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Careers in modeling: A study in occupational socialization.

Rose Marie Greve
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CAREERS IN MODELING:  
A Study in Occupational Socialization.  

BY  
Rose Marie Greve

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
through the Department of Sociology and  
Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts at the  
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Windsor, Ontario  
1973
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>METHODOLOGY</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>FINDINGS I: DESCRIPTIVE DATA</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>FINDINGS II: TESTING THE HYPOTHESES</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>FINDINGS III: THE ROLE INCUMBENT'S VIEW POINT</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>RANKING OF CHARACTERISTICS CONSIDERED MOST IMPORTANT TO A MODEL BY LENGTH OF TIME IN THE OCCUPATION</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>MEAN SCORES FOR IDEAL CONCEPTION OF A MODEL BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>MEAN SCORES FOR SELF-EVALUATION BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: OVERALL SCALE</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION CONTROLLING FOR ETHNICITY</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: I. ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK AND SUPPORTING OTHERS BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: I. a. ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: I. b. ATTITUDES TOWARD SUPPORTING OTHERS BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: II. NON-WORK INTERACTION BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: III. COMMITMENT TO RULES BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

This study is designed to explore several sociological variables with reference to changes in the self in the course of adapting to an occupation. As such, the study is in the general area of the sociology of occupations; its particular focus being fashion modeling.

The study was conducted in two parts. In the first a sample of thirty-six Montreal models at three different stages of their careers were interviewed by questionnaire survey; and in the second, a further refined sample of twelve experienced models were questioned in greater depth using a focused interview technique. The sample was drawn from a single modeling agency.

The major hypothesis entertained was that there was a relationship between the length of time in the occupation and socialization into the role as measured by changing attitudes toward work and colleagues, increasing interaction with the occupational reference group and an increasingly higher level of technical skill. Possibly due to the inadequacies inherent in the use of three matched groups of models to measure change, the first part of the study did not produce clear evidence of the expected relationships. However, in-depth probing of models' responses suggests that the process of socialization into the occupation follows the lines entertained by the hypotheses.

Using some of the concepts of Becker, Goffman and the other Symbolic Interactionists, several facets of a model's life were
discussed and the relationship between these and a model's career were investigated.

In all, the study is reported in three phases. The first describes the demographic backgrounds of models; the second concerns itself with the statistical testing of the hypotheses; and the third investigates the models' own perception of their occupation and the process of socialization into it.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a study of a particular occupational group—female fashion models—based on the postulate that "a frame of reference for studying careers is at the same time a frame of reference for studying personal identity," (Becker and Strauss, 1956: 259)

The study of careers in fashion modeling in these terms and in the context of occupational socialization is useful because its points of similarity and difference with other occupations serve, by and large, to highlight some of the general problems involved in becoming a careerist.

My interest in the field originally was created while in training as a model in England. Starting the course armed with many of the usual misconceptions about modeling, my class and I quickly learned that the realities of modeling were very unlike our anticipations. To the uninitiated, the life of a model is glamorous and exciting; it means $500 dresses, instant success, admiring audiences, photographs in Vogue, exciting trips around the world etcetera. The reality falls far short of this idealized vision for, in actuality, modeling generally involves demanding work for hard task masters, many disappointments and the sort of success enjoyed by Twiggy, Jean Shrimpton and Verushka, and aspired to by all would-be models, is relatively rare.

When viewing modeling, the attention of the general public is
arrested by the finished product as it appears on television, in advertisements, fashion magazines and fashion shows. Little thought is given to the amount of work that went into the production of the idealized image on the part of the model and her co-workers. As some models complain, the public gaze is concentrated on the model and people usually fail to recognize the existence of a person behind the front presented.

Having been "back stage" so to speak, and having been initiated into some of the "trade secrets" that go into the production of the public image of a model, I became interested in finding out more about how this front was produced and the role of the model constructed, and also how models perceived the role and related to it and how it effected the rest of their role sets.

The sociological usefulness of this study lies largely with the uniqueness of the choice of this particular occupational group as its area of inquiry. The study of modeling in the context of occupational socialization represents relatively new territory, the more traditional fields for these studies being the professional and semi-professional. Further, the study attempts to trace the process of socialization into one of the more unusual occupations which, while numerically small in comparison with the more ordinary occupations, are nevertheless amongst the highest paid in the world. (For example, those which come most readily to mind are careers in show business and the film industry).

Modeling is also of interest to the study of occupational socialization for its uniqueness which sets it apart from most other occupations. As an occupation it is predominantly a women's occupation in that male
models are usually people with other careers for whom modeling is merely a secondary source of income. Its brevity, relative to other careers also makes it unusual. Like the professional athlete, a girl embracing a career in modeling faces the fact that it is not the occupation she can pursue for the rest of her working life, as can an individual in a professional or semi-professional occupation for example. As with the athlete, the model's commodity is her body and the natural process of aging which does not trouble persons in other occupations until much later, looms large here. As an eighteen year old model said, "at twenty-two you are middle-aged." This in turn, necessitates a greater body-awareness on the part of models, analogous to that of athletes and professional dancers, (a sign which is often interpreted as a manifestation of vanity or narcissism by the general public). Again because of the shortness of the career, the model must face the problem of retirement much earlier than persons in other career lines and must plan for an alternate career while she is still young. In short, the relative brevity of the career of a model gives one a condensed view of a career, containing within a time span of ten to fifteen years events common to many longer careers, thereby casting them into sharper profile. In other words, while the career contingencies in modeling do not necessarily produce an identical pattern as those in other, longer occupations, they are sufficiently similar to permit comparisons between types of work. In all, an analogy could be drawn between the use of modeling to study occupations in general, in the sociological arena and the use of short-lived insects to study contingencies common to human lives in the biological.

While modeling is in many ways unusual in relation to the general
body of occupations, part of the aim of this study is, nevertheless, to consider the ways in which careers in modeling can be compared with careers in other occupational fields.

The first similarity which suggests itself is the fact that—popular ideas to the contrary—models see their occupation first and foremost as a job. In spite of the fact that for the model, as for the executive and the doctor, the work role is the central one and impinges to a large extent on all other roles in her role set, most models stress the fact that it is only work, and furthermore, well-paid work.

As with other occupations one can recognize three stages in a model's career; the trainee, the new model and the full-fledged model stages, which can be compared to the student, intern, doctor stages of the medical profession. A model, like anyone else, has to learn the skills necessary to her trade and to put them into practice both in a school setting and outside it.

Again, as with other occupations, there are certain things which models share in common and which set them apart as a distinctive occupational group. The model's tote is no less a part of her costume than the doctor's bag and the lawyer's briefcase. The model's walk and the model's smile are as cultivated and as recognizable as the doctor's bedside manner.

For the models of this study as for the automobile workers of Chinoy's, autonomy is a highly valued commodity, the more so because for the former it is not the unrealistic dream it is for the latter. (Chinoy, 1952) In common with many professionals, a model enjoys feeling that she controls the behaviour that can make or break her.

In summary, the contribution of this study to the further under-
standing of occupations lies in the fact that, while modeling is
admittedly an unusual occupation its divergences from, as well as its
similarities with other occupational groups, makes it worthy of study.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Despite the contemporary contention that the work life of the individual is becoming increasingly more fragmented and insecure and therefore of less importance to him, making thereby, less impact on his total identity (Dubin, 1956) there still exist some occupations where work is more than the means to the end of earning a living. (Morse and Weiss, 1955: 191) Contrary to Friedmann and Havinghurst's claim that work has less meaning for workers of lower skill and socio-economic statuses, (1954), Morse and Weiss contend that for the vast majority of employed men work provides "a feeling of being tied to the larger society, of having a purpose in life." (1955: 191) For some individuals, such as the nurses of Orzack's study Work as the Central Life Interest of Professionals work has an even deeper meaning. For them it is the focal point of self identification and, particularly in the early stages of the career, it is necessary for the generation of a sense of personal worth which is part of the emerging self concept. (Orzack, 1959) Thus, while for some work may be a mere source of income as studies by Dubin (1956), Chinoy (1952) and other industrial sociologists would indicate, for others it is, as Weber and Tawney suggest, the most significant part of a person's sense of identity. (Dubin, 1956)

In his paper Sociological Perspectives on Occupations Solomon defines work as "the generic term for activity leading to the production
of goods and services." In his subsequent discussion of occupations he contends that though "... we seem to think of an occupation as a set of skills or a set of persons who possess similar skills" the term is something more than a label for a class or category of persons. An occupational label presupposes a certain status or role and therefore, "an occupation can be thought of as a role" or rather, since a career usually implies movement from one stage to another, a sequence of roles. Occupations are, in short, "roles people are paid to perform." (Solomon, 1968: 5/7)

To see an occupation in terms of a role and of role playing implies also a process of learning that role; in other words, occupational socialization.

One of the best known studies of occupational socialization is Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School by Becker and his colleagues. This study shows the process of recruitment of the would-be doctors into the occupation; follows their training in medical school; considers the ways in which their perceptions of themselves and their chosen occupation change during the course of training; explores the ways in which these changes come about and the role others who influence the changing perceptions of the students; and discusses their final emergence from the training process with not only the appropriate skills, but also a sense of identification with their profession. (Becker, et al, 1961)

In the article The Fate of Idealism in Medical School Becker and Geer elaborate on the theme of the changing perceptions of the medical students and, in particular, on their swing from idealism to cynicism and back to idealism as they adjust their perceptions of their role to
meet the situation in which they find themselves. It would appear that
the student culture works to depress the initial idealism of the students
but that,

as school comes to an end, the cynicism specific to the school
situation also comes to an end and their original and more general
idealism about medicine comes to the fore again, though within a
framework of more realistic alternatives. (Becker and Geer, 1958: 55)

Mauksch in, Becoming a Nurse: A Selective View finds that the nurses of
his study also adjust to the work situation as it prevails in nursing
school, revising their idealized conceptions of the "ministering angel"
role of nurses to fit the realities of the training course. (Mauksch,
1963) As Becker and Geer recognize, this adjustment from the conceptual­
ized or anticipated role to the realities of the actual role is common
to all occupations. Again refering to the medical students they state
that:

As in all other lines of work, he [the medical student] drops lay
attitudes for those more relevant to the way the events affect
someone in his position. (Becker and Geer, 1958: 54)

This concept of situational adjustment, in which individuals take
on the characteristics required by the situations they find themselves
participating in; and the concept of commitment to an occupation are
recurrent themes in the literature on occupations. In the article Pers­
sonal Change in Adult Life Becker claims that both situational adjustment
and commitment are essential to the process of occupational socialization
and to identification with an occupation. (Becker, 1964) Geer in her
study of Occupational Commitment and the Teaching Profession elaborates
on the importance of the latter concept. She concludes that the teachers
of her study "can be said to lack commitment only insofar as women do not
want to teach continuously and men want advancement beyond the classroom."
(Geer, 1968: 222)

In the same article the author goes on to discuss and apply Becker's idea of the accumulation of occupational "valuables" which he sees as affecting commitment. According to her, Becker in his Notes on the Concept of Commitment (1960) states that:

commitment to any consistent line of activity occurs when an individual, confronted with an opportunity to depart from it, discovers that in the course of past activity he has, wittingly or not accumulated valuables of a kind that would be lost to him if he makes a change. (Geer, 1968: 223)

Geer goes on to explain that these valuables are both difficult to abandon and are not always usable outside the context of the occupation in which they were acquired. Valuables are, then, one of the end products of socialization into an occupation for,

To work at any job, trade or profession is to acquire a body of experience unique to it. One learns the culture of an occupational group, the "ropes"—which rules must be followed, which can or must be broken, the quirks of people and things that ease everyday performance. (Geer, 1968: 227)

The acquisition of such a body of knowledge comes only with time in an occupational group and the literature on occupations acknowledges the fact that the individual passes through several stages in the process of socializing into his particular work culture. As Geer states, "one aspect of the occupational structure is the familiar division into apprentice, journeyman and master"; (Geer, 1968: 223) or into parallel categories in other occupations.

Hall in his article on The Stages of a Medical Career restates this idea of stages in occupational identification when he maintains that a career can be defined as a series of adjustments to a network of
institutions, formal organizations and informal relationships in which the profession is practiced. (Hall, 1948) Simpson in her study *Patterns of Socialization into a Profession: The Case of Student Nurses* concludes that nurses must pass through "three analytically distinct phases, each involving some learning of the cultural content of the role and some self identification with it." (Simpson, 1967: 47) Becker and Carper in *Elements of Identification with an Occupation* consider a similar process on the part of three groups of graduate students in philosophy, physiology and mechanical engineering. Their findings also indicate that the building up of a professional identity was a gradual process for, "identifications are not so clearly defined in the first years as they become later..." (Becker and Carper, 1956: 341) They conclude that the four major elements of work identification are; pride in occupational title and associated ideology, commitment to the task, commitment to the particular organizations or institutional positions and recognition of the significance of one's position in the larger society. (Becker and Carper, 1956) In their seven year long consideration of students in dentistry Sherlock and his colleagues again stress the idea of stages in the acquisition of an occupational identity. In the article *The Evolution of the Professional: A Paradigm* Sherlock and Morris indicate that their three major foci of interest are recruitment, the socialization processes and the professional outcomes. (Sherlock and Morris, 1967)

In all, the importance of the idea of stages and of the gradual evolution of the socialization process is acknowledged in many studies of occupational socialization. Becker and Strauss in *Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization* refer to this phenomenon as "career flow", which
encompasses recruitment, (when the candidates whose backgrounds are too irregular are eliminated) training, (during the early stages of the career when schooling has the task of getting people committed to the career as well as prepared to fill the occupational positions) and finally, "full-fledged participation" in the occupation. (Becker and Strauss, 1956)

While all three phases of an occupation have been considered in most studies of occupational socialization, some writers have attached much importance to the first stage—that is, recruitment. In Strategies of Occupational Choice: Recruitment to Dentistry Sherlock and Cohen consider the reasons for the choice of dentistry as a profession. (1966) Lortie in his study Laymen to Lawmen: Law School Careers and Professional Socialization endorses the importance of the recruitment stage when the first tentative identification with the occupational group is made by the neophytes. According to him the first year in which the sorting out process takes place is the most important phase of the socialization process into the practice of law. (Lortie, 1959)

In his study, Processes of Socialization in American Graduate Schools, Gottlieb considers not only the sorting out process but also remarks on the part played by the graduate school system in the way in which students are selected out or change their career preferences. His paper is largely concerned with the part played by the graduate faculty in this. Like Becker and Carper, he sees the graduate school as playing an important role in the development of professional identification. (Gottlieb, 1961) Following a similar theme, Rosen and Bates in The Structure of Socialization in Graduate Schools consider the ways in which the social structure of the graduate school affects the socialization of
the students. While stressing the idea of "gateways" through which the neophyte must pass in his pursuit of the career goal, the authors see the graduate school faculty as agents and role models whose task it is to convey all the essential information to the neophyte accurately and completely and to be the embodiment, representation and dramatization of the role toward which the neophyte is reaching. (Rosen and Bates, 1967) Merton in The Student Physician: Introductory Studies in the Sociology of Medical Education also stresses the role of the faculty in the socialization of medical students into their culture when he states that:

Socialization takes place primarily through social interaction with people who are significant for the individual—in medical school, probably with faculty members above most others. (Merton, Reader and Kendall, 1957: 287)

In a study of Faculty Influence and Professional Participation of Doctoral Students based on this contention, Pease discovered that the professional participation of doctoral students was indeed influenced by informal contacts with faculty. In other words, the acquisition of professional attitudes and behaviours on the part of the graduate students was directly related to the degree of contact they had with their mentors and role models. (Pease, 1967) In her previously cited study on nurses, Simpson too stresses the influence of role models on the process of socialization (Simpson, 1967), as does Mauksch in his study. (1963)

Altogether, the importance of role models, reference groups and occupational communities has been stressed by many industrial sociologists. Particularly in total institutions like the army and the navy the importance of the reference group is recognized and fostered by the leaders of these communities. In his study The Naval Recruit Training Centre: A
Study in Role Assimilation in a Total Institution Zurcher describes the early training of the recruit as an attempt to destroy all previous identity and to substitute for it the peer and reference groups of the other boots and the navy itself. According to him, with increasing decivilization, the recruit turns to the occupational community for reinforcement and conformation of his emerging identity. (Zurcher, 1967)

Dornbusch in his study *The Military Academy as an Assimilating Institution* points to a similar experience on the part of the recruits into the army. He feel that the remarkable unity of the swab (recruit) class is a consequence of undergoing a very unpleasant experience together. (Dornbusch, 1955) Stouffer's study *The American Soldier: Adjustment During Army Life* confirms these findings and states, furthermore, that virtual isolation from the outside world and the physical proximity of the places of work and residence serve to build up a sense of community and a "we-feeling" that reinforces the new self-image of the recruit. (Stouffer, et al, 1949)

The importance of the occupational community extends beyond fulfilling a purely socializing function. It provides the individual with a sense of identity and self-worth. In his paper *Some Sociological Determinants of Occupational Communities* Salaman states that the occupational community is a primary reference group, a source of values and identification for someone whose occupational role is incorporated into his self-image. According to the author, membership in an occupational community is dependent on strong ties with an occupation and a feeling of intrinsic satisfaction with work which must be viewed as requiring creativity, responsibility and intelligence. Men who consider
their work in this way will carry work-based interests, activities and relationships into their non-work lives, and men who are strongly involved in their work skills and tasks are likely to see themselves in terms of their occupational role, for work will be an activity they regard as emotionally important and valuable and the occupational role will therefore become a salient element in their self-image. (Salaman, 1971: 61)

Salaman also recognizes the pervasiveness of the value system of the occupational community when he says that:

The value systems which are held by the members of occupational communities are frequently relevant not only to the world of work but to many other aspects of members' lives. (Salaman, 1971: 57)

In his study Two Occupational Communities: Examples of the Remarkable Convergence of Work and Non-Work her found that such widely different occupational groups as architects and railwaymen tended to have distinctive occupational cultures consisting of value systems, attitudes about the work they did and their fellow workers, and beliefs about the importance of their work. They also tended to have friends in the same occupations who shared the same experiences and language. Like Becker's dance musicians (Becker, 1963) they tended to view themselves as a group apart from all others. (Salaman, 1967)

Like Salaman's architects and railwaymen, the printers in the studies by Blauner (1964) and Lipset (Lipset, Trow and Coleman, 1956) viewed their work with pride and considered the work itself both interesting and important. They too tended to take their jobs into their leisure time activities and to consider their work role an important part of their total identity.

