. The model needs to perform stompiness not only as a form of bodily conduct but as a way of performing the self as embodied: “Do it but like with attitude”. The central stomp attitude discussed in the modelling classroom included ‘seriousness’. The way the model performed seriousness was a focus of discussion in the focus groups. The model was described as “haughty” (FG3: 645), “up themselves” (FG1:130) and “spoilt in the general sense” (FG1: 136), and more commonly as ‘not happy’ and “stressed” (FG1: 206): “They didn’t (2.0) look that happy. They looked really serious” (FG1: 204). The young girls made these comments about catwalk models in particular:

Clare: They’re like when they’re walking along they like don’t smile. They’ve jist got blank expressions.

Alessandra: With a cold face.

Clare: Like they’re really bored and they don’t wanna be there.

Marty: Yeah but that’s boring to watch because some of them like slightly smile and that’s like oh yeah that’s- that’s kind’ve nicer than (puts on a ‘bored’ face – no smile, wide opened eyes, mouth opened slightly, and tongue sticking out) (FG3: 287-293).

This, in combination with how models “always look straight ahead” (FG3: 231), lead the girls to conclude that models “don’t care who’s around” (FG3: 232). The model it seems performs seriousness in a way that is disengaged and distanced interpersonally from the young girls and the audience.⁹ This seriousness was attributed mainly to the ‘nature’ of modelling work as characteristically ‘boring’ and ‘rushed’. However, one participant suggested that this is typical of how the self is embodied by the fashion model and that this is linked with the work of the model: “I don’t even think they have a personality. Most of them don’t have a personality ‘cos they do what their agent tells them to do or what would promote the like the clothes themselves” (FG1: 616-618). Stompiness is achieved as a technology of the self: practices “which permit individuals to effect by their own means...a certain number of operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves” (Foucault, 1988b, p. 18). This parallels the work on the self that the hetaira did in ancient Greece. The hetaira must be able to perform a certain form of stompiness. For example, an hetaira may play ‘hard-to-get’ and enact jealousy to lure the affections of a wayward client. At the same time, however, it is important for an hetaira to project a happy ‘personality’, for example, rather than ‘no personality’, so as to attract the eye of prospective clientele.

The novice models were encouraged to do and perform stompiness in a self-aware manner (Foucault, 1988b). They were instructed to visualise and ‘really think’ about how they might look ‘serious’ when doing the catwalk: “Show me sharp, serious!” The focus in this exercise was to think about something that would support the pupils in achieving proper seriousness: “Imagine a person that you really, really hate standing at the end of the catwalk”. An important part of being properly stompy was thinking in a particular way. This was thought to then enable the novice to better embody the serious catwalk: “You gotta get into a mindset, put serious make-up on, get into a mood”. The novice model was also encouraged to think in line with particular discursive ideas about what it meant to look serious: “Think busy, think high power. You’re the CEO of a company. You’ve got a phone in each ear. You’re closing a huge deal for the company.

⁹ Magazine models were praised for not being serious like catwalk models and ‘engaging’ with the readers by ‘looking right at the people’ (FG1: 292) and ‘smiling’ (FG1: 328; FG2: 1442-1445; FG3: 1476).

You're on top of the world". In line with the bodily work of hetairae in ancient Greece, stompiness here constitutes a way of governing the self as stompily embodied. The stompily self is constituted through and with the bodily conduct of the model. Novice models are encouraged to conduct the conduct of the self as stompily, as were novice hetairae in premodern times.

Performing this stompiness in a way that is enduring, convincing and, most importantly, properly serious, was of paramount importance in the modelling classroom. The modelling teacher ensures that no-body is un-stompily: "Don't let your left arm swing so much for serious corporate. It looks too happy". The notion that a certain swing of the left arm might be construed as 'happy' as opposed to 'serious' indicates the importance of doing stompily properly. It also indicates the degree of precision required to properly embody stompiness. The very angles and refined movements of the body are constituted in line with discursive ideas about what it means to be properly serious and how this is to be achieved effectively. More importantly, the performance of proper stompiness requires a regime of bodily conduct that shapes the self from without and within as properly stompily: "It's not only about changing your face with a scowl, but your whole body should change too". A serious attitude and, hence, a stompily model self, then, is only properly performed with the whole body. The body is thoroughly trained and modified through the acquisition of a set of skills as well as a set of attitudes (Foucault, 1988b).

7.6 GRACEFULNESS

Gracefulness it seems is imperative to properly embodying 'model-ness'. The notion of grace permeated both the discussions of models in focus groups and the modelling course. Being properly graceful constitutes a central focus of training to be a fashion model. Rules guide young female novices about how to properly embody model grace. Model gracefulness is specifically aligned with a very specific female body shape, one that conforms to Westernised discursive understandings about femininity. A discursive knowledge about what it means to be graceful is applied to the bodies of novice models in order to shape them as appropriately graceful (Grosz, 1994). Similarly to stompiness,

gracefulness is aligned not only with particular forms of bodily conduct but also with a certain way of performing the graceful model self as embodied.

7.6.1 The graceful model body

It is primarily the model body that is discursively inscribed in terms of gracefulness. The central aim of instruction in the modelling course is to instruct the novice body in such a way that it performs and moves gracefully. Understanding how to embody grace properly was something that novice models needed to be able to enact efficiently through and with the body. To properly embody gracefulness implied that the female body itself was required to achieve a certain 'look'. Just as the hetaira discursively inscribed and worked on the body to produce it as properly feminine, so to does the model align her 'look' with dominant Westernised ideas about the ideal feminine body. Mainstream discursive ideas about properly embodying femininity informed the ways in which gracefulness was applied to the bodies of the young female novices. The novice model bodies were carefully shaped and reshaped as graceful and feminine. The discourse of ideal femininity also informed the ideas of the focus group participants in how they talked about the graceful model body.

Embodying delicateness as an imperative of model grace

According to focus group participants, the graceful and feminine body of the model had to primarily be delicate. The young girls perceived a delicate body as an imperative of properly achieving model grace. In their descriptions of the graceful model body, the girls draw on a very precise discourse about what it means to embody a properly or 'ideally' feminine body in Western culture:

Clare: You jist like, they'd probly be like at the gym every single day jist like trying to keep the figures that they have.

Alison: Yeah.

Alessandra: See I wouldn't think they'd be at the gym cos none of them look toned.

Marty: No they wouldn't want to look toned.

Alessandra: No they'd jist be doing like yoga-

Clare: Yeah.

Alessandra: Or aerobics, nothing too strenuous but still gives results.

Alison: They wouldn't look-, it wouldn't be the same if they were all muscly.

Alessandra: Nothing that'll give them a six pack kinda thing.
 All: Yeah.
 Alison: They want flat, smooth stomachs. They wouldn't want a butch looking lady.
 Alessandra: Like if they had a six pack yeah.
 Clare: They wanna look beautiful and pretty not butch.
 (All laugh)
 Alessandra: They wanna look delicate-
 Marty: [Yeah graceful]
 Alessandra: [They wanna] have a nice smooth stomach with perfect waist not kind've muscly-
 Alessandra: With the nipped in waist not the yeah (FG3: 783-802).

Susan: Um, I've never really heard of a model doing exercise.
 Michelle: Yeah [they wouldn't really do very much]
 Susan: *[They jist go up and down the catwalk]*
 Michelle: Yeah they weren't really-
 Lucy: Yeah if they do too much exercise they get too much muscles and they sorta look fat.
 Susan: Yeah I think that's right.
 Lucy: All models usually look really weak.
 Susan: Yeah that's why they're models 'cos they haven't got any muscles like Lillian (FG2: 1153-1161).

These discussions indicate the precise dimensions and shape of the model body as a graceful body. Gracefulness is described as an embodied imperative for the model. The model body is shaped as a delicate body, a body that has been sculpted and re-sculpted in line with discursive ideas about what it means to be graceful. The notion that the ideal feminine body has specific proportions is also reflected in historical texts discussing hetairae in ancient Greece. Ironically, however, it is the hetairae with "skinny legs" (Lucian, trans. 1961, p. 369) that constitutes the source of ridicule in these texts.

More importantly, the talk of the young girls does a particular type of discursive and cultural work: it materially constitutes the feminine model body as an object of which they speak (Foucault, 1972). 'Smoothness', 'flatness', 'delicateness', and 'grace' are contrasted with 'strenuousness', 'muscled-ness', 'toned-ness' and 'six packs'. The model body is *fleshed out* in terms of specific dimensions and shapes. The participants indicate that they have come to know very clearly about the proper dimensions of a

delicate and, hence, graceful female body, a female body revered in Western culture for its shape and proportions. In this way, their talk is indicative of Austins' (1975) notion of the speech act: the young girls not only speak about the model body as graceful; they do the body as a discursive, material object. Just as the discourse of influence constitutes the model body as a 'bad' influence, for example, so too do the participants compose the graceful model body and *speak* it into corporeal existence.

Gracefulness was primarily instructed by the body of the modelling pedagogue in the modelling course. Like the hetaira in ancient Greece, when instructing novices about how to be graceful, the body of the modelling pedagogue exemplified a fundamental pedagogical tool. The teacher enacted grace as a matter of necessity in the modelling classes. She embodied the spectacular exemplar of model grace, an authoritative discursive text of how to properly embody gracefulness. She always stood in position one with 'good' posture; she did dance classes to improve her catwalking technique (something that is recommended to all model apprentices); 'smoothness' (smooth hair, smooth skin, smooth stomach) and 'delicateness' (delicate fingers, delicate wrists, delicate figure, delicate movements) inscribed the model body as graceful. The body of the modelling teacher could be read a discursive text of how to do 'model grace'. She demonstrated and postured what it means to know about how to work on the female body and achieve the physical dimensions and shape aligned with model grace that the participants defined above. Her body teaches girls a lesson about how to do work on and sculpt the body in ways that make it possible to achieve requisite gracefulness.

'Don't try something that feels unco': Doing the model body as graceful

While the dimensions and shape of the model body may be marked as graceful, the most indicative aspect of properly enacting gracefulness was bodily conduct. To be appropriately graceful requires more than a suitably feminine shape. The ways that this body is made to move is also of paramount importance in properly performing gracefulness. For example, novice models are warned against moving their bodies in a way that does not feel 'right': "Don't try something that feels unco". They were instructed about: how to sit so as to avoid 'spider veins'; how to get out of a car without

‘showing your knickers’; and how to walk down a set of stairs so that you do not look and sound ‘clunky’. They were even shown how to do a ‘toast’ at a dinner party in a way that was properly ‘graceful’: “We don’t chink okay, it’s very blaargh. You aren’t supposed to chink you’re glasses”. There appears to be a certain form of bodily discipline implied in achieving this which indicates that the model body may be trained as graceful. There are very clear rules that specify what kinds of bodily movements and postures count as truth (Foucault, 1984) about the appropriate techniques for doing gracefulness.

Foucault’s notion of the conduct of conduct informed how the novice model was to move and conduct her-self as graceful. The novice model is also trained to conduct the conduct of their bodies in scrupulous detail. Reminiscent of the training the novice hetaira in ancient Greece, every aspect of the conduct of the body is made subject to scrutiny in terms of being properly polite and courteous and, as such, graceful. The notion of public display was a central way of demonstrating the importance of this conducting of conduct:

You NEVER KNOW when you are going to meet a potential client. You are always on show. Always look like a model: hair manicure pedicure, etc. All hair and make-up must be done. You have no choice. You won’t be booked for your personality. You will be booked because you look good.

This was particularly indicated in one point that was emphasised in a number of classes: “Be careful with what you’re wearing and with what you do with your legs. If you’re wearing a skirt, keep everything together”. This statement was made by the modelling teacher when she was instructing pupils about how best to dress for their first photo shoot. The teacher suggests that it is okay to wear a skirt but that it is important to then think about how they pose with the skirt so as not to expose themselves to the camera. This again suggests an infinite and scrupulous form of bodily training that shapes and reshapes the model body as graceful. There are certain ways that the body must be properly disciplined (Foucault, 1977a) in order to do grace correctly. The model body constitutes a discursive project of gracefulness, with model grace being fashioned and refashioned according to different modelling contexts. Novice models are instructed

about how doing grace properly means not making a spectacle of femininity (Russo, 1995).

Gracefulness permeated most aspects of the model catwalk as well. In line with stompiness, gracefulness was mainly instructed as a type of attitude that a model enacted when modelling specific styles of clothing. For example, for wedding attire and formal wear, the novice models were told continually to “Slow down, turns should be much slower”, “Okay we’re formalising so slow down”, “Slow down”, “Slow down, we’re doing formal wear!”. However, it was taken for granted that female novices would also need to inform their catwalk technique more generally in terms of understandings of grace. This is made very clear in how all model novices are encouraged to go to dance classes so as to do work on the gracefulness of the movements of their bodies as they do the catwalk. Male novice models, however, are told that they have “gotta look manly about it”.

The body was comported very precisely in a graceful manner. Gracefulness is performed meticulously: the angles and movements all work to constitute the model body as graceful. The precision required to do the ‘softness’ of the model catwalk as properly graceful can be summed up in a comment from the modelling teacher in one of the classes: “You want to float up and down the stairs: no running, no jumping”. ‘Floatiness’ was highlighted in every movement of the catwalk: pace: “You’re walking just a little bit fast”; and movements: “Just sort’ve smooth it out, walk into it, don’t sort’ve twist”. Doing ‘floatiness’ requires: using ‘light feet’; swivelling on the balls of the feet to make the turns ‘smooth’; allowing the arms and the hips to sway ‘naturally’; and movements such as putting the hands on the hips should not be ‘blunt’ but ‘flowing’ and, most importantly, ‘subtle’. All of these aspects inscribed the model catwalk as properly graceful.

7.6.2 ‘Always be nice’: Performing the graceful model self

Although gracefulness was imparted to young novice models as a form of bodily conduct, these practices also did particular types of cultural work to shape the model self

as graceful. The central imperative for the graceful model was *being nice*. Niceness was instructed to young girls as a regime of practices that worked on the self as embodied. Rules about properly nice self-conduct were imparted as a matter of necessity to young female apprentices. To do work on the self as a graceful model meant to shape and perform appearance and behaviour in line with notions of femininity and gracefulness.

'Lovely, lovely, lovely': niceness as an embodied pedagogical achievement

Looking nice was carefully instructed in the modelling classroom. The modelling teacher would train the modelling novices about how best to embody niceness. Being well presented, and looking and sounding 'lovely' were the most important aspects of this. In addition to skills of proper social etiquette, model apprentices were taught skills of speaking properly and were taught how to 'breathe properly' through the diaphragm: "This is where you should talk from all the time". Disciplining the body in this way then enabled the novice model to speak properly; that is, to speak 'nicely'.

Despite the focus on speaking properly, however, the models were encouraged only to 'speak when spoken to' or to only speak for a casting for television work. Other than at these points, the model was generally expected to stay quiet, as this was aligned with politeness. The focus group participants suggested that this was something that models train for: "They PRACTISE staring at the wall and not talking to anyone" (FG2: 1219). The novice models were told continually that it was not their place to 'speak' but to only 'appear': "They're trying to sell the garment, not you so take the attention away from your face". This is particularly demonstrated in the notion that the models 'never question' anyone that is giving them directions in a shoot: "If he [the photographer] tells you to do something and it feels really weird, just do it – he is the photographer, he knows best".

