

**Models as Cultural Intermediaries:  
A Discourse Analysis of the Program *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model***

by

Jenna Jones

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
The University of Manitoba  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg

Copyright © 2013 by Jenna Jones

## ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the question of whether the participants of Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model act as cultural intermediaries. There is a gap in the literature surrounding the role of participants in reality television programs. Through this analysis, I found the ability of the participant-models to act as cultural intermediaries on *BINTM* is limited because of their lack of experience, knowledge, and skills. Although they develop their skills throughout the program, they are unable to move up the entrenched hierarchy that exists in the program and that is actively maintained by the judges and other program participants. The participant-models' positions are constantly challenged as they struggle to prove themselves as models. Methodologically, I undertake a discourse analysis of series eight of *BINTM* and include two other data sources to give my research greater context and validity. By drawing on the work of Bourdieu and more contemporary scholars of cultural intermediaries, I examine how the participant-models struggle to gain cultural capital and briefly act as cultural intermediaries before the authority and status of the judges is reasserted. In order to address issues related to gender, I also draw on the work of feminist scholars who have expanded on the work of Bourdieu. The hierarchy of the program brings to the surface how the ability to act as a cultural intermediary can best be understood in terms of a continuum, and an individual's position on the continuum is constantly shifting depending on their ability to frame goods, their level of expertise, and their impact on others. In other words, the ability to act as a cultural intermediary changes depending on the level of acquired cultural capital. Based on my findings, I argue that all models are not cultural intermediaries; rather, only the models that have a high status, acknowledged expertise and level of legitimacy are able to act as cultural intermediaries.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A most profound thank you goes to my advisor, Dr. Sonia Bookman, whose insight and advice was invaluable throughout this process. Her comments, suggestions and patience were instrumental in the completion of my thesis. I also want to extend my thanks to Dr. Chris Powell and Dr. Robert Phillips who served on my committee. Their contribution to this project was much appreciated and was very valuable to me.

I would like to thank the Sociology Department and the wonderful faculty and staff who work in the office. They are a constant source of knowledge and assistance. Their help throughout my time at the University of Manitoba was more appreciated than they know.

To my fellow classmates who were a constant source of inspiration and motivation. I was honoured to know each of you and was constantly amazed by each of you. Thank you for your support, friendship and laughter throughout the years. I cannot wait to see the amazing things you accomplish.

And finally, to my friends and family – I cannot thank you enough for all you have done in the past years as I undertook this challenge. The encouragement and support you offered has left me eternally grateful. To my husband and daughter especially, whose unending belief in me kept me motivated at each step, thank you so much; you two are the reason I was able to succeed.

# Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
2.1 Cultural Intermediaries.....	10
2.2 Fashion, Models and Mediation.....	20
2.3 Reality and Lifestyle Television.....	27
2.4 Theoretical Framework:-.....	32
2.5 Conclusion.....	40
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	41
3.1 Discourse Analysis.....	41
3.2 Data Sources.....	48
<i>Fashion Industry Documents</i> .....	51
<i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model Series 8</i> .....	53
<i>Look</i> .....	69
3.3 Issues and Limitations.....	71
3.4 Conclusion.....	72
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS.....	73
4.1 Framing.....	77
<i>Challenges: The Catwalk</i> .....	79
<i>Photo-shoots and "Picture of the Week": Posing the Body and Doing Gender</i> .....	83
<i>Judgement Panel: Appearances Matter</i> .....	89
<i>Appearance: Looking the Part</i> .....	93
<i>Personality: Looks Aren't Everything</i> .....	99
4.2 Expertise.....	102
<i>Positioning the Judges as Experts</i> .....	105
<i>Participant-models as Experts</i> .....	111

<i>Progress: BINTM as an Education</i> .....	115
<i>Make-overs: Getting the Model Look</i> .....	119
<i>Professionalism: Being Prepared and Taking Responsibility</i> .....	124
<i>Stress: Learning to Cope</i> .....	131
4.3 Impact.....	135
4.4 Conclusion.....	138
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION.....	140
APPENDIX A: <i>Britain and Ireland’s Next Top Model</i> Series 8 Judgement Panel Call-out Order .....	148
APPENDIX B: Series Eight <i>Britain and Ireland’s Next Top Model</i> Participant-Model Outfits and Appearance (in descending order) .....	150
APPENDIX C: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland’s Next Top Model</i> (by episode).....	158
REFERENCES .....	162

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Series Eight <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> Participant-Models (in order of elimination).....	53
Table 2: Series Eight <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> Guests and Photographers (in order of appearance).....	56
Table 3 Series Eight <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> Judges (in order of appearance).....	60
Table 4: Series Eight <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> Challenges and Winners.....	64
Table 5: Series Eight <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> Photo-Shoots and Winners .....	66
Table 6: Appearance of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> participant-models and judges in <i>Look Magazine</i> (in order of appearance).....	71
Table 7: Judgement Panel Call-out Order of Participant Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> .....	148
Table 8: Outfits and Appearance of Letitia (Winner).....	150
Table 9: Outfits and Appearance of Emma G (Runner up) .....	150
Table 10: Outfits and Appearance of Anita (eliminated episode 13) .....	151
Table 11: Outfits and Appearance of Lisa (eliminated episode 12) .....	151
Table 12: Outfits and Appearance of Risikat (eliminated episode 11).....	152
Table 13: Outfits and Appearance of Roxanne (eliminated episode 10).....	152
Table 14: Outfits and Appearance of Madeleine (eliminated episode 9) .....	153
Table 15: Outfits and Appearance of Jennifer (eliminated episode 8) .....	153
Table 16: Outfits and Appearance of Kellie (eliminated episode 7) .....	154
Table 17: Outfits and Appearance of Anne (eliminated episode 6).....	154
Table 18: Outfits and Appearance of Tasmin (eliminated episode 5) .....	154
Table 19: Outfits and Appearance of Penelope (eliminated episode 4).....	155
Table 20: Outfits and Appearance of Emma S (eliminated episode 3).....	155
Table 21: Outfits and Appearance of Amelia (withdrew after episode 2).....	155
Table 22: Outfits and Appearance of Diona (eliminated episode 2) .....	156
Table 23: Outfits and Appearance of Louisa (eliminated episode 2) .....	156
Table 24: Outfits and Appearance of Anna (eliminated episode 2).....	156
Table 25: Outfits and Appearance of Danielle (eliminated episode 1).....	156
Table 26: Outfits and Appearance of Vanessa (withdrew during episode 1) .....	157
Table 27: Outfits and Appearance of Catherine (withdrew during episode 1).....	157
Table 28: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 2 .....	158
Table 29: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 3 .....	158
Table 30: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 4 .....	159
Table 31: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 5 .....	159

Table 32: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 6 .....	159
Table 33: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 7 .....	160
Table 34: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 8 .....	160
Table 35: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 9 .....	160
Table 36: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 10 .....	161
Table 37: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 11 .....	161
Table 38: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of <i>Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model</i> during Episode 11 .....	161





## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Britain has a thriving and dynamic fashion industry and fashion modelling is an integral part of the industry. Fashion models can be celebrities with access to the highest levels of the fashion industry. Their influence on consumers as trend setters socially positions them to act as cultural intermediaries. Indeed, it has been suggested by Wissinger (2009) that models can be considered cultural intermediaries based on their position within the fashion field and how they display current fashion trends through their modes of dress and consumption habits. However, Wissinger's analysis is primarily based on established models and supermodels, rather than models that are starting out in the fashion industry. So, if an individual has not reached the point where they are recognized at a local or global level as a model, can they be considered a cultural intermediary? I believe this conclusion is too broad, and argue that a model needs to amass enough status within the fashion industry and wider pop culture before they can begin acting as a cultural intermediary. Thus, I argue that not every fashion model acts as a cultural intermediary, as suggested by Wissinger.

The relationship between fashion and popular culture has taken various forms over the recent past and one of the most recent pairings has been fashion and reality television. *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* is based on the American version of the show, which is popular worldwide and has been broadcast internationally with many countries adapting the franchise to produce their own version of *Top Model*, such as Australia, Germany, and Canada.

In this thesis I examine whether the contestants on *BINTM* act as cultural intermediaries, who represent a unique set of models entering the industry through a reality television program. To address this question I engage in a discourse analysis of the eighth series of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model (BINTM)*, as well as fashion industry documents and a British fashion magazine. Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, specifically his theory of cultural capital, and feminist theory to more fully address issues of gender and power, I examine how the social position and cultural capital of participant-models affects their ability to act as cultural intermediaries. I approach this question using Smith-Maguire and Matthews' (2012) tri-modal conceptualization of cultural intermediaries of framing, expertise and impact. I find the participant-models positions as models tenuous at best, which in turn limits their ability to act as cultural intermediaries. The contestants on *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model (BINTM)*, whom I refer to as "participant-models", enter the fashion industry in a unique manner that sets them apart from other beginner models. They are accorded a degree of celebrity through their participation on the program; however, this does not necessarily transfer into legitimate status within the fashion industry because they are positioned as inexperienced models that lack expertise, modelling skills, and knowledge on the program. Models must establish themselves within the field of fashion and gain status, authority, and expertise before they are able to fully act as cultural intermediaries.

I am addressing this question because of my interest in fashion and reality television. The concept of cultural intermediaries is interesting because I am curious about the impact they have on audiences and consumers through television. I believe that

cultural intermediaries play a central role in our current consumer society and it is important to gain understanding of how they impact people's consumption choices.

There are various types of modelling; such as catwalk and fashion modelling, commercial modelling, children and family modelling, teen modelling, glamour modelling, pregnancy modelling, plus size and petite modelling, fittings modelling, in-house modelling, parts and body modelling, look-alikes and promotional modelling, classic modelling, couples modelling, real people modelling, specialty modelling, sports modelling, life modelling, as well as walk-on and supporting artistes modelling (Cole & Vickers-Jones 2009). Each type of modelling addresses a certain niche, but as the range of modelling demonstrates, fashion modelling is only a small portion of the overall modelling industry.

*BINTM* is concerned with finding a fashion and catwalk model, which is one of the most well-known types of modelling. As well as being a distinctive type of modelling, the experience of the participants on *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* is unique from other models. They are set apart from other models entering the industry because of their involvement in the program and as such need to be addressed as a distinct group. By appearing on *BINTM*, they are offered a degree of celebrity from the beginning of their career. This notoriety may influence their ability to act as a cultural intermediary by making them known in wider pop culture. The fabricated drama of a reality television program may not accurately represent the fashion or modelling industry, but it does offer a glimpse into the experiences of a specific subset of models as they struggle to become professional models. The participants are likely to have experiences

similar to other beginner models while participating on the program; thus, their situation warrants examination.

There is an increasing body of knowledge on lifestyle and reality television; however there is a gap in the literature regarding participants of programs as cultural intermediaries. There has been work examining the roles of hosts on reality television programs, and on models within the fashion industry, but little has addressed program participants as cultural intermediaries. It is this gap that I will address with my study. The participant-models on *BINTM* are in a specific social context that should be considered separately from fashion models within the wider fashion industry because their experience is unique. Lifestyle and reality television programs claim to offer authentic experiences to viewers; however, this may impact consumer's perception of participants as cultural intermediaries.

To gain understanding of whether the participant-models on *BINTM* act as cultural intermediaries I employed the method of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a qualitative research method I used to critically examine the data sources in order to identify reoccurring themes within them. It pays special attention to images, their social production, and effects (Rose, 2001). Tonkiss (1998) suggests four guidelines to guide discourse analysis. These guidelines include: selecting key themes; searching for variations within the text; looking for emphasis and detail; and recognizing silences.

In my analysis I examine three data sources. These data sources include: fashion industry documents consisting of four guides for models provided by the British Fashion Council (BFC) and a published book by two British models; series eight of *Britain and*

*Ireland's Next Top Model*; and four issues of *Look*, a popular British fashion and celebrity magazine. My analysis is situated in the British fashion industry. Great Britain is home to a thriving fashion industry which makes significant contributions to the British economy. As well, London is home to numerous models, modelling agencies, fashion designers, and fashion and design schools.

In chapter two I examine the existing literature on cultural intermediaries. It suggests a progression on how the term has been used and who can be considered a cultural intermediary. In my thesis I adapt a definition developed by Smith Maguire and Matthews (2012), which is based on three concepts they identify as central to cultural intermediaries: framing, expertise and impact. Framing involves making goods appear desirable to consumers by communicating the worthiness and legitimacy of the goods to other consumers (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). The possession and explicit use of expertise separates cultural intermediaries from other consumers and it is the engagement of expertise for the benefit of consumers which marks an individual as a cultural intermediary (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). The impact of a cultural intermediary will be more or less durable depending on their involvement with framing, the size of the field they are in and their interactions with others higher and lower than them within the field (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). In summary, to act as a cultural intermediary according to Smith Maguire and Matthews an individual must frame goods, possess and use their expert knowledge and have an impact on others.

As well, I consider the literature surrounding fashion, models and mediation before turning to the literature on reality and lifestyle television. The current fashion industry is embedded within a wider consumer culture, which is central to understanding

contemporary society because of its acknowledgement of goods as signifiers and the economy of cultural goods which operate within lifestyles (Featherstone, 1987). Indeed, fashion is concerned with selling lifestyles to consumers, not just clothing. Fashion models are an important part of the fashion industry and their role as cultural intermediaries should also be considered. Reality and lifestyle television is a popular genre and an area where much research has been done in recent years. In the context of reality and lifestyle television programs it is often the hosts who are considered cultural intermediaries. However, there is little work on the participants of these programs as cultural intermediaries.

In this chapter I also discuss the theoretical perspectives I used to inform my research. I draw on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, specifically habitus, field and capital to examine how the participant-models are positioned throughout the program. Within *BINTM*, I am concerned with the participant-models' journey to acquire cultural capital, without which they cannot act as a cultural intermediary. In addition to Bourdieu, I draw on the work of more contemporary scholars who address cultural intermediaries, as well as feminist scholars who have expanded on his work. Bourdieu does not address gender in his work therefore including the work of feminist scholars who do, such as Lisa Adkins, Beverly Skeggs and Angela McRobbie is important in this analysis.

In chapter three, I outline the methods I use to engage in my study. I discuss how I approached each data source and how I organized my analysis around Smith Maguire and Matthews (2012) three concepts of framing, expertise and impact. Further, I include detailed descriptions of the key scenes within *BINTM*, my main data source. In particular, I outline the method of discourse analysis and elaborate on how I apply this method in

my study. My study is comprised of a discourse analysis of three data sources. These data sources include: fashion industry documents consisting of four guides for models provided by the British Fashion Council (BFC) and a published book by two British models; series eight of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model*; and four issues of *Look*, a popular British fashion and celebrity magazine. These data sources were selected as a means of providing insight into whether or not the participant-models on *BINTM* were acting as cultural intermediaries. In addition, I elaborate on the way I organize my discourse analysis around the three concepts of framing, expertise and impact.

In chapter four I discuss the findings of my analysis. I organize my discussion around Smith Maguire and Matthews' (2012) tripartite model of framing, expertise, and impact. In order to gain understanding of whether the participant-models act as cultural intermediaries I focus on some key scenes within the program, including challenges, photo-shoots, the make-over, and judgement panels. These are especially important within the analysis because they comprise the scenes in which the participant-models have the opportunity to perform as models.

I begin by discussing the act of framing, starting with a focus on how participant-models perform in the challenges by concentrating on the catwalk. I examine the photo-shoots and "picture of the week", focusing on how the participant-models pose their bodies and utilize gender as they engage in framing. I examine judgement panels, focusing on the participant-models' appearances when they appear in front of the judges. I also discuss the importance of appearance, focusing on how the participant-models present themselves as models and the use of appearance as a cultural tool. Further, I examine the personality aspect of modelling and how participant-models present their

personalities via clothing and other means. Second, I turn to the concept of expertise, beginning with an examination of the ways in which the judges are positioned as experts within the program. In particular, I analyze the make-overs and how through the make-overs the judges are positioned as experts within the fashion field. I assess how the participant-models develop and use modelling expertise, but also how this expertise is constantly undermined by other program participants. I examine how *BINTM* is positioned as an education, focusing on the expectation that participant-models will improve their modelling skills as the program continues. Further, I examine the idea of professionalism, focusing on how the participant-models are evaluated in terms of their preparation for situations and the responsibility they take for their own success. This includes a discussion of stress as experienced by the participant-models, focusing on how they react in stressful situations on the program. Third, moving beyond expertise, I turn to the concept of impact, focusing on whether the participants of *BINTM* were included in the issues of *Look*.

In the conclusion, I review the key findings discussed in my analysis and suggest avenues for further research. I find the ability to act as a cultural intermediary can be best understood on a continuum. The ability to act as a cultural intermediary shifts as an individual's status, expertise, and authority shifts – the more an individual acquires, the better they are able to act as a cultural intermediary. To illustrate this idea, I draw on the example of Kate Moss, an established fashion model with a high level of status in the fashion field, a high level of expertise, and a high level of authority. Because of these factors, she has a high level of cultural capital and is able to act as a cultural intermediary. She is able to successfully frame goods and has a relatively large and lasting impact on



consumers because of her status and authority. On the other hand, a new model that is unknown has low status, low expertise and low authority and is unable to act as a cultural intermediary and exists on the other end of the continuum.

In this introduction I have outlined how I have organized my chapters. Chapter two discusses the existing literature, focusing on three sections: cultural intermediaries; fashion, mediation and models; and reality and lifestyle television. As well, the theoretical perspectives I draw on to inform my analysis are discussed in this chapter. Chapter three outlines the methods used within this thesis and provides detailed discussions of the data sources. Chapter four contains my analysis and is organized in three sections; framing, expertise, and impact. The key findings of my study are discussed within these sections and illustrated using examples from the data sources I engaged with. Chapter five is the conclusion, which contains a brief summary of my key findings and suggests directions for further research. The limitations of my analysis are also discussed in chapter five. I now move to chapter two, addressing the existing literature on three main areas that inform my study and begin with a discussion of cultural intermediaries.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will cover three main subject areas that directly relate to my analysis of the participant-models on *BINTM*. I will begin by summarizing the literature surrounding cultural intermediaries and why cultural intermediaries are important to study, especially within the current consumer society. Next I will review the fashion industry, examining various aspects of the fashion industry and fashion modelling before moving to a brief review of the reality and lifestyle television genre. Finally, drawing on this literature, I will outline the theoretical perspectives I engage with to complete this analysis. I will now turn to the literature of cultural intermediaries.

### 2.1 Cultural Intermediaries

“Fashion is by definition ephemeral, elusive, and highly unpredictable – a target that keeps moving” (Crewe, 2001, cited in Power & Hauge, 2008, p. 131). The constant change of fashion makes it a perfect complement to contemporary consumer culture in which, as Baudrillard notes, “we are everywhere surrounded by the remarkable conspicuousness of consumption” (Baudrillard, 2003, p. 29). Fashion and fashion modelling in its current form developed along with consumer society from the late 1800s and has accelerated with the rise of what Lury (1996) refers to as consumer culture. According to Lury (1996), consumer culture emerged in the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in European and North American societies. She describes it as a particular kind of material culture that involves an interlinking of cycles of production and consumption with an emphasis on aestheticization (Lury, 1996). It is within the space between production and consumption that cultural intermediaries act by linking the

two processes (Baker, 2012; Moor, 2008; Nixon & Du Gay, 2002; Ocejo, 2012; Smith Maguire, 2008).

Consumer culture as a whole is primarily concerned with the process of stylization and four factors are generally understood to be crucial to the development of contemporary consumer culture (Lury, 1996). These four factors are: the importance of the circulation of commodities; the changes in the interrelationship of different systems of production and consumption or regimes of values; the relative independence of practices of consumption from those of production; and the special importance given to the consumption of cultural goods (Lury, 1996). As well, within consumer culture there is a tendency for individuals to define themselves by the objects they consume (Lury, 1996). Goods and services are used to signify status, taste, group belonging, and the lifestyles of individuals. They communicate these ideas through the cultural value they have been ascribed in part by cultural intermediaries. The aestheticization process thus connects back to cultural intermediaries' role in society because they are directly involved in educating consumers on new tastes and styles (Featherstone, 2007). As Featherstone (2007) notes, new cultural intermediaries are an expanding section of the new middle class, and rather than promoting a single lifestyle they have expanded and created a range of styles and lifestyles consumers can choose from (Featherstone, 2007). So what exactly are cultural intermediaries and why do they have such influence within society?

Cultural intermediaries are an important group to consider because of their role in shaping how consumers view goods and cultural practices. "Cultural intermediaries impact upon notions of *what*, and thereby *who*, is legitimate, desirable and worthy, and

thus by definition what and who is not. This is why cultural intermediaries matter” (Smith Maguire and Matthews, 2012, p. 552, original emphasis). They provide a frame of reference that legitimizes the value of a good thus making it seem valuable and desirable to consumers. Moreover, cultural intermediaries add value to a good because of their access to expert or aesthetic knowledge (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012).

The concept of cultural intermediaries is most associated with the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984). Bourdieu states “[t]he new petite bourgeoisie comes into its own in all occupations involving presentation and representation (sales, marketing, advertising, public relations, *fashion*, decoration and so forth)” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 339, emphasis added). Bourdieu connects the rise of cultural intermediaries with the corresponding rise of the consumer sectors of society (Nixon & Du Gay, 2002). Bourdieu understands cultural intermediaries to be “needs merchants” who sell themselves as models of their products (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 365).

Cultural intermediaries use their own lives, bodies and tastes as resources for their work by engaging their appearance, attitudes, and overall image to legitimize and exert influence over others (Smith Maguire, 2008). Depending on their access to expert knowledge, their social position within a field, and the corresponding level of authority they can claim, individuals have different levels of legitimacy as cultural intermediaries (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Cultural intermediaries use their expertise in order to legitimize their position as trend-setters and taste-shapers. Within modern society, experts play an increasingly important role as cultural intermediaries, and this is linked to the professionalization phenomenon. The professionalization phenomenon was initially recognized in the first part of the twentieth century and it created a niche that cultural

intermediaries fill (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). This phenomenon continues in current society and continually creates a space for cultural intermediaries to exist. Cultural intermediaries are occupying more important positions within society as they utilize their expert knowledge and act as authorities on various subjects.

Based on this conception of cultural intermediaries, it follows that fashion models entering the fashion industry might not necessarily be acting as cultural intermediaries because of their lack of cultural capital, including expertise. This is what my analysis will assess: do models participating on *BINTM* act as cultural intermediaries? As the competition progresses and the models gain experience and knowledge and increase their cultural capital, does their status change accordingly?

When discussing cultural intermediaries, another concept is important: taste. Fashions are constantly revised and judged based on culturally specific preferences of taste (Rafferty, 2011). According to Bourdieu (1984), taste is an important way of expressing cultural capital, and thus social position since levels and kinds of cultural capital vary by class. Individuals communicate through taste, based on the cultural capital they possess. He suggests taste reveals class through individual's everyday choices, such as food. In one of his most well-known examples he uses food to illustrate class differences: individuals from lower class backgrounds will prefer food that is plain and plentiful and those from higher social classes will prefer more original and exotic food (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu suggests consumption is based on aesthetic tastes rather than economic capital, thus taste expresses a lifestyle (Holt, 1998). As well, objects of taste are only understandable in relation to other socially produced objects of taste, and the difference construed between the objects then legitimizes the relative value of each

object (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Holt (1998) has expanded on Bourdieu's definition of taste within contemporary society and suggests taste is better understood by how an individual consumes rather than what they consume. He suggests that in order to differentiate themselves cultural elites consume in ways that are inaccessible to others who have less cultural capital (Holt, 1998). Taste becomes about embodied tastes and consumption practices that emphasize their distinctiveness by knowing about and consuming the right goods (Holt, 1998). Fashion can be understood as a specific expression of taste and another way a lifestyle can be represented and embodied based on not only what is consumed but also how items are consumed.

There is debate regarding the term "new" cultural intermediaries. Nixon and Du Gay (2002) address the question of "new" as assigned to the label "new cultural intermediaries" by Bourdieu and suggest that Bourdieu's use of "new" is in reference to the class of the new petite bourgeoisie who were primarily service workers in 1960s France. These "new" cultural intermediaries were involved in industries such as design, marketing, public relations and advertising and were differentiated from the existing cultural intermediaries, such as critics of "quality" newspapers or other forms of "high" culture (Nixon and Du Gay, 2002).

Still there are concerns over the inclusiveness of the term as used by Bourdieu and other scholars who draw on his definition (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012; Nixon & Du Gay, 2002). David Hesmondhalgh (2006) suggests Bourdieu's definition of "new" cultural intermediaries has been used too broadly in recent research, which has applied the term to the whole class of new petite bourgeoisie. Instead, he asserts that Bourdieu was referring only to critics who mediate between

producers and consumers in both legitimate culture and mass media (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). He believed the “new” cultural intermediaries referred only to this small subset of the new petite bourgeoisie rather than the whole class. Molloy and Larner (2010) expand on this critique and suggest that the concept needs to be re-thought by arguing that boundaries between culture making, cultural mediation and cultural consumption are unclear and difficult to define. Through their analysis of the New Zealand fashion industry they illustrate that cultural intermediaries are not based in particular jobs, but cultural mediation is a “function of the multiplicity of activities and relationships organized around the economic spaces of the fashion industry” (Molloy and Larner, 2010, p. 362). For them, cultural mediation is a process that involves many aspects of the fashion industry, not any singular job within it.

In her discussion of social marketing, Moor (2012) explored how the influence of cultural intermediaries can emerge, rise and fall, and how by repositioning themselves using expert language, the social marketers were able to survive a transitioning business environment. Also, she notes how cultural intermediaries depend upon non-human actors and technology in addition to their own cultural capital (Moor, 2012). As well, her recent work has called for a new method of understanding cultural intermediaries. She suggests new work should focus less on the areas cultural intermediaries work in and more on what “concepts of culture are produced through various forms of work, including so-called intermediary work” (Moor, 2012, p. 575). She terms this the work of “culturalisation” (Moor, 2012, p. 575). In order for this work to be undertaken, culture needs to be approached as a problem, instead of a set of concepts; it is an entity in itself and is performative in the same way that the economy is performative (Moor, 2012, p.

575). Therefore the problem of culture needs to be approached as holistic system that many individuals and groups contribute to and that impacts them in return.

Due to this ongoing debate over the use of the term cultural intermediaries, Nixon and Du Gay (2002) suggest a need for more empirical work. In particular, they call for a focus on cultural intermediaries' role in linking the economic and cultural spheres, which are often falsely treated as independent within contemporary society. Although culture and the economy are often treated as separate, they are inextricably linked and function interdependently (Nixon & Du Gay, 2002). This view is supported by others such as Smith Maguire and Matthews (2012), Molloy and Larner (2010) and Moor (2012).

Research on cultural intermediaries has primarily focused on occupations that are deemed "creative" such as advertising agents (Nixon, 2003) and branding consultants (Moor, 2008). A sense of creativity and originality is perceived as integral for such workers to be successful in their work (Nixon, 2003; Moor, 2008). In Nixon's study of advertising agencies in London, creativity is positioned as a masculine characteristic, and is also associated with traits such as dependence, emotions, and insecurity (2003, p. 100). This categorization of creativity and what constitutes a successful creative person is interesting because many of the same characteristics bound up with creative expression are more often associated with traditional notions of femininity, especially emotion. Traditional concepts of masculine labour have focused on manual labour, and Nixon noted some male creative workers defend their creative labour as difficult and demanding in an attempt to bring notions of masculinity in line with their non-physical work (2003, p. 157). As well, to mitigate conceptions of creative work as easy he notes a trend toward professionalization to create a sense of legitimacy within the occupations (also see Ocejo,



2012; Childress, 2012). However, while training and certification are valuable there is still a bias towards “gut instinct”, originality, and internal creativeness within these ‘creative’ fields of cultural mediation (Childress, 2012; Nixon, 2003, Moor, 2008).

Recently, scholars have considered how cultural intermediaries operate as networks within an industry (Molloy & Larner, 2010), the importance of the space where cultural intermediaries exist and work (Baker, 2012, Woo, 2012), and how workers act as cultural intermediaries in occupations not typically considered to be within the realm of cultural intermediaries (Kuipers, 2012; Ocejo, 2012). For example, Smith Maguire and Matthews (2012) indicate that an analysis of cultural intermediaries within their environmental context is important because cultural intermediaries act within a lived reality that often includes both their personal and professional spheres. Cultural intermediaries are themselves actors within a social network and are influenced by the community they live in (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). When individuals immerse themselves in their professional field and spend their non-working hours continuing to interact with others with similar interests and taste they are able to add to their cultural capital (Woo, 2012). This blending of the personal and professional spheres is especially visible within models’ lifestyles and feature as an aspect of reality television.