The same could be said of the musicians of Becker's study The Culture of a Deviant Group: The Dance Musician. (Becker, 1963) For
these men their occupational community serves as a sub-culture.
According to Becker such a situation arises "whenever some group of
people have a bit of common life with a modicum of isolation from other
people, a common corner in society, common problems and perhaps a couple
of common enemies." (Becker, 1963: 79) Musicians too tend to associate
with colleagues out of hours and as with Salaman's railwaymen and archi-
tects, there is no separation of work and non-work life. As Becker
states, "... to understand the behaviour of someone who is a member of
such a group is to understand that way of life." (Becker, 1963: 79)
Similarly, Janowitz in his study The Professional Soldier considers the
military profession a "complete style of life" since the officer is
"... a member of a community whose claims over his daily existence
extend well beyond his official duties." (Janowitz, 1960: 175)

As a study which is interestingly dissimilar, Weinberg and Arond's
The Occupational Culture of a Boxer deserves mention. For the boxer, as
for the musician and the soldier, the role of a professional fighter
permeates and governs the rest of his role set. Yet emphasis is placed
not on involvement with an occupational community or a "we-feeling" but
on the boxer as an individual, probably because boxing is a highly competi-
tive sport and rarely involves team activity. Where such competition
exists. Where such competition exists, the development of a "we-feeling"
among professional rivals is effectively hindered. (Weinberg and Arond,
1952) Interestingly enough, the same is true of fashion modeling.¹

In summary, a review of the literature on occupational socializ-

¹Competition in modeling will be discussed further on page ninety-nine

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ation points up the fact that, while work can have different meanings for different people when one considers the way in which the novice is socialized into the group parallels can be drawn between many occupations. The novice acquires his occupational image through the acquisition of the relevant technical skills and the behaviours and attitudes that are a prerequisite to identification with the role. He learns this mostly through imitation of role models and through contact with the occupational reference group and often through formal learning in an institutional setting. In all, occupational socialization is the process by which the recruit becomes a role incumbent, fitting into his allotted place in the occupational structure. Occupational socialization is, therefore:

the process by which he develops his personal self, with its characteristic values, attitudes, knowledge and skills, fusing these into a more or less consistent set of dispositions which govern his behaviour in a wide variety of professional (and extra-professional) situations. (Merton, 1957: 287)
CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is designed to explore the socialization of models into their occupation and their adoption of the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours which are more congruent with the occupational structure. Together with the acquisition of the necessary skills, the adoption of congruent reference groups, the influence of the new significant others and the adoption of a new normative structure should, over a period of time, tend to lead to the building up of a new self concept or identity.

One of the postulates of this study is that the longer an individual remains within a career group, the more likely she is to adopt the life style and behaviour of that group. The other is that the more completely she accepts the behaviour of the group, the more likely it is that she will have built up a new and more congruent self image. Individuals who are not able to adapt to the demands—technical and normative—of the group will either drop out early or will be only marginally successful in their careers. ¹

As the study is essentially one of a process of socialization

¹The factors necessary to success include, for example, attitudes that are more relevant to the situation in which the model finds herself, the accumulation of occupational "valuables" and of the necessary technical skills, in short, a knowledge of the "ropes", a certain degree of involvement with the occupational role, a sense of community with the others in the occupation and a sense of identification with the occupation.

17
into an occupation, its theoretical framework borrows heavily from the work of the Symbolic Interactionists, notably Moreno, Linton and Goffman. Also of relevance is the work of such occupational sociologists as Becker, Geer, Hughes, Strauss and Weiss.

In the final analysis, occupational socialization is not very different from any other kind of socialization process into cultures, sub-cultures or groups. According to Merton it is:

the process by which people selectively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills and knowledge—in short, the culture—current in the groups of which they are, or seek to become a member. (Merton, Reader and Kendall, 1957: 287)

The model is, therefore, analogous to the child learning the ways of the society in which he is going to operate; the major difference being that models, like all other occupational recruits, build upon an already existing normative structure. For the model, as for the child, the "end point or major goal of socialization is the internalization of the values and practices which define and direct [her] culture." (Landy and Wechsler, 1966: 378)

As socialization "consists of those patterns of action or aspects of action which inculcate in individuals the skills (including knowledge), motives and attitudes necessary for the performance of present or anticipated roles" (Clausen, 1968: 4) a study of these processes necessitates also a study of roles and role behaviour.

The term role in its normative sense is defined in this paper as "the set of complementary expectations regarding the actor in his interaction with other individuals." (Getzel and Guba, 1956: 164)

According to Goffman, role in its normative sense must be distinguished from role enactment or role performance "which is the
actual conduct of a particular individual while on duty in his position." (Goffman, 1966: 85) His concept of performance, and indeed a larger part of his dramaturgical theory is of special relevance to this study. He defines "performance" as "all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants" in the interaction situation. (Goffman, 1959: 15) While this seems to imply the theatrical and unreal playing of parts, Goffman himself recognizes that role behaviour falls into a continuum between the two extremes of sincerity, when the performer and his audience are taken in by the expression of reality of the part; and cynicism, when the performer is not taken in by his own routine. (Goffman, 1959: 18) These two extremes are also represented by the two concepts Goffman calls "role embracement" and "role distance". He states that:

To embrace a role is to disappear completely into the virtual self available in the situation, to be fully seen in terms of the image and to confirm expressively one's acceptance of it. (Goffman, 1966: 106)

Conversely, role distance is the "effectively expressed separateness between the individual and the role." (Goffman, 1966: 106) Moreno's interpretation of role playing and role taking is very similar to the distinction between the two concepts discussed above, and will be used throughout this paper. Moreno states that:

Role playing may be considered an experimental procedure, a method of learning to perform roles more adequately . . . In contrast with role playing, role taking is an attitude already frozen in the behaviour of the person. Role playing is an act, a spontaneous playing; role taking is a finished product, a role conserve. (Biddle and Thomas, 1966: 7)

My contention is that the trainee model begins by making a conscientious effort to play the role and moves with time to the
unreflecting and unconscious adoption of that role. She has, in short, become frozen into the role in the manner described by Goffman and Moreno. Through socialization her conception of the role and of the attached self image have become second nature to her and an integral part of her personality. Conformity to the group norms and to the various technical skills becomes automatic habit requiring little or no conscious thought and role playing reaches the level where it gives way to role taking in Moreno’s definition of the term. In other words, role playing in a model must progress beyond the point where the role remains an object to the actor to be understood and interpreted but not implemented; just as a child may play an adult role, learning it and beginning to understand it, but not taking it completely, to the extent that it becomes one of the full complement of his roles. The model must allow the inferred attitudes and behaviours of her work role to become a part of her total self and must allow it to direct her behaviour.¹ By adopting for herself the standpoint that she first saw as foreign to her and by playing it until it becomes familiar to her and an integral part of her behaviour pattern, she forms a new self image. As Goffman states; “Through social discipline (ie. socialization), then, a mask of manner can be held in place from within.” (Goffman, 1959: 57)

While some contemporary occupational sociologists have suggested that the work role of the individual is no longer the dominant one in his role set, this generalization does not often hold true for this particular occupation. Even while models believe they can, and do, readily effect

¹For further discussion of role implementation in the context of modeling, see page twenty-six.
role distance, they still acknowledge the fact that their occupational role governs much of their non-working hours. One frequently hears them speak of "twenty-four hour models." In short, all other roles in their role set must take subordinate positions and are coloured and shaped by the dominant role. The role of model is, in Goffman's terms, one which carries identifying implications for the performer when he is off-duty and away from the immediate arena of his role." (Goffman, 1966: 150)

The stress laid on the dominant role makes it necessary that the other roles in the role set should be congruent with the occupational role if serious role conflict is to be avoided. Role conflict would undoubtedly reduce the functional efficiency of the model and impair her chances of success. Thus, the value orientations that models bring into the sub-culture must undergo the revisions necessary to bring them into line with the demands of its normative system. If their value orientations are already too firmly entrenched, people reject certain statuses which they find repugnant and select other prospective statuses that they find congenial. (Merton, 1966: 76) The trainee model who cannot adapt to the normative demands of her profession will reject modeling in favour of an occupation she regards as less threatening.

The concept of role performance suggests the existence of role

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For example, a model who has to work later in the day, does not, in her capacity as householder, shovel snow off the sidewalk; or garden, or indulge in any other activity which might mean getting hot, tired or disarrayed. Or a model who goes shopping down-town where she might be seen and recognized by colleagues or audiences will be as careful of her appearance as if she were on-duty.
others, or as Goffman terms them, audiences. For the model her audience is the public at large\(^1\) and it is to and for them that she performs her occupational role, both on and off duty. From them too she conceals those aspects of her behaviour that are out of line with her dominant role. For example, models will wait until they are in the privacy of their homes before they will break or abandon role. Conversely, the model's non-work audience (that is, her family and close friends) are the outsiders she generally attempts to keep away from those situations in which she appears in her work role. In other words, models feel the need to practice audience segregation.\(^2\)

The process of role playing and role taking also implies the existence of one or more role models. Through a positive identification with significant others and reference groups the trainee model learns the behaviour expected of her in her new role. As people who have undergone the same or a similar process of socialization, the members of the reference group stand ready to guide or advise the new recruits. In fact they act as "coaches" to the neophyte. (Strauss, 1966: 23)

The reference group at once teaches and reinforces the normative structure of the occupational group and as Sherif contends, "the values and norms of his reference group constitute the major anchorages in relation to which his [ie. the individual's] experience of self identity is organized. (Sherif, 1968: 87) The term reference group is used here in its normative and positive sense. It is, in other words, the group

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\(^1\)The term public includes buyers, clients, acquaintances and the general public (that is, the person in the street) itself.

\(^2\)For elaboration see page 101 - 102.
that sets the standards for the person and the one in which the person
is motivated to be accepted and treated as a member. (Kelly, 1968)

Shibutani's three-fold definition of reference groups is also of
particular value to this paper. According to him

... an examination of current usage discloses three distinct
referents for a single concept: (1) groups which serve as comparison
points, (2) groups to which men aspire and (3) groups whose perspec­tives are assumed by the actor. (Shibutani, 1968: 105)

For the novices in modeling the occupational reference group is the one
to which they aspire. It is a positive identification group but since
the neophytes are still too ignorant of the group norms to which the
other members conform, it does not constitute for the a group whose
perspective they share. With time in the occupation, the socialized
models who have internalized the norms can be said to have assumed the
perspective of the reference group. For them the group then becomes an
identification group with which they identify either positively—if they
view the occupation with enthusiasm and pride—or negatively—if they
have become disillusioned and cynical. For all models, except the
neophytes, the occupational reference group is also the membership group.
For models in particular, the reference group is an important factor in
the process of successful socialization because reference group
participation is compulsory in that contacts have to be made and cul­tivated. The model who makes the right contacts is more successful than
the model who relies solely on the agency for work. In the first place,
the contacts ensure more work and in the second, it is through these
contacts that the model learns the "correct" behaviour toward the
members of the various supporting occupational groups.
Hypotheses

Given the above and the presumption that the study attempts to
describe the process of socialization into an occupation, the
hypotheses are:

The general hypothesis

There is a direct correlation between the length of time in an
occupation and the degree of socialization into it.

The sub-hypotheses

1. Models will, over a period of time, acquire a new set of
   attitudes (with reference to their own roles and those of people in
   supporting occupational groups) that are more congruent with their work.

2. Models will interact with greater frequency with people in
   the fashion sub-culture in direct proportion to the length of time they
   have spent in the occupation.

3. The degree to which a model abides by the rules governing the
   technical aspects of her work will be directly correlated with the
   length of time in the occupation.

As has been mentioned before, the socialization of a model into
the occupation takes place over a period of time. Therefore, as this
study attempts to test the degree of socialization into an occupation
at given points in time, length of time in the occupation will be
considered the independent variable.

However, not all trainee models make the transition in the same
period of time. This points to the fact that there must be some forces
which intervene between the independent variable, time, and the dependent
variable, the new self concept, influencing the transitional process and shaping it. The crux of the study lies in the consideration of these intervening variables and the part they play in the socialization process and not in the postulate that length of time in the occupation is reflected in the degree of socialization into it and in the construction of a new self image. The aim is thus to describe the impact of these variables on the outcome of the new self concept of the "professional model".

On a general level the study directs its attention toward the process of the construction of a new self image over a period of time, through changes in attitudes. Changes in attitudes can be brought about by reference group participation and interaction with the reference group and with the significant others in supporting roles and through the acquisition of technical skills. Reference group participation and technical skills are therefore the intervening variables leading to changes in attitudes upon which the ultimate dependent variable—the redefined self concept—rests.

Because of their importance to this study, the three intervening variables referred to briefly above will be discussed in greater detail in the following pages.

By technical skills, I mean those occupational skills that are taught by the school or the agency and the set of rules (of a technical nature) that force a model into a pattern of behaviour that is congruent with the occupation. As an example of the first, one could cite the motor habits that are taught the trainee model. For example, a model coming into a room will pause for a moment in the doorway to allow the
occupants in the room to notice her, she will then close the door in a way which precludes the necessity of turning her back on the room. By rules I mean adages such as, a model always smiles, no matter how miserable she feel; or, a model is never seen ungroomed. The level of technical skill will be used as an indicator of the extent of the movement from role playing to role taking. Until these activities are so routinized as to be implemented almost unthinkingly, the individual is playing at being a model and is not actually being one. It is also an important variable because, unless she has acquired the necessary technical skills a model will not be successful at her work; and is she is unsuccessful her image of herself as a model will not be reinforced and will, therefore, break down.

The second intervening variable—reference group participation—has been discussed at some length earlier and need not, therefore, be explained further at this point, beyond the reiteration of the contention that the model who participates extensively in work-oriented reference groups is more likely to experience the changes in attitude that are crucial to the building up of a new self image.

The third intervening variable to be considered is that of changes in attitudes. As this variable is dependent on reference group participation and the progression from role playing to role taking as indicated by the level of technical skill, it has been separated from the former. However, it will not here be classed as a dependent variable because the final dependent variable of this study—the changed self concept—is in turn dependent on it.

The dependent variable of the study is, therefore, the new image
of the socialized model.

In summary, over a given period of time, models, by participating in their occupational sub-culture and by acquiring the skills, behaviour, attitudes and beliefs congruent with the occupational structure also acquire a new image of themselves which, by virtue of its dominant position in their role set will, to some extent, shape and colour their entire identity.
FLOW CHARTS OF VARIABLES

The General Flow Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Intervening Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Length of Time in the Occupation</td>
<td>1. Level of Technical Skill Required.</td>
<td>Changes in Attitude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Degree of Reference Group Participation</td>
<td>New Self Image</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Successful Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variable</th>
<th>Intervening Variables</th>
<th>Dependent Variable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experienced Model (Two or more years in the occupation)</td>
<td>1. High Skill Level Congruent Attitudes</td>
<td>Successful Model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. High Reference Group Participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The research strategy of this study uses two techniques common to survey analysis—a mailed questionnaire and a series of in-depth interviews. Its purpose is to generate a body of descriptive knowledge about the female fashion models of a Montreal agency as they pursue their careers.

The advantage of confining the study to the descriptive level lies in the fact that this allows, especially in the case of the latter technique, for a measure of flexibility, which in turn is invaluable to a study of an exploratory nature, as this is. Its disadvantage lies in the fact that it is thereby "limited to an accurate portrayal of surface factors in the situation investigated", concentrating its energies on finding out what is happening, but glossing over the reasons for these occurrences. (Jahoda; Deutsch and Cook, 1951: 77)

While it must be recognized that the most appropriate research technique for the consideration of the occupational socialization of a single group would be that of a longitudinal study which tests the same group for the effects of the socialization process at predetermined intervals, the exigencies of time and the resources available made it necessary to substitute a different methodological form.

As is common with this type of study (that is, a descriptive one) its methodological framework is not limited to any one technique.
As the dual goals of the study imply, its methodology comprises two distinct parts, each utilizing, as has been mentioned before, a different technique of data gathering.

Using a structured questionnaire, Part I elicits information dealing with the fact that models undergo attitude and behaviour changes in response to the demands of their occupation. Part II is more concerned with the models' own perception and description of the socialization process and the occupation as a whole and is, therefore oriented toward a more extensive consideration of the more significant factors involved in the process as demonstrated by Part I. Given this orientation, the second part of the study uses a more flexible, modified focused interview technique.

The nearest methodological approximation to a longitudinal study was the use of three matched groups of twelve models each. The models in each group were at three different stages in their careers. The stages are:

1. The first stage which is during the early stages of training, before the model has begun to feel the full impact of the socializing effects of the training period. These models make up Group One of the neophytes.

2. The second stage falls at the end of the training period and up to six months in the occupation during which time the model was still thought to be undergoing attitudinal and behavioural changes due to the pressures of the occupation. This second group will be referred to as the new models.

3. The third stage is thought to be after at least one and a half
years experience as a model. Given the relative brevity of the career span of a model it was felt that a model would be relatively well socialized into her occupation by this time. The third group will be referred to as the experienced or full fledged models.

The fact that each model in every group is expected to serve as a parallel for a model in each of the other two groups necessitated the use of precision matching. An attempt was made to equate the persons within the groups in all aspects that were considered relevant to the study. The factors chosen were ethnicity, (because it was felt that initial differences in attitudes and behaviour might exist between English and French models)\(^1\); type of school (the rationale being that a girl who has been subjected to the tighter discipline of a religious institution might find it harder to accede to some of the demands of her occupation)\(^2\); marital status, (in that a married model might possibly be less committed to the occupation than an unmarried one); and finally, whether models worked part-time or full-time. The last factor did not apply to the group in training. A further factor, religion, could not be used in the matching because information was not always available in the agency's files which were used to draw up the sample. The factors

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\(^{1}\) The terms English and French are used in a broad sense so as to include people who are not of either ethnic background but who associate themselves with one or the other group. The distinction was made on the basis of the language used by the models in answering the questionnaire.

\(^{2}\) Many religious schools frown on "trendy" clothes, make-up etcetera. For a girl brought up to think that such things are "fast" their inevitable presence in the occupational context may be difficult to adjust to.
chosen were those that would appear most likely to affect the degree to which models were receptive to the socializing effects of the occupation.

The greatest difficulty encountered in the matching of the groups was due to the smallness of the population from which they had to be constructed. As a single modeling agency constituted the overall population for the study, the groups that comprise its sample had to be drawn from the two hundred female models in the agency. Of the three groups, the most limited in terms of size of population was the first group, the trainee models. With the members of this group as the base, the other two groups were arrived at using the agency's files to do so. Given these limitations, it cannot be said that the goal of precision matching was completely met. However, it was felt that the confinement of the study to a single agency was advantageous as it allowed for better comparability of the socializing experiences undergone by the models.