The focus group participants certainly confirmed the importance of models being mute. They stated that models never talk on the catwalk and that they would not be allowed to because "they're not there to talk" (FG1: 216): "It's more about the clothes than about

the models. Like they don't, they don't want to sell the models they wanna sell the clothes" (FG2: 788-789). In fact, the notion of the 'mute' self was encouraged in the modelling classes, particularly as an imperative for properly doing the graceful model self as embodied: "Muteness indicates a softness". Doing mute meant being soft and, hence, being appropriately graceful/feminine/nice. Femininity and gracefulness was instructed to model novices through bodily practices that trained the notion of muteness and being quietly spoken. The voice of the novice model is made the object of certain forms of constraint to do muteness properly. Interestingly, this idea is unlike the training of novice hetairae in ancient Greece. To be fluent in the art of 'good conversation' was imperative for young *hypoparthenos* hetairae (Athenaeus, trans. 1937). This conversation, however, was to always be polite and feminine. For example, the nubile hetairae Corinna was instructed by her mother Crobyle that a successful hetaira does not "cackle" (Lucian, trans. 1915, p. 391) and "doesn't talk too much" (p. 393), as this renders conversation unfeminine, impolite, and "coarse" (ibid, p. 393).

'Good' grooming was also imperative for the model if she was to look and, hence, be nice. 'Good' grooming was about "looking good from top to toe" and avoiding aspects of grooming that may be considered bad and offensive (see Appendix Eight, p. 372 for observation notes describing 'good' grooming). The appearance of niceness requires detailed work on and with the body of the model. Good grooming is particularly instructed in contrast with bad grooming:

The teacher asks the students: "What is the first thing that turns you off about a person when you see them enter a room?" The teacher then lists the ideas on the white board: scruffy clothes, dreadlocks, facial expression, smell, bad breath, the way they walk (walking with confidence is better), dry scaly skin.

These examples of bad grooming serve as a mode of instructing how *not* to do good grooming. The novice model was even told to be aware of how the clothes 'mark' their bodies in ways that are not appealing: "Make sure you wear clothes that don't leave marks on your body". An awareness of the notion of the visible panty line (VPL) was very important for novice models: "G-strings only girls, nothing worse than a VPL". All

of these types of work must be diligently applied to the body if novice models are going to perform niceness properly.

Being properly nice also implied pleasantness. The graceful model must do pleasantness as a requirement of good niceness. The notion of being pleasant was particularly emphasised in the training that the novice models did for ‘after five wear’ and ‘wedding attire’. It was essential that if the model was to properly model these styles of clothing, she ought to be able to perform pleasantness as a rule for proper self-conduct. When instructing novice models about the ‘do’s and don’ts’ of modelling wedding attire, the pupils ask the teacher if they are to be serious, as they do for corporate wear for example. The teacher shouts at them “NO! You must be pleasant”. Pleasantness can be properly achieved only when the pupils attain a particular mindset, as was the case with stompiness. The properly pleasant fashion model was a model who could effectively achieve a ‘lovely princess’ mindset: “Think lovely, think ‘I’m a princess’”; “Pretend you’re a princess”. These practices and ‘mindsets’ shape the properly pleasant self as embodied: “When you are pleasant, you are slow, think princess, think dreamy”. Gracefulness may be achieved by young female novices, then, in a pedagogical manner through work on and with the body as inscribed femininity. Just as the novice hetaira in ancient Greece once learned about how to do ‘sweetness’ as an imperative of being a successful hetaira, young girls in contemporary times learn how to do, as well as how *not* to do pleasantness as a proper performance of the graceful self.

7.6.3 ‘They accentuate like all their best features’: Embodying the desirable self

Of particular importance in being graceful was being seductive and desirable. The fashion model needed to be able to perform desire in order to seduce the eye of the audience. The desirable model self, carefully trained to do gracefulness in certain ways, was considered an important asset in the consumer market. Novice models were trained in thorough detail about how to properly embody the desirable model self. This was also an imperative for for hetairae in ancient Greek times, with young female novices being meticulously instructed about how to be ‘tricky’ or ‘sexually adept’ (Henry, 1985). Just as novice hetairae were instructed about techniques that may be used to ‘lure the

coin' (Athenaeus, trans. 1937), novice models in contemporary times were instructed to wear 'clothes that show your body off', particularly in castings, so as to attract the eyes of the client to their 'best features'. They were told to use their bodies as objects of desire to secure more work through the modelling agency. Even the focus group participants noted how the models used "sex to sell" (FG3: 1646) different products. In parallel with the hetaira in ancient Greece, the desirable self was not about an inner heat or drive but rather about a very scrupulous bodily discipline that was applied systematically to the different parts of the body:

Alessandra: They always wore a straight face.

Marty: Yeah straight face.

Alison: Yeah pretty plain.

Marty: Yeah because sometimes they kinda do like a half smile.

Clare: There was like this (closed mouth, very slight smile) but kinda sexy kinda thing.

Alessandra: Like very coy type a thing. Like coy.

...

Alison: Yeah sometimes they pout too.

Alessandra: But if they smile when they walk they might look down.

Clare: Its jst like they're trying ta look sexy to sell the clothes.

Marty: Yeah.

Alison: That's what they're doin.

Marty: Human closet (FG3: 653-670).

As with stompiness, the rules for properly performing this embodied discipline of desire on the catwalk were instructed didactically using the body of the modelling teacher (Gallop, 1982). She teaches girls a lesson in an embodied way about how the pupils were to stand and move on the catwalk to appear properly desirable.

Walking on line is turned into walking either side of a line so that the hips sway even more; the movements of the teachers body are very fluid but at the same time she stomps a bit in order to enact seduction as a 'full on' attitude; her face is 'serious', her chin is tilted slightly down towards her chest and her eyes are firmly focused on the mirror in front of her; her lips are slightly parted and pouty; no smiling; the pace of the walk is slower than usual.

One of the key movements in properly enacting notions of seduction, the chin tilt, highlights the precise angles required of properly achieving desire. Novice models were instructed scrupulously about how to achieve a detailed embodiment of model desire. For example, they were taught to 'mouth' the word 'pudding' to make the pupils lips

protrude and “look pouty” for photo shoots. Made apparent here is a very different understanding of desire and seduction. Missing here is the modernist understanding of desire as necessarily something you feel rather than something that can be enacted and postured (Cryle, 1994). In the modelling classroom, desire is not something that is inflamed in the modelling pupils. On the contrary, desire is very carefully and meticulously postured and enacted: *seduction and desire were done on and with the body* of the model. They represent a particular type of discursive knowledge that can be used to shape and reshape the body of the model in line with historically specific understandings of desire. Discursive ideas about what it means to be seductive and desirable are pedagogically instructed and applied to the body of the novice models as a regime of bodily practices. As did the body of the elite hetaira in ancient Greece, the body of the modelling pedagogue instructs as *some body* (Ungar, 1982); a spectacular body of knowledge that performs what it means to be appropriately seductive. Despite the importance of moves such as the ‘chin tilt’ in constituting the desirable model self, the far more skilled model attracted the visual attentions of the audience only to her body. If a model was to attract attention to her face instead of her body, she would be doing desire incorrectly. The aim of the model is to quite literally embody the desirable self on the catwalk without using her face. This was discussed in focus groups, with the young girls arguing that the model was not allowed to smile:

Susan: They don't smile much *only a few people smile.*

Lillian: Yeah

Michelle: They're probly too nervous.

Lucy: No they don't make them smile cos they look prettier.

Lillian: Yeah. It makes them prettier.

Susan: No but if they smile it sort've draws attention away from the um from the clothes.

Michelle: Yeah.

Lillian: Yeah it could distract them.

Susan: Yeah, if, if, if, if it makes the models look prettier then they don't look at the clothes they look at the models not the clothes.

Lillian: Yeah (FG2: 838-849).

The desirable model self, it seems, is thoroughly embodied: gracefulness, niceness, floatiness, loveliness, princess-ness are all constituted with and through the self as embodied. All the attention is drawn away from the face and on to the clothes. It

appears, then, that the only way of configuring the face as desirable on the catwalk is as pouty, not smiling.

7.7 STOMPY GRACE

It appears that for the fashion model, a central imperative is to appear stomp*y* and graceful. While it is important that the model is able to move in ways that are recognisably graceful, she must also embody proper stompi*n*ess. This was particularly emphasised in the modelling classroom when the novice models were taught how to do the model catwalk. In the first instance, the modelling teacher insists that the model catwalk must be performed in terms of silence: “No running or jumping on the catwalk. Absolutely no noise on the catwalk”. Using light feet was an imperative for doing the graceful model catwalk properly, with novices advised that they must do light feet “at all times. You don’t want to sound like a bunch of elephants”. This, however, was drawn together with doing a particular degree of stompi*n*ess: “You need to put your feet down firmly heel to toe to get the ‘attitude’”. This ‘firm footed-ness’, according to the modelling teacher, is what “helps with the hip swaying”. It appears here that stompi*n*ess and gracefulness *cohabit* in the body of the model. By performing the catwalk with feet that are both light and firm, the model body is constituted as properly stomp*y* and graceful. The model is required to achieve ‘softness’ and ‘hardness’ in order to properly perform the model catwalk.

Stomp*y* grace is also reflected in the model self as embodied. Novice models are repeatedly told by the modelling pedagogue that they must be able to do certain types of attitudes simultaneously. For example, the models are required to do ‘seriousness’ and ‘stompi*n*ess’ whilst at the same time doing ‘delicateness’ and femininity. To be properly model-like, then, implies that the model must do stomp*y* grace as a form of conduct of self-conduct.

Interestingly, this parallels the self-conduct of the hetaira in ancient Greek times, who also appears to have embodied stomp*y* grace. The successful hetaira was able to concurrently perform ‘seriousness’ and feminine grace. For example, when an hetaira

enacted the trick of ‘stompy’ jealousy to again ensnare the affections of an errant companion, she appears to have also embodied feminine grace and ‘coyness’ as part of this performance. Both the model and the hetaira, then, appear to have mastered the art of doing stompy grace as a form of self-conduct.

Similar understandings were reflected in the ways that model body was talked about in the focus groups. The distinction between grace and stompy is blurred in how they talk about the model body as both ‘smooth’ and ‘not soft’. Alessandra, for example, described the ‘not soft’ movements of the model body as “really joltingly” (FG3: 326). This is described further in the following ways:

Marty: Yeah it’s very jolty, like jerky, like everything they do is really jerky.

Alessandra: *[Nothings soft about them].*

Marty: [Not smooth] and nothings soft.

Alessandra: Its all bones (FG3: 387-390).

Joltiness, jerkiness, un-smoothed, and being ‘all bones’ are all different ways of doing and embodying ‘not soft’ and ‘not smooth’. Evidenced here are notions of stompiness: sharpness, bluntness and ‘firm-footed-ness’ are embodied and performed by the fashion model. The participants, Alessandra and Marty, assert clearly that this represents ‘everything they do’ as a model: they embody a particular understanding of ‘hardness’.

Later in the focus group, however, their understandings shift to ways of thinking that oppose these ideas about what it means to be ‘not soft’. In the ‘graceful’ analysis above, Marty and Alessandra discuss the gracefulness of the model body as ‘delicateness’. Marty notes that the model must be “graceful” (FG3: 799), ‘not toned’ (FG3: 787), while Alessandra states that the model must be “delicate” (798), “nice [and] smooth...not muscly” (FG3: 800-801), and have ‘no six pack’ (FG3: 792). These notions are aligned closely with ‘softness’, and clearly oppose notions of ‘hardness’ expressed earlier in the transcript. Alessandra appears to very closely hold together ideas about ‘softness/gracefulness’ and ‘hardness/stompiness’ in other areas of the transcript. At one stage, talking about the models in the video segment, she states that “none of them were toned” (FG3: 341), which implies ‘softness’, and then follows by

saying that they were “jist bone” (FG3: 343), which conversely implies ‘hardness’. Here Alessandra holds very closely together seemingly oppositional ideas about the model. The model is at one and the same time soft *and* hard, toned *and* smooth, stumpy *and* graceful. In the accounts of young girls, the model appears to embody absurdity, impossibility and inconsistency. More importantly, it appears that girls are learning, and have learned, to *read* the model body as a text of knowledge, in ironic ways. They hold binaries together in tension and work through absurdity to describe the model body and its movements.

7.8 BEAUTIFULNESS

The empirical data were saturated with notions and ideas about the ‘beautifulness’ of the fashion model. Young girls in focus groups in particular speculated at length about what made the model beautiful and how beautifulness was performed properly. Beautifulness was something that was required of the model, and the young girls in the focus groups in particular demonstrated an awareness of how this beautifulness was to be achieved and sustained: “Not many models are mothers...Yeah ‘cos they get stretch marks ((points to her hips))” (FG1: 597-600). Being model beautiful was closely associated with a particular type of ‘orderly’ bodily appearance and conduct. This is particularly indicated in a comment from Jill, one of the focus groups participants: “Usually when you think of them being pretty you don’t exactly want them like really fat either” (FG1: 358-359). Prettiness is here closely aligned with a particular type of normalised physical shape and appearance; that is, not fat. Young girls show that they have learned about the ‘shape’ and ‘measurements’ of how to properly embody feminine beauty and prettiness by reading the ‘beautiful’ model body as a discursive text of knowledge. The model body performs and enacts the ‘appropriate’ dimensions and shape of being properly beautiful in Western culture.

7.8.1 The embodiment of proper beauty

It seems that there are very precise ways that the fashion model is to be properly beautiful. Furthermore, it appears that beauty is something properly *embodied* by the model in particular ways. Generally, the beautiful model needs to be “tall” and “gorgeous” (FG3: 25-26, 544, 642-643; FG2: 486), “really skinny and pretty” (FG1: 38; FG3: 16, 23, 224) and they need to look “usually like teenagers” (FG1: 49), be “perfect looking” (FG3: 242) and “wear make-up” (FG2: 859). A particular type of female appearance and shape appears to be of paramount importance. This shape of the beautiful model is delineated very precisely, with each part of the body described in specific ‘orderly’ terms (see Figure 7.3).

