FASHIONING GENDER

FASHIONING GENDER:

A CASE STUDY OF THE FASHION INDUSTRY

BY

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For Johnny.

Abstract

This dissertation uses the case of the fashion industry to explore gender inequality in creative cultural work. Data come from 63 in-depth interviews, media texts, labor market statistics, and observation at Toronto's fashion week. The three articles comprising this sandwich thesis address: (1) processes through which femininity and feminized labor are devalued; (2) the gendered distribution of symbolic capital among fashion designers; and (3) the gendered organization of the fashion industry and the "ideal creative worker."

In chapter two, I apply devaluation theory to the fashion industry in Canada. This chapter makes two contributions to literature on the devaluation of femininity and "women's work." First, while devaluation is typically used to explain the gender wage gap, I also address symbolic aspects of devaluation related to respect, prestige, and interpretations of worth. Second, this paper shows that processes of devaluation vary and are heavily shaped by the context in which work is performed. I address five processes of devaluation in fashion: (1) trivialization, (2) the privileging of men and masculinity, (3) the production of a smokescreen of glamour, (4) the use of free labor and "free stuff," and (5) the construction of symbolic boundaries between "work horses" and "show ponies."

In chapter three, I use media analysis to investigate male advantage in the predominantly female field of fashion design. I find that the "glass escalator" concept typically

used to explain male advantage in feminized work, is insufficient when applied to a cultural field. The glass escalator illustrates movement upward in well-defined organizational hierarchies where success is measured by pay and promotion. But success in cultural fields is also measured by symbolic capital (celebrity, cultural consecration, prestige). I find that male designers are attributed more symbolic capital by prestigious industry sources and the fashion media. In order to illustrate these advantages I make use of the concept of a "glass runway," whereby designers are pushed forward into the spotlight, rather than upward within a single workplace or organization. I also take note of how these advantages are structured by the intersection of gender and sexuality.

In chapter four I investigate the gendered organization of creative cultural work in the fashion industry. Literature suggests that these types of work are characterized by: (1) the need to mitigate risk through entrepreneurial labor and (2) an ideology of passion. I find that these organizing logics create a gendered conception of the "ideal creative worker." Men more easily conform to this ideal since they have lower family responsibilities, are offered more flexible working arrangements, and since it is more culturally acceptable for men to put work before intimate life. Findings also suggest that gender intersects with age and class. The gendered organization of fashion not only reinforces inequalities between women and men, but also different groups of women. Women who are younger, childless, and have independent financial support can more easily conform to the "ideal creative worker." Still, even women who closely match this ideal are questioned and criticized in ways that men are not.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This dissertation is a case study of the fashion industry. Specifically, it addresses three ways in which the fashion industry is gendered, by fusing theories from the sociology of work and gender with cultural sociology. In the following pages I identify and analyze: (1) processes of cultural devaluation in the fashion industry, (2) the gendered distribution of symbolic capital among fashion designers, and (3) the gendered organization of entrepreneurial labor, passion, and the "ideal creative worker."

1.1   Going Behind the Smokescreen

Like other cultural and aesthetically-driven industries, fashion is adept at creating and communicating an air of glamour. To the outside observer, fashion seems an elite world populated by rich women in beautiful clothes. The work seems fun and exciting (often not like work at all), but also carries the stigma of superficiality, frivolity, and materialistic consumerism. Taking seriously the sociological role of "going behind the curtain" of glamour (Mears, 2011, page 26) this dissertation looks deeper into the everyday realities of the

work involved in the production, promotion, and distribution of fashionable clothing and accessories.

In the process, I unpack the gendered organization of the fashion industry, and of creative cultural work. Behind the *smokescreen of glamour*[1] is a complex arena of social interaction, organization, and competition that is much less luxurious than it appears.

Workers in the fashion industry operate in a notoriously fast-paced, volatile, ever-changing, and insecure labor market. They work long hours, treat their careers as "lifestyles," experience enormous difficulties in balancing work and family, and practice several forms of informal labor (aesthetic labor, research and the work of "keeping up," intensive social networking, and "side projects")[2] during off hours in order to mitigate the risks of job insecurity, fierce competition, and often low pay. Even highly paid workers feel their jobs are always at risk and that "you are only as good as your last project." As in most cultural industries, fashion is also steeped in inequality. The industry as a whole is feminized, but there is evidence of job-level gender-segregation and male advantage in power and prestige. Indeed, there are enormous contradictions between popular cultural understandings of the fashion industry, the realities of how fashion is organized, and the everyday lives of fashion workers. Instead of a social arena populated by rich women whose work is more fun than laborious, fashion entails long hours, individualized risk, and rampant insecurity. In short, things are *not* glamorous behind the smokescreen. How can we explain this disjuncture?

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[1]See Chapter 2 of this dissertation for an in-depth discussion of this concept.

[2]See Chapter 4 for a description of these informal labor practices and *entrepreneurial labor strategies.*

1.2   The Sociology of Fashion

Studies of fashion have generally taken one of five approaches (Crane and Bovone, 2006): (1) analyses of clothing as visual text through which particular values and identities are expressed (e.g. Bovone, 2006); (2) analyses of collective and social processes through which fashion is produced (e.g. Aspers, 2005; Mears, 2011; Godart and Mears, 2009; Mora, 2006; Kawamura, 2005; Dowd, 2004; Entwistle, 2002; Hirsch, 1972; Blumer, 1969); (3) analyses of how symbolic values are communicated to consumers through the media (Ruggerone, 2006; Crane, 2000; Goffman, 1976); (4) analyses of how consumers attribute value to fashion and express values through fashion and clothing (Bovone, 2003; Bourdieu, 1984); and (5) analyses of how the values attributed to fashion products vary cross-culturally (Janssen, 2006). Taken together, this body of literature has shown that fashion is an unstable and constantly changing industry (Jackson and Shaw, 2009; Weller, 2007) where competition is fierce (Entwistle 2006) and workers must always contend with market uncertainty and unpredictability (Mears 2011; Jackson and Shaw 2010; Crane and Bovone 2006), as they do in all cultural industries (Bielby and Bielby, 1994). Much of this work has been aimed at demonstrating how the production of fashionable products, trends, and symbolic values occurs socially and collaboratively through networks, circuits, and systems (e.g. Mears, 2011; Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006; Mora, 2006; Aspers, 2005; Simmel, 1904; Hirsch, 1972; Blumer, 1969). Regarding inequality, scholars argue that appearance standards and values attributed to "looks" are gendered (Bordo, 1993), classed (Mears 2011; Bourdieu 1984) and racialized (Mears, 2011, 2010). These and other dynamics have been explored in case studies of particular occupational groups, including fashion models and bookers (Mears, 2011; Godart and Mears, 2009), fashion buyers (Entwistle 2004), designers (McRobbie 1998), and photographers (Aspers, 2005). We know much less, however, about how work

and inequality are structured and organized at the industry level. If fashion is as interconnected and collaborative as many scholars have found, we require a broader sociological investigation of work inequality.

1.3   The Sociology of Gender and Work

The sociology of gender and work, on the other hand, has offered a number of empirical studies and theoretical frameworks for investigating gender inequality in work at multiple levels: small scale interaction (e.g. Ridgeway, 2009), jobs and occupations (e.g. England et al., 2007; Reskin and Roos, 1990), organizations (e.g. Acker 1990), and sectors and industries (e.g. Williams and Connell, 2010). The majority of this research and scholarship has focused on gender inequality in the professions, white collar corporate work, blue collar manual labor, or in public sector and service sector "women's work." This dissertation will argue, however, that many of the insights and theoretical tools from the sociology of gender and work can be usefully applied to case studies of *cultural work*.[3] By adopting and revising theories of devaluation, the glass escalator, and gendered organizations, and applying them to cultural work at the industry level, the realities of the fashion industry that exist behind the smokescreen of glamour begin to make sociological sense.

1.4   Goals and Contributions

The aim of this research is to identify and unpack cultural and organizational processes of gendering in creative cultural work through a case study of the fashion industry. Specifically, I ask how gender shapes success and failure in these types of work, how value is

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[3]By this I mean analysis of creative cultural jobs, not cultural theories *of* work.

defined in gendered ways, and how the organization of cultural creative labor markets is linked to the reproduction of gender inequality. I answer these questions in three independent but interrelated articles, with two articles focused exclusively on fashion in Canada and the other focused on cultural representations of fashion designers globally. Each piece addresses a different aspect of gender within the context of creative cultural work. The first article focuses on the *devaluation of femininity and feminized labor*. The second article assesses the *valuation of masculinity and the masculinization of symbolic capital*. The third article investigates the *gendered organization of creative work and the "ideal creative worker."* Overall, the dissertation also contributes an analysis of the fashion industry in *Canada* to a literature that is otherwise predominantly focused on Europe and the United States.

This dissertation contributes to both (1) the sociology of gender and work and (2) cultural sociology. As a case where there are more women than men employed in the difficult work of producing culture, fashion is a setting where the interests of these two literatures naturally converge. One of the goals of this dissertation, then, is to make broader empirical and theoretical contributions by drawing on insights from each literature to make sense of the case at hand. Theories and theoretical tools arising from the sociology of gender and work (e.g. the devaluation, glass escalator, gendered organizations) have been usefully applied to a range of cases, but this literature has largely been focused on professional, white-collar, and blue-collar contexts. Although the gender and work literature has been less focused on cultural work and workers (e.g. designers, artists, musician), this dissertation aims to show that many of its insights, concepts, and frameworks are useful in developing a well-rounded assessment of how gender operates in cultural work arenas and can be complemented by theoretical tools from cultural sociology.

Chapter two — "Work Horses and Show Ponies: Processes of Cultural Devaluation in the Fashion Industry" — explores how fashion is a feminized industry that is both economically and symbolically devalued through five related processes: (1) trivialization; (2) the privileging of men and masculinity; (3) the production of a smokescreen of glamour; (4) the use of free labor and "free stuff"; and (5) the construction of symbolic boundaries between "work horses" and "show ponies." This chapter makes two contributions to the literature on devaluation. By identifying and teasing apart the processes through which devaluation occurs in the fashion industry I show that: (1) gender wage gaps are only one part of devaluation, which can also be about the symbolic lowering of prestige and respect, and (2) the exact processes and mechansisms through which devaluation occurs are heavily shaped by the particular context in which work is performed. Processes of devaluation in the fashion industry have some commonalities, but also many differences, with those that have been identified in different areas of work such as domestic labor, nursing, and childcare. The devaluation of fashion and fashion workers is less about associations with care and nurturance, and more about the connections between fashion and feminized forms of consumption, personal care, and leisure.

Chapter three — "The Glass Runway: How Gender and Sexuality Shape the Spotlight Among Fashion Designers" — asks if and how the glass escalator (Williams 1992) operates in sex-segregated cultural fields. To date, literature on the glass escalator has primarily focused on male advantage in feminized public sector and care work, such as nursing, teaching, and social work (Smith, 2012; Wingfield, 2009; Snyder and Green, 2008; Cognard-Black, 2004; Hultin, 2003; McLean, 2003; Allan, 1993; Williams, 1992). Cultural work has been largely ignored in this body of research. Using Bourdieu's (1993) concepts of cultural field and symbolic capital, I address differences in success between

male and female fashion designers. I find that male designers are attributed more symbolic capital by prominent industry figures and fashion media. Rather than ride a glass escalator upwards to the top of a well-defined organizational hierarchy, however, male designers can be said to walk a *glass runway, moving forward* into a spotlight that offers symbolic capital — fame, cultural consecration, and prestige. I also find that this success is shaped by the intersection of gender and sexuality, and not merely gender dominance alone.

Chapter four — "The Gendered Organization of Creative Cultural Work: A Case Study of the Canadian Fashion Industry" — applies a gendered organizations framework to creative cultural work in the fashion industry. I find that two organizing logics of this work — entrepreneurial labor and passion — appear gender-neutral when in fact they help to construct a highly masculinized conception of the "ideal creative worker." The time commitments, bodies, and orientations to work-life boundaries that are required to conform to this ideal are gendered male. In an industry that is predominantly comprised of women, however, this male ideal creates inequalities not only between men and women, but also between different groups of women. Younger women, childless women, and women with independent financial support are advantaged relative to women who are older, less wealthy, and/or are mothers. I therefore argue that gender intersects with age, parental status, and class, in the case of fashion.

1.5 Methods

1.5.1 Industry-Level Analysis

I chose to conduct an industry-level analysis of fashion, interviewing workers across various positions and organizations. This was a purposeful strategy that allowed me to account

for two important characteristics of creative cultural work. First, workers tend to shift frequently between jobs and positions, often occupying more than one position simultaneously. It is common for jobs to be contractual or short-term, and for workers to switch employers and clients many times throughout their careers, even within the run of several months or weeks. It is also common for workers to move from one job *type* to another when making these switches. For example, an individual might begin as a model agent, then move into public relations. Moreover, workers often occupy several of these positions at one time, moving between roles on a daily basis. Many participants maintained primary "day jobs," while being otherwise involved in the fashion industry through "side projects" (e.g. freelance styling or writing). Even within single jobs many participants claimed to be "jacks of all trades," playing multiple roles, and taking on the work of what they feel should be multiple people. Second, the work of cultural and artistic production, promotion, and distribution, is collaborative. The fashion world, like other domains of cultural and artistic production, runs on complex networks or "circuits" of individuals, positions and organizations (Mears, 2011; Godart and Mears, 2009; Entwistle, 2009; Mora, 2006; Aspers, 2005; Becker, 1982; Hirsch, 1972). The work of creating, promoting, and distributing fashion is a social process in the truest sense of the term. Thus, in order to capture the mobility of individuals, the fluidity of positions, and the social and collaborative nature of the fashion industry, a case study of a particular organization or occupational group would have been insufficient. Inequality can and does manifest at these levels, but much of the gendering I have found to be present in fashion happens in the spaces between these categories, in the ways actors relate to one another, the informal requirements for success in fashion as a "lifestyle career," and the overlap between formal work hours/spaces, informal work requirements, and leisure or personal life. As Entwistle (2009) writes in her study of London

fashion as an aesthetic economy, it is necessary to

> examine the many ways in which fashion is made up from the daily practices
> and activities of a great number of spatially dispersed actors circulating raw
> materials, trend ideas and stylized images in the pages of magazines and fin-
> ished garments, and displayed in departments stores and boutiques (page 1).

1.5.2   Data

This dissertation makes use of a variety of data sources in order to develop a well-rounded
picture of the fashion industry. Chapters 2 and 4 draw primarily on in-depth interviews with
63 fashion industry workers. Chapter 3 takes a closer look at fashion designers specifically,
and uses both count data and media content analysis to address gendered distributions of
symbolic capital. I use: labor market statistics from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics
and Statistics Canada, enrollment and graduate data from prominent fashion schools and
programs in the US and Canada, fashion and style sections from major North American
newspapers, prominent fashion blogs, and online sources that industry workers themselves
make use of regularly (e.g. *Style.com*, *Women's Wear Daily*, *Vogue.com*). These resources
were also used as supplementary data throughout the entire dissertation process. As a way
to immerse myself as much as possible in the culture of fashion, fashion news, trends,
technologies, and issues faced by fashion workers, I consulted these sources on a regular
basis. I also conducted participant observation at Toronto's Fall Fashion Week 2013.

1.5.3   The Use of Interviews for Organizational Analysis

Two chapters in this dissertation involve the use of interviews to conduct an organizational
analysis, a strategy that may appear unconventional. But empirical data collected from

individuals has been shown to be useful in answering questions about culture at different levels of analysis (for a methodological discussion of this issue, see Jepperson and Swidler, 1994). This research is not intended to be a case study of a particular organization, or of the organizations that participants were employed by. I was not, for example, studying the policies of Chanel or the organizational hierarchy of J Crew. Instead, my goal was to study the different ways that work is organized *in the fashion industry*. During interviews, I asked my participants to speak to these issues. We talked, for example, about what is takes to succeed, not in any one company, but in the world of fashion more generally. As I mention above, this type of approach allowed me to access information about the inequalities that are shaped at the industry level, as positions relate to one another and individuals move across the fashion industry.

1.5.4   The Use of Social Media as a Tool for Recruitment

In addition to the empirical and theoretical contributions discussed above, this paper makes a methodological contribution by harnessing social media as a recruitment strategy. Because this is not a study of one organization or company, contacting gatekeepers or using other approaches to accessing workers in an organization made little sense. Moreover, company websites typically provide only a single email address or phone number for "customer service" or "general inquiries." I found out quickly that these tend to be dead-ends. Because of the nature of the fashion industry, it also made little sense to cold call or attempt to recruit face to face at an office or studio. Members of the fashion world are often quite secretive about their contact information,[4] unless they offer services to the public (e.g.

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[4]In fact, one participant noted that a lack of available contact information can be a problem, even for industry insiders, and how building networks can be difficult because of it. "A lot of times it's a very secretive industry. You *will not* find these people's contact information unless you meet them one on one or if you know somebody who will give it to you. You can't just Google somebody and get it." (Hannah, fashion marketer)

some stylists and designers). Some participants were approached through this strategy, but I wanted a diverse sample of fashion workers that would represent the range of positions in the industry and allow me to gain a perspective on how various positions relate to one another, and the types of work required for success in fashion generally, not merely in particular jobs or within particular companies. To achieve this diverse sample, I made use of the professional networking site LinkedIn.

Claiming to have over 225 million members across 200 countries and territories, LinkedIn's stated mission is to connect professionals across the globe, making them more productive and successful by providing access to "people, jobs, news, updates, and insights." With a paid account, LinkedIn offers access to advanced searches and a messaging system known as InMail — two tools that became particularly important in my search for participants. Advanced searches allow users to search for jobs or people, filtering by a number of possible criteria (e.g. name, title, company, location, and industry). This allowed me to conduct targeted searches of people working in the fashion industry who are located in fashion hubs such as Toronto and Montréal. Searches returned LinkedIn members who work in a wide range of fashion industry jobs. I then began to contact individuals returned in the searches through the use of InMail, a messaging system which allows members to contact each other and to specify the message purpose (career opportunity, consulting offer, new venture, job inquiry, expertise request, business deal, reference request, or get back in touch). Specifying my messages as "expertise requests," I sent information about my research and requested an interview. Response rates were very good, with approximately two to four responses per ten messages sent. Most interviews were set up this way. Some participants recruited through LinkedIn were willing to refer me to colleagues or acquaintances who then participated as well.