As Part II is, by and large, an extension of Part I and as it is concerned with the models' own perception of the socialization process, its respondents are entirely drawn from Group Three, the experienced models. The rationale for the choice of this group for further questioning lies in the fact that, as experienced models, they are the most conversant with the norms and values of the occupational group and have, therefore, the most complete picture of the process in its entirety. Furthermore,

1 It is not met in that there are more full time models in the third group of the English sub-sample than there are in the second group. Additionally, there are two unmatched married models in the third group of the total sample. When controlled for, however, neither of these variables proved to have any significant influence on the predicted outcomes.
as they are the furthest removed from the initial impact of the active
socializing process, they are probably the best fitted to view it
objectively.

As has been mentioned earlier, the two instruments used for the
study were a structured questionnaire and a focused interview schedule.¹

The questionnaire is composed, for the most part, of questions
which allow the respondents a limited choice of answers. The advantage
of so structured an instrument is that its standardization "ensured some
degree of uniformity from one measurement situation to the next."
(Jahoda; Deutschand Cook, 1951: 156) Such uniformity is beneficial in
that it minimizes the dangers of the subjective interpretation of
questions, even though it imposes constraints in relation to the variab­
ility of responses. Additionally, it has the second advantage of being
more open to statistical manipulation than the more flexible interview
schedule.

Among the measures included in the questionnaire were several
attitudinal measures set up as Likert type scales insofar as the
respondents were asked to indicate their attitudes on several subjects
by checking a category of a scale ranging from strong agreement to strong
disagreement. The adaptation differs from a true Likert Scale in that
no attempt was made to derive an overall scale from all of the attitudes
so measured.

The instrument also includes a modification of a Semantic
Differential Scale which is designed to explore and evaluate the model's

¹For copies see the appendix.
feelings about herself and also her perception of the "ideal" model and to compare the two. While the measures in this study are structurally akin to the original seven point scale, it must be noted that they do not claim to meet its three basic components of potency, evaluativeness and activity. (Osgood; Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957: 18 - 188)

A third group of measures involved the use of a series of Situational Vignettes. Each of these describes a situation based on reported experiences of fashion models in work situations and asks for a reaction to it using a forced choice technique. In structure the Situational Vignette is not unlike the moral judgement measures used by Stouffer. (1962: 53) It differs from them only insofar as it is careful to avoid any moral overtones which, it was felt, would bias the answers.

The remaining questions deal, for the most part, with background data. There are also open-ended questions designed to tap more personal and subjective dimensions that are not otherwise covered. These areas were difficult to encompass using closed-ended questions because of the lack of concrete evidence of the factors involved.¹ It was hoped that the questions would uncover these dimensions which could then be explored further in Part II.

The task of administering the questionnaire was undertaken by the agency itself. The decision to conduct the study through the agency

¹For example, while it was obvious that modeling, like any other occupation would have both rewards and problems, it is difficult for someone with no working experience to compile lists of possible rewards and problems for use in forced-choice questions that demand that the models choose their answers from among the listed alternatives.
was arrived at partly because of the difficulties involved in contacting fashion models and partly in the interests of efficiency. In the case of the latter, the limiting of the study to the models of an agency ensures that the sample includes only those persons involved in the legitimate activities of that occupation and excludes the other category of persons that are often included under the heading "model" when it is used in its broadest sense. The agency's rule against giving out the names and addresses of models to the general public makes it nearly impossible to contact them directly. Further, the models themselves appeared to be more willing to participate in the study when it seemed connected with the agency. The major drawback which suggests itself in this connexion is that a study conducted under the auspices of the agency to which the models belonged may have represented to them some element of compulsion, thereby distorting the spontaneity of the answers. Some attempt was made to minimize this danger in that no questions that related directly to the agency were asked. Further, some measure of protection was guaranteed in that the models were not asked to identify themselves. The questionnaires were mailed out to the respondents by the agency and were returned by them to its booking agent. It should be added parenthetically, that on the advice of a member of the staff of the agency, certain questions were deleted from the questionnaire as it was thought that they may be distasteful to the models answering it. While this was undoubtedly a drawback it was a minor one affecting only two relatively unimportant questions. On the whole, while the drawbacks of this way of administering the questionnaire were fully recognized, they seemed to be outweighed by its merits, the most obvious
being the cooperation of the agency in locating the models.

In devising the instrument for Part II of the study, emphasis was placed on looseness of structure. The rationale for this stress on informality lies in the feeling that this was by far the best way to get at the more subjective aspects of the models' attitudes toward their occupation and toward the people in it and in the related occupational fields. As Moser contends, "the chief recommendation for informal methods is that they dig deeper and get more valid data than the formal interview." Through informality the researcher is able to "get to the heart of each person's attitude" and arrive at a "fuller and more rounded picture than is attained by formal methods." (Moser, 1959: 207) As a fuller picture is precisely the goal of this study, this technique recommends itself as a desired research strategy.

The interview schedule comprised thirty questions on a variety of subjects, most of which were raised by the answers to the questionnaire of Part I. The areas covered included background data, the degree of identification with the occupation, perceived changes in attitudes toward the occupational role and the significant others, friendship patterns, perceived changes in role behaviour, perceived in-groups and out-groups, occupational experiences, future plans and reactions to the public image of a model.

The administration of this part of the study was handled by the researcher. Each interview lasted approximately an hour and was taped. Since all the interviews were conducted by a single person interviewer bias and the accompanying distortions were reduced to the minimum in that, where personal bias exists, it presumably is visible to the same
degree and in the same direction in all the interviews.

Viewed as a whole, Part I could be described as the skeletal framework of the study around which the fuller data uncovered by Part II is built.

The descriptive research model of the study which limits it to the investigation of the characteristics of a single group also places limitations on its generalizability. Although it is likely that this particular agency would replicate in its major outlines the socialization experiences of models in North America, the biases in this sample are unknown. Therefore the generalizability from it is limited and no claims are made for its applicability beyond this agency. Statical inference is, therefore, limited to its [the study's] immediate population (that is, the models in this agency) and references to the applicability of the findings to the universe must be recognized as being speculative.
CHAPTER V

FINDINGS I: DESCRIPTIVE DATA

As the study was conducted in Montreal the sample is equally divided between English and French models: a division which roughly approximates the proportions of these two groups in the agency.

Religion and religiosity

Insofar as religion is concerned, the largest number of models (approximately two-thirds of the sample) are Roman Catholic. Of the others, three are Anglican, three Jewish and four belong to other denominations. Three models stated that they did not belong to any religious group. None of these last had, however, belonged to any religious group before becoming models so the occupation cannot be said to have had a causal effect on their lack of religious identification. However, increasing occupational identification appears to affect religiosity when the latter is measured in terms of church attendance. More models in Group One than in either of the other groups attend religious services at least once a month or more often. Conversely, of the twelve models who never attend religious services only two belong to the neophyte group and five to each of the other two groups. One may conclude therefore, that for the models of this sample, length of time in the occupation is negatively correlated with church attendance.¹

¹It is possible however that increasing age may also influence the decrease in church attendance, the models of the last group being also older.
The social status of models

Judged on the basis of the occupation of the head of the household, most models appear to be of upper middle-class and middle-class backgrounds. Twenty-two of the thirty-six respondents placed heads of households in occupations that could be described as being professional, executive or managerial. Of the other fourteen, nine were classified as being either in semi-professional and technical or clerical and sales positions; two were described as semi-skilled or unskilled and one was presently unemployed. Two did not respond. The preponderance of the professional, executive and managerial classes in this distribution opens up several plausible lines of reasoning which could account for this phenomenon. It is possible that the cost of becoming a model and of operating as one in the initial stages of one's career may deter aspirants from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In short, financial considerations may play a large part in selecting out people who are felt to be ill-suited to the occupation.¹ One might also suggest the applicability of the Life Chances Principle in that the socio-economic status of girls of the middle-classes places them in a more advantageous position, relative to the girls of lower socio-economic brackets, with regard to values and aspirations in connexion with the occupation. Furthermore, with more money and time at their disposal, women of higher

¹In an article on Careers, Personality and Adult Socialization (1956) Becker and Strauss contend that the beginning of the training period of any occupation is the time when persons who, for various reasons are not suited to the field in question will be eased out. The reasons for this need not be financial. In the case of students, for example, it could be done on the basis of grades.
socio-economic status can afford to be, and generally are, more fashion conscious than women of lower statuses. Additionally, it could be hypothesized that given the lower financial status of the lower classes, less money is available for food and a relatively poor diet combined with the lesser attention that is given to physical short-comings which could easily be corrected (for example, bad teeth and skin problems) result in the fact that girls of these classes may lack the physical qualifications necessary to an occupation such as modeling. Besides financial considerations, it could also be hypothesized that girls of the middle and upper middle-classes generally have more exposure to modeling and to the fashion world and are probably more aware that it is within reach of their aspirations when they choose a career. In other words, it is part of their Weltanschauung or world view.

That the awareness of modeling as an occupation does in some measure contribute to the choice of this field for a career is substantiated by the fact that two-thirds of the models in question had known someone in modeling or in a related occupation prior to taking the course. It is quite likely, therefore, that they saw models as a comparative reference group (Kelly, 1968) and one to which they could reasonably aspire.

The life cycle of a model's career

For many girls, modeling is their first venture into the occupational world. Eighteen of the thirty-six models of this sample had never worked before. Of the others, seven had worked as receptionists or secretaries, one as an air-line hostess, one as a Playboy Bunny and
four as salesgirls. All of these occupations could be said to be some­what akin to modeling insofar as good grooming and, what some models call "good public relations skill" requirements are concerned. Of the five models who deviated from this occupational pattern, three had been school teachers, the fourth a sports instructor and the fifth described herself as a musician.

The high percentage of models for whom this is a first job suggests that the majority of models join the occupation while still very young. A question on age when entering the occupation elicited the information that many of the girls had begun working as part-time models while still in school or had joined immediately after graduation from high school. While seven of the models had entered the occupation when they were between the ages of twelve and fourteen; and eight between the ages of fifteen and seventeen; peak years for joining would appear to be between the ages of eighteen and twenty. This group accounts for thirty-three per cent of the sample. The fact that relatively few girls had joined after the age of twenty-one and none after they turned twenty-six, points to the recognition by would-be models, of the relative brevity of the career and the emphasis which is placed on youth. The importance of youthfulness is further underlined by the age distribution of models in the sample. Age is distinctly related to the career pattern. Peak years for models are again between the ages of eighteen and twenty with a gradual decline in numbers as the older age groups are reached. None of the models in this sample are over thirty. The trend in the first and second groups are similar to the overall trend just described. In the third group more models are found in the older age categories, reflecting
the fact that these models have been in the occupation for a longer time. The largest number of models in this group are found in the twenty-four to twenty-six year category and the marked decline in the last category may indicate that, as they get older, models are gradually phased out of the occupation; possibly because fewer jobs are made available to them or call for the types of characteristics they now display. To illustrate, a twenty-six year old model (whom the interviewer had mentally placed in the eighteen to twenty year old category on the basis of general appearance) remarked that she hoped to continue modeling and added that she felt she could successfully undertake jobs of the type that called for a "mother-of-the bride" or "housewife" image, despite the fact that she had in the past been classified as the "junior" or "girl-next-door" type of model. Modeling is, therefore, essentially an occupation for young women and very decidedly a short term career. Indeed as so many of the models are still relatively young, some of them are still in school or at college and work as models only in their spare time. Of the nine part-time models in the sample, five confirmed that they worked part-time because they were still in school. Many of them tend to move into the occupation on a full-time basis after they have completed their education, a trend which is illustrated by the fact that there are more full-time models in the third group than in the second.

Future plans

The fact that modeling is so obviously an occupation which demands youthfulness on the part of its workers (as is illustrated by the current trend in the direction of youthfulness and the "natural" look
which are very evident in advertisements and on television) would lead one to speculate that models probably do make alternate plans for future careers and that the incidence of models doing so would increase greatly with time in the occupation. However, while a slight trend in this direction is visible insofar as the first and third groups are concerned, it is in no way conclusive. Half of the neophytes have no future plans. Of the full-fledged models, five still have no plans for the future and seven plan to go on working in alternate career lines. The models of the second group, who are possibly reacting to the excitement of moving into the occupation itself, have somewhat rosy perceptions of their careers as models, only two of the twelve having any plans for the future. It is possible that the dislike for too rigidly organized a life, which appears to be a characteristic common to most models\(^1\) has operated here to prevent long-range planning for eventualities that may not arise or may be circumvented by unpredictable extraneous events, as for example, marriage. Most of those models who have some tentative plans for the future see their experience as models being of value to them insofar as grooming, confidence and poise and personnel relations skills are concerned. Thus, for models the "occupational valuables" referred to by Geer (1968) are, to a certain extent, transferable both to other occupations and to most areas of their extra-professional lives.

**Living arrangements**

Possibly because of their youth most models of this sample were

\(^1\) For further discussion, see page fifty-three
unmarried and lived with their parents. Novels and biographies of models in New York and London indicate that the latter (that is, living with parents) is unusual among models and its existence in the case of the models of this study might be a reflection of the different cultural setting. Alternatively, as one of the models interviewed suggested, many of the newer models—who are usually also the younger ones—may find establishing and running their own homes prohibitively expensive, especially in view of the fluctuating and uncertain state of their incomes, particularly in the early stages of their careers. Certainly the fact that the number of models who live with their parents decreases with length of time in the occupation may be used to substantiate this claim.

While ten of the models of the first group live at home, eight and four of the second and third groups respectively continue to do so. It is possible that the more securely models are established in the occupation the more likely they are to move out of their parents' homes.

Making the decision

With models, the choice of this field for a career usually comes very early; a fact which is reflected in the reasons many of them give for their decision. These do not tend, on the whole, to be the result of careful consideration and realistic planning. Twelve of the models had decided on this career on the advice of friends who had thought that they had the physical attributes necessary. For eight of the others, it was what they had always wanted to do. Four others had met someone in the fashion sub-culture who suggested it as a career. Three felt they "had what it takes to be a model" and one chose the occupation because
she had read fashion magazines, had admired the models in them and had aspired to join their ranks. Only three of the thirty-two models who responded to the question thought of the occupation in long-range terms as an useful stepping-stone to other careers.

**Characteristics that are important to models**

Given this somewhat idealistic attitude toward modeling it is interesting to note that the sample as a whole did not rank charm, a beautiful face or poise as the characteristics most important to a successful model. Instead, personality ranked high on the list with a good figure, ambition, the capacity to work hard and good grooming in the next four ranks. However, when controlled for length of time in the occupation, there were noticeable differences in the characteristics valued by each group, as Table One illustrates. For Group One personality, ambition, a good figure and poise were important. For the second group personality was the most important characteristic and a good figure, good grooming and a beautiful face were considered more important than the ambition and poise favoured by the first group. Like the first and second groups the experienced models of Group Three ranked personality high. However, they considered a good figure, the capacity to work hard and charm equally important and placed a much lower value on the poise valued by the neophytes and the good grooming and beautiful face that the new models ranked high. As Table One illustrates, therefore, models do change their perceptions of what is important to a successful career with time in the occupation. The newer models' ideas of which characteristics will be of value to them appear to be coloured by
idealism, as the differential ranking of the importance of hard work by the three groups indicates clearly. Most of the full-fledged models who were interviewed took pride in their ability to get along with people and to adapt themselves to a variety of situations and personalities, a factor which is reflected here in the value they place on charm, a characteristic which is considered relatively unimportant by the other two groups.

TABLE 1
RANKING OF CHARACTERISTICS CONSIDERED MOST IMPORTANT TO A MODEL BY LENGTH OF TIME IN THE OCCUPATION*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranked Characteristics</th>
<th>Total Sample</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personality</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Good Figure</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambition</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity to Work Hard</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Grooming</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charm</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Beautiful Face</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poise</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress Sense</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ranked on the basis of the cumulative score of the first three choices. For example if a total of eighteen people had ranked personality either first, second or third, and sixteen had ranked good grooming similarly, personality was placed higher on the resultant scale.

Preoccupation with appearance

It has often been said of models that they are too anxious about their physical appearance and pay too little attention to the development of their mental capacities. One often hears the term "dumb-blond" applied to these girls. Most models are resentful of this stereotyping
and list it among the problems they have to contend with in the course of their careers. In answer to a question asking for a brief description of themselves, it was striking—in the light of the above generalization—that approximately half the sample did not describe themselves in purely physical terms, although the question was so worded as to be easily interpreted as such. Furthermore, as models spent more time in the occupation they showed less tendency to describe themselves solely in physical terms, a factor which appears to contradict the idea that being a model often causes a person to become vain. Of course it is equally possible that the models' responses to this question were influenced by a conscious rejection of this stereotyping and they could be said to have developed a possibly superficial intellectual facade as a reaction to being considered as no more than attractive bodies, in much the same way as blacks and women react to stereotyping in their cases. However, it must also be remembered that the models of this sample are drawn largely from the middle-classes and their consciousness of the value of education may well be a reflection of their class backgrounds.

The very obvious preoccupation of models with their physical qualities is a very necessary part of an occupation in which the commodity is, in fact, one's youth and one's appearance. As a model remarked, "It sounds funny, but what we are really doing is selling ourselves." This being so a model must be aware of her body and constantly alert for flaws and blemishes that could detract from her marketable image. This does not, however, necessarily presuppose vanity, as is often thought to be the case. Many models are aware of this preoccupation and some apparently feel resentful of it. As one of
them wrote in answer to a question on problems encountered in the course of her career: "There is too much emphasis on appearance." Another remarked: "I find I get very tired of my face, hair etc. It gets me very depressed." Yet another model complained of always having to be "impeccable in clothes, make-up, hair and general appearance" for, as one of her colleagues remarked, "you have no excuse for not looking good." Yet, as one of the younger models stated, they recognise the fact that: "If you can still be yourself even with piles of make-up on, you can be yourself anywhere else, in any situation."\(^1\)

While models are undoubtedly constantly aware of their physical appearance, they are also very critical of it; a factor which increases with time in the occupation. The newer models tend to have a somewhat less down-to-earth image\(^2\) of what a model should be like when compared to the more experienced models. This is demonstrated by the fact that the former ranked all but three of the various items of the ideal model conception more highly on the seven point Semantic Differential Scale than did the latter. They also tended to rank themselves more highly on the same items than did the full-fledged models. Tables Two and Three

\(^1\)The suggestion of the existence of a distinction between being a model (or ideal) and the real self is discussed further in Chapter VII.