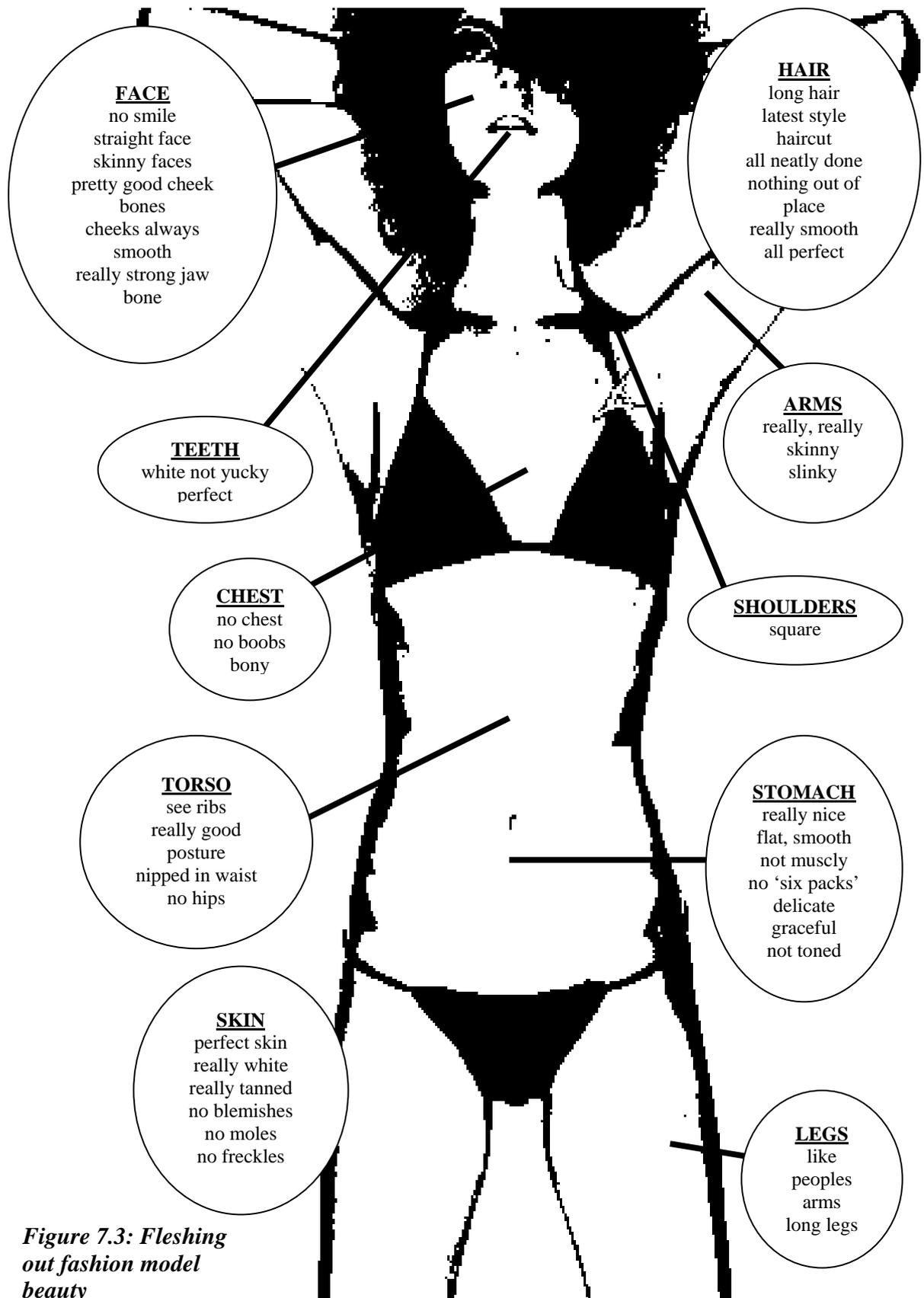


Figure 7.3: Fleshing out fashion model beauty

Through these descriptions, it is possible to glean an indication about the dimensions and ‘look’ of the beautiful model. The shape and appearance of the model body is *fleshed out* in the talk of the young girls. There also seems to be a particularly ‘orderly’ way of embodying beautifulness, for example in talk about how models would not have ‘yucky teeth’ or ‘freckles’. This is reflected in the observational data as well. For example, in explaining ‘good grooming’ to her pupils, the model teacher states that pupils “must really be careful with your nails. Try not to bite them. If you do, put some of that horrible paint on to stop it. Your hands are your showpieces!”. Indicated here is a very specific way of appearing ‘beautiful’. Very precise ways of being beautiful are also illustrated in ancient Greek discussions of hetairae. For example, the proper height of an hetaira appears to be clearly indicated in how an hetaira may be too short or too tall (Athenaeus, trans. 1937). Although there are no measurements provided in the historical texts indicating what the ideal female height would have been, the discussions clearly indicate that there were certain requirements of young girls hoping to succeed as an hetaira.

In contemporary times, this very orderly and proper way of being beautiful is further evidenced in the bodies of the modelling teachers themselves. The ‘health and nutrition’ teacher, for example, who lectured to the class on this topic only, physically embodied the knowledge that he taught about ‘good’ health, nutrition and exercise: *Teacher literally embodied health and nutrition – defined, muscles, not fat or flabby, very toned, bronzed skin, shiny ‘healthy looking’ hair, ‘good’ clear skin.* This also indicated in his language: *He demonstrates and ‘speaks’ a specialized knowledge of nutrition and used jargonistic terms to describe different aspects of health and nutrition.* This teacher embodies the discourse of ‘health and nutrition’ as the ‘law professor’ embodies the discourse of the law in the research of Barbara Kamler (1997; see Chapter Five, section 5.5.1). The teacher not only corporeally embodies health and nutrition; he *is* health and nutrition. His body is an authoritative text of knowledge about ‘good’ health and nutrition from which novice models can read and learn about what it means to properly embody this.

Paradoxically, the beautifulness of the model was aligned with not being “all that pretty like some of the supermodels you see in the like magazines and stuff and they’re like always really pretty but they weren’t like overly that that you know pretty” (FG1: 165-167). Some of the models “weren’t actually that pretty” (FG2:707) and to make them pretty “[t]hey jist like put lots of make-up on them” (709). Having a “skinny” body with “long legs” (FG2: 861) was thought to make up for a “face [that] isn’t that pretty” (860). The body in particular was perceived by the young girls to be more important than beauty: “I THINK, I think it’s not whether your face is pretty or not, it’s really your body” (FG2: 710; FG3: 253, 304). The next most important aspect was having a model “that can do the catwalk properly” (FG2: 863).

7.8.2 ‘Exactly’ beautiful: the proper dimensions of fashion model beauty

For the fashion model, it appears not only important to be beautiful but to be *beautiful in very precise ways*. It is more about being *exactly beautiful* than being generally beautiful: “There was one she was skinny but she wasn’t curvy and: like you know straight up and down so that’s not exactly beautiful” (FG3: 469). Precise and close measurement of the model body as beautiful is highlighted in the empirical data. Certain dimensions of the female model body being identified and normalised as “really boyish looking” (FG3: 1489) and “kinda guyish” (FG3: 1305) for example. The girls appeared to very closely scrutinize aspects such as the height of the model: “In the 1998 Miss World thingamyjig the tallest model was 6.8 feet” (FG2: 1203). This implies that girls have come to know about the properly beautiful model body in very meticulous ways. Discussion of Paris Hilton demonstrates that there are precise ways that a model may be considered ‘not beautiful’:

Marty: Paris is too like angular.

Alison: She doesn’t have a natural looking face like her eyes are a bit bulgy and her nose is really long.

Marty: Yeah really long. Her lips are not exactly pouty they’re jist thin and small you know (FG3: 1021-1025).

Paris Hilton’s body is made the object of a very refined gaze, with every aspect of her face being made the object of visual scrutiny. This is particularly indicated in how girls have learned how to measure Hilton’s mouth in terms of how it is not ‘exactly pouty’ for

example. Her physical characteristics are carefully measured by the young girls as ‘not beautiful’ because she is ‘too angular’, ‘too bulgy’, ‘too long’, and ‘too thin’. Such refined measurement, it would appear, may require continual and consistent looking at Hiltons’ body, something that is evidenced elsewhere in the focus group transcripts. A discussion of model ‘teeth’ in particular indicates that the girls maintain a very careful and sustained gaze at the models:

Lillian: And, and they all well if they did smile they all would have white teeth they wouldn’t have like all yucky teeth.

Lucy: You never know.

Susan: And they wouldn’t have braces or plates.

Michelle: Yeah.

Susan: Some plates they could have-

...

Lillian: Some of them could wear plates the ones that aren’t obvious.

Lucy: Now we’re talking about plates.

Michelle: Exactly we’re talking about models wearing plates.

(All laugh)

Lillian: We don’t know cos they jist keep their mouth closed.

Michelle: Yeah.

Lillian: They might have braces they might have plates they might have not have anything.

Lucy: Maybe they jist tell all the people with braces and plates to like keep their mouth shut. But that means that braces and plates are very popular with models.

Michelle: They all have their mouth closed.

Susan: Braces sort’ve make your lips stick out.

Lillian: Yeah, yeah, yeah they got the-

Susan: So I don’t think I don’t think they would.

Lucy: Mm.

Michelle: It’s really obvious on some of them (holds her top lip out horizontally from her mouth) (FG2: 1023-1052).

This passage indicates a very close measurement of the model body in terms of proper beauty. Having ‘braces’ or ‘plates’ fitted to your teeth is considered by the participants to transgress the rules about being properly beautiful, as they ‘make your lips stick out’. This implies a scrupulous reading of the model body as a text of knowledge about how to embody and enact proper beauty. Governing the model body as beautiful would mean not wearing braces or plates on their teeth. The young girls go on to suggest that braces/plates may also be very popular with models as they always ‘keep their mouth shut’. Again, this indicates that the model body is being *read* and measured

meticulously in terms of certain dimensions of being properly beautiful. Just as novice hetaira closely read from and learned about successful hetairae bodies as fleshy, pedagogical exemplars (Lucian, trans. 1961), so too are young girls in contemporary times learning from fashion model bodies about what it means to be properly beautiful as a certain size and shape.

Some parts of the model body were measured in comparison with other parts of the model body. For example, in a discussion about how the ‘hip bones’ of the model ‘jut out’, one participant stated that “[s]ome of them are bigger than their boobs” (FG3: 385). Young girls in focus groups appear to have developed the ability to measure and identify the dimensions of a model body in comparison with a ‘normal’ female body:

Marty: And every-, But every single one of them was thin there was not one normal size girl. The curvy one even she was-

Alessandra: Tiny like their legs-

Marty: Yep.

Alessandra: They came out like only this much (makes a two inch gap between her thumb and forefinger indicating the space between the models legs/thighs).

Marty: And her thighs and her waist was like really tiny (FG3: 334-340).

...

Alessandra: Mariah Carey has like a normal figure and you see her wearing something really tiny and everyone calls her a skank but you see a model who is really stick thin, has no boobs, has no like no hips-

Alison: Nothing.

Alessandra: They wear it and they look beautiful.

Marty: Yeah.

Alessandra: I think it’s like the way we perceive different things (FG3: 882-888).

The model body is here defined in terms of certain types of ‘normal’ dimensions: “If you look at people like jst out on the streets and they don’t have that figure” (FG3: 829-830). In the first segment of transcript, Alessandra indicates that she has gazed closely enough at the model body that she can approximate the space between the models’ legs. She *fleshes out* this capacity by measuring the space between her fingers. The ‘normal’ beautiful female ‘figure’ is also fleshed out in the exposure of the body of Mariah Carey. The girls suggest that, when improperly covered with ‘really tiny’ clothing, the dimensions of Mariah Careys’ body are measured as ‘skanky’. Mariah Carey is here

situated as the female grotesque, with protruding and fleshly breasts and hips. In the same clothing, however, the model body that is ‘really stick thin, has no boobs, [and] has no hips’ are measured as ‘beautiful’. Evidenced here is an understanding of the dimensional rules for doing the beautiful model body.

This notion of ‘exactly beautiful’ is particularly reflected in young girls’ comments about specific parts of the model body. The participants had learned about how to measure the properness or appropriateness of particular parts of the model body: “I think she’s really pretty it’s jist her eyebrows don’t really suit her face as much” (FG3: 1310-1311). The beautiful model face was increasingly the focus of conversation when the participants viewed the ‘collage’ (stimulus material) of pictures of models (see Appendix Two, p. 365 for a graphic). The faces of the models (FG3: 1297-1315) were inscribed as “fat”, “very round” and “more angular”. The cheek bones of the model were gazed at meticulously and measured carefully: “She has got really, really big cheek bones...they’re like really round” (FG3: 1301-1303). It would appear that young girls have come to know intimately about the contours, dimensions, measurements and even the angles of the model body and the degree to which these angles are properly beautiful. Discussions of a picture of Lonneke Engel, a Ralph Lauren model, highlight her ‘really strong jaw line’ with “angular parts there (traces her jaw line with her forefinger)” (FG3: 1281-1282) and how this made her “really pretty” and “really gorgeous” (FG3: 1285-1290). Being exactly beautiful as a model, then, is aligned with particular bodily angles as really ‘pretty’ and ‘gorgeous’.

The novice model was encouraged to measure their own physical dimensions in terms of discursive notions about the proper dimensions of beauty. Throughout the modelling course, the modelling pedagogue reiterates the importance of ‘knowing your body’: “Make sure you know your current measurements – bust, waist and hips”; “Get to know your face in the mirror”; “The whole point is to keep looking at yourself in your mirror, keep looking, keep looking”; “You really need to get to know your hair. Talk to your hairdresser”. The body of the modelling teacher served as an example of how this measurement worked as a form of normalisation: “My thighs are too big for catwalk.

(The students look at the teachers thighs) I've always known that. You just need to find other forms of modelling that you can do". The modelling teacher demonstrates to novice models the importance of 'knowing' about the dimensions of their bodies. She highlights the importance of making the body the object of measurement so as to determine the extent to which the body may be defined as properly beautiful.

How not to be exactly beautiful

The exactness of model beauty was also highlighted in young girls' discussions of their own physical characteristics and those of other young girls, and how these were understood as demonstrating how *not* to be exactly beautiful. One girl states that "Claudia Schiffer has a mole so if I have a mole in my eyelashes it doesn't matter" (FG2: 1451-1452). This participant indicates that she has scrutinised her facial features meticulously enough to allow her to measure her appearance in line with the appearance of a model. Another participant is spoken about in terms of being 'too short':

Lillian: Yeah and none of them are like short. They're all tall.

Michelle: Yeah.

Lucy: Yes poor little Lillian.

Lillian: I can't be a model.

Susan: Lillian can't be a model (FG2: 1198-1202).

Another participant concurs stating that she "can't be a model I've got too many pimples" (FG2: 1207). Lillian is measured again in terms of how to be exactly beautiful, this time with the number of freckles and moles that she has being measured as "too many...to be a model": "They could put all this make-up on like that thick and then there's still one stuck out" (FG2: 1204-1205). Lillian's freckles and moles are deemed too numerous and too spectacular to become a model. This implies that the young girls have looked very closely at the number of freckles that models are 'allowed' to have, and that they draw on this knowledge to measure the number of Lillians' freckles. The participants demonstrate an awareness of how they have come to know about which physical dimensions and angles are normalised as 'exactly beautiful' in Western culture: "[I]t's pretty bad 'cos when you say like 'Oh you know they don't show real girls' or whatever and when they do show girls with like the huge freckles or whatever...you're like 'eeewww:'" (FG3: 1758-1762). These comments reflect a type of learning similar

to that of the novice hetaira. It is learning that happens through the normalization of ‘other’ bodies as a spectacle of transgression (Russo, 1995).

The postural elements of being exactly beautiful

The notion of how to properly *hold* beauty *posturally* is indicated as an important element in being ‘exactly beautiful’. In order to hold beauty in an embodied manner, the model is required to enact certain types of postures and to angle her body in calculated ways. Consider the following example:

Lucy: I’ve noticed one thing *none of them have double chins*

Researcher: Sorry?

Lucy: None of them have double chins.

Michelle: Maybe that’s why they don’t look down ‘cos if they look down they’ll have a double chin (FG2: 1406-1410).

Model beauty is here defined very meticulously. Being properly beautiful requires that a model does not have a double chin. The young girls have here learned about what a double chin looks like and how they do not constitute part of the beautiful model body. Even more interesting is how Michelle, in the passage above, suggests that this could explain why models do not look down “cos if they look down they’ll have a double chin”. This participant has gazed closely at and come to know about how *not* to hold or *posture* model beauty. She knows that certain types of bodily postures, and even very specific angles, enable the model to embody beauty in scrupulous ways. Throughout the modelling courses, the model pedagogue instructs young female novices about how to posture themselves in very precise ways that embody proper beauty. This is highlighted particularly in teaching about how the model catwalk was to be enacted by the pupils:

- Bend your knee a bit
- Maybe your foot a little bit closer together
- Your left shoulder is a bit higher than your right
- Move your foot in a little so it’s directly in line with mine
- Leg just together a bit
- Two legs in front, no legs to the side
- When you turn, you’re crossing your foot over too much. Make sure you put your foot right in front so that your legs are in line
- Maybe a bit too hippy (referring to hip movements)

The notion that a pupil could enact beauty in a way that was considered ‘too hippy’ would indicate that there are very precise and meticulous ways of properly enacting the beautiful model catwalk. In cases where beauty was not being correctly postured by a novice model, the teacher would approach and physically move their body so as to align the angles of this body with proper beauty. Being beautiful is instructed carefully as a regime of practices, including practices that angle the body so as to appear properly beautiful and to complement the young girls’ ‘natural line’. Again this is reminiscent of the work of producing the female body as a successful hetaira. Work is done on and with the body (such as the stick of myrtle wood used to train the novice hetaira to ‘smile’) in ways that *precisely* shape the body as appropriately beautiful.