There are strengths and weaknesses to this social networking recruitment strategy. First, LinkedIn allows researchers to conduct very structured searches, enabling them to target specific individuals and groups. This was particularly useful here, since contact information for fashion industry workers was not readily available elsewhere. But it is also helpful in research that aims to get a wide or diverse sample of participants. While snowball sampling is a useful and standard qualitative strategy, it runs the risk of having participants be members of a smaller number of strong networks. This means there may be an overrepresentation of similar individuals, since people in the same networks tend to be very similar (on homophily in social networks, see McPherson et al., 2001). Snowball sampling is good for contacting hard to reach and invisible populations, but if the intention is to cast your net broadly, this may not be the best strategy. Using LinkedIn reduces the danger of being locked in to people's strong ties and networks and allows one to recruit from a range of positions and perspectives. I sometimes sent InMails to individuals listed as connections on my participants' profiles. Even here, however, the likelihood is that a connection will be a weak tie, rather than a strong and very similar tie. Additionally, members of LinkedIn are very likely to be committed to establishing and maintaining a career in fashion, allowing me to avoid the risk of having participants that were only casually or temporarily involved in fashion.

A weakness of this strategy, like most qualitative research, is that participation is voluntary. I can't be certain that my 63 participants are perfectly representative of fashion workers overall. Based on findings from previous scholarly research, and on my own immersion in the online world of fashion industry publications, blogs, and newsletters about working in the industry, the information my participants provided seems to valid. I feel that this dissertation makes a strong case for the potential benefits of social media as recruitment

tools that have yet to be fully harnessed by social scientists.

1.6   Fashion in the Canadian Context

The Canadian fashion industry has two major hubs: Toronto and Montréal. Both are "global cities," plugged into some of the major fashion circuits and networks around the world. Along with historically renowned "fashion capitals" like New York, Paris, and London, Toronto and Montréal host their own biannual fashion weeks. Though somewhat less influential than those in Paris, New York, and London, Toronto's fashion week introduces national and international buyers and media to the work of Canadian designers, hosting over 60 designer runway shows and 40 different collections (City of Toronto, 2013). In Montréal, fashion week hosts more than 20 designer collections.[5]

Many famous designer clothing lines such as David Dixon, Arthur Mendonca, Pink Tartan, and Joe Fresh were born in Toronto (City of Toronto, 2013). These and other originally Torontonian designers are sold in such international retail stores as Bergdorf-Goodman, Nordstrom, and Saks Fifth Avenue (City of Toronto, 2013). Toronto's major fashion manufacturers include Danier Leather, Weston Apparel, Wong Sons Garments, Dominion Hosiery, Macmor, McGregor, Phantom, and Vikeda. Key retailers include Bata, Harry Rosen, Holt Renfrew, Hudson's Bay Company, Reitman's, and Roots (City of Toronto, 2013). The city is also home to the Fashion Television Channel, and fashion magazines *Elle Canada*, *Fashion*, *Flare*, and *LouLou* (City of Toronto 2013). Elite and Elmer Olson are among the top model agencies with offices in in the city. In Montréal, influential companies include manufacturers such as Peerless Clothing and Arianne Lingerie, and retail companies such as Dynamite Group and Reitmans (Ville de Montréal, 2009).

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[5]See http://montrealfashionweek.ca. Last accessed on July 25, 2013.

Regarding employment, the fashion industry is one of the largest industrial employers in Toronto and is home to four colleges and one university offering fashion programs and degrees (City of Toronto 2013). More than 50,000 Torontonians hold fashion industry jobs (City of Toronto, 2013). Over 550 apparel manufacturers provide wholesale shipments of close to $1.4 billion annually (or 16% of the $9 billion Canadian market) (City of Toronto, 2013). Toronto also now imports apparel from 48 different countries (City of Toronto 2013). Each year, over 4,600 Toronto-based fashion retail stores earn $2.6 billion in sales (City of Toronto, 2013). In Montrèal, there are over 50,000 jobs in manufacturing, distribution, and retail, 2,300 fashion retail stores, and more than 1,000 specialized fashion companies (ville de Montréal 2009). There are also two universities and six collages offering twelve different fashion programs, with an average of 1,800 enrolled students and 300 graduates annually (Ville de Montréal, 2009).

1.7   Terminology

A few definitions related to terminology are in order. When I refer to "organizational gendering," the "gendered organization of fashion," or "organizational logics in fashion," I want to emphasize that this is not in reference to the specific organizations that employ my participants but the organization of work in the fashion industry more generally. These terms are used in conducting an *organizational analysis*, not an analysis of specific organizations. When I refer to "cultural and creative economies" I mean sectors that "cater to consumer demands for ornamentation, amusement, self-affirmation, and social display" whose products "are inscribed with high levels of aesthetic or semiotic content" and which "provide social status and identity over and above their utility functions" (Mears 2011, page 7). Throughout the dissertation I also refer to the "fashion industry." Industry is not

used as a theoretical concept, but as a convenient way of talking about the fashion world in general, with an emphasis on work. In contrast, my use of the term "field" in chapter 3 *is theoretically oriented*. I refer to "field," "cultural field," and "field of cultural production," in the tradition of cultural sociology associated with Pierre Bourdieu (e.g. 1993), in order to discuss aspects of the fashion world that are relevant to field theory itself.

1.8   The Sandwich Thesis Format

What follows is a collection of three independent but interrelated articles. I chose to compile my doctoral research in this way — as a sandwich thesis — because it allowed me to address a range of ways in which gender enters into the organization and culture of work in the fashion industry. This allowed me to address a broader number of issues and to "play" with a variety of theories and theoretical concepts. I combine two literatures to look at "old" sociological questions (e.g. how is work gendered?) in creative and innovative new ways. Of course, with breadth I have sacrificed some depth. As a result of the article format, I have been limited to less thick description of my case and less detailed development of single ideas. Still, I believe there is a richness to the data and a strong theoretical focus that comes through in these articles. Finally, because of the article format, there is inevitably some repetition throughout this thesis, particularly in the data and methods sections of each chapter. I have tried to minimize redundancy as much as possible.

Chapter 2

Work Horses and Show Ponies: Processes of Cultural Devaluation in the Fashion Industry

The fashion industry is feminized in two respects. There are more women than men who work in the industry, and fashion itself is associated with highly feminine cultural interests and practices (Mears, 2011; Vaughan and Armstrong, 2009; Crane and Bovone, 2006; McRobbie, 1998). From the outside, the fashion world appears to be a glamorous environment populated by rich women in beautiful clothes whose work seems easy, even frivolous and unimportant. Peel back this outer shell, however, and the inner workings of the fashion industry are revealed. These inner workings are much less glamorous than popular culture would have us believe. Fashion is an industry of hardworking women (and a smaller number of men) whose skills, knowledge, time, and labor serve a global cultural industry. It is a labor market where hierarchies are steep, incomes are highly unequal, competition among workers is fierce, and job insecurity is rampant. Even workers in high-status positions feel

insecure in their jobs, as though they are "only a good as the last project" they completed. Work hours are long, consumer preferences are volatile and difficult to predict, change is constant, and production and distribution of fashion is happening at an ever-faster pace. Fashion work is *hard work*. Why, then, does it look from the outside to be a world of fun, frivolity, and enormous wealth? Why do people fail to recognize, or to hold in high regard, the labor that fashion workers perform and the worth of fashion in the broader cultural economy? In other words, what are the processes through which this labor is devalued?

Devaluation is well documented by sociologists (e.g. Soni-Sinha, 2011; Budig and Misra, 2010; Levanon et al., 2009; England et al., 2007; England, 2005; Cohen and Huffman, 2003a,b; England et al., 2002; Cox, 1997; Peterson and Morgan, 1995; Tomaskovic-Devey, 1993; Reskin, 1988; Daniels, 1987). It is typically used as a cultural explanation for the gender wage gap and the pay penalty associated with female-dominated jobs, occupations, and specialties. Most research on devaluation has taken one of two approaches. In trying to explain what accounts for the wage gap between men and women, quantitative researchers have assessed the explanatory power of devaluation in comparison with other causal factors, such as education (Levanon et al., 2009; England et al., 2007; Tam, 1997; Kilbourne et al., 1994). Second, qualitative studies and theoretical works have focused on the processes through which devaluation can occur, primarily in the context of both paid and unpaid care work and domestic labor (Duffy, 2007; Apesoa-Verano, 2007; England, 2005; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Cox, 1997; Daniels, 1987). But is pay inequality the only important result of devaluation? And do the processes through which devaluation occurs look the same in all work contexts?

This paper extends devaluation research and complements existing knowledge in two ways. First, it shows that "women's work" is not only penalized in relation to pay, but

also in relation to status, respect, and perceptions of worth (including self worth). In other words, devaluation is not only economic but also *symbolic*. Second, the fashion industry is a context that has not yet been explored in relation to devaluation, except as a small point made in broader studies of fashion (see, for example, Mears, 2011; McRobbie, 1998). This contribution is not just a matter of applying an old theory to a new context, however. By uncovering and unpacking devaluation in the fashion industry, this paper demonstrates how the exact processes through which devaluation occurs can vary, and are heavily shaped by context. This means that the *processes and mechanisms* through which devaluation occurs in the fashion industry will be somewhat different from those in nursing, for example, since the organization, culture, and structure of these types of work are not the same. The connections between femininity and fashion, for example, rest on associations with women's consumption, personal care, and leisure. These are different from the connections between femininity and nursing, which mainly rest on the association between care work and mothering. These contextual differences create variation in the processes through which devaluation occurs.

Using a case study of the fashion industry in Canada, including 63 in-depth interviews with fashion workers, this paper argues that devaluation is not only of economic consequence (e.g. lower pay, insecure jobs) but also *symbolic* consequence (lower prestige, respect, self-worth), and that the precise processes through which devaluation occurs in this context are shaped by the specific ways in which fashion is associated with particular aspects of femininity. In fashion, devaluation occurs through five related processes: (1) trivialization, (2) the privileging of men and masculinity, (3) the construction of a smokescreen of glamour, (4) the use of free labor and "free stuff" as compensation, and (5) distancing behavior and the drawing of symbolic boundaries between "work horses" and

"show ponies."

In what follows I present literature on gender, work, and devaluation, noting gaps in sociological knowledge regarding how the particularities of various work contexts can shape devaluation processes, and how consequences of devaluation may extend beyond the pay scale. After a discussion of the case and methodological strategies, I identify and unpack the five ways in which fashion work and workers are subject to devaluation.

2.1   Gender, Work, and Devaluation

Women's labor force participation increased dramatically throughout the twentieth century but has been complicated by concurrent changes in: work and labor markets (Kalleberg, 2011), family life (Bianchi et al., 2006), work-family relations (Jacobs and Gerson, 2004), and competing cultural norms surrounding work devotion and motherhood (Blair-Loy, 2001). Gender inequality persists in labor markets and intimate life, prompting scholarly concern over an "uneven and stalled" gender revolution (England, 2010). Studies suggest that women continue to bear the brunt of domestic labor and childcare (Bianchi et al., 2012; Lareau and Weininger, 2008; Hochschild and Machung, 1989) while earning less than their male counterparts (Charles, 2011), and that labor market segregation endures (Gauchat et al., 2012). Connected to each of these trends is the devaluation of female-dominated work, and of femininity more broadly, within cultural and economic life.

Devaluation begins with differentiation, often into oppositional dichotomies (e.g. male / female, Black / white) with seemingly essential traits (Reskin, 1988). One category is attributed dominance and positive characteristics while the other is subordinated and evaluated negatively (Epstein, 1985; de Beauvoir, 1953). These distinctions frame social relations, helping to produce and reproduce stereotypes, expectations, and power structures

(Ridgeway, 2009). In the labor market and in unpaid domestic work, aspects of labor deemed feminine tend to be invisible, treated as essential or biological capacities rather than skills learned through education and training (England et al., 2002; Tyler and Taylor, 1998), and are attributed less economic and social value. In contrast, work styles and skills associated with masculinity (e.g. rationality, objectivity, assertiveness) are both highly valued and better compensated (Ridgeway and England, 2007).

Research on devaluation has primarily taken one of two approaches. In order to explain what causes the gender wage gap, quantitative researchers have tested devaluation theory against competing explanations, such as human capital theory (e.g. Levanon et al., 2009; England et al., 2007; Tam, 1997; Kilbourne et al., 1994). Little support exists for neoclassical arguments that posit human-capital differences as primary causes of the gender wage gap (Kilbourne et al., 1994). Nor does evidence favor the idea that men's jobs are characterized by less favorable working conditions, thus requiring higher reward (Jacobs and Steinberg, 1990). Female-dominated jobs and occupations pay less and offer lower status, even after controlling for factors such as education and skill level (England et al., 2002; Karlin et al., 2002).[1] Second, scholars taking a more qualitative approach have looked at the devaluation of paid and unpaid "women's work" in areas such as nursing, domestic labor, and childcare (e.g. Duffy, 2007; Apesoa-Verano, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001). These scholars find that in such contexts, through associations with care and nurturance, devaluation occurs in large part because women's work is rendered invisible and is assumed to be unskilled, "coming naturally" to women *as women*. These are useful insights that help uncover and unpack some of the causal mechanisms behind gender inequality in work. But aside from pay, does devaluation influence differences in the amount of prestige, status, respect, or worth attributed to particular kinds of work and workers? And are devaluation

[1]But see Tam (1997).

processes the same in all contexts, or do they vary with the precise ways in which labor is deemed "feminine?" In the case of fashion, for instance, work is feminized but in ways that have less to do with care and nurturance[2] and more to do with feminine forms of consumption, bodily decoration, sexuality, and display.[3] In order to answer these two questions, this paper addresses the worth and respect given to fashion and fashion workers from within and outside the industry, and asks if and how the particularities of fashion shape the processes through which worth might be diminished.

2.2   Methods

Qualitative research is well suited to identifying causal mechanisms and on the ground processes of inequality (Small, 2009). Data come from 63 in-depth interviews with workers across the fashion industry (59 women, 4 men)[4] conducted between October 2011 and August 2012. Table B.2 on page 153 provides demographic information on interview participants. Participants are from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, range in age from early 20s to late 40s, and work in Toronto and Montréal (hubs of the industry in Canada). Nearly all hold fashion related university degrees or college diplomas in areas such as fashion design, marketing, public relations, retail management, fine arts, photography, journalism, or communications. They also occupy a variety of industry positions, which are listed in Table A.1 on page 150. This variation serves two purposes. First, it is useful for pinpointing processes that influence work across the industry broadly rather than particular occupations or jobs. If fashion is devalued in a general sense this should impact the work of each position in

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[2]Except in front-line interactive service work (for example, consumer service and care in fashion retail).

[3]See for example Mears' (2011) account of these characteristics among fashion models.

[4]The small number of men interviewed reflects both the fewer number of men who work in fashion, but also the fewer number of men who were willing to volunteer for the research.

the field, not merely one occupational group. Second, the interconnectedness of the fashion industry means that isolating one occupational group would over-simplify the complex overlapping of jobs and positions within the field. Not only is the production of fashion, like other forms of culture and art, a social process involving many hands, networks, and circuits (Mears, 2011; Entwistle, 2009; Godart and Mears, 2009; Mora, 2006; Aspers, 2005; Becker, 1982; Blumer, 1969), workers themselves tend to both move frequently between positions and to occupying several industry positions at once. Many participants referred to themselves as "a jack of all trades." An effect of downsizing, many jobs tend now to encompass the work formerly done by several individuals. Moreover, most workers switch between positions throughout the course of the day or week. A single individual, for example, might hold a day job as a fashion-marketing assistant, while interning for a designer during evenings or weekends, and conducting freelance styling or writing on the side. These patterns arise in part due to economic need (a single job may not pay enough to stay afloat, or offer enough security), in part because of the need to build networks and experience, and in part because of a cultural work ethic that pushes workers to immerse themselves in fashion as much as possible. It therefore makes little sense to isolate one occupational group for analysis. In order to understand processes of devaluation related to fashion work, it is necessary to explore a range of positions within the industry, and the experiences of workers as they switch between and negotiate their various commitments in the fashion world.

Although some workers were approached face-to-face or via emails listed on personal or professional websites and blogs, most participants were recruited using LinkedIn (a social networking site popular in the private sector). LinkedIn users develop profiles and add

"connections" for the purposes of cultivating business networks, exhibiting resumes, finding jobs, filling positions, and identifying business opportunities. LinkedIn was helpful in locating and contacting workers whose information is otherwise inaccessible and allowed for the targeting of participants who have long-term commitments to fashion, rather than individuals employed only temporarily or casually in the industry. Most LinkedIn users aim to advance careers with which they strongly identify and in which they are invested.

LinkedIn has a feature allowing users to search for relevant connections, filtering queries by industry, location, keywords, and other criteria. The site also has a messaging feature called Inmail, used to communicate about job inquiries, business opportunities, or requests for expertise. For this study, LinkedIn searches were filtered by industry ("fashion and apparel") and location ("Toronto" and "Montréal"). Using Inmail, recruitment scripts were sent to potential participants, describing the purpose of the study, the interview process, and contact information.

Interviews lasted approximately one hour on average, and revolved around several themes. Participants were asked to describe their current position(s) in the industry, their schedules and time commitments, and strategies used to balance competing responsibilities. They discussed their interest in fashion, experiences working in a volatile and fast-paced industry, competition, networking, the use of technology in their work, and their approach to individual style. I asked about what it takes to succeed in fashion, how outsiders perceive their jobs, finances and job security, as well as differences between men and women in the industry. They were also asked to describe current non-work related commitments, family, and hopes for the future of their careers and personal lives. All but two interviews where digitally recorded, and were coded and analyzed inductively and thematically. To ensure confidentiality, interviewees have been given pseudonyms and the names of workplaces,

organizations, employers, and co-workers have been redacted.

2.3   The Case: The Fashion Industry in Canada

Fashion is increasingly global and interconnected with international circuits of people, products, and information (Entwistle, 2009; Larner and Molloy, 2009). The Canadian market is emerging as an up and comer and has grown significantly in recent years. Toronto and Montréal are the nation's hubs. These cities hold biannual fashion weeks, are home to several famous and internationally distributed labels, and are increasingly connected to powerhouses like New York, London, Paris, and Milan.

Toronto has four colleges and one university that offer fashion degrees, certificates, and/or diplomas in areas such as design, communications, and retail management. Over 50,000 Torontonians work in fashion and apparel jobs, and the more than 4,600 retail stores situated in Toronto earn upwards of 2.6 billion dollars in revenue annually (City of Toronto, 2013). Toronto is home to several famous fashion lines (e.g. Pink Tartan, David Dixon), major manufacturers (e.g. Danier Leather), the Fashion Television channel, four national fashion magazines, and several top modeling agencies.