\(^2\)Judged on the basis of their rating of the ideal model on the items of the Semantic Differential Scale, newer models conceived of the ideal as being very beautiful, very charming, very ambitious, etcetera. However, if the models who were interviewed are to be believed, models are not necessarily exceptional in any of these things when compared with non-models, not even where physical attributes are concerned.
## Table 2

**Mean Score for Ideal Conception of a Model by Length of Time in Occupation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Well Groomed</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>6.58</td>
<td>6.92</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard Working</td>
<td>6.58</td>
<td>6.83</td>
<td>6.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>6.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tall</td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>6.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>6.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>6.40</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charming</td>
<td>5.66</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>6.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talented</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpful</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>5.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slender</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfilled</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophisticated</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Table 3

**Mean Scores for Self-Evaluation by Length of Time in Occupation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Well Groomed</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>5.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>4.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard Working</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Successful</td>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>4.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tall</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>5.58</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>6.41</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charming</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>5.75</td>
<td>5.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talented</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpful</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>6.50</td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slender</td>
<td>5.83</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulfilled</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>5.33</td>
<td>5.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophisticated</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young</td>
<td>5.91</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
shows the average scores assigned by each group of models to the items on
the scales of the ideal model and the self respectively. Furthermore,
when the differences between the scores for the ranking of the ideal model
and the self were summed for each group, the experienced models showed
the highest discrepancy between their evaluation of themselves and what,
in their opinion, constituted an ideal model. The difference scores
for the trainees and the new models were very close, with the latter
showing a slightly higher tendency to view themselves uncritically. A
much larger discrepancy is visible between the summed scores of the
neophytes and the experienced models, the difference score in the case
of the former being fifty-three and in the case of the latter, ninety-
three points. With experience, therefore, models tend to view the "ideal"
more realistically\(^1\) and themselves more critically.\(^2\) The similarity of
the scores of the first and second groups could possibly be explained
by the fact that the former group was, by the time the questionnaire
was administered, in the process of learning how to look at themselves
critically in the context of the training course, which the latter had
only completed a few months before. In terms of experience in this area
the two groups are very similar. Ranked on the basis of the summed scores

\(^1\)As the Semantic Differential scores indicate, the third group
do not see the ideal as being more than slightly above average on most
characteristics, a factor which seems to indicate a more realistic
appraisal of models in general. For example, they place the ideal model
slightly above average as far as success is concerned.

\(^2\)The training course teaches models to view themselves critically
and to look for and correct flaws that might reduce their chances of
success. The fact that the third group almost consistently rank them-
selves lower than do the first group demonstrates the fact that they
have learned this lesson well.
for the entire sample, an ideal model is seen as being well-groomed, ambitious, hard working, successful, tall, attractive, happy, charming, talented, helpful, slender, fulfilled (that is, not lonely) sophisticated and young, in that order. Parenthetically, one must note that the relatively low value placed on sophistication probably owes something to the fact that, at present, the emphasis in fashion is on the natural look.

Modeling as a Front

In many ways modeling with its emphasis on impeccable grooming and smiling appearance suggests the existence of a personal front in Goffman's sense of the term. (Goffman, 1959: 24) In the interviews which will be discussed at greater length elsewhere, chance remarks by many of the models indicated the existence of such a phenomenon. Many of them also indicated their pleasure at being able to "let down their hair" or "break role" (Goffman, 1966: 100) once they got home at night. As did the models in a recent interview reported in the Detroit Free Press\(^1\), they admitted to taking off their make-up and their working clothes and relaxing in blue jeans, tee shirts and bare feet, in the privacy of their homes or among their close friends. Conversely, some of them felt that they tended to act "more like models" when they were being interviewed for jobs than they did at other times. The reasons they gave for this were varied and ranged from the necessity of making the "right" (that is, the sought-for) impression in order to get

the job, to the consciousness of being a product and a representative of the agency in question and being therefore obliged to uphold its reputation. Many models who feel they act differently in this situation are very conscious of the clients they have to please. As one of them said, she acted more like a model because: "It is my job and it is what I am being hired for." Also, one must "show what [one] is capable of as a model" because "you are selling yourself and he has to like you." Additionally, competition is stiff and according to one of the respondents "... you realize that your behaviour has much to do with getting the job or not. One is forced to put on 'airs' in front of the clients."

The way to make the right impression is to "wear more make-up, to think of what and how you are going to say something, be sure to look your best and play the part that either the photographer or the client wants to meet." In short, one must put on a front and must present the "correct" image.

The problems inherent in modeling

While most of the models profess to enjoy their work, many of them are, nevertheless, conscious of problems. It is interesting to note that of the six models who could not list any problems, three were in the first group, two in the second and one in the third. A number of models listed financial and job insecurity as the most pressing problem they encountered and twice as many of these were in the last group than in the second. As the first group were still in training they had yet to encounter this problem. While modeling is a very lucrative occupation in terms of hourly rates, it is subjected, not only to seasonal
fluctuations centered around the four collections\(^1\) for the year but also to fads in that the "in-look" can change momentarily. Furthermore, stores and other clients do not like using the same model too often because the public may get accustomed to her particular look. Models therefore, have comparatively little job security since the majority of them are "not under exclusive contract like Jean Shrimpton."\(^2\) In addition to its being an insecure occupation, models when they are working, find that it is a very tiring one, being difficult and demanding of both time and energy. Many of them complain that it is "too time-consuming and hard on one's friends (especially male)."

While models find the people they work with interesting, they also find that not all of them are pleasant working companions. It is here that the public relations skills on which the experienced models pride themselves come into play. This skill is perhaps one of their greatest occupational valuables.

**The rewards of the occupation**

However, problems notwithstanding, the models of the sample find their work very rewarding and feel that it has many advantages. Many of them enjoy the variety in the work and find the constant change of scene, personnel and work very refreshing. Most of the models who

\(^1\)The word collection refers to the groups of new designs presented for each of the four seasons by various designers and manufacturers.

\(^2\)Formerly one of the most outstanding and successful models in the world, Jean Shrimpton still serves as a role model for aspirants in the field.
had worked before preferred the variety in modeling, even given its insecurity, to the nine to five jobs they had had before because they considered it more stimulating. The models of the third group were also conscious of the possibility of financial rewards. Many models felt too that they were, to a large extent, autonomous in that they could choose not to take a particular job if the did not wish to do so and could arrange their vacations to suit themselves. Some felt too that modeling was a prestigious occupation and others that it was a gateway to many other careers in the fashion sub-culture. A number of the models in the first group felt that it was helpful to them in developing self confidence and poise. In sum:

Modeling is great! Not being tied down to a nine to five day you can come and go as you please. Modeling gives you self assurance and poise. It is a great way of meeting interesting people and often making good friends. There is a lot of satisfaction after a show or photography session, having represented the end-product of a lot of hard work."

Summary

As an overall profile then, a model is usually young and of relatively high socioeconomic status. Quite often her career as a model is her first job, as her youth would indicate. On the whole, she recognizes the fact that modeling is essentially a short-term career but her dislike for routine hampers, to some extent, the making of long range plans for a seemingly distant future. She is, by and large, a person who enjoys constant changes of scene, of colleagues and of types of work and who takes pride in the end-product of their joint labours. Occasionally she sees modeling and the attendant publicity as a source of prestige and takes pleasure in having a well-known face. Her youth
and her relative immaturity are reflected in her reasons for her occupational choice and her somewhat rosy initial expectations. However, she usually revises her perceptions of her work and her work-self over a period of time and becomes more critical of both. Her realism and her critical faculties seem to grow with the time she spends in the occupation and her perceptions of herself and of the qualifications and attributes necessary for the job, change through interaction with other people and through constant playing at the role she is learning.
FINDINGS II: TESTING THE HYPOTHESES

Some of the data presented in the previous chapter indicates that models do in fact change their perceptions of themselves and their work in the course of their careers. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these changes further and, moreover, to consider them in the light of the hypotheses set out earlier in this paper.

To test both the general and the subsidiary hypotheses, a Modeling Congruency Scale (MCS) was constructed. The scale was formulated by constructing indicies on various aspects of modeling where change might be expected. The areas chosen were: Attitudes toward work; Attitudes toward people in supporting roles, Social (that is, non-work) interaction and Commitment to technical rules. Each of these indicies was considered separately and an overall index was also complied by their summation. Scales were formed from each of these indicies by assigning three levels of congruency, high, medium and low to the scores of each. The limits for each of these levels of congruency were arbitrarily set with the middle level containing the smallest number of categories in the index and the other two levels containing an equal number of categories. The rationale for this lies in the fact that, given the nature of the hypotheses, the points of comparison that were felt to be of the greatest value to the study were high and low congruency. Where two or more indicies were summed to form a new scale
the same limits were maintained for each category.

The overall hypothesis of this study is that there is a positive correlation between length of time in the occupation and the degree of socialization into it. In other words, the longer models remain within the occupation the more congruence they will display. Models will change or modify their attitudes toward work and toward supporting others; their degree of interaction with people in the occupational community (that is, the fashion sub-culture) will increase; and they will show a greater commitment to the rules that govern the technical aspects of their work role. Altogether, the role taking or role playing experiences of models should increase their adjustment within the occupational structure and should, incidentally, increase their ability to play the role successfully.

To test this hypothesis an index was compiled of the scores for each model on several questions relating to the above-mentioned areas. The resultant scale was tested for the influence of the length of time in the occupation. On the basis of the results of the MCS the hypothesis that there is a direct correlation between the length of time in an occupation and the degree of socialization into it was not substantiated. As Table Four illustrates, the results for Group One, the neophytes and Group Three, the experienced models were identical at every level of congruence. The second group, the new models show a surprising trend in the direction of low congruence (that is, high idealism) being more heavily represented in both the medium and low congruency categories than the models of either of the other two groups; particularly in the latter category where they comprise sixty per cent of the models of that
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Levels of Congruency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High N %</td>
<td>Medium N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>5 50</td>
<td>5 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>- —</td>
<td>6 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>5 50</td>
<td>5 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10 100</td>
<td>16 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-T: Groups 1 and 2 Ho of no difference rejected at the .05 level
Groups 1 and 3 Ho sustained
Groups 2 and 3 Ho rejected at the .01 level

level. This trend could perhaps be explained by the fact that these models are just moving into the occupation itself and their reactions to the questions asked might well be tinged with the renewed idealism that Becker and Geer contend is common to this stage in the development of a career. (Becker and Geer, 1958) This is probably especially so as "congruency" is defined in this paper as being synonymous with a more realistic appraisal of work related activities and situations. Similarly the surprisingly high degree of congruence displayed by the neophytes might be explained by the fact that this group is reacting to

1Of the assumptions of the Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Test that of randomness within each of the matched trios is not met in that ex post facto matching means that one model in the trio cannot be substituted for the other because each one has been in the occupation for a different length of time. However in the absence of an alternate statistic that was equally suitable for a matched sample, the statistic T was used.
situations which still, by and large, exist for them in hypothetical terms. They might, in fact, be over-acting the "proper" role of a model as it is defined by the training process they are currently undergoing. It must be noted that owing to circumstances beyond the control of the researcher, the questionnaire was not administered to the trainee-models until they were approximately half-way through the course rather than at its inception as had been intended. By this time, one could assume that the neophytes had revised to some extent their original impressions of models and modeling and were beginning to define their roles in the light of the situation they found themselves in, in the school. In the words of Becker, they had adjusted to the situation. (Becker and Geer, 1958)

To consider the possible influence of extraneous factors the scores of the MCS were controlled for social status assigned on the basis of the occupation of the head of the household and for religion and no significant association was found between the level of congruency and these variables. As efforts at precision matching were not completely successful in the cases of both job status and marital status, these variables were also examined. Insofar as job status was concerned, it was noticable that this factor made little difference to the outcome of the MCS. Of the eight models in Groups Two and Three with low congruency, five were full-time models and three part-time. The models with a medium level of congruency were almost evenly distributed between the part-time and full-time categories and the model with the highest congruency score for the entire sample worked part-time. Similarly, being married does not appear to make any difference to the degree of congruence
shown. Indeed, a greater number of married models are in the medium and high categories than in the low category, the distribution for high, medium and low levels of congruence being thirty-seven per cent, fifty per cent and thirteen per cent respectively. Conversely, there are more single models who display low congruence than high, the percentages being, twenty-five per cent, forty-three per cent and thirty-two per cent for the high medium and low levels respectively. As many of the married models are also older, this trend would seem to indicate that age may be an important factor in adding to the degree of congruence shown by models. However, while most of the older models of all three groups display high levels of congruency, it did not follow that most of the younger models displayed low levels of congruency. Again, the youngest of the experienced models of the third group who was also in the lowest age category, (that is, fifteen to seventeen years) showed the highest degree of congruency in the entire sample. This fact might well demonstrate the greater influence of time spent in the occupation, than age, on the degree of congruence attained.

Of all the factors considered, the one which most clearly indicated a significant influence was ethnicity. As Table Five demonstrates, English Canadian models display a lower degree of congruence at all three levels than do French Canadians. In terms of the overall sample, the English showed a distribution of three models with high congruency, seven with medium levels of congruence and eight with low congruency. Conversely, the French sub-sample had seven models with high congruency, nine with medium levels of congruence and two with low congruency. There are an equal number of models of each sub-sample
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Level of Congruency</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High French</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medium French</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>Low French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5
MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION, CONTROLLING FOR ETHNICITY
within each group. It is possible that the greater acceptance of the occupational structure on the part of the French models may be explained by reference to the fact that, on the whole, more French Canadians than English tend to be bilingual. If this generalization holds true for the models of this sample, it might well mean that the French models will be more likely to be able to work over the whole spectrum of available jobs, while the English models would be more restricted as to associates and therefore somewhat less involved with the occupation and would take longer to be socialized into it. Additionally, Montreal is a French city and it looks to Paris for its inspiration insofar as fashions are concerned. This being so, the models brought up within the tradition of French culture might be more comfortable within this sub-culture and might more readily choose their friends among their associates and adapt to its (that is, the sub-culture's) ways faster.

In sum, at a general level, the data presented by the MCS do not support the hypothesis that length of time in the occupation would be directly related to the degree of change displayed by a model. However, as the MCS is composed of several independent sub-scales it is possible that the trend displayed is the result of the summing of widely differing trends. To test for this, each sub-category will be examined separately in the light of the corresponding sub-hypothesis.

The first of these sub-scales, Attitudes, is in turn divided into its two component scales, Attitudes Toward Work and Attitudes Toward Supporting Others.

The overall Attitude Scale when correlated with length of time
in the occupation (see Table Six) showed a somewhat stronger trend in the expected direction than did the MCS itself. This trend is especially evident in the low congruency category where only a single model from the last group is represented, while four models of the first group are to be found here. Taking the medium and high levels of congruence together for easier interpretation, the same trend toward a slightly higher level of congruence is visible in the last group; there being eleven models at these two levels in the third group and eight in the first. As was the case with the MCS, the second group shows a tendency toward lower congruency. Again the reasons put forward in the discussion of the previous hypothesis could be cited as an explanation of this unlooked-for trend.

**TABLE 6**

MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: I. ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK AND SUPPORTING OTHERS, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Levels of Congruency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T: Groups 1 and 2 Ho of no difference sustained
Groups 1 and 3 Ho sustained
Groups 2 and 3 Ho rejected at .02 level

When considering the two sub-sections of the total Attitude Scale a similar trend in the expected direction is visible. While the
models of Group One still score higher on congruency than was assumed by the hypothesis, as Table Seven illustrates, insofar as Attitudes Toward Work are concerned, the models of Group Three showed a slightly greater level of high congruence and scored less on low congruence than did the models of Group One. However the trend is not sufficiently significant to substantiate the hypothesis; (the null hypothesis that there is no difference between Groups One and Three being sustained when using the Wilcoxon Test for Matched Pairs). At best, it could be said that while the hypothesis was not demonstrated, a trend in the predicted direction exists. As before, the models of Group Two show the greatest difference in that they show much lower levels of congruency than did the models of both the other groups. While the inter-group trend is not as strong as was assumed by the hypothesis, the intra-group variance is interesting, especially in the case of the third group where two-thirds of the group display high congruence.

TABLE 7
MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: I. a. ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Levels of Congruency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T: Groups 1 and 2 Ho of no difference rejected at .05 level
Groups 1 and 3 Ho sustained
Groups 2 and 3 Ho rejected at .05 level
In the case of Table Eight which deals with Attitudes Toward People in Supporting Roles (that is, audiences, clients, photographers and other models) the trend is again visible, though here too it is not conclusive. On the basis of the Wilcoxon Test the null hypothesis of no difference was again sustained insofar as a comparison of Groups One and Three was concerned. While the difference Between Group One and Group Two is visible here too, though again in the direction that was not predicted; the Wilcoxon Test showed no significant difference between the two groups. As with the scales previously discussed, more models in Group Three have a higher level of congruency than do models in Group One and the reverse is true for the other end of the scale. However, when one considers the distribution between these levels within each group, the greater trend toward high congruency is somewhat more obvious on the part of the models of Group Three. Of the twelve models of this group, fifty-eight per cent showed high levels of congruence; eight per cent, median levels and thirty-three per cent low congruency. In Group One, forty-two per cent showed high congruency, seventeen per cent median congruency and another forty-two per cent a low level of congruence. However, on the basis of the low levels of difference between the groups, it must be concluded that there is only weak support for the hypothesis that models will, over time, acquire a new and more congruent set of attitudes toward people in the supporting occupations.

