

7

**THE VALUE OF ATTENTION: AFFECTIVE LABOR IN THE FASHION
MODELING INDUSTRY**

by

Elizabeth A. Wissinger

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2004

UMI Number: 3127930

Copyright 2004 by
Wissinger, Elizabeth A.

All rights reserved.

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3127930

Copyright 2004 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

©2004

ELIZABETH ANNE WISSINGER

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology
in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 30, 2004
Date


Chair of Examining Committee
Prof. **PATRICIA CLOUGH**

3/1/04
Date


Executive Officer
Prof. **PHILIP KASINITZ**

Prof. **Stanley Aronowitz**

Prof. **Hester Eisenstein**

Prof. **Lynn Chancer**

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Table of Contents

<i>One</i>	
Introduction:	
The Attention Economy	1
<i>Two</i>	
The Context of Modeling	51
<i>Three</i>	
The Hunger for New Faces	103
<i>Four</i>	
The Social World of Modeling	143
<i>Five</i>	
Always on Display	199
<i>Six</i>	
Conclusion:	
Image and Bodies	244
<i>Appendix A</i>	
Methods and Data	276
<i>Appendix B</i>	
Autobiographical Statement	281
<i>Table I</i>	
	285
<i>Figure I</i>	
	288
<i>Bibliography</i>	
	289

PREFACE

My interest in women's studies, and in particular, images of women, led me to consider fashion models as a possible subject for my dissertation, almost from the very beginning of my graduate career. Although the connection between the social theoretical concerns about how the body is understood as a basis for knowledge or political action and the ostensibly frivolous world of fashion modeling was not immediately obvious to many, I found in it an excellent site for investigating the interaction between the material agency of the body, on the one hand, and that agency's activation by and through images, on the other.

Fashion models work with their bodies to produce images, and these images are then circulated in ways that influence and shape or even produce other bodies. Because images of fashion models can be influential in this way, the work of fashion modeling seemed a good place to cut into the flows of thinking about the body and images in social life, one of my primary goals. In addition, the fact that models' work is the subject of photography and is disseminated via other imaging technologies such as film and television, modeling work provided a great place to think through the linkages of bodies and images as they are circulated by these technologies. To look at fashion models, a pure analysis of images was not attractive to me, however, as I felt it left the body's agency behind in a way that I wanted to avoid, and also, I was interested in investigating the *work* of producing images, to think about the post modern body at work. Finally, as a sociologist, I was drawn to looking at a population of bodies in action, and so I decided to

study not just images of fashion models, but the actual practices of fashion models at work.

My desire to study fashion models, and the images they produce, was originally motivated by feminist concerns about power, power over women's bodies, and the disciplining of those bodies to masculinist interests in them as sexualized bodies, that are docile to forces that keep them controlled and disempowered. I continue to believe that these concerns are very important, but the more I explored the idea of models and their work, the more I began to realize that the usual approaches to studying these concerns did not speak to the issues regarding bodies and imaging technologies that I had set out to investigate.

Positing the link, for example, between images of slender fashion models in magazines, and girl's and women's negative self perception as lacking or in need of modification to look like the extremely thin models, in a cycle that gives rise to a host of bodily economies of dieting, of weight loss drugs, of gym memberships, of slimming garments, etc., and this is important to do; indeed has been done by other scholars before me. The delineation of this linkage depends, however, on a reliance on feminist work on the social construction of the body that treats the body as inert matter that is socially constructed by discourse, and power struggles, and in representation.

In fact, the more I began to investigate modeling work from the perspective of affective flow and affective production, the more I became interested in a different way of thinking about images that is not about representation of the body by the image, but rather how the body and the image might be viewed on the same plane, not one standing in for the other. From this position, it is more difficult to talk about gender, as the idea of

the gendered body immediately assigns it a meaning, and links directly to the interpretation of how it is represented. As I point out in the following pages, this inquiry into representation is an important enterprise, but in the end, it was not a central focus of my work. I was more interested in investigating how bodies and images are showing a tendency toward circulating in the same networks, and how in the conditions that give rise to that moment, circulation is becoming productive, and the image circulation system has developed to the point that it is much more difficult to stop an image from circulating, once it is put into the flow. Resistance becomes more problematic when, in each effort at intervention, each effort to say ‘showing anorexic bodies is bad,’ for instance, there is the possibility of creating a new productive linkage, in which images of anorexic bodies are redirected and circulated in other ways, in which, (this is a true story that I read in the *New York Times*), a community of anorexics might be formed in reaction, meeting in chat rooms to discuss how they like treating their bodies this way, how being anorexic is a form of identity for them; or there might be a new subgenre of academic study from which sets of articles emerge discussing the problem, further circulating, and profiting from the image of the anorexic body in new domains. In other words, as I developed my perspective on the affective economy in my dissertation, I came to believe that trying to stop or prohibit to the flow of such images could also serve to redirect that flow into new domains, in linkages to new places and new forms for those images to circulate.

Furthermore, to look at representation of the body as the unit of analysis tends toward a kind of spatialization that implies a separation between the body and the image that I wanted to avoid. In the moment of thinking about representation, the focus tends to

be on the image of the body, as separate from the body itself, and the physical matter of the body becomes less important than the process of assigning meaning and interpreting that body. I wanted to bring the bio-physiological elements of the process back into the discussion. This desire was rooted in the fact that during my graduate career, I spent a lot of time grappling with, and was deeply influenced by, postmodern, poststructuralist, theory, and all of the questions it raises about the integrity of bodies, the agency of matter and technology, and the transformation of work in social life. I was eager to get to the bottom of at least some of those issues, especially in terms of the accusation that taking such a perspective prevents real analysis of actual events on the ground, so to speak. So my desire to study social life from a postmodern perspective led me to a big question: How can one study the body and its role in social life, if it is to be conceived as a postmodern, socially constructed, space of flows, a body without organs with a fluid identity, constructed by technology within social interaction?

To begin to think through and act on this question, I decided to look at the work of fashion modeling from the point of view of theorists who made the relationship between bodies and imaging technology a central question in their work, and also to look at theorists who treated the growing importance of imaging technologies in social life, especially in terms of work and production. Within the paradigms I considered, there are several theoretical vectors that I found important to my thinking about what it is that fashion models do in their work, what that might teach us about the interactive nature of bodies and images, and what the body at work looks like in a postmodern economy.

The most influential of these vectors was the theory of *affect*. I adopted this concept as a root theoretical structure for the dissertation because it enabled me to think

about bodies in keeping with a feminist agenda of theorizing the materiality of the body not as just some inert substance acted upon by the masculine principle of the intellect, but in terms of an active agency of the body itself which exceeds attempts to socialize, control, or discipline it to society's needs. I was also attracted to the way that theorizing affect connected directly to thinking about images and bodies and the blurring of the boundary between the two within contemporary society. This blurring of images and bodies is a theme that has evolved from the psychoanalytic feminist notion of the role of image presentation in cinema as an integral part of the gendering process, in the form of the gaze, to the postmodern feminist idea that the basis of our bodies' reality is thoroughly interlaced with fantasy, and that the very limits of our bodies, the basis of our understanding of them, arises in social interactions that are communicative, intentional and conscious, as well as bodily, irrational, and below the level of awareness.

The concept of affect has been picked up recently by social theorists, such as media theorists, queer theorists, and certain thinkers who are read by sociologists, and has been used by said thinkers to conceptualize how the physical energy of bodies is picked up and circulated in the media; can be understood as a form of preconscious thought that molds and shapes social relations; and is increasingly being invested in as a site of capital accumulation. My thoughts on affect have been heavily influenced by the work of Brian Massumi, who in turn draws heavily on Bergson, Spinoza, and Deleuze; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, especially in terms of their work on labor and affect that came out prior to the publication of their now notorious book, *Empire*; Deborah Gibbs, a media theorist who discusses affect as activated by images; Eve Sedgwick and Adam Frank, who revisit the work of Silvan Tomkins, psychologist who originally theorized affect

with regard to cybernetics in the 1960s; and the thinking group assembled by my dissertation chair, Patricia Clough, in which we read together and explored how this concept might be useful in sociology.

The word *affect* is confusing because it has different meanings in the different strains of thought in which it is normally used. In its most common usage, *affect* is used as another word for emotion. In the psychological literature, affect has often been used to refer to the external signs of inner bodily states, as shown on the face or in bodily movement: a person's affect, then, is the site of interface between inner psychic states and outer evidence of them. In sociology, the term affect has been used as synonymous with emotion, as well, although scholars who have turned to Durkheim have found a more complex understanding. Durkheim conceived of affectivity as the basis of social interaction, and strong and meaningful social bonds are based on affective arousal. This perspective is closer to my own take on affect, as an energy that exists between actors in the social world, an energy at play in sociality, an energy that is contagious, and can be whipped up or dampened in the course of social interaction. Thus, *affect*, in the way I came to use it, may be understood as a flow of energy between bodies that stimulates reactions in those bodies it passes through in the form of *affects*.

Another of the theoretical vectors that was important to the formulation of this dissertation was the argument that the production and circulation of images is a central activity in postmodern economies. To follow this mode of thinking, I sought out analyses of the information economy, and the growth of the influence of media in social life. I originally came to graduate school with the intention of studying the impact of the internet on social interaction, and continue to have a lingering fascination with

understanding how new technological developments are shaped by, but also shape and shift social interaction. To study a postmodern economy, such as the one in the United States today, is to look at an economy in which labor takes on a different composition, where the physical working up of raw materials is now accompanied by emerging forms of immaterial and affective labor comprised of bodily manipulation and communicative exchange that are increasingly becoming sources of production.

In such an economy, capital, it has been argued, is investing in bodily potentiality, in a body's intellectual and feeling capacities, for instance. These capacities may have always been a part of the labor process; e.g. a steel worker uses both muscles and mind to produce steel, and in the same manner, a data entry person makes programs using mind, and pushes keys with fingers using muscles; the important difference, however, is that there are now moments in the productive process that are being invested by capital to a new degree; that is to say, there is increasingly an investment in intellectual, feeling, and social activities within the labor process, but also there is an investment in these activities as a sort of labor in and of themselves.

I traced this thinking about the investment in affect back to feminist debates about domestic labor and how it had been conceived as unproductive labor insofar as it was not invested in by capital, and therefore did not realize an investment in the form of surplus value. I noted how Marxist feminists had made the case that this unwaged labor was indeed productive insofar as it reproduced laborers who participated in the production process. In other words, these feminists pointed out how social reproduction was indeed part of the production process, and should be compensated. This discussion connected to another vector of thought that informed my thinking in the dissertation, and that is the

idea of real subsumption of labor by capital, in which there is a tendency for domestic labor, and reproductive labor in general, to be subsumed by capital, absorbed as a form of production. In a sense, feminists, in the struggle to free women workers from servitude in the home, helped bring about the development of an affective economy, in which domestic affective labor in the form of socialization, therapeutic interaction, cooking, cleaning, childcare, healthcare, etc. have been increasingly pulled into the domain of capital. Within this tendency, all of social life can become a resource for production, and all kinds of energies and activities that were formerly coded as gendered, and private, and outside of the domain of capitalist investment are increasingly pulled into that domain. In this process, gender takes on a different salience to the public and private spheres of work and home, productive and reproductive labor, etc.

Thinking how bodies as matter are being invested by capital, and how investment in affectivity might direct the body toward a machinic assemblage, I found a conceptual way to cut into how the body is perceived by social theory as an individual organism, and instead was able to think about bodies as the space of flows, the site of a controlled, amplified, and channeled “whatever” identity, to use Michael Hardt’s term (1998). Within these developments, I’m not sure what gender and race are going to look like with respect to this type of accumulation. As I will discuss in the following pages, they may act as potentialities, as resources for affective circulation at varying levels of productivity. With regard to race in modeling for instance, I will discuss how a hybridization of race may serve as a new resource for affective flow, not in terms of how race is represented, but how race, as a quality of a body, sets in motion or circulates specific reactions to the presentation of that body as raced or gendered. Race or gender

might be viewed as technologies of body sorting, identification and differentiation into categories of potential value in affective circulation.

In this moment, then, race and gender of course are still used as categories to justify the sorting to the bottom of raced and gendered bodies, as the abstract division of labor in postmodern economies still depends, in the last instance, on the extremely exploited body of the worker on very lowest rung of production, such as a worker in a sweatshop that makes the glamorous clothes a model might wear. One could say that at this level of abstraction, there is almost no bottom limit to what workers are paid, to the point that sometimes, leaving workers to die, or using them in the war machine to protect capital investments can be more profitable than using their labor potential.

Recent thinking about investment in the capture and modulation of affective flow as a form of capitalist accumulation connects back to my original interest in studying the postmodern body at work: to study affective flow is to study the flow of energy between bodies that is picked up and calibrated for possible profit by technology, or in the case of my study, imaging machines such as television, the movies, or the computer. As I will discuss further in a moment, based on what I found was going on in modeling work, I theorized that the stimulation or modulation of affects is an activity that is not always the result of conscious intention, of an individual consciously marshalling his or her own particular forces, whether they are physical or mental or a mixture of both.

This idea of the production of value in the space of circulation rather than production by an individual touches on a third vector of thought that influenced my analysis. In the moment of capital's development that I describe in the dissertation, there is a change in the relation of bodies and images under different imaging regimes, from

the cinematic to the televisual, in which thinking of the model as a machinic assemblage of body parts, surfaces, and spaces of circulation of those parts and surfaces made more sense to my understandings of how their work is productive than more traditional interpretations of images of models as representations of women, of enforcers of femininity, of emblems of sexuality, and perspectives of that nature.

Thinking of the meaning of images in terms of imaging regimes allowed me to consider how a dominant mode of imaging techniques affects all images in that world, affecting modes of perception and understandings of work, bodies, and technology. Within the televisual imaging regime, I argued, unlike the cinematic regime, images no longer had to pass through the slow circuitry of subjectivity to have effectivity. That is to say, when the cinematic gaze is replaced by the televisual glance, television “frees images from the idea of meaning production tied to the logic of the body” (Gilbert Rolfe 1999:54), and is replaced by a continuous body machine attachment in the space of the image.

What does this all have to do with fashion models, you might ask? Fashion modeling is a business, I theorized, that is constructed around capturing and capitalizing on affective flow. This was not my understanding when I set out to do my research. I assumed that models do the work of posing for pictures and appearing in person at fashion shows and other events to promote the sale of products. But as I looked more closely into their daily activities, through interviewing them and those they work with, and through thinking about the shape and structure and evolution of the industry, I came up against other phenomena that were not so easily explained by that simple formulation. Sure models’ work has a goal of selling products, but as any good student of consumer

culture will tell you, the route to selling a product has become far more convoluted and multi causal than this simple formulation of models producing specific desires for specific products would allow.

I found that modeling work, and the structure of that work, is shaped and formed as much by the goal of creating, stimulating and modulating affective energy as it is by its stated goals of creating images that push merchandise. Put another way, my investigation of the practices of modeling labor led me to conclude that modeling work is an enterprise that might best be understood in terms of how it fits into the overall idea of production within an affective economy, in which affective energies, their production and modulation, are invested in by capital for a possible profit.

One of the main theses I develop in the dissertation is that modeling work and labor can best be understood in terms of affective production within an affective economy. An affective economy has its roots in the subsumption of reproductive labor by capital, which has been accompanied by the rise of a consumer society, the service sector, and new forms of investment in informatized and intellectual production that some theorists have referred to as immaterial labor. In the circulation of affective flows within such an economy, I claimed that modeling work was a good example of labor typical to that kind of economy. To contextualize the affective production of modeling within a larger idea of an affective economy, I called on the idea of an attention economy, in which an infinite expansion of images is met with a finite capacity for human attention, to understand how modeling work produces value in the form of attention to images. Since affect is connected to attention, insofar as it directs and channels it, then in an economy in which the control of attention has value, the control of affective flow has value as well.

By tracing the level of investment in modeling work in parallel with the level of development of imaging technology, I tested the hypothesis that, as the sources and proliferation of images increased, the investment in the ability to command attention and direct affective flow would increase as well. I found that with each shift in techniques in image production, from photography, to film, to video or television, modeling work was increasingly well paid and gained higher levels of social prestige.

Once modeling work was operating within a fully developed affective economy, I found that model's labor took on specific qualities. First, there was the ineffable quality of affective capacity that models and those who work with them variously described as an 'x' factor, something they could not name, necessarily, but could easily recognize as a resource for production. Second, there was the volatility of working with affect that characterized the structures of work and organization within the industry. Finally, there was the two fold nature of the labor, in which the work was both to be open to the flow of affect, but also to tightly control and supervise that flow.

How did I come to these conclusions? Several ways. With regard to the ineffable qualities of affective potential, I looked, for instance, into the way models were recruited, and found that model 'scouts' as they are referred to in the industry, could not articulate what they were looking for, likening the experience of finding a potential model to falling in love, as one of my respondents put it. I theorized that what these scouts might be experiencing is an affective syndrome, in which their bodies had a series of reactions that were not necessarily conscious or easily described. Their lack of language for what they were experiencing, coupled with their claim to a visceral response when they found what they were looking for, led me to the conclusion that these potential models were

producing an affective response in their recruiters, insofar as they were activating nonverbal responses in the recruiters in the form of affective syndromes that were difficult to articulate.

I found that another quality of affective production is its volatility. I pursued the idea that, since affective flow is by nature changeable, often given to abrupt shifts and changes in direction, then working with affects is a volatile business, in which the players in the industries of affective production are never sure what is going to work when, and are always in the process of bending or shaping themselves and products in order to be sensitive to affective whims. The modeling industry is indeed such an industry, whose hierarchies are constructed on the changeable flows of reputation and prestige, whose levels are in a constant state of flux as various firms, and players within them, duke it out for the coveted position of number one in the industry.

I also explored the organization of work in the industry from this perspective, and found that models were organized into different markets for their looks, and establishing a place in any such market demanded various levels of affective capacity, although the models and their agents did not refer to it as such. Instead, a model's ineffable qualities of affective potential were referred to as an 'x' factor they may or may not have, which made their images productive in some realms more than others. To be a high fashion model, for instance, a model must have a certain quality of mystery, or inscrutability, that comes across in images of them. If models cannot produce this quality in themselves, they are more likely to be relegated to work as a lower paid catalog or commercial model, in work that is less demanding of the element of surprise or unpredictability that is highly valued in fashion work.

This element of surprise is what I described as the event-ness of affective production, which refers to the manner in which the unknown, and unpredictable reaction of assembled forces are incorporated as an essential part of the production process. The work of modeling in this case is two fold. On the one hand, there is the work to go into a 'zone' or other space in which the model may become a conduit of the energy in the room, a channeler of that flow surging around and through them. The models I interviewed told me that when they work at fashion shows, for instance, this was what they went for, saying that they could not think on the runway, they had to go into a "blank zone," as one of my respondents put it. As one of male model explained, "I mean, if they could take just cut your brain out, they would" (03, Stu). I theorized that this represented an effort to release their energies from intention, in an effort to go with the flow, and open themselves to the moment of the event in which they were taking part.

On the other hand, there is the labor involved in supervising the arousal of affective flow in the tight control and management of their bodies and personalities in order to achieve the appearance of an effortlessness, as if they just 'are' that way, instead of the product of constant bodily maintenance, and efforts to project a certain 'aura' as they called it, or personality. On this level, there was always a push to stay within the boundaries, yet also to try to exceed them, to adhere to the limits of intelligibility conferred by those boundaries, while pushing their envelope. I saw this happening, for example, in the tension between the demand for models to adhere to strict standards of appearance, coupled with the incessant search for something new, that might upset these standards in subtle ways. Once I had established to my own satisfaction that I had indeed found in modeling an example of affective labor at work in contemporary society, I could

formally define it as the work to stir up or arouse the flow of bodily energy expressed in the form of affects during interpersonal contact or proximity, in either the actual or virtual sense. Once these flows are activated, another aspect of affective labor is to supervise or modulate that flow, to channel or direct it toward an opening, or a receptivity, forming points of contact, or switching bodies between active and passive modes, within the networks of affective production.

I ended the dissertation with some speculation as to what my findings could mean within the broader questions of imaging technologies and postmodern bodies at work. I came to the conclusion that the eventness of affective production and its dependence on an unpredictable quality of innovation or creativity might be symptomatic of a developing trend in capital accumulation toward a dependence on energies and capacities which it cannot fully capture or control. What I mean to say is that models, in becoming conduits of affective flow, are part of a process in which capital is acting as an apparatus of capture, in which affective energies are unleashed, and then captured and actualized into the system of value. Is it possible in this moment of unleashing affective energy, there is a space for redirecting that energy away from becoming a source of capital production toward some other ends? The immaterial affective labor of models may represent a new investment in forms of labor that are potentially disruptive in certain ways. This new realm of investment entails a bringing together of communicating subjects, an intensification of energy flows between them, and a capitalization on the impulse to communicate, the impulse for community using technologies that generate virtual human contact.

In the shift from the power over life, which was the paradigmatic basis for the functioning of the capitalist system as we've known it most recently, to the power to enliven, which is the emerging basis of capitals' future productive potential, *is there a moment in which this bringing to life, this stimulation of affective energy, might be wrested from the powers that it is serving, and redirected toward other ends?* Brian Massumi has observed that perhaps one example of a pragmatics of intervention might be possible in a sort of politics of communication, in which irony, or humor might be used to redirect the flows of legitimation of capitalist practices. If capital, as I've tried to illustrate, is investing in a sort of letting loose, or setting free of energy, there is a level of excess in which there is an indeterminability.

In that moment of excess, the effort to add noise or complexity to the circulation of images and information for profit might re route some of the circulation – for example, an effort of this type might include the activities of a group called Billionaires for Bush, in which protestors present themselves in costume and act as characters who support Bush's policies. Recently, a busload of these protestors assembled on the pro-Bush side of the road at a demonstration, dressed in top hats and tails, poured champagne and shouted slogans like, "Let's hear it for a jobless recovery!" "Tax Work not Wealth" and "Corporations Are People Too." In their ironic parody, they were using the tools of the media, but also of surprise, of the shock of recognition when the irony is realized, and humor. All of these, Massumi claims, are possibly effective "counter tactics" to the right's attunement to the "imagistic potential of the postmodern body" (2002:44). If human vitality is an unlimited affective potential, it can't possibly be contained by capitalism's apparatus of capture. Something always escapes. The trick is to develop a

pragmatics of interference in the apparatus of capture and implantation within the capitalist system. The idea would be to redirect forces of legitimation away from the right's use of the imagistic potential of the post modern body, towards a productive counter tactics of distraction, aimed at disruptive ends.

Acknowledgements

Many people made this work possible. For formal support, I would like to thank Monroe Carrel, Jr. for his generous donations to the CUNY dissertation fellowship fund, from which I was the first recipient of the now annual award. I was also the fortunate beneficiary of the Helena Rubinstein granting fund, receiving an award for academic and scholarly excellence that translated into financial support for pursuing that excellence at two different points in my graduate career; both in the early stages, and in the final countdown of doing the dissertation.

Without Stanley Aronowitz's wise words, and desire to push me, this work would never have been conceived. While all of my professors helped shape this project, I have to say that Bob Alford was also one of the most outstanding. His passing was a great loss to all future generations of students at CUNY. As for Patricia Clough, who not only chaired the dissertation, but also inspired me to take it beyond the limits of my own expectations, there are few words that can encompass her incredible generosity. Her gifts of time, energy, comfort, task mastering, encouragement, and inspiration went far beyond the call of duty, and I am deeply grateful to her for her guidance and friendship over the years.

For providing invaluable access to the modeling world, and for her role as a sounding board, I thank Renee Torriere, without whom this project would never have gotten off the ground. For their wise advice, assiduous reading, unceasing patience, and unwavering support, I thank the Women of Sociology Study group: Ananya Mukherjea, Ariel Ducey, Michelle Ronda, Lorna Mason, Gina Neff, and, more recently, Penny Lewis and honorary woman, Jeffrey Bussolini. Gina, I must thank especially for her willingness to read draft after draft, giving me a shoulder to cry on when I needed it, and buoying me up when I was feeling the overwhelming weight of this massive project. I also have to thank Richard Dienst for the years of formative conversations, and his willingness to ask me the right, sometimes hard, questions. Last, but not least, I thank my husband Patrick, for tolerating my manic obsessions with these ideas, for helping me sort them out during the many meals at which I spoke of nothing else, for helping me to put the work first, no matter what, for having faith in me when I had lost faith in myself, and for generally being the rock and foundation without which I never would have reached the finish line.

Chapter 1

THE ATTENTION ECONOMY

In November 2001, the Victoria's Secret fashion show was broadcast on network television for the first time. It drew protests from feminists,¹ and hundreds of calls to the FCC in the 24 hours after the showing, registering complaints. Despite (or because) of the brouhaha, the show drew 12.4 million viewers, not the highest ratings possible, but certainly a better performance than previous showings in that time slot (Kuczynski 2001). In 2002 and 2003, the show once again attracted millions of viewers, and still more controversy, from debates in the television and print media about how much sex is too much for broadcast television, to the usual complaints about how the show baits men and cheapens women.

In addition to the complaints that the show catered to the most "base male demographic," and sent a dangerous message to young girls by "marketing sex to teenagers" (Boteach 2003), were those who noted that the show was, essentially, one long infomercial for Victoria's Secret products. The fact that the producers of the show could call on the format of a fashion show, and count on probable public interest in that format to legitimize such a feat of self promotion, indicates that there are more layers to this story than just the use of sexy women to sell underwear. In fact, to understand the

¹ Demonstrators convened at a Victoria's Secret Shop a few blocks from where the fashion show was videotaped. In 2002, several women's groups, including the Concerned Women for America and the National Organization for Women asked CBS not to air the show, calling it a "soft core porn infomercial" (Weiker and Turner, 2001). In addition to the feminist outrage, in 2002, the event also attracted protests from PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) members of whom rushed the stage during the show's taping brandishing signs reading "Gisele Bundchen Animal Hater." Ironically, they weren't even protesting the show. They were using its attention value to draw eyes to their own cause: to protest the supermodel's new role as the Balackglama fur spokesperson.

structure and influence of the Victoria's Secret show more broadly, we have to ask questions of more than its mere content. We must also question the show's form, timing, and placement in the media landscape. Content analysis may serve an important function in evaluating the meaning and social power of representation we see in the media, and provide useful and cogent critiques of the social relations of power in both media production and reception. It rests, however, on assumptions about media production and reception that have recently come under some scrutiny. Specifically, scholars in media studies, queer theory, and gender studies who have grappled with strands of thought arising from poststructuralist theory have begun to question the assumptions which form the basis for understandings of audience reception, how media enforce ideology, and function in capitalist economies.

To understand more about why sex sells, for instance, we might blame the baser instincts of the male half of the species, but this does little to explain the appeal of these images to women, and does not deal with the idea that sex functions as an attention grabbing device, regardless of the viewer's gender. In fact, it might be fruitful to consider the use of sex to sell as a logical choice when competing to get noticed in an attention economy. How does the Victoria's Secret fashion show's use of sexual imagery, and the controversy of putting it on national broadcast television, play out in an economics of attention?

The Attention Economy

"Telecommunication bandwidth is not a problem; human bandwidth is."

--Thomas H. Davenport

“Attention economy” refers to the processes by which attention to images is bought and sold in complex markets in which all kinds of images circulate – of people, companies, trustworthiness, well being. The attention economy developed in the context of the recent proliferation of imaging technologies that allow more images to appear in more places. The market in images has grown up in the fertile ground created by the new spaces of image dissemination made available by developments in telecommunications technology that intensified the speed of image capture and delivery, as well as the scope of their circulation. The types and forms of image exposure that exist today far surpass the nineteenth century advertisements painted on buildings and or found in the side panels of magazines. This proliferation is due in part to developments in the technologies of television, computers, and the places where they intersect (such as the computer game Playstation, that uses one’s television monitor, or the internet chat rooms that have grown up around critiquing favorite television shows, such as the viewer driven “Television Without Pity” website (Sella 2002)), that have created an environment of intense innovation, in which many different forms of images are offered up in exchange for the possible attention paid to them. From ultra violet light caught on a telescope’s spectrograph to magnetically resonated, Java script enabled, photographically captured, digitally encrypted, animated forms of images -- the development of various framing technologies has fostered the creation and exposure of images in more places and more ways than ever before (Clough 2000:96), contributing to the growth of the attention economy.

Why are images such a valuable commodity in an attention economy? An attention economy is one in which human attention – to one another, to images, or to

ideas – is bought and sold in abstracted units, much in the same way labor has been bought and sold as labor-power since the time of the Industrial Revolution. In the imaging industry of television, for instance, attention to images in television shows (and their accompanying commercials) is converted into ratings that are traded against advertising dollars. The viewership, or attention paid to the images displayed, has value in and of itself. That is to say, no matter how nebulous, or imprecise, it is still possible to attach a dollar value to viewer's time, and it is worth a lot of money. The investment required to put these images into circulation and distribute them over networks can be quite dear. How much does it cost? The Interpublic Group, an international advertising conglomerate that owns McCann-Erickson, is one of the largest agency companies in the world. They handle the advertising campaigns of Coca Cola, Nestle, General Motors, and Unilever. Interpublic is a collection of companies that bills \$66.7 billion annually (Elliott 2002).

Fashion magazines are another arena in which audiences are sold to advertisers. Fashion magazines sell circulation rates to advertisers and use subscriptions prices to sell individual magazines at below cost in exchange for the yearlong commitment from the subscriber, who is then sold as a fixed audience to advertisers (Kitch 2001:4). In this world of media everywhere, all the time, advertising is just one part of creating a brand's image, alongside sponsorship and logo licensing (Klein 1999:5). In the realm of spin or branding, market research companies are paid top dollar to develop measures of brand awareness by calculating not only attention to branded advertising images, but also attention to a brand's overall image in the news media, the experience of using branded products, or the feelings about a brand more generally. Statistical abstractions of possible

attention meter the exchange of dollars for eyeballs. Computer cookies leave a trail of crumbs for marketers to follow, stalking the elusive prey of our attention.

The idea that controlling and producing images can be valuable has come to light in many different domains of social life. The value of advertising and brand images, under discussion here, is just a small part of a much larger imaging phenomenon that has affected everything from individual corporations to entire countries. In the competition for attention, corporate branding grew out of the need to identify oneself in the increasingly cluttered mediascape. Cities and even countries have been climbing onto the brand bandwagon, building their images with everything from expensive museums (as in the case of Bilbao, Spain) to creating a logo to represent their country.² While measuring the value of the visual sound byte may not be a precise affair, the need to create a recognizable identity is undeniable when jockeying for position in an attention economy. Branding of cities has come into play because of the changes in transportation and other technologies that promote mobile capital and foreign investment. The branding of images has emerged as the need to produce products is usurped by the need to produce a brand (Klein 1999). One example of the powerful value of a brand's image is the manner in which Martha Stewart's questionable actions on the stock market led to a loss of faith in her and her company's image, which translated directly into a 64% drop in stock prices in Martha Stewart, Inc. on an otherwise normal day of trading (Kingston 2002).³

² "Last year, Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs hired DDB Corporate Profiles, a branch of the global agency DDB, to design a logo that could be used to promote tourism and trade... You might wonder why Poland needs a logo... Like the Nike swoosh or McDonald's golden arches, the kite [logo] is an advertisement. It says: Come here. Buy our stuff. Eat our food. We're not grim. We're fun. 'We want to target the worldwide consumer. We want to show we are a young, dynamic country,' Gutkowski [head of DDB] says, adding that 'politicians now realize that a country is a brand'" (Boxer 2001).

³ A newspaper reported, "Martha Stewart Living Omnimedia has been hard-hit by the insider-trading allegations. The company's stock has plummeted 64% since the accusations came to light in June. The

As information becomes less expensive to produce and disseminate, and its availability has increased exponentially, the level of information we are confronted with on a daily basis has become overwhelming. While libraries in the middle ages contained a few hundred books, up to 300,000 new books may be published worldwide in 2001; during the last decade, the number of new feature films released each year has increased by 80%; the internet has mushroomed from a few thousand to several million pages in far less time (Davenport 2001, Gitlin 2002). Since it is possible to consciously absorb only a small fraction of the current offerings on the hundreds of information channels available to us through cable, network television, and the internet, it makes sense to think of attention as a scarce resource, in which image purveyors compete for finite quantities of attention.

In terms of the production of value, what is really going on here? Let's return to the example of television, as it is there the buying and selling of human attention in abstracted units is most easily grasped. Television socializes free time in much the same way the factory socialized labor time – it converts individual viewing time into abstract units that represent the average of all the viewing time of audiences as a whole.

Television generates

a realm of collective, shared time, and by setting standards for the valorization of this time, television advances capitalism's temporal rule: everybody is free to spend time in their own way only because, on another level, that time is gathered elsewhere, no longer figured as individual... the 'choice' of whether or not to watch television and what to watch there becomes part of the way one directs

media scrutiny has been brutal [including] jokes abound about the untidy mess the perfectionist is now in" (Kingston 2002).

oneself toward others; it is no more a choice than the decision whether or not to work or to use money (Dienst 1994:62).

One could say that in this circumstance, visual images occupy human time and visual attention is converted into labor power (Beller 1998:77). The question of how watching can possibly be a form of working (Clough 2000) will be taken up shortly, in terms of how the viewer captures and actualizes the affective flow into a focusing of attention that results in either expression or action. For now, suffice it to say that in an attention economy, value production takes place in the realm of social reproduction in ways that some scholars have begun to refer to as *affective production* (Clough 2003, Negri 1999, Hardt 1999). In light of the current processes of branding, advertising, consumerism, and the commodification of everyday life they bring with them, there is a real tendency toward a breakdown of the separation between social reproduction and the process of production, as it is increasingly incorporated into the capitalist relations of exchange (Clough 2003, Carpiagnano 2000, Hardt and Negri 2000, Beller 1998, Negri 1999, Lazzarato 1996). The tendency is such that the authors of *Attention Economy*, a book primarily about corporate management techniques, had no problem envisioning a world in which “one day family members – in an intimate, human twist on pollution credits – may buy and sell among themselves the time and attention that must be bestowed on children and elderly relatives” (*Inc.* review of Davenport and Beck 2001:32).

If we think of attention as a valuable resource that can be captured, held, bought and sold, then the choice by CBS to broadcast the Victoria’s Secret Fashion show during November sweeps month, and the executives’ decision at Victoria’s Secret to produce the show during the month when Christmas merchandise became available in Victoria’s

Secret stores, begins to make sense. Indeed it was a sweet deal on both sides. The models slinking down the runway were not only showing product, they were also producing an image for the brand, an image important enough to invest \$5 million dollars to produce the show the first year, and \$6 million in 2002 (Victoria's Secret would not disclose how much it spent on this year's show, according to CNN/Money (Bhatnagar 2003)). Its attractiveness to network broadcasters in a bid for higher ratings during the television sweeps period, in which television broadcasters compete for the best ratings, was due, of course, to the fact that sex sells. Sex sells so well, in fact, that Victoria's Secret did not have to pay for an hour's worth of commercial time to broadcast what was essentially an hour long infomercial for their products; instead, Victoria's Secret got the entire hour for the price of five spots of thirty seconds each, which comprised only a portion of the total commercials sold for that hour, at \$250,000 each.

Thus, for the cost of the show's production, and the purchase of five commercials, Victoria's Secret got the invaluable return of a network television show devoted to their products, while CBS made millions from a show which had required a small investment of \$1 million to prepare the show for television (Weiker & Turner 2002). Both organizations benefited greatly by this arrangement; as one fashion pundit put it, "For Victoria's Secret, it's a brilliant way of extending the brand...they've developed a way to bring their catalog to life. It's also smart for CBS. It brings in younger viewers who are interested in fashion, as well as males who are interested in supermodels" (Eldredge 2003). CBS attracted a younger demographic, and Victoria's Secret not only promoted its products, but carved out some prime real estate in the limited span of viewer's attention, a commodity that is almost priceless in an attention economy.

While the show won viewer's attention, it was not all of the best kind. How, from the perspective of winning customers for Victoria's Secret products, does the controversy over the show function? Victoria's Secret pushed the envelope of broadcast television censorship precisely to scandalize at least some of the audience and create a controversy that garnered attention for its products and for its brand name. CBS was mentioned in news stories covering the controversy. Both parties arguably benefited from the uproar. As we will discuss in my analysis of affective production in the fashion modeling industry,⁴ getting attention is sometimes more important than the reason for that attention. In other words, viewed from the perspective of affective production, selling underwear was not the show's only goal. What else might the show be producing in addition to a concrete desire for the product being shown? In an attention economy, producing a response, whether positive or negative, is imperative. In fact, if the notion of an attention economy is considered within the context of an affective economy, as I will discuss below, then creating an attachment to or affection to a particular product or brand may be just as important as getting that brand noticed, positively, negatively, or somewhere in between. In this sense, the show might work not only to create an affective reaction to the brand, but also may create a point of contact, an affective linkage to images portraying luxury underwear, fashionable garments, or fashion in general, in a productive moment that exposure to images makes possible.

As Patricia Clough observes, "television does not just support a worldwide market economy. It brings the world market wherever it goes... it brings the market for information, money and abstract knowledge wherever it goes"(2000:97). In the same

⁴ Fifty four interviews with models were conducted in New York City between 2000-01 and 2002-03. The sample consists of models, agents, photographers, art directors, and others who work with models. See Table I and Appendix A for a full break down of the sample and research methods.

manner, images depicting the pleasures of Western culture, whether in the movies, on television, or in print, all contribute to the advancement of Western market values (or anger at their infiltration) wherever these images travel to, anywhere on the globe.

Fashion is arguably a form of information – about new styles and trends, about what to want, about how to get it, about whom to be. Just as “films pave the roads for future films, (building theaters, projectors, sound systems, and desires)” (Beller 1998:86) fashion images (in magazines, on the television, on the internet, or in cinema) pave the road for fashionable stores, magazines, their producers, attention to trends, Western goods. Additionally, while cinema paves the way for “capital in general, meaning bourgeois/first-world popular culture and its fall out (imperialism/neocolonialism)” (Beller 1998:86), I argue that fashion images also bring with them the capitalist marketplace, and the culture and value systems that it brings with it.

I’ve taken up the idea of the attention economy in order to examine the types of production called forth by that economy. I will argue that affective production is a form of production most common in an attention economy, and a type of production that raises questions about how work, energy and value are being calibrated in postindustrial settings. Producing networks for affective flow, and points of contact for modulating that flow is a networked form of production which has become very valuable in what some scholars have identified as an affective economy, in which flows of affect are amplified, redirected, and modulated, increasingly invested in by capital as potential sources of value. From this perspective, as I will discuss, the work of the models is to produce affective contacts and linkages, so they produce not only an investment by the viewer in a

product's brand, but also more broadly in fashion, and also perhaps in watching television itself.

Affect and the Social Factory

"Affect is a real condition, an intrinsic variable of the late capitalist system, as infrastructural as a factory" --Brian Massumi

In an affective economy, goods and services once thought to be priceless, to which a market value cannot be assigned are currently being bought and sold on a regular basis (buying units of attention to pay to the elderly or infants, as mentioned above, doesn't seem far off when one thinks of the commodification of care that has grown up within the health and child care service industries, for example). The socializing functions traditionally fulfilled by family relations have broken down in the now opened and disrupted former "haven" of the domestic (Lasch 1977). These social and technological developments have brought the public sphere into the home such that the division between public and private is blurred (Meyrowitz 1985). The home becomes more like a "nexus" permeated from every direction by streams of energy which "run in and out of it by every imaginable route: water, gas, electricity, telephone lines, radio and television signals;" it is a "complex of mobilities" (LeFebvre 1974:93). From this perspective, it is more difficult to identify where labor power might constitute itself outside capitalist command, an exteriority upon which the labor theory of value has traditionally rested.

Capital at one time may have engaged "with the labor process as it finds it," grafting itself onto "non capitalist processes"; as labor is subsumed by capital, however, the social becomes increasingly subordinated to capitalist regimes of production

(Thoburn 2001:77-78). In other words, the source of production is no longer just the worker in a factory. The whole of social life becomes a factory as both work (traditionally understood to be a job) and cultural, community, or biological activities understood to lie outside of work, are appropriated as a “general productive power” (Marx 1973:705) in a sort of “social factory” (as cited in Thoburn 2001:78, with reference to Tronti), that is, a power of understanding, communication, relation, and sociality. In this sense, the “social individual” in all his or her social capacities (not just in the potential for work in exchange for a wage) becomes the source of wealth in society.

In the course of this process, attention becomes a resource to be mined for value production. The flow of affect is related to attention because it arouses motivation, interest, and sometimes action in response to the various drives (Sedgwick and Frank 1995), the control of which are part of the socialization process (Freud 1961). In this sense, the idea of buying and selling human attention is an example of the tendency toward a collapse between the domains of production and reproduction. It is in the reproductive realm that humans are socialized into various societal roles (such as good citizen, man or woman, productive worker, etc.). It is also in this realm that we are socialized into the “band of intensity” determining our “affective profile” (Gibbs 2002:338) that shapes our reactions to everyday life. Part of that socialization involves managing our attention (in school we learn to sit up and pay attention to the teacher; at home to pay attention to whichever family member is demanding it at the time). Ultimately, if we learn to focus our attention well enough, we might have a job in which we pay attention to the tasks at hand in exchange for a wage.

Consumerism is a piece of this puzzle – under the circumstances just outlined, “the working class becomes a production agent integrated into the capitalist system through the consumer goods market. Reproduction becomes a dynamic force of production instead of merely guaranteeing the subsistence of labor power” (Caffentiz 1980:241). There is more going on than just consumption, however; in the “spread of the commodity form... the vast expansion of the tertiary sector corresponds to the commodification of everyday existence; life is increasingly about buying and selling, and those involved in sales and distribution efforts are engaged in the reproduction of both consumption and production” (Aronowitz 2003:59). In this transition, “the productivity of the social individual – which could include a wealth of knowledge-based and *affective* relations –emerge[s] always already in a work relation”(Thoburn2001: 84, emphasis added). In the case of an affective economy, there is an extraction of value not only from repetitive manual labor, but from “all sorts of different, more complex forces in the social individual’s ‘combination of social activity’ across society (not just within, but including work time)... work is not emptied of content, but filled with a different content”(Thoburn 2001:84). Work takes place, in this sense, in the social factory in which communicative, emotive, and social activities (all of which are affective activities because they deal with human motivation, attention, action, and interaction) may count as work, or may not even be considered to be work, but are productive nonetheless.

Thus, if we use the concept of the social factory to think about the affective economy, then we might say work takes place not only in the workplace, but in the home, on the street, or wherever there is social interaction. Thought of in this way, then, when ratings, branded images, and affective flow circulates in televisual and computerized

networks, watching can be a form of working (Clough 2000:98) because the mass media has become a production machine:

Technologies such as cinema and television are machines that take the assembly line out of the space of the factory and put it into the home and the theater and the brain itself, mining the body of the productive value of its time, occupying it on location. The cinema as deterritorialized factory, human attention as deterritorialized labor (Beller 1998:92)

If human attention is labor deterritorialized, then, wherever it is paid, in the home or the workplace, it still counts as labor, further eroding distinctions between home and work, public and private, distinctions much of social theory still rests upon. Rather than thinking along these divides, it is more useful to think of the field of productive human activity occurring on a single plane modulated by machines. Television, for instance, can be understood as a huge productive network which functions to

capture attention and modulate affect through a logic of exposure, over – and under exposure... as such, television points to and produces itself in a network of a vast number of machinic assemblages, crisscrossing bodies – not just human bodies – producing surplus value, pleasure, and signs all on one plane (Clough 2000:99).

In an affective economy, value is not calculated at the level of the individual consumer; instead time is socialized into abstract units of “social time-power” (Dienst 1994:60) that is bought and sold by advertisers at a price calibrated by the rationalized domains of market research, and ratings systems. Richard Dienst argued that just as industry

collectivized and redistributed social labor time according to capitalist imperatives, the television system now performs the same function for the other segments of time: pleasure time, public or community time, household time, parenting time, childhood time, even animal and vegetable time (1994:60).

When the affective realm of communication, emotions, and social life is absorbed into and gridded by capitalism for production, then we might say we are living in an affective economy. In such an economy, it becomes harder to draw the line between work that clearly produces value and activities that are productive of value, but not necessarily called work. As the social is increasingly subordinated to the capitalist regime in the social factory, and affective stimuli such as branding and the work of images have been set in motion, the energy engendered by the subsequent shifts and modulations in affect may be harnessed for productive ends whether or not we consider ourselves to be at work. Thus, cooling off from a hard day at work by vegging out in front of the television can produce value in units of social time power, time that enters into “cycle of value without being treated as a commodity by those who spend it” (Deinst 1994:179 n. 70). Similarly, watching the Victoria’s Secret fashion show on television calibrated social time power on a variety of levels, marshalling attention into various streams and directions. Thus, different ways of collecting and spending time are productive of value, and calculating only labor time’s productivity misses a significant portion of the affective production and circulation that goes on in an affective economy.

Affect vs. affects

“Affective responses... are the primitive gods within the individual.”

Silvan Tomkins

The concept of *affect*, the idea at the base of affective production, has been used by psychologists and sociologists to refer to demeanor, external expression of emotion, or emotions more generally. Recently, scholars have used the idea of affect in a different register. They have variously used the concept of affect to theorize relations between bodies and images in a media saturated age (Gibbs 2002, Massumi 2002), to find new ways to theorize information machines and living organisms (Sedgwick and Frank 1995), or as the basis for understanding new forms of capitalist accumulation (Clough 2003a, Hardt & Negri 2000), forms of accumulation that are typical of an affective economy.

Along with these theorists in media studies, queer theory, and cultural studies, I am using the concept of affect as a vehicle to rethink links between inside and outside, thought and body, mind and machine. In my work on fashion models, I use affect in this different, expanded register; I am not using affect as just another word for emotion, but seek instead to think it as a condition of emergence of emotion, and emotion as the capture, closure, and naming of affect. Affects, which I want to be careful to differentiate from the flow of affect,⁵ are mental and bodily states that are distinct from emotions because they refer to syndromes the body may experience whether or not the subject is conscious of that experience. Whether or not affective energy breaks through to consciousness as an emotion, a mood swing, a thought, or an action, depends on how the subject has been socialized to feel affective response in their body.

The word affect is confusing because it has different meanings in the different strains of thought in which it is normally used. In the psychological literature, affect has often been used to refer to the external signs of inner bodily states, as shown on the face

⁵ I am grateful to my colleague, Ariel Ducey for pointing out this distinction to me in conversation, and for a continued discussion of these matters in the course of exchanging writing in our study group.

or in bodily movement: a person's affect, then, is the site of interface between inner psychic states and outer evidence of them on the face or in body movement. A notable exception to this rule has been the work of Silvan Tomkins, recently revisited by Eve Sedgwick and Adam Frank, whose work I draw on extensively. Tomkins understood affect in terms of specific physiological responses that then give rise to various effects, which may or may *not* translate into emotions. By naming various bodily states as affects, and theorizing how they might precede emotions, he opens up the possibility of analyzing pre-lingual, pre-social responses that occur below awareness, and so, in a sense, are not conscious.⁶

In sociology, the term affect has been used as synonymous with emotion, although scholars who have turned to Durkheim have found a more complex understanding. From this perspective, affectivity has been understood as the "physiological capacity to generate emotions;" a perspective similar to Silvan Tomkins.⁷ In this register, affective arousal is posited as the basis of social interaction such that the "strongest and most meaningful social bonds are based on intense affective arousal and people seek to construct social worlds facilitating this arousal" (Hammond 1983:91). This perspective is closer to my own take on affect, as an energy that exists between actors in

⁶ Silvan Tomkins has documented nine affects which correspond to specific facial and bodily configurations which occur when the body experiences a particular affective syndrome in response to stimulus. These are Interest-Excitement, Enjoyment-Joy, Surprise-Startle, Distress-Anguish, Shame-Humiliation, Contempt-Disgust, Anger-Rage, Fear-Terror, and Dismell (dismell is a form of contempt) (Tomkins 1963, as quoted in Gibbs 2002). These mental and bodily states are called affects rather than emotions because they refer to syndromes the body may experience whether the subject is conscious of it (e.g. calling it an emotion) or not. From this perspective, it makes sense to say that the conscious experience of an affective syndrome of Anger-Rage, for instance, may range from total unawareness, if this reaction is too dangerous to be admitted to consciousness, to a sense of slight irritation, to a rapid escalation to overwhelming rage, depending on how the subject has been socialized to feel or not to feel their affective responses, that is to say, how wide the subject's "band of intensity" within their "affect profile" is (Gibbs 2002:338).

the social world, an energy at play in sociality, an energy that is contagious, and can be whipped up or dampened in the course of social interaction.

To think of affect as an interim space between body and mind, physiological arousal and conscious realization of it, provides a rich terrain for exploring post structuralist notions of the body, and efforts to break down the perceived barriers between material and mind. By analyzing models' affective labor from this perspective, I can be more cognizant of shifts in thinking about images, technology, and the body, that open the discussion to the idea of technologically mediated subjectivity. In the wake of poststructuralist studies that have de-centered the rational, individualized, subject as the focus of analysis, differentiating affect and emotion has become a vital enterprise. Study of emotion and emotional labor demands a theoretical understanding of the self that is subjected to culturally defined emotion norms. Post structuralist feminist accounts of the self and the body (such as those found in the work of Elizabeth Grosz, Judith Butler, and Donna Haraway for instance) seek to destabilize this notion of the rational, self governed subject in favor of a conception of self, body, gender, and materiality that does not assume the existence of a subject that resides in an "epidermally bounded container" (Goffman 1986 (1974): 572), but rather the self as a "material semiotic node" (Haraway 1995) that exists through interaction, ineluctably entangled in shifting networks of culture, power, language, and images. Affect has become a particularly attractive concept in the wake of these theoretical shifts, one that allows further analysis of the human body not only in terms of discourses, meaning systems, and social construction of the body, but also in terms of the dynamism of the body's matter, such that the body is thought as a center of action and reaction, a site of energy flows and changes in intensity. Thinking

the body as nexus of material and non material forces also facilitates understandings of the body in interaction with imaging technologies that calibrate its energies and feed them into productive flows.

For the purposes of my argument, I postulate a difference between the flow of affect, and the affects produced by that flow through the body, as different moments in the process of affective production. The flow of energy called *affect* flows through the body; when that flow has an effect, *affects* result, the physical and mental syndromes I described above, in which heartbeat, skin sensations, and energy levels change. I often use an analogy to music explain the difference between the flow of affect, and affective response, that is, affects.⁷

When *affect* flows between bodies, producing *affects* within those bodies it passes through, in a sense, affect is everywhere, and nowhere at once. Think of what music does for or to us, for example. Music passes as sound waves through bodies, both human and otherwise. When it passes through a body, it may, in the case of a nonhuman body, excite a vibration or some other type of relatively predictable action. In a human body, however, there's no telling what a body might do – it might dance, fall asleep, become angry, tap a foot absent mindedly, or sing along. The reaction to the music is an affective response – that change in energy, from passivity to activity, from sadness to happiness, from inertia to motivation; this resulting action is affect's effect in the human body. It is tempting to think of music or other stimuli as passing through the body's internal circuitry and producing some sort of measurable or predictable response according to a range of determinable coordinates. It must be noted, however, that the unpredictability of affect's effects speaks to its material nature – it involves the biological, but is not strictly

⁷ Thanks to my colleague Jamie Bianco for drawing my attention to this analogy.

reducible to biology. In fact, a “circus of affective responses” (Sedgwick and Frank 1995:11) can result from a single stimulus, and differ in the same individual at different times. In sum, affect flows between bodies, producing affects within those bodies it passes through.

Scholars in media studies have been particularly helpful in understanding how the flow of affect, in terms of affective energy, is complicated by the addition of communication technologies. Communication is a medium of affective exchange, and communication technologies take this type of exchange into the virtual realm. Images are particularly powerful purveyors of affective flow, and can stimulate a wide range of affects. The power of the image over words is a commonly debated point, and some media theorists have turned to the flow of affect as a means to understanding this power. The media may be thought in terms of a virtual realm of human interaction, mediated by technology, in which producers and consumers of images are linked in an affective moment of production, in which both producers and consumers are shaped in the flow of affect among bodies. This moment involves two distinct levels of interaction that are crucial to understanding the function of affect, and the move toward thinking about how affect could be productive.

In his work on affect and images, Brian Massumi postulates the “*primacy of the affective* in image reception” (2002:24) and splits off an image’s content from its effect. By this he means that there is a split between the qualities of the image and the intensity of the image, such that the image’s content, its conventional meaning does not necessarily correspond with its impact. Thus an image can have an effect that does not

necessarily correspond to its meaning, or without meaning anything in *particular* to the viewing subject that it *affects*.

Massumi's ideas are particularly useful for understanding how affect can be productive. I argue that there is a kind of *event-ness* to affective production, in which the unknown, and unpredictable reactions of assembled forces are incorporated as an essential part of the production process. I build this concept in part using Massumi's conceptualization of the "event of image reception" (Massumi 2002:24). He breaks down the moment into two levels, intensity and qualification. The intensity of the image corresponds to the "strength or duration" of its effect. The qualities of the image are fixed by the indexing to meaning by the viewing subject; this indexing involves some conscious involvement, as it might put the image into narrative, associating it with "expectations which depend on consciously positioning oneself in a line of narrative continuity" (25). This distinction is crucial to understanding the difference between narrative and televisual imaging, two processes I will explore at length with respect to their relationship to the development of affective production in the modeling industry.