Achieving and performing proper beauty was particularly important for novice models embarking on their first photo shoot. The model pupils were drilled continually about how to posture themselves in ways that enable them to appear properly beautiful: “The side of the face with more hair is the best profile shot. I learnt this from Alison Brahe, a Portman’s model, then I checked it for myself”. In one class, they were instructed to pick four postures from images of models in fashion magazines that would “show off your best features”. A video camera was then used to tape the pupils as they moved through their four poses as they might do in front of a camera. This was so they would produce themselves as “beautiful, confident and comfortable” when they did the photo shoot and to ‘look for any problems’ in how the students enact beauty in their postures: “I can see what looks good and when we look at it I can tell you how to fix something”. In this context, appearing comfortable and relaxed is all important and something that the pupils are told that they will have to work on to do it correctly. Being ‘beautiful, confident and comfortable’ is contrived and performed rather than something that ‘comes naturally’. Practising their ‘facials’ (facial movements) at home in front of the mirror also appears to do particular types of cultural work that discursively constitute the novice model face as ‘beautiful, confident and comfortable’. To show physically what it means to look ‘beautiful, confident and comfortable’, the teacher not only demonstrated the different postures, but also interrogated photographs of other graduate ‘model students’ that had completed their photo shoot:

Teacher: We're not picking on these people but does anyone notice anything?

Student: The hands?

Teacher: That's right, the hands. The fingers shouldn't be so open. You don't want your hands to be the focus. Your hands should be relaxed with your fingers together.

Student: The shoulders?

Teacher: That's right. If your shoulders aren't back, it's amazing how hunched you can actually look. Be really aware of that, it's very important.

By gazing at and critiquing the photographs of other pupils as spectacular exemplars of ineffectiveness, the novice models are taught a lesson about how *not* to stand and how *not* to hold the body in certain contrived ways in order to be properly beautiful in a photograph. Interestingly, although the state of being beautiful is aligned closely with 'naturalness' in the accounts of young girls (particularly in the third focus group), beauty emerges as something which requires very precise forms of sustained labour.

7.8.3 'They've probly gotta do like heaps of stuff to get, to get that pure looking': 'Doing' the proper work of beauty

The beauty routine features as an essential part of the training of beautifulness. To do beautifulness properly required the model to do very precise forms of work on and with the body as a corporeal surface. In focus groups, the participants identified that to do this successfully required certain forms of ascetic work with the body: "I bet none of them have had chocolate since they were like twelve" (FG3: 823).

Paradoxically, however, the modelling pedagogue continually emphasised the notion of 'decadence'. A 'good' beauty routine was a highly important 'habit' for young novices to develop, but it was also a form of work that they were encouraged to enjoy: "I do it very decadent – I love being decadent, lots of foam and soft creams". All novice models performed the work of beauty in the modelling classroom. The students were set up in the make-up classroom (see Figure 7.4) and performed a beauty routine under the 'watchful eye' of the teacher who repeatedly 'corrected' them with 'dragging their skin' and their use of 'light circular motions' to work on their faces. The work of beauty was particularly couched in terms of the consistent maintenance of beautiful and, most

importantly, clear skin. To do beauty meant to have clear, blemish free skin that looked ‘rested’ (“Skins cellular repair activity is at its optimum during sleep”) rather than ‘tired’. Skin needed to be well-preserved through the use of day and night moisturizers, toners, exfoliating products that ‘reveal new skin’, face masks to ‘tighten up the pores’, ‘mild’ cleansers that “don’t completely strip your skin of oil and encourage flakiness”, and ‘sunscreen’ which ‘stops sun damage’. Beautiful skin was ‘well-nourished’ through the maintenance of a ‘good’ diet (“Vitamins are essential!”) and exercise routine (“Boosts circulation and encourages blood flow, and nourishes and cleanses your skin from within”). Like the hetaira in ancient Greek times, the beauty routine here renders the model body a corporeal, fluid, discursive surface (Foucault, 1972; Kendall & Wickham, 1999): it is a body constituted through express forms of work on the skin as a material surface. The skin can be discursively ‘renewed’ and ‘revitalised’ through the different forms of bodily labour described above. It can be constituted and re-constituted in line with shifting discursive ideas about what it means to be properly beautiful.

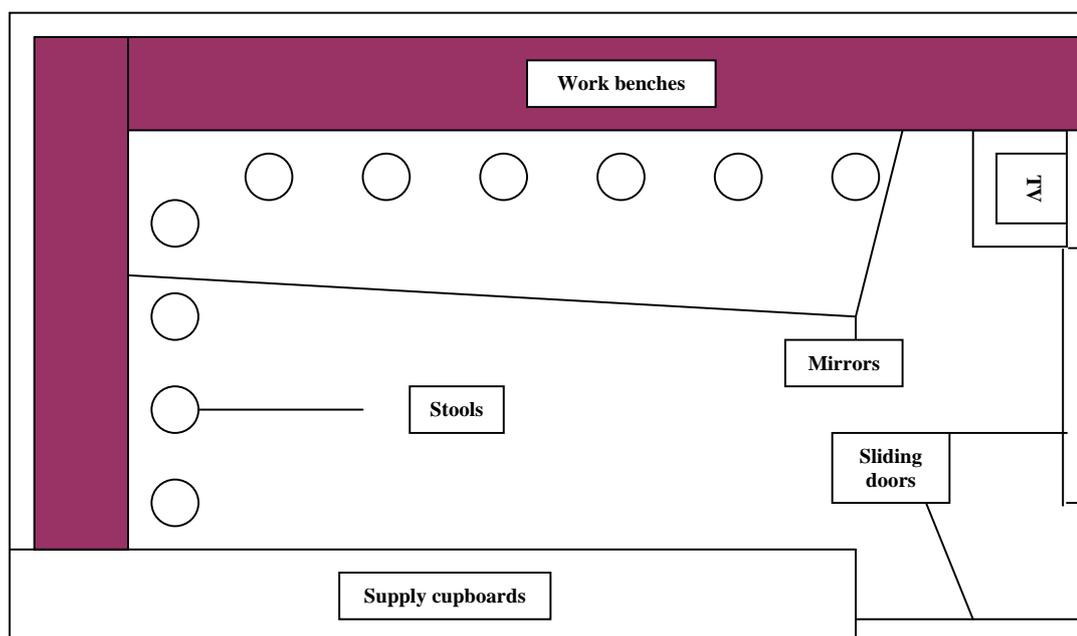


Figure 7.4: Architectural layout of the make-up classroom

Beauty was inextricably linked with discourses of ‘youthfulness’ and looking “like teenagers” (FG1: 49) but, at the same time, “not under thirteen usually” (51). The

practise of beauty was considered imperative for a model that wanted to sustain their beauty: “Clare: Yeah it’s like their job to look good so they have to, they’re paid to look good. Alessandra: They have no other life than looking good” (FG3: 773-774). Beauty was something that was *done* rather than something that was ‘inborn’: “They’ve probly gotta do heaps of stuff to get, to get that pure looking” (FG3: 772). The labour of beauty was most commonly associated with ‘taking care of their skin’ and ‘eating right’ (drinking eight glasses of water a day, ‘can’t eat junk food’, and ‘special diets’). Young girls’ accounts highlighted the importance of maintaining the look of the skin as a model:

Alison: They get a pimple, the world’s ended.
 Alessandra: Yeah, ‘You can’t be a model no more!’
 (All laugh)
 Marty: ‘I’m sorry, your career finishes here’.
 (All laugh) (FG3: 777-781).

The work of beauty was considered part of the ‘normal’ elements of being a model: “You hafta adapt to make overs” (FG3: 923). Evidenced here is how girls have come to know about the *labour of identity* (Adkins & Lury, 1999).

7.8.3 How to properly conduct the beautiful model self

The empirical data indicates that there are certain ways that the model can present a beautiful self. The beautiful model self is continually aligned with ethical modelling practices, ‘caring’ about people, and with being ‘confident’ (FG3: 82). The focus group participants made it clear that there was a difference between being confident and being haughty (FG3: 645), with haughtiness being aligned with ‘pretty’ models such as Paris Hilton and Jessica Simpson who were considered ‘dumb’ and ‘ditsy’. Emerging from young girls accounts is an understanding of how particular forms of femininity can be constituted as beautiful. That is, being properly beautiful means that the model is *not* “jist pretty on the outside” (FG3: 491). To encounter a model that is properly beautiful implies that a person may “get like that extra Woah kinda stuff” (FG3: 491-492).

The ‘caring’ model as a properly beautiful model

The ‘truly’ beautiful model cares about people and postures her-self in ways that indicate she is a philanthropist of sorts. A distinction is made in focus group three between ‘prettiness’ and ‘beautiffulness’ in this way, with the beautiful model being embodied by Angelina Jolie and Chloe Maxwell in particular (see Appendix Nine, p. 373 for young girls talk about the ‘caring’ model). These models were highly revered in the focus group transcripts for their ‘caring’ self. The participants stated blatantly that they would be more likely to *look up to* them than to look up to models that ‘just walk up and down the catwalk’. Here the model is culturally elevated as an embodying exemplary feminine beauty. Not only is she properly beautiful in her ‘absolutely stunning’ looks, she does the properly beautiful self in her capacity to work on and perform ‘caring’.

Conducting the model self as beautiful was of paramount importance in the modelling course. Three hours of the professional models course was dedicated to instructing novice models about the etiquette and manners required of a ‘good’ model. A particular type of ‘caring’ and ‘helping’ model self was considered a key resource in the modelling industry. For example, the novice models are taught very clearly the ‘rules’ for being a ‘good’ model:

- Don’t ring too regularly, only every 3-4 weeks
- If you ring someone who is really cranky, don’t take offence
- Always introduce yourself
- Always arrive 15 minutes early
- Go prepared for doing not a lot
- Be helpful – offer to carry stuff for photographers to make it easy for them. They will remember this
- No talking on set
- No mobile phones on set because it interferes with the sound
- Never go up and ask for an autograph from anyone, never EVER, EVER, EVER, EVER! Very unprofessional.
- No cameras on set either!
- Don’t get all attitude on set. You will not get any more work.
- Don’t ask when lunch is – just be patient
- If you are told to stand in the rain, then you stand in the rain!
- If the make-up artist is running late, offer to start the make-up and have the make-up artist touch it up
- If you are freezing, you never complain!

In addition with general training in social etiquette, these rules serve to shape the model from without and within as a ‘caring’ model, a model of proper kindness and helpfulness. The model is responsible for doing the work of the conduct of conduct (Gordon, 1991): she must do ‘caring’ as a *technology of the self* (Foucault, 1988b), and “guide, shape or affect” (p. 18) her conduct in ways that are appropriately beautiful. She shapes the self as caring as an imperative of good, orderly model conduct and self-governance (Foucault, 1991a). This is unlike the hetaira who performed caring as a trick to lure companionship rather than something that was done as a moral imperative for hetairae in ancient Greece.

7.9 GROTESQUENESS

Alessandra: What is up with Jessica Simpson’s hair?

Clare: She’s got a really odd face like her chin just below her teeth kind’ ve-

Marty: Eeww! Never do this at home kids.

(All laugh)

Alison: Let me see.

Marty: Do not try this at home kids.

(All laugh)

Alessandra: Eww! That’s scary to me! That’s gross.

Marty: Do not try this at home (pointing at a picture of Jessica Simpson with ‘big’, fuzzy curly hair)

Clare: Yeah I know but I still like her.

Alison: That was horrid.

Alessandra: What the hell? Hey that looks like you on a date he he he he!

Marty: Yeah it’s like you really shouldn’t, should get out of the habit of putting your finger in a light socket.

Alessandra: Yeah that’s you zzzt.

Marty: Yeah no it’s not it’s not a nice look (FG3: 1690-1706).

This discussion of Jessica Simpson epitomises how the fashion model is inscribed as grotesque.¹⁰ Terms such as ‘odd’, ‘eeww’, ‘scary’, ‘gross’, and ‘horrid’ feature frequently particularly in the focus group transcripts. Notions of grotesqueness (Russo, 1995) and negativity infused the empirical data generated for the study: “the grotesque, particularly as a bodily category, emerges as a deviation from the norm” (Russo, 1995, p.

¹⁰ The reader is asked to please note that the young girls did not specify a difference between models and celebrities, as celebrities were considered ‘models’ in the same sense: “It’s probably getting harder and harder to be a model though because people like Pepsi and Coke are using Britney Spears and Kylie Minogue. There’s no break for you to get out and be seen” (FG3: 993-995).

11). In the focus groups in particular, young girls demonstrated an understanding of how the model constituted a grotesque and, most commonly disorderly, female body. There appears little doubt that young girls have come to know about the possible negative consequences produced by engaging with the model body:

Tracey: And in Dolly they don't really put like really skinny ones in there 'cos they're telling like in Dolly people like not to go on diets like what not to do.

Researcher: Mm hm.

Tracey: So they won't put awfully skinny ones in there so people won't try to be like them (FG1: 337-341).

They demonstrated a range of discursive ways of speaking about the fashion model in terms of negativity and disorderliness. They repeatedly drew on ideas about the model drawn from medico-psychological discourses about model influence that are so diffuse in the media:

Alessandra: You start to look up to them as seeing them as beautiful like if you don't look like a supermodel then you're not beautiful...And it's stupid because only like a few people can actually look like that and stay healthy (FG3: 834-838).

Feminist discourses were also drawn on frequently, with the young girls demonstrating increasing criticism of how models conducted themselves and how they were presented in the media:

Alessandra: And they're like they count their carbs, they take a book around with them. In one of the New Weekly's they actually gave you a carb and calorie counting book.

Marty: Who can be bothered to do that I'm jist gunna eat what I want.

Alison: Exactly (FG3: 1551-1554).

Young girls here seem to have come to know a lot about the 'rightness' and 'wrongness' of doing particular types of grotesque bodily conduct ('counting carbs'). This appears to have been learned mainly from the media,¹¹ as well as expressing an understanding of how the bodily conduct of the model is used to sell products ('using sex to sell').

More importantly, however, the young girls demonstrated knowledge of *what it means* (McWilliam, 1995) to enact a particular type of grotesque bodily conduct. They readily

¹¹ Magazines, television, movies, billboards, videos were all mentioned by the focus group participants.

conceptualised the discourse of ‘danger’ discussed in existing literature associated with the model and how this may cause young people to become disordered:

Clare: Like most girls that I know they like jist use them for like clothes or if they’re wearing an interesting make up style they’ll go out and jist try that they’re not gunna try and like starve themselves but some girls do (FG3: 1581-1583).

Grotesqueness was also something that the model had to endure as part of her everyday work which was considered ‘scary’ (FG1: 583), ‘rushed’ (FG2: 364-367), and particularly ‘boring’ (FG1: 620; FG3: 250, 290) because they would be “looking at the wall” (FG2: 953). In fact, one participant concluded that being a model must be increasingly boring because “[t]hey sorta jist stare straight as if they’ve got sticky tape over their eyes and their lips” (FG2: 146-147). Another participant stated that they were generally “tired and dead looking” (FG3: 1370). The arduousness of the work of the model was closely linked with the ‘grotesqueness’ of being a model. The young girls closely link modelling work with various forms of bodily constraint and negative experiences:

Lucy: That’s the problem with being a supermodel you hafta wear these huge heels and you hafta walk n walk n walk n walk n walk.