The second sub-category of the MCS considers the Non-Work Interaction of models (See Table Nine). The hypothesis is that the longer models remain in the occupation the more likely they are to
TABLE 8
MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: I. b. ATTITUDES TOWARD SUPPORTING OTHERS, BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Level of Congruency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High N %</td>
<td>Medium N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>5 41.7</td>
<td>2 16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>3 25.0</td>
<td>3 25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>7 58.3</td>
<td>1 8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15 41.7</td>
<td>6 16.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T: Groups 1 and 2 Ho of no difference sustained  
Groups 1 and 3 Ho of no difference sustained  
Groups 2 and 3 Ho of no difference sustained

TABLE 9
MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: II. NON-WORK INTERACTION BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Level of Congruency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High N %</td>
<td>Medium N %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
<td>1 12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>1 14.3</td>
<td>2 25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>4 57.1</td>
<td>5 62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7 100.0</td>
<td>8 100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T: Groups 1 and 2 Ho of no difference sustained  
Groups 1 and 3 Ho rejected at .01 level  
Groups 2 and 3 Ho rejected at .01 level

choose their friends from this or supporting occupational groups. In other words, the people they work with will become the people they tend to associate with when not working. Considering for the moment,
only the first and third groups, the trend is very obviously in the expected direction. Twice as many models in the third group associate frequently with their colleagues in extra-professional activities and only fourteen per cent of them have low levels of association as compared with the forty-three per cent of the first group who fell in the same category. Sixty-three per cent of the people with medium levels of association belong to the third group as against the twelve per cent of the first group. When the levels are differently arranged so as to partial out the effect of the medium level of non-work association, the trend in the predicted direction becomes more marked with seventy-two per cent of the third group showing a high level of association as against the seventeen per cent of the first group; and forty per cent of the first group showing low levels of association as compared with the sixteen per cent of the third group. On the basis of the Wilcoxon Test, the null hypothesis that there is no difference between the two groups is rejected at the .01 level of significance. The influence of the length of time in the occupation is probably underlined by the fact that the second group, instead of showing the reverse trend as with attitudes, shows a marked similarity to the first group (the null hypothesis in the Wilcoxon Test is sustained). One may therefore conclude that while length of time in the occupation does affect the degree of non-work interaction with the occupational community, the greatest change in this direction comes after a model moves into the occupation per se. Once a model begins working, she also begins meeting people in this and the related occupations and starts interacting with them socially as well as professionally. New models are in much the
same position as neophytes in that they know few people in the fashion sub-culture with the exception of their classmates and teachers, at least until they move out into the occupation and start working regularly.

The final sub-section of the MCS is designed to test the hypothesis that the longer a model works, the more likely she will be to abide by the rules that govern the technical aspects of her work. The rationale behind this contention is that the longer someone works at a job and the more successful they are, the more likely they are to have internalized the rules and regulations that were taught in the training course. With the rules successfully learned a model can then play her occupational role with ease and confidence. Table Ten however, demonstrates the reverse trend. Group Three shows lower levels of congruency than Group One and the second group occupies, for the first time, the middle position envisaged for it when the hypotheses were set up. Thus, more models in Group One have high levels of commitment to rules than do the models in either Group Two of Group Three. None of the neophytes demonstrated low commitment as do two of the models in the other two groups. However, the majority of the sample fell into the middle category and here more models of the second and third groups have medium levels of commitment to rules than do models of the first group. On the whole, the Wilcoxon Test on differences between the groups did not show any significant levels of difference. In summary, the movement in the direction of lower levels of commitment to rules with time in the occupation does not uphold the hypothesis that the reverse would occur. The large number of models who fell into the median level of commitment would lead one to suppose that fitting comfortably into a
### TABLE 10

**MODELING CONGRUENCY SCALE: III. COMMITMENT TO RULES BY LENGTH OF TIME IN OCCUPATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time in Occupation</th>
<th>Level of Congruency</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High N</td>
<td>High %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>46.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

T: Groups 1 and 2 Ho of no difference sustained
Groups 1 and 3 Ho sustained
Groups 2 and 3 Ho sustained

Role is demonstrated neither by high commitment to—or over-acting of—rules and regulations or low commitment which hints at a part improperly learned. With their roles comfortably learned models can then afford to pick and choose among those aspects of the technical structure of the occupation they wish to abide by. In fact, Geer's contention that the socialization into an occupation includes learning what rules must be kept and what may be broken, (Geer, 1968: 227) could be used here to explain the fact that the hypothesis was not substantiated. When asked about this in the interviews done in Part II of the study, this was, in effect, the explanation ventured by some of the models to explain why they did not altogether conform to all of the rules they had been taught. They mentioned a tendency to pick out those rules which best served their interests and to ignore others when they could do so with impunity. For example, it is not disastrous to her occupational...
image if a model does not walk in exactly the same way off-duty as on. However, being consistently late for appointments connected with her work could have more serious consequences for her. Referring back to Table Ten, the fact that the trend follows so closely the length of time in the occupation substantiates the contention that there is a growing tendency to choose among rules. Group One being at the stage of learning the rules could well be the most aware of them and the most conscious in acting them out. Group Two shows movement away from this and might therefore be hypothesized as being in the process of picking and choosing the rules that best suit their needs instead of attempting to follow everything they had been taught in the training course in the previous months. They may, in fact, be relaxing into their new roles. It is equally possible that the experienced models are less consciously aware of the full extent of their commitment to rules because they have internalized them. During the interviews for example, the researcher noted that the majority of the models who came into and left the room, opened and shut the door in exactly the same manner. Additionally, none of them had ignored the necessity for good grooming, not even the model who was not working at the time. It is quite plausible therefore, that these models had so much accepted the majority of the rules that they had ceased to regard them as such.

On the basis of the data collected, one must conclude that while changes in attitude toward work and toward people in supporting roles occur, and while non-work interaction increases with time in the occupation, a model's degree of commitment to the rules of modeling decreases with time, though it rarely becomes very low. Differences do
exist from group to group and are probably influenced by the time factor, but when viewed as a whole, the change is not sufficiently significant to substantiate the general hypothesis.
CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS III: THE ROLE INCUMBENT’S VIEW POINT

As was stated earlier in this paper\(^1\) Part II of the study is concerned with the models' own views of the socialization process. This chapter presents not only this aspect of the models' perceptions but also their views on the occupation itself and on the occupational culture.

*Changing Beliefs and Behaviours*

The analysis presented in the last chapter demonstrated that while models do, to some extent, modify their opinions and their behaviours with time spent in the occupation, the degree of change cannot be regarded as being statistically significant. However, when the full-fledged models of Group Three were questioned about their perceptions of the occupation, of their own roles and the roles of supporting others and about their behaviour as role incumbents, they felt that such changes did occur and that their experience as models was responsible for these modifications in behaviour and attitude.

*Changing opinions about models and modeling*

I just thought of them as tall beautiful women. I looked at Harper’s Bazaar and McCalls and I thought "What do people mean I can be a model?" . . . I was really very shy to start with because in school

\(^1\)See page thirty.
people used to call me Scurvy and Bones because I am so skinny and they used to call me Frogs because of my eyes and oh, I was really complexed because I thought "who is going to want me for a model?" The pictures I had seen of models, they were all very voluptuous and I thought, forget it!

The above was taken from an interview with one of the most successful models in the agency and most of her colleagues agreed with her evaluation of their feelings about the anticipated role of a model and about their own inability to fill that role adequately. To many of the aspirants full-fledged models as they were represented in magazines and newspapers were ideals, dream creatures to be looked up to and perhaps, if one was very lucky, to be emulated. Eleven of the twelve models interviewed recalled having subscribed to this or a similar view of modeling\(^1\) and all of them felt too that these anticipated attitudes had undergone the inevitable revision when confronted with occupational realities. In the words of one of them: "Oh, I thought she [the model] was way, way up there on a high pedestal and she was beautiful and you know, personality plus . . ." She added more prosaically, "it is like that sometimes, but not very often." Another said decidedly: "Vogue,\(^2\) everybody was Vogue of course. Every girl was making a thousand dollars an hour. An Alice-in-Wonderland type thing." She agreed with her colleagues that her experience as a model had changed her view of her

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\(^1\)The twelfth maintained that she had never thought about it because she had wanted to be a nurse and had drifted into modeling instead.

\(^2\)The magazines Vogue, Harper's Bazaar and McCall's are among those which stress glamour and sophistication as against the teenage image portrayed by magazines like Seventeen.
role and of modeling itself and that it (that is, the latter) was "not much like that" but is "just like a job now." While they all conceded that modeling could be as exciting and as glamorous as their anticipations had led them to believe, this was not necessarily so and that it could occasionally be quite boring, especially in the early stages of their careers when they were operating at the lower levels of the modeling hierarchy. Additionally, modeling is very hard work and "every penny you get you have to work for." They resent the popular image of a model for as one of them said: "They [other people] think we have nothing to do all day but look good . . . but it is not like that, there is a lot of hard work involved." However they admit to having shared this image and according to one of them her ideas about modeling were: "Very unreal, very glamorous and everything came so easily . . . it is not like that at all, you really have to work for what you get." Most models felt that moving into the occupation itself and coming face to face with the hard facts behind the glamorous facade had caused them to revise their opinions about models and modeling. One of them recalling her first job said:

I looked at all the other models and I felt an inch high, the competition is so rough! I didn't realize this. You think before you'll never have any competition when you are modeling. You think all models make it.

Only one of the models interviewed felt that modeling as an occupation had lived up to her expectations. She had expected it to be glamorous and exciting and she felt that for her "it has been like that—so far."

As a whole, models felt that they had had very different ideas about models and modeling when they first joined the occupation and that
they had changed these ideas when their interactions in the work situation had presented them with a very different picture to which they were forced to adjust. To sum up in the words of one of the models:

You see a model as a girl who is just there. Everybody is around her and dresses her and gives her pretty things to wear and accessories and whatever she needs and all she has to do is to go out and show it. But it is not like that. There is a lot of running around, you have to go to interviews and see people, you have to try to meet new people all the time and behind the scenes you are often very nervous, especially in the beginning.

**Changing occupational behaviour**

Most of her colleagues agreed with the model quoted above that their on the job behaviour has changed with time in the occupation. With experience models feel that they become less nervous and excited and are more relaxed in the performance of their occupational duties. Only three of the models interviewed professed not to have been nervous on their first job and one of those three explained:

I was not paranoid because I'd known the photographer socially ... I was fortunate having someone that I knew well without having to wonder, is he going to yell at me, what am I doing wrong ... Of the other two, one said that she had been too excited to be nervous and the other that she "loved it. I felt so important with all those people staring." The others felt that they were both nervous and excited by the thought of working for the first time. Responses ranged from: "I was so nervous! I was really nervous! All I remember was I was freaking because I was so nervous!" to: "I was jumping for joy. I must have been so nervous, the photographer said, 'relax, you don't need to be afraid of me ...'" Nervousness they felt however, was part and parcel of any new job and was not unique to modeling.
Interestingly enough, regardless of how long they had worked, all the models interviewed remembered their first assignment very clearly and generally looked back on their immature work-selves with amusement. One of them said: "I was so scared, I was so nervous; I'd never done photography before and I didn't know what to do. I just lay there in front of the camera like on a slab." One of her colleagues recalled that at fifteen she had been very excited at being chosen to model for a catalogue and was horrified and disappointed when she saw the result: "Shoes! Cut off at the knees! And I was so excited that they were using me as a model." Another remembered that for her very first job she had not yet finished the course and had yet to take make-up lessons so she had to be made up by a member of the agency. She recalled with amusement her subsequent shock when she saw herself in the mirror and as she said:

I looked at myself in the mirror and said "God! That's impossible its not me!" I had rouge all up my cheeks, and false lashes. To me I was like a real painted doll. I thought I looked awful.

Only four of the models felt that they were still nervous about their jobs. One explained that she was nervous in "a different kind of way; stage fright, not insecurity." The second said that the routine jobs did not make her nervous but that she was apprehensive when faced with commercials which involved texts. The third thought that she was a bit nervous about all jobs and added that in her opinion, complacency was out of place in the occupation because "it means you are not trying anymore and when you stop trying you are on your way out." The fourth was not at all nervous when she was doing something familiar, such as photography, but said that she got nervous at fashion shows "when you..."
see all those people out there." The other eight models felt that, as a general rule they were not nervous having acquired poise and confidence with experience. According to one of them:

The longer you are in, the better you get. You feel more relaxed, you get more confident, you feel more at home. Same as going into any new job; you are all scared, you don't know how to act properly, you are trying too hard, you want to do everything so perfect.

Changes in attitude toward occupational rules

As the questionnaire uncovered the information that the degree of commitment to rules governing the technical aspects of the occupation was inversely related to the length of time in the occupation, the experienced models were asked for their opinions about this phenomenon.¹

Most of them felt that they kept the rules that related to much of their behaviour toward people in supporting occupations. For example, they tried to be on time for appointments and they left dressing rooms tidy. A number of them felt too that they kept some of the technical rules that applied to their make-up, appearance and motor habits² but that here they were less strict in their observances, keeping only those rules that best suited their perceived needs. They felt too that they were more conscious of these rules when they first started modeling for:

You are more conscious you know; rule one, rule two, rule three, all

¹See pages sixty-eight and sixty-nine for a discussion of the inverse relationship between commitment to rules and length of time in the occupation.

²The model's walk and her smile are examples of motor habits.
to a T; and of course it didn't work out because you followed the rules so perfectly that that is all you were concentrating on. So [later on] you use your own style and you put them in.

Additionally, "during learning you try. It doesn't last that long. Then you do it and you do it rigidly. After a while it comes naturally. You achieve that grace without being conscious of it." In effect, it becomes "a natural reflex" as the model moves from a conscientious playing of her occupational role to a position of unconscious role taking. It could possibly be said that the motor skills that relate to her occupation become so deeply ingrained in the model that they become second nature to her and are acted out unthinkingly in response to the correct external stimuli in the various occupational situations.¹

For example, talking of what she had termed "natural reflexes" one of the models said: "Another natural reflex is when you are on the runway you naturally go into your runway walk." Further, some of the technical rules have been so deeply internalized that they are no longer recognized as rules. Wearing the correct make-up for the different work situations, buttoning and unbuttoning coats in the proper manner and even the model's runway walk are "not really rules, those are just the basics." However, not all rules assume the status of natural reflexes because "some are more important than others" and, it must be remembered that models tend to pick out the former to adhere to more closely.

¹I am indebted to Dr L. La'fave for suggesting this explanation of the models' non-recognition of the fact that they do conform to the rules of their occupation.
Attitudes toward people in supporting roles

Prior to joining the training course, most models felt that they had not thought about the people they would have to interact with to any great extent for:

You don't think of that. I looked at the picture and I never thought of the studio that the girl was in ... You only think of what you see.

Some naturally, had read about modeling and had heard "rumours" about the supposedly loose moral standards of the fashion sub-culture. While some of them conceded that they were occasionally subjected to advances on the part of a few of the clients, they attributed this to the fact that "there are still a lot of people in the business who think that models are not just models, that they also do other things on the side." None of the models who mentioned this aspect of their encounters with occupational others felt that this was a valid image of a model for, as one of them said, even if a model did have a sexual relationship with a client it would not be of much value to her insofar as the advancement of her career was concerned because, "after all he couldn't give you more than one job a month maybe, and I shouldn't think it would be worth the effort." According to these models, popular expectations to the contrary, models, at least in Montreal, do not sleep with clients to further their careers. They felt that this also applied to their relationships with photographers. As one model disclosed:

I thought, I had read, that models had to form close relationships with photographers, but you can't do that you know, because you are working with too many at a time. As far as I am concerned it is a business and I think that the photographers think it is a business. They have their job to do and their money to earn.
While most of the models interviewed had not thought much about their colleagues before they began the training course, once they had finished the course and were moving into the occupation proper, they formed first impressions of them. Most of these they admitted were not particularly favourable, but ten out of the twelve models claimed that they had revised their opinions when they had become better acquainted with the people in the supporting roles. According to one of the younger models:

When I was taking the course I thought models were awful snobs. I've found out that they are not snobs. I think they are very, very, nice.

One of her colleagues stated that:

At first I couldn't stand most of the people. I thought they were very, very fake. But when I started working, I found that most of them are very nice. . . ."

As a whole then, most models feel that their colleagues and their work relationships with them are more pleasant than they had anticipated or feared. Of the two who disagreed, one felt that the majority of her colleagues were as unpleasant as she had thought they would be and the other stated that "I think I have always thought that it [modeling] was a rat race—which it is. . . . There are very few really, honestly nice people." These models were in the minority however, and most of the respondents felt that they had been agreeably surprised by their fellow-workers for "they are really friendly in modeling."

**Personality changes**

Some of the experienced models also felt that modeling has effected their personalities in that it has brought them "out of [their]
shells" and has given them a certain measure of poise and confidence. Three of the models felt that they had not changed at all, but the opinions of the others could be summed up in the words of one of them who said:

It certainly has improved them [her basic characteristics]. You get a certain encouragement. When I started modeling I was very shy. I still am but at least I can walk in a room where there are a lot of people and I don't feel like hiding in a little corner... It makes you feel good, being a model.

On the whole then, experienced models feel that they have modified their behaviour and their attitudes to fit in with the occupation as they now perceive it. Their basic characteristics have been, if not changed, enhanced and brought out. They have a new perspective on the occupation, their own role and the roles of supporting others and their occupational behaviour has changed with the gaining of experience.

Identification with the Occupation

When talking about themselves and about their occupation models showed a tendency to think of themselves in terms of a distinct occupational group and to use group terms to describe themselves. For example, they refer to themselves as "we models" and "we" and show a tendency to refer to non group members as "they" and "other people". In short, they seem to identify with their occupational group.

The initial identification

Nine of the twelve models interviewed could clearly remember when they first thought of themselves in terms of their occupational role. Two felt they had first identified with the occupation when they
"graduated from the course and got the official stamp of approval." One
Felt she had thought of herself as a model when she got her first job,
and another thought it was when she had first done what she considered
to be a good job. Remembering the occasion she commented; "I felt
great!" Four of the models felt that they began to think of themselves
as models "when the jobs started coming in" and when they were able to
support themselves. Describing the experience one model said:

Two or three years ago I really started doing a lot of work and
then you start seeing the pictures everywhere and people start
saying "aren't you the girl who does such and such" and then it
strikes you.

One of the models felt that she had always thought of herself in these
terms and for her models appear to have functioned as a group with
which she had identified and to which she compared herself prior to
joining the occupation. Of the three girls who did not consider
themselves as models, one felt it was because she was not yet accustomed
to it. The second thought that she did not consider herself a model
because: "I am not that type of person who acts like a model twenty-
four hours out of twenty-four. If you come to my place and I don't
have any make-up on, I'll still open the door." The third felt that she
could not call herself a model because the word implied an ideal and
she could not think of herself in these terms. As she said:

... to consider myself like a "model", I could never do that.
I am not perfection itself, to be like that to other people... I
don't want anybody to copy me because I am not perfect. You
consider yourself as a model because if someone says to you "what
kind of work you do?" then you have to say you are a model; but
it being a word to say what kind of work you do and to convince
yourself that you are one [an ideal to be copied] is a different
thing.