Smith Maguire and Matthews (2012) propose three dimensions to consider when studying cultural intermediaries in an effort to understand their cultural specificity; framing, expertise, and impact. First, cultural intermediaries are constantly framing goods and communicating the worthiness and legitimacy of these goods to other consumers (Smith Maguire and Matthews, 2012). Based on their specific location within a field, cultural intermediaries have access to certain resources, opportunities, and

barriers, which impact their ability to frame goods as valuable (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Fashion models that are established, for example Kate Moss, can frame goods as valuable to consumers due to her existing social position within the fashion industry and wider pop culture. She is a supermodel and thus is perceived as having legitimate authority to define a good as valuable. It is important to keep in mind that context will impact what goods she has access to. Her high social status affords her access to higher social groups within the fashion industry. An item can be framed for her as stylish by another fashion insider with a high social status and this will impact her frame of reference when presenting it to others. Moreover, cultural intermediaries are impacted by non-human actors such as tools, protocols and scripts (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Thus when considering cultural intermediaries it is important to assess their position within networks of other people as well as non-human actors to fully comprehend how they frame goods within a specific context (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012; Moor, 2012).

Claims of expertise are a second aspect to consider when analysing the roles of cultural intermediaries. The various sites that are now being included in research on cultural intermediaries are connected by the possession of, and explicit use of, expert knowledge for the benefit of the consumer. It is expertise that differentiates an individual as a cultural intermediary, and there are different levels of expertise within a field, resulting in different levels of influence for individuals (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Expertise can be grouped into two categories: personal, which is largely subjective and based on taste; and professional, which is abstract and governed by standardized credentials (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). However, it is difficult to

separate these two categories because for most cultural intermediaries their personal expertise supports and legitimizes their professional expertise (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Often a “professionalization” occurs to legitimize the work of cultural intermediaries so their expertise is viewed as more credible (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012, Nixon, 2003). A professional has to be educated and trained as a member of a specific occupation and this professionalization allows individuals to claim it as a form of capital (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Expertise is additionally gained through their habitus – as individuals work they are afforded cultural capital as they behave in ways that are consistent with their assigned position (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). The more cultural intermediaries are seen as behaving naturally within their social setting, the more their position is reinforced as legitimate; therefore so is their expertise.

The third dimension involves the impact of cultural intermediaries. Cultural intermediaries’ impact depends on their involvement with framing, the size of the field they are in, and their interactions with others higher and lower than them within the field (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Based on a cultural intermediary’s social position, legitimacy and authority, their impact will be more or less durable (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). To use Kate Moss as an example again, her high social position within fashion, large and extensive network, and years of expertise lend her legitimacy and authority. Thus her impact will be more widespread and longer lasting than other fashion models that are not as well known, well connected, or experienced.

Using these three dimensions to understand cultural intermediaries, it becomes apparent that cultural intermediaries are involved in creating and disseminating categories

of legitimate culture and could also change or challenge them (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012).

## **2.2 Fashion, Models and Mediation**

Within today's consumer culture, the high visibility of fashion positions it as one of the most conspicuous acts of consumption undertaken by an individual. Additionally, it involves almost every member of society, and therefore fashion is an ideal industry in which to study the role of cultural intermediaries. It makes visible the production and consumption cycle with its focus on styling the body through clothing to achieve a certain look. Fashion is a visible practice that displays choices made by individuals. Even the act of not dressing in what is considered a "fashionable" manner makes a visual statement to others.

The rise of fashion within current consumer society is linked to a number of complex, interrelated economic and cultural factors. As an industry, the expansion of fashion is related to the growth of capitalist commodity production, technological innovations in production and design, as well as the rise of marketing and the development of mass consumer markets (Power & Hauge, 2008). However, the growing salience of fashion can also be attributed to patterns of consumption and culture. The current fashion industry is embedded within wider consumer culture, which is central to understanding contemporary society because of its acknowledgement of goods as signifiers and the economy of cultural goods which operate within lifestyles (Featherstone, 1987). The expansion and current form of fashion is explained, as an aspect of consumer culture, by production-led and consumption-led perspectives.

First, production-led perspectives attribute the rise of consumer culture and the fashion industry to a rise in accumulation of material culture based upon the expansion of capitalist commodity production. Fashion as we understand it today was not found in pre-capitalist societies where there was little social movement because clothing was generally replaced only when necessary; especially within the lower social classes (see also Bell, 1976 and Braudel, 1981). Fashion began as a small, craft based industry; however, once mass production became available for clothing the industry expanded to the global industry that exists today (Power & Hauge, 2008). With the rise of capitalist society and manufacturing in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, fashion was also able to flourish because of its focus on ownership and conspicuous consumption. With the growth in the middle classes and disposable income and the availability of cheap, mass produced clothes, fashion has become accessible to a greater number of consumers than ever before.

Second, the expansion of the fashion industry as an element of consumer culture can be attributed to patterns of consumption and culture. This perspective is developed in accounts that focus on conspicuous consumption, taste, and social belonging, from the early work of Veblen to the more recent writings of Featherstone. Fashion is concerned with selling lifestyles to consumers, not just clothing. Fashion has become a tool used by consumers to indicate their lifestyle choices; “[c]ontemporary consumers are not invited to be rational or instrumental in their use of products, but instead to employ products in an expressive display of lifestyle” (Lury, 1996, p. 65). Fashion therefore becomes about more than clothing, it includes more general lifestyle characteristics such as beliefs, modes of thoughts and interests (Rafferty, 2011, p. 242). This argument supports

Baudrillard's assertion that it is no longer use-values that are important to consumers, rather it is the sign-values of commodities that drives consumption and is of primary importance (Lury, 1996, p. 69).

In one of the earliest sociological accounts of consumption, Veblen (2007) discussed how consumption comprised a means of signifying status. His analysis of fashion particularly centres on how consumption is used by economically powerful consumers to signal their social status. This "conspicuous consumption" is used to create a perception of wealth to observers (Lynch & Strauss, 2007, p. 70). Possessions are measured against other members of the group to accord esteem and status (Veblen, 2007). As Veblen notes "...members of the community who fall short of this, somewhat indefinite, normal degree of prowess or of property suffer in the esteem of their fellow-men [sic]" (Veblen, 2007, p. 30). This observation points to the difficulty in attaining and maintaining status based on consumption. Veblen's theory of consumption positioned it as a marker of those who could afford to keep up with trends and therefore a marker of social status (Lynch & Strauss, 2007).

In his text, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bourdieu (1984) builds on Veblen's account, discussing fashion and its products as means to distinguish firstly between class fractions and secondly between classes (Bourdieu, 1984). He proposes that each class has a lifestyles and particular taste that is indicative of its social status and educational level, or cultural capital. Using art as an example he posits three zones, including legitimate taste, middlebrow taste and popular taste (Bourdieu, 1984). The dominant classes define taste based on their higher levels of social and cultural capital, which they use to legitimate and reinforce their choices as "correct"

(Bourdieu, 1984, p. 233). In one of his more famous references he states “taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6). Thus choices in fashion and consumption in general, are for Bourdieu, a means of distinguishing between social classes. Fashion reflects a “taste of necessity” or a “taste of luxury” based on the predisposition of the consumer, which they have learned from their social class (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6).

Georg Simmel (1997) suggests fashion is a way of showing group belonging, yet also maintaining an expression of individuality. Enacting current fashion trends requires a balancing act performed by individuals, whereby they attempt to stand out from the general style, but not clash with it (Simmel, 1997). Thus for Simmel, the search for the next fashion phenomena becomes especially intense when trends are adopted by the general population because fashion is used to signify class divisions (Simmel, 1997). Simmel notes that fashion is a product of class divisions and serves a dual function of keeping a social group together while at the same time excluding others (Simmel, 1997). As soon as lower groups begin to appropriate a style, higher groups adopt a different one to maintain their differentiation (Simmel, 1997). Simmel points out this need for group differentiation as one of the main drivers of the fashion industry, which is in a perpetual loop of innovation as each group strives to be different (Simmel, 1997). He further asserts that clothing can also determine how an individual behaves because people who dress similarly often act similarly as well (Simmel, 1997).

Recent work that builds on the idea of fashion as a source of group belonging includes Hebdige’s (1979) well known study of subcultures. According to Hebdige (1979), subcultures as a particular type of social group imbue clothing with meaning and

use it to indicate group belonging, such as punks and their use of ripped jeans. As well, Nixon (2003) observed that a majority of creative workers in his study of London advertising agencies wore a similar casual style of clothing in contrast to other occupations in advertising such as finance. This produced a specific style that identified “creative” members of the industry across companies. The items worn by the creative workers were imbued with a specific value and reflected their interpretation of a “creative lifestyle”. The same phenomenon was remarked upon by Entwistle and Rocamora (2006) in their study of London Fashion Week; “belonging” to the fashion field was signified and reproduced through shared dress styles, tastes and overall appearance. Clothing is thus used as a cultural tool and plays a part in an individual’s sense of self and group identity.

Mike Featherstone (2007) expands on Bourdieu’s notion that consumption choices are taste indicators to argue that consumption choices are bound up with lifestyle choice. Focusing attention on the issue of lifestylization, Featherstone (2007) suggests that this process has expanded in relation to the aestheticization of everyday life, and the growth of a new middle class who are concerned with fashioning themselves. This new middle class, from whom the category of new cultural intermediaries is primarily drawn, are involved in a process of lifestylization, which they illustrate through their consumption choices. Indeed, fashion has become such a powerful force that it goes beyond clothing and influences taste, theoretical convictions, and individual’s morality (Simmel, 1997, p. 193). He positions cultural intermediaries as integral to educating consumers on “aesthetic dispositions and sensibilities” and as reflective of new styles and tastes (Featherstone, 2007). In his discussion of culture and fashion, Mike Featherstone



says “culture is incorporated, and it is not just a question of what clothes are worn, but how they are worn” (Featherstone, 2007, p. 20). Featherstone is referring to the way clothes are used to communicate a certain lifestyle; it is about what choices are made by buying certain clothes and then wearing them in a certain way to indicate one’s lifestyle choice. Cultural intermediaries are expanding the range of lifestyles available to consumers and fashion is one of the fields they engage with while they model different lifestyles through their own consumption practices (Featherstone, 2007).

Here, I want to focus on how fashion is mediated and inscribed with values as a cultural good, since I am focusing on the role of models as cultural intermediaries in the fashion industry. Fashion is not an industry that has many direct links between consumers and producers. Instead of focusing on either production or culture and consumption, I consider how these are connected via the work of cultural intermediaries. Between consumption and production is the space where the fashion industry is mediated by fashion journalists, photographers, magazine editors, stylists, celebrities, and fashion models. This is where the work of cultural intermediaries occurs, as they communicate what trends are fashionable and valuable. The mediation of fashion, which began with face-to-face communications and the use of fashion journals, has expanded with the growth of new media technologies and the integration of popular culture.

The beginning of fashionable clothing behaviour has been linked back to Italy during the Renaissance, especially within the cities of Venice, Milan and Florence (Lynch & Strauss, 2007). Originally fashion trends occurred in fabric and trims rather than overall changes in style (Lynch & Strauss, 2007). Personal contact with the aristocracy was the initial mode of dispersion of fashion trends (Lynch & Strauss, 2007).

However, as social conditions changed and shifted to a more urban culture where different social classes were in more regular contact with each other, fashion information disseminated faster (Lynch & Strauss, 2007). Fashion journalism emerged in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (see also Steele, 1988) and in the 1830s, *Godey's Lady's Book*, the forerunner to modern fashion magazines, began publication (Lynch & Strauss, 2007).

As an industry, fashion was late adopting the principles of mass production (Power & Hauge, 2008). It was not until the advent of new mass production techniques that supported large batch sizes that fashion industry began expanding (Crewe & Davenport, 1992, in Power & Hauge, 2008). In the 1960s the fashion industry also began to be associated with popular culture (Power & Hauge, 2008). This association has continued to develop with the expansion of media technologies, from television to the internet; in this context, the partnership of fashion and reality television is the latest partnership between fashion and popular culture. This partnership gives the fashion industry another point of access to its key consumer demographic of young-adult female consumers (Rafferty, 2011). Fashion is an industry that is in constant flux and the ability to instantly transmit new trends via blogs, social media, as well as more traditional media outlets, such as television and magazines, drives the industry. This leads back to the important question of how do we know what is fashionable and who gets to decide what is fashionable?

Indeed, fashion is driven by trends which are defined by cultural intermediaries who act as gatekeepers to the fashion industry. It is these gatekeepers of the industry, for example fashion designers, photographers, agents or stylists, and of central importance here, fashion models, who mainly dictate what is fashionable. Previous research on

modelling and the fashion industry has focused on the symbolic production of fashion (Rocamora, 2001), the production of value in fashion modelling (Entwistle, 2002), fashion as a materialized field (Entwistle & Rocamora, 2006), gender and power in fashion modelling (Mears, 2008), aesthetic labour within fashion modelling (Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006), and more recently, fashion models as cultural intermediaries (Wissinger, 2009). Elizabeth Wissinger (2009) in particular has focused on the work of fashion models and how they act as intermediaries between production and consumption, which then frames consumer experiences (Wissinger, 2009). She notes that fashion modelling work developed alongside modern consumer culture when models were used to make items desirable in the post-war period (Wissinger, 2009). In her discussion of fashion models as intermediaries, Wissinger mentions the level of control models have regarding their style and how beginner models “receive guidance about what to wear, how to look, where and with whom to go out” (Wissinger, 2009, p. 279). She acknowledges that it is controversial to describe models as cultural mediators, but asserts that when models become “self-styled agents of their own symbolic meaning” (Wissinger, 2009, p. 278) they fall within Bourdieu’s definition of cultural intermediaries. However, is this the case for all models, and especially the participant-models on *BINTM*? It is this question I am concerned with in my analysis.

### **2.3 Reality and Lifestyle Television**

The current wave of reality and lifestyle television began its climb into popularity with the airing of *Survivor* in the summer of 2000 (Madger, 2009). Over a decade later, the genre which was predicted to be a fad is now “firmly entrenched” (Madger, 2009, p. 142) in television schedules. Reality television is “an unabashedly commercial genre united less by aesthetic rules or certainties than by the fusion of popular entertainment

with a self-conscious claim to the discourse of the real” (Ouellette and Murray, 2009, p. 3). Its subgenres include the gamedoc, the dating program, the makeover program, the docusoap, talent contests, popular court programs, reality sitcoms and various celebrity variations (Ouellette & Murray, 2009). All of these subgenres provide viewers with an “unmediated, voyeuristic, and yet playful look into what might be called the ‘entertaining real’” (Ouellette & Murray, 2009, p. 5).

Much of reality television falls into the category of lifestyle television. Bell and Hollows (2005) indicate that lifestyle television is especially focused on portraying ordinary people and providing guidance to viewers on how to choose a lifestyle through which to construct their identity. In this way, lifestyle television is shaping contemporary taste cultures and everyday practices (Bell & Hollows, 2005). It offers scripts which illustrate to viewers “correct” tastes so they can imitate them and thus enact the same “correct” lifestyle. Tim O’Sullivan notes, “lifestyle television continues to offer recurrent lessons and advice in the ever-more effective stylistic management and transformation of the body, health, fashion, cookery, gardening, house and home, DIY, cars, travel and holidays, and property” (2005, p. 31). It seems there are few areas of contemporary life that a lifestyle program does not cover. Fashion is well established within reality and lifestyle television, and there are many diverse programs consumers can watch. Some of the most popular include *Top Model*, *Project Runway*, *Make Me a Supermodel*, *What Not to Wear*, and *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*.

Reality and lifestyle television are unique from other television genres because they depend upon an audience response to visual modes, such as the gaze of a surveillance camera, video diaries, and portable shots as subjects are followed, as well as

the verbal discourses surrounding them (Matheson, 2005). It is based around the idea of spectacle enacted by real people (Matheson, 2005). However, the media provides viewers with a “selected, edited, polished version of the real” (Matheson, 2005, p. 103). This manufactured reality is presented as authentic and trustworthy based on the audience’s awareness of the process of filming the participants (Matheson, 2005). Reality television presents reality to viewers through a contradictory logic wherein professional crafting of the real is minimized, yet the programs are noticeably manufactured (Matheson, 2005). Matheson (2005) advances Baudrillard’s notion of the “hyper-real” as an accurate description of reality television. The representations on reality television programs are recognized as not real and the participants know their fame is dependent upon the spectacle and the images consumed by audiences (Matheson, 2005). As Dovey points out, the audience is critical to the success of reality television programs: “without the fame-conferring gaze, there would be no event worth filming, no reality” (Dovey, 2000, p.11, cited in Matheson, 2005, p. 105).

In Frances Bonner’s analysis of Australian lifestyle programs she refers to the forerunners of current programs that were either built around a personality presenter or centred on narratives of transformation and disclosure (Bonner, 2005, p. 39). When considering *BINTM*, we can see a blending of these two features, resulting in a program that includes both aspects; an expert host and an overarching transformative narrative. Bonner (2005) argues that presenters of lifestyle television are cultural intermediaries because they are presenting information to the viewer about how they should consume goods based on the information they are sharing. To make this argument, Bonner draws on the work of Keith Negus and his assertion that cultural intermediaries “explain both

the use value and exchange value of new commodities” (cited in Bonner, 2005, p. 45). She suggests that this explanation of cultural intermediaries explicitly positions lifestyle television hosts as cultural intermediaries. The expert hosts describe each element of the program and why it is adding value to the project, therefore creating a legitimate need for it with consumers. While this applies to the host of *BINTM*, Elle Macpherson, I will explore how other participants on *BINTM* may also act as cultural intermediaries. In addition to the transformative narrative and expert host featured in *BINTM* there is also the underlying competitive nature of the process, which creates a sense of drama and suspense throughout the program to draw in viewers.

*BINTM* is aimed at a young, female audience. Within lifestyle and reality television the teenage market is attractive to advertisers because of their heightened media and cultural literacy (Wee, 2004). The young, female consumer is also the target market for the fashion industry (Rafferty, 2011). Interestingly, “teen” programming became an important part of television schedules after World War II when teenagers became an influential economic force (Osgerby, 2004); this is nearly the same timeline as the growth in fashion, fashion modelling, and contemporary consumer culture. Osgerby discusses the teenage market targeted by US television in the 1950s and 1960s and draws upon the work of Jesse Berhard who noted it was made up of the predominantly white, middle class “leisure class” (Berhard in Osgerby, 2004). Compared to their American counterparts, British youth had lower disposable income and were primarily of working class backgrounds, employed as semi-skilled and unskilled labourers within the thriving manufacturing industries (Osgerby, 2004). However, both US and UK teenage television in the 1950s and 1960s targeted teenage girls as consumers, especially framing

consumption as a method of self-expression (Osgerby, 2004). After the 1960s there was a decline in teen focused television programming, but the 1990s brought a resurgence as baby boomer's children entered adolescence (Osgerby, 2004). Currently, there is a swathe of reality television programs targeting teen audiences. British programs include *BINTM*, *Big Brother UK*, *The Only Way is Essex*, and *The X Factor*. The integration of branding and product placement into reality television programs is evidence that companies have recognized these genres as opportunities to market to their audience.

As well as being a form of entertainment, reality television has also become a marketing tool (Hearn, 2009). Product placement has become commonplace in many programs, from *American Idol* to *America's Next Top Model* and *Extreme Makeover: Home Edition* (Hearn, 2009). For example, product placement occurs in *America's Next Top Model* for Cover Girl. Cover Girl is a prominent sponsor and throughout the program Cover Girl products are used and featured. They are integrated into challenges and photo-shoots and mentioned in each episode as part of the prize package. In addition to promoting products, reality television programs are also making visible the process of becoming a celebrity brand (Hearn, 2009). They are making it possible for reality television program participants to become "saleable image commodities" (Hearn, 2009, p. 168) where "real" participants become "famous". This transformation from "real" to "famous" appears to be the ultimate goal of *BINTM*. This transformation to being a celebrity in their own right would be especially beneficial to the participant-models if they are to be understood as cultural intermediaries because it would offer them a level of recognisability that would legitimize their positions as taste-shapers.

There is an increasing body of knowledge on lifestyle and reality television; however, there is a gap in the literature regarding participants of programs as cultural intermediaries. It is this gap that I will address with my study. *BINTM* offers a supposedly “authentic” glimpse at up and coming models that aspire to be successful working models as they learn the ropes of the industry and learn to embody the fashion lifestyle they want to live. The participant-models on *BINTM* are in a specific social context that should be considered separately from fashion models within the wider fashion industry because their experience is unique. I am including an analysis of a popular weekly fashion magazine published in the UK to investigate the participant-models’ impact in the wider British fashion industry.

#### **2.4 Theoretical Framework:-**

In this project I will draw on two main theories: Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital and feminist theorists who have built upon his work. In order to address the question of whether all models can be understood as cultural intermediaries I will be using the work of Pierre Bourdieu, specifically his concepts of habitus, field and capital. This theoretical framework is well suited to analyze this question because I am looking at a specific industry, fashion, which has its own specific set of behaviours and knowledges. Moreover, Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is focused on the body and how habitus is reflected in the body through gestures, movements and embodied practices (Hancock & Garner, 2009). The discourse analysis I am undertaking considers the visual presentations and conversations and statements of the participants. Both the actions and the speech of the individuals will reveal the habitus of each and their ability to employ the cultural capital available to them.



Habitus is a “structuring structure”. The habitus is a “dynamic intersection of structure and action: it both generates and shapes action” (Adkins, 2004, p. 193). Hancock and Garner further define habitus as “a template for reproducing perceptions and actions and for continuing to induce individuals to perform practices as if they remained within the context in which habitus was first produced” (2009: 165). However, the habitus is not static and new knowledge can be acquired which will change an individual’s habitus and their ensuing behaviours as they become adapted to their social situation (Hancock & Garner, 2009). An individual’s habitus is learned, and the more ingrained habitus becomes, the more natural practices seem. The ability to acquire symbolic capital within a field is easier for an individual if their habitus is better adjusted to the field they are situated in (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Bourdieu argues that this learning process can occur without conscious effort, and individuals adapt to new social contexts and endeavour to fit in with other players in the field (Hancock & Garner, 2009). In essence, habitus is the unconscious “feel for the game” coupled with the learned knowledge of how one should act (Hancock & Garner, 2009). It is cultivated in a shared social context and works in a cyclical manner.

Because the habitus is enacted by the body it is often experienced as natural. Despite this seeming naturalness, habitus is based on arbitrary social concepts imposed on the individual centred on their relative position within a field and their corresponding cache of cultural, symbolic, and economic power. If an individual’s habitus matches their social context, their behaviours and actions are seemingly natural; however, if the habitus and social context are not matched it will be apparent because the individual will appear ill at ease and their actions will not be appropriate (Hancock & Garner 2009).

Thus an individual whose habitus is not attuned to their social surroundings must pay close attention to their behaviour to ensure they behave as is expected (Hancock & Garner, 2009).

Bourdieu believed the body is where culture is reproduced and manifested, and it is through the body that we understand and experience the world (Hancock & Garner, 2009). Featherstone points out that Bourdieu focuses on the body because the body is where the habitus reveals itself:

...habitus not only operates on the level of everyday knowledgeability, but is inscribed onto the body, being revealed in body size, volume, shape, posture, way of walking, sitting, ways of eating, drinking, amount of social space and time an individual feels entitled to claim, degree of esteem for the body, pitch, tone of voice, accent, complexity of speech patterns, body gestures, facial expression, sense of ease with one's body...the body is the materialization of class taste: class taste is *embodied*.(Featherstone, 1987, p. 64, original emphasis).

Bourdieu defined a field as any social arena with its own set of logical practices and defined rewards for behaviours and competencies within that field (Hancock & Garner, 2009). Fields are social spaces that contain systems of positions which are occupied by an individual based on their dispositions, or habitus (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Within fields, those with the “right” kinds and levels of cultural and social capital will appear natural and at ease. As well, fields are places of power where sources of capital are available to members (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Each

individual's position in the field is reflective of the amount of capital they have acquired and their struggle to convert, maintain and secure more capital (Ihlen, 2005). An individual's actions reinforce and perpetuate social norms and expectations, which in turn direct the actions of newcomers to conform to the standards of that particular field and reinforcing them. Thus "society socializes the individual while simultaneously society is reproduced through individual action and practice" (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 166).

Within each field, power is dispersed through capital. An individual's power is connected to their access to capital. "Capitals are resources, knowledges, objects, practices and skills relative to any particular field that a person utilizes to advance his or her position in the social order through their acquisition and disposition" (Hancock & Garner, 2009, p. 179). The four types of capital suggested by Bourdieu are economic capital, which is money or property; symbolic capital, which is honour or prestige; social capital which is group memberships and connections; and cultural capital, which is knowledge, skills, and educational qualifications (Ihlen, 2005). According to Bourdieu's discussion of capital, symbolic capital can be any of the other three types of capital that is not yet recognized as capital (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Thus symbolic capital is constantly at stake within a field as individuals engage in activities to have their symbolic capital recognized as one of the three other forms of legitimate capital. There is a continuous struggle in fields to convert capital and alter its distribution by members (Ihlen, 2005). Capitals may be specific to certain fields and valueless in other fields (Ihlen, 2005). Within this analysis cultural capital will be of most importance. Bourdieu notes cultural capital is displayed through taste, manners and dispositions of an individual (Hancock & Garner, 2009). Using Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital I will be able to

gain understanding of the position of the participant-models within *BINTM* relative to each other and the other individuals featured in the program.

In Bourdieu's discussion of cultural intermediaries, whom he placed within the new petite bourgeoisie that emerged in the 1960s, he distinguishes between two groups. He differentiates between those from the upper classes, who have high levels of cultural capital but generally lack educational capital, and those from the lower classes, who have elevated themselves from the middle classes through educational capital and have gained a veneer of social niceties (Bourdieu, 1984). The upper class group have a "well-armed pretension, based on familiarity with culture combined with high social origin, [which] is quite distinct in its means and modalities from the anxious pretension of the promoted petite bourgeoisie" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 362). Also, he notes that a large number of women work as cultural intermediaries, but does not believe their gender is the reason they have taken up these positions (Bourdieu, 1984). Rather, he asserts they are especially disposed towards the work of cultural intermediaries because of their socially learned positions towards things of taste within which they can apply their cultural capital in a functional way (Bourdieu, 1984). However, Bourdieu's concept of cultural intermediaries is more focused on classical forms of culture and as such I will broaden my discussion by including more contemporary writers who have addressed the subject and discuss how cultural intermediaries promote lifestyles.

Sean Nixon and Paul Du Gay further Bourdieu's idea of cultural intermediaries within contemporary society. They note Bourdieu's coining of the term "new cultural intermediaries" was likely in response to the changing face of employment in France in the 1960s (Nixon & Du Gay, 2002). Primarily, this was referring to the new "service

class” (Lash and Urry, 1987, in Nixon & Du Gay, 2002, p. 498). However, with recent changes in technology the concept needs to be further adjusted to accommodate the “information age”. The social roles performed by the individuals who are in advertising, management consulting, and public relations comprising of vast amounts of information and knowledge work are becoming more important to cultural and economic industries, and these occupations are included within recent conceptualizations of new cultural intermediaries (Nixon & Du Gay, 2002).

I will also be drawing on the work of feminist theorists who expand on the work of Bourdieu. Habitus is not only linked to class, as Bourdieu discusses in his work, but it is also linked to gender. Lisa Adkins (2002), for instance, discusses the feminization of culture and how this feminization is connected to consumer culture. She notes the dominant aesthetics and practices of consumer culture are associated with traditional understandings of femininity (Adkins, 2002). She asserts that “feminization” is now being used to “...refer to a new sovereignty of appearance, image and style at work, where the performance of stylized presentations of self has emerged as a key resource in certain sectors of the economy, particularly in new service occupations” (Adkins, 2002, p. 61). The increasingly reflexive approach to gender in the workplace and how gender can be performed and thus transformed into a type of workplace capital is becoming more habitual, especially in interactive service work (Adkins, 2004). The conceptualization of gender performance as a workplace skill is of particular importance when considering the work of fashion models whose careers are based on performing gender. Adkins’ connection of feminization to the occupations most often associated with cultural intermediaries’ places gender firmly within the discussion of cultural intermediaries.

Adkins further links the feminization of work and its impact on the general connection between the economy and culture through the aestheticization of everyday life (Adkins, 2002). While discussing the aestheticization of life, she draws on Hennessy's work which points to the emphasis within consumer culture on every aspect of life being self-consciously stylized, essentially self-fashioned "lifestyles" (Adkins, 2002). Cultural intermediaries are using this self-fashioning to model lifestyles to consumers. Lifestyle is achieved through buying and using consumer goods and as such is adjustable; as purchases change to reflect a change in self-identification (Adkins, 2002). This refers to the malleability of self-presentation and how consumer goods are used to shape and present an identity an individual has chosen. Fashion models present an image of a fashionable lifestyle that is reflected in the clothes they wear, the food they eat, and the places they go. Each act of consumption adds to their lifestyle image.