Michelle: [Yeah.]

Lillian: [Yeah.]

Susan: *It must hurt their feet.*

Michelle: Yeah ‘cos they gotta walk everywhere.

Lucy: I’ve tried high heels that big and if I walk about a hundred metres I get tired.

(All laugh)

Susan: They’re too heavy to lift some of them (lifting her feet off the floor).

Michelle: Yeah.

Susan: You know those boots that have-

Lucy: Oh the platform shoes, the platform shoes like that-

Susan: YEAH:!

Lucy: And like that big.

Susan: Yeah they’re really heavy to lift. You can barely walk down the street.

Lillian: I know.

Lucy: They’re like walking with roller blades in the grass.

Michelle: Last year-

Lucy: They’re really uncomfortable like when you walk with roller blades in the grass (FG2: 1230-1249).

Model grotesqueness particularly took two forms: the conduct and movements of the model body as ill-disciplined and, hence grotesque and disorderly; and model skinniness and the ‘un-health’ of the model body. The young girls drew on a range of moral-ethical discourses to describe and, hence, *in*-scribe the model as grotesque in terms of the conduct of the body, pain, and other forms of constraint.

7.9.1 ‘I don’t like any of them I think they all suck’: Conducting the model body as wobbly, jiggly and strangely grotesque

The model body is inscribed in terms which may be situated as spectacularly grotesque. The ‘shiftiness’ of the model body is highlighted in comments about its ‘wiggleness’, ‘wobbliness’, and ‘jiggleness’. Each part of the model body is visually inspected in these terms:

Marty: But that’s really strange cos then if you take like a photo of it all these like fat parts in their legs because they don’t have very much fat to even it out they’ve jist got these two lines of fat on their legs and its all wobbling ‘cos they really like stomp (sitting in chair, stomps her feet heel to toe alternating) when they walk.

Alessandra: Yeah they bounce and flounce.

Clare: Yeah they do.

Marty: Everything kinda jiggles then (FG3: 62-68).

The conduct of the ‘flesh’ of the model body is here constituted as ‘shifty’ at best. This body is ‘enfleshed’ by the young girls as multiple and dis-orderly and, hence, ill-disciplined: “She’s a bit disgusting and drunk” (FG3: 1724).

The element of model bodily conduct that received the most ‘shifty’ talk was the “jiggly funny walk” (FG1: 124). The ‘strange-ness’ of the model ‘catwalk’ is particularly highlighted in the accounts of young girls. It is discursively inscribed as “all really strange” (FG3: 333): “(Points at the TV) There’s the strange walk again” (FG1: 115). ‘Weirdness’ too is aligned with this model walk:

Marty: It was really strange cos you know how [we saw]

Alessandra: [And when they] sorry-

Marty: No you can go.

Alessandra: Its weird how their bodies walk because the hips sway but the shoulders stay exactly-

All: Yeah, mm.

Alessandra: In the same place like-

Marty: Yeah it looks really strange.

Alessandra: Its like they're made in two they're split in two (draws 'square' shoulders in the air and then two straight lines as 'hips' as separate from shoulders – draws a horizontal line between them) (FG3: 421-431).

The model walk here emerges as a strange and, hence, improper way to conduct the body. It appears to be conducted in a way that represents notions of illogicality, contradiction and impossibility. This catwalk contravenes certain norms of 'walking propriety' and is situated as abnormal, shifty and grotesque: it breaches the discursive rules of 'normal' walking. This form of normalisation appears to be like that experienced by the hetaira in ancient Greece, with Anakreon scolding hetairae for 'going about swaggeringly' rather than walking 'normally'.

The face of the fashion model is also increasingly couched in similar grotesque terms.

The model face was talked about in focus groups in the following ways:

Clare: She's got a really odd face.

Alison: She's got a very square face.

Marty: Yeah.

Clare: She's got a pretty weird looking this area (points to her own chest and collar bone area).

Alison: She has screwed up teeth (FG3: 1337-1342).

Lucy: She's got one of those-

Michelle: Oh yuck!

Lucy: Those weirdo chins.

Lillian: She looks like a Barbie Doll.

Michelle: Yeah she does.

Lucy: She looks all plastic.

Michelle: Yeah.

Lucy: EW:::!

Lillian: Is that nose oil? (FG2: 1382-1390)

The face of the model is here described in grotesque terms: 'odd shaped', 'yuck', 'pretty weird', 'weirdo' and 'weird looking', and 'screwed up'. These terms were similar to those used by the modelling novices in the modelling courses. They used terms that drew on discursive ideas about what it means to be grotesque, as one girl did after she removed her make-up to do a class on photographic make-up: "My face looks like a

horror”. During the class on photographic make-up, the girls talked about how they looked ‘scary’ because of the intensity of the make-up needed for photographic modelling work: “She looks spooky – she scares me”; “I’m feeling scary looking”; “So am I”; “Now I look scary”. This form of make-up is aligned with being grotesque as opposed to be properly beautiful. The girls discursively construct their faces as grotesque because they breach certain unspoken rules about how to be properly feminine for example (Russo, 1995).

7.9.2 ‘Fleshing out’ fashion model grotesque: skinniness and ‘un-health’

Skinniness was the most predominant theme of grotesqueness produced in the focus groups and was commented on as a negative aspect of being a fashion model: the model has “gotta be really skinny” (FG2, 1228). The model was described as “really thin” (FG3: 243), “very slim” (FG3: 247) and “always skinny” (FG1: 342; FG3: 467), and almost every instance of model ‘skinniness’ encountered in magazines in the focus groups for example was described as “disgusting” (FG3: 1233; 1520). Varying degrees of skinniness were talked about in the focus groups: too skinny (FG1: 125), so skinny (FG1: 111), really skinny (FG1: 23, 38, 47, 93), super skinny (FG1: 335), awfully skinny (FG1: 340), extremely skinny (FG2: 490), and “like really, really sticky skinny thin” (FG1: 127).

Skinniness was keenly scrutinized, particularly in a visual manner, with model bodies described as “sticks” (FG1: 333; FG3: 253) and even the illustrations of model bodies in Dolly magazine being described as “always really skinny” (FG1: 347-348). This visual scrutiny emerges as perpetual, with one girl noting that “they have a few models that always are on and they’re always skinny too” (FG1: 342). The participants seemed to look at and learn from the model body about how to identify a skinny female body: “[Y]ou can see the bones always if they’re skinny” (FG1: 1622-1623; FG3: 398). The skinny model body was broken down into separate parts and described as a *spectacle of the grotesque* (Russo, 1995): no chest, ‘no boobs’, no hips, visible hip bones, small waist, ribs visible, “slinky”, “really skinny” arms which “aren’t the normal size” (FG1: 542), “toothpick legs” (FG1: 535) “the size of people’s arms” (FG1: 495), and “skinny faces”

(FG1: 439). Skinniness was *embodied* in the talk of the young girls right down to comparing the model with other ‘normal’ bodies: “Every single one of them was thin there was not one normal size girl” (FG3: 334-335). The model body was discursively inscribed as being “flat they didn’t have muscle they were jist bone” (FG3: 343). The young girls appear to visually scrutinise and calculate the model body as an ‘extreme spectacle’ (Joyrich, 1995) of grotesqueness and abnormality: “The hip bones jut out so bad you can see them through their clothes” (FG3: 378). The model body conveys a powerful pedagogical ‘lesson about lessons’: how to instruct knowledge about bodily conduct and, hence, ‘teach someone a lesson’ (Gallop, 1982) for better and worse.

The degree to which the grotesque model body ‘teaches girls a lesson’ about bodily conduct is demonstrated in the young girls’ proficiency with *fleshing out* the dimensions of this body. The gestures and bodily movements of the young girls in focus groups for example served to visually and corporeally (Kirby, 1997; Grosz, 1990) ‘flesh out’ the grotesqueness of the model body *in third dimension*. The bodies of the young girls enact the measurements and angles of the spectacular grotesque model body: “They go woo::: (traces the shape of a curvy woman’s body with a small waist in the air with her fingers!)” (FG2: 645-646). The hip bones of the skinny model attracted a lot of negative comments, particularly in terms of how they ‘jut right out’ (FG3: 265-266). Alison fleshed out the hip bones of a skinny model in this way:

They’re like straight (draws two parallel and vertical lines in the air with her fingers) and then you get these two chunks (shapes her hands as though grasping two door knobs) that jist like come out at you (jerks her head back as though she has been poked by them) (FG3: 380-383).

Other parts of the skinny and grotesque model body that are fleshed out include: the model arms and legs, with girls making a circle shape with their fingers about the size of a twenty cent piece to demonstrate this (FG2: 495-496, 543-544); model legs the size of toothpicks, illustrated by holding up the forefinger of the right hand (FG1: 545); and the small model waist, enacted by making a small circle with their hands using forefingers and thumbs (FG1: 642-643). The dimensions of the skinny model body are literally fleshed out, enacted and *done* (Butler, 1990b).

The notion of ‘every eye on me’ (McWilliam, 1995) appears to be invoked in how young girls visually scrutinise the model body in terms of its angles and shapes. Powerful instruction is made possible through a very meticulous pupil gaze (McWilliam, 1999), a gaze that isolates, interrogates and normalises (Foucault, 1977a) the different elements of the model body. They do so, it appears, in terms of a continuum of normative embodiment: at one end the “average-sized model people” (FG1: 360), and at the other end the ‘extremely skinny’ model. The differently sized “real models” (FG3: 1485-1486, 1492), the “not so skinny” (FG1: 40) or ‘average-sized model people’, were juxtaposed with the extremely skinny model. The normally-sized model emerges as an exception to the rule of ‘skinniness’ overall: “[N]ot all the models are really skinny some are not so skinny” (FG1: 40). The recent trend in young girls magazines of using ‘normal’ “real everyday girls” (FG3: 1492) and “people off the street” (FG1: 336) as models for clothing was used as a way of distinguishing the skinny models from the “normal size” models (FG1: 330): “Yeah these are normal people. They’re not like sticks” (FG1: 333). Just as Jean Brodie is *marked* as a pedagogical spectacle (Joyrich, 1995) in the film *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, so too is the fashion model constituted as a specularised (Angel, 1994) entity as an embodied exemplar of ‘grotesqueness-in-the-extreme’. This is not unlike the hetaira in ancient Greek times whose appearance was maligned as “a deviation from the norm” (Russo, 1995, p. 11) and, hence, grotesque. More importantly, this ‘deviance’ was commonly made a spectacle of to ‘teach some body a lesson’ about proper feminine behaviour (McClure, 2003).¹²

Young girls appear here to gaze very closely at and read the *body of the model as a spectacular grotesque text of knowledge* (Kamler, 1997). This body demonstrates what it means to be extremely skinny, and “really, really disgusting looking” (FG3: 1233). Learning is focused on the dimensions of the grotesque, disorderly female body and the visual spectacle this entails: “They look like if you push them over they’d break. They

¹² Laura McClure (2003) comments on the case of hetaira Phryne who was disrobed in a court room around 350 B.C. so that she may be acquitted of impiety (a charge for which she would have been sentenced to death). When Phryne’s defence ‘lawyer’, Hyperides, realised that the court was going to condemn Phryne, he took her out into the middle of the court and ripped off her clothing to the waist. Historical texts recount that the jury then acquitted Phryne on the basis that she was too beautiful to have committed the crimes of which she was charged.

look so frail” (FG3: 274). Young girls it seems have learned how to *visually measure* the dimensions of this body and its constituent parts in terms of grotesqueness: “Look she’s really skinny, her cheeks jist go bleugh (pushes her cheeks in with her fingers)” (FG2: 1380-1381). This is not unlike how the young female novice in ancient Greece may have gazed scrupulously at and read the body of the authoritative, spectacular hetaira as a body of knowledge (Stinson, 1995), with the angles of the parts of the body all important in holding desire properly in a postural manner. In this case, it is how the model ‘does’ and holds her body as grotesque that constitutes the pedagogical spectacle from which young girls learn, as attentive novices.

The participants not only know how to identify a skinny female model body. They also seem to understand what it means to embody skinniness in this way in contemporary Western culture: “You look at them and you kind’ve expect them to be healthy but they don’t look healthy” (FG3: 452-453). Drawing on moral-ethical discourses, and in particular medico-psychological approaches, they demonstrated an understanding of how these bodies are disorderly when they look a certain way, and the reasons why displaying this form of embodiment is grotesque and, more specifically, *unhealthy*. For example, the participants consistently align ‘skinniness’ with eating “nothing” (FG1: 635-637):

Researcher: What do models eat?

Tracey: Nothing.

Victoria: Nothing.

Jill: Nothing.

Researcher: Nothing?

Jill: Well it depends on if they’re bulimic or not or if they’re anorexic.

Tracey: Except for the um the- the not too skinny ones.

Jill: A whole lotta models are anorexic.

Victoria: Yeah not the not too skinny ones jist the thin ones.

Tracey: The right ones (FG1: 634-643).

In the final line of this excerpt, being ‘not too skinny’ is closely aligned with ‘rightness’, an idea that certainly saturates the medico-psychological literature about the model. Skinniness is, therefore, aligned with and constituted as ‘wrongdoing’ and ‘wrong-being’. This is further strengthened by being associated with the disordered eating behaviours displayed by anorexic and bulimic individuals. The young girls here may be

situated as lay experts on the ‘rightness’ and ‘wrongness’ of particular forms of embodiment and bodily conduct. They have come to know in detail the different discursive ways that the model body is *abnormal* in its skinniness.

The types of disorderly constraint required to shape the female body so as to achieve model ‘skinniness’ were prolific in the data. Eating disordered behaviours featured as one of the central ways in which to achieve this:

Michelle: Well they probly, they probly can’t eat much junk food if they do, they probly have special diets that they have.

Susan: Oh no:::!

Researcher: I was going ask about that actually so...

Susan: Some, some, some of them like they eat junk food and then they vomit it all up, they vomit up.

Michelle: Oh they don’t get into that.

Susan: Some models get that disease where after you eat you jist vomit it up again.

Lucy: OH YEAH THAT WAS ON THAT TV show.

Susan: Yeah um and some are anorexic that’s why they’re so skinny cos they’re, they’re-

Lucy: Yeah and if they’re really skinny I think-

Susan: Lotsa models think that they hafta watch their weight and they always think they’re fat-

Lucy: Yeah.

Susan: So some throw up after they eat.

Michelle: Yeah (FG2: 1093-1109).

It appears that young girls have come to know about the types of bodily conduct that maintains ‘skinniness’ in fashion modelling, with ‘throwing up after they eat’ situated as a mechanism for ‘watching their weight’. Young girls are well versed and rehearsed in the discourses that suggest that such forms of bodily constraint and training are necessarily part of a models’ career: “Researcher: How do you become a model? Alessandra: You starve yourself” (FG3: 890-891).

Pain emerges as another form of bodily constraint that constitutes and re-constitutes the female body of the model as disorderly. The focus group participants seemed to assert that a general rule of being a model is being *uncomfortable* (FG2: 933-939): “It must be uncomfortable getting everyone to stare at you” (FG2: 933). They also spoke about the pain in the various practices of being a model: “The friend of mine who’s a model, she

has to wear high heels, pretty, really high and she said that it really hurts when you're doing the catwalk" (FG2: 359-360). Pain was also intertwined with danger:

Michelle: Look at the heels.

Lillian: And the heels are more for walking than sort've running.

Lucy: It looks like she hasn't put anything on yet.