Both intensity and qualification excite autonomic reactions, at the surface of the skin, the level of the heartbeat, or breathing. At the moment of image exposure, "modulations of heartbeat and breathing mark a reflux of consciousness into the autonomic depths, coterminous with a rise of the autonomic into consciousness" (25), in the moments of qualification, or attachment to meaning. The intensity of the image, however, does not correspond to these mixing of conscious and depth responses. The intensity of the image is "outside expectation and adaptation, as disconnected from meaningful sequencing, from narration, as it is from vital function" (25). The moment of

an image's intensity is not one of meaning, but of impact. This intensity sometimes functions below the level of awareness; sometimes affective labor involves being open to affective flow, on a level that is below, or outside of consciousness, in a zone of receptivity that some models report having worked toward when they appear in person, such as at a fashion show.⁸

The qualification of an image is its putting into language and meaning, its narrativization, giving an "intimation of what comes next" (26) to the observer. Intensity, on the other hand, is associated with nonlinear processes, such as resonance and feedback. Intensity is "qualifiable as an emotional state" (26) but before it is qualified (before affect is captured as emotion, as I put it earlier), it is a moment that is not passive, but not active either. Rather, it is a moment filled with "motion, vibratory motion, resonation... it is not yet activity, because the motion is not of the kind that can be directed (if only symbolically) toward practical ends in a world of constituted objects and aims (if only on screen)"(26). Affective flow, if it is read as intensity, as Massumi eventually does, is a reaction that occurs before the direction of aims and objects. It is not an activity that is directed toward anything in particular; it is the source of such actions, but the effect of affects is always indeterminate until after they arise as physical states.

⁸ The idea of the functioning of affects below awareness corresponds to the fact that sometimes affects will break through to consciousness in the form of an emotion; sometimes they will not, and might instead circulate below the level of conscious awareness, amplifying in a feedback loop in which a stimulus creates a physical reaction, as in the moment when unacknowledged fear may cause sweaty palms, which might then, when sensed, intensify the fear, and amplify the effect of the original stimulus (when, for example, you realize how nervous you are when you notice your sweaty palms, which only serves to make you more nervous). Or think, for example, of the startle reaction in human bodies. Being startled is a preconscious state that, in which the level of affect changes, or, put differently, there is an affective response. The conscious level of interpretation of that response (either as emotion, or as motivation, or thoughts, or an idea) occurs at another level than it does when affective arousal does not break through to consciousness (see Figure 1).

It is for this reason that I am careful to discuss both the flow of *affect*, and particular *affects*, as sources of value in the affective economy. Using Massumi's language, I'm tempted to say it is both the intensity of an image, and its content, that must be considered as generative within the networks of affective production that link bodies to images in a productive loop which is typical of an affective economy. In terms of how models work with affect, it is helpful to think of their work as modulating the flow of affect, and capturing that flow as affects. When affective flow is captured, it has an effect in the body that might then translate into an expression or an action. Thus models' work with affect is twofold. On the one hand, they work to be sensitive to the flow of affect by broadening their affective capacity so that it easily produces affects in the body that might then translate into an external change in demeanor, appearance, or attitude. These externalizations of affective flow can then be used to transmit energy and activate affective flow in others, which might perhaps then be captured as affects, and so on. Models work with affective flow both in person, or via virtual human contact made available through images. In some senses, the job of a model is to be as open as possible to that flow, to keep it moving, without capping it off and defining it as any particular affect. As one of my respondents put it, models are "just conduits most of the time" (17, Cameron). Their work often involves efforts to amplify and modulate the flow of affect by presenting an image or producing an energy that is not immediately assimilable to consciousness. I will discuss below how models work in tandem with the teams of artistic, affective laborers who work to construct the flows of affective exchange, the contexts of affective amplification or modulation, and to create schemas by which it is activated. In these networks, capitalism tries to harness that vitality which is the flow of

affect between us and within us. When one feels the flow of affect, or rather, the affect that escapes capture by our cognition, one feels the sense of “one’s own vitality, one’s sense of aliveness, of changeability” (36). When I speak of affective labor, I don’t mean to refer to any one site of production, but rather multiple sites of activation in which the virtual is pulled toward the actual without ever being actualized, instead allowing the productive tension free play, to call forth the ‘whatever,’⁹ that might result in the resonating waves of activity such proximity might stir up, entail, call forth, or excite.

In this sense, it is the model’s job to be open to a free play of affective flow and work in tandem with the networks of affective production to allow the capture of that flow as affects. To return to Massumi’s conception of affect’s functioning, for those affective stirrings to have a “specific effect” there must be a determination of that flow into a direction by the “apparatuses of actualization and implantation that plug into them and transformatively relay what they give rise to” (Massumi 2002:44). Here Massumi refers to the school, family, church, “to name but a few”(44); in that group I would include the networks of the affective economy, of consumerism, branding, fashion, and more generally, culture, which direct affective flow towards points of receptivity on the receiving end, in the form of television viewers, for instance, who actualize and implant affective energy and relay it along a chain of action and reaction which may or may not translate into profit somewhere along the line.

I am arguing then, that the idea behind producing an affective image is to try to transmit a “force of potential” (42), to use Massumi’s phrase, that will counteract the limiting abilities of consciousness, that will explode the containment performed by

⁹ A term used by Michael Hardt with reference to “what Giorgio Agamben refers to in Italian as *il qualunque* and what Deleuze and Foucault indicate in French with *le quelconque*”(Hardt 1998:32).

actualization. If an image is to succeed in this, the force of its potential “cannot but be felt”(42) as it enables and simultaneously counteracts the limiting power of selection through which its effects come to consciousness.¹⁰

Massumi claims we must think of images as “the conveyors of forces of emergence, as vehicles for existential potentialization and transfer” (43); e.g. images transfer energy. They create potentialities – they create the potential for reception to the vitality that the image conveys. A good model is one who has the ability to play on our connectedness, that is, the virtual tendrils that form potential paths into our mutual futures and pasts. A good image conjures forth the sensation of as many of these possibilities in as many directions as possible; the best kind of image cannot be closed off, always offering possibilities, even after the most thorough of interpretations. A model’s job, in some sense, is to present these potentialities in the flesh – to be everything to everyone, or to be something in the extreme without being anything in particular. They do their work at the “edge of the virtual, where it leaks into the actual” (43).

I am not arguing that modeling work is revolutionary, but that it calls on those potentials. As Massumi notes, the media function to unleash energy that is immediately recuperated:

the mass media are massively potentializing, but the potential is inhibited, and the emergence of the potential and its limitation are part and parcel of the cultural-political function of the media, as connected to other apparatuses(43).

I will return to the idea of this potential in the conclusion, after mapping out the practices of adulating affective flow that are part and parcel of production in the modeling

¹⁰ Massumi is drawing on the Bergsonian conception of consciousness as a limiting function here.

industry. In other words, affective flow is productive in the sense that it is vitality that is unleashed and then capitalism acts as an “apparatus of capture” of that potential (Massumi 1998:55).

So the affective laborer’s job is to free the social energy that undergirds all social interaction, to stir up the energy and vitality in interpersonal contact. Affective labor is the work to stir up or arouse the flow of bodily energy expressed in the form of affects during interpersonal contact or proximity, in either the actual or virtual sense. Once these flows are activated, another aspect of affective labor is to supervise or modulate that flow, to channel or direct it toward opening a receptivity, forming points of contact, or switching bodies between active and passive modes, within the networks of affective production.

There are various kinds of affective laborers, as I will outline presently. An interesting paradox of affective labor is that the creation of intensity does not necessarily correspond to meaning. That is to say, a model might work to create an energy, for instance, without working toward communicating anything in particular, or, rather, communicating everything in particular, in an effort to embody a sort of virtual possibility, in a scattershot approach aimed at producing as many points of contact as possible, at the moment of capture by the system. But note, as stated above, that this energy is set free in a very controlled way, so an image that is affective may look immanently interpretable, and indeed is on many levels. The affective energy that it unleashes is not interpretable, however, and cannot be, if it is to be productive, to point toward a potential, an unknown, a radicality that can only be hinted at before it is

recuperated by the system that is using that energy to sell products, imprint a brand, or create a receptivity to a certain kind of life style.

What is the Difference Between Affective and Emotional Labor?

Before delving further into the defining aspects of affective production and the particular qualities of modeling work, it is important to consider a famous example of an effort to codify and explain the rationalization of affect for profit, Arlie Hochschild's study of *emotional* labor. The idea of an affective economy encompasses and moves beyond the concept of the "commercialization of feeling" performed by the "emotional labor" of Arlie Hochschild's flight attendants (1983)¹¹. In coining the phrase 'emotional labor,' Hochschild created a niche in sociological research that has spun off into a small subgenre.¹² The study of emotional labor was a particularly useful tool in understanding the post 1970s shifts in production from material to immaterial labor, in which the idea of production of commodified feelings suddenly made sense. Although it was not highlighted in the developing sociological thought about the emotions, affects were discussed. An *Annual Review* piece on emotional labor made a useful distinction between affect, feeling, and emotion, such that "*feelings* include the physical drive states (e.g. hunger, pain, fatigue) as well as emotional states. *Affects* refer to positive and negative evaluations (liking/disliking) of an object, behavior, or idea; affects also have intensity

¹¹ For a provocative, and somewhat different reading of how the concept of affective labor moves beyond that of emotional labor, see Ducey, Gautney, and Wetzel, "Regulating Affective Labor: Communication Skills Training in the Health Care Industry," *Research in the Sociology of Work* Vol. 12 March 2003.

¹² This genre is exemplified by books such as the edited collection, *Emotional Labor in the Service Economy* (Steinberg and Figart, eds., 1999) which treats emotional labor in healthcare, family life, professional management, academia, policing, and the work of paralegals. Other more in depth theoretical treatments of the sociology of the emotions arose out of a cultural moment in which the sociological examination of the emotions made sense (see, for example Hammond's 1983 piece on "The Sociology of the Emotions and the History of Social Differentiation" in *Sociological Theory* that came out the same year as *The Managed Heart*, or Peggy Thoits' thoughtful survey published in 1989's *Annual Review of Sociology*). While both cite Hochschild (Hammond uses a 1979 piece, and Thoits cites, of course, the 1983 book), only Thoits had enough time to absorb the impact of Hochschild's work on the field, noting that "emotion is a relatively new substantive topic in sociology" (1989:317).

and activity dimensions... thus, emotions can be viewed as culturally delineated *types* of feelings or affects” (Thoits 1989:318). This definition corresponds to the idea discussed above, namely, that affects are bodily states with varying intensities and levels of activity associated with them, which have not yet been funneled into “culturally delineated” modes of action, reaction, or other form of behavior or expression, but serve as the basis for all of the above. Affects precede emotion, and the cultural sanctions, or personal definitions, which emotions brings with them. Affects can be nonverbal, somatic, and even occur below awareness, yet still produce detectable effects.

By thinking of emotions as types of affects, it is possible to begin to map out the relationship between them. In the moment of assignment to a culturally delineated meaning, an affect can become an emotion. Before affective flow is captured as an action or expression, however, it may shift or change direction on the somatic, nonconscious level. Thus, while working with emotions is always a conscious effort, working with affective flow calls for a receptivity to that flow which may produce effects or responses to that flow below the level of awareness. Although an affective laborer may consciously decide to try to be sensitive to that flow, the effects of that receptivity are frequently outside the worker’s conscious control, and the very openness to that unpredictability is what the work calls for.

While it seems that much modeling work could easily be understood as emotional labor, a goal of this study is to illustrate how the term emotional labor is describes only part of what it is models do in their work. Emotional labor, for example, deals with feeling management. Specifically, emotional labor is the “effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotion during interpersonal transactions”

(Morris and Feldman 1996:98). Models are sometimes asked to convey a particular emotion in the course of posing for the camera. This is particularly true of catalogue or commercial models, for instance, who are most often asked to look “happy” or “content” while they show the clothes, in a mode one model referred to as “smiley” (38, Deedee). As models move up the fashion hierarchy, however, into the upper echelons of fashion modeling, they often find themselves in situations where this is not the case. Frequently, models at this level are not given direction; instead they are called on to channel the energy present in the room, to open themselves to the possibilities of the moment, to collaborate with the team assembled in hopes of capturing something unexpected, something that moves beyond the norm, however slightly. Good models are the ones who “go with the flow,” as one make-up artist described it (24, Kay).

Thus, while models may convey emotion in the course of their work, they are less frequently asked to convey “organizationally desired emotion” according to a specific script. In contrast to the flight attendant who has a specific reaction in mind, and works to produce that emotion both in him or herself, and the passenger, a fashion model is not asked to capture and contain emotion, or direct it in a particular way. While the work of lower level models may resemble this activity somewhat, fashion models are valued for their ability to unleash a wide range of responses, not just emotions, but also feelings, or sensations in themselves, translating these qualities into an energy that can be transmitted to others.

In sum, affective laborers do more than just manipulate their emotions- their whole bodies get into the process and the subjective emotional content of individual actions is broken down into units of motion that can either increase or decrease intensity

in interaction. The somatic movement on the affective level does not just produce emotions, but also produces immaterialities such as ideas, thoughts, desires, impulses, activity, or passivity. Affective labor involves the stimulation of bodily affects via several techniques. It could involve allowing the facial expression and body language free play, to convey or modulate mood or reactions in both oneself and in others. It also involves throwing open the self to currents of interaction and energy, in order to transmit that energy from body to body through contact, either visual or physical. The work is supervisory and regulatory on the one hand, in terms of monitoring oneself or others in order to pick up on affective flow, but also involves the effort to let oneself go, to become a conduit of affective flow, thereby facilitating its movement.

Note that affective flow can only be stimulated in the productive moment of a collaborative, participatory social process. In the realm of the media, images can stand in for actual human contact, taking it into the virtual realm. In sum, affective labor is the setting in motion of processes that are then supervised or regulated. In this second mode, of supervision and regulation, there is a management of social relations and elicitation of social cooperation. In this sense, affective labor is a collaborative effort that involves the stimulation and arousal of affective flow, the regulation or modulation of that flow, and the supervision of an insertion of the body into networks that channel that flow by establishing receptivity and contact. The products of the work are the modulation of bodies and the amplification or switching of their energies, at varying levels of intensity, through association and contact.

Affective Production and Immaterial Labor

Affective laborers work with the body, calibrating the body's affective energies, channeling them into networks that either amplify or redirect those energies, facilitating the flow of that energy into an organized circulation that has been invested in with the goal of returning a profit. While affective labor is a component of all working processes, embedded as it is in all "moments of human interaction and communication", it is especially evident in the "service industries, from fast-food servers to providers of financial services" (Hardt 1999:96). For the most part, affective laborers provide "in person services," such as providing care as a nanny or a nurse, but affective laborers might also provide stimulus such as excitement, interest, or passion via "virtual human contact" mediated by technology (Hardt and Negri 2000). This conceptualization opens the examination to workers in technologically mediated domains, such as information processing, which deals with communication and knowledge production, or the entertainment industries, which deal predominantly in the commerce in affect. There is a distinction between the "knowledge based jobs of creative symbol manipulation," which include the "communicational and immaterial labor involved in the production of services" (Hardt 1999:95), and the "other face of immaterial labor...the affective labor of human contact and interaction" (*ibid.*). Industries that typify this kind of labor are health services and the entertainment industry, and also the "various cultural industries are likewise focused on the creation and manipulation of affects" (*ibid.*). Thus, music, film, and fashion are affective industries, and fashion models produce affect via "virtual human contact" mediated by technologies of image production. On the whole, the fashion modeling industry deals in images, emotions, and the body, all important mediums of

affective flow, and as such, provides an excellent ground for a study of affective labor in action.

On the interpersonal level, “affects may be used by one person to control and reduce other affects in another individual” (Sedgwick and Frank 1995:56), and, conversely, may also produce them in others. When affect is taken into the technological realm, its relation to the focus of attention takes on an economic dimension. In a recent attempt to incorporate affect into the media studies vocabulary, for instance, Anna Gibbs argues that “what is co-opted by the media is primarily affect, and ... the media function as amplifiers and modulators of affect which is transmitted by the human face and voice, and also by music and other forms of sound, and also by the image” (Gibbs 2002: 338). The Victoria’s Secret Fashion show provides an excellent example of this type of affective transmission, which resulted in amplification and modulation of affects. The models in the show used their facial expression and body language to produce a response in the crowd and subsequently the viewers. The pounding music, coupled with the models’ changing expressions and body movements, produced arresting images that demanded attention, creating excitement and modulating affective flow. The models’ bodies themselves, in terms of the shape of the body, its contours and surfaces, also played into the moment of affective transmission, in which they were both familiar and strange at once, human, and technologically produced, creating both a predictable response, and another, perhaps more powerful one that escaped interpretation. In addition, the models’ infectious excitement about the show (portrayed not only at the show, but in interviews in the publicity gauntlet leading up to it), along with their willingness and ability to throw themselves open to the energy in the room at the show

itself, created channels of affective flow, transmitting energy which amplified the show's overall effect on the audience in the room, the television audience, and those who heard about the show in the media. The hype leading up to the show (there was worldwide news coverage), and the show itself, joined the "media torrent of images and sounds" (Gitlin 2002) that swirls around us, in which affect circulates in new ways in relation to value.

The idea of affective exchange, in the form of ideas, images, services, knowledge, comfort, excitement, or passion, has been heralded by some scholars as evidence that investment in the circulation of affect has become central to capitalist production:

Although affective labor has never been entirely outside of capitalist production, the processes of economic postmodernization that have been in a course for the past twenty-five years have positioned affective labor in a role that is not only directly productive of capital, but at the very pinnacle of the hierarchy of laboring forms. Affective labor ... has assumed a dominant position with respect to the other forms of labor in the global capitalist economy... affective labor is one of the highest value producing forms of labor from the point of view of capital (Hardt 1999:90).

Whether affective production is indeed the "highest value producing form of labor" is debatable, but the concepts of affective labor and production, and, more broadly, immaterial production (a term I will discuss shortly) are important means of conceptualizing the results of structural economic shifts that have led to increases in the technological amplification and modulation of affective flow.

To understand the economics of a commerce in affect, it is necessary to think the divides between private and public, production and reproduction, personal and commercial activity, more fluidly, thinking them in terms of control rather than discipline:

The production of normalization is not longer simply trusted to the family or kin groups supported by institutions of civic society; it has become rather a matter of the investment in and the regulation of a market-driven circulation of affect and attention. Control, therefore, is part of a shift in capitalism to an “affect economy” or an “attention economy,” where capitalist accumulation is directed to the domain of attention, affect or potentiality, (Clough 2003a).

Capitalist complicit investment in affect has been pointed out by Marxist feminists who observed the process by which domestic women’s labor supported the family wage, shattering the idea that it was nonproductive, natural and freely given, and therefore should be unwaged labor (Mies 1998; Glazer 1993; Hartsock 1983; Hartmann 1981, Federici 1972). It has also been flirted with, in a manner that indicates its potential is poorly understood, by the current “flattening out” of affective intensities into calculated units of “audiences” slated into “demographic boxes” (Negri 1999), in which information about consumer needs and desires, for instance, are made to flow in the kinds of feedback loops found in postmodern economies, characterized as they are by market research, consumer indexes, and other forms of communication that blur the boundaries between production and consumption (Hardt 1999).

Qualities of Affective Labor

Affective flow between humans is most often stimulated in the realm of communication, caring, affection, attachment, or community. Western gender roles traditionally reserve this affective realm (especially when it relates to culture, consumption, and fashion) for women. The production of affect is most closely related to activities that have been called social reproduction, that is, those activities performed outside of the workplace that reproduce the workforce: activities such as cooking, cleaning, and caring that form an integral part of the capitalist economy (Adkins 1995, Finch 1983, Briskin 1980).

Productive activity that is labeled “women’s work,” regardless of whether it is paid, often falls outside of the “masculine work norm” which “assumes production is a male domain that occurs in the public sphere and that men’s labor can be understood as a general standard to understand all work activities” (Kobayashi, et al as quoted in Mirchandani 1998; see also Acker 1992, Ferree 1990, and Tancred 1995). Compared to this standard, modeling represents a form of work not normally perceived to be work. Scholars who have analyzed the service economy have also identified elements of the work that are not usually considered work, such as being friendly, attractive and conciliatory, traits commonly associated with women. Service work has been seen as women’s work because it calls on capacities that are traditionally attributed to women, namely “sociability, caring, and, indeed, servicing” (McDowell and Court 1994:229). If this work norm defines *real* work, then work activities such as being friendly, attractive and conciliatory are not considered skills as such, which further associates “women’s work” with a lack of skill (McDowell and Court 1994). As is typical of gendered labor

such as sex work, childcare, and other affective labor, skill is not necessarily seen as a prerequisite for doing the job, because the worker is “doing what comes naturally” (see, for example, Glenn 1992 on the naturalization of domestic care work such that each successive ethnic group became associated with “natural” abilities to perform domestic work).

Feminist analyses of caring labor has equated this perceived lack of skill with depressed wages, and this devaluation has been documented extensively (see, for example, England 2002, Glazer 1993, James 1992, Balbo 1987, Kaplan 1987, Ungerson 1987). Women’s work has typically been viewed as unskilled, calling on capacities that are gendered, and are assumed to come naturally to the fairer sex. Furthermore, this type of work is often unseen, performed in the private domain of the home, or, when it is part of the public sphere of the productive economy, it is not generally considered “real” work, and consequently, is poorly compensated.

Modeling work also has the reputation of being unskilled labor, in that models are assumed to be paid for doing little more than looking pretty, something that “comes naturally” to women. Indeed, even the models themselves, as I will discuss, sometimes have trouble delineating whether or not they are bringing skills to the process, or what it is, exactly, they are being paid for. While models are not badly compensated overall, the perceived lack of skill, and the pay scale and structure also point toward continuity between conceptions of women’s work and modeling labor.

Although fashion models are predominantly women, as I’ve been discussing it thus far, it is not immediately clear how the work of fashion modeling is a form of women’s work. Yet, upon closer inspection, there are some parallels that are quite

illustrative, when women's work and modeling work are both understood as affective labor. My research into fashion model's pay, work arrangements, and the industry structure reveal that even the most successful models do not have a guarantee of regular work, health care, or pension. For the most part (exceptions will be discussed), models work from week to week, and each job could be their last. On a certain level, models bear a resemblance to the large number of contemporary and contingent workers whose ranks have swelled in the increasingly common use of flexible or "just in time" work arrangements (Smith 2001). As of 2001, nearly four in five employers have begun using some form of "nontraditional staff arrangements" in the U.S. (Futurework 2001). Some scholars have argued that these forms of contingent work arrangements represent a feminization of the labor force as they are subject to less and less desirable working arrangements (Adkins 2001, Kelly 2001).

As I will discuss in the following sections, modeling is also a form of global labor. Like sex workers, computer technicians, design professionals, and healthcare workers, models compete in transnational labor markets and migrate with the flows of global capital to where the work is (Kelly 2001, Sassen 2001). The "feminine face of global production," in which the "global assembly line has routinely been equated with female labor" may be based on insidious assumptions about "docile girls, feminine third world women, and the ideal worker" (Freeman 2000) that are not readily apparent in the international image of fashion modeling. They are, however, important assumptions upon which the world of modeling rests, from the global sweatshops that produce the clothes the models wear, to the forces that push thousands of young girls to leave their homes in search of a modeling career, girls whose chances of success are slim to none. The

chapters on the structure of the modeling industry (Chapters 3-4) touch on these points, delineating both the international circuits of modeling work, and the international channels of recruitment that have arisen in recent years.

If no skill is thought to be involved, it is very difficult to quantify and evaluate the quality and amount of work performed, fostering a tendency for work to exceed normally delineated boundaries such as an eight-hour a day, seven day work week. The models in my study felt as though they were working all the time. They had trouble delineating non-work activities, and felt pressure from a lack of identifiable standards for when they had worked hard or well enough, to work more and more of the time. In addition, as I will lay out further in discussing my data, they found it difficult to separate their physical and psychic personae from the self that they produced as part of their work. This situation interestingly parallels service work, a notable feature of which is its tendency toward blurred boundaries between self and product that workers in the services often report, as well as the subjective nature of evaluation. As there is no quantifiable output, or objective measures of quality when dealing with “service with a smile,” it is very difficult to quantify or evaluate the quality and amount of work performed. Similarly, in modeling, the phrase “you are only as good as your last booking” (25, Diane) as one agent put it, is a common way of describing the volatile and subjective nature of evaluation common in the industry. In service occupations, and, as I will argue, most forms of modeling work, the “personal performance of workers, their ways of being and doing, are part of the service that is sold” (McDowell 1997:139, as quoted in Adkins 2001:683), to the point where services workers (and models) feel the “inseparability of their bodily performance from the product being sold” (Adkins 2001).

When service workers are feeling that their bodies are inseparable from the product they are selling, how can they keep from taking their work with them when their bodies leave the workplace? While service work may be calculated and paid for by the hour, it brings with it moments where the value of what is being produced and the process of production are difficult to circumscribe or calculate in an hours-worked to pay-received formula. If, as the saying goes, “a woman’s work is never done,” then insofar it is affective labor, it brings with it qualities that are unlike productive forms of labor that were familiar in the past. In this sense, affective labor, insofar as it is a form of immaterial labor, as I will discuss presently, has a tendency to contain free labor, or labor performed in the incalculable moment in the labor process, where it is not clear the work is for pay (Terranova 2000), because it brings with it a different time regime from that of industrial productive work.

The Immeasurable nature of affective work

Measuring amounts of affective labor is difficult because the productive capacity of affective workers and the value of what they are producing are not necessarily measurable by traditional means. The knowledge, ideas, feelings, and capacities produced by these laborers are not quantifiable in the same manner that physical production can be quantified. Affective labor in particular presents a situation in which, as Antonio Negri argues “there is an impossibility of determining a measure of the productivity of labor-power that is objective” (1999:87) since “affective labor takes place where the distinction between production and reproduction has broken down. Where the distinction between economy and culture breaks down”(1999:99).

This notion of immeasurability, or difficulty in assigning value to the labor performed, speaks to the idea that where affective labor is concerned, the notions of work, time, and value are not easily quantifiable in the manner allowed by traditional economic analysis. Take, for example, this effort to assign value to caring labor:

As an example of how the benefits of care work extend well beyond the direct recipients of care to many indirect beneficiaries, consider that the work of teachers makes their students more productive, increasing their later productivity in a job, which benefits the owner and customers of the employing organization. The teacher has created a benefit not just for the student (the direct beneficiary of care work), but also for the employer the student will one day work for, and even the customers who will buy the goods or services offered by that employer. These individuals are indirect beneficiaries of teachers' work... both paid and unpaid care work helps many in society, but markets provide no mechanism to make all those who indirectly benefit from the labor of the care worker pay her or him (England et al. 2002:469).

As pointed out in the quote above, and as I have been seeking to demonstrate, the familiar sociological concepts of women's work, emotional labor, and service work all speak to the notion of an immeasurable moment in the labor process. The immeasurability of these types of labor, prevents calculation of the productivity of labor in relation to wealth produced according to the usual formulas. While the example above discusses this process with regard to workers at the low end of affective production, this situation is also evident in those sectors of the economy where there are workers on the

high end (in entertainment, fashion, design, knowledge and cultural production) who are part of the production of wealth, but their productivity and hours are difficult to calculate. On the one hand, the models I spoke to felt they were working all the time, but on the other, the ratio of hours worked to wealth produced is not clear. Arguably, and as I shall discuss further below, they work so many hours because they believe they are pursuing a vocation that is an avocation, they do their work because they love it, they are committed to it, it makes them feel good. Yet, at the other end of the spectrum, there is a similar logic, in which the nanny is expected to love her job, for instance, and not count the hours in relation to the pay she is receiving, but work toward the children's happiness as her reward. In both cases, the concept of immaterial labor, especially in terms of the cultural, affective labor to produce feelings or emotions, is important in understanding both the range of the spectrum in which it is performed and the immeasurable nature of what's going on in these types of labor.

Creating pathways of affective flow

In my work on fashion models' labor, I discovered a good portion of the work consists of channeling affect, making affective contact, and managing affective relations. Models, then, are particularly well situated at the site of affective production because they produce affective images by cultivating their appearance in the images and the personality they project in them. Models' productive capacity derives in part from their situation within the types of assemblage of images and technology that are characteristic of the affective economy, which take the body's actual presence, in the form of human contact, into the virtual realm. Models use (and allow use of) their faces and bodies to

produce images that are then circulated in the global image economy for profit. What's more, the treatment of models and fashion has become an important part of televisual content (as opposed to cinematic or narratively informed content). In other words, fashion images are especially important to the circulation of affect and creation of affective linkages that characterize the function of images in the global economy.

Modeling work in part builds and depends upon the infrastructures of an affective economy. This infrastructure is rooted in the social structural developments that characterize consumer society, the economics shift to a service economy, the rise of immaterial production, and the increasing incorporation of social *bios*¹³ into the productive realm. Thus, the infrastructure of affective production consists of several elements. First, there is the development of consumerism and consumer society with its codifications of consumer practices and desires via market research and other forms of rationalization. From Fordist relations of mass production and consumption, to post Fordist regimes of flexible production and niche marketing, consumption has become an increasingly important aspect of postindustrial societies. As I shall discuss in subsequent chapters, fashion models' labor and production is ineluctably linked to the development of consumer society. From the rise in mass production and mass communication to its evolution into flexible labor, just in time production, and niche marketing, the affective industries of film, advertising, and television have grown apace. The growth of these imaging industries have swelled the ranks of "cultural intermediaries" (Bourdieu 1984),

¹³ Recall that, in the social factory, the whole of social life becomes a factory as both work (traditionally understood to be a job) and cultural, community, or biological activities understood to lie outside of work, are appropriated as a "general productive power" (Marx 1973:705). Social *bios*, is, in this sense, all of life itself, all of life energy combined. This energy is then harnessed in a process of convergence between "artificial languages, complex articulations of cybernetics and systems theory, new epistemological paradigms, immaterial determinations, and communicative machines" (Negri 1994:235), in which technico-scientific labor, that is labor that is intellectual and scientific, takes as its object *life* itself. It is at this moment that social *bios* becomes productive.

or “cultural producers” (Zukin 1995, Du Gay 1997, and Pratt 1997), whose creative work meshes with demands for affective images and experiences in an affective economy, and reaps high rewards for producing affective responses in the buying public. The growth of the fashion industry and with it, fashion modeling, has been part of these processes.

Another important component in the development of an affective economy is the shift to service work in the mode of “postindustrialization” (Bell 1973, Bluestone and Harris 1982, Lash & Urry 1994), and the rise of consumption as a massive productive force in its own right (Caffentzis 1980). Over the last several decades, activities traditionally associated with private labor in the home have been commodified and made increasingly available outside the home: cooking from scratch increasingly has given way to buying prepared foods, parental supervision of young children to day care, sewing clothes to buying off the rack, etc. (for a brief outline of this process, see Huws 2003). At the same time, technological developments in communication such as computerization and the integration of telecommunications networks facilitated the growth of financial, business, and consumer services. Scholars have identified these developments as evidence of a structural shift toward a service economy, in which the production of services becomes an economic force in its own right. The development of a service economy and consumerism are both prerequisites to the advent of an affective economy in which laborers such as service workers and fashion models produce commodified services and images. While models are not technically service workers who provide in person services to customers in a retail setting, service work and fashion modeling, as I have discussed, are both forms of affective production that reveal interesting parallels that elucidate particular qualities of affective production.

Also important to the infrastructure of affective production is the rise of immaterial production. Immaterial production is a useful concept for understanding the kinds of production that take place in the “postindustrial,” “deindustrialized,” “postfordist,” “postmodern” economy we now live in. In the move to a postindustrial economy (Bell 1976), the industrial core of production in the U.S. and other developed countries has gradually been replaced with “cleaner” forms, that are smaller scale, run more by electronics than by coal or steam. The phrase “deindustrialization” may also been employed to describe the geographical shift in the centers of production from developed nations, to developing ones (Bluestone and Harris 1982). Additionally, the reorganization of mass production in favor of niche or just in time flexible production has been referred to as post-Fordist (Harvey 1989). These reorganizations of production have also been referred to as the “informatization” of production (Castells 1996, Aronowitz 1981).

The development of various kinds and forms of immaterial labor has its roots in the transition to a postindustrial or informational economy (Hardt and Negri 2000, Castells 1996, Reich 1992, Harvey 1989, Bell 1976). This transition not only changed the employment structure, but also work’s quality and nature in many sectors, from *material* to *immaterial*. The products of this labor are immaterial goods, “such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication” (Hardt and Negri 2000:290). Immaterial workers “integrate knowledge, skill, and labor” so that the worker “no longer stands as a cog in the labor process but is at the center of it” (Aronowitz 2003:131). Immaterial labor also involves processes of “codification and de-codification” in which personality and subjectivity become involved in the production of value (Lazzarato 1996:

135). Typical forms of immaterial production include advertising, audiovisual production, fashion, software production, photography, and cultural activities that produce public culture through creativity, but also activities that produce a society's culture through socialization and interpersonal interaction. Immaterial labor calls on capacities to "activate and manage productive cooperation" in a "collective learning process" in which communication, self expression, speech, and collaboration are part of the productive process (Lazzarato 1996: 135). What's more, immaterial labor also consists of activities that are sometimes not recognized as "work," typified by women's work and modeling work, as discussed above. The open process of creation in immaterial production involves both paid and unpaid workers. From this perspective, both the designer of a fashion and the wearer of the street fashion that inspired it are part of the immaterial labor process, in which the "capitalist cultural commodity circuit keeps dipping back into the streets and trawling the living culture" to "ransack the everyday" for ideas (Willis 1999:158).

Generally, immaterial labor can be seen in three realms (the following is a scheme loosely based on Hardt and Negri 2000, and Hardt 1999):

1. The informatization of production (Castells 1996), as identified by the shift from industrial to postindustrial, in which material production increasingly takes on immaterial aspects (via computerization or robotics).
2. The rise of "symbolic-analytical services" (Reich 1992) of management and routine symbol manipulation, in which high level workers identify and solve problems, do strategic brokering and management, while low level workers do other forms of symbolic work, such as word processing/ data entry.

3. The production and manipulation of affect or feeling, which is performed by either actual or virtual human contact or proximity. This form of production is immaterial and corporeal, in that it is the “labor of human contact and interaction,” which can produce “intangible feelings of ease, excitement, or passion,” (Hardt and Negri 2000:293). Health services and the entertainment industry, for example, both depend on outputs of affective labor such as caring and emoting. These types of services are usually “in person services” but the production and manipulation of affect or feeling can also be achieved through human contact that is virtual (such as the work of an actor appearing in a movie, or the work of a model appearing in a photograph).

According to Hardt and Negri’s definition outlined above, with Patricia Clough, I would add that a part of affective production is also aimed at building networks of affective flow, establishing affective contact, and acting as a conduit for such flow to take place.

Affective production is thus a special form of immaterial production that involves the production of affects through either actual or virtual human contact. In the case of fashion models, affective production can take place both in person, as it would at a fashion show, or on the virtual level, as it does when the model appears in a photograph.

Fashion modeling work typifies affective immaterial labor not only on the *individual* level (of the work process), but on the *structural* level (of the industry) as well. In Chapter 4, on industry structure, I will discuss how the structure of the fashion modeling industry typifies the “cycle of production of immaterial labor,” in which “small and sometimes very small ‘productive units’ (often consisting of only one individual) are organized for specific ad hoc projects, and may exist only for the duration of those

particular jobs.” Once these jobs are done, “the cycle dissolves back into the networks and flows that make possible the reproduction and enrichment of its productive capacities” (Lazzarato 1996:137). As I will illustrate with my data, in the modeling industry, work is organized project by project, as teams are assembled for specific tasks, from a pool of workers whose identities and affective interactions foster various forms of creativity and collaboration that periodically coalesce into a specifically productive relationship. In this type of working arrangement, as is typical of most forms of immaterial production, work is precarious, and “it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish leisure time from work time...life becomes inseparable from work” (Lazzarato 1996:138). Using examples from my interviews, I will elaborate this last point, especially in terms of how models conceive of the boundaries between labor and leisure, or work and play.

The models in this study are, for the most part, fashion models¹⁴. Fashion models work at the most creative end of the spectrum between art and commerce and can earn the highest pay. Gisele, a top supermodel as of 2004 who has been in the public eye for the past six years or so, reputedly has made up to \$5,000 an hour on a regular basis. Fashion models appear in high fashion magazines such as *Women's Wear Daily*, *Vogue*, *Elle*, and *Harper's Bazaar*. Fashion modeling is a type of modeling that involves work for couture designers, either walking the runways of their fashion shows, or gracing high-end advertisements for designer products.

Commercial modeling work, on the other hand, consists of modeling for catalogs, department stores, and a whole range of unfashionable products such as those used for

¹⁴ 22 of the 32 models interviewed were fashion models.

feminine hygiene or cleaning the house. While fashion models often have very short careers (usually two to four years), they also have a chance to make millions; in contrast, commercial models' earnings usually peak at six figures. They can, however, sometimes build careers that last for a decade or more.

As I will discuss further in Chapter 4, on industry structure, the division between commercial models and the fashion models whose bodies and images move in the circuits of value within the modeling industry is a significant one, not only in terms of pay and location of work, but in terms of the image and status of that work, along lines that divide agencies, players, and rules and practices throughout the industry. These types of modeling also differ in terms of their affective production. While commercial models may be able to get by with a particularly winning smile, fashion models are often called on to participate in creating innovative, arresting, and unexpected images, and so must be able to produce a whole range of moods, bodily configurations, and facial expressions. Creating fashion images of this type entails intense levels of affective labor, as it calls on a model's capacity to get in touch with her or his own affective level of response to a situation, to open up to the most immediate, unmediated response to stimulus, which may prove to be a reaction that appears to be raw or unscripted, or might present a high level of intensity of feeling, that might then be captured in an image.

In Chapter 3, I discuss how the scouting system, the modeling industry in general, and work in fashion in particular, is informed by a pursuit of particular types of bodies or appearance accompanied by an extra quality, an ability to produce an unexpected or unpredictable response that a model might evoke in a photograph or an appearance on the runway. As I will illustrate in Chapter 2 on the history of modeling, this demand for an

innovation look or a highly variable persona on the model's part is a feature of modeling that has intensified in tandem with the development of the affective economy. The pursuit of the new, found in the unformed raw material that a young, untested model may present, also has fueled the development of the scouting system that recruits new models and serves as a motor of production in the affective economy of the modeling industry. This quality is hard to find, and cannot necessarily be produced by intention, but rather might be arrived at by channeling affect, in going with the flow, in an open, relatively undirected process. Thus as the affective economy has developed, modeling work has evolved toward an "open process of creation" defined by "the character of the event" (Lazarrato 1996), in which the labor process must necessarily remain open ended.

This open process of creation is a characteristic feature of immaterial production, and of immaterial affective production in particular. I've come to refer to this feature of the production process as the *event-ness* of affective production. As I will show in Chapter 5 on the different modes of affective labor, modeling work exhibits a paradox; on the one hand, it involves intense manipulation and control of the body and personality, and other, it is aimed at fostering a certain kind of spontaneity, an openness to the moment and the flows of affect which might ultimately be captured on film and disseminated as an affective image.

A large part of the work of modeling is to channel affect, make affective contact, and modulate affective relations. This type of labor became more common, recognized, and remunerated, as the infrastructure of the affective economy became more fully developed. Once the affective economy began to take shape, affective labor, or the ability to incite affective responses and stimulate affective flow has been increasingly called for

and increasingly well paid. Thus, the history of the modeling industry is also the history of the increasing investment in modeling labor, as the modes of transmission in the affective economy opened and developed onto a global terrain. In a sense, the story of the modeling industry is one example of how affective modulation and the creation of affective contact have become sites of increased capitalist investment, attested to by the growth of the global scouting system for models, the increase in television's fashion content, and the exponential growth of modeling industry and fashion model's salaries. In the next chapter, I will discuss these developments, with an eye toward illustrating the relationship between changes in imaging technology and increasing instantiations of nexuses of affective production.

Chapter 2

THE CONTEXT OF MODELING

Since its inception in the early 20th century, modeling has been inextricably linked with the development of the imaging industries of advertising, film, and television. Each development in imaging technology brought with it changes in the valuation and types of images on offer in the affective economy. Within the context of these changes, the organization of modeling work, and the level of investment in the various elements of models' affective labor changed, with the result that modeling work was paid increasingly well, and oriented more toward capitalizing on the flow of affect. In other words, the growth of the infrastructure of affective production is inextricably entangled with changes in imaging regimes that in turn have resulted in an intensification of the affective labor and production of models.

These changes in imaging regimes are characterized by some scholars as the shift from the cinematic *gaze* to the televisual *glance*.¹⁵ Understanding the relationship between imaging regimes and ideas of embodiment is crucial to deciphering the relationship between affective flow, changing modes of imaging, and the development of the affective economy. Thus I will first lay out the contours of this understanding of imaging regimes, before I relate it to the development of the modeling industry.

¹⁵ See Gilles Deleuze's work on the movement image and time image in his two volumes on *Cinema*, especially in terms of the sensory motor link that makes up the subjective space of cinema's movement image and how that link breaks down in the televisual space of the time image (Deleuze 1989). Richard Dienst works from this periodization to think through the difference between the cinematic narrative presentation and television's non narrative presentation of image streams (Dienst 1995). Patricia Clough uses this formulation to situate ethnographic writing against the back drop of mass communication technologies within analyses of narrativity and post structuralism. (Clough 1998).

In the cinematic norm of image presentation, images are presented in a continuous narrative on film, and filmic conventions produce an unconscious identification with film fantasy on the part of the spectator (Silverman 1992, Mulvey 1989). While this form of image presentation continued into the televisual age, televisual imaging became far more prevalent, even to the point of affecting the mode of imaging in cinematic presentations. Specifically, television is everywhere all the time, and images on television are presented in a non-narrative stream that is characterized by discontinuity. Unlike the continuous space and depth of field common to the space of the narrative, cinematic image, the space of the televisual image is shallow, fragmented, and on the verge of being invaded by other images:

the electronic image implies in its very structure the possibility of the most radical cuts, the integrity of the frame is at last violated and images can now surge up from any part of the screen (Dienst 1995:158).

In the televisual mode, images are presented in random order, so the image has to do its work (e.g. capture attention) almost instantaneously.

Among the various networks of affective flow that developed within the affective economy, the apparatus of television developed to the point that the value of capturing attention, no matter how glancing, became valuable. This change impacted various modes of imaging in society. In print advertisements, for instance, the slow time of advertisements full of text, in which the target subject was expected to read about the product and evaluate its usefulness, gave way to the personification of the image by a human model or other stand in; eventually, post 1950s, the primacy of the visual image became so powerful, text and personification was often dispensed with altogether, and

images came to stand alone, left to strike the viewer, “undescribed and unexplained,” save perhaps for a small logo in the corner of the frame (Leiss et al. 1997). With the advent of the televisual mode of imaging, the image was released from narrative. In that mode, “neither narrative nor stories are necessarily or primarily the way in which the viewer and television are attached to each other” (Clough 2000:99). Rather, images affected viewers, making points of contact, leaving impulses, intensities, and perhaps actions in their wake.

Unlike the narrative regime of cinema, in which it was possible to edit together a seamless reality that follows a storyline, under the new “laws of transmission” (Dienst 1995:146) of the televisual regime, the entire story could be told in the split second of an image, and sometimes the story was dispensed with altogether. The term “image regime” (Dienst 146), or “culturally authorized visual regime” (Clough 2000:47) refers to the dominant mode of imaging techniques that affects all images on offer in the image world. This dominant mode of imaging can also be thought of as a “pictorial order,” comprised of commonly accepted modes of perception, and styles or norms of image presentation and imaging techniques. The “pictorial order” evolved over time from paint, to photographic emulsion, to electrons sweeping a screen (Gilbert Rolfe 1999). At different times, different surfaces of the pictorial order have been “allowed to be normative” (Gilbert –Rolfe 1999:79); they have gone from painting, to the photographic (and cinematic), to the electronic image of video and computer screens.

In each order, one after another imaging machine came to the fore, with each new level of technological development. As each new technology came to dominate, imaging technologies affected and interpenetrated each other. Thus, it makes sense to talk about

how, after the invention of photography, painting changed in form and style (Gilbert-Rolfe 1999); after the outbreak of television, cinema was in crisis (Deleuze 1989); and one could say that television is currently struggling to define itself in interrelationship to the computer.

When electronic imaging became the new dominant norm, television's mode of presenting images spilled into other realms, pulling images out of narrative into new relationships, in which both the time and the space of the image took on new dimensions. While painting and cinema are "designed for the territoriality of the spatial" (Gilbert-Rolfe 1999:54), television frees images from the "perspective of an idea of meaning production tied to the logic of the body" (Gilbert-Rolfe 1999:63). The logic of the body refers to the space and time of conscious subjective perception. Instead, television moves imaging *in general* into a technical logic of "an infinite series of connections between similar and divergent points of information" (*ibid.*). Thus, television

Rather than calling for the subject's unconscious identification through a narrative re-presentation, television hopes for a continuous body-machine attachment.

Television is mechanizing the auto affective circuit. [It] operates on the unconscious of the circuit, befitting the notion of a machinic assemblage (Clough 2000:70-71).

In the assemblage of electronic imaging, "time is photographic" and duration is conceived as instant. With the televisual, images are generated by imaging machines in an "autonomous series" that "requires no interval to pass through a subjective formation" (Dienst 1995:160). With no need to slow down for the time of subjective perception, time becomes automatic, time in which duration is conceived as instantaneous, moving faster

than the subject. Televisual time, then, becomes the time of flow, of “transmission rather than embodiment” (Gilbert-Rolfe 1999:35).

Under the televisual regime, there is no time for the space of embodiment, images are cut up and shown in random order, transmitted faster than they can be made sense of. In the televisual mode of imaging, unrelated images are often juxtaposed in jarring ways, as images are picked up and circulated in a global mix, exemplified in a *New York Times* photograph of women in burkas standing in Istanbul’s airport beside a billboard of a model in a thong bikini (Frantz 2002). As the space and time of affective flow went from the *long duree* of the cinematic mode to the instantaneity of the televisual, the power of the image’s instantaneous impact rose to primacy in a manner that informed every aspect of the modeling industry.

The Modeling Industry and Imaging Regimes

With each shift in imaging technology, from photographs, to film, to television, came increased investment in the modeling industry, and a fragmentation of the work into ever-finer divisions of areas to be mined for value. While a fully causal relationship would be difficult to establish decisively, it must be noted that several of the most definitive moments in the development of the fashion modeling industry correspond exactly with revolutionary moments in imaging. The model emerged in the mid to late 1800s alongside new developments in commercial photography; at the dawn of the cinematic age in the 1920s, Hollywood became a household word, and, coincidentally, the first modeling agency was incorporated in the United States. The post WWII landscape of the late 1940s and early 50s witnessed massive changes in the relations of consumption, production, and the advertising images that linked them. During this era,

relations of production changed in modeling as well; some models conquered the couture houses, others became photographic stars, all began to make a decent wage, and modeling became a viable career.

Television's penetration into everyday life from the 1960s onward brought a radical change in the shape and style of runway modeling, as photographic models took to the runways, and fashion shows became media events. The divide between runway models and photographic models began to break down, and all models were called on to behave in new ways. Consequently, the model became a "three dimensional entity" through exposure on the catwalk, television, and film (Bailey 1999:15). The jump of television images to worldwide accessibility via satellite and the rise of global networks such as MTV and CNN in the 1980s provided fertile ground for the emergence of the supermodel, another revolutionary moment in the history of modeling. Finally, in the 1990s, with the global availability of fashion images via the internet and the continuing proliferation of global television networks, the fashion industry became truly global, as agencies opened new offices in dozens of cities and conducted searches for models in every corner of the globe.

On the whole, the modeling industry's periodic shake-ups, reorganizations, and shifts in the temporal organization of careers and labor practices, interestingly parallel shifts and reorganizations within the imaging regimes of film and television. These watershed moments in the development of the modeling industry and the image production and distribution system marked significant developments in investment in models' affectivity, in a complexification of the structures of affective production, and the increasing investment in images as a vehicle for affective flow. Each shift in the

dominant imaging regime, from cinema in the 1920s, to television in the 1960s, and the globalization and fragmentation of images in the 1990s, brought increased investment in the modeling industry as the model's ability to transmit affective energy and augment affective flow was increasingly sought after and rewarded. In sum with each development in the dominant mode of imaging, the structure for the production and circulation of affect developed as well, and these changes were reflected in the world of modeling.

The Mannequin Parade

When Charles Frederick Worth first used live mannequins to display his couture in 1850s Paris, he did not expect them to do much more than walk back and forth in the salon, allowing prospective clients to inspect the garments and see how they looked in motion (Evans 2001). A model's affective capacity was of little importance; her personality, her movements, her bone structure, and presence were not yet the sites of investment and the bases of various economies they would become; she only had to look pleasant and walk in a straight line. Similarly, illustrator's models were valued as much for their stamina and ability to keep quiet as they were for their looks. Modeling was not a sought after occupation; recruits were usually drawn from "the workshop floor, or found among the demimondaine" (Quick 1997:27). Models did not enjoy high levels of prestige; in fact, since models displayed their bodies for a living, they developed a shady reputation, and for the 19th century male, the model girl began to "replace the seamstress and the shop girl in the imagination of the predatory male as the sort of girl who was ripe for seduction but not for marriage" (de Marley 1980:140, as quoted in Evans 2001:277). These assumptions were based in part on the paradox presented by the fashion model of

this period, “where an ambiguity arose as to what, exactly, was for sale: the dress, or the woman modeling it” (Evans 2001:273).

This conflation of model and product has been a productive element in modeling work since its inception. The model’s involvement in this production, in terms of her labor to become someone who is unequivocally associated with the products she models, calls forth a model’s affective labor in terms of work on her appearance, personality, body shape, personal style, or, in a word, her presence. When models first worked in dressmaker’s shops or couturier’s salons, they may have worked on these aspects of their presence, but the institutionalization and increased valuation of these activities was a long way off. The strict standards for a “model” body were not yet in place; they were not yet the focus of intense scrutiny or the concerted labor and production to induce a culturally legible appearance through investments in grooming, diet and exercise.¹⁶ In fact, in these early years, the models’ figures were not sites of maintenance or supervision, but rather sites of direct physical control; whatever their original shape may have been, it was corseted into the shape that was in fashion, then covered by a maillot, “a V-necked, tight fitting black satin dress worn over the corset and under the dress, which was briefly replaced by a flesh-colored stockinette garment” a practice that persisted until around 1907 (Evans 2001:279). Make-up was not yet a part of model’s affective production of her image, either, as “paint” (the word for cosmetics at the time) was not yet socially acceptable, and wouldn’t be until the growth of interest in fashion linked with the

¹⁶ Although models in the early years may have been naturally slender, and taller girls were sought after, the standards of appearance at the time were nothing like the clear cut, unbending rules of modeling that have emerged. The lack of bodily standards in this time period may have stemmed from the fact the clothing the models wore in the salons was not produced according to a standard body size. This room for variety gradually disappeared. Currently, the general rules for height and weight are that women should be a minimum of 5 feet 9 inches and men at least 5 feet 11 inches. Women should wear a size 4 or 6 dress, and men a suit size of 40 regular.

struggle for woman suffrage created a more permissive climate for consumption and adornment (Peiss 1998).

Although the surface of models' bodies were not yet sites of investment or supervision, the control and modulation of a model's affective energy, in terms of how she focused it in her face or moved her body for display, especially when she walked, or interacted with others, was already under some scrutiny. In Paris, models showing clothes in fashion salons were not allowed to talk, or even make eye contact with the clients (Quick 1997:27). Similarly, during the same period in London, the models showing gowns "barely smiled and never spoke, their working class origins as ambiguously veiled as the beautiful bodies they paraded to an audience of middle- and upper-class men and women" (Evans 2001 275). Couturiers selected models to work exclusively for them, and shaped and molded the model's presentation of their faces and bodies in a style unique to their specific houses. The girls who worked in the salons and fashion houses for Charles Worth or Poiret in Paris, and Lucile in Paris, New York, and London learned to present themselves in a style exclusively designed by their employers.

Thus, when the French couturier Poiret took nine mannequins (a term used interchangeably with the word 'model' at the time), on a six week tour of Europe in 1911, he dressed them identically in a traveling uniform, matching blue serge dresses and beige plaid cloaks, and escorted them on their journey (Evans 2001:280). Lucile, a dressmaker prominent in 1900s Paris, created her "goddesses" by training girls mainly drawn from working-class London suburbs in specific types of "carriage and deportment." Her mannequins achieved a level of glamorous carriage that made them the darlings of the

British press, “renowned for their regal manner and unsmiling hauteur”(Evans 2001:283).

In this era, fashion shows were often sober affairs in which models were trained “to strike dramatic poses” and “to walk sedately” reflecting the social status of their clientele (Evans 2001: 275, 278). For the most part, work in a fashion show involved walking in a mannerly “mannequin parade” that may or may not have been scripted or accompanied by music. There were some exceptions to this rule; in her first Parisian presentation, Lucile’s mannequins tangoed wildly to an orchestra at a sort of *thé dansant*. This performance was “derided by many contemporaries” but was in a format that has come to be an integral part of the contemporary fashion show (Evans 2001: 277).