Angela McRobbie draws on Bourdieu's concept of habitus in her analysis of the program *What Not to Wear*, which she describes as "a series of encounters where cultural intermediaries impart guidance and advice to individuals ostensibly as a means of self-improvement" (McRobbie, 2004, p. 103). Her study of make-over programs and female symbolic violence centres on the transformation of self with the assistance of experts in an effort to improve an individual's status by acquiring cultural and social capital (McRobbie, 2004). While considering the case of *What Not to Wear*, McRobbie understands the female-symbolic violence as reproduced through social processes by using Bourdieu's notion of habitus. She notes the program is successful due to the subordinate positioning of the participants' (whom she refers to as victims) working class habitus in relation to the hosts' middle class habitus (McRobbie, 2004). She argues that

women are no longer defined by the men in their lives, but instead are entering into competition with each other (McRobbie, 2004). This competition between women reveals class dynamics at work (McRobbie, 2004). Within the context of reality and lifestyle television programs class differences are more polarized between visual representations of “shabby failure or well-groomed success” (McRobbie, 2004, p. 101). While discussing class differences she points to Skeggs’ (1997) work and the working class women’s awareness of the middle class women’s scorn. The competition between women will be useful to include when examining the competitive format of *BINTM*.

Beverley Skeggs’ work on power is also important to consider because of the power dynamics entrenched within discourse. Power is revealed by whose voices are privileged within discourse, and conversely who is silenced. In relation to Bourdieu’s model of capital, she warns against only considering the exchange-value of items and asserts the importance of looking at power and relationships because it is the perspectives of the participants who make the items valuable (Skeggs, 2004a). Skeggs also argues that the value of a particular culture is only known and useful in the field where it is recognized (Skeggs, 2004a). Thus cultural capital acquired within the fashion industry may not be useful in wider society. As well, Skeggs positions femininity as a youth-specific commodity which will lose value over time (Skeggs, 2004a). The youth-specific value of femininity is an interesting consideration within fashion and television because historically both industries focus on the physical appearance of females. Within television and media, women’s careers are shorter than men’s and their success is based upon their appearance (see also Sontag, 1972). This mirrors the careers of female models

whose careers are shorter than males and are primarily based upon their youthful appearance.

By using the work of Bourdieu, and contemporary and feminist scholars who have developed his theories, I will be able to better assess the participant-models' positioning within *BINTM*. Adkins' inclusion of gender and Skeggs' model of power will be useful in determining whether the participant-models are acting as cultural intermediaries.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In this literature review I have given an overview of the concept of cultural intermediary and why it is an important unit of analysis. As well, I have discussed the research that currently exists on cultural intermediaries and the need for more empirical work to contribute to the debate which surrounds the term. I also included a section on fashion, mediation, and models to give context to the larger industry of fashion and the research that has been done on fashion models. The development of the current reality and lifestyle television genre was summarized, including a brief outline of the existing research on current lifestyle programs. Finally, I addressed the theories which I will be using to complete my analysis of *BINTM*.



## CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This section outlines the methods used to conduct the research for this thesis. I start by examining what discourse analysis is and why it was chosen as the most appropriate method to explore the question of whether the participants of *BINTM* are cultural intermediaries. I then describe the themes I used to examine the three data sources within my analysis and how they relate to the concept of cultural intermediary. I outline how I undertook the discourse analysis of each text because each data source was different and required an adjustment of the method I used. I also include an overview of the *BINTM* program to give context to the analysis. The chapter ends with a note on the limitations of my study.

### 3.1 Discourse Analysis

Discourse is “a particular knowledge about the world which shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it” (Rose, 2001, p.136). It focuses on the construction of meaning through talk and texts (Tonkiss, 1998). Discourses produce subjects and are communicated through verbal texts and visual images (Rose, 2001). Rose (2001) refers to Foucault when discussing the power involved within discourses. Within discourse, power is linked to knowledge, which is what is often revealed through the language and behaviours of individuals. Discourses establish certain ways of knowing or talking about a subject, as well as forms of conduct that define what is appropriate in terms of certain practices or activity. Foucault perceived discourse to be a powerful and productive force whereby subjects are disciplined into particular ways of acting and thinking (Rose, 2001). Moreover, Rose (2001) asserted discourses produce human subjects and thus our sense of self.

Discourse analysis is a qualitative research method I used to critically examine the data sources in order to identify reoccurring themes within them. It pays special attention to images, their social production, and effects (Rose, 2001). According to Tonkiss (1998), discourse analysis views language as a tool that constructs and organizes social reality rather than just reflecting it in a straightforward way. Furthermore, discourse analysis can reveal how talk and texts are used to create specific effects and meanings (Tonkiss, 1998). Within discourse analysis the data examined is the language, along with how it functions in producing social relations, identities and ideas (Tonkiss, 1998). For example, when an expert language is employed within a discourse it marks out a specific field of knowledge, identifies the user as a member of a specific group, and grants knowledge and authority to the user (Tonkiss, 1998). Language is more than words; it also takes into consideration gestures, signs, numbers and images which are used to convey meaning between individuals. For example, if an individual wants to convey the concept of peace, they can say the word “peace”, they can hold up their hand, palm outwards and extend their index and middle fingers upwards in a V-shape (✌) or they can draw the symbol ☸, and each time they are using language. Discourse analysis addresses all of these different aspects of language, not just the words involved within it. Because of its ability to engage with the words, signs, behaviours, and context of the data, discourse analysis allows one to consider more than just what is said.

There are no standardized rules for discourse analysis. This may be because it is focused more on the way meaning is constructed using language instead of searching for specific answers to questions within texts (Tonkiss, 1998). Because of the flexibility of discourse analysis it has been used by numerous disciplines and can be tailored to the

researcher's area of focus (Tonkiss, 1998). Despite a lack of standardized rules it is useful to consider two central subjects as a starting point for discourse analysis: the interpretive context or social setting of the discourse; and the rhetorical organization or organization of text and the effects statements are trying to make within a larger context (Tonkiss, 1998). Indeed Tonkiss (1998) notes language is “a *social practice* which actively orders and shapes people's relations to their social world (Tonkiss, 1998, p. 249). The interpretive context of discourse considers the larger social context the language is used in and is thereby able to consider other forces at play within discourse, such as power (Tonkiss, 1998). When considering discourse the social setting can drastically change the manner of speaking an individual uses. Therefore, it is important to consider the type of interaction, the relation between the individuals, and the speaker's immediate discursive goal (Tonkiss, 1998). Thus it is important to be mindful of the interpretive context of discourse when examining *BINTM*. As well, the rhetorical organization of discourse needs to be considered because it is “concerned with the argumentative schemes which organize text and which work to establish the authority of particular accounts while countering alternatives” (Tonkiss, 1998, p. 250). Tonkiss uses the example of prosecution and defence lawyers who employ rhetorical skills to present their accounts of the same case, but with different goals, thus rhetoric can shape outcomes (Tonkiss, 1998).

There are three main components within discourse analysis: selecting and approaching data; sorting, coding, and analysing data; and presenting the analysis (Tonkiss 1998). Discourse analysis is largely described as a “craft skill” (Potter & Wetherell, 1995, p. 55, cited in Tonkiss, 1998, p. 253); however, some guidance is offered on how to best use this method. Discourse analysis is a fluid process which

begins in a broad and inclusive way where a number of key themes that seem relevant to the research question are selected (Tonkiss, 1998). The research question guides the selection and coding of data and it is important the researcher put aside their own preconceptions and allow the findings to emerge on their own, even if they are not what the researcher expected (Tonkiss, 1998). When undertaking discourse analysis, Tonkiss (1998) states it is not necessary to analyse every line of discourse, but to selectively choose portions of text that are rich in detail and will be fruitful analytic material. However, she also warns against choosing only sections which support the researcher's assumptions, and instead advocates for the inclusion of sections which challenge or contradict them because they are often the most productive areas (Tonkiss, 1998). Contradictions and inconsistencies can be considered within the general text, which offers a framework in which they can be studied (Tonkiss, 1998).

Tonkiss (1998) further suggests four guidelines for analysing data. These guidelines include: selecting key themes; searching for variations within the text; looking for emphasis and detail; and recognizing silences. Selecting key themes helps to organize data and allows for a more systematic approach to be used in the analysis (Tonkiss, 1998). It allows the researcher to contrast the different ways the themes emerge within the data and leads to questions such as: what meanings are mobilized, does the organization of the text produces a specific reading, how are associations are being created, and in what way do ideas cluster around the themes? The identification of variations within text draws attention to the processes within the text that are working to create a single, coherent discourse. Differences within the text point to the work being done within it to counter alternatives, reconcile conflicting ideas, and deal with

contradictions (Tonkiss, 1998). As well, it is just as important to look for consistencies within texts as this can assist in revealing the central idea of the discourse (Tonkiss, 1998). Reading for emphasis is a tool that allows the researcher to open up the text for analysis and draws attention to those areas of the text where the author is trying to persuade the audience to a specific reading (Tonkiss, 1998). While the selection of key themes and searching for variation within the text is part of the researcher's overall focus on emphasis and detail, there are other strategies used by researchers to read for emphasis. One such approach is to search for the *three-part list* or vague references as tools to identify areas within texts that warrant further examination (Tonkiss, 1998, original emphasis). The *three-part list* is used to create emphasis by building up a sequence of ideas to create a larger effect. For example, Tonkiss noted an example of 'history, heritage, and countryside' to describe an area and how by sequencing the three concepts together the author attempted to make a more meaningful impact on the reader. Identifying vague references which are difficult to challenge are also areas of the text which warrant closer analysis. These include references such as 'the community' or 'family values' which draw on largely unidentifiable groups or ideas that readers would be unlikely to contradict, but are not specific about whom or what they are referring to (Tonkiss, 1998). Also, recognizing silences within the text can offer the researcher a space to suggest alternative accounts (Tonkiss, 1998). By identifying silences the researcher has the opportunity to suggest why the silences exist and what their purposeful omission means (Tonkiss, 1998).

I selected discourse analysis as the most appropriate method to address my research question because it allowed me to incorporate both visual and verbal

components into my analysis. I draw on Stuart Hall's concept of language, who suggests images are part of language and can also be "read". This was especially important considering my data sources included a television program, written documents, and a magazine. Television narratives are more dialogue driven than those in films (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2005); therefore it is very important to note whose voices are privileged in the program and how those voices create the dominant discourses of the program. Narratives are used to make sense of our experiences and have an overall structure of beginning, occurrence of conflict, characters' attempt to resolve the conflict, resolution, and closing of the storyline. Indeed, a sense of identity can be constructed through narrative (Matheson, 2005). Narrative conclusion is signified by a resolution of the conflict, and closure is gained by the characters involved (O'Shaughnessy & Stadler, 2005). Casey et al. (2002), argue narratives engage and encourage us to continue reading, viewing, or listening because they are one of the primary sources of pleasure in media (in Matheson, 2005). The overarching narrative driving *BINTM* is the search for a winner, and within each episode this narrative moves forward through the elimination of a participant-model, which acts as a semi-conclusion to the ongoing narrative.

Also, since discourse analysis is concerned with language and visual texts it was well suited to be used in conjunction with Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capitals which are revealed through individual's actions and words. Habitus is revealed through the body; through mannerisms, modes of dress and manners of speaking. Discourse analysis allows me to explore all of these aspects of individual self-presentation. Moreover, the definition of discourse points to how it "shapes how the world is understood and how things are done in it" (Rose, 2001, p. 136) and consequently

discourse analysis is a useful tool to allow insight into how social positioning occurs by examining actions, behaviours, and language. In this way, discourse analysis allowed me to consider how the participant-models are positioned within the program, how the judges are positioned, and how they are positioned in relation to each other. The social position of all the program participants is important because social position within a field influences an individual's ability to act as a cultural intermediary.

By focusing on the behaviour and language of the participant-models and the other program participants I was able to gain understanding of how they were judged on their performance as models throughout the program, and how this impacted their ability to gain cultural capital and act as cultural intermediaries. It allowed me to gain insight into the ability of each participant-model to perform as a model; how they engage different skills to succeed in their performance, which in turn demonstrates the kind of cultural capital they possess. Furthermore, language illustrates the power disparities present between various group members and this is an important aspect to consider when understanding whether *BINTM* participants are able to act as cultural intermediaries. I also considered the discourses within the wider fashion industry, especially those directly related to models and modelling. These include, but are not limited to, the discourse of thinness, the discourse of youth, the discourses of fame and celebrity, and the discourses of being fashionable and stylish, which helped me to situate and contextualize the comments and feedback provided within the program. All of these discourses contribute to the ability of models to act as cultural intermediaries. They position models within a hierarchy in the fashion field and legitimize their ability to act as cultural intermediaries. Each discourse surrounding modelling contributes to a model's status within the fashion

field, validates their expertise, and positions them to make an impact on consumers.

When a model gains enough status, expertise and impact to influence consumers they are able to act as a cultural intermediary. Being a model contributes to their ability to act as a cultural intermediary; however, it does not guarantee they are able to do so.

### **3.2 Data Sources**

My analysis was comprised of a discourse analysis of three data sources. These data sources included: fashion industry documents consisting of four guides for models provided by the British Fashion Council (BFC) and a published book by two British models; series eight of *BINTM*; and four issues of *Look*, a popular British fashion and celebrity magazine. My research question and choice of data was guided by my interest in the work of models as cultural intermediaries. The manner in which I conceptualized cultural intermediaries led me to draw on the three data sources which I believe were the most relevant to assist me in addressing my research question. The three data sources were chosen as means of providing insight into whether or not the participant-models on *BINTM* were acting as cultural intermediaries.

I organized my discourse analysis around the three concepts Smith-Maguire and Matthews (2012) identified as central to cultural intermediaries: framing, expertise, and impact. I then followed Tonkiss' suggestion of using key themes to organize and approach the data in a systematic way. I initially identified six themes, but after reviewing all of data I included a seventh theme, which emerged throughout the analysis. The themes I identified, which were central to the concept of "cultural intermediary" are:

1. Fashion/modeling experience
2. Fashion/modeling knowledge



3. Claims to legitimacy/authority
4. Growth/development/professionalization
5. Creative engagement/personal responsibility
6. Acknowledgement/ownership of personal style
7. Influence/impact

As Smith-Maguire (2008) point out, cultural intermediaries use their own lives, bodies and tastes as resources for their work by engaging their appearance, attitudes, and overall image to legitimize and exert their influence over others (Smith Maguire, 2008). The seven themes identified draw on these ideas to ascertain whether the participant-models act as cultural intermediaries. Taken together, they allowed me to gain insight into whether the participant-models were able to act as cultural intermediaries in terms of the tripartite conceptualization of framing, expertise, and impact.

Theme 1 (fashion/modelling experience) and theme 2 (fashion/modelling knowledge) are the most obvious of the themes. An individual's ability to frame goods is influenced by their social position within a field, their access to resources, other non-human actors, and how an item is framed to them by others (Smith-Maguire and Matthews, 2012). The participant-models engaged in framing in *BINTM* and by doing so they were drawing on their fashion/modelling experience (theme 1) in order to perform as models. Additionally, each successful attempt to frame a good added to a participant-models fashion/modelling experience (theme 1) and her corresponding access to cultural capital. It follows that any participant-model attempting to act as a cultural intermediary will reference their personal fashion/modelling experience or knowledge to support their claims. Theme 2 (fashion/modelling knowledge) was the most directly related theme to the concept of expertise. If references to theme 2 (fashion/modelling knowledge) were made I inferred they were attempts to establish the speaker's expertise within the

program. Theme 3 (claims to legitimacy/authority) connects to the first two themes. Legitimacy is based on knowledge and experience within a field. I also used references to theme 1 (fashion/modelling experience) and theme 3 (legitimacy/authority) to gain perspective of a participant-model's social position within the field. Building on the first three themes, I identified growth, development and professionalization (theme 4) as a useful theme. I used it to establish if the participant-models perceived themselves as improved and if they viewed modelling as a legitimate profession. As well, I inferred references to growth, development or professionalization by a participant-model indicated attempts to affirm their social position within the fashion field. The development of professional expertise by the participant-models was made through references to theme 4 (growth/development/professionalization).

The latter three themes are not as obviously connected to the concept of cultural intermediaries, but each is valuable as a tool to gain understanding about the participant-models' abilities to do so. Themes 5 and 6 (creative engagement/personal responsibility, and acknowledgement/ ownership of personal style) were more connected to Bourdieu's reference to cultural intermediaries as "needs merchants" who sell themselves as models of their products (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 365). Theme 5 (creative engagement/personal style) and theme 6 (acknowledgement/ownership of personal style) can also be used to gain insight into the development of the participant-models' habituses. Their habitus needs to develop throughout the program so they can learn how to behave within the fashion field. This was reflected in how they utilized their appearance to look like professional models. References to themes 5 (creative engagement/personal responsibility) or 6 (acknowledgement/ownership of personal style) were considered more aligned with

claims to personal expertise. Although theme 7 (influence/impact) was not initially identified, it emerged as an important theme as I engaged with the data. Influence/impact was important to include because it is a critical aspect of acting as a cultural intermediary. It revealed the underlying relationship between fashion and pop culture. References to theme 7 (influence/impact) were generally made by others. References to theme 7 (influence/impact) implied a degree of status in the fashion industry that resulted in having an influence on others. It also implied a participant-model had been successful in framing a good. I was able to gain understanding of the impact of the various program participants and their level of influence on others through these references. As well, I believe since a cultural intermediaries' impact is primarily dependent upon their ability to frame a good and their expertise, by assessing the previous two concepts I gained a sense of the impact an individual had.

### ***Fashion Industry Documents***

I began my discourse analysis by examining the texts I used to represent the British fashion industry. These helped me to gain insight into the official discourses that surround fashion models. The texts included four guides for models sourced from the British Fashion Council (BFC) and a published book, *Professional Modelling: Every model's must-have guide to the industry* (2009), by Louise Cole and Giles Vickers-Jones. The British Fashion Council ([www.britishfashioncouncil.com](http://www.britishfashioncouncil.com)) was established in 1983 with the aim to promote British designers and develop London as a leader within the global fashion industry. Their efforts can be viewed as successful since London Fashion Week is considered one of the "big four" fashion events of the year and is considered comparable with fashion weeks in New York, Milan and Paris. Additionally, it has

developed resources for models including four guidebooks titled ‘a Model’s Guide to’. The guidebooks’ subjects include: healthy eating advice; support and tips for coping with situations involving drugs, alcohol and cigarette smoking; resources and tips for coping with the emotional and psychological stress of the industry; and behaviour expectations for models in various professional settings. These four guides were used in the analysis to represent official industry stances for models. The book I included within this data source was written by two established British models and included a history of modelling, an overview of different types of modelling, and many tips and guidelines covering subjects such as posing, grooming, finances, and working as a model. The BFC Guides and Cole and Vickers-Jones’ book were written specifically as resources for fashion models to achieve success. The discourses surrounding fashion models’ behaviour in these guides and book were used for comparison with the discourses surrounding the participant-models’ behaviour on *BINTM*.

I began my review of the fashion texts looking for instances of the seven themes I identified as central to the concept of “cultural intermediary” as it is used in this analysis. I initially read through the guides and book without taking notes to gain familiarity with the contents. I then read them each again, taking notes on each. As well, I marked the text within the BFC guides with colour-coded references to the six themes because these were my own copies. Cole and Vickers-Jones’ book was not my property, therefore I took extensive notes on each chapter’s contents and used removable tabs to identify any pages I felt were particularly important so I could easily refer back to them. I then reviewed my notes and marked them with the colour-coded references. This allowed me to easily identify themes and see if any patterns emerged within the text. I read the

guides and books again after viewing the *BINTM* program and made some additions to my existing notes. Whenever I used an example from either the BFC Guides or Cole and Vickers-Jones' book within my analysis I reviewed the section of the text I was referencing to ensure I described it accurately.

***Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model Series 8***

Secondly, I examined series eight of *BINTM*, which is my main data source. Series eight was aired between July and October of 2012. *BINTM* is a popular reality television program in the UK, based on the original American program *America's Next Top Model*. *BINTM* is a search for a female fashion model that has the most potential according to the judges' expertise. Eight series of *BINTM* have been fully aired to date and series nine is currently being aired. It is a modelling competition open to female residents of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland between the ages of 18-23 (Sky Living). Auditions were held in locations across the various countries, from which a selection of approximately twenty potential models were chosen to participate in the program (see Table 1). Generally one contestant was eliminated in each episode. This thesis is concerned with series eight of *BINTM*, which was filmed in the autumn of 2011, and aired on British television between July and October of 2012.

**Table 1: Series Eight *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* Participant-Models (in order of elimination)**

Name	Description		Episode Eliminated
	Hair	Racialized/ Non-Racialized	
Catherine	Brown, Wavy, Long (mid back);	Non-racialized	Episode 1** withdrew
Vanessa	Brown, Straight, Long (shoulder)	Racialized	Episode 1**withdrew
Danielle	Brown, Straight, Long (mid	Non-racialized	Episode 1

	back)		
Louisa	Blonde, Straight, Long (shoulder)	Non-racialized	Episode 2
Diona	Brown, Straight, Long (shoulder)	Non-racialized	Episode 2
Anna	Blonde, Straight, Long (mid back), Fringe	Non-racialized	Episode 2
Amelia	Blonde, Curly, Long (mid back)	Non-racialized	Episode 2** withdrew
Emma S	Blonde, Wavy, Long (shoulder)	Non-racialized	Episode 3
Penelope	Blonde, Wavy, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Blonder, Wavy, Long (mid back)	Non-racialized	Episode 4
Tasmin	Black, Straight, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Black, Straight, Long (mid back) with Fringe	Racialized	Episode 5
Anne	Black, Straight, Short Makeover: Blonde, Straight, Short (Cropped)	Non-racialized	Episode 6
Kellie	Black, Straight, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Black, Straight, Short (bob) with Fringe	Non-racialized	Episode 7
Jennifer	Blonde, Wavy, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Brown, Wavy, Mohawk	Non-racialized	Episode 8
Madeleine	Brown, Straight, Short (crop) Makeover: Brown, Straight, Long (mid back)	Racialized	Episode 9
Roxanne	Brown, Straight, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Orange, Curly, Afro	Racialized	Episode 10
Risikat	Brown, Straight, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Brown, Straight, Short (pixie)	Racialized	Episode 11
Lisa	Brown, Straight, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Brown, Straight,	Non-racialized	Episode 12

	Short (pixie)		
Anita	Brown, Wavy, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Brown, Wavy, Long (mid back) with fringe	Racialized	Episode 13 Finale
Emma G	Brown, Wavy, Long (mid back) Makeover: Brown, Wavy, Long (mid back) with highlights	Non-racialized	Episode 13 Finale – Runner up
Letitia	Brown, Straight, Long (shoulder) Makeover: Brown, Wavy, Long (shoulder) with highlights	Non-racialized	Winner

Series eight of *BINTM* was made up of fourteen episodes; however, episode fourteen was dedicated to the history of *BINTM* and is not addressed in this thesis. It was filmed primarily in London, but also features three international destinations: Dubai, United Arab Emirates; Paris, France; and Toronto, Canada. Each episode began with a brief review of the previous episode including which participant-model was eliminated, followed by a few moments showing the participant-models after the elimination from the previous episode. This was usually followed by a challenge activity, and a photo-shoot, involving a range of guests and photographers (see Table 2). After the photo-shoot was completed there was a judgement panel where each participant-model was called before the judges and received feedback on her performance during the photo-shoot and challenge. The judges then deliberated privately before the elimination. At the elimination portion of the judgement panel the participant-models were called out individually by Elle, a supermodel and the key judges on the program, starting with participant-model who had the strongest photograph which received “picture of the week”. When there were only two participant-models left, both were asked to step before Elle, where they were told why they were in the bottom two. They were reminded that

whoever's name was not called must immediately leave the competition. After this reminder, the participant-model who was continuing in the program was called. Once a participant-model was eliminated they briefly reflected on the experience directly to the camera and then were shown leaving. Scenes of the participant-models reflecting on scenes were interspersed throughout the episode and were visually different because the participant-models were shown in front of a *BINTM* background. As well, there were scenes showing the participant-models in the Top Model House, the home for the contestants on the program they were required to stay in while the program was filmed. It should be noted that Episode 1 and 2 had slightly different formats because they featured 20 participant-models who were selected from the auditions. They did not have the formal judgement panel that occurred in episodes 3-13. Also, episode 13 featured an informal judgement panel directly after the photo-shoot and then a formal judgement panel after the final two participant-models had participated in the final catwalk challenge.

**Table 2: Series Eight *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* Guests and Photographers (in order of appearance)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Brand/Company Affiliation</b>	<b>Episode</b>
Fearne Cotton	Narrator	BBC Radio	All
Melissa Burton	Brand rep (managing director)	Goody Good Stuff Sweets	1
Maz	Photographer	n/a	1
Maz	Photographer	n/a	2
Matt Henry	Catwalk Coach	Models 1	3
Jade Thompson	Guest appearance ( <i>BINTM</i> Series 7 winner)	<i>BINTM</i> Series 7	3
John Rowley	Photographer	n/a	3



Bip Ling	Supervise photo-shoot (Fashion blogger)	n/a	3
Jodie Fox	Brand rep (Co-founder)	Shoes of Prey	3
James Galvin	Style Director	Daniel Galvin Salon	4
Louise Galvin	Celebrity Colourist	Daniel Galvin Salon	4
Mervyn Druian	Cosmetic Dentist	The London Centre for Cosmetic Dentistry	
Mollie King	Supervise photo-shoot (Singer)	The Saturdays	4
Sarah Salter	Brand rep (Senior marketing manager)	Casio Baby G	4
Joseph Sinclair	Photographer	n/a	4
Vernon Francois	Celebrity Image Consultant	n/a	5
Aled Jones	Supervise challenge (Radio DJ)	BBC Radio	5
Ludovic Leray	Brand rep	Alcatel	6
Joy McLaren	Supervise photo-shoot (former <i>BINTM</i> contestant)	<i>BINTM</i> Series 6	6
Laura Grant	Brand rep (Brand Manager)	Impulse Body Spray	6
Lionel Deluy	Photographer	n/a	6
Laura Whitmore	Supervise challenge (TV presenter)	n/a	7
Hasan Hejazi	Brand rep (Designer)	Hesan Hejazi	7
Victoria White	Brand Rep (Editor)	Company magazine	7
Diana Gomez	Photographer	Company magazine	7
Rizzle Kicks	Singers featured in photo-shoot	Rizzle Kicks	7
Annabel Granger	Brand rep (Brand Manager)	TRESemmé	8
James Galvin	Style Director	Daniel Galvin Salon	8

Terry Hart	Fashion Show Producer	n/a	8
Paul Sculfor	Supervise photo-shoot (Model)	n/a	8
Gemma McHenry	Brand rep (Marketing Manager)	Philips	8
Gordon Smart	Supervise challenge, brand rep (Showbiz Editor)	The Sun	9
Nicky Johnston	Photographer	n/a	9
Clara Maidment	Photographer	n/a	10
Carly O'Connor	Brand rep (Marketing Manager)	Revlon	10
Seb Winter	Photographer	n/a	10
Matt Gidilevich	Brand rep (Director)	Elite Model Management Toronto	11
Alecia Bell	Brand rep (President)	Elite Model Management Toronto	11
Bernadette Morra	Brand rep (Editor)	Fashion magazine	11
Gabor Jurina	Photographer	n/a	11
Yasmin Yusuf	Brand rep (Creative Director)	Miss Selfridge	11
Chris Nicholls	Photographer	n/a	11
Jeanne Beker	Supervise challenge, brand rep (Fashion journalist and presenter)	Fashion Television	12
Francisco Garcia	Photographer	n/a	12
Gabor Jurina	Photographer	n/a	13
Hans Koechling	Fashion Show Producer	Pavoni	13
Warren Leacock	Fashion Show Production Assistant	Pavoni	13
Mike Derderian	Brand rep (Designer)	Pavoni	13
Gianni Falcone	Brand rep (Designer)	Pavoni	13
Jeffrey O'Brecht	Backstage Manager	Pavoni	13

I viewed each episode a number of times. The first viewing I watched without taking notes, but paid attention to the events that unfolded. During the second viewing I took notes with a focus on the dialogue of the participant-models as well as other key actors in the program. I took special note of any references made to modelling experience or knowledge, to how the participant-models felt they performed within the challenges and photo-shoots, as well as what they thought of each other's performances. I also recorded any references to the expertise of program participants, to physical appearance or to clothing, and how the participant-models were feeling. After identifying where references to a theme occurred, I reviewed the instances in the episodes to verify whether my notes were accurate. If I included a reference to a specific conversation in my analysis, I reviewed it to ensure I was accurate in my description.

During the third viewing of an episode, I focused more on the appearance and behaviour of the participant-models. I recorded the outfits and hairstyles of the participant-models at each judgement panel and noted whether their appearance was commented upon by the judges during the judgement panel. There was limited information provided regarding the ethnicity of the participants so I have categorized the participant-models as either "racialized" or "non-racialized" within the program. The racialized participant-models were non-white and within Britain whiteness is closely associated with British-ness. There are four judges featured in the program; head judge Elle Macpherson, Julien Macdonald, Tyson Beckford, and Whitney Port. In addition to the four permanent judges there are also guest judges who appear in various episodes (See Table 3). As well, during this review of the episodes I searched for references to the

looks of a participant-model at other points throughout the episode and also watched for visual cues regarding the apparent comfort level of the participant-models throughout. I paid particular attention to the behaviour and body language of the participant-models at the challenges, photo-shoots, and judgement panel. I noted whether the participant-models appeared comfortable or nervous in the situations. By using Bourdieu's concept of habitus, I was able to ascertain if the participant-models were at ease within differing environments. Verbal references to feeling nervous or uncertainty regarding their performance by the participant-models were noted in the episode notes. As well, comments made by the judges about the performance of the participant-models were also noted. These instances and examples were then used to assess how the habitus of the participant-models developed. I felt the visual aspect was important to review separately because discourse analysis involves both visual and verbal texts, as noted by Rose (2001) and Tonkiss (1998). By focussing on each aspect separately I was able to pay attention to details, identified by Tonkiss (1998) as one of the four guidelines to completing discourse analysis.