Susan: You'd snap your ankles if you fell over wearing those shoes.

Lillian: Yeah (FG2: 660-664).

Michelle: Wouldn't it be hard even if you were wearing some of those, those really big skinny heels.

Lucy: Yeah those big fat heels.

Susan: And then you sort've walk over and the heel falls off the edge (stands and walks unstably as though her left foot had slipped off the edge of a platform) and you're like 'WOOHOAH!'

Lucy: Yeah you'd probably sprain your ankle.

Susan: Yeah.

Michelle: Yeah. Definitely.

Lucy: And they have really really thin heels.

Susan: Kind've like an ice skate some of the shoes (makes a 0.5cm space between her right thumb and forefinger)

Michelle: Even more dangerous than I thought with the tiny, incy little-

Lucy: And some of them are really pointy and must be really uncomfortable for your feet.

Susan: You get diseases, um not diseases, you toes can get distorted (FG2: 888-903).

Danger and pain seems to be inextricably linked with the embodied model self. The model enacts particular types of embodied practices that constitute a 'risky' self. Young girls appear to take it for granted that choosing a career in modelling means incorporating an array of 'risky' and 'dangerous' bodily practices as a necessary part of this type of work. The normalisation (Foucault, 1977a) of certain forms of bodily conduct was also exemplified in how the model conducts the self as embodied.

7.9.3 Conducting the embodied model self as grotesque

The *self-conduct* of the fashion model was perceived as grotesque and disorderly in a number of ways in the data. The model might be seen to be doing particular types of work on the body that, in turn, shape the self as embodied. Grotesqueness was particularly aligned with certain ways of enacting femininity. Young girls' accounts in particular highlighted the notions of 'ditsiness' (FG3: 134-141) and 'tiddliness', and

how models that did the self as embodied in these ways were “really annoying” (FG3: 139). In their discussions of these ideas in focus group three, the participants actually enacted what it means to be ditsy by raising the pitch of their voices:

Alessandra: I watched the Victoria Secret show on Fox and it was this model presenting her wardrobe and what she wore. (Raises her voice to a high pitch) And she kinda talked this and was really ha ha ha ha ha ha (girly giggle) in front of the camera it jist annoyed me. She came across really ditsy.

Marty: Yeah.

Clare: It was really annoying.

Alessandra: Yeah very um: how would you put it? Like...

Alison: They're always posing you never jist see them normally.

Marty: Never natural.

Alison: It's like an act for the camera.

Alessandra: Yeah and when she was in front of the camera she'd always look over her shoulder and smile. She was jist constantly acting for the camera (FG3: 134-145).

'Ditsiness' and 'tiddliness' here appear as discursive social practices (Foucault, 1986), as tactics that form part of a repertoire of *technologies of the self* (Foucault, 1988b). The model appears as though she 'acts' and 'poses' in ways that constitute the 'ditsy' and 'tiddly' model self as embodied.

Grotesqueness was also aligned with the 'labour' of identity (Adkins & Lury, 1999) required to maintain and, more importantly, to *do* the fashion model self as embodied was a focus of discussion in the focus groups. The young girls' accounts highlight the level of bodily exertion that is required to enact the model self:

Lucy: SOME of them are lifting their eyebrows.

Michelle: They go (lifts her eyebrows high and looks up at the ceiling without moving her head)

Susan: I don't know why they do, to make them look prettier.

Lucy: (Giggles)

Susan: They just go walking around with their eyebrows up.

Michelle: They go ooo::: (raises eyebrows with her fingers).

Lucy: That makes you look really weird.

Susan: Yeah one up one down...

Michelle: It's hard enough smiling (FG2: 1074-1083).

'Smiling' is paradoxically presented here as something that does not come easily for the model: it is something that is worked on and at. In contrast with the understanding of

smiling as something that ought to be ‘spontaneous’, smiling is here aligned exclusively with a particular type of embodied performance in the transcripts: “Yeah they pretend like they’re not pissed off” (FG1: 706). The modelling pedagogue in the modelling courses also emphasised the degree to which the smile can only be achieved through work and practise: “Go home and practise your fake smile. You really gotta put it on. You really gotta practise it”. There is little doubt with how closely this practice aligns with the work that the novice hetaira does in Athenaeus (trans. 1937) to train the practice of smiling. Here, the *work of the self* is made apparent as particular types of discursive labour applied to the body of the model in ways that shape the model self. The bodily labour required to achieve this constitutes a performance (Butler, 1990a), an enactment of particular types of bodily conduct which shape and reshape an abiding sense of self as embodied.

The presentation of self through clothing worn by the model generated increasing critique in the focus groups. Across all three transcripts, the clothing of the model was described thusly: “And all the clothes that they wear they’re like you never see anyone in the street wearing them” (FG2” 79-80). The exceptionality and spectacular-ity (“really crazy clothes” (FG2: 100) of the clothes discursively marked them as impractical in the accounts of young girls. The clothing of the model was subject to continual evaluation as:

- “really out there”
- “tight”
- “baggy”
- “droopy... ‘cos they were so skinny” (FG1:139-150)
- “really tiny” (FG2: 586)
- “see-through” (FG2: 316-318)
- “skimpy” (FG2: 76)
- “really weird” (FG2: 82)
- “scary” (FG2: 622)
- “yuck” (FG2: 112; FG3: 1830)
- “gross” (FG3: 79)
- “odd” (FG3: 243)
- “unusual” (FG3: 247)
- “awful” (FG3: 876)
- “completely ugly” (FG2: 240)

Criticism of catwalk models focused on how they wore “barely anything” (FG1: 520; FG3: 51; 78-79) and that the ‘see-through-ness’ (FG3: 350-353) of the clothes. For example, clothing that ‘showed their tummies’ was considered “disgusting” (FG2: 95, 131): “They’re not exactly shirts. They’re more like hankies” (FG2: 649). Particularly the section of the focus groups in which the video segment was shown, the clothing

worn by the model was subjected to criticism in terms of exposure and impracticality (see Appendix Ten, p. 374 for young girls talk about model clothing). In contrast to the hetaira in ancient Greek times, then, the fashion model is *known* and *seen*, rather than unknown and unseen. Although the model is unknown in her muteness, her clothed body is a body inscribed by history that *speaks* and makes known that which is concealed and unknown.

The spectacle of femininity that the fashion model embodies is here criticised specifically in terms of ‘over-exposure’. The young girls emphasised this further by saying that the clothes “made them look like prostitutes” (FG3: 308) and “tarts” (FG3: 372). The ‘exposed’ feminine model body is discursively constituted as “skanky” (FG3: 80). The young girls in the passages above normalise the different ways that the fashion model makes a spectacle of her feminine body: she is “at once caught out and blameworthy” (Russo, 1995, p. 53). The fashion model is ‘revealed’ in the transcripts as transgressing acceptable norms of feminine bodily conduct. She is the ‘telling flesh’ (Kirby, 1997) of how *not* to do feminine bodily conduct in Western culture. This is unlike the hetaira in ancient Greek times. The novice hetaira was instructed to avoid exposure of their body, with hetairae being most commonly identified by their elaborate clothing. Ironically, however, it seems that novice hetairae were instructed in the arts of seduction while naked, with all depictions of ‘madams’ instructing naked novices (see Figure 6.1).

7.10 BEAUTIFULLY GROTESQUE

At first glance, it might appear that beauty and grotesqueness feature as a binary opposition in the constitution of the fashion model. It seems that orderliness and tautness might feature in opposition, rather than in tension with, disorderliness and shiftiness. However, the corpor-real repertoire of bodily practices enacted by the fashion model would indicate otherwise. Focus group participants in particular hold together seemingly dichotomous ways of thinking such as ‘ugliness’ and ‘attractiveness’: “They weren’t ugly but they weren’t that attractive” (FG3: 484). The

model appears to embody both ugliness and attractiveness; she is beautiful *and* grotesque:

Alison: She is really really disgusting looking but there she is not (indicating picture of Devon Aoki).

Alessandra: What the one in Too Fast Too Furious?

Alison: She's pretty ugly eh?

Clare: Yeah I don't think she's pretty.

Marty: Yeah I've seen her in Vogue.

Clare: Yeah.

Alison: She's got a really odd face and her eyes and her mouth are all like small.

Clare: Yeah.

Alison: And it looks disgusting and scary. Except not there (FG3: 1233-1242).

Here the model is situated in a very tenuous position: she is 'really, really disgusting' and 'pretty ugly' at the same time as she is 'is not'. Alison in particular is stating that the picture of model Devon Aoki has an 'odd face' and is 'disgusting and scary' whilst simultaneously being aligned with understandings of beauty in that she is 'not' disgusting. The model is produced as an illogical figure: both beautiful *and* disgusting, both ugly *and* pleasing to the eye. An understanding emerges that to be beautiful is to do so in quite precise, grotesque ways.

The model is situated paradoxically in other ways that align with beauty and grotesqueness. In the modelling classroom, teaching 'dramatic' make-up was littered with absurdities and contradictions. For example, the modelling teacher tells one student when she has finished applying her make-up: "That's what we want from you! You look absolutely stunning like that!". This novice model has achieved proper beauty and stunning-ness. Paradoxically, later in the same make-up class the modelling pedagogue insists that the novice models must "take the emphasis away from your face" when they are catwalking. To be properly model-like, the novice is required to constitute their faces necessarily stunning *and* ordinary. Celebrity 'models' are also situated in these ways. In a discussion of Drew Barrymore, she is described in the following terms by Alessandra: "Drew Barrymore I love her I think she's gorgeous...Really ordinary" (FG3: 1683-1685). Ordinariness is situated here alongside

of gorgeousness: Drew Barrymore is ordinarily gorgeous, a paradoxical example of ‘ideal’ femininity. Catherine Zeta Jones was described in similar terms:

Alessandra: Catherine Zeta Jones. She’s beautiful!
 Alison: She was actually fat compared to her um-
 Alessandra: Yeah and Catherine Zeta Jones was so: gorgeous in Chicago!
 Marty: Yeah.
 Clare: I didn’t like her hair.
 Marty: Neither did I.
 Clare: It didn’t look good short.
 Alessandra: But I loved her legs she’s so pretty. She has like a nice figure.
 Marty: She’s got a pretty natural figure and that’s good (FG3: 1524-1532).

In this instance, the participants isolate different parts of the body of Catherine Zeta Jones as gorgeous, natural, pretty and beautiful, while other parts were not liked as they ‘didn’t look good’. Notions of grotesqueness and beautifulness collide, even cohabit in the body of the ‘celebrity’ model, as they do in the body of Devon Aoki above. The line between grotesque and beautiful is distorted and is made permeable as the model quite literally embodies beautiful grotesque.

Distinctions between beauty and grotesqueness are also made unclear in the following example. As focus group participants speculate about what fashion models eat, beauty and grotesque appear fluid and uncertain. Directly before this excerpt, the participants insist that the model eats “nothing” (FG1: 635-637):

Jill: They still try and eat less fat.
 Victoria: Yeah they eat less fat which is like good but they still eat normally pretty much yeah.
 Jill: I reckon some of the models probly make themselves put on weight because-
 Stacey: Yeah probly.
 Jill: Like they have so much pressure to be skinny and stuff so (FG1: 644-649).

The space between notions of disorderliness and orderliness is blurred in this example, as Jill in particular moves fluidly between the idea that models eat ‘nothing’ and ‘everything’ and then back to ‘nothing’ as a result of the ‘pressure to be skinny and stuff’. In young girls’ accounts, the model does not continue to occupy a space of either reverence *or* repulsion: *she embodies both*. Competing perspectives map together into a

‘montage’ of discursive ways of knowing. This indicates a very different way of thinking to those ways of knowing the model that are reflected, and that continue to be affirmed, in existing research. Young girls it seems draw together and work *within and against* (Lather, 1991a) binary categories of understanding. They are learning to read ironically.

7.11 CONCLUSION: TALKING BACK TO THE LITERATURE

This analysis has sought to make different sense of how the fashion model instructs knowledge to young girls in a pedagogical manner. Working through three ironic categories of pedagogical propriety, this chapter has highlighted how embodied knowledge about ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct is instructed by the body of the model as a pedagogical text of knowledge. Informed by the historical categories generated in Chapter Six, the analysis has highlighted how young girls are instructed by the model as embodied pedagogue. More importantly, this approach has made possible an account of the preciseness of this knowing. It has ‘set to speak’ what existing research has been unable to say given the insistence on drawing on uni-dimensional and dichotomous ways of thinking. New categories of understanding have been employed to re-interrogate the model-girl encounter, categories that untidy the notion that there are only certain ways that fashion model influence *can and must be thought* (Foucault, 1985). The analysis has developed ironically in line with the accounts of young girls hold together in tension dichotomous ways of thinking, working within, across and between oppositions. In this way, the analysis is organised in a way that reflects the organisation of the model body: binaries meld and cohabit in the analysis as they cohabit in the model body.

What this chapter has *not* attempted, then, is to reaffirm existing binaries that permeate the literature about the model-girl relationship. By focusing on the embodied cultural work conducted by the model and the young girl in this relationship, this analysis has explored *within* these categories and, at the same time, *between* these categories. The distinction between the binaries of good/bad, natural/unnatural, stumpy/grace, beautiful/grotesque, and disorderly/delightful have become *harder to think* by insisting on the usefulness of exploring within and between these categories. The tidiness of

these categories has become 'messy' by highlighting the tensions, contradictions, illogicalities, absurdities and ironies produced in the empirical data.

CHAPTER EIGHT

- 8.0 Introduction**
- 8.1 Orthodox sense making about fashion model influence**
- 8.2 Making new sense of fashion model influence**
- 8.3 New ironic sense making**
- 8.4 Conclusion**

CHAPTER EIGHT

BEYOND FASHION MODEL INFLUENCE

8.0 INTRODUCTION

This research has sought to address a growing gap between an expanding research literature advising caution and the ever increasing popularity/ubiquitousness of the fashion model. More importantly, it has endeavoured to *make different sense* (Lather, 1991) of the fashion model and the way that she exercises influence in the lives of young girls. Whereas past thinking (see for example Greer, 1970; Kilbourne, 1995) and even new research (see for example Frost, 2005; Oliver & Lalik, 2004) continues to reaffirm the notion that model influence is disorderly *or* delightful, this thesis has challenged the ‘neatness’ of this binary by producing a space *within, between, and beyond* this opposition. Thus, the thesis intentionally departs from mainstream ways of making sense of the model-girl relationship.

The key ways that this different sense making is realised are as follows:

1. It challenges the widespread notion that the fashion model negatively *or* positively influences the young girl in deep-seated, socio-psychological ways at the level of a ‘core’ identity. This is an important challenge if research about the model-girl relationship is going to move beyond the binary of disorder/delight, and to instead account for this relationship in terms of inconsistencies and ironies. Research about the model which continues to draw on binary and increasingly modernist assumptions about the ‘nature’ of social phenomena inevitably leads to a search for a ‘neat’ solution to the model ‘problem’.
2. It has re-read fashion model influence as the product of certain forms of bodily training. It has unsettled the idea that the model is necessarily situated outside of discourses of ‘good’ teaching in how she instructs as an embodied pedagogue. The notion of ‘good’ pedagogy as necessarily student-centred, facilitative, a-sexual, mind-centric, relational, authentic and interpersonally engaged, has been re-read and, thus, has enabled new ways of thinking about pedagogy as embodied work. By *re-memoring* historical examples of ‘ideal’ pedagogical relationships as necessarily teacher-centred, authoritative, desiring, body-centric, one-way, performative, and at a distance, the thesis questions more universalised and given

ideas about what the ‘good’ teacher should teach and how she ought to teach it. It points up the historically constituted-ness of the ideas that we have come to take for granted as ‘good’ pedagogy.