From the general tone of their answers, I think that most of the models
interviewed would probably agree that their own perceptions of themselves as models are limited to the occupational context and that they do not consider themselves models in terms of the idealistic connotations of the word. By and large, models do show some degree of attachment to their roles though all of them claimed that they did not embrace the role totally in that they claim that they are not "twenty-four hour" models.¹

The special qualities and attributes of a model

Most models felt that certain qualities and attributes were attached to the term model. Models, they felt, were people who liked change. Without exception they stated that they disliked the idea of working from nine to five, five days a week, in the same place, with the same people around them day after day. In short, they like the variety and they value autonomy. As one said: "I hate being tied down and always being ordered around; and this way I work when I want to work." Modeling has its ups and downs but "If you are happy-go-lucky you can take the downs, you love the ups and you can balance yourself off in your own way." However, "If you want security and stability and you want a weekly pay cheque and you want things to be smooth and even, then modeling is not for you."

Models do not have to be pretty, they can be cute or unusual, as long as they are photogenic. If they want to be in high fashion modeling they must be tall and all models must be slender, or as some

¹The terms attachment and embracement are used here in Goffman's sense and have been discussed earlier in the paper on page nineteen.
of them phrase it, "skinny". They must be well-groomed and they must have "a personality you can let through." They must also have ambition because somebody with a lot of "push" will get ahead faster. Models must also have a lot of self-confidence and as one of them said: "You have to have strong nerves and want to be a model badly because it won't come to you easy." In general, models are thought to love clothes, to enjoy changing their physical appearance and to approach their work with enthusiasm. As one of them exclaimed: "When I am working, I am not really working because I enjoy working. I am having a good time."

Most models intimated that they could recognize chance met models as members of the same occupational group because of these qualities and because the motor habits of models and their "uniform" set them apart from other people. In other words, models form a distinctive occupational subculture that is easily recognized by the people in the fashion world and even by some outsiders. According to one of them:

Of course when you walk on the street, people—they look at your big bag, they look maybe at you hair or at your make-up that you just walked out of a photography studio; of course you don't look like anyone else. You look particular, and you have your own kind of look.

Another felt that:

It is nice when people see you walking on the street and you have your big bag and you know they can spot you as being a model. Myself, very often I'll walk in the street and I'll see somebody I don't know and I'll say "Oh that is a model" just the way she is groomed, the way she is standing.

Not all the models agreed that this was either necessary or desirable and as one of the dissenters stated:

I can't see walking around town with sun glasses on and your hair pulled back in a chignon, with a tote bag and completely coordinated in Gucci shoes, it doesn't make sense. What you are in pictures is
all that counts; it is not what you look like in the street to me.

**Organizational pervasiveness**

It is doubtful if very many of the other models would agree with the contention that what you look like in the street does not count. In spite of the models' contention that it is not a twenty-four job for most of them, modeling is, in many ways an occupation in which the occupational role pervades the non-work life of the individual. To some extent the occupational role of the model dominates the other roles in her role set. Even when a model is off-duty she feels, on the whole, that she must guard against the accidental presentation of her non-work image to people who matter in the occupational context. One of the models interviewed summed up this concern when she said:

> It is one thing that bothers me because when I am at home I can dress the way I please, it doesn't make any difference because it is only my family around; but even when I go up-town shopping, I feel I have to look quite decent because I am likely to bump into someone who hires me for a show.

Another of the models who subscribed to this view of the necessity of presenting the correct front, even when off-duty, said: "I have gone shopping a few times ... I grab my coat and just rush out and invariably I meet someone I know and then I say to myself, they must think 'oh boy, is she a model?'"

Organizational pervasiveness (Salaman, 1971: 403) extends beyond the presentation of the correct front while in the possible presence of occupational others whose opinions matter. Even during non-working hours, the role of a model obtrudes on the other aspects of a model's life. Some models found the work time consuming and felt that this was
because "it takes . . . a lot of time to prepare for a show." Models are often called upon to take the demands of their occupational roles into consideration when planning their leisure activities. A model will, for example, go to bed early on the night before a show, rather than stay up late to watch a movie, and so "prevent the bags." One of the models who described herself in her non-working hours as "good old Mum who is going to correct homework and fix supper" still feels that when she goes up to her room at night "I have to be a little bit the model again because I have to get things fixed for the next day." She also felt that modeling interfered to some degree with her role as housewife because "you can't do everything perfectly and I have to do my housework after hours."

The occupation is also pervasive in that it makes demands upon models in working hours that might run counter to their own wishes. For instance, a model who is feeling ill or miserable must still smile because "they [the clients] expect it of you."

Nearly all the models felt that the occupation was not as pervasive as it could have been because they were not "twenty-four hour" models, but felt too that for the girls who "put the job first" this could be true. One of the sample did however admit that modeling restricted her activities in many ways for, as she said:

If you want to go on a holiday or vacation or whatever, you are constantly worrying about, "did I have a booking" or "did somebody call me" and you call your agency and if it is something important I will come back.

In the light of the above statements it is possible to conclude that, however much models are unaware of the degree to which modeling dominates their non-work lives, the role of the model does take
precedence over and colour other roles, as for example, those of
housewife and mother. It may also affect relationships with people out­
side modeling. One of the married models felt that this was so insofar
as her children were concerned. Most models felt however, that modeling
did not, to any great extent interfer with their non-work oriented
social life because, "if you really want to do something you'll make time
for it." They felt too that their friends and particularly their boy­
friends, "understand" that their occupation is not a nine to five one
and that demands on their time, even when they are not actually working,
can be heavy, especially during the busy seasons.

Role distance

While models do identify with the occupation and while they
see themselves as belonging to a distinctive occupational community distinguished by certain attributes and qualities, they say
that they do not see themselves completely in terms of their occupational role. Rather they distinguish between their working and non-working selves and contend, for the most part, that they maintain role distance. All but one of the models interviewed stated that modeling was, first and foremost, a job and that the role of model was their occupational role. Their attitude could largely be summed up in the words of the model who said: "I am a model when I work, I am not a model when I go home." However, in view of the fact that she added:

Of course, when I go out I like to look nice. Then I look like
a model, even when I am not working; but during the day when I
am not working I don't wear make-up or anything like that. . . .

one may nevertheless contend that the role of a model does govern,
part, her non-work behaviour. When contending that they had not completely embraced their occupational role, models cited the fact that they "break role" whenever possible and whenever they are out of the view of the occupationally significant others to substantiate this claim. They feel that they portray different images at home and at work. Statements to this effect included: "For me personally, when I get home, I take off my make-up, I take my jewelry off, put on a pair of shorts and top . . . that is me. When it is time to work—you flip the page and it is something else." Also, "When I am at home I am a different person. . . . The first thing I do when I get home is wash my make-up off." And again, "If I am not working I don't bother with make-up. I am very happy not to wear it . . . I am happy with my jeans or tee shirt or something."

These statements make it abundantly clear that models divest themselves of the outward trapping of modeling as soon as they are "out of play". However, the majority of them feel that their basic characteristics (that is, their personality) remains unchanged in both work and non-work settings. They maintain that there is no difference between themselves as models and themselves as people. In the light of their reiterated statements that they maintain role distance and that they break role whenever possible, this seems contradictory. However one of them explained, "When I am a model I am still a person. It is just an outward appearance." Another claimed that "the only difference is that being a model is my work. I am still the same person all the time, even when I am modeling."

Many of the models who felt that there was no difference
between their work and non-work selves went on to concede that minor
difference did exist, but that these were common to all occupations.

One of them said that:

For me it is all the same person. I don't play two separate roles
that often. If I do, me as myself is more down to earth, but when
I am a model, maybe sometimes I'd be more sophisticated than I
normally am.

Another felt that: "When I come here [to the agency] I guess I am more
reserved. At home I'll wear jeans, but when I come here I won't." Yet
another model felt that while she was "basically the same" she "toned
herself down" when she was working and a colleague agreed, adding that
she was "more cautious at work." Only one model described herself as
being radically different at home and at work when she said: "Oh sure!
Me as a person, I am a slob, I really am a total slob. . . . And me as
a model is very snobbish." She added that only one of her friends in
the fashion world saw her non-work self because: "When I go out where
there are Fashion people, I go as a fashion person."

It is possible that the first almost uniformly vehement denial
of any difference in the work self and the non-work self has its origin
in the fear of being thought "phony". All models are well aware of this
popular conception of their occupational group and are swift to deny that
they, as individuals are like that, even when they might concede that
"some models may be like that." On the other hand it is possible that
models do not perceive these differences. Possibly the concept of attitude
switching\textsuperscript{1} could be used to explain the inconsistency displayed by models

\textsuperscript{1}I am indebted to Dr L. Le'Fave for suggesting the applicability of
this concept.
in this context. It is possible that each dimension of a model's personality, (that is, each of the roles in her role set) is compartmentalized, thereby depressing conflict between contradictory roles. Thus when a girl works as a model she is conscious for that time, only of the role of a model and the attitudes and behaviours that are salient to it. Outside the context of work, the model's role and the attached attitudes and behaviours are abandoned in favour of another dimension of her role set and those facets of her personality which are relevant to that role come into play, at the flip of a switch, as it were. In short, people are what the environment they are currently in demands that they be.

Models for instance, feel that they behave differently in different places and toward different clients. The light hearted cheerfulness that is acceptable in a photographer's studio is not considered proper in the more refined atmosphere of high fashion modeling. Conversely, it could also be argued that there is no difference between "models" and "real selves" and that the "phoniness" perceived by the outsider originates largely in the fact that a model has to "put on a front" and must "have so many different personalities to be a model" because the occupation demands that the role incumbents be versatile insofar as physical appearance and portrayed moods are concerned.

Playing different parts

Like an actor, a model must be able to play many parts. She must be able to be sophisticated at one moment, "sporty" at another, and young and bubbly at a third. Her portrayed self has to suit the clothes she is modeling (or the advertisement she is making) not only as far as physical appearance is concerned but also as far as "mood" is concerned.
In all: "You always disappear behind your garment so you reflect what what your garment tells you to do." The majority of the models are conscious of playing a part when they are showing the clothes. They use the terms "role", "front", "part" and "stage" to describe their behaviour when actively involved in their work. They admit too that at such moments, the part being played takes precedence over their feeling, physical and emotional. As one of them said: "If they [the clients] want you to smile and you have a smashing headache, you have to smile anyway. Even if your real self tells you 'ow it hurts' you can't go out and say 'ow it hurts.'" One of her colleagues said that models, when engaged in a work situation "switch on" the desired emotional expression. For example: "Even if you are not happy, you smile . . . you are working now and you do your job."

"Manner", in Goffman's usage of the term, makes up only one dimension of a personal front. (Goffman, 1959: 24) As was mentioned earlier, the other aspect "appearance" is also present. Models change their appearance in much the same way as they changed their manner to fit in with the part being played. According to one of them:

A lot of people want you to change. . . . Myself, I don't like it very much. I'd rather be myself all the time . . . but they want you to change . . . so I don't change very much, only my looks really.

The ability to change her looks is very much one of the requisites of a model's role. The more versatile a model, the more jobs she will be able to undertake and the more successful she will be. In describing composites, which they designate as their "card" and as one of the "tools of the trade", the models maintained that a composite must contain
pictures of a model, not only in various poses but showing various "moods". In fact:

It shows the variation a girl can do with herself. It shows how well she comes out in photographs, what types she is, how many types she can play, how she can look sophisticated, how she can look two years old; how she can vary herself.

All but three of the models felt that when they were being interviewed for jobs they tended to alter both facets of their personal front to meet the clients expectations. In the words of one of the models:

Like, if you hear that the guy wants somebody who is athletic you are going to wear something sporty that makes you look like you just got off a horse, and you are going to tend to make your make-up look like you've been out-of-doors . . . and like, even personality-wise you might try to be what they want.

As a second model explained further, "If they are looking for a bubbly type obviously I'm not going to go there looking miserable and if they are looking for a sophisticated type, I'm not going in with my jeans on."

With this need for versatility in both appearance and manner, there does not seem to be any one image of a model with which the role incumbents could fully identify. Paced with the fact that they must be more than one person, or rather, more than one type of model, they may find it both necessary and inevitable that they have many conceptions of the role of model and may therefore feel the need to maintain role distance in that they cannot and do not identify too fully with any one

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1Composites are folders which show various pictures of models in different poses and in different "moods" representing the variety of types a given model can represent. They also contain information about the model, such as her height, dress size, shoe size etc. They are distributed to clients either by the agency or by the models themselves and are used by the clients when they are looking for a model for a particular job.
of these images any more than an actor would immerse himself totally, both on and off stage in a single role, to the detriment of all others. As with the actor, a model, if she can hold herself somewhat aloof from all her possible occupational images, can move more easily from one role to another. However, these roles exist on the same level as the actor's stage roles and models' statements about their attitude toward their occupation and their identification with it demonstrate that they do, to a large extent, identify with the overall role of a model.

The Occupational Culture

As the foregoing pages demonstrate, models feel that they have special qualities and attributes that are unique to their occupation. However, within the occupation there exist various levels of modeling and the models of one level tend to think of the models of the other level as being different from themselves.

The occupational hierarchy

The hierarchy has show room modeling at its lowest level and high fashion modeling at its apex. Commercials, photography, editorial work, fashion shows, hostessing and catalogue work occupy the middle ranges. Most models start at the bottom with showroom modeling and work their way up through the levels to high fashion modeling at the top, many of them doing several types of modeling simultaneously. However, since all models do not have the physical attributes, notably height, necessary for high fashion modeling, the girls who do this kind of work are considered as being "in a class of their own." The models who do not belong to this group and who do not usually work with them felt that the
high fashion models were set apart from themselves by their appearance and manner. According to one of them:

Those girls [the high fashion models] they are different from me. I have nothing in common with them. They are very sophisticated. They always dress beautifully and their hair is always just so and they spend hours at the beauty salon . . . They are not . . . just ordinary girls.

The models who did this type of work did not feel that they could subscribe to this image of themselves. They felt that they were, in fact, "just ordinary girls." Their work they described as glamorous and exciting since it meant modeling the garments of the world's top designers and occasionally involved travelling to New York and other places, and appearing in the high fashion magazines such as Vogue.

Stereotyping

As might be expected, the existence of and the demand for "types" of models has resulted in the stereotyping of role incumbents. Four of the models interviewed felt that they were sufficiently versatile to avoid being categorized in this manner but the others described themselves in the context of a type of model. Types ranged from high fashion types to teen types and included the sporty type, the housewife type and the girl next door type. The models who thought they belonged to a type felt that they had drifted into it because of the kinds of jobs they had been offered and some felt somewhat trapped in the particular image attributed to them. As one of the younger models said:

In Montreal everybody thinks I am really a junior type. They put me in all those fun-type shows . . . the Susie Sunshine bit. But when I was in New York I did some photography and it looked so sophisticated. Now I don't know what I want . . . I am caught in
Role models and coaches

The majority of the models interviewed recalled that when they joined the training course they had had in mind the image of some model they would have liked to be like or to emulate; in other words, a role model. Only two of the models felt that they had not seen or read about anyone they would have wanted to model themselves on at all. For most of the others, established models like Jean Shrimpton and Twiggy functioned as role models. For others still, it was a model from the agency. With experience however, most of them felt that it was more important to maintain their individuality in a highly competitive occupation. At most they "take different facets from different girls and produce your own thing." Nevertheless, they admitted that the more experienced models had functioned as role models in that they served as a source of information about the various tricks of the trade and about the proper behaviour toward people in supporting roles. In short, they functioned as the coaches described by Strauss. (1966) Most models felt that they had learned many of the necessary occupational skills "from other girls. From just being around you can learn all kinds of little tricks here and there. You just pick them up from the agency and from other models." Additionally, one of the models who works for the agency as an instructor said that she taught the novices how to behave toward the photographers and "the people who hire us." She added that she felt that one learned a lot by watching other models.
The role of the agency

Besides its teaching role the agency plays an important part in the occupational life of a model. All the models maintained that they get the majority of their jobs through the agency and some stated that even when they were approached directly by clients they had worked for before, they referred the matter to the agency. For the models the agency is "a lot of protection . . . when a girl is on her own and she has no reference it is up to her, and people a lot of the time will try to pay you less." It is also "like an insurance. If anything was ever to happen to you; if you got mixed up with the wrong kind of client . . . they can get back to the person." The agency also fights for better prices for models and sees that the clients pay the agreed price after the job is done. In addition, the agency deals only with people "who have a good name" reducing thereby, the chances of a model getting involved with the kind of people who think that "models are not just models." Additionally, the agency has the contacts that are necessary to ensure success for the model who is willing to work hard. Altogether, the models perceive the agency as acting as a buffer between the clients and themselves, providing them with the necessary contacts and protecting them from the drawbacks inherent in a model/client relationship.

A common idiom

As is common with occupational subcultures, and in fact, any kind of subculture, the fashion world has developed an argot. In the course of interviews, models used many words and phrases with which the researcher was unfamiliar, to describe things related to their occupation.
They spoke, for example, of "comps", "cattle calls", "testing", "runways" and "editorial work" and occasionally seemed surprised that the words should need explanation. It was noticeable that all of the models interviewed used these terms in exactly the same way and this points to the fact that they have a shared meaning for the occupational community.

Colleagues

The variety in a model's work means that she has a wide range of colleagues or fellow-workers and that these are rarely the same from day to day. Foremost among the colleagues mentioned by models are the photographers whom they describe, in general terms, as being very nice. While they do admit that some photographers may not be so nice, each of the models said that she felt that "most of the ones I've been in contact with are great, they make you feel at home and really comfortable." On the whole, models disliked being asked to describe photographers as a group. As one of them said:

They are very individualistic. There are so many extremes that you can't say, "well the ordinary person is like this, the ordinary photographer is like that" because there is no ordinary photographer. Photographers are described as being occasionally rude and temperamental, but, in general, models felt that this was part of a photographer's personality and was something to be taken into consideration when working with them. Describing one such photographer, a model said:

1 The word "comps" refers to composites which have been discussed earlier. "Cattle calls" are auditions at which several girls are present en masse and are trying for the same job. "Testing" refers to test photography and "runways" to the platforms along which models walk during shows. "Editorial work" is work done for newspapers.
I like working with her. She is hard, but she knows what she wants. She'll call you a fat ass and she'll call you everything else in the book, but you know when it comes on it is going to be good.

Other models, male and female are another set of colleagues with whom the model works. Again in general terms, models say they like each other and work well together. Seen form a model's point of view, there are a variety of different kinds of models. To models their occupational group is not the homogeneous mass it appears to outsiders. Some models are "very, very nice." Others are on such ego trips. They think "if I'm pretty enough to be a model, I must be very pretty." I can't take this whole bull shit model-trip of going on your face. You may have it today but it is going to be gone tomorrow.