If affective labor is understood to take place on the levels of actual and virtual human contact, the idea that the means of a model’s affective expression, in terms of her demeanor, appearance, or personality, could be a valuable in a way that she herself might have the right to profit from, was not yet part of the modeling transaction. On the level of the fashion show, investment in a model’s affective capacity was fairly codified and limited during the late 1800s into the early 1900s. The value of that form of labor, in terms of a relationship to profits, was poised to be recognized, but the infrastructure for a market in affect was in its infancy. The productivity and valuation of virtual human contact was not yet the economic variable it was soon to become. Models who sat for illustrators had no claim on how the images were used. In fact, when photography became a viable alternative to commercial illustration, “models in the 1890s hiked their fees if photos were taken, for the camera bilked them out of hours of income from posing”(Schwartz 1996:326). The halftone press, patented in 1881, made it possible to

print photographs on the same page as type, and in 1892, *La Mode Pratique* was the first magazine to use halftones to show fashion (Gross 1995:47). Photographs became a cheap alternative to illustrations, which had become an overly expensive indulgence (Ohmann 1996:234), and were increasingly reserved for creating the idealized images on magazine covers (Kitch 2001:5).

As photographs gradually replaced illustrations,¹⁷ modeling began to call for different kinds of work. Where models once were paid for their patience, stamina, and ability to hold a pose, photography brought with it a different kind of index of value, in which the amount of time to produce the image was no longer the determinant of how much the model was paid, and instead, points of negotiation became the type of image, its placement, and the model's ownership of her own image for commercial use. A lawsuit in 1900 began a chain reaction that changed the terrain of commercial photography, and served as a kick start for modeling as an paid job, rather than the ad hoc avocation it had been into the late 1890s.

The idea that a model's individual assemblage of affective qualities (in terms of her face and personality, or the way she walked or carried herself) could become a valuable asset, had not yet emerged as an economic variable. Recall that, through the late 1890s, illustrators and photographers owned the images they produced; their subjects were paid only for the initial sitting. In fact, the idea that anyone's persona, especially in the form of his or her likeness, could be worth money to, or be owned by, the source of

¹⁷ The burgeoning market for photography, prompted this call for images that went out in 1904, when "the Western Camera Publishing Company of Minneapolis ran an ad in the photographic press. The headline, "Photographs Wanted," and the copy signaled the dawn of a new profession: "There is a large demand for photographs suitable for use in connection with *Modern Advertising*. We are in a position to know what is acceptable work and to place it where it will command the highest price," the ad read... In 1923, a survey found that the use of pen and ink illustrations in newspaper and magazine advertisements fell from slightly more than 90 percent to roughly 20 percent between the years 1895 and 1920" (Sobeiszek 1988:19-20).

that likeness was very new at the time. The first important lawsuit (which was subsequently over turned, but then upheld several years later) was brought on behalf of an infant who “could not have legally consented to the distribution of twenty-five thousand lithographs of her likeness as the (unknowing) poster girl for Franklin Mills Flour” (Schwartz 1996:326). The argument broached the idea that a photograph might violate a person’s right to privacy.

With the shift to photography as a mass distributed medium, the ownership of the contents of an image became a factor in the image’s value, de-linking the labor time of creating that image from its market value, tying it instead to the subject’s affective energy, their presence projected via the means of affective expression, the face and body. Thus the question of a commercial image’s value depended more on the context of production and use of the image than it did on the amount of labor time it took to produce it.¹⁸ The time and value of the image were not related to hours worked, and the index for measuring that value became dependent on other factors that were harder to pin down, such as the context of the image, and the relationships between the person in that image and the person who produced the image. In this sense, it was due to the technology of photography that the affective capacity of a person’s appearance, body, and demeanor, became valuable. Photography made it possible to capture a mood, a feeling, or a persona instantaneously, and reproduce it cheaply with or without the person’s consent, making consent an important variable in the production of commercial photography. In that moment “property and personhood met at that crossroads, the body”(Schwartz

¹⁸ Contemporary models govern the use of their likeness via a “release” form, which codifies the length and number of times an image can be used. Without a release, a photographer is not allowed to sell an image of model as there is no way to verify the model’s consent.

1996:327), and gave birth to the idea that a person had the right to the profits arising from the production and distribution of their own image.¹⁹

Thus, developments in photography, created a niche for models in that they were gradually viewed as workers who sold their likeness for profit, rather than simply the artist's friend, or a particularly inspirational face. By the early 1900s, the sale of images was proceeding briskly as fashion magazines became a major factor in the dissemination of fashion information and the rationalization of consumption, both foundational moments in the emergence of an affective economy. While in 1865 there were about 700 magazine titles with a combined circulation of about 4 million, by 1905 there were approximately 6,000 magazines with a total audience of 64 million. It was also during this period that technical advances brought color to the high quality mass reproduction of images on magazine covers (Kitch 2001:4).

Old practices die hard. Even into the 1920s, it was still uncommon to pay photographic subjects; modeling was not yet a profession. Many of the first photographic subjects of fashion magazines were socialites. They were the ones who wore the latest fashions, and their images were the most sought after by fashion periodicals (Ohmann 1996:233). When the demand for fashionable images began to exceed the supply of rich young ladies, the burgeoning film industry provided a fresh supply of photogenic women who were more than willing to pose. Even then, however, models were considered fast and loose women, limiting the job's attraction. More often than not, models were

¹⁹ This pivotal moment in the legal relations between images and bodies echoes, on some levels, more recent disputes over ownership of human DNA. Does the producer of the image which allows us to 'see' DNA, and therefore use it scientifically, have all the rights to the profits made from that DNA, or does the body that provides the source material for that DNA strain have some rights to those profits? Vandana Shiva constructed a provocative argument on this front when she discussed the fight by certain South American tribes for the right to their (highly valuable) DNA (Shiva 1997).

adventurous women who viewed their posing more in terms of art than of commerce; as one of Man Ray's models said "Half the photos that were made of me were done for nothing... modeling was for camaraderie, you know, for pleasure more than anything else" (Quick 1997:54).

It was the dawn of mass society, in which the first pathways of affective production were being laid down. The proliferation of goods available for consumption accompanied a proliferation of advertising imagery, and the "rise of mass fashion" at the beginning of the 20th century (Ewen 1997:130). In this historic dynamic, "variable elements are brought to bear on a single image that expresses them, or else a single image is varied, multiplied, and distributed throughout the world" (Dienst 1995:153). This was the time of mass production and circulation, the mass society of a million people on Coney Island beach, in which "everybody must behave (as if spontaneously) in accordance with his previously determined and indexed level, and choose the category of mass product turned out for his type" (Horkheimer and Adorno 1995 (1944)). Fashion edicts from Paris were slavishly obeyed, and mass conformity to a certain skirt length, or hairstyle, was the norm.

After the early 1900s rulings regarding ownership of images, modeling work became more common. The need to legally regulate the commercial use of photography was born of advances in photographic technology; these advances in were not the only thing responsible for modeling's development at this time, however. In the 1910s and early 1920s modeling work in the United States, became more highly valued and increasingly prevalent under the combined influences of technological changes in travel and communication (which increased the national interest in fashion), the rationalization

of production (which, consequently, created the need to rationalize consumption), and changes in social mores. In 1913, *Vogue* began to publish their first fashion photographs, taken for them by Baron A. De Meyer (Newhall 1964). In 1914, Henry Ford introduced the eight-hour, five-dollar day. Incidentally, it was also in 1914 that the first charity fashion show took place in New York, sponsored by *Vogue* magazine (Evans 2001:280). The same year, the “first recorded instance of a catwalk being built out into the audience to afford a good view of the clothes” took place at a trade exhibition held in Chicago (Gross 1995:49).

By 1915, the textile and garment industries had grown to great proportions, becoming the third largest industry in the United States, behind only steel and oil (Leach 1993:93). The infrastructures of communication and transportation had also experienced rapid development. These technological developments created a growth climate for modeling work. Telephones, wireless, a transatlantic cable, and the first steamships and cruise liners sped up the transmission of ideas and designs “intensifying the tempo of fashion”(Leach 1993:93), further whetting the public’s appetite for not only fashionable clothes, but also fashion images.

In the emerging culture of consumer capitalism, department stores increased in size and number. As stores proliferated, so did the competition between them. As each store tried to out do the other, fashion spectacles (what shows were called at the time) put on by the New York department stores became bigger and more common. By 1915, fashion shows could be found in every sizable city in the country (Leach 1993:103). It is reasonable to assume that since these spectacles employed models, they increased the opportunities for modeling work, and brought models out of the showroom and studio

into the public eye. The infrastructure of affective production was growing as was the demand for more fashion images; modeling was poised to emerge as an industry in its own right.

Cinema, the Powers Girls, and the Emergence of the Modeling “Image”

D. W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation* made cinema history in 1915, and by 1920, “the most powerful agency of mass impression, the movies, were playing their part in the rise of mass fashion” (Ewen 1997). By that same year, consumer culture had emerged in full force, selling images of fashion as paths to modernity (Ewen 1976). In advertising, under the influence of the new media of film and radio, “emphasis on what the product *did* diminished, while the visual increasingly explored what the product could *mean* for consumers” and how it could fit with a certain world view (Leiss et al. 1997:281). In this period, “the explicit depiction of the relationship between people and products became central” (*ibid.*), increasing the desire to use images of people in advertisements.

While cinematic images from Hollywood were taking the world by storm, fashion modeling was irrevocably changed by the incorporation of the first modeling agency. John Powers took the numerous ads placed by commercial photographers looking for models as his cue. He set up an agency in New York City in 1923 that quickly came to dominate the market (Gross 1995:15; Leach 1993:309). Powers was one of the first to understand the intangible value of a model’s image both on *and* off camera. Eager to separate his models from the “association with loose, off-color theatrical living,” he tried to connect modeling to “naturalness” and the “All-American way,” painting an image of his “girls” as “typical American girls, pretty, healthy, vivacious, and self-reliant” (Leach 1993:310).

Engineering the image of one's product was a typical activity for money and information intermediaries, or brokers, a class emerging to fill new needs created by the shift to mass production (Leach 1993). Powers often referred to himself as a "broker in beauty" and was one of the first to treat models "as commodities which must meet certain requirements" (Leach 1993:309). The formation of agencies was typical of a broader rationalization of fashion trades taking place across the country and the world. This rationalization occurred when retailers, cosmetics firms, and advertisers joined forces with garment manufacturers, merchandising stylists and women's magazines via tie-ins and other promotions, to regulate and codify the vagaries of fashion for more predictable profits (Peiss 1998:129).

In the professionalization of modeling work, the affective labor of body work, projecting personality, and channeling energy was becoming more valuable, especially in the highest echelons of fashion. While, for the majority of clients, "as long as a girl was slim, healthy and pretty, could walk in a straight line and show a certain amount of flair," (Quick 1997:64), she could work as a model, top magazines started to judge by stricter aesthetics. Coco Chanel demanded strong facial features, a lithe body, and an elegant walk before she would consent to train a girl to assume the " 'Coco posture' of one foot in front of the other, hips tilted forward, one hand in pocket and the other gesticulating freely" in an all important projection of attitude (Quick 1997:32).

By the mid 1920s, going to the movies had become a national pastime in the United States. There were eight big film companies, which controlled distribution in theater chains, via companies that commanded 500 to 1,000 theaters each (Leach 1993:274). With the growth of the cinematic industry, images of women in motion

spread on a national scale, and notions of cinematic space and movement were becoming the new imaging norm. In the production of still photography, the new Rolliflex camera and color film facilitated the incorporation of motion into the images. These new technologies “introduced new levels of reality into the fashion picture; photographers were able to capture movement ... for the first time, the model could be photographed outdoors”(Quick 1997:60). If photographers Cecil Beaton, Hoyningen-Huene and his protégé Horst presented the model as a “polished, untouchable goddess” (Bailey 1999:6) in a sculptural image that complemented the clothes from the first years of the century, by the 1920s, the Victorian woman was increasingly left behind in the parlor, replaced by a newly active, vibrant, outdoorsy modern woman. Models came out of the studio and came to represent this modern woman in motion, free of the Victorian impediments of angelic womanhood. This shift was confirmed, by the new popularity of women’s sport clothing (Lipovetsky 1993).

With the advent of the “talkie” and the golden age of Hollywood, a “symbiotic relationship between Hollywood studios and consumer product industries in the 1930s” developed (Gaines and Herzog, 1990:16), and this climate of pervasive Hollywood ideals affected the mode of imaging in other realms. Consequently, advertisers sought to inject Hollywood drama into their still images (Lears 1994: 329), and fashion designers began to design clothes that looked good in motion (Hollander 1980). In the 1930s, cinema entered print advertising, with motion picture frames used to illustrate action or multiple points of view (Sobieszek 1988: 32).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, modeling work was becoming increasingly glamorous and more highly paid. The average model made \$35 per week in 1923; by

1930, some models drew \$100 weekly, and exceptional models could command that amount or more for a single photo session or fashion show (Leach 1993:309). These increases were due in part to the fact that the value of models' affective labor was increasing rapidly, as the infrastructure of affective production expanded via the movie industry, advertising, and the growth of mass fashion. Modeling's reputation and cultural associations were changing as well.

Starting in the mid 1930s, the work of Louis Dahle-Wolfe for *Harpers' Bazaar* made the "American, healthy, outdoor look her personal forte" (Quick 1997:60). In advertizing imagery, models were used to create images that promoted consumerism, and consumerism was sold as a path to modernity (Ewen 1976). This was the era of the photographer Hoyningen-Huene, whose name became "synonymous with the classical siren of the 1930s...[in his images], gesture, composition, and lighting were attuned to the ideal"(Quick 1997:54). Models were associated with the modern, the new, the glamorous; modeling also gained status when the crash of the 1930s produced a newly money-less group of aristocratic women who were only too glad to accept modeling work.

After its virtual absence during World War II, fashion and consumerism returned in the late 1940s with a vengeance, bringing with them new avenues for image distribution, and the advent of fashion photography as a genre in its own right. During the late 1940s, magazines started to segment and target specific populations, such as teens and African Americans. The magazine industry's specialization of focus facilitated the growth of fashion photography. With the proliferation of advertising and fashion images

in these new markets, investment in the image production industry increased accordingly, and model's labor became even more valuable.

In 1946, the indomitable Eileen Ford set up Ford Models. Her management style was unlike her predecessors, other modeling agents such as John Robert Powers who had been in the business for twenty years by then. Where most modeling agents tended to be men, she was a woman, and she introduced a level of involvement with her models that few others had ever attempted. She advocated protective coddling and tight management that set a precedent which soon became an industry standard. Her notion of packaging models, managing their image as well as their labor, picked up a trend originated by the first true model agent, John Robert Powers, and exaggerated it to the point that she became quite a powerful figure in the industry. This intensification of the management's involvement in the details of model's lives marked a shift in management techniques that has lasted until the present day. Her effort to control her charges on an intimate level represented an institutionalization of the affective labor of modeling.

One of the models in my study worked with Eileen Ford in the early days. She recalled her as a quite an influential figure:

There was a time she was so powerful that if you didn't use one of her girls, you didn't use any of her girls. If you didn't book all her girls she wouldn't let you book any of them. That was the rumor. I don't know if it was true; but she did create one of the most powerful agencies. And she now has international presence. She protected her girls. She fought for them (36, Gayle, Table I).

Ford models were slim and well groomed. Apparently, when she first met Jean Patchett in 1948, Ford exclaimed, "You're as big as a horse!" Patchett immediately lost weight,

and started to work consistently (Gross 1995: 103). Ford pioneered the notion of managing each model's overall image: models were trained not only in appearance and comportment with clients when they were on the job, but also anytime they appeared in public. Ford models dressed for work in white gloves, and carried hatboxes filled with their professional accoutrements as they shuttled between fittings, shoots, and shows:

We always had our make-up on; we wore high heels, and there was a time when we wore white blouses, and full black skirts with crinolines underneath it, and you had your little black hat box, and you looked the part (36, Gayle).

This was the beginning of the work on a model's projectible image, part of a model's affective labor that has become increasingly important. The two main ingredients of models' affective labor, body management and image management were picked up and calibrated for value within the labor process of modeling from that era onward.

Television

The introduction of cinematic imaging into everyday life brought with it changes in imaging norms, that is, common ways of presenting and perceiving images, that influenced the content, organization, and style of the image making work of modeling. Under the cinematic regime of imaging, which came to the fore in the 1920s, the narrative space of the motion picture was created by images edited to produce a seamless whole. These seamless wholes of cinematic images were produced and distributed on a massive scale, in the form of movies, by the newly incorporated movie industry. In such an imaging regime, meaning was produced by narrative, that is, telling a story, in which the storyline was edited to make it a seamless reality (Clough 2000, Silverman 1992).

During this era, fashion modeling became more of an industry, changing in significant ways, along some of the same lines as the movie industry. The work was incorporated, and fashion images were produced and disseminated on a mass scale via magazines and movie images.²⁰ As the value and dissemination of model's images increased, the technique of editing a model's overall image to produce a seamless whole became the new norm, extending the investment in their appearance and affective energies in new ways, as surveillance of and investment in the most desirable/saleable image expanded beyond the photo studio and fashion runway. Models' ongoing work to produce their image, in terms of their appearance, personality, and worth, became a new site of investment, as the division of labor governing the production of that image complexified. The new interest in whether models dressed the part when they were seen about town, as described above, is one example of this phenomenon. Another example is the manner in which models were told to manage their time. They were, for instance, told to produce the image that their time was valuable, in order to support the notion that they were worth a lot of money per hour. A model who had worked in New York City in the 1940s and 1950s recalls being told

your time is too valuable; we can't say that you are worth so much an hour, if you drop in and you are doing nothing. So girls used to go into a lot of movies -- to be scarce -- to not be seen just wandering around (36, Gayle).

This new level of energy directed toward managing the image of a model's time and availability suggests a new level of value attached to that image. The image of her time became more important and had to be supervised; this supervision and control of the

²⁰ Film was almost immediately a medium for disseminating knowledge of elite fashion to a mass audience: "From 1910, British newsreel companies such as Pathé and Gaumont included footage of Paris fashions on their newsreels" (Evans 2001:285).

image of a model's time made it more valuable. This aspect of models' labor aimed at producing the image that they are in constant demand has become a typical component of contemporary models' affective labor to manage and create particular affective qualities, such as appearing to be very busy and in demand, that are valued in the industry.

From the mid 1950s on, arguably the beginning of the televisual mode of imaging (Deleuze 1989, Dienst 1995), the televisual regime emerged in tandem with other important structural economic shifts. A mass expansion of image production facilitated a "new symbiosis of image and product" (Zukin 1995). This symbiosis produced changes in the "scope and scale of selling images on a national and even global level" (Zukin 1995). Television also served as a vehicle to promote a culture of consumption on a mass scale, supported by mass suburbanization, and its impetus toward mass conformity. Mass manufacturing demanded a uniformity or ideal in order to sell the product: "an aspirational model who could appeal across national and class boundaries -- a woman of the world" (Quick 1997:69). On the crest of the wave of mass produced goods and the mass distribution of images to sell them, models became iconic figures of glamour, affluence, and wealth. As the market for images broadened in the 1960s and 1970s, image producers enjoyed an unprecedented increase in status and remuneration.

In the space of the "auto affective circuit" (Clough 2000:70), then, new investments in models' labor arose. Certainly from the mid 1950s on, the life of the model became increasingly pulled into circuits of affective productions, and as more elements of her affect capacity became more productive. That is to say that networks of affective production developed in the form of advertising techniques, and television transmission, to the point where the exposure of models' bodies, expressions, thoughts,

feelings, actions, motivations, activity and passivity became productive. So not only was their ability to arouse and manage affective flow while on the job productive, their whole persona, in terms of the transmittability the various components of their affective capacity, became productive even when they were not on the job. Hence, their personal lives, what cosmetics they chose, where they traveled, whom they worked with, which designer favored them, what they ate, etc. all became productive elements in activating the flows of affect.

In the following section I will outline two important moments in fashion modeling history, one in the 1960s, and one in the 1980s-90s. Both reflect changes in the organization of fashion, and developments in technologies of production and distribution; they also, more interestingly for this argument, occurred during two revolutionary moments in the shape and form of the dominant mode of imaging. First, in the 1960s, when television finally hit its stride as a truly mass medium²¹, a significant change in the shape, content, and style of runway modeling took place which started a trend toward the increasing investment in the productive capacity of a model's face, personality, and the ensemble of elements that made up her affective capacity. This shift may be discussed in terms of the model's "faciality" in which her body and face were translated into surfaces that mobilized signification in new ways (Deleuze 1987:168). The second change involved an explosive increase in this trend in the investment in models' overall affective capacity, that started in the mid 1980s, coincident with the upsurge in global imaging wrought by cable television, and then accelerated by the widespread accessibility of images made possible by the internet.

²¹ In the early 1950s, there were 573 stations broadcasting to thirty three million receivers. Between 1955 and 1960 the numbers jumped to 633 stations and the number of sets nearly doubled, to 69.5 million, making "America into the earth's first televisual nation" (Winston 1998: 124).

Enter the Gamine

Television brought with it a turning point unlike any other in the fashion world. Suddenly, image was everything: “the graphic, or photographic quality of the runway show grew out of a commercial emphasis on the image in fashion promotion and marketing from the 1960s onward” (Evans 2001:304). The advent of television also produced sweeping changes in the work of modeling. Fashion shows became media events when the separation between photographic and runway models broke down, and print models, the new celebrities, invaded the province of the runway (Quick 1997). This breakdown of the divide between print and runway modeling was also coincident with new levels of affective modulation and amplification made possible by new productive pathways emerging within televisual networks. These growing pathways made capitalization on images of models’ faces, bodies, and their ability to project personality and movement increasingly profitable.

The 1950s runway model was admired for her hauteur, and was a totally different type of model from a photographic model, who was allowed a wider range of expression. This distancing image of hauteur, rather than accessibility, may have facilitated the model’s production of affects in the audience, as they would have been more able to project their own energies onto the blankness of the model’s face. Even though the possibility to photograph outdoors had become available, high fashion images of the thirties and forties tended to portray the model as “a polished, untouchable goddess,” in a sort of high art style that looked “artificial and rigidly posed” (Bailey 1999:6). In the 1950s, fashion photography “loosened up... instead of static poses, models were asked to

act: to breathe life into the fashion image” (Bailey 1999:10). These innovations in presenting fashion had not yet made it to the runway, however.

The typical runway mannequin’s “demeanor was unsmiling, glacial and immobile” (Evans 2001: 293). Shows continued to be sedate affairs, with little or no music. Models did not jump or sashay; “in the 1950s, models slithered along the catwalk, at most pulling on or off a glove” (Evans 2001:300). Their facial expression and body movements were not aimed at affective amplification, but rather a subtle, controlled, and directed modulation, most likely to stimulate desire for the dress the model was displaying. Shows were long affairs, sometimes taking more than an hour (Evans 2001:279). They had an intimate, exclusive feel; only ladies of a certain level of society were invited, along with select members of the fashion press. Unlike the still exclusive, but ticketed events of today, the audiences of that era were invited guests, comprised of a very small, exclusive circle.

Runway models were organized into *cabines*, the word for a group of models who worked primarily for one couturier:

Where in the pre-war years the work and employment of the salon models had been ad hoc, in the 1950s the model role was made formal. Each couturier employed what was known as a *cabine* which compromised a group of between 7 and 12 models who would work everyday while the collection was prepared (Quick 1997: 75).

Although they were better paid than their counter parts from the earlier part of the century, and enjoyed far more personal acclaim and notoriety, the *cabine* models continued to cultivate a controlled uniformity of walk, and style of self presentation,

consonant with the modeling style of their particular house. There was a recognizable Dior walk, and Chanel's models continued to strike the famous Chanel pose, "one foot forward, flat belly, head held high, chin up and one hand in the pocket of her skirt" (Evans 2001:293).

While the 1950s model "projected a certain aloof arrogance, a kind of static personality" (Evans 2001:295), this changed completely in the 1960s. Designers like Courreges and Mary Quant, in tune with the times, presented fashion shows that were very different from the sedate affairs of the 1950s. At Courreges' 1964 show in Paris, the models pounding down the runway smiled widely, showing the clothes, on "a new kind of girl in a new kind of salon" (Evans 2001:297). At the Quant show, the models kicked, danced, and ran. Presciently, Mary Quant used photographic rather than runway models to capitalize on their ability to "hold a graphic pose" (Evans 2001:297), and sped up the proceedings to a breakneck pace, showing 40 garments in 14 minutes, producing a show that resembled the format that all fashion shows would eventually adopt.

This change of pace was also reflected in the new youthfulness and shortened careers of models. The famous models of the 1950s, Dovima, Lisa Fonssagrives, Dorian Leigh, Carmen Dell'Orefice, and Suzy Parker, projected a womanly, sophisticated image and had relatively long careers (Dovima and Dorian Leigh were well into their thirties at the peak of their careers (Bailey 1999:12)). The work of these models was not yet fully invested for affective production. The division of labor and ever-finer gradations of body parts, energies, and flows, that would eventually be picked up and circulated within the fully developed affective economy, were not yet a part of the equation. The teams of affective laborers focused on working up the surface of the model's body to make it as

productive as possible were not the factors in the productive process they would soon become. Fashion models of the 1950s did their own make-up, and supplied their own shoes, jewelry and hairstyle. These aspects of the fashion image were simply not sites of investment; they were a valuable contribution to the work process, but they were not yet the source of whole economies, of hairstyles, shoe styles, skincare regimes, make-up brands, diets, etc. that the model's body would eventually produce or facilitate or be the source of. In the 1960s, this "art and artifice of ladies, ... was replaced by the gamine" (Bailey 1999:12): fresh faced girls such as Jean Shrimpton, Twiggy, or Penelope Tree, who provided raw material to be worked up in the context of the growing networks of affective production.

The shift to the use of photographic models on the runways, and the shortening of model's careers are significant changes arguably wrought by the advent of the televisual mode of imaging and the subsequent rise of affective circuits of production. The 1950s model had the time to saunter down the runway, projecting the personality of her house, or to develop a personality in tandem with one particular photographer, over the course of a long career. Photographs often told a story, models were the characters, and the pictures were about showing or representing the clothes. A model who had worked with Richard Avedon and other well known photographers of that era observed:

If you look at pictures at pictures from the fifties, they showed the clothes, you wanted to see them. If you look at the pictures, they could have a whole background, but basically, you could see the outfit, more or less. Nowadays, you might not even see the outfit. It depends (36, Gayle).

Her observation also fits with the claim that the face, the facialization (Deleuze 1987:168) of the face and body, in which the whole ensemble of the face, the hair, the look of the model's movements, the skin, all of the details gradually usurped the body as the dominant object in the space of the photograph, a process that emerged as an important force in the 1960s.

The 1960s model was much younger, and valued for her ephemeral youth. The intense focus on the affectivity of the face, and a different emphasis on the affectivity of the body, developed as a new aesthetic of the 1960s, in terms of an increased focus on the surfaces of each, how they moved, their graphic possibilities. New capabilities of speedy production and dissemination of images (techniques that can lead, as discussed previously, to shorter attention spans) may also have contributed to the shortening of model's careers, and to the change in style of the fashion show. An agent working in New York in the 1990s explained the logic behind this phenomenon:

Careers have gotten shorter. The whole cultural cycle of content coming and going has sped up, getting faster and faster. People get bored with stuff quicker now because they see it quicker. And so people get bored with model looks, which can come and go in six months now. These girls can't expect long careers now. They can't expect to have careers longer than 2 years, really (17, Cameron).

This agent was making observations were echoed by several of the agents that I interviewed; they all concurred that, although there have been exceptions, the trend in which models have less time to make an impact and build a career has accelerated from the 1960s onward.

If cinema worked in the “territoriality of the spatial” (Gilbert-Rolfe 1999; Deleuze 1989), then television works in the space of the depthless surface. In the televisual regime, a new aesthetic of the surface emerged, which demanded a different kind of labor from the model. Up until the 1950s, illustration was still used to advertise clothing. The drama of the photographic image was produced more by the model’s attitude, posture, and gestures, than by her face. Facial expression was not the focus; glamour was produced more by holding the head at a certain angle (Harris 2000:214).²² This style of imaging elicited a different level of affective modulation than what was to come.

Specifically, the proliferation of televisual images brought with it the focus on the face in the reduced space of the small screen (Kaplan 1987:95). This emphasis on the aesthetic of the close-up could also be found in fashion photography. Attention shifted away from the body, and the size of the face in fashion images grew:

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the face grew incrementally in size until, by the 1960s, it frequently filled an entire page... unlike the aesthetic of exclusion, which deliberately fosters a relation of inequality between the viewer and the model, the aesthetic developed in the Age of the Face emphasizes communication and directness (Harris 2000:216).

²² Interestingly, Harris surmises that “conventions of rigidity and blankness that arose from the association of fashion with graphically imprecise drawings linger on as a remnant of this older tradition, tending to foster a look of vacancy” in the fashion photographs, giving the model a “totemic presence” (Harris 2000:215). Similarly, Nick Lee has observed that the term *mannequin*, often used for the inanimate dummy utilized to show clothes in the past, “captures the ambiguous role of these early fashion models quite neatly. When modeling clothes, the mannequin had to be present and absent at the same time. She was required to lend the support of her body to the clothes on display, and depending on cut, fabric and type of clothing, she was also required to lend animacy to the clothes, to display how they would look in real life. However, as a temporary surrogate for the client, dressed only to give an impression of how another might look in those clothes, the mannequin was also obliged to efface herself. The likelihood is that the former seamstresses or shop-girls doing the modeling already had plenty of experience of pretending ‘not to be there’ when in the presence of wealthier women. As was the case in other service roles, the models’ visible presence and movement was absolutely necessary, but any articulate presence was not.” Similarly, contemporary models “are valued for their mastery of glamour, maximizing the amount they are looked at, while minimizing any awareness that they are looked at” (Lee 2001:184-185).

Recalling that affect is the realm of the interpersonal, the communicative, and is often conveyed via facial expression, it is reasonable to say that, in this transition, a model's affective capacity, in terms of her ability to project an image, to become a surface, or channel and focus affect through facial expression and bodily comportment, became increasingly valuable. In fact, when Cover Girl began a campaign in 1961 to find a perfect face to launch its cosmetics, it was clear that the model's "chief attraction" had become "her individuality, something that cannot be duplicated" (Harris 2000:222). I will discuss the value of this uniqueness further when I explore the various dimensions of affective labor, especially in terms of when models are asked to ratchet up their own individuality, their quirkiness, to emphasize that "something extra" that can be put forth in the form of what I will refer to as their "projectibility," a quality which can spell the difference between a ho hum career and phenomenal success. The search for that extra ingredient, a model's particular affective profile, is what drives the multi million dollar scouting industry, in which model agents, and other industry denizens scour the globe in search of that perfect look. Reportedly, by the late 1990s, Cover Girl was investing millions of dollars per year on talent scouting, "a laborious, international treasure hunt that one industry analyst estimates costs as much as \$119 per facial pore of each of the seven models finally chosen to advertise only four of the company's products" (Harris 2000:222). With this major investment in model's faces to represent a corporate image, faces became a "priceless commodity" (Harris 2000:223). This trend developed, in later decades, into a process by which major investments were made in a model's whole persona, in their particular assemblage of affective capacities.

Thus, when the split between ready to wear and couture in fashion came to the fore in the 1960s (Agin 1999), it is no surprise that designers turned to the new marketability of models who were accustomed to exposing themselves to the camera, to promote their clothes on the catwalk. The use of photographic models was the beginning of a major transition in fashion show presentations, and is evidence of a new emphasis on the model's ability to present herself as a series of images, surfaces to be read or simply exposed. In the 1960s, the ready-to-wear show "became a one-off event for press and buyers rather than a daily presentation to private customers (Evans 2001:299). The 1960s were a "crucial fashion moment" because the model became a

three dimensional entity... As opposed to just stills photography, the sixties girl had exposure on the catwalk, television, and film. She became a more rounded, and more accessible, public figure (Bailey 1999:15).

By the 1970s, a celebrity system had developed around the first fashion superstars, women like Cybill Shepherd, Cheryl Tiegs, and Christie Brinkley" (Harris 2000:223). These models in turn were able to capitalize on the brand power of their images, licensing their images and names to jeans wear, exercise videos, and beauty products. Designers were not immune to the licensing boom during this decade; as they attached their names to more and more products, designers also became household names (Agin 1999:25). In this climate of hyper marketing and the primacy of image over product, "much of the couture side of the business became a loss leader, generating the publicity and prestige necessary for the licensing deals, perfumes and cosmetics that brought profits in" so that "the couture fashion show became, in reality, a marketing rather than a sales tool, which generated an image of luxury and exclusivity" (Evans 2001:299). In a sense, live fashion

became show business, and the models were its stars. Starting in the 1970s, the pay for models with personality and a sense of humor, who would bring in the press, skyrocketed, and soon “the top ten models could command more than \$1,000 for an hour show” (Evans 2001:300).

The English model, Twiggy, not only licensed her image, but her international stardom made her a prototypical supermodel. With the onset of jet travel and the spread of television, she became an international celebrity. In her brief three year career, Twiggy made an impact on two continents, selling her image to countless periodicals, and licensing her name and face to many buyers (Quick 1997). In 1966, this 91 pound girl measuring just 31-22-32, was poised to become the next ‘it’ girl. On the strength of a single set of photos, a fashion editor at the *Daily Express* in London dubbed Twiggy “The Face of 66... The Cockney kid with the face to launch a thousand shapes” (Gross 1997:203). Bookings in *Elle* and *Vogue* soon followed. Within a year, British teens were imitating her hairdo and make-up style, while adults went on starvation diets to achieve a Twig-like figure, and Twiggy was inaugurated as the “mini-queen of the new social aristocracy” (Gross 1997: 204). The fact that Twiggy’s image was able to mobilize bodily economies of dieting and hair styles as well as the speed at which she reached the top of the profession suggests that the pathways of affective production were already coming into full flower.

Twiggy’s phenomenal success came at the tail end of the mass market era. With the early 1970s came the break up of the mass production, distribution, and consumption system, replaced by post-fordist structures such as flexible labor and just in time production (Harvey 1989; Zukin 1995). This reconfiguration brought with it the

segmentation of markets, and heightened competition for consumer attention in an increasingly saturated market. With this growth of media exposure, the work of modeling became glamorized, and models commanded ever higher rates. The late seventies were also characterized by the “model wars” as John Casablancas opened a branch of his Paris agency in New York, poached Ford’s models and pushed their price tags even higher in the bidding wars that ensued. This move on Casablancas’ part was the beginning of a new era in modeling, in which it became a truly global business, facilitated by the increasingly widespread and revolutionary changes in imaging and communications technologies that were to come in the 1980s and 1990s.

Modeling goes global

The shifts and developments in imaging technology at the start of the 1980s set the stage for the emergence of the supermodels. Changes in imaging norms made it possible for models to have a global presence, while changes in the production of consumer goods, and fashion in particular, led to an increased need for a model whose image could function on the global stage. In the 1980s, new technologies such as the time shifting of the VCR, and the channel zapping of cable television, fostered the emergence of an ultra competitive media market (Turow 1997:5). Old forms of reaching viewers with advertising were being threatened, as viewers could now zap away from advertisements, or slip in a tape and avoid them entirely. There was also a consolidation of media outlets that occurred in tandem with the segmentation of markets into niches, with programming and advertising catering to viewers’ market researched needs, and “consumption defined ‘life-styles’” (Ewen 1997:199).

As technological developments made it possible to coordinate production from several different locations, outsourcing became more common. Soon different brands were producing in the same factories, resulting in a sea of nearly identical products. In this climate, developing a strong identity through an unassailable brand name became increasingly important (Klein 1999).

It was in the 1980s that satellite technology made it possible to bring events live from one part of the globe to another. Thus, the circulation of images was accelerated once again by television, as satellite technology allowed shifts in styles to be transmitted across the globe instantaneously (Castells 1996), resulting in a speed-up of cultural change in unprecedented proportions. This technology's impetus toward a global culture created an environment in which corporations needed to advertise in order to have a cultural influence worldwide, and a recognizable brand and an image with cross cultural appeal became highly valued. Modeling grew in new directions at the interface between the image production system and the economic necessity of producing consumers worldwide. Models who could appeal to people across social and geographic divides became invaluable as new forms of advertising communication and branding arose as dominant forces. These shifts and changes in imaging norms (to global imaging and branding) were laying the technological pathways to superstardom for image producers such as models. They also laid the groundwork for a global expansion in the reorganization of modeling, both in terms of how models were recruited, and in terms of how their work was managed and paid.

The Supermodels and the Scouting Explosion

While modeling has always been international, it wasn't until the mid 1990s that modeling became a truly global industry. Both the modeling and fashion industries were always international in scope; Paris was the indisputable fashion capital for many decades; post world war II, New York made a bid for the crown; some would argue that youth quake in London stole New York's thunder in the 1960s. Since then, however, the pace of exchange accelerated to the point that it became hard to keep track of which city was truly the center, as fashion diversified and fragmented into the multi-centered and global industry it is today. Similarly, the modeling industry always operated internationally. Ever since Poiret brought his mannequins to America in the 1920s, fashion modeling has involved travel abroad, to show fashion, to create it, and to promote it. In recent decades, however, especially since the advent of the internet, the pace of disseminating fashion's ideas has sped up exponentially, and the structure of not only the work of modeling, but the organization of the industry itself moved to the global scale.

During the 1980s, the value of model's labor skyrocketed in a confluence of different influences. Cable TV paved the way for the mainstreaming of fashion, as television distribution and production demanded new forms of content. In the 1980s and 90s, when the supermodels arrived on the scene, the value of their affect shot to unprecedented heights. Subsequent restructurings in the modeling industry arguably reflect the impact of the new investments in the channels of affective production, and subsequent value attached to affective potential. The restructuring happened in two areas. The first change was in the method of recruitment: the first international model search contest took place in 1980. Second, the management of modeling labor changed, as agencies restructured to reflect the new need for globally managed careers.

I have been arguing that modeling's incorporation in the 1920s, its professionalization in the 1940s, and its exponential growth in value in the 1960s, represented pivotal moments in the history of both modeling, and imaging. Similarly the mainstreaming of fashion concomitant with the rise of the supermodels, and the new global presence of modeling created by the first model search contests in 1980s, contributed to the globalization of the modeling business in the 1990s, but also reflected watershed moments in both the imaging and the modeling industries.

The introduction of cable television and satellite technology's globalizing influence had a profound effect on the modeling industry. Cable television's need for content was a major factor contributing to the mainstreaming of fashion, and the consequent skyrocketing value of models' work. As it was prohibitively expensive to produce narrative content, endless repetition on cable television became the norm, in endless loops of news, weather, talk, shopping, sports, and fashion (Winston 1998:318). Fashion was a particularly appealing form of content, in its endless repetition of slightly different themes, and its constant stream of young and beautiful people. The rise of the supermodels may be attributed at least in part to the increase in avenues for models' affective production in the expansion of the "auto affective circuit" of television (Clough 2000), to 24 hours in the 1980s, in the form of channels such as CNN and MTV.

This expansion of fashion to fill cable television's content needs reached a point that models were exposed in more ways and in more places than ever before. Starting in the 1980s, this phenomenon was taken to unprecedented levels by the supermodels. The supermodel's influence expanded with the global reach of modeling's image, growing more and more valuable as it went.

There had never been anything like the supermodels. An agent who started in the early eighties likened their arrival to a “total freak out;” her rendition of what happened is worth quoting at length:

John Casablancas had the most famous agency in Paris, in the late 70s, early 80s, but he was only known in Europe. Until that time, there was really only Wilhelmina, who was alive then, and had just opened up her agency, in the early 80s, there was another modeling agency called Stewart models, and then there was Ford. And that was *it*. They were really the only agencies with any kind of clout. There weren't 35-40 different agencies, there was just them. A couple of little showroom agencies, a few little lingerie ones, but nothing with the name comparable to Wilhelmina or Ford.

John Casablancas comes to town, steals the head booker from Ford models, a woman named Monique Pillard – she has been one of the presidents of Elite for a long time – and he finds a very savvy woman named Lisa Herzog. Finds her in a club. She's like 20 something years old. And with Lisa and Monique, and by stealing Ford's big models, which included at the time Christy Brinkley, and Janice Dickenson, and Grace Jones, the black singer, and a bunch of others, he opened up Elite New York in the early 80s. He's a well-educated interesting guy – he speaks 8 languages and is very well read. Major entrepreneur. Opens up Elite New York... split screen on that, an agency opens up by the name of Click. So now it's Click, Ford, Elite, and Wilhelmina. Wilhelmina is more known, but even though they had great models, they don't have this sexy status of

John Casablancas, because he's so hot; he's so sexy; he's sleeping with the girls; and his command of the language and his charisma brought in the clients.

So at around 1983, with the celebrity status he has in New York and Paris, I would say this was the beginning of the creation of the supermodel that we see around today. Because at that time, simultaneously, Cindy Crawford was born, Linda Evangelista was born, Tatiana Patitz was born, Stephanie Seymour was born that year, and when I say born, I mean, came into being a model.

This is 83-84, and I'm a model agent at Elite at this time. So I'm on a board, with all of these girls starting at exactly the same time. Five minutes ago, there was no Stephanie Seymour, no Cindy Crawford, none of these girls and five minutes later they're all there at the same time. It never happened again. Not in the last 20 years. That kind of sensationalism where all of these girls started to work at exactly the same time- it was mind boggling, just a complete, total, freak out to the business. The business was accustomed to maybe one or two girls of the moment. And now they've got like, 10 girls of the moment who are trading off on *Vogue* covers and *Bazaar* covers, and *Mademoiselle* covers, and working with Irving Penn, and working with Avedon, and it's just a crazy time in the industry.

And from there, this terminology, "supermodel" came up (27, Carolyn).

This agent had been in the business for twenty years, and was a denizen of the New York modeling scene. She spoke to me in the office of her agency, a very small, elite firm that catered to a very few, select models. Her experience placed her in a position to

understand and explain the effect of the supermodels, as she had witnessed the transformation in the industry first hand, and in fact was a player in that process. The reference to Wilhelmina in the quote is to both the name of an agency and the name of the fashion model who owned it for many years. The fact that there was a proliferation of modeling agencies after the advent of the supermodels will be dealt with below.

Although the players varied somewhat, in general, the “elite clique known as supermodels” was made up of “a group of five or six women that comprised Naomi Campbell, Linda Evangelista, Cindy Crawford, Christy Turlington, Claudia Schiffer and, depending on your mood, Kate Moss”(Kuczynski 1999). Unlike the famous models of the 1950s and 60s whose fame was tied in part to the famous fashion photographer for whom she was a muse, supermodels were celebrities in their own right. Supermodels reached unprecedented levels of fame and income, and unprecedented levels of exposure, as the global image distribution system came into full flower. The main foundations of the affective economy were in place, and investment in the modulation and circulation of affect in the form of images became big business.

This was the era of the supermodel Linda Evangelista’s comment, “we won’t wake up for less than \$10,000.” Top models began to make millions of dollars per year. While superstar models in the 1960s, such as Penelope Tree, made \$12 an hour and \$60 a commercial, by the late 1990s, models of that caliber could make \$50,000 in a day (Bailey 1999:139). In 1994, supermodel Cindy Crawford’s gross earnings were estimated at \$6.5 million (Tillotson 1995). By 1998, they reportedly reached \$8 million; that same year, Claudia Schiffer topped out at \$10.5 million (Woolley 1999). The model agent from the boutique agency quoted above, pinpoints this change in the 1980s:

Until the 80s, you weren't driven to do magazine work, which would then result in a cosmetic contract or a contract with Calvin Klein or Ralph Lauren or whatever. Prior to that, you didn't have to do a lot of magazine work. You could still get those contracts. But right around the mid 80s it all changed. If you didn't work for Vogue, or Bazaar, or Italian Vogue or other major prestigious magazine, you didn't have a shot at the multi million dollar contracts. So mid 80s into the early 90s it just kept snowballing, and got bigger and bigger, and that's when you may have heard Linda Evangelista and Naomi Campbell say "I won't get out of bed for anything less than \$10,000 a day" – and they were right, they didn't have to. It was a true statement: these girls were making from \$10 to \$25,000 to \$50 to \$150,000 dollars a *day* for certain jobs (27, Carolyn).

The phrase "magazine work" refers to editorial modeling, the kind that fashion, rather than commercial models do. Many of the agents I interviewed discussed how a contract was the best kind of job a model could get, as it provided a steady income and guaranteed work, often over a number of years. Winning high prestige contracts was their goal for most of the models they managed. The relationship between an image's prestige (in terms of where it appears and how it is circulated) and decisions about whether or not to accept the job of making that image will be picked up in later chapters.

While the supermodel's earnings were reaching the stratosphere, back down on earth, the value of models' image production had increased so much that even an untried fourteen year old might be paid a starting salary of \$70,000 and within a few years could command as much as \$100,000 to half a million dollars (Bailey 1999:50). With affective production becoming so valuable, the quest for more sources of production pushed the

industry to globalize further in a worldwide search for affective capacity. The move toward global presence, in terms of both image and infrastructure, was epitomized in the 1980s by a formalization of scouting, and the inauguration of the first model search, or, as it has euphemistically come to be called, the model convention.

A model scout does just that, scouts for new talent in the street, at the airport, or the local disco. Scouts can work either freelance, or on a model agency's staff. The model agent who started in the early 1980s and had witnessed the "birth" of the supermodels, remembered that scouting was not a big part of the business when she started out:

I started in 1983. Prior to that, I believe the scouting was done through the European agencies. And they would find girls through their scouts, but it was just people standing on the corner, seeing pretty girls walk by (27, Carolyn).

This comment describes the methods for scouting used before supermodeling hit the scene. This ad hoc practice of street scouting was nowhere near as sophisticated and far-flung as it would become in the aftermath of the structural shifts that gave rise to the supermodels. In the course of these shifts, some agency players organized a new form of model recruitment that would also have profound effects on the industry. Ford Models organized the first international model search in 1980; it is now called the "Supermodel of the World" contest, and attracted contestants from over 50 countries in 2002 (PR Newswire 2002). Elite's Look of the Year contest started in 1983, promising employment contracts to the lucky few who were selected by the judges. In 2003, 150,000 contestants from 47 countries competed for \$925,000 in employment contracts (elitemodel.com 2003). I will discuss what the judges look for and how affective potential plays into their

decision process below. What's important here is to note that as it became possible to capitalize on affective flows and modulation more profitably, methods of finding new sources of affective production in the form of new faces or a certain of assemblage of affective capacities such as unusual feature like very long legs, or wide set eyes, or an unusual walk, became institutionalized and grew into an important part of the industry. In a sense, it is no coincidence that the technological developments that facilitated the emergence of worldwide imaging campaigns made it ever more possible to capitalize on displaying or circulating a models' affective energy, a new system cropped up to cull the masses for more and more potentially productive looks.

Speaking of productive looks, the supermodels embodied them and then some. By the mid 1990s, the supermodels had become a worldwide cultural phenomenon. In so doing, the supermodels constructed new pathways for models' production. Recall that their rise to stardom was coincident with the globalization of television, and the concomitant need to fill the new 24 hour channels with content. In this environment, fashion became a logical solution for television's needs. The lives of the supermodels became fodder for the entertainment mill, to the point where anything models did, from the very public, such as walking the runway, to the semi private, such as shopping, to the details of their private lives, became worthy of exposure.

By the mid to late 1990s, from gossip columns to entertainment reporting, models' personal lives, were the object of curiosity and public scrutiny. On-stage or off, models were of sufficient interest to merit complete cable coverage. E! TV had daily coverage of fashion model's work and lives. There were several series of teen novels about them (Levin 1997; Pascal 1997). Cindy Crawford hosted MTV's *House of Style*,

where she spoke in public for the first time. The now defunct Fashion Café, a café in New York City in which three supermodels were said to be primary investors, and so provided a vehicle for publicity and image for the restaurant, was an epicenter of public interest in supermodels (Tillotson 1995). In 1996, three supermodels (Karen Mulder, Naomi Campbell, and Claudia Schiffer) were immortalized in the form of action figure dolls (Quick 1997). In 1997 and 1998, supermodels Marcus Schenkenberg and Veronica Webb each published an autobiography (Schenkenberg 1997; Webb 1998). That same year, two novels were published about models by well-known authors: *Model Behavior* by Jay McInerney and *Glamorama* by Brett Easton Ellis. The top ten fashion magazines reached a national audience of approximately 30 million readers (fashioncenter.com, December 2000).

Throughout the 1990s, models and modeling were the subject of increasing media interest. The appetite for fashion reporting was growing exponentially, according to panelists' discussion on "Fashion News: Beauty and the Beat" at a Newseum/NY conference held in conjunction with the exhibit "Runway Madness."²³ Despite a decline in actual fashion reporting on the part of journalists who cover fashion,²⁴ The public's interest in fashion was higher than ever, stimulated by the rising number of cable programs, magazines and sitcoms like NBC's short lived "Veronica's Closet" and the long running "Just Shoot Me."

These forms of "infotainment" fed a mass hunger for fashion, and models enjoyed increased global attention, and in some cases, notoriety. When Gisele Bundchen, won the

²³ The exhibit took place in January 1999, featuring photographs by Pulitzer-Prize winning photographer Lucian Perkins.

²⁴ According to one panelist, coverage of fashion shows seems to be more about entertainment than news.

VH1/Vogue Model of the Year award for 1999-2000, the story was on the front page of *O Estado de S. Paulo*, the national newspaper of her homeland, Brazil. The president sent his best wishes to her family via a government minister's phone call, and she was subsequently "treated as a global ambassador of all things Brazilian" (Sullivan 2000). Fashion model Kate Moss, the "waif" model who most famously worked for Calvin Klein, was headline news in this country when she committed herself to a drug treatment facility in 1998 (New York Daily News 11/9/98). When Moss did a shoot in Cuba with Naomi Campbell, one of the few black supermodels, the US government fined *Harper's Bazaar* magazine \$31,000 for violating the 36-year old "trading with the enemy" embargo. US authorities seem to have been particularly upset by Moss and Campbell's 90- minute audience with Fidel Castro (The Ottawa Citizen , 5/20/99).

Some of this interest in models' personal lives was, of course, part and parcel of the process of making celebrity. What is unique about the flows of affect this exposure activated, however, is that long after the supermodels ended their uncontested reign of the industry, average models stepped in to take their place, appearing on infotainment shows that depicted models going to work, shopping, or playing with their dogs. A PR agent for a modeling agency pointed out that, although the supermodels were a unique phenomenon, like lightning that does not strike twice, they created new income streams for the average model:

Lightning does not strike twice. But it affects what happens now. [The supermodels] made it possible for girls to earn that much money. Even though the 'quote' supermodels *now* aren't super in the way those girls were, they make just as much money. Look at what Michael Jordan did for athletes; it's the same thing.

He paved the way for them to get a lot of money for endorsement deals, way more than anybody before that. He was the first athlete brand (22, Nicholas).

Even after the era of the supermodels had passed,²⁵ the affective energies of models who weren't celebrities were also taken up into the affective production system, in a diffuse modulation which has become characteristic of the affective economy.

This diffuse modulation was exemplified by Fashion Television. FTV, a Paris-based fashion channel devoted solely to depicting models pacing up and down the runway, that began airing in 1998 (Trebay 2002).²⁶ FTV broadcast fashion programming twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week with no commercial interruptions, and reached audiences from Bombay to Beijing ("outside of Europe, India and China have become the largest consumers of fashion content in the world" (Trebay 2002)). The supermodels of the 1980s and 1990s paved the way for such a channel. While other changes in the production of fashion were partly responsible, such as the creation of "bridge" lines by major designers aimed at the general, non-couture buying public, the supermodels' celebrity also served to create mainstream interest in fashion. Thus, "the supermodels of the late 80s and early 90s created an appetite for models in a more mainstream market" (Ellis 2001), and therefore created new audiences for fashion content. As one model put it, "modeling is so Middle America now, people in Iowa know

²⁵ Models like Linda Evangelista, who made the famous comment "I won't get out of bed for less than \$10,000" may have been plentiful in the 1980s and early 1990s, but since their dominance as a group, only a single model here or there has reached the same levels of fame and income. In 1999, a *New York Times* article rang the death knell for the supermodel, pointing out "only 5 years ago, RuPaul's pop paean 'Supermodel' was at the top of the charts and the singer George Michael's videos featured famous models lip-synching the lyrics to his music as they crawled across concrete floors," while currently, "little public interest remains" (Kuczynski 1999).

²⁶ The Fashion Channel, is available in some, but not all, cable markets in the United States, Europe, and Asia.

who [the famous fashion designer] Isaac Mizrahi is" (53, Teri). Nicholas, a PR agent for a model agency, saw it this way:

There's a hunger for content because there are more outlets. The number of magazine titles in the past ten years has something like tripled. So you need more content so you search for more subject matter. And in that search, the media writes about the lives of models which I don't think 20 years ago anyone would have given a damn about (22, Nicholas).

A model agent felt the same way, saying "there are now large channels of information looking for content, and models are a great thing to fill empty hours on the television" (17, Cameron). The increase in the number of media outlets (cable's growth to hundreds of channels, the internet's expansion, and even the attention grabs on television news shows to compete for viewers with fluff items that have to do with sex or beautiful people) created a content vacuum of sorts, and among other forms of entertainment news, the appeal of fashion images made them particularly well suited to fill the gap.

Fashion as content had been used in other formats in the past (CNN's now defunct "Style" with Elsa Klensch began airing in the 1980s, doing features on designers and airing narrated bits of their shows). The difference between FTV and Elsa Klensch was the abandonment of narrative, a difference summed up quite nicely by a reporter for the *New Yorker Observer*:

Whereas [Klensch] brought a journalist's serious eye to fashion, many of her successors are bubbly chatterboxes with great teeth but little expertise. Much of today's fashion television consists of flashy segments filled with throbbing beats and quirky camera angles, making it virtually indistinguishable from a Missy

Elliott video; by contrast, the comparably staid *Style* looked like the *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour* (Gay 2001).