**Table 3 Series Eight *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* Judges (in order of appearance)**

<b>Judges</b>	<b>Profession/Qualification</b>	<b>Episode</b>
Elle Macpherson	Female Model	All
Julien McDonald	British Fashion Designer	All
Whitney Port	American Fashion Designer	All
Tyson Beckford	Male Model	All
Alesha Dixon	Singer (Mis-teeq)	Episode 3
Kimberly Wyatt	Singer (Pussycat Dolls)	Episode 4
Andrej Pejic	Male Model (female and male fashions)	Episode 5

Mel B	Singer (Spice Girls)	Episode 6
Tali Lennox	Female Model	Episode 7
Paul Sculfor	Male Model	Episode 8
Erin O'Connor	Female Model	Episode 9
Poppy Delevingne	Female Model	Episode 10
Nigel Barker	Photographer (former ANTM judge)	Episode 11
Kelly Cutrone	Fashion Publicist (former ANTM judge)	Episode 12

Focusing on the behaviour and appearance of the participant-models also addressed the question of power hierarchies within the program. Based on a hierarchy of authority and status within the program, participants were offered different opportunities to speak and be seen. Who spoke, and the different settings in which program participants spoke, revealed the power dynamics entrenched in the program. I examined how the participant-models interacted with each other and how they interacted with other program participants, such as the judges and guests. I looked for instances of conflict and how they were negotiated between the individuals involved to bring to light the relative power of each participant in defining what was fashionable. I examined who was seen, how they were seen, how certain voices were heard and how certain voices were privileged over others. The change in who was seen and who was heard over the duration of the program was fruitful for analysis because it was often indicative of which participant-model was going to be eliminated at the end of each episode. As well, once I viewed all of the episodes and knew the eventual winner, I was able to then examine how the discourse surrounding the winner (Letitia) developed throughout the program. The way each participant-model was positioned throughout the program by the judges, in

photo-shoots, and by the other participant-models was assessed to understand how each was able to gain cultural capital.

During the fourth and final viewing I watched and updated my notes to ensure I captured as much information as I could. I then reviewed the notes and made colour-coded marks where references to one of the seven themes occurred. This was the same process I undertook for the BFC Guides and Cole and Vickers-Jones' book. The majority of my notes were made during the second viewing of the episodes, and were in reference to the dialogue that occurs throughout the program. While I did not capture a word-for-word record, I did capture the subject of the conversations so I could identify references to any of the seven themes. However, I did make additions to my notes during the third and fourth viewings or during specific reviews of scenes.

To make it easier to reference my notes, I separated the notes from each episode into separate folders. I also created a summary sheet to use as a quick reference guide for which challenges and photo-shoots happened in each episode. This enabled me to quickly refer to an episode's notes section to confirm details or find a specific example to include in my analysis. I also made a list of the guest judges, photographers, and special guests from each episode (see Table 3). As well, I made charts to track the call-out orders of the participant-models at the judgement panel in each episode (see Appendix A), to track what the participant-models wore at each judgement panel (see Appendix B), and to track the apparent comfort level of the participant-models at the photo-shoot, and judgement panel of each episode (see Appendix C).

In order to assess whether the participant-models act as cultural intermediaries I assessed their behaviour and language throughout the program focussing on the key scenes of the challenges, photo-shoots, and judgement panel. I searched for examples where the participant-models engaged with their fashion and style, what kind of claims to knowledge and expertise they made, and their development throughout the program. Critiques offered by the judges on the participant-models' performances, or by other participant-models, occurred throughout the program and I examined the reactions to the critiques to gain insight into the social positioning of each participant-model in relation to each other and the other program participants. As well, I paid close attention to any critiques the judges made regarding the participant-models' appearance. I was especially interested in the reaction of the participant-models' when they received a negative critique. I noted if she adjusted her appearance at judgement panel in the following episode. I looked for instances where the participant-models explained their style, shared their knowledge of fashion or the fashion industry, or provided a specific verbal interpretation of their appearance, thus positioning themselves as experts within the fashion field. While I examined all scenes within *BINTM*, certain scenes were more fruitful for analysis, such as the make-over scene, challenges, photo-shoots, and the weekly judgement panel.

For example, when I was considering the concept of framing I examined the call out order of the photographs at the judgement panel. As well, I noted the judges' feedback and discussion around the photographs to ascertain if the participant-model had successfully framed the good(s) featured in the photo-shoots. When I was examining the idea of expertise, I primarily looked to the judges' comments and feedback. If the

judges' had commented that they liked the photograph or the participant-model looked like a "real" model or that they "nailed it", I took these comments as indications the participant-models had acted with expertise. Overall, I used the feedback from the judges to the participant-models to gauge how well the participant-models were performing as models. This was critical to my ability to gain understanding of whether the participant-models were treated as legitimate members of the field by the judges. Further, it also made visible the process of the development of the participant-models' habituses. Both of these aspects were important in terms of assessing the accumulation of cultural capital by the participant-models and their corresponding ability to act as a cultural intermediary.

### **Challenges**

Challenges were featured in each episode of the program and were opportunities for the participant-models to perform as models. The challenges were diverse, ranging from catwalk training to interviewing passers-by on their fashion style (see Table 4). Some challenges had winners who received prizes such as extra time in the next photo-shoot, shopping sprees, or dinners out. The challenges were designed to test the participant-models, but were also opportunities for them to learn.

**Table 4: Series Eight *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* Challenges and Winners**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Challenge (brief description)</b>	<b>Winner</b>
1	Catwalk to demonstrate personal style using own clothes and to show personality	n/a
2	Individually meet judges and demonstrate walk and body in swimsuit	n/a
3	Catwalk with animals for Models 1 catwalk coach	Risikat
4	Make-overs	n/a



5	Create a t-shirt with a personal insecurity on it and speak to 200 school children about their personal insecurity	All rewarded
6	Mobile phone television commercial in French	Letitia
7	Pose on a public catwalk for 30 minutes while public voted for their favourite model	Emma G
7	Go-see for designer Hasan Hejazi and demonstrate walk to be judged by other participant-models	Letitia* (chosen by designer)  (*Lisa was the winner based on the votes of the participant-models)
8	Catwalk in TRESemmé Charity Catwalk on a catwalk covered in a layer of water with professional models	Lisa
9	60 second television spot to demonstrate personality and presence	Risikat
10	n/a	n/a
11	Television spot on CN Tower Edgewalk promoting Toronto	n/a
11	Meet with directors of Elite Models Toronto and demonstrate walk and present portfolio	n/a
11	Cover try with Fashion magazine	Risikat
12	Quizzed on fashion knowledge and had to interview a passer-by on their style	Lisa
13	Catwalk in Pavoni show	Letitia

### **Make-overs**

The make-over scene occurred in episode 4 and twelve participant-models received make-overs. They took place in the Daniel Galvin Salon in London, and the participant-models were split into four groups. Each group was supervised by one of the judges who were responsible for the look of their group's members. The participant-models were shown in various stages of the make-overs and reactions were shown

throughout the process – by participant-models to their own make-overs, as well as the make-overs of other participant-models. After each participant-model’s make-over was completed she was photographed, and a before and after shot were shown.

**Photo-shoots**

The photo-shoots were critical scenes in each episode because they comprised situations where the participant-models had the opportunity to perform as models. At the judgement panel they were primarily judged upon their performance within the photo-shoots (see Table 5). The participant-models were advised of upcoming photo-shoots. Their notification often took the form of an "Elle Mail" which was usually vague, and the theme of the photo-shoot was referenced in a riddle. They participant-models were taken to the location of the photo-shoot, informed of the creative brief, introduced to the client, the photographer, and any guests before being instructed to go to hair and make-up. At hair and make-up they were styled and each participant-model’s turn was shown. During the photo-shoot each participant-model’s thoughts on her performance before and after were shown. As well, the photographer, client, and any guest or judges who attend the photo-shoots were also shown throughout the photo-shoot, and their critiques of the participant-models’ performances were featured. At some photo-shoots a winner was chosen for her performance and she received a reward.

**Table 5: Series Eight *Britain and Ireland’s Next Top Model* Photo-Shoots and Winners**

Episode	Photo-shoot and creative brief	Featured Brand	Winner, if applicable* <small>*as per brand rep or supervising guest/judge</small>
1	Swimwear in groups; natural	Goody Good Stuff Sweets (candy)	n/a

2	Arabian desert princesses,	n/a	n/a
3	Butterflies in pairs while suspended in the airs	Shoes of Prey (shoes)	n/a
4	Top Model Jail, pretty and tough,	Casio Baby G (watch)	n/a
5	Do it Like a Dude, masculine styling, but keeping feminine charm, strength and beauty	n/a	n/a
6	Parisian shoot with male model, embodying name of body spray	Impulse Body Spray (perfume)	n/a
7	Company magazine feature with Rizzle Kicks (singers), urban styling	Company Magazine	n/a
8	Couture dress with three male models in Laundromat	Philips Perfect Care (iron)	Anita and Emma G
9	Broken Dolls in Victoria Toy box, dark, moody, creepy	n/a	n/a
10	Pose with three tarantulas while lying on the floor on a painted web, graphic poses, move around	n/a	n/a
10	Beauty shot modern interpretation of Marie Antoinette “Let them eat cake”, capture essence of Revlon woman, playful, indulgent	Revlon (lip butter)	n/a
11	Fashion magazine cover try, fresh, happy	Fashion Magazine	Risikat
11	Niagara Falls for Miss Selfridge	Miss Selfridge	Lisa
12	Muskoka cottage country, playful, energetic, young	Call It Spring (accessories and footwear)	n/a
13	Scarborough bluffs inspired by Canadian history, Native princess with horse	n/a	n/a

### **Judgement Panel**

One of the richest scenes examined in the program was the judgment panel. The judgement panel occurred in episodes 3-13 after the photo-shoot and challenges were

completed. The participant-models were required to pack their belongings before each panel, and if they were eliminated they left the program directly from the judgement panel. The judges sat in the front of the room and the participant-models stood before them in rows so they could all be observed by the judges at the same time. Each participant-model was called forward to view her best photograph of the week and to receive feedback on her performance from the previous week. When the participant-models were called forward, they walked down a catwalk until they were directly in front of the judges. The participant-models remained in front of the judges until they were dismissed, after which they returned to their position at the back of the room. The participant-models' appearance in this portion of the program was of extreme importance, given they were using it to convey their personality, commitment, and understanding of the industry to the judges. When they were asked to step forward individually for their critique, they were often not given the opportunity to speak. Once all of the participant-models had been critiqued they were asked to leave the room while the judges deliberated privately. The judges reviewed the photographs and discussed the performance of each participant-model. The participant-models returned to the judgement room and their positions at the back of the room once the judges had made their decision. During the elimination portion of judgement panel, head judge Elle stood at the end of the catwalk with the photographs of the participant-models who had been selected to remain in the competition. She called them forward to receive their photographs one at a time, beginning with the participant-model who had the strongest photograph (See Appendix A). This participant-model was awarded "picture of the week". After a participant-model's name was called and she received her photograph, she exited the room. This

occurred until the participant-model who was eliminated was revealed. The eliminated participant-model was shown leaving and she gave a short reflection of her time on the program before a montage of her photographs from the photo-shoots was shown, followed by her image fading out of the Series 8 *BINTM* title scene.

In summary, through repeatedly viewing each *BINTM* episode I was able to critically examine the program, looking for examples of the seven themes I used to understand how and if the participant-models were acting as cultural intermediaries. However, to strengthen my analysis, four issues of *Look* magazine were included to establish the participant-models' ability to create an impact within wider pop culture was reflective of their positions within the program.

### ***Look***

My third data source was *Look*, a British fashion and celebrity magazine published on a weekly basis, with the same target audience as *BINTM*. Because a cultural intermediary's impact and influence is dependent upon their access to cultural capital, which they accumulate through their expertise, authority, and status, as well as their ability to frame goods for consumers, including the magazines offered an opportunity to gain insight into whether the participant-models on *BINTM* were able to make an impact within the wider fashion sphere. This was an important aspect to consider because of Smith-Maguire and Matthews' (2012) reference to impact as one of the three dimensions to understanding the specificity of cultural intermediaries. If no impact was made, this indicated the participant-models were not fully acting as cultural intermediaries. The magazine issues were not analysed until after the analysis of the BFC Guides, Cole and Vickers-Jones' book, and the *BINTM* episodes. This magazine was chosen for inclusion

because of its focus on fashion, as well as its ranking as the third most popular fashion magazine published within the UK (Cision Europe). Importantly, it is published on a weekly basis. I chose to use a magazine published on a weekly basis because the release of its issues dealt with the current fashion scene in the UK. Magazines published on a monthly basis might not be as fruitful for analysis because they were attempting to address a month's worth of information opposed to a week's worth. I limited my analysis of the magazine to four issues for several reasons. My main focus was on the participants-models within the *BINTM* program and including the issues of *Look* allowed me to gain insight regarding participant-model's ability to act as cultural intermediaries in terms of impact. As well, I limited the magazine issues to four because of the amount of data I was already analysing, and by strategically choosing an issue published in each month that *BINTM* aired I felt the range of the program was covered.

The issues were chosen based on the dates of the airing of *BINTM*. The first episode of *BINTM* series eight was aired on July 9, 2012 and the episode 13 finale was aired on October 1, 2012. The dates of publications of the *Look* issues included in this analysis were July 16, 2012 (1 episode aired); August 13, 2012 (5 episodes aired); September 17, 2012 (10 episodes aired); and October 8, 2012 (13 episodes aired). I initially reviewed each magazine for photographs of the participant-models or other participants of *BINTM*. Secondly I examined all the text, including captions, of the magazines for references to either the *BINTM* program or the participants of *BINTM* (see Table 6).

**Table 6: Appearance of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* participant-models and judges in *Look Magazine* (in order of appearance)**

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Who</b>	<b>Role on <i>BINTM</i></b>	<b>Before or after appearance on <i>BINTM</i></b>
July 16, 2012	Tali Lennox	Guest Judge	Before (August 20, 2012 – episode 7)
July 16, 2012	Poppy Delevingne	Guest Judge	Before (September 10, 2012 – episode 10)
August 13, 2012	Tali Lennox	Guest Judge	Before (August 20, 2012 – episode 7)
August 13, 2012	Whitney Port	Judge	During
August 13, 2012	Elle Macpherson	Head judge	During
September 17, 2012	Elle Macpherson	Head judge	During
September 17, 2012	Mollie King	Special Guest at photo-shoot	After (July 30, 2012 – episode 4)
October 8, 2012	Letitia Herod	Winner, participant-model	During* (episode 14 aired October 10, 2012, but was a review episode, Letitia won in episode 13 aired October 1, 2012)

### **3.3 Issues and Limitations**

While presenting my analysis I remained mindful of the language I chose because it influences the meaning of my findings. The internal validity of my analysis was strengthened by looking for the key themes across the three data sources and examining them in the same open-minded manner. I used Tonkiss' (1998) four suggestions to guide my analysis, which provided consistency across the texts. Discourse analysis is vulnerable to questions of internal validity. However, I believe my approach mitigated these risks. Nonetheless, this analysis represents a single interpretation that is reflective of one particular reading of the texts. The results of this analysis are informative, but are limited in nature.

While the findings of my analysis are a valuable addition to the subject areas of cultural intermediaries and reality television, it is a small study based on a limited dataset and as such, I would limit the findings of my study to participant-models who are on *BINTM*. My findings should not be generalized to the wider fashion industry because the experiences of the participant-models on the program are unique.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This section provided an overview of what discourse analysis is, and why it was an appropriate method for me to use to consider whether or not the participants of *BINTM* act as cultural intermediaries. I described the seven themes I identified as central to the concept of cultural intermediary within this thesis, and how these themes were used to identify whether or not the participant-models were able to act as cultural intermediaries. Each data source was valuable, and each strengthened my ability to draw conclusions based on the discourse analysis I completed. The BFC Guides and Cole and Vickers-Jones' book were first examined to establish the official discourse of the British fashion industry regarding professional models. Next, I undertook a discourse analysis of series eight of *BINTM* focusing on key scenes such as the challenges, photo-shoots, make-overs, and judgement panel. Finally, I turned to four issues of *Look* to see if the participant-models were able to make an impact in the wider British fashion culture, which is an important aspect of acting as a cultural intermediary. I addressed the limitations of my analysis, whereby my choice of discourse analysis and the data sources used, specifically, the reality television program *BINTM*; limit the generalizability of my findings.



## CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS

In this chapter I consider whether the participant-models act as cultural intermediaries within Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model using the three dimensions Smith-Maguire and Matthews (2012) suggest are critical to understanding the cultural specificity of cultural intermediaries. These dimensions are framing, expertise, and impact, which were described in chapter 3. The participant-models are described as "potential" models in the initial narrative of the program. However, throughout the program each participant-model's status as a model is tenuous. Each episode pits the participant-models against each other based on their ability to perform as models. They are continually tested and challenged to perform as models, therefore their status as models is continually in flux because it changes depending on their performance.

The program ostensibly centres on the search to find the next big model, just as the fashion industry is always searching for the next big trend. This continuous pursuit of novelty in the fashion industry means the models' success will be fleeting at best. In the case of the participant-models, through their participation in the program they hasten the end of their career as a model. The fashion industry wants something new, therefore the participant-models lose cultural capital within the wider fashion industry by appearing on *BINTM* because they are no longer new. However, they gain cultural capital within the *BINTM* and wider pop culture by remaining in the program and gaining more exposure. This places the participant-models in a fragile position by gaining cultural capital within one field, they sacrifice it in another.

The status of participant-models as models changes throughout each episode as they encounter different situations that call upon them to perform, thus the participant-

models exist in a perpetual state of change. Each time they engage in a performance as a model it impacts their model status. In addition to competing with each other, they also compete with their own past performances. The competitive format of the program creates a need for the participant-models to improve their skills throughout because there is an expectation of progress held by the judges. They are participating in a literal competition to legitimize their status as models.

Throughout this process the participant-models engage with aspects of framing, expertise, and impact as they struggle to act as cultural intermediaries. During the program the differing statuses of the participant-models, judges, and guests are made visible. The different levels of expertise, authority, and status each program participant has access to impacts each participant's ability to act as a cultural intermediary. Indeed, after completing my analysis I concluded that the ability to act as a cultural intermediary appeared to be on a continuum. This was especially true for the participant-models, whose status within the hierarchy of the program could rapidly change; their corresponding ability to act as cultural intermediary shifted, based on their status and performance at any given point in the program. The judges were consistently able to act as cultural intermediaries because of their pre-existing status in the fashion field. The guests and judges who featured throughout the program possessed an established level of cultural capital in the fashion field that offered them the ability to act as cultural intermediaries. This illustrates the hierarchy that exists within the program, and shows how not all members of the fashion field are equal. Therefore, I conclude not all models are equal and not equally able to act as cultural intermediaries. Instead, *BINTM* shows how the ability to act as a cultural intermediary is based on a hierarchy, with some

individuals having more capacity to act as a cultural intermediary than others because of their higher status within the field.

Through this analysis, I consider how the participant-models engage in framing and develop their expertise, as well as whether they make an impact. I address each of these concepts separately within my analysis as a means of demonstrating the accumulation of cultural capital. However, I believe that while they are distinct concepts, they overlap and it is the point where all three concepts overlap that the true complexity of what it is to act as a cultural intermediary is revealed. The consideration of all three concepts allows me to conclude that while the participant-models engage in framing and develop their expertise, they have little to no impact and are not acting fully as cultural intermediaries. Overall, I find the participant-models have very little impact because they have limited expertise, as well as a low level of authority and status, which places them low within the hierarchy of the program and wider fashion industry. As a result, they are largely unable to act as cultural intermediaries.

One of the most important tasks of a model is the ability to successfully frame goods. The participant-models' ability to frame is continually tested in the program through a series of challenges and photo-shoots. Fashion models are hired because of their ability to make a consumer item desirable; it is their job to make products look good and create a demand for them. Their ability to create this desire is based on their ability to frame a good. If a model is unable to successfully frame a good then they are not performing as a model. Furthermore, if they are not performing as a model then they are not able to act as a cultural intermediary. In order to successfully frame a good, which is the point of each photo-shoot in *BINTM* as well as many of the challenges, the

participant-models have to perform modelling skills and expertise. As they gain skills and expertise they also gain status. Within the wider fashion industry, the higher the status and authority of a model the greater the impact they will have on consumers, which in turn creates a higher demand for the good they are promoting. For example Kate Moss, an established and successful fashion model, has a high level of skill in framing goods, and because of her status within the fashion field her impact will be more widespread than an unknown model just entering the industry. If a participant-model is able to successfully perform as a model and a cultural intermediary she is framing a good by drawing on her expertise and creating an impact.

By using these three dimensions, I am able to identify how the participant-models are consistently challenged in their efforts to act as cultural intermediaries. Although gains are made by the participant-models and there are moments when the participant-models briefly appear to act as cultural intermediaries, it is chiefly the judges and guests from the fashion industry who are able to perform the role of cultural intermediary. After being announced as the winner, Letitia is able to act as a cultural intermediary, but not to the same degree as the judges, who have a higher status and larger impact. This leads me to conclude that the ability to act as a cultural intermediary exists as a scale, with the ability to act as a cultural intermediary shifting depending on the individual's ability to frame a good, their level of expert knowledge, and the impact they have.

In this chapter, I start by examining how the participant-models are positioned throughout the program and how this influences their ability to frame goods. I find that in some instances participant-models are able successfully frame goods, but overall they are not able to do so on a consistent basis because of their constant struggle to legitimize

their performance as models. I then move to how expertise is used within *BINTM* to establish the status and authority of the program participants, focusing primarily on how the judges use their expertise to maintain their legitimacy and authority, especially head judge Elle Macpherson who has the highest status within the program. I also discuss how participant-models attempt to position themselves as experts. Finally, I consider whether the participant-models have impact, the third aspect to be considered when examining cultural intermediaries. I find that overall the participant-models were not able act as cultural intermediaries because they were unable to bring the three concepts of framing, expertise, and impact together, primarily because of their low status and lack of cultural capital. While there are certain moments within the program when a participant-model is able to briefly appear as a cultural intermediary, such as after receiving “picture of the week”, these moments are limited and fleeting. The one exception is Letitia, who is the winner of the series. After being named the winner of the series she appears in an advertisement as a model in the popular fashion magazine, *Look*. This in turn creates the necessary conditions for her to create a larger impact on audiences, thereby allowing her to act as a cultural intermediary after the finale episode.

#### **4.1 Framing**

“When you look that good, I would buy the watch” (Mollie King, episode 4)

In this section I address how the participant-models on *BINTM* engage in the process of framing during the program. Cultural intermediaries construct value by framing how consumers engage with goods and how consumers view goods, services, ideas, and behaviours as “legitimate” (Smith-Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Framing is one of the primary jobs of a fashion model, thus when the participant-models work to

frame goods within the program they are attempting to act as a model and a cultural intermediary. Framing involves adding value to a good so that a consumer views it as desirable. The participant-models on *BINTM* constantly engage in the process of performing as models by framing goods. By achieving recognition of their performance as legitimate they gain cultural capital and increase their social position within the fashion field, both of which are important to the ability to act as a cultural intermediary. However, the constant struggle to maintain legitimacy is repeatedly undermined by other participant-models on the program, as well as judges and special guests, who are also trying to gain cultural capital and maintain their status within the modelling and fashion hierarchy.

Framing involves several modelling skills, including posing, walking, showcasing their personality, and their appearance. During the TRESemmé catwalk show on episode 8, for instance, Lisa is praised for her walk because it shows off the dress well. Thus, in this example, Lisa successfully uses her skills as a model (her walk) to frame a product (the dress). In doing so, Lisa performs as a model and acts as a cultural intermediary. When the participant-models perform as models they are able to frame goods - a key role of cultural intermediaries. However, their performance as models must be legitimated in order for them act as cultural intermediaries. The more their performance as a model is legitimated, the more likely it is the participant-models are able to act as cultural intermediaries. In this section, I address the participant-models' opportunities to perform as models via practices of framing. I focus on three key sites in which this occurs, including the challenges, photo-shoots, and at judgement panels.

### ***Challenges: The Catwalk***

“I can’t believe I’m opening the show AHH” (Emma G, episode 13)

Most episodes feature a challenge related to the fashion industry, which offers the participant-models the opportunity to perform as models and to also engage in the process of framing. The challenges more explicitly focus on the skills the participant-models need to develop to be successful in the wider fashion industry. The skills the challenges feature include posing (episode 7), walking (episode 3), public speaking to share ideas (episode 5), and interacting with media to demonstrate their personality (episode 9). The participant-models are expected to engage their modelling skills to perform successfully in the challenges and frame the good featured in the challenges. Sometimes, as in the challenge in episode 9, they are the good they are framing. This was the case in the episode 9 challenge when the participant-models took part in a 60 second media spot to showcase their personality and presence. In essence, the participant-models were engaged in framing themselves as products. More typically the participant-models are tasked with framing a consumer good.

One of the main modelling skills focused on in *BINTM* is that of walking on the catwalk. The ability to walk like a model is stressed throughout the program, beginning with the first challenge and ending with the final catwalk challenge. Walking in catwalk shows is an important aspect of the fashion modelling industry. The fashion industry features many catwalk shows, especially during the “fashion weeks” held in various cities, where clothing and accessories are displayed on models. Walking on the catwalk is “a performance to show off the clothes to their best advantage” (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009, p. 94). This focus on the walk as an important modelling skill leads me to

conclude that a “strong walk” is important because it allows the audience to focus on the goods, rather than the model during a catwalk show. This positions a strong walk as a key modelling skill the participant-models need in order to succeed in the fashion industry. This makes it important for a model to have a strong walk, and explains the focus within *BINTM* on the catwalk and the numerous catwalk challenges that are featured. Because catwalk challenges are featured throughout the program the participant-models are given lessons on how to walk. However as Cole and Vickers-Jones note, “[t]here is no specific runway walk” (2009, p. 94) so it is a difficult skill to master because there are only guidelines on what a strong walk consists of. The participant-models who are initially praised for their walks are Risikat, Letitia, Emma G and Lisa. The participant-models who are criticized for having “weak walks” are Tasmin, Jennifer, Penelope, and Anne. The final two participant-models, Letitia and Emma G, are recognized by the judges as having strong walks from the beginning of the program, which calls into question the effectiveness of the training *BINTM* offers.

In the catwalk challenge in episode 3, the participant-models are asked to perform on the catwalk while carrying an animal. They are expected to perform as models and showcase the animal they are assigned to its best advantage. In order to successfully frame the animals, the participant-models have to execute their model walk and display the animal simultaneously. To accomplish this, Lisa notes she employs the strategy of visualizing the snake she has draped over her neck as a scarf, an accessory, so she is able to focus on her walk and successfully perform as a model and frame the snake as a desirable component of her look. Anne uses a similar strategy, focusing on her walk, which improves her performance and results in her successfully framing the animal.



Emma S and Tasmin are not successful in their attempt to frame the animals during their turns. It appears they are more focused on the animal than their walk. They do not demonstrate the skill of walking, which is the focus of the challenge, resulting in poor performances for both of them. Additionally, they both let go of the animals, which meant that in addition to not demonstrating a critical modelling skill, they also lost the opportunity to frame the animal. Tasmin in particular is singled out for having the worst walk and is advised to keep practicing. The advice she receives re-establishes the walk as modelling skill to be developed. By succeeding in a challenge, the participant-models demonstrate their skills as models and enhance their status within the hierarchy of the program.

It is important to perform well in the challenges because some have rewards associated with them that relates to the photo-shoots later in the episode. For instance, after winning the challenge in episode 3, Risikat is rewarded by being photographed on her own rather than with a partner, and in episode 6 Letitia is granted an extra five minutes in her photo-shoot. However, Letitia's gain of five minutes is at the expense of another participant-model. Letitia has to choose who will receive five minutes less so she can use them in her photo-shoot. She chooses to take the minutes from Anne, who had performed strongly in the initial episodes and has previous modelling experience. Anne's past experience affords her more cultural capital than Letitia, which makes her a threat within the competition. However, Anne had been in the bottom two in the previous episode, placing her in a weakened position within the hierarchy of participant-models. At the judgement panel, the judges remark upon Letitia's choice of Anne and position it as a strategic move on her part to eliminate her competition, drawing attention back to the

competitive discourse that permeates the program. Anne's poor performance in the challenge and photo-shoot in episode 6 mean she is not performing well as a model, and she is eliminated at the end of the episode.