These too, are the models who are "so ambitious that they'll do anything to get ahead, but . . . there are very few like that." None of the models interviewed felt they were like that, although one of them admitted being "snobbish" " . . . when I am with people I don't like."

As a whole then, some models are:

... very, very nice; some in-between and a few a little bit bitchy. Some of them are real career girls and they try to get ahead; they really try hard and they are not too friendly; but most of them are very nice.

However, notwithstanding the fact that most models say they work well together, models do not see each other as close friends outside the work situation. "Friends, yes; but close friends, no . . ." " . . . it is mostly I see them when I come here to have an audition or to do an interview . . ." " . . . like I don't see them on a Saturday night."

One of the models who said that her best friend was a model and added "this is very unusual, by the way" explained that, as a whole, models cannot be close friends because:
It is such a competitive business . . . usually between models you get like this, like "you are working and I am not, how come?" type of thing. You can't stay friends if you are fighting for the same job. There are a lot of models who are friends, but not best friends.

She added that she felt that:

It is a shame because you really need a friend who'll understand. Like, if I said to my other girl friend, "Jesus Christ, I haven't worked in three weeks!" She kind of goes, "Well, why not?" Whereas if I tell Mary I haven't worked in three weeks she knows exactly what is happening and what a drag it is on your mind.

Clients, (that is, people who hire models) fashion coordinators, dressers, and to a lesser extent buyers, are also considered colleagues, and here again, models feel that some of them are pleasant to work with and others are not.

In-groups and out-groups

In discussing their working relationships with colleagues models made it very clear that there are colleagues they consider in-group members and others who constitute out groups and who belong, properly speaking, to the audience. Clients and buyers are such persons and are not welcomed "back stage". Together with the general public, they form the audience to which the model "will tend to show . . . only the end product, [and who] will be led into judging [her] on the basis of something that has been finished, polished and packaged." (Goffman, 1959: 44)

While most models felt they would not mind the presence of a woman client back stage in a dressing room "because I know they are not barging in to see me getting dressed," they still feel that "they have

1Any names used in this paper are fictitious.
no reason to be there." With in-groups and out-groups sex does not 
form the basis of differentiation. Fashion coordinators, other models, 
male and female, dressers and photographers are "colleagues" regardless 
of sex and are permitted to see the model back stage and at such moments 
when she has dropped her front, or when she is actively engaged in 
constructing a new front. One of the models summed up the opinions of 
all of them when she said:

There are people who should be there and people that really shouldn't 
be there. If you are doing a fashion show and a man comes in—he 
has no right to be there and he will be staring at you because he is 
not used to it, but a photographer comes in, or a fashion coordin­
ator; well this man really doesn't care because he has something 
else to think about, he wouldn't even look at you and he won't see 
you... A woman client would also matter because she will also 
stand and stare. She is kind of shocked. They are nice people, 
they are friendly people, but they are not used to the fashion world.

Back stage

The back regions where models are disengaged from their roles 
and are openly engaged in creating the illusions and impressions that 
are to be presented to the audience in the front regions (Goffman, 1959: 
107 - 112) are forbidden to the members of the audience, be they members 
of the fashion world, the public at large, or even the family and close 
friends of the models. If a model is to present an image of cool, 
unruffled poise, she must be able to keep members of the audience away 
from the near chaotic disorder of the changing room. Even families and 
close friends are felt to be "out of place" there and only one of the 
twelve models felt she would not mind a close friend of hers coming 
backstage during the show. The attitude of the others was expressers 
by the model who stated that she "would send them out because they have
no right to be there, not while I am doing my job." Besides, "the show is on the stage, not back stage in our underwear."

Audience segregation

In addition to preserving a distinction between front and back regions and ensuring that members of the audience who are correctly present in the former will not intrude upon the latter and surprise the actor out of role, many models appear to feel the need for audience segregation. In Goffman's definition of the term, audience segregation is the way in which "the individual ensures that those before whom he plays one of his parts will not be the same individuals before whom he plays a different part in another setting." (Goffman, 1959: 48)

Of the models interviewed, four felt that they enjoyed having friends present at their fashion shows because: "It would give me more confidence" and "because I like it when somebody is there . . . I have somebody to smile to." However, the majority of the models felt that they preferred to model to strangers because: "I'd rather be without close people there . . . rather strangers than having family around there or a close friend or something." According to one of the most experienced models:

It is funny, you can have five hundred people in the room and I don't feel like I am being watched, but if there are two or three people in the audience that I know, I feel like I am being watched.

Not many of the models felt they could explain why this occurred. Those who tried thought that the presence of friends and relatives made them nervous and one went on to add:

I don't like them to see me because you have to do a number on that runway, and I don't like my friends to see me like that. You have
to come down and do this phoney smile and . . . that is a side of me I really don't want them to see.

Describing an incident when she had caught sight of her boy friend "hiding behind a pillar and peeking out" and "really screwed up in a show" she added, "it was like I was being sought out."

Reinforcement of the image

While models, in general, prefer that their friends and relatives do not see them in their occupational roles, most of them feel the need for appreciation. As one of them said: "You've got to feel that someone out there likes you." Models on the runway feel that their task is made more difficult when they can sense that the audience dislikes them or is determined to "cut you down." They seem to feel too, the need for the reinforcement of their image of themselves as models and they do not feel that they are receiving this when they walk down the runway to the accompaniment of comments such as: "My God, that girl is a model? My Liza is better looking than her." Or: "Look at that girl's legs, like sticks they are." As one of the models commented: "They look at you and they pull faces at you, really discouraging when you are supposed to be smiling back at them." Under such circumstances models find it difficult to hold onto the image they are trying to present and one can sympathize with the model who said: "Sometimes you really feel like getting right off the runway and smacking someone." However, when "you go out there and you can feel that they really appreciate what you are showing and they'll clap and comment and laugh and they are really there . . . you feel so good." In all,

When you are on the runway you are kind of on the defense because
you are the one being exposed, not them. Therefore you hope they will like you and if they don't, you get mad. If they like you, you are bound to like them. If they look like they are cutting you down you wish they weren't there at all.

The public image of a model

Given the fact that the majority of their audiences are women, it is not surprising that most models feel that women are antagonistic toward them. They feel that, on the whole, women see them as rivals and that:

a lot of them think that we are no good because they think we are, first of all on an ego trip, and that we think that we are God's gift to men; and in many instances they might feel that we might be a threat to them.

In short, models feel that they function as a negative reference group for other women.

Some models feel that this image of models is changing somewhat and that people are beginning to accept the fact that a model "is a girl like any other." Many feel however that the 'dumb-blond' image of models is still prevalent. Others also feel that on the runway and in the showroom, models are "just clothes hangers" and that people "don't tend to think of them as warm or [as having] any kind of life."

Summary

In all, models see themselves as members of a group that is somewhat apart from other people and that is easily identified by members of the in-group. Those members of their occupational culture who are considered in-group members are regarded as part of the larger occupational community, while those people who form the audience
to whom the polished image is presented are considered outsiders, whether they belong to the fashion subculture or not. The occupation has its own argot and its own attitudes about models and modeling which are, in general, contrary to popular beliefs. Models who subscribe initially to the public views find that with time in the occupation and through experience and through interaction with colleagues, these attitudes are modified to fit in with the occupational culture as they now see it.
CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS
FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As the foregoing chapters demonstrate, fashion modeling has many similarities with other occupations. As with other groups, models consider themselves to be members of an occupational community with which they identify. The fashion world exists as a subculture with its own beliefs and attitudes and its own argot. The members of the subculture see their occupational group as a positive reference group. As with most occupations, the novices in modeling have to be socialized into the ways of the fashion subculture, learning the attitudes and behaviours that are congruent with the occupation.

This socialization process takes place over a period of time and, in spite of the fact that the degree of change in both attitudes and behaviours were not found to be statistically significant and the fact that the general hypothesis was not sustained, models do appear to change their opinions about the occupation itself, about their own roles within the occupational context and about the roles of supporting others. They also appear to modify their behaviour to fit in with the demands of the occupation.

While the data collected from the matched groups of models did not support the above contentions, when the experienced models were questioned, they confirmed the fact that in their own experience,
changes in behaviour and attitudes did take place as they were being socialized into the occupation and that such changes came about with time in the occupation and through interaction with the occupational others.

In the light to the data collected in the two parts of the study, the contention that reference group participation increases with time in the occupation and that interaction with the occupational reference group members influences the socialization process are both validated. The cumulated data of the first part sustain the hypothesis that reference group participation increases with time in the occupation.

When questioned about the part played by the reference group, the experienced models confirmed the fact that the other models, the agency and other people in supporting occupations had functioned as role models and coaches when they first started modeling. Some of them felt too that they now served as role models for the new girls entering the occupation.

The data collected in the first part of the study refuted the hypothesis that models would adhere more strongly to the technical rules of the occupation with increasing time spent in modeling. The experienced models confirmed these findings but explained them by referring to the fact that they were less conscious of the rules because they had, in the course of their careers, become "natural reflexes", things which were done unthinkingly. This confirms the contention that models will progress from role playing to role taking in Moreno's meaning of the terms. While experienced models do not adhere strictly to the rules of the occupation they do display a high skill level as well as a high degree of reference group participation. They say themselves that success
in the occupation depends to a certain extent on the successful combination of these factors.

While the data of Part I did not support the hypothesis that time in the occupation was directly correlated to changes in attitude, the models interviewed in Part II felt that this was indeed the case. They attributed their changed attitudes about their own roles as models and about the occupation per se to their experience which was gained with time in the occupation. Their changed behaviour they attributed to their more relaxed attitude toward their occupational role, to the experience they had acquired and to their interaction with the occupational reference group. To this last factor they also attributed their changed attitude toward people in the supporting occupational groups.

Seen as a whole, models do, in fact, tend to change both attitudes and behaviour to fit the demands of the occupation.

The existence of a very definite pattern in the development of careers in modeling was unexpectedly uncovered by the two parts of the study. The development of the model's career is distinguished by a pattern of anticipatory socialization which gives way to the situational adjustment of the trainee models to the contingencies of the training course. This, in turn, is replaced to some extent by a renewed idealism on the part of the new models at the start of their involvement with the occupation and in turn gives way to a gradual adjustment to the situation in which the socialized models find themselves in the course of their work. This last step in the role integration process is characterized by high reference group participation, a high level of technical skill.
(which is, nevertheless, coupled with a less rigid adherence to technical rules) and the adoption of more congruent attitudes and beliefs about the occupation and the occupational role of models.

The discrepancy between the findings of the two parts of the study call into question its methodological framework. It is probable that the methodology of the first part of the study is largely responsible for this discrepancy and that even with matching, personality differences between the matched models may have intervened to produce the data that resulted in the rejection of the general hypothesis and two of the sub-hypotheses at a statistical level. The fact that the full-fledged models recalled differences between themselves as novices and as experienced models indicates that the assumptions of the hypotheses are valid and that a process of socialization occurs. In terms of the goals of this study it would appear that a sample of models studied longitudinally should produce the information in a much more clear cut fashion than was possible with this methodological framework of a cross sectional study.
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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

This study is being done under the supervision of the Sociology Department of the University of Windsor. Its major focus is on how girls learn to be models and the kinds of rewards and problems that go with a model's career. To begin with, it is necessary to ask some very general background questions.

1. What is your religion?
   1. ___ Anglican
   2. ___ Jewish
   3. ___ Other Protestant
   4. ___ Roman Catholic
   5. ___ Other (specify)
   6. ___ No religion

IF NO RELIGION, Were you a member of a religious group before you joined the occupation?
   1. ___ yes  2. ___ no

IF YES, What religious group was this?

2. How frequently do you attend religious services?
   1. ___ once a week or more
   2. ___ a few times a month
   3. ___ once a month
   4. ___ on religious festivals
   5. ___ once a year or less
   6. ___ never

3. Could you state your age?

4. What kind of school did you go to?
   1. ___ public school
   2. ___ private school
   3. ___ secular boarding school
   4. ___ religious boarding school

5. How old were you when you left school?

6. What is your marital status?
   1. ___ single (never married)
   2. ___ presently married
   3. ___ widowed
   4. ___ divorced
   5. ___ separated

7. What is the occupation of the head of your family? (eg. father, husband)
8. How long have you been in this profession? (this includes the training period) __________________________________________________________

9. What age were you when you became a model? __________________________

10. Did you have any other jobs before you decided to become a model?
   1. ___ yes  2. ___ no
   IF YES, What kind of job(s) was this _________________________________

11. Do you work as a model,
   1. ___ full time  2. ___ part time
   IF PART TIME, Could you explain why this is? _________________________

12. Why did you decide to become a model?
   1. ___ friends told you that you would make a good model
   2. ___ you met a photographer, an agent or a client who suggested it to you
   3. ___ you always wanted to
   4. ___ you read fashion magazines and were impressed by the models featured in them
   5. ___ you felt you had what it takes to be a model
   6. ___ you had a friend who was a model or was training as one
   7. ___ you feel that it will be an useful stepping stone to other careers
   8. ___ other reasons, (please name them) ____________________________

13. List in order of importance the characteristics that you feel are the most useful to anyone who wants to become a successful model.
   ___ a beautiful face  ___ reliability
   ___ a good figure  ___ poise
   ___ personality  ___ dress sense
   ___ capacity to work hard  ___ charm
   ___ good grooming  ___ ambition
   ___ other(s) Please name _________________________________________

14. Approximately how much do you earn annually? (before taxation) _____

15. Before you became a model, did you know anyone in the profession, or in a related one? (eg. photographers, designers etc)
   1. ___ yes  2. ___ no
16. Thinking ahead, do you plan to leave modeling some time in the future?
   1. ___ yes  2. ___ no  3. ___ have no definite plans

   IF YES, Do you intend to go on working?
   1. ___ yes  2. ___ no

   IF YOU INTEND TO GO ON WORKING, What kind of work do you plan to do?
   (if you have more than one job in mind could you list them in order of preference)
   ___________________________________________________________________________________

   Will your career as a model help in any way with this job? ________
   ___________________________________________________________________________________

   IF YOU DO NOT INTEND TO GO ON WORKING, Do you have any other plans?
   (eg. to travel, get married etc.) _________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________________________________

17. A model always has an exciting life, going to exotic places and meeting interesting people. Do you,
   1. ___ strongly agree
   2. ___ agree
   3. ___ feel uncertain
   4. ___ disagree
   5. ___ strongly disagree
   with this view of a model's life.

18. Do you feel that modeling is, (the word rewarding is not used here in the financial sense)
   1. ___ easy but unrewarding work
   2. ___ easy though not always rewarding work
   3. ___ easy and very rewarding work
   4. ___ difficult but very rewarding work
   5. ___ difficult and not always rewarding work
   6. ___ difficult and unrewarding work

19. Would you agree that making commercials is fun?
   1. ___ yes
   2. ___ not always enjoyable, but nevertheless interesting
   3. ___ not always enjoyable
   4. ___ never enjoyable, but interesting nevertheless
   5. ___ no, they are dull and exhausting to make
20. In the following section, please mark X on each line at the point between the two terms that best describes you as you now feel.

attractive  unattractive
successful  unsuccessful
sophisticated  unsophisticated
young  old
ambitious  unambitious
charming  vicious
helpful  unhelpful
well groomed  sloppy
hard working  lazy
happy  unhappy
lonely  fulfilled
slender  overweight
tall  short
talented  untalented

21. In the following section, please mark X on each line at the point between the two terms that best describes what you think the ideal model should be.

attractive  unattractive
successful  unsuccessful
sophisticated  unsophisticated
young  old
ambitious  unambitious
charming  vicious
helpful  unhelpful
well groomed  sloppy
hard working  lazy
happy  unhappy
lonely  fulfilled
slender  overweight
tall  short
talented  untalented

22. If a male photographer, agent or client walked into the dressing-room while you were changing, would you,
1. ___ mind very much
2. ___ mind but not want to do or say anything to show this
3. ___ feel only slightly uncomfortable
4. ___ not mind at all

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23. If any other man walked into the dressing room while you were changing, would you,
   1. ___ mind very much
   2. ___ mind, but not want to do or say anything to show this
   3. ___ feel only slightly uncomfortable
   4. ___ not mind at all

24. Do you think audiences are,
   1. ___ fun to model to
   2. ___ a challenge
   3. ___ a necessary evil
   4. ___ depends on the audience

IF LAST, Please explain briefly ________________________________

25. In your experience, what are the best audiences and the worst audiences to model to and why?
   the best ___________________________________________________
   the worst ___________________________________________________

26. Do you think photographers, as a whole, are
   1. ___ very easy to work with
   2. ___ easy enough to work with
   3. ___ rather difficult to work with
   4. ___ very difficult to work with

27. Do you think clients, as a whole, are
   1. ___ very easy to work with
   2. ___ easy enough to work with
   3. ___ rather difficult to work with
   4. ___ very difficult to work with

28. Are the parties and social gatherings you go to given,
   1. ___ always by people connected with the fashion world
   2. ___ often by people connected with the fashion world
   3. ___ mostly by people not connected with the fashion world
   4. ___ always by people not connected with the fashion world
29. When you give a party, do you invite
   1. ___ only people connected with fashion
   2. ___ mostly people connected with fashion
   3. ___ mostly other people
   4. ___ only other friends

30. What are the professions of your four closest friends and how long
    have you known each of them?

31. Do you live with your family?
   1. ___ yes
   2. ___ no

   IF NO, How often do you see them? _____________________

32. If you share an apartment, are you roommates,
   1. ___ other models
   2. ___ connected with fashion but not models
   3. ___ friends not connected with fashion
   4. ___ other (please specify) _____________________________
   5. ___ do not share an apartment
   6. ___ live with parents

33. Do you find that your dates (steady boyfriends, fiance) are
   1. ___ mostly connected with fashion in some way
   2. ___ sometimes connected with fashion
   3. ___ never connected with fashion

   IF THREE, What sorts of professions do they usually have? ______

34. When you are not modeling, but you are going out of the house, do
    you wear make-up?
   1. ___ always
   2. ___ often
   3. ___ sometimes
   4. ___ hardly ever
   5. ___ never

35. Would you go out (eg. to the local supermarket) with rollers in
    your hair?
   1. ___ never
   2. ___ only when you absolutely have to
   3. ___ sometimes
   4. ___ often
   5. ___ do not use rollers
36. When you are being interviewed by a client or photographer, do you feel that you act more "like a model" than at other times?
   1. __ yes  2. __ no

IF YES, Could you explain why this is ______________________________

37. When you are not modeling, do you unbutton your coat from the bottom up?
   1. __ always
   2. __ as often as you remember
   3. __ quite often
   4. __ hardly ever
   5. __ never

38. When you are not modeling, have you ever found yourself standing in the same way as you would when you pause on the runway?
   1. __ very often
   2. __ often
   3. __ hardly ever
   4. __ never
   5. __ don't really notice

39. When you get off the runway, do you
   1. __ walk in exactly the same way always
   2. __ walk in the same way when you remember
   3. __ walk in the same way when people are watching you
   4. __ hardly ever remember to walk in the same way
   5. __ never remember to walk in the same way

40. When you are walking in a store with piped music, do you find yourself walking in time to the music?
   1. __ invariably
   2. __ often
   3. __ sometimes
   4. __ never

41. Check the statement with which you agree most.
   1. __ on the runway all that matters are the clothes and how they are modeled
   2. __ the model is as important as the clothes
   3. __ it is the model who makes the clothes

42. Could you give a brief description of yourself ______________________________

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43. Most kinds of occupations have drawbacks and problems attached to them. What are the problems that you encounter most often in the course of your career as a model?