3. It has produced a new understanding of the fashion model that refuses ‘neat’ binaries such as disorder/delight in favour of contradiction, incompleteness and fragmentation. It has produced ironic categories for the learning about femininity that is an outcome of gazing at the model, categories that eschew the idea that ‘messiness’ can be effectively explained away using modernist frames of reference. The inadequacies of more mainstream readings of this relationship have been highlighted for their inability to account for the contradictions emerging from the accounts of young girls in particular.

This final chapter of the thesis reflects on the work of these arguments, focusing in particular on the three elements discussed above. It leads the reader through the movements and tools required to make new and different sense of the fashion model/young girl relationship in contemporary Western culture.

8.1 ORTHODOX SENSE MAKING ABOUT FASHION MODEL INFLUENCE

As argued in Chapter Two, it would seem from the research literature that the position of the fashion model in contemporary Western culture is clear: she is disorderly *or* she is delightful, *never both*. From medico-psychological and feminist research, we are presented with an understanding of the model that highlights her disorderly influence on young girls. Young girls are situated as ‘at-risk’ of being adulterated by the model as the all-powerful disorderly figure imbued with the capacity to infect the healthy minds and bodies of young girls. The fashion model is situated in two ways. Firstly, she constitutes a case of *disorder* (Voracek & Fisher, 2002), a body that is inappropriately thin and, therefore, sickly and in need of clinical intervention (Paquette & Raine-Travers, 2000). Secondly, she is situated as a *cause of distortion* (Schutz, Paxton & Wertheim, 2002); she embodies the disorderly exemplar of femininity that warps and distorts the mental health of young girls and causes ‘neuroses’ (Hill, Oliver & Rogers, 1992) such as body image dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, body image dysmorphia, and eating disorders (Harrison, 1997).

By contrast, post-feminist researchers have produced a 'reactive' understanding of the fashion model as delightful. In an attempt to balance the negativity of dominant literature about the model, post-feminist work has theorised the model as a pleasure for young girls in two ways. Playing with the feminine identities of the model is viewed as an empowering and potentially liberating experience for young girls, a form of 'creative resistance' (Hopkins, 1996). Exploring and playing with the identity of the 'sex-object' (Miller, 2002), as models do, is situated as a way of skilfully harnessing the liberatory power of manipulating the gaze.

Here, the more familiar ways of making sense of the fashion model and her relationship with young girls appear unproblematic: on the one hand, influence is pernicious; on the other, it is pleasurable. Dualistic thinking simplifies and streamlines the 'problem' of the model: influence is all good or all bad. Such dualisms fulfil the requirement of 'neatly' resolving the 'problem' of the model by working out of dichotomous and modernist paradigms. It is not surprising, then, that researchers working out of these perspectives would continue to produce predictable conclusions.

While working within uni-dimensional binaries of disorder/delight may be compelling, they are limited in terms of explanatory power. In their insistence on the separateness of binaries such as disorder/delight, more literal readings of the model-girl encounter fail to account for this complexity and contradiction. They neatly explain away inconsistencies in favour of 'tidiness'. Orthodox understandings of fashion model influence in particular may be less attentive to the *contradictory* ways of thinking and speaking about models that are reflected in young girls' accounts. Rather than eschewing delight in favour of disorder, the young girls quite literally hold these contradictions *together in tension*. While existing literature set up an opposition between the disorder/moral discourse and the delight/pleasure discourse, it would appear that young girls *think these discourses together*: moral discourse does not sit outside of pleasure. Young girls are not deserting the moral accounting discourse to revel in unmitigated pleasure.

8.2 MAKING NEW SENSE OF FASHION MODEL INFLUENCE

Employing poststructural theory has also enabled a way of thinking about fashion model influence that, to this point, has been disallowed in existing literature. Fashion model influence, as a ‘water tight’, pre-existing category for understanding the model-girl encounter, has been unsettled and dismantled as the product of pedagogical work. As Chapter Three has argued, moving to poststructural theory allowed influence to be re-read as the effects of *power/knowledge* (Foucault, 1982) for better *and* worse.

However, employing notions of pedagogy is what enables the thesis to *think otherwise* about *how* young girls come to know precisely, even *exactly*, about the fashion model. It may be easier to read this ‘exact’ knowledge as do J. Kevin Thompson *et al* (1999) in their book *Exacting Beauty*. They recount an instance with a two year old girl, when asked about how she wanted to have her hair, she replied: “want hair like Barbie” (p. xi). The authors concluded that this was an example of what they have called ‘exacting beauty’: “*exacting beauty* is meant to convey the negative effects on the individual that result from extreme attractiveness standards...we believe that the toll of trying to meet increasingly unrealistic models of beauty has never been more exacting”. Unproblematic readings such as this will always be simpler and more comfortable in their ‘promise’ of a resolution to the problem of model influence. This reading, though, not only reaffirms the *realness* and *truthfulness* of model influence; it entirely overlooks how closely the two year old girl is gazing at, reading from, and coming to know the body of Barbie as a model of ‘ideal’ feminine bodily conduct. This thesis has refused such readings, working instead to avoid the rush to dissolve the disorderliness of the model or to disencumber the delightfulness of the model, in favour of patient, meticulous documentation (Foucault, 1984a) of discursive bodily practices. Pedagogy, as *a set of tools for reading* (McWilliam & O’Donnell, 1998) the model-girl relationship, *rethinks thinking* about model influence and re-conceptualises it in terms of discursive effects and, hence, learning outcomes.

This by no means implies that theorising influence-as-pedagogy is in any way a simpler framework. On the contrary, to think the model in these terms, as indicated in Chapter Four, makes apparent a number of complexities and problematics. To situate the model as a teacher to young girls alone may well make medical, psychological

and feminist researchers increasingly uncomfortable given their insistence on the model as a body of danger, displeasure and distress. However, it is precisely these forms of discomfort that this thesis argues are productive in disrupting more familiar narratives not only about the model but also about best pedagogical practice.

One of the central points of importance emerging from this thesis is how pedagogy has been *defamiliarised* as embodied pedagogical labour. In re-embodying pedagogy, the thesis is situated tenuously and productively in tension with dominant regimes of truth that define good pedagogy. It renders education “unintelligible to itself” (St Pierre & Pillow, 2000, p. 2) by insisting on the embodied character of pedagogical relations. The discourse of good pedagogy is ‘ruptured’ (Stronach & MacClure, 1997) so as to recall the power of the body to transmit knowledge. The body *is* both the curriculum and the vehicle for instructing in the curriculum. The *person* of the model does not play a role here – it is the knowledge transmitted on the pedagogical body that is central. Good pedagogy is made unclear more specifically by drawing on notions of what it means to use the body as a pedagogical tool to *teach some body a lesson* (Gallop, 1982; Ungar, 1982).

This thesis, then, serves as an affirmation of the importance of the body in learning. It embodies a caution against moving hastily to the idea that an ‘ideal’ teacher is necessarily a disembodied facilitator. Given the capacity of the model body to instruct knowledge as a spectacularly embodied performance of discipline in powerful and enduring ways, it becomes harder to think pedagogy as necessarily separate from work on and with the body. Furthermore, it draws attention to how pedagogy produces *knowing bodies* (Bresler, 2004): pupils are bodies of knowledge that carefully attend to embodied teacherly work in the classroom. The work of Kerry Mallan (2003) indicates that students look at and read from not only the bodies of teachers but also other students. Mallan explores the different performances of bodily comportment required of story telling in the classroom:

The children stressed the need for the storyteller to be in control of his/her body when performing for an audience...The children’s attention to their bodies, eyes and mouth (voice) while storytelling, mirrors the way schooling trains the student-body to act in particular ways...The audience is a demanding one, expecting a speaker who is not simply heard and seen, but a speaker who is *clearly* spoken and *visibly* expressive (p. 201, italics in original).

Storytelling is not only a transmission of a narrative: the student body must *speak* and perform the story. Both Mallan's work and the present study, then, demonstrate the power of pedagogical work that *thinks through the body* (Gallop, 1988) as opposed to sidelining the body as "something that must be managed in order to obtain the best academic performance" (Stinson, 1995, p. 45).

8.3 NEW IRONIC SENSE MAKING

The key task of this thesis was to explore how fashion model influence is understood, and to reconfigure the binaries at work in the influence literature. It asks new questions of model influence, questions that shift the focus from 'how do they make you feel?', as evidenced in existing research, to 'what do you know and how have you come to know?'

To do this, the thesis made a deliberate departure from more orthodox categories of analysis steeped in *advocacy*, and moved instead to reading through categories of *achievement*. Reading the model-girl encounter in terms of categories of achievement enables an account of the work done on and with the body to achieve particular types of bodily conduct and certain forms of self as embodied. These categories seek not to highlight the need to 'save' or 'emancipate' young girls from model influence, as categories of advocacy do. Rather, they simply highlight the different ways that bodies are discursively constituted and inscribed in time, space and in socio-cultural context. A focus on categories of achievement also points up that the model-girl relationship is not *all* bad or *all* good for young girls, but rather how a range of effects are produced.

In their move away from advocacy and towards achievement, the categories employed in this thesis are also useful in how they 'set to speak' certain ways of knowing the fashion model that have not, until now, been accounted for in research literature discussing the model-girl encounter. Working through dichotomous categories of advocacy, researchers have yet to account for the complex and contradictory ways of thinking reflected in young girls' accounts of models in this study. Categories of advocacy that work through binaries of disorder/delight and pain/pleasure have as yet disallowed the types of accounts produced by young girls that *think opposites together*

(Haraway, 1991) in paradoxical ways. Binary categories continue to gloss over the *space between oppositional ideas* in favour of a neat, less problematic account.

Young girls' accounts may be situated as more sophisticated and erudite ways of thinking the fashion model in that they *hold together in tension* ideas that would typically held apart as 'properly' separate in influence literature (Dwyer, 2005). They speak and en flesh the absurdities, contradictions and inconsistencies. In this way, the perspectives of young girls appear to have transcended the ways of thinking model influence in the research literature.

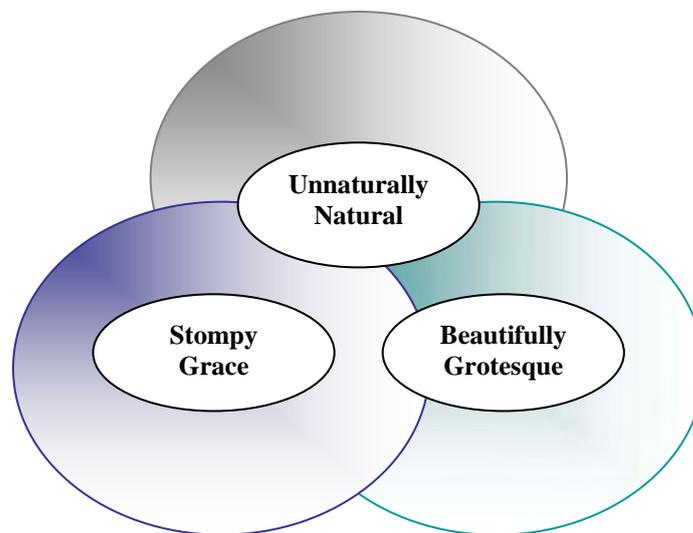


Figure 8.1: Three ironic categories

The three ironic categories (unnaturally natural, stompy grace, beautifully grotesque – see Figure 8.1) produced for analysing these accounts, then, enable these perspectives to ‘speak’. They avoid taking up the conventional position of what Ulrich Beck (2004) has termed “zombie categories” (p. 146) – ‘flat’, two-dimensional categories that fail to account for how the young girls *flesh out* and *re-member* the bodily conduct of the model in focus groups. This study has insisted on the notion that the categories for thinking the model need to be more complex to more fully account for the contradictions and impossibilities in young girls’ accounts, and to circumvent more

commonsensical ‘final vocabularies’ (Rorty, 1989). In particular, the study does this to account for young girls’ knowing about womanliness and grotesqueness simultaneously. Simply put, the girls learn that they do not have to ‘choose’ either femininity or ‘gross display’ – they can play *across* these, eschewing one, then the other. How young girls come to know about performing a grotesque attractiveness at the same time as performing a confident womanliness demonstrates the necessity of more complex analytical categories. The categories, and the analysis produced, are then organised in the same way that the model body is – in tension and contradiction.

8.4 CONCLUSION

Until now, the position of the fashion model in contemporary society seemed clear. This research, however, has worked to make this clarity indistinct and *harder to think*. Working within and between dichotomous and oppositional ways of thinking about the model, this thesis has produced an account of the model-girl relationship that refuses the neatness of these orthodox narratives. It is situated as a less comfortable account of how the model exercises influence in the lives of young girls, one that unsettles influence as always already caught up in discursive relations of power.

Privileging notions of contradiction, absurdity, paradox, and inconsistency, it has explored the space between more taken for granted binaries in research about fashion model influence. It captures the instances of non-sense and ironic sense made evident in the model-girl encounter, and produces an account that is ultimately incomplete but accounts more fully for these forms of ‘untidiness’ that have traditionally been sidelined in existing accounts. In doing this, it has not sought to reject absolutely the research that until now has accounted for the model-girl relationship in certain ways. Instead, it has sought to think through this field of literature in a different way to better account for the types of discursive cultural work that these accounts do in producing the model-girl relationship as one of influence.

The study does not aspire to be a ‘call-for-arms’ in order to ‘save’ young girls from the influence of the fashion model. Nor does it “dismiss cavalierly” (Pollay, 1986, p. 31) the existing literature about model influence. The more productive aim has been to re-read this influence produce a better understanding of influence that will differently account for the relationship between the model and the girl. More

importantly, it has highlighted the usefulness of questioning grand claims to truth in any discourse, be they medical, psychological, postmodern, or pedagogical. The significance of this approach is that it may be extended beyond the scope of this project in order to more fully explore young peoples' relationship with other popular cultural icons and texts. For example, it may be applied to the new Australian magazine for young boys called *Explode* to explore how young boys come to know discursively and pedagogically about masculine bodily conduct. Such an approach may be useful for producing research that puts judgment on hold, and attends instead to the meticulous processes of knowledge transmission. New questions are made possible in such research, questions that "disrupt how we 'tell the truth' and thus open up a potential space for alternative acts and alternative intentions that are not articulated through the available common senses" (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 143).

As discussed in Chapter Five, this thesis aims not to find a resolution to the fashion model 'problem', as is the key imperative in orthodox accounts. It works against the notion that this is possible given the multiple and shifting character of social phenomena and identities in postmodern times. It has sought not to dissolve the problem of fashion model influence but *dis-solve* this influence: to look to the discursive conditions that make influence thinkable, and to prise these apart using poststructural theory as method. It has endeavoured to blur the clarity of which fashion model influence is spoken in the research literature, and to make influence *harder to think* and, hence, *unintelligible* (St. Pierre, 2000) in contemporary times. New re-configurations of the model-girl encounter are made possible in ways that productively pervert good sense, and further confound the truthfulness of fashion model influence.

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9.0 LIST OF APPENDICES

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9.1 Appendix One: Focus group discussion guide

General knowledge questions:

- Introduce yourselves: tell me something you know about models.
 - Have you watched models in fashion parades before?
 - What were they doing?
 - How did they walk?
 - How is this walk different to the way other people walk?
 - Did the models talk?
 - What did the catwalk look like?
 - Where did the other people stand or sit at the parade?
 - What does a model look like?
 - How would you recognise a model in the street?