Another instance where a poor performance in a challenge affects a participant-model's position in the program occurs in episode 8. In episode 8, the challenge is a catwalk show for TRESemmé with professional models. The participant-models are styled with large elaborate hairstyles and designer dresses, which they are supposed to frame on the catwalk. The judges eliminate Jennifer instead of Madeleine because Jennifer does not perform well in the challenge. As I previously noted, it is a model's job to frame consumer goods and the judges believe Jennifer does not make the outfit desirable on the catwalk challenge because she looked uninterested and did not walk well. Jennifer has not mastered the important skill of a model walk, which means she is unable to successfully frame the dress she is wearing in the challenge. Her performance as a model is positioned as not legitimate because of this, and she is eliminated.

If the participant-models perform poorly in a catwalk challenge the judges focus on their weak performance and skill during the judgement panel instead of the goods they are modelling. This lack of attention on the goods indicates that the participant-models are not succeeding in framing the good. Moreover, a strong walk is a reflection of the embodied cultural capital of a model; it represents an acquired skill which is valued in the fashion field. A strong walk affords the participant-model status and places her higher within the hierarchy of the program. The participant-models who have a strong walk have an advantage within *BINTM* because they are able to then focus on framing the good

and already possess an important modelling skill. This is useful in their struggle to perform as models and act as cultural intermediaries.

***Photo-shoots and “Picture of the Week”: Posing the Body and Doing Gender***

“I love your body expression to me, it, that’s Italian Vogue” (Tyson Beckford, episode 7)

The photo-shoots are another key site in which the participant-models are expected to perform as models. Their performances at the photo-shoots formed the basis of the judges’ decision-making process at judgement panel. The photographs are ranked based on the participant-models’ performance and fulfillment of the creative theme of the photo-shoot. They are judged on whether they have been able to engage their modelling skills to successfully frame the goods featured in the photo-shoot, whether they have acted like a professional model, and if they have produced a strong photograph. If the participant-models did not accomplish this, their performance as models was challenged.

I found it important to keep in mind throughout my analysis that the fashion industry is driven by consumption and the photo-shoots the participant-models take part in are all geared towards producing an image that will create a desire in consumers for goods they are displaying. Images are a critical part of the fashion industry. The photographs models appear in are for advertising campaigns of brands or designers. The participant-models are trying to perform as models so they can produce a photograph which a brand or designer will view as promoting their goods. They are trying to produce a sellable image through successfully engaging in the process of framing. Therefore models need to develop a repertoire of poses they can utilize in photo-shoots. At the photo-shoot in episode 4, the brand manager remarks on Letitia’s skill as a model and her

performance of approximately ten poses none of the other participant-models had used. This drew attention to the broader context of the fashion industry, and how the role of models is to promote and frame goods to the best of their ability. The photo-shoots are about the products, not the models. Letitia is thus positioned as successfully framing the good featured within the photo-shoot. Furthermore, it also draws attention to her embodied cultural capital, based on the range of her poses.

Indeed, the pose is such an important aspect of modelling that Cole and Vickers-Jones (2009) dedicate an entire chapter to it in their book. They note, "...it is the model's responsibility to make the product they are modelling look good...it is important to know what to do with every part of your body and to be aware your best and worst features and how to accentuate or hide these [sic]" (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009, p. 88). The poses the participant-models use in the photo-shoots change depending on where the camera is positioned, the theme of the photo-shoot, whether they are posing on their own or with others, how they are styled, and who the good is targeted towards. Thus, posing is a critical skill a model develops as a means of effectively framing goods. Posing involves positioning the body so the good(s) are displayed to their best advantage and often involves manipulating the body into unnatural or uncomfortable positions. However, as a model, the participant-models are expected to hide this strain from showing in the photographs. A so called "strong" pose is dependent upon the theme of the photo-shoot and also the type of good featured within it. Sometimes long, clean lines of the body are praised (episode 3 – aerial shoot) and sometimes angles and juxtapositions of the body are praised (episode 9 – Victorian toy box). Because of this variability, it is important for the participant-models to develop posing skills and have a wide range of poses they can

use. This is echoed by the fashion discourses I examined. In fact, Lisa is eliminated in episode 12 for the lack of variety in her poses. Guest judge Kelly Cutrone refers to Lisa as a “one-trick pony” because of her use of a similar facial pose in almost all of her photographs. Having a wider variety of poses means a model will likely be able to work for many different goods.

As noted, one of the primary tasks of a model is to frame a product for a consumer, thereby creating a desire in the consumer for the product. Thus, the skill of posing involves not only mindfulness of body positioning and provision of a variety of poses, but also the display of the good being advertised. Many of the photo-shoots feature a brand or product that is to be displayed by the participant-models. It is critical for the participant-models to be mindful of the product and frame it for consumers. In the episode 4 photo-shoot, the brand representative noted which participant-models prominently displayed the product, a watch, and which ones forgot about it. Indeed, in episode 4 guest Mollie King (singer in The Saturdays) remarks that Emma G looks so good she would buy the watch. This comment further legitimizes Emma G’s performance as a model because she has framed the product and added value by creating a desire to purchase it. At that moment in the program Emma G is acting as a cultural intermediary.

The continued criticism and focus on the products within the photo-shoots reiterates that the job of a model is to sell consumer goods by making them appear desirable. In episode 9, Risikat and Emma G are both reminded during judgement panel that the focus of the photographs is the product and their poses have not shown the products to their best advantage. This reinforces the underlying discourse of the program

that positions models as valuable in driving consumption through their ability to successfully frame goods. It also ties into the commercial nature of reality television and the extensive use of product placement, which is integrated into the challenges models face. There is thus more at stake here than modelling alone.

This is certainly the case at the photo-shoot in episode 3 that featured footwear. The shoes are to be the main focus of the photographs, and the participant-models are expected to pose so the shoes are displayed to their best advantage. The ability of the participant-models to pose is impacted in this photo-shoot because they are in harnesses and floating in the air. Some participant-models succeed and are able to frame the shoes, while others do not. In particular, Anne is singled out for her strong pose and framing of the shoes she wore. Emma G and Kellie are critiqued for their poses, which are deemed not quite right, but their lack of skill in posing is mitigated by their prominent display of the shoes they are wearing. Two participant-models are criticised at judgement panel because they allow the shoes to be hidden in their photographs. The first feedback Emma S receives is the question “what are you selling?” (Elle Macpherson, episode 3). This draws attention to the consumerist discourse of the fashion industry. Fashion modelling is not actually about the individual models; rather, is about the products and consumer goods they display.

I found that not all the participant-models were criticised equally for their poses in the episode 3 photo-shoot. Emma G also hides a shoe in her photograph, but no mention of this is made by the judges. Instead, she and her partner, Kellie, are praised for showing the shoes well. The different feedback Emma G receives in comparison to Anita and her partner Emma S, is interesting and can perhaps be linked to the participant-

models' performances in the previous two episodes. Anita and Emma S are both criticized for their weak walks in episode 1 and neither performed well in the photo-shoots in episodes 1 and 2. This indicates Anita and Emma S lack two critical modelling skills, posing and walking. In contrast to Emma S and Anita, Emma G is praised for her walk in episode 1, and performed well in both photo-shoots. This demonstrates that Emma G already possesses the "right" posing and walking skills. Therefore, I conclude that Emma G is able to accumulate and display more cultural capital, achieving a higher status among participant-models because of her performance of two critical modelling skills in episode 1 and 2. This allows Emma G more flexibility in her performance in the photo-shoot in episode 3.

Also, Emma S and Anita are not able to skillfully engage with their appearance and present themselves as models. Emma S is told she does not present herself like a model when she meets with the judges in episode 2. As well, in episode 3 Emma S remarks she does not feel she did well in the photo-shoot. The other participant-models chastise Emma S for her lack of confidence; this advice is congruent with the official discourses of the fashion industry that encourage models to believe in their own ability. Furthermore, Anita is told she looks more like a glamour model than a fashion model by the judges in episode 2. According to Cole and Vickers-Jones (2009) female glamour models primarily model lingerie and swimwear, as well as engage in nude modelling, and have an explicitly "sexy" look that is geared towards a male audience. Female fashion modelling is primarily targeted toward a female audience and while lingerie and swimwear are worn by fashion models they more often wear different types of clothing (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). Because of this, fashion models do not usually present a

“sexy” look and try to pose in a way that is not threatening or off-putting to their female audience. Fashion models are performing for the female gaze, while glamour models are performing for the male gaze.

Demonstrating their posing skills during the photo-shoots is essential for the participant-models, especially as the program progresses. Tasmin is eliminated in episode 5 because although she has a model’s body she is unable to “use” it, according to the judges. I interpret this as meaning she is unable to pose in a way which effectively frames goods. She has not yet developed the skill of manipulating her body to produce an image the judges approve of. Consequently she is judged as unable to perform as model. Similarly, Kellie is criticised in episode 5 for not shifting her pose to make the clothes she is wearing appear more attractive.

Gender is an ever-present aspect within *BINTM*. The participant-models are constantly using gender as they engage in framing. The ability to perform gender is a skill the participant-models are expected to develop and utilize in the photo-shoots. The participant-models are often given feedback within the photo-shoots or at judgement panel that draws on their ability to perform gender. Notions of femininity and masculinity are also brought into focus in episode 5 when the participant-models are styled in masculine clothing, but advised to keep their “feminine charm”. Many of the participant-models struggle with the concept, noting they were unsure how to pose because of their masculine appearance. However, Jennifer is praised for her skillful posing at this shoot and told she looked “like a beautiful boy” (Elle Macpherson, episode 5). Gender is positioned within this episode as a flexible and performative skill that a professional model possesses. The participant-models who are able to successfully



balance the masculine styling with a portrayal of femininity in the photographs are praised in the judgment panel of the episode. Gender performance as cultural capital was further reinforced in this episode with the inclusion of Andrej Pejic as the guest judge. Andrej Pejic is a male fashion model whose androgynous look has allowed him to model both male and female fashions, a first in the fashion industry. In this episode he is styled in feminine clothing and has his hair long and curled in a feminine style, which draws more attention to the performative aspect of gender.

The judges award “picture of the week” to the participant-model whose photograph is judged to be the strongest. At each judgement panel the participant-models are called forward to receive their photographs from best to worst of the week. Upon receiving “picture of the week” the participant-model’s performance as a model in that episode is legitimized and she gains status and cultural capital. “Picture of the week” indicates that the participant-model has managed to perform as a model and furthermore have framed the product successfully. It also means the participant-model has been able to engage the skills they have accumulated thus far in the program, especially posing, while performing as a model. Indeed, the participant-models often cite their ambition to get “picture of the week” as one of their motivators in the photo-shoots; however, I believe it was the underlying meaning of the approval they receive if they achieved “picture of the week” which motivates them.

***Judgement Panel: Appearances Matter***

“I’m loving this kind of look, you’ve went to a lot of effort today” (Elle Macpherson, episode 6)

Judgement panel is one of the most important sites in the program in which the participant-models are required to perform framing skills but are also judged in terms of their capacity to model. I conclude the participant-models gain cultural capital, status, and legitimacy as models when the judges recognize the performance of the participant-models as legitimate in the judgement panel or challenges. The feedback participant-models receive at judgement panel is critical because it affirms their level of skill. The most flattering compliment and sought after praise by the participant-models is comparison to a “real” or professional fashion model, which implies a level of professional skill, expertise, and behaviour. It also implies their habitus has enabled them to blend in seamlessly with their social setting. When the participant-models are told they looked or acted like a “real” model it adds to their cultural capital and status within the program hierarchy. By stating the participant-models look like “real” models, Elle is acknowledging their skill at presenting a stylised self and acknowledging they look like legitimate members of the fashion field.

At the same time, judgment panel is the setting where participant-models’ positions are most precarious because it is also where they receive critiques on their modelling performance. This is demonstrated in part by the language used to introduce the participants. The status of the participant-models is immediately focused on by Elle’s welcoming statement. The first time they enter the judgment room during episode 3, it is important to note she calls them “girls”, not “models”. However, after the make-overs in episode 4, Elle welcomes the participant-models to the judgement room and remarks how she now has “models” standing in front of her. Elle’s comment on how the participant-models now look like models adds to their cultural capital and status; however, that status

is then questioned as each participant-model's performance is critiqued. As well, Elle's affirmation of their appearance on episode 4 serves to reinforce the judges' expertise, because the make-overs are decided upon by the judges, not the participant-models. This brings out the tenuous nature of the participant-models' positioning within the program; although they now look like models they are still lacking expertise and authority. So while their appearance is an important aspect of their ability to be a model, they must also be able to perform as a model as well.

At judgement panel, each participant-model is called forward to view her photograph and receive feedback from the judges regarding her performance. The evaluation of the participant-models at judgement panel is primarily based on the photographs taken within the episode. However, the judges' decisions also take into account the overall performance of the participant-models, including their performance during any challenges and their attitude and appearance at the judgement panel. Therefore, the participant-models ability to frame is judged. Indeed, in episode 12, Elle states the deliberations of the judges will include "your body of work, your walk, your attitude, what we see in front of us today" (Elle Macpherson, episode 12). The judges drew on this cumulative assessment framework when Jennifer was eliminated in episode 8 and judged as having an overall weaker performance as a model. Jennifer was in the bottom two with Madeleine during episode 8 because of their weak performances in the photo-shoot; however, Jennifer's weaker performance during the catwalk challenge in comparison to Madeleine means Jennifer is eliminated. Whereas Madeleine has developed the important modelling skill of walking on the catwalk, Jennifer has not.

In episode 12, judge Whitney Port also draws on the cumulative assessment to defend Lisa's position within the program and to argue for her continuation. Lisa has consistently performed well at photo-shoots and challenges, demonstrating her modelling skills. However, head judge Elle Macpherson argues that Lisa has stopped progressing; another dominant discourse within the program. Because of Elle's higher status, authority, and cultural capital in comparison to Whitney, Elle's opinion is privileged and Lisa is eliminated in episode 12, despite her accumulated cultural capital from her past performances. Overall, Elle's status as head judge allows her to privilege her own opinion over the other judges. Indeed, when guest judge Paul Sculfor disagrees with Elle's over Lisa's performance in her photograph in episode 8 and challenges Elle's authority, Elle re-establishes her status and the legitimacy of her opinion by telling Lisa she likes her photograph during the call-out order.

The episode 13 finale offers another example of how the judges use the cumulative work of the participant-models to evaluate their position in the program. The participant-models are warned by Elle to remember everything the judges have taught them over the past twelve weeks. Emma G and Letitia's performances on the photo-shoot are contrasted because while Emma G behaves very professionally on set, and does not require a lot of direction, Letitia does require a lot of direction from the photographer and the judges. Here Letitia's habitus is shown as insufficiently developed because she is not able to independently perform the modelling skills necessary for the photo-shoot and behave in a way that is consistent with the expectations of the situation. She is not able to perform as a model without assistance from other members of the fashion field, thus lacks cultural capital in comparison to Emma G. However, Letitia is chosen to compete against

Emma G in the final catwalk challenge over Anita because of her ability to deliver a “good” photograph. Anita’s performance is criticised because her photographs show tension in her face, while Letitia’s did not. Letitia is better able to frame the goods in the photo-shoot and produce a strong photograph.

***Appearance: Looking the Part***

“I really don’t see a model in front of me” (Julien MacDonald, episode 2)

The appearance of the participant-models is another avenue for the participant-models to demonstrate their ability to perform as models, by demonstrating how they could look like models. The goal of the make-overs, which occurred in episode 4, is to make the participant-models look like “real” models, as defined by the judges. This reveals the importance of physical appearance for the participant-models in the program. Control of their physical appearance during the photo-shoots is out of the participant-models’ control, consequently, it is important for the participant-models to focus on their appearance at judgement panel, when they do have control. Cole and Vickers-Jones (2009) note that models do not need to wear designer clothes and can make any item of clothing stylish. By focusing on their appearance the participant-models try to illustrate to the judges how they can appear like a model, which adds to their cultural capital, status, and expertise. At judgement panel, the participant-models are performing in a similar manner as they would in the photo-shoots and challenges. They are showing the judges that they can present themselves as models.

It is important for the participant-models to look like a model from the beginning of the program. Their first challenge involves creating an outfit from their own clothes,

which represent their style and personality, during a catwalk in front of Elle. The participant-models have their first opportunity to meet with all four judges in episode 2. It is an opportunity for them to position themselves as models to the judges and it is the first time they receive feedback from the judges regarding their performance in the first photo-shoot of the program, which occurred in episode 1. Emma S and Penelope were both told they did not look like models. This comment brings into focus how important physical appearance is for the participant-models, and how their appearance can be used as a tool to present a stylised self to the judges, potential clients, and audiences. By engaging with their appearance as another tool they can use to perform as a model and engage in framing, the participant-models can strengthen their status within the hierarchy of the program and add to their cultural capital. Looking like a professional model also implies their habitus is developing and they should be able blend in with other members of the fashion field. This positions the physical appearance of the participant-models as one of the most important aspects of modelling. Other participant-models who have their legitimacy as models questioned because of their appearance include: Anita, who is told she looked too much like a glamour model; Tasmin, who is compared to a pole dancer because of her bikini; and Jennifer, who has numerous tattoos. Each comment reflects the way the participant-models present themselves, and how they can adjust their appearance to look more like a fashion model.

In particular, Jennifer's tattoos cause a slight conflict between the judges. Tattoos are permanent ink markings on an individual's skin, and Jennifer has numerous tattoos down the side of her torso and on her leg. Jennifer refers to them as a way for her to be remembered, however, Julien McDonald thinks they might interfere with her ability to

perform as a model by limiting her ability to make a product seem desirable to a consumer. He remarks that when a model is working for a designer they are selling “an aspiration of beauty” (Julien McDonald, episode 2) and her tattoos may not be in line with that image. Julien’s comment brings out how difficult it is to define beauty; Jennifer clearly likes her tattoos and finds they add to her beauty, but Julien disagrees. This draws a response from another judge, Tyson Beckford who defends Jennifer’s tattoos, referencing his own tattoos, which he states have never prevented him from booking a modelling job because they are airbrushed out. However, Julien references Tyson’s established status as a supermodel and his gender as reasons his tattoos are not as much a barrier for his career compared to Jennifer. In contrast, Jennifer’s career as a model is just beginning and therefore she does not have the high status Tyson does. As well, the modelling industry is a predominantly female industry with many female models competing with each other for work, which may make her tattoos more of a barrier. Rather than airbrush out her tattoos, which would be an additional expense, another model could be hired. The idea of beauty brings the whole concept of *BINTM* into question because the winner is chosen based on the judges’ opinions. The judges’ opinions are influenced by their own preconceptions of what beauty is, as well as cultural notions of beauty, which are intricately bound up with notions of gender. In order to mitigate the arbitrary nature of the definition of beauty the judges draw upon their expertise and status within the fashion industry to legitimise their opinions and decisions.

The official discourses surrounding the fashion industry note how models should always appear stylish, but also indicate how this could be accomplished in plain, tight fitting clothing that emphasizes their body shape (BFC Guides, Cole & Vickers-Jones,

2009). Through their comments, the judges draw attention to the developing habitus of the participant-models and whether they are able to dress to match their position within the fashion field. The care and detail the participant-models take with their appearance can thus be understood as a reflection of their commitment to the fashion industry. In episode 6, Kellie's appearance is noted and praised for her look and the effort she has put into it. Similarly, Emma G is praised for her appearance in episode 8. However, not all comments are positive. In episode 8, Lisa is advised to create a more sophisticated look for judgement panel, similar to the way she is styled in the photo-shoot from that episode. Lisa's appearance is criticized for being too casual; indicating her outfit and appearance should reflect a more serious approach to the fashion industry and modelling. These comments draw attention to the importance of presenting the image of a model at judgement panel.

After examining the outfits the participant-models wore to judgement panel I found the final three participant-models (Anita, Emma G, and Letitia) appeared primarily in semi-formal outfits and high heels. For the most part their outfits are comprised of skirts or dresses, although more of Anita's outfits feature trousers or shorts and can be considered more similar to street trends than Letitia and Emma G. Letitia and Emma G predominantly wear form fitting skirts or dresses, which ties into the official discourses that advocate clothing to show off the shape of the model's body. Additionally, Letitia and Emma G's outfits can be considered more feminine than Anita's because of their more prevalent choice of skirts and dresses. Letitia and Emma G are the final two participant-models in the program and their feminine appearance reinforces the current cultural conceptions of femininity.



Indeed, Letitia and Emma G are noted as looking physically similar, and in episode 4 Julien comments during judgement panel that one of them will likely be eliminated because they have such similar looks. Both receive feedback on their “sexy” look in photographs, particularly Letitia. She is singled out for her “sexy” look and it is mentioned at some part of the judges’ deliberations in episodes 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12, and 13. I believe the repeated focus on Letitia’s “sexy” look is primarily based on the cultural preconceptions of “sexy” within western culture. Letitia does not have a typical model’s body as described within the official fashion discourses. Specifically, Letitia does not conform to the average female fashion model’s bust size, which may impact the judges’ perception of her performance as a model. According to Cole and Vickers-Jones (2009), the average fashion model has a bust size of B, whereas in episode 2 Letitia is confronted about her bust size by the judges and she reveals she has a bust size of DD. Her bust size is more common in glamour models. Letitia positively frames her body throughout the program and in the episode 13 finale she reflects on how it is an accomplishment to have made it so far in the competition with a woman’s figure, which draws on cultural notions of femininity.

However, Letitia encounters problems with her figure because it impacts her ability to successfully frame products. Letitia has to be more aware of the poses she uses than the participant-models who have small bust sizes. In the episode 2 photo-shoot, Letitia is criticized for posing with her chest pushed forward. Because of her body she is cautioned that she needs to be mindful her audience is women, not men, and to downplay her sexuality. Her pose in this example is positioned as being too sexy because it draws attention to her bust. Moreover, in the episode 13 catwalk show Emma G reflects on a

possible advantage she has over Letitia based on their different body shapes. Emma G notes the criticism Letitia has previously received about appearing too “sexy” and positions Letitia’s bust as a hindrance to her ability to perform as a model. The dresses Letitia wears are very “booby” while the dresses Emma G wears have high necks. Ultimately, Letitia was not hindered by her bust size in the catwalk show, she was able to wear the dresses in a manner that pleased the designers and she performed well in the catwalk show and won the competition.

Because the fashion industry is based on physical appearance it follows that *BINTM* would offer guidance on how to care for the bodies and appearance. The silence regarding physical maintenance and grooming in *BINTM* is an aspect that is troubling. Because the participant-models are entering an industry where they are essentially entrepreneurs it is up to them to take care of the product they are selling, which is the image they produce using their bodies. Body maintenance and grooming is expected of fashion models because the physical requirements for the jobs are strict (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). Moreover, it would be beneficial for the participant-models to know how to best take care of their physical appearance since female careers in fashion modelling are shorter than males (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). Skeggs (2004a) also positions femininity as a youth-specific commodity; thus preserving their youthful appearance should be a priority for the participant-models. The only time during the program where the maintenance of the participant-models is addressed is during episode 4 at the make-overs and the teeth whitening sessions. In episode 1, the judges noted two participant-models had been seen in the gym, but no scenes of the participant-models working out were ever shown.

As well, there is no discussion of nutrition or diet within the program. Indeed, on the program the participant-models are rewarded with parties and food on various episodes which positions food as an indulgence rather than a necessity for proper health and physical well-being. The official discourses of the British fashion industry place a lot of emphasis on the importance of a healthy diet, getting adequate sleep, and refraining from excessive alcohol and drug consumption (BFC Guides, Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). Within *BINTM* the participant-models are often rewarded with parties and meals which contrasts the official discourses. This is a disturbing approach considering the prevalence of eating disorders acknowledged within the fashion industry. The program frames fashion modelling as glamorous career that young females can aspire to, but it does not address the realities of the industry's strict physical requirements

***Personality: Looks Aren't Everything***

“What great personalities we have this year” (Elle Macpherson, episode 1)

In addition to participant-models' appearances, there are also consistent references to their personalities at judgement panel. According to the official discourses on fashion models, personality is important because it is a tool that can be used to gain employment and a professional model should be pleasant, interested, and patient (BFC Guides; Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). “You are more likely to win a job by letting your personality show how knowledgeable, likeable and fun you can be” (*BFC Guide: A Model's Guide to: Manners in your handbag*, 2). Successful models are remembered for their personalities, as well as their looks and performance. For example, Naomi Campbell has a reputation for being a diva that is difficult to work with, which has likely impacted her career, despite her modelling skills. Essentially, the participant-model must

construct herself as a commodity to make herself memorable and establish an emotional connection with consumers or audiences; she needs to create herself as her own brand – capable of framing other branded goods and commodities.

While the personality of a model is positioned as separate from the skills a model uses such as posing or walking, it is still positioned as an important aspect of being a successful model. Emma G encounters criticism throughout the program for her perceived lack of personality by the judges. Emma G is not the most outgoing and memorable participant-model in the program, but she continues in the competition because of her performance as a model, which is positioned as more important. Emma G consistently produces photographs the judges like, showcasing her skills as a model and legitimizing her performance as a model. This is the case in episode 11 when guest judge Nigel Barker (photographer) notes he remembers her photograph, but not who she is. Nigel frames this as a problem, and suggests he believes a top model also needs to have a personality that is memorable, but he is met with opposition from Julien, who states it is looks that are important in modelling. In the judgement panel at episode 12, Emma G is again noted as having potential, but guest judge Kelly Cutrone asserts she might never work because she does not have the personality to get the work in the first place. Despite Julien's remark that looks are more important than personality in modelling, at the photo-shoot in the episode 13 finale, Julien notes Emma G has listened to the criticism she has received about her personality and is very alive and shows she is committed and wants to be in the competition.

Numerous participant-models received critiques regarding their personality; positioning personality as a critical aspect of succeeding within the program. Further,

this continued attention to the personality of the participant-models reaffirms its importance to the overall success of a model. Roxanne is criticised for her personality by the judges because she appears arrogant to Tyson during the photo-shoot in episode 5. Tyson remarks she is good to work with as a model, but she does not give any other personality. At the same time, personality is generally subordinated to appearance and other framing skills. As Tyson notes, it is “Top Model” not “Top Personality”. For example, Kellie is noted as having a sweet personality. During the deliberations between the judges in episode 7, Julien notes he “keep [sic] falling in love with her [Kellie] personality, but not the model” (Julien MacDonald, episode 7) and Whitney concurs, remarking “we definitely have to separate those and realize what it is we’re judging on” (Whitney Port, episode 7). Through this conversation Kellie’s personality is positioned as separate from her ability to perform as a model and thus because she is not able to perform in the photo-shoots she is eliminated in episode 7. This allows me to conclude that modelling skills and the ability to perform as a model and successfully frame goods are more important to a participant-model’s status within the competition than their personality.

In summary, the participant-models constantly engage in framing throughout *BINTM*. By examining how they perform modelling skills within specific scenes, such as challenges and photo-shoots, I was able to illustrate the importance of the development of modelling skills to the participant-models’ ability to frame goods. As well, this discussion shows how the performance of gender as an aspect of framing draws on traditional notions of femininity and masculinity. Within *BINTM*, gender performance is positioned as a skill that could be used as a form of cultural capital. I also found the

participant-models used their appearance to demonstrate their ability to perform as a model. The management of their appearance was a modelling skill that required development because initially their appearance marked them as outsiders to the field. While not as important as appearance, a model's personality is a tool that can be used to gain employment and is a skill that a model must also develop.

Through their acquisition of modelling skills, the participant-models demonstrated the adjustment of their habitus to their new social setting as they conformed to the existing norms of the field. Indeed, through their demonstrations of modelling skills, such as posing, the participant-models are able to show that they can behave in a manner consistent with the expectations of the field. Bourdieu noted that habitus is revealed through the body, and it is through the adjustment of their behaviours and appearance the participant-models demonstrate their commitment to the field. As well, the development of their habitus allows the participant-models to transition into accepted members of the field. Furthermore, the adaptation of the participant-models' habitus and the development of modelling skills indicate a shift in the models' social position within the hierarchy of the field. By gaining acceptance within the field, models gain social status. In turn, this offers more access to cultural capital and suggests a model is more able to act as a cultural intermediary because their increased social position. This transition into a higher social position within the field supports my assertion that not all models are able to act as cultural intermediaries; first they must develop modelling skills which are demonstrated through framing goods.

#### **4.2 Expertise**

“I don't have experience doing this at all” (Anita, episode 1)

The second concept critical to acting as a cultural intermediary, according to Smith-Maguire and Matthews (2012) is expertise. Expertise differentiates an individual as a cultural intermediary and there are different levels of expertise within a field, which results in different levels of influence for individuals (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Expertise can be grouped into two categories: personal, which is largely subjective and based on taste; and professional, which is abstract and governed by standardized credentials (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). However, it is difficult to separate these two categories because for most cultural intermediaries their personal expertise supports and legitimizes their professional expertise (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012).

Often a “professionalization” occurs to legitimize the work of cultural intermediaries so their expertise is viewed as more credible (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012; Nixon, 2003). Essentially this is the process that is occurring throughout *BINTM*; the participant-models are being taught how to be models, they are in a “model boot-camp”. A professional has to be educated and trained as a member of a specific occupation and this professionalization results in the individuals being able to claim it as a form of capital (Schinkel & Noordegraaf, 2011). Through their involvement in *BINTM* the participant-models are able to lay claim to expertise and cultural capital.

Overall, *BINTM* is positioned as an opportunity for the participant-models to gain knowledge and expertise as they progress through the competition. Moreover, expertise is additionally gained and evidenced through change in the habitus –they develop their skills and are afforded cultural capital as they behave in ways that are consistent with the habitus of professional models (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Thus, in addition to learning through the challenges and photo-shoots, the participant-models also gain

expertise through their interactions with other members of the fashion industry encountered in the program, such as professional models during the catwalk challenge in episode 8.

Within the program, a hierarchy of expertise exists and is maintained throughout. It is established from the opening sequence through the language used to describe the participant-models and by prominently featuring the judges. During the introduction of the first episode each judge is introduced by name and is allowed a moment to describe what they are looking for in the winner of *BINTM*. The head judge Elle is the first to be shown and also featured on the *BINTM* banner. She is described as “leading the panel”, which plainly positions her at the top of the hierarchy of the program. Her entrance on the first episode is in a chauffeured car, in contrast to the participant-models who are shown walking up to the hotel with their luggage in tow. The visual demarcation of the differences in status of Elle and the participant-models lets the audience know from the beginning of the gap between the two parties.

Elle is further positioned as the highest level of authority through the deliberation portion of the judgement panel. During deliberations all the judges stand, however Julien, Tyson, Whitney, and the guest judge stand in a line together facing Elle. This visually positions the other judges as inferior to Elle. Elle also verbally asserts her dominant position among the judges. For example, during the deliberations after the final catwalk challenge in episode 13, Elle asserts her superior status in relation to Julien. In response to Julien’s comment that Emma G looked like a catwalk model, but Letitia looked like a glamour mode, Elle immediately defends Letitia and says she looks like a supermodel. Interestingly, this connects back to Elle’s original comment to Letitia in the



first catwalk challenge in episode 1 when Elle tells Letitia she looks like a supermodel. Elle's higher authority makes her opinion the "correct" one and Letitia is crowned *BINTM*.

### ***Positioning the Judges as Experts***

"Elle and her judges, Julien, Whitney and Tyson, put twenty girls through the toughest start to the competition yet" (Fearne Cotton, episode 2)

The judges are positioned as experts for the audience through the initial sequence of the program. The introductions describe the judges as follows: Tyson Beckford, male supermodel; Whitney Port, style icon and fashion designer; Julien Macdonald, international British designer; and Elle Macpherson, head judge and supermodel. Additionally, the judges are further established as experts at the beginning of the judgement panel in each episode when they are reintroduced. These introductions uphold the expertise and status of the judges within each episode.

The hierarchy of the judges, and especially Elle, over the participant-models and even over the guests who are featured in the program, is continually reinforced through the use of images and scenes that contrast the two groups by focusing on the elite status of the judges versus the relatively common status of the participant-models. For example, before the judgement panel the judges are shown preparing for it by getting their make-up or hair done, in a room with individual stations for them with mirrors surrounded by lights. The judges are visually positioned as higher than the participant-models during judgement panel. They are situated on a raised platform and each judge is seated while the participant-models are arrayed before them at the opposite end of the

room. However, the participant-models are shown preparing for judgement panel by packing their belongings and getting ready in the Top Model house before they go to judgement panel with their luggage in tow. While deliberations take place they are shown waiting in a common lounge area. Each of these instances is a subtle reminder of the difference in status of the two groups that features in each episode.

When considering the expertise of the judges it is useful to draw on Bourdieu's concept of taste to explain how the judges view the photographs in comparison to the participant-models. The judges are already established members of the fashion industry and thus have acquired the corresponding taste associated with being a member of the field. Indeed in Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* he discusses fashion and its products as a means to distinguish firstly between class fractions and secondly between classes (Bourdieu, 1984). The dominant classes define taste based on their higher social and cultural capital which they use to legitimate and reinforce their choices as "correct" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 233). In one of his more famous references he states "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6). Thus choices in fashion and consumption in general, are for Bourdieu, a means of distinguishing between social classes. Drawing on this, within *BINTM* the judges are the dominant class who define taste because of their higher social status and expertise.

In addition to the positioning of the judges by the program the participant-models also contributed to the process of establishing the judge's expertise beginning at the initial challenge in episode 1. They accomplish this in two ways; they openly reference Elle's experience and status within the fashion industry and they draw attention to their own inexperience. Episode 1 involves a catwalk show in front of an audience and Elle

where the participant-models perform their best walk and demonstrate their personal style and show personality. Numerous participant-models are shown expressing feelings of nervousness due to a lack of professional experience. Roxanne states she is nervous to walk in front of Elle because “she’s a professional, she’s perfect at the catwalk” (Roxanne, episode 1). The participant-models verbalize their lack of belonging to the field they are in and draw attention to their under-developed habitus. They feel out of place because they lack cultural capital and their behaviours and tastes identify them as new to the field to established members. Anita, Roxanne, and Vanessa are each questioned by Elle during their turn on the catwalk about their nervous appearance and behaviour. After the challenge is completed the participant-models continue to position the judges as experts by commenting that their opinions did not matter because it is all up to the judges. They establish their own position at the bottom of the hierarchy by describing their opinions as worthless.

In contrast, when Elle is shown entering the catwalk area to take her place at the end of the runway she appears at ease and her movements are relaxed and confident. When I consider Elle’s entrance and walk down the catwalk, I conclude her habitus has already evolved and fits with her social situation. This is expected because of her supermodel status and experience in the industry. Her behaviour appears natural and based on her cultural capital; she is able to act as a cultural intermediary.

The judges have their own personal understanding of fashion and style, thus the judgements they make are based on their subjective expertise. Although the participant-models are constantly scrutinized and judged, the specific criteria they are judged on is rarely explained to them (or viewers). I surmise this may be due to the subjective nature

of the fashion industry. I find that to achieve success within *BINTM*, participant-models need to have “potential”, display modelling skills during the challenges and photo-shoots, and engage their personalities and appearance to contribute to their performance as models. I believe it is difficult to separate the judges’ personal and professional expertise; however, the mingling of professional and personal expertise supports the ability of the judges to act as cultural intermediaries because as Smith-Maguire and Matthews (2012) point out personal expertise supports and legitimizes professional expertise in the case of cultural intermediaries.

The subjective nature of the expertise-based judgements that occur within *BINTM* is brought to the forefront during the judgement panel in episode 7. Madeleine’s performance at the photo-shoot is praised by the client Victoria White (editor of Company Magazine) who compliments Madeleine’s performance and even hints she would consider hiring her to do work for the magazine. Conversely, the *BINTM* judges do not agree and believe she has performed poorly. Madeleine is confused by the difference in feedback she receives and reveals she is unsure if she is improving. After the judgement panel is complete she is shown taking time to herself at the beginning of episode 8. She reflects she feels lost because she believes she has improved, and in her opinion there were others who produced weaker photographs than she did. Madeleine is told by the judges she is not eliminated because the client likes her photograph even though the judges prefer Kellie’s photograph. The client feels Madeleine performed better than Kellie and fulfilled the creative brief of the photo-shoot. From this decision I conclude the client’s opinion is privileged because of the underlying consumerist orientation of the fashion industry. While Elle and the judges are generally positioned as

the highest authority within the program this is an instance where the expertise of the judges is overshadowed by the opinion of the client. This shows that the authority and status of the judges is not fixed and is also vulnerable within the wider fashion industry.

The judges also work to position themselves as experts within the program. The judges are primarily shown when they are overseeing a challenge or photo-shoot and at judgement panel. They are generally not shown interacting with the participant-models outside of these settings. When they do appear, they are in positions of authority over the participant-models, which further reinforces their status as experts on the program. The judges are consistently positioned as professional experts within the fashion industry in the program and are rarely shown acting unprofessionally. There are brief glimpses of the judges behaving in a more relaxed manner such as Whitney's reaction - pulling an excited face - when she meets Paul Sculfor (male supermodel) before the judgement panel on episode 8. Importantly, this occurs backstage and Whitney's lapse in professional behaviour is not seen by the participant-models. The other moments when a judge exhibits unprofessional behaviour occur in episode 2, and are witnessed by some of the participant-models. However, both of these incidents involve Julien, who is already established as a legitimate expert in previous *BINTM* series, thus his status within the program is secure and he is able to behave in a more relaxed manner than the new judges who are in the process of legitimizing their own status and position within the program.

The process of establishing new judges' expertise and position within the hierarchy begins before the first photo-shoot in Dubai when the four judges are shown discussing the need for the participant-models to be mentored because they lack experience. Elle and Julien do not need to be positioned as experts as much as Tyson and

Whitney because they have both appeared in previous *BINTM* series, therefore their expertise is already established. As the new judges on the program, it is especially important Tyson and Whitney be positioned as experts early on so their status and authority is perceived as legitimate.

As an already established figure of expertise in the program Elle begins this legitimization process when she asks Tyson and Whitney to mentor the participant-models through the first photo-shoot of the program and to provide feedback. Their status within the fashion field is also supported during the program introduction where Tyson's supermodel status is referenced and Whitney is cited as a designer and fashion icon. Tyson and Whitney draw on their knowledge of fashion and modelling in order to act as experts. To further establish their authority and expertise within the photo-shoot, Tyson and Whitney are shown trading feedback on the participant-models' performances as they occur. Additionally, when a group of participant-models looks uncomfortable with the attention they receive from the public during a photo-shoot, Whitney draws on her own fame, which she achieved through appearing on a reality television program, and advises them to get used to the attention. During episode 2, Tyson further positions himself as an expert by drawing on his modelling experience and demonstrates to Roxanne how to walk like a model on the catwalk. Elle encourages Tyson's demonstration, which further solidifies his expertise and authority.

The decisions made by the judges at judgement panel are based on the superior knowledge of the judges, who are the experts. The judges occasionally make their expert status a point of focus by asking the participant-models what they think of their own photograph before the judges share their thoughts on it. Invariably, the judges will

disagree with opinion of the participant-model thus reinforcing their higher level of expertise and position of authority within the relationship. This draws attention to their insider status within the fashion field; they have the “correct” aesthetic knowledge. This was the case during judgement panel in episode 7 when Roxanne is asked what she thinks of her photograph. She responds she does not really like it, but the judges reply that they do and so does the photographer and the client, in fact it is the client’s favourite photograph. This accentuates the lack of professional expertise Roxanne has in comparison to the judges.

### *Participant-models as Experts*

“Sure you haven’t modelled before?” (Tyson Beckford, episode 5)

The participant-models make minimal claims to expertise within the program, but when they do, it is generally in relation to the other participant-models. When a claim was made, I found these were met with opposition from the judges or other program participants who are working to maintain their own status within the program. Anne is one of the first participant-models to make claims of professional expertise when she refers to her previous catwalk training in episode 3 during a catwalk training challenge. Anne uses her previous training to position herself as a legitimate authority to the other participant-models. Her claim implies that her habitus is more developed than the other participant-models. However, Anne’s attempt to claim expertise is thwarted by Matt Henry, the catwalk coach from Models 1. He critiques Anne’s walk in front of the other participant-models, contradicting her claims to expertise. As the leader of the challenge, Matt is positioned as the expert through his title and the authority he is given to pass

judgement on the participant-models. In this example, the hierarchy of the program is made visible and the discourse of teaching is drawn upon to legitimise Matt's position.

In another example, Risikat makes claims to expertise by referencing her superior walk. She wins the catwalk challenge in episode 3 and later draws on this victory to support her claim to expertise at the challenge in episode 8. However, Risikat's claims to expertise are shattered when she falls in front of the other participant-models and fashion show producer, who is positioned as the expert in the challenge. Indeed he notes he would not even have them (the participant-models) in the show if he was the designer. This comment clearly positions the participant-models as non-experts and denies Risikat's claims to expertise. Furthermore, her inability to perform the crucial modelling skill of walking at the challenge overshadows the cultural capital gained from the challenge in episode 3. Interestingly, Risikat positions herself as a non-expert in episode 11 at the go-see at Elite Model Management Toronto. Risikat notes she received previous training as a model, but she claims it did not benefit her. Through this act she loses the opportunity to claim her past experience as cultural capital and reaffirms her low social status.

The participant-models progress throughout the program, gaining skills and experience and become more comfortable with the situations they encounter within the fashion industry. Although the participant-models remark upon being nervous in later episodes, they attribute this to the increasing pressure to perform well. This is a marked difference from the episodes at the beginning of the program when most of the participant-models are nervous because of their lack of experience. When performing in the photo-shoots in later episodes they appear to be more comfortable with the various



situations they encounter. This indicates their habitus is developing and they are accumulating cultural capital through their mastery of modelling skills. So while they may feel nervous, I find they are able to mostly hide these feelings during their photo-shoot while they are performing.

Additionally, they are exposed to numerous individuals from within the fashion industry during each episode, who they observe and mimic, adding to the development of their habitus. This is especially true during the catwalk challenges that feature other professional models. For instance, the catwalk challenge in episode 8 features professional models and is a good opportunity for them to observe how the other models behave. Anita remarks she is hopeful she and the other participant-models will blend in with other models, demonstrating that she views her habitus as sufficiently developed to match the social situation.

I find the expectation of development places the participant-models in a situation of potential conflict with the judges, who are already the acknowledged experts in the program. If the participant-models become experts, then the judges will no longer have a role to fulfill. The reinforcement of the judges' status is important in later episodes because the participant-models have gained skills and cultural capital and have incorporated the actions of a professional model into their habitus. In episode 12 a challenge shifts the focus from modelling skills to knowledge of the fashion industry. Until this point in the program there is very little reference to fashion knowledge within the program. However, knowledge of the industry is noted as an asset for professional models within the official discourses surrounding the fashion industry (BFC Guides; Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). Of the four remaining participant-models in episode 12, only

Lisa is positioned as knowledgeable and she is eliminated later in the episode; possibly because her knowledge positions her as more threatening to the judges than the others. By positioning the participant-models as lacking expert knowledge about the fashion industry, the judges are able to maintain their position as experts.

The expertise of participant-models is continually undermined, and their expert status is eroded when they are referred to as “girls” rather than models or even women. As I described in the section on framing, the status of the participant-models is made unstable from the very beginning of the program and one of the ways this is accomplished is through the use of language when discussing the participant-models. The narrator consistently refers to them as “girls”. Elle also addresses the participant-models in a similar way for the majority of the program. The title of the program identifies the program as a search for a *model*; however, the participant-models are not called models once in the first episode. A notable exception to this is Letitia. During the initial catwalk challenge in episode 1 when the participant-models are asked to use their own clothes to show their personal style, personality, and demonstrate their walk, Elle immediately complimented Letitia, remarking “you are gorgeous...you look like a supermodel walking up there” (Elle Macpherson, episode 1). Consequently, Letitia is positioned to be the winner from the very beginning of the program.

When exceptions to this form of address occur, it is usually during judgement panel in the later episodes. Elle begins to address the participant-models as “models” at judgement panel. This shifting mode of address draws attention to the tenuous position they have within the fashion industry. By continually referring to the participant-models as “girls” they are repeatedly positioned as young and inexperienced, reflecting dominant

cultural associations attached to the label “girl”. The disconnect between the label “girls” and “models” is brought into focus in episode 5. Tyson notes the photo-shoot will “separate the girls from the models” (Tyson Beckford, episode 5). His choice of language in this instance implies a professional model is not a girl, yet the age of applicants for the program is between 18 and 23 (Sky Living) and within the fashion industry most female models are between the ages of 16 and 21 (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009).

In addition to referring to the participant-models as “girls” for the majority of the program, Elle also refers to them in a possessive manner. For example, when Elle is shown arriving to meet all of the participant-models in episode 1 for the first time she notes how excited she is to meet “my girls”. This use of possessive language draws on the higher status of Elle and the judges relative to the participant-models. It also frames the relationship between Elle and the participant-models through its use of the discourse of family.

***Progress: BINTM as an Education***

“You can’t teach beauty, but you can teach how to model” (Whitney Port, episode 13)

As illustrated in the previous section, the participant-models are expected to improve and gain expertise through their experience on *BINTM*. The performance of the participant-models during the photo-shoots and challenges reveals how each participant-model’s habitus develops over the course of the program. Many of the photo-shoots are observed by one of the judges. Their presence continually reinforces their position as experts within the program. It also adds to the audience’s perception of the participant-

models as inexperienced beginners who require supervision. Moreover, the focus on progression provides a legitimate reason for a participant-model to be eliminated. Yet the criteria for success in *BINTM* are elusive. What are the criteria? This indeterminate aspect of the program mirrors the fashion industry.

The participant-models position *BINTM* as a learning experience in episode 1. This sets up the expectation the participant-models will progress through the entire process, a dominant discourse within the program. They note how the whole process is similar to a tutorial in which they continually gain modelling experience as well as life experience. To support this discourse of progress, the challenges and photo-shoots are perceived as part of the participant-models' education. The themes of the photo-shoots are diverse in an effort to build the repertoire of the participant-models and constantly challenge them to work harder to improve their modelling skills. The participant-models are expected to develop within the program, thereby gaining cultural capital and developing their habitus throughout.

The photo-shoots each have a specific theme and it is the participant-models' job as a model to fulfill the creative brief that is explained at the beginning of each photo-shoot. A common observation from the participant-models is that the photo-shoots get more difficult the farther they are into the program. As the program progresses, so does the expectation for their performances. Indeed, Lisa is eliminated in episode 12 because she is seen as no longer improving; "it's that same look that I see week, after week, after week." (Elle Macpherson, episode 12). Elle notes Lisa has been given all of the tools and support, but has not pushed herself in the latter half of the competition. Through this

commentary, Elle positions Lisa as responsible for her own failure within the competition.

The participant-model who receives the most praise throughout the program based on her progress is Anita. Initially, she is positioned as one of the weaker participant-models, but she improves her performance as the program goes on and she receives recognition as her modelling skills develop. Anita's progress is an example of habitus development. Her modelling performance and appearance are criticised in episodes 1 and 2. While Anita does improve her performance, she continues to struggle and is eliminated after the photo-shoot in episode 13.

I found that the participant-models primarily evaluated their progress based on their placement in the previous judgement panel, especially if they receive "picture of the week". The participant-model who is last to receive her photograph during the previous episode's judgement panel often notes a need to prove herself in the following episode. By being called last, the participant-model's performance as a model is challenged. Moreover, her status is shifted to the lowest within the group. Her position becomes extremely tenuous in the following episode and she must perform well at the challenge and photo-shoot to demonstrate her ability and potential to the judges. Lisa remarks on this pressure and the need to perform well at the photo-shoot in episode 12 after being called last in episode 11.

It follows that if the participant-model called last feels an increased amount of pressure to perform in the following episode, that the one who is awarded "picture of the week" will feel secure in their position at the top of the hierarchy of participant-models.

She has demonstrated her skill and expertise and her performance as a model has been legitimated by the judges. However, this does not appear to be the case. Rather the winner also notes feeling an increased pressure to perform in the following episode in order to maintain their status. They are still engaged in the overall struggle of the program to legitimize their performance as a model. Anita provides a good example of experiencing this ongoing pressure to perform in episode 12 at the photo-shoot. She refers back to her “picture of the week” from episode 11 and states she is not prepared to let the other participant-models rise above her in the competition. In an effort to solidify her position, Anita actively positions Emma G’s performance as poor by noting her lack of personality. Interestingly, she chooses to focus on personality, an attribute she has been praised for, rather than other modelling skills that Emma G has received praise for. Anita focuses on Emma G’s identified weakness in order to maintain her position.

Another concept connected with the expectation of progress, is the potential of the participant-models. The judges consistently refer to the potential of the participant-models when they discuss their performances during deliberations; connecting back to the discourse of progression. Without potential, the participant-models are positioned as having reached the end point on the program. In the deliberations in episode 7 Julien comments that despite her “weak” picture he feels Emma G has a lot of potential, but she needs more help. This brings two aspects of *BINTM* into focus; the inexperience of the participant-models, as well as the judge’s perspective of “potential” as a defining aspect of the winner. Emma G is positioned as having the ability to improve upon her current performance; therefore she is not eliminated despite her weaker performance in this particular episode.

If the judges see “potential” in one of the participant-models, it appears to be a valuable attribute because it supports their continuation on the program. When Letitia is in the bottom four in episode 7, Elle remarks on it and draws attention to her weak performance within the photo-shoot. This challenges Letitia’s status and makes her position within *BINTM* unstable. Additionally, it threatens her accumulated cultural capital because Elle is challenging her ability to perform as a model. Thus, it is important for the participant-models to consistently perform well and to constantly demonstrate their “potential”. Indeed, during the deliberations in episode 12 Julien remarked that Letitia had the most potential thus favourably positioning her for the episode 13 finale. “Potential” appears to be a defining characteristic for judges in their choice of winner of *BINTM*.

#### ***Make-overs: Getting the Model Look***

“Not my cup of tea, hmm, but maybe something in make-over can help that” (Elle Macpherson, episode 1)

*BINTM* is positioned as an opportunity for the participant-models to learn how to look and behave like a professional model and the make-overs are one of the most important aspects of this transformation within the program. It is also one of the most blatant scenes in terms of positioning the participant-models as inexperienced and lacking knowledge by the judges. It primarily focuses on the hairstyles of the participant-models and draws attention to participant-models’ style and interpretation of femininity. As Lisa Adkins (2002) notes, gender performance can be a type of cultural capital, and a reflexive approach to gender in the workplace is becoming more acceptable; thus, gender is more malleable and can be performed in a variety of ways. For models, the ability to perform

gender is necessary to attain success as they must be able to perform femininity or masculinity on command. Indeed, within the fashion industry, fashion models are expected to change their physical appearance as a matter of course and therefore it is an accepted and expected aspect of the profession.

The make-overs reinforce the judges' positions as style experts. It is the responsibility of the judges to "fix" the participant-model's appearance so they will look like professional models. The make-overs occur in episode 4 and are presented using a crime and victim theme. Photographs of the participant-models are mocked up like mug shots and posted in the Top Model House. Each contains phrases describing what is wrong with the styles of the participant-models. For example, Anita's mug shot has "too glamour" stamped across it and Jennifer's says "all wrong". This is also visually reinforced by having the participant-models wear a t-shirt with black and white horizontal stripes - drawing on associations of historical uniforms worn by prisoners - for their "before" and "after" photographs. Through this process the participant-models are positioned as committing "fashion crimes". The criminal discourse further implies the participant-models need to be punished by drawing on a discourse of criminality. This explicitly positions the participant-models as lacking expertise and unable to act as cultural intermediaries at that point in the program.

The make-overs take place in the Daniel Galvin Salon and are directed by James Galvin (Style Director) and Louise Galvin (Celebrity Colourist), who are each positioned as experts by referring to the prestige of the salon and a number of celebrity clients, as well as the titles they were given. They assure the participant-models they will make them look like professional models, thereby implying they currently do not. Julien



describes the make-overs as a “make or break day for the girls” (Julien McDonald, episode 4) and he hopes “after the transformation they became, or at least look, like professional models” (Julien McDonald, episode 4).

By changing participant-models’ appearances, the participant-models’ control over their own bodies is removed, which can be considered a form of female symbolic violence. Angela McRobbie (2004) suggests the participants on *What Not to Wear* are also victims of female symbolic violence by the hosts. The participants on *What Not to Wear* undergo a transformation of self with the assistance of experts in an effort to improve individual’s status by acquiring cultural and social capital (McRobbie, 2004). McRobbie (2004) further notes the program is successful due to the subordinate positioning of the participants’ working class habitus in relation to the hosts’ middle class habitus. This is similar to the hierarchy that exists in *BINTM* where the participant-models are subordinate to the judges.

Similar to the participants on *What Not to Wear*, the participant-models on *BINTM* have no input in the make-over process. Indeed they are positioned as powerless because they lack expertise and are new to the industry. Nevertheless, if only a slight change is made to a participant-models’ style, I conclude it is an acknowledgement of a degree of personal expertise held by the individual. The degree of change a participant-model receives during her make-over reflects the judges’ opinions of their style. Those who only receive minor adjustments receive approval of their personal style and garner a degree of status and legitimacy. It indicates their habitus is more aligned with the fashion field than those who receive more extensive changes. Letitia is one participant-model who receives minimal changes in the make-over scene. This is unsurprising because her

style and look has already been approved by head judge, Elle, beginning in episode 1 when she remarks Letitia looks like a supermodel.

At the other end of the spectrum, Lisa received a dramatic change to her look during the make-over. This high level of change implies Lisa's style is not approved by the judges. She begins the program with shoulder length brown hair and is given a pixie cut with highlights around her face. During the make-over, Lisa is initially upset by the change, but afterwards she is never shown remarking on her short hair in a negative way. Lisa's acceptance of her short hair positions her as behaving in a professional manner. Moreover, when she is eliminated in episode 12, one of her final comments to the judges reaffirms their expertise when she says she will keep her haircut.

Within *BINTM* if the participant-models reacted positively to their make-overs they could gain cultural capital within the program. I considered a positive reaction to include an overall satisfaction with the outcome. By reacting positively, the participant-models performance as a model is legitimized because she is behaving in a professional manner. As well, it demonstrates the development of the participant-model's habitus. A negative reaction would result in the opposite effect. I considered negative reactions to include comments stating unhappiness, crying, and overall dissatisfaction with the outcome. The participant-models who react negatively are positioned within the program as behaving in an unprofessional manner. This makes their position as a model even more tenuous within the program.

While the reactions to the makeovers by the participant-models differ, the more dramatic the make-overs were, the more intense the emotional reactions tended to be.

This may be in part because physical appearance is tied to our conceptions of self.

Tasmin touches on this concept when she comments she no longer looked “like me” after her make-over is complete.

The participant-models who had positive reactions and gained status and cultural capital within the program were Madeleine, Kellie, Letitia, Tasmin, Anita, Anne and Emma G. These participant-models appeared to accept the change in their appearance as a part of the process of becoming a model and their behaviour reflects their acceptance. In contrast, participant-models who had negative reactions include Risikat, Penelope, Lisa, Jennifer and Roxanne. In particular, Roxanne did not act in a manner consistent with a professional model. Roxanne is repeatedly shown making negative remarks on her new style after the make-overs, thereby challenging the expertise of the judges. She begins the program with straightened shoulder length brown hair and is given a bright orange afro. She is repeatedly shown with her hair covered by a scarf while in the Top Model house, which I interpreted as a visible demonstration of her rejection of the new style. Further, Roxanne notes in the episode 7 photo-shoot that she is embracing her afro for the first time. Her acceptance of the style at this point is likely due to the inclusion of pop group Rizzle Kicks, who are also African American, in the photo-shoot and have similar hair styles as her. Although Roxanne perceives her afro as a benefit to her in this photo-shoot, her comment also draws attention to her continued rejection of the style. This positions Roxanne in continuous conflict with the judges. Interestingly, Roxanne’s rejection of her style does not go unnoticed by the judges and her hair is dyed back to brown in episode 10. However, she is eliminated at the end of the same episode. I conclude her elimination is a result of her continued challenge to the judges’ expertise.

While the judges' note after the episode 4 photo-shoot that Roxanne is the "stand out girl" and she is awarded "picture of the week" this is not the case in episode 10 when they remark they will not miss her. Her lack of acceptance of her assigned style showed Roxanne was unwilling to adjust her habitus to fit into her new field. She did not connect to the fashion discourse she was entrenched in. As well, her elimination reaffirmed the judges' position as experts as previously discussed.

### ***Professionalism: Being Prepared and Taking Responsibility***

"It all depends on how you work it" (Elle Macpherson, episode 4)

According to the official discourses surrounding fashion modeling professional, models must be prepared for any professional situation. For example, to be prepared a model should take with them anything they might require for a modelling job such as heels, snacks, water, a notebook, pen, street map, a phone – ideally a smart phone so email can be accessed, make-up, hygiene products, their portfolio, and reading material (BFC Guides; Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). Within *BINTM*, however, the participant-models have very little control over what occurs in the program and what situations they are expected to perform as models in. This lack of information and control is a barrier the participant-models face as they strive to behave in a professional manner. The limited information they do receive regarding the challenges and photo-shoots is gleaned from the "Elle Mail" sent to the Top Model House, which usually contains a riddle or veiled reference to their upcoming challenge or photo-shoot. The Elle Mail draws on the discourse of personal responsibility and expects the participant-models to be ready to face any situation. However I question how prepared they can be without more detailed information. While professional models are also expected to be ready for any situation,

they will have a distinct advantage over the participant-models on *BINTM* as they will have a larger degree of control over their work settings.

The vagueness of the Elle Mail proves detrimental to the participant-models in some instances. This is the case for Letitia in episode 11 when the participant-models meet with the directors of Elite Models in Toronto and are asked to perform their walk. Letitia does not have heels that are good for demonstrating her walk to potential clients. This unpreparedness could have resulted in Letitia not booking a job if the meeting had occurred outside of the program. Thus within this situation, Letitia is positioned as not acting like a professional model. As well, when the participant-models arrive at the photo-shoot in episode 13 they realize it is outdoors and Anita is immediately heard remarking, “I wish I brought a bigger coat” (Anita, episode 13). Anita’s remark illustrates she is not prepared for the situation she is expected to perform in, as a result of a lack of information. I question how prepared the participant-models can be if they are denied the information professional models would have access to. While the program draws on the discourse which exists in the wider fashion industry, the situation within *BINTM* is not reflective of the conditions professional models would be working in. The scene shown to viewers is not an authentic reflection of the modelling industry in this instance.

I also find the official discourses surrounding the fashion industry place the responsibility for appearance and physical maintenance on individual models. It is the responsibility of a professional fashion model to ensure they are always groomed and to take care of the physical appearance (BFC Guides; Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). One of the prizes awarded at a challenge was a year’s worth of hair services and a year’s worth

of hair products. This is won by Lisa in episode 7 and is a valuable prize because it will assist her to maintain her model appearance.

The emphasis on looking and behaving like a professional model found throughout the program can be interpreted as an emphasis on the development of the participant-models' habitus. The goal is for the participant-models to gain knowledge and experience so their behaviours and actions became ingrained and natural. As newcomers to the industry, they are placed under pressure by existing members of the fashion field to conform to the existing behaviours of the field. The participant-models are especially pressured to conform to the judges' advice, based on their expertise and status within the fashion industry. This is the case during the make-overs. Moreover, the makeovers are positioned as an exceptional event for the participant-models because it is an area of their professional career that they would normally be responsible for. They are offered expert help in an area that is typically considered their personal responsibility. It also draws attention to the fact the participant-models are not presenting themselves in the same way a professional fashion model does, thus connecting back to the theme of inexperience.

In addition to being prepared for any situation, and being responsible for their appearance, the participant-models are expected to take responsibility for knowing their bodies, and thus what poses and angles work best for them. Cole and Vickers-Jones state "[a] good model knows their face" (2009, p. 92). This knowledge is positioned as a form of expertise the participant-models need to develop about themselves to enhance their ability to perform. The judges draw upon this notion of personal responsibility when they critique the poses of the participant-models and offer advice on how they can adjust

their poses to improve their performance as models. For example, Madeleine is told she needs to practice in episode 6 by guest Joy McLaren (former *BINTM* competitor, series 6). Emma G also receives this type of advice in episode 11 when she is told to figure out what body shape works for her by looking in the mirror. This ultimately places responsibility for their performance with the participant-models, and their corresponding success or failure is also their own responsibility.

Moreover, I found there is an expectation the participant-models behave like professional models within *BINTM* by exhibiting the “right attitude”. This is brought into focus during the challenges and photo-shoots. Because the program is based on a progression of the participant-models, it follows that as they gain experience and knowledge they are more able to act like professional models. They incorporate their acquired knowledge into their habitus and naturalize their movements so they behave like other members of the field. This theme of professional behaviour is constantly referred back to by the judges throughout the program.

One of the most interesting challenges which explicitly address behaving like a professional model consists in the challenge in episode 7. The participant-models are required to pose for 30 minutes in a busy London street while members of the public judge their poses. Risikat and Roxanne both walk out of the challenge. While the other participant-models reflect they are not excited to complete the challenge, they are willing to do so if it means they will continue in the competition. At the judgement panel, both Risikat and Roxanne are confronted about their behaviour by the judges. Guest judge Tali Lennox states their behaviour would not be tolerated in the fashion industry because it would negatively impact an individual’s reputation and would likely result in a loss of

work. When questioned over her behaviour, Risikat's remarks she does not understand how the challenge relates to modelling. This comment challenges the expertise of the judges. In order to re-establish their authority, Risikat is warned that it is not up to her, implying she does not possess the expertise within fashion to understand how the challenge related to modelling. She is further warned she may be sent home for her behaviour because she might not be cut out for the industry if she cannot handle the challenges. The judges' position of authority over the participant-models is drawn upon in this instance to reinforce their superior status in the fashion industry and program. As well, the power disparity in the relationship between the judges and the participant-models is drawn on when Risikat's continuation in the program is threatened.

Although Roxanne also walks off the challenge, she is not criticized to the same level as Risikat and I believe this is due to the reason she gives for her behaviour. Roxanne's states she became overwhelmed with emotion because she misses her daughter. So rather than questioning the authority and legitimacy of the judges, as Risikat did, Roxanne draws on the discourse of motherhood. This discourse is valued within Western culture and Roxanne's behaviour is therefore positioned as understandable and rewarded by a visit from her daughter. Thus, while motherhood is considered a valid reason for behaving in an unprofessional manner, questioning the authority and legitimacy of the judges is not.

Another example from the program when the participant-models are criticized for not behaving like professional models occurs during the second challenge in episode 7; a casting with a designer. At the challenge, the participant-models walk in front of the designer, Julien, and the other participant-models. Following their turn, the participant-



models judge each other's performance. After the challenge is completed Julien remarks that if they had been at an actual casting and he was the designer he would have sent them all home because they appeared uninterested, bored, and many of them were talking. The apparent lack of interest and distraction on the part of the participant-models is positioned as unprofessional and the lack of focus is interpreted by Julien as a lack of commitment to the modelling. He singles out Roxanne in particular, stating that she looked so bored she should leave if she is not interested.

In another situation, episode 10 involves a photo-shoot with spiders, resulting in numerous participant-models behaving in an unprofessional way. Anita panicked before her photo-shoot because of her fear of spiders and was worried it would impact the judges' assessment of her performance. She believed her actions made her look unprofessional but hoped the judges would overlook her initial behaviour and focus on her ability to overcome her fears. Emma G is also criticized when she cries at the beginning of her spider photo-shoot. She is immediately admonished for crying and told "there's no crying in modelling" (Tyson Beckford, episode 10) and her photo-shoot proceeds. While Anita and Emma G both act unprofessionally, they both perform the photo-shoot as required and therefore they are able to re-coup some legitimacy through their ability to perform as models.

In contrast, Roxanne did not complete the spider photo-shoot as it was originally planned because of her fear; instead she participated in a modified version of the photo-shoot due to her inability to overcome her fear of the spiders. Because of this, the other participant-models work to position Roxanne's performance as not legitimate. Anita and Emma G in particular commented on how they would have performed better if they had

also participated in a modified version of the photo-shoot. Anita later remarked that Roxanne should have completed the photo-shoot in its entirety or not at all. Through these comments, Roxanne's performance is positioned within the program as not legitimate and her ability to behave and perform as a model is called into question. Roxanne's status within the program is more tenuous than the other participant-models who complete the photo-shoot in its original form. Roxanne therefore felt an increased amount of pressure to perform at the next photo-shoot because of her precarious position as a model.

The program also positioned a lack of commitment to modelling as an aspect of unprofessional behaviour. Within *BINTM* modelling is constantly positioned as work and the participant-models' success or failure to perform at a photo-shoot or challenge is positioned by the judges as a lack of effort and commitment to the industry. If the participant-models are thought to be exhibiting a lack of commitment, it is interpreted as a bad attitude and it threatens their status as a model. As judge Whitney Port notes at the photo-shoot for Miss Selfridge in episode 11 when she is discussing Risikat's performance, it is a model's job to act excited and bring energy to set because that is how models get jobs. Risikat's lack of energy on set was interpreted by Whitney as unprofessional and not acceptable behaviour for a model and her elimination at the end of the episode reinforced this view. By acting unprofessionally the participant-models endanger the status and cultural capital they have gained so far. It also draws attention to the fact that they are still negotiating and adjusting their behaviours and their habitus to accurately match their social situation. It makes visible the lack of balance between the participant-models settings and their knowledge of how to act.

### ***Stress: Learning to Cope***

“It’s just a lot tougher than I thought it would be” (Kellie, episode 4)

Another aspect of the modelling and fashion industry the participant-models have to learn to deal with is the emotional and psychological stress. The BFC Guides, Cole & Vickers-Jones (2009) address these aspects of modelling. However, within *BINTM* little attention is paid to this aspect of the industry beyond references to having the mental and emotional strength to deal with the industry.

The lack of attention to dealing with stress of the industry is troublesome considering the photo-shoots and challenges on *BINTM* are meant to test them emotionally and psychologically, as well as improve their modelling skills. Cole and Vickers-Jones (2009) assert that it is the responsibility of an individual model to ensure they are comfortable in their working conditions and note that fashion models are entitled to the same health and safety regulations as workers in other industries. This does not reflect the position of the participant-models within the program, who do not have any control over the professional situations they encounter. They do not choose the photo-shoots, and yet are expected to perform in order to demonstrate their skills and commitment to the competition. Deviations from this expected course of behaviour places the participant-models in even more tenuous positions in their continued struggle to perform as models.

The photo-shoot which appears to be the most stressful to the participant-models occurs in episode 10 when they pose with three tarantulas on their faces and bodies. All of the participant-models react to the situation in some manner. Risikat and Letitia

manage to get through their photo-shoots without too much disruption. Lisa, Roxanne, Emma G, and Anita allow their fear of working with the spiders' to impact their behaviour and performance as models. For example, Lisa poses very stiffly, Emma G cries when the spiders are placed on her, and both Roxanne and Anita have extreme anxiety before their photo-shoots. This behaviour is positioned in a negative way, but it is another example where the program is not reflective of the reality of the wider fashion industry. The participant-models are not involved in choosing which photo-shoots they participate in, and there is an implication they must participate in the photo-shoot in order to remain in the competition. A professional model should be able to set the parameters they are comfortable working in and can work with their booking agent to ensure they are not in a situation where they feel frightened or threatened (Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009).

Along with managing the emotional and psychological stress of the industry, professional models regularly face criticism about their bodies. Modelling is a profession that is based on appearances and while the ability to handle critiques and criticism is a part of the program, the issue of how to positively deal with these comments and to maintain self-confidence is not addressed. The participant-models are all beautiful young women and while their personalities are positioned as important to their success as a professional model, the main focus is on their physical appearance. The participant-models would likely have benefitted from guidance on how to deal with criticism and the rejection that is part of the fashion industry. Guest judge Erin O'Connor says "you never get used to hearing criticism, but you just have to handle it in the most gracious way" (Erin O'Connor, episode 9).

Knowing how to cope with criticism in a healthy and professional manner is stressed as an important skill in a professional model's career (BFC Guides, Cole & Vickers-Jones, 2009). The official discourses I examined supported this view. A BFC Guide suggests that "[c]onfidence in the face of rejection is an important skill to master" and advocates for models to politely thank the client and leave in a confident manner (*BFC Guide: A Model's Guide to: Keeping a 'head*, 4). An elaboration within the program on how this could be achieved would be a very useful skill for the participant-models to have for their future careers.

The unique context of *BINTM* may even make the psychological aspect of the industry more difficult to cope with because of the non-stop scrutiny they face while being filmed. The participant-models are filmed in the Top Model House, at the challenges, photo-shoots, and judgement panel. In addition to receiving negative feedback and criticism, the knowledge that they are also being filmed may impact some of the participant-models' stress level. Furthermore, the participant-models are isolated from their normal social networks because of their involvement on the program, which may negatively influence their ability to handle stress. In fact, by the end of episode 1, two of the participant-models have left because they feel unable to handle the stress and another leaves at the end of episode 2. Vanessa stated she felt unable to deal with the emotional stress of being separated from her daughter and being filmed, Catherine is cited as leaving because she did not feel able to deal with the stress of the industry, and Amelia is cited as leaving for personal reasons.

Once a participant-model leaves the program, either through her choice or via elimination she is not mentioned again. Despite the silence which surrounds the

participant-models after they leave the program it should be kept in mind that the elimination of the participant-models does not necessarily signify an end to their involvement in the fashion industry. The judges often encourage the participant-model they eliminate to continue in her career or to keep practicing. Additionally, some of the eliminated participant-models note they will continue to model. Indeed, the inclusion of Joy McLaren in episode 6, who was a former *BINTM* contestant from series 6 but not the winner of the series, shows to the participant-models that their career in modelling will likely continue if they are eliminated.

In summary, expertise is critical to possess because it indicates belonging to the field and legitimizes the social position of those who possess it. As illustrated through the discussion of the judges as experts, expertise within fashion is largely subjective in nature. On *BINTM*, the judges are primarily positioned as experts in the arena of modelling. This relates well to arguments in existing literature on reality lifestyle programs, which maintain it is the hosts of reality and lifestyle programs that are presented as cultural intermediaries (Bonner, 2005). Indeed, the judges worked to position their own expertise and opinions as superior to the participant-models and sustain their own position within the hierarchy of the program. Throughout the program, the judges continually advised the participant-models and exerted their authority over them. As the established members of the fashion field, the judges were able to draw on their existing status within the field and maintain their own status. This resulted in the participant-models staying in the same social position as well. They continued to be marked as beginner models and were not able to act as experts. Their limited social status and associated access to cultural capital negatively affected their ability to act as

cultural intermediaries. This made clear the importance of expertise and its connections to social status within a field, drawing on Bourdieu's idea that social position influences an individual's ability to act as a cultural intermediary.

Overall, *BINTM* was positioned as a form of education for the participant-models where they could gain expertise. The participant-models recognized the need to possess expertise and continually struggled to gain it. However, the participant-models' were continually challenged in their pursuit of expertise by the judges and other program participants. This was particularly evident in my analysis of different situations, such as the make-overs, acting professionally, and dealing with stressful photo-shoots. The participant-models were continuously positioned as lacking expertise, especially in comparison to the judges. Their lack of expertise was an indication their habitus was still developing and they had not yet become accepted members of the field. While the participant-models could briefly challenge the authority of the judges by engaging with their limited expertise, the judges' expertise was always reasserted and the existing hierarchy of the program was maintained. While their progression and development of knowledge showed that participant-models were acquiring the tastes, skills, and knowledges valued by existing members of the field, their cultural capital was not yet fully acknowledged. As such, they were unable to shift their social status, therefore limiting their ability to act as cultural intermediaries.

### **4.3 Impact**

“Maybe they thought I was Naomi?” (Madeleine, episode 8)

Moving beyond the program of *BINTM* to consider if the participant-models gained enough cultural capital to act as cultural intermediaries in wider pop culture, I draw on Smith-Maguire and Matthews (2012) dimension of impact. Cultural intermediaries' impact depends on their involvement with framing, the size of the field they are in and their interactions with others higher and lower than them within the field (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). Based on a cultural intermediary's social position, legitimacy and authority, their impact will be more or less durable (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2012). To illustrate impact, I will use Kate Moss as an example. Her high social position within fashion, large and extensive network, and years of expertise which lend her legitimacy and authority allow her to create impact. Her impact will be more widespread and longer lasting than other fashion models that are not as well known, well connected, or experienced. Because a cultural intermediary's impact and influence is dependent upon their access to cultural capital, including the four issues of *Look* magazine offered an opportunity to verify whether my understanding of the participant-models' ability to act as cultural intermediaries was accurate in the context of British pop culture. I hypothesized the participant-models would not be included in the magazine issues because of their low status within the program and wider industry, as well as their continual struggle to prove their ability to perform as models.

Upon examining the issues of *Look* I found only one inclusion of a participant-model in the October 8, 2013 issue. It is Letitia's Revlon advertisement, which is one of the prizes of *BINTM*. The other participant-models are not featured in any of the issues of *Look* that I examined; thereby implying they do not have an impact in wider pop culture. Because of this, I conclude the participant-models are not acting fully as cultural



intermediaries. The exception is Letitia, the winner, who appears in the October 8, 2012 issue, one week after the episode 13 finale is aired on October 1, 2012. By winning *BINTM*, she is able to gain the most cultural capital and status available to the participant-models within the program, thus allowing her to engage her expertise to work as a professional model for a well-known brand.

Other program participants, such as judges and special guests, are identified within various issues. The greater incidence of inclusion of the judges and special guests in the issues of *Look* indicates they have a much larger impact than the participant-models as cultural intermediaries. As well, it illustrates they are legitimate members of the fashion industry and can frame goods by using their expertise. They are able to act as cultural intermediaries because of these factors. This relationship is dynamic, and their inclusion in the magazine contributes to their cultural capital in wider pop culture as well as on the program and reinforces their status within both spheres. Importantly, not all of the judges and guests from the program appeared in the magazine. I therefore conclude that the judges and guests who are included in the magazine likely have the ability to create a greater impact than the ones who do not appear in it.

In summary, the absence of the participant-models, except Letitia as discussed above, from *Look* confirms my finding that for the most part the participant-models on *BINTM* are not able to act as cultural intermediaries within wider pop culture. While they do gain cultural capital throughout the program, they are continually positioned as inferior to the judges and guests who are already established within the fashion field. The participant-models are able to use their knowledge and experience to perform as beginner models, but not cultural intermediaries. There are brief moments when their performance

as models is legitimized and they successfully frame products. However, the judges and special guest who are already positioned within the program as legitimate authorities were more likely to appear in *Look* and act as cultural intermediaries. Their appearance on *BINTM* and the magazine issues mutually reinforces their status as cultural intermediaries.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

Through my discourse analysis of *BINTM* I am able to conclude that when considering whether individuals are able to act as cultural intermediaries it can be best understood by considering it as a continuum. The better an individual's ability to frame goods, combined with their social status within a particular field and their level of expertise, will influence how much of an impact they are able to have. Supermodels, such as Kate Moss, will exist at one end of the continuum and unknown beginner models will exist at the other end of the continuum.

Overall, the participant-models are unable to act as cultural intermediaries throughout *BINTM*. The participant-models are largely unable to act as cultural intermediaries because they are primarily engaged in the struggle to legitimize their performance as models. Their status within the hierarchy of the program is tenuous and they continually have to prove themselves. They are expected to master modelling skills, such as walking and posing, and to use their personality and appearance to enhance their ability to perform as models. By using these skills the participant-models engage in framing, and if they are successful they are able to momentarily act as cultural intermediaries.

When a participant-model was able to successfully frame a consumer good, she was using her expertise, and created an impact. After which she was briefly able to shift up the continuum and act as a cultural intermediary. The participant-models were mainly limited because of their low social status and lack of expertise within the industry. On the other hand, the judges were able to consistently act as cultural intermediaries because of their established and legitimized position within the fashion industry. Due to their low levels of expertise and status, the participant-models were not able to make an impact in the wider fashion industry which I verified by including four issues of *Look* magazine in my analysis. Letitia was the notable exception to this conclusion. She was able to act as a cultural intermediary after she was announced as the winner of *BINTM*. By winning *BINTM* she gained status and legitimacy and was able to create a bigger impact when she engaged in framing goods.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Cultural intermediaries occupy an important place in society. We look to them for guidance on a range of topics. While it has been suggested cultural intermediaries are no longer relevant within current society (Molloy & Lerner, 2010), I disagree. Within the media-driven culture of western society, the role of cultural intermediaries is expanding into more arenas, from fashion and interior design to car modification and environmentalism. Reality television is a unique genre of television programming and continues to be popular with viewers. Lifestyle programs in particular are engaged in dispensing advice to viewers on how they can achieve “correct” lifestyles by guiding participants in their actions and consumption practices. Britain and Ireland’s Next Top Model is one such program that offers the participants the opportunity to experience a “model” lifestyle and offers guidance on how they can achieve it. The role of cultural intermediaries on reality and lifestyle television is an area that has seen rapid expansion within the past decade. Hosts of these programs act as cultural intermediaries because they offer advice to viewers on how to consume goods (Bonner, 2005). While I found this to also be the case on *BINTM*, I focused on the journey of the participants of the program and whether they were able to act as cultural intermediaries.

By undertaking this analysis and gaining understanding of what enables an individual to act as a cultural intermediary, I argue that all models are not cultural intermediaries. Instead, I suggest models that are new to the industry must first learn the skills and knowledge of the industry. Through this process, their habitus evolves and they learn the tastes and behaviours that are valued within the field. Established members of the field encourage newcomers to conform to the existing standards and norms of the

group. This process is clearly illustrated on *BINTM* as the judges seek to alter the participant-models into “real” models. Further, I argue the ability to act as a cultural intermediary is best understood as a continuum. An individual’s position on the continuum shifts depending on their social position within a field. This is dependent upon an individual’s ability to develop skills they can use to frame goods, their ability to acquire expertise within their field and their ability to influence others. The participant-models on *BINTM* gained knowledge throughout the program, but they did not develop into experts. As well, they did not transition from a beginner status within the industry, therefore their social position remained relatively static both on the show and within the larger field of fashion. I concluded that the participant-models were not able to act as cultural intermediaries within the program because they were unable to become legitimate, acknowledged members of the field.

Drawing on Smith Maguire and Matthews’ (2012) model of cultural intermediaries, and by examining how participant-models engaged in aspects of framing, expertise, and impact, my analysis revealed that a model’s level of cultural capital in these areas, and their social position in the field, is critical to their ability to act as a cultural intermediary. By examining all three concepts, I was able to gain understanding of how the participant-models were limited in their ability to act as cultural intermediaries within *BINTM*. Indeed, my analysis revealed how the competitive discourse of the program extended beyond the participant-models to include the guests and judges. It made apparent the judges and guests also had an interest in maintaining their own social position within the program. I found the judges were able to act as cultural intermediaries because of their legitimacy – or symbolic capital - previously established

in the wider fashion industry, which gave them access to more cultural capital than the participant-models. They also, through the practice of judging, determine what matters as cultural capital in modelling. The participant-models were in a constant struggle for cultural capital and respect from within this framework, but were never able to successfully challenge the authority and status of the judges.

By focusing on framing, I was able to demonstrate how the development of modelling skills, such as posing and walking, contribute to an individual's ability to frame goods. These skills were necessary for the participant-models to show they could perform as a model by framing goods. As well, this demonstrated the development of their habitus as they struggled to prove themselves as legitimate members of the field. Through the deployment of modelling skills they were able to frame goods in a desirable way on photo-shoots and at challenges. The continual expectation of progress and performance was a key theme of the program. Additionally, the competitive discourse of the program suggested that models were continually expected to perform in order to maintain and improve their social position. I found the participant-models who showed continual development of modelling skills were rewarded by remaining in the competition. This increased their social position within the hierarchy of the program, but the struggle to prove themselves began again at the start of each episode. As well, by examining the skills the participant-models were expected to perform on photo-shoots, the program drew attention to gender as performance and how it can be used as a kind of cultural capital. I found that the representations of femininity and masculinity on *BINTM* reinforced predominant cultural conceptions of both. This was especially apparent during the make-overs when the appearances of the participant-models were changed and more

positive reactions were primarily shown for participant-models who received traditional feminine styles. Indeed, the winner of the program had a very feminine hairstyle and appearance.

Furthermore, in my discussion on framing, I found that appearance was an important way for the participant-models to convey their belonging to the field of fashion. Judgement panels comprised yet another opportunity for the participant-models to portray their ability to be a model through the way they assembled their “look”. In addition, through an examination of their behaviour throughout the program, particularly at the photo-shoots and judgement panels, I was able to gain understanding of the development of the habitus of each participant-model. This revealed how each individual adjusted their behaviour to fit in with the field. I found those who challenged the established norms of the program were eliminated. Their elimination illustrated the power dynamics at play within the program whereby existing members of the field were able to exert influence over new members, who were required to conform to existing standards.

By focusing on expertise I was able to demonstrate how the possession and use of expertise allows an individual to act as a legitimate authority within a field. Within *BINTM*, the judges were the individuals who were positioned as experts. They were visually and verbally positioned as the dominant individuals within the program’s hierarchy. This offered the judges access to higher degree of cultural capital. The position of the participant-models was consistently juxtaposed against the judges, reinforcing their inferior social position. This was accomplished through language, namely predominantly referring to them as “girls”, and through visual contrasts to the

judges. Their inexperience was highlighted in each episode and this further legitimized the judges' statuses as experts. The participant-models' lower social position limited their access to cultural capital. The exception to this occurred at the end of the program when the winner was announced. Letitia was named the winner of the series in the episode 13 finale and by winning she was positioned as a "real" model.

By focusing on impact I was able to demonstrate the overall importance of social position on an individual's ability to act as a cultural intermediary. While an individual may be able to frame goods and have a level of expertise in a field, neither of these are relevant if an individual cannot create an impact on others. A cultural intermediary is defined by their ability to add value to a good for consumers; therefore if an individual does not have the right kind or level of cultural capital, and therefore an established social position within a field (whereby they can create an impact on others), then they are not able to act as a cultural intermediary. In the case of *BINTM*, I found the participant-models had a low impact in comparison to the judges. Indeed, their inexperience and unfamiliarity with the modelling profession marked them as outsiders to other members of the field. They needed to develop their habitus in order to become accepted members of the field and move up the hierarchy. The winner of the series only gained this acceptance at the end of the program, but the others were only positioned as beginner models throughout the program.

It is the relationship between the three elements of framing, expertise, and impact that reveals the complexity of what it means to be and act as a cultural intermediary. Within the context of *BINTM* I found the participant-models were largely unable to act as cultural intermediaries. As newcomers to the field of fashion and modelling they did not



possess the cultural capital necessary to act as cultural intermediaries. Throughout the program their position as models was tenuous and they continually struggled to gain modelling skills that would help them in their modelling career. Further, while they were able to gain skills because the format of the program encouraged their development, they were largely denied access to expertise by the judges. The judges on the program worked to maintain their own social position by reinforcing the inexperience of the participant-models. This preserved their position within the hierarchy and reinforced their expertise and authority within the program and wider fashion field.

The overarching competitive discourse of the program mimicked the competitive modelling industry, but the context of reality television makes the experience of the participant-models very different from other models. I concluded the participant-models experienced a higher level of stress due to their isolation from their regular support networks. A discourse of personal responsibility also featured throughout the program, again mirroring the discourses of the British fashion industry. The success of each participant-model was her own responsibility and through the systematic elimination of each participant-model, the program sent the message that their failure was based on her inability to perform as a model.

This raises the issue of how the participant-models themselves understood their experience on *BINTM*, which would be an interesting avenue to further this line of inquiry. Interviewing the actual participants of *BINTM* about their experience on the reality television program, as well as their experience in the wider fashion industry, would offer unique insight into how authentic the program is in its representation of models and their

career trajectories. As well, it would shed light onto whether the participant-models benefitted from their experience on the program.

This analysis is limited in its application because it is focused on a unique portrayal of models within the fashion industry. The experience of the participants of *BINTM* was a specific case that cannot be generalized to the experience of other models entering the fashion industry. As well, this discourse analysis is based on my interpretation of the dialogue and the appearances of participants on the program, and another individual may interpret the same information differently. Nevertheless, the conclusions supported by my analysis offer important insights into the question of whether models are cultural intermediaries, and adds to the existing literature on the subject. In particular, it provides a more nuanced view of models as cultural intermediaries, suggesting that while some models can be considered cultural intermediaries, others have not yet attained the requisite cultural capital to engage in this role. I believe there are likely similarities in the struggles and challenges experienced by the participant-models and other beginner models; therefore this thesis offers valuable insight into the experience of beginner models as they attempt to establish themselves as legitimate members of the fashion field. Thus there is a continuum of modelling, whereby some are in a position to act as cultural intermediaries, while others are still developing in their capacity. Supermodels, for instance, are at one end of this continuum, while beginner models are at the other end of the scale.

Models are everywhere in society today; they are the faces and bodies we see on billboards and advertisements in our daily life, but what role are they truly fulfilling? This thesis examined the role of a particular sub-set of beginner models. Through the

*Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* viewers are given the opportunity to forge an emotional connection to these individuals as they struggle to remain in the program. While they were largely unable to act as cultural intermediaries and the program itself is manufactured and edited, it also calls viewers' attention to the individual people who are often only seen as instruments to promote another consumer good. Models are more than pretty faces and bodies who appear in advertisements, and while some may not be as recognizable as others, they are all trying to fulfil the role of cultural intermediaries.

While some scholars question the continued usefulness of cultural intermediaries to current society, I would argue that through reality and lifestyle television we are being exposed to more individuals attempting to act as cultural intermediaries than ever before. This thesis examined the journey of the participants of a reality television program and offered valuable insight into the process of acting as a cultural intermediary.

The questions this thesis raises for further thought are twofold: who are these individuals to whom we look for guidance, and why have they been assigned the power to perform this role? Throughout my analysis the judges were positioned as the experts, the legitimate members of the fashion industry who had the right to pass judgement on the participant-models. Yet, who gave them this authority? Do we, as viewers support their expertise and sanction their authority? As the gatekeepers to the industry we are looking to them for guidance. With the expansion of reality television into more areas than ever before and the ever-present sources of media in our society, these gatekeepers will continue to educate consumers on "correct" lifestyles from numerous media sources. But should we continue to listen? This is a question I cannot answer, but one that warrants further consideration.

**APPENDIX A: Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model Series 8 Judgement Panel Call-out Order**

**Table 7: Judgement Panel Call-out Order of Participant Models of Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model**

Note: Grey shading indicates participant-model was eliminated at a judgement panel  
(name) indicates a participant-model left the program

\* indicates participant-model awarded "picture of the week"

Episode Call Out #	2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9	
	1	Emma G	Anne *	Roxanne*	Emma G*	Anita*	Lisa*	Emma G*	Risikat*							
2	Jennifer	Lisa	Emma G	Roxanne*	Lisa	Roxanne	Anita	Anita								
3	Letitia	Roxanne	Letitia	Letitia	Letitia	Jennifer	Letitia	Letitia								
4	Kellie	Letitia	Lisa	Lisa	Risikat	Risikat	Risikat	Roxanne								
5	(Amelia)	Kellie	Risikat	Jennifer	Kellie	Anita	Letitia	Letitia								
6	Tasmin	Anita	Anne	Anita	Jennifer	Letitia	Risikat	Roxanne								
7	Lisa	Emma G	Anita	Madeleine	Madeleine	Emma G	Madeleine	Madeleine								
8	Roxanne	Risikat	Madeleine	Kellie	Roxanne	Madeleine	Jennifer									
9	Anne	Madeleine	Kellie	Risikat	Emma G	Kellie										
10	Madeleine	Jennifer	Jennifer	Anne	Anne											
11	Anita	Penelope	Tasmin	Tasmin												
12	Emma S	Tasmin	Penelope													
13	Penelope	Emma S														
14	Risikat															
15	Diona															
16	Louisa															
17	Anna															
18	Danielle															
19	(Vanessa)															
20	(Catherine)															

10	11	12	13	
Lisa*	Anita*	Anita*	Emma G	Letitia
Anita	Emma	Emma	Letitia	Emma G
Risikat	Letitia	Letitia	Anita	
Emma G	Lisa	Lisa		
Letitia	Risikat			
Roxanne				

**APPENDIX B: Series Eight *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* Participant-Model Outfits and Appearance (in descending order)**

**Table 8: Outfits and Appearance of Letitia (Winner)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	White trench coat with black piping detail, black tights, black dress	Down, straightened	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black long sleeved dress with turtleneck (short)	Down, straightened	Black heels
2 – Swimsuit	White with floral pattern halter top bikini and brief bottoms	Down, wavy curls	Red wedges
2 - Judgement	Black sleeveless maxi dress	Down, wavy curls	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Black satin dress (short)	Down	Black heels
4 - Judgement	Black high necked top with sheep panel above bust, black shorts/skirt	Down	Metallic heels
5 – Judgement	Black skirt (short), peach chiffon sleeveless shirt with cut-out details at the neck	Down	Red heels
6 – Judgement	Red one shoulder chiffon dress (knee length), belt	Down, wavy curls, swept to side	Red heels
7 – Judgement	Blue long sleeved dress (short)	Up, bun	Nude heels
8 – Judgement	Black chiffon dress (short)	Down, pulled back off face	Black heels
9 – Judgement	Black high neck dress with lace panels and slit at thigh (short)	Down, wavy curls	Black heels
10- Judgement	Black sheer top with black halter neck bra, cream skirt (short)	Down, straightened	Black heels
11 – Judgement	Printed strapless maxi dress with bright blue bands at bust and hem	Up, bun	Red heels
12 – Judgement	Black strapless maxi dress	Down, swept to side	Grey sandals

**Table 9: Outfits and Appearance of Emma G (Runner up)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black satin dress with embellished straps, black tights	Up, wavy	Black bootie heels
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Grey printed dress (short)	Down, wavy	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Floral printed one shoulder one piece with side cut-out	Down, wavy	Black sandals
2 - Judgement	White top with elbow length sleeves, red skirt (short), big earrings	Down, wavy, swept to side	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Grey dress with draped sleeves (short)	Down, wavy	Black bootie shoes
4 - Judgement	Green printed jumpsuit, belt	Down, wavy	Black shoes
5 – Judgement	Coral long sleeved chiffon dress (short), big earrings	Up	Unable to verify
6 – Judgement	White sleeveless chiffon shirt, tight black trousers	Down, straightened	Black heels
7 – Judgement	Blue printed dress with ruffle sleeves	Down, pulled back off face	Black sandals

8 – Judgement	Dress with nude top and black skirt	Down, wavy	Black sandals
9 – Judgement	Blue dress with cut-outs at sides(short)	Down, wavy	Black heels
10- Judgement	Black dress with white stripes between bust and hips (knee length)	Down, wavy	Black heels
11 – Judgement	Red long-sleeved dress (short)	Up, bun	Black shoe booties
12 – Judgement	Black skirt (short), white top with coloured pattern, flowy	Down, wavy	Black shoes

**Table 10: Outfits and Appearance of Anita (eliminated episode 13)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Bright coral jeans, white faux fur jacket, white and black printed top	Down	Black bootie shoes
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Dark red one shoulder dress (knee length)	Down	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Pink leopard print halter top bikini and briefs, big hoop earrings	Messy bun	Nude heels
2 - Judgement	Bright turquoise blue long sleeved maxi dress, big gold earrings	Down, swept to side	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Dusty pink strapless jumpsuit	Down	Nude heels
4 - Judgement	Navy blue jumpsuit with shoulder pads and cap sleeves	Down	Red platform heels
5 – Judgement	Red one shoulder dress (short), big earrings	Up	Nude heels
6 – Judgement	Coral blazer, black hot pants, black vest top	Down	Nude heels
7 – Judgement	Cream one shoulder dress (short), big earrings	Up	Nude heels
8 – Judgement	Black sheer lace top with black bra, black trousers (tight), big earrings	Up	Red platform heels
9 – Judgement	Dusty pink strapless jumpsuit, big earrings	Down	Nude heels
10- Judgement	White sequinned dress (calf length), floaty	Up, to side	Nude heels
11 – Judgement	Black dress with side cut outs (short)	Up, back	Red platform heels
12 – Judgement	Nude strapless maxi-dress, brown belt	Down	Nude heels

**Table 11: Outfits and Appearance of Lisa (eliminated episode 12)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black top, grey cardigan, black leggings, black leather shorts,	Down	Black ankle boots
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black sleeveless top with skull and cross logo, tight beige trousers, big necklace	Down	Black ankle boots
2 – Swimsuit	Blue paisley triangle bikini with string brief bottom, multiple long necklaces	Down	Wedges
2 - Judgement	Black lace dress (short), beige cardigan	Down	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	White shimmery dress with cap sleeves (short), black tights	Down	Black heels
4 - Judgement	Print sleeveless top, beige trousers	Messily styled (pixie cut)	Black bootie shoes
5 – Judgement	Snake print vest top, bronze metallic road, black tights	Slicked back	Black heels
6 – Judgement	Black vest top, denim sleeveless vest, tight black trousers	Messily styled	Black heels
7 – Judgement	Dress with black top and printed skirt and	Slicked back	Black heels

	cut-outs above bust		
8 – Judgement	Coral/red jeans, black vest top, denim sleeveless vest	Puffed up and styled	Black heels
9 – Judgement	Black dress with high neck and cut-outs (short)	Messily styled	Black heels
10- Judgement	Black lace dress (short), big earrings	Slicked back	Nude heels
11 – Judgement	Black scoop neck top with elbow length sleeves, metallic skirt (short), big necklace	Slicked back	Black heels
12 – Judgement	Black sequin dress with shoulder pads and elbow length sleeves (short)	Messily styled	Nude heels

**Table 12: Outfits and Appearance of Risikat (eliminated episode 11)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black top, denim jacket, black trousers	Down	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Cropped denim jacket, black halter neck dress (short)	Down	Black peep toe ankle boots
2 – Swimsuit	Red and white polka dot bikini with brief bottoms, small necklace	Half up, half down	Nude/white sandals
2 - Judgement	Black leather jacket, cream dress floaty with black diagonal pattern on front	Down	Black boots (knee)
3 – Judgement	White sleeveless sequin top, blue trousers,	Down	Black peep toe heels
4 - Judgement	Black shirt with V-neck and cap sleeves, black shorts	Straightened (pixie cut)	Nude heels
5 – Judgement	Cream vest top with black diagonal straps over bust, black trousers	Slicked back	Black peep toe heels
6 – Judgement	Denim dress (short)	Parted, slicked over	Brown heels
7 – Judgement	Black and cream print dress (short), big earrings	Slicked over	Black peep toe heels
8 – Judgement	Brown and black printed dress (short)	Slicked over	Metallic sandals
9 – Judgement	Black top, beige skirt (short), belt	Slicked back	Nude heels
10- Judgement	Cream and orange colour-block strapless dress (short)	Parted, slicked over	Nude heels
11 – Judgement	Champagne dress with spaghetti straps (short)	Slicked over	Gold sandals

**Table 13: Outfits and Appearance of Roxanne (eliminated episode 10)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black blazer, black jeans, leopard scarf	Up, bun	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black blazer, black vest top, grey pleated skirt	Up, bun	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Blue, yellow, pink colour-blocked bandeau with brief bottoms, necklace	Up, ponytail and braided	Coral heels
2 - Judgement	Peach sleeveless top, pink skirt (short)	Half up, braided around crown	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Black high neck dress (long) with sheer panel above bust	Down, straightened	Black heels
4 - Judgement	Black sleeveless dress (short), black tights	Afro (orange)	Black heels



5 – Judgement	Beige strapless dress (long), necklace	Down, Straightened	Black heels
6 – Judgement	Leopard sleeveless jumpsuit, big earrings	Down, straightened	Nude heels
7 – Judgement	Black high necked dress (short)	Afro	Nude heels
8 – Judgement	Black vest top, grey chiffon skirt (short in front, long in back)	Up	Black heels
9 – Judgement	Black lace vest top, black bra, black skirt (short)	Afro swept to side	Black heels
10- Judgement	Black lace top, black bra, beige trousers	Down, straightened (brown)	Nude heels

**Table 14: Outfits and Appearance of Madeleine (eliminated episode 9)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Bright blue vest top, black jeans, big earrings	Styled over to side	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	White vest top, plaid skirt with bow at front (short), big earrings	Styled over to side	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Blue and white stripe halter bikini with brief bottoms, big earrings	Slicked back	Black heels
2 - Judgement	Green and gold leopard print long sleeved maxi dress (long), big earrings	Slicked back	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Dark orange with spaghetti straps maxi dress	Slicked back	White flats
4 - Judgement	Cream ¾ length sleeve chiffon top, pink jeans,	Down (long)	Black heels
5 – Judgement	Cream lace long sleeved top, blue skirt (short)	Down	Brown sandals
6 – Judgement	Black sleeveless dress with embellished neckline(short), big earrings	Down	Brown sandals
7 – Judgement	Red elbow length sleeved top, denim shorts	Down	Black heels
8 – Judgement	Pink chiffon shirt dress (short), belt	Down	Black heels
9 – Judgement	Purple/blue dress (short), big necklace	Down	Black heels

**Table 15: Outfits and Appearance of Jennifer (eliminated episode 8)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black vest top, purple top, bright blue zip up sweatshirt, shorts (unable to verify colour)	Down, swept to side	Black boots (knee)
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black leather tea-style dress	Down, swept to side	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Black/blue and white striped triangle bikini with string bottoms, long necklace	Down, swept to side	Black heels
2 - Judgement	Black leather dress with bright blue side panels (short)	Down, swept to side	Black boots (mid calf)
3 – Judgement	Black one shoulder leather dress, printed tights	Down, swept to side	Black bootie shoes
4 - Judgement	Black leather jacket, black shorts	Up, styled to side (Mohawk)	Black heels

5 – Judgement	Green plaid dress (short), black tights, black belt, big necklace	Styled to side	Black heels
6 – Judgement	Pink plaid dress, black belt	Styled to side	Black bootie shoes
7 – Judgement	Black leather jacket, black vest top, grey high-waist shorts,	Slicked down	Black bootie shoes
8 – Judgement	White chiffon sleeveless polka dot top, lavender cropped jeans, black belt	Styled to side	Black heels

**Table 16: Outfits and Appearance of Kellie (eliminated episode 7)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	Black and floral corset top, cardigan, denim shorts, black tights (sheer at top, opaque at bottom), black bowler hat	Down	Trainers
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black and floral corset top, denim shorts, black tights (sheer at top, opaque at bottom)	Down	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	White one piece halter neck swimsuit with side cut-outs, sheer cover up	Up, top knot	Nude sandals
2 - Judgement	Printed cream high neck maxi dress	Up, top knot	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Pale pink/white tea-style dress, printed sheet cover up	Down	Nude heels
4 - Judgement	Green chiffon dress with keyhole cut-out at bust	Down	Black sandals
5 – Judgement	Cream sleeveless dress (below knee) with beaded top, belt	Up, top knot	Black peep toe heels
6 – Judgement	White vest top, white tweed jacket, peach hot pants, pearls	Up, 50s style	Nude sandals
7 – Judgement	White lace sleeveless dress (short), socks	Down	Black heels

**Table 17: Outfits and Appearance of Anne (eliminated episode 6)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	White printed graphic t-shirt, jeans, grey beanie toque	Down	Black boots
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black vest top, cropped white t-shirt, denim shorts, plaid jacket	Down, bandana tied in front	Gold heels
2 – Swimsuit	Black ruffled one-piece swimsuit	Down, bandana tied in front	Gold heels
2 - Judgement	Black/burgundy printed long sleeved dress (short), black leather jacket, choker	Slicked back	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Black dress with gold detail on waist and neck (short)	Slicked back	Black heels
4 - Judgement	Black ruffled vest top with horizontal stripes, denim shorts,	Styled forward	Metallic heels
5 – Judgement	Purple sleeveless top with cut-outs at bust, black skirt (short)	Styled forward	Black heels
6 – Judgement	Black vest top, denim shorts	Styled forward	Black heels

**Table 18: Outfits and Appearance of Tasmin (eliminated episode 5)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
---------	--------	------	-------

1 – Initial Meeting	Black lace top, black trousers	Down, wavy	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black dress with long sleeves (short)	Down, wavy	Black sandals
2 – Swimsuit	Red with wide black crossover straps and brief bottoms, sunglasses in hair, big earrings	Down	Black sandals
2 - Judgement	Burgundy tie-dye pattern dress (short)	Down	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Black dress with cut-outs above bust (short),	Down	Nude heels
4 - Judgement	Blue metallic vest top, black skirt (short)	Down	Unable to verify
5 – Judgement	Black vest top, blue printed chiffon skirt (short), big necklace	Up	Black sandals

**Table 19: Outfits and Appearance of Penelope (eliminated episode 4)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	Black strapless top, sheer cover up, shorts (unable to verify colour)	Up, messily	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black one shoulder top, multi-coloured sequin hot pants	Up, messily	Black bootie shoes
2 – Swimsuit	Burgundy bandeau, brief bottoms, sheer cover up, big earrings	Up, messily	Cork wedges
2 - Judgement	Black jumpsuit	Up, messily	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Black halter neck dress (short),	Pinned back	Unable to verify
4 - Judgement	Black dress with boat neck (short)	Down, slightly wavy	Black peep toe heels

**Table 20: Outfits and Appearance of Emma S (eliminated episode 3)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	Black and red horizontal striped jersey, white knitted scarf, black jacket, denim shorts	Down	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Red loose dress with spaghetti straps (short in front, long in back)	Up, Messily	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Pink and blue tie-dye print bandeau and brief bottoms, big necklace	Up, messily	Black heels
2 - Judgement	Black high neck dress (short)	Up, messily	Unable to verify
3 – Judgement	Black and white printed jumpsuit with cut-out on back	Up, messily	Black bootie shoes

**Table 21: Outfits and Appearance of Amelia (withdrew after episode 2)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	White jacket with fur trimmed hood, black tights	Down, big waves	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	White striped blazer, burgundy top with scoop neck, black trousers	Down, big waves	Black flats
2 – Swimsuit	Black triangle bikini and string bottoms	Down, big waves	Black heels

2 - Judgement	Black dress (knee), white blazer with black lapels	Up, bun, braided across crown	Unable to verify
---------------	--	-------------------------------	------------------

**Table 22: Outfits and Appearance of Diona (eliminated episode 2)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	Grey top, leopard print faux fur jacket, black trousers	Up	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Red button down top tied at waist with Chinese-style sequin collar, plaid bowtie, grey skirt with thigh split (long)	Up	Unable to verify
2 – Swimsuit	Orange and bright blue bandeau bikini and brief bottoms, big earrings, bracelets	Up	Black peep toe heels
2 - Judgement	Coral button down dress shirt tied up at waist, bright blue skirt (short)	Down	Unable to verify

**Table 23: Outfits and Appearance of Louisa (eliminated episode 2)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	White top, black jacket, black leggings, white scarf, black wide brimmed floppy hat	Down	Black boots (knee)
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Pale blue sleeveless top with V-neck, black trousers, black wide brimmed floppy hat	Down	Nude heels (Christian Louboutin – red soles)
2 – Swimsuit	Mint green bandeau bikini with brief bottoms, long necklaces, bracelets	Down	Red sandals
2 - Judgement	Black dress with sheer panel at midriff (short)	Up, ponytail	Unable to verify

**Table 24: Outfits and Appearance of Anna (eliminated episode 2)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	White top with graphic print, jeans, grey toque	Down	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	White dress with black sailor collar (short), tights with garter details and bows, black jacket, furry cat toque, necklace	Down	Black heels
2 – Swimsuit	Black print triangle bikini with string bottoms, necklace	Down	Black wedges
2 - Judgement	Navy blue cap sleeve dress (below knee), big necklace	Down	Unable to verify

**Table 25: Outfits and Appearance of Danielle (eliminated episode 1)**

Episode	Outfit	Hair	Shoes
1 – Initial Meeting	Fringed cream knitted top, black leggings	Down	Brown boots (knee)
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Brown and green chevron top/dress, black leather jacket, black tights	Down	Unable to verify

**Table 26: Outfits and Appearance of Vanessa (withdrew during episode 1)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black top, black leather jacket, (unable to verify bottoms as only shown sitting)	Down	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Black sleeveless sheer top, black trousers, necklace, earrings	Down	Black lace up oxford heels

**Table 27: Outfits and Appearance of Catherine (withdrew during episode 1)**

<b>Episode</b>	<b>Outfit</b>	<b>Hair</b>	<b>Shoes</b>
1 – Initial Meeting	Black and white print dress, grey cardigan, black leggings	Down, big waves	Unable to verify
1 – Catwalk style challenge	Grey printed sleeveless top, black leather skirt (short)	Down, big waves	Black heels

**APPENDIX C: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* (by episode)**

**Table 28: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 2**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Letitia		X			X	
Anna		X		X		
Madeleine		X		X		
Emma S	X			X		
Emma G	X					X
Roxanne		X			X	
Amelia			X			X
Anne		X				X
Jennifer		X		X		
Anita	X			X		
Tasmin	X			X		
Lisa		X		X		
Louisa	X			X		
Diona		X		X		
Risikat		X				X
Kellie	X					X
Penelope		X		X		

**Table 29: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 3**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Anne		X				X
Madeleine			X			X
Letitia		X				X
Tasmin		X		X		
Jennifer			X	X		
Penelope		X		X		
Emma G		X				X
Kellie		X				X
Roxanne			X			X
Emma S	X			X		
Anita	X			X		
Lisa		X				X
Risikat		X				X

**Table 30: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 4**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Risikat		X			X	
Lisa		X		X		
Anita	X			X		
Penelope			X	X		
Anne		X		X		
Letitia		X			X	
Tasmin	X					X
Kellie	X			X		
Madeleine		X			X	
Jennifer		X		X		
Emma G		X			X	
Roxanne			X	X		

**Table 31: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 5**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Letitia	X					X
Jennifer		X			X	
Risikat	X			X		
Kellie			X	X		
Anita	X			X		
Emma G			X			X
Madeleine		X		X		
Roxanne		X				X
Lisa	X				X	
Tasmin	X			X		
Anne		X		X		

**Table 32: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 6**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Anne	X			X		
Jennifer	X					X
Lisa	X					X

Anita		X				X
Risikat		X		X		
Roxanne			X	X		
Letitia	X			X		
Madeleine			X		X	
Emma G	X			X		
Kellie	X					X

**Table 33: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 7**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Roxanne		X				X
Emma G	X			X		
Jennifer		X				X
Lisa	X			X		
Madeleine		X		X		
Risikat		X		X		
Letitia		X			X	
Anita		X		X		
Kellie	X			X		

**Table 34: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 8**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Risikat		X			X	
Letitia	X					X
Lisa	X			X		
Madeleine			X	X		
Roxanne	X			X		
Anita		X		X		
Jennifer	X			X		
Emma G		X				X

**Table 35: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 9**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Anita	X					X
Lisa	X			X		



Roxanne			X	X		
Madeleine		X		X		
Risikat		X				X
Emma G		X				X
Letitia		X		X		

**Table 36: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 10**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot 1 Appeared or Stated Nervous			Photo-shoot 2 Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Lisa	X				X		X		
Emma G	X			X					X
Anita	X			X					X
Letitia	X			X			X		
Risikat	X				X		X		
Roxanne	X			X			X		

**Table 37: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 11**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Anita	X				X	
Letitia		X		X		
Lisa	X			X		
Risikat	X			X		
Emma G	X			X		

**Table 38: Comfort Level of Participant-Models of *Britain and Ireland's Next Top Model* during Episode 11**

Participant-Model	Photo-shoot Appeared or Stated Nervous			Judgement Panel Appeared or Stated Nervous		
	Yes	No	Can't Tell	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Emma G	X			X		
Lisa	X			X		
Letitia	X			X		
Anita	X			X		

## REFERENCES

- Adkins, L. (2002). *Revisions: gender and sexuality in late modernity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Adkins, L. (2004). Introduction: Feminism, Bourdieu and after. In Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (Eds.), *Feminism after Bourdieu*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Baker, S. (2012). Retailing retro: Class, cultural capital and the material practices of the (re)valuation of style. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(5), 621-641: Sage.
- Baudrillard, J. (2003). Ideological Genesis of Needs," in Clarke, D. Doel, M. & Housiaux, K. (eds.), *The Consumption Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Bell, D. & Hollows, J. (2005). *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Bonner, F. (2005). Whose lifestyle is it anyway? In Bell, D. & Hollows J. (Eds.), *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge.
- British Fashion Council Guides. (2008). *A Model's Guide to....* Retrieved November 1, 2012, from <http://www.britishfashioncouncil.com/content/1742/A-Models-Guide-to>
- Childress, C.C. (2012). "Decision-making, market logic and the rating mindset: Negotiating BookScan in the field of US trade publishing", *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(5), 604-620: Sage.
- Cole, L. & Vickers-Jones, G. (2009). *Professional Modelling: Every model's must-have guide to the industry*, London: New Holland Publishers (UK), Ltd.
- Cision Europe (2010, February 4). Top 10 Fashion Magazines. Retrieved November 30, 2012 from <http://uk.cision.com/Resources/Key-media-offline-rankings/Top-10-Fashion-Magazines/>
- Entwistle, J. (2002). The Aesthetic Economy: The Production of value in the field of fashion modelling" *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2(3), 317-339: Sage.

- Entwistle, J. & Rocamora, A. (2006). The Field of Fashion Materialized: A Study of London Fashion Week, *Sociology*, 40(4), 735-751. London: Sage.
- Entwistle, J. & Wissinger, E. (2006). Keeping up appearance: aesthetic labour in the fashion modelling industries of London and New York, *The Sociological Review*, 54(4), 774-794. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Featherstone, M. (1987). Lifestyle and Consumer Culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 4(1), 55–70. London: Sage
- Featherstone, M. (2007). *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. 2nd edition. London: Sage.
- Hancock , B. & Garner, R. (2009). *Changing theories: New directions in sociology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated.
- Hearn, A. (2009). Hoaxing the ‘Real’: On the Metanarrative of Reality Television, In Murray, S. & Ouellette, L, (Eds.), *Reality TV: Remaking Television Culture*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). (pp. 165-178). New York: New York University Press.
- Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.
- Hendershot, H. (2009). Belaboured Reality: Making It Work on *The Simple Life* and *Project Runway*, In Murray, S. & Ouellette, L, (Eds.), *Reality TV: Remaking Television Culture*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). (pp. 243-259). New York: New York University Press.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2006). Bourdieu, the media and cultural production. *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2), 211–231: Sage.
- Hodges, C. (2006). PRP culture: A framework for exploring public relations practices as cultural intermediaries, *Journal of Communication Management*, 10(1), 80-93. Emerald.
- Holt, D. (1998). Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25(1), 1-25: University of Chicago Press.
- Ihlen, Ø. (2005). The power of social capital: Adapting Bourdieu to the study of public relations, *Public Relations Review*, 31, 492-496: Elsevier Inc.
- Jansson, A. (2002). The Mediatization of Consumption: Towards an Analytical Framework of Image Culture. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2(5), 5-31. London: Sage.

- Kuipers, G. (2012). The cosmopolitan tribe of television buyers: Professional ethos, personal taste and cosmopolitan capital in transnational cultural mediation, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(5), 581-603: Sage.
- Lury, C. (1996). *Consumer Culture*. Cambridge. Polity Press.
- Lynch A. & Strauss M. (2007). *Changing Fashion: A Critical Introduction to Trend Analysis and Meaning*. Oxford: Berg.
- Magder, T. (2009). Television 2.0: The Business of American Television in Transition, In Murray S. & Ouellette L. (Eds.), *Reality TV: Remaking Television Culture*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). (pp. 141-164). New York: New York University Press.
- Matheson, D. (2008). *Media Discourses*. McGraw-Hill Education.
- McRobbie, A. (2004). Notes on 'What Not to Wear' and post-feminist symbolic violence, In Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (Eds.), *Feminism after Bourdieu*, (pp. 99-109). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mears, A. (2008). Discipline of the catwalk: Gender, power and uncertainty in fashion modeling, *Ethnography*, 9(4), 429-456: Sage.
- Molloy, M. & Larner, W. (2010). Who Needs Cultural Intermediaries Indeed? *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 3(3), 361-377: Routledge.
- Moor, L. (2008). Branding consultants as cultural intermediaries, *Sociological Review*, 56(3), 408-428. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Inc.
- Moor, L. (2012). Beyond cultural intermediaries? A socio-technical perspective on the market for social interventions, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 15(5), 563-580. Sage.
- Nixon, S. (2003). *Advertising Cultures*, London: Sage.
- Nixon, S, & Du Gay, P. (2002). Who Needs Cultural Intermediaries? *Cultural Studies*, 16(4), 495–500. London: Routledge.
- Ocejo, R. (2012). At your service: The meanings and practices of contemporary bartenders, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(5), 642-658: Sage.

- Osgerby, B. (2004). So Who's Got Time for Adults!: Femininity, Consumption and the Development of Teen TV - from Gidget to Buffy, In Davis, G. & Dickinson K. (eds.), *Teen TV: Genre, Consumption and Identity*, (pp. 71-86). London: British Film Institute.
- O'Shaughnessy, M. & Stadler, J. (2005). *Media and Society*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition. Oxford University Press.
- O'Sullivan, T. (2005). "From television lifestyle to lifestyle television," in Bell, D. & Hollows J. (Eds.), *Ordinary Lifestyles: Popular Media, Consumption and Taste*, (pp. 21-34), Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Ouellette, L. & Murray, S. (2009). Introduction, In Murray, S. & Ouellette, L. (eds.), *Reality TV: Remaking Television Culture*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). (pp. 1-20), New York: New York University Press.
- Power, D. & Hauge, A. (2008). No Man's Brand – Brands, Institutions and Fashion, *Growth and Change*, 39(1), 123-143. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rafferty, K. (2011). Class-based emotions and the allure of fashion consumption. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 11(2), 239-260: Sage.
- Reay, D. (2004). Gendering Bourdieu's concept of capitals? Emotional capital, women and social class, In Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (Eds.), *Feminism after Bourdieu*, (pp. 57-76). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London. Sage.
- Rocamora, A. (2001). High Fashion and Pop Fashion: The Symbolic Production of Fashion in Le Monde and The Guardian, *Fashion Theory*, 5 (2), 123-142: Berg.
- Schinkel, W. & Noordegraaf M. (2011). Professionalism as Symbolic Capital: Materials for a Bourdieusian Theory of Professionalism, *Comparative Sociology*, 10, 67-96: Brill.
- Simmel, G. (1997). The Philosophy of Fashion, In Fresby, D. & Featherstone, M. *Simmel on Culture*, London: Sage.
- Skeggs, B. (2004a). *Class, Self, Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Skeggs, B. (2004b). Context and Background: Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of class, gender and sexuality, In Adkins, L. & Skeggs, B. (Eds.), *Feminism after Bourdieu*, (pp. 19-33). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

- Sky Living. (2012, October 8). Want to be on BITNM Series 9? Retrieved October 25, 2012 from <http://skyliving.sky.com/britain-and-irelands-next-top-model/bintm-series-9-auditions-find-out-more>
- Smith Maguire, J. (2008). The personal is professional: Personal trainers as a case study of cultural intermediaries, *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 11(2), 211-229: Sage.
- Smith Maguire, J. & Matthews J. (2012). Are we all cultural intermediaries now? An introduction to cultural intermediaries in context, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*. 15(5), 551-562: Sage.
- Tonkiss, F. (1998). Analysing Discourse, In Seale, C.(Ed.), *Researching Society and Culture*,(pp. 245-260). London: Sage.
- Veblen, T. (2007). *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Edited with an introduction and notes by Bantra, M., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wee, K. (2004) Selling Teen Culture: How American Multimedia Conglomeration Reshaped Teen Television in the 1990s, In Davis, G. & Dickinson K. (Eds.), *Teen TV: Genre, Consumption and Identity*, (pp. 87-98). London: British Film Institute.
- Wissinger, E. (2009). Modelling Consumption: Fashion modelling work in contemporary society. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 9(1), 273-296. Sage.
- Woo, B. (2012). Alpha nerds: Cultural intermediaries in a subcultural scene, *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(5), 659-676: Sage.