The images chopped up and displayed, image by image, did not form a narrative continuum. While CNN reported stories to go with the images of models pacing the runway, narrativizing the proceedings in a half hour show with a distinct beginning, middle and end, the bulk of FTV's content was non narrative. Streams of images in no particular order punctuated the occasional commentary as model after model sauntered by. The managing director Francois Thiellet described it as "'wallpaper TV', with little commentary for the vast majority of the time, but instead 'just music and fashion'" (Centaur Communications Ltd. 2001).

By the mid 1990s, the paths of affective production built by the supermodels had become part and parcel of the productive capacity of models in general, as entertainment news and fashion, as television content, increasingly had become the norm. The ineluctable relationship between developments and shifts in imaging, and the shape and structure of modeling, was illustrated yet again when the introduction of the internet and the expansion of cable's reach served to intensify levels of affective production, causing yet another wave of restructuring in the industry. When asked whether he noticed any change in the modeling industry after computers came on the scene, a young agent based in a large agency in New York remarked that he had noticed a difference:

It changed it in that more people have more access to images instantaneously. Just the way it changes the fandom of celebrities and models. It changes ... for instance style.com, the website for *Vogue* and *W* magazines... I mean people all

over the world look at that and see the couture shows that are happening right now. That makes people more aware, not of what's beautiful, but what's current. So if you have Asian clients, looking at one of our girls in Paris doing a show, they want her. It makes it more instantaneous. It was harder before. If you were in South Africa it was hard, for instance. It makes this establishment less exclusive, and people who were interested and want to know what's hot or cool, they'll know right away (17, Cameron).

Before the mid 1990s and the internet's contribution to modeling's global presence, the international networks in modeling were made up of loose affiliations between locally based agencies, in which a model would be sent from a New York agency to be managed for a short time to gain experience in Paris or Milan by an affiliate, building up her resume in a process called "development." After the supermodels proved that models could earn astronomical salaries, and cable television's content needs pulled fashion and modeling into the world's public eye, these networks were formalized as agencies woke up to the fact that they needed a global presence to be a contender in this new, high stakes arena.

In 1996, IMG models, a relatively new player on the scene, was at the head of an intense rivalry... fueled by the rapidly increasing sums pouring into the modeling business, and by the agents' frustration at being unable to prevent their high earning stars being poached by their competitors (Sebag-Montifiore 1996).

In the mid 1990s, Mark McCormack, the head of IMG's modeling division, lured away 10 of Ford's top earning models. IMG, a privately held sports marketing and management firm, included Tiger Woods, Derek Jeter and Pete Sampras on its rosters in

2000 (Ellis 2001). In 1996, IMG was the first modeling agency to offer models access to 70 offices in 29 countries. Its global presence and diversity of services positioned it well ahead of the pack when competing for “the new income streams opening up for models such as endorsement and licensing contracts, and TV and publishing deals” (Sebag-Montifiore 1996). Further, IMG’s McCormack planned to use his company’s events and television divisions to “act as the agent for fashion and modeling industries in America in their attempt to sell the exclusive right to film their twice yearly catwalk shows “(*ibid.*). IMG was able to make these bold moves because it saw a gap in the market. Up until the 1990s, when the changes in imaging norms and modeling practices discussed above occurred, modeling agencies were not truly global entities; a model would be sent to Paris to get photographs and modeling experience to bring back to New York, and the Paris agency would end up stealing her.

Up until Mark McCormack came on the scene, aided and abetted by the internet and other global imaging technologies, Elite and Ford had dominated the industry. While Ford did not open offices in either Paris or Milan until 1990 (Sebag-Montifiore 1996), Elite led the way in global expansion in the 1980s, opening more than 20 agencies starting in 1986 (elitemodel.com). As of 2003, Elite boasted 31 agencies representing over 750 models. Neither Elite nor Ford, however, expected the impact IMG would have when McCormack hired new staff at his modeling divisions in London and New York, opened a new modeling division in Paris in the mid 90s, and subsequently stole their models. Part of IMG’s coup rested on the importance of reputation in the subjective world of modeling, a powerful force that I will discuss further when I break down the structure of the industry. IMG’s strategy was to lure the big name models and then use

their star power to encourage up and coming models to try IMG as well (Sebag-Montifiore 1996). This strategy enabled IMG to accomplish almost instant market domination from only a few agencies positioned within its larger sports and entertainment network. The strategy seemed to be working well when this agent at Parisian agent at IMG smugly told me:

We're the number one modeling agency now in the world and we're the smallest.

Think about just having three offices compared to other places that have huge numbers. Elite is huge. They have modeling schools, they have dozens of offices.

We only have 3 offices, but we have a system that works for us (25, Diane).

The accelerated pace of affective production was also accompanied by high stakes. The increased speed and facility of affective circulation made possible by the increasingly complex structure of the affective economy also made the industry far more sensitive to the volatility of affect, which is often subject to sudden changes in nature. This volatility translated into new factors of value in the industry; for instance, after the era of the supermodels ended, a model's newness became a huge factor in her marketability and ability to command large sums of money for her work.

Thus, from the mid 1990s to at least the early aughties, the hunt for new sources of affective capacity increasingly shaped the structure of the modeling industry both in terms of recruitment and in terms of global presence. An agent who'd witnessed the change noted the increase in the amount of scouting since he started in 1995:

The scouting structure has changed in the world. And grown. In the past 7 years, all of these scouting companies in America appeared. When I started, they were just getting going. There used to be two, and now there's like six. They do

conventions. They bring agents from mostly New York, and we fight it out amongst ourselves (17, Cameron).

The appetite for new faces continues to grow, as does the appetite for careers in modeling, something this agent attributes directly to the internet:

Wannabe models are much more educated about the industry and about the agencies. We get hundreds of emails every day with pictures attached. I mean, theoretically, it's rare, but it's certainly, if there's the right girl, and she took the right pictures, we would fly her to New York. It's part of scouting. Wannabe models read this site models.com relentlessly.

Across the world, fourteen year olds who want to be models somehow find that site, and educate themselves. In that sense, the internet cuts out a lot of people, but helps others more directly reach what they want (17, Cameron).

In the next section, I will analyze the scouting system, and discuss how its structure and functioning have become increasingly centered on the search for new sources of affective flows, in what a seasoned agent and scout described as a "worldwide net cast in the most disparate and unexpected places to find what will sell, to mine the human variety for the genetic accident that could make millions" (14, Tony).

Chapter 3

THE HUNGER FOR NEW FACES

The international Scouting System and the Affective Economy

Once an affective economy has fully developed, immaterial labor, e.g. the labor to produce a “service, a cultural product, knowledge, or communication” (Hardt and Negri 2000) becomes an important part of the economy. Modeling work is form of immaterial labor that produces affective flow. The creation of affective flow is a collaborative affair – the flow has to move between people, or else it is not productive. The organization of the modeling industry, in terms of recruitment, distribution of work, career development, hierarchies between workers and firms, as well as the overall level of volatility in the industry is informed in many ways by the unpredictable and volatile qualities of affective flow. As I will discuss in the following sections, the industry is organized into firms that function as management agencies for the models who work freelance. Models are hired on a project by project basis into teams that assembled around specific jobs, which are then dispersed after the project is finished. Sometimes models are awarded contracts for steady work. This is relatively unusual; it is a boon sought by models who have reached a certain level of power and prestige in the business.

The creation of flows of affect is a labor of cooperation, in which paths of affective contact are opened through communication, collaboration, or through the virtual human contact via exposure to images. Modeling’s productive capacity derives in part from its situation within an assemblage of images and technology that take the body’s

actual presence and human contact into the virtual realm. That is, the productive moment of collaboration may take place between two or more people, whether or not they are physically present to one another.

It is important to note is that in the cycle of immaterial production, the connection between the producer and the consumer is such that the product is completely malleable, according to the shifting needs and desires of both players in the couplet. This intricate linkage between production and consumption leads to a moment at which the consumer is part of the production process, in which the producer and consumer are both producing the product in tandem, according to the shifts and whims of each player in the equation:

the public is a constitutive element in the production process... [it] is productive by means of the reception that gives the product 'a place in life' (in other words, integrates it into social communication) and allows it to live and evolve.

Reception is thus, from this point of view a creative act and an integrative part of the product. The transformation of the product into a commodity cannot abolish this double process of 'creativity.' It must rather assume it as it is, and attempt to control it and subordinate it to its' own values (Lazzarato 1996:145).

Within an affective economy, this couplet is linked by the technologies of presenting images and tracking reactions to them. Recall that pathways of affective flow are governed just as much by personal, cultural, and social relations as they are by the market.

Hence, in the process or cycle of immaterial production which capitalizes on affect "life becomes inseparable from work"(Lazzarato 1996:138), and the "reproduction and enrichment of its productive capacities" becomes an important moment in the

production process. The integration of the consumers into the productive circuit in new ways (not just as consumer of products, but as determiner of what gets produced²⁷) subjects the production process to volatile shifts and redirections of affect. This situation lends itself to a mode of production in which styles and products come and go very quickly. In the immaterial cycle of production, personality and subjectivity become involved in the production of value, and sometimes the largest ego or the most prominent personality can become very productive within this domain.

Models work as part of a team to create channels of affective flow. They work in concert with other professionals in the industry bringing the model's affect into the technological domain, shaping it with the goal of producing and focusing attention for profit. They work within complex layers of networks made up of players from the fashion, advertising, magazine, and cosmetics industries. In his study of fashion photographers, Patrik Aspers found that the "production of fashion photography can be conceptualized as a collective process" (Aspers 2001:45), with distinct roles and attendant markets for them. There are markets for fashion models, hairdressers, make-up artists, assistants, and so on, all of whom have books that represent their work, composite cards with photographs of their latest accomplishments, and agents who represent them. These markets are organized into networks of social relations in which jobs, gossip, and status are exchanged (Aspers 2001).

These interrelated networks are exemplary of what has been referred to as the "basin of immaterial labor" (Lazzarato 1996:137) in which laborers act as "an interface between different functions, between different work teams, between different levels of

²⁷ Similarly, Patrik Aspers, in his study of fashion photographers found that they worked in a type of "associated market," in which the 'product' is "the joint effort of the producer and consumer" (Aspers 2001:45).

the hierarchy, and so forth (Lazarrato 1996:134). Immaterial labor exists “only in the form of networks and flows” (Lazarrato 1996: 137). The labor involves the management of relationships and communication, both of which are productive moments in the cycle of production. In these moments, models and their teams of handlers, so to speak, come together in a collaborative fashion and produce artifacts of that collaboration in the form of images.

It is instructive to compare the modeling industry to the movie business in this respect. Similar to the movie industry, workers in the modeling industry are organized in teams of workers assembled to create a product and then are dispersed, only to perhaps be reassembled in a different configuration for a future project. This organization of work typifies industries that must “face the incalculable every day,” (Prindle 1993: 5) in the production of their product. Like the screen industry, or any industry whose product is artistic on some level, the modeling industry faces two problems: “the difficulty of predicting public tastes and the impossibility of exactly duplicating a hit” (Prindle 1993: 5). For executives in the modeling industry, just like those in the movie industry, “each choice is a stab in the dark, every decision a wager against unknown odds” (Prindle 1993:5). This insecurity is translated to players on all levels of the industry, from top executives to the lowest on the totem pole, in a volatile work environment in which “you are only as good as your last booking” (25, Diane).

This volatility and subjective quality of evaluation in the industry is due in part to the fact that there is not a quantifiable output or objective measure of quality when producing a cultural product, a service, or that certain ineffable ‘x’ factor that might capture an audience’s attention. In these types of production, it is very difficult to

quantify or evaluate either the quality and amount of work performed, or a worker's productive potential. In the markets for the products of this labor, the objective value of a good is difficult to pin down, as it is a relational value, one that is only extant in interaction. This lack of objective value can lead to uncertainty. In this scenario, status comes into play as a major figure as actors seek other actors with whom they have interacted in the past, building their status through continued interaction (Aspers 2001:44). Thus, reputation becomes very significant in determining the value of a person's work, and the value of a job lies just as much in the relationships produced by doing that job as it does in the actual financial amount paid to the worker.

In sum, insofar as it involves immaterial production, aimed at amplifying and modulating affect, a model's affective production is always already communicative and collaborative; it is a labor of regulating flows of energy, of supervising oneself or others in relationship. It is also the work of producing pathways for those flows, and it cannot take place outside of the networks within which affect is made productive.

As I will discuss in the following sections, the need to produce and maintain a reputation and marketable image governs relations in the industry on many levels, as it is an activity that is particularly sensitive to affective flow. At all levels, workers in the industry are subject to the volatility of affect, insofar as it is expressed as positive or negative reactions to industry output. Workers in the modeling industry face sudden shifts in the tides of public taste, subjective evaluation by superiors, and in their own affective capacities. Recall that the affective realm is the one between the levels of activity and passivity, between "volition and cognition," "mind and body," "quiescence and arousal" (Massumi 2002:33). It is a powerful place, active, volatile, unpredictable, a

place not of gradual, but sudden changes in nature. Working with affects and affective flow is, by nature, then, a volatile business.

This volatility can make fortunes for those in the industry who successfully ride its waves. As noted in the previous chapter, as the pathways of affective flow became more complex, the speed of affective modulation accelerated. With this acceleration came a shortening of attention spans, and a more urgent drive for the new. I will now address how these developments served to exacerbate the “hunger for new faces” (17, Cameron) in an ever-expanding quest for affective potential.

A Typical Encounter

In the bustling lobby, phones were ringing, and several conversations were going on at once. The open and airy space was lit by skylights, and the sleek lines of modern design snaked around the office’s open plan. In the middle of the room, the white cube of a reception desk seemed to float above the concrete floor. A mother and daughter were waiting to see an agent in the lobby of a modeling agency. The girl had been signed by an agency near Hartford, in Connecticut, and they were seeking representation in New York City. They were planning to visit four agencies that day; this was the first one. The girl was about 16, just emerging from gawky teenage clumsiness. When they stood up, she towered over her mother, her long limbs clad in a simple t-shirt and jeans. Her mother, in a rumpled sweatshirt, seemed to come from a different branch of the species. An agent came out to meet them, and, using a Polaroid camera, shot a picture of the girl, right there, in the lobby. In a moment, it was done, and, after a very brief exchange with the agent, mother and daughter headed for the elevator and their next appointment, or perhaps this girl’s big break.

We can learn a lot about the modeling industry from this brief encounter. The process of polaroiding prospective models is all in a day's work for an agent at a large, well respected agency such as this. The modeling industry depends on a constant influx of new talent from which to cull those faces that might become the next big thing, so they cast their search nets far and wide, holding open calls, sending scouts into the streets, and organizing model search contests. Well established agencies based in fashion capitals such as New York, Paris, and Milan, also attract models from regional agencies outside of the cities. These are sometimes called feeder agencies, who, rather than keep the model on their own roster, willingly send their models to these more lucrative markets, in exchange for a smaller percentage of the model's earnings overall. The girl at the agency came from a feeder agency outside of the city, most likely sent by an agent seeking to expose her to broader markets. These networks of agencies are comprised of local, national, and global connections that make up the complex, interconnected structure of work in modeling.

The tone of the exchange also tells much about the way models get work. The fact that it took the agent only a few seconds with a Polaroid camera to evaluate this model, speaks volumes about the criteria for obtaining work in the industry, and what the agencies look for in terms of standards of appearance and behavior. There was no need to actually speak to the girl. Evidence from my data show that a split second assessment is often enough to make the judgment regarding model's potential. That the girl came to the agency, rather than the agency seeking the girl, is indicative of the structure of modeling agencies more generally, fashioned as they are as talent management agencies, rather than as corporations with a salaried staff.

Finally, the girl's age and appearance dictates the type of work she may have ended up finding within the industry. Her youth and lanky build most likely recommended her for high fashion, rather than commercial, work, a divide which resonates throughout the industry, organizing and categorizing workers into varying levels of status, pay, and prestige.

The current structure of the modeling industry may be understood in terms of a focus on finding, modulating, and capitalizing on affect's growing productivity. Specifically, various sectors of the modeling industry are shaped in turn by the pursuit of affective potential (most apparent in the part of the industry devoted to scouting for new models); the modulation of affective flow (an activity which shapes how a model is marketed, and how different sectors of the industry relate to one another, particularly in terms of reputation); and the capture and capitalization on affective energy (which refers to the work of engineering images of the model, and a model's image or reputation to maximize their value).

As discussed in the previous chapter, the organization of modeling work changed and evolved in tandem with various developments in the image production and distribution industry. In its most recent incarnation, not unlike the various concatenations of local and global relationships that make up the global televisual imaging system, the pathways that connect the far-flung nexuses of fashion modeling are myriad, and multi level. In the modeling world, cities are linked in networks of supply and demand, and also serve as proving grounds for models in the process of creating an image, and establishing a reputation, as they work their way up the industry's hierarchy. The industry

itself is comprised of networks of agencies in fashion capitals such as New York, Paris, London, and Milan.

The scouting system is a part of the industry that is particularly animated by the pursuit of affective potential, and the production of reputation, insofar as the scouting contest contributes to an agency's global presence, and overall image; scouts are always on the lookout for the new face or other assemblage of affective qualities that might catapult the agency to the top of the heap. Between the cities' different model markets, scouting and development networks organize the flows of workers on the local, regional, and global scale.

Finding Affective Potential

"Astrology is a more exact science than the modeling business," (18, Jules).

Within the far-flung global, national, and local scouting systems, the mechanisms for identifying model potential are quite subjective. It is something one just knows, rather than a decision that follows a specific logic. According to the experts, it's possible to instantly assess a model's potential for work. This split second gut reaction is by both various players in the industry, from the modeling scouts whose work it is to find and recruit potential models, to 'scout' them out, so to speak, to the agents and photographers who work with models on a daily basis.

Arguably, the recruiting system in modeling is shaped entirely by the fact that it's part of an affective economy. Similar to the music industry, and the movie industry, the modeling industry depends on a constant influx of new talent. It is also a "winner take all" market, in which the vast numbers of unpaid or poorly paid aspirants in the industry prop up the huge sums "earned by" to the winners (Frank and Cook 1995). In all of these

affective industries, there is no predicting who or what will be the next big thing, and managers depend on an economy of scale to increase their chances of managing a career that hits it big. That is to say, the modeling industry runs, in some senses, on the idea of getting as large a pool as possible to select from in order to create a greater chance of discovering the one who becomes a star.

Although they are keenly aware of affect's productive potential, when asked what type of look or personality they are looking for, most agents were vague. Model agents, or bookers, have likened the experience of finding a model they think will do well in the business, to a gut feeling, a visceral reaction. When I asked one agent about what qualities she looks for in a model, for example, she couldn't really put her finger on it:

It's hard to say – it's like fallin' in love, you don't know when it's gonna happen, but it happens. Of course there are the rules of thumb, nice face, clean skin, unblemished, you know, expressive eyes, personality. Everything goes hand in hand (28, June).

Obviously there are standards; the tall and thin bodies of models have been the topic of much public outcry, blamed for presenting unrealistic standards of women's appearance. In fact, the standards for entry into the business seemed to be quite strict, and were cited frequently during the interviews. Models must be tall (over 5'9"), have unblemished skin, interesting features, a good personality. Cameron, a young male agent with a half dozen years' experience, referred to these as the 'elements.' When he first talked about it, he was quite sure of what he looked for in a model:

Everyone knows what type of model makes it. It's very clear. That's what we scout for. It's not in anyone's interest to find a short basketball player (17, Cameron).

Yet, when pressed on it, in terms of spelling out how he knows when it's worth the trouble to try to recruit a particular girl, he was more equivocal:

You know, it's a guessing game; in this business, there's not that much logic. But you try and look for the elements, if someone has the right body to do shows, or they have the right body to do fashion... like a size 6, a size 4 to 6, really skinny, you know, that's what the designers want, 5'10" to 5'11", those are the girls that do well on the runway, so they have to have that body, and a face that isn't boring (17).

What does it mean to say a face "isn't boring?" How does one assign a value or a standard to that? Note how this last phrase qualified the agent's statement of weights and measurements with reference to a much less easily quantified idea, e.g. a "face that isn't boring." It seems that even the most basic description of what it is a fashion model's body and look should be had to be immediately qualified with an addition of a requirement that is not exactly measurable, an 'x' factor that is in some sense immeasurable, but a necessary ingredient nonetheless. In the following chapters, I will elaborate on how this 'x' factor is cultivated in models in two ways. Sometimes they work on themselves to develop an attitude or presence that conveys a certain unassailability, to create a sense that they can take or leave the business. Other times it is something that they have without realizing it and the collaboration with other affective laborers brings it out (models who are discovered, for instance, don't know they have that

certain something, but an agent or scout searching for an affective look can recognize it right away). Keep in mind that the ineffable quality of the ‘x’ factor arguably refers to a model’s overall affective attributes– her face, her personality, her walk, her attitude.

The shifting standards and difficulty of describing how affective flow and affects work, points toward the way it functions, how it, in fact, arrives in syndromes. Recall that affects inheres in the body in movements in an affective economy or exchange *within* the body – a translation of syndromes into language and cognition (Gibbs 2002). In this sense, affects are never detectable but in their effects. This may be the case especially because affects enable experience to be ordered into familiar patterns, which can easily be activated, via translating from one mode of experience into another, in paths that become reflexive patterns. These paths have been referred to as affective scripts, which function to manage different types of affective responses. As I discussed earlier, we are socialized into different affective profiles, as we learn to manage negative affects and amplify rewarding affects. These resulting “emergent constellations of experience” may “operate outside of awareness,” however. That is to say, the “experiential matrix” which is the basis for ongoing affective responses sometimes works outside of our awareness of it (Gibbs 2002:337). Thus, an agent may not be able to explain what he or she is responding to when they see a person who has model potential. They just know that they are affected by some quality the potential model has, and they have trained themselves to be responsive to that quality, even as the basis for that assessment might change and shift over time. In a sense, scouting methods are built on the assumption of the volatility and unpredictability of response a model might produce. Agents know some kind of affective capacity is going to be valuable, but they will only know it when they see it. One agent

referred to having an eye for this quality. If you have “eye”, you will be more adept at finding the “pearl.”

You are born with the eye. If you’ve got the eye to get a girl. Sometimes you see people and you can’t see it, but they have a fantastic eye. It’s something you are born with. Or you can train, but it’s different. You train your eye to recognize which is the pearl.

He described how he looks for that quality at a casting:

What you do when you arrive in the office, and you have girls sitting down waiting on the couches, you look at them. They don’t know you are looking, and they don’t know who you are. When you are going to a casting in Prague, for instance. They know they are waiting for someone. Do they know it’s me? If you have 10 girls waiting for you, you look. Normally what happens is, if you have someone like a future star, you will see it from the way she moves the hands, the way she looks at you, it is different. It is just different. If you have the eye, she appears, and the rest of the room recedes (14, Tony).

It is interesting to note that he tries to look for it when the girls are not aware that he is looking, that it is something more easily recognized when a potential model is *not* trying to project a particular style or look. I will take up this notion of the productivity of affective flow, below the conscious awareness of the producer, below.

While a models’ look has to stimulate an affective response in the observer, industry professionals don’t seem to agree on just which qualities will be productive at any given time, and have trouble describing just what it is they are looking for. Trying to put a finger on the “circus of affective responses” (Sedgwick and Frank 1995:11) that can

result from a single stimulus is difficult. Yet, typical of affective responses, the effect is instantaneous. Several models commented on the fact that when they brought their books to a casting, it often would take less than a split second to determine their suitability. A former model turned photographer found this experience disconcerting:

I know this from being witness to it, but also in having to show my own book as a model when I was a kid, sometimes they just like, take the book they don't say anything, they don't say hello, they don't greet you, you know, nothing, they'll just look through the book, slam it shut and hand it back. Not a thank you, not a, you know...nothing (09, Brian).

This split second assessment is arguably based on an affective response, a gut reaction to a model's overall appearance and persona, in which they are seen to either 'have it' or not.

Sometimes, trying to find a face that is "not boring" entails recruiting a model who is not conventionally pretty. Sometimes it is the models' ability to shock or otherwise stir an unconventional reaction, perhaps because he or she looks like no other model out there, that gets them work. In contrast to the stereotype that all models must be beautiful in a particular way, the agents I interviewed, particularly those who work in high fashion who try to keep ahead of tastes that fluctuate to extremes, say they are willing to look at just about anyone, from anywhere in the world, to find "new blood." One agent prides herself on her sense of intuition, and her refusal to be guided by such conventions as "beauty":

I don't follow trends. I can't be concerned with them. I go on intuition, and what, if it's well marketed, will sell. If the product is great, it will sell. Who gives who

the right to make a trend? I don't think it's a risk. If you find something and you are smart about it, how can you go wrong? A trendsetter is someone I don't know telling me what's in, what kind of faith could I have in that? We're not all reinventing the wheel. But they're always talking about the new this or the new that, like, [*she takes on a sarcastic tone*] the new wave of ugly models! I'm like, wait a minute. When Lauren Hutton was modeling, they thought she was ugly! And when Twiggy was modeling they thought she was ugly... There's always gonna be—it goes around and comes around again and again. They try to make it seem like it's so new, and the same trends have always been prevalent. There are classically beautiful women, we all know what they look like, and then there are women who are tangential to that. Whether they are called *jolie laide*²⁸ or they are called, atypical or anorexic, or I don't know, I never move in trends, I don't believe in putting a square peg in a round hole. It's insulting. There is no such thing as ideal beauty (25, Diane).

From her perspective, it seemed there is no ideal beauty, just what will sell. Sometimes, a certain type of model or look will be tossed into the matrix of affective production, only to fall completely flat and disappear. Brian, a photographer, noticed this phenomenon growing more prevalent in recent years:

I really do think that there's a real strong ugly factor going on. There's a model right now that I hadn't seen anywhere, and I was at a newsstand the other day and all of a sudden I saw her in everything. A lot of the models that are more aggressive looking or more unusual looking I find can be beautiful, I mean I have a taste for that as well, but this woman made me think, 'this is silly' – I just did

²⁸ A French terms that roughly translates as “beautiful-ugly.”

not see it. I did not see it in the ugliness, I didn't see it in the unusual, or in the beautiful, and all of a sudden this person appears and she's in everything. She's being mixed into a bunch of different things, and then she'll be gone (09, Brian).

This brevity of career could also be due to over exposure, when a model's image is not molded or engineered in a manner that maximizes its productive potential. This process, another aspect of working to capitalize on the potential productivity of affective potential, will be discussed below, with reference to engineering a model's image.

This type of engineering is part of harnessing affective potential, which is an inexact science at best, involving the work of teams of workers in tandem with the efforts of the model him²⁹ or herself. Assessing that potential demands an 'eye' for it, and cannot be accomplished by merely looking at a photograph. Agents and others who hire models made it clear that in both recruiting potential models, and when hiring them, it is crucial to see the model in the flesh, to get a sense of the model's physical presence. One agent explained that she had to see the model herself, because "you can be gorgeous, but if there's no personality, dead in the camera, it's not happening, won't work" (28, June). A photographer looked for a certain chemistry, saying, "it's just like anything, like meeting anybody, there's... I try to remain aware of whatever sort of chemistry there might be going on that I'd feel right away" (09, Brian). A makeup artist found that, in person, she sometimes saw something had not come out in a model's photographs:

²⁹ After the 1970s, male modeling became a more regular feature; by the 1980s, some male models were touted as 'supermodels' (such as Marcus Schenkenberg), although they were never paid as handsomely as their female counterparts.

Sometimes there's something about them that shows they can pull it off, which is why they have to go on 'go-sees,'³⁰ and be polaroided in the raw, on the day of. Because sometimes, I'll see a girl in front of me, and I'll do the makeup, and then I'll look through her book,³¹ and I'll be like, oh my god, I wouldn't realize that this was the same person. They were interpreted so differently from the way I saw them (24, Kay).

Thus, a model with a look, or assembly of features that can inspire affective arousal in others on a routine basis is hard to come by, and predicting what sets of features will be the most contagious, in terms of transmitting affect via the face or the body, is very difficult. Since the dramatic rise in agitating affective flow, in terms of the growth of the networks of affective production in the 1980s, the methods for searching out and identifying potentially productive capacities in models have grown and become institutionalized in the form of the scouting system and the model search contest.

The Scouting System

There's more media so there's more advertising, there's more advertising so you need more models. If you need more models you've got to scout more. If you scout more, you got to go more places (17, Cameron).

A scout or casting agent is a person who works either free lance, or for a model agency, whose "comportment in the presence of attractive strangers," is due to their "license to approach the physically advantaged," as the *New York Times* put it in a short human interest piece on a freelance casting director who scouts models for a living

³⁰ A go-see is like an interview or audition, in which a model goes to see a potential client to try out for a job.

³¹ A model's book is the portfolio of pictures in which she or he has appeared; it usually includes "tearsheets," e.g. sheets torn from the magazine pictorial editorials in which she was featured and prints of advertisements in which she appeared.

(Bellafonte 2001). More simply, a model scout searches for people who have the physical characteristics to be a model, and invites, or sometimes tries to persuade, them to try to be one.

Model agencies employ scouts who search the world for the kinds of faces they think will produce a sensation, the look or face that will stimulate the most powerful response. The webs cast by scouting are not confined to just the scout's city or country. In the never ending search for the next new face, models are either picked off the streets of New York and other fashion capitals such as Paris or Milan, or are found in open calls or recruiting events that take place all over the world

Scouts either work locally, periodically going on special scouting trips to hold open calls in other cities, or, they travel to other countries. There are agents who reportedly have gone so far as the rural areas of Kenya, holding up a Coca Cola advertisement, asking village elders if they wanted their daughters to be the girl in the picture and bring back a lot of money to the village. They were hoping to find the new Alek Wek, or Iman (both of whom are African supermodels who were discovered by scouts) (Lacey 2003). One French model agent I interviewed had gone as far afield as Moldavia, a war torn region of the world, to find that certain something (14, Tony). Another agent, based in New York, spoke of "mining" the world for new girls to feed the "hunger for new faces."

One of the biggest costs for the agencies is overhead for scouting trips. You've got constant hunger for new faces, and you've got to farther and farther to find them. They mine different areas of the world. Eastern Europe, South America, now one of the biggest trends I see is multi cultural, models who are from mixed

ethnic backgrounds. That's one of the few ways you can find a unique girl (17, Cameron).

This quote was from a Caucasian agent in his mid twenties who has 7 years of scouting experience, and worked at one of the top modeling agencies in New York City. His statement claims that the modeling industry is interested in stretching racist assumptions, but I would argue that there is another process at work behind the drive to "mine the world" for a unique girl. The quest for ever-wilder ethnic mixes is fed at least in part by the goal of capitalizing on finer gradations of racial division, and segmentation, into markets. Further, the fascination with mixed ethnic backgrounds is fed by an interest in exoticism, in which an ethnic mix is presented as an object to be admired, aestheticizing difference as a sort of pastiche, in ever finer division that cross one another and put new differences into play.

It is interesting to note that for many of the people I met in the industry, the idea of models who may have come from trailer parks seemed to hold an equal level of fascination, in terms of being just as foreign or exotic, as a rural village in Africa. The story of the "girl" found in the trailer park who shot to superstardom is almost an urban myth in the industry, and was dutifully reported to me by a model from the South who had just moved to New York City:

You'd be surprised. Some of the models come from trailer parks. Some of the scouts actually go to trailer parks to look for models sometimes, because that's where some of the best, ah, secrets are – hidden in trailer parks are these beautiful girls that you never would have thought would be there (07, Stuart).

An agent, on a television special detailing the lives of several aspiring models on the Arts and Entertainment network that aired in 2000, also mentioned this idea, saying, “I love plucking them from the trailer park, and dressing them up and sending them out” (*Investigative Reports* 2000). It seemed as if the trailer park has come to stand in for the last, great, untapped resource of affective potential left in the United States, as the malls, the streets, and the discos have been crawling with scouting agents for quite some time.

Street Scouting

Scouts who work locally, “comb bars, college campuses, bowling alleys, whatever” (Bellafonte 2001) to find new faces. Favorite scouting spots are the street, clubs or discos, restaurants, or airports. Close to a third of the models I interviewed were discovered in this way³², like the one who said simply she was “found on the street in the city” (42, Dawn). This story, from an email a friend sent when they heard I was researching the modeling industry, detailed a typical scenario: her boss tells of how, walking down the street in Soho, a booker approached his 15 year old, 5’11 1/2” daughter, who was “drop dead gorgeous,” according to his description. The agent offered her a big contract with an agency that does not have open calls, “there is no way to access them, they come to you.” They told her to come back thinned down, took a Polaroid, and gave her a thumbs up for this summer.

Many models are found by either paid scouts or other professionals in the industry, such as photographers or makeup artists, who were scouting on the side. One of the models I interviewed was ‘discovered’ by a photographer while selling croissants at a bakery:

³² 11 out of 32; 3 of the men and 8 of the women.

I was in a bakery selling croissants, and someone asked me if I wanted to do it. It was a photographer. He got me a cover. I tried to back to my normal life in between. But then a month later I did a little bit more. So I did it part time. I was 18 (47, Nea).

By the time she was 19, she had moved to New York and was modeling full time.

Sometimes scouting is codified through informal networks in which settings that attract young people are monitored by scouts looking for potential talent. These are intricate networks of affective production in which various players are joined in the pursuit of affective potential, of a high concentration of affective energy. The model in question was found by a freelance agent, at a “model night” (at which models are given 20% off their meals) at a downtown New York restaurant. The agent was a friend of the restaurant owner, and presumably made it her business to approach young men and women weekly, on an informal basis, as they were out socializing:

I was at dinner one night, and this woman came up to me, and said you know, you have a great look, you should do modeling, and I was like, alright, if you think so.

Well this woman that approached me, her friend runs Sarafina’s or something, she was an independent scout, so she brought me to [the modeling agencies] Next and Elite. She explained that she’s an independent scout, she hooks girls up with agencies, I really think you should be doing modeling, give me a call. And so I called her, and she said, why don’t you meet me at Next at 11am. So I met her there, and the people at Next were really into me, and she was like, okay, don’t make any decisions yet, and we went up to Elite. And I met them, and it was

really based more on certain people's personalities, than anything else. I had really no basis whatsoever to choose them (*she laughed*). I just did (40, Sarah).

Models are not always recruited by professional scouts. Sometimes models scout themselves, so to speak, in that they seek out the modeling business by sending photos of themselves to the agencies. This practice can have varying levels of success. A writer close to the industry describes how, for the most part, these photos go no further than to provide a steady source of office entertainment at modeling agencies:

Though diamonds do exist in the considerable rough of photos that pour into a top agency each week, unsolicited pictures often have another use: office entertainment. Scouts and bookers aren't above gathering 'round the more bizarre submissions for a good laugh (Ellis 2001).

Photographs are only a first step. In an interview for a modeling website, Wilhelmina New York scout Duane Gazzi said, "we're not going to sign anyone until we see them in person"(Ellis 2001). A self starter model who had moved from Minnesota to Florida to start her career, took the chance because her efforts to seek modeling work through photographs were taken seriously:

This photographer I knew said you should make comp cards [a card with representative photographs on it], write up a letter and send it to all the agencies. Thinking back to this, it was kind of crazy, but I don't know, I didn't have a boyfriend, and I wanted to do something else. So I sent my comp card in this letter introducing myself, I'm 5' 9" and I'm interested in relocating, etc. I sent it everywhere. Even to Australia, Paris, you know, everywhere. I was working as a secretary at the time, and I gave them my fax number and my home telephone

number, and out of fifty things I sent out, I got about forty responses. I would just keep getting faxes. It was like whoa! So I was like, I've gotta do this, I was so brave. I kept talking to the Pommier [agency] in Florida. It's kind of a good starting market, it's not as hard as Paris and New York, and it wasn't that far from home, and I really got along with the bookers, so I just packed myself up and I left. I don't know what I was thinking (37, Brittany).

In the cutthroat business of finding new models to feed the constant demand for them, scouts can be aggressive. They are sometimes aided by modeling's glamorous mystique, an attraction that translates into a subtle but constant pressure on young people who seem to fit the standards, that pushes them toward modeling whether or not they are even interested. The model who was picked up by the independent scout in a restaurant had been approached periodically from the age of 15 on:

It's one of those things that if you have a certain look about you, your whole life people will be like, you should model. I've had it so many times, people asking me, do you model? You should model. I lived in Boston where there's not so much fashion taking place, and so I never really pursued it that much. I thought maybe I should be, but what are you going to do? I was in school, and I had to work every summer, so I couldn't just come up to New York (40, Sarah).

New York is prime scouting territory. Nicholas, a PR agent for a modeling agency whose girlfriend is model pretty, but tried the business and didn't like it, reports she is approached by scouts weekly:

Take, my girlfriend, for example – she walked away from it. She got scouted when she was 15, she was one of the finalists for Elite's look of the year in 1994,

and she just didn't want to do it. She's an academic and an intellectual, and wanted nothing to do with it. She gets scouted all the time in New York – every fuckin' week, somebody comes up to her (22).

I asked if she felt pressured to become a model, and he replied:

Yeah, if you are 6'6", everybody tells you to play basketball (22, Nicholas).

Like other respondents who had described the feeling that it was their duty to try it, the young woman in question had been criticized for her decision to reject modeling:

Yeah, well people sometimes berate her, and say what's wrong with you? It's a challenge for her in her work, because she's beautiful and she's dealing with a lot of men, and they don't – I mean she's a summa cum laude from Wellesley, she's a brilliant girl, and it's a source of frustration in her life. And she doesn't like being objectified and that was the whole turn off about modeling. She said, I'm trotting myself out as if all I had to offer was the way I look. And for her that wasn't a compulsion, but for every ten girls, you've got one of them who doesn't want to do this (22, Nicholas).

The mythology of being discovered at a soda fountain dates back to the early Hollywood years, and the dream lives on in the idea of street scouting, fueled by the growth of the affective economy. The story of being discovered on the street and catapulted to fame and fortune is particularly alluring because it doesn't seem to involve any effort on the part of the person who is discovered. This dream is abetted by the much publicized discoveries of supermodels, such as the one circulated about Kate Moss, that she was discovered in an airport. Regardless of whether such stories are true, they fuel a public belief that such a miraculous moment may happen to them, a dream that the modeling

industry has been able to turn into the profitable business of the scouting contest, which I will discuss further below.

Regional Scouting

The pursuit of affective capacity that might become productive if put into the right networks, in terms of that ineffable quality, which can only be identified by a visceral response, also informs relationships between agencies. Agencies are organized in hierarchies from those in fashion capitals at the top, to the farm system of regional “feeder” agencies at the bottom. Agencies may be interconnected via the “mother” agency system, in which models are sent from regional markets to markets in fashion centers in hopes of winning large incomes, in exchange for a small percentage of the model’s earnings overall. The feeder system functions at both the national and international levels.

The feeder system connects the regional markets for modeling to fashion capitals, such as New York City. Agencies in smaller markets, through scouts, form alliances so that regional fashion markets, such as Dallas or Phoenix, can link with New York in the U.S.; in Europe, cities in Germany such as Berlin, although they have their own fashion scene, will send their best girls to Paris. An agent explained that

New York is the top in terms of billing; that is where the publishers of images are, where all the magazines are, advertisers, designers, photographers. LA may be chic, and Miami might be busy, but the regional markets are generally less lucrative, as they deal in lower end catalog work, department store modeling, and the like (29, Megan).

Generally, my respondents agreed, that “New York is the money stop”(33, Giselle).

Other cities, “Chicago, Atlanta, LA, Dallas, Miami, Phoenix, may have modeling agencies, but New York is the place to make dollars, so agencies in those areas will scout and ‘sell’ the girls to the big agencies in the city for a sort of finder’s fee” (53, Teri).

The feeder network, like the scouting system, helps to maintain a steady supply of fresh young faces flowing toward the centers of affective production. The “mother agency” system guides this flow, providing an incentive for agents in smaller markets to send models out to the larger concentrations of affective production in the nodes of these networks. If, for example, a girl is ‘discovered’ in Illinois by a local model agent, it behooves them to try to send that girl’s pictures to an agency in New York. The ‘mother agency’ system is an institutional incentive to do so. A ‘mother agency’ is the one that discovers the model and will have the right to 5% of her earnings for an unspecified portion of her career (some agencies try to claim it for the duration of her career, but this practice is increasingly frowned upon). This arrangement was mentioned by several of the models I interviewed. Similar to the girl described in the opening anecdote, Deana, who I met when she was in New York, trying modeling out during the summer off between her junior and senior year of high school, was sent to New York by her home agency:

I had an agency in St. Louis, and the scout from that agency saw my pictures and sent them to New York. I won a contest in St. Louis, and they signed me up, and sent me here. (43, Deana)

According to a model agent based in New York City, this is a common practice. “Podunk agencies,” she explained, “send their good girls to bigger markets to get 5% of their fees for the rest of their careers” (29, Megan).

As I will discuss further in the next chapter, moving new talent into these nodes of production can increase an aspiring model’s productive potential a thousand fold, merely by exposing him or her to a higher density of affective flow, a flow into which the model might more easily insert her or himself, increasing the productivity of their affective capacity.

The feeder system exists on the global level as well, insofar as model scouting is also an international enterprise. Similar to the way it works on the regional level, it also plays a part in connecting fashion centers on a global scale. International scouts ‘mine’ different areas of the world and bring their finds back to the fashion capitals of New York, Paris, London, and Milan, hoping that the new face they discover might become the next big thing. One agent I spoke to was sent around the world, to Lithuania, Spain, the United States, Russia:

I was taking a chance, and the girls became stars, so I proved myself. So I started to travel because of this. They gave me the opportunity to travel the world and scout for girls (14, Tony).

New York agencies often foster relationships with agencies in other countries, to create a link between girls who are discovered in China, or Russia, and the markets for them in New York. A young model agent who works for a top rung agency in New York City describes the agency’s relationship with Moscow:

Well we have partnership with agency in Moscow called Red Stars. We had an agency before the wall came down, and then the structure changed after it came down, but we still have an arrangement there. I mean you have to, that's an important market for scouting. That's the kind of place that's so closed, it's so insular, I mean you can't just go and appear in Moscow and scout the streets for a lot of reasons, so it's important to have relationships in those kinds of countries (17, Cameron).

Money and time are the great facilitators in this process; even potential models in Cuba can be brought to the United States with enough of each of them:

If you find a great girl anywhere in the world, you can get them out. I've had models come from Cuba, you just pay enough money, enough times to the government to get the model out. Of course, it's trickier, if they're from Cuba, they can't, they have to seek asylum, and they can't go back to Cuba, and they can't leave the US for a while. But if someone is worth enough trouble, you can make it happen (17, Cameron).

Incentives also form part of the way that scouts can make money. Independent scouts can make fees for "stealing" girls, that is, persuading them to switch agencies, against their agent's wishes. My respondents who were agents mentioned this frequently. An agent for a medium sized agency who had worked in Paris and New York lamented the "stupid girls" who fall for this:

Most agencies hire people from outside the agency as scouts, and they just go around the city, they go to the places the girls are, the castings, etc. because they know, the agencies tell them, if you find good girls, and you bring them to us,

we'll give you money. So they go to the castings, and they stop a girl and they say, can I talk to you – when they're leaving the casting, they say, can we have a drink? So some girls say no, some of them go and they just listen, and some of them are stupid and they say 'okay' and the guy gets money. We have tried to stop this, but it's very hard (26, Genevieve).

The value of finding the 'right' model has grown to the point that whole companies have risen up, companies whose only occupation is scouting for new talent. The International Model and Talent Association, or IMTA, has its own schools, website (imta.com 2004), and nationwide search contests. Modelscouts.com, an online scouting forum guarantees, "your photos will be viewed by experienced and qualified model scouts for over 100 international modeling agencies within 24 hours after your photos are submitted" (modelscouts.com 2004). Another large scouting agency, ProScout, claims to be "generally recognized as the industry's most respected scouting organization for new models, actors and performers... we are not an agency, but work together with over 150 industry leading international agencies who seek new faces. Our mission is to provide qualified applicants with an effective means of meeting the specific agencies required to begin legitimate work" (Proscout.com 2004).

These agencies organize model search contests, an institution that I will discuss in the next section; they also send individual agents on scouting trips, trawling the country and the world for undiscovered local talent. A photographer who snapped some photos of a friend's daughter tells the story of how she was discovered by a Japanese agent who was passing through Minneapolis. The agent was part of one of the huge nets cast by the

big scouting companies, on a routine sweep of the United States. The girl has sent the photographs to the agency, and they happened to be there when a Proscout agent came through:

The daughter of one of my friends, I just took some snapshots of her last summer, actually it was her idea, and she took them to an agency, and there was a scout from a Japanese agency coming through the Midwest, and this company called Proscout that has these huge castings, cattle calls really, (scouts from other countries will do that) and this casting agent came through and stopped into the local modeling agency in Minneapolis and the snapshot was there and...

Well, I say snapshots, but I had taken some photos of her just in the backyard and they came out beautiful, and I connected her with another friend of mine and he did more pictures, you know just trying to help. And they saw the pictures she had and right now she's in Tokyo. They did a contract and it's 8-9 weeks, and if you get booked, that's great, and if not, well, that's the way it goes (09, Brian).

While many find the lure of a cut from a potential model's future earnings, or the promise of a fee from an agency for finding a future star, irresistible, sometimes a more intimate connection to the business serves as a cautionary influence. A make-up artist who was tempted a few times by bright young things put it this way:

Sometimes I'll see a girl, and just be really struck, and contemplate approaching them. And then I'll think... I mean, supposedly there is a finder's fee which would be a percentage of the first year or two or whatever is negotiated by the

do I want to do that to her? (24, Kay).

Others are not so easily deterred. In fact, the model search contests and conventions have also become big business, and are often overrun with hopefuls who are more than willing to pay a hefty fee just for the privilege of being looked at by a model agent.

International or Global Scouting: The Model Contest

On the national and global level, the model search contest or convention attracts participants from many different states or countries, pulling a steady supply of fresh young talent into the matrix of affective production, layers of which are concentrated in the fashion centers of the world. As I noted in the previous chapter, the advent of the model search contest arose from two forces: first, as the investment in the flow of affect grew making the ability to arouse affective response more valuable, the business of scouting out new possibly profitable faces or looks became more lucrative. Next, as the networks of affective production became more complex, the shifts in affective flow became more volatile, causing a faster turnover in terms of what sells, feeding the hunger for new faces even further. These changes started to become evident from the 1980s onward, the same timeframe in which the first “Look of the Year” contest was staged by Elite.

How does a model contest or convention work? At the Elite “Look of the Year” contest, model hopefuls pay a fee to be allowed to participate in a contest in which they walk a runway in front of model agents (usually from New York City) in order to perhaps win the chance to be considered for a contract at one of those agencies. As I mentioned

earlier, the 2003 the Elite Model Look of the Year contest, drew 150,000 contestants from 47 countries who competed for \$925,000 in employment contracts (elitemodel.com 2003). A photographer familiar with the contests referred to them as “cattle calls” (09, Brian). Megan, a booker from a well established modeling agency in New York City said that she has gone to these contests all over the country to scout for new talent, and they attract thousands of people; she had recently been on a trip for “this one scouting agency that flies in agents from New York to see an *arena* full of people”(29). She described the usual procedure:

There will be a runway component and then a picture review, in which they parade by, showing their picture. Then the agents give them a call back, and then maybe even a 2nd one for a few of them. Then they take polaroids which go back to New York with the agent. The division head decides whether or not they will want the boy or the girl (29, Megan).

She went on to point out how lucrative the contests can be for the companies involved:

Scouts go to cities, run advertisements for an open call – they screen whoever shows up, after they’ve *all* paid a fee of \$275-\$500! And then they send them to this big sort of go- see, in which thousands of people parade by so the agents can have a look (29, Megan).

Most interview respondents who had attended these events said they usually took place in a hotel ballroom or convention facility. Some of them are weekend long events with seminars, walking lessons, and other modeling related activities that are arguably aimed at making money off of the participants, and not at connecting potential models with bookers, according to comments attached to a report in the “Scam Watch” section of the

website, modelnews.com. A testimonial reported that “the weekend was all info talk, like a long infomercial. There was no “real hands on,” the only real hands on “cat walk” workshop was an additional charge.” The participant seemed particularly upset by the fact that

of the close to 700-900 hopefuls only about 1% might have truly had real potential, of course I realize I am probably not qualified to make such a judgment but, we all watch fashion shows and study the print models look, to get a sense of what sells, so my question for ProScout is ,who signed all these people up who, clearly had not the smallest, most remote chance of making it as a model? (first comment regarding ProScout modeling search, modelnews.com 2004).

The model agents I interviewed seemed ambivalent about the contests. On the one hand, they hated going to them; on the other, there was always the chance of finding a great model there. A young model agent who started out as a scout on weekends to support himself during college, did not think the growth of the scouting industry in the last half dozen years was a good thing:

These private companies relentlessly scout throughout America. I’ve been to Dallas *twenty five* times. I used to go sometimes like twice a month. I’ve gone on behalf of four agencies. It’s a relentless scouting network in America especially, and it has created more models than there ever needed to be. More than we would like (17, Cameron).

Several of the agents I spoke to didn’t like to go, but did not have the option not to, as it would have been difficult to explain their absence at a contest at which the next supermodel was discovered by their competition in the industry.

Carolyn, an agent at a boutique agency specializing in high fashion models, has a very dim view of these contests. She was particularly bothered by the tiny number of participants who ultimately are selected:

The scouting process is very diverse. There are scouts all over the world who are going to these model schools that are basically scams. Here's the bad part.

They've got these schools all over the country that charge models thousands of dollars, promising them that they can work in New York or Paris or whatever. Maybe one out of a thousand of those girls is going to make it. Your parents' entire life's savings could go down the drain for these schools and these model searches, they are called. This is all in the last 10 years.

Most of these girls will never – these are girls are ones who'd be walking down the street and you wouldn't even turn your head. Unfortunately. Less than average. It's just so dirty and so scammy, these conventions... There's no hope!

I've had to go on these things. Model conventions. And the money that these conventions make is not only from enticing these young girls that they can become a New York model and make thousands of dollars, but then, let's say they *do* have that one in a thousand, they send the girl to New York, and they get a commission on that model...so there's a lot of money to be made in these so called schools and conventions. Lots and lots of it...

You've got 5,000 girls coming to meet New York model agents. 5,000 young girls, coming to a model convention and maybe out of that 5,000, *maybe*, 3 of them might get an offer from a NY modeling agency. So 4,997 of them are going home, having spent their parents' savings, and all they are left with is this

portfolio that isn't worth anything. The other side of the coin is that they got to fulfill some kind of dream within themselves. They got the chance. Maybe that means more to these little kids than the rejection (27, Carolyn).

The model agent Megan also referred to this process as "selling hopes and dreams" (29). Yet the model search contest continues to thrive because, like the lottery, people do win from time to time.

While the agents I interviewed were quite skeptical of the model contests, models had more varied views. A model who had been discovered in a restaurant in Miami during her college spring break, and had worked in the industry for several years, shared the agents' view, that the contests are generally scams, and did not do much more than make money for the scouting agencies:

there's maybe 1% of the population who's got the right height, the right bone structure, and can maintain the right weight. They do the searches because there's always the chance. They go fishing with a dragnet in the deep sea with these 40 mile long nets because they know they're gonna pull in a tuna somehow" (32, Kate).

Several of the models I talked to, however, had come into the industry via a search contest³³. Some were quite matter of fact about it. This model had won a model search in Atlanta prior to being signed by an agency in New York City:

I went to a modeling convention. I was just like, whatever, it's worth a try, you know, to see what will happen. But, you know, it's an experience, you have to

³³ Although my sample does not profess to be scientific, 7 of the 32 models I interviewed came into the business via entering a modeling contest; two of the male models, and five of the female models.

take risks in life, I guess. It's a waste of money, maybe, maybe not, you've got to see what happens.

When I pointed out that the contests can cost a lot, and that some people see them as scams, he agreed that they aren't always a positive experience for people:

Yeah, I think mine was about \$400, but some of them cost up to three thousand dollars. And some of the kids, nothing happens for them and it's really bad (07, Stuart).

This model had an extremely positive experience, however. In the contest he entered, 16 of the 18 agencies there wanted to sign him. They were fighting over him, and calling him every day. It was overwhelming, all the different agencies clamoring for him. He picked his current agency because they "treated me like a person." I asked him what he meant by that:

The other agencies have so many guys. This agency called me every day – how are you doing, how's the decision coming? For some of them, you're just another face, but these guys treated me like a whole person, so I went with them. (07, Stuart).

Typically, the first contact with modeling was via sending photographs in for a competition, as this German model's mother did: "My mom took some Christmas photos of my brother and me and there was this competition and she sent my pictures in and I won" (46, Stephanie). Teri, a model who had worked in New York for several years, had originally been based in Florida. She went through several stages of a modeling competition, only to decide not to act on it until she was older:

I was 5'10" by the age of 14, and found an advertisement in the back of a magazine for the "Look of the Year" contest. You had to fill out a form and send in two photos. I hired a photographer to do it. I won regional model of the year, and as winner, went to the regional contest in person to compete for state honors. I won a trip to compete again for a countrywide competition. I was selected, at 14, to come directly to New York, to try to get jobs, on a summer "try out." I was going to stay in a model apartment with my parents and perhaps work for girls and teens magazines" (53, Teri).

Ultimately, she did not leave Florida to try modeling until she was 19, and came to New York of her own accord, without a connection to an agency.

Several of the models I spoke to³⁴ presented themselves at "open calls" at agencies, usually scheduled weekly, during which agents will see anyone who walks through the door. For this model, who had grown up in the shadow of New York City in the Long Island suburbs, and ended up being a very successful model during the 1980s, a chance comment from a stranger was incentive enough to give it a try:

I had entered this contest out on Long Island, "Miss Photogenic" and I was the youngest one, I was sixteen, and of course all the girls in that contest had teased hair, and big boobs, wearing black bathing suits; and I come walking out, like, my hair in barrettes, smiling. But this man said to my father, you should get her into modeling, she's got great eyebrows (they had grown back and were looking very Brooke Shields) and he said, you really should take her in. It was the summer. It was some local modeling guy (31, Julia).

³⁴ 3 of the men, and 6 of the women.

This model had a successful career. She was lucky. Another model who had come to New York to try out the market, had been going to castings for two months to no avail when I interviewed her. She had already had a bad experience in LA, but seemed determined to make it in the business. She had been told she should try modeling since she was about 15 years old, in fact she was scouted at 15, but didn't want to do anything about it. She was scouted again at 19, and this time decided to give it a try, but had not done her research and the agency did not turn out to be reputable. They charged her for pictures and didn't send her on any castings:

That lasted through my sophomore year, then finally my junior year I thought, I really want to pursue this, and so that's when I went around every agency in LA, but got another bad agency. The first one cost me \$500, and the second one cost me \$800 – that was before I realized they weren't going to do anything for me. And then four months into them, I said I need to find another agency and went around again to every agency, and finally I signed with a good one. Since then they became my mother agency and found me an agency here in New York (38, Donna).

After our interview, if she continued not to get jobs, she was planning to go to England, as her agent was encouraging her to do, to try out the market there.

Whether they were scouted on the street or at a contest, some of the models I spoke to started working on their affective capacity sooner than others. Some, who were just starting out, believed their look, just as it was, would win them jobs. Indeed they had been told as much by their agents, acting as advisors in the production process. Others had to work for it. As I will discuss below, realizing the productive potential of a model's

affective qualities is a constant process of modulation that often involves teams of workers connected by networks within the affective economy. Experts such as model agents were often reported to be key players in managing a model's decisions about how and when to modify their appearance or personality. Insofar as they are gatekeepers, agents may incite some models to begin work on these affective qualities in order to get into the industry in the first place. Thus, while models were most often scouted because their potential productivity was clear from the outset, this model's potential was hiding under an unfashionable layer of fat; the agency who ultimately signed her, would not consider her before she worked on her body:

When I first met up with the agency, I was like a 10 or a 12, and they were like, you know you're not really the ideal size right now (I met them in October), so why don't you just work on it, cut out fatty foods and go to the gym, and then come back in a month or whatever and we'll see where we're at. So I spent three months working out all the time, eating just healthy, not anything crazy, and I started in January (40, Sarah).

This recommendation represents an interaction in the modeling industry that typifies the kind of relationship that exists between models, agents, and the images they are working to create. Like players in any affective industry that deals with cultural products and depends on pleasing the public, the models and their agents must position themselves so that the images they produce and project are taken up within the networks of affective production and circulated in the most profitable manner possible. Only then may they perhaps enter relationships that can become very lucrative. Achieving that position in the industry, however, is very difficult, and the ways to get there are highly variable. In the

following chapter I will discuss how the volatility of working with affect informs the industry structure, and relationships between the players within the industry such that “you are only as good as your last booking” (25, Diane), making reputation and image key components in achieving success.

Chapter 4

THE SOCIAL WORLD OF MODELING

Just as the fashion design industry is comprised of far-flung networks in which textiles, designs, and finished products are exchanged during the normal functioning of transnational corporations, the fashion modeling industry operates via similar networks in which images, ideas, and the models themselves are exchanged on a daily basis on a global scale. The networks that comprise the modeling industry involve interrelationships between various sectors of the industry, mutually dependent and mutually wary, such as the fashion press, the clients who advertise there, the photographers they hire, and the agents who advocate for the models who work for them. Other players include the hair, makeup, and clothing stylists employed on a catch as catch can basis for the various photo shoots and fashion shows where the bulk of fashion images are produced. Within these networks, the need to produce and maintain a reputation and marketable image governs relations in the industry on many levels, as it is an activity that is particularly sensitive to affective flow.

In modeling, reputation and personal contacts are so important to success, that they are sometimes more valuable than actual payment; or, to put it differently, sometimes the circuit of valuation, in which a commodity is translated into money, skips that step; hence, in the modeling world, the image a model projects can at times be more important than the money a model makes. This is particularly the case for fashion models; in order to reach the very upper echelons of the profession, a fashion model might forgo pay in anticipation of a greater pay-off, in the form of the much-coveted

contract to produce advertising for high end luxury goods, in work for a fashion designer or cosmetics firm. In the following sections, I will trace how, in the course of “engineering an image” (19, Steve), status is exchanged for status, until it has accrued to a high enough level that it can profitably be exchanged for money. The idea of “engineering an image” also refers to the careful management of status in order to stay on the positive side of status contagion, a concept I will discuss more at length below.

Since the structure of production is such that facing the “incalculable” is a routine part of the process, it becomes a gamble to figure out whether or not a model is going to make it. As a rule, fashion models often have very short careers, but they also have a chance to make millions. In the “image engineering” (19, Steve) process, the symbolic value of a model must be built up just as thoroughly as her or his financial value; sometimes the symbolic value precedes the financial value or never translates into real dollars. Thus, in the process of “image engineering,” an agent might encourage a model to choose a job at a high fashion magazine such as *Vogue*, where the pay for a day’s work is usually only about \$125 a day, over certain kinds of commercial jobs, for which clients are willing to pay ten times that to hire the same girl for the same amount of time. The immediate pay off of doing the commercial job may derail the effort to reach the eventual pay off of engineering the model’s image to achieve high fashion status. A model I spoke to, who was in high demand because she is doing high status editorial work, confirmed that this is an operative idea in the industry when she explained how her agency refused lucrative work offered to her, in order to “milk” that editorial status for as long as possible:

When you are doing editorial, the catalogs can't get you, they can't afford you.

The agency won't let you, unless they are going to pay a lot of money. Otherwise, it's "oh sorry, she's working!" They'll take a *Vogue* booking before they'll take a Neiman Marcus [department store], unless Neiman Marcus is willing to pay, I don't know, \$3,000 for the day. They'd rather have you at *Vogue* magazine for \$125, because it's prestigious, and they're going to milk that for as long as they can, because once you are in the editorial, you get the advertising where you can actually make tons of money (31, Julia).

Modulating the flows of affect incited by a model's image and reputation in order to reach that level is a team effort that is guided as much by expertise as it is sheer luck, and can prove to be a very confusing and unpredictable experience for all involved. In the following sections, I will analyze how the need to produce and maintain a reputation and a marketable image govern relations between agencies, within agencies, and between models, their clients, agents, photographers, and anyone else with whom the model comes in contact in the course of their daily business.

An overview: The Structure of the Industry

To understand the structure and scope of the modeling business, one needs to think in terms of hierarchies of reputation, prestige, and global reach. Agencies are in direct competition with one another in an effort to promote their models to a small pool of clients. In order to make their own models into superstars, they have to beat rivaling agencies in their bids for the few top spots. In the determination of status and prestige, agencies are oriented toward one another, without an outside, objective standard of value or evaluating mechanism. Status may be conferred by the media, in which agencies are

often ranked in order of status or power; interestingly, they are less often ranked by income, as they tend to be privately owned companies that do not like to reveal their balance sheets. Agencies rank themselves with relation to the others in the industry in a well-defined pecking order that occasionally gets rearranged. Shakeups within the industry can be caused by the opening of a new agency, the poaching of models from one agency by another, or the ascendance of a star model on the rosters of a less powerful agency. Models and agencies often have interdependent reputations. The best known agencies in the business, for instance, are the ones who manage the industry's big stars, such as two agencies in the top two spots, IMG, the firm that manages Gisele Bundchen, the world's best known super model as of the year 2004, or Elite, responsible for managing President Bush's niece, Lauren Bush.

The agencies who are major players in the industry are usually comprised of vast networks made from an intricate web of their own satellites offices and lesser agencies with whom they are loosely affiliated, internationally and nationally. Less globally established agencies may still have global connections. In the absence of satellite offices, agencies will cultivate an affiliation with agencies local to a city they want their model to work in. A model who works in both Europe and the United States, for instance, may use her main agency to manage her bookings when she is in New York, but will work through an affiliated agency when she is in Paris or Milan.

As outlined briefly in the previous chapter, the most powerful agencies tend to have an international presence, with offices in countries all over the globe (although there are exceptions, known as 'boutique' agencies that deal with a very specific market and clientele, and are usually located in only one city). The current top players in the industry,

such as Ford, Elite, and IMG, have offices in several countries, and various cities within those countries, which contribute to their international presence, and are, along with their sponsored activities such as model search contests, responsible for their worldwide reputation. Having offices in multiple countries serves other purposes as well, including, as I have discussed, serving the crucial function of bringing models into the agency by casting as wide a net as possible in search of new talent, and also easing the development of a model's career, through representing her in the various cities she might travel as she hones her modeling skills and adds to her productive potential. In the development process, a sort of "secondary socialization" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:138 – 147) in which models are sent to try out their potential in foreign markets, it behooves agencies dealing in fashion work to provide an interface for the model in as many markets as possible.

"Model markets" is a term that refers to both geography and segmentation. For instance, there is a model market in each of the fashion capitals, where photographers, designers, advertisers, and magazines tend to congregate. Each of these markets has a certain style of commerce. Paris has the reputation of being concentrated on high fashion, while the New York market tends to be more commercial. A model who had worked in Brazil, Paris, London, Milan, and Japan to build her career, referred to New York as the "money stop" (33, Giselle). An agent based in Paris, who had worked for many years in New York City, extolled the virtues of Paris as a center of fashion:

Europe is not a walk in market by any means. It's basically a market of prestige, power, and extraordinary visual images, probably the best in the world. It's the seat of good taste. I would call Paris the fashion capital, even though it has been

replaced by financially secure America. I still think of it as the capital. New York will always be about the money (25, Diane).

These capitals also are ordered according to the types of fashion images that tend to be produced there. From a model's perspective, the markets are more often viewed in this manner:

When I got to Paris, they said my pictures were too smiley. They like a darker, more natural look. In Milan it's more teenybopper, teenage. The French associate Americans more with a smiley, sort of clean, all-American look (32, Kate).

The "look" in this comment refers to the overall appearance of the style of editorial photographs that are prevalent in the magazines published in each city.

Outside of the fashion capitals, there are other types of markets. There are modeling agencies in L.A., for instance, but it is not known for fashion. Modeling work there consists primarily of catalog work, or work for lifestyle, rather than fashion magazines. One model who had worked exclusively for fashion magazines characterized it as "all T & A, silicon and g-strings. That's not fashion" (32, Kate). Her statement refers to some of the finer gradations of division between model "looks", e.g. the overall assemblage of their affective capacities, including their body shape, size, and overall style. In the next chapter, I will talk more about the different body types and styles and how they label models for the various markets. Body parts are also important in this equation, as different body parts, breasts, waists, legs, or necks, come into or go out of fashion.

Other regional markets include, in the United States, Phoenix, Miami, Chicago, and Atlanta. These cities tend to have concentrations of department stores, at which

models can find work in fashion shows and the store advertisements and catalogs. The cities in the warmer climates such as Phoenix and Miami are best known as catalog production centers, where crews fly into produce catalogs, which are frequently shot outdoors. These markets cater to national as well as international clients. A male owner of a men's modeling agency claimed Miami's ascendance as a center for modeling work in the late 1980s was due to a weakening of the dollar: "Miami exploded when the dollar was very cheap – it cost the Germans nothing to go there!" (18, Jules). In the international world of modeling, traveling to work in another country is the norm rather than the exception.

Sometimes they travel to take advantage of the fact that various countries have particular markets as well. Japan is known for yielding lucrative results in a short amount of time. The German model market is very commercial, and very lucrative for the right type of model. An American model I interviewed had "a regular gig" (54, Gina) in the German market, as she put it. She generated about a third of her yearly income by flying there once a year to work for the same clients. On the whole, agencies tend to have offices in cities that cater to these various markets. If they do not have their own agency headquartered there, they form affiliations with local agencies. IMG Models, for instance, has offices in New York, Paris, and London (imgworld.com 2004). Ford Models has offices in Los Angeles, Miami, Scottsdale, Toronto, Paris, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires (fordmodels.com 2004). Elite, has perhaps the most offices of all, 31 agencies all over the world, from Bratislava to Hanoi (elite.com 2004).

In terms of market segmentation, supermodels and "up and coming" models usually do high fashion print photography and runway work exclusively. Categories of

modeling work include runway (live appearances only), print (photos for advertisements and magazine editorial), fit (providing a body to fit clothing prototypes), parts (hand or leg models, for instance), and commercial (for television advertisements). Subdivisions include commercial print, to refer to a model that does exclusively print advertising, as opposed to an editorial model, one who works primarily for fashion magazines and fashion designers.

For the most part, top agencies supply models to all types of markets. Large agencies, like Ford, are very well established and can cater to both magazine and advertising clients, for instance, dealing in both editorial models, e.g. fashion models who work in fashion for editorial work for the most exclusive magazines and designers, and commercial models, who work to produce catalogs, or low status advertising, such as ads for household or feminine hygiene products.

There are sometimes smaller, more specialized agencies that cater to specific market segments. In cities where the fashion infrastructure of designers, advertising agencies, cosmetics firms, and corporate clothing giants are concentrated, there is room for more specialized agencies that deal, for example, in the commerce of child modeling, parts modeling or character modeling. In these types of cities, some of the small agencies, known as 'boutique' agencies, cater to the same segments of the market as the top agencies, but specialize in one type of model, or one segment of that market. These agencies are often individually owned, and locally based. They are able to compete with monsters such as IMG or Ford, because modeling is a business in which size does not matter so much as the prestige of one's clientele, in terms of market dominance. Thus, if a small agency manages one or two of the most famous, 'top' models, the agency may

wield more power and command higher fees in the industry than an agency twice the size with offices all over the world.

The industry is characterized by volatility in which agencies open and close their doors on a routine basis. As a rule, the industry has been dominated by a few major agencies, among which Ford Models has been the longest lived (as of 2004, according to an industry insider, the top five roster included DNA, Elite, Ford, Wilhelmina, and IMG). These agencies are based in New York, but have offices around the globe. Each regional office represents both local models and visiting New York models, handling local bookings for both. Elite, founded in 1971, claims to have 30 agencies worldwide, and reportedly bills over \$100 million in modeling fees annually, representing approximately 600 models in 6 continents (elitemodels.com). A firm of this size has few permanent staff (the management) at each location, and large numbers of contractual workers (the models) who travel between cities where the agency is located. A base staff of 45 full-time agents and administrative workers representing 100 models is considered large by industry standards.

The global reach of the industry is not due simply to the widespread networks of scouting, or the international character of the scouting contests, or its networks of offices worldwide. The industry is also global in the sense that work teams are assembled from a global pool of workers on a routine basis. Diane, a high level agent at a top three modeling agency made reference to these processes in her assertion that

This is a business without boundaries. When you work in this business, you are international; you are forcibly international... It has always been happening, but now it's even more so, because the markets have opened, there are more models

from other places, you'll have a Croatian model shooting with an Italian client in France, the photographer is from LA, and the stylist is from New York. So you'll have time being put on the girl by seven different people (25, Diane)

The notion of "time being put on a girl" is a fascinating one, and speaks to the work's collaborative nature, as well as the non standard way of thinking about work relationships. The idea of "time being put in on a girl" also speaks not only to the concerted investments of time and of energy that go into producing the affective capacity in just one model, but to the global span of those networks. It is also interesting to note that this agent's statement corroborates the idea that fashion markets have become more global in the last several years, "the markets have opened" causing more instances of cross pollination between countries, more frequent international exchanges of personnel, further globalizing the process of image production.

Modeling is an industry of extremes. In the modeling industry, average remuneration is much lower than the millions earned yearly by supermodels,³⁵ whose labor creates the image of the industry. In 1998, the last year this type of statistic was tracked, for the average model in New York City the weekly rate was from \$335.00 to \$883.00 (New York City Occupational Wages Report, March 1998) and there was a slightly lower rate for New York State, between \$256.00 and \$585.00 (New York Occupational Wages Report, March 1998).

³⁵ When she was working solely as a supermodel, and had not yet taken up the other businesses such as yoga wear and beauty products with which she was subsequently involved, *Forbes* magazine listed Christy Turlington as one of the 14 highest paid people in the United States (Vol. 149, issue 11, May 25, 1992). In 1998, Ms. Turlington reportedly grossed \$5 million trailing then superstar Claudia Schiffer's \$10.5 million (*Forbes* March 22, 1999). In 2000, the top supermodel, Gisele, commanded a day rate of \$500,000 (*List* magazine Spring/Summer 2000). As of 2004, she was enjoying a 5 year \$25 million contract with Victoria's Secret (Sherman 2004).

Rates vary according to the type of model, and the sector of the industry in which he or she works. According to the Occupational Outlook Handbook,

Median hourly earnings of models were \$9.17 in 2000. The middle 50 percent earned between \$7.00 and \$13.70. The lowest 10 percent earned less than \$6.11, and the highest 10 percent earned more than \$16.94...Hourly earnings can be relatively high, particularly for supermodels and others in high demand, but models may not have work every day, and jobs may last only a few hours. Models occasionally receive clothing or clothing discounts instead of, or in addition to, regular earnings.

Fees vary widely in the industry. Sometimes what seems to be the same work will be paid at wildly divergent rates. A day's work can be worth \$125 or \$12,500 depending on a variety of factors, including the status of the client, the use to which the photograph will be put, the product being sold, and the model agent's acuity at negotiating. A French agent outlined the possible range:

The day rate for a model depends on a lot of things – for a magazine, they make \$100, but for a catalogue, they make from \$1,000 - \$3,000 or \$5,000 it depends. Advertising, it can be \$10,000, it can be \$12,000. It depends on the girls, it depends on the job, it depends on a lot (26, Genevieve).

Some of the factors these rates depend on are the reputation of the modeling agency who is brokering the deal, the spot in the status hierarchy occupied by the photographer, the budget for the campaign, and also the way the images will be used, where and when.

These factors, as I will discuss below, all interrelate in the complex calculus of attaching a price tag to modeling work. To generalize, however, in 2004, the average rate in New York City for a model to shoot a catalog ranged from \$1500-\$2500 per day. Hourly rates started at \$150 and went as high as \$500; of course, in the realm of superstardom, these rules do not apply; a model of the caliber of the supermodel “Linda Evangelista in her hey day,” could make “\$10,000 for just a few hours’ worth of work” (Sherman 2004).

Although comings and goings have been volatile in terms of firms, in the U.S., the industry as a whole has been growing steadily since John Robert Powers incorporated the first modeling agency in New York City in the 1920s. From a survey of microfiche in the New York Public Library, I counted the number of agencies listed in the Manhattan Yellow Pages Business Listings each year from 1935 to 2002. The listings for “Models, Living” increased every year, from 8 in 1935 to 143 in 2002, with dips only during World War II and the recession of the early 1990s.

On the whole, modeling agencies tend to be privately owned by an individual or family. The private nature of the industry makes it difficult to obtain hard and fast numbers in terms of how many models are working, what they are billing, and the overall value of firms in the industry. The longest lived and one of the most powerful agencies in the business, Ford Models, until its proposed sale to Magnum Sports and Entertainment in December of 2000 for \$22 million, was owned and run by the Ford family. When Jerry and Eileen Ford stepped down, their daughter Katie Ford took over, and still runs the company. Wilhelmina Models, another major industry player, was run by the former model Wilhelmina until her death, at which point it passed into private hands. Elite Model Management, the brainchild of John Casablancas and Alain Kittler is similarly

immune to the needs or demands of public stockholders. These ownership arrangements have given the modeling industry a reputation as “an unregulated private club” that generates “hundreds of millions of dollars annually” (Sherman 2004).

As they can be bargaining chips in the battle for reputation between agencies, the number of working models an agency might have, and the amount of billings they bring in each year, tend not to be widely available information. Since they are privately owned firms, agencies are not obliged to reveal this information. On top of the lack of disclosure, since models are not employees but work free-lance, the number of models an agency represents varies widely and changes often.

Some well-known and established agencies, for instance, are very small. Karin Models, a small but powerful agency, manages only 25 “girls” out of their New York office:

In the cutthroat business of high fashion, Karin Models knows the importance of standing out in the crowd. The agency’s New York office manages only 25 girls so that each model will get personal attention (Dunham 2000).

A New York booker made the comparison of her boutique agency to the mega-agency, Elite, saying:

This agency is tiny, in terms of numbers of models. We only have 40 models.

Elite has something like 350 models. And when you go worldwide, then Elite becomes more impressive-- the number is higher because they have agencies all over the world (27, Carolyn).

As discussed above, however, size can be less relevant than prestige. Another agent, who reported that her agency managed 400 models worldwide, put it succinctly; when talking about agencies, their rank and image are not about “how many models, but who” (29, Megan). She described an article in the New York Times that had accused her modeling agency of “being boring, and only for catalog models” e.g. not a high status, high caliber agency. It was in the context of discussing this blow in the war for status, that she made the comment above. Her point was that the caliber of the models represented may outweigh the number of them in the battle for industry dominance at the agency level, when “caliber means a big name, association with high status products, fame, ubiquity, and recognizability” (29, Megan). Another agent in a rival agency referred to these types of models as “powerhouse models,” saying “two or three powerhouse models can make an agency number one” (16, Ron).

While two or three models might make the difference, the total number of working models reported by the BLS (New York City Projections Report, March 31, 1998), was placed at 3,155 working in the New York City in 1994, and estimated the number will rise to 4,000 by 2005, and expected to increase 21 to 35 percent through 2010, a rate faster than the average rate of occupational expansion. The US Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Outlook Handbook reported that in 2000, there were about 3,700 models nationwide (“Demonstrators, Promoters, Models,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, stats.bls.gov:2004). These reported totals are lower than the actual numbers, as many models work off the books, travel frequently, and have a high attrition rate, making it difficult for statistical methods to accurately capture their number. Hype may also contribute to inaccuracy. A 1997 report for New York City’s Business Improvement

District (referred to as the Fashion Center) brazenly claimed there were 7,300 professional models working in New York City alone, as of September of that year.

A small agency bills a fraction of what the global agencies do. The agent who works at the boutique agency claimed that, “for a whole agency, if you were lucky, a small agency’s profit, would be \$5 million” (27, Carolyn). When this number is considered against differences in overhead, which usually consists of the cost of renting office space, paying for phone lines and office equipment, and covering booker’s salaries and expense accounts, a small agency may still come out ahead of a much larger one, especially if it manages a star model. It is perhaps for this reason that respondents used the terms small and big more often to refer to an agency’s status or influence than to refer to its size.

In terms of overall billings, although American modeling agencies “never disclosed their accounts because they are private companies” (Sebag-Montefiore, 1996), industry experts estimated that spending by advertising agencies reached about \$1 billion US per year and \$2 billion world wide in the year 2000 (Ellis 2001). Agencies cover their costs with the income the models generate, by collecting a 20% commission from the model. In exchange for this commission, agents help the model get jobs, and also advise the model on practical and financial issues. The agent promotes the model by meeting potential clients, selling the model to potential clients by extolling his or her virtues over the phone, and sending out promotional material. The agent also negotiates on behalf of the model, to get the best price for the job. These services are rendered in return for 20% of the models pay; in addition, agencies receive a 20% fee from the client as well.

If a model has a job for \$1000 for the day, the agency keeps 20%, or \$200 of it, and \$800 goes to the model. On top of that, the client also pays the agency a fee to use the model, at 20% of the total day rate, so the client also pays \$200 to the agency. Thus, for every \$800 the model is paid, the agency makes around \$400. This is not a hard and fast rule. The importance of image is not to be underestimated. A high status image can be worth more in the long run than the commission from a high status model, so many agencies will renegotiate the commission structure once a model reaches a certain level. In a newspaper interview, Dieter Esch, the chairman of Wilhelmina Model Agency, allowed that “everything is negotiable,” even commission; apparently Wilhelmina has models with commissions as low as “5 percent and even 0 percent commission” (Sherman 2004). The head of a top three agency corroborated this, saying “The standard 20% can go down if the model is bringing in a lot of income. It’s not necessary but it’s understood”(25, Diane).

In these arrangements it is clear that a model’s image can be worth more than the model’s money when it comes to producing the agency’s reputation. In other words, as a model becomes more famous, as her caliber, as discussed above, rises, then the model agency will do almost anything, including giving up the fees it normally collects as a part of that model’s income, to keep that model on its rosters, and continue their association with her or him.

The Role of Reputation

I have been discussing how the modeling industry is a volatile business in which the top players vie for the reputation of “top agency in the world,” in a fierce competition for a very small pool of profitable relationships. The public image of the modeling

industry derives, for the most part, from the work and images produced by the small number of top fashion, or editorial, models, models who are managed by a very few elite agencies who fight to dominate the industry by having the most bookings, the power to attract well known models, and the highest overall prestige. Recall that in the cycle of immaterial production, in which relationships, and networks of quasi-professional connections form the basis of productive potential; reputation can be as valuable an asset in this industry as physical plant may be in others.

Reputation plays a pivotal role in organizing the relationships between agencies, within agencies, and between models, their agents, the clients and the photographers, and anyone else who works with them. The image or reputation of an agency determines the kinds of clients it gets, and the kinds of models it can sign. According to the same mechanisms, image engineering is a crucial determinant of how models are organized within the agencies, the kinds of clients and photographers they will succeed in working with, as well as the kinds of jobs a model will be told to accept. In sum, within the networks of affective production that intersect the modeling industry, reputation and image are infrastructural elements that must be managed and produced very carefully.

To understand the role of reputation in determining relationships in the modeling industry, I turned to a study of fashion photographers by Patrik Aspers. Aspers conducted a participant observation study, in which he worked as a photo assistant in various parts of Sweden, and in New York City, out of which he produced a dissertation about markets for fashion photographers and their products that became a book. In his study, Aspers' findings regarding the role of reputation in markets parallel my own in many ways. For example, Aspers found that markets for fashion photographers' work do not have an

objective standard of value by which to judge the quality of their products. Basing his analysis on the sociologist Harrison White's theories regarding markets, Aspers concluded that when there is no objective standard of value, reputation is a key structural factor in relationships between parties in a market. In this scenario, the value of a reputation is determined in relations between producers, and in this type of market, producers jockey for relative positions with regard to one another (Aspers 2001:44). Further, the assignment of quality in these markets is an "exogenous social fact" (White 1981:522, as quoted in Aspers 2001:40) over which actors in the market have little or no control, save their ability to establish their own reputation. Within such markets, rankings become very important, as the quality of the various actor's products is determined by rankings from high to low relative to each other. Reputation is produced in interaction, and status is built over the course of time and continued interaction. Status carries with it a power that may affect reputation, however, as status can be contagious. Aspers used the example of a popular girl who dates an unpopular boy, as an example of this phenomenon. For the boy, "status is augmented... but the girl's status may fall because of the interaction" (Aspers 2001:45). Similarly, status contagion can taint a model and make her unsuitable for certain markets; a high fashion model should not do a Tide commercial, as I will explain more fully below. Avoidance of status contagion animates much of the careful and controlled management of model's careers aimed at engineering an image of the model. This brief outline of the concept of how reputation and status work in markets for fashion photography serves as the basis of the following discussion.

For an agency, establishing and maintaining a reputation is complicated by the fact that an agency's reputation is based, in part, on the caliber of the models represented

by that agency, as noted above, and models and agents frequently switch agencies seeking better exposure, or better types of jobs. In addition, when new agencies crop up, fueled by the impression that this is an easy business to get involved in, they only add to the frenetic pace of jockeying for position. In an industry driven by reputation, gossip, and global positioning, breaking in as a newcomer demands ready-made clout. The agent who works for a boutique agency specializing in editorial models was quite clear on this point:

If you are Jo Smith calling from ‘Our Models’, and they’ve never heard of you – they’re going to get Jo on the phone and say Jo, I gotta go. Or they’re not even going to take his call. You’ve got to use the same concept that [the talent agent] Michael Ovitz had with [the talent agency] CAA; to set up the image, you take on star talent, or take on [the actors] Tom Cruise, Tom Hanks, or [the producer director] Steven Spielberg, and package the movie, rather than a slew of B actors that maybe will end up making really great money, but nobody knows who they are. They are the B names rather than the A names. An editorial agency’s goal is to have A names (27, Carolyn).

She made this comment in the context of explaining how important it was to have the kind of reputation that would cause Calvin Klein or some other top fashion designer to take her call, especially as a small “editorial” agency that caters to a very specific clientele in competition with the much larger agencies described above. The modeling industry is a close knit industry, and the major players all tend to know each other. Part of the process of building an agency’s reputation involves socializing, wining and dining potential clients, sending them gifts, and other forms of social lubrication. Her use of the

idea of the A-list points toward the relational nature of reputation, which is only established in a moment of ranking, organizing the agencies in levels of status.

A veteran model agent at one of the larger agencies emphasized the difficulty of making the grade in the modeling industry. He thought it was “insane” to try to start a new agency:

People think about it all the time. We get approached a lot by people who say “I know somebody who wants or it interested in talking with you about possibly opening up an agency... I mean, it’s the stupidest thing in the world because you can’t compete, there’s just no way of getting the kind of girls that you would need to come over. The way an agency becomes successful is to have a whole group of girls with a big image, and wooing girls is done by reputation and connections. But you’ve got to have the girls because a successful agency is as successful as the girls they’ve got (19, Steve).

In such a volatile climate, reputation can be a key to success. If an agency can woo and win over the “tops girls,” meaning the highest earning, or highest status models in the industry, or start out with a fresh crop of people who are A-list quality (a much harder proposition, as achieving A-list quality necessarily entails having been in interaction with the others against whom one is ranked), then there’s a chance the agency might claw its way up the pecking order within the industry, impacting the scene and perhaps rearranging the top spots. This is indeed what happened when John Casablancas stole Ford’s top models in the 1970s, and again when John McCormack lured models from Ford and Elite to his agency, IMG, in the 1990s.

Reputation, coupled with the kind of image that can be made to flow profitably along the paths of image distribution in the affective economy, also determines the way that models are organized within agencies. The value of a models' labor is determined by the networks of production to which he or she gains access. Entrée to these networks is won through either having the right look for that moment, on the model's part, or, on the agent's part, having the right contacts through which to convince others that the model's look is potentially productive. In either case, the value of the look is highly volatile, as there is no way to predict what will work, or if it is working, whether or not it will keep working.

The Role of Reputation in the Structure of Agencies

Whether it is an international conglomeration, or a single market specialty shop, modeling agencies are organized along similar lines. In some respects, modeling agencies are essentially like employment agencies, supplying particular personnel for particular kinds of jobs; in other ways, they are like talent management agencies, negotiating pay rates, and shaping careers. Maintaining an image as a high fashion agency with high caliber models is a delicate business that requires constant attention. As I have been discussing, the production of reputation within the business is a prime concern. The production of reputation, and more specifically, an image, is a motive force in many of the various activities of models and their agents and goes in some way toward explaining the organization of work in the industry.

Within the large agencies, models are organized into 'boards' (perhaps a holdover from the days when pictures of the model being managed were posted on a board in the

office). Each board consists of a group of models assigned to a particular booker or bookers. The bookers or model agents (the terms are used interchangeably) help the models find work by sending them out on casting calls, or go-sees, meetings that function as a sort of audition, which the agent thinks are appropriate for the model. Thus, it is not the case that just any model can sign up for whichever board they want to get work from – they have to be selected as having potential for doing that kind of work, and are only kept on that board if they succeed in doing so.

The boards tend to be organized according to a status hierarchy that does not necessarily reflect the amount of pay each model earns. The development board is one of the most volatile, as new models come and go very quickly, in a process in which, as one booker put it, “they either hit it quickly, or they get out” (29, Megan). In the mid range, between the high board and new faces, the boards are organized in various ways in the different agencies. Some have classic boards, where models who are considered ‘older’ (e.g. over the age of 25) are marketed for their classic or all American image. These models tend to do mostly catalog or other commercial work, and do not travel in the circuits of fashion the way the models on the other boards do. There are, however, some boards that manage younger models whose look isn’t high fashion, but who still get work as a model in catalogs or other commercial work. Thus, the term ‘classic’ may be used to refer to a model who is not eligible for work in the rarified air of high fashion, either due to their age or their perceived lack of marketability in those realms.

Working models are most often classified by what kind of work they do, various distinctions that can be made, depending on who is making them. The most common distinction is between editorial work and commercial work. Editorial work, the holy grail

of modeling that can lead to lucrative contracts with cosmetics firms or fashion designers, consists of posing for the images that appear in fashion magazines. A model who is seeking a career in fashion will need to get editorial jobs to build his or her career. Some agencies, such as the boutique agency discussed above, specialize in editorial, and do not book their models into commercial shoots. DNA, a modeling agency in New York City was well known for this practice; a model who tried to characterize the different types of agencies explained that “DNA has only weird looking people. They only book editorial, edgy looking girls who go for that image, to maybe eventually get an advertising campaign” (54, Gina).

Commercial work, on the other hand, consists of modeling for catalogs, department stores, and a whole range of unfashionable products such as those used for feminine hygiene or cleaning the house. Agencies are also divided these lines – there are commercial agencies that deal only in commercial work, catalogs and advertising, and there are commercial boards within the larger agencies that also manage models who get work in these markets. The division between commercial models and the editorial type models who move in the circuits of value (both symbolic and monetary) within fashion is a significant one, not only in terms of pay and location of work, but in terms of the image and status of that work, along lines that divide agencies, and players, and rules and practices throughout the industry.

For most agencies that have a “high” board, or fashion board, then, the term refers to those models who do editorial work for the most reputable fashion magazines, and whose jobs generally have the potential to be, or are the most lucrative. The high board agents manage the most famous, (or aspiring to be famous), models the agency has on its

roster. These are the “image girls,” as one agent put it (16, Ron). A model who had worked her way up to the high board commented:

On the high board, they know their shit, they get the best rates, they have the girls Steven Meisel [the famous fashion photographer] has worked with, the young ones who got lucky, since their agent knows they have a huge future, that they could start to sell as a huge commodity (54, Gina).

Models who aspire to the high board are often placed on the “new faces” board to start out. These models are in a phase referred to as development, a term I’ve used above that merits fuller explication. Development generally refers to the various paces most models are put through in order to develop a reputation and image that will get them to high board status, including traveling to other countries to get “tear sheets,” and working the international fashion shows. A tear sheet quite literally is a page torn from the magazine in which an editorial photograph was published. An agent who managed models on a high board at an agency in New York City described the first part of the process:

Girls that start in the New Faces department might be in New Faces for two or three months, meaning the New York office is developing them, they’re sending them out to photographers, they’re seeing how they test. They’re seeing how they photograph, they’re putting together their book so when they send you over to Paris, you have something to show (14, Ron).

This quote refers to several important elements in the development process. First, the idea of “testing” a new model involves sending him or her out to pose for local photographers. Models are not paid for testing, in fact they often pay the photographer for the cost of the

film and processing. Both parties benefit from the arrangement, however. The model gets photographs to put in his or her book, and the photographer gets photographs of the newest models out there, an advantage to the photographer that I will discuss below. The second important element of the development process mentioned in the quote is the idea of sending a model to Paris, or Europe more generally, to “do the circuit,” i.e. travel to look for work in the fashion capitals, usually New York, London, Paris, and Milan, to try to get editorial exposure in foreign markets to bring back to the United States. Thus, the development process demands that a model travel to certain cities, for a few months at a time, as part of their normal career trajectory.

Testing and “doing the circuit” represent the first exposure of a model to two of the most important networks of affective production within the modeling industry. The first is the networks of status and prestige within which fashion photographers circulate. The second is the accumulation of tear sheets, which represents a putting into circulation of the model’s image. By doing test shots, the model meets photographers. The caliber of photographer to whom the model is sent depends, in part, on the agent’s estimation of the model’s productive potential. Similarly, when they are sent to Europe, and where in Europe they go, is also based on this estimation. Regardless of whether they are obtained through test shots or tear sheets, having photographs in one’s book by a successful fashion photographer can immediately increase a model’s affective potential.

Fashion photographers enjoy the highest levels in the status hierarchy of the modeling industry. Fashion photographers make fashion images. These types of images are more open ended than commercial images, that is to say, their creators are more sensitive to affective flow without necessarily calling it that. Thus, fashion images offer a

higher status because they are potentially more productive on many levels. They expose models to another important network of affective production, the international markets for fashion editorial. According to Aspers' study of fashion photographers, makers of fashion images attain this status when they get their products to appear in high ranking fashion magazines, an accomplishment that demands a whole range of reputational posturing and maneuvering that Aspers describes (Aspers:2001), and I found to be similar to some aspects of what fashion models do to get fashion work, as I will describe below. The snob appeal of fashion photography is partly due to the influence these magazines afford the images (e.g. the images are widely distributed in outlets that are viewed as arbiters of taste and style and are printed on good quality paper with high production values), and partly due to the aesthetic freedom they often allow the photographers, giving them the coveted good of artistic freedom (within certain pictorial conventions, of course). Aspiring fashion models want to connect their names and images with photographers of this level, so are glad to pay for the film and processing used for the test shoots. They are willing to pose for free, because the possible pay off that having photographs by this photographer in their book is worth more than the cost of their time and money.

Like testing, going abroad accomplishes specific goals. American models are sent to Europe, for instance, because the editorial market is somewhat more forgiving, so it is more likely a new model will be able to come home with tear sheets:

In Europe, they don't pay you as much, you don't make as much; there just isn't the same amount of money on the line. So they are easier on you as far as making mistakes (31, Julia).

Models are hired on the basis of their portfolio, or ‘book.’ A book is an indicator of a model’s experience and the level of his or her status in the industry – a model’s book is strong if it is filled with her picture torn out of high status magazines in which she has appeared in the editorial (e.g. non advertising) pages. These tear sheets must be recent, and preferably photographed by well known photographers (those who work for the high level fashion magazines). A book functions like a resume, although rather than just describing the model, it contains literal examples of his or her work product. Tear sheets are important for “building a model’s book,” that is, showing a range and depth of experience, or showing associations with high status magazines and photographers. A model agent equated the status of the photographers with the status of the model by saying “a strong book means photographs by internationally known photographers”(29, Megan).

Even when they are done with reputable photographers, however, test shots do not carry as much clout as photographs that have actually been published in magazines. This is a situation similar to academic publishing – no matter how fine the ideas in the manuscript, if they were only presented at a conference, they will not hold as much clout as ideas in a paper published in a reputable academic journal. A model with extensive editorial experience summed it up when she said: “Tear sheets mean experience; test shots mean ‘new girl’” (32, Kate).

Testing and “doing the circuit” provide another way for a model to capitalize on her or his affective capacity. As noted in my discussion of scouting, being a new model that shows promise is a highly valued status. A new model that has potential is accorded high levels of value because the potential pathways to affective production open to them

are not yet cut off, the model is unformed, and therefore could become anything, perhaps a star. The idea of the new raises a paradox, however. As I mentioned above, many of the new looks offered by the newly recruited models who are found each year, are new in one sense, but the same old thing in another, as they usually fit within the very strict standards of appearance prevalent within the industry. New is also a relative term. Testing and going abroad are key mechanisms for presenting models as new or fresh, over and over again. If they have not yet reached levels of exposure that would taint this quality of newness, sending a model to a different country can refresh her energy, both on her part, and on the part of the agents who can send her to see new clients as a 'new' model. Similarly, if a model gets a new look, they are often sent for new tests, to try to capitalize on the surge of energy this newness might engender.

Being marketed as the next new thing can make all the difference in a model's career. The divergent experiences of two models I interviewed will serve as an example of this phenomenon. One model was not viewed as a fashion model at first, and had to work her way up to that status. The other was judged to have that potential right away and her agents started her out at the top. Gina, a model who had come to New York from Kentucky to try modeling at a small agency, was sent by the agency for test shots in Kentucky with a photographer who was carefully instructed on what to shoot. The model then came to New York with the 5-6 shots by this photographer in her book. She was sent on go-sees with other testing photographers, and low budget clients. The agency she had signed with did not have access to the productive networks at the highest level, that is, they were of middling rank in the industry, and so signing with them diminished this model's productive capacity. She entered into networks of affective production in a spot

that diminished the possible pathways of affective flow open to her. The longer she stayed at this lower level, the more likely she was to be contaminated by this low status, and the less likely she would be to break through to the higher end.

In order to break this cycle, she convinced the agency to send her Europe, to try to get editorial work there. Because she had entered the system at a low level in the agency hierarchy, however, her agency only had contacts to send her to Barcelona, not a global fashion capital, but still a European fashion center. Her stay in Barcelona produced editorial photos, which do not pay well, but are more valuable to a model's image than commercial advertisements, since they carry a higher level of status, as I have discussed. Of her stay in Barcelona, Gina explained, "In Europe, you don't make as much money, especially if you are only doing magazines, but you get a lot of good pictures." As she put it, "It was great and bad at the same time" (54, Gina).

Eventually, she was able to convince her agent that she was worth more of an investment, and they "fronted the money for a really good haircut, so that I had the right look" (54, Gina). The next spring, they sent her to Milan:

I was really kicking with confidence, I had a much better setting to work from, and I soon learned that the more international you are, the better you seem, the more you travel, the more the agencies are on their toes. Success breeds success (54, Gina).

This statement speaks to the value of newness outlined above. She learned that by traveling she became more valuable, which kept the agency "on its toes," e.g. investing energy into promoting her. Once this energy flow had been kicked up to a new level, she was able to amplify and modulate it to her advantage.

In Italy, she was doing “mostly magazines,” but as she explained, “I traded money for exposure both in the magazines and on the runway” (54). As I noted previously, sometimes status is worth more than money because it carries energy that begets energy in an augmentation of energy that accrues value to its conduit, in this case, the model. Thus, she eventually was able to parlay the image she had achieved by working in Europe into a campaign for a high fashion designer, Armani, for which she was flown to Paris to be shot by a well known photographer. In the end, she reached the level of doing the “circuit,” e.g. flying into Paris, Milan, or London to “do the shows,” with trips to shoot on location in between (she traveled to Greece several times), her pay rates reached top levels, and, although “I was never a supermodel” she finally figured out that “everything you’re doing is like a stepping stone”(54) to the level she finally reached after two years.

In contrast, Julia’s climb to the upper echelons of the industry was nothing short of meteoric; as she said it herself, she started out at the top. Julia had come to the open calls at the modeling agencies in New York after winning a contest in Long Island. She went first to Ford, but they weren’t interested in her brown eyed, brown haired look:

We go to Ford, when Ford was all blond haired and blue eyed. I met with someone there and she said, no thank you, we think you are pretty and photogenic, but no thank you. She had looked at the pictures; and taken them back to Eileen, but still said no thank you. And my father saw how disappointed I was. It was horrible. So then I’m sitting there, just this little girl, and he says to the woman – because the woman was interested, apparently, [but] whoever she showed the photographs to, which were horrible, by the way, [had said] no. So,

my father said, oh are there any other agencies around here? And she said, oh, yes, if you want to try Elite, they are right down the street.

As in the vignette described in the previous chapter, this model arrived as a walk-in to an agency, hoping to be signed on the basis of her appearance. This was at the end of the 1970s, when there had been a predominantly blond haired, blue eyed, look in all of the top models of the era, such as Cheryl Teigs. This model was only 16 at the time of her interview, and obviously had her heart set on trying modeling as a career. When she and her father went down the street (modeling agencies tend to cluster in urban areas in the same neighborhoods),³⁶ the agents at Elite saw her potential right away:

I get to Elite and the receptionist is like, oh, the interview hours are over. It was just the timing of it that worked. This woman is coming out of the elevator, Lisa Branigan, she was a booker at New Faces at the time. And she comes out, sees me, and says “what are you doing here? What do you want? Are you here for an interview? Sit right down! I’ll be with you in five minutes.” Like frantic, what a neurotic woman. But she didn’t say why, I didn’t know who she was, so I said, okay. I’ll sit here, and she comes out with Monique [Pillard, an agency head]and this other woman. They saw what they wanted, and got me set up right away (31, Julia).

This model, as opposed to the one discussed above, was perceived by the agency to have enough potential that the agency started her out at the top. Similar to the agents in the

³⁶ In the struggle to get and keep the right reputation, even the address of a modeling agency is important to establishing their credibility and reputation, resulting a herd mentality about where to locate. In previous decades, model agencies clustered on the Upper East Side. As of 2004, they were concentrated in the Flatiron district, although there was an increasing trend toward relocation in Soho, as both Ford and Next have moved their offices in that neighborhood.

previous chapter on scouting, these agents were struck by her affective qualities, and decided immediately that they wanted to book her.

Starting at the top means she was sent out to test with the best photographers right away, her expenses were covered, and within months she was sent to Paris:

I had done this one test, with this artist who worked for *W* magazine. The guy had long hair, and he was wacky. I'd brought my high school boyfriend with me, and he was trying to protect me because I was going to the East Village. And I go there and the guy's like, doing my makeup with black eyes, and he puts me in the designer Betsey Johnson clothes, and I didn't recognize myself, and I was really feeling awkward, because it wasn't my style. And that was Steven Meisel, only one of the hugest photographers, and he's telling me I should break up with the boyfriend. He's like, look honey, this boyfriend is not going to last. And I'm thinking it's the love of my life, and I'm like, how dare he say that to me! So, it was already starting. To me, I was really normal, but to him, I was this little... nothing from Long Island, coming in with her high school boyfriend. [she laughed]. They loved those pictures in Paris (31, Julia).

The choice of photographer influenced the value of her test shots, and presented her at a different level in the networks of production. It is reasonable to assume that "they loved those pictures in Paris" partly because of aesthetics, but also because they were shot by a hotshot photographer who already had a name in the business. Regardless of why they picked her up, she knew that she'd been lucky, that she had hit the markets at precisely the right time:

By going to Paris, I did tons of editorial, I worked for *Elle* magazine like every week. So I came back with an amazing book, and they put me on Model Management... Model Management is a crossover from New Faces, you go there to see how it goes, and then when you become their little star, they put you on the high board, which is the big girls, the girls that are making a lot of money and working all the time. They basically have to only pick up the phone and say when. They don't have to push them, they don't have to set up appointments, everybody wants them, and they don't have to do anything, except for manage them. You know, okay, you want a contract, we want a higher fee, etc. – So they put me on Model Management for two months, and as soon as I started working like crazy, they put me on the high board. So the whole thing was really quick, I'd been modeling for only a bit more than a year. So I skipped all [the catalog stuff], I went right to the top. So I missed all the usual, like, catalog or shows...(31, Julia).

Although Julia was marketed as the next new thing, her experience points to another paradox of newness, that is, she had the unique advantage of resembling another model who had been successful, but was dropping out of the business. Thus, part of the reason this model was booked for so much work right away may have been due to her similarity to another, already successful model, which made her fit more easily into an already existing path of affective flow, and she could pick up where the other model had left off. The grooves were laid through which the images could travel, perhaps with an added bit of affective energy. This phenomenon of “repetition with a difference,” so to speak, is fairly common in the industry. The supermodel Cindy Crawford was reportedly picked up at first because she resembled Gia, a famous fashion model who had died of AIDS.

Claudia Schiffer, another famous supermodel, made her debut by playing up her resemblance to Brigitte Bardot. By treading in the path of existing icons, these models were able to follow the flows of affective energy these images had already excited, but then were able to add a twist to the image, by being the same, but different, in a manner that captured attention. Julia's advantage was that she looked like a model named Esme, who had been very successful in fashion during the late 1970s:

I chopped my hair off, and I was kind of Esme's replacement, because Esme started to make a lot of trouble, got really skinny and emaciated. It was sad. It was weird, because once I chopped my hair, I came back to New York, and it was right when people stopped using her because she was getting too thin. And boom, they put me right into her slot. John Casablancas was like, you have to see this girl, she looks just like Esme. And she has an incredible body, etc. (31, Julia).

Since Julia resembled another successful model, she already had a look that was known to be successful, and therefore immediately marketable. The fact that Esme had grown too thin might seem unbelievable, given the cultural image of models as overly emaciated waifs. Although slenderness is revered in models, it is possible to become too thin. An unhealthy image can be counterproductive. Although all of the agents I interviewed assured me that no models have eating disorders and the stories associating modeling with them are myths, some of the models were willing to allow that they knew somebody who had been ill. They all agreed, however, that models plagued by eating disorders rarely make it to the top, because it becomes too difficult for a model to maintain his or her body in that manner over long periods of time.

Before she was picked up and circulated in preexisting grooves of affective production in the United States, Julia had already been kicked into the flows of production in Paris by her association with a famous fashion photographer, Albert Watson. She had tested with him and then was picked up to do editorial work in *Elle* magazine with him. Once this connection was made, her look and presentation of self became far less important than her newness on the scene, and her association with Albert Watson, which, as she put it, threw her right into the middle of it all, the fashion shows, the designers, and the famous models:

I was thrown into it. I had never even seen a fashion show, and I was in Paris shooting the collections for French Vogue. I was doing the circuit, following the clothes to shoot it for editorial. Later on I had a contract with Italian Bazaar in the early 80s, and I had to fly over there during the collections because that's when they had the clothes. Because the clothes would travel around somewhere else. But back to Paris. Karl Lagerfeld was designing for Chloe, and he was like, oh, I want those two girls that are working with Albert Watson, and I was scared --I've never done a runway show! The hairdresser was very flamboyant, and was like, "aw, honey, I'll show you!" and he puts on a pair of heels, and he's practically in heaven because he has to teach me how to walk! But I bombed so badly. They put me in this evening dress, what was tight at the bottom, so I was walking with all these tiny steps, and all the girls are passing me, and so I walked to the end, and I was petrified -- walked to the end, turned around and walked back. And that was it. And I was like, I can't do that again! I was a wreck. And all these girls were there, all the top girls, unbelievable. I think in Europe, they are a lot easier on you.

It didn't matter because I was in the magazines already, and already, like, all over the place. It didn't matter. I'm sure they were like, oh my God, look at her, she can't even walk, but it didn't matter (31, Julia).

In the moment that the status of the photographer mixed with the status of the new girl, the hunger for new faces kicked in on the designer's part, and Karl Lagerfeld said "I want that girl!" This model was just at the very start of development, fresh off the plane, so to speak, and she was hired to walk a runway for one of the most influential designers in the world.

The fact that she was given walking lessons pertains to an important element of models' affective labor: the walk. She was taught to walk by Jay Alexander, a legendary figure in the industry. He is a six foot tall, African American, homosexual man who reportedly walks more gracefully in stilettos than any of the models who pay him for "walking lessons." Walking lessons are a common part of the development process. Models pay to be instructed about the ins and outs of runway traffic control, and how to cultivate a noticeable presence on the runway. Learning how to move in a manner that activates affective flow is an important job requirement in modeling, as I will discuss in the next chapter on the nuts and bolts of model's affective labor.

Ultimately her lack of ability to walk the runways did not affect Julia's career adversely, as she had already figured out. Her strength in editorial work bore her out, and she eventually won regular employment as a runway model for many different high fashion designers because her editorial image was widely admired, carrying a high level of prestige, a status designers routinely sought out to augment their own image.

In sum, development, both in terms of doing the circuit and testing, are ways for new models to modulate their methods of affective transmission. In development, they learn about how to use their appearance and demeanor in order to increase their capacity to transmit a higher intensity of affective flow. They also make more points of contact within the networks of affective production both in terms of making actual relationships with other workers in the industry, but also in terms of building their reputation by association with certain kinds of workers and products. Thus, by putting themselves into the networks of affective production, models make themselves more valuable, more marketable, more malleable, more multifaceted. An agent likened this process to polishing a diamond:

The more facets on a diamond the diamond will shine better. If the model is working in black and white, very, very expressive work, then try to get her into color. If she has been in the studio too long, get her outdoors. If she has been working a lot of couture, get her into ready to wear. If she has been everybody's sweetheart, try to make her a little more edgy. If she's too edgy, bring her back, try to mainstream her. You know, you just never stop the evolution (25, Diane).

In this comment, the agent refers to several types of model imaging techniques, which play into the creation of a model's overall image. 'Mainstreaming' a model might involve pushing her into American *Vogue*, in shots of her smiling in pretty clothes. Expressive work tends to be close up, "beauty" work, that is focused on the model's face or expressions or the surfaces of her body. The term 'edgy' refers to an image that is less easily explained. Respondents were not consistent in what they considered to be an edgy look, in fact they had trouble defining it. This male model's response was somewhat

typical in this respect, as he was really stumped at first, and had to feel his way toward what he meant by the word:

Wow. I'd say very different looking, very strong features, not necessarily what you would think of as beautiful. Edgy as in... very different, very eye catching, I guess. Very like, the now, the look of the moment. Like, wow, you look cool, you have a cool look. But in 10 years, will that look still be in? It's the person saying 'Hey I've got tattoos all over my body, and purple hair, and you know, and a tongue ring.' And you know, wow, that's cool, that's catching, that's very edgy. But will that look work for more than a few months? It's not classic, which can last for a very long time (07, Stuart).

This model contrasted the edgy look with the classic look, and defined it in relation, as much of the information in the modeling industry is classified. Perhaps “edgy” is harder to define because it pertains to the moment at which a model is pushing the “edge” of whatever look is acceptable at the time, to activate a sense of potential, of being on the cusp of change.

Trying out different looks is one of the many ways models seek to amplify their affective impact. Since model agents face the “incalculable every day” (Prindle 1993:5), nobody really knows what will sell, so they put the model into situations, to find all the saleable facets, and perhaps discover more elements of her or his affective potential in the process. As I pointed out in the previous chapter, model handlers, such as agents or photographers, look for that accident in the raw, the one that catches the eye that they feel in their gut, and then they work to maintain and increase the expressivity, the flexibility, and the malleability of the model by throwing him or her into various situations to see

what happens. Once something clicks, the model's growing facility at manipulating their appearance, their walk, their personality, or other aspects of their persona may kick in, and then it's not accident if they stay at the top:

You have to have talent. It's pretty hard for people to make that up, it's not an accident that girls get to where they are. A lot of girls may get there once, but it's definitely not an act if they girls stay at the top, it's very clear (17, Cameron).

Engineering the image

Part of the process of making it to the top is the careful orchestration of a model's image to train it or modulate its flows of energy in order to make it as lucrative as possible. Thus, a big part of a model agent's job is not only finding work for the model, but finding the right work. Part of the process of affective modulation is to carefully control a model's associations and linkage to its realization in different discourses, in order to push her affect toward being productive in the right way. At first, as I mentioned above, it is the model's newness or freshness on the fashion scene that must be managed. Later on, if she has succeeded in producing an image of high allure and symbolic value, then she must be careful to protect that image from being contaminated by association with the wrong type of linkages or discourses.

Recall that models work in concert with other professionals in the industry to bring the model's presence, and ability to incite affect in others, into the technological domain in a form where its ability to produce and focus attention can take on an economic dimension. Part of this "putting into networks" is the production and maintenance of a model's reputation or image. Maintaining a certain reputation is very important to a fashion model. It is less so for a commercial model. There are several

reasons for this. First, the high fashion sector is far more sensitive to the whims of shifting affective flow than the commercial domain. JC Penney may be sensitive to shifts in changes in style, but at a level that is far less intense than that of a haute couture designer. Second, a fashion model works more often with artists whose job it is to be in touch with the flow of affect, both in terms of their own affective responses to the model, as is the case with model agents and photographers who must be able to spot the potential in a model's look; but also in terms of their sense of what's valuable in the affective economy at any given time. Thus, fashion models are managed differently than commercial models. The difference is one of degree, not kind, however, as all models, in varying degrees, work to manipulate and amplify affect on some level.

The modulation of affective potential served by the process of development described above is an important aspect of this process. Tied up with the idea of developing a model is the idea of engineering his or her image. This process of engineering involves a capture of and capitalization on affective flow, as it deals with the actual images a model produces, as well as the overall image or persona a model projects in the industry.

These processes are most evident in the high fashion end of the industry. An agent who specializes in "high caliber high image" work, made these distinctions that I heard quite frequently among the respondents:

It's not a Tide commercial. It's not a Tampax commercial, it's not a Clearasil commercial, it's not an ad for um, for feminine hygiene. It's the high caliber, high image, fashion oriented, beauty oriented clients (27, Carolyn).

There are fine distinctions between clients, however. According to this agent, Brooks Brothers, a well established company with a respectable image, is not high fashion enough, e.g. it does not carry the right type of association for a model who is trying to win a designer contract. Thus, it is not worth the money a model might get paid to do that type of job because of the more lucrative jobs it will then be closed off to him or her:

Brooks Brothers is going to pay a model more money than Calvin Klein will. So here's a good example. Brooks Brothers, is clean, all American, pretty, shot by a great photographer. And yet you wouldn't let your model that you are trying to create as an editorial girl do the Brooks Brothers campaign, even though Brooks Brothers might end up paying her half a million dollars for one ad (27, Carolyn).

This was a common theme in the interviews. On the high boards, at the top echelons of fashion, a model's image must be carefully engineered to position her affective impact so it can be poised to be as productive as possible. This image management often requires models to give up pay in anticipation of the pay-off, so to speak. In the example above, the model would be told to turn down the Brooks Brothers campaign to avoid status contagion, that is, the placement into pathways of affective flow that are not directed toward or connected to the flows the model ultimately wants to tap into; the flows in the exclusive domains of high fashion. In the example of the Brooks Brothers campaign, the model would have been overexposed in association with an image that would close off the possibility of activating other energies with that image. In this sense, it would not be possible for the model to establish points of contact for affective flows in high fashion because her potential for creating those flows would be closed off by their actualization in the Brooks Brothers images. The implantation of energies already established by the

Brooks Brothers image would overpower the model's ability to disassociate herself from that image to be productive in some other manner.

Once again, status is established in relation, and status contagion is strictly guarded against, by avoiding certain kinds of work, avoiding linking one's image into pathways of affective production that are not moving in the regions that associate to high fashion. Thus, as the agent elaborated the consequences, for a model who takes the 'wrong' kind of job:

She loses the respect of the small community of editorial people that I was telling you about. She's not going to do Italian *Vogue* if she's going to be in a Pantene commercial. She'll be the wrong type. Pantene wants the girls who are doing Italian Vogue – but it's not going to happen. Not if you are managing the girl properly. For the long term goal, you want one of those big designers and you want a cosmetic contract and you want a perfume. You want a prestigious perfume, cosmetic, and designer to put you under contract. That would be any model's dream. To work for [the designer] Calvin Klein, [the cosmetics giant] Revlon, and Eternity as the perfume. But these jobs only come around once every 3 or 4 years (27, Carolyn).

As I mentioned above, a modeling contract is the holy grail of the industry because it promises a steady level of high income for the model, while still adding to his or her prestige. Recall that Giselle Bundchen's contract with Victoria's Secret pays out \$25 million to her over the course of five years. The association to Victoria's Secret is not an image of extremely exclusive high fashion, but it is high status enough that Bundchen has continued to win high status (and now, given her level of prestige in the industry) high

paying jobs such as walking the runway for the number one fashion designer of the mid aughties, Marc Jacobs, or appearing in high status editorial campaigns with famous photographers. As the model from Kentucky put it, “success breeds success” (54, Gina).

Both models and agents agreed on the importance of avoiding negative status contamination when engineering an image. This model pointed out that, “when you talk with your booker, and tell them what you are up to, they might advise you not to do [a certain job].” She explained: “it’s the image thing, the prestige of it, the image of the product. Tampax and Chanel don’t really go together (she laughed)” (37, Brittany). Another referred to this process by saying that if you “get into the wrong niche, then you are stuck” (31, Julia).

Julia made this statement in reference to an African American model with whom she had started out, who subsequently became “stuck.” As Julia put it, “Once you’ve been associated with a certain level in the industry, then you’re stuck. Yup. You are stuck.” Apparently, the model she mentioned had taken some jobs as a fit model, and did some catalog work, and, as a result, “she never really made it to the big time -- she only made it to the medium range.” It is important to note, however, that this model’s race could have been a factor as well, as Julia observed:

She’s African American, and that made a big difference at the time, they were not open to African American girls at all. That’s changed since the late 1980s. Now there’s a lot more black girls. Back then, there was only like 2 – Beverly Johnson, and Iman. Oh, and Sheila Johnson. There were 3 that were big, for the 10 years that the model I was talking about worked. After that, there were a lot more girls,

but they were always kind of white looking. They are very white looking, the black girls now (31, Julia).

Julia's comments were fairly typical as far as the models were concerned. They were quite cognizant of the fact that race could be a big factor in shaping a model's potential earning power. In contrast, most of the agents I interviewed either denied that race was a problem in the industry or claimed that the industry is very forward thinking about race.

In thinking about getting "stuck" or closed out of lucrative relationships, it is interesting to note that on the whole, both black models and male models make comprehensively less than their lighter skinned female counter parts. The supermodel Naomi Campbell, for example, although a prevalent figure in editorial images and on the runway, did not garner the same number of lucrative advertising campaigns or cosmetics contracts as the other supermodels during their reign in the late eighties and early nineties. While Cindy Crawford and Paulina Porizkova were signing multimillion dollar contracts with cosmetics firms such as Estee Lauder and Revlon in the early nineties, Campbell went on record saying "I may be considered one of the top models in the world... but in no way do I make the same money as any of them" (Rudolph 1991).

Due to her race, Campbell's access to the affective flows that such exposure normally affords short circuited that flow, shunting her into a discourse in which that flow was capped off. The few black models I was able to interview had varying views on this phenomenon. Shana, a model who had worked as a fit and commercial print model, found that she came up against a certain kind of "pigeon holing" in which she was pushed toward "black hair care products, or sexy body shots for contraceptives, and other ads that didn't pay well" (35, Shana). In her experience, minority models were often

encouraged “to do nude modeling for album covers, or MTV, which play on the sexy African American association” (35). She reported that when she was working as the “token black for a national ad campaign,” she asked the other models on the shoot what they were being paid, and discovered that her rate for the day was lower than the other girls. The attitudes she came up against in going to castings for various products were frustrating:

You know, it’s like, ‘black people don’t drink chardonnay.’ Well, I’m sorry, but we do drink wine. The underlying racism is not spoken, it’s just understood, it’s just the way it is. You can pay me to be a token any day, though. The other day I was paid \$3,000 to walk up and down some steps with a piece of paper in my hand. For that amount, some people have to work an entire week(35).

Lewis, an African American male model, marketed himself as having an “all American look” e.g. clean cut, good bone structure, with chiseled features, topped with a winning smile. As he characterized it:

I’m very conservative, I’m all-American. If they went editorial, or extremely exotic, I would be no, I don’t have green eyes, I don’t have a bald head, I don’t have dreads, those are exotic looks. I’m very all-American (04).

He described the fine gradations of skin color that determine whether a black model will be suitable or not for a commercial print job. When agents get calls for models, they are usually told to send a certain “type” to the casting. Types resemble general stereotypes, but are often even more finely tuned. A casting agent might call, for example, asking for “nerdy girls with glasses” or “exotic looking very tall thin girls with honey colored skin

and almond eyes.” In the quote below, Lewis details the sort of thing a casting agent might say that would determine his suitability for a particular casting call:

They’d quote an age from later twenties to upper 30s, or say 28-35, or between 28 and 40. Then they’d say black, not mixed, it depends on how precise they want. Because they are usually going for something, you know, dark skin or light skin. See, I’m not dark nor am I light, I’m brown skin, and so I can go with both. But a light skinned person can’t go for a dark call because they’re not dark enough. So it depends on what they’re asking for. If they say I want a dark, bald headed, guy, I can’t go see, I’m not bald (lifts his hat), and I’m not dark, so I wouldn’t go. I could go if they say a dark guy, my age range and maybe, but that would depend on what else they were asking for (04).

His attitude toward tokenism was unlike Shana’s, in that he found the tokenism frustrating. He said he had noticed that in the 17 years he has been modeling, “just like anything else, things have changed with time, but not that much because there’s still...” He trailed off. Then he put it in different terms:

Even though it’s the fashion world, it’s still the same as the real world. Just like it goes on in corporate America. How many blacks do you see in corporate America, you’ll see one or two. You can name the names and count them on your hand, and when you go into these offices at the high levels, you may see one black. I wish you were at the shoot today, there were six guys; how many blacks do you think were there? (04).

I volunteered that perhaps he was the only one.

There you go. So now you see how it works. Why couldn't it be three blacks and three whites? Or three blacks, one white, a Spanish and a Chinese? You know?
(04).

Like Shana, however, he did also seemed matter of fact in his acceptance of what he was up against. It was clear that he was aware of the rules, and was going to continue to play the game: "I have no control over it. I can't make comments because I'm grateful that I have the job. Thank God I have an all-American look. I'm selling to the new America"
(04).

A black female model claimed that black models have to work much harder than their white counterparts. She was a runway model who had worked the collections in all of the major fashion capitals for years. In fashion modeling, as opposed to commercial print, the gradations of skin tone seemed to be applied in the opposite manner than what Lewis described. Bitou claimed these finer gradations applied more to the white models than to the black models. For fashion work, being black was her identifying feature, and that was all that counted:

It's very difficult, because when you go to an agency, they only have one black girl. That's all they want. That's enough. For blonds, you know they have different types of blonds, different features. But for me, you just have to be black, it's not like a client says I want a blond who looks like that for my job. If you're black, it's just 'I want a black girl' (48, Bitou).

She described same major differences in the way black and white models were treated. Through trial and error, she discovered that she was much better off if she brought her own make-up:

Now I show up with my own makeup. Because when you arrive, they pretend they don't see you, because they are scared, since they don't know how to do black skin. So now I do it myself. I bring my own makeup and say 'it's here, if you want to use it.' And they go 'oh my God, thank you so much! I didn't have your color.' I'm so dark, it's hard for them to get my color (48, Bitou).

She also felt strongly that black models had to be more perfect, by industry standards, in order to get work. She claimed that black models have to do more, to be more:

They ask more things of black models than they do of white models, for sure, for instance, you can see a white model who is five foot six, who just has an amazing face, maybe, and not a great body, but still... but for black girls you have to be like, very tall, very skinny, amazing body, amazing butt, everything (48, Bitou).

She was referring to how height requirements might be relaxed for a certain type of model, but in her experience, black models were given a break less often. She too was able to see an upside to this, however, as she believed that black models can work longer than white ones, saying "I think for black girls, you can work longer, because they get old less quickly, so you can be a Naomi Campbell for instance. She still looks fabulous. And she's thirty something" (48). The example she gave of Naomi Campbell, who is still a reigning supermodel after twenty years, seems to bear her out.

Lewis' comment that he was "selling to the new America" was more in tempo with the kinds of comments agency bookers made with regard to race. As mentioned previously, there is a certain fascination with exoticism that some agents claim is what puts the modeling industry on the cutting edge. A male model agent who had been in the industry for more than a decade proudly explained that

One of the great joys of the modeling business is that you see what this country will look like in 100 years. You're at the forefront of multicultural people mixing together. What they're producing is unbelievable – a whole new type of person is evolving, the genes are mixing. That's what's so fascinating. The ones who are good looking are also amazing looking (18, Jules).

This comment harks back to the idea I raised earlier that sometimes, affective flow can be activated or aroused by a mixture of the familiar with the strange. There is a level of fascination present in the tone of this comment that speaks to a more general trend in which pushing the envelope to get at that certain 'x' factor feeds into pushing the envelope of race as well. As I also mentioned earlier, this push is oriented more toward creating new niche markets than any particular advance in race relations in this country. It is perhaps for this reason that most of the agents I interviewed did not see any problem with race in the industry, and the non black models were only slightly more willing to talk about it. This model agent's enthusiasm was exemplary of the type of response I got when I asked about the influence of race in the business:

Years ago, you had a token black. Now I would say the tokenism has disappeared. You don't have just one black girl working; you have 3-4 working for the same company today. Where the magazine had the one ethnic, whether it was Asian, Hispanic, African American, you name it, now you have all those working, all of them, every time. For ethnic modeling, there are better opportunities than years ago. This has improved over the last 10 years (28, June).

"Ethnic modeling" is the industry-wide term used to refer to modeling jobs that are available to people of color.

A white male agent said these practices followed the needs of the business. He responded to my question somewhat ruminatively, however:

Are African models working now more? I don't know. There's a limited demand. There's only so many jobs you can get for a black model. On the other hand, the competition is less intense. So if you are a black model, you kind of have a better shot. If you are a client, you'll only call so many agencies.

He explained how he decides how many models of which race to send out on a call, saying that the need for diversity must be weighed against the exigencies of limited human resources:

A client will call and say 'I have a fragrance shoot for next week, and I need one white girl and one black girl.' Now for the white girl, I'll put in 45 cards, and for the black girl, I may put in 4 [to send to the client to select from for a casting call]. So obviously, you'll have a better shot, if you are a black girl. I think the agencies regulate that to some extent, knowing the demand. It's not in our interest to have 25 Asian models, when there's 80% less work for Asian models than white girls. We only have so many human resources at the agency, and we need to have models who are working. It's important to have diverse representation, but it's also important for all your models to work. Or have a chance to work (17, Cameron).

By placing his activities in the context of the needs of the market, he was able to explain his rationale for how he handled the needs of models of different races.

Within the pathways of affective flow, it is possible that some pathways are either worked up, or closed off, according to how their value might be implanted or realized within dominant cultural discourses. Arguably, black models are not paid as much, or able to get as many jobs, because the paths of affective flow they linked into were too limited, or too easily closed off in the advertiser's eyes. From this perspective, it makes sense that the mixed race model may be more attractive, in that he or she is more likely to be open to more paths of flow than a model of identifiable race. This is probably part of the appeal of the black model, Liya Kebede, who made history as the first black model to sign an Estee Lauder cosmetics contract in its 57 year history. A light skinned African woman with Caucasian features, she was in high demand at both the fashion shows, and as an editorial model, during the 2003 season (Trebay 2003).

The possibility of opening up to, or being closed off from pathways of affective flow may go in some measure toward understanding the pay differential between male and female models as well. Many of my respondents enjoyed telling me that modeling is one of the only two businesses where women are routinely paid more than men (the porn industry is the other). A male model summed up the difference in a nutshell, saying "The girls are more pampered, get paid more. It's different for them" (07, Stuart).

It is arguable that the surfaces of women's bodies give rise to many more resources for affective economies than men's bodies currently do; subsequently, women are paid more because their images can be made more valuable in the pathways of affective production within the fashion-beauty complex (Chancer 1998). I contend that these differences in potential value lead to differences in the levels of affective labor invested in the bodies of women and men. On the whole, at photo shoots and at castings,

the female models were worked upon and worked up far more so than the male models, who were less attended to or manipulated. Women's bodies are attended to more diligently, and by more people, for longer periods of time, I am arguing, because the woman's body gives rise to more productive pathways in the affective economies of the beauty economy, the cosmetics economy or the fashion economy.

A male model highlighted the difference between the amount of attention he paid to putting himself together to go on castings, and what he perceived a female model would do:

There was this girl in the casting today, and I was looking at her and thinking, wow, that's too affected. She was a complete fashion victim. It was too much. So, 24/7 she's probably processing what she's going to wear the next day, what they're after. The girls, they're on themselves all the time to keep the edge, to maintain the allure. Fine. I can accept that. Is that what I do? No. I just don't think about it (05, Stan).

Another male model found the level of detail in preparing female models' looks to be almost unbelievable:

For women, it's different, you're talking about different businesses. I mean it's similar, but there are so many things that are different. Like the hair – it looks godly, it's like a person couldn't have hair coming from their head looking like that. It's perfect. You know they spent like literally \$500 - \$2000 on their hair this year.

He had worked in a variety of markets, including high fashion, so had witnessed the extreme modes of bodily transformation that are common in these realms:

For the women it's all about the detail, and like, you know, a clean and pure beauty. There is all this attention to detail, like all these things with the eyebrows, the face, and the nose, perfectly groomed. For guys it's not like that (03, Stu).

These comments also resonate with the idea of being "on" all of the time, which I will pick up in the next chapter, when I discuss how models talk about having to be always on the job, or to be on top of themselves all of the time, in order to get work.

Regardless of race or gender, all models have to navigate the shifting demands and confusing messages that stem from trying to harness the swirling energies of affective flows. A blonde female model I interviewed was a perfect example of these difficulties that all models, and particularly fashion models, face. She had been in New York City for several months, going to castings, but had not had any bookings. She was working with her agent to navigate the space between an edgy and a pretty look. The agent had decided to market her as edgy, and so was very strict about the kinds of jobs this model could accept. She was not completely comfortable with the requirements of looking edgy, which involved wearing no makeup in most of the photographs, and never smiling for the camera. She showed me photographs of this type in her book, and explained her look in the pictures there:

No one would look at me on the street if I looked like this normally. No guy. But if I do my makeup in a normal way, someone would say "hi" to me. So I guess what I'm saying is, there is this difference. You're right, my booker wouldn't want pictures of me in my book like that, where I'm looking quote, unquote, pretty. They wouldn't want pictures like that because that's not how they want to

market me, and for a client, for them to see those two opposing images of me, you have to pick. You can't play both sides (38, Donna).

Engineering an image can sometimes be a painful process. During the course of the interview, it was evident that the model was quite uncomfortable with the edgy look, but she wanted to make it in modeling so badly, she was willing to do practically anything, including waiting it out, to see if she would get work. A model who had also spent many months making very little money described it in terms of something that models just have to do:

You always want the editorial and the art stuff even though you don't get paid well for it. That's what keeps your image out in the magazines and stuff.

Theoretically it pays for itself, but for the first 7 months to a year, unless you really get lucky, you have to spend your time doing editorial, like putting your time in, and getting your image out there, but not getting paid (40, Sarah).

I asked her how she felt about having to do this, and she went right to the point:

Basically, it sucks (40, Sarah).

Sometimes models even lose money in this process. Stories of how a model who tried modeling and didn't like it, quit, and left the agency owing money may or may not have been apocryphal, but they were common. Sarah was concerned about accepting money from the agency for that reason, preferring to use her own savings rather than end up with a huge bill for housing, transportation, composite cards, messenger fees, and testing costs that many models encounter in the course of trying to get work. She called these advances the "agency dole" and expressed concern that she had finally started to accept advances to support her while she searched for work:

It's inherently frustrating and very much a gamble. You gamble your time and your money. Of course, it depends if you're on an agency dole or not. It's almost as bad if you're supporting yourself, and not taking anything from the agency, because then you are spending your own money. Although you're not making any money either. I mainly did that, I paid for everything until recently, and now I'm going to start taking money from the agency because, for a while I was really concerned about getting a big bill with them and I didn't want to get into debt. But then, I've heard from different people that if you end up quitting, then you don't have to pay them back. But I don't know if that's true.

She had signed a three year contract, and worried that "If I just want to flat out quit, that's fine. I can quit anytime. But the thing is, I'm wondering, if I flat out quit, will I have to pay them back? I'm not sure" (40, Sarah).

Yet, risky as this business is, and unpredictable as it might be, the volatile networks of affective production prove to be alluring to many models. While the arbitrary and subjective nature of the business can be quite wearing on all involved, the promise of a sudden shift in affective flow that could make a star over night is like a shimmering mirage that keeps many of them going. This model, in her growing lack of patience, tempered with continued hope, exemplifies the feelings shared by many trying to make it in the industry:

I mean, that's the whole confusion; all you need is the one person, the right person, the right people to say 'yes' to your look, and you're in. That's really all it is. There are a million beautiful girls, a million edgy girls, and there are a million skinny girls and there are million girls who aren't very skinny that make it and

you know what I mean? It's horribly frustrating. But you just... you just... and I knew that going into it, but I will say that, nonetheless, it still is frustrating. Even what I mentioned to you earlier, the distance I sometimes have about myself, to say it's just a pretty face, it's just pretty skin. Even me, going into it, really fully knowing that, being so aware of that, I still have to remind myself, whoa, step back, don't buy into this (38, Donna).

This model's frustration with the arbitrary nature of working as a model, working to keep her access to the most affective flows of production included a level of self management that is a theme I will pick up in the next chapter. The last two chapters were devoted to exploring the role of pursuing, modulating, and capitalizing on affective energy in structuring the industry and relationships within the industry. The next chapter will delve into the practices of affective labor itself, on the everyday level of it, from the models' point of view.

Chapter 5

ALWAYS ON DISPLAY

The Affective Labor Of Modeling

“Being discovered is one thing; working as a model is quite a different story”
(18, Jules).

The scene was a typical outdoor photo shoot in New York City. There was the tell tale location van, and another van full of equipment. A small cluster of people busily hovered around a teenaged boy and girl, who were both standing on top of a box with a leafy tree as their backdrop. The girl was tall, blond, pale, with a slightly bored expression. Her cheeks were exaggeratedly rosy. Her hand was on her hip, her face canted to one side, looking down at the camera. His was canted the other way, a thumb crooked in his jeans pocket. There were eight people looking on, each, presumably, with a role to play in the shoot. The lights flashed both behind and in front of the models. The girl’s long wavy hair was blowing in her face – periodically, a tanned, tousle haired young man, who might have been in his late twenties (and who seemed far too tan for the early spring weather) stepped between her and the photographer to rearrange the strands. She was in a tank top and jeans, with a wide belt. The boy model was in a t-shirt and had cropped hair. The photographer was a bundle of energy, totally focused. The shutter was snapping, and the photographer shouted, “Wow, that’s so beautiful!” He was frantically shooting polaroids. One assistant loaded the film into cartridges while another popped them into the camera, one at a time, as the he continued shooting, very fast. The

photographer was waving polaroids in the breeze, holding them fanned out in his hand, looking at them all, even as he was shooting the next one.

The female model smiled, shook her hair out – the hum of the generators for the lights was incessant, the model pulled her hair out of her eyes – the photographer yelled, “Wow! Beautiful!” she smiled again. The boy looked impassive. Someone stood up in front of the girl, positioning her arm up over her head, crooked at the elbow so she was pulling her hair back as the breeze blew it forward. The photographer shouted again, “Beautiful, beautiful!” The models leaned away from each other, expressions now impassive, focused on the camera.

People stopped to stare. The models didn’t flinch. They were being photographed outside a local university building, in Greenwich Village, so there were many people coming and going. A young man and middle aged woman stopped; “What is it?” she asked. “It’s a photo shoot for a magazine,” he replied. She shrugged, unimpressed, and they moved on. The female model pulled her hair out of her eyes in a different way – the photographer yelled “Ah!” and then, applause; that shot was finished.

What do Models Actually Do? The Job of Modeling

According to Chapter 668s. 7505-A of the New York Labor and Compensation Law (1992), a professional model is someone who

performs modeling services for; or consents in writing to the transfer of his or her exclusive legal right to the use of his or her name, portrait, picture or image, for advertising purposes or for the purposes of trade.

He or she will transfer the right to their image “directly to a retail store, manufacturer, an advertising agency, a photographer, or a publishing company.” The “services” in question

include “the appearance by a professional model in photographic sessions or the engagement of such model in live, filmed or taped modeling performance for remuneration.”³⁷

This description isn’t the half of it. Rather, this official definition covers the basic act of modeling, but, contrary to popular belief, modeling involves much more than simply smiling for the camera. In modeling, like many forms of immaterial labor, recall that in the process or cycle of immaterial production within which modeling is contained, “life becomes inseparable from work” (Lazzarato 1996:138), and the “reproduction and enrichment of its productive capacities” becomes an important moment in the production process. For models especially, the divide between life and work and self and product are particularly blurred. This chapter outlines some of the more typical activities that make up a model’s affective labor, considers the ways that models negotiate its demands, and seek to further explore the *event-ness* of affective production, by outlining what it is models actually do in order to become a conduit to stir up, arouse, or facilitate affective flow.

In terms of the life/work divide, models have trouble drawing that line for various reasons. Modeling is a job that involves hours of unpaid work, especially in terms of work that is not recognized as work in some instances, but that feels like work nonetheless. Modeling can involve bouts of 15 hours days punctuated by long periods of unemployment, during which models work to get work, that is make the rounds going to castings and go-sees, seeking employment. Alternatively, a model might find him or herself working every day for months, without a break, trying to ride the wave before it

³⁷ Chapter 668s. 7505-A of the New York Labor and Compensation Law (1992),

ends. It is a business of fits and starts, long lulls, sustained by the lure of instant stardom around the corner. Although it may not always have been the case, contemporary fashion models are less mannequins than they are the CEO of their own corporation, with a mindset resembling the famous “CEO of me” trumpeted on billboards at the height of the self-starter crazed internet boom.

Models, and fashion models especially, have to act like they are their own CEO because, as one booker told the models, “you are like a company; we are making an investment in you, and we want the investment to come back soon”(26, Genevieve). In other words, models are responsible for their own success, and invest their time and energy into the job in ways that are impossible to measure within the normal bounds of Monday through Friday between 9 and 5. According to my respondents, the work itself is not terribly difficult; along with smiling for the camera, they described the job of creating and maintaining one’s physical and professional image, presenting that image in the right places, building or maintaining relationships in order to keep the jobs coming, and working on selling one’s professional and personal image to future clients. They were all careful to point out, however, the level of investment of unpaid hours is very high. These unpaid hours take the form of time spent seeking jobs, working more than the hours paid for specific jobs, working jobs without pay, socializing professionally, and working on their affective capacities in forms of bodily and emotional work that are not normally considered work by most traditional standards.

So what is a model’s working day like? The average model works long days, sometimes for fifteen or sixteen hours at a stretch. This amount was often cited in interviews, and also corroborated by Aspers’ study of fashion photographers, in which he

claimed “photographic sessions, which can last 10-15 hours, are often under great pressure, and food is not always a top priority,” consequently “the model may just ‘die’ toward the end of a day, often from fatigue” (Aspers 2001:15). Sometimes getting the right shot or getting all of the required shots is more important than whether the people involved are tired, or hungry, or getting rained on. Once all of the elements of a complex photo shoot are in set in motion, huge sums of money ride on every minute. These elements usually include a rented location, borrowed clothes, a subcontracted team, often comprised of a stylist, hairdresser, makeup artist, photographer and at least one assistant, the client (usually an advertising agency or magazine, and in the case of advertising, a representative of the company that produces the product advertised), and sometimes a production company, with its attendant producers and production assistants. Getting the right feeling in the image, as might be the case for a fashion shoot, or shooting all the outfits required for the job, as would be the goal in a commercial or catalog shoot, is imperative and sometimes these goals are difficult to achieve. A model might be dropping from fatigue, but the day will stretch as long as it needs to -- after as many as three hours in hair and make-up, several outfit changes, and adjustments on the lights (in response to test polaroids taken to check the look of the set up) – the work can continue indefinitely, as it is difficult to ascertain exactly when the job is done. In an industry that works with the ineffable qualities of affective flow, the moment of knowing when the shot is “right” may never come, and sometimes work ceases only when the producers are fully tapped out, and cannot handle any more.

Days stretch in several ways – either literally through extending the hours of the day until they get the shot right; as work ‘after hours’, so to speak, usually at the request

of the photographer, to get shots for his or her book; or, as I will discuss presently, from the pressure to appear on the social circuit.

Similar to the process of testing, treated in the previous chapter, the photographer may ask the model to stay longer at the studio or on location, after his or her paid work is over, to utilize the model in the clothes and makeup (already paid for by the client) to build his own portfolio. One of the photographers I interviewed convinced a model to stay in New Orleans for a couple of extra days at her own expense after finishing a catalog shoot with him. He described the transaction: “she would get shots, and we got along, and she was like ‘yeah, I’ll do it’” (09, Brian). While models are not compelled to work this way, the power differential between model and photographer contributes to the models’ willingness to stay on, as well as the attractiveness of getting more shots for their modeling portfolio. In a slightly different situation, another model worked for a photographer to do lower level, but more lucrative, catalog work during the day, and then low paid, but high prestige, editorial (e.g. photographs that would appear as the editorial content in fashion magazines) at night; her agency let her do the low level work with this particular photographer because “they knew it was going to look nice... So we were making money during the day and at night I would shoot editorial with him” (31, Julia). Which amounts to two full working days packed into one, on a regular basis.

When a model isn’t literally working all the time, it might be difficult for them to separate work from life because part of a model’s productivity comes from the insertion of that model into productive networks, which can include the social circuit in the industry. This social circuit can be productive on many levels. The networking and schmoozing that is part and parcel of the business is attractive to bars, clubs, restaurants,

hotels, gyms, and other urban gathering places, in which style, status, “hotness,” or “coolness,” are circulated in the affective economy of urban life and the media’s portrayal of it. “Model parties,” e.g. an event at a club or a bar hosted either by a modeling agency or a club promoter who invites models, are a source of publicity for the clubs that host them; if a model gets into the gossip pages due to his or her activities at a party, it generates press not only for the model but for the agency that manages them; restaurants often try to use models to attract other clientele, offering models discounts, or free dinners.

Industry parties, for example, are a lucrative and mutually beneficial business for all involved. A young female booker laid out the logic of “model parties:” they benefit the bar or club -- female models attract men with money, which brings in a higher bar tab. “They’ll use any excuse -- a model’s birthday, a stupid holiday” (29, Megan). The agency benefits from these parties because photographers who attend the party meet the agency’s models who get exposure, their names “get out there,” they make contacts. If the press comes, all the better; the model’s notoriety is built, which produces publicity for all involved. These parties mutually benefit designers (their name gets into the press), photographers (they may meet the ‘it’ girl or boy, befriend them and ultimately arrange to photograph him or her), and agencies (their models gain exposure). “Deals go down in bars frequently” the model agent Megan asserted; “Brands of alcohol throw these parties too... to get the ‘right’ people there drinking their product to create the right image”(29).

Thus, when they aren’t working double time, the working day extends because models also feel the need to make an appearance on the social circuit in order to keep the jobs coming in. One model who is careful to attend the parties during fashion show

weeks in the various cities of the fashion circuit says she “thinks of it as an ‘evening casting’”(49, Svetlana). Models I interviewed at the shows for the spring collections during Fashion Week in New York City 2002, agreed that even though they might be doing two fashion shows a day, and up to ten shows in a week (with fittings in between, on a hectic schedule), “you have to go to the parties, because a photographer might see you there and think you’re cool, or be inspired by you”(51, Mika), which is a quick route to getting hired.

Thus, although they are ostensibly social events for many, the purpose of going to the parties during fashion week in a given city, for example, is very clear to models. A blond model backstage at a New York fashion show who has “been on so many runways in 1 1/2 years, I’ve lost count” was explicit about it: “fashion parties are about meeting people, not about having fun”(52, Jody). An American model who proudly reported working in 25 different cities in Spain for the Chanel tour, explained “I get jobs when I go out into the nightlife. It’s unbelievable who you can meet” (50, Suzie). She went out seven nights a week when she was “younger” because she found she made “so many connections,” but now, having achieved some measure of success, is more “moderate – I go out about two to three nights per week.” Going out is ostensibly a model’s choice, but a young girl from Slovenia who has been in the industry for about a year said, “Sometimes even the bookers tell you, you have to go out, this night, because this photographer might be there. Certain parties at a studio you’ll have to go to, too”(51, Mika). Some respondents saw it differently; a Russian model who was doing her first week of New York shows had a more moderate view: “the parties are about what you want; you do have to go out sometimes, but if you go all the time, you’ll get dark circles,

and look bad”(49, Svetlana). Another was slightly more blasé about it: “if you go out, as long as you look good the next day, they don’t mind”(50, Suzie).

At least two of the models I spoke to had gotten jobs from going to parties. A model who has worked in both Europe and New York said she has gotten jobs from going to parties because it builds familiarity:

I’ve met a lot of people through that. And then you meet them again, and you’re like, oh, it’s like old friends, instead of meeting them for the first time at a casting.

So a lot of times they book you because they know you (37, Brittany).

The aspiring male model described in the vignette at the beginning of this chapter was selected for a photo shoot in *Vanity Fair* magazine because he caught the eye of a well known photographer, David La Chapelle, at an industry gathering. He was at a popular nightclub in Manhattan at the time, and Chapelle approached him, and said “I want to put you in *Vanity Fair*.” The model was subsequently booked for the shoot, and appeared the next month in a story about up and coming models.

Just as agents clamor to get the high status jobs, the businesses that cater to models and their associates clamor for the high status clientele in various ways. Models and their acolytes (photographers, stylists, magazine editors, clients) create value for the places they frequent in a double manner: by spending money and by spending time. As in the case of building a model’s reputation described in the last chapter, when building a reputation for a shop, restaurant or bar, sometimes a model’s time or presence is worth more than their money.

A model who had very little money when she was first starting out explained that “at the agency we were always getting invitations. New restaurants send invitations and

coupons for free dinners, clubs send invitations, the gym offers discounts; they want the models there because it is good for business” (33, Giselle). As new models, with no income to speak of, she and her friends often survived on the free dinner coupons they got from their bookers. An agent told of how he was frequently befriended by restaurateurs, and invited for low or no cost meals, with the understanding he would bring his models and clients there. They loved him, he said, because “you want to have these beautiful people there” (19, Steve).

“There is a circuit of ‘scenes’ or power centers; it’s very organic, and sometimes it *makes* a place or a company,” observed a creative director at a fashion advertising agency (12, Raul). He explained that hip hotels and restaurants use the attention generated in the networks of affective production by models’ socializing to make themselves more valuable, in terms of building a reputation for being hip or cool or the “place to be.” Once a place is on the map, the press knows where to go for good gossip; according to him, the *New York Post* had been known to keep a photographer “out front all the time” at a restaurant in Soho known as a popular model’s hangout.

In the circuits of affective production in the modeling industry, then, relationships are very important. An agent from a top modeling agency in New York observed

This business is all about relationships. I mean this is not a brain surgery type of business; it’s all about relationships with your clients, and with your models (16, Ron).

Everyone from the model’s agents to the art directors in ad agencies I interviewed stressed the importance of building relationships, since building local networks can lead to employment. This process follows two paths, either through team building, or through

being part of the social landscape. This make-up artist emphasized the importance of forming a strong relationship with a photographer in order to build a team:

A lot of photographers have a lot of control as far as recommending their own team. People they have worked with, who they are comfortable with, and know what they'll get from them (24, Kay).

Teams assembled for a specific project are typical of the ad hoc work groups most commonly found in the "basin of immaterial labor" (Lazzarato 1996) within which I have been arguing affective labor takes place. I asked if she had been part of teams in her work:

Yes. I've been part of different teams over the years, ongoing with a couple of different photographers that I work well with, and they'll request me when they can (24, Kay).

Similarly, the model who had been discovered in Paris by the famous photographer Albert Watson, and subsequently grabbed by top fashion designer Karl Lagerfeld for his fashion show, claims her career was made by her association with this photographer, when he "hooked onto" her:

Different photographers will hook onto a model. Like I worked a lot with Albert Watson. So I went all over the place with Albert, and it kind of built from there (31, Julia).

Frenetic work punctuated by long periods of unemployment, working days that stretch into the night, peripatetic travel, and unpredictable schedules all characterize the typical pace of model's work. Modeling work can be extremely tentative and contingent; one model I interviewed was so uncertain about her prospects that "when I started

working, I was saving money like crazy because I always thought that my last job was my last job. I was convinced, and there is no way to know otherwise” (34, Toni). Since models often work in isolation, as independent contractors who are self supervised, they must call on themselves to manage their bodily and mental capacities, to do the job well enough to be hired again. In the sense that it is, as my respondents called it, a “24/7” occupation, a models’ work is never done; and in terms of the constant supervision that is almost impossible to escape, he or she is never alone. As I shall show in the following examples, affective laborers have a hard time distinguishing when they are at work or ceasing to work, when they are ‘off’ hours, as a result. Part of this need for incessant work on body and image is the fact that models, in the quest to ratchet up the impact of their presence, must behave and appear according to highly variable standards. Recall that working with affects and modulating affective flow is an activity that takes place in a realm between “volition and cognition,” “mind and body,” “quiescence and arousal” (Massumi 2002:33). It is a volatile place, active, and unpredictable, a place not of gradual, but sudden changes in nature.

The Affective Labor of Modeling

Many of the models in this study refer to their work as a job in which they are “working all the time,” using the expression that it is a “24/7” job: “First you have to distinguish what my job entails, which is keeping myself in shape, I consider going to the gym as part of my job, going to the manicurist and pedicurist” (34, Toni). Another noted, “you’re always on display; you have to put on that show 24 hours a day. It’s not as though you can go to the office and then go home and relax. You’re always watching

what you eat. You're always worrying about how you're coming across, always worried about being seen at the right places at the right times. It's just never ending" (32, Kate).

This quote contains many pieces of a models' affective labor. Affective labor involves putting the body into a network of relations that mold and shape the body, stimulating responses in others, and generally modulating flows of energy or feeling at varying levels of intensity. The work to develop a presence that is affective, e.g. a presence that demands attention, is hard to ignore, or stands out, is a multi faceted process.

First, there is the body, working on it by going to the gym, "watching what you eat," attending to details of grooming on a regular basis, keeping it always at the ready for display. This type of body work is affective labor because it is, in a sense, the capacitating of a capacity of that body – a capacity to move or appear in a certain way, to create a reaction, to produce an image. Fashion models' bodies, in the form of their physical presence, is an important source of their affective production. Second, this physical presence, however, derives much of its productive capacity from its situation within a machinic assemblage of images and technology, which take the body's actual presence into the virtual realm. At this level of both embodiment and projection, models' work on their presence involves the whole person, their personality, their appearance, their attitude or, in a sense, their projectability³⁸.

Models had varying attitudes regarding this type of work. While some admit to working on shaping their bodies through diet and exercise, for instance, many claim they don't need to do so at all. This claim may be influenced by the demand to "put on a show 24 hours a day," that is, to manage their projectable image, the overall effect of their

³⁸ A term advanced in conversation with Patricia Clough.

presence in terms of their appearance and how they come across. Since the body is a model's productive infrastructure, and the image they project is part of their product, it becomes virtually impossible to leave the workplace, and the constant monitoring they engage in both in and out of the realms defined as work can contribute to a sense of working all the time. Indeed, as I will discuss, many fashion models report a tendency to feel "always on" the job.

These two levels of affective labor have specific consequences. First, the bodily level gives rise to a constant monitoring of the body as an affective production source both by the models themselves, and the people who work with them, such as agents, photographers, and magazine editors. The other level, a model's projectable image, is governed by the more nebulous and harder to codify affective qualities of being "cool," or beautiful, or having "what it takes," e.g. the 'x' factor discussed in previous chapters that is an ineffable quality that agents and clients look for.

The affective labor to stimulate or arouse affective flow, either in interaction with oneself or others, in order to channel motivation, attention, and interest, puts these contradictory claims into perspective. While, on the one hand, a model's appearance and behavior are closely monitored by their associates (just how closely will be revealed in my discussion of their treatment by the agents, photographers, and editors who work with them), on the other hand, they may internalize these standards to the point of being able to seem to reject them, in the face of the equal and competing imperative to just be oneself in the least studied way possible. What's more, the standards of how to look and how to be in the industry are ill defined and often in flux. Thus, even those models who meet the stringent physical requirements of the industry must cultivate an attitude,

projectable image, or 'look' that reads well according to coordinates of behavior and appearance which are constantly shifting. The "circus of affective responses" (Sedgwick and Frank 1995:11) that are possible from a single stimulus can lead to contradictory and confusing feedback as a model tries to mold his or her projectable image according to the whims of the marketplace and those working with him or her. As I shall illustrate, these contradictory currents are somewhat irresolvable, demanding constant attention, leading to the feeling that the work is "never ending."

The projectable image is produced by models in concert with feedback from their associates who count this molding of a models' attitude and image as part of their jobs. This high level of monitoring and control of models is based on contradictory influences. As I shall show in the following examples, the goal of this surveillance often is to make it appear as though the models just *are* that way. This is ironic, as once a model gets a job, the look of models on television or in photographs is not at all natural, or real. Their hair, body, or skin is often altered beyond recognition by clothes or makeup, such as having orange hair, or blacked out eyes. Models do not end up looking natural on the job, but this is the advice that is given to them, in order to win jobs. This may be due to the fact that no matter what the look, if the control of that look is visible, it becomes less attractive, and therefore less valuable. Hence, much of a models' work consists of striving to come across as if he or she is just being him or herself, while incorporating streams of advice aimed at modulating the intensities (e.g. the potential impacts or effects) of the affective qualities of their appearance and persona.

This paradox is expressed in the qualities of performing affective labor in a third register encompassing the creation of affective environments. These environments work

via affect contagion which is the manner in which affective scripts can be mobilized, sometimes outside of awareness, as affect is communicated from one person to another, most often via facial contact; music, images, and other props may also be employed. In this mode, the movements of affect, or shifts in affective energy may be nonverbal, somatic, and even below awareness, but they produce detectable effects in the form of mood change, dips or spikes in energy levels, changes in body language or facial expression.

The goal of an unfiltered, or unstudied look and responsiveness informs the affective labor at fashion shows and photo shoots, environments which, I will argue, are designed to produce high levels of uncontrol, that is, the promotion of a sense of no boundaries or monitoring within specific modes of working. In this sense, affective labor includes work to make or create spaces or situations which produce an affective response in others, or affective environments, in which affective production takes place in both the audience and the model. At photo shoots and fashion shows, arguably the clearest example of a model's workplace, models experience the exact opposite of the close monitoring of their bodies and personas described above in an effort to unleash the highest level of affective response possible. Music, food, excitement, and various settings are used to induce a level of affective response that might translate into the images being produced, thus elevating their value in the affective economy.

Creating an environment for affective response in oneself and others – on the cat walk, at a shoot – involves, for the models, going into a zone or a receptive mode; for those working with them, it involves trying to create such a situation or reaction. Despite all the close monitoring and control of models' bodies and minds, in this aspect of

affective labor, the goal is to be out of control. This opposite tendency of affective work is to create situations that feel out of control and unmonitored in order to produce a high level of unfiltered affective responses, the kind the most productive of affect in others, and therefore the most valued in the affective economy.

Affective Bodily Labor

What is involved in keeping a models' body always at the ready for display? How do models work to increase their affective capacities? At the most concrete level, there is the molding and shaping of a body's appearance via exercise, diet, and grooming. In order to capacitate the body's capacity to affect others, to look striking in clothes, for instance, or to move well, a model's affective labor focuses on the body. Recall that to work to modulate or stimulate affective flow is work with something volatile and difficult to control. There is a sort of "irrationality to affective investment" (Tomkins, as quoted in Sedgwick and Frank 1995:54); affect dynamics are learned at a very young age and our battle to control them is a losing one. When using the body to produce or modulate affective response, the body may be varied in shape and appearance to continuously produce interest in that body, or to try to accommodate shifting demands in various affective markets. In the face of the volatility of these affective markets, it becomes a "guessing game," as one male agent observed, of who will succeed, in a business where there is "not that much logic" (17, Cameron).

The illogic of the modeling business translates into mixed messages about the standards of appearance. While part of a model's affective labor involves working on the body to make it fit the standards on the one hand, it also involves working on their affective presentation, their attitude and effect and how they come across, in order to

perhaps increase their affective impact to the point that the rules matter less, as they reach the level of affective production in which they are pushing the envelope, touching on the virtual, blazing their own paths of affectivity. In this sense, it is not possible to talk about the bodily level of models' affective labor without discussing it at the level of projection. At this level, a tension arises between working to mold the body and working to mold the impression of how that body comes across, with the goal of appearing as if that body came about without effort involved. Hence the work takes place at the bodily level of going to the gym, grooming one's appearance in terms of clothing, haircuts, etc. and at the same time, on the more ineffable level of personality or attitude, in which a model might work on the impression he or she makes, the image he or she projects by his or her behavior. Since the production of a "cool" image, or the appearance of having what it takes is so difficult to codify, models' efforts in this regard necessitate feedback, making them dependent on the advice of their co workers to produce themselves in collaboration. This feedback is widely variable and contradictory since, at both the level of molding the body and that of their projectable image, models' affective labor is subject to the demands of a marketplace that, despite its pronounced standards, is governed by whim as well.

The right height for models, for instance, is well known in the industry: "women have to be 5'9" plus and men have to be at least 6' tall" (16, Ron). The accepted rationale for this body shape is that it is dictated by the size of the clothes. Over against this rationalization, however, lies the push toward stimulating affective flows, through the element of surprise, variability, or difference. This constant push within the industry can lead to unexpected variations within these standards, and a sense that the standard is only

a loose guideline. In some cases, for example, when someone can assemble the right kind of projectable image, they might be able to break the mold. Thus, an intensive scrutiny and control of a model's appearance and behavior, is coupled with a competing desire to call on the model for an element of surprise, to call forth an 'x' factor that might be produced by accident without conscious intention.

Lewis, a male model in the business for 17 years, discussed one of the more practical reasons for the height requirements:

Girls have to be at least 5'9" and no more than 5'11". 6 feet is too tall for a girl, and 6'3" and above is too tall for a boy. You can't be too short, neither. That's why everybody fits the same clothes, because no one is over 6'3" and no one is under 5'10". Because if a model is, they're not going to fit the clothes. The ideal leg length for male models is 34. So you've got to be the right height. That's why all the models are around the same size (04).

A model's power to create an affective image may override these strict standards, however. There is a tendency to relax those rules if a model has an image that sells, or whose affective capacity is very powerful. Take, for example, the case of Kate Moss, whose 5'7" frame did not deter her rise to supermodeldom. In the same manner, although on a different scale, Nea was a model whose affective power was strong enough to override her lack of height (she said her height was 5'7"):

If they like you, they can do anything for you, make you clothes. They'll say, you're too short, and then the next time, they're like, we're making you clothes. And I'm thinking, interesting... Like this catalog, for example. I went to a casting the first time and they're calling the agency saying 'oh we really liked her but

she's really too short, and you shouldn't send her over anymore, and I was like, oh, great. But at least they are honest. So I did 10 campaigns in that one season, and they called back and said, we don't care, we want her, we will make the clothes. Ever since they've booked me every season, and they are making me clothes. I get paid an extra day just so they can make them for me (47, Nea).

In a sense, by appearing in these campaigns, each successive one augmented or amplified her body's affective capacity with each successive layer of association that each campaign brought with it. Her image's effectivity in producing affect was increased by the number and places that image appeared (adding to its cache, its glamour; its desirability), to the point that her height no longer mattered, as it was overridden by her ability to sell.

Similarly, a certain height's desirability can be changed and shaped by the setting it is put into. If a designer responds to a model who is 5'9" tall, and decides to use her as the centerpiece of his collection, then that becomes the desired height for all models in that show. A model who is 6 feet tall, and had worked for various fashion designers explained that

It depends on who the designer is, always. If their favorite model is 5' 9" then 6 feet will be too tall. Most of the time, they have one size for the whole collection. The clothes. So they have to have the same size girl depending on what the designer chooses. If you are 5'2" and the designer likes you, they are going to think of something (46, Stephanie).

This variability within the standard applies to body shape as well. That is to say, while these standards are given a rational justification, in terms of selling clothes, there

are always other factors, fine distinctions, that go into determining the proper shape and size of a model's body, demands for different shapes at different times, or even within different markets at the same time. Just as body shapes and sizes go in and out of fashion, body parts go in and out of fashion as well.

The overall need for a thin body to show fashion seems consistent, for instance, rationalized as it is in the need for a body that works like a "clothes hanger."

A lot of the designers like the skinny bodies because it shows the clothes. You're not looking at the girl's body, you're looking at the clothes. They do hang and drape better, on a slimmer body. Like a clothes hanger (24, Kay).

Yet, within that frame, there is variability from one season to the next, from one country to the next, or one market to the next. In the fashion market, for non superstar models at least. A flat chest seems to be the rule. Thus, a flat chested model asserted that

normally, you see the clothes the designers are doing are for flat chests. You cannot have a bosom. You have to measure a 34 chest, or 32 is actually better (48, Bitou).

A model who was working her way up the fashion hierarchy attributed her lack of runway experience to her figure, saying:

I haven't done runway yet because I've got a chest and a lot of the designers just design for flat models. Because all the skinny girls are flat (40, Sarah).

She had noticed, however, that when a model becomes a success, the size of her chest becomes less of an issue:

Having a womanly figure can work to your disadvantage at first but then if you do end up making a name for yourself, then it becomes embraced. It's weird. That very successful model Gisele has really big breasts. It's not just her, though. A lot of them have big breasts, the really successful ones (40, Sarah).

This was indeed the experience of a veteran model, who had "made a name for herself," and worked the fashion runways despite her voluptuous figure. She had worked through several decades of designer fads, had seen breasts go in and out of fashion, alternately taping hers down, and letting them out:

Well there was a whole rage [of plastic surgery] at one point. All these girls were getting boobs. I was going to work and was like, oh my god, because I remember strapping mine down, and nobody wanted to see them and then all of a sudden, boom, they're in. And I was like, wow, I can breathe again! But then they went away again (31, Julia).

Another model noted variations on several levels at once:

Well... it doesn't matter – I've seen flat girls who are totally no hips with short hair – and then next season it's really curvy girls with hips. It changes all the time (46, Stephanie).

The fashion in body parts is also controlled by the markets within various magazines, or in various countries. This model made the distinction at both levels:

On the level where they're just doing the trendy magazines, and kind of fashion stuff, there are all these boyish girls. It just depends on what's in. If you go to Italy and Spain, they love breasts there. It totally just depend on the market (40, Sarah).

The need to constantly stimulate attention and to motivate interest in the appearance of models leads to pendulum swings in the variations within the standards that govern model's appearance. Thus, while the reigning ideas of what a model could and should look like seem to be very stringent and uniform in theory, in practice they incorporate elements of the irrational into the process to stimulate attention in the volatile world of affect production.

In the preceding examples, a contrast between the controlled body and the just "as is" body has emerged. The contradiction between the totally controlled and totally effortless body comes from two forces at work in a model's labor. On the one end, there is the volatility of the markets for affect, the possible "circus of affective responses" (Sedgwick and Frank 1995:11) from any one stimulus in which workers face "the incalculable every day" (Prindle 1993:5).

These unpredictable markets lead to sometimes contradictory or impossible to meet demands from those who manage and work with models and the images they create, in order to modulate tiniest details of appearance and behavior in order to produce that circus. In an affective economy, it's not just the whole body that is used for marketing and creating images, parts of bodies become valuable as well – hair shape and style, whether or not the model wears make-up, has a certain tone of skin, smiles or not, wears high heels, has large breasts or small, a 'cut' stomach or not – all of these details can activate affective flow in their own right, and so become the objects of intense scrutiny and control by those whose job it is to market a model's image. This model agent's attitude is typical of the level of intervention that is routine:

We tell them how to dress, show them how to walk show them how to put their hair (sic) we send them to the dermatologist, if they don't have very good skin... We tell them what to eat. I can see on the face what they eat; I can see whether they drink. I can see it. I know that you eat chocolate. They say no! but I say yes, I can see it in your face. I know if they eat fat, or if they are lying about their height (26, Genevieve).

This agent's comment was typical of most of the agent's responses. They considered it a part of their job to mold and shape the models, from their style of dress, to how they wore their hair, even to how they act as people, as the agent from the boutique agency claimed, "I don't ask them, I will tell them... We tell them how to dress for a certain appointment. We tell them how to react to a certain client, how to... what parties to go to, where to be seen, what restaurants to hang out at, or I mean everything from where they get their facials to what airlines they fly" (27, Carolyn).

The levels of control and monitoring exerted by the agents is also expected to be taken up by the models. They are held accountable for their hair and skin quality. Models are expected to get involved in a high level of self-scrutiny and maintenance. A makeup artist routinely gives young models these types of advice:

I say this is your product, and you are going to invest in it (and it *is* an investment), or you're not. Either you are going to find the right dermatologist, a good facialist if that's what you need, or you're not going to apply yourself. Either you're going to go to a gym and you're going to tone your body the right way – you may be as skinny as a pole, but that doesn't mean that you're in the right shape. Or, you might not... I'll ask if they are eating right. I'll talk to them

about going to a nutritionist. Finding out what works well with their body. What they should and shouldn't be eating, and that's going to react to their energy level how they feel emotionally, their hair and skin quality as well as their weight (24, Kay).

This comment shows how the attention to surface appearances goes all the way down. That is to say that a model's bodily labor is quite comprehensive, from working out, to monitoring their diet, to using the right products.

In this environment of tight supervision, the efforts to control the model's body can sometimes go too far, both on the manager's and the model's part. A model I interviewed who had worked in Paris for an overzealous agency described some rather harrowing stories:

I know girls who were getting liposuction at 18; breast implants at 18. My agent in Paris, for instance, when I was 19, brought in a plastic surgeon to the agency and had each girl standing outside the door and go in, so the surgeon could say what he could do for her, what she should do and how much it would cost. She wanted every single girl to get something done, whether it was the nose, the collagen implants for the lips, breasts, liposuction, something (32, Kate).

This model explained how most of the models she started with were no longer in the business. They had become either "too bulimic, too hooked on whatever, or just couldn't handle the stress of it, and dropped out after two or three years." She also told the story of how

In Paris, they taught us how to throw up, and how to do it without getting the little purple places around your eyes, especially if you have delicate skin, because, you know, if you force yourself to vomit, it bursts blood vessels. At the agency, when we got in, in the morning, they would measure us with a tape measure every single morning, and put us on the scale every single morning (32, Kate).

This particular model said she managed her weight by exercising, and said she enjoyed running marathons from time to time in the various cities to which she traveled to do modeling work.

This model's experience may be atypical. She was definitely in the minority of respondents in her willingness to broach the issue of eating disorders in the industry. I found that some of the younger, newer models I spoke with, for instance, had very little patience for this image of modeling. I interviewed five of them at the same time in a their apartment.³⁹ Countering their own experience against the image of the industry, they had a very different take on the matter than the one above. One of the girls thought the image was somewhat indignant about it, saying:

Yeah, all my friends ask about it. Everybody. They probably wonder how girls can be so skinny, you know? Everybody says that models have eating disorders, everybody! That they all eat rice cakes or something. It's like... we're human, you know (42, Dawn).

Another girl chimed in at once when she heard the above comment:

³⁹ Some agencies house models in preexisting "model's apartments" that are usually fitted with bunk beds and a chaperone. These communal living spaces serve the various models coming into or out of that city for short terms stays. The models I interviewed were paying market price rent for the right to a bunk bed in a house full of six models, with only one bathroom. They lived with a young woman who was their chaperone, whom I had met while hanging out at a casting.

Don't ask me this question, because I'll tell you, I eat everything, anything with junk food in it, or fat, and I don't go the bathroom and throw it up. It's just the metabolism, it runs in the family only until like 24, and then I'll stop, and then I'll cut down (43, Deana).

It should be noted that these girls were in their late teens, and so were no doubt experiencing the very high metabolism that sometimes occurs at that age. They might, however, also have been representative of the body type that is common in modeling, they type that very tall and very slender without demanding much effort to keep it that way. This is the "type of model [body] that works," mentioned by this agent:

Everyone knows what type of model makes it. It's very clear. That's what we scout for. The last thing anyone wants is a model who is fighting her body type to model. It doesn't work. And maybe it could work for six months, but never for a career. It's not in anyone's interest to find a short basketball player. Of course, it comes up all the time. But anyone who's involved in the industry knows how it works (17, Cameron).

When it came to the issue of eating disorders in the industry, this agent's response was typical. He claimed that the type of body that makes it in the industry is one that cannot be arrived at by diet or exercise.

In the course of my research it was impossible to differentiate between when a respondent was telling me the truth, and when he or she was telling me what they wanted me to hear. The issue of eating disorders was especially touchy for both models and agents, as it is common for the media to blame the images fashion models produce for young girls' problems with anorexia and bulimia. While I did not expect any of my

respondents to admit to having an eating disorder, I was interested in the consistency of the claim that a model with an eating disorder would not make it in the industry. As I will explore more below, I was also interested in the work to project a certain image around their bodies, and how they interacted with them, that the models were doing with me during the course of the interviews.

The never ending labor of projecting an image

At this level, the affective labor of creating an image, crafting how one comes across seems never ending, particularly since another imperative of a model's work is to appear as if they just *are* that way. This is the work to "put on that show 24 hours a day" (32, Kate), when they go to castings, do a photo shoot, or go out to dinner with clients. Hence this booker's alarm when a model altered her look when she thought she was off duty:

I used to have bangs, but I didn't really like them, so I was always pulling them back with clips, when I didn't have anything going on. I had to go into the agency, and my booker saw me and started yelling, "Ahhhh! Bangs, bangs!" gesturing toward his forehead saying, "you can't wear them like that!" and I was really surprised. So I was like, "I'm not even doing anything. I came from home, I'm going to pick something up, and then I'm going back to my apartment. Leave me alone!" Everybody was looking at me and the booker, like, what's going on? He was yelling it out! I was like, what's wrong with you? He didn't like it pinned back because it was uncool, it wasn't stylish. It was so annoying. If they see you in the street, they say "you can't do this! You have to blah blah blah," you know? Like you are supposed to be on your job 100% of the time! (46, Stephanie).

The quote describes an instance in which this model had to deal with the competing demands to maintain a high level of grooming and style, on the one hand, but to make it look “cool,” as if she just looked that way all the time. From what my respondents told me about managing their image and their body, these conflicting demands for a model’s affective bodily labor, versus the work to create a projectable image, often seemed at odds with one another, making these demands difficult to resolve, resulting in the sense that the work is “endless.” Even when a model had some success at developing and holding a ‘look,’ the volatility and unpredictability of affective flow that makes it difficult to predict how one or another look will read or be interpreted, resulted in conflicting advice that was hard to assimilate.

In such an unstable environment, the details of a model’s appearance can become paramount, as it is believed that they can make all the difference in whether a model’s image stands out or commands attention. Even a this model who had the ideal look, with both the right height and weight, was subject to the constant tweaking of details, and sometimes the type of feedback could be extreme:

Last time I did a job, there was a man there who said you have an amazing face, but one thing that you have to do is lose weight. And I’m like hey, I weigh 109 pounds and I’m 5’11”! If I were to lose weight, I’d disappear! I’m very skinny! But he didn’t mean my body, he meant my face, he said, “you have baby fat in your face.” He told me I should not eat carbohydrates, like bagels and pasta, and then I’d lose my baby fat. But I love my baby fat! You see, that’s how people become insecure, because people like this guy are just going to make you feel insecure. These are horrible people! (48, Bitou).

The uncertainty of affective markets and the manner in which they pick up parts of bodies and circulate them in images can make a creative whim or fancy quite valuable. This models' "baby fat" may have been just the thing the next photographer liked about her, for example. In a more well known instance of how a small detail can make a huge difference in a model's affective impact, when the soon to be supermodel Linda Evangelista cut off her hair in the 1980s, she was cancelled from all of her shows, but then her career took off. Similarly, Cindy Crawford, another 1980s supermodel, was counseled to surgically remove the mole that ended up making her career. Part of the "never ending" feel of a model's work comes from navigating these streams of information, encouragement, or discouragement, to sift the good advice from the bad, as this model observed:

They could say you are great and wonderful and they love you, but take off your eyebrows. And the next person would say, let's fill in your eyebrows. And you had to learn that you have to say no (36, Gayle).

The Interplay of Attitude and Body Work

All of these examples indicate there is a concentrated micro management of models at the bodily level in an intense interaction between models and their managers to produce a marketable body and image. The models I spoke to tended to have one of two responses to this type of feedback; they either took it to heart and worked hard to do everything their managers told them to; or, they adopted a different attitude, which served in managing their projectable image, participating in a complex interplay of attitude and bodily work to produce a certain aura of unassailability, or immunity to control. This "aura," as my respondents called it, was much more difficult to produce than a

standardized body; yet its value in the industry nonetheless elicited attempts to produce it in models, via feedback regarding their personality or attitude.

The most successful models seem to have these attributes without trying for them, which, as I have been discussing, may also in part be a result of their affective labor to project an aura of not having to worry about anything, of just being that way effortlessly. Whether it is produced intentionally by the model or not, within the structure of the modeling business, recognizing that quality or aura, and bringing it out, is part of the process of affective production. In the following examples, I will discuss how models tried to come by these affective attributes; how model managers tried to bring them out in models, especially in terms of managing the model's personalities; and finally, how amplifying and modulating affect was sometimes a collaborative effort, as was the case when producing an affective environment.

Some of the models in my sample responded to the demands for a standardized body by trying to meet the perceived requirements as strictly as possible. Their affective labor to augment or activate the capacity of their body to produce a certain image or affective response was governed by what rules they could glean from a business in which "there are no rules" (18, Jules). Thus they obediently go thinner when they needed to be thinner (depending on the markets they were going to), wore heels to look taller (depending on the clients they were going to see), or consulted with their agent about what they needed to do to their hair or appearance in order to keep the clients interested. Some models are quite matter of fact about it:

I work out every day. It's difficult. I mean, not difficult, but I have to stay on top of myself all the time with my weight.

I asked whether she thought of working out as part of her job, and she replied:

I used to not. When I first started modeling, I used to say this isn't fair that I have to be so skinny. I just didn't like it. But if you're going to do it, then you have to be that size (37, Brittany).

Many male models also took an instrumental approach to their bodies, beefing up for some markets, slimming down for others according to subtle distinctions of what they referred to as a 'fit' or 'natural' look. Lewis, a veteran male model who had done print and catalog work for years, referred to his body as his 'tool,' an instrument to produce whatever he perceived they were looking for:

My body is my tool, and so that's why we go to the gym... it's very important to have a nice body, if you want to do underwear, and do things that are revealing of your body, then you're going to have to work out because they're going to pick the person with the nicest body. Or at least the more natural looking body, or a body that is suited to what they are looking for.

Note how he qualified the idea of the 'nicest' or the 'best' body, since he could not clearly define what it was the 'best' body should look like, in the face of the variable standards in the industry:

Sometimes they don't want beefcake bodies, because that's not what they are looking for, they don't want all the muscles they want just a natural look. But even within a natural look, you still have to have some sort of fitness (04).

The idea that "within a natural look" there could be some sort of qualitification speaks also to the idea of the fine gradations of bodily appearance that can be resources of

production in an affective economy, setting in motion paths of affective flow according to very slight variations in bodily appearance or presentation.

Some of the models I interviewed handled the tension between the need to mold the body, and the need to mold the impression of that body, differently from the models just mentioned. Unlike the obedient models above, these models worked hard to present the image that their appearance was not the result of hard work, they were just being themselves. At the same time, they also identified the importance of projecting the image that one is not making an effort, because it was a dangerous blow to the image to look as if “you try too hard” (46, Stephanie). In the strategy for handling the tensions between the need to mold the body and the need mold the impression of the body described above, the first group of models worked hard and openly to show they were trying to meet the requirements placed on them by the industry. In the second group, the models’ fostered a blase attitude, as if they could have cared less whether they were meeting the standards of appearance asked of them or not. This second strategy had two effects. First, it helped the models deal with the constant rejection that was part of their jobs:

You can get a heck of a lot of rejection, I mean it’s like, what does a top salesman get, two out of twenty? That’s supposed to be the average. So you figure a young person is going to see twenty photographers, and they hear, “oh yeah, great, we’re busy.” Or “come back in a month, and maybe I’ll have some time, or in an hour.”

Or “no, I just use brunettes.” Or, you know, there’s a lot of rejection (36, Gayle). Second, by adopting this attitude, they augmented their affective power because they appeared unstudied in their demeanor and self-presentation. According to this model, adopting an attitude of not caring too much can create a certain aura around a model:

There are models who can't hold their weight, they have to be on a diet and work out all the time. But they are so unhappy, they don't get jobs. They are fighting their body type, they are unhappy, and people don't want to book them because they don't have an aura. They are not themselves. Those people don't work. They really don't. They tend to be really young. They really want to do it, and they fight hard to, but they are so bitter that nobody wants to work with them. Other ones just don't care, they give a shit, they're like, oh you know, maybe I feel like coming over and showing you my book right now, maybe I don't. I really don't care what I eat, if I'm too big for you, then that's your problem. Those are the ones who have this aura, this personality, that people like (46, Stephanie).

This 'aura,' which is arguably produced by the whole ensemble of a model's affective capacity, from their body type, to their personality, to how they come across in person, is far more difficult to produce than the standardized body. The 'aura' has to do with that ineffable quality, the 'x' factor or that something extra, that can't be harnessed, but rather must be made to flow, modulated through a careful orchestration and supervision that might set it free. Bookers and agents tried to create this quality through the artificial means of consciously manipulating their model's attitude, as this model explained:

I've heard of girls being talked to because they have no personality. They say, you're kind of blah, you have to have more energy when you go into to talk to the clients, this is why you're not getting booked (37, Brittany).

A models' body is easier to control than his or her aura. This did not deter the agents I spoke to from trying, however. In the more difficult to produce and manage affective labor of creating a projectable image, model managers would try to give models feedback about attitude or personality that would augment their aura, and perhaps, then, their marketability. Since it is impossible to know exactly how to produce this quality, sometimes the agents' feedback was somewhat vague. This problem was clear in the comments from this young model who was new to New York and trying to fit into the modeling culture into which she had put herself. She related how her managers spoke to her about her attitude, and how she still hadn't figured it out yet:

They said, and I'm still trying to figure it out, they said there's something to be said for the fact that people sort of like the drama of a model, they like the image of her being kind of cool, and a little bit like, I don't care. They said, be professional, don't be mean or snotty, don't be difficult to work with, but just sort of chill (38, Donna).

This statement resembles another comment from a booker who said, "we tell the models, you should have an attitude, but not too much, you can be friends, but not too friends, distant, but not too cold, nice, but not too nice. Because we have to dream, so keeping a distance keeps the glamour and the mystery" (26, Genevieve).

It is not surprising that in the face of this sort of advice, the model above had the impression that she could consciously manipulate her attitude to a place where she looked like she is not manipulating it at all. This conscious work to appear unconscious or unaffected may or may not be successful at producing the desired result because, as I have pointed out, affective production is unpredictable and difficult to control by

conscious intention. This model's attempt to try hard to appear as if she is not trying too hard, may have been failing due to its overtly conscious aspects.

Her thought that she could learn to put it on if she made an effort was not so surprising in the context of an industry that instructs its workers in everything from appearance and demeanor, clothing choices, and bodily comportment, to whom to socialize with and how to act in those situations. In modeling, it is even possible to take walking lessons, a practice which is a common money making tool for former runway models. As I mentioned previously, Jay Alexander has made a career out of being able to walk well in high heels, and teach others to do so. A female model I interviewed who had done a good deal of runway work said that she had been able to supplement her income by giving walking lessons, for \$300 per hour.

I was curious about the walk, and in an interview, a male model was only too happy to demonstrate what it should look like. We were in a crowded Starbucks coffee shop at the time, yet he was glad to leap up and demonstrate. It was striking. He walked with a sort of a lengthening of the limbs, and a loosening of the gaze. It was as if he were suddenly transformed, as if he became someone else. He moved in a slow amble, and looked almost like... a caged animal, utterly self satisfied, content within himself, barely looking at me, looking more through me than at me. He seemed taller somehow, and looser in his joints, and yet the taut muscle underneath was suddenly apparent, even though I couldn't see it. It was a baleful gaze, almost. Very bored looking. Another male model who had taken walking lessons when he first started out, concurred that "keeping it loose" was very important (07, Stuart). It is interesting to note that, although I asked all of the female respondents about the walk as well, none of them was eager to demonstrate

it. A description from the male model who was happy to demonstrate his walk in a Starbucks will have to suffice. For the women, he said,

Women have to have the hips and be shaking with attitude. They stronger you are, the better you look. But you do still have to get that façade out like, sexy, and I'm selling. A woman has to be graceful and have a sexy sway. It's a whole 'nother world, female modeling (04, Lewis).

The walk is another element of a model's affective labor that is open to manipulation, and learning to walk is another form of their investment in their affective capacities. By learning to walk, they learn how to activate an attitude that might get them noticed. As with every aspect of affective labor that calls on a conscious manipulation, however, there is always another aspect that must be mobilized under the level of awareness if the conscious manipulation is to have an affective impact.

The contradictions in this next quote are striking examples of the interplay of attitude and body work that intertwine in the affective labor of modeling. While this model claimed not to shape his body to fit the needs of different markets, he also didn't work out while he was in Europe, where they "like smaller guys." He took charge of his bodily work, saying that it was his own; yet this statement may have been aimed at maintaining his projected aura that he was just trying to be himself, and did not need others to tell him how he should look:

I don't do anything to change my original look. I like to work out, but right now I haven't worked out in 5 weeks because I've been in Europe. I like to work out, and be more cut, but that's for my own personal self, that's not for modeling. Some guys I know, they do slim down for Europe, they don't lift any more when

they go to Europe, because they like smaller guys over there. But I'm not trying to do any of that, I'm just trying to be myself, this how I was born, and this is how my body is, and if you like it, great, and if you don't, fine (07, Stuart).

Projecting this aura seemed to be quite functional for him. At the time of the interview, he had attained a level of moderate success. He had just returned from doing the shows in Paris and Milan, had recently appeared in *Vanity Fair* magazine in a fashion spread by a famous photographer, and he had just been selected to be represent a European fragrance with a three year contract.

Creating that ineffable quality, or aura, that makes a models' affective capacities productive, is a big part of a model's affective labor. While my respondents said they tried to make the most of what they were bringing to the equation, that amplify that something extra that gets them noticed, they were very aware that there are no fixed formulas of what works. A model with a decade of experience spoke of all the elements that must be attended to:

There are so many things that go into keeping the façade smooth; you need to seem like you don't care, you're above it all, like you're successful – it's the same principle as being in junior high – you can't look like you need it too much (32, Kate).

This quality, or 'aura' as some of the models called it, can become yet another marketable piece of the spectrum of attributes models and their handlers seek to manage and control: their attitude, their appearance, where they are seeking work, what kind of work they are seeking. As the dynamics between the parts of the total package were constantly shifting, adopting a blasé attitude functioned to help the models handle the

sudden changes in interest or marketability brought on by changes in the tiniest detail of their appearance. The dynamics between the pieces a model brings to market are far more intimate and powerful factors in determining a model's status and marketability than changes in the market itself. A male model who has worked internationally mused:

There are so many actors; it's too hard to figure out what the dynamics are. I mean, literally, when I went to a new city, or I got a new agency, or before I cut my hair, or when I had new photographs in my book. These can all change things more radically than a shift in the market (05, Stan).

Within the shifting streams of affective flow, trying to determine the "dynamics" is indeed a difficult task. Most of the models tried to cultivate their 'x' factor by developing an attitude or presence that conveyed a certain unassailability, to create a sense that they didn't need to business, that they could take it or leave it.

The Flow of Affect

At photo shoots and during the affective melee of a fashion show, the techniques used to modulate the flow of affect are quite different. The intense micro management of every moment of a model's waking life, gives way, once they are hired for a job, to a very different kind of treatment, aimed at getting them into the moment, to react in an uninhibited and variable manner. A makeup artist describes her ideal of a model at a shoot:

Some girls will get on the set and they'll just have a fabulous flow and variety and movement and they get it and they look at the outfit before and they look at the hair and the makeup before and they'll get on the set and they'll just...it's almost like watching an actress where there's no direction required they're just flowing

with it, they get it and they've paid attention and the photographer can take pictures for over an hour and not have to say one word because everything is just wonderful (24, Kay).

Getting a model into the flow is the model's job, insofar as they do the affective labor of opening up to the mood and environment the photographer and his or her team try to create; it is the team's job insofar as they work to create that mood. This model employs the technique of 'be yourself' with the twist that just being herself includes defining the way she looks:

Sometimes they just want to let you do it. The photographers and clients aren't always so directive, they want to let you be yourself. So you have to be able to define your own way that you look better. You learn from seeing pictures of yourself. And I do practice at home in front of the mirror. I practice in the bathroom (she laughs). For the smile, also, I practice. Because you often you have to smile and you have to find the right smile that is not too fake, and not too much at the same time.

For me it's a feeling. You cannot smile when they tell you to smile. I'm like make me laugh and I will smile. So they will bring somebody to make me laugh. I cannot put it on (48, Bitou)

In this case, the labor to produce free and unstudied affective response is collaborative, using "affect contagion" in which affect is communicated via facial expression. Music, food or images may also be employed to modulate affective flow between people. If these props do not help the model to "get into the flow," so to speak, the members of the team who are assembled to create the image, the photographer, assistant, stylist, makeup

artist, hairstylist, etc. will try to help things along. Assistants at shoots, such as this makeup artist, often use food and words of encouragement to elicit that “certain something” the photographer may be looking for, but perhaps has been unable to articulate (since, as I noted previously, affect is not a linguistic phenomenon). According to this make-up artist, who is considered the top of her trade, sometimes it just took talking to the model; sometimes more drastic techniques, like the use of chocolate, were required;

Once you’ve invested in the day, you do have to try to make it work. So sometimes it’s about coddling them, sometimes it’s a lot about coaxing them, the hairstylist and I tend to be a little more of the support system for the model. Help her through the day emotionally, help her feel cared about and cared for. If it’s cold, to bring her a cup of tea, or if her energy is sagging, or if she’s not feeling like a good connection with the photographer, I might go over to her and say, you know, do you want some chocolate? In a devilish tone. Whatever it takes. You know, stand on the side of the set and talk to them, so that their face look s a little bit more animated. Maybe they want me to get them to laugh, when the model can’t do it themselves, because some people can’t laugh on a dime; you need to talk to them to keep them awake looking (24, Kay).

The need to keep them awake looking also includes a need, at least on the part of some photographers, to shock an unexpected look from the model, by using directions that might surprise or make the model uncomfortable, or at least not as studied. In a video documentary chronicling a particular fashion photographer’s life, Cindy Crawford

described how an up and coming fashion photographer asked her act like a small rodent in order for him to get the shot he was looking for:

The first time I worked with him, he'd want you to do things like, you know, like can you be a rat? And then he would take pictures. This was in my big cover heyday, and I was like, oh my god, what if he runs this picture? I'm still not sure why he made us do that. I think it was just to break the, so he got something different out of you. Because when you went from doing this (*she mimics being a rat by wriggling her nose and baring her teeth*), at least you've broken the mood and when you went back to your more normal modeling, it kind of worked itself out (Alvergue & Isabell 2002).

Her comment serves as another example of this effort to create something unexpected, something extra or unplanned, that is part of the work to create an affective environment at a photo shoot.

The unpredictable, uncontrollable aspect of affective labor speaks to my final point that, even though affective labor involves intense scrutiny of and control over models' personalities and physicality, it also involves, paradoxically, many instances in which the goal is to create an environment which feels unmonitored, and free. Recall that "affect is an impersonal flow before it is a subjective content" (Massumi 1998:61), and affect contagion can occur easily, as "affects are communicated rapidly through facial expression" making affect "contagious between people" (Gibbs 2002:337).

A prime example of amplifying the flow of affect between people is the fashion show. In this situation, models spoke of an effort to just let go, to go however the moment pushed them, to kind of flow along with the atmosphere. Stan, a male model who had

walked the catwalks for many high fashion designers discussed how he felt on the catwalk:

There's definitely like a zone, or a state of mind that I would always go into, right before I went on. So it's not, I made it sound like there's no difference between myself walking down the street and the walking the runway. But there is a difference. Yeah, definitely. There are 30-40 cameras going off, and there's the tension of the fact that there designer's hoping the world is going respond in kindness to his latest creative effort. The tension's there in the room. They're there, they're looking at you, making sure everything's just right, it's on their faces. It has an impact. I think wherever you are, you are having an interaction with it, and the moods blend. And they set a mood and there's paparazzi and champagne being drunk, and there's a fervor and this music going on. All that is a certain subtle tempest of energy. And models feed off of that. They get into it (05).

In this mode of modulating or channeling affect, the movements of affect, or shifts in affective energy may be nonverbal, somatic, and even below awareness, but can produce detectable effects in the form of mood change, dips or spikes in energy levels, changes in body language or facial expression. Thus, it is the models job to open him or herself to the *event* of the moment with the goal of producing an unfiltered, or unstudied look and responsiveness informs the model's expression and bodily movement. It is in this moment that a model must act as a conduit of affective flow, to allow free play of expression or bodily response, to ride the energies present in the room.

Some models achieve this level of responsiveness by going blank, or into a zone in which they are almost not conscious of what they are doing. When I asked models who worked at New York Fashion Week what they were thinking on the runway, their responses were all along the same lines: they went into a zone, they tried to feel an openness to the moment:

“I don’t think of the runway – it’s better not to” (49, Svetlana).

“I don’t know what others do on the runway, but I go into a blank zone – I tune out the audience and then, afterwards, I feel high” (50, Suzie).

Responding to this “tempest of energy” by going into a “zone” makes the model almost a cipher, a conduit of the flow of affect being heightened and modulated by the sights and sounds of the fashion show, and the subsequent images of that which will be disseminated in the media. In this case, the work was not aimed at controlling the model’s affective responses; it was aimed, rather, at setting them free, to get that something extra from them, a vibe, or charismatic feeling that comes from a model who has tuned into their ‘x’ factor, is “going with the flow,” and successfully “feeds off” and participates in the energy present in the room. In general, this form of affective labor could be understood as a sort of manipulated responsiveness which can lead to a zone or sense of total openness to the situation, into an unmanipulated response that projects the free and unfiltered affective image which can be a powerful source of fashion image’s power.

In this chapter, I elucidated three aspects of affective labor in action. First, there was the bodily aspect, of actual physical manipulation of the body to achieve a specific look that is affecting. Then there was the idea of “aura” or projectable image, which

involved the work on personality or attitude to achieve a presence that commands attention. I outlined the tension that develops between controlling the body, and developing a models' attitude or projectable image. I found that this tension stemmed in part from the wide range of feedback model's receive, regarding a their appearance and behavior that could be quite contradictory. There was on the one hand, the close monitoring of models by their associates; on the other, there was the encouragement to 'just be yourself,' to look effortless or unstudied.

I have illustrated how these contradictory demands speak to the volatility of affect and the fluctuating demands for different looks, arguing that perhaps models and their associates work hard to control the body because that is the only thing they *can* control in the volatile world of affect production. Finally, there is the work to produce and be responsive to affective environments, in order to be open to or produce an unfiltered affective response. For the final chapter, I now turn to situating my definition and discussion of the affective labor of modeling within wider currents of discourse that flow through feminist and Marxist thought.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION: BODIES AND IMAGES

Now that I've examined the work of fashion models in detail, I'd like to return to the moment of interaction between the images they produce and the reception of those images. I have argued for a new perspective on how the affective flow which forms the basis of human contact and interaction may become productive when it is picked up and circulated within an affective economy. I approached this idea through the notion of an attention economy, in which attention has become a valuable commodity, especially when it is captured by imaging technologies such as television. By illustrating what it is models do in the course of their work, I sought to elucidate how they modulate affective flow, and how that modulation proves to be valuable at the current level of technological development in communication and imaging technologies.

At the outset, I argued that producers and consumers are shaped in a continuous link of affective flow between bodies that are mediated by technology, and stipulated that this moment of linkage involves two distinct levels of interaction that are crucial to understanding the function of affect, and how affect could be productive. I turned to the examples of the Victoria's Secret Fashion Show and Fashion Television to discuss these processes in action. In light of my analysis of modeling and what models produce, I'd like to return to these examples and look at them from the perspective I have been working to construct through the course of this dissertation.

With regard to understanding how the Victoria's Secret Fashion Show works, at the productive and the societal level, I want to make two observations. First, in my

analysis of the ways that modeling work is productive, my effort to analyze that work from the angle of affective production does not exclude the possibility of reading the images that models produce in conventional ways. That is to say, I am not arguing that the show, for instance, was not part of a process in which culturally idealized body types were presented as a norm to which all women should aspire. Of course the model's bodies on display during the Victoria's Secret Fashion Show, and in fashion more generally, may be interpreted that way. The overtly sexual presentation of the women also bears interpretation as a set of messages that may be harmful to young people, messages that also represent the current status of gender relations. The show could also be interpreted as one giant advertisement, promoting luxuries that we don't need, whipping us up into a froth of consumer desire. All of these processes are going on, of course, and at full volume.

If, however, one adopts the framework for understanding and analyzing image production and reception that I described in the previous pages, these images would also have to be understood from an additional perspective. From this perspective, the qualification of the image in terms of assigning meaning to its contents must be split off from the impact of the image's intensity. In other words, the images must also be thought in terms of their affective impact at work on another level, the level of affective production.

Recall that indexing an image's meaning to accepted intersubjective codes involves putting the image into narrative, into a relay of expectations and adaptation which requires meaningful sequencing. Although the show was narrativized by a tacked-on story of how the girls got ready for the show, a story that manufactured a bit of drama,

for a set of images that otherwise had little narrative glue to hold them together, the event-ness of those images did not need that narrative framing to produce or hold attention. Thus, the images of the models on the runway could be understood as a story about getting ready to go on the runway, walking the runway, and coming down off the runway (dramatizing the questions of whether the models would make it to the stage on time, whether would they trip on the stairs, or whether they were getting along with the other models). They also could be read for their presentation of cultural ideals of sexiness and femininity. In addition to these readings for interpretation of meaning, however, these images could be read for their extremes – the models' extreme proportions of height and thinness, the way they moved on the runway in an almost mechanical manner, the close-ups on their body parts – a set of ankles here, some breasts there, and there a set of buttocks. The speed at which the show was cut, coupled with the way the frames were made to explode from within themselves, as the camera swooped in to catch a split second of a model's face, or shot out to pan the crowd, made it difficult to get a clear view of the products being advertised. Looking at how the images were presented image by image, rather than reading them in a narrative flow, and reading those images for shapes, colors, energies, and impact, takes the level of analysis to a new plane, one that is cognizant of the possibilities of affective production.

To really see these processes at work, one must look to a less narrativized, less constructed stream of images. Unlike the Victoria's Secret Fashion Show, Fashion Television does not pretend to a narrative structure. As I described it above, FTV presents one fashion show after another, rarely punctuated by commentary, without commercial interruption (as of this writing). FTV presents an endless series of men and women

walking the catwalks, worked up to various levels of display, in which clothes hair and make-up often conspire to present an extreme image, one that is hardly recognizable as conventionally pretty, gendered, or even human in some cases. There is little indication of a clear cut gender ideology – women and men are more androgynous than not. The models tend to move in ways that have become familiar and marked as fashionable, but have little relation to any other domain of human expression.

It is the model's work to produce the images on offer. They are not only images of a product, of a lifestyle, but also of a feeling, about a brand perhaps, but more generally, about television, about fashion, about fashion on television. The work is accomplished, in part, merely by making a point of contact, exposing the images to the viewer, channeling the affective flow as the bodies pass in a series on the runway, in one configuration after another, activating various streams of possible response, linking the bodies in the images to the bodies exposed to those images. FTV puts out affective energy without a particular goal in mind save exposure to the images, to put the images in circulation, images of the endless procession of the body in a series, a mesmerizing, hypnotic flow of one body after the other, each producing undulations or waves of affect in its wake, that might translate into attentiveness, excitement, action, or motivation.

There is value in this contact. FTV is a very popular cable product that has made money for all the distributors that have adopted it. In fact, executives at FTV claim a reputed audience of 300 million households.⁴⁰ It doesn't matter whether FTV sells

⁴⁰ An essay on Indian television culture reported that FTV had 30 million viewers in 125 countries in 1999 (Kamalipour and Rampal 2001). This disparity represents either a huge jump in audience between 1999-2002 or the slipperiness of statistics. The huge increase in viewership does fit, however, with the managing director's 2001 report that global viewing figures have increased by over 25% in the last year (Centaur Communications, Ltd. 2001); and recent reports corroborate the 300 million figure ("FTV is now broadcast over 31 satellite systems and

apparel; its value to cable providers is that it attracts eyeballs, which are arguably absorbing the idea that fashion is interesting, fashion should be followed, it is a way of life, and it is worthy of attention. While there may be faint glimmers of the apparent “divergence between the business of selling apparel and the business of selling fashion” (Trebay 2002), in the processes at work on the Victoria’s Secret show, the fact that they are almost two different processes entirely is clearly exemplified by FTV. Here the connection between fashion shows and products being sold is tenuous to the point of nonexistence— in fact, whether the impact of FTV’s broadcast will ever translate into an exact measure of growth in apparel exports seems a moot point. Unlike the Victoria’s Secret show, the products shown on Fashion Television are difficult to obtain, or, as is the case in some of the markets where FTV is a common part of cable packages, are not available at all. There is no discernable brand, just fashion with a capital “F” -- what’s being bought and sold are the model’s images, the image of fashion, and the viewer’s attention to them both.

Once the structures of the affective economy developed, advertising dollars were not always spent because there was a proven one to one correspondence between showing images and selling products. While Victoria’s Secret industry executives observed, “there’s no precise way of measuring the value of the show to the corporation” (Weiker & Turner 2002), there was a production of value going on. Indeed, a former advertising creative, who had worked at one of the largest advertising agencies in the world for several years, admitted that the clients who sought a one to one correspondence between advertising purchases and increased sales lacked vision, and did not understand

thousands of cable systems that reach 200 countries and 300 million households worldwide” (Chee Kee 2002)).

the concept of using a long term and multi faceted strategy of exposure (21, Richard). The fact that advertising has evolved from just inducing the consumption of specific fashionable commodities to presenting the institution of fashion as a way of life points toward the idea that there is an increasing effort to capitalize on the affective investment in exposure to images. The education of the public to ask for vodka and other liquors by name took many years of concerted effort. The Absolut vodka campaign was cited by another advertising executive as an example of a “great advertising campaign for a mediocre product” (20, Travis). Following the same logic, executives at Victoria’s Secret were not so concerned with whether the fashion show directly resulted in exactly measurable increased sales of the company’s products. Their goals were more long term. The overall effect of this approach to advertising has a more diffuse effect on the purchase of luxurious lingerie or high end goods, and the affective contact between viewers and the idea of these types of goods. In this sense, promotional events such as the Victoria’s Secret fashion show, product placement, viral marketing, and “wallpaper TV” (Centaur Communications Ltd. 2001), such as FTV can be said to advance an interest in and market for luxury goods more generally, spreading awareness of (and ultimately receptivity to, in some cases) Western values and lifestyles.

Thus, while content analysis is an important enterprise, and it can reveal relations of power hidden in image content that might cement ideologies about gender, race, or class, which support existing power structures, there is another level of analysis that is important as well. On this level, there is another line of inquiry, which moves beyond questions of how the image structures the body in cultural interaction, or how the image’s meaning is assimilated and incorporated thereby forming subjectivities. This line is

drawn to efforts to grasp the dynamism of the body's matter in the interaction of body and image, so that it is not just the subject's conscious assignment of meaning at work in the image, but also the image's affective impact directly on the body, in which the body, in a passional state, reaches toward the virtual, mixing with the forces in the image that are not assimilable to conscious individual interpretation. Rather, they "cannot but be felt" (Massumi 2002: 42)

In other words, I sought to recuperate the materiality of the body by studying the body not in terms of representation, interpretation, and meaning, but in terms of flows of energy and changes in intensity; to think of the body as a nexus of (not necessarily interpretable) information and as a space of technological intervention. This effort was informed by two strands of thought. First, recuperating the materiality of the body saves it from the disappearance into discourse, to which it was made vulnerable by the arguments of some cultural studies and feminist theorists during the last decade. Second, this recuperation was needed to enable a rethinking of the body and how it is embedded in technological networks of production such that its energies are being calibrated through interaction with imaging machines. In other words, what about the laboring body from this perspective?

It is these two threads of discourse, stemming from feminist and Marxist concerns, that my work has been addressed. In these final sections, I take on a more speculative mode, to see where my findings might fit into some of the broader discussions in both of these streams of thought. Before doing so, however, I want to briefly recap the course of my argument.

■ ■ ■

Modeling work both established and took advantage of processes that grew with the development of complex networks of affective production made possible by economic and cultural shifts such as the development of the consumer economy, the image distribution system, and the transformation of work from material to immaterial labor in postindustrial economies. A particularly important part of these processes has been the socialization and collectivization of affectivity to the point that “allows for the realization of value in the modulation of affect, in the realization of the multiple force of time on bodies, that is, in the affective switching of bodies from one mode to another in terms of attention, arousal, interest, receptivity, stimulation, attentiveness, action, reaction, and inaction” (Clough 2004:16). This “affective switching of bodies from one mode to another” takes place most often in the moment of interaction with an image. I examined the complex networks that make up the infrastructure of image production in the modeling industry, and found that working with the volatile stuff of human interaction, in terms of modulation and sudden shifts in direction or volume, gave rise to a complex set of relations whose contours continually shifted and reshuffled according to the vagaries of affective flow.

With relation to imaging technologies, I noted that as demands for attention became more varied and prolific, the investments in the means of channeling the affective flow that served to direct or capture that attention increased over time. Tracing the development of modeling labor, I illustrated how modeling work gradually shifted from a scripted performance that modulated and controlled affective flow on the individual level to a collaborative effort in which a team worked to agitate affective flow in a manner suitable to be picked up and circulated by technology.

As the structures of affective production and circulation developed and became more complex, the model's job evolved to demand ever increasing sensitivity to affective flow and volatility. During this process, models' bodies became sites of investment from which various economies were mobilized: fashion economies, dieting economies, beauty economies, life style economies. I illustrated how the model's work changed from localized work to produce an image within a fashion house, to a complex collaboration involving whole staffs of workers from different sectors in the modeling industry, aimed at engineering images suitable for circulation in which they could work to accrue the highest value.

I found that, although my respondents had trouble articulating their experience in this language as such, certain structural aspects of the modeling industry, such as the scouting system, and the organization of models into boards that correspond to specific markets, were shaped by the implicit goal of stimulating affective arousal, and modulating energy, as much as they were informed by the goal of creating images predetermined by the promotional needs of specific consumer goods or products. My analysis of the actual work practices of affective labor, and the structure of work in modeling showed that working with affects proved to be a volatile and changeable business in which reputation played a pivotal role in determining the various ad hoc work groups that characterize the organization of work in the industry. Since judgments of value were often highly subjective, based "on a whim" as one model put it (32, Kate), fashion models found that they had to focus their energy toward managing their image, in terms of how they came across in person, as well as how their overall image as a worker was perceived in the industry. I found that they performed this image management as part

of a team with their agent, and in collaboration with the photographers, fashion editors, hairstylists, make-up artists, and clothing stylists who worked with them. In a sense, the economies these teams gave rise to formed part of the “apparatuses of actualization and implantation” of affect (Massumi 2002:44), that relay and transform affective energy into various effects of the system – a fashion effect, a lifestyle effect, a branding effect, a normalizing effect, etc.

These teams participated in modulating the overall affective impact of the model by carefully selecting what type of work they should do, in order to build their reputation within the networks of affective production within the industry. These choices of jobs were in part explained by the mechanism of status contagion (a phenomenon Aspers also found in his study of fashion photographers, 2001:119) at work in the industry, in which winning a high status assignment could “make” a model’s career just as easily as taking a low status job could bring it down. High and low status were also judged as such according to levels of prestige; a high prestige job placed the model’s image into pathways of affective flow leading to positive exposure that could lead to further jobs. A low prestige job placed the model’s image in a dead end or blocked flow that led nowhere. The goal of “engineering an image,” as I discussed, was to catapult a model as quickly as possible to the highest level of prestige in the industry, which sometimes could then translate into high pay. It was interesting to note that the path to this upper level was often not well paid, and, in fact, models on this path (usually high fashion models exclusively) often eschewed better paying work to avoid being contaminated by its “mainstream” or “down market” connotations, as these jobs were referred to by my respondents. I also noted the possibility that a model’s race and gender could be

influential in closing off their affective potential, depending on the available paths of implantation or realization within dominant cultural discourses. At the edge of that limitation, however, was the belief that models of mixed ethnicity to might provide new pathways of affective flow, and so were viewed differently from models who fit more rigidly defined racial categories.

Through discussion with interview subjects who outlined their daily work activities, I observed that modeling work has increasingly come to involve a paradox, in that it can demand both a careful control and modulation of a model's individual affective energy, as well as an opening up to the environment of affective shifts and changes to try to channel the energy of that turbulent flow toward potentially productive ends. In other words, some aspects of the work involved stimulating or activating affective flow, while other parts involved supervising the channeling and modulation of that flow. The fact that workers in the modeling industry "face the incalculable every day" (Prindle 1993:5), stems at least in part from dealing with the highly variable human capacity for "attention, arousal, interest, receptivity, stimulation, attentiveness, action, reaction, and inaction" (Clough 2004:16). Through analysis of the structure of work, pay scale, and qualities of laboring in the modeling industry, I found these capacities are difficult to control, yet, when they are amplified or channeled in specific directions, they are a source of great value for not only the actor or laborer who supervises or regulates that flow, but throughout the productive networks invested by capital to capture the value in that flow.

Implications for Research

To study the body in terms of energy flows and changing intensities demands an understanding of how imaging technologies increasingly treat bodies as "bodies of

information” and in fact treat “bodies as information” (Clough 2004:3). Clough has observed these processes of encoding the body as information going on in two domains: first, there are the “biotechnologies that mass-produced genetic materials outside the organism,” often with the goal of selling that information for profit. Second, there is the “development of information technologies, both entertainment and surveillance technologies, which are increasingly less about representation and the narrative construction of subject identities and more about affecting bodies directly, human and non-human bodies”(2004:3). As I discussed above, in my consideration of the effects of a shift in imaging regimes from the cinematic to the televisual on the modeling industry, the decline in importance of narrative construction and representation in the construction of particular subject identities resulted in the increase in the valuation of model’s affective labor, in terms of work to affect bodies directly, especially in terms of exposure to and as images. In short, the decline in practices of representation led to a growth in practices of affectation.

The idea of the circulation of affective flow, and the creation and modulation of affects in bodies, encompasses both the realm of biomedical imaging of the body as well as the production of images for circulation by communications technologies such as television, film, and the internet. While the high fashion image of a glamorous model seems a far cry from the digitized factuality of a DNA sequencing readout, my analysis of the labor practices of modeling revealed that as imaging technologies have grown ever more sophisticated, and audience’s visual acuity increased accordingly, the investment in models’ bodies as resources of production has intensified. By this, I mean that the

model's body became increasingly functionalized, broken up into pieces to be invested and promoted by the circulation of images.

When the body is functionalized, broken up into parts, different energies of the body may flow in different directions – the body as a machinic structure breaks into parts that are replaceable, duplicable, and manageable (Serlin, 2004). This medicalization and functionalization of the body may be linked equally to processes of removal or addition via medical technological intervention and to the process of inscribing the body with cultural object/signs, applied to the surface of the body (Grosz 1995:33-38). This conceptual link between medical interaction with the body, and the idea of cultural intervention dovetails with the idea that affective labor works with the body's capacities in general, through all kinds of interactions with various technologies, as the body increasingly becomes a space of technological intervention. My analysis of models' work practices revealed intense levels of attention paid to the finest details of appearance, especially in terms of body parts; these practices point toward the vulnerability of the body to amortization and processing by imaging technologies for profit, breaking the body up into parts that then become invested as the source of new sets of images to be circulated for profit. This process describes a resourcing of the body by technology.

The idea of the functionalization of the body by medical and other types of imaging technologies points toward a larger discourse on the body that has been taken up by sociologists, in response to various social changes. Generally, the threads of discourse in question involve sociology's response to the impact of feminism, new forms of biotechnology (such as developments in understandings of genetics and cloning), and the resulting questions that have been raised regarding the boundaries between the natural

and the social (Howson and Inglis 2001). These developments have intensified the question of where the body ends and technology begins. Talk of cyberbodies has been around for more than a decade, and theorizing from a perspective that acknowledges the body as continuous with its environment rather than a discrete entity with a fixed essence has grown more common. On the scholarly front, feminists and queer theorists have sought to deconstruct the idea of sex and gender as bodily attributes that emanate from within a biological substrate. This perspective on the body allows a more fluid notion of embodiment, a notion of a body that is dynamic and sensitive to its environment, formed as much by culture and social life as it is by flesh and bone. The body is made up of the notions we have of ourselves, and the bits of our environment that get lived through the body, forming it, moving it, both through expression, through restraint, and in the flows of affect.

In the wake of these trends in thought, some feminists have expressed concern that the body may disappear, into discourse, for instance, losing its specificity, and therefore its function as a ground for political representation. Indeed, it may seem as if organic bodies are being “erased” through bioengineering and data codification (Balsamo 1995:218, as described in Shaw 2003:53). Yet as Anne Balsamo has observed, the “denatured technobody” remains a “material entity” and it is a mistake to think of the body only in terms of discourse or cultural construction. In other words, the body may be “culturally coded and semiotically marked [but it is] never merely discursive” (Balsamo 1995:223 as quoted in Shaw 2003:50).

Indeed, from the perspective I’ve elaborated in my analysis, on the one hand, there is a process by which the image structures the body in cultural interaction on the

level of qualifying the image, assimilating its meaning, and incorporating the image into subjectivity construction. On the other hand, there is the materiality of the body in that process, where the body's dynamism get pulled into the process of image construction and circulation through forces in the image that are not assimilable to conscious individual interpretation, but that "cannot but be felt" (Massumi 2002:42).

As Karen Barad has observed, when speaking of the body, the dynamic body, or the cyborg body, there is agency in the matter of the body as much as there is agency in the delimiting of that body. As she put it "Agency is a matter of intra-acting; it is an enactment, not something that someone or something has. Agency cannot be designated as an attribute of "subjects" or "objects" (as they do not preexist as such). Agency is about the possibilities and accountability entailed in refiguring material-discursive apparatuses of bodily production, including the boundary articulations and exclusions that are marked by those practices" (1998: 7). Although she was discussing scientific technology and its relations to the production of knowledge, I see in Barad's conception of agential realism a move away from pure social constructionist accounts of the body toward a "mattering" of the body (Cheah 1996) that parallels what I am seeking to conceptualize here. Thus we may discuss the "material discursive apparatuses of bodily production" not only in terms of scientific machines, but also of other types of imaging machines, such as television. The notion of images and bodies as produced in dynamic interaction with machines, scientific, laboring, or entertainment machines, situates the body's matter in a process of interaction which is fluid, dynamic, and uncontained.

From this perspective, it is possible to treat the idea of agency in a new register, and to think the body in the contexts of the technologies through which it emerges as

being invested, channeled, and directed to the point that it becomes a controlled, amplified, or channeled “whatever” identity, in which the body is a “material semiotic node”(Haraway 1991). To think the body as the “sum total of intensive affects” it is “capable of at a given power or degree of potential” (Clough 2004:13, quoting Terranova 2001:17) is a move away from the idea of the body as organism, complete and distinct from technologies through which and in which it exists. In this scenario, relations between work, technology, and the body must be rethought in terms of the flows of energy through bodies and images as calibrated by imaging machines.

Feminism, Affect, and the Body

In the speculative mode I have adopted for this chapter, I’d like to discuss two feminists who have been accused of reducing the body to nothing but postmodern discourse. Both theorists have threads in their work that form the basis for a fluid kind of bodily materiality, even though their language from time to time slips into a dependence on ideas of signification, which arguably lean more toward a notion of the body fixed by structures of discourse. To think the paths they laid regarding the psychic and the material through affect, I will work through some of their ideas, and connect their discussion to my findings with regard to affect, to draw a line from this type of feminist theorizing away from the body that disappears into discourse toward the idea of the body comprised of “a composition of elements, assembled even across techno-ontological thresholds,” with no “organized center” but rather emerging from “a plane of dynamism in a continuum of forces” (Clough 2004:12).

Thus, while some have accused Butler and Grosz of a cultural constructionist approach to the body that relegates the body’s dynamism to culture and discourse, I use

their approach somewhat differently as a way to “resist biological reductionism” while also grasping the “dynamism of matter, even the matter of the human body” (Clough 2004:13). The work of Judith Butler and Elizabeth Grosz has been particularly influential in thinking about bodies and images. Both theorists try to work through the relationship between the psychic, images, and the materiality of the body, seeking to show how they are inextricably intertwined. While Butler uses her concepts in the service of destabilizing received notions of gender, Grosz takes a step further, to destabilize the notion of the body itself. From Butler, I take the idea that the body is the result not of a pre-given anatomy about which we have ideas, but rather the result of a tension between the psychic and the material in which an imaginary schema is laid over the material to make it available to our psyches.

In other words, the body is unintelligible without the imaginary schema that makes it available to us. The imaginary schema is imbued with cultural ideas and images, learned through interaction with other bodies and environments. Thus, given as it is through this schema, the body is hopelessly caught up in language, signification, and the cultural realm. Even scientific descriptions of the body take place through a circulation and validation of imaginary schema, which underlie knowledge systems and their acceptable evidence; beneath any such schema, Butler argues, lie the gender instituting prohibitions that allow language to have meaning at all. From this perspective, the body is a mode of appearance whose boundaries are conferred upon it by psychic projections in a series of iterations, or repetitive instances. But, since the body is iterated and reiterated, it is not fixed in form or meaning, and there are temporal gaps between the moments in which the structure that give it its meaning is instantiated.

Butler argues that these temporal gaps leave the body open to resignification, a repetition with a difference, since the body's anatomy always exceeds the terms with which it is given. Although she is not writing about affect, it is interesting to note that the idea of a body "exceeding the terms in which it is given" ties provocatively to the idea of a body that is always moving beyond, through, or around the schemas of discourse, meaning, or production into which it is put, or, within which it interacts. The body's affectivity, its reach into the virtual realm that surrounds it, may be thought in terms of excess. The body in a passional state is neither psychic nor material, but a mixture of both. Butler argues that this excess is the source of compulsive repetition of acts on and in the body, a compulsion to bring it as close as possible to idealized projections of it. Thus, each time the body is delimited, it gets sedimented with a history of norms (among which, for Butler, norms of the sexed morphology are the most important). This line of thinking interestingly parallels the notion of affective channeling as a norming device, in which "the circulation of affect through the mass media is in itself a normative control mechanism (a channeling of attention)" (Massumi 1998: 61). From this perspective, models' work, for instance, is caught up in a process of norming that is productive insofar as some energy and volatility always escapes, in the form of the 'x' factor, as I have discussed, that something extra which is indefinable, but essential to the production of an affective image.

It is in that moment of escape that Butler's next point makes sense. She argues that this sedimentation is not inflexible; there is always the possibility that the world and the bodies in it will change in an instant, when an impossible action could slip in during one of the temporal gaps between instantiations of the structure. This language resonates

profoundly with Massumi's conception of affect as that which happens in the gap between intensity and qualification. The affective flow is captured in "instantiations of the body," to use Butler's language, or "actualizations," and "implantations" in the body, to use Massumi's. Butler speaks of how the possibility for the impossible, e.g. the possibility that somehow the body's materiality will exceed the compulsive repetitions through which the body is sedimented leads to heavy policing of the body, in efforts to bring it into alignment with the threshold of intelligibility given by culture. In my research, I also found instances of the "heavy policing" Butler speaks of, in terms of the control and modulation of models' affective capacities, on the level of their bodies, their personas, and their energy levels. I also found an interesting tension between the idea of a "threshold of intelligibility" and the productivity of affect when it moves beyond intelligibility. This tension was at play in the stated standards for model's bodies and appearance coupled with the constant quest for an energy or quality in a model that exceeds those standards in provocative ways.

Elizabeth Grosz also views the body as a threshold of sorts. She claims the body can be regarded as, in her words, a "hinge or threshold: it is placed between a psychic or lived interiority and a more sociopolitical exteriority through the inscription of the body's outer surface" (1995:33). This is, as she puts it, a "power of inscription that knows, discourses, and representational systems impose on bodies to constitute them as such" (1995:38). She defines inscription as the ways in which the subject is "marked, scarred, transformed, and written upon or constructed by the various regimes of institutional, discursive, and nondiscursive power as a particular *kind* of body" (ibid.). In

this respect, Grosz is less concerned than Butler with the specifics of *gender* construction. Instead, she opens the discussion out to include the general process of *body* construction.

Grosz's strains of thought speak interestingly to notions of affectivity. The body's "lived interiority" may be akin to the moments of affectation or arousal prior to assignment of meaning to that response, when the "sociopolitical exteriority" inscribes itself on the body's surface. I am reminded of Massumi's idea that in order to have a "specific effect," affective stirrings have to be determined by the "apparatuses of actualization and implantation that plug into them and transformatively relay what they give rise to" (Massumi 2002:44). This plugging in and relaying occurs when the sociopolitical exteriority of norms, practices, ideas, and forces inscribe the surface of the body, configuring it as a "placeholder for identity" (Hardt 1998) for as long as that identity is useful to the system. In this manner, affect is captured and directed, however fleetingly, into a configuration that becomes a momentary subject-that-needs-luxury-goods, or a subject-that-supports-the-incumbent-candidate. In such a configuration, then "the creation of a niche market through advertising is the creation of a niche power-object that is also a potential political constituency"(Massumi 1998:55).

This process sounds very similar to the idea that "regimes of institutional...power" mark, scar, transform, or write on bodies, defining their energies and flows as interpretable, at least for the moment. For Grosz, the medicalization of the body, based on processes of removal, (such as incision), or addition, (such as injection), demonstrate a body "pliable to power", a machinic structure which is regarded increasingly as functional, composed of parts that can be duplicated and replaced. This medicalization/functionalization of the body correlates with the increasing inscription of

the body with and by, as she puts it “cultural object/signs on the surface of the body” such as “clothing, jewelry, makeup, cars, living spaces, and work” (1995:35) In her words, these object/signs “function to mark the subject’s body as deeply as any surgical incision, binding individuals to systems of significance in which they become signs to be read (by others and by themselves)” (*ibid.*). She does not use the language, but she is describing the elements of affective production.

In both lines of thought, multiplying systems of signification, increased attention to surfaces and what is projected, the effects of visual environments on the psyche, and the notion of the body as a surface itself are all parts of their discourse. Butler’s notion of the iteration and reiteration of bodies, in moments of signification punctuated by gaps through with energy escapes, combined with Grosz’s idea of inscripting the body’s surfaces, coding them as information, speaks productively, I think, to the notion that the body’s affectivity has become more productive. That is to say, the moments of interaction and inscription may be understood as movements toward intensifying the body, encoding its parts as information to be circulated in the cycles of affective production.

Marxism, affect, and the body

The way that models interacted with their bodily capacities, their energies and affects, in the course of their work, also opens my analysis toward discussions in Marxist thinking that have sought to address the idea of forms of production that are immeasurable, and in fact, “beyond measure” (Negri 1999), which increasingly make up a large part of contemporary economic life. Theorists in this vein have posited the notion that this transformation of work toward technological, knowledge based, and affective production is a sign of the emergence of a control society, in which social *bios* has

become a source of production. In the shift from command to control, the long term project of disciplining bodies into fixed identities is abandoned in favor of modular identities that can be shifted and reconfigured to fit the needs of the system. The disciplining of bodies into subjects of power gives way to modulation of affects to create a temporary and mobile “subject effect” (Gubrecht and Pfeiffer 1994:400 as quoted in Carpiagnano 2000:184). In the move from molding to modulation, power acts directly on bodies and subjectivity formation is relegated to secondary importance as the flows of affect course through non subjective, “sub individual” (Clough 2004) linkages between bodies and images. Social *bios* refers to both the realm of care giving and domestic labor in the (formerly) private sphere, as well as the realms of communication, biology, genetics, therapy, consumption, and the body itself. An example of this productivity of social *bios* is most readily found in the industries that depend on biotechnology, in which nature is integrated into the productive system so that “industries based on biotechnology treat life itself as a field for investment and production” (Aronowitz 2003:131).

Biotechnology and the Human Genome Project are the most literal examples of this progressive mining of the life force for productive potential. Although the language may not be familiar, the idea is not new – it has been two decades since feminists first pointed out that the value of reproduction, or generative production in the private realm that reproduces workers, is an unacknowledged, yet necessary component in the production of capitalist value.

The notion of social *bios* as productive is not hard to grasp when thinking of the rise of consumerism as a productive force in late capitalist regimes. The “general intellect” (Marx 1973) governs knowledge of consumer habits, proclivities, and desires,

all forms of knowledge that are increasingly valuable and sought after (how many pop up windows did you see on your computer today, that are no doubt tailored to your individual wants, exposures to products that produce value for someone merely by capturing your attention for a moment?). The ascendance of the pharmaceutical industries, built as they are on the commercial exploitation of the desire for comfortable bodies, modulated by drugs from aspirin to Prozac, in addition to the conversion of DNA into a means of wealth production (see Vandana Shiva's *Biopiracy* for a critique of this phenomenon), also speak to this idea. With regard to the social factory and the commodification of every day existence, when social *bios* becomes a source of production, there is an extraction of value not just from manual labor, but all sorts of activities, in the combination of social activity across society.

This form of production has been theorized as calling on biopower. In this configuration, life is put up as a "target for a new paradigm of power, one that is seizing bodies immediately and to the point of complete permeation" (Olma 2001:118). Working from Foucault, via Deleuze, several scholars have adopted the notion of biopower to elaborate the circumstances by which subjects are socialized into the social factory in a control society, when the lines of social life and work are blurred.

The notion that there has been a shift from a disciplinary society to a society of control draws on a concept taken from Deleuze. While it has been the case that "practices and relationships of disciplinarity that originated in the factory regime came to invest the social terrain as a mechanism of both production and government, that is, a regime of social production" (Hardt and Negri, 2000:253, n 7), these factory originated practices are now giving way to a different regime. Control society represents a "major shift in the

technology of power”(Olma 2001:117). The institutional walls that contained disciplinary practices are giving way, and they are being both internalized and spread throughout the nonplace of the society of control (Hardt 1998).

In a disciplinary society, social institutions create, educate, and position individuals within their structures, and clear lines of domination and resistance can be drawn. This clarity of structure is exemplified by the diagram of Foucault’s panopticon, in which there are disciplinary structures exerting their institutionalized directives to discipline the population in specific ways. In the shift to the society of control, the disciplinary structures begin to wither and crumble, seeming to leave a void in their absence. They do not, in fact, leave a void, however. Rather, the social space that they formerly structured is gradually reconfigured so that the mediating forces between the power of the state and the citizens within that state gradually give way to a more direct relationship between the field of forces or the force of power that organizes the society and the individual. That individual is no longer trained or educated to develop within the pattern set forth by a social institution which develops the individual into a normalized identity suitable for labor, or child rearing, or whatever; in the society of control, the individual also increasingly is controlled directly by an assemblage of power, networked into whatever configuration serves the needs of society for the time being (Hardt 1998).

In a disciplinary society, the enforcement of norms and rules of behavior came from the outside, modeled after the rigid time structures and corporeal restraints of the factory: institutions molded bodies and minds in specific locations, such as schools, or factories, that followed specific schedules and regimes (the bells between classes, the five o’clock whistle at the end of the eight hour day). In contrast, in control society, subjects

tend to have internalized these institutional compulsions of behavior, and subject themselves to ongoing disciplines, which function outside the institutions' walls. As Deleuze explains it:

In disciplinary societies, you were always starting all over again (as you went from school to barracks, from barracks to factory), while in control societies you never finish anything – business, training, and military service being coexisting metastable states of a single modulation, a sort of universal transmutation (Deleuze, 1995: 179).

Labor in this scenario involves work to produce contact, no matter how glancing or impermanent, in which subjects are shaped not over the course of a lifetime, as they were in disciplinary society, but in momentary configurations that create nodes for energy flow, however fleeting.

Under these circumstances, what Michael Hardt has referred to as a “post civil condition,” (Hardt 1998:35), subjectivity formation takes on a very different look. In the post civil condition, “instead of disciplining the citizen as a fixed social identity, the new social regime seeks to control the citizen as a ‘whatever’ identity, or rather as an infinitely flexible placeholder for identity” (Hardt 1998:36). In the moment of contact, the “whatever” identity is made to open a receptivity to a flow, and then just as quickly is let dissolve back into the shifting seas of affective energy, until the next modulation or movement in the network. In the course of this process, “the self assembly of agents under post modern conditions entails non-linear rather than cumulative activities of self-constitution, with no preconceived destination or arrival point” (Baumann 1992:194, as quoted in Shaw 2003:53 n.14). If these non linear activities with no preconceived

destination are understood in terms of varying flows of affect, then the subject may be understood as an ongoing construction within the “material-discursive apparatuses of bodily production” (Barad 1998:7). Looking from the perspective I’ve adopted with regard to affect, both feminist readings of the body regarding imaging technologies, and Marxist readings of work in postmodern economies, may be read as theorizing a certain level of productive energy that escapes the instantiations of culture and commerce.

What does the body at work look like in this context? The body’s productivity, its affective power, may lie in its tendency to exceed the terms in which it is given by culture. The affective laborer’s task is to find the energy in that excess to push the edges of that actualization as it touches on the virtual, the possible futures to which that body might connect in its uncontainability. Thus, the model who, quite literally, looks ‘edgy’ is the model working on that edge, treading the boundaries of the known and unknown, finding the limits of the understandable and then pushing beyond them. I am not saying the models I’ve analyzed always did this consciously, indeed, they sometimes did not know what they were doing in their attempts to be productive. They were working with teams of people whose jobs it was to stay tuned into the powers of affective flow and energy and to pick up on a concentration of that energy which might translate into a particularly emotive quality on the model’s part, or a puzzling or disruptive quality in his or her appearance or demeanor that can be directed toward capturing attention.

In a sense, working with affects and affective flows involves an attempt to open Pandora’s box in a controlled manner. If the work of socialization is to teach a child how to handle affective flow, to manage the “primitive gods within us” (Tomkins 1962, as quoted in Sedgwick and Frank 1995), then this is also the job of all normalizing systems,

from the school, to the church, to the mass media. In the shift from discipline to control, however, the normalizing function of the mass media is coupled with a productive function, in which there is work to unleash affective flow, stirring it up to get audiences involved, to unleash their potential interest, attention, and action. This setting free of affective potential is performed in as controlled a way as possible, so that its energies may be recuperated by the capitalist system and put toward productive ends: as consumer desires, interest, attentions, etc. Indeed, Negri states clearly that “conventions of the market and communicative exchanges would thus be places where the productive nexuses (and thus affective flows) are established” (1999:86).

Like the feminists discussed above, certain Marxist theorists have come to consider a dynamism of the body that escapes gridding for social ends. Antonio Negri, Michael Hardt, and Maurizio Lazzarato, among others, all share the conception of a certain energy that escapes, in key moments of the productive process. In fact, they posit that allowing that energy free play is becoming an integral part of the production process. This energy, or affective flow as I’ve been discussing it, is a product of social cooperation and proximity.

Sebastian Olma’s take on Hardt and Negri’s contentions on these issues is particularly instructive. According to Olma, Hardt and Negri have argued that, as capital was threatened by crises caused by the “confluence of struggles around the globe from the late 1960s onwards, i.e. labor movements in the core and the accumulation of decades-long revolutionary struggles in the periphery” (Olma 2001:116), the systematic reaction came in the form of “globalization: informatization (postmodernization) of the economy, realization of the world market, and decline of national sovereignty” (*ibid.*).

Capital's inventiveness in response to crisis, however, does not stem from within itself. As Olma observed, using one of Negri's concepts, "it is the laboring multitude that transforms itself autonomously as a 'refusal to work' ... under the disciplinary regime." (Olma 116). It is in the refusal to work under this regime that "the proletariat *actually invents* the social and productive forms that capital will be forced to adopt in the future" (Hardt and Negri 2000:268, emphasis in the original). The result of this refusal is a new figuration of living labor as immaterial labor that employs labor's intellectual and corporeal powers in new ways, in which the "communicative moments of immaterial labor are supplemented by 'affect'" (117). In this move, Olma contends, that Hardt and Negri arrive at the notion of the "immediate, cooperative character of labor" such that "*cooperation is completely immanent to the labor activity itself*" (Hardt and Negri 2000:294, emphasis in original).

As I stated at the outset, the definition of immaterial affective labor includes this notion, insofar as its products are the products of human contact and proximity that occur in the "labor of human contact and interaction" (Hardt and Negri 2000:293). Immaterial labor is also work that can be defined as the "labor of control" which involves the "capacity to activate and manage productive cooperation" (Lazzarato 1996:134-135). If productive cooperation is a product of proximity, and fashion models' labor produces proximity through virtual human contact in the form of images, then it contributes, at least in part, to the production of cooperation. Negri cites Marx's argument that "cooperation is, in fact, in itself, an essentially productive force,"⁴¹ and concludes that

⁴¹ In *Capital* Marx writes: "Apart from the new power that arises from the fusion of many forces into a single force, mere social contact begets in most industries a rivalry and a stimulation of the "animal spirits," which heightens the efficiency of each individual worker. This is why a dozen people working together will produce far more, in their collective working day of 144 hours than twelve isolated men each working for

“productive powers of cooperation grow with its complexity. Association and contact become more and more productive the more complex the conditions of production become, with respect to the volume and means of production, the number of cooperating subjects, and the general degree of social evolution” (Negri 1999a:259).

In discussing the growth of an affective economy, I have been describing a complexification of production, both in terms of the “volume and means of production” as well as the “number of cooperating subjects and general degree of social evolution.” Cooperation increases with the increase in social contact, and models work to create contact, to give the sense of being with everyone else, to produce human contact through images. Models produce images that appeal, attract, interest, catch attention, and the machines of image distribution gather up the time of attending to those images and in this way, cooperation is abstracted as a productive force of capital.

What does the laboring body look like in this moment? As I discussed previously, television is an imaging machine that socializes time so that watching can be a form of working, actualizing affects on the receiving end:

when viewers view already-invested images, there is a return on the realization of value, image by image, so that the work of television-watching is productive when viewers merely attend, are merely bodily engaged with the passing of images, one after another (Clough 2004:7).

In this productive moment, the viewer is not coerced, but is spending time that enters into the “cycle of value without being treated as a commodity by those who spend it” (Deinst 1994:179 n. 70). The work of watching is to be receptive to the implantation and

12 hours, and far more than one man who works 12 days in succession. This originates from the fact that man, if not as Aristotle thought a political animal, is at events a social animal” (Marx, Karl 1997: 443-44).

actualizations of affective flow in the form of affects. In this moment, the immaterial labor of communication is supplemented by affect, in the two fold moments of qualification (assignment of meaning) and intensity (a direct moment of affective flow that moves the body in some way).

In this moment of un-coerced productive activity, Hardt and Negri would find that labor power is constituting itself, and in that moment, capitalist structures act as an “apparatus of capture” (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:424-73) of the energy or power produced. Thus, as Lazarrato observes, in the course of immaterial production, when labor is figured in this new way,

employers are, on the one hand, forced to recognize the autonomy and freedom of labor as the only possible form of cooperation in production, but on the other hand, at the same time, they are obliged (a life and death necessity for the capitalist) not to ‘redistribute’ the power that the new quality of labor and its organization imply (1996:136).

In other words, cooperation is essential to the productive process, but it cannot be created or forced into being by capitalist command, rather, it must be activated or stimulated, and then perhaps controlled by capitalist systems that aim to capture its vitality. The power of that new quality of labor stems in part from its basis in productive cooperation. In order for it to be productive, however, that cooperation cannot be coerced; the capitalist is powerless to force production, rather it can only capture energies that arise out of energies wrought between cooperating subjects.

Thus, in the shift from a society of command to one of control, there is a shift from “power over life” (Massumi 1998:56) to the “power to enliven” (Massumi

1998:56). One is the subtraction of potential, the other is the activation of it, an activation that is then channeled, but not fully controlled. The activity of control is one of “positive channeling and incitement;” the “object of this mode of power is not sovereignty, order, production, or even circulation per se; rather, it is the circulatory *modulation* of all of these (Massumi 1998:57). It is a shift from power over life to an activation of potential over which it does not have full control. What control there is, can only be exerted from the outside. As Negri observed:

in fact, capitalist power dramatically controls the new configurations of living labor, but it can only control them from the *outside* because it is not allowed to invade them in a disciplinary way (Negri 1994:235).

In a sense, there is in these notions the idea of the “immeasurable” in which the value and potential of labor power is not measurable by classical political economics, but rather is an “expansive power” (Negri 1999). Continued capitalist accumulation depends on unleashing a potential over which it has little control, in which the power of generation (Olma 2001:119), on the side of living labor, is captured by the apparatus of capitalist production.

Some may argue that this has been the case all along. In the shift to factory accumulation in which the physical labor power of workers had to be codified and clocked into a whole new disciplinary regime by means of force, living labor’s productive power was harnessed for capitalist ends. At first, the means of disciplining and bending the bodies and body of labor to these ends was incomplete, and subject to disruption. Eventually, the sophistication of those means of discipline and coercion evolved toward a sort of manufactured consent (Burawoy 1979). It may indeed be the

case that theorists who see in affective labor an uncontainably “expansive power” (Negri 1999:86) may just be witnessing the incomplete means of control that capitalism now exercises as it responds to the crisis, which will eventually develop into more complete deployments.

In this moment of experimentation, however, in which control systems whose mode of power is the power to enliven, or channel incitement in a “circulatory modulation” of “sovereignty, order, production, and circulation” (Massumi 1998:56-57), is there another way to respond to the “inexhaustible virtual that is irreducible to capitalist productivity” (Clough 2004:9)? The omnilaterally expansive power of affect that is immeasurable and beyond measure is indeed being captured by apparatuses of power. However experimental its techniques may be at the moment, in the same manner it codified and cowed physical labor power, capital is in the process of mutating to accommodate the productive power of cooperation, the very stuff of which is affect, to its own ends. Perhaps this is a moment to elaborate experiments of a different kind; to entertain the possibility that in the “unprecedented sociality of labor” lies perhaps a “liberating potential” (Olma 2001:117) in the manipulation and modulation of affective flows that unleash a “power of freedom, an ontological opening and omnilateral diffusion” (Negri 1999:86). Faced with the “metalogical mutability of affect” (Massumi 1998:60), rather than despair that the grounds for resistance are slipping away, we might invoke the power “of collective existence whose determinations escape” (Massumi 1998:61). Perhaps, we may then redirect the power that escapes toward new ends, in an effort to move beyond the structures to which we are currently in thrall.

Appendix A

Methods and Data

This study involves fifty four interviews with models and those who work with them. Contacts were made using a snowball sample, the specifics of which I will discuss below. My focus was specifically on fashion models (there are specialized models who do parts and hair modeling, or those who do specific ages, such as child models, but they fall beyond the scope of this study). In keeping with Becker's notion of art worlds, which are made up of networks of cultural producers (Becker 1982), I interviewed 32 models (24 female and 8 male), 11 modeling agents (or "bookers" as they are known in the industry), 2 photographers, 2 advertising executives, 2 art directors, 1 designer, 1 PR agent, 1 casting agent, 1 makeup artist, and 1 production assistant. Interviews were semi-structured, conducted in public places, and lasted between one to two hours. The interviews were taped with consent, transcribed, and manually coded.

The age range for the sample was from 16 to 28 years old for the models; other workers in the industry tend to be slightly older, mostly in their 30s and 40s. Models are predominantly white. This fact is reflected in the composition of this sample: there was 1 female Asian model, 2 black female models, 1 black male model, and 2 Latin models. While all of the interviewees were based in or currently working in New York City, the majority of models I interviewed have traveled to Paris, London, Milan, or Japan, so could share their insights from working in other "fashion capitals." Consequently, this sample reflects the international character of the industry as a whole.

Making Contact

Access is one of the key issues in studying a privately owned industry, especially when the details of work arrangements are insulated from public view. I had entree into this industry

for participant observation and interviews for several reasons. Between 1999 and 2002, I worked part time at a photographic production agency as a casting assistant, and culled field notes from participating in castings, photo shoots, and my observations of how the agency functioned. I also called on my past experience as an amateur model (I use the term amateur because I was not signed by an agency, and it was not my primary source of income), an experience I describe more fully in Appendix B. In addition to my work as a casting assistant, I worked on several photo shoots, as a model, an extra, and a production assistant, and called on these experiences to corroborate the observations I made in the field. Due to these connections, I was able to build my snowball sample from already existing contacts at several major modeling agencies, the photo production company at which I was an employee, and through connections made via friends who were photographers or stylists.

Participating and Observing

I used the fact that I am an “attractive, slim, young, hip-looking woman,” to quote a friend’s assessment of me, to gain entrée to situations that might have been closed to me had I presented another persona. As unconscionable as it is, I am convinced that I was able to elicit the kinds of responses I did because of my appearance. Although it is a sad testament to the continued levels of stereotyping and snobbism in our society, my respondents were probably more receptive to me because I seemed to be one of them, and therefore less judgmental of their concerns than if I had come from a social group that was foreign to them.

By seeming to belong, I was able to go to castings. I did this a few times, and used the waiting room as a venue for recruiting models for my study. I would pretend to be another model waiting to be seen, strike up a conversation, and go from there. I was able to attend these castings because a model I interviewed had told me about them. For a time, this model was instrumental

in connecting me to other models, as she called me a few mornings with the addresses for her castings for that day, advising me which ones would have the most people, and therefore the most possibilities for me. The following is an example of how this form of recruiting worked.

Whenever I met models, I introduced myself as a sociologist right away. On one such occasion, I met two girls in the elevator on the way to a casting, and launched into my usual, “Hi, I’m a sociologist and I’m studying the modeling industry.” We started talking, and they seemed to be receptive, so I followed them down the hall to a very big, open and well appointed office (sculpture on the wall length shelves, very large computer screens on desks perched on multiple levels, a wall of windows looking out over Broadway). We were asked to sign in, and one of the girls said under her breath, “you can be my friend.” So I didn’t sign in, and used my new identity to sit with them in the waiting area. One of the girls had just started out, and had been in New York for about two weeks, up from Texas. The other one had been at it for longer, 7 months.

We were eventually called into another room. There were two African American people, a man and a woman, seated behind a table, and another white woman dressed all in black with funky vintage touches (shoes, glasses) who was the one who looked at the model’s books. “I’m going to keep a copy of your card, if you don’t mind,” she said to the girl who let me pose as her friend. When we entered the room, it was not clear who I was, and I saw one of the people behind the table give me a quick once over. It made me flinch (to be looked at in such an appraising way – but I had to remember that I didn’t really stick out as someone who didn’t belong, just someone who they probably would not want to use). They looked at the girls’ books, and thanked us. As we left, the younger girl accepted the letter of introduction I offered, and said she would call me, or email me. The other girl said she had some free time right then, so we went for a coffee together.

I conducted the interview, and when we had finished, she said she had another casting to go to, and invited me to come along. We rode the subway to 23rd Street, to a makeup artist's studio. When we first came in, we entered a large, airy space, lots of windows on one wall, mirrors on a second (a look that seemed to be *de rigueur*: just about every business space in the modeling industry I encountered had an open floor plan, lots of windows, and felt airy in some way). There were director's chairs to sit on along one wall. We were offered some water, and as we gathered around the pitcher, they asked to see our books, so I explained that I was just with the model I came in with, and took a seat in one of the chairs.

This set up was more difficult to work with because we were not waiting in a separate room, and there were only a couple of people there at a time. It was two castings in one, the one for the make-up artist, and then there was another fellow there, checking out some of the girls for a different makeup campaign. I managed to tell a pale red head who came in after us, and was waiting next to us, what I was doing there, and ask if she was interested. She gave me her phone number and took a copy of my intro letter. A young girl and her mother took the letter too, although they were far more cautious, saying, "we'll ask our agency if it's alright, and we'll get back to you on it." I already knew the answer to that one, as every agent I had interviewed had refused to connect me with any of their models, saying, variously, their models were too busy, they were too young, they wouldn't get it, or they weren't comfortable with the idea.

The redhead had on high heels and a skirt. I saw another very slender bare middled woman check her out from head to toe. As usual, there was almost no conversation between the girls (except for what I said to them). They just came in, took a seat, looked on as the others spoke to the two people interviewing, and then took off.

The mother and daughter were nice enough, although the daughter said her English really wasn't good enough to talk to me. The model I had come in with got called over to meet with the second person, the guy on the couch, and seemed excited by that. It turned out that she had only been called in for the makeup artist casting, and when the other person saw her, he wanted to talk to her and see her book. So she was excited to get two possible jobs from one casting.

When we finally left, I saw that I could hang out at the front door and do some more recruiting as the models came out. I thanked my informant, and sent her along, and then hung out in the blistering July sun, waiting for others to come out and accost them. It was a tiny bit humiliating, but it was certainly worth it, because I made quite a few useful contacts on that day.

While waiting there I was struck by what it must be like to live in that world. As I stood there, beautiful girl after beautiful girl walked in. They were all exquisite, with fine bones, and large features. They wore form fitting clothes, body revealing miniskirts, or midriff tops. A girl with large eyes and high cheek bones, stepped out of a cab; another with a swan like neck was coming down the street, clutching a piece of paper, squinting at addresses. Seeing them all together like that made me understand more of how they could believe everyone is like that, how they could think that there are tons of models in the city, as my respondents claimed. I wondered if they could see the outside of their world? That they were unusual, and different, and not very ordinary at all?

Appendix B

Autobiographical Statement

On the origins of My Interest In This Topic

“You should be a model.” During my teenaged suburban youth, I heard it often enough. What did this admonition mean? I knew it was a compliment, but it also contained a challenge: why didn’t I make more of myself, try to realize my potential, stretch myself beyond existing limits?

Becoming a model—it was like stepping out of a constrictive skin into a world of freedom, excitement, adventure. Modeling represented a short circuit escape from the stifling hell of adolescence, into instant womanhood; and an indisputable confirmation of one’s beauty, legitimacy, and worth. I sincerely believed models had few self doubts and were readily accepted by other people; and that they were supremely self confident with high self esteem, qualities I knew I sorely lacked.

I felt the first pull toward modeling when I was twelve. My junior high choral group’s photo had appeared in the town newspaper, and a local photographer called my home to ask if I wanted to be a model. Would I! I could barely contain my excitement as I answered his questions. In my naiveté, I thought I had been discovered, my chance for escape was at hand. Sensing something was up, my mother intervened, and through careful questioning of her own, discovered that he wanted to shoot lingerie on little girls. I protested, but eventually agreed that maybe this wasn’t the break I’d been looking for.

Once awakened, I had to live with this dream. I carried it into high school; it seemed that every girl over the height of five foot seven was hung up on the same idea. My friend Diane was not model pretty. She was blonde and slim, however, and her height matched the magic number,

so she felt the pull of modeling even more than I (at five feet six inches, I was beginning to wonder if I would ever be tall enough). We talked about it sometimes during freshman biology lab, when things were slow. We dissected frogs, and discussed sending photos to agencies in nearby New York City. We drew amoebas and wondered whether we had it, whatever it was that won an agency contract. We diagramed ecosystems, and dreamed of a different life.

Diane and I were acutely aware of one problem, however: our weight. We were both normal girls by medical standards, but knew normal weight girls are too fat to be models! When our dream came true for another girl in our class, our suspicions were confirmed. Sue Anne Kluge, a very attractive girl who already looked like a model, had been picked up by an agency, and was to appear in our monthly must read, *Seventeen* magazine. Our anticipation was intense—a girl among us was to be immortalized! Yet, when the story appeared, it sent shock ripples through our small circle. There it was in black and white (with color photographs!). The experts had spoken: gorgeous and skinny Sue Anne was too fat to be a model! Sue Anne's coveted modeling job turned out to be a story about how she needed to lose weight if she wanted to model again. I still remember pictures of the diet and exercise program prescribed: Sue Anne eating broccoli, Sue Anne swimming laps. Soon after the story appeared, Sue Anne had a new moniker that rhymed with her last name; she was stuck with the nickname Sue Anne Huge for the rest of her high school career.

Of course this meant the modeling prospects for the rest of us mere mortals were doomed. If Sue Anne was not up to their standards, we didn't stand a chance. By the age of seventeen, this realization was less momentous, as I'd already begun to lose faith in my ability to grow any taller. Still one half inch shy of the cut off, my dreams of escape via modeling were replaced by the reality of escape to college.

During those years, thoughts of a career in modeling were pushed aside by those of becoming an attorney, a professor, an arts professional. There was the occasional pang of jealousy when my classmate Kelly was consistently chosen as a subject by the local photographer. A small-timer with a big head, his greatest accomplishments were the yearly college calendar and an occasional show at the local bank. In retrospect, I realize his creative work with Kelly was amateurish at best, but during our years at a small New England college, Kelly's status as a model conferred a distinct aura; she was special, she was the one he chose. She seemed to live a charmed life: a photographer's muse couldn't possibly feel self-doubt, I imagined. An objective status of 'beautiful' had been conferred by a reputable source; what more could a girl want?

After college, I moved to the big city: New York. Not to become a model, although the thought still crossed my mind. By my early twenties, the pursuit of cool had become a full time occupation. By the time I reached the age of twenty-three, New York's promise of the glamorous life had drawn me into a career in the arts and an effort to socialize on the New York scene. For the former, I had found a chic job at an arts institute on the Upper East Side. For the latter, I was aided and abetted by my boyfriend at the time, a fashion photographer, whom I'd met shortly after my arrival in town. My life with him gave models another layer of meaning. I was in their world, if not of their world; I shared the occasional banquette with an aspiring model, and took inordinate pride in being mistaken for one.

Which I was, from time to time. I even got scouted a couple of times – a model agent tried to make my acquaintance in a Miami Beach restaurant; I met another at a party who told me to come by his agency the next day; a third stopped me in the street. I never had the courage to pursue those leads, and knew that, at 23, I was already too old to have any kind of career. My

boyfriend's more intimate knowledge of the world I would have been entering sealed the deal, as he strongly cautioned me against it.

Eventually I did do some modeling jobs: when no funds were available to hire a real model, my boyfriend would do his work using me as a model, to get a shot of that last outfit for whichever client he was currently shooting. I also donated my services to some of his friends. I modeled in exchange for products in his friend's magazine, a struggling photographer friend used me to produce a catalog on a shoestring, and another used me in a group shot to sell baseball hats. Yet, even though I had this experience, was hanging out with models, and had gotten to know some of them, I knew I was an outsider with temporary insider status, someone who blended in with the crowd without being one with it. During those years, I got just enough exposure and experience to pique my interest in the world models inhabit. Without question it is a different world.

Eventually, I started graduate school, leaving the world of glamour and fashion behind for my new role as graduate student. I discovered, however, that when I applied what I was learning to examples from that world, by bringing it up in class, or using it as a basis for a paper, I got positive feedback and piqued others' interest in this world as well. I pursued the topic, and ultimately was able to turn this fascination into my dissertation. So, in the end, I was able to make more of myself, to realize my potential, and stretch myself beyond existing limits, but along a different path. It took a lot longer than a career in modeling may have, but I have to say, it was well worth the trip.

Table I. Respondent ID, Grouped by Gender, type of work, self categorized race/nationality

	Males			
ID#	Pseudonym	Type of Work	Area of employment	Nationality/ Race
01	Paul	model/ photographer	commercial print	American white
02	Michael	model	commercial print	German white
03	Stu	model	commercial and fashion	American white
04	Lewis	model	commercial print	American black
05	Stan	model	fit model, and fashion	American white
06	Jean	model	just starting out	French white
07	Stuart	model	fashion	American white
08	Peter	model	commercial print	American white
09	Brian	photographer	fashion/commercial print	American white
10	Ned	photographer	fashion	German white
11	James	designer	fashion	British white
12	Raul	creative director	fashion	American white
13	Mike	art director	commercial print	American white
14	Tony	agent	fashion	Italian white
15	Paul	agent	fashion	French white
16	Ron	agent	commercial print	American white
17	Cameron	agent	fashion	American white
18	Jules	agency owner	commercial print	American white
19	Steve	agent	commercial print	American white

20	Travis	advertising agent	commercial print	American white
21	Richard	advertising agent	commercial print	British white
22	Nicholas	PR agent	fashion	American white
23	Patrick	casting agent	fashion	American white
	Women			
24	Kay	makeup artist	fashion	American white
25	Diane	agency president	fashion	French white
26	Genevieve	agent	fashion	French white
27	Carolyn	agent	fashion	American white
28	June	agent	commercial print	American black
29	Megan	agent	commercial print	American white
30	Jane	photo production assistant	fashion/commercial print	American white
31	Julia	model	fashion	American white
32	Kate	model	fashion/commercial	American white
33	Giselle	model	fit/commercial/fashion	Brazilian Latina
34	Toni	model	commercial print	American white
35	Shana	model	commercial print	American black
36	Gayle	model	fashion	American white
37	Brittany	model	commercial	American white
38	Donna	model	first year	American white
39	Jean	model	commercial print	American white
40	Sarah	model	fashion	American white
41	Meg	model	first year	American white

42	Dawn	model	first year	American white
43	Deana	model	first year	American white
44	Krista	model	first year	Icelandic white
45	Zoe	model	first year	Brazilian Latina
46	Stephanie	model	fashion	German white
47	Nea	model	fashion	German Asian/mixed
48	Bitou	model	fashion	Senegalese black
49	Svetlana	model	fashion	Russian white
50	Suzie	model	fashion	American white
51	Mika	model	fashion	Slovenian white
52	Jody	model	fashion	American white
53	Teri	model	fashion	American white
54	Gina	model	fashion	American white

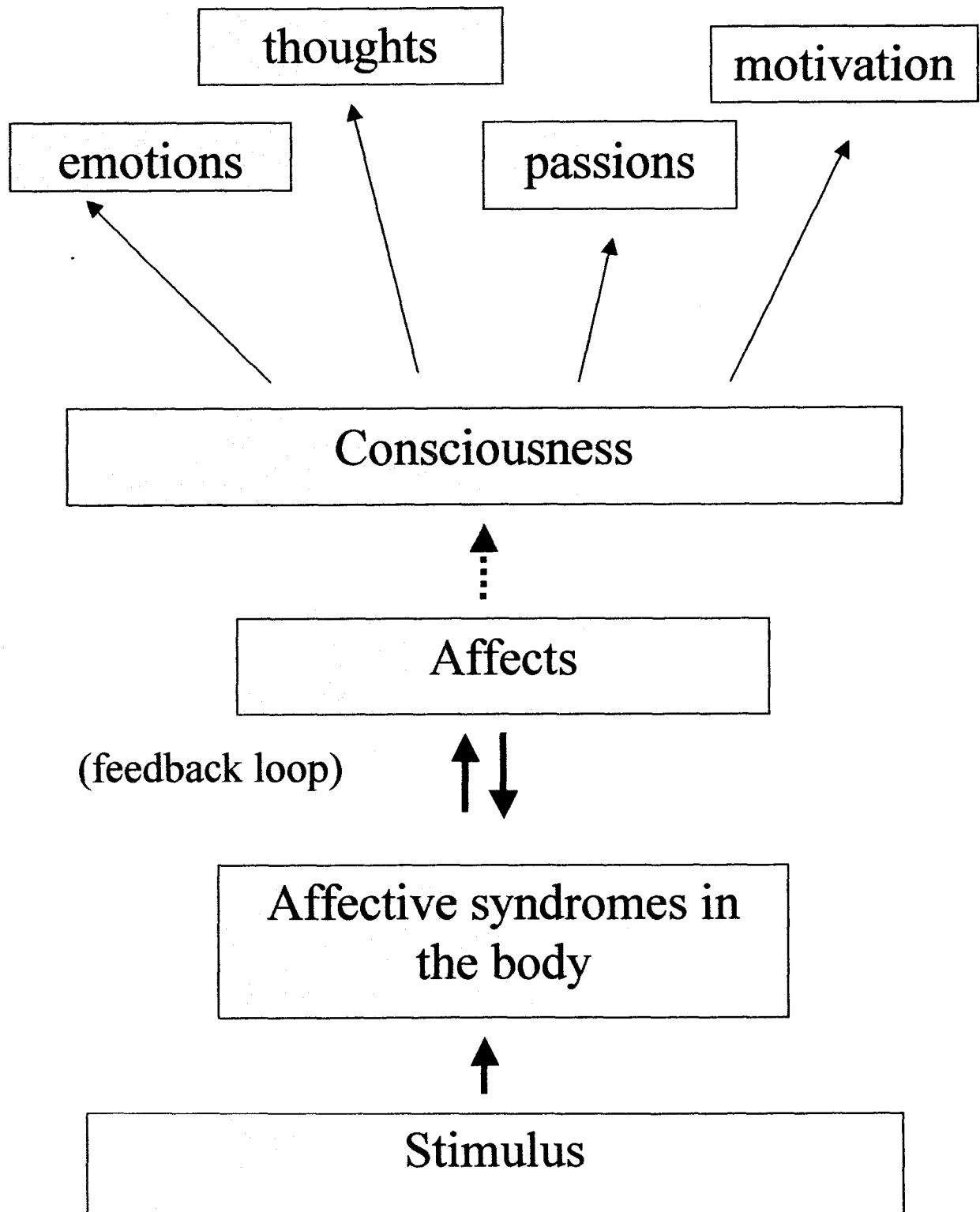


Figure I

References

2000. "Pertinent Statistics." Fashioncenter.com.
2001. "Listen up...review of the book: The Attention Economy: Understanding the New Currency of Business." Inc., December 31, 2001, pp. 32.
2001. "Futurework 2001: Trends and challenges for work in the 21st Century." U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Washington, D.C.
- Acker, J. 1992. "Gendering organizational theory." Pp. viii, 309 in *Gendering organizational analysis*, edited by A. J. Mills and P. Tancred. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.
- Adkins, Lisa. 1995. *Gendered Work: Sexuality, Family, and the Labour Market*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- . 2001. "Cultural Feminization: "Money, Sex, and Power" for Women." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 26:669-695.
- Agins, Teri. 1999. *The end of fashion : the mass marketing of the clothing business*. New York: William Morrow & Co.
- Alvergue, Anne, and Michael Isabell. 2002. "And Again." Brooklyn, NY: Eye Spy Films.
- Aronowitz, Stanley. 1981. *The crisis in historical materialism : class, politics, and culture in Marxist theory*. New York, N.Y.: Praeger.
- . 2003. *How Class Works: Power and Social Movement*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Aspers, Patrik. 2001. *Markets in Fashion*. Stockholm: City University Press.
- Bailey, David. 1999. *Models Close Up*. New York: Universe Publishing.
- Balbo, L. 1987. "Crazy Quilts: Rethinking the welfare state debate from a women's point of view." Pp. 311 in *Women and the state : the shifting boundaries of public and private*, edited by A. S. Sassoon. London: Hutchinson.
- Balsamo, Anne. 1995. "Forms of Technological Embodiment: Reading the Body in Contemporary Culture." Pp. 215-37 in *Cyberspace /Cyberbodies*, edited by M. Featherstone and R. Burrows. London: Sage.
- Barad, Karen. 1998. "Getting Real: Technoscientific Practices and the Materialization of Reality." *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural*

Studies 10:87-125.

- Bauman, Zygmunt. 1992. *Intimations of Postmodernity*. New York: Routledge.
- Becker, Howard Saul. 1982. *Art worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bell, Daniel. 1973. *The coming of post-industrial society; a venture in social forecasting*. New York,: Basic Books.
- Bellafonte, Ginia. 2001. "Believe her if she asks you, "Would you like to be a model?"" Pp. B11. May 8, 2001 in *New York Times*. New York.
- Beller, Johathan. 1998. "Capital/Cinema." in *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy, and Culture*, edited by E. Kaufman and K. J. Heller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. 1966. *The social construction of reality : a treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.
- Bhatnagar, Parija. 2003. " Betting on the \$11 Million Bra." money.cnn.com/2003/11/13/news in *CNN/Money*. New York.
- Bluestone, Barry and Bennett Harrison. 1982. *The deindustrialization of America : plant closings, community abandonment, and the dismantling of basic industry*. New York: Basic Books.
- Boteach, Shmuley. 2003. "Victoria's Not-So-Secret Pandering to Lecherous Men." Pp. 52-53 in *News World Communications, Inc.*
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction : a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Boxer, Sarah. 2001. "A New Poland, No Joke." Pp. online in *New York Times*. New York.
- Briskin, L. 1980. "Domestic Labor: A methodological discussion." Pp. 325 in *Hidden in the household : women's domestic labour under capitalism*, edited by B. Fox. Toronto: Women's Educational Press.
- Burawoy, Michael. 1979. *Manufacturing consent : changes in the labor process under monopoly capitalism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Caffentzis, George. 1980. *Midnight Oil*. New York: Autonomedia Collective.
- Carpignano, Paolo. 2000. "The Shape of the Sphere: The Public Sphere and the Materiality of Communication." *Constellations* 6:177-189.
- Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The rise of the network society*. Cambridge, Mass.:

Blackwell Publishers.

Centaur Communications, Ltd. 2001. "New TV Strategies: A Fashion Channel for Every Season." Centaur Communications, Ltd.

Chancer, Lynn. 1998. *Reconcilable differences: confronting beauty, pornography, and the future of feminism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cheah, Ping. 1996. "Mattering." *Diacritics* 26:108-39.

Clough, Patricia Ticineto. 2000. *Autoaffection: unconscious thought in the age of teletechnology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

—. 2003. "Affect and Control: Rethinking the Body 'Beyond Sex and Gender'." *Feminist Theory* 4:381-386.

—. 2003a. "The Shift from Discipline to Control: Reentry and Beyond Reentry, Criticism and Policy-Oriented Research." *Center for the Study of Women and Society Symposium*.

—. 2004. "Future Matters: Technoscience, Global Politics, and Cultural Criticism." *Social Text* 80.

Davenport, Thomas H. 2001. "eLearning and the Attention Economy: Here, There, and Everywhere?" *LiNE Zine*, Summer 2001, pp. 1-4.

Deleuze, Gilles. 1989. *Cinema 2: The Time Image*, vol. 2. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, Gilles. 1995. "Postscript on Control Societies." Pp. 177-182 in *Negotiations 1972-1990*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. 1987. *A thousand plateaus : capitalism and schizophrenia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dienst, Richard. 1994. *Still life in real time: theory after television*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Du Gay, Paul and Open University. 1997. *Production of culture/cultures of production*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage in association with the Open University.

Dunham, Kemba J. 2000. "A Leg Up on the Competition." Pp. B6 in *Wall Street Journal*. New York.

Eldredge, Richard L. 2003. "It's No Secret: Lingerie Lures Viewers." Pp. 1E in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. Atlanta.

- Elite.com. 2003. "The Elite Model Look." Elite Model Management.
- Ellis, Nathan. 2001. "Exit the Supermodel, Enter the Superagency: Synergy and Diversification, not First- Name Fame and Fabulousness, are the New Priorities of the Model Business." tearsheet.com.
- England, Paula; Michelle Budig; Nancy Folbre. 2002. "Wages of Virtue: The Relative pay of Care Work." *Social Problems* 49:455-473.
- Evans, Caroline. 2001. "The Enchanted Spectacle." *Fashion Theory* 5:271-310.
- Ewen, Stuart. 1976. *Captains of consciousness; advertising and the social roots of the consumer culture*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Ewen, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen. 1997. *Channels of desire : mass images and the shaping of American consciousness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ferree, M. M. 1990. "Beyond Separate Spheres: Feminism and family research." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52:866-84.
- Finch, Janet. 1983. *Married to the job : wives' incorporation in men's work*. London ; Boston: G. Allen & Unwin.
- Frantz, Douglas. 2002. "'The Force Of Islam: Turkey, on Road to Secularism, Fears Detour,'" Pp. none (digital archive January 11, 2002) in *The New York Times*. New York.
- Freeman, Carla. 2000. *High tech and high heels in the global economy : women, work, and pink-collar identities in the Caribbean*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Freud, Sigmund. 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents*. Translated by J. Strachey. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Gaines, Jane and Charlotte Herzog. 1990. *Fabrications : costume and the female body*. New York: Routledge.
- Gay, Jason. 2001. "Madison Avenue Shopkeepers Weep for CNN Style Diva Elsa Klensch." Pp. 1776 words in *New York Observer*. New York.
- Gibbs, Anna. 2002. "Disaffected." *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies* 16:335-341.
- Gilbert-Rolfe, Jeremy. 1999. *Beauty and the contemporary sublime*. New York: School of Visual Arts : Allworth Press.

- Gitlin, Todd. 2002. *Media unlimited : how the torrent of images and sounds overwhelms our lives*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Glazer, Nona Y. 1993. *Women's paid and unpaid labor : the work transfer in health care and retailing*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Glenn, Evelyn Nakano. 1992. "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Constituencies in the racial division of labor of paid reproductive labor." *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18.
- Goffman, Erving. 1986. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2nd edition.
- Gross, Michael. 1995. *Model : the ugly business of beautiful women*. New York: W. Morrow.
- Gumbrecht, H.U. and K.L. Pfeiffer. 1994. *Materialities of Communication*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Hammond, Michael. 1983. "The Sociology of Emotions and the History of Social Differentiation." *Sociological Theory* 1:90-119.
- Haraway, Donna J. 1991. "Biopolitics of Postmodern Bodies." in *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*. New York: Routledge.
- Hardt, Michael. 1998. "The Withering of Civil Society." in *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy and Culture*, edited by E. Kaufman and K. J. Heller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 1999. "Affective Labor." *boundary 2* 26:89-100.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2000. *Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Harris, Daniel. 2000. *Cute, Quaint, Hungry and Romantic: The Aesthetics of Consumerism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hartmann, Heidi. 1981. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism." Pp. 1-41 in *Women and Revolution*, edited by L. Sargent. London: Tavistock.
- Hartsock, Nancy. 1983. "The Feminist Standpoint: Toward a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism." in *Money, Sex, and Power*. Boston: The Northeastern University.
- Harvey, David. 1989. *The condition of postmodernity : an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford [England] ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.

- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1983. *The managed heart : commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hollander, Anne. 1980. *Seeing through clothes*. New York: Avon Books.
- Horkheimer, Max and Theodor W. Adorno. 1995. *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*. Translated by J. Cumming. New York: Continuum.
- Howson, Alexandra and David Inglis. 2001. "The Body in Sociology: Tensions Inside and Outside Sociological Thought." *The Sociological Review Monograph* 2001:298-326.
- Huws, Ursula. 2003. *The Making of a Cybertariat: Virtual Work in a Real World*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Investigative Reports. 2000. "Young Models, Growing Up Fast." in *A&E Television*, vol. AAE18023. New York.
- James, N. 1992. "Care = organization + physical labor + emotional labor." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 14:488-509.
- Kaplan Daniels, A. 1987. "Invisible work." *Social Problems* 34:403-15.
- Kelly, Rita Mae, Jane H. Bayes , Mary E. Hawkesworth and Brigitte Young, eds. 2001. *Gender, Globalization, and Democracy*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Kingston, Anne. 2002. "Loyal shoppers stand by one of their own." Pp. A8 in *National Post* (f/k/a *The Financial Post*).
- Kitch, Carolyn L. 2001. *The girl on the magazine cover : the origins of visual stereotypes in American mass media*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Klein, Naomi. 1999. *No Logo*. New York: Picador.
- Kobayashi, Audrey Lynn. 1994. *Women, work, and place*. Montreal ; Buffalo: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Kuczynski, Alex. 2001. "Victoria's Secret on TV: Another first for Women." in *The New York Times*. New York.
- Kuczynski, Alex. 1999. "Trading on Hollywood Magic: Celebrities push models off women's magazine covers." Pp. C1-3 in *New York Times*. New York.
- Lasch, Christopher. 1977. *Haven in a heartless world : the family besieged*. New York: Basic Books.

- Lash, Scott and John Urry. 1994. *Economies of signs and space*. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. 1996. "Immaterial Labor." in *Radical thought in Italy : a potential politics*, edited by P. Virno and M. Hardt. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Leach, William. 1993. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. 1994. *Fables of Abundance : a cultural history of advertising in America*. [New York]: Basic Books.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1995. *The production of space*. Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Oxford, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.
- Leiss, William, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally. 1997. *Social communication in advertising : persons, products & images of well-being*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Levin, Michael. 1997. *Janine and Alex, Alex and Janine*: Berkley Pub Group.
- Lipovetsky, Gilles. 1994. *The empire of fashion : dressing modern democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Marx, Karl. 1973. *Grundrisse : foundations of the critique of political economy (rough draft)*. Harmondsworth, Eng. ; Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Marx, Karl and Ben Fowkes. 1977. *Capital : a critique of political economy*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Massumi, Brian. 1998. "Requiem for our prospective dead (Toward a Participatory Critique of Capitalist Power)." in *Deleuze and Guattari: New Mappings in Politics, Philosophy and Culture*, edited by E. Kaufman and K. J. Heller. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- . 2002. *Parables for the virtual: movement, affect, sensation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- McDowell, Linda. 1997. *Capital Culture: Gender at Work in the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- McDowell, L. and G. Court. 1994. "Missing Subjects: Gender, Power, and Sexuality in Merchant Banking." *Economic Geography* 70:229-251.

- Meyrowitz, Joshua. 1985. *No sense of place : the impact of electronic media on social behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mies, Maria. 1998. *Patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale : women in the international division of labour*. London: Zed.
- Mirchandani, K. 1996. "Living in the office: Telework and its critical reflection on the public-private dichotomy." PhD Dissertation Thesis, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Mulvey, Laura. 1989. *Visual and other pleasures*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Negri, Antonio. 1999. "Value and Affect." *boundary 2* 26:77-88.
- Newhall, Beaumont. 1964. *The History of Photography*, Edited by N. Y. Museum of Modern Art. New York: Museum of Modern Art, New York.
- Ohmann, Richard M. 1996. *Selling culture : magazines, markets, and class at the turn of the century*. London ; New York: Verso.
- Pascal , Francine (Creator), Kate William. 1997. *Cover Girls (Sweet Valley High, No 129)(Book One of a Three-Part Miniseries)*: Bantam Skylark.
- Peiss, Kathy Lee. 1998. *Hope in a jar : the making of America's beauty culture*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Pratt, Andy C. 1997. "The Cultural Industries Production System: a case study of employment change in Britain 1984-91." *Environment and Planning A* 29:1953-1974.
- Prindle, David F. 1993. *Risky business : the political economy of Hollywood*. Boulder: Westview.
- PRNewswire. 2002. "Ford Models Kicks Off its 22nd Annual Supermodel of the World." New York.
- Quick, Harriet. 1997. *Catwalking: A History of the Fashion Model*. London: Octopus Publishing Group, Ltd.
- Reich, Robert B. 1992. *The work of nations : preparing ourselves for 21st century capitalism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Rudolph, Barbara 1991. "Beauty and the Bucks (Fashion Models)." *Time*, October 7, 1991, pp. 38-40.

- Ryan, Michael and Avery Gordon. 1994. *Body politics : disease, desire, and the family*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Sassen, Saskia. 2001. *The global city : New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Schenkenberg, Marcus. 1997. *Marcus Schenkenberg: New Rules*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Schwarz, Henry and Richard Dienst. 1996. *Reading the shape of the world : toward an international cultural studies*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Sebag-Montifiore, Hugh. 1996. "Dogfight on the Catwalk: Mark McCormack is shaking up the Management of the world's supermodels and the fur is flying." Pp. 6 in *The Sunday Telegraph*. London.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, Adam Frank, and Irving E. Alexander. 1995. *Shame and its sisters : a Silvan Tomkins reader*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Sella, Marshall. 2002. "The Remote Controllers." Pp. 68, column 1 in *The New York Times*. New York.
- Serlin, David. 2004. *Replaceable You: Engineering the body in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shaw, Rhonda. 2003. "'Our Bodies, Ourselves', Technology, and Questions of Ethics: Cyberfeminism and the Lived Body." *Australian Feminist Studies* 18.
- Sherman, William. 2004. "Two Class Action Law Suits are Filed Against Major New York Modeling Agencies." *The Daily News*. New York.
- Silverman, Kaja. 1992. *Male subjectivity at the margins*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Smith, Vicki. 2001. *Crossing the great divide : worker risk and opportunity in the new economy*. Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press.
- Sobieszek, Robert a. 1988. *The Art of Persuasion*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
- Steinberg, Steinberg, Ronnie; Deborah Figart, eds. 1999. *Emotional Labor in the Service Economy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers.
- Sullivan, Robert 2000. "VH1 Vogue Fashion Awards." *Vogue*, November 2000, pp. 232.

- Tancred, Peta. 1995. "Women's Work: A Challenge to the sociology of Work." *Gender, Work, and Organization* 2:11-20.
- Terranova, Tiziana. 2000. "Free Labor: Producing Culture for the Digital Economy." *Social Text*, Duke University Press 18.
- . 2001. "Cybernetics' Surplus Value: Embodiment and Perception in Informational Capitalism." Unpublished manuscript:1-32.
- Thoburn, Nicholas. 2001. "Autonomous Production? On Negri's 'New Synthesis'." *Theory, Culture, and Society* 18:75-96.
- Thoits, Peggy. 1989. "The Sociology of Emotions." *Annual Review of Sociology* 15:317-342.
- Tillotson, Kristin. 1995. "Supersaturated: Supermodels - They Strike a Pose and America Can't Resist." Pp. 1E in *Star Tribune*. Minneapolis, MN.
- Tomkins, Silvan S. 1962. *Affect, imagery, consciousness*. New York: Springer.
- Trebay, Guy. 2003. "Black Model Reaches the Top, A Lonely Spot." in *The New York Times*. New York.
- . 2002. "All Fashion All the Time: It's a Global Show." Pp. B6 in *New York Times*. New York.
- Turow, Joseph. 1997. *Breaking up America : advertisers and the new media world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ungerson, Clare. 1987. *Policy is personal : sex, gender, and informal care*. London ; New York: Tavistock Publications.
- Webb, Veronica. 1998. *Veronica Webb-Sight: Adventures in the Big City*. New York: Hyperion.
- Weiker, Jim and Tracy Turner. 2002. "Victoria's Secret Fashion Show: Elaborate Infomercial to Increase Exposure." Pp. 1C in *The Columbus Dispatch*. Columbus, Ohio.
- White, Harrison. 1981. "Where do Markets Come From." *American Journal of Sociology* 87:517-47.
- Willis, Paul. 1998. "Labor Power, Culture, and the Cultural Commodity." Pp. 139-169 in *Critical Education in the New Information Age*, edited by M. Castells, Ramon Flecha, Paulo Freire, Henry A. Giroux, Donaldo Mecedo and Paul Willis. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Winston, Brian. 1998. *Media Technology and Society: A history from the telegraph to the internet*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Woolley, Scott 1999. "High-Class Lookers." *Forbes*, March 22, 1999, pp. 236.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The cultures of cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.