44. What do you feel are the greatest advantages and rewards of being a model?
QUESTIONNAIRE (FRANCAIS)

Cette étude est en train d'être accompli sous la supervision du Département de Sociologie de l'Université de Windsor. Le sujet principal on veut étudier est la carrière de modèle; notre question principale: comment des jeunes filles deviennent-elles modèles professionnelles, les types de récompense qu'elles obtiennent et les types des problèmes qu'elles rencontrent dans leur carrières. Pour commencer on vous demande quelques questions de type général.

1. Quelle est votre religion?
   1. ___ Anglican
   2. ___ Juif
   3. ___ Autre denomination
   4. ___ Catholique romain
   5. ___ Autre (préciser) ___________
   6. ___ Sans religion

   SI VOUS N'AVEZ PAS DE RELIGION, appartenez-vous à un group religieux avant d'exercer cette profession?

   1. ___ oui
   2. ___ non

2. Combien de fois assistez-vous à un service religieux?
   1. ___ un fois par semaine ou plus souvent
   2. ___ plusier fois par mois
   3. ___ une fois par mois
   4. ___ à l'occasion des fêtes religieuses
   5. ___ un fois par ané ou moins
   6. ___ jamais

3. Quel est votre âge? _________________________________

4. Quel type d'école avez-vous fréquenté?
   1. ___ école publique
   2. ___ école privée
   3. ___ pensionnat laïque
   4. ___ pensionnat religieux

5. A quel âge avez-vous quitté l'école? _________________________________

6. Quel est votre état civil?
   1. ___ célibataire (jamais marié)
   2. ___ marié
   3. ___ veuve
   4. ___ divorcé
   5. ___ séparé

7. Quel est l'occupation du chef de famille? (ex. père, marie) ________
8. Depuis combien de temps exercez-vous cette profession? (la période d' apprentissage compris) ________________________________

9. A quel âge êtes-vous devenue modèle? ________________________________

10. Avez-vous exercé d'autres occupation avant de décider de devenir modèle?
1. ___ oui 2. ___ non
SI OUI, veuillez préciser quel emploi ________________________________

11. Travaillez-vous,
1. ___ à temps complet 2. ___ à mi-temps
SI VOUS TRAVAILLEZ À MI-TEMPS, veuillez préciser pourquoi ________________________________

12. Qu'est ce qui vous a décidé à devenir modèle?
1. ___ des amis vous ont dit que vous feriez un bon modèle
2. ___ vous avez rencontré un photographe, un homme d'affaires ou un client le quel ont suggéré que vous devenez un modèle
3. ___ vous avez toujours voulu exercer cette profession
4. ___ vous avez lu des magazines de mode et avez été impressionné par les modèles
5. ___ vous pensez avoir les qualités requises
6. ___ vous aviez une amie mannequin ou apprenant la profession
7. ___ vous pensez que cela pouvait être un tremplin pour d'autres professions
8. ___ pour autres raisons (veuillez expliquer) ________________________________

13. Écrivez par ordre d'importance les caractéristiques qui à votre avis sont les plus importantes pour quelqu'un qui veut devenir un modèle demandé.

___ un beau visage ___ sûreté
___ une silhouette agréable ___ un port harmonieux
___ de la personnalité ___ du goût
___ l'endurance au travail ___ du charme
___ une bonne présentation ___ ambition
___ autre(s) veuillez les citer ________________________________

14. Quel est à peu près votre revenu annuel? (avant les impôts) _______

15. Avant de devenir modèle, connaissez-vous quelqu'un dans cette profession ou dans une profession voisine (ex. photographes, dessinateurs de mode etc.)
1. ___ oui 2. ___ non
16. En ce qui concerne vos projets d'avenir, envisagez-vous de quitter cette profession un jour?
1. ___ oui  2. ___ non  3. ___ ne sait pas

SI OUI, avez-vous l'intention de continuer à travailler?
1. ___ oui  2. ___ non

SI OUI, quel genre de travail envisagez-vous? (Si vous pensez à plus d'un métier, veuillez les classer par ordre de préférence) ________

Votre métier de modèle vous sera-t-il utile de quelque façon pour cet emploi? __________________________________________________________

SI VOUS N'AVEZ PAS L'INTENTION DE CONTINUER À TRAVAILLER, avez-vous d'autres projets? (ex. voyager, vous marier etc.) ______________

17. Un modèle vit toujours une vie passionnante, elle va dans des endroits nouveaux et elle rencontre des gens intéressants. Est-ce que,
1. ___ vous êtes entièrement d'accord
2. ___ vous êtes d'accord
3. ___ vous n'êtes pas tellement d'accord
4. ___ vous n'êtes pas d'accord
5. ___ vous pensez que c'est tout à fait faux
avec cette façon d'envisager la vie d'un modèle.

18. Pensez-vous qu'être modèle est (récompensé ici: pas dans un sens financier)
1. ___ très facile mais pas récompensé du tout
2. ___ très facile et aussi assez récompensé
3. ___ très facile et très récompensé
4. ___ très difficile mais très récompensé
5. ___ très difficile mais assez récompensé
6. ___ très difficile et pas récompensé du tout

19. Pensez-vous que c'est amusant de faire de la publicité?
1. ___ oui
2. ___ pas toujours agréable, mais néanmoins intéressant
3. ___ pas toujours agréable
4. ___ jamais agréable, mais intéressant
5. ___ non, c'est ennuyeux et fatigant à faire
20. Dans la section suivante veuillez marquer un X sur chaque ligne au point situé entre les deux termes qui vous décrit le mieux.

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<th>Séduisante</th>
<th>Vous réussissez</th>
<th>Peu séduisante</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mince</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grande</td>
<td>Vous avez du talent</td>
<td>Simple</td>
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21. Dans la section suivante, veuillez marquer une croix (X) sur chaque ligne au point situé entre les deux termes qui selon vous décrit le mieux le modèle idéal.

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<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambitieuse</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charmante</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utile</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Présentant bien</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborieuse</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heureuse</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolée</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mince</td>
<td>Vous réussissez</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grande</td>
<td>Vous avez du talent</td>
<td>Simple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. Si un photographe, un homme d'affaires ou un client entraient dans le vestiaire pendant que vous vous changez, cela

1. ___ vous derangerait beaucoup
2. ___ vous derangerait mais vous ferez ou diriez rien qui puisse indiquer ceci
3. ___ vous derangerait seulement un peu
4. ___ ne vous derangerait pas du tout
DITES POURQUOI

23. Si un homme (autre que ceux cités ci-dessus) entraient dans le vestiaire pendant que vous vous changez, cela
1. ___ vous dérangerait beaucoup
2. ___ vous dérangerait mais vous feriez ou diriez rien qui puisse indiquer ceci
3. ___ vous dérangerait seulement un peu
4. ___ ne vous dérangerait pas du tout

DITES POURQUOI

24. Pensez-vous que les spectateurs sont,
1. ___ amusant de présenter des modèles devant eux
2. ___ un défi
3. ___ un mal nécessaire
4. ___ cela dépend quelle sorte de spectateurs

SI VOUS AVEZ DIT "OUI" À LA DERNIÈRE, expliquez brièvement

25. Devant votre carrière, quel a été le public le meilleur et quel a été le pire, pourquoi?
le meilleur ___________________________________________
le pire ___________________________________________

26. Que pensez-vous des photographes, en général?
1. ___ très facile de travailler avec eux
2. ___ assez facile de travailler avec eux
3. ___ assez difficile de travailler avec eux
4. ___ très difficile de travailler avec eux

27. Pensez-vous que les clients, en général, sont
1. ___ très facile de travailler avec eux
2. ___ assez facile de travailler avec eux
3. ___ assez difficile de travailler avec eux
4. ___ très difficile de travailler avec eux

28. Les soirées et les réunions auxquelles vous allez, sont-elles données
1. ___ toujours par des gens qui ont un rapport avec les carrières de la haute couture
2. ___ souvent par des gens qui ont un rapport avec les carrières de la haute couture
3. ___ en général par des gens qui n'ont pas de rapport avec des carrières de la haute couture
4. ___ toujours par des gens qui n'ont pas de rapport avec des carrières de la haute couture
29. Quand vous organisez une soirée, invitez-vous
1. ___ seulement des gens qui travaillent dans la haute couture
2. ___ en général des gens qui travaillent dans la haute couture
3. ___ en général les autres (ex. des amies)
4. ___ seulement des amies

30. Quels métier exercent vos quatre amis les plus intimes et depuis combien de temps connaissez-vous ces amies?

31. Habitez-vous chez vos parents?
1. ___ oui
2. ___ non

SI VOUS AVEZ RÉPONDU NON, les voyez vous souvent?

32. Si vous partagez un appartement avec des copines, quel font-elles?
1. ___ mannequins
2. ___ travaillent dans la haute couture, mais ne sont pas modèles
3. ___ amies qui ne travaillent pas dans la haute couture
4. ___ autres (préciser)
5. ___ ne partagez pas un appartement
6. ___ habitez chez vos parents

33. Les garçons avec qui vous sortez (des amies ou votre fiancé) ont
1. ___ toujours un rapport avec la haute couture
2. ___ quelquefois des rapport avec la haute couture
3. ___ jamais de rapport avec la haute couture

SI VOUS AVEZ RÉPONDU OUI AU LA QUESTION TROIS, Quel est leur métier en général?

34. En dehors de votre travail, quand vous sortez de la maison avec des amies, par exemple, vous maquillez-vous?
1. ___ toujours
2. ___ souvent
3. ___ quelquefois
4. ___ presque jamais
5. ___ jamais

35. Sortirez-vous (ex. pour aller faire des courses) avec vos bigonidis?
1. ___ jamais
2. ___ seulement si vous ne pouvez faire autrement
3. ___ quelquefois
4. ___ souvent
5. ___ ne mets pas de bigonidis

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36. Quand un client ou un photographe vous interviewe, avez-vous l'impression d'agir plus "comme un model" que dans d'autres moment
1. ___ oui 2. ___ non
SI OUI, veuillez dire pourquoi _____________________________

37. Quand vous n'êtes pas en train de modéler, déboutonnez-vous toujours votre manteau en commençant par le bouton du bas?
1. ___ toujours
2. ___ aussi souvent que je m'en souvienne
3. ___ très souvent
4. ___ presque jamais
5. ___ jamais

38. Quand vous n'êtes pas en train de modéler, trouvez-vous que vous adoptez les mêmes poses que quand vous êtes sur la passerelle?
1. ___ très souvent
2. ___ souvent
3. ___ presque jamais
4. ___ jamais

39. Lorsque vous sortez de la passerelle, est-ce que
1. ___ vous marchez toujours exactement de la même façon
2. ___ vous marchez de la même façon quand vous vous en souvenez
3. ___ vous marchez de la même façon seulement quand il y a des gens qui vous regarde
4. ___ vous marchez rarement de la même façon
5. ___ vous ne marchez jamais de la même façon

40. Quand vous êtes dans un magasin où il y a de la musique, trouvez-vous que vous suivez le rythme de la musique en vous promenant?
1. ___ toujours
2. ___ souvent
3. ___ quelquefois
4. ___ jamais

41. Faites une croix devant la phrase avec la quel vous êtes d'accord.
1. ___ sur la passerelle les deux choses les plus importantes sont les vêtements et le façon de les modèles
2. ___ le modèle est aussi important que les vêtements
3. ___ c'est le modèle qui met les vêtements en valeur

42. Pouvez-vous me donner une description de vous-même. _____________________________

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43. La plupart des métiers ont leur propres inconveniences et leur propres problèmes. Quel sont les problèmes que vous trouvez le plus souvent au cours de votre carrière de modèle? ________________

44. Quels sont d'après vous les avantages les plus considérables et les récompenses les plus intéressantes de votre carrière? _________________
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. How long have you been a model?

2. What kinds of modeling jobs do you do?

3. Why did you choose modeling as a career?

4. Could you describe an average working day? Probe Pick a day last week and describe it.

5. A. (i) Before you took the training course, what was your image of a model? (ii) Do you still think that way?
   B. (i) What kinds of ideas did you have about modeling itself? (ii) Did it live up to your expectations?
   C. (i) What kinds of ideas did you have of the people you would be working with—I mean photographers, clients other models etc. (ii) Are they the way you thought they would be?

6. A. Do you think being a model fits in with the kind of person you are? Probe I mean with your personality.
   B. If Yes In what ways?
   If No How is that?

7. Thinking back, could you tell me when you first began to think of yourself as a model? Probe Was it when you began the training course, when you got your first job or some other time?

8. A. Do you remember your very first job? Probe What was it?
   B. Can you remember what happened and how you felt? Probe Were you nervous, excited, confident?
   C. Do you feel the same about the jobs you do now?

9. A. (i) When you started modeling, did you have some idea of the kind of model you wanted to be? (ii) Why did you choose that type?
   B. Was there someone you wanted to be like? Probe Perhaps someone you knew, or had read about and admired, or someone at the agency you thought you would like to be like?

10. A. Is modeling a very competitive occupation? Probe In what ways?
    B. Is there any of the sort of backbiting that goes on for instance in some offices?

11. A. When you started modeling, how did you get your first job?
    B. Do you still get all your jobs that way?
    If No How do you get them?
12. A. Could you tell me, what exactly are composites?
   B. What is their purpose?
   C. How are they distributed?

13. A. What exactly do buyers and clients do?
   B. Who are the other people models have to work with?
   C. What are; (i) buyers, (ii) clients, (iii) photographers, (iv) other models like to work with?
   D. Did you think they would be like that when you first started modeling?
   E. Thinking about them as a group, who do you think are easier to work with, men or women?

14. A. A number of people said that the worst audiences, in their opinion are women; do you think so?
   If Yes  Why is this?
   B. How do you think women as a whole see models?
   C. What do you think of women, in general?

15. A. As a whole, how do you think of other models?
   B. Does this affect your working relationships with them?
   C. Does this affect your other relationships with them?

16. When I asked a question about people walking into dressing rooms, some models said that they would mind more if a client walked in than if a photographer did. Why is this? Probe Suppose the clients were women rather than men, would models mind as much? Probe Why/Why not?

17. A. Suppose a close friend of yours, either a man or a woman was watching the show; would you like that? Probe Why?
   B. If this person came back stage while the show was going on, would you be pleased or annoyed? Probe Why?

18. A. A lot of people said that modeling is very time consuming. In what ways is this so?
   B. Do you find that it affects your relationships with people outside modeling? Probe How?

19. A. In interviews models often mentioned the rules of modeling. During the training course were you taught any "rules".
   B. What kinds of rules? Probe How to walk, what kinds of make-up to wear and when, opening and closing doors, etc.
   C. Do you keep these rules?
   If Yes  Why?
   If Not All  Which ones and why?
   If No  Why not? Have you replaced them with your own rules?

20. A. I noticed that many of the models I have interviewed were between eighteen and twenty-three, even though some of them were experienced models. In terms of general occupations that seems
131

that seems rather unusual. Why is it so?
B. Do you think models improve as they get older?
C. Is age at all important?

21. A. Do you see modeling as a shorter career that others? probe Why?
B. Do you feel that as models get older they get less jobs?
C. Is this because of age or because of other things? probe What kinds of things?

22. A. When you leave modeling, do you think you will go into another type of work? probe What would you like to work as? probe Will your experience as a model help?
B. When did you first think of that type of work? probe Did you get interested in it after you had started modeling?

23. Thinking about your entire career as a model, when do you think you learned the skills that you needed? probe During the training course or later, on the job?

24. A. Are you a special type?
B. When did you decide that this was you? probe At what point in your career?
C. Did you decide that for yourself? probe Did someone suggest it to you or did you sort of drift into it because of the jobs you got?

25. Some models say that they behave differently when being interviewed for jobs because they are trying to sell an image or to be what the client wants. Do you think this is so?

26. Do you think modeling has brought out your basic characteristics? probe In what ways?

27. A. If you feel that there is a difference between you as a person and you as a model, do the people you work with ever see the person behind the model? probe Why/why not?
B. if dichotomy (i) how would you describe the basic you? (ii) how is the model you different? (iii) do you feel comfortable switching from one to the other? (iv) is it easy? (v) was it always easy? probe Or did it get easier as you got more experienced?
If no dichotomy everybody is somewhat different at work and at home, but, would you say that you behave in more or less the same way most of the time? probe Was it the same before you became a model? if it changed did modeling have anything to do with it or do you think it would have happened anyway?

28. A. Most models seem to find it difficult to give an estimate of how much they earn, I gather it fluctuates, so could you tell me about how successful you are compared to the other models of the agency? probe Very successful, successful, average, not
very successful?
B. On what would you base this?

29. A. Many people think that success in modeling is based on having the right contacts. Do you think this is so? Probe Is it true for you? Is it true for other models?
B. I have not really been able to find out what "having the right contacts" means, would you be able to tell me, I mean give me an inside view? Probe Does it mean knowing photographers and clients and people like that?

30. A. What exactly is the public image of a model here in Montreal.
B. Do you think this view is correct?
VITAE AUTORIS

1947  Born on April 3rd in Colombo, Ceylon.


1964  Completed high school education at Holy Family Convent, Bambalapitiya, Colombo, Ceylon, winning the Isabelle Loos Memorial Gold Medal for the highest marks in the University Entrance Examination.


1970  Received Bachelor of Arts Degree at McGill University, Montreal, Quebec.

1970/71 Research Assistant at the International Institute for Labour Studies, Geneva, Switzerland.

1973  Candidate for Master of Arts Degree in Sociology at the University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario.