Authenticity and its Contemporary Challenges

On Techniques of Staging Bodies

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For JB

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Acknowledgements

General Introduction. "Here she is: the brand new…"

"Let's see how far Beth has been able to go: here she is." Two men in black suits open a set of double doors. They reveal a woman in a plunging evening dress who skilfully spins around with her arms extended to each side. The TV show's host guides her to walk through a corridor of frenetically applauding spectators. "Can I ask you now", inquires the host, "do you really feel like the outside finally matches the inside?" Beth, the 25-year old woman who eagerly nods in answer to the host's question, has undergone three months of multiple cosmetic surgery procedures, a strict diet regime, therapy sessions and followed extensive workout schedules. On the TV show, *The Swan,* cameras have documented the hard labour Beth performed to achieve the body that now 'finally matches her inside'.[1]

An appearance that is in harmony with the idea of a 'true inside' – with who someone *really* is – is a common ideal in both public and private spheres. It conjures up notions of sincerity and trustworthiness. In the context of makeover TV shows, working hard for the body that participants perceive will reflect 'who they really are' makes perfect sense, but at the same time it can seem deeply counterintuitive.

On *The New York Times'* Opinion Pages, philosopher Simon Critchley and psychoanalyst Jamieson Webster write: "The booming self-help industry, not to mention the cash cow of New Age spirituality, has one message: be authentic!" (2013) Critchley and Webster criticise the blurring of work and free-time, in particular, and maintain that "[w]ork is no longer a series of obligations to be fulfilled for the sake of sustenance: it is the expression of our authentic self" (2013). Rather than estranging people from themselves work "allows them to 'grow' as persons" (2013).[2]

Contemporary (West-European and North-American) media portray an 'authentic' appearance and 'authenticity' in general as a highly valuable

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[1] *The Swan* was broadcast in the USA by Fox in 2004. The described scene is from season 1, episode 4.
[2] Boltanski and Chiapello explore a form of work that focuses on employee initiative and autonomy in the workplace as a more subtle form of exploitation (2005).

feature.[3] Being authentic figures as a positive attribution and develops into a tangible advantage in the context of commercial success or political power. For instance, the German press eagerly praised Lena Meyer-Landrut, winner of the Eurovision Song Contest 2010, for what was identified as her authenticity. The ZDF society magazine programme *Mona Lisa* described Meyer-Landrut as "young, confident and authentic" and declared her outspokenness a potential source of inspiration for a whole generation of young women (ZDF: 2010). In the early stages of the 2012 American Presidential Campaign, it was virtually impossible to read an article about the Republican candidate Mitt Romney that did not take up what was perceived as his key flaw: a lack of authenticity (see Balz 2012; Barbaro and Parker 2011).

Another expression of the current thirst for authenticity is the popularity of paparazzi snapshots that show celebrities in apparently 'real', 'genuine' everyday actions. This 'unmediated' ideal brings to mind the eighteenth century's "phantasm of the natural figure" (Heeg 2000). In the Enlightenment authentic action and being was staged in bodily conduct and followed strict codes. The aesthetics of the contemporary 'unaffected' photographs, similarly, follow strict codes. Shopping or beach pictures – preferably with kids[4] and revealing a physical flaw – proliferate. They suggest that consumers demand to see their idols in a different context to the red carpet or the movie screen: a context in which they appear more like the consumers themselves, more 'real'.[5] Reality shows, including makeover and casting television programmes, also follow this concept to some extent. "[I]n explicitly announcing the purported presence of authenticity by naming the genre 'reality TV' and even inviting the viewer behind the scenes, producers are able to anticipate and deflect audience suspicion and resistance" (Weber 2009: 22). The premise of these shows is that participants do not change by assuming a role, they change – authentically – as the same 'real' person. Art critic and theoretician Isabelle Graw propounds that this tendency "fits perfectly

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[3] In the following, I will refrain from putting '(bodily) authenticity', 'authentic (being)' and 'inner (truth)' in inverted commas. Whenever I use these terms, their problematic essentialist implications and context-specificity are implied. I introduce the concepts later in the introduction and explore them more exhaustively in the first two chapters. I subsequently use 'inner truth' to refer to the context-specific regulators which figure in the depth model of identity that authenticity implies. Throughout the study it will become clear that this inner truth does not always refer to the contemporary concept of a 'true inner self'. At other points in history, notions of a soul, but also of morality and class were important factors in the understanding of an inner regulator.

[4] For the authenticating effect of children and animals, see Orozco (2009).

[5] *The Daily Mail* (mailonline), the biggest news website worldwide, features what is known as the 'Sidebar of Shame' – a controversial, although popular, right-hand column that specialises in de-glamorising the same celebrities that are built up elsewhere on the website.

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into the current ideological landscape, in which self-initiative and self-exploitation are the order of the day"[6] (2010: 68).

In the discourse on fashion, the conflict between authentic being and bodily appearance has been striking: "Glittering and blinding, fashion draws attention away from the substance of things." (Vinken 2005: 3) According to literature scholar Barbara Vinken this conflict is the reason why the discussion about fashion is still characterised by critique: a critique of 'mere appearance' in the philosophical discussion, of the market economy in the cultural-theoretical discussion and a critique of a lack of sexual morality in the conservative discussion (*ibid*.). Moral condemnations of body stagings that expose their manufacture (with, for instance, 'affected' clothing) have been historically common, especially since fashion began to be read as a sign for a person's inner – and not a sign for social status, as was still the case in the early eighteenth century (Sennett 1976; Ribeiro 1986b: 744-6). These changes have also impacted on the gender divide. After the French Revolution, men dressed increasingly 'neutrally' or according to their profession, while women dressed 'as women' (Vinken 2005: 13). This basic assumption of male *being* and female *appearance* still exists today. The idea that women are concerned about their looks would hardly be the topic of a longer reportage in a serious newspaper. But the fact that the German national football coach, Jogi Löw, follows a daily skin-care routine, that Mr H. from Munich regularly undergoes facial treatments and that men generally pluck their eyebrows, have Botox and constitute a substantial part of the users of shapewear such as 'Spanx'; these facts still seem to have news value (Fromme and Rest 2011; Sain Louis 2010). The purely historical association of women with fashion-consciousness and men with a disinterest in fashion and their own looks still retains its status as an almost anthropological fact (Vinken 2005: 12; Fraser 2003: 103).[7]

The fake-authentic duality can likewise be traced in the history of dance. From the early twentieth century, modern dance artists condemned as unnatural the body's extreme stylisation in ballet – and rejected it in favour of a dance style that was in touch with and revealed a dancer's inner truth (Fensham 2011: 1, 9).[8] Subsequently, postmodern dance from the 1960s and 70s discarded, as a constructed illusion, the modern obsession with seeking an internal truth. The postmodern dancer and choreographer Yvonne Rainer aimed at demystifying dance in her "No-manifesto" (2009: 174). Her postu-

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[6] "sich perfekt in die augenblickliche ideologische Landschaft einfügt, wo Eigeninitiative und Selbstausbeutung das Gebot der Stunde sind". See also Duttweiler (2003: 9).

[7] Fashion scholar Francesca Granata posits that "Fashion constitutes a central tool in the performative repetition of normative gender roles." (2010: 9)

[8] For a nuanced account of nature and the natural in early twentieth century dance discourse see Huxley and Burt (2011).

lation "No to moving and being moved" (*ibid.*) rejected taking dance move-
ment as the source for emotional experience.

Fashion and dance then do not only work to reiterate and confirm this multifaceted and value-laden dichotomy in which inner truth subordinates 'fake surface'. Recent work in both disciplines has again challenged the tendency in mainstream culture to idealise a body that represents what is supposedly the person's true inner. Fashion scholar Caroline Evans writes that: "if fashion is part of the 'civilising process', in the form of conventional and mainstream fashion design, it is also and equally, in its experimental and avant-garde manifestations, capable of providing a resistant and opposing voice to that process. [... E]xperimental fashion […] can utter a kind of mute resistance to the socially productive process of constructing an identity" (2003: 6).[9] Dance, similarly, engages with and investigates *Menschenbilder* that are prevalent at a specific time and culture (the concept of *Menschenbilder* will be introduced below). Dancing bodies stage confirmations of a particular *Menschenbild* and challenge others by re-ordering (see Brandstetter 1995: 11). Because both dance and fashion are disciplines that are based on bodily techniques, these could be effective in infiltrating more generally the bodily parameters that I associate with authenticity in this study. As my investigation of two contemporary TV programmes shows, the current ideal of bodily authenticity is powerful in spite of – or perhaps because of – its counterintuitive staging. Graw writes: "It can't be stressed enough – compared to the dictates of being skinny which models are subject to and for which they make many sacrifices, the ideal of the authentic woman is considerably more pervasive and perfidious." (2010: 73)[10] Analysing and setting up the cult of authenticity puts me in a position to examine how examples from dance and fashion can undermine this.

Aims and Research Questions

The previous section showed that what contemporary popular media refer to as authenticity – and the implied revelatory ideal and model of identity – are in demand. This is a contradiction in an environment in which plastic surgery and biotechnical enhancement are part of everyday culture and in which Lyotard (1984) and Jameson (1991), for instance, have diagnosed the end of

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[9] On this challenging function of fashion, see also Vinken (1999 and 2005).

[10] "Man kann es gar nicht oft genug betonen – im Vergleich zum Diktat des Dünnseins, dem Models unterstellt sind und für das sie zahlreiche Opfer bringen, ist das Ideal der authentischen Frau um einiges tiefgreifender und perfider."

meta-narratives which connect manifest appearance to latent meaning. I am interested in investigating what precise meaning authenticity has assumed in contemporary (Western) culture in which it constitutes a mainstream trend.[11]

Other than exploring means of speaking that are deemed authentic – or quite generally investigating what figures as authentic being in my examples – this study aims specifically to elucidate attributions of authenticity that are based on, or related to *bodily appearance*. I consequently speak of techniques that manufacture – according to contemporary definitions – an authentic body. However, the question of whether it is *the body* or *the whole person* that is rendered authentic in such processes would have to be answered positively in both cases. In the examples I study, a supposed inner truth shows on the authentic body and by extension authenticates a person.

Overall, my objective is to shed light on techniques of staging bodily authenticity as well as to investigate how they can be challenged. Accordingly, I carry out this study in two parts, which follow a binary structure: the first two chapters which make up part 1 explore the meaning and manufacture of bodily authenticity. The second part (chapters 3-5) analyses how examples from contemporary dance and fashion challenge an authentic ideal.

The *techniques* of authenticating contemporary bodies on the makeover and casting shows that will concern me stand in stark contrast to earlier historical strategies of producing bodily authenticity. In this study I refer to 'techniques' as the use of learned tools to evoke a certain bodily appearance and associate that appearance with a particular value (Mauss 1992).[12] In my examples these include ways of moving, choice of clothing, use of the staging's medium and verbal commentary to summon the desired appearance and consolidate a connection to the associated value.[13]

My interest in techniques of staging authenticity is due to the fact that a certain immediacy is still implied when my contemporary examples refer to the notion of *revealing* an inner self. If the television shows I investigate present authentic bodies as the result of work, this is always and necessarily a *revelatory* work. What the participants' work makes visible on their bodies is previously intrinsic in them; work is never suggested as the creation of bodily appearances that are – ultimately – contingent (in that they could also be staged according to any other beauty ideal). In line with this, the participants' revelatory work is presented to the TV audience as the *only* means of

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[11] For a reflection of the problematic category 'Western culture' see Amelia Jones (2012: xviii).

[12] Mauss opposes the often assumed 'naturalness' of everyday actions such as walking, sleeping or running with an insistence on specific techniques that underlie these actions and require 'apprenticeship' (1992: 456). While Mauss discusses techniques that are supposed to help the efficiency of everyday actions or that are rooted in culture for other reasons, my study is concerned with how one specific value – authenticity – is attached to techniques of the body.

[13] This commentary forms bodies by what Brandstetter refers to as a 'zurecht-reden' (1995: 9). Her neologism could perhaps be translated as 'verbal trimming'.

attaining an authentic body. All the other techniques that my analyses expose as crucial constituents for achieving authenticity are concealed as tools of letting bodies appear authentic. To elucidate the contemporary mainstream authentic body I therefore find it important to draw attention to these acts and attributions in a more comprehensive manner. An investigation of techniques and 'staging' (a concept which I will present below) is a productive approach to achieve this. In addition, my focus on specific examples and *their* techniques of staging authentic bodies helps me differentiate my investigation from other stagings and notions of authenticity. The term's usages do not only diverge historically, but also contemporarily in different fields and I am aware that the concept is, for instance, used differently in dance studies today.[14] In this study, my interest is specifically in contemporary everyday usages on popular TV shows.

The choice to situate my investigation of otherwise all-contemporary or near-contemporary examples in the historical context of the eighteenth century was taken to stress the specificity of the contemporary techniques and criteria for manufacturing an authentic body. By investigating these two periods specifically, I do not imply that the 200 years in between have not equally produced models of identity that span from an emphasis on depth (Freud is only the most obvious) to surface models.[15] More specifically than 'contextualising my contemporary study historically', the intention with my survey of bodily authenticity in the eighteenth century is to position today's notion of an authentic body within the context of the history of ideas. With the eighteenth century I outline an era that was significant for the formation of authenticity as a concept and with dancing and dressed bodies as my examples I relate this concept to the history of the body. From this perspective, a dancing body on the eighteenth century Paris Opéra stage is in many ways comparable to a contemporary body on makeover TV. Each of these is an instance of staging an ideal body and inner self in the two specific eras to which I devote the first part of this study. The bodies and the techniques of staging them are comparable on the premise that Western culture has produced them as popular ways of appearing, and linked those appearances with a supposed inner regulator.

My approach draws on critical theory in the sense that I highlight contemporary specificities of staging bodily authenticity to make them visible as historically specific. By investigating *techniques* of authentification I situate its claimed revelation of a person's real inner as rhetoric. This means that my

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[14] For accounts of 'Authentic Movement', the expressive improvisational movement practice devised by Mary Starck Whitehouse in the 1950s, see Pallaro (1999 and 2007) and Adler (2002). Barbara Dickinson uses 'authentic' to describe the self-assurance and maturity of aging dancers' movements (2013). For uses of 'authenticity' in relation to the faithful performance of historical dances or rituals in Dance Studies see Buckland 2001 or Bakka 2002.

[15] Dean (1992) posits a decentred self in early twentieth century France. I outline Rivière's 1929 essay "Womanliness as a masquerade" below.

study is based on an understanding of authenticity that compares to Butler's concept of gender: in both cases values that are often culturally understood as pre-existing essences rely on the repetition of learned acts.[16] On the premise that the meaning of bodies is always culturally produced, the techniques with which bodies are staged in makeover culture[17] to appear as authentic might seem less counterintuitive. Once there is no 'natural' body and all bodily behaviour and appearance are necessarily learned and manufactured, it is clear that an authentic body can only be one that is staged according to specific ideals. But if authenticity (like gender and despite the rhetoric that accompanies it) is "manufactured through a sustained set of acts" (Butler 2007: xv) rather than revealed as an original pre-existing inner essence, then what are these acts on the basis of which authenticity is attributed? Because authenticity's rhetoric of revelation in the mainstream cultural contexts in which it appears raises suspicion about an underlying essentialist agenda that is potentially problematic, I have a particular interest in how the research disciplines of dance studies and fashion studies can be (and are) used to challenge contemporary notions of authenticity.

It is the aim of my thesis to 1) situate bodily 'authenticity' as a sought-after but context-dependent value in trendsetting media; 2) investigate how bodies are staged to appear authentic today; and 3) analyse contemporary practices in dance and fashion that question a *Menschenbild* which idealises authenticity.

The research questions that follow from the aim of my study are:

What ideals and assumptions about people and their bodies underlie the notion of an appearance that is in harmony with a supposed true inside, as in the described scene on *The Swan*?

What exactly do popular contemporary TV programmes refer to when they demand authenticity?

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[16] This comparability is especially clear in Butler's discussion of 'realness' in Jennie Livingston's film *Paris is Burning* (1990). In the drag balls that Livingston's film documents "'Realness' is not exactly a category in which one competes; it is a standard that is used to judge any given performance within the established categories. And yet what determines the effect of realness is the ability to compel belief, to produce the naturalized effect." (1993: 129) In the performance of both gender and authenticity, realness is codified as a 'skilful fake'.

[17] By makeover culture I mean a culture that idealises individuals' ceaseless striving for transformation. According to Jones, in makeover culture „the process of becoming something better is more important than achieving a static point of completion" (2008: 1). See my more comprehensive discussion of makeover culture in chapter 2.

How have bodies historically been made visible to a relevant audience in order to communicate their authenticity?

If authenticity, both today and in the eighteenth century, refers to the physical revelation of something 'more real' that is 'under the surface', how is this 'inner truth' configured? Does it denote feelings, a soul, being, a notion of selfhood?

What staging techniques are used to achieve notions of an authentic body? What codes of appearance do bodies have to comply with in order to be deemed 'authentic'?

What techniques are used in contemporary dance and fashion to challenge the pervasive ideal of an authentic body?

To answer the above questions, I need not only define in greater detail what I mean by 'bodily authenticity', I also need to introduce two other key terms that will be of vital importance to my arguments: '*Menschenbild*' and 'staging'. On the following pages I clarify how I use these terms. I offer reviews of the relevant literature concerning each term in order to indicate what tradition of usage I rely on. A positioning of my own research in relation to this tradition specifies how I develop each term.

The Authentic Body as a Model for Identity. Positioning and Previous Research

I investigate authenticity as relying on a revelatory ideal which is prevalent in contemporary culture. It is part of my analytical effort in chapter 2 to clarify in more detail what hosts and participants on TV shows mean when they refer to this representational logic in which they maintain an inner self becomes visible on the authentic body. What can be said here, already, is that the contemporary understanding of authenticity that I am interested in implies the idea of an *essential self* that – in the idealised representational relation which is staged and propagated on the investigated TV shows – is reflected on a beautiful body. With this notion of an authentic body I then investigate an essentialist ideal and implicit model of identity that builds on a highly contested assumption: the assumption that there is an essential inner regulator that the appearing body represents. To map the field in this section I refer to existent depth and surface models of identity and to previous research on the performance of authenticity. But before I begin to lay out

authenticity as a contemporary identity model, I turn to a few dictionary definitions.

Authenticity and the notion of the self are etymologically linked: *autós-* is Greek for "self, meaning of or by oneself, independently, self-'" (*The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, 1966: 63). The origin of the word's second part is less certain, but dictionaries often refer to *hentes* – someone who does or creates. In Greek *authenticós* means "of first hand authority, original" (*OED* 1989: 795). The noun it derives from – *authenthés* – interestingly refers to a person; "one who does a thing himself" (*ibid.*). It is "someone who does something with his own hand, also by his own power, thus also an author" (Röttgers and Fabian 1971: 691, my translation). In adjective use *authenticós* equally retains the stress on an immediate link between the doer and her deed (Kalisch 2000: 32).[18]

The Swedish Academy's dictionary draws on the Greek meaning of original authorship and gives as the first synonym for authentic "egen-händig" which is Swedish for 'single-handed' or 'by one's own hand' (*Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*: 2010). Concerning the authenticity of persons, the etymological allusion to 'self-made-man' could be read to imply a reference to the making of our bodies: in a time and culture in which "the body is becoming increasingly a phenomenon of options and choices" (Shilling 2003: 3) and more and more people create their bodies with the help of gym workouts, cosmetic surgery and makeover 'experts', we have become literal *authentés*.

It is worth pointing out that the notion of authenticity I explore here – that of a person whose authorship is shared between the subject, the TV show's staff and media specificity – might be the opposite of what is commonsensically understood as authenticity. This is one of the many paradoxes that make reality TV programmes' frequent invocation of authenticity an intriguing area for investigation of the concept. As part of the underlying representational logic, the notion of an inner truth is often alluded to in contemporary appeals to authenticity on popular TV.

Depth and surface models of identity

The anthropologist Daniel Miller holds that in the Western world "we presume a certain relationship between the interior and the exterior. We possess what could be called a *depth ontology*." (2010: 16)[19] Another implication of

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[18] I elaborate on the etymological meaning of authenticity in the conclusion to chapter 2.

[19] Gumbrecht (2004: 21f) and Dyer (1991: 136) have reflected on our culture's general tendency to place 'depth' over surface. Conversely, Jameson has argued that depth models have been repudiated in contemporary (postmodern) theory (1991: 12). Jameson points out that

this understanding of identity is, according to Miller, that "the true core to the self is relatively unchanging and also unresponsive to mere circumstance. We have to look deep inside ourselves to find ourselves." (*ibid.*) Miller's argument is, however, that there is no self-evident reason for associating an inside with truth and an outside with falsity. The metaphors deep/true and surface/false reflect a specific concept of being: "We see the self as growing, based on things that are accumulated. So occupation, social status and position create substance which is accumulated within. This comes from a historical preference for relatively fixed identities and hierarchies." (19) But alternative models of identity also exist "in which being is constantly recreated through a strategy of display and the response of that moment" (*ibid.*)

Feminist scholarship, in particular, explores such alternative models of identity and stresses that identity is a cultural construct and not an inherent truth. Joan Rivière writes in her 1929 essay "Womanliness as a Masquerade" that "womanliness […] could be assumed and worn as a mask, both to hide the possession of masculinity and to avert the reprisals expected if [a woman] was found out to possess it" (1986: 38). Literature scholar Stephen Heath explains that "in the masquerade the woman mimics an authentic – genuine – womanliness but then authentic womanliness is such a mimicry, *is* the masquerade" (49). According to Rivière authentic femininity and masquerade, "are the same thing" (1986: 38) which can be read as pointing to the authentic as being itself a performative concept. However, in Rivière's account of masquerade the emphasis on femininity as a mask of repeated acts gives the impression that masculinity was less dependent on the repetition of learned acts.[20] Butler, similarly, criticises the notions of masculinity and femininity constructed in Rivière's essay and the implicit binary restriction on sexuality (2007: 73f).[21] Butler's own performative model of identity

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certain – postmodern – works of art cannot be 'deciphered' and thus cannot be productively analysed using a hermeneutical reading "in the sense in which the work in its inert, objectal form is taken as a clue or a symptom of some vaster reality which replaces it as its ultimate truth" (1991: 8). Similarly, Fischer-Lichte describes the limited relevance of hermeneutics as an analytical method to performances in which the audience is not to 'understand' anything (2004: 272-280). Cull has helpfully pointed out that the philosophies of, for instance, Bergson and Deleuze can be productive in approaching/analysing/making sense of such works (2012: 21). Tseëlon argues that "'depth models' of subjectivity (contrasting essence with appearance) have been demystified by 'surface models', such as the discursive and the performative" (2001: 8). She observes a "shift from analysing the signified to an analysis of the signifier" (2001: 8f). "Language or performance", argues Tseëlon, "become the objects of investigation in their own right, not as signifiers of some underlying structure." (*ibid.*).

[20] While I want to firmly reject this impression, the bodies in my examples are almost exclusively female bodies. I reflect on the interconnectedness of an authentic body and (hyper)femininity in chapters 1 and 2.

[21] Phelan criticises the lack of "room for the affective power of mimicry" in Rivière's thesis (1993: 69).

questions more generally "the notion of the person in terms of an agency that claims ontological priority to the various roles and functions through which it assumes social visibility and meaning" (2007: 22). Butler has argued in this vein that gender is always performative in that it is "constituting the identity it is purported to be" (2007: 34).

Media and social psychology scholar Efrat Tsëelon argues that "If the concept of masking evokes an epistemology of authentic identity ('behind the mask'), locating it on the epistemological side of the notion of performance moves it away from 'authentic identity' and closer to 'an appearance of authentic identity'." (2001a: 108) In this understanding, Tsëelon makes use of masquerade as an analytic and a critical tool. Masquerade is productive both as a concept for identity construction and critical deconstruction.

> As an analytical category, it is a 'technology of identity' that deals with literal and metaphorical covering for ends as varied as concealing, revealing, highlighting, protesting, protecting, creating a space from where one can play out desires, fears, conventions and social practices. As a critical subversive strategy it mocks and destabilizes habitual positions and assumptions, transgressing rules of hierarchy and order. (*ibid.*)

In this latter sense, masquerade is a concept that reoccurs in my analyses of techniques that critically deconstruct notions of bodily authenticity. These feminist surface models question – to different degrees – that there is a gender identity behind the expressions of gender. This makes theirs a distinct challenge to the depth models of identity that I will be discussing in the first part of this study.

Another fluid or deconstructive identity model that I have found productive for the investigation of dance and fashion works that deviate from the authentic norm is Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's notion of 'becoming' (as explained, for instance, in Deleuze and Guattari 2007).[22] The dynamism of this model of identity which aims at no particular end-state contests the notion of an essential inner. Becoming wants to overcome signification and focuses on process in that it only produces itself, rather than aiming at outcomes and definitions. Becoming defines bodies in terms of what they can do in a specific situation; through its actions rather than through a supposed original being. According to Deleuze and Guattari, becoming depends on affects and Affect Theory can then be named as yet another field that has added to both theorising and analysing surface models of identity.[23]

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[22] Cull comments that, more generally, "Deleuze's philosophy of difference […] is defined by its attempts to overturn Platonism – as *the* philosophical tradition associated with subordination of difference to identity" (2012b: 193).

[23] "Cast forward by its open-ended in-between-ness, affect is integral to a body's perpetual becoming (always becoming otherwise, however subtly, than what it already is)" (Seigworth and Gregg 2010: 3). For Affect Theory's relevance to analysis see O'Sullivan (2001 and 2006).

Depth and surface models in dance and fashion

Attributing authenticity and the techniques of staging it are certainly specific – not only to time but also to more individual factors such as socio-economic background. And yet, the appreciation for bodily authenticity' is far from limited to producers, participants and consumers of the popular media I discuss. In dance, this model of identity still has prominence as the in-demand contemporary choreographer Emanuel Gat illustrates.[24] He appeals to an authentic dancing body when he writes in the programme for his piece *Brilliant Corners* (2011):

> Movement can be the most revealing, spontaneous and truthful rendering of the human essence. Its immediacy makes it the echo of personality and it holds revelatory powers of the innermost human intuitions and sensitivities. I look for movement not made in the pursuit of content or beauty, but one that conveys, in its immediacy and intimacy, a persuasive sense of simple truth, a kind of honesty.[25]

A "form of inwardness, in which we come to think of ourselves as beings with inner depth" (Taylor 1991: 26) is commonly reflected in analyses of the body as dressed and dancing. Dance scholar Christina Thurner refers to a strong tradition of describing the primary purpose of dance as "the communication of emotional experiences" (Martin 1983: 22; see also Thurner 2009: 25). Such a statement not only attributes to the dancing human body a certain representational status, it also declares the perception of dance an intuitive, rather than an intellectual process. Thurner similarly discerns an understanding of dance as primarily in terms of 'self-expression' and pure 'expression of emotions' in the writings of the influential contemporary dance critics Arlene Croce, Deborah Jowitt and Marcia B. Siegel (see Thurner 2009: 25-8). Referring to the eighteenth century, Thurner writes that "[t]erms such as 'immediacy' or 'authenticity' became topoi in the discourse about dance that are consistently potent today." (2009: 14, my translation) As long as dance is only 'natural', "little can be said about the art of choreography" (Foster 1992: xv). In fact, insisting on the dancing body's authenticity de-values dance, Thurner points out. (2009: 15) Such devaluation is doubly problematic as it mystifies dance and excludes it from both critical/intellectual expression and investigation. I therefore set my analytical focus on highlighting the techniques with which dressed and dancing bodies

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[24] For earlier examples of bodily authenticity as an ideal in dance, one could refer to the tradition of modern dance and choreographers such as Martha Graham. For a discussion of Ruth St Denis' authentic gestures see Branningan 2011: 83ff.

[25] *Thoughts on the Making of "Brilliant Corners".* Gat writes for the programme of his piece's German premiere at the *Tanz im August* festival, August 2011.

are manufactured. It is this emphasis on the conscious use of techniques that is lost by stressing 'nature'.

While dance is then still written about in terms of representing a personal inner truth, fashion writers often approach their subject as representing gender and class. The dominant sociological discourse on fashion holds that fashion only confirms gender and class divisions – and therefore must serve to maintain social order. Vinken criticises sociological analyses by authors from Veblen and Simmel to König and Bourdieu for remaining true to the logic of representation: fashion represents class and gender – given factors that only have to be expressed (2005: 4). The (underlying) assumption that fashion functions exclusively as a confirmation of norms denies its ability to also challenge these norms. Ultimately, as in dance, a considerable factor in the discourse on fashion deems the discipline incapable of initiating any critical thinking or actions. What this perspective disregards are influential fashion figures such as the *demimondaine*, the dandy, the punk and their relation to the regimes and dominant *Menschenbilder* which they challenge. To finalise my mapping of the field of the authentic body, I now turn to scholarship that has argued for understanding authenticity itself as a performative, rather than a revelatory identity model.

Bodily authenticity as performative

The dictionary definitions I have given above reveal that authenticity is positively charged: reliability gives authority to the person or object that is authentic (see Hahn 2002: 279). But, as will become clear throughout my text, authenticity does not originate from the person or object, exclusively. It emerges in the meeting with an audience; with someone who *attributes* 'authenticity'. These two features – its positive charge and its reliance on attribution – give 'authentic' the status of a value judgement, which it has today. In combination with the term's Greek origin 'made with someone's own hands' these meanings allude to the aspect of 'authenticity' that will first concern me in this study: *how the ideal of an authentic body is staged for an audience.*

In her article "Die Repräsentation des authentischen Körpers", sociologist Kornelia Hahn stresses the meaning of 'bodily authenticity' as referring to self-authorship: "Social recognition is granted those who convincingly represent nothing but 'themselves'. To achieve this, the symbolic code is to construct *authorship* explicitly – also regarding the body." (2002: 298)[26] The

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[26] "Soziale Anerkennung erhalten demnach diejenigen, die nichts außer 'sich selbst' überzeugend repräsentieren. Der symbolische Code hierzu ist, *Urheberschaft* – auch bezogen auf die Körperrepräsentation – explizit zu konstruieren."

fact that 'authenticity' today is staged as labour on the body coincides with Hahn's statement.[27] Hahn does not explore *techniques* of displaying author-ship for a body, however, nor the *criteria* it needs to follow in order to be deemed 'authentic'. Hahn's approach is opposed to my thesis' basic assump-tion when she states that "authenticity is a criterion that is attributed to bod-ily signs which do not follow a convention or technique of representation. That also means no *recognisable* orientation towards formalised confines or no use of *identifiable* modes of presentation." (298)[28] I want to show that context-specific evocations of 'authenticity' do indeed underlie the use of specific techniques, which are identifiable and analysable.

Other recent publications focus more strongly on the issue of staging in authentic appearance than does Hahn. The anthology *Inszenierung von Authentizität* (eds Fischer-Lichte and Pflug) explores the notion of 'authen-ticity' while keeping in mind its invariable mediation. In her introductory essay, Fischer-Lichte helpfully sheds light on the relation between staging or *mise en scène* and 'authenticity'. She points out that while staging can in-deed be understood as feigned, it is a simulation or simulacrum that is solely capable of making 'being', 'truth' or 'authenticity' appear. 'Authenticity' can only exist as mediated. (2000b: 23) Film scholar Richard Dyer makes a similar argument when he states: "Just as the media are construed as the very antithesis of sincerity and authenticity, they are the source for the presenta-tion of the epitome of those qualities, the true star." (1991: 135) In *The Rhetoric of Sincerity* (eds van Alphen and Bal) Jane Taylor identifies and locates the historical emergence of 'sincerity' as a rhetorical and performa-tive apparatus. Similar to my own intentions to highlight the contemporary specificities of staging 'bodily authenticity' and to expose them as histori-cised, Taylor renders the ideological and productive effects of sincerity visi-ble. (2009: 22)

Richard Sennett examines the turn to a private, supposedly more authentic life in *The Fall of Public Man* (1976). He posits that we have a desire to authenticate ourselves as social actors through the display of our personal qualities. That is, we reveal our personalities in social dealings, and measure social action itself in terms of what it shows of the personalities of others. Sennett writes:

> When some one person is judged to be authentic, or when society as a whole is described as creating problems of human authenticity, the language reveals one way in which social action is being devalued in the process of placing

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[27] However, I argue in chapter 2 that the exhibition of authorship is compromised by adhering to context-specific levels of discretion.

[28] "Authentizität ist ein Zuschreibekriterium für Körperzeichen, die keiner Konvention oder Repräsentationstechnik zugerechnet werden können. Dies meint auch z.B. keine *erkennbare* Orientierung an einem formalisierten Handlungsrahmen oder keine Verwendung *identifizier-barer* Darstellungstechniken."

more weight in psychological matters. As a matter of common sense we know that good men perform bad acts, but this language of authenticity makes it hard for us to use common sense. (1976: 11)

Without specifically investigating bodily techniques of staging authenticity, Sennett includes some references to dress in illustrating how historical notions of authenticity were physically performed or avoided (1976: 65-72, 153ff).

Economy writers James H. Gilmore and B. Joseph Pine present ideas about authenticity that might seem crude in their straightforwardness: they treat authenticity as a distinctly performative concept in *Authenticity. What Consumers Really Want* (2007) where they instruct business leaders how to 'render their products authentic' for the customer. My primary motivation for including Gilmore and Pine's reasoning in this study is their sober way of describing strategies to produce authentic products ("You don't have to say your offerings are inauthentic, if you render them authentic.", 90). I find their understanding of authenticity production as a profitable business strategy more pertinent to a contemporary use and attribution than, for instance, theories of aesthetic authenticity which stress the self-referential nature of a work of art, or art history's empirical theories in terms of authenticated authorship. Most importantly, the business model of authenticity comes closest to what the people in my contemporary examples refer to when they speak of – or invoke – an authentic appearance.

Performance scholar Annemarie Matzke explains the meaning of 'authenticity' in the performing arts as referring to the impression of an *immediate* presentation: the self becomes the instrument of authenticating an actor's performance. (2005: 42) While this observation can serve as a productive starting point, it is not the only criteria apparent in my contemporary examples. The impression of immediate performance becomes complicated in the TV shows I analyse, when those bodies are attributed 'authenticity' that have visibly 'laboured' for this evaluation. The techniques used to stage contemporary 'authentic bodies' in trendsetting cultural contexts suggests to me that further clarification is needed to understand how exactly authenticity is understood in an everyday context. Matzke states her investigation's key question as derived from a paradox. Given the lack of a traditional theatrical 'role', "How can a subject present herself if she does not refer to a fixed variable or authority in this presentation?" (17)[29] The instances of theatrical self-display in Matzke's investigation then differ considerably from my examples in which a very clear authority that underlies the supposed bodily *representation* is claimed. The stagings of 'bodily authenticity' that I investigate function on the basis that a deserving 'inner self' is revealed. Not only

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[29] "Wie kann ein Subjekt sich selbst darstellen, wenn es sich auf keine feste Größe und keine Instanz dieser Darstellung bezieht?"

is the perspectivisation through a theatrical role lacking (as in Matzke's study, see 28), but the shows' reality format also implies a claimed absence of any such mediating frame.

This absence of a theatre stage as a frame also distinguishes my work from that of Geraldine Harris who in her essay "Susan and Darren: The appearance of authenticity" writes that "the presentations and performances of self which in the mid-twentieth century were part of a rejection of 'theatrical technique', have become theatricalized even while they are still read as confusing the boundaries between 'the real' and 'the mimetic'" (2008: 5f).

Menschenbilder: Identity Formation and the Visual Field. Positioning and Previous Research

To refer to the specific identity models with which my examples operate, and to link these models of identity to their staged physical manufacture, I employ the term *Menschenbild* that I will define in more detail below. While I use *Menschenbild* as a performative concept – the visual appearances it refers to are culturally created – the concept also allows for imagined idealised images. It needs to be stressed that these ideals and assumptions are equally context-dependent.

Menschenbilder are culturally and historically specific and depend on media.[30] "A medium's characteristics inscribe themselves into the portrayal", writes Matzke who refers to self-portrayals in different media (2005: 34)[31]. The different media do not simply invent *Menschenbilder*, but repeat some of these suggesting a norm whilst condemning and/or excluding others. While *Menschenbilder* are not constructed, shaped or recorded by any one medium alone, the specificity of individual media can contribute to shaping and re-shaping *Menschenbilder*. Eder *et al.* contend:

> By investigating media and their contents or texts we cannot only draw conclusions about their users', authors' and addressees' *Menschenbilder*, but also reflect on the influence that media and their associated practices, techniques, functions, conventions, modes of presentation, aesthetic forms, structural and economic dynamics wield on the configuration of *Menschenbildern*. (2013: 4)[32]

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[30] Here I understand media as dispositives that employ signs primarily to serve communication. See Eder *et al.* (2013: 22).

[31] "Die Eigenschaften des Mediums schreiben sich in die Darstellung ein."

[32] "Indem man Medien und ihre Inhalte oder Texte untersucht, kann man nicht nur Rückschlüsse auf die Menschenbilder von Mediennutzern, Autoren und Adressaten ziehen, sondern auch darüber reflektieren, welchen Einfluss Medien und die mit ihnen jeweils verbunde-

English equivalents of the German word '*Menschenbild*' are difficult to define: phrases such as 'images', 'assumptions', 'ideas', 'theories' or 'concepts' of 'human nature', 'human condition', 'human race', 'human' or 'man' are used (Eder *et al.* 2013: 5). My aim with employing *Menschenbild* as a working term is to refer directly to both visualisations of human beings and the assumptions that they and their contexts imply about identity. For my specific investigation of bodily authenticity the connection between an implied or concretely formulated assumed inner truth and bodily appearance is of particular importance.

The first part of the word – *Mensch* – seems to aim at a totality or an essence of humanity, which must be illusory in the face of cultural differences.[33] *Bild*, contrarily, suggests mediation – a construction that seeks to manage with simplifications the complex whole that *Mensch* evokes. (Eder *et al.* 2013: 6) The *Mensch* comprises aspects of human being such as identity, gender, body (image), mind, soul and selfhood. If in my examples the focus is set specifically on accounts (*Bilder*) of human *bodies*, my argument is that these are explicitly charged with meaning concerning the other, immaterial aspects of human existence.[34]

The *Bild* in *Menschenbild* has a double-meaning that is productive for me: it comprises mental images in the form of assumptions and ideals concerning humans (a figurative meaning of *Bild*), as well as the material pictures that visualize, shape, spread, record and change such assumptions and ideals (the literal meaning of *Bild*). Consequently, *Menschenbilder* can be evoked in non-visual media when they imply, condemn or idealise a certain appearance or mental being (in written or spoken form, for instance).

Authenticity in makeover culture's *Menschenbild*

Contemporary beauty technologies supposedly allow people with the necessary (especially financial) means to conflate these two meanings of *Bild* and align an ideal mental image with their real life appearance. This bears witness to a change in both zeitgeist and general perception of the body.

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nen Praktiken, Techniken, Funktionen, Konventionen, Darstellungsmuster, ästhetischen Formen, strukturellen und ökonomischen Eigendynamiken auf die Gestaltung von Menschenbildern ausüben."

[33] For a defence of the term see Eder *et al.* (2013).

[34] In the visual media, it might seem obvious to portray human beings by depicting their bodies. The film scholar Maike Reinerth shows that mental processes (such as dreaming, remembering, imagining) can equally be visualised to portray characters (in the work of filmmakers such as Michel Gondry). See Reinerth (2013).

Ideal bodies, since around the turn of the millennium, have neither been primarily evoked in writing nor rendered in painting in the Western world, but increasingly been inscribed on real life bodies.[35] Makeover culture projects a human being in which turning one's real visible body into the projected ideal body is not only desirable, but possible and often expected.[36] But this is not a question of 'body image'; the projected ideal bodily appearance is, crucially, associated with the representation of an inner truth. It is the human being in toto – *Mensch* rather than body – that is at stake. I therefore maintain that *Menschenbild* is the term that pinpoints the issues I investigate most appropriately.

In *Skintight. The Anatomy of Cosmetic Surgery* (2008) media and cultural studies scholar Meredith Jones examines cosmetic surgery as a cultural phenomenon and focuses on the status it has in contemporary society. Jones' study is relevant to mine in that she analyses cosmetic surgery as a way of accessing a true inner self. While Jones draws her material partly from interviews with cosmetic surgery receivers, I study a variety of media and include their media specificity in my analyses of how they stage a particular *Menschenbild*.

Gender studies scholar Brenda Weber examines material that will concern my own investigation: makeover television shows. In *Makeover TV* (2009) she gets at one of makeover's thematic paradoxes, that "to communicate an 'authentic self,' one must overwrite and replace the 'false' signifiers enunciated by the natural body".[37] But Weber is not specifically interested in the manufacture of bodily authenticity and she consequently does not investigate bodily techniques in detail. Her analyses are more focused on makeover TV's verbal constructions of gendered selves and the textual dissolution of complex questions of gender and subjectivity into simple and unambiguous ones. In this, Weber provides valuable insights that inform my analytical point of departure.

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[35] By directly using the available beauty technologies (which I refer to more specifically in chapter 2). Another increasingly common technique to produce bodies that concur with contemporary ideals is editing photographed images of bodies. Concerning the impact of images on the gendering and beautification of real life bodies, fashion scholar Annamari Vänskä argues that "images – especially commercial images – have gained such a prominent position in the commercialized culture that the boundaries between real and fiction, commerce and non-commerce, have become inseparable" (2012: 61).

[36] Jones points out that this is not just a repetition of postmodern credos and aesthetics: "Makeover culture combines postmodern notions of a fluid, malleable self with modernist notions of self-creation and self-improvement." (2008: 57). What is most important is "the *display* of our ongoing improvement" (*ibid*.)

[37] With the formulation 'natural body' Weber is referring to the pre-made-over body.

Alternative *Menschenbilder*

Recent works of dance and fashion suggest *Menschenbilder* that in many ways contradict the notion of an authentic body, as the second part of my study explores. In the above part about feminist scholarship on the masquerade I have already hinted at alternative ways of theorising links between models of identity and physical appearance. Images of women, identity formation and the links between the two fields are crucial to feminist theorising (Reckitt 2001, Hart and Phelan 1993, Brandstetter 2003, Gatens 1996, Burgin *et al.* (eds) 1986). In *Unmarked*, performance studies scholar Peggy Phelan writes about portrait photography: "The model's body is 'real,' but the image of that body is, like all images, an account of the gaze's relation to the lure." (1993: 37) Her statement implies a dependence of *Menschenbilder* on the medium in which they appear. This dependence is an aspect I stress in my analyses. Phelan goes on to quote Richard Avedon: "Portraiture is performance, and like any performance, in the balance of its effects it is good or bad, not natural or unnatural. […] The point is that you can't get at the thing itself, the real nature of the sitter, by stripping away the surface. The surface is all you've got." (37)

Amelia Jones' scholarship gives an account of image and identity that provides a productive alternative to the representative logic implied in claims for an authentic body (1998, 2006, 2012). In *Seeing Differently*, Jones provides a provisional "model for understanding identification as a reciprocal, dynamic, and ongoing process that occurs among viewers, bodies, images, and other visual modes of the (re)presentation of subjects" (2012: 1). In the German-speaking world, publications by van Dülmen (1998), Belting (2001), Belting *et al.* (2002), Schulz (2009) or Eder *et al.* (eds) (2013) theorise images of human bodies in different media and contribute to research into what I call *Menschenbilder*.

Staging: a Conscious Performance. Positioning and Previous Research

In this study I investigate bodily appearances and attributions of authenticity in terms of their *staging*. Staging should be understood as the arrangement and open display of something – usually for an audience. Concerning the body, staging means its preparation for and (public) presentation. But staging a body *as authentic* also entails written or verbal attributions of authenticity – or the reprimand of a lack of authenticity – both of which impact on subsequent stagings. As I will explain throughout this text, an authentic body does not 'just emerge' in performance, but needs to be evoked by adhering

to certain codes of bodily appearance. The use of authenticating techniques invariably implies a staging in order to achieve a particular appearance. Such an appearance needs to be more or less carefully planned and thus, as Erika Fischer-Lichte has pointed out (2000b: 23), collapses the notion of a dichotomy 'authentic – staged'. Yet, the contemporary common usage of 'authenticity' seems to contradict an approach to an authentic body as the invariable result of conscious staging: the grunge bands of the 1990s were, for instance, considered authentic based on their apparent *avoidance* of staging techniques.[38] Today, authentic is used in everyday language as more or less synonymous with 'genuine' or even 'real'. *Merriam-Webster's Thesaurus* echoes this meaning when it states something authentic as "being exactly as appears or as claimed" (2010: 71).

Inszenierung – *mise en scène*

The use of staging might seem reminiscent of the nineteenth century meaning of 'Inszenierung' (in which something immaterial was made visible on human bodies). When the term emerged from the French *mise en scène*, it was in the sense of transforming texts into something tangible (without being perceived as an artistic act itself).[39] Conversely, I acknowledge that the medium and the circumstances in which a *Menschenbild* is staged determine its appearance and the meaning it evokes; particular techniques of staging are part of shaping *Menschenbilder*. But the projecting implication of staging goes with my basic assumption that the examples I analyse also aim to evoke a *particular Menschenbild*.[40] The stagings I investigate in the first part of the thesis follow a somewhat preconceived ideal of bodily appearance and linked inner reality – and the staging techniques used manifest the aim to approximate an ideal authentic *Menschenbild*.

In her seminal *The Transformative Power of Performance* (2008), Fischer-Lichte's use of the German word 'Inszenierung' is often translated

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[38] The British writer Michael Bracewell, similarly, sees the quest for authenticity in 1990s fashion photography as "perhaps a direct response to the semiotic parlour games played with style and meaning by postmodernism. After all that cleverness and irony, the culture was to be aerated with Attitude and Authenticity." (2010: 19)

[39] At the turn of the twentieth century, the selection, combination and presentation that staging entails was acknowledged as an artistic practice (Fischer-Lichte 2004: 322).

[40] Fischer-Lichte stresses that 'body stagings' ('Körperinszenierungen') do not only take place on stage but also in the auditorium. "The spectator's perception is always staged." 2000a: 12 ("Die Wahrnehmung des Zuschauers ist immer auch eine inszenierte. Die 'Regeln' für ihre Inszenierung hängen von allgemeinen historischen und kulturellen Bedingungen ab, von konkreten Bedingungen der Aufführung und ihrem Kontext sowie von individuellen Bedingungen wie Alter, Geschlecht, Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten sozialen Schicht, persönlichen Erfahrungen, augenblicklicher Stimmung u.a.").

as staging.[41] The term's conceptual implication is echoed in Fischer-Lichte's remark that "staging decides what will appear or disappear at what place and time during the performance." (2008: 187)[42]. Staging then refers to *decisions* about appearance; in this thesis I use it to refer to *mechanisms/conceptions* of making bodies appear, not the specific event of their interacting with an audience. Even when I analyse a specific display of bodies (a scene in a TV programme, for instance) I attempt to derive general techniques of evoking a certain *Menschenbild* from it – not to grasp the performance in its specificity or entirety.

Staging vs. performance

Staging, according to Fischer-Lichte, is a "strategy of creation" (2008: 187/ "Erzeugungsstrategie", 2004: 325). It is similar to Butler's concept of performance, in which characteristics – significantly – are manufactured (by repetition), rather than revealed.[43] The body stagings I look at in my first part make visible – and thus also produce – specific ideas of how an ideal body should look and behave. Authenticity invariably needs staging; like gender it is always a 'doing' (Butler 2007: 34). Stagings make bodies appear in certain ways that in the given cultures and points in history are associated with particular values. Even if the stagings are modelled according to a *Menschenbild* which exists previously and which might be summoned in written, oral or drawn accounts, this *Menschenbild* remains an immaterial ideal. In order to become visible on a real body (a *Menschenbild* in the more literal sense), appropriate techniques have to be used to create the desired appearance, rather than reveal already existing qualities.

   My specific examples, however, deviate from Butler's conceptualisation of performance in one crucial way. In *Bodies that Matter*, Butler makes it clear that "performativity must be understood not as a singular or deliberate act, but, rather as the reiterative or citational practice by which discourse

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[41] At other times *Mise en scène* is used. See, for instance, 2008: 182.

[42] Inszenierung determines "was, wann, wo und wie vor den Zuschauern in Erscheinung treten soll" (2004: 325); see also footnote 142 in chapter 2. Elsewhere, Fischer-Lichte explains that the term Inszenierung refers to "schöpferische Prozesse, in denen etwas entworfen und zur Erscheinung gebracht wird – auf Prozesse, welche in spezifischer Weise Imaginäres, Fiktives und Reales (Empirisches) zueinander in Beziehung setzen" (2000b: 22).

[43] Concerning the performative, Butler propounds in her 1999 preface to *Gender Trouble*: "The view that gender is performative sought to show that what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body. In this way, it showed that what we take to be an 'internal' feature of ourselves is one that we anticipate and produce through certain bodily acts, at an extreme, an hallicunatory effect of naturalised gestures." (2007 [1990]:xv-xvi)

produces the effects that it names". (1997: 2) Here, I suggest that the making of bodily appearances in my examples diverges from Butler's description, and rather coincides with Fischer-Lichte's description of staging.[44] The latter outlines that "[s]taging is a planned process that employs various strategies from chance operations to self-organized rehearsal techniques" (2008: 187). My point is that the bodily appearance in my examples is intended to serve a certain end, and – if not necessarily reflected constantly – at least has the potential to be reflected as an active process by those who stage themselves (and others). While the citation of a pre-conceived *Menschenbild* figures in staging the bodies I look at throughout this thesis, this is not an unintentional act. My use of 'staging' then implies the active and often conscious use of techniques to evoke a certain bodily appearance.

With the term staging, I want to highlight this characteristic deliberate-ness in my material. Turning to performance studies, rather than gender stud-ies, Willmar Sauter writes that performative acts can *occur* unconsciously, but they can also be *staged* consciously (2006: 28, my emphasis). The choice of terms is relevant to me: staging is the conscious aspect of performing something for an audience.[45] Compared to a performance, which takes a somewhat unpredictable course or is indeed unconscious (such as a conver-sation on the bus that is observed without the conversation partners notic-ing), staging becomes its conscious counterpart. In this study I associate staging with the production of *Menschenbilder* (both literal and figurative) in medial and circumstantial contexts that allow for a high degree of control; while it is a determining factor of performance that spectators can influence – to a larger or smaller degree – the course a performance takes.

Staging points to the consciously arranged display in the bodies whose appearance I scrutinise, and stresses the reflected *mediation* that bodies in-variably undergo when prepared to face a certain audience.[46] I see the staging

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[44] One reason for the limited applicability of Butler's writing on the gendering of bodies to my examples is the difference in their levels of specificity. She analyses performances of gender in their more general everyday structure, my analyses are often concerned with more specific situations of making authenticity appear on bodies that are conspicuously on display.

[45] Conversely, Butler suggests that performing a 'sex' must not be associated with "a highly reflective choice". 1997: 12.

[46] This is not to suggest a state of more truthful 'originality' prior to staging. Bodily authen-ticity is a prescriptive and by no means liberating value to stage, and I am aware that the notion of agency that I adhere to here is, as Butler writes, "to be found, paradoxically, in the possibilities opened up in and by that constrained appropriation of the regulatory law, by the materialisation of that law, the compulsory appropriation and identification with those norma-tive demands" (Butler 2007: 12). I discuss this further in my second chapter and in the con-clusion. However, if the authentic body is just as prescriptive a notion as the gendered body, I don't think they are involuntary to the same extent: "the agency denoted by the performativity of 'sex' will be directly counter to any notion of a voluntarist subject who exists quite apart from the regulatory norms which she/he opposes" (*ibid.*:15). The actions happening on the 'stages' I investigate are more voluntary. There is no threat of abjection for those who do not

of bodies in my examples as aestheticising practices that are employed to give them a *particular* physical appearance, such as dressing them, applying make-up and moving in a certain way. Associating that appearance with a particular inner reality verbally or in writing constitutes another technique of staging authentic bodies.

Turning from the display of bodies 'on stage' to their manufacture in training, the writings of dance scholar Susan Foster are instructive. In her essay "Dancing Bodies" (1992) Susan Foster describes dance training as a method of cultivating the body: of moulding, shaping, disciplining and transforming it (480). Foster highlights the aspect of staging in all dance techniques when she writes: "Drilling is necessary because the aim is nothing less than *creating the body*. With repetition, the images used to describe the body and its actions [in the dance class] *become* the body." (484) A dancer must carry out diligent work in order to achieve an ideal physical appearance. "Each dance technique, however, creates a specialized and specific body, one that represents a given choreographer's or tradition's aesthetic vision of dance. Each technique creates a body that is unique in how it looks and what it can do." (485)

Fashion scholar Joanne Entwistle, points out how the body in almost all cultural contexts is a dressed body (2000: 7). Clothing is then an integral part of staging bodies. When we get dressed we prepare our body for the social world; this requires knowledge, skills and techniques that span from practices (learning how to tie laces and do buttons) to questions of taste and tact (what to wear in certain situations).

I have chosen the examples I investigate in chapters 1 and 2 because they discuss or display a declared aim to make authenticity visible on the body. In my contextualising discussion, I am *also* interested in individual acts of *performing* authenticity in front of an audience,[47] yet authentication techniques never rely exclusively on the act of physical performance but are accompanied by evaluations and other narratives. In order to appear, authenticity needs to be *staged*. Only after such careful planning and in coordination with the use of complementary techniques can authenticity appear in *performance*.

Gabriele Brandstetter focuses on staging *gender*, when she uses the term 'staging' in an article about body concepts in art and science (2003). She argues that staging remains within the metaphorical sphere of the theatre – "in the field of performance, masquerade and role play" (28, my translation). Brandstetter's aim is to complement, rather than to replace or disprove Butler's more established term 'performance' and the theory it derives from.

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choose to participate in makeover or casting shows on national television. By contrast, this threat exists for persons with 'inadequately' gendered bodies.

[47] Note that Fischer-Lichte includes not only the *development*, but also the practical *testing* of strategies to evoke specific appearances in the "process" she calls staging (2004: 325).

The small shift that 'staging' introduces, according to Brandstetter, highlights the contextual setting: the stages on which certain bodily practices are encouraged and others are condemned.

> In this sense, staging gender refers to the possibilities in a society to acknowledge and describe settings that constitute gender identity and difference – and thus to make them visible and assert their social relevance. These stages are registrar's offices as well as sports arenas, soap operas as well as fairs, museums and the changing scenes of media and event culture. (29)[48]

Brandstetter raises questions that are relevant to my interest: "In what way is gender identity", – but also other aspects of the staged body, such as its alleged authenticity –, "institutionally pre-formed?" (29, my translation) Brandstetter stresses the context of the appearing bodies in a given staging in a way that is productive for me. The diversity of my material suggests that my analyses, besides the institutional context, also pay particular attention to the medial context. With regard to the 'authorship' of an authentic *Menschenbild* it can be said that the specificity of the medium in which a *Menschenbild* is staged (and the staging techniques it enables) are constituents of such 'authorship'.

Body stagings ("Körperinszenierungen") are what Fischer-Lichte (drawing on Plessner) describes as the nexus of 'having a body' and 'being a body'. The term 'body stagings' directly relates the 'body as material' to the 'body as agent' (2000a: 10). But in my examples, the appearing bodies are not just the agent and the material of their own staging. Rather, the manifold staging techniques that emerge from my analysis suggest that the person 'being a body' shares agency over her body's staged appearance with fitness trainers, make-up specialists, plastic surgeons, fashion designers, choreographers, scenographers, cinematographers, directors, with the apparatus of film/TV (including perspective and editing) and/or those who depict its appearance in writing or on a canvas. "This interrelationship of the presentation's medium and the presented projection of the self shows that self-presentation is always reflexive and not an immediate externalisation of an immediate self." (Matzke 2005: 35)[49] Similarly, Hahn draws particular attention to the images of bodies appearing on television as 'co-authored'. Such images "are the result of a process that is characterised by a division of labour […] and multiple framings (at least: situation in front of the camera,

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[48] „Staging gender bezieht sich, so gesehen, auch auf die Möglichkeiten in einer Gesellschaft, settings wahrzunehmen und zu beschreiben, die Geschlechtsidentität und Differenz konstituieren – und diese damit überhaupt erst zur gesellschaftlichen Geltung bringen: Solche Bühnen sind die Standesämter ebenso wie die Sportarenen, soap operas ebenso wie Messen, Museen und wechselnde Szenen der Medien- und Eventkultur."

[49] "Dieses Wechselverhältnis vom Medium der Darstellung und dem präsentierten Selbstentwurf zeigt, dass die Selbstdarstellung immer reflexiv ist und keine unmittelbare Entäußerung eines unmittelbaren Selbst."

cut, viewing situation" (2002: 295, my translation). Furthermore, the successful staging of an *authentic* body relies inevitably on its recognition as such by others.

Contribution to Research

While the ubiquity of authenticity in trendsetting areas of culture inevitably entails an inflation of the term's meaning, it also suggests that we take the impact and implied values of authenticity seriously. Authenticity is passionately claimed (ZDF 2010; Balz 2012; Barbaro and Parker 2011; see also Gilmore and Pine 2007) – or rejected as a model of identity (see my literature review in the above section 'Depth and surface models of identity'). But there is little serious investigation into how today's specific notions of authenticity are evoked i.e. staged in popular media and what the cultural meanings of these stagings are. My study aims to contribute to filling that gap in the particular area of the authentic *body*.

My discussions in the above sections on 'The authentic body', *'Menschenbilder'* and 'Staging' positioned my study in the fields of dance, fashion, gender, investigation into identity models and mainstream visual culture. In this thesis I juxtapose examples of both depth and surface models of identity and show the relevance of the visual field's impact on identity formation and techniques of the body. The study consequently has relevance to dance studies, fashion studies, critical theory and gender studies, as well as to studies in the history of ideas and the history of the body. It is located where these fields of scholarship intersect.

My review of previous research showed that authenticity has been theorised as a performative concept before (Hahn 2002; Fischer-Lichte 2000b; Dyer 2001; Taylor 2009; Harris 2008). My contribution is to shed light on the *techniques* with which it is made to appear on bodies. I am more interested in *how* authenticity is staged than *why*. I investigate techniques of reciprocity between a claimed inner and outer – with regard to the specific cultural context that creates it. Firstly, I intend to help elucidate *how* the authentic ideal is staged as part of a dominant contemporary *Menschenbild*. Secondly, I contribute to research by investigating bodily strategies which can undermine that ideal. Once I have defined the criteria of what constitutes an authentic body in a contemporary context, I turn to examples from dance and fashion that deviate from these criteria. My selection of dance and fashion examples disregards the increasingly permeable borders of popular versus élite culture. (Vänskä 2012) The understanding of élite culture as by definition critical and deep and popular culture as unreflective and shallow refers to a dichotomy of depth and surface that I have posited as questionable in its cultural specificity (with regard to identity models). What might qual-

ify as an example of popular culture sometimes makes for more relevant and interesting work in this thesis. As a consequence, my choice of examples from dance and fashion in different cultural areas entails a novel juxtaposition of case studies.

Finally, my conclusive critical investigation questions the liberating implication of these examples. I place the analysed pieces in their more general cultural context which includes more diverse body stagings than those of the authentic body to which I have compared them earlier in the thesis. My research contribution here is to scrutinise the value and efficacy of my examples as critiques and to reconsider how challenging they really are.

While the work of theorists such as Butler or Foucault has a pointed relevance for this study, their theories tend to tackle bodies' categorisation and control on a general level. The literature reviews in the previous three sections showed that this piece of research remains informed by the problems formulated by these thinkers and carried on by scholars who came after them. Butler's central question in *Gender Trouble* – How is identity constituted by regulatory practices? (2007: 23) – resonates with my focus in this study.[50] However, if Butler announced that gender is manufactured by a sustained set of acts, what actually constitutes these acts is difficult to find in her writing.[51] Sociologist Nikolas Rose, whose scholarship is significantly influenced by the writings of Foucault, points out that the analysis of the relation between what Foucault terms government and subjectification are in need of extension. Beyond the field of ethics, Rose suggests making investigations that "concern corporealities or body techniques" to shed light on "the ways in which different corporeal regimes have been devised and implanted in rationalized attempts to produce a particular relation to the self and to others" (1998: 31). To some extent I agree with Shilling who notes: "It is all very well saying that the body is socially constructed, but this tends to tell us little about the specific character of the body. What is it, exactly, that is being constructed?" (2003: 9) While my critical reading of the examples remains informed by a Butlerian and Foucauldian tradition, I find dance and fashion studies have developed tools that allow me to look closely and in-

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[50] Butler raises this question in opposition to what she posits as the more common question in philosophy: "What internal feature of the person establishes the continuity of self-identity?" (2007: 23)

[51] Foster, similarly, observes that Butler's "performativity provides no framework for the analysis of bodily movement" (2002: 138). Although Butler mentions gestures and enactments in early versions of her theory of gender identity (2007: 185), Foster points out that in *Bodies that Matter* Butler "defines performative acts as 'forms of authoritative speech: most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in the uttering, also perform a certain action and exercise a binding power'" (2002: 137). Foster thus asserts that "it is difficult [for Butler] to envision how either performance or performativity extends beyond the verbal realm into non-verbal dimensions of human action" (*ibid.*).

structively at bodily techniques. These disciplines' analytical strategies allow me to get insights into the 'making' of both authentic bodies and those bodies that deviate from the authentic ideal.

Disposition

My thesis analyses body staging techniques that relate to notions of authenticity by either reiterating or challenging such notions. Conceptualisations of bodily appearance as an indication of a person's inner are widespread in contemporary makeover culture. But this early twenty-first century *Menschenbild* of deserved self-realisation goes back to a long history.

Part 1

The first part of the thesis (chapters 1 and 2) investigates the staging of bodily authenticity – and provides the context for my analyses in the second part. While chapter 1 traces the conception of the body's authentic expression of interiority *in the Enlightenment* by drawing on the discourse on expressing sensibility, chapter 2 investigates how *contemporary* bodies are staged as authentic on two popular makeover and casting shows on TV.

In the Enlightenment, physical appearance became staged and theorised as the immediate expression of inner truth. Dance and fashion were understood to visibly articulate this notion. My first chapter's investigation of the historical material to locate techniques of representing the self in physical appearance follows Rose in his notion of a 'critical history' (1998). It is Rose's aim

> to explore the conditions under which the horizons of our experience have taken shape, to diagnose our contemporary condition of the self, to destabilize and denaturalize that regime of the self which today seems inescapable, to elucidate the burdens imposed, the illusions entailed, the acts of domination and self-mastery that are the counterpart of the capacities and liberties that make up the contemporary individual. (2)

Where Rose (following Foucault) explores how 'government' has shaped the history and psychology of the self, my main interest is in the bodily techniques involved in constructing notions of a specific inner.[52] The focus of my historical analysis is set on physical techniques which turn ideals into practices, and which make it possible for them to become established as norms.

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[52] For an explanation of government see Rose 1998: 29ff.

Coinciding with my own analytical aim, Rose problematises "our contemporary regime of the self by examining some of the processes through which this regulative ideal of the self has been invented" (2). Like his, my study is then

> underpinned by the belief that historical investigation can open up our contemporary regime of the self to critical thought, that is to say, to a kind of thought that can work on the limits of what is thinkable, extend those limits, and hence enhance the contestability of what we take to be natural and inevitable about our current ways of relating to ourselves. (*ibid.*)

In addition, the eighteenth century has got a particular relevance to this study because its construction of bodies as fake versus authentic has had a perennial impact on the two bodily practices I primarily work with: dance and fashion. Within these disciplines the Enlightenment discourse of the 'natural/authentic' body on the one hand, and the 'fake/artificial' body on the other created conflicts that, as I have outlined, remain fundamental to our thinking until today.

While the Enlightenment idealised authentic bodies that – in the times' thinking – *represented* a person's moral inner without perceptible mediation, today's means of achieving authentic appearance include prominently visible work on the body – that serves to portray individuals as deserving. The analyses in the second chapter show that authentic appearance is now associated with the person *herself* actively partaking in transformation and thus gaining authorship over the new looks. Besides visible work, I intend to investigate other constituents of what is defined as bodily authenticity on the two TV shows and which techniques are used to stage it.

My study has a binary structure in the sense that part 1 looks at a popular *Menschenbild* that links appearance with a supposed inner. In the analyses in part 2, I aim to scrutinise the medial and artistic possibilities and staging techniques of dance and fashion to *negate* bodily appearance as a symptom for interior truth.

Part 2

In the second part of the thesis (chapters 3-5), I analyse examples of how fashion and dance can envision – and embody – alternative *Menschenbilder* that challenge the notion and appearances of bodily authenticity. I draw on contemporary pieces of dance and fashion, broadly defined, that undermine this depth model of identity. In chapters 3-5, I carry out analyses which involve close readings of seven contemporary body stagings: three examples are taken from dance and four from fashion. In each chapter I analyse a dif-

ferent strategy of challenging the notion of bodily authenticity. In my analyses of the bodies' stagings in these pieces I trace how the works undermine the associations of 'outer body' with 'inner reality'.

For the analyses of staged bodies in contemporary dance and fashion in the second part of this thesis, I have arranged the investigated pieces into three thematic chapters. Each chapter discusses a different *strategy* of staging the body in a way that challenges the notion of bodily authenticity: hyperbole, multiplicity and estrangement.

Chapter 3: Hyperbole. This chapter attempts a close reading of exaggerating techniques that stress the body's surface as malleable and thus challenges 'discretion' which is a prime constituent contemporary bodily authenticity. An aesthetic of impenetrability critiques the depth model on which authenticity relies.

Chapter 4: Multiplicity. Drawing on concepts like defiguration, contingency and 'becoming,' I examine stagings of the body that make it appear unstable and multiple. Multiplicity calls into question essentialist foundations of the authentic body. Bodies meander playfully in and out of various appearances – with no aim for improvement.

Chapter 5: Estrangement. This chapter investigates staging techniques that impose on the body the appearances of machines, animals or abstractions. The examples challenge normative codes of contemporary beauty and stage bodies without authorship of their own appearance.

The 'attribution of *in*authenticity' on my behalf distinguishes the analyses in the second part of the thesis from those in the first (where others' verbal/written attributions of authenticity to certain bodily techniques are, rather, objects of my analysis). Although a critical element can be found in the appearances (and more easily in some than others), I am primarily interested in their techniques of staging an alternative visibility. I will reflect on how they might function as means of critique in the thesis' conclusion.

The final chapter examines the critical potential of the analysed strategies which detach the body's appearance from notions of revealing an inner. A scrutiny of the artistic strategies' relevance in 'everyday body culture' concludes the thesis.

Methodology and Material

My thesis is primarily of an analytical nature. The following sections will set out what material and analytical references I will rely on, and what my motivation is for choosing the tools I have.

Material

How can *Menschenbilder* be productively investigated? Where does one look for examples? In the same way as is the case with other images Eder *et al.* maintain that *Menschenbilder* are subject to simplifications and bound to perspective (2013: 6). I have stated above that *Menschenbilder* depend on media and the examples of dance and fashion I discuss do not exclusively take place in their disciplines' typical media: on stages and catwalks. They are taken from TV shows, photography, written descriptions and live events. In the Enlightenment as well as today, appearances of dance and fashion in diverse media (have) impact(ed) on the creation and repetition of the times' dominant *Menschenbilder*. But while it was fashion plates, fashionable members of the bourgeoisie who *flâneured* in parks and on boulevards, dance performances at the opera and dancing masters' instructions that set trends in how people would stage their bodies in the eighteenth century, it is now arguably the celebrity and 'modelling industry'[53] that determine what people, especially young women, regard as desirable ways of moving, dressing and aligning their selves with these bodily practices. The corresponding *Menschenbild* is televised in reality shows or communicated online.

   To investigate stagings and attributions of bodily authenticity in the eighteenth century, I begin by studying philosophical texts, novels, dancing masters' accounts and fashion trends. The first chapter is largely informed by my reading of relevant contemporary research about the body's appearance in dance, fashion and body culture in the eighteenth century.[54] I work

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[53] By 'modelling industry' I do not just mean the images and reporting circulated from fashion shows, but also the coverage of real, would-be and fictional models in celebrity magazines, online fashion forums or franchises such as Top Model (targeted at girls from three years and up) that all portray being a model as glamorous and desirable. (see also Walter 2010) Such an equation of model with role-model is, similarly, referred to by Brandstetter who sees models as exposing in stylised versions those performative strategies of femininity that have a trendsetting function (1998a: 432). On the social desirability of modelling see Basberg Neumann (2012).

[54] Thurner's (2009) method is instructive for my first, historical chapter, although she relies on a selective choice of *primary* sources to elucidate the anthropological, philosophical and aesthetic paradigm shift in the eighteenth century. Her research into the discourse on dance's

through the secondary literature and pay particular attention to how the ideal of bodily authenticity was established, how it was staged on the dressed and moving body and how authorities attributed bodily authenticity. I use existing dance and fashion research *to bring something to the fore* in the eighteenth century body: its striving to be perceived as authentic.

In Chapter 2, I turn to one contemporary casting show and one makeover show on television: *Germany's Next Topmodel* (since 2006) and *The Swan* (2004). I analyse utterances that prescribe and evaluate bodily authenticity on these shows, as well as the appearance of the bodies they deem authentic. My own close reading of these sources is complemented with a study of their discussion in other authors' texts: both in academic literature and the media. Still interested in the staging of a *Menschenbild* that idealises authenticity, my focus is set not merely on the visual appearance of bodies, but equally on relevant texts that assess the authentic body as ideal and authorities – 'experts' – who evaluate and attribute authenticity to individual bodies.[55]

I have chosen the material in chapters 3-5 because of the way the pieces illustrate ways to avoid staging the body as a signifier of interiority. The stagings I look at feature bodies that draw the spectators' attention to aspects of their staged material appearances. As a consequence, I intend to take as a point of departure for my analysis the techniques with which the stagings expose themselves as stagings.

I should point out that almost all my examples feature female bodies: the reason being that bodily authenticity in the media is a particularly important criterion for women. The content or object of my study thus matches the subject matter that I intend to address.

Dance analysis and fashion analysis

To analyse my examples in parts 1 and 2, I rely on the analytical methods of dance studies and fashion studies. Because dance and fashion are fundamentally 'about bodies', scholarship in these fields commonly and beneficially relies on analyses that locate their objects in a context of bodily performances of gender (relations), age, class, race, morality, health, beauty and many more. In addition, researching older pieces of dance and fashion is usually and productively informed by historical perspectives on these issues.

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specific effects on its audience is based on literary accounts of dance, dance criticism and dance scholarship.

[55] Given this emphasis, my analysis of the participants' bodies in *Germany's Next Topmodel*, for instance, only functions in relation to their instructions and evaluations by Heidi Klum and her jury.

Other than that, dance studies and fashion studies have developed methods that allow scholars to grasp the intricacies of the moving body's appearance. The work of Rudolf Laban provides dance researchers with a valuable framework to describe movement (see, for instance, Laban 2011).[56] Theoretical works on dance analysis (Foster 1986, Adshead 1988, Preston-Dunlop and Sanchez-Colberg 2002) foster an ability to detail, in particular, the visual, aural and kinaesthetic sensory information about the moving body. Dance analysis looks at movement choices and the principles for ordering that movement. It identifies the *procedures* for referring to or representing something with moving bodies – in other words, dance analysis identifies what I have termed the *techniques* used to evoke a certain bodily appearance.[57] Foster proposes five analytical parameters. These, I argue, can be used to heighten the understanding of how moving bodies evoke *Menschenbilder* – ideals and assumptions about or embodiments of how aspects of human being such as selfhood, identity, soul or gender relate to physical appearance. They are:

> (1) the frame – the way the dance sets itself apart as a unique event; (2) the mode of representation – the way the dance refers to the world; (3) the style – the way the dance achieves individual identity in the world and in its genre; (4) the vocabulary – the basic units or 'moves' from which the dance is made; and (5) the syntax – the rules governing the selection and combination of moves. (1986: 59)

Foster stresses that her "sketching out of the strategies and techniques involved in dance composition" (*ibid.*) pertains to the Western concert dance tradition, exclusively. However, if 'dance' is replaced with 'staging', Foster's categories are useful guidelines in the analysis of bodily appearance on contemporary TV shows or from academic literature, too. This becomes particularly clear in the approach to 'style' which, according to Foster, "results from three related sets of choreographic conventions: the quality with which the movement is performed, the characteristic use of parts of the body, and the dancer's orientation in the performance space" (1986: 77). Movement quality, especially, is a useful category beyond the analysis of *dance* because "matching observable qualities of movement with attributes of personality" is a "prevalent cultural experience", writes Foster (1986: 78).

In *Fashion Zeitgeist* (2005) Vinken sets up a close-reading of formalistic aspects, rhetorical figures and the poetic procedures of designing as productive in the analysis of fashion. Vinken's analyses focus on clothes' "relation

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[56] Since Laban's work in the early and mid-twentieth century a variety of systems have been developed to describe and notate dance movement. See Brandstetter and Klein (2007) and Horton Fraleigh and Hanstein (1999).

[57] Foster expresses this as dance analysis' capacity to ask and answer the question "*how* any dance means what it does" (1992: xvii)

to time, to gender clichés, and to class roles, and they explore their relationship to art and the politics of the *griffe* [sign of the house]" (2005: 79). Similarly, Evans' fashion analyses in *Fashion at the Edge* (2003) and "Masks, Mirrors and Mannequins: Elsa Schiaparelli and the Decentered Subject" (1999) rely on situating individual images or pieces of garment and taking historical and other contextual references into account. They trace means of communicating and quoting the discipline's own history that are specific to fashion. Beyond elucidating individual works, Evans is thus able to elucidate fashion's ways of questioning established order, more generally.

Vinken's emphasis on gender in the analysis of fashion as performative is particularly relevant to an analysis of staging authenticity, like my own. As I already outlined, gender and authenticity have been deeply entangled, at least since the nineteenth century when women became closely associated with fashion's supposed superficiality. At the same time, men adopted the "simplistic rhetoric of anti-rhetoric" that gained them "identity, authenticity, unquestioned masculinity, seriousness" (2005: 11). I will elaborate on this division below.

Dance and fashion have the body as their central medium. This means that their analysis deals with a means of communication that is as the same time omnipresent in day-to-day life.[58] While this holds equally true for theatre and circus, the common absence of language in dance and fashion has led to investigatory modes that (have to) rely even more strongly on bodily appearance. Analytical methods have developed from these preconditions that are characteristic for scholarship in dance and fashion, and they inform my research, even if not always explicitly.

In designing my own analytical approach to the dance and fashion works that feature in this thesis (and coinciding with the above outlines), I found that analytical strategies developed in dance studies and fashion studies frequently overlap, or are helpful to illuminate examples from the other discipline, respectively. While analyses of dance shed light on peoples' 'looks' (see, for instance, Foster 1992), fashion analyses can convey information about bodily action, movement and behaviour (McNeil/Riello 2009, Evans 2013) But the fields do not just cross -fertilise. The tools developed in dance studies and fashion studies are also used in contexts that leave behind the fields' common objects of investigation, such as specific pieces of dance, dance at a specific time, dance styles or techniques; or the work of a particular fashion designer, a specific era's fashion, or a clothing item. In this vein, Lena Hammergren's essay "The re-turn of the *flâneuse*" (1996) illustrates the relevance of kinaesthetic analysis to the investigation of an historical event. Hammergren's flâneuse engages with the surroundings in terms of touch, smell and physical action, not solely visually. Through her kinaes-

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[58] This special precondition of the performative arts has been discussed elsewhere. See, for instance, Fischer-Lichte (2000a: 10).

thetic discourse, the *flâneuse* investigates and activates the past in terms of bodily experience. Foster calls Hammergren's *flâneuse* an example of "performative writing" which "tak[es] account of the physical circumstances of the writer and the writing and the written about.".[59]

It is my aim with this thesis to follow a body of research in dance and fashion that both identifies specificities in *Menschenbilder*, and details the bodily techniques that contribute to their reiteration or undermining.[60] Foster's essay "Dancing Bodies" (1992) is an example of dance studies' development of productive analytical means to identify how certain techniques (Foster speaks of dance techniques such as ballet technique, Graham technique or Cunningham technique) 'create' a body. Foster's text has a particular relevance for me as she identifies how different dance techniques "formulate distinct bodies and selves". She writes:

> Training not only constructs a body but also helps to fashion an expressive self that, in its relation with the body, performs the dance. Aesthetic expression can result when a self uses the body as a vehicle for communicating its thoughts and feelings, or when the self merges with the body and articulates its own physical situation. Body and self can also coexist, enunciating their own concerns and commenting on each other's. Many other relations are also possible, each producing a specific aesthetic impact on dancer, dance and viewer. (485)

In terms of techniques, Foster refers to the role of the dance teacher's "demonstrative body" and other students' bodies as instances of "desired or undesired, correct or incorrect, values". She specifies how students learn to "duplicate the correctly demonstrative body and to avoid the mistakes of the incorrect body", refers to the "extensive nomenclature, sometimes literal and sometimes metaphoric, for designating key areas of the body and their relations" on which each dance technique relies, and she identifies regimentation with which dance classes are structured. (483)[61]

If we look at the staging techniques on TV shows such as *Germany's Next Topmodel* – and consider their cultural influence – it becomes clear that such analytical knowledge about how ideal bodies are disciplined and how particular bodies imply corresponding selves is valuable beyond the analysis of *dancing* bodies.

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[59] Foster (2012). I demonstrate Dance Studies' methodological relevance to visual arts and Museum Studies elsewhere (Bork Petersen and Scott 2014).

[60] Examples of this can be found in dance scholarship by Thurner (2009), Brandstetter (1995 and 1998b), Foster (2011), Ramsay Burt (2007); and in investigations of fashion by Evans (1999 and 2009), Sennett (1976), Vinken (2005), Breward (2007), Wilson (1992), Kondo (1997) or Ribeiro (1986a and 1995).

[61] Fosters essay finds that dance "training thus creates two bodies (of the dance student): one, perceived and tangible; the other aesthetically ideal." (1992: 482)

Analytical model for part 2

In chapters 1 and 2 I deal with particular *Menschenbilder*. My investigations rely on written or verbal accounts of staging an ideal body, although my analyses often take visual material into account (especially in the second chapter). In the second part of the thesis my analytical approach – to put it simply – reverses. My examples are made up of variously mediated visual appearances of contemporary bodies. As in the previous chapters my analyses aim at scrutinising the techniques used to stage their appearance. But due to the absence of one unifying ideal underlying the examples in chapters 3-5, there are no obvious texts that explicitly advise on features and techniques of staging the body. Rather than prescriptive or evaluative texts on how to stage a body or scholarship that deals with stagings of the same *Menschenbild*, I now turn to theoretical and philosophical texts to help me bring certain features of appearance to the fore in my analyses. The features that these connections help reveal motivate my conclusions concerning the challenging of authentic appearance in staging. For coherence I have devised an analytical model which I intend to follow in the six analyses that the second part of my thesis comprises:

1. Each of the analyses begins with a brief recapitulation of the contemporary parameter of authentic appearance that is primarily challenged by the respective example's staging technique (for instance: discretion, hard work/self-authorship, improvement/beautification). Furthermore, I will provide in the introduction to each analysis a *definition* of my object of analysis: In some instances, it is the appearance of only *one* body in a choreography, *all* bodies staged in a certain fashion show/choreography, the more general staging techniques used by a designer/choreographer/director.

2. This definition is followed by a detailed *description* of my object of analysis. (Here my analyses distinguish themselves from a more general performance analysis: I interrogate the body's staging and take into consideration its performative context – the overall film/fashion show/dance work – only to the extent that they impact on bodily appearance). Here, I also reflect on the relevance of my example's *medium* to the analysis.

3. Based on this description, I carry out the main parts of my analyses in *configuring strands*.[62] I select (one to three) aspects of staging the body in

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[62] With the term 'configuring strands' I intend to indicate my selective approach to analysing the examples. While 'configuring' suggests my active selection to bring something particular (the anti-authentic) to the fore in my examples, strands makes clear that I don't attempt to

each example and analyse them as techniques that evoke a certain visibility. In order to select these strands, to highlight their connection to the individual examples and to argue for a connectedness to a chapter's overriding staging strategy (hyperbole, multiplicity, estrangement) I incorporate the theories of Brandstetter, Jameson, Butler, Deleuze, Vogl, Evans or Worringer. With their help I aim to illuminate in my examples, staging techniques that undermine the contemporary parameters of bodily authenticity.

I hope with this method to be able to identify concrete strategies that challenge the authentic *Menschenbild* I have scrutinised in the second chapter. Considering the radical otherness that these embodiments envision – their stark contrast to the dominant ideal of an authentic body – my analyses feed into the thesis' overall conclusion, which takes up the question of if/how the body stagings in the second part have a critical potential.

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analyse my examples comprehensively. See also Preston-Dunlop and Ana Sanchez-Colberg's slightly different use of 'strands' as elements that are woven together in a dance performance in *Dance and the Performative* (2002: 39).

Chapter 1

The social processes that took place during the French Enlightenment changed conceptions of the body. These changes gave prominence to negotiating the constructions of – and relations between – artificiality and authenticity. At the same time, the so-called 'long' eighteenth century[63] was formative for the two 'body staging practices' that I shall look at in more detail: in the turbulent times around the French Revolution dance and fashion[64] developed characteristics that we still commonly perceive as central for them today.[65] Both dance and fashion were increasingly constructed as revelations of a person's inner truth and as such became central in the construction of gender by distinguishing the masculine from the feminine body.[66] In addition, dance began to narrate stories without words. The associated stagings of the body in dance and high fashion reflected, but would also go on to infiltrate, individual everyday bodies – making the period a crucial one in the history of *Menschenbilder* as well.

My intentions with this introduction to historical notions of bodily authenticity are threefold: My exclusive use of contemporary and near-contemporary examples in the rest of the thesis might otherwise suggest that issues of authenticity versus artificiality only arise in relation to the body in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. An introduction that locates my

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[63] The 'long' eighteenth century refers to the period spanning from the end of the seventeenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. It has in recent decades been seen as pivotal to the history of fashion. See Riello/McNeil 2010: 173. For different eighteenth century concepts see also Roach 2007: 12f.

[64] Vinken argues that "[f]ashion is a phenomenon of the modern. It emerges in the second half of the nineteenth century as a post-feudal phenomenon." (1999: 33). However, I apply a wider definition of the term. According to Perrot "fashion […] acquired around 1700 its modern definition of 'something adopted temporarily, on a basis of collective but ephemeral preference'" (1994: 17). In this sense, what I describe in this chapter can be considered an early example of fashion.

[65] For dance see Thurner 2009; fashion's moralist criticisms are outlined by Ribeiro 1986a. Furthermore, Miller holds that "most people today, in places such as England or the US, come to believe that getting clothes right is part of an appropriate exploration of who one really is" (2010: 39). He traces this relationship between the self and appearance to the time following the French Revolution (*ibid.*).

[66] This is especially true in fashion. But also in dance different movement material began to be given to the heterosexual partners. See Foster 1996: 8.

study in the context of the history of ideas counters this argument. Secondly, the construction and idealisation of bodily authenticity in French Enlightenment thinking was of a particular – and for this investigation particularly relevant – kind: it was based on the assumption that moral goodness is anchored inside every person through his/her feelings. While the eighteenth century did not 'invent' the notions or selfhood or a soul, it advanced a model of identity in which inner truth was understood as the origin of goodness. Rousseau articulated the conception that to be moral, people need not turn to God, but that morality is vibrant within every person. The source we have to connect with is already deep inside ourselves. Staging techniques that let the body appear as a representation of one's inner truth were consequently sanctioned. This staging of an 'outer as expressing an inner' is mirrored in today's popular rhetoric of 'revealing one's inside' or 'being true to oneself' to authenticate the contemporary body. Identifying this basis of similarity allows me to depart from it to point out differences. In this respect, a historical contextualisation helps me to show the contingency of meanings which bodily authenticity has assumed through time; both in terms of how inner truth is configured and with what techniques it is supposed to be revealed on the body. Finally, the Enlightenment is often recognised as the point in time when authenticity became a widely sought-after value (Trilling 1972: 93; Taylor 1991: 25-9; Luckner 2011). In his seminal *The Ethics of Authenticity* Charles Taylor associates the tendency to turn inside ourselves for goodness and morality with the writings of Rousseau; not as an inaugurator, but as an articulator of "something that was already happening in the culture" (1991: 27). To understand authenticity (especially in relation to other concepts that will concern me in this study, such as gender and selfhood) and to contextualise my contemporary examples I feel it is important to historicise it.

The culture of the court and the French Enlightenment's ways of thinking about men's and women's respective 'natural' characters, comportment and ways of dressing had its counterparts outside France. France, however, was the acknowledged centre of eighteenth century fashion and culture and will therefore be in the focus of my discussion (see Ribeiro 1986b and 2010; Fairfax 2003: 1-14; Nye 1993: 41).

The *Menschenbild* of the Enlightenment was conceived – and staged – very much in opposition to that of the *ancien régime.* To grasp what the Enlightenment philosophers, the dancing masters of the ballet reform and the post revolutionary fashion writers reacted against and propagated (and to find out how bodies were staged accordingly), I find it important to begin with a summary outline of the *ancien régime's* approach to staging the body. I do this in an opening section to the first part of my thesis. The decidedly anti-authentic practices I shall discuss contextualise the Enlightenment's authenticity craze. Furthermore, they mirror the thesis' second part in which I analyse staging techniques that challenge our *contemporary* notion of an

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authentic body. Indeed, certain techniques of staging non-authentic bodies today can be productively compared to stagings in the *ancien régime*.[67] The opening section's function – to differentiate the *Menschenbild* and techniques of staging it in the *ancien régime* from those of the Enlightenment – entails that I stress those distinguishing aspects which serve my purpose while disregarding others. Furthermore, my aim is not to suggest that the opening section outlines a *Menschenbild* which ceased to exist with the beginning of the Enlightenment. Rather, I discuss a *Menschenbild* and its staging that could be found throughout the eighteenth century and that was in opposition to Enlightenment beliefs.

The main part of the first chapter then explores mid-eighteenth century criticisms of 'mere appearance'. The increasingly powerful bourgeoisie dismissed the nobility's focus on the body's exteriority in favour of *sensibilité* and sincerity. I explore this notion of a connection between the body's outer appearance and an emotional interiority in Enlightenment thinking, as well as its embodiment in what became known as the 1760s 'ballet reform' and the period's fashion. The philosophers' 'phantasm of the natural figure' (Heeg 2000) required an ideal body that not only appeared as, but *was* innocent and pure. This meant that the techniques used to stage authenticity were necessarily hidden.

This chapter is not intended as a comprehensive study of the long eighteenth century's fashion and dance. Rather, I have picked out specific examples which pertinently contextualise and introduce my argument for the rest of this thesis. I mentioned in the introduction that this is not an archive study; it is predominantly a reading of existing dance scholarship which I have arranged to distill certain features in body stagings. These serve as a context for my dissertation's overall analytical framework.

The *Menschenbilder* I discuss in this chapter and the next can be described as being among the dominant tendencies in the respective cultures' ways of thinking about human appearance. I have chosen instances of body stagings amongst social groups which have a substantial impact on what the given cultures perceived as a body's favourable appearance. That potency need not necessarily coincide with primary power in ruling a country (governmental power), although it does so in the long eighteenth century. For the large part of that period, predominance in techniques of staging the body in a fashionable manner corresponds with the monarchy and court culture,[68] until it is fully taken over by the bourgeoisie subsequent to the French Revolution.

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[67] "To search for identity in appearances, to enact one's place in society through the ongoing process of performance – these tendencies, prominent in the aristocratic culture examined here, are also familiar enough in our current social world, and in our debates over how to interpret it." (Cohen 2000: 11)

[68] Referring to the seventeenth century, dance scholar Judith Chazin-Bennahum holds that: "It is important to realize that although the aristocracy represented a tiny proportion of the population, the privileged group reigned supreme over taste and manners." (2005: 9) The fashion

Staging the Noble Body in the *Ancien Régime*

The *ancien régime's* masquerades and dances are instances of staging the noble body that exemplify how meaning is made on the body's surface. I have chosen to examine masquerades and dancing, two practices with associated staging techniques, in particular because they are suggestive of the courtly body's staging around 1700 and the *Menschenbild* it evokes; a *Menschenbild* that came under scrutiny when bodily authenticity became a treasured commodity in the Enlightenment. My reason for discussing courtly body culture in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century *ancien régime* is to separate it clearly from those later developments that evolved in relation to the Enlightenment. I try to summarise what was criticised in Enlightenment thinking – and accept that my brevity entails some degree of simplification in the account.[69]

The bodily ideal at the late seventeenth century court demanded a graceful appearance. Texts by de la Rochefoucauld and other writers of the time suggest that social status at court was not only *indicated* but also *determined* by the lavishness of one's clothing and the elegance of one's movements.[70] At the same time as Louis XIV used ennoblement to bring professionals into his closest circle and let the bourgeoisie purchase their way into court (Homans 2010: 14), he also "encouraged the mystique of nobility in his courtiers' outward show" (Cohen 2000: 4).[71] Under the reign of Louis XIV, the concept of blood relationship rather than dynastic inheritance became more pronounced (Homans 2010: 11). The resulting complicated and precarious hierarchies and lineages at court necessitated a constant and relentless performance of status in etiquette and ritual.[72] Because status was significantly

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prints published in the popular French gazette *Mercure gallant*, similarly, suggest the nobility as the initiator in the decades around the turn of the eighteenth century. See Cohen (2000: 142).

[69] For more comprehensive studies of body stagings in long eighteenth century dance and fashion see Cohen (2000), Sennett (1976), Foster (1996), Lajer-Burcharth (1999), Ribeiro (1995 and 2010).

[70] In 1678 de La Rochefoucauld wrote: "in all professions, every person affects a look and a countenance to appear as he would like to be perceived; thus one can say that the world is composed of nothing but outward appearances", in Cohen (2000: 5); see also Perrot (1994: 16f).

[71] "As increasing numbers of social climbers joined the highest ranks of society," writes the historian Robert A. Nye "the uppermost layers of the aristocracy sought to distinguish themselves from the *nouveaux* elements by refining their manners to a still higher degree." (1993: 40).

[72] Foster claims that Louis XIV "organized etiquette into an immense web that governed virtually all actions performed throughout the day at court [...] Whether walking or standing, greeting or acknowledging one another, courtiers followed rules that stipulated how each action should be accomplished. Courtiers practiced the performance of every task, whether

indicated by dress and graceful comportment, courtiers made an effort to look and act 'noble'. French writers, especially during the second half of the seventeenth century, referred to such aristocratic refinement and its physical staging with terms such as *agréments* (personal charms), *je ne sais quoi*, and especially *grâce* (Cohen 2000: 4).[73] In this, Cohen discerns an emphasis on "a body whose visible substance and activities could summon the realm of the intangible." (2000: 4) Cohen's 'summoning' gets to the essence of what will be my investigation. The word leaves an ambiguity that these intangible values could have been produced/manufactured in as much as they could have been revealed. I argue that the seventeenth and early eighteenth century nobility's approach to bodily appearance – allowing for values to be *produced* on the body's surface – wanes in the *Menschenbild* of the progressing eighteenth century. I will later argue that it is likewise largely disapproved of in contemporary culture.

Social dancing

Dancing – socially at balls or half-theatrically in court ballets – was an appropriate practice to stage the graceful body. In his 1725 publication *The Dancing Master*, Pierre Rameau suggested that there was no better way than dancing to enhance one's bodily, *and consequently one's social position* (Foster 1996: 22-8; see also Vigarello 1989: 179).[74] Court entertainments often required couples to perform for one another:

> Under the scrutinizing gaze of their associates, they were asked to demonstrate their command of the key vocabulary of dance movement – and by association, their command of all other courtly skills. Facility and composure in dance signalled competence at and stature within general courtly life. Courtiers' status could thus be enhanced or jeopardized at such gatherings as the result of their level of expertise. (Foster 1996: 23)[75]

The elaborate courtly hierarchies enacted in staging techniques such as measured trains, observing rules for passing superiors or sitting on particular chairs were all included in the dancing. Dance as social art and as physical training as well as theatrical dancing were united in that their "origins resided in the drive to regulate the body's comportment and to refine the

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mounting a horse, playing a game of tennis, bowing as a sovereign entered, moving a chair from one part of the room to another." (1996: 23)

[73] For a discussion of grace see Mainberger (2012).

[74] Franko calls the court ballet where courtiers danced themselves "the noble's most conspicuous arena of self-display" (1993: 2).

[75] See also McClary 1998: 92.

body's every action in each endeavor it performed throughout the day" (Foster 1996: 22). In the late seventeenth century "Louis [XIV] and his ballet masters pushed dance technique to a new level and gave it a sharply felt raison d'être: social ambition" (Homans 2010: 20-1).

The study of correct social behaviour was part of dancing lessons.[76] By the mid-eighteenth century the dancing masters' forming awareness of anatomical structure led to an understanding of the body in more and more mechanical terms: Dancing could form and mould the body into the desired shape like no other form of exercise.[77] Dance thus played an important part in letting both the individual's exterior and – consequently – his/her status emerge as malleable. The graceful ballet movements' performance as *danse noble* by professionals at the Paris Opéra, in particular, marked the fact that grace was not an inborn noble quality but a style of staging the body that could be learned.

Stage dance

Scholarship differs concerning the relation between social and stage dancing around 1700. Above, I suggested that the movement vocabulary for theatrical dancing developed from the codified everyday gestures at court. In the same line, Foster writes: "Not only did the vocabularies for theatrical and social dance overlap, but many of the movements alluded to those required for polite social interaction." (1996: 9)[78] Similarly, Cohen (2000), Homans (2010) and Hilton (1981) point out connections and similarities between

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[76] The connection, however, was not invented at the court of Louis XIV: "dance and etiquette had always been bedfellows, and dance manuals reaching back to the Renaissance abounded with rules concerning carriage and comportment. The writings of Feuillet and Pierre Rameau […], however, took this fixation on etiquette to unprecedented extremes. In their books, one could learn the fine details of how to bow and take off one's hat; how to enter an apartment, pass a superior on the street, or show respect in leaving a room; how to hold one's skirts, when to lift the eyes, and how deeply to bend when and for whom." Homans 2010: 21.

[77] This is mirrored in the period's treaties on dance such as Pauli's *Eléments de la Danse* (1756), Gallini's *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (1762), Chavanne's *Principes du Menuet* (1767). See Foster 1996: 69.

[78] The movement vocabulary for theatrical dancing developed as essentially an even more affected version of the codified everyday gestures at court. Referring to the acclaimed earlier eighteenth century Opéra dancer and ballet master Louis Dupré, Foster writes: "His carriage, the easy articulation of his arms and legs, the carefully measured gestures, his alacrity – all demonstrated an ideal way of moving through social as well as artistic worlds. Quick, darting motions of the legs, the coordinated rise and fall of arms, and a responsive torso conducted hands, feet and head along desired pathways that resembled those prescribed by proper social intercourse." 1996:22.

dancing at balls and on stage.[79] Conversely, an extensive consideration of sources led the dance historian Edmund Fairfax (2003) to the conclusion that notable differences existed between the two forms at the turn of the eighteenth century. According to Fairfax (42), dances on stage and at social gatherings shared many of the same steps, movements and *ports de bras*. But social dancing was marked by its modesty and simplicity, while movements in stage dance were performed in an exaggerated, vigorous and complex manner.[80]

However similar or dissimilar social and stage dancing around 1700 might have been, the body's staging in both suggests a close relation to its contemporary social values and dominant *Menschenbild*. Awareness of one's proper positioning in relation to one's surroundings, a masterful performance of all the polite gestures required at courtly interaction, healthy looks, an upright comportment were features of staging ideal bodily appearance. According to Foster, theatrical dancing "vivified the metadisciplinary bodily techniques that infused every action with an illustrious nobility" (1996: 31).

Theatrical dancing had existed before Louis XIV founded the Paris Opéra in 1669;[81] in court ballets, the sovereign and his courtiers performed for each other.[82] In *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (1993) Mark Franko refers to the ballets' "distinct stages of evolution" as "unified by [their] characteristically anti-Aristotelian qualities" (2). In Franko's description, the court ballet emerges as a collateral arts spectacle;

> a potentially chaotic melange of music, décor, costumes, props, declamation, distributed librettos, and the audience's active participation, as well as dancing, acting, improvisation, miming, and mumming […] Displaced by or absorbed into this vertiginous complexity of collateral arts, the body seems often to have been no more than a spectacular accessory. (1)

Some of this spectacular spirit outlined by Franko must have lived on in the later performances of short ballets at the Paris Opéra. Cohen suggests that ballet performances there were still exempted from the Aristotelian unities of place, time and action (2000: 138). Foster describes the mid-eighteenth century lavish spectacles at the Paris Opéra:

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[79] Louis XIV's charter authorising the establishment of the Academy of Dance in 1662 did not distinguish between social and theatrical dance, either. See Foster 1996: 22.

[80] Fairfax distinguishes theatrical dance further into four styles: the serious danse noble and semi-serious styles and the comical and grotesque styles. It is the serious *danse noble*, in particular, that other scholars have referred to as a social as well as theatrical dance form. See Hilton (1981); Little and Marsh (1992).

[81] Paris Opéra was the popular name for the Royal Academy of Music. See Cohen 2000: 6.

[82] The court ballet developed in the sixteenth century and expanded greatly under Louis XIV. It had, according to Cohen, run its course by the 1680s/90s. (2000: 5 and 144)

After periods of minimal action in which singing characters formally declared their feelings and intentions, bodies encrusted with feathers, ribbons, satin, and lace would suddenly sweep onto the stage. Each dancer, individually adorned and coiffed, contributed to the extraordinary assemblage of colors, lines and textures that decorated the stage. The ballets involved large numbers of dancers in patterns that embroidered the space with a never-ending series of configurations. […] Dancers executed this parade of patterns invoking a moderated but dynamic energy. Phrases exemplified a range, but not the extremes, of quickness and slowness. Steps from the basic vocabulary propelled dancers along their designed paths, allowing them to make decorous contact with one another. (1996: 61)

Despite the suggested opulence in the quotes by Franko and Foster above (about court ballet and ballet at the Paris Opéra, respectively) – which might remind the contemporary reader of a visually excessive revue number[83] – each body within this complex geometry referenced the rules of appropriate social comportment. In the highly stylised and artificial way described in Foster's quote, dancers accurately performed the proper movements of courtly greeting, touching and looking, while also keeping the proper spatial relations and proximities to the other bodies on stage.

If the *danse noble* was more contained than the comical and grotesque dancing styles, it was as focused on visual display. A serious, calmer dancing style, it enjoyed particular popularity at the Paris Opéra in the years after its opening (Fairfax 2003: 86). The *danse noble* bore several characteristics that later came under the attack of the ballet reformers. One such point of critique were the masks or half-masks which were often an essential part of the costumes (Homans 2010: 27-30). These masks made it impossible to see the performers' facial expressions and they directed the spectators' attention to the dancing body (Foster 1996: 29). Eliminating any sign of effort in the dancer's face added to the *danseur noble's* controlled grace and made the body appear as highly artificial. The adorned body appeared as a spectacular moving entity, and had little or nothing to do with rendering narrative or expressing emotions. Fairfax holds that for the early eighteenth century audience, the dancer's moving body was a purveyor of excitement as such, and that there was no need to tell a story (2003: 90).[84]

Referring to the strongly geometrical aesthetic in earlier court ballets, Franko writes that "by dancing, the body was engaged in a process that eliminated the exhibition of an individual's intent or personal message" (1993: 15f). He adds: "Each body became transformed into a point in space at the most fundamental visual level: The body loses its human resonance

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[83] Franko writes that the court ballet's "illusionary universe was much closer – in material density if not in philosophical outlook – to twentieth-century performance art than to classical ballet". (1993: 1)

[84] Fairfax makes reference to Grimm who suggests the movements of the *danse noble* said nothing and meant nothing at all (Fairfax 2003: 90).

when it becomes a marker of geometrical position." (21) Exactitude and symmetry were key features of both social and theatrical dancing in the late *ancien régime*. In 1700 the Parisian ballet master Raoul Auger Feuillet published a number of dances in what is today referred to as the Beauchamps-Feuillet notation. Feuillet's notational depiction of primarily social dances designated clear symmetrical figures, loops, circles and S-curves to be traced by a soloist or a couple in acute awareness of their relation to each other, the king and the courtiers around them (Homans 2010: 21f). The notations capture the emphasis on exact orientation and geometry which remained the focus of the spectators' attention when dances were performed on stage. In the mid-eighteenth century ballet divertissements' geometrical floor patterns were visible for an audience because of the slightly tilted stage.

"Passacaille pour un homme et une femme" (1704)
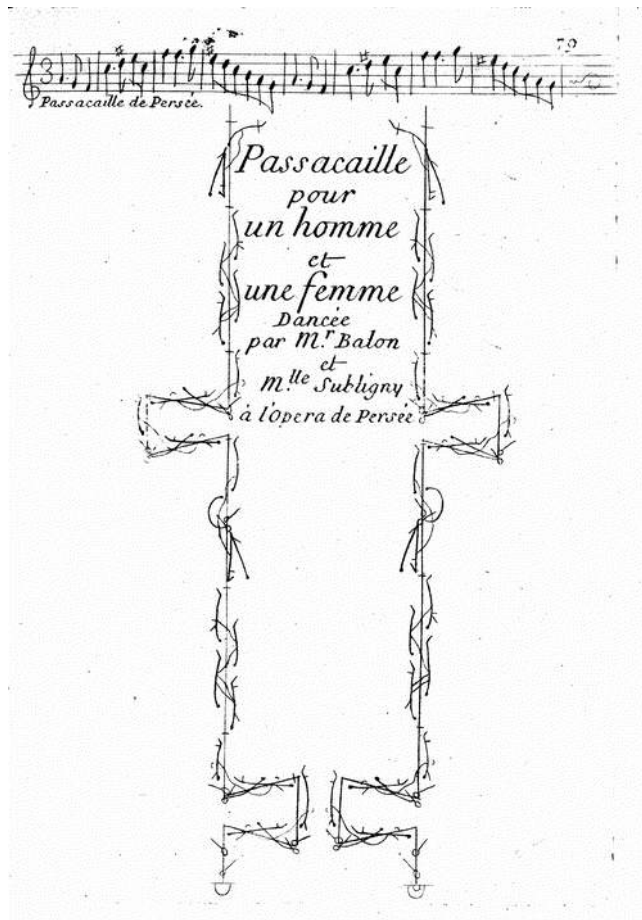
Figure 1: Passacaille pour un homme et une femme (1704). Source: Det Kongelige Bibliotek

The "Passacaille pour un homme et une femme (La Passacaille de Persée)" is taken from a collection of theatre dance notations that were performed at different operas (Feuillet 1704). Feuillet's notation from 1704 clearly shows the symmetry of the dancing man and woman who create mirror images of each other's movements in space. The little signs indicate that not only were the dancing partners' pathways through space symmetrical, but their steps, positions, *relevés* and *tombés* were too. On the sheet, even the dance's written title fits into the depicted pathways without disturbing the presentation's symmetry.

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The choreography's geometrical set-up, and its correspondence to the eight bars of music indicated on the upper part of the sheet suggest that the dancers must be highly in control of their movements. For the 'partnering' to work, exactitude is crucial. In order to perform the choreography in a way that is faithful to the notation, movements must be calculated to the last detail, not carried out impulsively. With a "graphing of motion [that] summoned the body into and located it within a geometrically defined grid stipulating both horizontal and vertical positions" (Foster 2011: 20), the notation suggests an emphasis on staged, artificial-looking movement that was also obvious to the spectators in performance.

The "Passacaille pour un homme et une femme" relates to a specific *Menschenbild*. Such a proposition recalls Foster's stance that choreography is a "hypothetical setting forth of what the body is and what it can be" (2011: 4). Foster suggests that there is a "dialectical tension between choreography and performance" (5). She explains: "choreography presents a structuring of deep and enduring cultural values that replicates similar sets of values elaborated in other cultural practices whereas performance emphasised the idiosyncratic interpretation of those values" (*ibid.*). Choreography manifests itself not only in its danced execution, but also in buildings (that choreograph space and people's movement in it), or indeed in the movement instructions in dance notations.[85] Consequently, the staging of a *Menschenbild* can be 'read off' not only from people's physical appearance, but also from philosophical treaties, evaluations and instructions on how bodies should – ideally – appear.[86] Its prescriptive quality makes choreography a "strategy of creation", in the sense Fischer-Lichte uses the term (2008: 187, see above). The depicted choreographic notation generates/suggests an – undoubtedly idealised and perhaps never in reality achieved – moving body. In this sense, I consider dance notation documents from which we can gain insights into the *ancien régime's Menschenbild* and its staging. In the case of the above choreographic notation (and its contemporary notations of *danse noble*), the techniques used to make the body appear suggest a *Menschenbild* in which appearance is conceived independently from the notion of an inner regulator, in which bodies appear highly controlled and no efforts are made to hide this controlled, staged appearance. According to Foster, the Feuillet notations "confirm the existence of an absolute set of laws to which all bodies should conform" (2011: 26).

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[85] For the issue of objects that choreograph our paths through space see also William Forsythe's essay "Choreographic Objects" (n.d.).

[86] Referring to what she calls 'tropes' in dance (and what bears similarities to what I have termed *Menschenbilder*) Foster writes: "They may be articulated as verbal descriptions of the body and its actions, or as physical actions that show it how to behave. Whether worded or enacted, these tropes change its meaning by re-presenting it." (1992: 482)

Sartorial stagings

Looking at depictions and descriptions of the long eighteenth century's nobility today, it seems that both men's and women's primary goal in adorning their bodies was to change its shape, colour and texture as much as possible from the way bodies tend to look pre-fashioning. The noble body was clad in elaborate embroidery, heavy materials, ruffles, lace; crinolines, petticoats, corsets and huge hats for women, breeches for men, as well as gigantic powdered wigs or hair sculptures.

Another distinctive technique of staging the female courtier's body in the long eighteenth century was her white painted face, neck and breasts.[87] The thick white base was created by way of ceruse, which contained lead and was therefore highly toxic. Rouge and occasionally red lips and blue veins were drawn onto it, along with pasted-on red or black patches. Since medieval times make-up has customarily been described as an ornament which "must not be seen but must make its object visible, it must show without showing itself" (Lichtenstein 1993: 185). The *ancien régime's* white ceruse makeup conspicuously defies that ideal. The French ladies of fashion appeared obviously made up with an artificial, porcelain-like complexion as their aim (Ribeiro 2010: 221; Lehnert 2008: 81).

By the mid-eighteenth century, *robes à la française* were worn with a tight bodice and a wide hoop or panniers (side hoops that extended the width of the skirt at the hips) under the petticoat. This gave the lower part of women's silhouette at least three times the width of its tight-laced upper part (see *Figure 2*). When skirts became smaller in the years leading up to the revolution, hairstyles and hats grew into enormous dimensions.

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[87] Sennett (1976: 65) and Vinken (1999: 36) contend that men equally wore the white makeup.

Figure 2: Marie Antoinette portrayed by Vigée Le Brun in 1778.

The opulent clothes worn by the nobility indicated power amongst courtiers, but also to the rest of society.[88] Sartorial ornamentation in the *ancien régime* was indicative of high social standing rather than female gender, as is the custom today: "His status at court, like hers, was determined by appearance" (Vinken 2005: 13). The sexes' garments differed in shape, but not in opulence.[89] While the female leg was not supposed to be seen, men wore tight

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[88] As Roche remarks: "the ostentatious demonstration of a frivolity seen as the natural expression of an art of living, inaccessible to the majority, becomes the mark of a supreme distinction" (1996: 3).

[89] See, for instance, Wilson 2005: 118; Roche 1996: 38; Harvey 1995: 196; Hollander 1994: 9 and 64-6.

breeches. A sexual charge was then much more characteristic for men's clothing, suggests Vinken:

> The beauty of the male leg, the play of calf and thigh, which was distinguished to advantage in skin-tight, flesh-colored boots or embroidered silk stockings, the tone and coloring of the skin, whose snowy beauty was highlighted by sumptuous lace, the *braguette* or so-called codpiece, which was set off from the legs, and in size, ornamentation and exaggerating realism left nothing to be desired (1999: 36)

It was custom at court to perform identity in appearances, to enact one's social place through the ongoing process of staging one's body. Homans points out that "[p]hysical and emotional control were paramount" at court (2010: 28). In this context, dress was a mode of changing appearance at will, a means of controlling one's looks more ostentatiously, more effectively – and probably more easily – than was the case with dance, conduct and physical etiquette. The association with high rank at court was undoubtedly one reason for dressing in this highly ornamented manner, but it does not explain the excessive conspicuousness with which courtiers exposed their bodies' stagings. I will now turn to how *masquerades* both made visible and helped to confuse hierarchies, reflecting the court's emphasis on appearance.

Masquerade: expanding on one's body

Masquerading gained prominence in social life both in Paris and at court around the turn of the eighteenth century (Cohen 2000: 145-7, Tseëlon 2001: 28). Embedded within larger costume balls, a host of performances – both planned and impromptu – would emerge from the variously disguised bodies. At these events "the line between social dance and performance – never very clear to begin with – was erased in a continuous festivity of display, observation and interaction." (Cohen 2000: 147)

Masquerades let nobles avoid distinctions of rank and gave the lower classes the opportunity to infiltrate court balls, which were sometimes open to everyone wearing a disguise. In accordance with the courtly convention that appearance defined the individual, masquerades would allow a masked member of considerably lower rank to dance with an unmasked duchess, for instance. The masquerade balls suspended the otherwise strict and elaborate rules of staging the body: of sitting, standing and dancing according to rank. The bodies' appearance in masks and costumes destabilised considerations of hierarchy, even if the 'true' identities of the masqueraders were known. (Cohen 2000: 148f)

Transgressions occurred at masquerades not only in the form of crossing hierarchical borders, but also as transvestism and other violations of sexual

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morality. The literature scholar Terry Castle writes that it was the mask in particular – that indispensible element of masquerade – that was thought to be powerfully aphrodisiac for its wearer and beholder alike. Women, especially, were believed to experience an abrupt loss of sexual inhibition when wearing a mask. The masks' (partial) shielding of the face meant a physical detachment from the situation and by implication a moral detachment. (Castle 1986: 39) As "promiscuous gatherings" (Castle 1986: 2) masquerade balls were attended by both cross-dressing men and women. Just as dressing in a certain way temporarily changes one's social rank, cross-dressing confronts practitioners and spectators with the body's malleability and the arbitrariness of sartorial categories of class, nationality and gender. Gender Studies scholar Marjorie Garber (1992) conceptualises cross-dressing as a destabilisation of categories in society at large.[90] Like crossing other rules and conventions of sartorial staging techniques, cross-dressing exposes the construction inherent in any sort of dressing and, by extension, of all identifying markers, according to Garber. As masculinity, femininity or other elements of identity resist being accepted as 'natural' and instead are exposed as the result of cultural practices – as stagings – they lose their credibility as originals (Lehnert 1997: 37). Considering that social class, nationality and gender – and often their stability – are at most points in history considered essential parts of an individual's identity, Castle points out the significance of masquerades. They are

> in the deepest sense a kind of collective meditation on self and other, and an exploration of their mysterious dialectic [...] [M]asqueraders developed scenes of vertiginous existential recombination. New bodies were superimposed over old; anarchic, theatrical selves displaced supposedly essential ones [...] The result was a material devaluation of the unitary notions of the self [...]. The pleasure of the masquerade attended on the experience of doubleness, the alienation of inner from outer, a fantasy of two bodies simultaneously (Castle 1986: 5)

Castle makes important points about the court's *Menschenbild* around 1700 and the role masquerade played in it. She refers to the notion of a self as multiple and the masqueraders' inventiveness when it came to stagings of their bodies. Furthermore, the quote suggests the enjoyment involved in fusing several identities into *one* multiple self – rather than inventing a clearly distinct 'other' in the masquerade (see also Garber 1992: 10). In her essay "Fälschung wie sie ist, unverfälscht. Über Models, Mimikry und Fake" (1998a), Brandstetter follows Caillos and uses the term *mimicry* (rather than the Aristotelian *mimesis*) to refer to "the pleasure of disguise, the transvestic

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[90] Louis XIV himself appeared as a woman in two 1660s ballets. In the burlesque ballet *Les Nopces de Village* (1663) he danced the role of a beautiful Village Maiden. Cohen (2000: 47-52) focuses on the king's strategic use of his body's seductive appearance in the ballet.

transformation: the disguise and camouflage of a mask" (430). Brandstetter points out that mimicry (unlike a mimetic, imitative mode of representation) does not strive after the perfect copy but "refers to a method of display that slips on the similarity [to something] as a mask, a camouflage" (1998a: 433). The constructed mimicry, however, leaves visible the "difference between idol and imitator" (433, my translations).[91] This strategy of pseudo-camouflage, of a pleasure in disguise without the intention of a perfect copy, is in line with my understanding of the staging of bodies at the early eighteenth century masquerades at the French court. The courtiers expanded on modes of staging their bodies whilst leaving the techniques of constructing the appearance visible. Social masquerading did not conceal a more truthful underlying bodily being or attempt to seriously deceive with camouflage. Being masked was, for the courtier, not a distinct and merely 'played' transformation, but was part of staging identity and integral to a larger system of appearance and artifice. Masquerade was thus not only a common practice in the *ancien régime*, but was symptomatic for it and its way of acknowledging the body as staged.

What the masquerades then helped undermine was a certain logic of hierarchy; the logic of an inner truth, a 'hard', stable hierarchy of *being*. The *ancien régime's* hierarchy, conversely, was significantly determined by appearance – which was precisely why the masquerade could play such a crucial role in it. I venture that the *ancien régime's* court culture, often associated with the hyper disciplined body (and to some degree rightly so), allowed an 'other' as an integral part of it much more than later cultures did.[92]

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[91] See also Lehnert: "[D]ie Maskerade [entfaltet] ihr Potenzial nur in der Gleichzeitigkeit der Möglichkeiten, in jenem Riß, der sich in der Maske auftut, damit sie als Maskerade erkennbar werden" (1997: 38).

[92] For a brief overview of Western nation-states' suppressive approach to Otherness in relation to masquerade see Tseëlon 2001b: 5-7.

Conclusion

The techniques of body stagings I discussed in this opening section exemplified what can be referred to as 'marked' stagings of the body (that is stagings which are clearly exposed as such). When discussing fashion and dance, I concentrated on techniques that exposed the body's staging in movement and in adorning it with makeup, coiffure and clothes. Marking the body's staged appearance can be seen as in opposition to techniques which conceal the body's preparation for public appearance, for instance with makeup that is invisible, or rhetorically linking the 'nature' of a certain class, sex or race to a certain bodily appearance and thus naturalising that appearance.

In the theatre, stagings commonly rely on their being perceived as consciously constructed. This premise is, however, not invariably applicable to stagings outside the theatre. In everyday life, a staging might fail to have the desired effect if it is revealed as such. If we think of social life situations, it is often crucial that bodily appearances and behaviour must not be perceived as the result of a staging process, but rather should be seen as 'natural' or 'genuine' (Fischer-Lichte 2000b: 20f). At the eighteenth-century court, however, concealment was not part of the repertoire of staging techniques; bodies were visibly identified as staged by conspicuous adornments that exposed the artificial moulding of the human figure through exaggeration.

Two strategies marked the body's sartorial staging in the *ancien régime*: on the one hand, it was the masquerades' obfuscation of stable identities in modes of dress that are irrespective of gender and social status. On the other hand, it was the courtiers' hyperbolic adornment of their bodies in 'ordinary' court culture. Overall, the elite body constituted what Sennett calls "an amusing toy to play with" (1976: 65). What was staged was not just an over-emphasis on staging the courtiers' faces and figures. Rather, those were to some extent disregarded and overbuilt: The head, for instance, was a mere "support for the real focus of interest, the wig or hairdo", argues Sennett (1976: 70). Such adornments were interesting to the courtiers in themselves, not in their capacity to bring to the fore or enhance anything supposedly 'natural' in the body. Similarly, the conscious and artful placing of steps was a pre-revolutionary marker for social privilege. To move and comport oneself in a way that would appear affected today was then by no means considered inappropriate. The more moulded the dressed and moving body appeared, the higher the rank it demonstrated.

Masks were worn on and off stage, further marking the artificiality of body stagings. The long eighteenth century masquerades thus bear witness to fashion's generally less acknowledged function: "Fashion not only confirms and economically functionalises the division of gender and class; it constructs and subverts them by stripping them bare […] and reveals them as an effect of construction." (Vinken 2005: 4) Rather than certifying divisions of

rank and gender as natural, clothing at the late *ancien régime*'s court largely exposed the artificiality of such categories. The focus on the body's surface implied no assumption of an interior force being expressed or regulating its appearance. Such exposure of the body's active moulding and constructing has come into conflict with moralists' (such as Rousseau, see also Ribeiro 1986b: 744-6) understandings of 'true' and 'false' identity when clothing ceased to be a sign of social standing and, instead, became a sign of a person's inner truth (see Sennett 1976: 167; Roche 1996: 6). While the beneficial impact 'art' could have on 'nature' was sometimes acknowledged (Noverre 2004: 13; Lichtenstein 1993: 185f), it was preferred for this artifice to remain undetectable. Enlightenment thinking thus gradually created a fundamental tension between reality and appearance in social life. (See Liechtenstein 1993; Cohen 2000: 40-50; Roche 1996: 6) Strategies that aim to stage what was meant to be natural will concern me throughout the rest of this chapter.

The Appearance of Authenticity

The division of 'being' and 'mere appearance' gained political prominence in Enlightenment thinking which began to dominate Western culture in the eighteenth century. Enlightenment ideals became key in the period prior to the Revolution in 1789 and included – besides liberty, equality and fraternity – values such as sincerity and authenticity. They were to have substantial consequences for the binary division of the sexes and the incorporation of 'being versus mere appearance' into that binary.[93] In this chapter I want to outline authenticity as part of the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild* and explore how the emerging appreciation of an authentically expressed 'inner nature' was staged in men's and women's fashions and in the dances of the period.

Bodily authenticity in the eighteenth century

The notion that a body's physical appearance should be indicative of a person's inner truth became significant in the Enlightenment. Bodily authenticity was characterised by its supposed immediacy and took on the meaning of authentic as "conforme à son apparance" (*Grand Robert* 2001: 1024): the ideal authentic body was staged and perceived as a signifier that was identical with its signified.

It needs to be pointed out that the term 'authenticity' was hardly used in the eighteenth century. Later scholarship has, however, referred to Enlightenment thinking as epitomising what 'authentic being' later came to mean.[94] Trilling, amongst others, has noted that "[t]he ideal of authentic personal

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[93] See Pierre-Jean-Georges Cabanis' *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* (1802). For a discussion of Cabanis' treaties and sexual politics in revolutionary France, more generally, see Lajer-Burcharth (1999: 175-80).

[94] Knaller (2006: 18) refers to the different languages' etymological dictionaries when she points out that the noun 'authenticity' is in French, German and English use since the mid eighteenth century. However, I have not found it in my eighteenth century sources. 'Authentic' is used in the sense "sincere; juste, naturel, vrai" or "Qui exprime une vérité profonde de l'individu et non des habitudes superficielles, des conventions" only since the twentieth century (Grand Robert 2001: 1024).

being stands at the very centre of Rousseau's thought" (1972: 93; see also Taylor 1991: 25-9; Luckner 2011). If not yet referred to as 'authentic' in the eighteenth century, it is this eighteenth century notion of a coinciding inner essence and outer appearance that I want to trace in this chapter.

In the Enlightenment, morality/knowing right from wrong was not seen as a matter of dry calculation, but as something anchored in our feelings, argues Taylor (1991: 26). The idea that goodness/ morality/truth is already within us connects the *Menschenbild* dominant in the Enlightenment with a twenty-first-century notion of bodily authenticity. This "form of inwardness, in which we come to think of ourselves as beings with inner depth" (Taylor 1991: 26) is reflected in the way bodies were/are staged and evaluated both then and now. Taylor notes that "Rousseau frequently presents the issue of morality as that of our following a voice of nature within us." (27)

The inner qualities which Enlightenment philosophers assumed to emerge authentically in (moral) people constitute what they called 'natural character'. Authenticity and nature are, then, tightly entangled concepts. The use of the term 'nature' is prominent but not entirely consistent in eighteenth century texts and their later discussions. If an author refers to a characteristic as 'natural' that might imply one of two things: first, an assumed essentialism regarding that characteristic's inherence in a person. But 'natural' can also refer to the supposedly unmediated expression of a characteristic. Similarly, a 'natural person' may be one who not only *possesses* those characteristics which the Enlightenment categorised as 'natural', but also *expresses* them without mediation. Enlightenment thinking did not see an 'evil person' as lacking 'natural character', but as acting against expressing it.

In the introduction I suggested three questions that are relevant for my investigation of an authentic body's staging:

1. What is the exact configuration of the 'inner truth' that is revealed (does it denote feelings, a soul, being, a notion of self)?
2. What staging techniques are used to achieve the coincidence of inner and outer?
3. And finally: What codes of appearance does the appearing body have to comply with in order to be deemed 'authentic' (question of style)?

I will tackle these questions throughout the rest of chapter 1 and address them in a contemporary context in the next chapter. For the investigation of the inner truth within the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild* (question 1), *sensibilité's* impact on acting techniques and Rousseau's *Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theatre* will be my points of departure. Questions of style and staging technique (2 and 3) can be productively discussed in relation to my dance and fashion examples below.

I thus begin with an introduction to French Enlightenment thinking. Following an explanation of the concept *sensibilité*, I provide a discussion of what constituted bodily authenticity in the thinking of the Enlightenment philosophers. In a section about 'The phantasm of the natural figure' I focus on the supposedly *immediate* bodily presentation that authenticity refers to. I outline Rousseau's attack on the theatre – and society – as sources of inauthenticity in a reading of his *Letter*. Based on this text, I arrive at a clearer conception of the inner truth that was implicit in the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild*. I expand on this configuration of inner truth in my concluding remarks, which will serve as a basis for comparison to features of twenty-first-century notions about authenticity.

Criticisms of mere Appearance in Enlightenment Thought

Tying appearance to inner truth: *sensibilité* and its impact on the performing arts

The 'Age of Sensibility' has generally been used to refer to a social, and primarily literary, phenomenon of eighteenth century England and was defined by novelists such as Samuel Richardson and Laurence Sterne.

> In the study of English letters, the "Age of Sensibility" refers to a literary tradition characterised by a set of features that appeared both together and separately, and whose combination can seem incongruous in retrospect. The first was emotionalism, ranging in tone from pathetic to extravagant. The second was a preoccupation with the bodily mechanisms of experience and emotion. And the third was a sceptical irreverence toward theories and institutions, including the same materialist, physiological theories of human nature that provided the backdrop of the first two features. (Riskin 2000: 5f)

The French Enlightenment philosophers highly valued the writings of Richardson and Sterne[95] and the notion of *sensibilité* peaked in France in the second half of the eighteenth century. Opposing the *ancien régime's* noble superficiality, *sensibilité* promoted an understanding of the human being in which outer appearance was invariably informed by inner constitution. *Sensibilité* is relevant to this study because as a concept it supposed that the body – its movement and appearance – was no mere 'surface phenomenon',

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[95] See, for instance, Diderot's essay "Eloge de Richardson" (1761).

but rather – and necessarily – informed by an interior agency. Movement was carried out and understood to be a manifestation of feeling, the previous purely exterior body became aligned with an inner regulator.

A 1765 entry in the *Encyclopédie*, defined *sensibilité* as the capacity "to perceive impressions of external objects" (Riskin 2002: 1). Significantly, it triggered the sensible creature's answering 'movement' in response.[96] *Sensibilité* as such related the individual to her surroundings and – according to Enlightenment medicine – governed inner processes. It characterised the mutually dependent relation between the organs and limbs in the body, which could only be functional if all its inherent powers were in balance. The particular interest of the period's medical establishment was directed towards the delicate balance between head and stomach – which were supposed to correspond with intention and instinct; reason and emotion.[97] (Heeg 2000: 100)

The work of the painter and art theoretician Charles Le Brun documented the assumption that outer appearance reflected an inner in the arts. His *A Method to learn to design the Passions* (*Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner des passions*, published posthumously in 1698) explained how "complex but straightforward anatomical mechanisms were responsible for bodily expression of the passions" (Foster 1996: 33). By mid-century, Le Brun's explanation of the body-soul alliance in terms of complex hydraulic machinery was revised and replaced by a theory of nerve fibres that produced both passions and bodily movement (*ibid*.). But the immediate connection between body and soul remained unquestioned. The novelty of *sensibilité* was that it proclaimed something 'inner' to be represented through a person's body. This new *Menschenbild* broke with ideal appearance in the *ancien régime*, both on stage and in everyday life.

Resonating with this paradigm shift were theatre writers such as Diderot, Dubos, Sainte-Albine, Lessing and Riccoboni who concerned themselves with how (the illusion could be created that) inner truth was revealed on stage. In the estimation of the playwright and Enlightenment philosopher Diderot the acknowledgement of the physical expressions of *sensibilité* went hand in hand with the rise of gestures and pantomime as a means of expression. Dismissing the spectacular *danseur noble* or the 'unnaturally' declaiming actor in the *tragédie classique*, Diderot favoured pantomimic gestures and their supposedly universal intelligibility, to which I will return later. Diderot believed pantomime to have a communicative potential equal to the word, and to be a more effective communicator than language in some sub-

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[96] Five years earlier, Diderot had answered the question *What is sensibilité?* in a letter to Sophie Volland as follows: "The vivid effect on our soul of an infinity of delicate observations." (quoted in Riskin 2002: 1).
[97] A medical text that was a key influence on Enlightenment thinking about *sensibilité* was Louis Lacaze: "L'Idée de l'homme physique et morale" (1755).

limely emotional situations (Heeg 2000: 69-74; see also Fischer-Lichte 1983: 199-223).

But later in his life, Diderot concluded that *sensibilité* also bore the notion of the uncontrollable; of being estranged from one's own body. Taking his cue from his contemporaries' opinions on medicine, Diderot expressed a more sombre account of *sensibilité*:

> Sensibility, according to the only acceptation yet given to the term, is, as it seems to me, that disposition which accompanies organic weakness, which follows on easy affection of the diaphragm, on vivacity of imagination, on delicacy of nerves, which inclines one to being compassionate, to being horri-fied, to admiration, to fear, to being upset, to tears, to faintings, to rescues, to flights, to exclamations, to loss of self-control, to being contemptuous, dis-dainful, to having no clear notion of what is true, good, and fine, to being un-just, to going mad. (Diderot 1957: 43)

In increasingly specific terms this quote from *The Paradox of Acting* pro-pounds the unsettling side of a body exposed to its own s*ensibilité. Sensibil-ité* was, then, not without some troublesome ambiguities. After his earlier reliance on the virtuous sensibility he had discovered in Richardson, Diderot – in the *Paradox of Acting* (1830) – shows an increasingly 'scientific' take on *sensibilité* (Heeg 2000: 100). By the mid eighteenth century*,* according to Riskin, *sensibilité* had assumed a scientific meaning that spanned both physical sensation and moral sensitivity. Expanding on John Locke's axiom (in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* 1690) that sensory experi-ence was the only genuine source of knowledge, Diderot popularised the notion that "[i]deas, emotions, and moral sentiments alike were expressions of sensibility, movements of the body's parts in response to the outside world." (Riskin 2002: 2) This fusing of sensation with sentiment character-ised the Enlightenment research in the natural sciences. Riskin consequently calls this tradition of natural science 'sentimental empiricism'; it was "founded on the assumption that knowledge grew not from sensory experi-ence alone, but from an inseparable combination of sensation and sentiment" (2002: 15).[98] I will show shortly that this potential for uncontrolled emo-tional outbursts distinguishes *sensibilité* from the eighteenth century's be-ginning notion of bodily authenticity.

In *The Paradox of Acting*, written between 1770 and 1773, Diderot went on to argue that actors must be in control of their actions, which precluded any actually 'unmediated' emotions on stage. Diderot's suggestion for a consciously constructed representation of emotion (based on the actor's em-pirical studies) to achieve authentic expression hints at the need for codifica-

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[98] The conjunction of morals and nature is relevant for my discussion because it gains a gen-eral influence in the Enlightenment's discourse on the body: "In French medical camps in particular, the physical became tied to the moral in such a way that medical arguments from 'nature' increasingly penetrated social theory." (Schiebinger 2000: 46)

tion. For spectators to conceive of inner truth which had become such a key element of the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild,* the 'revelation' and appearance of inner truth had to be carefully codified.

The phantasm of the natural figure

Despite highlighting the actor's necessary distance from his role, Diderot's "re-rhetoricisation of the actor's performance serves the illusion of authenticity" (Heeg 2000: 113)[99]. This is in sharp contrast to those practices in the *ancien régime* which acknowledged that appearance was manufactured – both on and off stage. In this section I discuss the notion of (un)mediation that was fundamental to what I will define as an authentic body in the Enlightenment.

> "The idea of returning to a simple and natural means of communication becomes a central Enlightenment utopia", writes German Studies scholar Ursula Geitner (quoted in Heeg 2000: 126)[100]. The Enlightenment's *Menschenbild* countered the *ancien régime's* artificiality with a subjective expression of sentiment. The 'expression' denoted an immediate translation of the 'inside' (thoughts, opinions, motives, intentions, feelings and emotions) into the 'outside' of signs, words and gestures. Immediacy – both on the theatre stage and outside it – remained intact as an ideal, even as 'natural expression' became widely theorised as calculated (by Diderot and others). In novels, blushing, uncontrolled trembling, and crying worked as codified 'natural signs' of an authentic figure; in the theatre, falling movements were common.[101] "That the 'natural' relies on deceit is not only true for theatre, but it is the general 'secret knowledge' of an epoch that never tires to celebrate it as the essential and original." (Heeg 2000: 127)[102]

When an actor's body – as the communicating medium on stage – ceased to be different from something else that it signified, the body and its every movement acquired a primary importance. According to Fischer-Lichte, the actor's body in the Enlightenment then became a semiotic body. It appeared "as a natural semiotic system which, however, is limited by its natural constitution to the production of particular kinds of signs: the natural signs that

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[99] „Re-Rhetorisierung der schauspielerischen Darstellung steht im Dienst der Illusion von Authentizität"
[100] „Die Vorstellung einer Restitution einfacher und natürlicher Kommunikationsverhältnisse wird eine der zentralen aufklärerischen Utopien."
[101] For these standardised movement codes of authenticity in the eighteenth century, which were linked to the bodily expression of overpowering emotions, see Heeg (2000: 43, 59, 81).
[102] „Daß das ‚Natürliche' auf Täuschung beruht, gilt nicht nur für das Theater, sondern ist das allgemein verbreitete Geheimwissen der Zeit, die nicht müde wird, es als das Eigentliche und Ursprüngliche zu feiern."

express the soul" (Fischer-Lichte 2000a: 40)[103]. This 'natural' semiotic system could also be described appropriately as a denial of any sign production: "The sign [of the natural figure] that wants to deny its status as a sign by means of 'pure expression' remains an ideal of 'immediacy' that, nevertheless, emerged from a mixture of heterogeneous signs." (Heeg 2000: 38)[104] The focus of the body's staging was the staging's disavowal.

The phantasm of the Enlightenment was, according to theatre scholar Günther Heeg (2000), the 'natural' figure of the 'innocent young woman'.[105] It was laid out in characters such as Diderot's Sophie, Lessing's Emilia Galotti and Sara Sampson, Schiller's Luise, Goethe's Gretchen and Rousseau's Julie. Heeg sees the 'innocent young woman's' eighteenth-century appeal as stemming from her naivety. Innocence was not only the character trait that united these female figures; the actresses performing these roles were not meant to appear as *allegories* of innocence. They were – in Enlightenment understanding – 'authentic signs' of innocence (Heeg 2000: 37). The different incarnations of this figure of the innocent young woman were united in authentically representing their inner: like these young women's characters, their appearances on stage (or in everyday life) were fantasized as 'innocent', immediate and unspoilt by the use of staging techniques. The ideal was that the 'innocent young woman' did not reflect on her own appearance – her appearance was not calculated to have a certain effect. This, according to Heeg, meant that she did not deceive, which in turn made her harmless to men who could desire her without being fooled (2000: 29). The idealisation of unmediated expression – or: the disavowal of the use of staging techniques – is a first constituent of what I will call the notion of bodily authenticity in the Enlightenment.

Rousseau: Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theatre

In the following I use Rousseau as a main Enlightenment thinker to further explore authenticity as part of the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild*. My reading focuses on Rousseau's notion of selfhood and his condemnations of the

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[103] „als ein natürliches semiotisches System, das allerdings aufgrund seiner von der Natur gegebenen Beschaffenheit auf die Produktion einer bestimmten Art von Zeichen eingeschränkt ist: auf die natürlichen Zeichen zum Ausdruck der Seele".

[104] „Als Zeichen, das, seinen Zeichencharakter leugnend, ihn im ‚reinen Ausdruck' geichsam überspringen will, bleibt es ein Wunschbild des ‚Unmittelbaren', das doch aus einer Mischung heterogener Zeichen hervorgegangen ist."

[105] I take the title of this section from Heeg's publication. Heeg explains the phantasm of the innocent young woman in 2000: 27-39.

self's instability. Rousseau articulated his call for stable selfhood – and an appearance that does justice to it – in his 1758 *Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theatre*. In the text Rousseau responded to an *Encyclopédie* article authored by d'Alembert who had argued in favour of establishing a theatre in Geneva. Rousseau pointed out that sociable interaction, such as visiting the theatre, bore the risk of making people dependent on each other. What Rousseau presented as terrifying in this mutual dependency was that people would have to rely on others for their sense of self: in order to feel good about themselves, individuals would have to focus on pleasing others. Rousseau saw the logical outcome of this reliance in people who began to manipulate their appearance. He loathed "the exposition of the ladies and the maidens all tricked out in their very best and put on display in the boxes as though they were in the window of a shop waiting for buyers" (1960: 111). Rousseau concluded that the more people interacted for the sheer pleasure of contact, the more they lost their authenticity and became manipulators.[106]

In the *Letter to M. d'Alembert*, incoherence between being and appearance was indeed the key factor which most of Rousseau's criticisms related to. Seeing through the impossibility of an unmediated appearance on stage, he found inauthenticity not only amongst the audience, but just as much amongst actors. While Rousseau suggested that man's very dignity depended on always being himself, the epitome of the actor's job is the contrary:

> What is the talent of the actor? It is the art of counterfeiting himself, of putting on another character than his own, of appearing different than he is, of becoming passionate in cold blood, of saying what he does not think as naturally as if he really did think it, and finally, of forgetting his own place by dint of taking another's. (1960: 79)

Rousseau saw such "cultivating by profession the talent of deceiving men" (1960: 80) as a disgrace and the actor was certainly no acceptable example for any citizen. Rousseau was far from the only one to have derived a correlation of society with the theatre from this mode of 'acting' to please others.[107] But neither did Rousseau argue in favour of the theatre as a trigger for honest emotions. On the contrary, his repudiation of the theatre as an institution where morality-corrupting passions were fuelled might have even seemed outdated in the era of *sensibilité*. For Rousseau, the theatre had the

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[106] Diderot argued along similar lines regarding social interaction as the basis of alienation from the self in *Rameau's Nephew* (see Trilling 1972: 26-33). This notion of society as the central hindrance for authentic being has continued and been variously developed by authors such as Marx, Debord or Sartre until today.

[107] "The great city is a theatre. Its scenario is principally the search for reputations.", writes Sennett clarifying Rousseau's point of view (1976: 119). In addition, eighteenth-century texts sometimes make it difficult to discern when they refer to acting and when to behaviour off the theatre stage. For this ambivalence in Diderot's *Paradox*, see Heeg 2000: 110. On the general scepticism towards 'theatricality' see. Holschbach 2006: 22ff; Barish (1981).

potential to bring out a passionate and hence unknown, uncontrollable aspect of oneself. Unpredictable passions were stirred up and the interaction with women, which visiting the theatre typically implied, eventually turned men into their slaves. Heeg sees in this Rousseau's fear of the 'other' which was actually, again, a fear of losing one's 'real' self (2000: 16-22).

Rousseau complained that in plays such as those by Molière or Regnard, the spectator was turned into an accomplice of the immoral character on stage.[108] This emotional corruptibility shattered Rousseau's belief in a reason- and virtue-driven stable self.[109] From this point of view, *sensibilité* emerged as in conflict with Rousseau's understanding of selfhood: it facilitated a rich variety of embodying one's inner truth and suggested that the 'nature of man' itself wasn't stable but multiple. Rousseau's own line of argument threw into question (very much in spite of his insistence on the same) the idea of a stable and good natural self. His fear of 'the other' appears to be motivated not least by the fear that this 'other' – women, sociability and the theatre – had the power to unravel (and thus reveal as a construct) Rousseau's authentic natural man.

Women's nature as stabilising 'Other'

Before I conclude on this section, I want to draw attention to an aspect of Rousseau's thinking on selfhood that had wide-ranging consequences: his understanding of gender in the world of the natural and authentic. Rousseau, as we saw, sensed a threatening loss of control over the self – and consequently sought to stabilise this. He did this by transferring the source of evil onto women. It was her lack of fear of exposure, her shamelessness, that gave her the power to arouse and hence control others' desire. Rousseau's projection was not restricted to the actress – the focus of his allegations. As the quote above about the 'tricked-out' ladies and maidens who visited the theatre suggests, Rousseau's condemnation applied to all women who actively sought any form of visibility or, as Heeg expresses it, to play a role in public life (2000: 24; see also Vinken 2005: 8f).[110] It was a key feature of the

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[108] For the risk (and metaphor) of contagion in the theatre see Fischer-Lichte 2004: 162.

[109] The loss of self-control and suggested multiplicity of the self constitutes an insecurity even before the 'narcissistic insult' to the notion of a stable ego a century later, when Freud posited that we are guided, mostly, by unconscious desires.

[110] In this context as elsewhere Rousseau opposes 'women' with 'country'. In the republic women are excluded from political power – expelled, rather, to the sphere of the ornamental, as the appearance of bourgeois women in the early nineteenth century shows. "Whether a monarch governs men or women should be indifferent to him, provided that he be obeyed; but in a republic, men are needed." (Rousseau 1960: 100f) The emerging bourgeoisie's beliefs

Enlightenment's 'natural' female figure that she expressed her inner self authentically. The staging of her body was then necessarily unmarked. For the Enlightenment's conception of 'innocent, virtuous woman' versus 'shameless, manipulative woman' to work, the inevitable *staging* of both types had to be concealed in the former case, and exposed in the latter.

Staging the body as stable is a crucial part of attributing authenticity in the eighteenth century. In addition, to be true to one's inner self, Rousseau suggested that a 'modest' style of dress was adequate, one that did not point to any intention to impress one's surroundings. For authenticity then, something other than the mere unmediated externalisation of 'inner being' was needed. The authentic body also had to comply with a certain style that communicated modesty and stability.[111] This shows that the difference between woman as authentic and as inauthentic is a matter of staging technique. In the case of the Enlightenment: whether or not the staging was perceptible as such. This attribution of authenticity to the natural figure of the innocent young woman could be seen as a form of fetishism. The Enlightenment's use and staging of authenticity might be productively described as following an inherently fetishistic structure. Its attribution relies on a fetishist projecting a desired value onto an object or person and then 'forgetting' that he/she has in fact him/herself constructed this fetish. The Enlightenment's authenticity fetish is a special case in which the fetishised value is authenticity itself (or – depending on terminology and definition: nature). In order for it to work, forgetting the process of its staging is even more crucial than in the fetishistic projection of other values. But the fact that bodily authenticity does not emerge from the natural figure of the innocent young woman immediately but needs to be carefully staged does not make it any less 'real' or significant. [112] I mention the implication that authentic appearance had for women, in particular, because staging normative ideals of a 'feminine' appearance is a key feature of manufacturing an authentic body, even today. It therefore comes up repeatedly in my analysis of contemporary staging techniques.

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were dependent on a political other: they had their enemy in the nobility, but (as the nobility lost influence) the counter-revolutionary ideals would be projected onto women.

[111] Interestingly, Trilling concludes on the sincerity of Goethe's Werther by reference to his dress: "It is much to the point, especially in the light of Rameau's wild impersonations and role-playings, that Werther expresses his sincerity by a singular and apparently unchanging mode of dress – everyone in Europe knew, and many imitated, Werther's costume of dark blue coat, yellow waistcoat and boots, and Goethe is at pains to mention that it was in this costume that Werther died. To the end and even in his defeat he held fast to the image of a one true self." (1972: 52)

[112] The relation between authenticity and fetishism – in the Enlightenment and later – would require its own investigation.

Conclusion

To summarize the notion of authenticity inherent in the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild*, I want to specify what the inner truth that was revealed on the ideal body referred to.

A person's appearance and deeds which I follow Taylor *et al.* in calling authentic were supposed to be in line with their interior – as we saw was also the case with *sensibilité*. It bears a heavy *moral* weight in bodily authenticity for the exterior to be in line with its inner.[113] But in the staging of an *authentic* body in the Enlightenment, this coincidence of inner and outer was not only associated with a surrender to overpowering physical mechanisms. Unlike the individual who physically expresses *sensibilité* by rendering visible his/her unstable inner emotions, Rousseau's writing suggested that an authentic body represents a *stable* self.[114]

My section on the 'Phantasm of the natural figure' illustrated that the ideal of authenticity charged the Enlightenment's ideal *Menschenbild* with a contradiction. While natural physical expression was widely theorised as the product of staging techniques, it remained celebrated as original and essential. Authentic appearance (as the bodily representation of an inner) was effectively revealed as an aesthetic style, rather than a mode of representation. The Enlightenment insight into the need for and propensity to stylise bodily appearance also made clear that it was illusory to think the body revealed anything particularly original about a person's inner truth – either in the theatre or in a non-theatre context. And yet, inner truth was what ideal bodily appearance in the Enlightenment was supposed to reveal. Before I turn to *how* this revelation was staged in dance and fashion, I will define the features that were effectively made visible as the authentic body's interiority in eighteenth-century France.

Neither temporary emotions nor Rousseau's notion of selfhood implied individuality in the way we understand that concept today. Contrary to our contemporary understanding, emotions (and their means of expression) were conceived of as universal (and thus universally understandable); the self was

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[113] Lionel Trilling points to 'sincerity' as another concept in close proximity to authenticity. But even more radical than sincerity in the quest for stable selfhood, authenticity appears to be a feature that necessarily suggests *being* (rather than *acting* authentically). Trilling writes about the relation of sincerity to authenticity: "I can rely on [authenticity's] suggesting a more strenuous moral experience than 'sincerity' does, a more exigent conception of self and of what being true to it consists in, a wider reference to the universe and man's place in it" (1972: 11).

[114] What should be observed here, however, is the moral implication of *sensibilité* itself: being physically responsive to one's environment constituted – in Enlightenment thinking – an indicator of morality in itself.

viewed in terms of general moral character.[115] While the nineteenth century notion of personality, according to Sennett, varies from person to person, the eighteenth century still believed in the Enlightenment concept of a common humanity. Expressing the latter was a matter of acting modestly to bring oneself into line with one's 'natural character'. (1976: 150-3) The question of authentic appearance was then – rather straightforwardly – one of acting and appearing modestly.[116]

With the bourgeoisie's rise to power, the excessive masquerading culture associated with the monarchy had to come to an end. Trilling points out how important the notion that a stable mental system lies underneath the manifest system was for the ethos of the French Revolution (1972: 141). This 'un-masking trend' was accepted because "it accords with the firmly entrenched belief that beneath the appearance of every human phenomenon there lies concealed a discrepant actuality and that intellectual, practical, and (not least) moral advantage is to be gained by forcibly bringing it to light" (142).

But again, far from a singular individuality that would also defy class-consciousness, the eighteenth century notion of being true to oneself is deeply linked to 'being true to class' – dressing and behaving according to one's social status.[117] This issue comes up in times when social mobility increases and the fear of someone not being what s/he appears to be runs like a red thread through plays and novels up to the 20th century: the 'villain' is often the one who "seeks to rise above the station to which he was born"

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[115] Trilling argues for a more unique sense of individuality emerging in the eighteenth century. (1972: 24f)

[116] However, I want to point out an uncertainty in Sennett's argument. According to Sennett, the notion that "appearances have no distance from impulse; they are direct expressions of the 'inner' self" is a constituent of *personality*, rather than *natural character* (Sennett 1976: 153). The notion of immediacy between impulse and appearance would thus be part of a concept (personality) that appeared only in the nineteenth century. But my investigation of *sensibilité* has shown that the very idea of appearance expressing inner impulses was key to Enlightenment science and aesthetics. In the eighteenth century 'inner self' might have referred to a less individualised and more stable notion of selfhood than was the case in the nineteenth century. But the ideal of bodily appearance mirroring inner impulses was prevalent already in the eighteenth century (especially in the performing arts).

117 In the heroine of Richardson's Pamela (1980[1740]) both the codified expressions of sensibilité (fainting and crying) and the Enlightenment's notion of stable moral selfhood are prominent features. As a character whose moral goodness is expressed through her awareness and constant efforts to act and dress according to her (low) class, she is a literary epitome of an ideal self. Full of sensibilité she appears to the contemporary reader as a type, a conglomerate of moral and class-related virtues, not like an individual by today's standards. Pamela might have served middle-class women as a guide for behaviour: to delineate their virtue, desires, behaviour and appearance from those of the working class and the aristocracy. Comparable to conduct books of that era Pamela advocates "a similar set of values in a more compelling form". (Michals 2010: 193)

(Trilling 1972: 16).[118] He is a hypocrite, one who plays a part.[119] Authenticity relies on the opposition of *being* and *mere appearance* which opens the possibility for deception.

The Staging of Authenticity in Dance

The last section suggested that revealing inner truth had become an ideal of bodily appearance. Furthermore, I have gone some way towards specifying what 'a person's inner truth' referred to in the French Enlightenment. This allows me to turn to the staging techniques with which inner truth was made visible on the body. *How is a portrayal achieved that lets a person's body appear as an expression of their inner truth?* And: *What codes of appearance does the body have to comply with in order to be deemed 'authentic' (question of style)?* To exemplify *how* the inner-outer connection was staged for an audience, I will turn to an art form that became – much against its aforementioned use in *ancien régime* culture – praised for its capacity "to convey – to paint – with uncanny accuracy the individual's true feelings" (Foster 1996: 15): dance.

In dance, claims for aesthetic reform were already articulated in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. However, they only gained prominence by the mid-century, in particular once they were noted down in Noverre's *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (1760).[120] Under the impact of the Enlightenment, dancing masters strove for a new ballet aesthetic that would differentiate itself from the 'empty' virtuoso dancing executed at court and the Paris opera. Instead of the noble style's geometric patterns of movement through space, a new *ballet d'action*[121] narrated a theatrical plot in

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[118] Although Trilling makes this point about the villain, he suggests greater sense of upward mobility inherent in an authentic person elsewhere (1972: 11).

[119] Ribeiro (1986a: 95) points out that eighteenth-century novels are full of references to the social disasters that might occur if one is not dressed according to class. This is illustrated, for instance, by Molly in Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749).

[120] John Weaver, Marie Sallé, Franz Anton Christoph von Hilverding and Gaspare Angliolini anticipated what Noverre would later formulate. Thurner (2009: 22) argues that the sought aesthetic and representational change was 'written forth' by Noverre and these authors, before it was embodied on stage. The Paris Opéra was particularly late to pick up on the new aesthetic tendencies, while reformist experimentation was already realised on stages in Stuttgart, Vienna, St. Petersburg and throughout Italy in the early eighteenth century (Foster 1996: 60).

[121] The term *ballet d'action* was only coined by Noverre in the mid 18th century. In the academic literature it prevails today over the early eighteenth century term *ballet en action*. Since my investigation focuses on the later eighteenth century and Noverre's writing, in particular, I use his term throughout this thesis.

movement. The *ballet d'action* was professionalised and was thus no longer as directly entangled in an everyday body – to the extent that we can refer to the bodies of the *ancien régime*'s noble dancers in court ballets as 'every-day'. But I will demonstrate that the staging of the dancer's body, neverthe-less, reflected and promoted the increasing significance of the *Menschenbild* I have begun to outline.

In *Choreography and Narrative* (1996) Foster investigates this turn to narrative which would go on to have an enduring effect on the aesthetics of dance. In keeping with my focus, I want to concentrate on one key aspect of establishing narrative in ballet: the changing conception of the dancer's body and the new techniques of its staging. If the bodies of dancers at court were seen as sources of virtuoso spectacle, dancing bodies now had to reveal psy-chologically motivated characters. The focus shifted from the elaborate spa-tial organisation of dancers to their bodily expressions. Spectators were no longer supposed to indulge in the performing bodies' virtuosity, but to be *moved* by them.[122]

Ballet had been an essentially aristocratic art form; its mannered move-ments seemed to personify life at court, as I have pointed out above. The ballet reform was part of an aesthetic and anthropological paradigm shift, where the Enlightenment philosophers' prestige stood behind the new *ballet d'action* – giving it artistic and moral authority. The bourgeoisie's refusal of the superficial spectacle that was associated with the court corresponds to similar tendencies in fashion and with general moral and aesthetic beliefs. I have outlined these beliefs above and I will discuss their sartorial conse-quences later in this chapter. In the aesthetics of ballet, as in other areas of life, the new ideal was a turn to authenticity; a staging of the body as authen-tically expressing interiority.

From pleasing the eye to moving the heart

Disregarding the ideas of earlier thinkers and practitioners, what is called the *ballet reform* is today usually dated around the mid eighteenth century. The reform's advocating ballet masters Noverre, Angiolini and other dance writ-ers of the time had one central concern: to bring to the fore what they saw as a hitherto unused potential of dance. They sensed in dance a potential to *move* the hearts and souls of their spectators. Noverre wrote:

> I think, Sir, that this art has remained in its infancy only because its effects have been limited, like those of fireworks designed simply to gratify the eyes;

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[122] For the double configuration of 'movere' as external action and internal reaction in the eighteenth century see Thurner (2009), (Brandstetter 2007: 256).

although this art shares with the best plays the advantage of inspiring, moving and captivating the spectator by the charm of its interest in illusion. No one has suspected its power of speaking to the heart. (2004: 11)

The key aesthetic change propagated by the ballet reform was the shift from a noble dance that dazzles the eye to a sensual dance aesthetic of affect. Noverre described ballet scenes in which, for a truthful rendering,

symmetrical and formal figures cannot be employed without transgressing truth and shocking probability, without enfeebling the action and chilling the interest […T]he art of the composer should not appear except to embellish nature. (Noverre 2004: 13)

As this quote suggests, Noverre's reformist ideas can be read as having a more general philosophical ambition: they were a quest for 'truth' and the attempt to elucidate the relation of art to nature.[123] But the quote also suggests a discrepancy between the choreographer's (Noverre often uses the term 'composer's') acknowledged art and an aesthetic concern not to appear artificial.

The body as expressing the soul

In Noverre's conception of dance, the moving body's appearance entered a liaison with the soul that, according to Thurner, left behind the Cartesian dualism of *res extensa* and *res cogitans* (2009: 10). Noverre assumed an expressive relation between the two in which the body invariably expresses inner truth: "Action, in relation to dancing, is the art of transferring our sentiments and passions to the souls of the spectators by means of the true expressions of our movements, gestures and features." (Noverre 2004: 99; see also 78, 87f, 100ff)[124] This suggests that Noverre was after what were necessarily the dancers' *real* own feelings: the dancer's soul, as he often expresses it.[125] This also means that dance is more in line with the Enlightenment notion of authenticity as suggesting inner truth than theatre. The idea is in opposition to Diderot's conception of the actor who, he claimed, simply *could*

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[123] Thurner therefore proposes that we include Noverre amongst the general aestheticians of the eighteenth century – as was done by his contemporaries – rather than neglect him as a mere writing choreographer (2009: 92).

[124] Thurner holds that the more general mid-eighteenth century assumption was a reciprocal relation between body and soul (2009: 99). This would also be in line with the notion of *sensibilité* which I described above.

[125] "I desire", writes Noverre, "[…] that [the steps] correspond to the action and movements of the dancer's soul." (2004: 104)

not go through all the sentiments he/she needed to perform on stage. "For Noverre, unlike the later Diderot of the *Paradox*", writes Franko, "only the use of real feeling could animate stage action." (1993: 146)

As Noverre and other mid-eighteenth century reformist dance writers suggest, the discourse about the 'natural' in dance was closely linked to an instinctiveness of dancerly movement. These writers aimed to elevate the status of dance when they argued that the first movements "occurred as the physical expression of the soul's feelings" (Foster 1996: 15). They thus established the notion of an initial purity of dance as an instinctive human means of communication, a priori of any social conventions seizing power over expression. Dance could provide an ongoing account of the soul's movements; it "had the power to convey […] with uncanny accuracy the individual's true feelings" (*ibid.*).

This assumed relation between dance and human feeling made for a new understanding of the moving body and informed a new style of representation in the performing arts. Similarly, it changed theoretical aesthetics. The relation between body and soul became a key topic of concern for eighteenth century theoreticians from various fields, as I suggested in the section above.[126] How exactly it was that an individual's emotions were projected onto the body's surface through movement, gestures and mimics was never explained by Noverre. But *Letters on Dancing and Ballet* verifies that he took such a relationship between movement and emotion for granted.[127] As I discussed above, this was in line with the period's medical knowledge and constituted a considerable interest of the medical discourse in the eighteenth century.[128]

Critique of the noble style and idealisation of antiquity

But not just any body could represent inner movement authentically on stage. The most common criticism of the *ancien régime's* theory of theatrical art was in line with Enlightenment critiques of the pleasure-seeking nobil-

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[126] Besides Diderot and Rousseau, Lessing, Herder and Schiller believed that the 'natural' body could depict the soul's condition without mediation. They were, as a consequence, interested in the body's potential for perception and expression. See Thurner 2009: 99f.

[127] The successful dancer must, according to Noverre, "never forget that to express properly one must not only feel, but feel with all one's heart" (2004: 88).

[128] Thurner notes that Noverre formulated the connection between body and soul as a metaphoric relation: He used 'movement' as an ambivalent psycho-physical metaphor for a physical process. This interweaving of the physical and the psychic blurred the borders between the fields in the writing of Noverre and others, and made them indistinguishable. The moving body was from now on associated with the realm of feelings – feelings referred to a moving body, or at least moving body parts, such as the heart. 2009: 90.

ity's disguise and decadence. Their defining characteristic was their reliance on the actors' make-believe which I refer to above in Rousseau's *Letter*. What the period's aestheticians of performance instead aspired to was an immediate, authentic expression that was unspoilt by rhetorical mediation.

In the new *ballet d'action*, the 'natural' body's disguise with masks and pompous costumes was abandoned as a staging technique. "[A] man's face is the mirror of his passions, in which the movements and agitations of the soul are displayed, and in which tranquillity, joy, sadness, fear and hope are expressed in turn" (Noverre 2004: 78). The same rejection applied to 'natural' movement's disguise in symmetrical formalisation: "symmetry should give place to nature in *scènes d'action*" (2004: 12).

As in fashion, the claims for a change in ballet aesthetics throughout the eighteenth century were informed by an idealised adoption of antiquity.[129] Authors justified their reformist ideas with an appeal to the ancient Greek and Roman dances.

> Choreographers, historians, aestheticians – all those writing about dance in the eighteenth century – moved quickly in their accounts of dance's origins to a consideration of the Greek and Roman mimes. For almost every author, the most significant moment in the development of dance, the dancing against which all subsequent dancing would necessarily be compared, occurred in the ancient Greek and Roman amphitheatres. (Foster 1996: 13)

The Greeks' synthesis of music, dance and gesture was seen as the ideal model for contemporary dance, especially in combination with the expressivity that Roman-inspired pantomime could add. The fascination to tell a story and render human feelings and actions with movements alone, was traced/ascribed to the ancients' aesthetic knowledge. Their skilful selection and refinement of nature had transformed innate expressive raw material into dance as a civilised art form. This reliance on ancient culture is also why Thurner sees the ballet reform not as a complete renewal, but rather a turn to a different tradition (2009: 95).

Bourgeois self-conception in dance

It will have become clear that the ideal of aesthetic affect in dance, the notion of 'moving heart and soul' instead of dazzling the eye, coincides with the beliefs and self-image of the bourgeois class that gained power in eight-

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[129] The *ballets d'action* that Noverre staged in Stuttgart (and Hilverding in St. Petersburg) were "based on historical and mythological subjects from Greek antiquity", writes Foster. Noverre's ballets in Paris ones were lighter and more focused on romance. (1996: 60)

eenth century France. The bourgeoisie wanted to define itself as being 'natural', authentic and thus distinguish itself from the monarchy's superficiality. In doing so (and recalling the general bourgeois turn to the private), Homans suggests that the reformists moved ballet "from the court to the boudoir – and from public to private – giving audiences a sensual and intimate reading of what had traditionally been a quintessentially heroic dance" (2010: 63).[130]

For the ballet this meant that a body on stage should no longer represent primarily social structures, constitutions and codes, as was the custom in a courtly context. Rather, dance should be part of the exchange between individuals. Noverre thus also individualised the role of ballet dancers each of whom should now express distinguishing characteristics:

> It would result in being both a faithful imitator and an excellent painter, to put variety in the expression of the heads […] I perceive others who, by their contrasting attitudes, depict to me the different emotions with which their being is agitate; the latter are prouder than their companions, the former mingle fear with a sense of curiosity which renders the picture more seductive; this variety is the more attractive in its likeness to nature. (2004: 14)

Following the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild* the bourgeois notion of a person was designed as an anthropological figure equipped with an equally expressive and receptive body; a body whose outer appearance corresponded with its inner life. The new ballet aesthetic and its expressive bodies performing in the *ballet d'action* necessitated the bourgeois spectator as an individual to be addressed and emotionally moved.

Ballet's authenticity

As suggested above, dance had a privileged status within the logic of aesthetic subjectivity. Since the theorisation of "dance's newly primitivized beginnings" (Foster 1996: 19) in the mid-eighteenth century, it was assumed to use no 'tool' and therefore to

be able to express inner truth immediately and unspoilt upon the body. In addition to that, dancing was metaphorically superior, because it 'moved' the spectator. This supposedly unmediated mode of expression along with direct accessibility for an audience were exactly in line with the non-rhetorical ideal of performance in Enlightenment aesthetics. An internalised authentic communication between dancers and their bourgeois audience was taken for granted in the proceeding eighteenth century. Yet, this exchange can be

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[130] Homans refers to the serious *danse noble* as heroic.

traced to a thorough practicing of movement codes on both sides. (Thurner 2009: 71ff).

Despite the assumed immediacy and natural relation between bodily appearance and interiority/soul, it was – paradoxically – the acknowledged art of the performer to *stylise expression on stage*, as had been done by the ancients with such skill. Already the earlier eighteenth century dance writers such as Du Bos and Weaver had been aware that performers and spectators had to be introduced to the codes of non-verbal communication and that the universality which was assumed for understanding dance really just applied to the initiated elite audience. Important to my reasoning is that this system of movement codes should not be discernible in the *ballet d'action*.[131] Noverre advocated orderly formations on the ballet stage, yet he "ask[ed] for ingenuous groups, strong but always natural situations, *a manner of composition which conceals the composer's labours from the eyes of the spectator*" (2004: 14, my emphasis). Dance aestheticians did not merely distinguish the *ballet d'action* from former opera-ballet and courtly dance practices by a change of movement codes from formal geometry to gestural narrative expressivity; in accordance with contemporary aesthetics, the movement codes (the staging of authentic, natural movement) were also hidden in the *ballet d'action*. In dance as in the fashion of the period leading up to the French Revolution the impact of the Enlightenment encouraged unmarked constructions of 'nature' and the effacement of staging techniques.

The Staging of Authenticity in Dress

In accord with Rousseau and other Enlightenment philosophers as well as in medical discourse, the beginnings of a new style of clothing can be discerned by the 1780s (Ribeiro 1995: 49). "In essence the change consisted of a decreasing emphasis on French 'court' style and an increasing adoption of English 'country' clothes. There was, in short, a trend towards practicality and simplicity." (Laver 1995: 139). 'Country clothing', however, must not be misunderstood as the dress of the ordinary rural population. What the French upper class adopted was a style which the English country gentry had worn for some time for practical reasons: leather breeches and boots, instead

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[131] "This system, however, should no longer be recognisable as such because it was no longer based on external rules but on a supposed 'inner', sensible communication." (Thurner 2009: 79, my translation, see also 2009: 110)

of silk breeches and shoes, shorter waistcoats and jackets made of well-fitted wools, redingotes (coats that were originally used for travel on horseback) for both men and women (Ribeiro 1995: 67f; 95), small round hats instead of tricornes and one's own hair instead of powdered wigs (Ribeiro 1995: 49; Lehnert 2008: 89). Ribeiro writes:

> There was, in any case, a movement away from artifice, towards a more natural line, with increasing criticism of tight-lacing. Those opposed to tight-lacing felt, with Rousseau, that there was absolute moral virtue in the natural body-shape; this was to be a constant theme of moralists for the next hundred years, although they had no real conception of what the truly 'natural' body might look like, warts and all. (1986a: 115)

Corresponding to the reorganisation of class hegemony, the bourgeoisie, with its virtuous ideals and self-image, was for the first time the main advocator of a style that gained general prominence.[132] My focus in this section is, consequently on techniques of staging the body amongst the upcoming bourgeois class. The comparatively informal *déshabillé* ('undress style') reflected bourgeois ideals such as modesty, thrift and sobriety and is today recognised to have been *the* post-revolutionary fashion (Wilson 2005: 30).

Vinken argues "the division of being and mere appearance" to be a major conceptual articulation of fashion discourse (2005: 4).[133] Fake/genuine and artificial/natural were binary oppositions which had been propagated by moralistic Enlightenment thinking, reinforced by medical discourse, mocked by satirists and which were now embodied in the new styles of dressing. The Enlightenment had linked these binaries to a person's 'inside' and externalisation on the body.

Clothes that express inner truth

Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* reveals two primary constituents of dressing correspondingly to one's 'naturally moral' character (Roche 1996: 404). One of these factors was (and had been for centuries) to dress according to social class; wearing clothes that reveal one's position in society

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[132] "Little by little the bourgeoisie would affirm its dominance over clothing and appearance. This would be done by elaborating a complex system of dress including aesthetics, hygiene, fashion and propriety. It thus produced a capital fund of symbols along with social strategies and a moral ideology of good taste, good manners, distinction, modesty, respectability and 'self-control'." (Perrot 1994: 20)

[133] Flügel (1950) argues for an inevitable ambivalence between (the functions of) modesty and decoration in clothes: beautify vs. hide the body's appearance. "The essential opposition between the two motives of decoration and of modesty is, I think, the most fundamental fact in the whole psychology of clothing." (Flügel 1950: 20)

(Roche 1996: 6). Rather than striving to ape the nobility's ornamental dress, the bourgeoisie marked their status as the trendsetting part of society with dress that revealed a modesty supposedly inherent to their social class. Bourgeois bodies were staged inconspicuously, with as comparatively simple appearances.

The other component that any morally decent person should observe was hygiene. Rousseau writes in *Émile* that hygiene is a virtue, rather than a science (1963: 114). According to Enlightenment thinking – and inseparable from the scientific discourse on hygiene – cleanliness allowed the individual to present a just and good image of her/himself; an image that corresponded to the 'real' person (Roche 1996: 372). The Enlightenment propagated a new understanding of hygiene, which transformed the way people looked at their bodies. The idea that luxury weakens the body was as popular amongst English commentators and satirists of French fashion as it was amongst the French Enlightenment philosophers. This perspective on the healthy body gained momentum in the 1760s when it was supported by scientific research (McNeil/Riello 2009: 26). The medical establishment's criticism, aimed at courtly dress, contributed to the decline of these fashions in the late eighteenth century. French doctors' and scientists' dismissal of fabrics such as silk and velvet (unhygienic because they weren't washable) led to a wider distribution of cotton and fine woollen materials. Whilst the luxuriously decadent noble body was falling into decline, the new French republic was associated with health and virility (Hunt 2000:195).

The hygiene of clothes and their modest 'unaffectedness' were values that reflected the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild* and determined the ideal dressed body around the time of the French Revolution. While this was the case for both men's and women's wear, the period also introduced sartorial features that served to delineate the sexes. These features' integration into the prevailing *Menschenbild* had long-lasting effects on what have since then been perceived as 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics of dress. "From the Revolution", writes Vinken, "a segregationist society emerges, in which the sharpest sign of demarcation is no longer horizontal – noble or non-noble – but vertical – man or woman." (2005: 11)[134] I will now point out some features of male and female dress that became prominent in the late eighteenth century and influenced fashion significantly in the nineteenth.

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[134] This might be an over-simplified statement by Vinken. For more detailed accounts of gender in revolutionary France see Lajer-Burcharth (1999).

Male neutral dress

British commentators had struggled with the French supremacy in matters of dress and manners since the seventeenth century (Ribeiro 1986b: 744). They condemned the artificiality of French fashion and mocked the dancing masters as apes. In particular, men who wore wigs, tight-waisted coats and high-heeled shoes were ridiculed, as such clothing made for a way of walking that was perceived as affected (the term for men who dressed in that way was 'macaronis'). "[The macaroni's] mincing walk, due partly to the constrictions of his suit, was a gift to the caricaturists who began to flourish during this decade [1770], and who combined the English love of the grotesque with a love of moralising." (Ribeiro 1986b: 744) By the early 1770s, this affectedness had been ascribed to female behaviour and 'macaroni' came to signify an effeminate man of fashion. This stood in sharp contrast to the paradigm of the English male whose clothing became increasingly associated with materials and bodily stagings of robustness and durability (McNeil and Riello 2009: 22).

"Apart from fashionable pursuits, the image which most men wished to project was that of sober reliability; the beginnings of industrialisation and the events of the French Revolution, had influenced men to appear as though dressed for work – of a professional or intellectual kind", writes Ribeiro (1995: 95).[135] This new image of manhood was staged with plain, functional clothes and turned English gentlemen into fashion leaders – despite all their efforts to appear as dressed in anti-fashion (Kuchta 2002: 174).

The increasing prevalence of men's dark suits in the decades subsequent to the Revolution divided male from female fashion.[136] According to fashion scholar Anne Hollander, it was the tailored suit, especially, that "confirmed and approved a sharpened visual separation between the dress of men and women, whatever their class." (1994: 7) While white had become predominant as a colour for women's fashionable dress in the 1780s (Ribeiro 1995: 70 and 109), the dark suit was "invented and perfected between about 1780 and 1820" (1994: 5). At the turn of the nineteenth century tailoring aimed to emulate the Classic figure. For both sexes,

> [t]he fundamental structure of the body was rediscovered, but entirely in antique form. The system of clearly delineated limbs, heads and muscles, of harmonious stomachs and buttocks and breasts that was perfected in antique nude sculpture was adopted as the most authentic vision of the body, the real truth of natural anatomy, the Platonic form. Clothing, instead of ignoring much of the actual body, as it had been doing for so long, was going to have

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[135] For accounts of the counter trend, the strikingly dressed *Incroyable*s of the Paris of the late 1790s, see Ribeiro (1986: 113 and 1995: 94f); and Lajer-Burcharth (1999: 181f).
[136] The male bourgeoisie's black dress in France got its connotation of "impersonal, serious, social and devout" just before the Revolution (Harvey 1995: 126).

to indicate a new understanding of such rediscovered 'natural' anatomical facts. (Hollander 1994: 85f)

Visual consciousness of antiquity was raised anew after the discoveries at Pompeii (1748) and Herculaneum (1738) and the access to engravings made from them. As I have pointed out above, a turn to antiquity – its values and aesthetics – was central in creating the bourgeoisie's self-image. The dark suit staged the male body with a focus on structure, rather than luxuriously adorned surface as was the case in fashionable dress in the *ancien régime*.[137]

Fashion history has often referred to men's rejection of all decoration, extravagance and colour, and their adoption of a "quasi-uniform of black" (Lajer-Burcharth 1999: 189) as 'great male renunciation'. The term was coined by psychologist J. C. Flügel in his *Psychology of Clothes* (1930) and has been critically scrutinised since (see Vinken 2005: 11, Lajer-Burcharth 1999: 189, Breward 1999). With regard to respectable males' emphatically inconspicuous consumption in the late eighteenth century, Kuchta rightly observes that "[m]odest masculinity was no less performative, no more authentic, than luxury and effeminacy" (2002: 176).[138]

Women's undress fashion

Regarding women's fashion, Sennett refers to the new preference for comfortable, loose-fitting and simple 'home wear' in the middle of the eighteenth century. The tendency marked a new division of the private from the public realm. While the dressed body on the street had to indicate where one belonged in society, it appeared as more 'natural' in the private realm, according to Sennett (1976: 66f).[139] This *déshabillé* appearance was rooted in the scientific understandings of a 'naturally expressive' body and in the Enlightenment ideals of 'the innocent and natural'. The style influenced women's dress outside the house in the late eighteenth century.

The popularity of the *robe en chemise* (chemise dress) to which Sennett refers marked a drastic break with the women's clothing that had been fashionable in the *ancien régime*: crinolines, petticoats and corsets were abandoned, as were elaborate hairdos. The heavy, richly embroidered materials of which women's dresses had formerly been made gave way to white cotton

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[137] In *Sex and Suits* Hollander offers a striking account of the suit in motion (1994: 8f).

[138] "Despite defining masculinity in opposition to affection, appearance, and performativity, then, courtesy manuals (almost by definition) undermined themselves by teaching how to assume an appearance of masculine modesty." (Kuchta 2002: 177)

[139] "While man *made* himself in public", writes Sennett, "he *realized* his nature in the private realm, above all in his experience with the family" (1976: 18).

and thin, almost transparent, muslin. The now fashionable *robe en chemise* was sleeveless, high-waisted and flew down the body all the way to the feet. The *merveilleuse*, the woman of fashion, wore versions of these dresses which were reminiscent of underwear fully revealed the shape of her breasts and did not cover her arms. Women further down the social scale would stage their bodies using techniques which imitated the fashion in less extreme forms, with long-sleeved undergarments, for instance (Sennett 1976: 185). In yet another reference to antiquity, the style *à la greque* featured the light dresses dampened to make them cling to the body and imitate the folds of the dresses in Greek statues.

The *robe en chemise* complied with techniques of staging an authentic body in the eighteenth century. Its cut and material made for a 'modest' appearance that favoured simplicity over ornamentation. The fact that it was inspired by home wear – a part of the private sphere in which the self was now seen to emerge – evoked a connection to the wearer's interiority. As authenticity became a sought-after value outside the house, its associated sartorial characteristics (such as modesty and hygiene which I have identified above) evoked the genuineness of home-behaviour.

Conclusion: Clothing and Dancing Construct an Authentic Body

When authenticity became an underlying ideal of body-stagings in the mid-eighteenth century, bodies were understood as a surface upon which a person's inner being was projected. What was visible on the outside – the body's dress and movement – was believed to be steered by an inside regulator. Hence, the way a given body danced and was dressed allowed for conclusions about the person's inner self.

The Enlightenment's way of conceptualising authenticity and falseness determined artistic and everyday techniques of preparing the body for public appearance. In return, bodily stagings on stage, at court and on the street impacted on the Enlightenment's *Menschenbild*. Additionally, the distinction between authenticity and falseness was to have a substantial influence on women's role in society. Rousseau's construction of two types of femininity had a considerable impact on the perception of women in relation to authenticity, appearance and the natural. The image of the innocent, naïve young woman was not only deemed good-natured, but also believed to express her 'natural character' with authentic innocence. The 'shameless' woman who instead exposed the staging of her body and calculated her enchanting effect

on others was not only seen as evil but (with the help of the time's science) also declared 'unnatural'.[140]

Neither the idealisation of nature nor the division of womankind into a Madonna/whore dichotomy is peculiar to Enlightenment thinking. But what became prevalent in the eighteenth century was the dichotomy's alignment with a certain appearance of authenticity, and that appearance's consequential fetishisation. Enlightenment thinking encouraged the notion that a moral sense was already inside everyone – in order to be 'good,' people did not need to turn to an external force (like a God), but needed to connect with a voice that is deep inside us (Taylor 1991: 26). The notion of *sensibilité* introduced the belief that the good inside appears on the visible body of individuals who are moral enough not to disguise it with make-up and sartorial extravagance. This meant that only a disavowed, unmarked staging of the body referred to a 'natural inner self', and that only a sincere person could appear authentic. The supposedly unmediated, authentic body was therefore seen as superior to a body on which staging was marked (as was done at court).

The dubiousness of this projection of values became particularly clear (and became clear even to its originators) with the emergence of standardised movement codes of authenticity (Heeg 2000: 43, 59, 81 and Fischer-Lichte 2000a: 30-34). The ballet reform dismissed the *ballet de cour's* mask as the epitome of 'fake', and abandoned it in the *ballet d'action*. But in Noverre's descriptions the dancer's face emerges as little more than a new mask. The dancer must, for instance, never reveal his effort in the facial expressions (Noverre 2004: 86-88).

As I have indicated, Diderot, Noverre and others (to varying degrees) acknowledged the necessity for stylising movement to make the body *appear* natural. Noverre points out art's capacity to "aid and embellish" what nature can produce (2004: 82). Yet, if the moralising Enlightenment philosophers had acknowledged the powers of decoration and other staging techniques to enhance beauty for some time, they still preferred them to go unnoticed. (Cohen 2000: 50)

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[140] "But every woman without chasteness is guilty and depraved, because she tramples on a sentiment *natural to her sex* [my emphasis]." (Rousseau 1960: 85)

Chapter 2: The *Menschenbild* of Twenty-First Century Makeover Culture

In the twenty-first century we continue to stage our bodies by dressing, moving and doing our hair and make-up to achieve a certain appearance (or: refuse these techniques and the appearance they entail). In addition, a considerable range of techniques is available today to enable and 'improve' the favourable presentation of the bodies of, especially, Western world citizens. Cosmetic surgery, gym workouts, dieting, doping, new technologies in make-up and hair-styling and their increasing availability open up new possibilities for staging our bodies.[141] Returning to Fischer-Lichte's definition of staging, these are contemporary techniques which we may employ to "define what, when, where and how something is made visible for an audience" (2004: 325, my translation; that 'something' in this case being our bodies, the audience being the general public).[142]

The multiplication of techniques and media that have become available in the last twenty years and the fact that we are increasingly expected to control our bodies' appearance means staging has acquired a new status.[143] Advertisements, self-help books, TV programmes, internet forums, make-up guides and YouTube tutorials instruct us in detail how to stage our bodies to 'enhance' their beauty and capacity. Makeover shows on television, the abundance of 'expert' advice about body modifications and the easy availability of treatments such as Botox and other 'enhancers' pass off the body as infinitely malleable and improvable: a work constantly 'in progress'. According to the British sociologist Chris Shilling, the ubiquity of these en-

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[141] See also Uta Bittner (2012) on medical self-designing/neuro-enhancement and its impact on the contemporary *Menschenbild*.

[142] "was, wann, wo und wie vor den Zuschauern in Erscheinung treten soll" (2004: 325). Fischer-Lichte's original seems more applicable to a non-theatre context than the translation: "Staging decides what will appear or disappear at what place and time during the performance." (2008: 187), which I quoted in the introduction.

[143] Referring to the contemporary staging of the self, Mark Butler comments: „Wir befinden uns in einem noch nie dagewesenen Zustand der technowissenschaftlichen Manipulierbarkeit und der medialen Inszenierbarkeit des Selbst." (2007: 95)

hancing techniques makes the body increasingly appear as "a phenomenon of options and choices" (2003: 3).[144]

But the possibility of 'choosing' the beautiful over the un-cared for body is not to suggest that the choice is effortless. In the makeover television show I study in this chapter, staging techniques such as cosmetic surgery procedures are neither portrayed as 'easy' nor is the decision to enter into them taken lightly. On the contrary, I will argue that body makeover TV shows rely on portraying the treatments (and the decisions to take them) as both tough and painful. Consumer culture idolises the young, sculpted and sexual body, and suggests that it is theoretically available to all of us. But acquiring it is hard work and turns the body itself into a project in which the potential for improvement is open-ended.

Amongst body modification techniques, cosmetic surgery[145] holds a distinct position in contemporary culture. "No longer a bizarre indulgence for the rich, famous or narcissistic, cosmetic surgery has become an every day practice that popular media tell us we 'deserve'. It is even presented as something that will enable our 'true selves' to emerge." (Jones 2008: 1) Cosmetic surgery is a technique of staging the contemporary body, indicative of the twenty-first-century *Menschenbild*. Its tie to the notion of a 'self' will concern me throughout this chapter. The stigma of narcissism that was still attached to cosmetic surgery in the late twentieth century has given way to what several authors identify as a particularly *American* pragmatism (Jones 2008: 8; Weber 2009: 46ff). Jones writes that the rise of cosmetic surgery can, furthermore, be linked to the development of psychology (the concept of self-esteem in particular), "to the growth of consumer culture, to technological developments and to straightforward increases in personal wealth" (2008: 8). Taken together, these factors have created what Weber sees as an "if something bothers you, change it" attitude, especially amongst baby boomers (2009: 26). Besides the commitment to self-improvement, at a time when many experience their ageing bodies as traumatic, borders are

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[144] To avoid confusion, this goes for the medically *healthy* body. There is no question that bodies are not ultimately controllable; existential and life-threatening illnesses are neither eliminated, nor are they always curable, once diagnosed. My point is that our options to control our bodies' appearance with the mentioned techniques has increased rapidly in the past years.

[145] The distinction between the sometimes interchangeably used terms 'plastic', 'cosmetic, 'reconstructive' and 'aesthetic' surgery is value-laden and has moral implications. The "actual procedures […] are similar if not identical across the disciplines". Yet, "'[r]econstructive surgery' treats deformity due to disease, congenital defect or injury" – defects which are more easily legitimised as 'real problems'. At the same time, 'cosmetic' or 'aesthetic surgery' refer to "elective and anti-aging procedures, while 'plastic surgery' generally covers the whole field. (Jones 2008: 3) Since my focus is on procedures which are performed on bodies generally accepted as undamaged by disease etc., I will refer to 'cosmetic surgery'. In the Anglo-American context the term is more commonly used than 'aesthetic surgery', which seems to dominate the discussion in the German-speaking countries.

increasingly blurred between what makes a surgical procedure reconstructive and thus 'medically necessary' and what constitutes an operation for purely aesthetic reasons.[146]

Jones sees the increasing accessibility and acceptability of cosmetic surgery and other body modifications as embedded in what she calls contemporary 'makeover culture' (2008). She defines the term as

> a state where *becoming* is more desirable than *being*. [Makeover culture] valorises the process of development rather than the point of completion. It is closely related to renovation and restoration, and includes elements of both, but where renovation and restoration imply achieving a final goal or a finished product, 'makeover culture' – used as either noun or verb – is in the present tense. Despite appearance then, makeover culture is not about the creation of finished products – whether houses, psyches, bodies or gardens – rather it is about showing subjects, objects and environments being worked upon and improved. […] Good citizens of makeover culture improve and transform themselves ceaselessly. For individuals the makeover paradigm rewards display of continual development and growth made via intellectual, emotional and aesthetic means. I argue that in makeover culture success is judged on the display of the never-ending renovation of the self. (Jones 2008: 12)

In makeover culture bodies are potentially constantly in the making.[147] Because makeover is – in Jones' description – a lifestyle rather than an end, cosmetic surgery and other modification techniques are the necessary tools for a satisfied life. They enable the citizens of makeover culture to never let their bodies exit a spiral of progression.[148]

While the acknowledgement of bodies as manufactured and malleable might conjure up the notion of an implicitly fluid model of identity this is ultimately illusive regarding a *Menschenbild* in which the notion of physical enhancement indicates uni-directionality. Makeover culture's cannibalising of ideological systems that are seemingly mutually exclusive points to con-

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[146] The U.S. American *2012 Plastic Surgery Statistic Report* lists 14.6 million cosmetic procedures in 2012 (an increase of 5% from 2011). (American Society of Plastic Surgeons 2013: 5) With 286.000 procedures, breast augmentation "continues to be the top cosmetic surgical procedure and has been since 2006" (ibid.). Women constitute the vast majority of cosmetic surgery patients with 91%, and 11 billion dollars were spent on cosmetic procedures in the U.S., an increase of 5.5% from 2011 (6).

[147] The website *Awful Plastic Surgery* quotes English singer-songwriter Pete Burns: "People redecorate their homes every few years and I see this as no different. Changing my face is like buying a new sofa." (2011)

[148] While Jones points out the notion of urgency of physical and other makeovers, Mark Butler draws attention to their more playful, even empowering implication:„In mannigfachen Situationen und Medien lässt sich ein zeitgenössischer Menschentyp beobachten, der sein Leben als Kunstwerk lebt und in Szene setzt. […Der Mensch, das individuelle Leben, wird als Gestaltbares gesehen und gelebt. Die ethische Arbeit an sich wird in einem wachsenden Maß zu einem ästhetischen Spiel mit sich." (2007: 82)

flations that are fascinating in their unlikelihood. Regarding this mishmash, Weber comments that makeover culture mobilises

> a wide gamut of rationales, including neo-conservative and new-age religious rhetorics, neoliberal marketplace ideals, feminist and postfeminist empowerment justifications, hyperconsumerist entitlement discourses, celebrity and fairy tale transformation scenarios, interventionist anti-addiction campaigns, SWAT-like property raid re-enactments, talk-based therapeutic rejuvenations, boot-camp behavior modifications, and medicalized cautionary tales. (2009: 15)

The wide range of these ideological modes, spanning both neoliberal features and potential empowerment, hint at how convoluted the body's role and construction is in makeover culture. Concerning the gains and pitfalls that come with increasingly controlling one's body, Villa (2008) has pointed out that feminist self-determination (as expressed in bodily autonomy) and self-mastery (in a Foucauldian sense) draw on the same logic of the body's availability. Before cosmetic surgery became ubiquitous and made bodies appear as almost infinitely malleable, social constructionist discourses had theorised the body as performative and controllable in the later twentieth century. The TV shows that concern me in this chapter do not rely on the writings of Goffman, Butler, Foucault, Bourdieu or Baudrillard as a theoretical basis. But contemporary makeover TV shows indicate most visibly that a crude version of social constructionism, one which omits its critical impetus and historical scope, has become part of the mainsteam.

Social constructionist theories of the subject reveal unmediated bodily presentation to be an illusion. Rather, the notion of a self emerges only in its presentation in speech, image or live acts and is always mediated by them.[149] Erving Goffman's social-psychological studies, conducted in the 1950s, suggested social communication relied on presentations of the self that belong to conventionalised models (1959). Butler later showed how the gendered self is performative and is performed significantly through the body (1988, 1993 and 2007).[150] In the discourse on consumerism the individual emerged as significantly defined by what she consumed (see Shilling 2003; Featherstone 1991; Debord n.d.), adding an aspect of controlling the body. The body, Baudrillard pointed out, is the "finest consumer object" for identity-creating purposes (1998: 129).[151] In these social trends and their related

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[149] For a problematistation of social constructionism's anti-essentialism see Diana Fuss (1989).

[150] However, it is a common critique (a defence against which was part of Butler's aim in *Bodies that Matter* [1993]) that Butler's use of 'performance' suggests we could choose our performance of gender at will. This was not Butler's intention. For a clarification see also Liz Kotz interview with Butler (1992). See my introduction.

[151] All in all, more of those features that Goffman subsumed under 'personal front' are today controllable. In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, he referred to 'personal front' as

discourses, the body emerges as *mediated*. But the potential in social constructionism for underpinning neoliberal ideals was not at issue in the late twentieth century. In the eclecticism of makeover culture this potential becomes explicit.

At a time when TV show genres and advertisements portray the body's modification as necessary, a time when omnipresent technologies to change the body make its malleability evident and citizens of makeover culture perform its construction and re-construction actively – the concept of *bodily authenticity* might seem entirely out of place. If we apply the Enlightenment's notion of an authentic body as mirroring a person's inner truth *without mediation*, then this seems even more irreconcilable with today's emphatically (and often noticeably) staged body than it was with bodies in the Enlightenment. Yet, authentic and natural bodies are constantly invoked in contemporary media discourse. It is my aim with this chapter to come to an understanding of what is meant by an authentic body – in this contemporary context – and what techniques are used for staging it.

One usually associates the demand for body makeovers (and cosmetic surgery in particular) with the youth-obsessed culture in which we live. While the desires and pressures for rejuvenation remain factors, another recent tendency has complicated the picture. "Though traditionally cosmetic surgery has been used to make patients look younger, doctors are noticing a trend for women wanting to simply look 'done'", reports *The Observer* (Wiseman 2011). *W magazine* posits a similar theory, when quoting the New York plastic surgeon Douglas Steinbrech:

> There's this new mentality that if you do not look a little bit fake, then the surgeon hasn't done his job. This used to be a much more prevalent idea on the West Coast, but now you walk up Madison Avenue, and you see these young girls with that cloned, cougarlike face. (Haskell 2010)

In order to function successfully as a status symbol, cosmetic surgery must necessarily be somewhat visible. This was the case for Dr. Howard Diamond's signature 'Diamond Nose' in the America of the 1970s, and remains so for today's *en vogue* Rosenberg Nose and its German equivalent, the Mang Nase – all of which follow the same principle: they are fashionable accessories that some people 'wear' like handbags or watches (Poelchau

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those "items of expressive equipment […] that we most intimately identify with the performer himself and that we naturally expect will follow the performer wherever he goes" (1959: 24). Goffman included "insignia of office and rank; clothing; sex, age and racial characteristics; size and looks; posture; speech patterns; facial expressions; bodily gestures; and the like" as part of personal front (24). He acknowledged that some of these features might be more fixed and permanent (he mentions racial characteristics) than others (such as facial expression). The end of the twentieth century saw the beginning of the relocation of an increasingly wide range of 'personal front' components from fixed to unfixed and controllable.

2007). What distinguishes today's body manipulations from the staged faces of, say, Cher, Melanie Griffith, Faye Dunaway or Meg Ryan is that contemporary made-over bodies are not invariably associated with inauthenticity.[152] What Steinbrech finds 'fake' and 'cougarlike' need not necessarily preclude the same body from being labelled authentic in the contemporary popular media.[153]

A primary focus in this chapter is my contention that visible modifications of the body no longer clash with today's notion of what bodily authenticity is. In fact, sometimes the contrary seems to be true. While authenticity in the Enlightenment depended on a *disavowal* of the body's manipulation in staging, today's bodies are – with certain restrictions and in the name of revealing inner beauty – openly *carved* into an authentic appearance. In the media's depiction – as, seemingly, in the experience of some patients – cosmetic surgery becomes a tool for (the restoration of) authenticity in a time when interviews with cosmetic surgery patients suggest that they experience their ageing bodies as deficient and traumatic. (Jones 2008: 11) In makeover culture authentification is a process in which one realises one's true – inner – potential. Clothing, surgery and other forms of 'body building' help shape the body into its maximum authenticity.[154] This chapter tackles this counter-intuitive trend and analyses the rules and techniques according to which bodily authenticity is staged and attributed.

To attempt this, I will again turn to bodies whose status makes them pervasive in the culture in question. In the introduction I stated that I would study bodily stagings that imply a *Menschenbild* that was/is amongst the dominant tendencies in the respective examined eras. Literature scholar, Barbara Straumann, comments on what gives contemporary people and their body stagings a trendsetting status:

> Personalities who are culturally central no longer coincide with the authorities of political power because the social conditions and hierarchies of previous centuries have been replaced by a personality cult. This is directly related to the photographic and later filmic visualization and to the infinite distribution of these images. Consequently, political sovereigns have lost their cultural dominance to personalities who monopolize their audience's fantasy with a special *je ne sais quoi* in their mass media appearance." (2002: 83)[155]

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[152] In an article for New York Magazine, Jonathan Van Meter described these faces as 'Old New Faces', as opposed to today's en vogue more discreetly modified 'New New Faces'. (2008).

[153] Similarly, Hahn argues that today's 'natural bodies' are the bodies that appear in advertisement (2002: 291).

[154] For cosmetic surgery as a recovery of authenticity see also Villa 2008: 13.

[155] "Kulturell zentrale Figuren sind nicht mehr deckungsgleich mit den Instanzen politischer Macht, da die sozialen Verhältnisse und Hierarchien der vorangehenden Jahrhunderte von einem Persönlichkeitskult abgelöst werden. Dieser steht mit der photographischen und später der filmischen Verbildlichung sowie der endlosen Verbreitung dieser Bilder in direktem

The career plans of people in their teens give us a more concrete idea of whose bodies could possibly play a trendsetting role today: young people often want to become models or celebrities.[156] I have therefore selected my examples of how bodily authenticity is negotiated today primarily from the staging and evaluation of bodies on popular television shows. Both dress and movement are crucial to the staging of bodily appearance in these shows. However, dancing – in comparison to the eighteenth century – no longer holds a position so crucial as a technique of bodily appearance and social activity in mainstream culture that it is obvious to analyse the staging of a dominant *Menschenbild* from it.[157] For my analysis of bodily authenticity, its staging and attribution, I perform a close reading of the TV shows *The Swan* (American original version) and *Germany's Next Topmodel*.

The Swan was broadcast by Fox for two seasons in 2004. According to the channel, it "became the No. 1 makeover show on television among Adults 18-49" in its first season (Fox 2004). Amanda Byram presented and the Cuban entrepreneur Nely Galán acted as executive producer and appeared on the show as a coach. Galán's website states that *The Swan* has aired in over seventy countries (Galán n.d.).[158]

Germany's Next Topmodel has been broadcast on the German channel ProSieben since 2006 and is entering its ninth season in 2014. The format is effectively identical to other European, Australian and American versions. *Germanys Next Topmodel* can then be seen as representative of a more general trend in the Western world. In its home country it can be said to have impacted on cultural debate (Raether and Kalle 2010; Schmidt 2011; Schmiedel 2013). Its reach might well have something to do with the programme's host, German model and businesswoman Heidi Klum.[159]

The contemporary appreciation for bodily authenticity appears in the context of a larger trend for paparazzi photographs and reality TV. Paradoxically, this happens in a culture which is both highly aware of the staged nature of reality and makes ample use of the available staging techniques. These seemingly contradictory tendencies are brought to the fore in the genres of makeover and casting TV. Makeover shows combine the professed

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Zusammenhang. Es besitzen deswegen nicht mehr zwingend politische Herrscher kulturelle Dominanz, sondern Persönlichkeiten, die aufgrund eines speziellen *je ne sais quoi* in ihrem massenmedial verbreiteten Auftritt die Phantasie ihres Publikums in Beschlag nehmen."

[156] Walter (2010: 25) quotes a 2006 survey by The Lab which suggested that "more than half of [teenage girls in the UK] would consider being glamour models and a third of them saw Jordan as a role model"; see also Negrin (2008: 5 and 13).

[157] It is no longer the dancing masters but the models who teach women how to walk (see Evans 2013: 222).

[158] The show was cancelled in early 2009 after ratings continued to drop.

[159] A poll by the German research institute Forsa in 2009 suggested that 96% of the German population knew Klum (Stern 2009).

non-mediation of what the TV audience sees with an acknowledgement and celebration of the fact that everything from the participants' looks to their houses, kids, motorbikes, pets is/can be subjected to staging. Within that paradox, my interest is focused on the appearance of the body. Its malleability and diligent staging are the topic of the shows *The Swan* and *Germany's Next Topmodel*. Yet, what these shows reward is an authentic body. My thesis is that the *explicit staging* of authenticity is part of the authenticity code in today's *Menschenbild*. Before I begin my analysis of the two TV shows, I want to present an outline of authenticity in makeover culture and briefly introduce the genre of 'makeover TV'.

Authenticity in makeover culture

In the Enlightenment an authentic body referred to expressing the inner in a way that purported to renounce staging techniques. This stands in marked contrast to the above section, which stresses our contemporary awareness of and inclination to mediate our bodies – in fact the *necessity* for performing constant adjustments upon it. One would think then, in this context, that the re-surfacing of authenticity as a value would be unlikely. And yet, Gilmore and Pine find that makeover culture's consumers want authenticity more than anything else: "Most of what we experience in today's consumer-*orientated* society revolves around issues of what is real and what is fake." (2007: 31) Gilman and Pine's book *Authenticity. What Consumers Really Want* refers to products, not bodies. But in their authenticity-defining questions "Is the offering true to itself? Is the offering what it says it is?" (97) they anthropomorphise companies' products. The authors define values such as being earnest, consistent, self-directed, trustworthy, honest and compassionate (96) as authenticating businesses. Gilmore and Pine use a vocabulary traditionally reserved for individuals and apply it to businesses. I will, in what follows, understand the values they apply to businesses as attributes of people's and their bodies' authenticity. In addition, it does not seem too far-fetched to speak of those makeover bodies that I discuss in terms of the production, marketing and selling of commodity goods.[160] As arguments such as Gilmore and Pine's make it increasingly clear that authenticity is a style that has to be produced, I want to focus on *how* it is produced – or, in this case more specifically: physically staged.

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[160] Lionel Trilling writes: "As we use ['authenticity'] in reference to human existence, its provenance is the museum, where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art are what they appear to be, and therefore worth the price that is asked for them – or, if it has already been paid, worth the admiration they are being given." (1972: 93)

Gilmore and Pine's aim to help business leaders render offerings authentic implies a focus on authenticity-demanding customers. They acknowledge a point that I find crucial to stress with regard to the bodies that strive for being labelled 'authentic' on the TV shows I investigate: that authenticity needs to be attributed. According to Gilmore and Pine, "the sole determinant of the authenticity of any economic offering is the individual perceiving the offering." (2007: 92). Authenticity, the authors point out quoting a study of country music, "does not inhere in the object, person or performance said to be authentic. Rather, authenticity is a claim that is made by or for someone, thing, or performance and either accepted or rejected by relevant others." (93)

In the first chapter, it transpired that authenticity in the late eighteenth century was attributed to those bodies that believably communicated their outer appearance as forming a special – immediately expressive – relation to their inner truth. Above, I have sometimes pointed to the existence of such an inner agency in makeover culture. However, I have not yet explicitly presented this contemporary inner as what it appears to me: *the rationale for the extreme attention given to the body in makeover culture and this attention's manifestation in incessant physical changes.* If the means of achieving bodily authenticity are radically different today, I argue that *making visible an inner truth* is still the main concern behind working on our bodies. In the twenty-first century, this inner is glorified, sought-after, projected and protected in the notion of *selfhood*.

In the beginning of the chapter, I referred to the omnipresence of modification techniques that 'optimise' the body. What a closer study of today's trendsetting bodies reveals is that in makeover culture, technologies such as cosmetic surgery do not function merely to 'beautify' the body, but to stage it as an authentic expression of the self. Not dramatically different from the Enlightenment's representational concept of an outer that expresses immaculate inner morality, the self is makeover culture's reference point to which the contemporary body needs to be adequately related in order to attribute authenticity to it. The philosophy scholar Cressida J. Heyes writes that

> despite the rationality of the age, we seem more than ever to act as if (even though we may not believe that) one's outer form reflects one's virtues: the ever more minutely detailed visual objectification of (especially female) bodies, the extraordinary popularity of diet and exercise regimens, the plethora of beauty products, and, finally, the explosive growth of cosmetic surgery, all indicate that how we look has become more, not less, important to how we understand ourselves. (2007: 5f)

In the last few decades of consumerism the self and body have become closely entwined.[161] Several scholars suggest that the conception of an outer body as mirroring an inner self has reversed today: contemporary bodies are increasingly seen as *constituting* our notions of selfhood.[162] Despite wide-ranging possibilities to interact virtually the philosopher and anthropologist Gunter Gebauer maintains that all ambitions to present our selves favourably today cumulate in the constructions of our bodies (2001).[163] Cultural Studies scholar Mark Butler dates this increase of the body's importance to the self to the last third of the twentieth century: "Parallel to its becoming-redundant in the post-industrial economy, [the body] becomes increasingly important as a medium of staging and experiencing the self." (2010: 171)[164]

The body and self on makeover television

With the term 'makeover TV' I refer to programmes that focus on transformations. Makeover TV does not display open-ended enhancements where one transformation turns ceaselessly into the next, as Jones theorised was the case for makeover culture in general. The format of a TV programme necessarily limits each makeover, structuring it into a clearly marked beginning and end. But like Weber, Jones points out the importance of the *during* on makeover TV. After having been displayed (and criticised) in terms of 'be-

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[161] "It is in the name of the kinds of persons that we really are that we consume commodities, act out our tastes, fashion our bodies, display our distinctiveness." (Rose 1998: 1)

[162] See M. Butler (2010), Negrin (2008), Duttweiler (2003) and Shilling (2001) who stresses that the role bodily appearance plays in a person's sense of self is class-specific. Baudrillard argues that the body takes over the ideological function that was earlier occupied by the soul. (1981: 105)

[163] He writes that „[der Körper] ist *das* supreme Objekt von Anstrengungen, an dem sich unser Selbst fassen lässt; er ist der Ort, wo alles was wir sind, gesellschaftliche Sichtbarkeit erhält. In dem Maße, in dem wir ihn verbessern, erhalten wir Zugewinne für uns als soziale Personen." (2001: 887). Admittedly, this is to some extent, a pre-facebook argument. In the last decade networks/applications such as Instagram have allowed users to alter 'their digital selves' (with sepia filters and the like), rather than undergoing physical changes. However, the increasing relocation of communication to media in which the communication partners are not physically present in front of one another has apparently not changed our desire to appear physically favourable.

[164] This argument is problematic because it is, ultimately, difficult to know how people form their sense of self in any given point in history. Furthermore, the previous chapter showed that stagings of the body were already formative of identity in the *ancien régime,* for instance. The contemporary consumption of certain goods and treatments, however, suggests Shilling's proposition as plausible, that "[g]rowing numbers of people are increasingly concerned with the health, shape and appearance of their own bodies *as expressions of individual identity*" (2003: 1, my emphasis).

fore and after', cosmetic surgery on today's makeover programmes is shown in a way which highlights the blood and gore during the transformation process.

Body makeover programmes feature participants undergoing surgical procedures to alter their bodies as a more or less prominent element of the shows. Other makeover techniques typically include a strict dieting and workout regime, visits to a psychotherapist and the participants' separation from their usual environment – their home, work, friends and family – during the transformational period. Body makeover programmes, which originated in the US but were broadcast in many countries (usually in adapted versions with local hosts) include *Extreme Makeover* (ABC, 2002-2007), *I want a Famous Face* (MTV, 2004-2005), *The Swan* (Fox, 2004), *The Biggest Loser* (NBC, since 2004) and many others.[165] All these are about and tackle the contestants' will to work hard to become a 'new and better you' (Weber 2009: 7). Like casting shows, they are challenge-orientated, contain tense elimination ceremonies and a narrative of difficulty and triumph (Weber 2009: 30). And, again reminiscent of the Idol, Talent, Next Topmodel or Superstar formats, the participant is, in all of these, displayed as an average consumer-turned-star, implying that even as ordinary watchers we've all got it in us.[166]

While I limit myself to a show (*The Swan*) in which *the body* is transformed, Weber argues that in other shows one's house, dog, garden, children or car can symbolically take the body's place and function in the same way in the makeover narrative. On makeover TV, the goal for an authentic appearance is always to bring the body (or house/children/garden/dog) in line with the notion of an inner self. In *Germany's Next Topmodel* the emphasis that is placed on personal improvement and working on the body and self, as well as the authoritative role of its host and jury, approximate the show to makeover formats.[167] It is another constituent factor of the notion of selfhood in both makeover and casting shows that the individual is prohibited from accessing it: only 'experts' really understand the contestants' problems and

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[165] The channel and running time data indicated in brackets refer to the American original versions of the respective programmes. See Weber (2009) for a more complete account.

[166] In *People Weekly* magazine, Green and Lipton quote the creator and executive producer of the makeover show *The Swan,* Nely Galán: "'When I see a normal pageant like Miss USA, that's demoralizing because I can never aspire to that since I wasn't born beautiful,' she says. 'If I see Miss USA, I'm a short girl, I don't feel happy watching that. If I watch *The Swan* and I'm overweight and sitting at home and feeling like the pits, I'm inspired because anybody can be a Swan.'" (2004).

[167] Likewise, and although scholarship usually mentions the programme together with makeover formats such as *Extreme Makeover* or *I want a Famous Face*, *The Swan* also has characteristics of a casting show. One such characteristic is *The Swan's* contest character (half of the participants 'may' compete in a beauty pageant at the end of each season).

have a privileged access to their supposed 'real self'.[168] (Seier and Surma 2008: 188)

I have outlined that contemporary models of identity often theorise the self as multiple, fragmented, fluid or flexible. I also pointed out that the body has been suggested as increasingly *constitutive for* a person's sense of self. In this context makeover TV "tells a wholly different story of coherent and stable subject positions, located in and expressed through the made-over body" (Weber 2009: 7). Weber continues:

> One of the makeover's more critical premises is that it does not construct, it reveals. That is to say, the makeover does not create selfhood but rather it locates and salvages that which is already present, but weak. Though a 'you' may exist, these stories suggest the 'better you' can only be achieved through the makeover. (*ibid.*)

The logic of makeover shows derives from their participants' supposed lack of visual 'intelligibility'. This lack is caused by a difference in what people *perceive* the participant to be (because of his/her appearance) and who s/he '*really*' is. Interiority is unequivocally presented as positive on the shows and as the visible coincidence of inner and outer, 'authenticity' becomes synonymous with 'authentic beauty'.[169] I investigate this notion with a focus on bodily techniques. While Weber's and Jones' studies provide an instructive foundation, they are more concerned with a critical scrutiny of makeover techniques in which selfhood is constructed verbally.

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[168] This authoritative role of experts distinguishes contemporary makeover and casting shows from the nineteen-nineties *confessional* programming (Ricky Lake, Jerry Springer etc.) wherein participants competed to admit to ever-fantastical fetishes, perversions and life stories. Regarding contemporary culture more generally (than my focus on makeover TV shows), sociologist Nikolas Rose writes: "We have been freed from the arbitrary prescriptions of religious and political authorities, thus allowing a range of different answers to the question of how we should live. But we have been bound into relationship with new authorities, which are more profoundly subjectifying because they appear to emanate from our individual desires to fulfil ourselves in our everyday lives, to craft our personalities, to discover who we really are." (1998: 17) For a Foucault-inspired reading of the 'expert's' role in self help regimes see Rose 1998: 150-68.

[169] See Posch 2009: 135. Strangely reminiscent of the Rousseauian position, there is no notion that a 'true inner self' – if revealed – could ever be bad (very differently from the early twentieth century threat of a wild, evil nature within every human being that needs to be kept at bay).

Deserving Improvement on *The Swan*

To analyse makeover culture's techniques of staging bodily authenticity, I will first turn to the American makeover reality show *The Swan*. My descriptive account of the show is followed by three analytical sections which each investigate one staging technique specifically. The broadcasting channel Fox writes about its show: "*The Swan* takes women who are stuck in a rut and revitalizes them by revealing their beauty and confidence." (Fox 2004) Each episode begins with the host (Amanda Byram) and a round of beauty 'experts' watching the filmed presentation of two women aged between around 20 and 40. These women are portrayed in their everyday environment and talk about features of their body that they find ugly in dramatic terms. Some of them utter their hopes about participating on *The Swan* which frequently conjures up the notion of bodily authenticity. Such is the case with Merline: "The transformation […is…] gonna […] reflect what I truly feel inside when I'm done." (season 1, episode 8)[170] Equally, the participants talk about the emotional hardship they endure (such as problems with their partners) and that is often related to what they perceive as their physical shortcomings. At some point during the presentation of their life and body the women will usually break down and cry.[171] The expert committee (consisting of two cosmetic surgeons, two fitness trainers, a personal coach, a dentist and a psychotherapist) customarily reacts to the presentations with concern – but are nevertheless quick to present their 'solutions' to end the unhappy women's purported misery. These 'solutions' invariably consist of measures corresponding to each of the committee members' field of expertise: typically they include dental surgery, different forms of fat-removal, lifting the body and surgically changing the facial features, dieting, work-outs, and psycho-coaching. The show's psychotherapist might provide comments such as: "I think she needs to change from the inside out. I wanna help her build her self esteem. It takes time, it takes energy – but it's doable." (S1, E6) This suggests that *The Swan's* makeover is not merely concerned with beautifying the participants' bodies, but also with a supposed 'inside', to which the show frequently refers. All the physical and psychological modifications are visualised for the TV audience in a diagram and explained in a voice-over. To depict the 'before-bodies', *The Swan* uses an iconography that Weber describes as "scientistic" (2009: 100): the three-dimensional bodies are put in a

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[170] In the following I will use the abbreviations 'E' for episode and 'S' for season to specify quotes from *The Swan* and *Germany's Next Topmodel.*

[171] Crying is a common genre convention of reality television. As Dyer remarks: "Authenticity is established or constructed in media texts by the use of markers that indicate lack of control, lack of premediation and privacy. These return us to notions of the truth being behind or beneath the surface." (1991: 137)

computerised grid, rotated and examined from every angle. This entails every participant's body first appearing to the spectator as 'raw material' that is ready for 'being worked'.
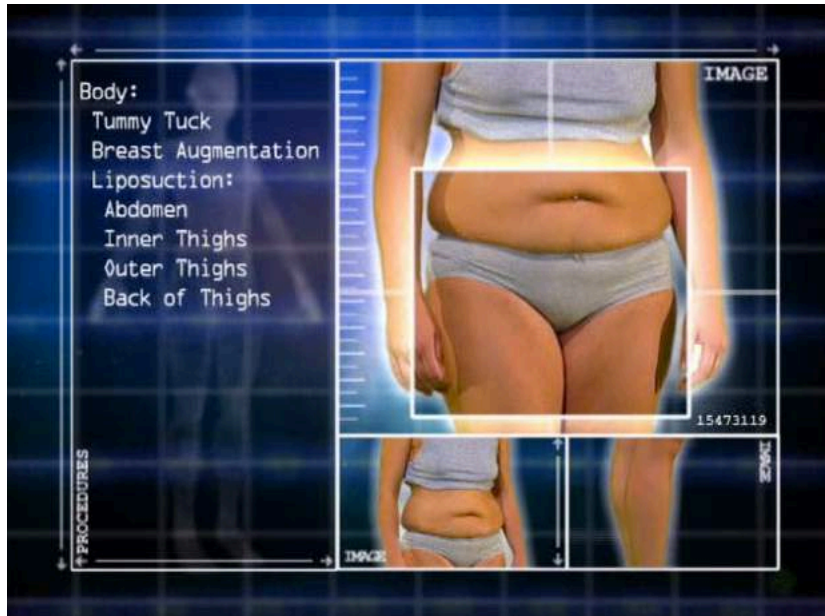
Figure 3: The Swan, still from S2, E4

The main part of each episode then consists of footage of the two participants' three-month transformation. They move into their respective boot camp flats (and always notice with surprise that all the mirrors are covered).[172] The camera subsequently follows them throughout all their treatments – into the operating theatre, and into the gym, as well as into the therapy sessions. During the three months, the participants are separated from their friends and family, but are allowed to speak to them on the telephone for limited amounts of time and write letters.

The show climaxes in the makeover subjects' reveals: before the TV audience gets its first look at each made over participant, the host, Byram,

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[172] Jackson considers the role of the TV audience and proposes: "The site of the mirror, the reflecting surface, moves to the space between the viewer and the Swan." (2007: 70) For the treatment of mirrors in research on cosmetic surgery see, for instance, Seier and Surma 2008.

customarily announces her as "Here she is – the brand new…" (for instance in S1, E3 and S2, E4). The woman then passes through an alley of the clapping team of 'experts' and is briefly admired by Byram. This conversation with the host is the point in the show when participants commonly make statements about their re-gained authenticity: upon being asked whether she now feels beautiful, Cindy taps herself on the upper chest and states: "I can feel it, it's here" (S1, E3). Sarina says: "I've reclaimed myself in a way that I never had." (S1, E6) And although Merline cannot say with certainty that her inside matches her outside before she has actually seen herself, she clearly conjures up a logic of authentic representation: "I actually feel like my inside has not met the outside yet. […] I feel awesome inside; great like I'm just ready to take on the world. […] I just don't know what the outside looks like. So it's not matching, but I feel great on the inside." (S1, E8)[173] It is significant that these statements take place before the participants finally see themselves in the mirror for the first time after three months. One of the two women whose transformations the camera follows each episode is finally picked to move on to the season's beauty pageant.

The participants on *The Swan* often indicate a disturbed relation between their inner self and outer appearance as the reason for their unhappiness; the notion that their beautiful, young self is trapped in an ugly, ageing body. I have pointed out that the correlation of inner self and outer appearance is still vital for attributing authenticity in makeover culture. I will now analyse the techniques that are employed to stage and verify this correlation on *The Swan*.

Labour for the deserving body

On *The Swan*, the participants are active agents in modifying their outer appearance to match their inner self. This agency, which is portrayed by the programme as 'hard work', seems to add to the participants' authenticity. Although it is really the 'experts' who decide what modification each participant 'needs' ("This nose has gotta go", "This nose is a problem", plastic surgeon in S1, E1), the participants work out in the gym, undergo extensive surgery and stay motivated throughout the three months – all of which the camera follows. Importantly, it is always pointed out that the hard work is one of *revealing* a beautiful inner. This transformation work – which I have earlier hinted at as the 'during' of the makeover – is presented to the audience as tough and demanding. Producer and Swan Coach Nely Galán says:

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[173] Merline assures the audience after she has seen herself: "Ok, I am as hot as I feel." (S1, E8)

"This process is not easy, as we know. It's painful, it's hard work." (S1, E8)[174] The proceedings in the operating theatre are bloody, the participants look battered after the surgery and frequently complain about pains. Sequences from the gym show the dedication with which they work on their transformations.

Figure 4: The Swan, still from S2, E4

In episode 4 of the second season we get a glimpse of participant Erica's hard work on three different fitness machines in the gym. Erica is shown in medium shots and close ups. They allow the spectator to register in detail the bandages that are still strapped around Erica's head from her facial surgery. In addition, her look of concentration becomes visible, as does her mouth, which repeatedly gasps for breath. She is dressed in a loose light grey t-shirt with rolled-up sleeves and black leggings. The sequence consists of three consecutive shots which are each very short and filmed with an increasingly shaky camera. In the first one Erica is shown in a medium shot, gasping for air and bending her head down. In the foreground we see a drinking bottle,

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[174] Jones, similarly, observes that makeover programmes "frame cosmetic surgery as tough. It becomes something that only the most motivated consider: it becomes an act of courage and bravery." (2008: 13)

in the background a moving fan. The next one fades out from a close-up to show her upper body again, now sitting pressed against an exercise bench with a concentrated expression. She presses her arm forward and opens her mouth. In the background someone is using another exercise machine. In the last shot Erica marches on a treadmill, reaches for a bottle and drinks. The voice-over declares in a dramatic tone: "Erica's hardest work still lies ahead."

The images of Erica in the gym are full of movement. She is shown in motion which together with the other moving elements of the image (the fan, the other gym-goer) and the fast cutting, creates an overall sense of urgency. Her exertion on the machines, the fast, marching gait on the treadmill suggests willpower. The fades and the insertion of bright colour between images add dynamism to the short sequence. Erica has no time to lose: instead of recovering from surgery, she is already working on another part of her transformation as she follows her fitness schedule. This lets her appear as pressed for time and perhaps as risk-taking. But it also characterises her as determined and suggests that she will do anything it takes for a successful transformation at the end of which her body will, according to the show's logic, match her deserving self. Props such as the drinking bottle and the fan communicate the exercise's toughness to the TV audience. The concentrated look and her gasping suggest that she might be exhausted, but focused on the task. Her clothing does not reveal her figure, apart from the big bulges of her new breasts implants. This is unmistakably clothing fit for the purpose of the 'work' that Erica is performing, not for parading the body. The shaking camera reminds the viewer: this is a real woman: her determination is about changing her own, real life.[175] At this point the voiceover creates drama by stating that this is only the beginning – implying that the transformation is demanding and only the most hard-working will succeed. With staging techniques like the ones used in the gym sequence with Erica, *The Swan* portrays participants who show readiness to radically modify their bodies; as (if not yet self-confident then at least) people with a sense of agency, and control of their own destiny. On top of the physical struggle, almost all participants face emotional hardship, often inflicted by unsupportive partners over the telephone. At the end of each transformation, the participants' bodies have become expressions of individual determination.

Although post-transformation, the makeover subjects frequently thank the 'experts' – as the 'authors' of their made over bodies – the host then points out their own authorship ("You've got yourself to thank." for instance in S1, E6). Disregarding the impact of the 'experts' (not to mention of the televisual medium) *The Swan* portrays the participants as the authors of their

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[175] The handheld camera functions as another marker of authenticity in reality television.

'after-bodies'.[176] My analysis of the gym sequence suggests that hard physical labour is staged as a demonstration of self-authorship and as a reveal of the participants' inner selves. The depiction of the described type of labour on the body thus serves on *The Swan* to associate the participants with the show's understanding of authenticity. With an emotionalised emphasis on the self-induced process, the transformed body becomes authentic(ated) as the product of dedicated work.

In their study of 'aesthetic labour' in the fashion modelling industry Entwistle and Wissinger find that in the latter part of the twentieth century the language of 'enterprise' "has emphasised what Rose (1991) refers to as the 'entrepreneur of the self'" (2006: 781). Work in many contexts is claimed as a source of self-actualization, even freedom, independence and expression of individuality.[177] The term has undergone a neoliberal redefinition in which the demarcation of 'work' from 'free time' has become permeable. After fulfilling oneself at a job by advancing one's career, evenings and weekends – which were previously regarded as free time – are now consumed with activities that can best be described as 'work on the self,' such as going to the hairdresser's or working out. Our free time is now infiltrated by an ethics of enterprise defined by "competitiveness, strength, vigour, boldness, outwardness, and the urge to succeed" (Rose 1998: 157) – all of which *The Swan* encourages. In the case of the work that is depicted on *The Swan* and the power that operates through the requirement to be an 'enterprising individual', power can be understood in Foucauldian terms as a 'technology of the self' (Rose 1998: 156ff). Self-monitoring is – contradictorily – portrayed as empowering and as a means of self-expression. Heyes suggests:

> The power that brings our failed bodies to cognitive dys‑appearance need not be explicitly imposed by any external arbiter, insisting against our ignorance or resistance, "Look! Look at how poorly your body expresses the essence of yourself!" Rather it is a power that circulates—everywhere at once, yet emanating from no single source. Our inability to identify the sovereign locus of this power (a gesture we often deem necessary for power to exist) occludes the fact that we ourselves are among the disciplining agents. (2007: 27)

[176] "Whether achieved in one's own right or with the support of experts, the self appears more individual the more it can be claimed as the result of one's own production and active self-discipline. Individuality is thus no longer a question of results only, but especially of modalities of production." (Seier and Surma 2008: 178, my translation). „Ob aus eigener Kraft oder mit der Unterstützung von Experten/innen, das Selbst erscheint umso individueller, je mehr es als das Ergebnis der eigenen Herstellungsleistung und aktiven Selbstkontrolle reklamiert werden kann. Individualität wird somit nicht mehr nur zu einer Frage von Ergebnissen, sondern vor allem von Produktionsmodalitäten." (Seier and Surma 2008: 178)

[177] Britney Spears mirrors this neoliberal ideal in her song "Work Bitch": You want a hot body? You want a Bugatti?/You want a Maserati? You better work bitch/You want a Lamborghini? Sip martinis?/Look hot in a bikini? You better work bitch/You wanna live fancy? Live in a big mansion?/Party in France?/You better work bitch, you better work bitch/You better work bitch, you better work bitch.

While the self-disciplining that Heyes alludes to is a key factor on *The Swan*, the norms that contestants need to comply with are at the same time clearly defined by the show and expressed by the 'experts', suggesting that disciplinary power is in operation, too (Foucault 1991).[178]

I have described above that consumerism tightly connects notions of the individual self to what we consume. On the body, especially, we make our individual preferences visible. On *The Swan* visible labour to achieve a certain appearance also functions as proof of the contestants' dedication to these preferences. If in postmodernism bodies have increasingly become discussed in terms of their surface and instability, my impression is that the depiction of 'hard labour' processes on *The Swan* functions? as a recipe for reliability and stability. The dedication the programme's participants show and the hardship they endure to achieve their goal appears in stark opposition to a shallow, fake appearance that could be easily and temporarily 'put on'. The frequent display of hardship and labour on *The Swan* suggests to me the aim to satisfy a longing for 'being' over transitory 'appearance'. "Because the viewer has witnessed the entire passage from Before to After, the After-body, narratively speaking, stands as the moment of greatest authenticity, not to be undone or reversed by future parts in films of tabloid moments when realness is exposed." (Weber 2009: 22) Overall, these strategies of depicting the 'during' of makeover as dramatised labour, suffering, punishment and reward serve to authenticate the made-over bodies; rendering them real, deserved and acceptable.

Revealing beauty from inside the deficient before-body

While a dramatic depiction of hard physical labour in the gym is one way of portraying the participants as 'deserving' their newly authentic – but also beautified – body, it is not the only available technique. Makeover shows spend a lot of time legitimising their participants' choice (and 'need') for cosmetic surgery operations by interviewing them about how they endured bullying and emotional hardship because of their 'deficient' before-bodies.[179] Undergoing any amount of pain seems necessary for *The Swan's* participants

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[178] Poster (2007) argues for reading the work contestants carry out on *The Swan* as acts of 'care of the self'. I find that problematic because I see *The Swan* as essentially focusing on a (Platonic) *revelation* of the self, while Foucault describes the care of the self as practices in which the self is *transformed* (1989 and 2009).

[179] In the case of participant Kelly, whose physical shortcomings might be particularly hard to fathom for the viewer, one of the cosmetic surgeons readily emphasises her before-body as deficient. He asks Kelly in his surgery: "Where you teased a lot with your nose?" (S1, E6)

in order to distance their radical body modifications from accusations of vanity, frivolity and narcissism.[180] In line with this, it is an important staging technique that images of before-bodies appear as flashbacks or are conjured up by verbal commentary when the after-bodies are conspicuously on parade at the end of the show. These images of sagging tummies, crooked noses and tales of humiliation are recalled to the viewers: the shiny after-bodies are visually juxtaposed with images of 'deficiency'.[181]
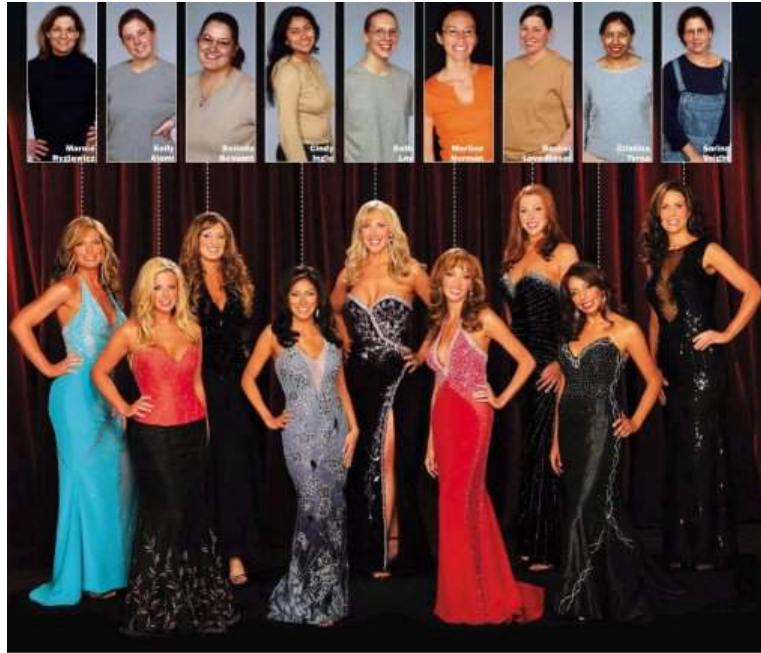
Figure 5 This image of The Swan's first season pageant is a typical display: although this has a stronger impact in moving images, even here the 'old' body is linked to the deserving made-over body. Copyright: Fox

Figure 5 shows *The Swan's* contestants in the 'evening gown competition' at the first season's pageant (S1, E9). In the competition, each contestant's walk down the catwalk begins with an exaggerated pose (sometimes with one arm extended and pointing upwards), backlit against a canvas that exposes the woman's silhouette. The contestants then strut with a strong for-

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[180] Jones points out that, like on *The Swan*, any notion of vanity is also erased from the show *Extreme Makeover* (2008: 51-3).
[181] Weber confirms that "[i]n makeover logic, no post made-over body can ever be considered separate from it pre-made-over form" (2009: 83).

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ward propulsion in a bouncing, in some cases almost skipping, gait, swinging their arms. Arriving at the end of the catwalk they pose with their hands on their hips and with big smiles that make their new white teeth visible. Their open expressions and thrown-back shoulders suggest confidence. The clothing in the evening gown competition invariably draws attention to the contestants' large breasts. Many of the dresses are extremely low-cut, with two of them covering the cleavage with gauze. Three of the gowns are strapless despite the considerable weight they have to hold and despite being low cut between the breasts. To support these features they are made of stiff, reinforced material which is reminiscent of armour and contrasts with the contestants' emphatically jaunty walk. The gowns are predominantly black and feature sparkling appliqué work.

While in the inserted pictures in *Figure 5* the contestants are smiling and wearing everyday clothing, the footage of before-bodies on the show is often considerably less flattering. The women are featured wearing saggy underwear and no make-up; they have reddened skin and a tired look. In their verbal commentary, they make explicit that this physical state is associated with unhappiness and emotional trauma. Juxtapositions of 'before and after' in which the pre-made-over body is presented in comparably worse light, clothing and make-up are common in transformation narratives. But besides stressing the *process* of transformation (as I pointed out in the previous section) *The Swan* uses a variety of techniques to contrast the 'old' bodies with the 'new' ones, and to reinsert the before-body into the image of the after-body. Like in *Figure 5*, *The Swan*'s first pageant is constantly disrupted by footage that brings the 'old' body back into the picture. Before the women walk the pageant's catwalk and pose in evening gowns, the host reminds the viewer of the hardship endured: "It has been an incredible challenge for all of these women just to get through *The Swan* programme." When they later parade in bikinis, the host refers to their 'former selves' by providing comments, such as: "The contestant who called herself the ultimate plain Jane: Sarina."; or "The woman who never used to think she'd be more than just average: Rachel." Remarkably, all the footage of the participants in which they state they feel authentic is when they wear plunging, shiny evening gowns that are reminiscent of darker and less full versions of Disney princesses' dresses. Evoking the before-bodies adds a notion of 'depth' to the polished pageant display. The catwalk, the presence of judges and an applauding audience clearly frame the pageant as a glamorous event, while any such markers for framing (Foster 1986: 59ff, see my introduction) are avoided in the footage of the before-bodies. In compliance with the reality TV genre, the 'mode of representation' (Foster 1986: 65ff) is in both cases a claimed 'truth' – an authenticity of the staged bodies in terms of the absence of any mediation other than the participants' diligent work.

After the depiction of hard work has established the participants as morally worthy, the show's pageant presents how they ultimately conflate being

and appearing. The underlying representational logic is that while the tired-looking before-bodies mismatched the women's 'beautiful selves', the upright gait mirrors newly confident individuals. The suggested message that is inherent in the visual stagings and emphasised verbally at the pageant is that the made-over looks are not perfect covers, but that the (constantly recalled) before-bodies were a mere shell from which this beautiful essence has been extracted.

Interestingly, the shows often operate implicitly or explicitly with references to fairy tales (further highlighting their antiquated morals). Cinderella is beautiful underneath the grime of her unwashed face, but most importantly she has a 'good soul'. The ugly duckling was always the beautiful swan inside and transforms into it at the end of the fairy tale.[182] Like fairy tale heroines, the participants on cosmetic surgery shows are not portrayed as turning from ugly to beautiful, but as finally *revealing* their slumbering inner beauty that remained unblemished during the long time of endured misery. The transformations on *The Swan* are emphasised as revelatory – their outcome is predetermined and has a certain urgency. This is stressed by a language that ceaselessly highlights revelation, uncovering and the search for the real self. A plastic surgeon refers to Sarina as a dream patient because she "has a really nice bone structure – it just needs to be uncovered." (S1, E6) Participant Kim says: "It's very painful waking up in the morning knowing that you have a beautiful figure underneath a bunch of flab. I just want to be me again." (S2, E2)

The Swan portrays its notion of an inner self as taking prescedence over an outer body that expresses it. This revelatory logic masks normalising practices. The emotional misery that the show associates with before bodies adds a sense of urgency for that supposed revelation to happen. In the following section I will continue to investigate the imposition of stereotypical ideals that *The Swan* passes off as revelations.

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[182] According to Nely Galán's blog, she had the idea for *The Swan* when reading Andersen's fairy tale to her son and thought: "The ugly duckling was always a swan – and didn't know it." (Galán 2011)

Authentic looks: observing beauty norms

The analysed techniques of staging self-authorship associate the participants on *The Swan* with those attributes that Gilmore and Pine pointed out as authenticating: they appear earnest, self-directed and honest (see Gilmore and Pine 2007: 96). But the transformational outcomes – the 'after-bodies' – attest how tightly authentification sticks to conventional beauty norms. Besides sanctioned *techniques* of staging an authentic body, there are also *aesthetic codes* to adhere to.[183] On *The Swan,* the notion of 'beauty' that is enhanced and the 'real selves' that are brought to the fore in the participating women conform to conventional images of ultra-femininity. This is brought up frequently by the 'experts' who refer to wanting to 'give' the makeover subject (a) 'more feminine' nose/smile/features. Of the contestant Dawn, the plastic surgeons say: "Dawn really needs more feminisation", and: "Anything to do [sic] to feminise her face will help her." After 'finishing the job', the verdict is, logically: "The key to Dawn's transformation was to feminise her." (S1, E7) But also in virtually every other episode, the 'experts' express their aim to create an appearance on the participants that they refer to in terms of a 'feminine', 'sexy' look.[184]

Another aesthetic aim that is presented to help participants feel more like themselves again is – unsurprisingly – rejuvenation.[185] This makeover goal is expressed, for instance, by a cosmetic surgeon about Townya's transformation as "this will take years off her" (S1, E1) Another characteristic that comes up several times is a harmonised, balanced appearance. Regarding this aesthetic ideal, a cosmetic surgeon decides: "Because Dawn is so asymmetric we are gonna place a lot of emphasis on getting symmetry." (S1,

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[183] Looking back a good decade, we can see that authenticity was prominently codified and marketed in a different context: as an aesthetic of unpolished shabbiness, an unkempt anti-theatricality that was sometimes referred to as grunge. What Michael Bracewell terms the 1990s' "pan-cultural desire for the image and energy of authenticity" (2010: 19) is notable in the decade's fashion photography. In a somewhat naïve claim for authenticity, photographers such as Nigel Shafran, Wolfgang Tillmans, Corinne Day, Mark Borthwick, David Sims or Inez van Lamsweerde staged what seemed like individuals in their everyday realities, rather than supermodels in glamorous settings. British photographer Jason Evans Evans writes that street casting – finding and photographing 'real', 'unlikely' beauties on the street – was another way to signal authenticity in 1990s fashion photography. (2010: 41)

[184] Plastic surgeon in S1, E7: "I'll bring some elements of sexiness to her lips."

[185] Unsurprisingly, because looking young is a key element of the Western beauty code. The *2012 Plastic Surgery Statistics Report* states that 2012 marks the highest number of rejuvenation procedures to date, with 6.1 million injections of Botox (American Society of Plastic Surgeons 2013: 5), 126.000 facelifts (5% increase since 2011, ibid.) and a 4.5 % increase of upper-arm lifts since 2000 (ibid.). It needs to be pointed out, however, that *The Swan's* participants were only about thirty years old. Rejuvenation might therefore not have had the same prominence on the show that it has amongst general consumers of cosmetic surgery.

E7) Erica is told: "You do need surgical help. […] You have true breast droop. […] You have a lot of asymmetry and droopiness around you mid-facial area." (S2, E4)

This aesthetic codification of authentic appearance entails the participants – despite having supposedly revealed their most individual inner – paradoxically ending up with remarkably similar noses and cheekbones, big white teeth, smooth skin, large breasts, a somewhat slender figure and hair extensions. The existence of a code that has to be obeyed in order to successfully stage an authentic body on *The Swan* also becomes clear in comments such as a plastic surgeon's about participant Marnie: "Marnie has very strong facial features that can be very tricky to refine." (S1, E7)

The existence of a code for acceptable, 'good' plastic surgery that is 'deserved' and can even help the recipient's true self to emerge (Jones 2008: 1) seems all the more necessary in a context in which a noticeably 'done' look is seemingly becoming part of the beauty ideal (as I pointed out earlier in this chapter). The fact that far from all visibly made-over appearances are praised is strikingly illustrated by the past years' slating in the tabloid press of Goldie Hawn's, Cher's, Jocelyne Wildenstein's, Pamela Anderson's or Farrah Fawcett's cosmetic surgeries. Their surgeries are described in terms of catastrophe, horror and monstrosity. This suggests that cosmetic surgery is in desperate need of differentiation if it is to fulfil such a counterintuitive end as authenticating a body. The last sections have already shown how cosmetic surgery's 'during' – depictions of labour, pain and hardship – provided legitimisation and associated *The Swan's* participants' made-over outside with a good, deserving and dedicated inside. Another way in which makeover culture portrays cosmetic surgery and other body modifications as authentic and deserved is by delineating them from 'bad' modifications. The latter ones are isolated and held up as examples of (almost exclusively) *women* who have 'gone too far'.

To further identify the code of authentic appearance on *The Swan* regarding its constituent elements (feminization, youthfulness and symmetry) I will go on a brief tangent in which I follow Jones' research on 'Makeover Misdemeanours'[186]. In her analysis of popular women's magazine articles and content from the website *Awful Plastic Surgery,* Jones comes to an understanding of "when and how cosmetic surgery […] is praised and when it is vilified" (2008: 110). She makes out that cosmetic surgery 'disasters' generally constitute overstepping boundaries in three broad areas: ageing disgracefully, presenting gender – especially femininity – incorrectly and embracing a perverse aesthetic[187]. This suggests to me that cosmetic surgery is met with contempt when it makes the receiver look inconsistent with factors that are

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[186] The name of the fifth chapter in her book *Skintight* (2008).

[187] Jocelyne Wildenstein is the primary example for this last category. She is largely criticised for embracing her looks that appear "too 'moulded' for reality" (Jones 2008: 123).

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(widely seen as) signifiers of selfhood. Expanding on the display of correct femininity, Jones explains that Pamela Anderson's breast augmentations have been criticised because they call "into question ideas of essential or 'natural' femininity" (121). Prompted by worries about silicone leakage, Anderson had her "famous implants removed in 2000 […] but then decided on bigger saline augmentations in 2001" (120). Jones argues that it was the attention drawn to femininity's instability that made Anderson's 'small-big-small-bigger' breasts unacceptable. "These breasts are so threatening because they highlight the presence of, and the ability to remove, the mask of femininity" (Jones 2008: 120). Despite our awareness of the 'stagedness' of celebrities' bodies, in particular, (and the fakeness of Anderson's breasts, whether or not implants are temporarily removed) it seems the contemporary fashion isn't for making body modifications *too* visible. In its peculiar quest for authenticity, makeover culture "demands that foreign objects be incorporated as parts of the self and 'blend in'" (111).

The style that I argue is congruent with 'authentic' distinguishes itself through a finely calibrated amount of discretion. If individuals no longer need to conceal *all* signs of constructing their bodies, as was the ideal in the Enlightenment, cosmetic surgery cannot currently appear too obvious if it is still to authenticate the person using it. On *The Swan* the constant parallel reminder of the before-bodies provides this 'discretion' that prevents bodily appearance from becoming unacceptably exaggerated in its striving for perfection. Jones argues that cosmetic surgery procedures which draw attention to themselves are generally rejected in the publications she analysed. In the same vein, *Awful Plastic Surgery* sums up 'good' cosmetic surgery as "changes [which] are not extremely noticeable and enhance [the receiver's] looks". (110) However, it is important to observe that the examples praised on the website are still identifiable as surgical alterations – otherwise they could not be commented on.

The Swan posits a crude but apparently compelling fantasy of salvation: the beautiful Swan is inside us, but we conceal this essential inner with our distressing corporeality. From my analysis of the show and my introductory remarks to this chapter it emerged that authenticity is understood as the hyper-feminised representation of women as honest and hard working. Individuality is held up as a criteria for being authentic, but in the bodies' stagings on the show this is entirely disregarded in favour of an assimilation: only the hyper-feminine body shows the deserving inner self appropriately. Gendered beauty norms are then justified through the appeal to an essential self.

Having Fun on *Germany's Next Top Model*

In the next analysis, I want to investigate how contestants on the German TV programme *Germany's Next Top Model (GNTM)* stage what the show's judges refer to as bodily authenticity. While makeover shows are about renovation and rejuvenation, *GNTM* is not. However, my reading of it will illustrate that – like *The Swan* – it is all about personal improvement, revelation and working on the body and self. Another feature that locates *GNTM* squarely in makeover culture are the authoritative roles of its host Heidi Klum and the jury.[188] While *The Swan* portrayed the makeover subjects *themselves* as feeling their bodies' authentication, on *GNTM, the* host, Klum, and the jury attribute authenticity from their vantage points as experts. The following analysis serves to deepen the discussion of those staging techniques I have identified as constituents of contemporary bodily authenticity on *The Swan*: the depiction of what is portrayed as 'hard work', the discreet de-emphasis on sheer physical perfection and the slavish observance of specific codes of conventional beauty.

I have motivated my choice to analyse *GNTM* earlier in this chapter. Watching numerous episodes from most of the eight seasons has formed my understanding of the programme. In the twelfth episode of season four, Klum and the judges made repeated reference to the contestants' authenticity (or lack thereof).[189] Therefore, I give particular attention to that episode in my analysis. In the thematic context of this chapter, the determining factor to analyse *GNTM* was its way of dealing with the depiction and codification of labour. The show is based on the presumption that one can become a fashion model through hard work. In its 'challenges', tasks are staged for the participating women and teenagers. These tasks appear to have little to do with the modelling business but serve to make for an interesting television show, and communicate the proposition that dreams are achieved and potential fully exploited, by disciplined labour.

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[188] "Unique to the makeover narrative is the way that its experts point out flaws in a combined gesture of humiliation and care" (Weber 2009: 30).
[189] The episode was shown on German television on April 30, 2009. Judges at the time were modelling agent and booker Peyman Amin and the cosmetician and casting director Rolf Scheider.

Labour taken for granted: girls who outgrow themselves

If bodily transformation is not at issue on *GNTM* in the way it is on *The Swan*, the intention to 'improve' the contestants is still key. In the semi-final of the sixth season a judge expresses that "it is of course very nice for us to see how the girls develop – even at the last second".[190] The jury members stress the contestants' development in the programme as the key to getting through to the next rounds – and their decisions about whom to eliminate reflect this. The same episode features a 'question time', initiated by one member of the jury who asks the assembled contestants: "Do you feel that you have learned a lot?" To which everyone answers: "Yes, absolutely."[191] Approached individually, almost all of the young women state they've got more self-confident. Finally the jury member discerns, addressing the 16-year-old contestant Amelie: "So you've grown up with us a little."[192] Similarly, Klum often speaks of 'potential' in 'our girls', that she intends to bring to the fore. In line with makeover shows, the contestants' selfhood is located somewhere between the improvable and in need of revelation.

The participants' hard and self-developing work is a prerequisite on *GNTM* – Klum and the jury take it for granted. Hard work manifests itself, for instance, in the contestants having to overcome initial reactions of disgust, fright or embarrassment in photo shoots with pigs, bees, cockroaches, a helicopter, a trapeze, power current … all this with more or less clothing. Klum and the jury then reward those participants who take on these 'challenges', while they express openly that they might have to consider sending home those 'girls' who do not challenge themselves with determination.

Another instance of hard work that triggers a positive jury response is if the judges get the sense that a contestant is 'fighting'. A member of the jury awards Aleksandra this particular praise in the sixth season's semi-final: "What I like is that you fight so much."[193] 'Fighting' is staged by the contestants offering the photographer a wide range of poses and expressions at a photo shoot, making particular effort to avoid mistakes that the jury has criticised in them earlier. Along the same lines, contestant Rebecca 'fights' in a shoot for the German *Cosmopolitan* magazine. She poses in a tight, low-cut and very short canary-yellow dress and black high-heeled platform sandals. Her long black hair is styled in curls that fall over her shoulders when they are not blown up by an air machine. Her movement and posing vocabulary in the shoot consist of alternately turning her body slightly by bringing

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[190] "das ist natürlich sehr schön für uns zu sehen, wie Mädchen sich entwickeln – auch noch in letzter Sekunde." (S6, E15).
[191] "Habt ihr das Gefühl, dass ihr viel gelernt habt? " - "Ja, auf jeden Fall."
[192] "Also Du bist mit uns ein Stückchen erwachsener geworden?"
[193] "Was ich schön finde ist, dass du wahnsinnig kämpfst."

one of her shoulders forward. One arm rests on her right hip which protrudes while she places her left foot at a 45 degree angle and bends her left leg. From her hip she lifts one arm to touch her hair or the straps of her dress. The other arm clings to her body, so that Rebecca's hand rests on the side or the front of her thigh which 'opens' towards the camera. The positions of her mouth change from neutral to a smile with the lips parted and the teeth visible. In terms of her movements' 'syntax' – what Foster describes as the "rules governing the selection and combination of moves" (1986: 59) – the sequence is dominated by Rebecca's ceaseless efforts to offer a new pose to the camera. She keeps changing the position of her face, arms, chin, legs and her expression slightly and provokes groans of approval from the photographer. This attention to detail earns her particular applause because she was previously deemed to have been struggling with such subtleties. Klum concludes: "It seemed to me that Rebecca really fought today. Not in a harsh way, but she just really wants it."[194] Someone who fights on *GNTM* is in control of revealing her inner agency physically. As was the case on *The Swan*, a sense of the participants' authorship emerges from a mixture of exerting power over their own body and individual determination.

Marie also performs some hard labour in the fourth season's 'rock shoot' (E 12). She dances, throws her hair around, fiddles with a guitar, kneels down on stage, opens her mouth and squints her eyes. And yet Klum comments: "She *did* make a super effort – she really jumped around; did this and that, swung her arms, rolled around on the floor and threw her legs in the air. But it all looked so inauthentic – you couldn't believe her at all."[195] I will deal with how hard work is (supposed to be) turned into authenticity on *GNTM* in a moment.

A final instance of hard work that the contestants need to master on *GNTM* is – like on *The Swan* – dealing with emotional hardship. *GNTM* focuses on the contestants' life solely while they are part of the show. The production does not look back at their former lives (which could've provided ripe material of potential emotional struggle, as is the case in many other makeover shows). *GNTM* instead creates a notion of hardship during the show, significantly by encouraging competitive behaviour amongst the contestants. Klum reacts to the gently beginning friendship of two contestants: "Always remember that in the end, only one of you can become Germany's

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[194] "Also nicht so hart, aber sie will's einfach." I interpret this restriction as Klum's insistence on gender norms: while the participants on her show are expected to fight, 'fighting in a way that is *harsh*' is what only men do.

[195] "Sie hat sich zwar super angestrengt – also sie hat wirklich da rumgehampelt; gemacht und getan und die Arme geschwungen und auf dem Fußboden rumgerollt und die Beine hochgeschmissen. Aber das sah alles so unauthenisch aus – also das konntest du ihr von vorne bis hinten absolut nicht abnehmen."

Next Top Model."[196] The programme stages an atmosphere of tension by provoking quarrels between the contestants. In backstage interviews, they are asked to evaluate each other.[197] Most importantly, however, 'pain' is inflicted by the judges' degrading assessments of the contestants.[198] Finally, in the sixth season's semi-final, the contestants are acknowledged as *deserving* their success, as was frequently the case on *The Swan*. Having gone through a season of what was portrayed as hard personal development work, Klum addresses the five remaining contestants: "I wish you all luck – you all deserve it." [199]

To achieve an authentic body on *GNTM* the participants have to invest their labour. The notion of investment – the belief that you get something out for what you put in – is a feature of capitalism as well as most bourgeois and protestant beliefs which pervades women's magazines (Williamson 1986: 58). I want to reflect on how this investment works, by looking at how Marx talks about the creation of value.[200] As in economics, understood by Marx, abstracted value is produced by work on *GNTM*. The abstracted value is, in this case, not (surplus) *monetary* value, but a value that is of a different kind: authenticity. In the bodies' staging on *GNTM* "human labour power (…) must have been actually expended. Human labour is therefore accumulated" (Marx 1867)[201] The bodies on *GNTM* are staged as the cumulating points at which self-directed, authenticating work becomes visible; they can therefore be described as 'Wertträger'. Marx defines value as necessarily *the product* of labour. However, I would be hesitant to see authenticity on *GNTM* as achieved only when the bodies appear as finished products (such as in the photographs that are taken of them in the show).[202] Rather than the 'finished

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[196] "Ihr müsst immer daran denken, dass am Ende nur eine von Euch Germany's Next Top-model werden kann." (S4, E11).

[197] When confronted with that task contestants, interestingly, take on the jury's scheme and authority and judge their fellow-participants on how much of an *effort* they are making.

[198] One such shaming amongst many occurs in S4, E10 after a contestant failed repeatedly to get casted for an advertisement campaign. Klum: "Clumsy, childish und unconvincing. A model who doesn't get jobs isn't a top model." ("Tollpatschig, kindlich und nicht überzeugend. Ein Model, das keine Jobs bekommt, ist kein Topmodel.")

[199] "Ich wünsche Euch allen viel Glück – ihr habt's alle verdient"

[200] I am not necessarily interested in the politics of Marxism here – rather I am using Marx for his economic vocabulary/analysis which is held in high regard by most economists irrespective of their position on the left-right continuum.

[201] "menschliche Arbeit verausgabt worden. Es ist also menschliche Arbeit […] aufgehäuft." (Marx 1969: 33)

[202] As would be in line with Marx' statement: „Human labour power in motion, or human labour, creates value, but is not itself value. It becomes value only in its congealed state, when embodied in the form of some object." (1867) ("Menschliche Arbeitskraft im flüssigen Zustand oder menschliche Arbeit bildet Wert, aber ist nicht Wert. Sie wird Wert in geronnenem Zustand, in gegenständlicher Form." [1969: 32]) My reservation does not exclude the possibility that the participants' 'finished' bodies *also* constitute a certain commodified worked-for

bodily product', I want to argue that it is the images of work themselves that produce authenticity. As I pointed out earlier in this chapter, what counts in makeover culture is "the *display* of our ongoing improvement: the visible act of labouring to acquire one's choices" (Jones 2008: 57). Writing on value in artworks, Graw holds that the possibility to perceive a production process, similarly charges things with an appealing life/aliveness (2012: 30). "Implicit in value, we have seen, is labor power, living labor." (Graw 2012: 50) On *GNTM,* very different from estranging the participants' identities from the product of their labour (their appearing bodies), the idea is that the labour links them. It makes their appearance the undisputed product of *their* agency.

Having fun!

While working hard counts for a lot, and is indeed expected on *GNTM*, the contestants still need, in order to be successful on the show, to augment their performance with an extra something. The jury demands this 'something else'. In the following I will argue that what they are after – implicitly and explicitly – is the staging of an authentic body.

Watching the first few episodes of the sixth season of *GNTM*, I was puzzled by sequences in which Klum encourages the participants not to 'take things so awfully seriously, but just have a bit of fun'. Considering the show's central proposition (You need to perform hard labour to achieve your dream!) and anticipating what is almost certain to happen (the participants' public shaming), I was hardly surprised that *GNTM* participants took things 'seriously'. Later on, however, I gained a clearer understanding of what this notion of 'having fun' referred to and why it was so important. I need the context of an earlier episode. Season 4, episode 12 establishes a clear connection between 'having fun' and creating an authentic appearance. Being authentic, looking authentic and rendering a participant's appearance authentic are used multiple times in that episode – repeatedly in connection with or synonymous to 'having fun'.

To prepare for a 'rock star shoot' two musicians show the contestants how to 'rock out' on stage – "in a way that comes across authentically – so you can feel the adrenalin in the photo".[203] "One of the important things:", one of the musicians says, "you can't look like you're trying." While this 'getting something across authentically' seems to refer to a clearly codified style of bodily ease and effortlessness, that definition turns into a

value. But authenticity, as the value that concerns me here, is staged in the *process*, not the *product* of 'working hard'.

[203] "und zwar so, dass es authentisch rüberkommt – das man das Adrenalin praktisch auf dem Foto spüren kann." (S4, E12).

slightly different expectation later in the episode (one that is predomi-nant in the entire programme): "Especially at a rock-shoot you expect emotion and feelings – the girls should let themselves go, damn it!",[204] emphasises a jury member. Klum adds, referring to the importance of 'feeling': "Some girls only play-act, but it doesn't come off real."[205] The rock star shoot takes place on the stage of a club – it is thus 'framed' in an environment that is stereotypically associated with authenticity. The clothing emphasises this setting with an almost all-black collection of small tops, short skirts or tight trousers in leather and accessorised with heavy studded belts and bracelets and chain necklaces. Those who are praised as meeting the goal to create "an authentic rock star feeling"[206] perform with their legs wide apart, carry out high kicks, big pushing pelvic movements and shake their (predominantly very long) hair. They lean into their movements and, compared to other contestants, perform a wider range of more spatially expansive movements with their arms and legs.

The episode then reaches a dramatic climax that I think encapsulates the programme. One contestant performs a smaller range of slower, less expan-sive steps and gestures with her legs closer together. This means she risks being deemed inauthentic on the basis of showing too little feeling and emo-tion, like some of her competitors. Klum asks her: "Are you having fun?" The camera closes up on Klum's distraught face: "What? Did I hear right? You're not having fun? […] I mean, you've got to have fun doing it."[207]

Reflecting the programme's underlying work ethic, the contestants also adopt the ideal to 'have fun' when staging their bodies. Before going on the stage at L.A.'s *Groundlings Theatre*, one contestant says: "Now I'll just act out my fun out there and have fun."[208] During an underwear shoot in the same episode, Klum urges another participant: "You know what really wouldn't hurt? If you looked a little bit as if you had fun doing it." This trig-gers an immediate and resolute response: "I *am* having fun!" But Klum in-sists: "You can't see that."[209] Another contestant who staged her body in that same shoot with slower movements and fewer direct smiling addresses of the camera turns to authenticity as a criteria when she is asked to evaluate her-self: "I didn't get the movements across authentically."[210]

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[204] "Gerade bei so 'nem Rock-Shooting erwartet man Emotionen und Gefühle – die Mädels sollen sich gehen lassen, verdammt noch mal!"

[205] "Einige Mädchen spielen das nur nach, aber es kommt nicht echt."

[206] "ein authentisches Rockstar Feeling" (voice over).

[207] "Was? Hör ich richtig? Du hast keinen Spaß? [...] Ich meine, man muss ja auch Spaß daran haben."

[208] "Ich leb' jetzt einfach meinen Spaß da draußen aus, und hab' Spaß." (S4, E10)

[209] "Weißt Du was auch schön wär'? Wenn du 'n bisschen aussehen würdest, als wenn du Spaß dabei hättest." – "Ich hab Spaß!" – "Das sieht man nicht."

[210] "Meine Bewegungen sind nicht so authentisch rübergekommen."

The line between convincingly expressing 'fun' and actually enjoying the performed labour is blurred on *GNTM*. In the sixth episode of season five a customer appears – the marketing manager of the fashion retail clothing store C&A. She defines 'naturalness' as what is important to her and specifies it as a skilful 'as-if', a convincingly acted style. "It is important to us", she says to one contestant in a casting, "that you can be glad at the push of a button. Can you show us some styles of gladness or styles of having fun?"[211] A model's having fun is here clearly defined as her professional ability to depict the emotion required by the customer. This seems to me to be somewhat different from the judges' frequent demand for actual enjoyment.[212] To evaluate a contestant's bodily performance as acceptably authentic, Klum and the other judges repeatedly claim they get to see 'real selves', as is indicated by feedback, such as: "Don't be afraid to show your personality – you've got personality", or "You were authentic, you were real – you didn't do it for the camera", or "Get out of your cage", followed by the classic "Show us who you really are".[213] That, despite Klum's authoritative role, the participants' individuality is a treasured value on *GNTM* is repeatedly stressed: "You have to be for ever and ever unique [if you want to be Germany's Next Topmodel]." (S4, E11)[214] In this comment to Marie the jury seems to refer to an expressive singularity of character, rather than something that would uniquely qualify her for a modelling career. These encouragements seem paradoxical as they validate a confusion of the model job – where the modelling person has to be as changeable as possible (see Brandstetter 2007: 248f; Graw 2010: 71f)[215] – with a self-help approach – where the goal is to locate, improve and make visible a person's 'true inside'. *GNTM* capitalizes on its participants' undignified 'fighting' and their individual reactions to the show's humiliations. Much more than emulating a 'fashion world', the show "mirrors the current economic system which attempts to exploit even the most personal" (Graw 2010: 76, my translation).

Authenticity on *GNTM* is codified as the enjoyment of labour. Authentic appearance is staged as the person *herself* creating that appearance. While hard work is a must and always pre-supposed, the contestants are judged at the same time on their ability to communicate to the judges that they are having fun performing that labour. This reflects what Graw labels "the current ideological landscape, in which self-initiative and self-exploitation are

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[211] "Für uns ist es wichtig, dass du eigentlich auf Knopfdruck dich auch freuen kannst. Kannst Du uns mal verschiedene Freude-Arten oder Spaßhabe-Arten vormachen?"

[212] The same antithesis is discussed in Diderot's *The Paradox of Acting* (1957 [1830]).

[213] "Zeig' ruhig was von deiner Persönlichkeit – du hast Persönlichkeit.";"Du warst authentisch, du warst echt – du hast das nicht für die Kamera gemacht.";"Komm aus deinem Käfig raus.","Zeig und dein wahres ich." (all from S4, E12).

[214] "Du musst auf ewig und immer einzigartig sein [wenn du *GNTM* werden willst]."

[215] See also Basberg Neumann (2012) who portrays the fashion model's role as that of a co-creator of images who is in control.

the order of the day"[216] (2010: 68) Klum says that her ideal contestant (one who labours hard to be a good, deserving self) conceals this labour in an effortless style that communicates discreet ease. But judges on *GNTM* don't only demand that labour is performed and discreetly tucked away. In addition to that (and remarkably similar to the ideal unmediated body in Enlightenment thought), the contestants' performances of their bodies should coincide with their 'real selves' who – importantly – *actually* enjoy the hard work. The mixing of the professional sphere with the personal also makes the jury's humiliating evaluations more effective: the contestants are criticised as unworthy people, not because they are doing a bad job. It seems that it is the ultimate alienation from labour – the *actual* enjoyment of humiliating work – that qualifies a participant to become Germany's Next Topmodel.

Conclusion: Contemporary Practices of Staging Bodily Authenticity

The chapter has shown that understandings of what bodily authenticity is have in some respects remained (perhaps surprisingly) static. In the eighteenth century, a person was regarded as authentic if her appearance gave an accurate account of what was conceived of as her inner truth. Today the characteristics of this supposed inner are still restricted to a certain norm that has to be adhered to by the authentic body. Bodily authenticity is then still tightly related to moral evaluation – much as it was in Enlightenment thought – and it still relies primarily on the spectators' attribution.[217]

However, in its notions of how a person's inner truth is configured the contemporary self distinguishes itself considerably from eighteenth century ideas of interiority. In the discourse I analysed in this chapter, selfhood is a tool for improvement, it is the projection of an 'ideal me' that should be reflected on an ideal body. Both contestants and 'experts' in the television

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[216] "sich perfekt in die augenblickliche ideologische Landschaft einfügt, wo Eigeninitiative und Selbstausbeutung das Gebot der Stunde sind". Duttweiler discusses what she (drawing on Foucault) calls contemporary technologies of the self as ensuring the body's productivity in the body's subjugation. She points out the convenient coincidence of the goals defined by some contemporary technologies of the self with (economic?) expectations from the (external world): the job market's expectation of maximum productivity, the insurance's expectation of a low-cost end to life, the general public's expectation of a fit, friendly and optimistic appearance. (2003: 9).

[217] Authenticity, as Gilmore and Pine put it, relying on Peterson, "is socially constructed" (2007: 93).

shows I referred to commonly project the inner self as a personal point of reference, as a purity beyond external influences.[218] The self is conceived of as distinctly individual. A need to make the authentic self visible on the body in a way that indicates class, which I pointed out was an important factor in adequately representing the inner in the Enlightenment, is denied.

Another key difference between the two conceptions of people's inner truth is that in the current *Menschenbild* the self is implied as in need of discovery. Readily available in the Enlightenment, an inner truth now needs to be actively searched for. While a notion of stable selfhood that dominated Rousseau's writing is, similarly, in operation today,[219] a new understanding of the self has been added. We need to fully exploit our potential in order to become a 'better self'. The two meanings frequently contradict each other when, for instance, finding a 'real, inner self' stands at the end of the labour-intensive search for the 'new you'.[220] Makeover culture suggests we only become selves, that we only assume acceptable subjecthood in the makeover process.

Furthermore, what has undergone significant change since the Enlightenment is how individuals render their bodies authentic. Advocates of authenticity as a real, genuine, original truthfulness might not accept any of the examples I mention in this chapter as instances of 'actually' authentic bodies.[221] Definitions of authentic bodily acts as *in opposition to the intentionally staged* render both *The Swan*'s implied bottom line 'I am authentic now' and the *GNTM* judges' 'Be authentic!' contradictions in logic. However, these first-person and imperative claims for authenticity are booming in contemporary culture. Bodies cannot be authentic according to the definition 'immediate', as Goffman and many others have made evident. And yet, it seems important to our culture for bodies to communicate their authenticity. Rather than discarding this as an incorrect use of the concept, I want to conclude this first part of my thesis with a summary of the three strategies which the above analysis has identified as comprising primary techniques for staging bodily authenticity today.

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[218] Rose stresses the concept that we are animated by an inner psychology as having been predominant since the twentieth century (1998: 3).
[219] Gilmore and Pine use 'consistent' as a key attribute of contemporary authenticity (see 2007: 96)
[220] Williamson discerns this contradiction in magazines like *Cosmopolitan* which, according to her, serve the "appetite to *discover* the self […] and simultaneously, the search for a *new* self; both quests which are inherently unending" (1986: 56). For an insightful account of 'the self in self-help' see Schulz (2013).
[221] Knalller suggests 'immediacy', 'unadulteradness', 'undisguisedness', and 'truthfulness' (Unmittelbarkeit, Unverfälschtheit, Unverstelltheit, Wahrhaftigkeit) as contemporary synonyms for 'authenticity'. She argues that, in this definition, authenticity is a constitutive characteristic of modern and contemporary art and literature production (2006: 17).

Hard work, authorship and observing the norm

Staging the body as the culmination of working hard is key to its authentication on *The Swan*. It is the women's labour that the host and experts praise the most and the connection of the participants' hard work and their work's beautiful result is the basis for bodily authenticity.

I have suggested above that this exposed manufacture of the body's appearance is diametrically opposed to the disavowed staging techniques of an authentic body in the Enlightenment. Today, working hard on the body can bring the notion of determined selfhood to the fore that renders the body more authentic, according to the studied TV shows, by means of being the result of the individual's authorship. A concept that would have diverged from bodily authenticity in the Enlightenment, the puzzlingly literal staging of 'self-made-(wo)man' on *The Swan* brings to mind authenticity's ancient meaning: in my introduction I mentioned that the Greek word *authentikós* describes the quality of relating to an author. German sources frequently stress the destructive side of *authentés* and refer to one who does something with her own hands not only as an author, but also a perpetrator: someone who kills her relatives or herself (see Röttgers and Fabian 1971: 691; *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* 1996: 536; Kalisch 2000: 32-4). In describing this agent, Knaller mentions "Selbstherr" ('self-master'; 2006: 18); Kalisch writes "der Selbstvollendete" ("the self-consummate"; 2000: 32) and continues to propound the idea that the adjective meaning "eigenhändig vollführt" ("executed single-handedly"; ibid.) was widespread.[222] Although the participants on *The Swan* share authorship over their bodies with the 'experts', my analysis suggests that the show makes efforts to let the women emerge as their own entrepreneurial creators. The hard, individual labour staged on *The Swan* helps focus authorship over the bodies on the transforming subject, rather than the large group of factors (camerawork, editing, experts, makeup artists etc.) that – in fact – stage the bodies' appearance in concert.

As on *The Swan*, making hard work visible is a key strategy to stage the body as authentic on *GNTM*. And yet, while it is crucial that this technique is observed, authenticity is in both cases also linked to a certain bodily appearance. Working hard does not invariably lead to being authenticated; both *The Swan's* 'experts' and Klum's jury will only accept a result that complies with a specific ideal of beauty. Only contestants who stage their bodies according to that ideal are judged as having revealed their true inner self, as physically living up to their inner potential, as being entitled to win the contest. On *GNTM*, the ideal is not a strained, scared, bored or irritated appearance (which contestants sometimes give when first confronted with certain

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[222] "Der Selbstvollendete ist primär wohl als der Selbsthandanlegende verstanden worden. Dies könnte auch das Bedeutungsspektrum erklären, das vom Urheber und Täter bis zu Mörder und schließlich zu Selbstmörder reicht, der Hand an sich selber legt." (Kalisch 2000: 32)

tasks), but one of a 'girl' who is having fun. This means that the physically visible effects of the contestants' hard work must be toned down. Similarly, on *The Swan* and in some popular media's discussion of cosmetic surgery, authenticity is associated with a style that lets the body appear as visibly cared for, but avoids conspicuous details, such as uber-inflated lips. "Firstly, most social milieus give social prestige to attractive people if their beautifications are not too obvious.", writes the sociologist Waltraud Posch (2009: 140, my translation).[223] To get to an understanding of how makeover shows work, Weber suggests to look at them in terms of what they *cannot* imagine: change for the sake of variety and newness – plastic surgery snouts and messy houses (2009: 32). Whilst being all about abandoning the old in favour of the new, makeover culture does not view change independently from normative improvement. From my discussion of cosmetic surgery on *The Swan* and Jones' research on popular women's magazines and the website *Awful Plastic Surgery*, age, 'discretion' and – especially – gender emerged as central categories in the staging of an authentic body.[224] If *The Swan* portrays hard work as an act in which the individual externalises her unique selfhood, the result is, paradoxically, always marked as conventionally feminine. "The reassurances offered by the makeover", reasons Weber, "point to, though do not articulate, a larger anxiety about the dangerous fluidity of both gender and selfhood, a slipperiness that has translated, the makeover suggests, into a mass of people adrift in depression, desolation and despondency."(2009: 16)[225] On *The Swan*, the makeover harmonises the body with the participant's inner potential and thus (re-)authenticates her. Like *GNTM* it operates with an understanding of authenticity that amounts to a 'semiotic rectification': the inner signified is brought into a representational relation to its visible signifier.

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[223] She continues: "Secondly, it is crucial that the beautified body is lived, presented and perceived as in accordance with the self."; "Soziales Prestige […] erhalten attraktive Personen in den meisten Milieus dann, wenn Verschönerungen einerseits nicht zu offensichtlich stattgefunden haben und wenn andererseits der verschönerte Körper als im Einklang mit dem Selbst gelebt, präsentiert und wahrgenommen wird." (Posch 2009: 140)
[224] Similarly, makeover takes a normative approach in the procedures that are given to individuals who look 'too ethnic'. See Weber 2003: 12.
[225] Caroline Evans quotes Jonathan Dollimore who states that this "'crisis' of the individual is less a crisis than a recurring instability" (quoted in Evans 2003: 5; see also Rose 1998: 4 and Negrin 2008: 11). The practices described in this chapter can be seen as attempts to counter this decentred subject.

Introduction to the Second Part

In the first two introductory chapters I portrayed stagings of the body which I described as generating, repeating and promoting a particular *Menschenbild*. This *Menschenbild* is characterised by its ideal of an authentic body that reveals a person's inside. After first gaining currency in the Enlightenment, I have argued that this basic assumption is still intact in significant areas of contemporary culture. My second chapter focused on contemporary techniques of staging bodies to communicate that their outer appearance reveals an inner essence.

Conversely, contemporary bodies also appear in ways which undermine those strategies discussed in chapter 2. In various cultural contexts, bodies are staged as appearances that create a performative meaning, rather than supposedly revealing something previously intrinsic to them. They defy those staging techniques that my first two chapters identified as central in making a body appear authentic. The aim of my thesis' second part (chapters 3-5) is to analyse contemporary staging techniques that undermine the logic of authenticity in the specific contemporary *Menschenbild* I discussed above. What unites the contemporary examples in the previous chapter with those that follow is that bodily appearance in them results from conscious arrangement, not from the specificity of an ephemeral situation in which options of appearing have been left open and are particular to the individual performance. In this second part of the thesis, I primarily analyse body stagings that are non-live. Where I deal with live appearances (chapters 4 and 5) my aim is to analyse general staging techniques, rather than the individual performance(s) I saw.

I would like to remind the reader that the thesis' first part functions as a contextualisation for the analyses of contemporary stagings I undertake in the second part. The techniques that I detected as making contemporary notions of authenticity appear on the body constitute an indispensible frame of reference for this analytical part. The following three chapters are dedicated to three strategies that run counter to the crude understanding of authenticity and its associated staging techniques that I have analysed in chapter 2. They will be hyperbole, multiplicity and, finally, estrangement.

Chapter 3

Hyperbole

It emerged in the preceding chapter that what I referred to as 'discretion' is part of the authenticity code. A notion of discretion guides those uses of cosmetic surgery that are accepted and sometimes even praised. In the last chapter's section on 'Authentic looks: observing beauty norms' I outlined that an acceptably discreet use of cosmetic surgery entailed the avoidance of ageing disgracefully, presenting gender – especially femininity – incorrectly and embracing a perverse aesthetic. In addition, a visual 're-insertion' of the 'old' body into the image of the madeover one was essential in *The Swan*. This technique served to tone down perfection and remind the viewer of the participant's deserving inner that struggled on her way from 'deficient' to 'beautiful' appearance. Conversely, the examples in this chapter disregard discretion and present bodies as perfectly polished entities. I argue that a criticism is inherent in the distinct exaggeration of physical enhancement in the following examples.

Amanda Lepore attending New York Fashion Week

Definition

Born a male, Amanda Lepore had a sex change when she was in her late teens and worked throughout the 2000s as a model, singer, actress and night-club hostess. She has since become a transgender icon. I will analyse the staging techniques associated with her appearance by closely examining a picture of Lepore attending The Blonds' Autumn/Winter 2010 fashion show during New York Fashion Week. This picture in which Lepore is photographed posing in a purple outfit is the primary object of my analysis on the following pages. My reading is complemented by statements Lepore made about her appearance in interviews as well as a few other sources discussing her.

Figure 6: Amanda Lepore at New York Fashion Week 2010. Copyright Stella Pictures

Description

In the picture Lepore wears a purple and black halter-neck dress with tights in the same shade of purple, long black gloves and silver high-heeled platform shoes. With the exception of her shoes and a purple fur puff on each of her arms, the clothes are entirely transparent, leaving her breasts and belly

button visible. Her private parts seem to be covered with black tape, but the picture doesn't show that clearly. The clothing clearly serves the function of decorating, rather than covering her body.[226] Lepore's jewellery consists of long sparkling earrings, an equally shiny hair clip and a flower-shaped brooch that is attached between her fully visible breasts. Her skin is pale and flawless, the make-up done classically with abundant black eyeliner and mascara, white eye shadow and bright red lipstick. She is photographed in half-profile, with the head turned towards the spectator to whom Lepore's pose opens up her body. She seems to hold a handbag in one hand while the hand closer to the spectator rests on her hip. The shiny skin of her décolleté accentuates the bulging breasts and pressed-forward left shoulder. Her head is tilted backwards, the front leg bent.

Lepore's posed celebrity photo bears similarities to the nineteenth century 'Atelierphoto' which actresses, according to art and media scholar Susanne Holschbach, used to "evoke a surplus meaning that exceeded the portrait's verisimilitudeby means of gestures" (2006: 15)[227]

As with the pictures taken in the photography studios of the nineteenth century, the contemporary genre of photography in which celebrities pose (for instance on red carpets) for professional photographers does not merely *record* elaborate body stagings. Contemporary photographs of posing celebrities actualise existing means of expression and stereotypes (see Holschbach 2006: 17). But Holschbach, furthermore, points to the medial setting as performative (in the Butlerian sense of creating meaning in the act). "That means", she writes, "that photography must not be considered a passive medium that records the staging, but must be investigated in its productive function." (18) The implicit relation between model, photographer and camera determines every photographic portrait in the way that it fixes, reproduces and, according to Holschbach, also *generates* a particular kind of image.

Photographs of celebrities are important factors in producing dominant *Menschenbilder*. These photos are widely viewed (in magazines as well as online) and influence beauty ideals. They depict the poses and aesthetics that

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[226] Quentin Bell has, amongst others, remarked that fulfilling practical functions such as controlling the body's temperature or shielding it from dirt are of minor importance in fashionable dress: "in the history of clothes it will usually be found that 'beauty' is considered more or less incompatible with efficiency. We do not wear fine clothes for industrial purposes, and when we do 'dress up' the chances are that we shall sacrifice both comfort and convenience." (1976: 20)

[227] "mittels körperlicher Gebärden eine über die Portraitähnlichkeit hinausgehende Bedeutung zu evozieren" The surplus meaning Holschbach refers to was some aspect of those tragic heroines' characters that the nineteenth century actresses played. But posed celebrity pictures, arguably, also function in ways that exceed the mere depiction of the photographed. Even in this contemporary genre, poses appear to be aimed at communicating meaning such as the poser's confidence and glamour.

The Swan's and *GNTM*'s participants reproduce – but unlike Lepore they are trying to achieve an *actual* similarity. While Lepore's staging conjures up the celebrity red carpet picture, her photograph is not necessarily directed at the same audience. Lepore quotes images of famous people, but her status as a transgender icon excludes her from the pool of those celebrities whose pictures are viewed by a mainstream audience and influence mainstream beauty trends.

Configuring Strands

Posing

Holschbach's definition of posing as "a consciously adopted and momentarily frozen posture that aims at a certain effect" (2006: 14)[228] categorises it squarely as an act of staging. Besides her various adornments which make no attempt at discretion, Lepore's posture is also clearly identifiable as a calculated display. The front leg bent and slightly moved forward is common in photographs of posing celebrities. So is the hand resting on the poser's hip. But Lepore's pose enters the territory of the hyperbolic with her thrown-back and tilted head.

Brandstetter *et al.* describe posing as necessarily a citational act; a form of control that demands iconographic awareness and discipline (2012a: 19). The photograph of Lepore illustrates a high level of such iconographic awareness. Generally, her appearance refers to celebrities' techniques of staging their bodies on contemporary red carpets. More specifically, Lepore quotes conventional ideals of female beauty by staging a resemblance to iconic pictures of Marilyn Monroe.[229] This resemblance does not only appear in the way hair and make-up are done, but also in the striking of the pose; many of the iconic pictures of Monroe show her posing in a similarly dramatic manner. By making these references over-explicit, Lepore exposes her

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[228] "die bewusst eingenommene, auf eine bestimmte Wirkung abzielende Körperhaltung, die für eine bestimmte Dauer ‚eingefroren' wird"

[229] As another portrait in which Lepore's makes explicit reference to Marilyn Monroe's staging I want to mention *Amanda Lepore as Andy Warhol's Marilyn* (2002) for which Lepore collaborated with photographer David LaChapelle. "If the yellow wig, smooth blue backdrop and bright red lips do not clue one in that the reference is to, not Monroe herself, but Warhol's print, black register marks are stamped on the side of Lepore's face, dripping slightly down her cheek and neck" (Williford 2009: 7).

staging techniques as repeated conventions, rather than individual revelations of inner being. The mimicry in posing, according to art critic Craig Owens, "entails a certain *splitting* of the subject: the entire body detaches itself from itself, becomes a picture, a semblance" (1992: 212) Not unlike the *ancien régime's* masquerades which did not conceal a more truthful underlying bodily being or attempt to seriously deceive with camouflage, Lepore makes use of a mimicry that "exposes performance as performance – as opposed to 'simple' imitation" (Brandstetter 1998a: 432, my translation).

With her excessive staging, Lepore quotes beauty and posing conventions in a mocking manner. They are exposed as a masque that can function, according to Tseëlon, as a "device for destabilising categories, questioning, defying overdetermined images, problematising certainties, subverting established meanings, exposing the seams of crafted facades and the rules of narrative, the practices of ritual, the mechanics of the act, the stylised elements of the performance" (2001: 11-12). As in Brandstetter's description of mimicry (1998a: 433), Lepore presents her staging as a 'forgery' (of female beauty – because it is so overdone), and uncovers that strategy at the same time (it is so overdone that there was clearly no intention to 'copy' conventional female beauty).[230]

Lepore's overemphasis on the pose as a hyperbolic citation becomes particularly clear if compared to the approach of another great poser, Paris Hilton, who refers to posing in the title of her biography *Confessions of an Heiress. A Tongue-in-Chic Peek Behind the Pose* (2004). Here, Hilton declares: "The way I keep people wondering about me is to smile all the time and say as little as possible. Smile beautifully, smile big, smile confidently, and everyone thinks you've got all kinds of secret things going on." (8) There is no element of such suggested depth in Lepore's appearance, or in the image she creates of herself in the media. Her pose in the picture reveals the body completely, neither the clothes nor her bearing hold back any bodily detail from the spectator's inspection. The lips are slightly parted, the pressed-forward breasts and left shoulder create a protruding surface at the décolleté. In an interview Lepore states: "I always wanted to look like somewhere between Jessica Rabbit and Marilyn Monroe and I think I look like that" (The Insider 2006). Such an imitation of someone else's looks (one of which – remarkably – is a cartoon character) stands in sharp opposition to revealing, like Hilton, a made-up mysteriousness as a supposed 'inner'.[231]

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[230] Similarly Tseëlon describes that masquerade "reveals in the process of concealing" (2001: 5).

[231] Barbara Straumann ascribes such a hyperbolic focus on posing (both in a literal and in a figurative meaning of the word) that disregards any notion of interiority to the dandy. Straumann distinguishes this staging as a 'pure image' from the diva's stagings in which "an existential core is inherent" (2002: 81, my translation).

Finally, the *photographic* framing of Lepore's body serves at least two important functions. On the one hand, it emphasises Lepore's pose. The slightly higher angle from which the photo is taken foregrounds the big curves of her upper body (breasts, shoulders but also lips and curled hair) and lets the thin legs appear extra-skinny. On the other hand, the photographic medium establishes the somewhat separate universe that Brandstetter deems necessary for mimicry to take place (1998a: 430). The static image heightens an artificiality that the live pose can never quite achieve. In this way, Brandstetter et al. argue that the photographic freeze finalises what the pose anticipates without being able to fulfil it: the body's absolute fixation (2002: 17).[232]

The body as façade

Lepore's light blond hair creates a striking look and references the glamorous artificiality of Marilyn Monroe and other Hollywood divas from the 1950s. Bronfen writes about Monroe that "Her answer to the clichéd assumption that men prefer blondes was a staging of the colour white that exaggerates any beauty stereotype and bordered on the superhuman or ghost-like." (2002: 59) Lepore's white skin appears to blend into the platinum blond hair and makes the upper body seem radiating. Her immoderate use of make-up is a key factor in emphasising the striking surface of her body. Her excessively red lips and the white and black colouring around her eyes draw attention to themselves.[233] Those features, in addition to Lepore's use of cosmetic surgery as exemplified in the photograph, create what Fredric Jameson has described as postmodernism's glossy and superficial aesthetics (1991).[234] Unlike contemporary makeover shows, the appearance of Lepore's

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[232] Owens reflects on the impulse to (unnecessarily) freeze when photographed – as if anticipating the still one is about to become – as photography's "mortification" of the flesh (1992: 210).

[233] For the use of colour as a surface effect see Lichtenstein (1993). As an illustration of this effect, comp. also LaChapelle's aforementioned picture of *Amanda Lepore as Andy Warhol's Marilyn*. Charles Baudelaire promotes a visible use of makeup in his essay "In Praise of Cosmetics". He praises the "incomparable majesty of artificial forms" (1995: 32) and argues that makeup can "create an abstract unity in the colour and texture of the skin, a unity, which, like that produced by the tights of a dancer, immediately approximates the human being to the statue, that is to something superior and divine." (33)

[234] While some aspects of Jameson's observations in his chapter "The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (1991: 1-54) are relevant to my analysis of Lepore, others do not apply. If Lepore's incorporation of Monroe's looks conjures up a distinctly postmodern strategy according to Jameson's definition (1991: 3), the techniques which make such a physical incorporation possible root her body staging in the late 1990s and 2000s. In addition, I don't see Le-

cosmetic surgery in the photograph magically eliminates the 'during'. Her picture appears as a highly polished, 'finished' image. The enhanced breasts and lips do not only create a barrier between her body and its surroundings (see Jones 2008: 44), their bulging texture also adds to the overall 'aesthetic of impenetrability' that Lepore stages.

Without referring to Lepore, Jones points out that a certain usage of cosmetic surgery – "particularly when considered in context of the powerful before/after trope" (2008: 42) – resonates with Jameson's famous description of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel in downtown Los Angeles.[235] Bonaventure's almost invisibly placed entrances "do not behave like traditional hotel doorways" but eliminate the transition from streetscape to interior and create a totality independent from the city (44). Similarly before/after images of cosmetic surgery "obliterate moments of transition […]. On a corporeal level cosmetic surgery mirrors the Bonaventure's lack of openings: many cosmetic surgery operations diminish the body's openings: nostrils become smaller, ears are pinned back and cut down, even labia minora are reduced to make the vaginal entrance seem smaller." (44) If the widening of eyes and enlargement of lips, arguably, aim at the opposite effect, they create a "doll-like stare" and leave faces metaphorically closed and less flexible, according to Jones (44). Furthermore, Bonaventure's façade of gilded mirrored panels creates a visual impenetrability that "parallels the results of facelifts, laser dermabrasions and chemical peels" (45). As "the poreless lustre of Bonaventure's 'skin'" (45), these procedures create a surface that neatly separates the inside from the outside.[236]

If this focus on an impenetrably perfect surface is an aesthetic that cosmetic surgery interventions generally tend to subscribe to, as I have pointed out, Lepore's use of surgery distinguishes itself from that of the participants on *The Swan*, for instance, in several important respects. Lepore overemphasises her depiction of femininity to an extent that would be unacceptable on mainstream television.

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pore's staging as meeting Jameson' definition of a postmodern pastiche: a "neutral practice" devoid of any satiric impulse (17).

[235] Jameson anticipates Jones' striking comparison to plastic surgery when he writes: "The newer architecture […] stands as something like an imperative to grow new organs, to expand our sensorium and our body to some new, yet unimaginable, perhaps ultimately impossible, dimensions." (1991: 39)

[236] Inside the Bonaventure, Jameson attests the visible elevators an "autoreferentiality […]which tends to turn upon itself and designate its own cultural production as its content" (1991: 42). Jones suggests that "[c]osmetic surgery turns in on itself in a similar manner: no matter what the intentions of the recipients the end effect is often that they share a similar look" (2008: 46). As I have pointed out in Chapter 2, this look has become an increasingly sought-after aesthetic in itself.

How does this example challenge authenticity?

Amanda Lepore's body staging comprises an extreme emphasis on the body's surface; not as an expressive texture, but as something that can be moulded like any other material. This entails an appearance which overemphasises female secondary sexual characteristics (most prominently her large breasts) and such characteristics that are conventionally associated with female beauty (blond hair, big red lips, slimness, legs that are elongated with very high-heeled shoes and purple clothing). The overemphasis creates a parody of what is conventionally labelled 'feminine' appearance.

Lepore manufactures her 'feminine body' ignoring those boundaries of discretion which I identified as serving an authenticating purpose. Furthermore, the perfectly polished photograph of her visiting the Blonde's Autumn/Winter 2010 show makes no reference to a 'deficient' body. I demonstrated in chapter 2 that for *The Swan's* participants to be deemed authentic it was necessary to intersperse images of them made-over and posing with footage that illustrated their 'former' bodies and the hard work they performed to deserve their new looks.

But as a critical reflection of (female) bodily authenticity, Lepore's body staging is also ambivalent: in an interview (Lynch 2012) she states that she changed her sex to *match her inside*. Whilst this could be seen as being in line with the authentic ideal of revealing a true essential inner, Lepore's techniques of staging her 'internal' femininity offend the contemporary code of authentic discretion. The excessive style makes her body gender-wise unacceptable.

It is relevant for my argument that the polished images of Lepore (and others) trigger an immediate media interest in 'what's behind the façade'.[237] About Lepore, we can read passages such as: "She blinks with her fake eye lashes. Her eyes are friendly. It is as if a gentle being peeps out, hidden behind the powdered façade."[238] (Behrendtzen 2008) Similarly, a strong popular interest in the 'inner' of singer/celebrity Lady Gaga is suggested by the fact that her media coverage rarely fails to take up the question 'who Lady Gaga *really* is'. Journalist Anderson Cooper confirms that impression: when he worked on a series of interviews with Lady Gaga for the CBS programme *60 Minutes* he was constantly asked about 'the real Lady Gaga'.[239] "[W]hen people heard I did this interview everybody asked me the same question, 'What is she really like?'" Asked about this interest, Lady Gaga answers: "Photographers say that to me all the time: I want to photograph the real you.

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[237] In the same vein, Judith Williamson discerns an "obsessive drive" (104) amongst critics to find photographer Cindy Sherman's 'real identity' behind her images. (1986: 103f).

[238] "Hun blinker let med de kunstige vipper. Hendes øjne er venlige. Det er, som om et mildt væsen kigger ud derindefra, gemt bag den pudrede facade."

[239] "Lady Gaga & The Art of Fame", *60 Minutes*, CBS News, broadcast 13. 2. 2011.

I'm like 'What the hell are you looking for?' I am right here. You've seen me without my make up, you've asked me about my drug history, my parents, my bank account. How much more real could I be?" Reactions to Lady Gaga's appearances seem to be twofold: on the one hand, her heterogeneous body stagings carry the association of disguising some deeper inner. I have pointed out in the last chapter that a notion of stable essence is a primary constituent in the contemporary understanding of authenticity. On the other hand, where Gaga quotes other peoples' appearance, she does so less overtly and less consistently than Lepore's mimicry of Marilyn Monroe. Lady Gaga's body stagings are consequently sometimes attributed authenticity on the basis of her original authorship. While Lady Gaga invokes the image of an original genius, Lepore rather stages a masquerade as a caricature that is "pleasurable, excessive, sometimes subversive" (Tseëlon 2001: 8). Her implied control over the hyperbolically posed citation of Monroe's iconic looks emerges as a citational rather than a revelatory act and breaks the contemporary authenticity code that I discuss above. The explicit display of Lepore's control – in the expressed 'iconographic awareness', but also in her use of beauty technologies (plastic surgery, makeup) and the photo medium – counters the apparent loss of control that reality television's 'authenticity markers' suggest (such as revelatory crying etc). Instead of distorting the staging process as hard authenticating work that reveals an inner essence (as was the case on *The Swan* and *GNTM*), Lepore creates a hyper-artificial surface.

Édouard Lock: *Amélia*

Definition

The second analysis I want to perform in this chapter is of the dancefilm *Amélia.* It is directed and choreographed by Canadian choreographer Édouard Lock for his company La La La Human Steps.[240] The piece premiered as a stage choreography in Prague 2002 before it was turned into a dancefilm in the same year. While I draw on material from the entire film to illustrate my points as clearly as possible, the focus is on the movement material of one particular dancer early in the film. The dancer is Lock's long-term collaborator Zofia Tujaka who is partnered by Bernard Martin, first, then dances a solo and finally moves into a *pas de deux* with Billy Smith (14:30 until 20:10 in the film).[241]

Description

The movement vocabulary in the film largely consists of movements from the canon of classical ballet, especially for the female dancers: *pirouettes, battements,* travelling *en pointe, changements* and *port de bras* (movements of the arms; sometimes, although not always in the rounded positions typical for ballet). These movements are juxtaposed with everyday movements such as running, lying down, jolting, turning and gesturing. The dancers often perform in couples; in the sequence I investigate, Tujaka and her partners face each other or – most often – dance beside each other facing the camera and perform approximately the same movements (in the part with Smith). In the rest of the film, there are several sequences that feature more classically-inspired ballet *pas de deux*. The abundant point work is reserved for female dancers, with one striking exception.

Turning to the parameters Laban devised for analysing movement (effort graph), it can be said that the *force* of Tujaka's movements in the investigated sequence is predominantly strong, which means that her movements emphasise gravity. (Laban 2011: 76ff) Although she dances *en pointe* (which is often used in ballet to create an illusion of weightlessness), her body appears strong and forceful. The *flow* of the movements is most often 'bound' which is remarkable considering the speed at which she dances.

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[240] Édouard Lock founded La La La Human Steps in 1980. He has created work for the world's leading dance companies, including the Ballet de l'Opéra de Paris and Nederlands Dans Theater and acted as artistic director on David Bowie's Sound and Vision tour (1990).

[241] The indications of time refer to a DVD released by Opus Arte, 2006.

Tujaka executes her movements with an extremely controlled preciseness and they most often look like they could be stopped and held at any point. The *time* in Tujaka's dancing in the sequence in question is more often a 'sudden' sharp staccato than it is 'sustained' and the majority of her movements go to their goals 'directly' (*space*).

Despite the fact that the dancers' dress is not the focus of my analysis, I want to give the reader an impression of what the dancing bodies look like. The male dancers in *Amélia* are dressed in black suits and white shirts that are not usually associated with stage dancing outfits. The women are skimpily dressed in black bodysuits which do not cover their limbs and are transparent, apart from the area that covers the private parts. While Tujaka wears the suit outfit in a later sequence, male dancers never put on the transparent bodysuit. Consequentially, the spectator can see that the men in *Amélia* are built according to Western standards for dancers, but can't really see the exact shape of their bodies. Conversely, female bodies are highly visible: even the little clothes the women wear are see-through. As in the previous example of Amanda Lepore, these serve the function to decorate, rather than cover their bodies. The female dancers are discreetly made up, while the men might only be wearing invisible makeup. The muscularity is a striking feature of some of the women's bodily appearance. This is especially the case for Tujaka, who is also unusually tall for a ballerina. "There's nothing fragile or vulnerable about her appearance", comments Lock who appreciates Tujaka's "strong physical presence".[242]

Before I turn to the analysis, I want to comment on a final aspect of the material I'll be considering when looking at *Amélia*: the specificity of the images dancefilm creates as a medium. In dancefilms, filmic and profilmic elements generate the dancefilm body.[243] Light, editing and the camera are relevant performers; they all stage a body that did not exist previously (Dodds 2004: 68-94; Brannigan 2011: viii). Bodies appear in the ways that the film medium allows for, specifically: this facilitates perspectives and speeds that wouldn't be possible on stage, while spectators' individual choices of which exact part of the dance to focus on are made more or less impossible. One such perspective particular to the film medium is the close-up. Lock uses it to focus on the dancers' faces, and on the pointe shoe at a couple of instances (28:47; 35:27).[244] Another spectacular shot that Lock

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[242] DVD commentary, Opus Arte 2006.

[243] "[I]f profilmic refers to the events as they occur in real time at the moment of filming, and *filmic* to the elements of the final screen version, both are equally important when dealing with the parameters of both dance and film in dancefilm." Brannigan 2011: viii. To emphasise the unification of dance and film into a new and singular medium, I adopt Branningan's spelling of 'dancefilm' in one word.

[244] There are a few 'portrait shots' of the male dancers, but the ultra close-ups (Italian shots) of facial detail are almost exclusively made of women. Interestingly, this pattern changes in the section in which the dancer Billy Smith violates conventional stagings of the male body in

uses is the overhead shot. It alludes to film choreographer Busby Berkeley's frequent use of this shot which turned dancing bodies into ornaments in his films. The overhead shot can, according to Dodds, give bodies "an almost abstract quality" (2004: 74).

Configuring Strands

Use of ballet technique

The staging of the body's appearance in *Amélia* derives from the aesthetic code of ballet.[245] With Foster, one can describe the ideal ballet body as "light, quick, precise, strong – [it] designates the linear shapes, the rhythm of phrases, even the pantomimed gestures, all with lyrical effortlessness" (1992: 486). Tujaka's dancing body appears like an exaggeration of this ballet body: Lock stages an excessive display of the athleticism that is typical for ballet.

One characteristic feature of the classical ballet body is its elongation – especially the elongation of the female dancer's leg. In *Amélia* uprightness and long limbs are choreographically emphasised with the use of *pointe* technique and stretched arms and legs. Tujaka's limbs are often fully extended during both her solo and her dance with Billy Smith. In addition, the ballerinas' bodies are strikingly elongated in a pose in which one leg is in a deep *plié* (with the foot on point at most instances) and the other one extends backwards on the floor. Tujaka performs this pose briefly at 15'53 and 15'59, but it features more prominently in other parts of the film (2'35; 5'30; 6'23; 42'22; 45'05). Another technique to create elongated figures is Lock's use of shadows. The dancers are lit so that they cast long images of themselves on the floor. These are then filmed from above, for instance in a *pas de deux* between Chun Hing Li and Jason Shipley-Holmes (from 39'49). Even if Lock only makes infrequent use of a low-angle shot (an obvious and effective technique for elongating figures in film) Tujaka and her partners are visually elongated by letting their erect bodies fill out the entire vertical of the image. At, for instance, 14'39, 15'51 and 17'17 (and frequently in other sequences from the one I focus on) the camera is located on the same

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ballet by dancing on pointe. At that instance, the detail shot of his face also reveals that he is wearing make up.

[245] Here I refer to classical ballet training, not to the aesthetics of the *ballet d'action* I described in Chapter 1.

level as the centre of the dancers' bodies, so that their heads and feet reach right into the upper and lower ends of the frame.

Furthermore, *Amélia* emphasises a spatial organisation that is characteristic for classical ballet. Ballet spaces are typically organised hierarchically with the (solo) dancer as a clear focal point in the centre. While a *corps de ballet* is absent in *Amélia*, the images are still symmetrically composed with the dancers framed in the centre of overhead shots (for instance at 29'30) or wide angle shots which makes this geometrical ordering of space explicit.[246] While the camera's proximity to her changes, Tujaka is located in the very centre of the image throughout her solo (15'42-16'11).

A number of techniques in *Amélia* break with the aesthetics of classical ballet; they draw attention to something that is uncommon in the staging of a 'ballet body' or juxtapose it with a more pedestrian aesthetic. However, these instances don't have the effect of weakening the overall reference to ballet. On the contrary, the casual walking which the dancers sometimes adopt, or the flexed hands and feet emphasise the accelerated ballet move-ments as a diligently manufactured appearance and make the extremely fit, strong, active and muscular dancing bodies appear even more exaggerated.

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[246] Lock gives the possibility to use very wide-angle lenses as his main motivation to shoot *Amélia* on Super-16 (in DVD commentary). Such a shot occurs, for instance at 15'48.

The spectacular athleticism on display in *Amélia* seems to follow Paul Valéry's "model of dance [as] both grounded in the actualities of the everyday body but also operating as an alternative born of excess" (Brannigan 2011: 25).

The staccato quality of Tujaka's movements breaks the usually more prolonged movement quality that is typical for classical ballet. Even if many of the individual movements are taken or derived from classical ballet technique, the quick, sharp quality with which they are performed renders them strange. The staccato quality means that Tujaka's choreography hardly makes any use of force of gravity and centrifugal force but necessitates the dancer to work against them, which heightens the effort needed for each movement. Movements such as a jump at 18'42 which Tujaka performs with almost no preceding *plié* draw attention to her extraordinary skill as a dancer. In line with ballet technique, this hard work isn't visible on Tujaka's body. Instead of the frozen smiles in the faces of classical ballet dancers, the effortlessness and blank expression with which she masters her excessively fast *pointe* work reminds the viewer of a machine's functionality.

Dancers freeze into distinctly 'un-balletic' poses which break the images of perfection and seemingly infinite potential acceleration of pace (for instance at 4'45; 26'30; 46'17 and 51'15). The posing dancers flex their arms and legs or turn their legs inwards. The poses contradict the film's overall choreographic aesthetic where ballet is quoted and one movement follows the next at a rapid pace. Going from the extremes of movement to its complete absence constitutes a break which serves to expose the choreography's speed as excessive. Similarly, the crooked poses make the viewer extra aware of the dancers' bearing in the rest of the film that is in line with the way that is typical for ballet.

Foster notes that in ballet, "[t]he dancer's self exists to facilitate the craftlike acquisition of skills: it serves the choreographer and, ultimately, the tradition by ordering the body to practice and then to perform ideals of movement." (1992: 486) Classical ballet technique provides no particular revelations of feelings or selfhood, as is the case in other dance forms. The moving body does not serve expressive purposes, like in the work of Isadora Duncan or Martha Graham, where "the body functions as a perfect index of the self's feelings" (Foster 1992: 489). In these techniques – and in line with the staging of bodies as authentic – the ideal is to give physical visibility to one's inner.[247] With ballet Lock uses a dance technique that is already comparatively uninterested in displaying the dancers' inner reality. But the staccato quality and speed in Tujaka's choreography, the cinematographically

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[247] The notion of an inner truth is, of course, defined differently throughout dance history, and different techniques are accepted for bringing it to the fore – even if the *principle* of an outer representing an inner is the same. In dance, the revelatory potential is typically seen as inherent in the movement, and only to a lesser degree in the appearance of the static body.

enhanced elongation of the figure and organisation of space overemphasise ballet's staging of bodies as carefully created displays, while nothing hints at a revelation of inner being. While Tujaka abstains from facial expression, her extremely difficult movement material places the emphasis on her physical skill. Like the other dancers she has a neutral look on her face, and in parts of the film dancers perform against front lights which turn them into anonymous black figures. If one wanted to trace any notion of the dancers' self in *Amélia* it serves to control the body, to mould it into an ideal appearance.

Aesthetic of impenetrability

Amélia is characterised by an immaculate appearance: the scenery appears as a light, even surface.[248] It consists of an airy wooden box with rounded edges in which the dance takes place. The white floor seems to generate light. Similarly, the exact lighting and use of shadows, and the minimalist black and white costumes add to this aesthetic of sleek perfection. Furthermore, Lock uses no 'reality effects' in filming, such as a hand-held camera. This overall perfectly calibrated image also marks the dancing bodies as meticulously staged. The movements are executed with a high level of control and the viewer is thus made aware that if something had gone wrong in the dancers' performance, such a sequence would have been retaken or edited out. The images appear polished with no suggested depth: no implication of an inner regulator detracts from this perfection.

   With his comparatively dimmed lighting of close-ups, Lock suggests they bear a certain intimacy. But ultimately, they can rather be seen as studies of surface. The faces that appear in close-ups are predominantly static; what they reveal is how the makeup is done, and a clearer view of the profiles of Andrea Boardman and Tujaka whose (blackened) faces appear in close-ups shot with front lighting (respectively at 10'12 and 26'10). This use of close-ups is at odds with what Branningan describes as Béla Balázs' account of the close-up as "drawing attention to the *expressive* activity of details in the image" (Brannigan 2011: 46, my emphasis)[249]

   The high pace in *Amélia* is a key factor in denying the spectator the potential to penetrate and make unambivalent sense of the images – in creating an aesthetic of impenetrability. Lock refers to the speed in his choreographies as a form of interference; as something that interferes with the spectators'

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[248] The connection to Amanda Lepore's body surface becomes obvious in the context of this chapter.
[249] For an outline of theories of the close-up (primarily Balázs's and Deleuze's) see Brannigan (2011: 46-59).

observation like loud sound or darkness would.[250] Considering his otherwise avid use of cinematography in *Amélia*, it is remarkable that the pace is not sped up, but generated by the dancers in front of the camera. Letting the performers move at such a high speed makes Lock's stress on pace in *Amélia* even more extreme than in his rapidly paced stage works because on screen a spectacular body that moves impossibly fast is available to everyone.[251] Relating this to the hyperbolic strategy of staging that I investigate in this chapter, it can be said that Lock enhances the bodies' acceleration to an absurd point where movement becomes invisible.[252]

At several times in *Amélia*, the dancers perform gestures which are accelerated to the point where they become 'illegible'. In the sequence I focus on, the *pas de deux* between Tujaka and Martin consists largely of the two dancers gesturing towards each other. While she is sitting on the floor and leaning back, Tujaka alternately 'bites' her left and right hooked index finger, she bangs her hands on the floor while sitting, or 'wipes' her face and arm with her hand after standing up. The impression of these gestures serving a communicative function between the partners is aided by the fact that they are carried out while the two dancers face each other. Prominent gestures in the rest of the film are, notably, moving the hands to the face to cover the eyes with them, licking the flat hands or to making a 'shushing' gesture (the ballerina Andrea Boardman performs most of the gestures in *Amélia*).[253] Branningan points to gestures in dancefilm as usually carrying a narrative function which connects them to classic narrative feature filmmaking (2011: 64). In early film history as well as in the Delsarte-inspired early Modern Dance created by the Denishawn school's teachers and students, gestures are traditionally charged with the expression of inner emotion and character. Branningan quotes Ruth St. Denis who states that "I will spend six weeks hunting up a particular gesture until I'm justified in using that gesture, justified in that it is authentic and can be properly included in my total plan of expression" (2011: 87). If dancefilm makers usually employ gestures to "express meaning, connect with the everyday, and evoke character and story" (Brannigan 2011: 63), Lock achieves the exact opposite. Using them out of narrative context and speeding them up to an illegible level turns the gestures in *Amélia* into simulacra: they appear to carry symbolic meaning for a short while, but soon the viewer's attempt to identify them as story-telling

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[250] Statement during Q&A at *Tanz im August* festival, 26 August 2011.

[251] Dodds has therefore linked the dancefilm body to a 'democratic body'. Her argument is that you don't have to be young, slim or well-trained to appear as a spectacular body on screen. (2004: 80)

[252] Conversely, Dodds argues that acceleration can make movements (of the whole body) more clear. (2004:76)

[253] In a playful postmodern pastiche, the French choreographer Philippe Decouflé has similarly used a deconstruction of gestures that challenge the body's 'legibility' (for instance in *Codex, Le p'tit bal perdu*).

devices is disappointed. Boardman's raised index finger covering the lips, for instance, seems to suggest the silencing of something (8'20). But at the displayed high pace, in staccato and promptly followed by another movement which doesn't relate to 'shushing' the gesture only "simulates the representation of something absent and denies it at the same time" (Brandstetter 1998: 423)[254].

How does this example challenge authenticity?

By characterising the aesthetic of *Amélia* as one of impenetrability I hope to have made clear that Lock's exaggeration of ballet technique does not generate a 'better ballet body' but a *different* aesthetic. The staging of Tujaka's and her fellow dancers' bodies focuses on the physically compelling and highlights classical ballet's comparative noninterest in an internal regulator of movement. This aesthetic with its strong emphasis on spectacular visual effects arguably links *Amélia* to an early twentieth century cinema of attraction which, according to film scholar Tom Gunning, "directly solicits spectator attention, inciting visual curiosity, and supplying pleasure through an exciting spectacle" (1990: 58). This omission of staging techniques that evoke an inner regulator contradicts those techniques that I defined as necessary for staging authentic bodies in the previous chapter. For bodily authenticity to be attributed, it was central that the body appeared as a representation of the self.

   Amélia creates overall sleek-looking images. The film stages the accomplished dancers' athletic appearance with a hyperbolic use of speed in the choreography and positions them carefully in the very centre of the images. These staging techniques create an unconditional spectacularity which differentiates the bodily appearances in *Amélia* from those I discussed in the previous chapter. On *The Swan* and *GNTM* interspersed images of the participants' struggle and suggested *im*perfection were necessary to ensure their authenticity. The dancing bodies in *Amélia* achieve perfection and avoid the association with authenticity.

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[254] "simuliert die Repräsentation von Abwesendem und verleugnet es zugleich". Brandstetter's allusion to the simulacrum draws on Baudrillard's use of the concept in *Agonie des Realen* (1978).

Chapter 4

Multiplicity

The first part made clear that contemporary notions of authenticity rely fundamentally on the assumption that an authentic body represents an inner self. This inner self has in contemporary culture taken the role of the body's active author. The integration of coaching sessions and a rhetoric that is suggestive of personal or psychological development indicates that this self is envisioned as somewhat dynamic in the reality formats I investigated. However, if some extent of transformation is acceptable and even desirable, this process is portrayed as the strengthening of the participants' already existent but dormant true core. Regarding physical transformations, the fact that the authentic body is significantly defined by normative beauty ideals makes any change in appearance an unequivocal process towards gender conformity.

   With their staging of multiplicity the examples in this chapter call the essentialist and normative foundations of an authentic body into question. Uncertain authorship, decentred figures, the display of clothing that is usually associated with womenswear on male bodies and a meandering transformation into indiscriminately different bodily appearances contradict the staging techniques that I described as producing an authentic body.

Henrik Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 fashion show in Copenhagen

Definition

On the following pages I investigate bodily appearance in the presentation of Danish designer Henrik Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 collection in Copenhagen. I focus on the models' movement and restrict my discussion of

the clothes to an analysis of one particular aspect of the menswear.[255] This example diverges somewhat from the other appearance I analyse in this part. In scrutinising the models' walk I focus on an aspect of appearance in the example that simply *cannot* be planned. However, I analyse this unpredictability as a staging technique in itself, rather than focussing on the outcome it produced at the analysed instance.

Description

I remarked earlier that my staging analyses focus on those factors in a performance that directly effect the bodies' appearance. At the fashion show the properties of the catwalk had a crucial impact on the staging of the models' bodies. I will therefore start by describing the show's scenographic set-up.

Vibskov's catwalk was all white – with a line of mechanisms at its centre. The mechanical installation consisted chiefly of variously sized drums, drumsticks with balls at their tips, linkages, retainers and cogwheels. The mechanisms split the entire length of the catwalk into two sides and reached above head height. The floor was constructed so that with each step, the models set foot on a new plank paving the catwalk. Every other one of these planks was a mobile seesaw that gave way under the models' bodyweight and thereby activated an attached drum mechanism. Integrated into the mechanisms were 30 triggers, with analogue sound samples attached, so that the models' steps would prompt sound effects. On top of these sounds, music was played throughout the show (a remixed version of Jaakko Eino Kalevi's *Flexible Heart*, amongst other songs).[256] As well as provoking sound, stepping on the flexible planks cleared the path of differently sized drumsticks so that the models could pass.

Stepping on the sloping – not to mention moving – surfaces decelerated the models' walk and made it cautious, hesitant and shaky: suddenly it lacked exactly the affirmative, staccato, striving quality of motion, and the condescending expression that models perform on most contemporary catwalks.[257] Overall, the decelerated pace – and the fact that some of the models

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[255] I attended the show and, for my analysis, made additional use of the filmed version that was released on Henrik Vibskov's website. (www.vikbskov.com accessed 8 July 2013)

[256] In the previous Paris show (which was restricted to Vibskov's men's collection), the models had activated *all* the sound; both mechanically and with a trigger-sample system.

[257] In an essay on what he terms 'choreographic objects' the American choreographer William Forsythe stresses that scenographic set-ups can function to invite or even dictate certain movements. Like a musical score, these objects suggest a certain performance by those bodies that interact with it. Vibskov's catwalk scenography is suggestive of a certain way of moving – the models cannot avoid it despite their attempt to do so.

(especially the women) looked at their feet as they struggled for stability on the flexible surface – gave the performance a dreamy and aimless appearance.

Figure 8: Henrik Vibskov Autumn/Winter 2012. Photo: author's own

Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 collection consisted generally of loose/voluminous silhouettes, layered pieces, a lot of black and white for women and his typically colourful outfits/prints and knits for men. But even the men's designs featured many pieces in white, which added an optical illusion that the models merged with the white catwalk scenography into one big apparatus of movement and sound. Both men and women wore tight, black and off-white felt caps with small brims.

Configuring Strands

Defiguration

Vibskov's catwalk scenography elicits what Brandstetter has labelled a *de-figurative choreography*: a straying from definitions, which exist in ballet as in other movement-based genres, of how a figure should move and appear. In a study of the work of the choreographer William Forsythe, Brandstetter writes:

> Derived from the Latin *fingere,* 'figure' stands for the external shape of the body and, in a broader sense, for sculpture as well. The spatial form of the dancer's body presents 'figure' as a unity. In theatrical performance conventions, figure has traditionally been the bearer of identity. But in relation to the choreographic text, figure also means the unity of a movement figure and the derivative possibilities of its positioning in the syntax of movement sequences. (1998b: 37f)

According to this definition, Vibskov's staging of the models in his Autumn/Winter 2012 show can be seen as a decomposition of the figure; a 'defiguration'. The female models seemed to try but didn't always succeed in maintaining the unity of their figure (both as a figure of movement, but also in the sense of their 'model identity'), for instance by attempting to put their feet down in a straight line. Instead, they had to place their feet at slightly slanted angles, and to shift more weight onto the leg that had to set off the mechanism. The design of the catwalk thus inhibited a usual sequence of movements, especially for the female models who – despite the 'obstacles' – mostly walked in high heels. Although they generally adhered to a 'model appearance' – most of them were very thin and when not forced to look down attempted to feature the typical 'blank stare' – the models' walk repeatedly disrupted their figure and made it disintegrate.

Figure 9: Henrik Vibskov Autumn/Winter 2012. Photos: author's own

In other movement-based genres, such as ballet, definitions exist as to how the figure should move and appear: "In classical ballet, the logic of how steps and turns are combined, the rules that connect elements of préparation, pirouette, and final position with the corresponding *port de bras* – all follow the aesthetic principle of the (beautiful) unbroken line." (Brandstetter, 1998: 45) The same is true in fashion. A movement figure for models convention-ally consists of a smooth succession of a propulsive, upright walk and –

clearly demarked from it – an expressive pose. As in classical ballet, the centre of gravity is located in the middle of the body – the forward –pushed hips that are so common in contemporary catwalk presentations often appear as the model's centre from which all movement evolves.[258] The position of the models' hips was one of the figure's details, which Vibskov's seesaw mechanisms impacted on and disrupted. Pushing forward their hips and thus staging a figure that spectators at a fashion show associate with models' appearance was made impossible as it would have thrown the models off balance. Some of the female models appeared to bend over to look at their feet which distorted the models' usually very upright posture. With the body stagings in his Autumn/Winter 2012 show, Vibskov then explored the borderline between centeredness and decenteredness and gambled with the threat of a model's fall which would let the figure collapse entirely.[259] With every step he put the presentation of a stable figure into question.

Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 show undermined the representational logic of bodies as the depictions of an inner core that we saw prevail in the thesis' first part. "The dissolution – de- and refiguration – of 'figure' in choreography is not possible without giving up the idea of identity that, in the performance of signs, is coupled with 'representation'", writes Brandstetter (1998b: 39). If in the context of fashion shows models are not typically expected to represent 'identity' as their own, *personal* identity, the walking figures' instability and unpredictability as conventional fashion models still yields a multiplicity that refutes essentialism. Their static bodies' appearance would have easily identified them as fashion models. But these are emphasised as *ambulant* and defigured by inhibiting the choreographic structure of a usual 'fashion show walk'.

Ambivalent authorship

The models' walk is a key element of the performance in a fashion show – usually it serves to present the outfits in the most advantageous manner. Although it became itself a determining factor of the show's aesthetics, Vibskov had limited control over it: to what extent the models would succeed in maintaining a customary upright appearance – and to what extent they would stumble or even fall – was ultimately unpredictable. The designer thus gave up part of his immediate authorship over the catwalk presentation and, in-

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[258] Evans points out that this postural feature has been common for fashion models since the 1920s (2013: 233).

[259] As Brandstetter observes about Forsythe's choreography, "the stability of the figure – as body and as movement sequence – begins to wobble. With each step, a fall is implied." (1998b: 49)

stead, created an environment in which it was clear that the models' appearance was subject to a variety of factors. The effects of the footwear, the recording camera, but most of all the catwalk scenography showed that "[t]he human body is radically open to its surroundings and can be composed, recomposed and decomposed" (Gatens 1996: 165).

The seesaw mechanisms on Vibskov's catwalk, whose triggers made the models' every other step prompt the sound and clear the pikes out of the way, gave the walk an unusual *function*.[260] The models' walk thus went beyond just being decorous and drawing attention to the clothing. This is unusual in a fashion show. Since the emergence of the fashion model, she has been 'paid simply to walk up and down', stresses Evans; "the mannequin, once arrived at work, makes a profession of going nowhere" (2013: 27). It is the dress (and the designer's ideas of how it should appear) that usually determines the walk in a fashion show.[261] Different styles of walking serve to accommodate the clothes, not to fulfil other functions or draw attention to themselves.

In Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 the key factor in determining this unusual walk was readily identified: The slow, indirect movement quality was majorly influenced by and was an integral part of the aesthetics and functioning of the scenographic set-up. The meandering, tentative walk that resulted from the scenography characterised the models', and thus the show's overall appearance. In addition to the catwalk scenario, perspective served to establish the models' appearance as walking figures. The far end of the catwalk is usually reserved for photographers to enable them to catch the models' poses from a frontal perspective. This positioning of the professional cameras also determines how the vast majority of fashion consumers see models on the catwalk: typically directing an indifferent stare at the spectator and strutting propulsively towards her. This applies to both the countless catwalk images that are published online and in women's magazines as well as to the fashion show videos that fashion houses often release on their websites. Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 show was a marked exception to this rule. Not only did the described catwalk scenography manipulate space in a way that made the models walk unusually, but Vibskov also emphasised their peculiar walk by repeatedly featuring the models from a profile and, especially, half-profile perspective in the show's video recording that he published on his website.[262] This video of the show also makes visible that

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[260] In Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 show the walk might not have had a 'purpose' outside the logic of the show itself. And yet, it was not the presented garments that primarily determined the specificity of the models' walk.

[261] By the 1920s models "needed different styles and speeds for sportswear, daywear, tea gowns and evening dresses" (Evans 2013: 233).

[262] Whilst the poseur is depicted from the front, Evans remarks that the profile is the silhouette of the walker. The latter perspective becomes the focus of appearance for the fashionable nineteenth century stroller. (2013: 25)

the scenography focused the spectators' attention on the specificity of the walk it evoked; many spectators' eyes are fixed on the models' feet setting off the mechanisms.

By drawing attention to the models' ambulant struggle the mechanical installation dictates a hesitant, decentred bodily aesthetic. Vibskov is unable to predict how exactly each model will cope with the challenge of walking through the catwalk scenography and thus uses the scenography to examine, challenge and expand on his own position as creator of a design vision. The models' interaction with the scenography as well as the functionality of their walk calls into question the designer's presumed unrestricted authorship over the models' appearance.

Integration of elements from women's fashion

As a feature, that is more generally characteristic for Henrik Vibskov's menswear, I have picked out his integration into the designs of elements that are usually associated with women's fashion into the designs. Vibskov's men's outfits commonly feature bright accessories such as bags, scarves or hats; he designs colourful clothes with prints and details (for instance functionless zippers etc) and often accentuates the male leg with tight leggings. This could be argued as one of the designer's strategies to emphasise unusual body parts and consequently stage the male body in unconventional silhouettes.

The Autumn/Winter 2012 collection features a number of jackets, blazers, jumpers and cardigans that set off the male torso in a traditionally square shape with wide shoulders. This silhouette is emphasised by the male models Vibskov chooses; some, but far from all of them slender types. These upper body garments come in muted colours like greys, whites and dark blues or greens. But in almost all outfits, this comparatively conservative staging of the male upper body creates a tension with Vibskov's designs for the bottom part: legs are accentuated with tight stripy leggings; trousers in a screaming mustard yellow; soft, low-crotch jersey trousers that resemble pyjama bottoms in colourful, detailed prints or zebra-print shorts with stockings. As with the presentation of the women's collection, where Vibskov 'defigured' the models' appearance by means of their slow and hesitant walk, it could be argued that the men's outfits produce a mode of instability within the male body.

Features that stand out in Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 men's collection include outfits in which the models' scarves mirror the busy, colourful print of their trousers. A small shoulder handbag with wide stripes in black, white, pink and yellow gives less of an apologetic impression than the men's handbags in many other contemporary designers' collections. Furthermore, a

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few pieces feature zippers. The zippers suggest a functionality that could be perceived as referring to a traditionally male relation to dress as serving clear functions. Zippers often imply pockets, and multiple zippers could allude to carpenter's trousers with many pockets for tools. But in Vibskov's designs, the zippers attached to shorts have a rather different function. Running from one knee, up to the crotch and down to the other knee in a soft line, they allow the wearer to 'zip off' and erase the fabric between the legs – and thus turn the shorts into an unconventionally shaped skirt. Another use of zippers that is no less associated with women's clothes is an off-white cape that is covered with zippers in the front and back. These have no function at all and are purely decorative.

Figure 10: Henrik Vibskov Autumn/Winter 2012. Photos: author's own

A review of men's clothing in the past centuries and a cursory comparison with other men's collections from the same season shows that these items and the colourful patterns, detailed prints and tight legwear are no usual features of male dress. They are all much more readily associated with womenswear. Vibskov's integration of these elements into his men's collection raises the question of how exactly he uses them, and to what effect. An obvious concept that springs to mind is the androgynous; might Vibskov's use of elements that we associate with women's fashion be a turn to androgyny? Is it, perhaps, a revision of the concept or is Vibskov concerned with something else entirely?

In *Men in Black*, John Harvey draws on Jo Paoletti and Claudia Brush Kidwell when he argues that androgynous dress does not really exist for adult men and women. The closest we get is women dressing like men (1995: 17). In past years, however, a slender man's silhouette that is perhaps most directly associated with Hedi Slimane's menswear and the triumph of the skinny jeans has also been referred to as 'androgynous'. But the men walking the catwalk in Vibskov's show look quite different from that. Their square upper bodies distinguish them from definitions of the androgynous man as meticulously-groomed, soft-faced and slim in frame. Furthermore, three of the models in the Copenhagen show wore beards as did *all* models Vibskov chose for his Paris show, clearly marking secondary sexual characteristics.

In her essay "The Impossible Referent: Representations of the Androgyne" Francette Pacteau writes that as spectators, we know that any person we are looking at is either a man or a woman. According to Pacteau, it is the fantastic possibility of dual sexual identity that is intriguing (1986: 62):

> The androgynous-looking figure presents me with an impossibility, that of the erasure of difference, that very difference which constructs me as a subject. From the instant my biological sex is determined, my identity is defined in difference – I am either a boy or a girl. I shall consequently take up my position in society on one side if the sexual divide, behave according to the genderized codes, reaffirm the difference. The androgynous 'position' represents a denial, or a transgression, of the rigid gender divide, and as such implies a threat to our given identity and to the system of social roles which define us. (1986: 63)

Vibskov's designs don't appear to erase difference per se – or at least: the staging of his models on the catwalk suggests that there is a potential for differences between the physical appearance of male and female bodies. Yet, the design refuses a subordination of these bodies to 'genderized codes' as the necessary consequence of difference and thus a reaffirmation of these codes. Elements that are associated with women's clothing are used, and yet Vibskov doesn't *represent* conventional women's dress. His outfits are not

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androgynous in the sense of trying to make men imitate what is associated with women's bodies or fashions. Rather, he finds a new mode of using certain staging techniques in ways that are particular to a differently structured, wider and more square body.

To describe the relation between Vibskov's men's collection and the elements I have identified as more typical for women's fashion, Deleuze and Guattari's concept of 'becoming' (*dévenir*) is relevant. It elucidates a relation that is different from such resemblance or imitation that Vibskov also seems to avoid in his designs. Rather, becoming "is critical, for if the primacy of identity is what defines a world of re-presentation (presenting the same world once again), then becoming (by which Deleuze means 'becoming different') defines a world of presentation anew" (Stagoll 2005: 21). The male models' legs arguably appear somewhat 'anew' when Vibskov wraps them in tight leggings in colourful stripes. They don't allude to the mysterious possibility of a dual sexual identity that Pacteau writes about with regard to the androgyne. If the leggings allude to anything, they might allude to the eighteenth century's breeches for men. Like those predecessors, Vibskov's tight trousers sexualise the male leg – but they do so not in a way that is commonly called androgynous (in the sense of assimilating it to a woman's leg), but stage a sexualisation that is particular to the male models' bodies.

In her discussion of becoming, the performance scholar Camilla Damkjær writes that when becoming brings two entities together, they are both molecularised and enter into a new relation that undoes their former states.[263] In Deleuze and Guattari's terms, such molecularisation implies extracting molecules, particles, speeds from one element and letting them react with another element. The effect Vibskov's tight leggings have on the men's leg is different from how leggings look when worn by women. In Vibskov's men's designs, they don't produce an elongated, slender figure, because the men don't wear them with high heels, as is often the case when women wear leggings on the catwalk. The silhouettes are also different because the male models walk with their legs wider apart than the women.

Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 men's collection is not constituted by acts of imitating a certain 'feminine appearance'. Rather, it is a way of challenging conventions in men's design. The elements that are more commonly associated with women's fashion become detached from the female body, become independent of it, become autonomous; they become integral parts of a men's collection.

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[263] Damkjær explains: "The man is not behaving *like* the dog, but the meaning of *like* changes when the *devenir* brings two undefined entities together; it is not the behaviour of a dog that defines the behaviour of the man, but both the man and the dog are molecularised, they enter into something else that undoes both the man and the dog." (2005: 212)

How does this example challenge authenticity?

Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 show uses various techniques of letting the models' bodies appear in multiple guises. Almost each time a model walks down the catwalk to present a new outfit, her/his appearance will sooner or later rupture the spectators' categorisation of the body they see, at the same time as it obfuscates a sense of univocal authorship.

For a body to be deemed authentic in the contemporary popular context I investigated in chapter 2, it emerged that unambivalent authorship is key. In the case of *The Swan* and *GNTM* it was important that the participants did *themselves* emerge as the hard-working authors of their bodies. With a fashion show I analyse a genre in which the appearance of the models' bodies is by definition primarily determined by the designer. As a consequence – and despite the fact that models might not represent elaborate identities in the genre conventions of a fashion show – there is nevertheless a sense of the model's figure as a unity since fashion shows usually implement *one* designer's vision of 'this season's body' – a silhouette, a colour scheme and specific texture(s). In coordination with these features, the designer places the season's 'Dior/Gucci/Prada/Céline woman' in an atmosphere invoked by the fashion show's scenography, lighting and sound. It is usually a model's merit to be as 'blank' as possible in order to transport a different designer's aesthetic vision in each show/season allowing the observer to project herself into the outfits (Brandstetter 2007: 252). If models with unconventional bodily characteristics are used, this is done to further a designer's aesthetic idea for a collection (Graw 2010: 71f). Vibskov's show challenges the models' status as products of the designer's singlehanded conception and draws attention to the many factors that are involved in creating a body's appearance on the catwalk. By extension, the staging techniques highlight that any bodily appearance is necessarily subject to a variety of factors and 'authors'. This defies the authentic imperative for bodily appearance to be the representation of *one* deserving author.

The models' bodily instability points to what Butler terms – with regard to gender constructions – a contingency. She writes: "Only when the mechanism of gender construction implies the *contingency* of that construction does 'constructedness' *per se* prove useful to the political project to enlarge the scope of possible gender configurations." (2007: 51) Vibskov's catwalk presentation shows that a focus on the contingency of his models' constructed appearance also productively undermines aspects of the *authentic* body. With their unpredictably shifting appearance the models dissociate bodily appearance from being unfailingly controlled by a preconceived stable essence; be that a designer's vision, a physical centre that controls a figure of unity, a conventional notion of male dress – or a true self that prevailed in the staging techniques on *The Swan* and *GNTM*. Butler argues that

appealing to prediscursive states from which gender construction can be traced is counterproductive (if these different states then come to function as new, more essential norms). Vibskov avoids invocations of essence in his models' manifold bodily appearances; he does not set off the multiplicity of the models' contingent guises against a suggested more essential truth but shows the possibility for radical difference to become visible on one and the same body.

Both the female and the male models' appearance on the catwalk imply that they *could* at any instance also look differently. The contingency of the female models' appearance is indicated by drawing attention to the various and unpredictable factors that stage their looks – if these factors were altered the whole staging and resulting images would change. The appearance of the male models suggests contingency by letting elements that are associated with male and with female dress appear simultaneously on the same body.[264] Neither of the sartorial elements is *by necessity* associated with the male models bodies'.[265] Both techniques mark the appearance of bodies as manufactured or constructed, in Butler's words. I have mentioned that the female walking models' look is traceable to a variety of factors that play a role in their staging. The integration of elements from women's wear into the men's collection allows sartorial gender distinctions become visible as "a changeable and revisable reality" (Butler 2007: xxiv).[266]

By drawing attention to the contingency of the models' constructed appearances Vibskov's show undermines authenticity. With the multiplicity of their guises the models defy the authentic logic of making one single essence visible on the body. If the coaching sessions I mentioned in chapter 2 suggest that the revealed selves are not imagined as entirely static, the TV shows presented their participants' 'psychological transformation' as a unidirectional change towards intensifying selfhood that existed previously, but was latent. The necessity for this inner to be made visually available on the body's surface through the physical makeover was presented as urgent. The notion of the pre-transformed body's illegibility – which made the participants 'stuck' in 'wrong' bodies that were wrongly 'read' by their surround-

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[264] Elaborating further on the notion of contingency (whilst bearing in mind *both* entities' molecularisation in becoming), Vibskov's approach to men's design also puts under scrutiny what I have implied as a somewhat essentialist category: what exactly are 'elements from women's fashion'? There is, of course, nothing inherently female about tight legwear, bright colours or accessories. Vibskov draws attention not least to the constructedness of associating those with womenswear.

[265] This means also that the menswear breaks the gender divide, but I want to stress that less because I am not discussing mainstream displays of contemporary masculinity in my contextualising chapters.

[266] Nikolas Rose, similarly, notes that making contingency visible is an effective strategy in destabilising what might be taken for essential features. He writes: "I nonetheless hope that, in rendering the historical contingency of our contemporary relations to ourselves more visible, they may help open these up for interrogation and transformation." (1998: 3)

ings – explained that urgency. In the staging of Vibskov's walking models none of the multiple appearances carried more urgency than another.

Kitt Johnson: *Drift* (2011)

Definition

In the following I analyse Danish choreographer Kitt Johnson's dance work *Drift*. I investigate the solo performer's transforming bodily appearance in the course of the entire 50-minute piece.[267]

Description

When the audience arrives the dancer is on stage and the space filled with a resounding synthesizer noise – has the performance already begun, are we missing something? Johnson, who is also the solo performer of the piece, looks interested but a little scared and begins to move in initially very slow and then increasingly fast, but pedestrian, pirouettes. The stage is scarcely lit and we can barely see Johnson's body in her big, brown fur coat. She seemingly becomes dizzy, slows down and falls. After getting up again Johnson moves to the stage's back wall.

She stands, first by the wall, looking into the distance and concealing herself from the audience in her big coat. But later, she develops a stare directed at the spectators which gets increasingly intense. At this point her conduct becomes sexually charged as she lifts her skirt and coat, making her legs visible, legs that are covered up to the thighs in black woollen stockings. Her gaze then markedly avoids the audience once more, and she appears more like an animal ready to mate than like a teasing woman. This turns gradually more explicit when she gets down and moves on all fours.

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[267] My description is based on twice seeing the performance live (in April 2011 and March 2012), and re-watching it on DVD multiple times during work with the analysis (the recording was of one of the live performances I saw).

Figure 11: Kitt Johnson in Drift (2011). *Copyright: Per Morten Abrahamsen*

She inspects different parts of her body the way an animal might do. Sitting on the ground, she starts a rhythmical, seemingly involuntary scratching of her lower chest, moving both hands up and down all over her body. This is accompanied by fast and unpredictable recorded sounds, sometimes high-pitched, which makes them reminiscent of screaming monkeys. Johnson gets onto her feet, jumps to different areas of the stage and continues scratching obsessively for another minute. This is one of the few moments when the performance is funny; some spectators giggle.

Johnson re-emerges from the dark rear of the stage, and in its dimly lit front she takes off her big fur coat. Immediately, the coat becomes her 'other' – a partner with whom she enters into an initially aggressive relation-ship. She stomps her feet next to it as if to scare it, then starts to kick it around the stage. Finally, she slides onto it and lies on it motionless. With the coat off and now wearing a black dress, black stockings, ankle boots and arm warmers, Johnson again assumes a more human appearance. She then begins to undress: while moving very slowly along a diagonal across the stage, she takes off her arm warmers and places them on the floor. After another four steps, her shoes are removed. Then she takes off the stockings. Arriving at the front of the stage, Johnson manipulates her knee-length, sleeveless dress into different shapes. Her silhouette thus changes from that of a straight, slender figure into that of a more nineteenth-century appear-ance, the bodice noticeably tighter than the skirt. But having unfolded her skirt, she pulls it further and further up until her upper thighs, her private

parts, her belly, her ribcage and her breasts become visible. With the rucked-up dress now covering only her head, Johnson squats down and begins moving in a waddling walk, her body naked.

She takes her hairpins out and lets her long blond hair down. At first, it falls over her head, which rests on her knees, thus covering most of what we see of her body when she turns towards the audience again. The introduction of this mass of hair as a new bright 'materiality' creates a striking contrast to her skin and the bare, dark stage. Johnson gets up but stays with her head bowed for several more minutes, her face covered by her hair. Finally, she pierces a hole in the curtain of hair, she splits it, and her face reappears. The lighting almost makes her hair appear yellow, and the way it frames her face gives Johnson the appearance of a cartoon character. Still naked and with an apprehensive air, she walks a few steps sideways, fixating the audience in a piercing stare. Hastily, she gets to her clothes and puts them back on: the dress first. As soon as she wears it again, Johnson wipes the hair away from her face (which, pulled forward, gave her the cartoon character appearance), pulls it together and ties it into a bun while she looks at the audience. The quality of her movements changes dramatically; she now appears once more as a woman in a black dress. With movements that look entirely ordinary, she puts on her long stockings, before she finally and with hesitant slowness approaches the big fur coat lying at the back of the stage.

She kneels down and turns it around a few times; she then unfolds it and wipes it around, as if to clean the stage with it. As Johnson sits down on it, a spotlight focuses on her. She sits there with an uneasy expression on her face, then crawls backwards, off the coat and into the dark part of the stage; she can barely be seen when she puts on her shoes. Johnson moves back to the coat and puts it on in almost total darkness.

Configuring Strand

Multidirectional change

Drift is structured by Johnson taking all her clothes off and on again. This dramaturgy makes her body appear in extremely different guises: from wrapped in a big fur coat to stark naked with her hair loose. Her body's different appearances draw attention to the power of dress in staging. An example of this is the coat which at points in the performance develops an agency of its own. It is partnering Johnson, and takes part in transforming her; when she is wearing it/kicking it/hugging it/sitting and resting on it they connect in

different ways. But none of these transformations seem to aim at a final new form of physical being: Johnson 'drifts' in and out of these similarities.

Her matter-of-fact use of nudity and the process of undressing could be referred to as what Brandstetter (2012b: 220) calls a 'replay' of the way these are used in Anna Halprin's *Parades and Changes* (1965). In both pieces the focus is set on the acts of dressing and undressing, rather than an underlying meaning, and nudity is not presented as an allegory for making something more essential visible to the spectator.

Through large stretches of *Drift* Johnson defies human appearance: she 'becomes animal', assumes the look of a cartoon character and challenges her audience with appearances of the body that makes it almost unrecognisable. In the middle sequence of the piece, in which Johnson is naked, she quotes a strategy from the (almost canonical) dance works *Self Unfinished* (Xavier Le Roy, 1998) and *Manual Focus* (Mette Ingvartsen, 2003). In these pieces, the head is often made invisible and the body's perspectivization – what is up and down, left and right – is changed. In addition to a puzzlingly unfamiliar quality of movement, this distorted perspective makes the performing body appear estranged and tends to distort our perception of 'the body as body'.[268] In Johnson's case, the bare back and buttocks appear detached from the rest of the body and move waddlingly and stumblingly forward and sideways. Although they are undeniably part of a human body, Johnston's technique of visually detaching these body parts from her head leads to a fragmentation that opens up the spectators' perception to associations of a plucked chicken. Overall, Johnson does not only *differ from* the preconceived notion of 'human body' with which the audience might have entered the theatre. Her constantly changing appearances also make her body emerge as an unstable entity that differs *in itself*.

She engages in a non-linear process of change. Like in Deleuzian becoming, her appearance in *Drift* meanders into different directions: "Becoming is a rhizome, not a classificatory or genealogical tree." (Deleuze and Guattari 2007: 263) When Johnson's body slips into the temporary similarities with animals, she refers to them without imitating them. Damkjær explains becoming with regard to the dancers' becoming-bird in Merce Cunningham's *Beach Birds for Camera* (1992):

> It is a fusion that stays on the same level, where the two entities are literally melting together. It does not only produce meaning; it produces a reality. The *devenir* is always embodied, whether it is embodied in a text, a piece of music, or the behaviour of a human being. The *devenir* never only seems or means, it always is. Even when embodied in a metaphorical text, it is never metaphorical but real." (2005: 212)

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[268] For comprehensive analyses of *Self Unfinished* and *Manual Focus,* see Foellmer (2009).

Johnson's inconsistent references to animals in *Drift* could be analysed in a similar way. She does not imitate a particular animal;[269] her body, rather, adopts a mode of 'animalness' in which movement is particular to Johnson's (human) shape and capabilities. As a consequence, her becoming-animal makes something new appear rather than *repeat* any particular animal.[270]

But it is not only the 'animalness' that appears on Johnson's body in *Drift*. The audience is furthermore confronted with the aforementioned bodily appearance with which they are radically unfamiliar – or that perhaps comes to the spectators' minds as a reference to certain canonic bodies in contemporary dance. As yet another variant, Johnson's appearance is at times rather bare, dressed in the different items of clothing; the black dress or the fur coat.

How does this example challenge authenticity?

Remarkably, there is no notion of improvement inherent in any of the guises Johnson assumes in the piece. This is in itself a rather radical stance if we consider sanctioned motivations for – and modes of – changing the body's appearance in contemporary culture. Unlike the suggestions of the reality shows I analysed earlier, self help books, women's magazines and advertisements that surround us every day, Johnson is neither making her body more beautiful, more efficient nor any 'truer to its inner self'. The processes of change in which she engages have no goal; outside their structuring function in *Drift* they are entirely aimless. Deleuze and Guattari write: "Becoming produces nothing other than itself." (2007: 262) My analyses in chapter 2 made clear that those processes of change that the participants on the investigated shows underwent was unidirectional. Attaining an authentic body that revealed the participant's good, deserving inside unmistakably meant creating a physical appearance that reproduced normative ideals of female beauty. Because the *Menschenbild* I analysed in chapter 2 designates authentic bodies as *beautiful* authentic bodies, change is always change towards this normative ideal. By contrast, nothing about the changing appearances of Johnson's body in *Drift* gives the impression of aiming at any particular enhancement. With her multiple guises Johnson's body emerges as a collage and obfuscates the unidirectional change towards an authentic body as a better, more beautiful, 'truer' state.

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[269] "A becoming-animal always involves a pack, a band, a population, a peopling, in short, a multiplicity." Deleuze and Guattari (2007: 264).

[270] I similarly described the becoming of something new in the analysis of Vibskov's menswear.

Chapter 5

Estrangement

As I have elaborated in chapter 2, it is a common feature of contemporary body makeover shows on television – but also of other formats in which bodies and their transformations are evaluated – that authenticity is granted to those who have *themselves* worked hard for their appearance. If beauty is self-earned by (s)he who is deemed a morally good individual, it is deserved and thus helps to authenticate that person. In this chapter I want to present examples of bodies which do not actively bring their supposed inner human essence to the fore, but appear instead as inanimate, or animated by seemingly foreign systems that are overtly imposed on them. In this chapter's fashion examples the bodies do not have agency – they do not perform 'hard work'. But unlike in the previous chapter, *authorship* is not ambivalent. In the dance piece *Sideways Rain* the dancers adopt strange movement patterns that let them appear as if animated by an alien force. Even if it is not the estrangement from the human body as such that undermines authenticity in appearance (but various aspects that estrangement implies), estrangement is what connects the examples in this chapter.

For the first example in this final analytical chapter, I reverse the approach of my analysis. Instead of exploring one or more strands to calibrate my examples so that certain features in them are uncovered, in what follows I will arrange *two* stagings in fashion to elucidate *one* (multi-faceted) staging technique: the fashion model's alternation between the animate and the inanimate, her suggested life-death ambiguity.

Animate/Inanimate. The staging of fashion models

In her essay "The Ontology of the Fashion Model" Evans writes:

> The concept of 'the model' differs between fine art, design, architecture, fashion, photography and new media, and offers an intriguing mix of things: it can be a rudimentary sketch, an ideal, a miniature, a set of instructions, a maquette or a prototype. It can suggest both the early stages of a project and its final realisation, ranging from an idea that is barely formed to an ideal which reality can never match. But only in fashion is the model a living, breathing human being; and only in fashion does this creature have an inert counterpart, in the form of the dress she wears, also known as the model. (2011: 58)

On the following pages I want to reflect on the consequences of Evans' assertion. What are the implications for the model's body as the 'location' where fashion's particular stagings take place? If the average contemporary woman is expected and encouraged to use clothing to 'express her personality',[271] the model's job is to make the clothing appear advantageously. Models often appear in poses which let them freeze for a short amount of time. Such poses typically reoccur as the climax of every tour down the catwalk and in fashion photographs. Posing is necessarily a citational act; a form of control that demands iconographic awareness and discipline. In the picture of Amanda Lepore (chapter 3) an emphasis on this (quotational) 'becoming image' undermined bringing a supposed inner to the fore.

But there is more to the fashion model's moments of stagnation. Her freeze does not just mark the transition from a moving to a static image of the body (and the dress); it also summons notions of death, the in-animate, the un-human (Brandstetter 2007: 256). In the *Arcades Project*, Benjamin describes the woman of fashion as someone who "mimics the mannequin and enters history as a dead object" (in Evans 2011: 68).[272] Evans explains such phenomena with their cultural context of industrialisation, alienation and commodification in the nineteenth century, which coincided with the early days of modelling (see Evans 2003: 165-172).[273] But the persistence with which notions of death and the human as doll feature in fashion imagery makes one wonder if underlying them might be a more enduring motive. Might the real life model's stagnation in these moments of freezing be

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[271] Or – in a more public context – for self-promotional purposes. Jeanne Yang, stylist to Katie Holmes amongst others, states that: "Dressing an actress is about branding. She wants to convey with a dress, "This is who I am." (La Ferla 2012)

[272] *Mannequin* here refers to the lifeless tailor's dummy.

[273] Evans refers to the nineteenth century's extensive literature on doubles, dolls and doppelgängers. E.T.A. Hoffman's short story "The Sandman" (1817) and Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's novel *L'Eve Future* (1886) are examples of the theme of woman as lifeless doll. (2011: 62-3) See also Wagner (2003: 177).

fuelled by a desire for the in-animate, the non-human? A desire that at the same time embodies an escape from today's authentic ideal?

The model as inverse doll – Viktor & Rolf: 'Russian Doll'

For the basis of my propositions in this part I rely heavily on Evans' research on models and modelling (2003 and 2011). While her historical investigations inform the conclusions she draws about more contemporary material, it is my aim in this part to point out how allusions to certain features of the fashion model's history can challenge the contemporary notion of an authentic body.

The uncanny link between the fashion model and inanimate objects has existed for centuries: Journalistic comments, novels and caricatures show that the doll or the mechanical, were associated with fashion models from their very cultural emergence. Fashionable dress was conventionally shown on dolls before real people modelled it. French dressmakers of the eighteenth century promoted their work in Europe by sending dolls dressed in their latest creations. When in the nineteenth century real women began to model fashion, they were referred to as *mannequins*.[274] The term derives from the Dutch 'manneken' which was used to describe the manipulable lay-figures that help artists render the proportions of the human body.[275] In the nineteenth century *mannequin* became the term for French dressmakers' and tailors' life-size wooden dummies.[276] (see Evans 2011: 59-61 and Vinken 2005: 31)

In dolls, the implied ambiguous status as 'dead matter' makes them *unheimlich*. Freud quotes his colleague E. Jentsch who gives a prime example of the unheimlich:

> Jensch has taken as a very good instance 'doubts whether an apparently animate being is really alive; or conversely, whether a lifeless object might not be in fact animate' and he refers in this connection to the impression made by wax-work figures, ingeniously constructed dolls and automata. To these he adds the uncanny effect of epileptic fits, and of manifestations of insanity, because these excite in the spectator the impression of automatic, mechanical processes at work behind the ordinary appearance of mental activity. (1919: 225)

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[274] After first being called *demoiselles de magasin* in the mid-nineteenth century. (Evans 2011: 61)

[275] The term 'mannequin' is, of course, still used in French today.

[276] Those came into production in the 1830s and 40s, before modelling with real women began.

Although Freud goes on to express doubts regarding intellectual uncertainty about whether or not something is animate or inanimate as the primary source for uncanniness (in E.T.A. Hoffmann's story *The Sandman*, for instance) he returns repeatedly to dolls, doubles and supposedly dead matter that becomes animate in an *unheimlich* act.

But what does that mean for the *inverse* scenario: the clearly *animate* woman who becomes frozen in the modelling pose? "[L]ike her predecessor," writes Evans, "the fashion model exists on the cusp of the organic and the inorganic, between the animate and the inanimate, bridging the worlds of the living and the dead." (2011: 59) Since fashion has been modelled by living people, the 'woman as doll' has reappeared in fashion shows and photography with notable persistence.[277] Often, she is staged as a straightforward commodification of a woman, who indulges in her passivity and the spectacle of her beauty.[278] Along these lines, a 2012 Lancôme mascara ad campaign encouraged customers to 'Become a doll!'.[279] The ad seems to follow the logic of the reality formats I discussed earlier in suggesting consumers 'discover an *inner* doll'. Conversely, the Autumn/Winter 1999 'Russian Doll' show by the Dutch design duo Viktor & Rolf overemphasized the properties of usual fashion models and detached the modelling woman's appearance from any notion of an inner truth. Fashion journalist Cathy Horyn describes the show:

> [Viktor & Rolf] did the whole presentation with one model, Maggie Rizer, standing on a revolving turntable in the middle of a square stage. Her first outfit was a mini-dress of natural jute and silk. After she revolved a few times, moving only her eyelids, the designers put a jute dress embroidered with lace and Swarovski crystals over the mini. She revolved, and they brought out another dress. They kept adding layers, in floral silk taffeta or jute with embroidery. […] By the ninth layer, a huge jute cape, Maggie's head appeared to have shrunk to the size of a walnut as the designers achieved their signature silhouette of massively over-scale shoulders. Then Maggie clasped her hands, covered with tiny strands of colored crystals, and revolved as the crowd roared. She looked like the Infant of Prague or an angel. (1999)[280]

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[277] These references to the doll are frequently amplified in fashion and fashion photography. Examples include the 2001 Diesel advertisement campaign, Martin Margiella's references to the tailor's dummy in 1997; Nick Knight's photographs of Aimee Mullins for *Dazed and Confused* 1998; Alexander McQueen's Spring/Summer 1997 show 'La Poupee' or an Italian Vogue cover from 1996 (no 553). Evans discusses some of these examples in 2003: 177-89.

[278] For the normative function of dolls, see Wagner (2003: 176-80).

[279] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2xHBR2uPLFI, accessed 16 August 2013.

[280] A video of the show is available on www.viktor-rolf.com.

Figure 12: Viktor & Rolf Autumn/Winter 1999. Copyright: Team Peter Stigter

In Viktor & Rolf's show the model is immobile while she is dressed. It is the 'turntables', exclusively, that animate her while layer upon layer is added on her body by the two designers. Their active physical presence emphasises the model's passivity and utter artificiality. The open manipulation of her appearance marks her body's staging: like dolls that bring to mind their manufacturing in the way they look, her appearance defies any notions of the revelatory (an inner's revelation) – as the contemporary code of authenticity would demand. The model bears her glittering clothes – interpretable as constructs of femininity – as *foreign* to her body. The clothing appears imposed on her, with no attempted naturalisation. Drawing on research by theatre scholar Meike Wagner on contemporary puppetry in which both puppets and actors are visible on stage, one could say that the model does not appear as a predetermined statue, but emerges only in the process of the performative act. Her appearance does not reference originality, but makes its discursiveness apparent (2003: 34f).

The model's passivity stands in stark contrast to the participants on *GNTM* and *The Swan* who 'earned' their authenticity through hard work. The displayed investment of their labour served to connect the work's beautiful result (the parading body) to the active, authoring self. Contrary to the capitalist belief of worthwhile 'investments' in the body, Viktor & Rolf stage their model as a motionless *mannequin* with no self-agency.[281] Beyond the model's motionlessness, Viktor & Rolf conjure up the doll-connotation in the layering of the outfits and the show's title. Their staging refers to the described historical context of creatures that are *unheimlich* because their animate status is uncertain.

The model's body blanked out – Issey Miyake: *Making Things* (1998)

The work of Japanese fashion designer Issey Miyake was showcased in the exhibition *Making Things* at the Parisian Cartier Foundation for Contemporary Art in 1998. To elaborate on another aspect of animation/inanimation in fashion models' staging I will investigate a display in Miyake's exhibition in which clothes were installed as hanging from the ceiling. For a description of this part of the exhibition I draw on a review by the *New York Times* critic Herbert Muschamp:

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[281] In chapter 2 I pointed out the staging of 'hard working' bodies for authenticating purposes in capitalist society. Debord highlights what Viktor & Rolf seem to stage in 'Russian Doll' when he writes that spectacle, to which fashion shows must be counted, "is a concrete inversion of life, an autonomous movement of the nonliving" (n.d.: 7).

On entering, you walk into an immense fashion mobile installed in the grand, three-story, ground-floor space. Twenty-five garments are suspended from the ceiling on cables. As you walk past, your movement activates a mechanism that reels the dresses swiftly up to the ceiling and lets them float down like gaily colored parachutes. The room is constantly in motion, animated by what looks like a parody of that old fashion game of rising and falling hemlines. (1998)[282]

By animating his pleated dresses independently from a human body, Miyake makes the clothing autonomous. Any obvious link between dress and human wearer becomes obsolete. With their specific structures and material, Miyake's jumping dresses assume their own agency – an agency that in the case of clothes is usually associated with the person wearing them. With the display, the designer consequently points to a difference of dress being worn in an everyday context and in a situation in which it is specifically showcased; such as by a model at a fashion show, but also in the exhibition context. If the contemporary authenticity-focused *Menschenbild* suggests women express their true inner selves in the way they look, the job of the model-person is to step back behind the model-dress. As I have pointed out above, her movements and poses in a fashion show serve primarily to show off the clothes in the most favourable manner.

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[282] The Fondation Cartier's video of the rising and falling clothes is available on www.dailymotion.com.

Figure 13: Exhibition display for Making Things (1998). Copyright: Fondation Cartier

With his unorthodox staging technique, Miyake 'blanks out' the model entirely. He exaggerates her ontological blankness, and it could be argued that the erasure of the model's body from this particular staging 'reveals' the clothing's material all the more effectively. Some of Miyake's clothing is pleated horizontally, and the effect of this does not become as strikingly visible on the human body as it does on the exhibition's suspension mechanisms. Bodies usually move horizontally themselves, with only very little up and down bounce, whereas the cables in the exhibition hall move the dresses vertically and cause the pleats to fully fold and unfold. The same is true for pieces which feature layers of fabric: these show more completely in the way they are lowered from the ceiling.

Besides emphasising a particular feature of the clothing, Miyake's complete erasure of the body highlights the fashion model's ontology. By letting the qualities of the dress determine the display entirely, the model is emphasised as 'blank'; as serving the needs of the garment. In reflecting the function of models, Graw proposes that models are interesting not as people, but

(here she relies on Roland Barthes) as "pure form" (2010: 71).[283] Their bodily appearances facilitate a given designer's envisioned silhouette: fashion's access to the bodies of models is entirely instrumental. (72) Graw refers to the designer Yves Saint Laurent as mentioning that "the mannequins were nothing but models to him, that he did not even perceive them as women" (2010: 72, my translation). In this context, the judges' appeals to the individuality, personality and self of *GNTM*'s participants emerge as bizarre. A point of view such as Saint Laurent's can seem shocking in its apparent dehumanisation – an issue I will take up in my concluding chapter. And yet, in the context of television shows that idealise the unrestricted revelation (and degradation) of their participants' inner it seems convincing when Graw argues that "an existence as abstract institution can be a protection from being accessed as an individual" (2010: 73). In this sense models' abstractedness can serve as a defence not to succumb to personal humiliation.

How do these examples challenge authenticity?

Estranging the human body from what can be counted as two of its basic characteristics – movement and materiality – unsettles bodily appearance as authentic in my examples. Both freezing the model's movement and replacing the animate body with technology obscures the 'hard work' that is staged before a body can be authenticated. I laid out in the second chapter how the possibility to perceive the production process of a 'beautiful' body – the hard work that the participants on both *GNTM* and *The Swan* performed – served to authenticate it on the basis of the invested labour. The animate/inanimate trope that has been evident in fashion modelling since the eighteenth century allows me to reflect on how stagings in a fashion context can be used to escape the ideal of an authentic body.

By stressing 'blankness' and the life-death ambiguity in the fashion model's ontology, respectively, the examples I have discussed in this chapter so far detach the model's agency from her dressed appearance (to the extent of her total removal from the staging in the Miyake example). She shows no sign of claiming authorship over her appearance. This passivity could be regarded as extremely repressive towards modelling women. But in the given cultural context of a glorified authentic body, it also calls into question the liberatory implication of being allowed – or more accurately: expected – to stage one's body as the visualisation of a true inner self. The two examples challenge the link between the model dress and the model person – or

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[283] Sennett points out that a similar function of the body was common amongst the eighteenth-century elite: while the body was used as "an object to be decorated" (1976: 71), the decoration was the clear focus of interest.

their autonomy from each other. Clothes function as foreign objects that are markedly imposed on the body (where a body was staged at all) and have nothing to do with a supposed inner truth.

Sideways Rain

Definition

In my last analysis I investigate the dance piece *Sideways Rain,* created by Brazilian-born, Swiss-based choreographer Guilherme Botelho for his company Alias in 2010. I focus on the dancers' movement patterns as they trace paths through the space of the stage.[284]

Description

The highly repetitive structure of *Sideways Rain* is created by a ceaseless flow of the fifteen dancers who traverse the stage from left to right. Their movements are carried out in (more or less) straight lines and consist of fifteen distinct movement patterns. All dancers begin and stop using a given movement pattern to cross the stage at approximately the same time and most of the patterns are repeated in the course of the performance at least once – some with small alternations.

At most times three or more dancers are on stage. This means that there is a constant flow of bodies moving from the left to the right side of the stage throughout the whole hour of the performance. They create a sense of continuity, even if these images of a continuous 'movement flow' are frequently diversified by one or more dancers who are either still performing the previous movement pattern, introduce a new one to the whole group, or 'disturb' the flow of movement by stopping briefly.[285]

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[284] I saw *Sideways Rain* at the Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz on 21 August 2011 as part of the *Tanz im August* Festival. In addition to that, for the following analysis I relied on a recording that was made available to me by the company.

[285] A section in the middle of the piece to which I will not pay particular attention in the analysis diverges from this structure: a male and a female dancer break out of the movement flow and walk towards each other. They stand about three metres apart looking at each other while the other dancers perform a less repetitive movement pattern. The group manoeuvres itself forward on the floor synchronously in a longer movement phrase, following the same

The choreography consists of movement material that is mostly pedestrian but made demanding by the dynamism, preciseness and repetition with which the dancers perform it. While a number of movements appear to derive from the animal world, others seem more mechanical or simply a-typical for human bodies.

Figure 14: Sideways Rain (2010). *Copyright: alias/ Guilherme Botelho*

One such movement is a repeated twirl in which the feet are placed on the floor in a wide second position facing the audience. The upper body bends over, twists around its own axis at a 180 degree angle, so that the hands are put down on the floor next to the feet. The lower body then swings around, so that the feet come to the ground in line with the hands again. Like all other movements, this pattern is repeated several times and has the effect that the dancers 'draw' straight lines into space from the left side of the stage to the right. In themselves, these lines are 'spinning' as a result of the dancers' centrifugal movements at slightly different speeds. A mechanical movement quality occurs towards the end of the piece when one male dancer tries to interrupt the path of others and the entire ensemble adopts this new, 'interrupted' movement pattern without stopping their general flow.

Other elements of the choreography look more conventionally pedestrian, at first: the dancers traverse the stage walking or running. But even these familiar movements are made strange, by all the dancers, for instance, tilting

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left-to-right flow as in the rest of the performance. This is the only point in the piece at which the music features lyrics (a remix of the song "Sway"). The two standing dancers remain looking at each other for close to three minutes before the woman joins in the movement pattern of the group and he follows her with his eyes.

their heads at a certain angle, walking with their torsos turned away from the audience, or running backwards.

Other factors in *Sideways Rain* give the theme of an uninterrupted line further prominence. For large stretches of the piece the music consists of what seems like just *one* sound. It features little nuance and emphasises the rigour of an infinite line. Furthermore, there are lines visible on the floor which reach from one side of the stage to the other. These are not particularly prominent and could be the edges of the dance floor which covers the stage. But because they correlate with the dancers' movement paths it is hard to consider the lines on the floor accidental. In the last minutes of the piece, the dancers run across the stage pulling string behind them, their hands extended over their heads. This concludes the piece with images of dozens of lines crossing the stage at slightly different heights.

Configuring Strands

Estranging movement

In *Sideways Rain,* the estrangement from the familiar human body can be traced to the dancers' performance of movement in a register not commonly associated with human motion. The dancers sometimes walk on all fours in a very skilled way and take on a movement quality that is reminiscent of (un-specific) animals. But they perform those unfamiliar movements smoothly and obviously; it is this ease that makes their moving bodies seem suited to the strange movements and lets them become unfamiliar. They embody a sort of "apartness from the world" as it usually functions (O'Sullivan 2001: 125).

Buchanan (1997) points out that the Spinozist question for 'what a body can do' figures prominently in Deleuze and Guattari's notion of a 'body without organs'. "By making the question of what a body can do constitutive, what Deleuze and Guattari effectively do is reconfigure the body as the sum of its capacities" (1997: 75). Buchanan stresses that what a body can do is thought in terms of affects, not its functions, or its parts. Deleuzian affects can be explained as encounters that defy consciousness, representation and recognition (Cull 2012: 192). In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari suggest in the sixth plateau about the body without organs: "Why not walk on your head, sing with your sinuses, see through your skin, breathe with your belly" (2007: 167). Rather than a mere confusion of the body parts' functions, this disorganises the notion of a stable organism. In *Sideways Rain* such affective shifts take place when the dancers walk backwards, move

across the stage in a 'sitting' position, or when their centre of movement is located in their upper backs pressing against the floor.

As a consequence, the bodies staged in *Sideways Rain* also detach themselves from what Deleuze and Guattari define as another one of the great strata that – besides the organism – bind us and block our way to the body without organs: subjectification. *Sideways Rain* opposes the convention that bodies represent 'selves' who perform actions that are psychologically motivated. Even if the dancers have human shape, they also assume animal characteristics. Deleuze writes about the figures in Francis Bacon's paintings that they seem to want to 'escape themselves' (2005: 12). Like Bacon's figures, the bodies in *Sideways Rain* challenge a presupposed organic structure and meet Cull's Deleuzian vision of the performer's role "not to represent emotion or to represent other bodies in the world, but to devise a procedure to extract the affects of bodies, to somehow reconstruct in performance the power of another body to pierce us like an arrow, force us to think, and enable us to act in new ways" (2012: 193).

Abstraction

Literature and philosophy scholar Joseph Vogl describes the Gothic line as a "diagram of affects that charts the movements of an hysteric body without organs" (2002: 188)[286]. To highlight abstraction as a means for the dancing body's estrangement from human appearance I will continue the analysis with an investigation of Wilhelm Worringer's texts on the 'Gothic or Northern line'.[287] In shedding light on the lines of movement that the dancers describe in space, I found it productive to inform the analysis by my reading of Worringer's texts. The early 20th century German art historian describes the

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[286] „Affektdiagramm, das die Zustände und Bewegungen eines hysterisierten, organlosen Körpers aufzeichnet".
[287] Worringer points out that his "psychological conception of the Gothic style […] in no way coincides with historical Gothic" (1957: 37). According to Öhlschläger, Worringer's psychology of Gothic is designed to transcend epochs and can be read as a theory of the sublime. (2005: 29) Although my attention was first drawn to Worringer's concept because of the prominence of 'lines' as the (straight) shape the dancers describe in *Sideways Rain*, 'line', in the sense Worringer uses it, refers to contours or outlines that are considered "distinctive features of composition" (OED 1989: 974). Both Worringer's descriptions of ornaments and the secondary literature often suggest a reading that accounts for both meanings of 'line'. For instance, see Deleuze and Guattari who write: "This streaming, spiralling, zigzagging, snaking, feverish line of variation liberates a power of life that human beings had rectified and organisms had confined, and which matter now expresses as the trait, flow, or impulse of traversing it." (2007: 550)

Gothic line as characterised by a strange, inorganic vitality. Vogl adds that its life is not the life of creatures, individuals or natures (2002: 187). Like the movement patterns in *Sideways Rain* it shifts and changes, not to get to a final harmonic form, but to suggest unexpected turns and appearances. Instead of being reminded of our own vitality, spectators of Northern ornaments – and arguably of Botelho's piece – "are met rather by a vitality which appears to be independent of us" (Worringer 1957: 41). Worringer's notion of the Gothic line is an expression of the 'urge to abstraction (*Abstraktionsdrang*).[288] This urge to abstraction, according to Worringer, is the reason why people strive in the aesthetic process to "purify" the things of the outside world from all vitality and organic being (1997: 44).[289] Worringer opposes such theories that see the pleasure of creating and perceiving works of art in the possibility to recognise familiar organic forms in them ('urge to empathy' – *Einfühlungsdrang*).[290] He theorises that nature is mankind's main enemy and is instinctively feared by people. Our "primal artistic impulse" (1997: 44) (*Urkunsttrieb*) is thus to overcome nature in art and find "the only possibility of repose within the confusion and obscurity of the world-picture" in abstraction (1997: 44)[291]. In this aesthetic theory, the Gothic line is an exception because it is abstract and yet appeals to our urge to empathy on the basis of its "heightened movement of forces" (1997: 113)[292] and "intensity of expression" (*ibid*.)[293].

From this introductory remark on Worringer's work I want to investigate abstraction' in *Sideways Rain*. A central staging technique in abstracting the dancers' appearance in the piece is subjecting them to one subordinating system: rather than as individuals, they appear as parts of a flow. Like in

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[288] Worringer's theory of abstraction is not purely an art historical account; it formulates an aesthetic and sociological as well as critical theory of art. I happily accept the idea that an *Abstraktionsdrang* exists, without subscribing to the social psychological basis of Worringer's thinking in its entirety. His phylogenetic approach to describe 'man's relation to art', for instance, seems sweeping when Worringer asserts that the Gothic line is motivated by the inner disharmony that characterises "Northern man" (1997: 113). For an historical contextualisation of Worringer's psychologising approach see Öhlschläger (2005: 23ff). For a questioning of the basis for Worringer's conception of the abstract see also Deleuze and Guattari (2007: 548).

[289] This is done by transforming the natural example into a geometrically fixed, crystalline form (or: by *isolating* of the represented object) and its *flattened representation* in a *two-dimensional space* (see 1981: 82).

[290] On this end of the scale of human perception which is diametrically opposed to *Abstraktionsdrang*, Worringer localises a spectator who is absorbed by the organic line and finds beauty in its vitality.

[291] "als der einzigen Ausruh-Möglichkeit innerhalb der Verworrenheit und Unklarheit des Weltbildes" (1981: 81).

[292] "gesteigerten Kräftebewegung" (1981: 155).

[293] "Intensität des Ausdrucks" (1981: 155f). The vitality that the Gothic/Northern line constitutes opposes the geometric-crystalline abstraction Worringer had traced in Egyptian art (Öhlschläger 2005: 32).

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Gothic architecture "it is not the life of an organism which we see before us, but that of a mechanism" (Worringer 1997: 114f)[294]. Recalling the piece's title, the dancers' movement patterns are comparable to drops of rain – except they move sideways: sometimes in clusters, sometimes scattered, sometimes so swiftly that the individual body becomes almost indiscernible and sometimes with a strong or dragging intensity. The dancers' uneven distribution supposedly depends on the fact that the movement patterns that they repeat are not exactly set in time. After crossing the stage, the dancers hurry back to their initial point (off-stage). Because the amount of time this takes differs slightly for each dancer, the combination of dancers who start crossing the stage at a given time cannot be predicted. But despite these disparities the moving bodies are ordered by the one subordinating flow from left to right. Or – as the company states as its 'Intentions' with the piece – they are "all driven by the same force". Having crossed the stage each dancer runs back to its left side, only to restlessly cross it again and again. Worringer writes of the Northern line's "ceaseless melody": "A continually increasing activity without pauses or accents is set up and repetition has only the one aim of giving the particular motive a potential infinity. […] If, after contemplating Northern ornament, we close our eyes, all that remains to us is a lingering impression of a formless, ceaseless activity." (1957: 55f) In the Northern line, abstraction becomes "the site where the chaos of reality is at the same time banned, structured and captured, but not resolved" (Vogl 2002: 188).[295] In the case of *Sideways Rain* the chaos of the diverse movement patterns is held at bay by the relentless repetition of the lines in which the stage is crossed.[296]

Staging the dancers as part of this flow prevents them from appearing as individuals. They are not distinguishable on the basis of their movement material: every dancer performs almost exactly the same movements and follows the flow without interacting with the others. The small differences in each interpretation of a movement pattern serve to create some variety that makes the uninterrupted flow of repetitions more interesting to look at. These differences are by no means strong enough to individualise the dancers. Their bodies become parts of the lines; they become abstracted – indeterminable figures. Worringer describes a need for self-estrangement as a common human impulse that characterises all aesthetic experience (1981: 58) The human move against individualisation is met in the ecstatic dynamism of Gothic art. According to Öhlschläger, the Gothic line expresses

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[294] "Nicht das Leben eines Organismus tritt uns entgegen, sondern das eines Mechanismus." (Worringer 1981: 158)

[295] "der Ort, an dem das Chaos des Wirklichen zugleich gebannt, strukturiert und eingefangen, aber nicht aufgelöst wird". This distinguishes the Gothic line from crystalline abstract forms which are characterised by a regular, uniform stable pattern and a certain symmetry.

[296] The company's leaflet describes the choreography as "[a] metaphor of Life itself, of its brutal force, of its infinite energy and of its enigmatic rules".

this human desire for a state of self-estrangement ('Außer-sich-sein') in its inescapable, hasty movement; the bustle which fuses the organic and the inorganic, human and animal elements (Öhlschläger 2005: 30).

Like the models I describe above who have become doll-like, these bodies also adopt systems of movement that are not usually associated with the human body. The movement patterns and their ceaseless performance in lines from the left side of the stage to the right are imposed on the bodies to evoke the appearance of a whirlingly flowing dynamism. This staging technique determines the dancers' bodily appearance by being part of the flow and never aims at an expression of individuality.

How does this example challenge authenticity?

The analysis showed that the bodies in *Sideways Rain* appeared as animated by a subordinating system/force. Whereas in *GNTM* and *The Swan* the notion of individuality emerged as important not just because of the analysed programmes' contest format, but because a 'will to win' ('fighting' on *GNTM*) was decoded as a sign of the inner integrity that is necessary for authenticity. The dancing bodies in *Sideways Rain* perform almost exactly the same movement material and are hardly distinguishable. They do not address their audience as selves, but – like conventional fashion models – can be seen as the means to communicate a specific, in this case abstract aesthetic. On the authentic body, appearance could not be imposed because the rhetoric identifying it defines that its looks are the revelation of a pre-existent inner.

The dancers adopt the unfamiliar movement patterns in *Sideways Rain* with such apparent ease that their status as 'human selves' becomes altogether questionable.[297] This does not mean they necessarily embrace an aesthetic that would fall into the 'perverse' category that I referred to in chapter 2. But with their obsessive, asymmetrical whirling movements they embrace an aesthetic that clashes with an authentic ideal that I pointed out was repeatedly referred to on *The Swan:* their movement patterns which I have associated with the Gothic line defy "the harmonic, the balanced, the in-

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[297] With regard to the staging technique that I discussed concerning this chapter's fashion examples I could add that the dancers assume these 'foreign' appearances without any notion of 'hard work' being involved. Rather, the force of the movement flow seems to animate them. Distinguishing the bodies in *Sideways Rain* from the staging in Amanda Lepore's photograph, there is no element of pastiche or mimicry (in Brandstetter's definition 1998a: 432) in *Sideways Rain's* staging – the dancers' bodies disappear entirely behind the assumed non-human movement patterns. If Kitt Johnson's body in *Drift* at times also adopted a radically unfamiliar appearance, her staging technique, however, was characterised by the constant resumption of a more conventional human look.

wardly calm, into whose movement and rhythm we can without difficulty flow with the vital sensation of our own organisms" (Worringer 1997: 114)[298] This contrasts with the declared "emphasis on getting symmetry" (S1, E7) which became clear as a criteria for achieving an authentic body on *The Swan.* Overall, the moving bodies' appearance in *Sideways Rain* defies the normative ideal of the authentic body.

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[298] "das Harmonische, das Ausgeglichene, das in sich selbst Beruhigte, in dessen Bewegung und Rhythmus wir mühelos mit den Vitalgefühlen unseres eigenen Organismus einfließen können." (Worringer 1981: 157)

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Chapter summaries and recapitulation of authenticity's pitfalls: Part 1

The dissertation explored staging techniques that relate to notions of authenticity by either reiterating or challenging them. I started the thesis with a scrutiny of an everyday culture of staging bodies in the long eighteenth century and today. Chapter 1 opened with a brief account of the *ancien régime's Menschenbild* which relied upon a performative model of identity in which the ways bodies moved and were dressed could to some degree determine an individual's social standing. I subsequently turned to Enlightenment thinking and to the idea and staging of bodily appearance as indicative of an individual's inner truth. My analysis showed that although 'natural physical expression' was widely theorised as the product of staging techniques, it remained celebrated as original and essential. After examining Rousseau's idealization of a stable self in his *Letter to M. d'Alembert on the Theatre*, I turned to how dance and fashion, respectively, staged the *Menschenbild* of an inner truth that was made visible on the dancing and dressed body. My investigation showed that the inner truth which dance was supposed to make visible on the authentic body was coded as 'true feeling' or the notion of a soul. A mode of dress that was considered 'true to oneself' necessarily implied dressing according to one's class. In both dance and fashion, the style implicit in the Enlightenment's notion of authenticity was characterised by a critique of the *ancien régime's* exposure of artifice. Masking was discarded and what was conceived of as the clothing and theatrical model of antiquity was turned to as an aesthetic ideal. In my discussion of Rousseau's *Lettre* I commented on the gender segregation that he inscribed into the increasingly pervasive distinction between being and appearance in the Enlightenment. In the following era, the overthrown monarchy's pompous dress was to live on in *her* self-staging and condemned as the fake – minor – self's masquerade. Conversely, *his* appearance in 'neutral' dark suits became the sign for bourgeois authenticity and nineteenth century sincerity. The ideal of genuine, immedi-

ate authenticity, which during the French Enlightenment still had the inno-
cent young woman as its main symbol, found its expression in 'authentic
masculinity' in the years following the Revolution.

Chapter 2 was dedicated to the analyses of two contemporary TV shows:
The Swan and *Germany's Next Topmodel*. I showed that *The Swan* relies on
the rhetoric of its participants' deserving true inner selves to motivate their
physical transformations through workouts in the gym, dieting, plastic and
dental surgery. Verbally and with the specific tools of the TV medium, *The
Swan* produces a mental image of its participants as underprivileged, often
unjustly treated but hard-working individuals. In the course of each show the
participants are shaped into physical visualisations of their impeccable inner;
and – in the logic of the shows – thus made semiotically 'intelligible'. If
GNTM does not feature physical transformations in the way that *The Swan*
does, the participants' development towards better, truer selves emerged
from my analysis as similarly in focus. The contestants are expected to dis-
play hard labour, but are only considered as winners in the show if they con-
vince the jury that they actually enjoy fulfilling the obscure tasks expected of
them. I concluded from Chapter 2 that bodily authenticity in its contempo-
rary definition which was explicitly and implicitly stated on the two TV
shows refers to hard work, authorship and observing beauty norms. Hosts,
judges, 'experts' and the participants themselves attribute authenticity on the
shows on the basis that an individual performs what is televisually stylised
as hard physical and emotional work. *The Swan's* audience is reminded of
this hard work in displays of footage that shows the participants' 'before-
bodies'. While work renders the respective participants deserving (of beauty,
in particular, on *The Swan* and of winning the competition on *GNTM*), my
analyses identified that authenticity on both shows is also linked to a certain
bodily appearance. On *The Swan* it is the strict observation of hyper-
gendered beauty norms which implies a unidirectional transformation to-
wards a more gender stereotyped, 'better', 'more beautiful' body. On *GNTM*
the performed hard work must be discreetly disavowed by participants who
are 'having fun' obeying the jury's orders.

I want to briefly go over the problematic ways in which authenticity fig-
ures on *The Swan* and *GNTM* in helping to depict women who can earn
merit exclusively on their pleasant appearance and their willingness to pro-
duce it. *The Swan* promotes a set of norms which stipulate that women who
don't feel attractive can only be happy if they invest hard labour in their
bodies to make them conform to hyper-gendered looks. The show operates
on the premise that those who do not feel beautiful can redeem themselves
with hard authenticating work that will bring bodily appearance in balance
with the deserving inner. The rhetoric of self-realization and individual reve-
lation scarcely conceals that the team of 'experts' on the show speak about
the participants as deficient and essentially worthless until they are physi-
cally transformed.

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On *GNTM* authenticity is one of the criteria by which participants are (sometimes implicitly) judged and it is thus part of the show's ideals. It is used as a means to encourage participants to expose themselves – both physically and verbally – in front of the jury and the TV audience. This exposure repeats the concept of young scantily clad women who compete to please. They are subsequently judged by a jury that is significantly older and made up exclusively of men (except for Heidi Klum). These judgements are systematically based on condescension and undermining camaraderie. The show's notion of authenticity functions as one of several tools in exposing minors to the subjugation and decisive power of a disdainful jury.[299]

Labour on the body authenticates *GNTM's* participants. It gives them a tangible authorship. If they 'really want it' they fight hard, endure the show's humiliations and thus make their strong inner will-power physically perceptible to the audience. But the show depicts this hard work only as a first step on the way to authenticity. Ultimately, only those who convincingly stage that they are having fun on *GNTM* are deemed authentic and have a chance of winning. The show communicates an ideal in which young women happily consent to their humiliation in the name of authenticity.

The worldviews of *The Swan* and *GNTM* coincide in their assumption that an authentic body says something not just about how someone wants to come across, but about a true, valuable self. Both shows encourage their participants to work hard in order to create a body that is judged authentic. They communicate a *Menschenbild* that idealises women's enjoyment of and salvation through degrading work to manufacture a body that is pleasing according to the beauty standards in operation on these shows.

Chapter summaries: Part 2

The second part of my thesis looked at body stagings which resisted the current authentic ideal. Each of the chapters 3-5 explored a different contemporary strategy of challenging notions of an authentic body. I reflected on the use of dance and fashion in different media (as dancefilm, as celebrity photograph, as exhibition display) in creating bodies with the potential to undermine the authentic ideal.

In chapter 3 I interrogated a picture of the transgender icon Amanda Lepore visiting New York Fashion Week. My analysis of Lepore's use of clothing, makeup, plastic surgery and especially her exaggerated pose in the photograph revealed the use of a staging strategy that I called hyperbolic.

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[299] The contracts that the show's winners are obliged to sign with Klum's father's modelling agency have repeatedly been attacked as being illegal. Weichbrodt and Stanjek's transcript of the sixth season's finale is a compromising account of the show (2011).

Lepore deviates from the ideal of bodily authenticity in excessively drawing attention to the flawless surface of her body. In the other example I analysed in chapter 3, Édouard Lock makes use of hyperbole when he stages the bodies in his dancefilm *Amélia*. I focused on Lock's choreography for the ballerina Zofia Tujaka, and analysed the appearance of her body as an exaggeration of exposed manufacture. The hyperbolic use of some of ballet technique's characteristic features and a dizzying pace in *Amélia* distinguished the dancefilm from the evocations of physical imperfections that I determined as contemporary criteria for authenticity. While challenging authenticity's cult of revealing an inner, the stagings I analysed in chapter 3 imply a *Menschenbild* in which the human body is malleable and subject to wilful manipulation. While this suggests a notion of authorship which also figures in stagings of authentic bodies, both *Amélia* and the picture of Lepore undermine the discreet observation of gender norms and other codes of authentic beauty. The bodies' visual impenetrability makes it impossible to draw conclusions about the more comprehensive identities of those people who perform in the pieces. Authenticity's representational logic in which bodies depict inner truth is impossible to establish.

The impossibility of linking appearance to a stable inner truth also characterised my examples in Chapter 4. I began this chapter with an analysis of the Autumn/Winter 2012 fashion show by Henrik Vibskov and scrutinized the use of multiplicity as a staging technique. The characteristics of the catwalk created a walking style that I argued 'defigured' the models. The appearance of the models as central figures in the fashion show was controllable by neither the designer nor the models themselves. This emphasis on the multiplicity of appearances and the factors that give rise to them in Vibskov's show challenged the notion of unambivalent singular authorship. Furthermore, my analysis found that elements which are commonly associated with clothing for women were integrated into Vibskov's menswear. By making these elements integral parts of the designs and featuring them on one and the same body alongside more traditional elements of menswear Vibskov unsettled the normative distinctions between what qualifies as male and female appearance. The contingency of the norms according to which male and female appearance is conventionally manufactured became palpable and undermined the urgency that is associated with making one particular (and particularly gendered) inner visible on the authentic body. In my analysis of Kitt Johnson's dance solo *Drift* I further investigated multiplicity as a staging strategy that undermines the notion of an authentic body. Johnson's piece is structured by her meandering change of guises none of which stand out as taking precedence over any other. Her multiple appearances deviate from the authentic body's unidirectional change towards an improved, 'most authentic' end result.

Finally, Chapter 5 examined the use of estrangement as a strategy that challenges the authentic body's criterion of an individual's hard work. While

the designers Viktor & Rolf stage the model in their Autumn/Winter 1999 'Russian Doll' show as motionless and entirely passive, Issey Miyake's exhibition *Making Things* omits human models entirely from his displays and shows his clothes hanging from the ceiling on mechanisms that move them up and down. Estranging bodily appearance from movement and/or materiality rejects hard labour on the body as an authenticating technique and conjures up a *Menschenbild* in which bodily appearance is divorced from any inner regulator. In the dance work *Sideways Rain* (2010) choreographer Guilherme Botelho uses a highly repetitive choreographic structure that similarly estranges the dancing bodies from any notion of inner agency. Throughout the piece's entirety they perform a range of fifteen different movement patterns to cross the stage in ongoing lines. This obsessive repetition and the choreography – for which Botelho seems to have drawn on the movements of animals or machines – renders the dancing bodies unrecognisable as human. The lack of any features in the staging that would identify the dancers as individuals distances them from the contemporary claim for authentic individuality.

Limitations – Contextualising the Strategies' Critical Potential

In what follows, I want to scrutinise some of my examples more generally and relate the results of my analytical second part back to a broader everyday context. Each of the analysed works contributes to challenging an ideal that emerged from the thesis' first part as problematic. And yet: Do body stagings that exaggerate problematic features not run the risk of reiterating what they might want to undermine? Is a strategy that stages bodies in ceaselessly changing guises not – above all – deeply complicit with consumerist ideology? How effective a challenge is a work of fashion that – ultimately – uses a critique of itself as an advertisement for its own culture of consumption? How much can a critique that is 'sponsored by itself' really undermine anything? I do not intend to provide a comprehensive 'evaluation' of the individual pieces' efficacy in suggesting/attaining/constituting a challenge to the more dominant *Menschenbild* that I described and criticised in the first part. Instead, I aim at a more wide-ranging cultural contextualisation of the tackled pieces (than in the preceding analyses) and, in connection to that, a critical examination of the staging strategies they use.

The techniques I analysed in chapters 3-5 are not all directly applicable to an everyday context. As is often the case when scrutinising the usefulness of works of art (to the sphere of which some of the analysed examples can be

counted) in their everyday context, their relevance cannot be found in a literal translation. That is why I found it useful to frame my examples with reference to a more general strategy that they employ: hyperbole, multiplicity and estrangement. But in order to unfold its *hyperbolic* challenge of authentic modesty/discretion, Lock's *Amélia* relies on the classical ballet as its frame of reference – not the general social world. It follows that it is not the specific techniques in the dancefilm, but hyperbole as a more general strategy that I find has a critical implication regarding the authentic ideal in everyday culture. Outside the medial premises that are part of shaping the *Menschenbild* that *Amélia* stages, the use of hyperbolic techniques can undermine notions of bodily authenticity in an everyday context. The specific techniques would then not be hyper-mobile movements at excessive speed, but, for instance, an exaggerated appearance that exposes itself as manufactured, rather than revealed from a pure inside. Similarly, the criticality of Kitt Johnson's piece *Drift* does not unfold if people repeat her movements that I argued make the human body 'become animal,' in a town square. Vibskov's fashion design has a more obvious relevance to everyday practices. The multiplicity evoked in both Johnson's performance and Vibskov's work might, for instance, remind us of the contingency of gendered being that one can easily forget when glancing at the gender-segregating display of toy shops. With regard to the estrangement I discussed in chapter 5, one way of appropriating its critical impact to everyday life would be to resist falling for feeble innovations, such as the 'revolution' pronounced in 2010 by the German women's magazine *Brigitte* that renounced using professional models to the advantage of the naturalness of "terrific women" from the "real world" (in Graw 2010).

In the following, I try to look afresh at the staging strategies used in my examples while focusing on how they relate to the contemporary culture of which they are a part. To develop this new perspective, I want to highlight a few problems inherent in their critiques. That is to say, in as much as they undermine the authentic idea, they bring with them their own *Menschenbild* which in some cases can be equally problematic.

Hyperbole

In this discussion I attempt to shed light on the hyperbolic staging of bodies as described in my third chapter from a different angle. I want to draw attention to a possible problem with exaggerated body stagings; this problem manifests itself clearly if the exaggeration concerns a long-established depiction of 'woman as sex object.' In exploring this, I will critically appraise J. Jack Halberstam's argument from his book *Gaga Feminism* (2012) in which he asserts that "Lady Gaga is a symbol for a new kind of feminism" (2012:

5). According to Halberstam, it is gaga feminism's explicit goal "to give up on the tried and the true, the real and the authentic" (2012: 58). This characteristic is one of several that associates what Halberstam calls gaga feminism with the use of hyperbolic staging techniques in the dancefilm *Amélia* and, especially, in the photograph of Amanda Lepore. Halberstam defines the term as such:

> Gaga feminism, or the feminism (pheminism?) of the phony, the unreal, and the speculative, is simultaneously a monstrous outgrowth of the unstable concept of 'woman' in feminist theory, a celebration of the joining of femininity to artifice, and a refusal of the mushy sentimentalism that has been siphoned into the category of womanhood. (6)

Lepore's body staging was characterised by the creation of a polished and shiny body surface and the omission of staging techniques that evoke an inner regulator. As in *Amélia* the depiction of a struggling or imperfect body was avoided. Gaga feminists, writes Halberstam, are not 'becoming women' in the sense of coming to consciousness, they are unbecoming women in every sense – they undo the category rather than rounding it out, they dress it up and down, take it apart like a car engine and then rebuild it so that it is louder and faster" (8)

This description certainly resembles what I termed a hyperbolic staging strategy in chapter 3. The appearance of Lepore's body in the photograph crossed boundaries of discretion with her parodic overemphasis and consequent exposure as manufactured of what is conventionally labelled a 'feminine appearance'. As I have pointed out, a salutary critique of an authentic mainstream ideal can be gained from it. But redressing a problematic concept by making it appear 'louder and faster' is, at the same time, a questionable way of performing critique. This questionability becomes more pressing at a time when authors such as Ariel Levy (2005) and Natasha Walter (2010) observe a return of sexism in contemporary culture; an "equation of empowerment and liberation with sexual objectification (that) is now seen everywhere, and is having a real effect on the ambitions of young women" (Walter 2010: 5). Walter explains:

> By co-opting the language of choice and empowerment, this culture creates smoke and mirrors that prevent many people from seeing just how limiting such so-called choices can be. Many young women now seem to believe that sexual confidence is the only confidence worth having, and that sexual confidence can only be gained if a young woman is ready to conform to the soft-porn image of a tanned, waxed young girl with large breasts ready to strip and pole-dance. (2010: 37)

It is, for instance, often defended as empowering that female stars such as Lady Gaga today are explicitly in charge of their own images (and control-

ling images of oneself is certainly a sign of power). But is it really empowering if the choices these women insistently stress they take *themselves* about their appearance and about how it is depicted reflect looks that have made women serve as sex objects for decades? Or – as Levy phrases it in the introduction to her book *Female Chauvinist Pigs* (2005): "How is resurrecting every stereotype of female sexuality that feminism endeavored to banish good for women? (…) And how is imitating a stripper or a porn star – a woman whose job is to imitate arousal in the first place – going to render us sexually liberated?" (4) These hyper-sexualised embodiments of femininity are increasingly sold as a form of empowerment, but can we and should we buy into these claims?

It is one novelty of gaga feminism, according to Halberstam, that it "recognizes multiple genders" (2012: 57). But is there not also something quite limiting in a hyperbolically "louder and faster" display of gender? In other words: do body stagings like Lady Gaga's or Lepore's (despite being effective in undermining the authentic ideal) really contribute to "the collapse of our current sex-gender systems" (Halberstam 2012: 57)?

"Wisdom", according to Halberstam's description of gaga feminism, "lies in the unexpected and the unanticipated – to recognize new forms of politics, social structures, and personhood, we really have to take some big leaps into the unknown. Going gaga means letting go of many of our most basic assumptions about people, bodies, and desires." (60) Halberstam points out that gaga feminism "has everything to do with Lady Gaga but is not limited to Lady Gaga" (6). However challenging the body stagings of Lady Gaga might often be, they also frequently repeat reactionary depictions of women as sex objects. Her video *Telephone* (2010), for instance, markets images of unconventionally butch women and a romantic tale of sisterhood to a mass audience. At the same time, the video also shows a long sequence of Gaga dancing in a thong and bra. While the rest of the video features several bodies whose looks are unusual for the genre, the four women who perform in underwear in this dance sequence are all white and slim. The camera supplements a display of the female star as sexually available with the appropriate shots of crotches and legs. For Lady Gaga as a brand – and even for the feminist project – this approach might be more productive than risking losing a mainstream audience with depictions of gender that were too controversial. But calling such body stagings "unexpected and unanticipated" (Halberstam 2012: 60), arguably, disregards their content.

The picture of Lepore visiting the show at New York Fashion Week is equally ambivalent. On the one hand, her surgically altered body left visible by transparent clothing references images of pornography. On the other hand, the culture that Levy and Walter write about is a deeply heteronormative one. In this context, Lepore's picture and her status as a transgender star can be seen as unsettling, rather than reiterating traditional gender roles.

Multiplicity

In chapter 4 I scrutinised a fashion show by Henrik Vibskov and a dance performance by Kitt Johnson. With their staging of multiplicity the examples in this chapter called the essentialist and normative foundations of an authentic body into question. To relate these works to a broader cultural context, I have chosen to turn to an argument made by the art theory scholar Llewellyn Negrin (1999 and 2008). Negrin questions the liberating implication of staging bodies in multiple and constantly shifting guises. In current consumerist culture, a strategy that relies on ceaselessly changing one's appearance complies with the rules of the market. Negrin then critiques a body of 'postmodern' research in Fashion Studies on which I, to some extent, base the arguments made in chapter 4. Drawing on Hal Foster, Negrin holds that "it is now more important to struggle against the notion of woman as 'artifice' than that of 'woman as nature'". (1999: 112)

Negrin's critique aims at scholarship such as that by Kaja Silverman which argues "that the constant transmutations of female dress, far from being oppressive of women, are potentially more disruptive both of gender and of the symbolic order than in the relatively static nature of male dress which defines identity as fixed and stable rather than as fluid and mutable" (Negrin 1999: 109). In her argument, Silverman "highlights the fact that there is no true self behind the various guises that one adopts", according to Negrin (109). In this, I see a similarity to what the examples I analysed in my fourth chapter staged by means of a multiplicity of appearances.

The next step Negrin takes in her argument attacks 'the notion of self as appearance':

> The problem (…) is that a mode of dress which declares the constructed nature of identity is not sufficient to define it as liberatory. Indeed, in the present age where self-identity has increasingly been defined in terms of one's physical appearance by the advertising industry, one could argue that modes of dress which promote the view of the self as a series of changing guises are conservative insofar as they leave unchallenged the reduction of self-identity to an image which is constructed by the commodities one buys. (1999: 110)

Negrin writes that in postmodern theories of fashion "one's identity is equated with the guises which one adopts." (109) This does not follow from my analyses of Kitt Johnson's and Henrik Vibskov's work, as it does not inevitably follow from arguing that there is no true self behind the guises one adopts. In the examples discussed in chapter 4, the refusal to make physical reference to a stable core referred to the fact that there is no necessary and unambivalent connection between identity and the way someone looks. While it is undeniably one of the basic functions of fashion as a system of communication that it 'says' something about a wearer; her/his financial

situation, religious beliefs, values etc. – what it 'says' is not necessarily *the* unequivocal truth about a wearer. This does not entail the absence of other factors (than bodily appearance) in shaping a person's sense of identity.

Estrangement

Chapter 5 suggested estrangement as a welcome strategy to undermine the idealisation of work in contemporary notions of bodily authenticity. What *The Swan* and *GNTM* depicted as hard work served to authenticate the shows' contestants on the basis of their self-authorship and strong willpower. The shows' emphasis on their contestants' agency had the objectionable implication that self-actualization and an expression of individuality was obtained through the exploitative staging of oneself as a competitive enterprising individual. But while the staging of bodies as passive transgresses the ideal of an entrepreneurial self it also entails a loss of agency that is problematic overall.

Although in chapter 5 I referred to a staging of passivity as critical of some of authenticity's more deplorable aims, it might be worth pointing out that any situation in which individuals are estranged from their agency precludes by definition a liberating *Menschenbild*.[300] While this might appear as a truism, it could be argued that stagings of people as passive are particularly unsettling today because modern digital culture already enables people to support a campaign without taking physical action. Our online peronae can be said to disguise a cultural embrace of passivity: joining any number of facebook groups supporting minorities' fight for justice, hashtagging Middle Eastern uprisings and 'co-authoring revolutions' generate the notion of individual agency while actually having a very limited impact.

Furthermore, one might question the critical potential of any fashion show. If in Viktor & Rolf's *Russian Doll* show (as in Henrik Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 show) I determined a staging of the body that challenges a repressive contemporary notion of authenticity, it could be argued that both events remain compromised as critiques because of their genre and promotional function. Viktor & Rolf's show does not use obvious advertising techniques such as attracting attention by showing a lot of conventionally beautiful naked skin, legs and cleavage. And yet the crystal-studded items that are piled on the model's body do not just make for an interesting performance or suggest a progressive deviation from authentic norms. They are

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[300] Graw compares the notion of an entrepreneurial self to "alienated working conditions and the command of the boss" and concludes that "[p]erhaps self-exploitation is the lesser evil after all." (2009: 114)

also piled onto the model's body to make them visible as products of consumption that are for sale. It is questionable if a staging that follows such a clearly defined commercial goal can ultimately be effective as a means of critique – especially a critique that is directed at the neoliberal ideal of working on the body and self.

I would, however, want to insist on the findings of my analysis in chapter 5. Whatever the designers' goals with *Russian Doll*, the staging of the model's body provides a solid ground on which to argue that they manufacture a *Menschenbild* which provides a welcome critique of bodily authenticity. If even the subversive gesture of estranging the model in the *Russian Doll* show from human agency could be considered as serving the creation of a certain image and promote Viktor & Rolf's merchandise, the effectively created *Menschenbild* still has the critical characteristics that my analysis pointed out. The constraints that the commercial function puts on both Viktor & Rolf's and Henrik Vibskov's shows are ultimately ineffective in dictating the shows' interpretation. Writing about the relationship between art and the market, Graw comments that "the market is not capable of totally monopolizing or neutralizing what I call 'market-reflexive gestures,' even if this is the tone struck by the most recent (and most interesting) critiques of capitalism" (Graw 2009: 157).

Fashion shows are by definition deeply entangled with commerce, but that does not entail that they cannot create *Menschenbilder* that are critical in their undermining of norms. The critical impact of a fashion show ultimately depends on how it is read: by whom and for what purpose.[301] In his essay "What is Critique?" Foucault proposes "as a very first definition of critique, this general characterization: the art of not being governed *quite so much*" (2007: 45, my emphasis). In the fashion shows by Viktor & Rolf and Henrik Vibskov one can then extrapolate a limitation of being subject to the norms and mechanisms of the market, not an escape from them.

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[301] de Certeau's understanding of 'poaching' could be quoted to theorise an intentional creative misunderstanding of fashion shows' promotional message (1988: 79 and 293ff).

Dance, Fashion and the Impact of Scholarship

Another problem with the pieces I analysed as factors that behave critically towards a pervasive bodily ideal, is the fact that the status and cultural impact of these practices is arguably limited. Most of them do not happen in a space that is public and accessible to the same extent as *The Swan* and *GNTM*. Overall, the examples I discussed in the second part of the thesis have a small group of consumers, a low public visibility and a limited reach.

As scholars, we don't commonly have wide-ranging influence on how people stage their bodies, either. But with the discursive knowledge and the analytical tools that Dance Studies and Fashion Studies are beginning to equip us with, we can start identifying and putting words to the techniques that shape those bodies that set trends in our culture.[302] Furthermore, we can expose the repressiveness of self-declared liberatory values ('authenticity') by detailing the techniques upon which their operation relies. We can isolate the techniques which creative contemporary artists use to stage bodies – and abstract them in a way that opens up alternatives to the restrictive *Menschenbild* that an authentic body implies.

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[302] The staging of bodies in dance and fashion may or may not entail a commentary on body images at the same time as stagings in dance play with these images. Brandstetter writes: "'Körper-formen' im Tanz bedeutet – in unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen – eine Stellungnahme zu Bildern des Körpers und zugleich ein Spiel mit dieses Bildern." (1995: 10) Dance and fashion scholarship can contextualise and verbalise such commentary and the alternative visions that are produced in art and everyday culture.

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Summary

In this thesis I explore a concept that seems pervasive in contemporary popular culture: the concept of 'authenticity'. I investigate its use and meaning on popular TV shows. More specifically, I look at attributions of 'authenticity' that are based on bodily practices: 'bodily authenticity', rather than the claimed 'authenticity' of politicians' actions or the more general notion of 'authentic' being. The makeover and casting shows I analyse codify 'bodily authenticity' as the re-alignment of a participant's appearance with a notion of her 'inner self'.[303] On *The Swan* (2004) and *Germany's Next Topmodel* (2006-present), the two shows I perform close readings of, those participants who are deemed 'authentic' are defined by three features: 1) their performance of 'hard work' on their bodies 2) the discreet concealment of that work when their bodies are conspicuously on display and 3) hyper-feminised looks. This makes the notion of 'authenticity' that is presented seem questionable, to say the least. Consequently, as a scholar of dance and fashion, I am interested in how these disciplines relate to and challenge the contemporary notion of 'authenticity'.

To do this, I begin by investigating the features that constitute the popular contemporary notion of 'authenticity' in the thesis' first part. In order to define these features as historically specific and to locate my study of 'authenticity' in the history of ideas, I begin with an outline of 'authenticity' in the Enlightenment. It was during that period that the concept of goodness being located 'within' the moral person gained currency, for instance in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. 'Interiority' would consequently be brought to the fore in physical appearance. The eighteenth century was, furthermore, decisive for dance and fashion, in the sense that they became theorised as disciplines in which bodily appearance could give an indication of a person's 'inner truth' – a notion that is still expressed in some contemporary texts and works of dance and fashion. In exploring the time- and genre specific notions of 'authenticity' – both in the eighteenth century and today – I ask questions about their implicit idea of the 'inner truth' that an 'authentic body' is supposed to reveal. In addition, I analyse the bodily techniques through which notions of 'authenticity' are staged. In the eighteenth century as today, only bodies with a certain look were eligible to be deemed 'authentic'. To elucidate the meaning that 'authenticity' assumed in the different

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[303] I looked at two shows in which the participants were exclusively women.

historical and cultural contexts, I also scrutinise the respective appearances that 'authentic bodies' were associated with in the eighteenth century and today.

In the Enlightenment 'authenticity' was not common as a term. And yet, scholarship has pointed out that Enlightenment thinking, and Rousseau's writing in particular, epitomised what 'authentic being' later came to mean (Trilling 1972: 93; Taylor 1991: 25-9; Luckner 2011). My investigation of the Enlightenment notion of an outer appearance that represents 'inner essence' brings to light the importance of another concept. *Sensibilité* described the supposition that the body's movement and appearance was no mere 'surface phenomenon', but rather – and necessarily – informed by an interior agency. Movement was carried out and understood to be a manifestation of feeling; the previous, purely exterior body became aligned with an inner regulator.

Rousseau's writing yields a critique of *sensibilité* on the basis of the instability of the inner emotions it rendered visible. It suggests that what I refer to as the Enlightenment's 'authentic body' represents a stable self. Furthermore, the Enlightenment's conception of an ideal 'interior' was characterised by the understanding of modesty and inner morality as universal, rather than individual.

One of the Enlightenment's key ballet masters, Jean-Georges Noverre, conceived of the 'inner truth' that dancers should reveal as their soul. In insisting that it was the dancer's real soul that should be revealed in his/her dancing, Noverre differed from his time's dramatic theory (see, for instance, Noverre 2004: 104). Dance was generally believed to be able to provide an ongoing account of the soul's movements; it "had the power to convey […] with uncanny accuracy the individual's true feelings" (Foster 1996: 15). To communicate feeling effectively, the Enlightenment's *ballet d'action* refrained from the use of masks, pompous costumes and symmetry in choreographic patterns. As an aesthetic ideal, dancing masters looked to ancient Greek theatre and statues.

In fashion, a considerable shift took place as women's previously fashionable enormous crinolines and head pieces were exchanged for supple white *robes en chemise*. These were inspired by home wear – a part of the private sphere in which the self was seen to emerge genuinely – and thus evoked a connection to the wearer's interiority. For men, the (essentially still existing) dark suit became popular just before the French Revolution. Hygiene became an ideal in staging the body and necessitated the use of washable fabrics. In all these preferences, the aspiring bourgeoisie dissociated itself from the nobility. Modesty in dress was expressed in favouring simplicity over ornamentation and associated with bourgeois class-consciousness.

As a criterion on both the makeover show *The Swan* and the casting show *Germany's Next Topmodel*, the notion of 'bodily authenticity' has undergone

significant changes. What is still in place is its underlying representational logic: that bodily appearance faithfully shows a person's 'inner truth'. *The Swan's* premise is that its participants' before-bodies do not represent their 'inner selves' accurately. This 'semiotic imbalance' is 'remedied' on the show with cosmetic surgery procedures, an ambitious workout schedule, a strict diet regime and coaching sessions. On *Germany's Next Topmodel* the judges demand 'authenticity' both explicitly and implicitly when the participants walk down the catwalk or pose for the camera. On both shows, participants are deemed 'authentic' when they perform what is depicted as 'hard work'. On *The Swan* the participating women suffer physical and emotional pain in connection to their extensive surgeries, they sweat in the gym and practice self-monitoring when eating. *Germany's Next Topmodel* conveys 'hard work' as the participants' efforts to master the set tasks and as dealing with the emotional hardship that comes with their being away from home and the constant threat of public shaming in the judges' degrading assessments. To be deemed 'authentic' the participants on *Germany's Next Topmodel*, importantly, need to give the convincing impression that they are enjoying their labour; that they are 'having fun'. Such an instance of 'discretion' about the work on the body also features on *The Swan* when after-bodies are conspicuously paraded in reveals or pageants. Although the surgical transformations on *The Swan* shape all participants into hyper-feminine appearances (which defy the verbally claimed revelation of an individual self), an effort is made not to exaggerate secondary sexual characteristics so much as to cross the line to presenting gender incorrectly. The current popular notion of 'authenticity' distinguishes itself from how the concept was understood in the Enlightenment by implying the self as in need of discovery. Readily available in the eighteenth century, an inner truth now needs to be actively searched and visibly laboured for to make it visible.

My identification of those criteria and staging techniques that define the notion of 'bodily authenticity' on the two TV shows puts me in a position to detect strategies that undermine the 'authentic' ideal. I look for such strategies in works of dance and fashion from the past fifteen years. In the study's second part I use seven examples to present three such staging strategies. A photograph of the trans-gender icon Amanda Lepore visiting New York Fashion Week and Canadian choreographer Édouard Lock's dancefilm *Amélia* are my examples for shedding light on *hyperbole* as an 'authenticity-defying' strategy. I focus on Lepore's exaggerated posing and the idea of her 'body as façade' in my discussion of her creation of a hyper-artificial body surface. My analysis of *Amélia* highlights the use of ballet technique and what I call an 'aesthetic of impenetrability' in the dancefilm. An excessive effortless perfection undermines the 'authentic ideal' of struggle before redemption.

Next, I investigate *multiplicity* as a staging strategy that deviates from the 'authentic ideal' by refusing the notion of a more true 'inner essence'. I look

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at Henrik Vibskov's Autumn/Winter 2012 fashion show and analyse the explicitly ambivalent authorship over the bodies in the show and the integration of elements from women's fashion into the menswear as techniques that challenge 'authenticity' in the sense I defined it. My analysis of Kitt Johnson's solo *Drift* in terms of the multidirectional change that the dancer performs in it shows how her body emerges as an unstable entity that differs in itself. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept 'becoming' helps me in my reading of how Johnson avoids the notion of 'improvement' in her changing guises. Change 'for the better' was a central idea in striving to become 'more authentic' on *The Swan* and *Germany's Next Topmodel*.

The final strategy that I investigate in its capacity to counter the contemporary notion of an 'authentic body' is *estrangement*. Estrangement from human agency and bodily appearance is in opposition to what I analysed as the 'authenticating' depiction of 'hard work'. I offer analyses of Viktor & Rolf's Autumn/Winter 1999 fashion show entitled 'Russian Doll' and of a display in Issey Miyake exhibition *Making Things* to shed light on fashion models' ontological alternation between the animate and the inanimate. As a dance piece, I discuss the abstracting movement patterns in Guilherme Botelho's *Sideways Rain*.

My final chapter aims to look afresh at the staging strategies used in my dance and fashion examples while relating them to a broader everyday context. In as much as they undermine the ideal of an 'authentic' body, they bring with them their own implications and ideals which can be equally problematic. I scrutinise the strategies used in my examples by asking questions such as: Do body stagings that exaggerate problematic features not run the risk of reiterating what they might want to undermine? Is a strategy that stages bodies in ceaselessly changing guises not – above all – deeply complicit with consumerist ideology? How effective a challenge is a work of fashion that – ultimately – functions as an advertisement for its own culture of consumption?

The discursive knowledge and the analytical tools of dance studies and fashion studies are indentified as providing a base to defining and putting words to the techniques that shape bodies in our culture. It becomes possible to expose the repressiveness of self-declared liberatory values ('authenticity') by detailing the techniques upon which their operation relies. Furthermore, the techniques which creative contemporary artists use to stage bodies can be isolated – and abstracted in a way that opens up alternatives to the restrictive idea of 'bodily authenticity'.

Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Die Dissertation untersucht ein scheinbar allgegenwärtiges Konzept in der zeitgenössischen Populärkultur: das Konzept der ‚Authentizität'. Ich gehe der Bedeutung und dem Gebrauch von ‚Authentizität' nach, wie sie in aktuellen populären Fernsehshows angestrebt wird. Im Besonderen betrachte ich Zuschreibungen von ‚Authentizität', die auf Körperpraktiken basieren: ‚körperliche Authentizität' statt der behaupteten Authentizität' von Politikern und ihrem Handeln oder der generellen Vorstellung von einem ‚authentischen Leben'. In den von mir analysierten Makeover- und Casting-Shows wird ‚körperliche Authentizität' als die Wieder-Übereinstimmung des Aussehens einer Kandidatin mit ihrem ‚inneren Selbst' verstanden.[304] In *The Swan* (2004) und *Germany's Next Topmodel* (seit 2006) zeichnen sich Kandidatinnen, die als ‚authentisch' bewertet werden, durch drei Merkmale aus: Sie verrichten (1) ‚harte Arbeit' an ihren Körpern, kaschieren diese Arbeit (2) diskret, wenn die Körper ostentativ zur Schau gestellt werden, und kommen (3) einem hyper-weiblichen Schönheitsideal nach. Diese Faktoren rücken die Vorstellung eines ‚authentischen Körpers' in ein mindestens fragwürdiges Licht. Als Tanz- und Modewissenschaftlerin interessiert mich, wie diese zwei Disziplinen die zeitgenössische Vorstellung von ‚Authentizität' aufgreifen und untergraben.

Um dieser Frage nachzugehen, beginne ich im ersten Teil der Arbeit damit, die Konstituenten der heutigen Auffassung von ‚Authentizität' zu untersuchen. Ich bestimme diese Konstituenten als historisch spezifisch und situiere meine Untersuchung, indem ich ‚Authentizität' zunächst in seiner Bedeutung in der Aufklärung beleuchte. In diesem Zeitalter gewann das Konzept der Tugend im ‚Inneren' des moralischen Individuums an Einfluss, etwa in den Schriften Jean-Jaques Rousseaus. ‚Innerlichkeit' wurde idealerweise äußerlich, also am Körper sichtbar. Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert war zudem bestimmend für Tanz und Mode, da Theorien über diese Disziplinen entstanden, in denen körperliches Erscheinen Auskunft über die ‚innere Wahrheit' einer Person geben sollte – eine Vorstellung, die auch in manchen zeitgenössischen Texten und Arbeiten aus Tanz und Mode geäußert wird. Ein Ziel meiner Untersuchung der zeit- und genrespezifischen Auffassungen von ‚Authentizität' – sowohl im achtzehnten Jahrhundert als auch heute – ist, die

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[304] Meine Analyse bezieht sich auf zwei Sendungen mit ausschließlich weiblichen Teilnehmerinnen.

jeweils implizite Vorstellung von einer ‚inneren Wahrheit' darzustellen, die ein ‚authentischer Körper' offenbaren soll. Außerdem analysiere ich Körpertechniken, die ‚Authentizität' inszenieren sollen. Im achtzehnten Jahrhundert wie auch heute ist es nur Körpern mit einem bestimmten Aussehen vergönnt, als ‚authentisch' zu gelten. Um die Bedeutung zu beleuchten, die ‚Authentizität' in verschiedenen historischen und kulturellen Kontexten angenommen hat, hinterfrage ich die jeweiligen Erscheinungen, mit denen ‚authentische Körper' in der Aufklärung und heute verbunden waren und sind.

Der Begriff ‚Authentizität' war zur Zeit der Aufklärung wenig verbreitet. Die Forschung zeigt jedoch, dass das Gedankengut der Aufklärung und Rousseaus Werk im Besonderen die Bedeutung vorwegnimmt, die der Ausdruck ‚Authentizität' später annehmen sollte (Trilling 1972: 93; Taylor 1991: 25-9; Luckner 2011). Sucht man in der Aufklärung nach der Vorstellung einer äußeren Erscheinung, die eine ‚innere Essenz' repräsentiert, fördert dies die bedeutende Rolle eines anderen Konzepts zutage. *Sensibilité* beschrieb die Annahme, dass körperliche Bewegung und Erscheinung keine reinen ‚Oberflächenphänomene', sondern vielmehr – und notwendigerweise – von einer ‚inneren Kraft' geprägt waren. Bewegung wurde als ein Manifestieren von Gefühlen verstanden und ausgeführt, der zuvor als rein äußerlich verstandene Körper mit einer inneren Instanz beseelt.

Rousseau kritisiert *sensibilité* dafür, dass die Emotionen, die sichtbar gemacht würden, instabil seien. Diese Kritik deutet darauf hin, dass der ‚authentische' Körper der Aufklärung ein statisches Selbst voraussetzt. Die Vorstellung von einem idealen ‚Inneren' war in der Aufklärung zudem von dem Verständnis geprägt, dass die Werte Sittsamkeit oder ‚innere Moral' universell vorhanden und zugänglich seien.

Einer der wichtigsten Ballettmeister der Aufklärung, Jean-Georges Noverre, vertrat die Auffassung, dass Tänzer als ‚innere Wahrheit' ihre ‚echte Seele' offenbaren sollten. Damit unterschied er sich von der dramatischen Theoriebildung seiner Zeit (Noverre 2004: 104). Tanz wurde grundsätzlich als imstande betrachtet, die ‚Bewegungen der Seele' darzustellen; er „hatte die Kraft [...], mit verblüffender Genauigkeit echte Gefühle zu übermitteln" (Foster 1996: 15). Um Gefühle effektiv zu kommunizieren, verzichtete das *ballet d'action* der Aufklärung auf Masken, pompöse Kostüme und Symmetrie in der Choreographie. Als ästhetisches Ideal orientierten sich die Ballettmeister an antiken griechischen Statuen und Theaterpraktiken.

Auch die Mode veränderte sich entscheidend, als die zuvor modernen, ausladenden Krinolinen und Haarschmucke gegen fließende weiße Musslinkleider ausgetauscht wurden. Diese *robes en chemise* waren von Hauskleidung inspiriert – einem Teil der privaten Sphäre, in der davon ausgegangen wurde, das Selbst entfalte sich unverfälscht – und suggerierten damit eine Verbindung zur vermeintlichen Innerlichkeit ihrer Trägerinnen. In der Herrenmode gewann der vermeintlich neutrale dunkle Anzug in der Zeit vor der Französischen Revolution an Beliebtheit. Hygiene wurde zu einem Ideal

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der Körperinszenierung und machte waschbare Stoffe erforderlich. Alle diese Vorlieben deuten auf das Bedürfnis der Bourgeoisie hin, sich vom Adel abzugrenzen. Die schlichte Kleidung ohne viele Verzierungen sollte Bescheidenheit vermitteln und drückte zugleich bourgeoises Klassenbewusstsein aus.

Als Kriterium in der Makeover-Show *The Swan* und der Casting-Show *Germany's Next Topmodel* hat sich die Bedeutung von Authentizität wesentlich verändert. Noch immer beruht das Verständnis des Konzepts allerdings auf einer repräsentativen Logik, in der körperliches Erscheinen ein akkurates Bild der ‚inneren Wahrheit' einer Person abgeben soll. *The Swan* geht davon aus, dass die Körper der Teilnehmerinnen im ‚Vorher-Zustand' keine wahrheitsgetreuen Darstellungen des ‚inneren Selbst' sind. Diesem ‚semiotischen Ungleichgewicht' wird durch kosmetische Chirurgie, einem ambitionierten Trainingsplan, einer strikten Diät und Gesprächen mit einer Psychotherapeutin begegnet. *In Germany's Next Topmodel* wird ‚Authentizität' von den Juroren eingefordert, wenn die Teilnehmerinnen sich auf dem Laufsteg präsentieren oder andernorts für die Kamera posieren. In beiden Shows werden die Teilnehmerinnen in dem Fall als ‚authentisch' bewertet, dass sie sichtbar machen, hart an sich zu arbeiten. In *The Swan* leiden die teilnehmenden Frauen sowohl unter körperlichen als auch emotionalen Schmerzen, die die chirurgischen Eingriffe mit sich bringen. Sie schwitzen im Fitnessstudio und überwachen sich selbst beim Essen. Bei *Germany's Next Topmodel* bedeutet ‚harte Arbeit' für die Teilnehmerinnen, den gestellten Anforderungen nachzukommen und die emotionalen Herausforderungen zu bewältigen: die Trennung von Zuhause und die permanent drohende öffentliche Bloßstellung durch die erniedrigenden Beurteilungen der Jury. Um als ‚authentisch' bewertet zu werden, müssen die Teilnehmerinnen von *Germany's Next Topmodel* überdies noch überzeugend vermitteln, dass sie ‚Spaß an der Arbeit' haben. Dieser Aspekt der ‚diskreten Arbeit' kommt auch in *The Swan* vor, wenn die ‚Nachher-Körper' in der finalen Enthüllung präsentiert werden. Obwohl die chirurgischen Eingriffe in *The Swan* die Teilnehmerinnen in hyper-weibliche Erscheinungen umformen (deren Einförmigkeit die Forderung nach Offenbarung eines individuellen Selbst untergräbt), so ist doch die Bemühung erkennbar, die Inszenierung sekundärer Geschlechtsmerkmale nicht in dem Maß zu übertreiben, dass die Grenze zur inadäquaten Darstellung von Gender überschritten wird. Das derzeitige populäre Verständnis von ‚Authentizität' unterscheidet sich folglich von dem der Aufklärung darin, dass das Selbst, die „innere Wahrheit", heute aktiv gesucht und sichtbar erarbeitet werden muss. Das Selbst ist nicht mehr verfügbar wie in der Aufklärung, sondern entdeckungsbedürftig.

Anhand meiner Bestimmung der Kriterien und Inszenierungstechniken, die das Authentizitätsverständnis in den beiden Fernsehshows definieren, kann ich Strategien erkennen, die das ‚authentische Ideal' untergraben. Nach der Verwendung solcher Strategien suche ich in Arbeiten aus den Be-

reichen Tanz und Mode der vergangenen fünfzehn Jahre. Eine Fotographie der trans-gender Ikone Amanda Lepore und der Tanzfilm *Amélia* des kanadischen Choreographen Édouard Lock sind meine Beispiele für die Erhellung von *Übertreibung* als einer ‚Authentizitäts-trotzenden' Inszenierungsstrategie. In der Analyse konzentriere ich mich auf Lepores übertriebene Pose und auf die Idee ihres ‚Körpers als Fassade'. In der Diskussion des Tanzfilms *Amélia* beleuchte ich den Gebrauch von Balletttechnik und das, was ich als ‚Oberflächenästhetik' bezeichne. Eine exzessive, mühelose Perfektion unterminiert das ‚authentische Ideal' der inszenierten Anstrengung, um Erlösung zu erlangen.

Als nächstes untersuche ich *Mannigfaltigkeit* als Inszenierungsstrategie, die durch ihre Ablehnung einer ‚wahren inneren Essenz' das ‚Authentizitätsideal' herausfordert. Ich betrachte die Modenshow des Designers Henrik Vibskov aus dem Herbst/Winter 2012 und analysiere die explizit als ambivalent angelegte Autorenschaft über die darin gezeigten Körper, sowie die Integration von Elementen aus der Damenmode in die Herrenkollektion als Technik, die zuvor bestimmte Bedeutung von ‚Authentizität' zu untergraben. Die multidirektionalen Verwandlungen der Tänzerin in Kitt Johnson's Solo *Drift* (2011) zeigen ihren Körper als instabil. Gilles Deleuze und Félix Guattaris Konzept *devenir* komplementiert meine Lesart davon, wie Johnson die Idee jeglicher ‚Verbesserung' in ihren Verwandlungen vermeidet. Verwandlung ‚zum Besseren' ist in *The Swan* und *Germany's Next Topmodel* hingegen ein zentraler Teil des Strebens nach ‚mehr Authentizität'.

Die letzte Inszenierungsstrategie, die ich dahingehend untersuche, wie weit sie einem zeitgenössischen Verständnis von ‚körperlicher Authentizität' entgegenzutreten vermag, ist *Entfremdung*. Eine Entfremdung von menschlicher Handlungsmacht und körperlichem Erscheinen steht im Widerspruch zu dem, was ich als ‚authentifizierende' Darstellung von ‚harter Arbeit' analysiert habe. Um die ontologische Wechselfolge von ‚belebt' und ‚unbelebt' in der Inszenierung von Models zu beleuchten, analysiere ich die Modenshow von Viktor und Rolf aus dem Herbst/Winter 1999, die den Titel ‚Russian Doll' trug, sowie das Display in Issey Miyakes Ausstellung *Making Things*. Zudem untersuche ich die abstrahierenden Bewegungsmuster in Guilherme Botelhos Tanzstück *Sideways Rain* (2010).

Mein Schlusskapitel versucht, einen erneuten Blick auf die besprochenen Inszenierungsstrategien in meinen Tanz- und Modebeispielen zu werfen, und sie auf einen weiter gefassten Alltagskontext zu beziehen. So sehr sie das Ideal eines ‚authentischen Körpers' unterminieren, vertreten sie doch ihre eigenen Ideale und Implikationen, die ebenso problematisch sein können. Das führt mich zu folgenden Fragen: Wiederholen Strategien, die stereotype Körperinszenierungen übertrieben in den Vordergrund stellen, nicht genau das, was sie eigentlich kritisieren wollen? Ist eine Inszenierungsstrategie, die einen Körper in sich ständig verändernden Erscheinungen zeigt, nicht vor allem Teil einer Konsumideologie? Wie effektiv kann eine Modenshow als

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Mittel der Herausforderung dienen, wenn ihr Ziel letztendlich die Werbung für ein Produkt ist?

Meine Arbeit identifiziert abschließend das Potenzial des diskursiven Wissens und des analytischen Werkzeugs der Tanz- und Modewissenschaft, Techniken zu definieren und zu benennen, mit denen Körper in unserer Kultur produziert werden. Dass selbsternannte ,befreiende' Werte wie ,Authentizität' auch unterdrückerisch sind, zeigt die detaillierte Beschreibung der Techniken, durch die diese Werte sich konstituieren. Zudem können Techniken, die kreative zeitgenössische Künstler zur Körperinszenierung nutzen, isoliert und schlussendlich abstrahiert werden, um Möglichkeiten jenseits der restriktiven Vorstellung eines ,authentischen Körpers' aufzuzeigen.