Discussion of video segment:

- Watch ten minute video segment: 'Beyond the Catwalk', television special produced by Channel Ten about the 6th Annual Australian Designer Collections in Melbourne.
- Tell me what you remember about:
 - Models walk.
 - Talk on catwalk.
 - Models look/gaze.
 - Facial expressions.
 - Other things models did.
 - Spectators look/gaze.
 - Spectators position.

Body work:

- Make-up.
- Beauty routine.
- Exercise.
- Eating.
- Clothes.
- How do you become a model?
- How do models stay beautiful or young?
- What work do models do?
- What names do you know of models?
- Where do you learn about models from?

Poster discussion:

- Tell me as much as you can about the pictures on this poster.

Magazine discussion:

- Before I give you the magazines what do you expect to see in them?
- Also before I give you the magazines what can you tell me about how models pose in magazines?
- Some people think girls look at models and use them as examples and learn from them. What do you think about this?

9.3 Appendix Three: Coding system for transcripts

Focus group codes:

FG1: Focus group one

FG2: Focus group two

FG3: Focus group three

Transcription conventions:

...	Words have been left out as irrelevant to the discussion
[]	Overlapping talk
<u>underline</u>	Emphasising a word
CAPITALS	'Loud' talk
()	Observation notes made from the video of the focus group
* *	Encloses quiet talk
words-	Participant stops talking abruptly
FG1: 56-58	Lines 56 to 58, focus group one transcript

9.4 Appendix Four: Young girls' talk about Claudia Schiffer

Focus group two (FG2: 1301-1311, 1356-1372, 1450-1467):

Lucy: Oh that's Claudia Schiffer.

Michelle: She's got a mole.

Lucy: Is that Claudia Schiffer?

Susan: No that's called a beauty spot.

Lucy: No I think that's Claudia Schiffer I remember someone-, One of the models had a mole here and they were happy to have her model

Susan: Claudia, Claudia Schiffer's got blond hair.

...

Lucy: I think it's Claudia Schiffer.

Michelle: I have no idea.

Lucy: I think that's Claudia Schiffer. I think it's Claudia Schiffer 'cos she has a mole.

Susan: It is not!

Lucy: It IS! I REMEMBER THE MOLE!

Susan: The mole (Giggles).

Lucy: I remember THE MOLE! I remember THE MOLE!

Susan: Woah!

(All laugh)

Susan: Um:::, that's all I know.

Michelle: *Moley, moley, moley*

Susan: Yeah.

Lucy: No I'm not sure it doesn't look like Clau- I mean (Giggles)

Michelle: *Yeah they all look the same. It could be someone completely different.*

Susan: That doesn't look like Claudia Schiffer.

Lucy: Yes it does!

Susan: Claudia Schiffer's smaller and she's got a rounded face.

...

Susan: Yeah some. Some have some. Some have those big moles.

Lucy: Yeah like Claudia Schiffer. Claudia Schiffer has a mole so if I have a mole in my eyelash it doesn't matter-

Susan: HOW DO YOU KNOW IT'S HER?

Lucy: BECAUSE I'VE SEEN HER ON THE COVER OF A MAGAZINE BEFORE!

Lillian: Who is it?

Lucy: Please?

Researcher: Cindy Crawford.

Lucy: OOHH:::! I thought it was Claudia Schiffer it jist looked like it.

Susan: I TOLD YOU IT WASN'T CLAUDIA SCHIFFER!

Researcher: (Giggles)

Susan: CLAUDIA SCHIFFER HAS BLOND HAIR AND SHE HAS A ROUND FACE!

Lucy: YEAH BUT SHE HAS THE MOLE!

Chantel: (Chantel intervenes here to stop the girls from shouting at one another) Okay!

Lillian: Listen to us we're all talking about moles.

Susan: But she's got blond hair.

9.5 Appendix Five: Observation notes describing the model catwalk

“The only way to get on the catwalk is the right way (pointing to the stairs)”. The teacher walks onto the catwalk with her right foot first: “Only ever your right foot on the catwalk first, never the left!” The teacher walks to the middle of the catwalk and turns to face the pupils and assumes ‘position one’. She says that pupils should have ‘good posture’ at all times when they are walking. She also says that using light feet is important “at all times. You don’t want to sound like a bunch of elephants”. She pauses here for three seconds telling the pupils that you should “count to three in your mind not out loud” before every move on the catwalk. The teacher walks forward down the catwalk and talks about the importance of ‘walking on line’: “You must be walking with one foot in front of the other at all times. This makes your hips sway from side to side”. The teacher talks about how the pupils should “let your arms swing naturally at your sides. You don’t want to look too stiff”. When the teacher reaches the end of the catwalk, she tells the pupils that they need to “hold at the end for 1, 2, 3, and then half turn to the right”. The teacher explains the half turn as “standing at the end in position one, you move your right foot towards the back as though you are walking away”. The teacher demonstrates another half turn when she returns to the ‘top’ of the catwalk: “You walk into this. You have your left foot pointing straight ahead and bring your right foot around in front of your left foot to form a ‘T’. Then swivel on the balls of your feet to turn smoothly towards the right until you face the audience again. Hold for three and then take off again with your right foot and walk NOT RUN off the catwalk”. The teacher never looks down at the ground; she continually looks directly into the mirror in front of her.

9.6 Appendix Six: Young girls' discussions of the fashion model catwalk

Focus group two (44-67; 758-778; 805-815; 966-979):

Michelle: They always walk in a straight line.

Lillian: And they-

Susan: Yeah they always walk in a straight line.

Lillian: They um:

(L and S demonstrate the walking in a straight line while sitting in their chairs: they move to the front of their chairs, lean on the edge with their hands, look down at their feet and move one foot in front of the other interchangeably)

Lucy: Oh, oh and they go to the end and then they go urrt (moves shoulder to the front – side on) and then they go urrt (same action with left shoulder). And then they turn around and they walk back.

Researcher: Can you show me?

Lucy: Like if they've got a coat it jist goes newt (stands up to demonstrate: puts 'coat' over her right shoulder, holding onto 'coat' using fingers only – as she does this she has her right foot in front of her left and she swivels her hips on balls of her feet (as S did) to face the opposite direction. Her left arm hands by her side. She does not look at the other girls – she looks at a spot on the wall in front of her)

Researcher: Oh yeah.

Susan: And they always do this little turn around (stands up, right foot in front of the left and swivels her hips on balls of her feet to face opposite direction)

Michelle: They always do. *They always do this little* turn. (demonstrates turn while sitting in chair but twisting her upper body)

Lucy: Yeah they, they swing their hips out or something. It makes them look funny.

Susan: Only a few s- smile um their hips go like that and they have their shoulders back like that (shoulders back and down).

...

Susan: They, they, they walk, they walk with their hips swinging.

Lucy: Yeah they go like this er er er (stands up and walks one foot in front of the other)

Lillian: Yeah and they put their feet behind and then in front of it (imitates Lucy)

Susan: And they (stands) have their shoulders back (puts her shoulders back and down) their and like and their arms swing (swings her arms but only in small movements) and they walk so their legs wobble.

Lillian: (stands) Yeah they like put 'em like that (pushes her shoulders back and down so hands hand just behind her hips)

Lucy: And some, and some of them have their like their hands there like that (stands and walks with her left hand on her hip and right hand hanging at her side)

Michelle: And sometimes they don't swing at all they jist stay still (stands and walks with her hands hanging still but not stiff (elbows not locked) by her sides).

Susan: Yeah.

Lillian: And they don't walk like this (stands she demonstrates slouched shoulders) they walk up straight like this (she pulls her shoulders up and back so her chest sticks out a bit)

Researcher: Mm hm.

Susan: Yeah (that looks too wrong) bending over like that (sitting in chair, she slouches her back forward until her hands nearly touch the floor, she is looking at the floor).

...

Lillian: Oh they look forward-

Susan: They all look [straight ahead]

Lillian: [Straight ahead]. They don't look at everyone else or maybe when they turn around. They don't look that way (looks down to the audience: down and off to the side)

Lucy: They don't see the audience or anyone they jist look [straight ahead] (stands up and looks out ahead as she turns, does not look down at the floor)

Lillian: [Straight ahead].

Susan: They don't look down (looks down). They look, they look to the wall (looks and gestures with her hands to the space in front of her) sort've or they look to *one person in the audience.*

...

Susan: They were swinging their hips a lot.

Michelle: Yeah they definitely swing their hips.

Lillian: Yeah and they don't stand like that (stands up: walks with legs apart) They stand like that (walks with legs together)

Lucy: (stands) Yeah, yeah they usually have their hands there (puts her right hand on her right hip) or they have their hands there (right hand in right pocket of shorts)

Michelle: And they put their arm like that (hand on hip).

Susan: And they put their thumbs there like that (puts her thumbs in her pockets of her shorts only with her wrists relaxed).

Lucy: Like they usually have it like like that (stands and walks one foot in front of the other with her hips moving from side to side and her right hand on her hip; looks straight ahead, not at the other girls) I'm sorry, I'm sorry (shakes her hands in the air as she sheepishly walks back to the chair).

(All laugh).

9.7 Appendix Seven: Models bag

General

- Composite cards/photographs/folio
- Diary/Mobile phone
- Note pad and pen (for parade notes)

Make-up (natural day/glamour night)

- Lipstick and eye shadows of various shades and types
- Foundation/Concealer
- Translucent power
- Mascara (waterproof only)
- Eyeliners: liquid and kohl pencils
- Blush
- Thick blush brush
- Large powder brush
- Cotton buds/Cotton wool
- Pencil sharpener
- Lip brush
- Tweezers
- Eyelash curler

Hair

- Brush
- Bobby pins
- Gel/Hair spray
- Leave-in hair conditioner
- Teasing comb
- Hair accessories: bands, clips, etc

Beauty

- Deodorant (spray only)
- Moisturiser (face and body)
- Sunscreen
- Mirror (small)
- Nail polish (plain and coloured)
- Clear nail polish for stocking runs
- Make-up remover
- Fake tanning cream/spray

Shoes

- High heeled black strappy
- High heeled black court shoe
- Black flat
- Black boots in season: ankle/knee-high
- High white strappy
- White flat
- Bridal/formal
- Sand shoes
- Casual leather
- All shoes MUST BE CLEAN

Underwear

- Skin tone g-strings
- Skin tone t-shirt bra (no lace)
- Skin tone strapless bra
- 2 x skin tone stockings
- 2 x black opaque
- 2 x black sheer
- Variety of socks

Miscellaneous

- Belts (black and brown)
- Sunglasses
- Gloves (evening and leather)
- Hats
- Jewellery (gold/silver/pearl)
- 'Wet ones' (dirt on clothing)
- Scissors (tags, stray cotton)
- Masking tape (soles of shoes/tape breasts/temporary hem lines)
- Safety pins (temporary hem lines, better fit of garment)
- Shoe polish
- Books to read (you can be sitting around for hours!)
- Tissues
- Band aids
- Change scarf (ESSENTIAL: stop make-up getting on clothing)
- Drop sheet (floors get disgustingly dirty)
- Robe
- Sewing kit
- Nail file/scissors
- Sanitary pads (better fit of garment)
- 'Chicken fillets' (padding out bras)
- Body basics (underwear that shapes/smooths the body)
- Tampons
- Eye drops (very important: eye lash in your eye before a shoot)
- Travel toothbrush/floss
- Shaver
- Swimsuit (Castings: If they want to see your body and you don't want to show them your underwear, then you MUST have a bikini)

NB: Don't buy everything now; build up gradually with different jobs.

9.8 Appendix Eight: Observation notes describing 'good' grooming

Hair: should be styled and clean and brushed (good quality shampoo and conditioner and brushes and clean brushes regularly); a good hair style important: "You wear your hair 24 hours a day". Teeth: need to be cleaned; need to use mouthwash; flossing important; dental disease linked to bad breath (so get regular dental checks); make sure you replace your toothbrush regularly; good brushing more important than good toothbrush or toothpaste. "Does anyone here smoke?": no hands go up. "If you're thinking of taking it up in the future, don't! It stinks and is so bad for your health and makes your teeth yellow"; don't use smokers toothpaste because it removes the enamel from your teeth. The teacher makes a face as though a smell has offended her. Skin: moisturise; watch your diet (lots of water), fresh fruit and vegetables; sunlight; "Don't just sit out and fry yourself"; 5-10 mins each day; stand in the shade with your palms out in the sun, this is enough); beauty routine ("wear make-up as little as possible to keep your skin clear". Make-up: make sure it is not too overpowering, not too strong, it depends on where you are going. Body odor: mouth wash; regular showers/baths; deodorant. Diet: avoid smelly foods (garlic, curries, cheeses); parsley natural deodorant for the mouth. Supposed to have at least eight glasses of water a day. Perfume: spray in the air and walk through it; don't ever leave perfume out in the sun; stress causes perfume to change smell (hormones and adrenalin). Hands and feet: really be careful with your nails; "try not to bite and put of that some horrible paint on to stop it"; weekly manicures and pedicures; no chipped nail polish; hand cream at night and after you wash your hands; use pumice stone to remove dead skin. Posture/poise: bad posture; back problems, low confidence, internal problems (squashed internal organs); good posture: respect, confidence, taller.

9.9 Appendix Nine: Young girls talk about the 'caring' model

Focus group three (1574-1600):

Marty: Well from some models like the models that are really confident and beautiful not jist pretty and kinda ditsy and pretending their confident and stuff like this if they do something worthwhile like you know they they don't jist-

Alessandra: Yeah.

Marty: Like you know Chloe Maxwell she does all the charities and stuff like that and so that's really cool.

Alessandra: You'd look up to her.

Clare: Like most girls that I know they like jist use them for like clothes or if they're wearing an interesting make up style they'll go out and jist try that they're not gunna try and like starve themselves but some girls do.

Alessandra: See like I look more up to people like she's not a model but people like Angelina Jolie she's a UN Good Will Ambassador.

Marty: Yeah.

Alessandra: Like she goes to countries different countries and-

Clare: Yeah like people.

Alison: Same with Chloe Maxwell.

Alessandra: And she's absolutely stunning (still speaking of Angelina Jolie).

Alison: 'Cos Chloe Maxwell did the World Vision kinda stuff.

All: Yeah.

Alison: And like goes to all the little countries and like does the advertising for them.

Alessandra: And the Amnesty. They're people you look up to.

Alison: Well she's not a model but she was you know she went round to all the third world countries and she you know-

Alessandra: They're people you look up to more than the stick thin people that-

Marty: They don't, they don't-

Clare: Like the only thing they do is walk down the catwalk.

9.10 Appendix Ten: Young girls talk about model clothing

Focus group two (550-664):

Lucy: See that shirt! WHO WOULD WEAR that shirt?

...

Lucy: Whoa look at those weirdo shoes.

...

Michelle: All those shoes are really high.

...

Michelle: Oh there's those really tiny shorts that they wear.

Lillian: (Giggles)

Lucy: Yeah see they're- they're the tiny shorts. You can even see the bum cheeks. Oh my god. It looks like its ripped.

Lillian: You wouldn't wanna jump.

Michelle: Her shirts too little.

Lillian: Look at that shirt. Her shirts gaping.

...

Lillian: She's falling out a bit.

Michelle: That looks like, like scary.

Lucy: Hoo yeah.

Michelle: Sometimes you can jist see right up the side (uses forefinger to trace split in right hand side of 'skirt/dress' up to her hip)

...

Michelle: God she looks awful. It's too see-through.

Susan: Woah. She better be wearing something under that.

Lillian: Yeah.

...

Susan: You couldn't run in that!

Michelle: It's a bit too see-through.

Lucy: No you couldn't run in that either!

Michelle: Look at the heels.

Susan: And the heels are more for walking than sort've running.

Lillian: Yeah.