In Montréal, a number of fashion programs are available through two universities and six colleges. There are also more than 50,000 jobs in fashion manufacturing, distribution, and retail (Ville de Montréal, 2009). Montréal is home to 2300 fashion retail stores and over 1000 fashion companies, including a number of well-known manufacturing companies (e.g. Peerless Clothing, Arianne Lingerie) and retail companies (e.g. Dynamite Group, Reitmans, Le Chateau) (Ville de Montréal, 2009).

2.3.1   Easy Work in a Glamorous World?

Fashion is a gendered cultural practice and a predominantly female industry, associated with femininity, women's consumption, and the construction and performance of gender (see, for example, Mears, 2011; Crane and Bovone, 2006; McRobbie, 1998; Barber and Lobel, 1952). More women than men work as fashion designers (McRobbie, 1998), fashion models (Mears, 2011), fashion buyers (Entwistle, 2009), and in other fashion industry jobs (Larner and Molloy, 2009). In addition to appearing glamorous, the world of fashion is often thought to be (1) superficial, snobbish, and elitist (Amed 2013); (2) an industry that promotes unrealistic and unhealthy standards of female beauty (see Bordo, 1993; Crane, 2000); (3) a global business that pays little attention to environmental sustainability and is involved in poor treatment of overseas garment factory workers (Nandini Islam, 2013; New York Times, 2013); and (4) "a cutthroat, catty world where people would sabotage a competitor just for the sport of it" (Givhan, 2010).

Within the broader realm of art and cultural production, fashion has struggled to gain value and legitimacy (Vaughan and Armstrong, 2009; Ruggerone, 2006; McRobbie, 1998). Fashion design programs in British art schools, for example, have been subordinated to programs deemed more masculine (e.g. painting, sculpture), which are given more resources, space, and prestige (McRobbie, 1998). In the labor market, designers learn to construct identities that align with masculine aspects of design such as art, creativity, and innovation, and to distance themselves from those associated with women's domestic labor (e.g. the sewing and mending of garments) (McRobbie, 1998). In Australia, educators note that despite the growing importance of fashion amidst other cultural industries, fashion is not treated as a serious discipline of study, but rather a "foolish" educational choice, largely

because of the cultural associations between femininity and both the production and consumption of fashion (Vaughan and Armstrong, 2009). Australian parents and educators discourage women from studying fashion, and encourage men to pursue more masculine design programs such as architecture or industrial design. Men who do pursue fashion sometimes hide or lie about their program of study, and students often regard fashion courses as "cappuccino courses" that are "all foam and no substance" (Vaughan and Armstrong, 2009, page 2). Amongst photographers, fashion photography is devalued compared with other types of photography, and is treated as "light" and "frivolous" (Ruggerone, 2006).

Despite the minimization of fashion's importance as a form of culture, and despite widespread assumptions that fashion is "easy," work in the fashion industry is fast-paced, competitive, and insecure. A volatile field, fashion revolves around newness, innovation, and change for change's sake (Entwistle, 2009; Christopher et al., 2009). Participants in this research describe the commonality of long work hours and the need to treat careers as lifestyles. They typically feel a passion or love for fashion, but are also vulnerable to stress, burnout, and trouble separating work from personal life.

Wealth and high pay are also not as common as frequently assumed. In her study of modeling in New York and London, Mears (2011) noted how surprised she was to find stylists, designers, and editorial models in dire straights. In fact, these workers "frequently lose money on magazine shoots," and runway shows are "costly public relations stunts" with immediate profits of zero (2011, pages 53-54). While those who occupy top positions in the industry earn high incomes, the majority of workers struggle to "make it" in a highly uncertain and competitive labor market. Conducting interviews for this research, I was repeatedly informed of what participants called a "myth" that there is a lot of money in fashion.

I don't know why a lot of people work in this industry! ... First of all, there are a lot of people putting themselves into debt, buying clothes and not eating... I don't think there are very many people making a lot of money. Maybe they have boyfriends or husbands that make a lot of money, or family or whatever, but there is not a lot of money to be had... it's scary almost. (Alexis, product development assistant)

I think that it's kind of a fallacy that people think that there's a lot of money in the fashion industry cause there's really not. When push comes to shove, there's really... unless you are well-connected, you have some sort of celebrity or status already that can help raise your status in the industry, or if you happen to have like really wealthy backing or are independently wealthy (Olivia, fashion designer).

Finances can be extremely tight at the onset of a fashion career. Internships provide necessary experience, but are usually unpaid. Some workers have parents or spouses who pick up financial slack, but many operate independently and do not come from wealthy backgrounds. These workers struggle to establish themselves, taking on loans, credit card debt, and minimum wage service jobs. Even among more well-paid high-status workers, feelings of insecurity and of "only being as good as your last project" were extremely common. Intense competition leaves workers anxious about the status of their careers, pushing some into long hours and burnout.

I'm a fresh face but in a year from now there may be somebody else who's just as eager coming in taking my job. It's a little despairing. There's always competition. There's always the feeling like you have to stay on top of your

game. You're only as good as your last season. It's not the most settling thing
in the world to think. I had the flu last week and I was home from work for
two days. I went into work on Monday morning and... I just had this feeling,
like, 'I'm gonna be fired today.' I did nothing wrong. I had the flu. It was
completely legitimate. But it felt like, I'm gonna be fired! There's always that
feeling. I feel like for me it motivates me to do a better job, but it can also
burn you out really quickly (Hannah, designer, sales, marketing, production
coordinator).

In order to mitigate insecurity and risk, workers spend off-hours networking online,
researching fashion news and trends, attending industry events (e.g. fashion shows, brand
launches, fundraisers), and conducting side projects (e.g. freelance work as stylist, writers).
Knowing that in fashion "your appearance is your resume" (Caroline, fashion journalist),
they also work hard to embody the "fashionista" image through body work and aesthetic
labor (Williams and Connell, 2010; Entwistle, 2009). This includes shopping, styling hair
and nails, dieting, and a host of other practices. This work takes up a great deal of time
as well as money. While they can be pleasurable, even fun, workers recognize that they
participate in these aspects of fashion culture *as workers* rather than private citizens. They
are cognizant not only of the time and money required to perform such work, but also
the need to be "on" at all times. In sum, fashion work is by no means easy and does not
typically offer the wealth and glamour that outsiders presume. Fashion work is *hard work*.
Why then, is this so rarely recognized by outsiders? What are the processes through which
devaluation occurs in the context of the fashion industry.

2.4   Processes of Devaluation

2.4.1   Trivialization

Fashion's position vis-a-vis other forms of art and cultural production is subordinate, often treated as trivial and inferior (Barnard, 2002; McRobbie, 1998). The idea that "it's only fashion" (Evans and Thornton, 1989) and that fashion is frivolous, superficial, and unimportant are points against which fashion workers struggle on a daily basis.

> I mean I learned a lot of stuff but I feel like it's not the stuff anyone else would
> care about if they're not in the industry or think like all the things you do are
> like ridiculous. Like running around town looking for ruffled pink panties...
> (Penny, fashion and beauty journalist / editor)

The perception noted in the quote above was echoed in many interviews. Despite the fact fashion workers operate at frantic paces and possess important career-relevant knowledge, much of the work they do appears "ridiculous" to the outside observer. This is true of entry level "grunt work," such as that described in the quote above, but it is also true of work performed by higher-paid high-status members of the industry, a point that demonstrates how devaluation does not always relate only to pay.

Faye holds an elite position in the fashion industry.[5] In what some might call a "winner takes all" market, Faye has essentially "won." She has an extremely high-status position and an enormous amount of responsibility and authority. She also works long hours, travels frequently for work, is well paid, and is utterly professional. Yet, among other professionals, Faye finds her work is often trivialized and the level of difficulty that comes with her

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[5]Because of her high-status position, Faye's job title is omitted from this article in order to ensure confidentiality.

position tends to be underestimated, even by those closest to her. Her work is not treated as being equally professional to the work of her siblings, who are doctors and lawyers, or her husband, who in fact holds a very similar job as Faye, but outside the fashion industry. Although she laughs it off, Faye recognizes that her family has failed to recognize the hard work that her job requires and the professional skills she possesses.

> My husband is on sabbatical so his time freedom and mine are just so on opposite ends of the planet right now and even he was just daunted by the amount of work. And you know I come from a family of, like, my brothers are all lawyers, my sister is a doctor. This is a very intense professional family. They tend to find it amusing, what I do, more than anything. It's playful, like, they find it kind of quirky and odd but not hard work. And you know I'm sort of used to that perspective. And after spending two weeks with me in Paris my husband was just going 'oh my god, the next time you find me making light of how hard you have to work...' You know? They have no idea, how hard it is. But anyways I'm not complaining about it, it's good but it is hard work. (Faye, position redacted)

Publics, family members, and friends attribute lower value to fashion than to other cultural pursuits, and professional level fashion jobs (e.g. journalism) are often deemed less professional than those in other industries. As a result, fashion workers' sense of self-worth is threatened, and many of those women interviewed noted how they have sometimes questioned the value of what they have chosen to do with their lives.

> I used to always question myself - why am I in retail? Why am I in the fashion industry?... Sometimes you would think, oh, is this even pointless? What is

the point of all this? Like, why am I not a doctor? Why am I not, you know,

helping save lives! But you know... that's something, you know, that I have

questioned before. What is really the point of being in this industry? Like,

at the end of the day, you are selling product, like, you're just selling *clothes*

(Monica, Buyer's Assistant, Product Development, Writer).

By trivializing fashion and fashion work, outsiders and insiders alike engage in a processes of devaluing the size and contributions of fashion amongst other cultural industries, the influence fashion has on everyday life that through its expressive and communicative capacities, and the level of skill and effort necessary for workers to perform their labor. This process of devaluation is mainly symbolic (although it may be linked to pay levels). The trivialization of fashion is a way of saying that the work members of the fashion industry do is less difficult, less important, and even silly, compared to more "legitimate" career pursuits.

2.4.2   The Smokescreen of Glamour

There is an old adage that advises theatre goers not to "sit up front or risk spoiling the illusion." In sociological terms, this is akin to Goffman's (1959) famous argument that in order for a show or performance to be believable, the audience must not be witness to the backstage "dirty work" that goes into producing it. In fashion, this show is the *smokescreen of glamour*.

"Glamour is the result of work and effort — artfully concealed, of course... Glamour depends on what is withheld, on secrets, hints, and the hidden" (Wilson, 2007, page 100). Working through disguise, glamour appears to endow people, places, and things with magical qualities that appear natural, rather than socially produced (Mears, 2011). Aesthetic

markets and cultural economies self-consciously promote themselves as being glamorous, elite, and luxurious worlds in order to sell products and services. The fashion industry is a well-oiled image machine, extremely effective at putting on a glamorous show and concealing the work and the working conditions that produce this smokescreen of glamour. This smokescreen is used to create aesthetic feelings in the consumer, using the promise of luxury and beauty to sell products. Ironically, the workers who create and promote these images are devalued by their own creations that cover up their skills, long hours, and the insecure conditions in which they work.

Images presented in the pages of magazines, blogs, movies, reality television, and other media outlets present a picture-perfect world of beauty, riches, and luxurious goods. The world of fashion itself tends to be quite cut off from everyday publics, secretive about its inner workings. Fashion week shows and parties, for example, are often invite-only. And as I found out rather quickly in my search for participants, even contact information is often hard to come by. Events, such as Fashion Week, help reinforce glamorous images of the industry. They produce an aesthetic feeling — of glamour, excitement, and eliteness — in order to promote a particular line, brand, product, or designer. The following quote paints a picture of the scene at a typical fashion show:

> When the show starts, what you see looking around the room is literally what you'd imagine - lights flashing, every single person in the entire row tweeting, taking pictures, probably taking notes for a blog. It's people wearing their most fun - trying to stand out - outfits and literally going crazy on twitter. That's what you see. Lights flashing, phones going" (Nancy, fashion marketing and public relations).

This atmosphere projects an air of glamour to those watching from home via the Internet or television, and produces aesthetic feelings of excitement and specialness to those participating in person. Yet, beneath this image is an enormous amount of hard work, stress, and long hours. Many hands work on the production of a fashion show or similar industry event. Moreover, the images of glamour promoted by social media are sometimes misleading. They can make it seem as through there are more people in attendance than is actually the case. They also fail to show the backstage goings-on where much grunt work is conducted (e.g. dressing models, pinning clothes, hanging garments, stuffing gift bags) and where workers are *not* dressed up or perfectly polished. They can also make products and parties seem more fun than they really are. In fact, more than a few interview participants noted how, at the start of a career, workers feel lucky to be invited, but that gradually invitations become obligations, events become mundane, and the "luster" wears off. In the following quote, for example, a magazine editor describes how workers sell a particular image when they tweet, and how these promotional messages disguise a reality that is much less glamorous or fun.

> If you're on twitter and everyone's talking about Fashion Week and you're not there, then you could maybe feel sad about that. But if you *were there* most everyone is kind of miserable anyway. They're all complaining about it in person but on Twitter they're like, 'Oh great! Love!' If you only see it from Twitter you feel like everyone's having a great time (Lynn, magazine editor).

The effect of glamour can and does sometimes rub off on fashion workers themselves. Many participants reported how easy it can be to "get caught up" in the hype surrounding products, trends, and the general lifestyle that fashion promotes. They refer to feeling part of a special club or as through they are in a movie. Yet, these individuals are not without

reflexivity and are by no means cultural dopes. Participants revealed cognitive tension between recognizing that glamour is largely an illusion and yet falling prey to the lure of "pretty things." The following quote illustrates these tensions well:

> It's definitely a lifestyle to promote and it's definitely, I mean, it's like why do people spend thousands of dollars on a handbag that they can't afford? It's because this industry has done such a great job at portraying this image and this belief that we need to have these things. And maybe that's why, maybe us fashion people have fallen for that same trick and that's why we're working so hard for so little. And I don't think it's always like that. I definitely think there's exceptions to the rule but it's definitely an industry that looks great on the outside but once you get in you see it a lot more clearly. And I think having worked in Italy for a year as well has been a great experience for me because I was able to see the fashion capital of the world, Milan, and I was able to see... it's not really as glamorous as it seems and most of these models are so unhappy with their lives, and there's huge stress problem in this industry, and it's like hold on a second is this really what I want to align myself with? (Molly, Sales Representative and Designer)

The fashion industry profits by selling images of elite lifestyles, luxury, and beauty. Ironically, this glamorous facade misrepresents the realities of hard work, long hours, and low pay that most workers experience. These impressions function as a kind of smoke-screen, obfuscating devalued labor. Fashion sells fantasy, and the more effectively it does so, the more it seems that members of the fashion world simply shop, party, receive free clothes, and have their pictures taken. These are not images that spur sympathy or flow easily into claims about unjust devaluation. Instead, they mask it.

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The smokescreen of glamour seems present in an international context as well. In her study of fashion design in Britain, for example, McRobbie (1998) notes that there is no business incentive to reveal the un-glamourous underbelly of fashion, "since this might well reveal as many business failures as successes and since it might also reveal an industry existing under the shadow of unemployment where low pay, long hours and different forms of exploitation, (including self-exploitation) are rife but apparently necessary for survival. In the face of those uncomfortable realities there is a tendency to ignore these questions altogether or to adopt the position of weary resignation and fatalism, as if saying that the fashion industry has always been like this" (McRobbie, 1998, page 70).

2.4.3   Privileging Men and Masculinity

One of the most prominent fashion publicists in North America has written a best-selling book called *If You Have to Cry, Go Outside: And Other Lessons Your Mother Never Told You* (Cutrone, 2010). This title exemplifies one of the key processes through which femininity is devalued — the suppression of stereotypically feminine emotional expression and the privileging of masculinity, and "masculine" emotional and interactional styles. In an effort to secure legitimacy, to professionalize, and to garner occupational prestige and resources, feminized jobs and occupations sometime use the strategy of emphasizing masculine work features while downplaying those associated with femininity. In the nursing profession, for example, educators have been found to emphasize scientific and technical aspects of nursing, while minimizing or ignoring those elements of nursing that revolve around care (Apesoa-Verano, 2007). And among fashion designers and design programs, artistic and innovative aspects of design are emphasized over manufacture as a way to gain respect and to secure space within a predominantly masculine art world (McRobbie, 1998). Data

from this research suggest that three related processes privilege masculinity: (1) women are subordinated to men in the industry's hierarchies; (2) femininity is devalued relative to masculinity in the emotional and interactional styles of workers; and (3) those fashion workers whose broader occupational category spans various industries or specializations (e.g. journalism, photography) are devalued relative to their occupational peers who work in more masculine industries or specializations.

Wendy, a brand strategist and editor told me that "There is almost an illusion that it is a very feminized industry that is run by women, but once you get to the top, it's all men." The first way in which masculinity is privileged over femininity in fashion is through sex-segregation within the industry. Despite the fact that the fashion industry is predominantly female, male designers are more likely to occupy high-status positions as creative directors or head designers of large fashion houses and to receive more industry awards, acclaim, and fame (see chapter 3). Participants also consistently discussed having male bosses, noted the greater number of men in management or ownership positions in fashion business, and observed that men have an easier time getting noticed amongst the crowd of women competing for fashion jobs. Beth, a fashion design student who also worked for a local fashion boutique, described the advantages male students, as minorities, have in getting noticed:

> Okay, so at [university redacted], obviously, most of the design students are girls, and I find that if you *are* a guy in a design school you stick out. You know, you're remembered because you're like one of 25 girls in a class. Which is great, so you kind of have this advantage over girls, um, over women... Um, so again I think males definitely have a bit of an advantage in the fashion industry because... they're more memorable, um... they stand out more. But

then there's also the business side of it, you know. Men obviously still have

a bit of a hold, a higher, um, hold, in terms of the business side of fashion as

well too. They may not even be designers, but businessmen, definitely, you

know? They have more influence... we [women] still don't have quite as much

influence as we should." (Beth, Design Student, Intern)

More than a few participants mentioned that fashion only has the *appearance* of being

female dominated. They note that, although there are more women working in fashion, men

tend to occupy more powerful positions and the perception of female-dominance comes

from the fact that women occupy more visible front line positions, for example, in sales.

The second process through which femininity is subordinated to masculinity is through

the privileging of stereotypically masculine interactional styles and emotions (e.g. ra-

tionality, assertiveness, directness). In parallel, those emotions and interactional styles

deemed negative or problematic are associated with women and femininity (gossiping,

two-facedness, drama, sensitivity).

Because I'm involved in more of the business end of things, of the industry, I

deal more with men, actually, um, than I do with women... Yeah. I wouldn't

say that I'm at a disadvantage, being a woman, but at the same time it comes

down to separating the personal and the work. Um, and so I compromise by

not getting emotional about things or you know acting a certain way definitely

plays into that, so... I can't say that I've had any issues [disadvantages being a

woman], but again it comes down to my personality. Um, and I'm quite aware

of that. And I definitely do exploit it to my benefit, like anyone would, whether

they're male or female, you know? I have a strong personality. I know how to

get things done. And at the end of the day, there's no bullshit (Wendy, brand

strategist, online magazine editor)

The majority of people in the industry are female. Um... I personally enjoy working with guys because I feel like it's a lot less bullshit (laughs) to be quite frank...I guess, this particular industry aside, guys just confront things differently whereas girls can let things drag out and be catty. And because it is a very, because there are a lot of females in the industry, I think it's something that you see, you just have to know when to steer away from it... I don't mind working in an office environment with guys because I feel like the likelihood of things getting catty are a lot slimmer (Nancy, Fashion Marketing and Public Relations)

Third, many individuals who hold jobs in the fashion industry are part of broader occupational groups that devalue specializing in fashion. Within occupations such as journalism and photography, for example, more masculine specializations are given higher respect and resources than fashion. Among participants who work in occupations that cut across industries and specialties, several spoke of the devaluation they face in relation to their peers. Caroline, for instance, is a fashion journalist who works in an office with journalists who write on other topics. She observed that:

I'm fairly certain that if I were a man in my position I would have more resources in my job... I do a great job, but it's usually just me and I get a little bit of help sometimes, whereas you know, sports, for example, is predominantly male audience and male editors and they have more resources, they have more junior editors and writers and money at their disposal. And there's, there aren't a whole bunch of reasons for that... myself and [name redacted] who's also a

woman, we have the least amount of resources when it comes to time, like help

and money, and we make the most money for our [employer]. And not only

that, we're the only ones making money... Um, and that is totally frustrating.

So I feel like, if it were a guy doing my job, if it was valued in the same sense,

it would be at least two men. For sure. And you know, I see that all the way

up. Like my boss... she absorbed her job and two men's jobs when she took

that on. (Caroline, fashion journalist)

2.4.4   Free Labor & "Free" Stuff

As in many industries, fashion workers typically begin their careers as interns. Competition for internships is extremely fierce and more often than not, internships are unpaid.[6]

Recently, controversy has arisen surrounding the unpaid nature of fashion internships, exploitation of interns, lawsuits filed against major fashion houses and publication companies by former interns who claim ill treatment, the trend of companies downsizing paid jobs, and replacing them with interns in order to gain from free labor (e.g. Mau, 2011; Lepore, 2012). News stories have reported incidents of an interns cleaning urine stained dresses, scooping up dog poop, not being permitted to drink from the same water fountain as paid employees, and working 12 hours days, to name but a few examples (Mau, 2011). Originally, much of this controversy was in the US and the UK, but has spread in recent months, becoming a hot topic in Canada as well. Both *CBC News* and *The Globe & Mail* have recently criticized interning in various industries in Canada, citing harm to interns and to the economy, as well

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[6]Competition for prestigious internships is so intense, in fact, that some are willing to pay to be hired as unpaid interns. In the fall of 2012, four prestigious fashion houses (Oscar de la Renta, Balenciaga, M Missoni, and Valentino) auctioned off unpaid internships for over $10 000 each (Whitelocks, 23 October, 2012). The auctions were for charity, but they highlight a broader point — if people are willing to pay thousands of dollars to work for free, the fashion labor market both reinforces class distinctions, and is an extremely difficult world in which to gain a foothold.

as noting that internships reproduce economic inequality — only the wealthy and those with other sources of income or financial support can afford to work for free (Schwartz, 3 May, 2013; Sagan, 2 July, 2013). Online labor advocacy websites have also called attention to illegal practices of "wage theft" in unpaid retail internships that violate Ontario's Employment Standards Act (e.g. Langille, 2013). Unpaid labor is certainly devalued labor.

When I inquired about unpaid internships, interview participants noted the tension surrounding interning in the fashion industry. The industry *requires* interns and relies on their labor, and this is especially true of small independent designers and companies who cannot afford to offer wages. Much of the time, interns learn valuable skills, make useful industry contacts, and are treated well. However, they remain vulnerable to ill treatment and exploitation. These practices persist because young women are told that they are lucky to be involved in the glamorous world of fashion and that a thousand other girls would kill to be in their shoes. While the following quote refers to the dire straights of interns in New York, this participant noted that things are similar, if slightly less intense, in the Canadian context. Moreover, American interning practices are relevant to the Canadian industry, since, many students and early career workers leave Canada to temporarily work in the US or overseas, hoping to return to Canada with a more competitive edge.

> It's so hard. People will work for free and it's illegal but nobody cares. Because they know that people are vying to get in there so bad that, even if you're graduated they'll take you for free like that. They'll do everything they can to exploit. Freelance, so you get absolutely no health benefits which is a big issue down there (New York)...and the starting salaries are so low in Canada... it's not at all (high paying), it's not glamorous at all. And the other thing is that here there is a huge value placed on retail experience...at [Company Name]

they were like, you would have been eligible for this position if you'd worked

in the store. I can't afford to work in the store now. I've gone through eight

years of university. And they're like, well, there's somebody else who will...

I remember talking to numerous students who - in the states it's legal to sell

your eggs for money, but that's how they're funding their educations, that's

how they're funding their design lines. I know one in particular who now

shows, like she has runway collections, and that's what she was doing. But

they'll do what it takes in order to get there. And I know myself, I happen to

have an aunt who had a condo on the upper west side. It was vacant cause her

and her husband are pretty successful in their own right and they don't really

use it ever... and I asked her, this is the only way I'll ever be able to do this, I

got into Parsons.[7] I can't afford to pay rent. I can't work here - it's illegal for

me and I have to intern. Please can I stay in your condo? Thank god for that

cause if it weren't for that there's no way I ever would have been able to. So

it totally depends on resources and things like that and it's sad because a lot of

people who have so much talent will never have that opportunity. So it's not

really a fair industry in that respect (Hannah, designer, sales, marketing, and

production coordinator).

Designer, Remi, was one of the few participants who mentions hiring interns herself.
Remi notes that she tries hard to be ethical and to treat her interns well for the important
labor they provide, but she also notes that she is likely an anomaly in the fashion industry.

I am ethical about it. A lot of people treat their interns bad but I think that's

insane. They're helping you. I don't know why anybody would ever be mean

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[7]Parsons The New School for Design in New York City is one of (if not *the*) most prestigious fashion
school in North America.

to them. I don't have them work on anything I get paid for because I can't afford to pay them. so they literally are doing things that just simply wouldn't get done if they weren't there... it's pretty controversial and there's a lot of people who think it's an abominable practice. In a situation like Devil Wears Prada. I don't know that everyone is treated quite that badly but I have been told that I'm really nice. But I literally can't understand why you wouldn't be nice to *anybody* let alone people that are volunteering their time to help you. (Remi, designer)

Interns are free labor, but they recognize that being a part of the "glamorous" world of fashion offers a highly gendered form of status. The notion that other "girls" (not "women," "boys," or "men") would kill for their positions hangs over their heads, creating a sense of "specialness" as a woman, not merely as a worker. In leiu of pay, workers are compensated with the opportunity to "be surrounded by pretty things," and are gifted with free drinks, food, clothing, discounts, and other perks. Feelings of gender-specific luckiness are part of the culture of belonging to fashion, but they squash most opportunities for critique and protest.

While "free stuff" is an affordance of privilege for those in high-status positions (McClain and Mears, 2012), it does not pay the bills for early career workers who are low paid or unpaid althogether. While free stuff is framed as a benefit, perk, or a form of compensation, it is rarely truly "free" and always comes with strings attached. Gifts, perks and discounts imply an exchange relationship. Workers act as free publicity and advertising for the products they have been gifted (see also Mears, 2011). Thus, "free stuff" is not real compensation for the labor of unpaid and low paid workers, since these workers pay for their gifts by helping to sell them on the wider market.

2.4.5   Work Horses & Show Ponies: Distancing Behavior and Symbolic Boundaries

In the media and popular culture the fashion world is often portrayed in a negative light. Although appearing glamorous, fashion is also criticized for being an industry that: reinforces class and racial inequality; promotes unhealthy ideals of female appearance that have supposedly led to increased rates of eating disorders and low self-esteem among women; maintains business practices that are detrimental to the environment; and exploits overseas garment workers who labor in dangerous factories and are underpaid (New York Times, 2013; Nandini Islam, 2013; Mears, 2011, 2008, 2010; Crane, 2000; Bordo, 1993). Likewise, members of the fashion industry are represented as materialistic, superficial, vapid, and catty, rich girls (Amed, 2013; Givhan, 2010). More than a few participants described experiencing interactions with people who assume they will be snobby or mean, and who think their jobs involve more *fun* than *work*.

Faced with these unflattering images, members of the fashion industry enact strategies to build legitimacy and respect. As a reaction to devaluation, they draw symbolic boundaries between "work horses" and "show ponies." Symbolic boundaries are the cognitive schemas and conceptual lines people use to draw distinctions between "us" and "them," and to identify with and claim membership in particular social groups (Lamont and Molnar, 2002). These boundaries are evaluative, serving as distancing markers between competence and incompetence, worthy and unworthy, high and low status (Rivera, 2010), or in this case, between hard workers and entitled snobs. Work horses are understood to be individuals who are highly skilled, committed, who take their jobs very seriously, and are willing to put in long hours and intense effort, believing in the importance of their contributions to society. Show ponies, on the other hand, are defined as young, wealthy, entitled

women with poor attitudes who are in fashion for the "wrong reasons" (i.e. for fame, free stuff, fun). The following quote expresses this distinction well:

> The most challenging [part of working in fashion] or the thing I guess I would dislike about it is it can be very superficial... I think it really depends on why you're in the industry in the first place. Is it for the love of it or is it for the glory? I got into the industry because of my interests, and I think a lot of my friends are in the industry because of a love for it. My friends aren't, 'Oh, I just wanna be famous' or 'I wanna hang out with the cool group.' (Monica, Buyer's Assistant, Product Development, Writer)

Interview participants sometimes expressed resentment toward members of the industry who appear to play into or reproduce show pony stereotypes. For example, in the following quote, Anne (publicist, fashion reporter) describes the distinction between "ego bloggers" (show ponies) and "professional bloggers" (work horses).

> I call them the ego bloggers. They are spoiled, privileged, outspoken, and they think they're superstars. They're generally young ranging from like 19 up to like 25. They're either still in school or they're just graduated. They haven't paid their dues. They haven't even received most, like, they probably haven't even worked a job aside from retail in this industry. They don't know what it's like. Generally a lot of them come from rich families so they're quite privileged so they've never had to really like work hard and struggle and push. So they expect everything to be handed to them. Um, and they're really demanding. They will email, like they have the gall to email, you know, PR agencies for fashion shows and say, um, yeah, so I'd like to have two front row seats...

they feel completely entitled. So it's... ughh. I just don't like them... [in contrast] there are the amazing professional ones who are putting out really great fantastic quality content. (Anne, publicist, fashion reporter)

While the majority of participants admit to participating in (and often enjoying) the activities associated with the "show pony" side of the industry (e.g. getting dressed up, socializing at industry events), they are quick to note that they do not "get caught up" in it or let it interfere with their "real work."

> I feel like with the fashion industry, there's two sides. There's the side that everyone sees on TV, the side where everybody dresses up and it's so glamorous and all that, and then there's the working side... There's definitely pressure [to look the part]. It's a huge thing in this industry... I always have to have my hair done and... .it's fine because it's the industry and it's the nature of the beast, but it is such a huge thing. I can't just go to work and not think about it. But I don't feel pressure to wear certain brands and all that stuff. That's more of the show pony side I feel (Molly, Sales Representative and Designer).

Ironically, however, much of the work associated with the show pony role is necessary for survival in the industry, and for the smooth functioning of fashion business more generally. Fashion workers must network, be fashionably dressed, attend fashion shows, and seek media coverage for their brands. However, being associated with the *show* rather than the *substance* of the industry, these activities remain devalued. Rather than contest this devaluation in a more general sense, workers participate in the necessary show pony activities while using symbolic boundaries to define themselves in opposition to these practices. The problem with such boundary work is that is seeks individualized legitimacy while reinforcing "show pony" images that devalue the industry more broadly. Boundaries drawn as a

way to re-value individual labor wind up reproducing collective devaluation.

2.5   Discussion and Conclusion

How do we assign value to work and worth to individuals? Value comes from recognition of the time, effort, and skill a person devotes to their daily labor. The devaluation of work associated with femininity and womanhood is the result of essentialist assumptions about gender difference. Most research concentrates on devaluation as a cultural explanation for the wage gap between men and women, or focuses on the processes through which care work and domestic labor are devalued. This paper has taken devaluation research in two new directions. First, it has shown that devaluation is relevant not only to pay inequality, but also to the lowering of status and respect given to work and workers, and to diminished feelings of self-worth. Second, by focusing on processes of cultural devaluation in fashion, this paper has demonstrated that the precise processes through which devalution occurs vary according to context and are shaped by the particular ways in which women and femininity are tied to different types of work. In fashion, devaluation occurs through five related processes: (1) trivialization, (2) the privileging of men and masculinity, (3) the construction of a smokescreen of glamour, (4) the use of free labor and "free stuff" (as compensation), and (5) distancing behavior and the construction of boundaries between "work horses" and "show ponies."

Progress toward equality is often measured by levels of gender integration within jobs and occupations. We (rightfully) celebrate women's movement into traditionally male-dominated fields, and fight for access to better paying, higher status work. But we also know that as women enter male domains of employment they face new obstacles, including harassment and discrimination (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011; Rosenberg et al., 1993), ghettoization

into less prestigious and well-paying subspecialties or niches (Reskin and Roos, 1990), work-family conflict (Epstein et al., 1999), and masculine behavioral expectations (Rhoton, 2011). Integration, then, is one piece in a complex puzzle — a necessary step toward gender equality, but insufficient on its own.

Nor can the solution be simply to increase and emphasize masculine characteristics of female-dominated work. This research, as well as studies of nursing, teaching, and childcare demonstrate that movement toward professionalization and occupational prestige typically entails emphasizing more highly valued (i.e. masculine) features of work while downplaying aspects associated with femininity (e.g. Apesoa-Verano, 2007). These strategies, however, can marginalize a great deal of labor.

A less common, but complementary solution, involves *revaluation* — increasing the value attributed to female-dominated work, and to femininity more generally, within broader culture. This entails readdressing how work is defined, which activities are categorized as work, and which are relegated to the realm of the informal, unstated, and unpaid. Comparable worth initiatives request equal pay for work of equal value, but worth has proven difficult to calculate. Much of women's labor is characterized by low visibility (Tancred, 1995), informality (Tyler and Taylor, 1998), and as this paper has shown, is misrepresented by images of glamour, luxury, and wealth used to sell products and lifestyles to consumers. It is therefore important that we pay continued attention to the work that lies behind the smokescreen of glamour produced through marketing and public relations in image driven industries.

Insights from the fashion industry suggest we must also broaden the scope of contexts in which devaluation is studied. The body of sociological knowledge on care work is large (Budig and Misra, 2010; Cancian Francesca, 2000; England, 2005; England et al., 2002),

but what of other labor associated with femininity, female gender roles, skills, and interests? Studies of emotion work and aesthetic labor among models (Mears, 2011), manicurists (Kang, 2010), strippers (Price, 2008; Trautner, 2005), and flight attendants (Hochschild, 1983), describe low job quality, suggesting that devaluation extends beyond care work to other "feminine" labors associated with aesthetics, sexuality, and "soft" social skills. Identifying and unpacking processes of both economic and symbolic devaluation within different social contexts, and in relation not only to gender, but also class and race, should become an important goal in future research.

Chapter 3

The Glass Runway: How Gender and Sexuality Shape the Spotlight Among Fashion Designers

Fashion is feminized in contemporary North America. As a form of leisure, an interest in clothing and style fits within the accepted tool kits (Swidler, 2003) of women much more than men.[1] As field of employment, women make up the majority of fashion design students and practicing fashion designers (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010, 2013; Ryerson University, 2012; Fashion Institute of Technology, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2006; McRobbie, 1998). Yet, fashion is widely understood to be an industry where men dominate (Mears, 2011; McRobbie, 1998). Existing sociological research would explain this

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[1]While it has become increasingly acceptable for men to dress well and to express an interest in style, those who do so remain vulnerable to being perceived as gender deviant and are often assumed gay. The relatively new trend of straight well-dressed, well-coifed men has resulted in the creation of a new category — the metrosexual — to explain their cultural "oddness."

phenomenon by arguing that men who work in sex a-typical jobs and occupations experience structural advantages based on their gender, riding a *glass escalator* (Williams, 1992) upward in the organizational hierarchies and workplaces within which they work. But this body of scholarship has focused on men in the public sector and in "caring occupations" (e.g. nursing, teaching, social work) (e.g. Smith, 2012; Wingfield, 2009; Snyder and Green, 2008; Cognard-Black, 2004; Hultin, 2003; McLean, 2003; Allan, 1993; Williams, 1992), and scholars have yet to explore how advantage might accrue for men who perform cultural work in fields predominantly populated by women. How might the glass escalator function in cultural fields? To tackle this question, the following paper addresses the shape of gendered success in the cultural field of fashion design, using a content analysis of fashion media sources. Findings suggest that although male designers receive career advantages, the mechanisms and processes through which these accumulate cannot be fully explained by the glass escalator metaphor. Cultural fields are organized differently than public sector work, and than work in traditional bureaucratic organizations with standard career ladders. This context alters career structures and accepted measures of success, thereby changing the shape of inequality.

A field of cultural production is a space of social action, possibilities, forces, and struggles, where players in particular positions compete for power, control of resources, and different forms of capital (e.g. economic, cultural, symbolic) (Bourdieu, 1993). Each field has it's own logics, rules, and measures of value, and the field of cultural production is structured by the relationship of struggle between economic and artistic interests (Bourdieu, 1993). Moreover, career structures in cultural fields are different from those in the public sector, the corporate world, and in blue-collar work. In the latter, success has been measured by pay and promotion up well-defined organizational hierarchies. The glass escalator

works well to describe the upward movement of success in these arenas. But creative and cultural careers are not often based on this model. Work is often contract-based, freelance, independent, or temporary. Labor markets are often precarious and insecure, and workers must manage risk by holding multiple jobs and switching frequently between clients and employers (Gill, 2002).[2] Aside from pay and promotion, success in cultural fields is measured by *symbolic capital* — celebrity, prestige, and cultural consecration (Bourdieu, 1993). Fashion designers, for example, rely on media coverage, praise from industry critics, support from magazine editors, fame, and "buzz." In this paper, I argue that we might better measure success in these fields as movement *forward* into the spotlight, rather than upward within one organization or workplace hierarchy. To be sure, the landscape for success in fields like fashion design is not flatter than in nursing, teaching, or social work. There is a great deal of inequality, competition, skewed income distributions, and "winner takes all" markets in cultural fields (Mears, 2011; Frank and Cook, 1995). But to measure success purely by raises and pay increases would be to misunderstand the shape of inequality in these arenas, and to overlook the importance of getting one's name "out there" in favor of a focus on "moving upstairs." How, then, is symbolic capital distributed among fashion designers, and what does this imply for an application of the glass escalator theory to gender segregated cultural fields?

Data suggest that male designers' are attributed more symbolic capital than female designers. They are more likely to be named "top designers" and to be canonized by powerful and high-status fashion media. They also receive more prestigious industry awards.

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[2]The lifetime job is, in fact, becoming increasingly less common across the labor market, while short-term, contract, insecure, and precarious work is on the rise (Kalleberg, 2011). This suggests that the use of promotions as indicators of career success and male advantage may become less relevant and that new measures of success should be incorporated into research in other work contexts as well.

Moreover, comparing the fewer women who appear in these "top designer" lists and design canons with their male counterparts indicates that even amongst elite designers, male designers receive more symbolic capital than women designers. Prestigious and powerful fashion media are more likely to build male designers' reputations in ways that focus on their legitimacy as artists. They are described as objective, technically sophisticated, devoted, innovative, and creative. Female designers, in contrast, are represented in ways that align their reputations with the mass market.

Challenging sociologists concerned with gender inequality in sex-segregated work to take account of cultural labor, I use the metaphor of a *glass runway* to describe how male fashion designers are pushed forward into the spotlight, to more visible and prestigious positions offering higher symbolic capital. I define the glass runway as a mechanism that provides advantage to cultural workers by *pushing them forward into the spotlight* of symbolic capital, rather than upward in a well-defined organizational hierarchy, á la glass escalator. I also discuss how the glass runway in fashion design is structured by intersections of gender and sexuality. Gay male designers are represented as possessing a unique combination of masculine and feminine "traits" that make them well suited to fashion design. As sexual minorities, however, they remain vulnerable to discrimination and homophobia. Certain media portrayals blame gay designers for some of the industry's apparent problems, such as the prevalence of underweight fashion models.

The next section reviews literature on the glass escalator, elaborating gaps in sociological knowledge related to cultural work. This is followed by an outline of data and methods used in the study, including content analysis of industry publications, blogs, news articles, as well as both labor market and education statistics from the US and Canada. I then address how male — especially gay male — designers receive higher symbolic capital than

their female peers. Based on this data I argue for the use of the glass runway as a useful metaphor for making sense of gender segregated cultural work.

3.1   Gender Inequality in Sex Segregated Work

Sociologists have long been concerned with sex-segregated work, and with the experiences of men and women employed in gender a-typical jobs, occupations, and professions (e.g. Williams, 1995, 1992; Reskin and Roos, 1990; Jacobs, 1989; Reskin, 1988). The *glass ceiling* and the *glass escalator* are twin concepts commonly used to describe the obstacles women encounter in male-dominated work and the structurally advantaged position of men who do "women's work."

Kanter's theory of *tokenism* (1977) holds that members of *any* minority group in an organization will experience discrimination. For example, token women who work in traditionally male fields (e.g. engineering, law, blue-collar work) encounter several forms of discrimination contributing to their underrepresentation in these areas. These and other structural barriers form of a *glass ceiling* (Morrison et al., 1987) inhibiting career success. However, not all tokens are treated alike, and gender-neutral theories ignore key differences in the experiences of men and women working in sex-atypical areas (Zimmer, 1988). When men are token minorities in feminized work, they experience a *glass escalator* of advantages whereby they are "kicked upstairs" into high ranking, well paying, and prestigious positions (Williams, 1992).

In her influential study of male nurses, teachers, social workers, and librarians, Williams (1992) identified several mechanisms and organizational processes through which the glass escalator is forged. First, men are tracked away from feminized specialties and encouraged to take up positions deemed more "appropriate for men." Male social workers are steered

from clinical practice into policy work, teachers are pushed from classroom instruction into administration, and nurses are dissuaded from specializing in areas such as obstetrics and gynecology. Second, positive supervisor relationships and supportive female colleagues facilitate career success. Men are more likely to be supervised by other men, to bond together and emphasize their "positive difference" from the female majority, and to receive welcoming treatment from female colleagues. Third, although men encounter discrimination from wider publics, this actually helps facilitate career advancement. Outside their respective fields, male nurses are often presumed gay, librarians are called "asexual wimps," social workers as seen as passive and effeminate, and elementary school teachers are met with suspicion that they are pedophiles (Williams, 1992). As a result, men are pushed into more powerful and higher paying (i.e. "masculine") positions.

Two decades of research offer strong support for Williams' original findings in a variety of occupational and geographical contexts (Smith, 2012; Cognard-Black, 2004; Hultin, 2003; McLean, 2003; Allan, 1993; Floge and Merril, 1986). Very few scholars have found evidence disconfirming the glass escalator thesis (Mears, 2011; Snyder and Green, 2008; Budig, 2002). Still, this body of work has focused primarily on male advantage in public and service sector "women's work" in such occupations as teaching, social work, nursing, and librarianship. We do not know whether or how glass escalators operate in cultural fields. This article inquires into the phenomenon of male advantage in the cultural field of fashion design, asking whether the glass escalator exists in this predominantly female field, and whether it operates differently than in those contexts previously studied. Here, Bourdieu's field theory (1993) is of use in addressing the unique characteristics of segregated cultural markets that may offer gender-based advantages.

3.2   Fashion Design as a Field of Cultural Production

Fashion is a *field of cultural production* (Mears, 2011; Entwistle, 2009; Entwistle and Wissinger, 2006). Although problematic in its gender-neutrality, Bourdieu's field theory (1993) offers a relational approach to making sense of struggles over power, boundaries, and hierarchies within particular markets. As a spatial metaphor, the field suggests a bounded arena of positions and actions with each own logic, players, forms of capital, and strategies that make up the "rules of the game" (Bourdieu, 1993). Members of any given field compete for control of field interests and resources. Importantly, these are not always or only material or economic. In fields of cultural production, competition also revolves around *symbolic capital* in the form of celebrity, cultural consecration, and prestige (Bourdieu, 1993). Fashion designers, for example, rely on media coverage, "buzz," critical acclaim, and awards, in order to build status, prestige, and reputations.

Bourdieu referred to the field of cultural production as "the economic world reversed," with an "anti-economic logic" whereby the "loser wins." (Bourdieu, 1993). In any cultural field there are players oriented toward: 1.) *restricted production* (otherwise known as "production for producers") where economic profit is low (even disavowed), but status, prestige, and symbolic capital are high; and players oriented toward 2.) *large-scale production* (otherwise known as mass market production), where economic profit is high, but status, prestige, and symbolic capital are low. Large-scale production, being subordinated to the interests of profit, allows for short-term economic gain but sacrifices symbolic capital and the chance to rise to the top of the field's hierarchy. Those involved in restricted production, on the other hand, gain symbolic capital by sacrificing higher profits in the hopes of "hitting the jackpot." In this way, it pays to have an "interest in disinterestedness," as Bourdieu (1993, page 40) puts it. By foregoing economic gain and accumulating symbolic

capital, prestige, and status, cultural producers have a better chance of one day becoming superstars.

In reality, the restricted and mass production subfields are not completely separate from one another. They might be seen as ideal types, or as separate subfields that are often overlapping, with porous and "leaky" boundaries (Mears, 2011). The majority of cultural producers move between these subfields and their opposing logics, throughout the course of their careers, or sometimes occupy them simultaneously. And cultural products that once were high in symbolic value can depreciate in status as they spread to mass markets, are sold to mainstream middle-class consumers, get copied by "fast fashion" retail chains, and become oversaturated in wider culture.[3] The most successful players in a cultural field are those for whom symbolic capital has led to both prestige and money, who can effectively balance economic and artistic interests. Fashion scholars, for example, have demonstrated these dynamics in the work of models and bookers (Mears, 2011; Entwistle, 2009), fashion photographers (Aspers, 2005); and fashion buyers (Entwistle, 2009). In fashion design, these are the elite high-end designers who's names, reputations, aesthetics styles, and brands logos are renowned, recognizable, and given a privileged positions by both field insiders and outsiders alike. Among designers, Mears (2011) for example, found that showing a collection at Fashion Week is a costly endeavor that results in very low or no immediate profit. *Indirectly*, however, Fashion Week helps designers get their names "out there," build their reputations, brands, and images, and to garner publicity and attention that may eventually lend itself to sales. Interestingly, these future sales are of licensed goods and diffusion lines (e.g. perfumes, sunglasses), and sometimes ready-to-wear collections.

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[3]Members of the fashion field pride themselves on knowing not only what is "hot" and "now," but also what "the next big thing will be." As a new trend (e.g. color-blocking) disseminates to broader culture, members of the fashion field find themselves "over it," as they say. Jackson and Shaw (2009) describe how luxury brand Burberry lost a great deal of status as lower class and mass market consumers began to purchase Burberry goods in the UK, for example.

These products are where designers and houses make their money, rather than through the showpieces that appear on catwalks. These pieces are often not sold at all, and are not "practical, or wearable creations, nor are they intended to be" (Mears, 2011, page 54). Elite "superstar" designers make profits from products like cosmetics and bath towels, while building their image around high-end fashion in the form of haute couture or Avant-guard designs. It is this balance, of garnering enormous profits while successfully cultivating an reputation based in art, innovation, "fashion and fashion's sake," that signals a "winner" in this "winner takes all market." Manolo Blahnik, who is arguably the most famous shoe designer in the world, once said: "About half my designs are controlled fantasy, 15 percent are total madness, and the rest are bread and butter designs."

Thus, like all cultural producers, fashion designers must strike a balance between economic and artistic interests, earnings and prestige, in order to survive and succeed within the field. The most successful designer is one who maintains sales and can make a living, but whose identity and reputation are firmly grounded in art and creativity — who can accumulate economic capital, without sacrificing symbolic capital. Figure 3.1 provides a visualization of this argument. Is is adapted from Mears' (2011, page 40) map of the structure of the fashion field, but emphasizes the relationship between economic and symbolic capital in *design* rather than modeling.

If it is symbolic capital that can lead to the "jackpot" or to career longevity, and if it is symbolic capital around which the most elite designers build there reputations, this begs the question — are there gender-related differences in the distribution of symbolic capital? Are men more likely to be attributed symbolic capital and are they identified in ways that offer higher symbolic capital (e.g. as artists, innovators)? In other words, is the spotlight gendered, and are men more likely to walk the glass runway than women?

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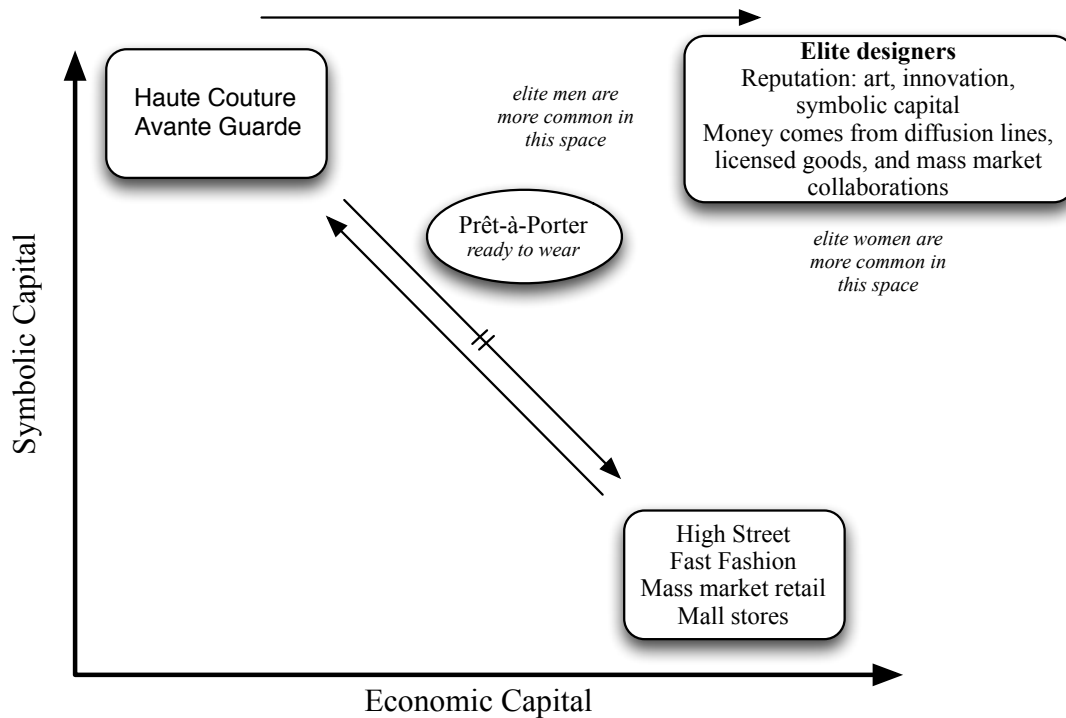
Figure 3.1: The relationship between economic capital and symbolic capital in the field of fashion design. Figure is adapted from Ashley Mears' (1990, page 40) map of the field of fashion, but emphasizing design rather than modeling.

3.3 Data and Methods

To develop a well-rounded picture of how symbolic capital is distributed among fashion designers, I make use of a variety of data sources. First, to establish the gender composition of the fashion design labor market, I draw on: (1) labor market statistics from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013) and Statistics Canada's national Census (Statistics Canada, 2006); (2) student enrollment statistics from top fashion design programs in the US and Canada, including The Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City, Parsons The New School for Design in New York City, and Ryerson University in Toronto Canada; and (3) existing studies academic studies of fashion (McRobbie, 1998;

Mears, 2011; Crane, 2000; Craik, 1994).

Second, count data are used to assess whether male or female designers possess higher quantities of symbolic capital. I assess gender distributions of symbolic capital by counting the number of men versus women who: (i) appear in *Vogue.com's* online encyclopedia (a canon of key industry figures); (ii) are named "top designers" by two prominent and high-status media sources (*Style.com* and *Fashion TV*); and (iii) have received the industry's most prestigious awards from the *Council of Fashion Designers of American (CFDA)* over three decades. *Vogue* magazine is the most high status and widely read fashion magazine in North America. It's editor-in-chief, Anna Wintour is one of the most powerful people in the fashion industry, and the magazine itself carries symbolic power as a key source of legitimation for designers, collections, and labels. Known as "the fashion bible," recognition and approval from *Vogue* is the highest form of cultural consecration. *Vogue* publishes an online encyclopedia (*"Voguepedia"*) of designers, photographers, editors, models, brands personalities, and turning points it deems important and valuable. To be included in this list is to be placed alongside the most elite members of the fashion design canon. Each designer is profiled with several biographical paragraphs, information and photographs of their collections, a list of their labels, a timeline of key points in their lives and careers, their coverage in *Vogue* magazine's print addition (e.g. first appearance, selected key appearances), and links to archived *Vogue* articles about the designer or his/her work. This subsection of fashion designers contains entries for 120 designers that *Vogue* deems most valuable and worthy of canonization. I also conducted a count of men and women labeled "top designers" on *Style.com* — a major online resource for industry insiders and broader publics mentioned by many interview participants in this study, also used in previous sociological scholarship on the fashion industry (e.g. Mears, 2011; Godart and Mears, 2009).

Third, *Fashion TV* is an international television station with programming devoted solely to fashion. As an international station devoted solely to fashion it is a media source that reaches a wide audience. *Fashion TV's* website provides a list of their "top designers." Again, I counted the number of men and women listed.

In addition to the media sources, I counted how many men and women received fashion design awards from the *Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA)*. These awards are some of the highest honors given out in fashion design and are therefore important indicators of symbolic capital. The CFDA website lists award recipients from 1981 to 2013 in several categories including best womenswear and menswear designers.

A goal of this research is to establish not only whether male designers receive more symbolic capital in sheer numbers, but also to determine whether media and cultural representations of male fashion designers provide symbolic capital through the *content* of their coverage, for example, through descriptions of their identities, orientations to fashion, and their designs. I conducted a content analysis of all *Voguepedia* designer entries and of *Style.com* articles mentioning "top designers." Initial coding was inductive and thematic, and become more deductive in later stages as themes emerged. As a way to check whether patterns found in high status publications like *Vogue* and *Style.com* were similar to representations of male designers in broader culture, I conducted systematic searches in Factiva and Google for "men in fashion" and "male fashion designers," limiting searches to prominent newspapers, blogs, and industry publications. A content analysis of articles returned was performed to check the accuracy of codes developed from *Style.com* and *Voguepedia*. Here, I began to notice that while these codes were reflected in broader media sources, there were complications around sexuality and discussions of gay male designers. I returned to the *Voguepedia* and *Style.com* articles to refine my analysis based on these new insights.

All media texts were coded using TAMS Analyzer, a qualitative data analysis application for mac.

3.4   Fashion Design

3.4.1   The Fashion Design Labor Market

The design of clothing, footwear, and accessories requires artistic ability, creativity, communication, design-making skills, computer skills, and an orientation to detail (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). The design process involves many overlapping stages, including: studying and predicting fashion trends, choosing themes for collections, sketching designs, using computer-aided design programs, connecting with manufacturers, attending trade shows, choosing fabrics and patterns, providing instructions on the production of designs, collaborating with design teams to create prototypes, marketing designs to retailers and consumers, and overseeing final stages of production (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). Most fashion designers work in large cities such as Toronto, Montréal, New York, and Los Angeles, in North America, or Paris, London, Milan, and Tokyo internationally. They are typically employed in wholesale or retail fashion, costume design (e.g. for theatre or dance), apparel companies, or design firms (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010).

Although average annual wages among fashion designers in the US are higher than overall national averages, wages vary widely. In 2010, the top 10% of designers earned an average of $130 890, while the lowest 10% earned $32 500 (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010). Starting salaries tend to be low, and the labor market is highly competitive, with limited positions open to a large number of aspiring designers (U.S. Department of Labor, 2010).

3.4.2   A Feminized Field

In Canada and the US there are more female fashion design students and women outnumber men in the fashion design labor market. Toronto's Ryerson University boasts what is arguably the best fashion design program in Canada. Enrollment statistics indicate consistently higher numbers of female students — 209 women versus 38 men in 1990, 257 women versus 27 men in 2000, and 282 women versus 17 men in 2010 (Ryerson University, 2012). Likewise, student enrollment for 2010 at The Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City was 85% female (Fashion Institute of Technology, 2010) and 85% of graduates from the top design school in the US — Parsons The New School for Design — are women (*Style.com* 2012). Accurate labor market statistics are less accessible, since both Statistics Canada and the US Bureau of Labor Statistics aggregate several types of designers into one group. Statistics Canada lumps fashion designers together with theatre, exhibit, and "other" designers. Still, the gender composition of this umbrella group is approximately 70% women and 30% men (Statistics Canada 2006). The US Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that women make up 51.6% of all working designers (U.S. Department of Labor, 2013). This is a more even distribution, but it is logical to conclude that were it possible to assess fashion design independently, both the US and Canadian statistics would be more heavily female, since "designers" and "theatre, exhibit, and other designers" are categories that include more masculine design occupations (e.g. web and graphic design).

The feminization of fashion is, however, about more than demographics. Cultural associations exist between female gender roles and the production and consumption of fashion (Crane and Bovone, 2006). Women are the primary consumers of fashion and there is an historical association between women's domestic roles (sewing, mending, knitting) and

the manufacture of clothing (McRobbie, 1998). This feminization has led to the subordination and devaluation of fashion within the wider field of art and culture. An emphasis on the artistic and masculine aspects of design has been one route through which fashion has sought legitimacy. Fashion design programs in Britain, for example, have long struggled for space, funding, and respect amid more "masculine" artistic disciplines such as sculpture and painting (McRobbie, 1998). To secure resources and carve out space these programs downplay associations with domesticity and femininity,[4] while highlighting technical skill, experimentation, innovation, and creativity, and teaching students to identify as artists (McRobbie, 1998).

3.4.3 The Gendered Spotlight: Distributions of Symbolic Capital

Despite cultural associations between fashion and femininity, and in spite of the fact that women outnumber men in fashion design, male designers possess more symbolic capital. Men are more likely to be named "top designers" by high-status media outlets, and to be acknowledged members of the design canon. They also receive more industry awards, media support, and fame (Craik, 1994). The Council of Fashion Designers of America (CDFA) has given awards to 67 men and only 20 women between 2003 and 2013. Appendix C (page 154) provides a list of award winners. Additionally, although it has not always been the case,[5] there are currently more men working as head designers or creative directors for the largest fashion houses (Crane, 1999).

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[4]They also downplay associations with manufacturing because of its working-class associations (McRobbie, 1998).

[5]Between WWI and WWII several female luxury fashion designers rose to prominence. (e.g. Coco Chanel, Elsa Schiaparelli). After WWII, however, luxury fashion and haute couture came to be dominated by men (e.g.Christian Dior, Yves Saint Laurent).

Based on the symbolic power of *Vogue* magazine as "the fashion bible," the encyclopedic coverage of designers in *Voguepedia* can be understood as a veritable canon of fashion designers. Names appearing in *Voguepedia*'s designer subsection are attributed the highest consecration, value, and status. Appendix E (page 161) provides the list of designers canonized by *Voguepedia*. Of the 120 individuals selected for canonization, only 39 are women. Similarly, a recent book by two fashion journalists and university lecturers names 37 men and only 13 women as the "greatest fashion designers" in history[6] (Polan and Tredre, 2009). As well, 207 men have been called "top designers" by articles appearing in *Style.com*, while only 84 women have received this title. *Fashion TV's* online list of the top 57 fashion labels in the world contains only 19 labels that were ever headed by female designers (12 originally, 16 currently). The list is provided in Table E.3 on page 167.

With few exceptions, the most famous "household names" are male designers (de Castella, September 30, 2011; Craik, 1994). In the US, specifically, the most celebrated young designers in recent years have been men (e.g. Marc Jacobs, Zac Posen, Narciso Rodriguez, etc.) (Wilson, December 8 2005). As McRobbie (1998, page 70) states, "the space constructed for stardom... is a deeply normative and suspiciously masculinized position. The fashion star has an identity and a role more comfortably aspired to and assumed, it seems, by a boy."

Not Just Male but Gay?

There is evidence to suggest that success in fashion design is not only gendered but also related to sexuality. The "ideal" fashion designer is commonly thought to be a gay man. Indeed, both field insiders and outsiders see fashion as a "gay industry." In her ethnographic account of fashion modeling in New York and London, Mears (2011) interviewed models,

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[6]Moreover, only four women since the 1960s are named great designers (Polan and Tredre, 2009).

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bookers, and clients, all of whom believed that between 75 to 90 percent of men working in fashion (except models) were gay. Indeed, she found that this perception leads straight male models to go "gay for pay," flirting with gay men they believe dominate the industry in order to get ahead. Do gay male designers receive more symbolic capital than both women and straight men? Of the 81 men included in *Voguepedia*'s canon, 51 are openly gay.

These views are mirrored in media accounts. For example, in 2005, The New York Times Published an article (Wilson, December 8 2005) discussing the widespread perceptions that gay men dominate the fashion industry. Quotes from several female designers express a belief that fashion design is a gay man's profession where gay men experience a faster rise to stardom.

These data suggests that male designers, especially gay male designers, are afforded higher quantities of symbolic capital. In sheer numbers, they receive more media praise, industry awards, and fame. But value is not merely a numbers game. In the next section, I address the content of media coverage as a form of symbolic capital.

3.4.4   The Gendered Spotlight: The Content of Media Coverage

Success among cultural producers can be measured not only by the number of times a designer is mentioned in the media or in lists of "top designers." The content of media coverage and other cultural representations builds artists' reputations, and can offer consecration, legitimation, and prestige. Using interviews with fashion workers and content analysis of key industry publications (*Vogue.com*, *Style.com*) and wide reaching fashion-related news coverage in top news sources (e.g. New York Times, BBC News) the following paragraphs explain how male designers are more often described in ways that offer higher symbolic

capital. Their lifestyles, identities, orientations to design, skills, and products are legitimized in media accounts that emphasize their objectivity, technical sophistication, art and innovation, commitment, and supportive relationships with those who occupy powerful positions in the field. I want to emphasize that these portrayals are not necessarily reflective of any realistic superiority of male or gay male designers. The intention is to argue that the spotlight of the glass runway is filled with gendered content and assumptions about sexuality.

Objectivity

Fashion-related news stories suggest that: (i.) objectivity is a desirable trait in a designer, and (ii.) objectivity is more common in men, especially gay men. Male designers are said to lack subjective "baggage" about their bodies that supposedly creates biases in women's designs and gay male designers are thought not to be distracted by sexual attraction to women.

> Of course there are many more gay male designers. I think we are more objective. We don't come with the baggage of hating certain parts of our bodies. Sometimes women are trapped by their own view of themselves — (Designer Tom Ford, quoted in Wilson (December 8 2005))

Designer Ozwald Boeteng argues that, because they are not designing for themselves, male womenswear designers are more objective and can offer women an element of surprise in their designs (de Castella, September 30, 2011). Gay male designers are seemingly understood as the most objective of all. For example, the style section of a major men's magazine suggested that gay men are more objective, since they are not "distracted" by sexual attraction to the women for whom they design, the models who wear their garments,

or the female form generally. Freed from the body hang-ups of women and from sexual attraction to women, unbiased creativity can supposedly take place.

Technical Competence

Cultural accounts are more likely to describe male designers as possessing highly valued (and stereotypically masculine) technical skills. *Voguepedia* entries, for example, are far more likely to discuss male designers as dedicated perfectionists whose designs have superb construction. Alber Elbaz, head designer of Lanvin, is described as "obsessed with getting every nuance right," Charles James is noted for having previously been an architect and for his "mathematical tailoring," Marios Schwab is said to have a "surgeon-like attention to detail." Gianni Versace supposedly had "expert technique." The list goes on.

A comparison of Alexander McQueen and female designer Sarah Burton exemplifies the gendered language in *Voguepedia* entries. McQueen's technical skill as a "master craftsman" is said to have been the key component in his success — the substance beyond his often-publicized flair for theatrics and drama. His successor,[7] Sarah Burton, notes:

> He knew everything about how to construct a garment. We would tell him something was technically impossible and in the morning there would be something amazing on the mannequin.

Current head of the McQueen label, Burton has gained notoriety herself and is one of only 32 female designers in *Voguepedia*. Unlike her predecessor, who is described as a "master tailor" known for his "superb craftsmanship," Burton's strengths are said to lie in other areas. Her exquisitely made collections are acknowledged but downplayed in comparison

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[7]McQueen committed suicide in 2010. Burton was named as the successor and head of the label, which continues to bear his name.

to her supposedly softer designs and "calmer hand." Her fame is largely attributed to having been selected to design Kate Middleton's wedding gown, the intricate lace detailing of which is credited not to Burton, but to her team and the help they received from artisans at the Royal School of Needlework. Although she is described favorably, the absence of acknowledgment for Burton's technical competency means the content of her *Voguepedia* entry offers less symbolic capital than McQueen's.

Female designers are less likely to receive praise for technical aspects of design associated with calculation, precision, and construction. It seems likely that, rather than representing any objective skill differences, gender essentialist assumptions creep into media accounts, aligning male designers with "inherently masculine traits." Whether or not men possess more of these skills than women, their symbolic capital is of a higher quality, since fashion's quest for artistic legitimacy values masculine aspects of design (McRobbie, 1998).

Artistic Identity

Michael Vollbracht, designer for the label Bill Blass, once stated, "male designers have a fantasy level that women do not," and that gay men make the best designers because their aesthetic treats women as an idealized fantasy (Vollbracht, quoted in Wilson 2005). Historically, fashion has struggled to gain legitimacy and recognition among the arts (McRobbie, 1998). Although the field straddles art and business, and requires consumer sales to stay afloat, status comes from artistic consecration. Many designers achieve economic success by appealing to mainstream consumers, but the highest forms of symbolic capital are reserved for those whose identities and reputations reflect the image of an artist. Whereas

women are almost never represented as artists by the fashion media, male designers frequently are. This occurs in three ways. First, men's lifestyles are often described through the image of the bohemian or starving artist. Second, depictions of their personalities use adjectives associated with the notion of a "creative genius," such as eccentric and dramatic. Third, the products they design are more often described as works of art.

While no fashion designer can ignore the need to make a living, the interests of business must not be seen to interfere with creative freedom and artistic integrity. Prominent designer, Ralph Lauren, once said, "I don't design clothes. I design drama." Some designers appeal to the notion of the bohemian or starving artist and the idea of 'art for art's sake.' *Voguepedia's* biography of Christian Louboutin, for example, notes that he left home at age twelve to "roam the streets of Paris," living a bohemian lifestyle, and the entry for designer Gareth Pugh states that his design intention is "sensation, not to actually sell clothes." Most top designers, however, are commercially successful (e.g. Marc Jacobs). Yet their identities are firmly grounded in art.[8]

Descriptions of male designers' personalities are more likely to match the image of an artistic or creative "genius." *Voguepedia* claims that Alber Elbaz has "the soul of a poet," Giles Deacon is a "mad scientist," Christpher Kane is "fashion's Willy Wonka," Gareth Pugh is "the mad prince of British fashion," Hussein Chalayen is "fashion's big thinker," Isaac Mizrahi and Karl Lagerfeld are like contemporary Oscar Wildes, Riccardo Tisci has a "dark sensual outlook that marked him out as someone unusual," and Tom Ford is "the Flaubert of fashion" — a "visionary" who is bold, audacious, and risqué. Several designers were referred to as "enfant terribles."

Finally, garments and collections designed by men are more likely to be portrayed as

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[8]In fact, many make very little profit from runway collections. They stay afloat through the sales of cosmetics, perfumes, and other licensed goods that fund their âĂĲtrue art.âĂİ

works of art, whereas women's designs are known for their "wearability." For example, one online BBC News article quotes the fashion editor of the Daily Telegraph as saying, "Men put on great shows. Women design clothes that people want to wear" (Lisa Armstrong quoted in de Castelle 2011). In *Voguepedia* entries, the designs of Charles James, are described as paintings, sought after by collectors and museums, and his garments are said to be "true objects d'art." The shoes of Christian Louboutin are called "confections," described as "golden lion's paw pumps with glittering heels, frilly Marie Antoinette cameo peep toes, housed in a Fabergé-like egg." Gareth Pugh's designs are said to be "wicked," and "bizarre," his presentations "more like a carnival than a fashion show" and his aesthetic that of "vampire space fashionista." Gary Graham is attributed a "sense of wonder" and his boutique is called a "fairy tale environment." He is noted for using "animal head mannequins, rustic glam, homespun goth, Victoriana, macabre, and Dickensian deconstruction."

Male designers' "works of art" fall into two categories. They may be avant-garde and completely unwearable — as exemplified by the "cerebral, bordering on bizarre productions" of "fashion's arch avant guardist" Hussein Chalayan. In this case, designers make use of all sorts of unique, even strange, materials. Their products make be created from things not normally intended to be clothing (e.g. plastic, hardwood, latex condoms). Alternatively, artistic fashion may be more aesthetically conventional, but designed around fantasy and worn only as glamorous eveningwear by elite clients at luxurious events. Garments are made from fabrics that are expensive, hard to care for, and impractical for everyday use (e.g. silk, tulle, gemstones, handcrafted lace). Oscar de la Renta, for instance, is praised for his "feminine," "wearable," and romantic designs. But as "the king of evening," his creations are not meant for everyday wear. He is quoted as once having said "I don't

know how to do casual."

Women's lives, personalities, and designs are almost never described in artistic ways. Instead of a romanticized picture of the bohemian artist, women are more likely to be known as wealthy, ivy league educated "ladies who lunch" (e.g. Vera Wang, Tory Burch), or to be referred to in association with a famous spouse or parent (Victoria Beckham, wife of soccer player David Beckham; L'Wren Scott, wife of Rolling Stones frontman Mick Jagger; Stella McCartney, daughter of Beatle Paul McCartney). Women are also more likely to be seen as having a mass-market orientation, as being business minded, and as hard workers (e.g. Donna Karen, Diane Von Furstenberg, Alberta Ferreti). Descriptions of their personalities use feminized adjectives such as quiet, diminutive, personal, and calm, rather than dramatic, eccentric, or flamboyant. When they are deemed passionate it is interpreted more as a political challenge to existing gender roles or social structures than as art for art's sake (e.g. Miuccia Prada, Rei Kawakubo).

The garments and collections of female designers are also not typically revered as works of art, but are noted for their practicality and wearability. Designer Tom Ford once said "women design for other women. They proceed from a standpoint of practicality — not fantasy" (Wilson, December 8 2005). Female designers' clothes are seen as appropriate for everyday wear, as comfortable, functional, and utilitarian, but also aesthetically pleasing. Fabrics mentioned include those appropriate for everyday use such as jersey and wool cashmere. Women are said to design clothes that they themselves would want to wear rather than to design for design's own sake These designs are more likely to be referred to as comfortable (Sonia Rykiel), accessible (Sarah Burton), free spirited and fun (Phoebe Philo), fulfilling the desires of real world customers (Stella McCartney), wearable (Miuccia Prada), the kind of "clothes that make a woman feel beautiful and alluring" (L'Wren

Scott), "eclectic, comfortable, grounded in the earth" (Donna Karen), and oriented around simplicity and sexiness (Diane von Furstenberg). Diane von Furstenberg's extremely popular wrap dresses, for instance, are described as "moneymakers" that are the ultimate in practicality — lightweight, non-wrinkling, appropriate for work and for travel, and easy to take on and off. While being palatable to mass-market consumers offers a level of status and fame, they lack artistic consecration. The lower symbolic capital attributed to this positioning is highlighted by an online article from *Jezebel.com*. As women gain success in practical and ready-to-wear design,

> "The problem there is the underlying prejudice: If couture is art, for which men are celebrated, then a woman's ready-to-wear becomes mass market seamstress patternmaking, and the respect and impact are sucked out" (Stewart, 2007)

Commitment

The gendered organization of work is reflected in the notion of an "ideal worker" whose time and energy are devoted only to work without interference from family or other responsibilities (Acker, 1990). Media texts and interview responses indicate a widespread perception that male designers, especially gay male designers, are thought to better conform to this ideal. For instance, in a 2012 *Style.com* article, designer Daryl Kerrigan argued that women's familial obligations create career barriers. She believes that she lost a high status job at Celine to designer Michael Kors because she was a mother of two young children. Speculating on the thought process of her potential employer, she says: "Are we going to share her with her kids, or are we going to hire this man who'll be able to go out every night?"

Gay male designers are thought to be even more "free" from family "interference"

than straight men. The discriminatory assumption that gay men tend to lead single and promiscuous lifestyles, leads to the perception that they can be more devoted to their work.

> "I would agree that it is a gay man's industry. It doesn't mean women can't get ahead, but you certainly have to sacrifice certain things. Women tend to want to get married and settle down. As gay men don't necessarily want to, it allows them to go out and network and party every day of the week until the wee hours." — (Rachel Khona, model booker, quoted in Chatel (2011))

The 24/7 lifestyle expected of an artist or cultural worker is an intensified version of what has become more and more common with the rise of flexibility and the creative workforce. As a "labor of love," creative work involves long hours for low pay and insecurity. Workers adopt an ethic of total devotion and passionate commitment to their art or creative process (Gill, 2002). Moreover, designing an independent collection is the best-known way to get one's name "out there" but is a financially risky and time intensive strategy (McRobbie, 1998). This type of work is not easily integrated with family life, which remains the primary responsibility of women. More reasonable work hours and stable incomes are available if designers work in commercial mass-market retail, but these jobs offer less opportunity for stardom, media coverage, and symbolic capital.

Support from Female-Led Media

Although men are more likely be to among the ranks of culturally consecrated designers, fashion magazine editors are powerful cultural intermediaries who participate in this consecration and are more likely to be women. As arbiters of taste, editors can select particular garments, collections, and designers to present in the pages of their publications, shaping aesthetic values, trends, and fame. They also often play the role of champion or patron to

up-and-coming designers, helping them break into the industry (McRobbie 1998). Anna Wintour (editor-in-chief of American *Vogue*), for example, is often credited with pushing forward the career of John Galliano, escorting him to industry parties, helping him network with potential financial backers, covering his work in her magazine, and offering friend-ship and advice (McRobbie, 1998). Galliano is now one of the most world famous fashion designers of the past century and former head designer of the house of Dior.[9] Wintour has her own place in the fashion canon and her own entry in *Voguepedia*, under the subsection "editors." This entry provides detailed information on the support Wintour has offered to emerging designers.

> Behind the scenes, Wintour stokes designers' creativity, while letting them know what women really want. She nurtured the early careers of Michael Kors, Alexander McQueen, Marc Jacobs, John Galliano, and Lazaro Hernan-dez and Jack McCollough of Proenza Schouler, among many others. In 2003, she initiated a plan to lend a helping hand to Manhattan's young talents — still struggling in the wake of 9/11 — through the CFDA/Vogue Fashion Fund: With a multimillion-dollar endowment and star-studded mentorship program, it has become an invaluable ladder up which new designers can climb to the top. (*Voguepedia*, Editors, Anna Wintour)

This type of media support is often offered to men. In the preceding quote, each of the "nurtured" designers are men, all are gay, and two are a couple. Designer Victoria Bartlett refers to this trend as "the lucky boys club" in a 2012 *Style.com* article. In this same article,

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[9]Galliano's tenure at Dior ended in 2011 when he was dismissed from his position amid controversy over his expression of anti-Semitic comments. Even after this incident, however, Galliano received continued support from some industry insiders. Stylist and costume designer Patricia Field, for example, made excuses, passing his comments off as "theatre" and "farce" of an artist.

designer Sophie Buhei states that common sense would presume that fashion would be a field championing female designers, since it is populated mainly by women. Instead, she observes, "most of the prominent artists are men. We see a lot of women who don't get as much attention as the male designers who are adored by editors." Designer Lisa Mayock is also quoted, calling this "the editor/designer dating game."

Many articles reference a famous comment made by designer Tara Subkoff who accused the fashion industry of being "a gay man's profession" and Anna Wintour of supporting only gay male designers. Several female fashion workers were quoted in support her view. Designer Abbe Diaz, for example has said:

> I have worked in fashion since 1997, and I completely agree with Tara Subkoff... in terms of fashion being a 'gay man's profession' the facts and number of well-known designers speak loudly and clearly on their own. (Diaz, quoted in Chatel (2011)).

Scholars, too, have remarked on this phenomenon. McRobbie found that in Britain "the passionate relations between the gay male designer and their female journalist follower... finds the female designers squeezed out of this particular fashion circuit" (1998, page 169). These observations are not unlike Williams' (Williams, 1992) original finding that a key mechanisms facilitating the glass escalator is the supportive relationships men hold with female colleagues and peers.

3.4.5   The Dual-Nature of the Runway Spotlight: Intersections of Gender & Sexuality

Historically, fashion design has been a less homophobic career choice than traditionally masculine fields such as law enforcement, blue-collar manual labor, and politics. Gay men and lesbians face barriers and discrimination in heteronormative workplaces and the "corporate closet" (Woods and Lucas, 1993) is a phenomenon whereby sexual minorities experience invisibility at work and feel the need to "pass" as heterosexual in order to succeed. Work organizations are gendered (Acker, 1990), but they are also sexed, in that seemingly neutral assumptions, practices, evaluative criteria, and policies are implicitly heterosexual, even homophobic. But certain design, travel, arts, and creative industries employ large numbers of gay men and have even been called "gay industries" (Woods and Lucas, 1993) Fashion is among the few areas where gay men have been welcomed, and where homosexuality can even be an asset. Raul Martinez, one-time art director at *Vogue* magazine, has said that the majority of the fashion world is gay, that *Vogue* would be a nightmare without gay men, and that fashion would not survive without the work of gay men in design, photography, styling, hair, and makeup (Woods and Lucas, 1993).

Recently, scholars have begun to question the utility of focusing on gender alone, noting how the glass escalator is both gendered and *racialized* and that intersecting inequalities determine who rides the glass escalator (Wingfield, 2009; Smith, 2012; Dahlkild-Ohman and Eriksson, 2013; Maume, 1999). Several scholars note how token men are assumed gay and can even be met with suspicion that they are sexual predators (see, for example, Williams, 1992; Murray, 1996; Allan, 1993; Lupton, 2006). The widespread assumption that fashion is a "gay industry" suggests the need to more fully explore how gendered advantages are constructed in intersection with sexuality in the context of fashion design.

Men who do "women's work" have their sexualities and masculinities questioned, pushing them out of the most feminized subfields into more high status, high wage work (Williams, 1992; Snyder and Green, 2008). In order to preserve a sense of masculinity, male nurses and teachers, for example, will move into administrative and supervisory roles deemed more gender appropriate. In the case of fashion design the same questions about sexuality arise, however, men are pushed into the spotlight *not as a way to preserve a heterosexual identity or hegemonic masculinity, but because of their presumed homosexuality*.

Media and cultural accounts portray male designers, especially gay male designers, in ways that build their symbolic capital by appealing to notions of art, innovation, craftsmanship, and perfectionism. Several news articles and interviews from a broader study of the fashion industry also mention of the unique position gay male designers occupy within the field. These accounts make use of essentialist discourses and frame gay male designers as occupying a kind of unique position within the field — as possessing the right combination of masculine and feminine "traits" that make them particularly well suited to fashion design. As biological men they are supposedly objective, technically skilled, artistic, and work-oriented. As supposedly "feminine" men, they are presumed to have an innate flair for visual representation and beauty, reflected in the notion of a "gay aesthetic" or a "keen eye" for style. Considering evidence indicates that skills such as a "good eye" for making creative decisions are not innate individual traits, but are learned through socialization into networks and status hierarchies (Godart and Mears, 2009), these statements seem overly simplistic and reflect cultural gender essentialism.

Gender essentialism revolves around the idea of a biologically determined hierarchical dichotomy between men and women. Individuals who express both male and female "traits" (which, in fact, most of us do) problematize this framework. A man who appears

feminine threatens norms of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). The presumption that all male designers are gay serves to protect hegemonic masculinity from having to deal with gender nuance, since gay men "are not real men." As a feminized creative field, fashion has historically been less homophobic and fashion design is an acceptable career for gay (re: "feminine") men. Based on their gender and sexuality, gay male designers are attributed both the feminine characteristics (deemed necessary to work in a creative and aesthetically-driven career) and the masculine characteristics that, being more highly valued than femininity in our culture, afford them advantages relative to the female fashion designer with whom they compete for symbolic capital.

Still, the intersections of gender and sexuality are in no way straightforward, and the spotlight they offer is of a dual-nature. Like all spotlights, the runway spotlight can be both flattering and harsh. Despite higher symbolic capital within the field, gay men are still vulnerable to homophobia and sexual discrimination. Gay designers are sometimes used as scapegoats for the fashion industry's association with underweight models and overly thin standards of beauty. In her ethnography of fashion modeling, for example Mears (2011) found that some members of the industry blame gay designers for size zero modeling standards. Such claims go something like this: gay men are attracted to teenage boys, therefore gay male designers want their female models to look as close to this ideal (i.e. skinny with no curves).[10] A 2008 entry from the popular New York fashion blog *Indie Fashion*, expresses similar sentiments:

> Nearly every fashion-line out there has some inspiration or influence by a gay
>
> designer. In every major fashion house, there is at least one gay man pulling

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[10]In reality, there is no single "ideal" of attractiveness for gay men or designers, anymore than there is for straight men or women. Moreover, the size-zero standard, Mears argues, has more to do with class and racial distinction and sexual unattainability in high-end fashion.

the strings and creating works of fashion "art" which are unwearable, unbear-
able revealing and most of the time only flattering to .02% of the population...
Men don't know jack about women and gay men are especially tuned out to
your needs since nothing about your figure or body satisfied them physically...
Gay designers don't care about your weight issues, your insecurities, and your
self-destructive desire to fit their mold. Why else would so many gay male
designers be opposed to the idea of enlisting a weight requirement on the run-
way?...So why do fashion people love gay designers? Cause gays are men...
And somewhere deep in the female consciousness is a little programmed bug
that tells us one thing, men rule the world. It's because of this that more women
haven't stood up and demanded changes in fashion. It's because of this that we
have anorexic models paraded down the runway, emaciated with zero percent
body fat, telling women that they are too fat it they are a size 6. And it's be-
cause of this that nearly everything you'll find in high fashion magazines like
Vogue, emphElle, and *Harpers Baazar* is designed to make you feel like shit
cause you aren't thin enough, sexy enough, or man enough to pull it off. (2008,
Indie Fashion)

Another example from a 2011 article on the popular website *The Grindstone* reads:

What does a man know about a woman's body? And how many of these rail-
thin 15-year-old models even have a woman's body? Perhaps, gay men are
the ones to blame for the fashion industry's addiction to women who literally
resemble wire hangers. (Chatel, *The Grindstone*)

While these do not appear to be "widespread" perceptions, according to media analyzed
in this study, these ideas do exist and are circulated. Regardless of their prevalence, the

mere existence of these accounts reveals how complicated the spotlight is for gay male designers whose symbolic capital can be threatened when met with discrimination based on sexuality. The spotlight is, therefore, both flattering and harsh and the glass runway in fashion design is neither stable nor built on gender alone. It is constructed and reinforced, but also problematized and shaken by the intersections of gender and sexuality.

3.5   Conclusion

Fusing insights from the sociology of gender and work with the sociology of culture, this paper has addressed if and how the glass escalator operates among cultural workers — in this case, fashion designers — a type of work not yet explored in scholarship on sex-segregated work and the glass escalator. Drawing on Bourdieu's (1993) concepts of cultural field and symbolic capital, I argue for the use of the *glass runway* to examine male advantage in feminized cultural work such as fashion design. The glass escalator is an appropriate metaphor for making sense of men's rise to the top of more traditionally structured labor markets and bureaucratic organizations. It does so by helping visualize the movement upward via raises and promotions, that is so key in these domains. But success in cultural fields is also measured by symbolic capital, which accrues through fame, consecration, and prestige. The glass runway does the work of helping to capture the more symbolic aspects of success that are important in some careers, especially those associated with creative and cultural economies. Future research on cultural workers and fields of cultural production may benefit from using the glass runway as a theoretical tool. It may help in explaining why, for example, most highly celebrated chefs are men while women tend to be responsible for lower status everyday cooking.

Using the case of fashion design as a feminized cultural field, this article uses a content

analysis of key news and industry media to demonstrate that male designers are advantaged in the accumulation of symbolic capital. Male designers — especially gay male designers — receive more cultural consecration, celebrity, and prestige in the form of industry awards, media attention, and canonization. The content of their coverage is also of higher value, and tends to highlight their objectivity, technical skill, and their artistic lifestyles, identities, and products.

Importantly, in the field of fashion design, male advantage does not appear to be shaped by gender alone, but by intersections of gender and sexuality. Like any spotlight, the spotlight of the glass runway can be both flattering and harsh. Gay male designers are represented as possessing masculine and feminine "traits" that make them uniquely well suited to fashion design. Yet, as sexual minorities they remain vulnerable to homophobic discrimination. Though it is beyond the scope of this paper, it appears likely that race and class inequalities also intersect with gender and sexuality in shaping the glass runway. In fashion design, the majority of top designers are white (North American or European), some are Jewish, and there has been a noted trend toward in increase of prominent Asian designers in recent years (Wilson, April 24 2013). Regarding class, *Voguepedia* and other media sources suggest that more top female designers come from wealthy backgrounds, while top male designers are more likely to have been upwardly mobile. A more explicitly intersectional study that explores these class and racial dynamics in addition to gender and sexuality could be a fruitful direction for future research and has the potential to yield important insights into the shape of gender inequality in sex-segregated cultural fields.

Chapter 4

The Gendered Organization of Creative Cultural Work: A Case Study of the Fashion Industry

The study of gendered organizations has become a strong research program in the sociology of gender and work. Since Joan Acker's landmark article (1990) scholars have devoted attention to the gendered organization of jobs, hierarchies, and bodies in a host of arenas (Williams et al., 2012; Demaiter and Adams, 2009; Kelly et al., 2010; Price, 2008; Van Echtelt et al., 2009; Ward, 2004; Britton, 2000; Acker, 1998). We have learned that organizational practices, processes, and policies are never as gender-neutral as they seem, and that a gender substructure runs through organizational logics. Even as jobs, workplaces, and labor markets have transformed in the "new economy" of recent decades, research suggests the persistence of organizational gendering (Williams et al., 2012; Kelly et al., 2010; Van Echtelt et al., 2009).

To date, however, the gendered organizations framework has primarily been applied

to blue-collar, white-collar, and professional organizations and has not been used to study creative and cultural work.[1] Filling this gap is a necessary sociological task for a number of reasons. First, the creative economy is growing and has sparked the interests of scholars, policy makers, and governments. These industries have long been home to many cultural and organizational characteristics of work that are now spreading across the labor market, acting as models for other kinds of work (Neff et al., 2005; Tams, 2002). The "creative class" is often praised as an advantaged category of workers in today's economy — with freedom, control, and higher than average incomes (for example, see Florida, 2002). But creative workers are also the most likely to work long hours and may experience more work-to-family conflict and stress as a result of boundary-spanning demands and a need for work-family multitasking (Schieman and Young, 2010), or what some have called an overflow or "extensification" of work (Jarvis and Pratt, 2006). Creative work can entail hazards such as a vulnerability to burn-out and exhaustion, alcohol and drug addiction, and health problems of both a physical (e.g. heart attack, stroke) and mental or emotional (e.g. depression, anxiety) nature (McRobbie, 2002; Sennet, 1998). Moreover, research shows that incomes are heavily skewed in these labor markets, with most workers' earning low or inconsistent pay (Arvidsson et al., 2010). This finding directly contradicts the argument that wages and salaries are altogether high among creative workers (Florida 2002). For these reasons it is essential to investigate the potential gender inequalities that may shape entry and retention into the creative cultural sphere, as well as influence economic and non-economic aspects of job quality.

Cultural and creative industries can be defined as those that "cater to consumer demands for ornamentation, amusement, self-affirmation, and social display" whose products

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[1]Tams' (2002) study of creative sector gender inequality in Sheffield is an exception. However, although she notes the masculinized nature of "ideal worker" norms, she does not apply a full gendered organizations approach and her data is limited to the UK.

"are inscribed with high levels of aesthetic or semiotic content" and which "provide social status and identity over and above their utility functions" (Mears 2011, page 7). Some research on creative and cultural industries has identified gender inequalities within these domains (e.g. Banks and Milestone, 2011; Taylor, 2010; Negrey and Rausch, 2009; Nixon and Crewe, 2004; McRobbie, 2002; Adkins, 1999). But this literature has not made use of the theory of gendered organizations and has primarily been focused on the United Kingdom, leaving scant knowledge about the North American context. To fill these gaps this article fuses insights from scholarship on creative cultural work with the theory of gendered organizations. I address the gendered organization of creative cultural work through a case study of the fashion industry in Canada.[2] Drawing on 63 in-depth semi-structured interviews with members of the fashion industry who lead creative careers, this article offers an analysis of how two organizational components common in creative cultural work — entrepreneurial labor and passion — reproduce gender inequality by constructing an "ideal creative worker" model that is gendered male.

It is important to note that unlike other studies of gendered organizations, this article does not focus on one occupation, job, or company. Rather than investigate the policies, practices, and logics of a single organization, or compare multiple organizations, this paper addresses creative cultural work *organizationally*, through an industry-level analysis. This different analytic focus is intentional — because of the nature of creative cultural work and industries. In these contexts, the individualization of risk means it is less common for workers to be employed by a single organization or client, especially over long periods

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[2]Although creative work and cultural work are arguably different in some capacities, I refer to "creative cultural work" and "creative cultural industries" following a lineage of other scholarship that refers to a category of work and workers in the new economy that share similar characteristics such as: entrepreneurial labor, passion, a preponderance of contract and nonstandard work, a need to "keep up" and to network, etc. Scholars in this tradition refer to creative and cultural arenas and workers in conjunction in studies of fashion workers, designers, film industry workers, new media workers, and so on (see, for example, Neff et al., 2005; McRobbie, 2002; Tams, 2002; Jarvis and Pratt, 2006; Banks et al., 2000; Taylor and Littleton, 2008).

of time. It is common for workers to switch from job to job, to hold multiple jobs or positions simultaneously, to work contractually, and to identify as fulfilling multiple roles. The second reason for this approach is because the operation of creative cultural industries entails continual collaboration, blurred boundaries between positions and organizations, and complex networks or circuits through which creativity occurs and cultural products are made, promoted, and distributed (Mears, 2011; Arvidsson et al., 2010; Mora, 2006; Entwistle, 2002; Becker, 1982; Hirsch, 1972). The overlapping, intertwined, and fluid organization of positions in these industries suggests that processes of gendering may occur at a broader level, with gender-biased organizational logics entering the spaces between and among positions and organizations, rather than at the level of specific workplaces or jobs. In this article, therefore, I address the organization of work within the fashion industry — a context in which positions bleed into one another and workers must be "jacks of all trades."

It is also worth noting that this article analyzes the gendered organization of a predominantly female industry, a different strategy than most previous gendered organizations research, which has focused primarily on male-dominated occupations and organizations. However, if female-dominated work is organized in gendered ways, this finding would offer even greater support for Acker's notion of a "gender substructure." Acker (1990) contended that jobs, hierarchies, and organizations have an underlying gender substructure that assumes a male worker and privileges men, male bodies, and masculinity. This substructure runs through organizing logics, making highly gendered assumptions, policies, and processes appear gender-neutral and natural. If this substructure is, in fact, built into the very concept of a "job," "hierarchy," or other abstract categories, then it should not matter who fills a position, or the number of men versus women working in a particular context.

Indeed, as will be argued in the pages to follow, the fashion industry is a predominantly female industry of employment organized by logics and practices that privilege men, as well as women who can more easily conform to the masculinized image of the "ideal creative worker." This finding — that the organization of a feminized industry can be as highly gendered as a masculine context — suggests that intersectionality plays an important role that gendered organizations scholars might benefit from exploring more deeply. In the case of fashion, age and class help shape the gendered substructure.

The next section of this paper introduces the theory of gendered organizations and recent literature that has attempted to update this theory for the "new economy." I then address a gap in this body of work — the lack of knowledge about creative cultural work contexts — and review characteristics of creative cultural work based on a review of relevant literature. After introducing the case of fashion and the data and methods, I explain how two organizational aspects of creative cultural work — entrepreneurial labor and passion — are gendered in the context of the fashion industry. First, the individualization of risk and insecurity in creative cultural industries leads to a necessity to enact entrepreneurial labor strategies, including working in multiple positions, networking, updating skills and knowledge, and self-promotion through identity work. Second, creative cultural work is organized according to an ideology of passion. This work is framed as a labor of love and a route to self-actualization. Workers are encouraged to blend work and personal life and to immerse themselves in "lifestyle careers." I find that the ability to enact entrepreneurial labor strategies and to be seen as "passionate enough" (in other words, the ability to conform to the image of the *ideal creative worker*) are unevenly distributed. In particular, women's bodies and greater caring responsibilities in personal and family relationships make it difficult to maintain immersion, to spend evenings and weekends performing entrepreneurial

labor, and to refrain from drawing work-life distinctions. Men, and women who can effectively *act like men* (i.e. younger women, women without children, women with financial support), are better able to meet these entrepreneurial and passionate standards. Moreover, even those women who most closely match the ideal creative worker image are subject to criticism in ways that men are not. It remains more culturally acceptable for men to embody the passionate creative worker. Thus, passion is not a gender-neutral privilege of the creative class as a whole and entrepreneurial labor is not a gender-neutral survival strategy.

4.1   The Theory of Gendered Organizations

Joan Acker's theory of gendered organizations posits that organizations and other analytic units are gendered when "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (1990, page 146). Acker emphasizes that gender is an essential and fundamental part of organizational processes, practices, and assumptions, no matter how natural or gender-neutral they might appear. Jobs and hierarchies, for example, are treated as abstract categories filled by disembodied workers — workers who have no existence or responsibility outside the organization, living only to work. While no one can perfectly conform to this model, women are particularly disadvantaged because the gendered division of household labor continues to place primary responsibility for domestic labor and childcare on women's shoulders. The disembodied worker, however unrealistic, is most closely matched by the breadwinning male whose children and personal needs are cared for by a female spouse or partner. Further, women's bodies, sexualities, emotions, and procreative capacities are ignored and suppressed by organizational logics. Temporal and spatial boundaries constructed between work and personal life are key components in

processes of gendering.

Of course, the organization of boundaries and the cultural meanings to which they are attached are not the same in all contexts and have changed over time. Acker's analysis focused on traditional "standard" jobs and bureaucratic organizations. But labor markets, workplaces, and careers have changed significantly in the last several decades. Still, scholars investigating transformations in the structure and organization of work continue to find gender inequalities. Van Echtelt, et. al, (2009), for example, found that despite a rhetoric of flexibility and work-family balance, "post-Fordist" work, characterized by a performance logic rather than clock time, increases overtime hours and reinforces the male breadwinner model of work. Likewise, Kelly, et al. (2010) conducted a case study of organizational attempts to challenge gender inequality through a Results Only Work Environment (ROWE) initiative at Best Buy's corporate headquarters. They found that responses to the ROWE initiative were highly gendered, with women expressing interest and men expressing caution, and cultural ideals proved resistant to change. Most recently, Williams, Muller, and Kilanski (2012) attempt to update the theory of gendered organization for the "new economy" through an analysis of geoscientists working in the oil and gas industry. They find that although work in the new economy is more likely to be defined by insecurity, teamwork, career maps, and networking than by long-term security, standardized career ladders and job descriptions, and management controlled evaluations, gender remains embedded in organizational logics.

Thus, evidence has shown that in a variety of white collar, blue collar, and professional contexts, the gendered organization of work is resilient, even in the face of large-scale transformations in the nature of work and the structure of labor markets. Still, there are contexts left unexplored in the gendered organizations literature. This study addresses one

such context — that of creative and cultural work — an arena that has received a great deal of attention in recent years from governments, policy makers, academics, and in popular culture. The organization of creative and cultural work and industries has been held as a model for adapting to the "new economy" in a variety of industries (Neff et al., 2005; Tams, 2002) and these types of work are often glamorized in popular culture. For these reasons, it is important to investigate the potentially gendered organizing logics that shape them. Next, I present an overview of dominant characteristics of creative and cultural work drawn from sociological and interdisciplinary literature. Based on these characteristics, I then conduct a gendered analysis of the fashion industry.

4.2   Creative and Cultural Industries

Those who participate in creative cultural work (e.g. designers, artists, new media workers) have garnered a great deal of academic and popular attention in recent years (Gill Pratt 2008), often heralded as a largely privileged and ideal "creative class" (Florida 2002) of workers whose normalization of risk serves as a model or standard for work in other industries (Neff, Wissinger Zukin 2005). Much research has been devoted to identifying and unpacking the characteristics of the creative cultural economy, including: temporary, contract, and precarious jobs; blurred boundaries between work and play; passionate feelings toward and a strong identification with the work; long work hours and a normalization of "crunch times" or bulimic work patterns; a preponderance of networking and sociality; rapid rates of change and the need to "keep up;" individualization of risk; and, anxiety over insecure jobs and careers (Butler et al., 2011; Neff, 2010; Arvidsson et al., 2010; Gill and Pratt, 2008; Taylor and Littleton, 2008; Kong, 2006; Christopherson and van Jaarsveld, 2005; Nixon and Crewe, 2004; McRobbie, 2002; Terranova, 2000; Sennet, 1998; Menger,

1999; Kotamraju, 2002; Banks et al., 2000). At a general level, these characteristics boil down to two organizing logics of work in creative cultural industries: (1) the need for *entrepreneurial* labor as a result of increased individualization; and (2) a belief in *passion* as a force that both drives labor and offers reward, which I am calling an ideology of passion.

Individualization has been said to be the result of corporate restructuring and downsizing, the privatization of culture and art, and the rise of insecurity and risk in contemporary society (Neff, 2010; Smith, 2010; McRobbie, 2002; Beck, 1997). While some (e.g. Beck, 1997) see individualization as having the potential for liberation, emancipation, and elimination of particular inequalities, others have argued that individualization merely represents a reformulation and reworking of social structural inequalities, which remain resilient in the face of challenges (e.g. Banks and Milestone, 2011). As states and workplaces back away from social responsibility, workers are left to shoulder burdens that were previously taken up by social structures. They adopt entrepreneurial labor strategies in order to manage risk, uncertainty, insecurity, and competition. Scholars have a range of terms for this phenomenon. Neff (2010) refers to the "venture labor" performed by employees of Internet start-up companies. McRobbie (2002) notes that workers become their own "micro-structures." Smith (2010) notes that workers "enhance employability" through identity work, training and networking, and unpaid or marginal paid positions. Ursell (Ursell, 2000) refers to "self-commodification processes" whereby workers attempt to increase their potential for employment.

No matter the terminology, researchers continually find that being employable means taking an entrepreneurial approach to work (even if one is not an entrepreneur). This typically involves four strategies: (1) taking on multiple positions (Smith, 2010; Arvidsson et al., 2010; Ursell, 2000; Menger, 1999); (2) Networking and participating in the sociality

of creative cultural industries (Smith, 2010; Neff, 2010; Kong, 2006; Banks and Milestone, 2011; Neff et al., 2005; Ursell, 2000); (3) Keeping up to date, which can involve re-skilling and working to stay knowledgeable about continually changing trends, technologies, and other ephemeral aspects of creative cultural industries (Smith, 2010; Kotamraju, 2002; Terranova, 2000); and (4) working on self-presentation, which can include appearance, demeanor, emotions, and on a more general level, cultivating one's own "brand" (Mears, 2011; Smith, 2010; Nixon and Crewe, 2004).

Passion is another organizing logic of creative cultural work. Workers are known to express a strong identification with their occupation or job, to derive creative fulfillment from the labor process, to seek self-actualization through work (Banks and Milestone, 2011; Gill and Pratt, 2008; McRobbie, 2002; Tams, 2002). In fashion, for example, this is expressed through common idioms such as "I have a passion for fashion" and "I don't do fashion. I am fashion."[3] Likewise, workplaces seeking to increase creative productivity have begun to incorporate elements of fun, leisure, and play (Butler et al., 2011; Neff et al., 2005; Nixon and Crewe, 2004). There is a widespread belief that for creative workers, work does not feel like work at all, but rather a "labor of love" (Freidson, 1990). Passion appears to drive much of the creative labor process — pushing individuals to work longer hours and to immerse themselves in the world of fashion, film, or whatever their field may be. Passionate feelings are also thought to offer reward for work, such that work is pleasurable, fulfilling, and offers the opportunity for self-actualization. Under this conception, creative and cultural work appear to come closer to ideal work in the Marxist sense, whereby workers have control, flexibility, and rather than being alienated, are made whole by their labor, nearing the idea of species being. Yet, the passionate roots of creative work have a dark side

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[3]The latter quote is originally attributed to famous French fashion designer Coco Chanel and has become a common adage in the fashion industry.

that this *ideology of passion* does not bring to light. Passion can become a powerful work ethic and passionate workers have been found vulnerable to self-exploitation, exhaustion, anxiety, and burn-out (Taylor, 2010; Taylor and Littleton, 2008; Perrons, 2003; McRobbie, 2002; Ursell, 2000). If the best creative workers are passionate, and if passion means happily engaging in long hours and overwork, than those who contest these conditions or cannot live up to them for any reason may be evaluated as insufficiently passionate, and therefore less valuable and worthy.

Thus, the organization of work in creative and cultural industries is characterized by individualization and the accompanying need for entrepreneurial approaches to labor, as well as by work ethics shaped by an ideology of passion. Scholars have noted the pros (e.g. flexibility, status, fun) and the cons (e.g. long hours cultures, insecure jobs) of working in these contexts. But are these factors part of the *gendered organization* of creative cultural work? To answer this question, I turn to evidence from a case study of the fashion industry in Canada — a context in which a range of creative workers produce, promote, and distribute fashionable products and lifestyles.

4.3   Data and Methods

This paper is based on 63 interviews with creative workers in the cultural industry of fashion (59 women, 4 men).[4] The intention of these interviews was to explore if and how the organization of creative cultural work is gendered. The fashion industry is an ideal context through which to explore these issues. Despite being female dominated, gender segregation exists within the field and men tend to occupy top-tier positions as creative directors,

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[4]This sample reflects the gender distribution of the fashion industry, which is predominantly female. It is also skewed female simply because men were much less likely to volunteer to be interviewed.

CEOs, and prominent photographers and designers[5] more often than women.[6]

Unlike most previous studies in the gendered organizations literature, this research is not a case study of a particular organization (company, workplace, office) or occupation (e.g. design). Rather, I perform an organizational analysis of the fashion industry, asking if and how the organizing logics of creative cultural work are gendered. Fashion workers tend to occupy a number of interrelated positions within the field, often multiple positions at once. For this reason it made no sense to study one occupation or organization in the fashion industry. Most participants refer to themselves as a "jack of all trades," performing multiple roles in the industry (e.g. intern, stylist, freelance writer). Often, members of the fashion industry do not self-identify with any single occupational category, listing themselves under the general heading of "fashion professional" on their LinkedIn profiles, for example. Moreover, while the nature of work certainly varies between corporate, small business, and freelance jobs, most fashion workers mix these types of involvements in their daily lives. Several participants were, for example, employed by a large company (retail chain, magazine) during the day while conducting freelance work (e.g. as a stylist or writer) on the side. The list of positions which my participants occupied is outlined in Table A.1 on page 150. Because of the fluidity of positions within creative and cultural industries, then, and because workers move about from job to job, it makes little sense to explore the gendered organization of a single company. While this can yield useful insights, this kind of movement and overlap would be lost if we were to look only at one organization or company. It makes sense, therefore, to address whether the organization of the *industry* is gendered.

Locating and recruiting members of the fashion industry can be difficult. Workers do

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[5]See chapter 3 The Glass Runway.

[6]Though a general pattern, male dominance varies. Mears (2011), for example, found female models earn more than male models, and McRobbie (1998) argues that women tend to be powerful in fashion media.

not often advertise their contact information on public websites, fashion companies offer only customer service numbers and emails that typically turn out to be dead ends, and offices and studios are not usually open to the public. I therefore began by making use of LinkedIn, a social networking site popular in the private sector. LinkedIn allows users to conduct searches and make "connections." I conducted a search, narrowing by geographic location (Canada — Toronto, Montréal)[7] and industry of employment (fashion and apparel). LinkedIn returned a list of individuals matching these criteria. The site also offers members the option of contacting other members (for a fee) via a messaging system called InMail. In each message I introduced myself, requested an interview, explained the purpose of the research, what the interview would entail, and ethical considerations (e.g. confidentiality). For every ten InMails sent I received approximately three to four responses, of which one to two individuals would eventually participate in an interview. I reached out to some participants through referral, and a few were contacted via emails on professional websites (although, as noted above, this was rare).

Because LinkedIn has the capacity for very structured searches, it allows for both the targeting of specific populations *as well as* a diverse sample of participants. Other standard qualitative strategies, such as snowball sampling, are useful for identifying hard to reach or invisible populations but run the risk of producing an overly-homogenous group of participants. Relying exclusively on snowball sampling and referral means a greater likelihood of having participants be members of a smaller number of close networks. This is not a problem in all research, but here, my aim was to get to know a range of perspectives from various positions in the fashion industry. As well, since LinkedIn users are more likely to be committed to a career in fashion I was able to avoid having too many participants

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[7]As with many creative and cultural industries, fashion operate in large urban centers that act as hubs. In the US, these are New York and Los Angeles. In Europe they are Paris, Milan, and London. In Canada, they are Toronto and Montreal.

who were only casually or temporarily working in fashion (if it's your part-time job while you are in grad school, for example, you likely won't list "fashion" as your industry on LinkedIn).

Toronto and Montréal are the industry's hubs in Canada. Both cities report over 50,000 jobs in the fashion and apparel sector, thousand of fashion retail stores, prominent fashion programs in universities and colleges, biannual fashion weeks, and housing the most famous Canadian design labels and manufacturing companies call Toronto or Montréal home (City of Toronto, 2013; Ville de Montréal, 2009). For this reason, the majority of participants lived and worked in Montreal. There a few exceptions. A couple of participants were based out of Calgary but were connected to the fashion scene in Toronto and Montréal and worked primarily online. Several participants refer to Toronto or Montréal as "home" but were temporarily working in the US, Europe, Asia. In fact, many had done this temporarily at some point in their careers, even if they were located in Toronto or Montréal at the time of interview. Participants were between the ages of 20 and 50. The vast majority of participants hold either a bachelor's degree or a college diploma. Table B.2 on page 153 provides basic demographic data on participants.

Interviews lasted an average of one hour each and took place either: in person (in coffee shops, restaurants, bars, or workplaces); over the phone; or via Skype. Interviews were semi-structured. I made use of an interview guide, but questions were revised, added, or removed, depending on the participant and their experiences. In general, questions revolved around: reasons for pursuing creative careers and work in the fashion industry; types of work and work responsibilities; work schedules and the management of time; negotiation of work-life boundaries; ways to break into the industry and to achieve career success; the best and worst parts of working in fashion; presentation of self and brand; what makes a

good or bad worker; personal life, hobbies, and family responsibilities; and perceptions of the future, including, plans and hopes for both career and personal life.

Interviews were recorded, transcribed using Scrivener, coded and analyzed manually. Analysis was inductive but I looked for themes that emerged around major characteristics of creative cultural work that had been previously identified in scholarly literature. Interview data were supplemented by both textual analysis (e.g. of fashion magazines, blogs, industry publication) and field observation at Toronto's Fashion Week. These data were used to develop an understanding of the layout of the fashion industry, the relationship between different positions and interactions between workers, and demographic features of industry members.

4.4 Findings

4.4.1 Entrepreneurial Labor

Like other creative and cultural industries, the fashion industry is notoriously fast-paced, jobs are often contractual or temporary, workers feel they have low levels of job security, competition is fierce, and many workers (especially in early career stages) experience low pay or at least unstable and sporadic payments. Within this context, workers hoping to "make it" must engage in entrepreneurial strategies and manage risk individually. Mirroring findings from research on other creative cultural laborers, data from the fashion industry depict four ways in which entrepreneurial labor strategies are organized. These include the taking on of multiple positions or jobs, networking, keeping up with rapid change, and identity work. The next section provides a brief description of these strategies, which I then follow up with an analysis of their gendered character.

Angela McRobbie (2002: 519) wrote that in the creative sector workers "cannot simply rely on old working patterns associated with their art world, they have to find new ways of 'working' the new cultural economy, which increasingly means holding down three or even four 'projects' at once." Members of the fashion industry are typically involved in fashion in a variety of ways, rather than specializing or seeking lifetime employment with one company. In the face of competition, individualized risk, and job insecurity, the most "employable" worker (rather than the most loyal worker) is the winner. In order to "enhance employability" (Smith 2010) workers play a variety of roles in the fashion world, take on multiple jobs, contracts, and side projects. A majority of participants in this study referred to themselves as a "jack of all trades" or noted that they have to be able to "wear different hats." When asked about the primary responsibilities associated with their work, many said that "every day is different" and that they shift roles throughout the course of a day or week. LinkedIn profiles often list two or three "current positions" (e.g. intern, blogger, freelance stylist). Presumably in order to appeal to the widest range of potential employers, collaborators, or clients, some individuals even refer to themselves not according to their current job, but under a more general heading of "fashion professional."

The taking on of multiple positions is extremely common among younger workers who are attempting to gain a foothold in the industry. Interning is a common career stage in many creative industries, and is typical of almost all occupations in fashion. Interns tend to work long hours for no pay, hoping that internships will offer future career opportunities through skills gained and networks made. Even those who begin their careers with paying positions rather than unpaid internships typically do not make a great deal of money. If they can afford it, they take on fashion-related side projects such as freelance work in order to make enough money to survive, and to build experience and networks that may lead to

higher paying jobs in the future.

> When I was in school I had to be on top of my interning and volunteering, just because you want to have a well-rounded resume. I always volunteered at fashion week. I also studied abroad for a year in Italy and did some work there in the industry. So I've always been very involved... I feel like in this industry because it doesn't pay so well, that's the only way to survive. By being your own boss and being a freelancer. You need to have an income and then you need to have some sort of additional income that's coming in every once in a while, even if it's a freelance job - I took a lot of freelance jobs in styling... it's about always continuing to have relevant things going on... It also becomes consuming after awhile. When you have 5, 6 different projects going on at the same time you're so overwhelmed it's like, okay, this is not worth it. So yeah it's definitely something that a lot of people do... it's definitely beneficial. (Molly, Sales Representative, Designer)

Even workers who have "made it" in fashion often continue to involve themselves in multiple projects as insurance against insecurity and potential job loss. More established workers continue to feel anxiety and experience insecurity, even if they hold higher status positions or have been working in their jobs for a long time. Felicia, a fashion magazine editor in her forties, said that "I don't feel secure in my career at all!" — a statement echoed by a number of others. Several participants who were well established in their careers continued to believe that "you are only as good as your last project."

Second, networking is an important part of the work that members of the fashion industry do, as it is with most types of creative and knowledge-driven work in the new economy.

In fashion, networking serves both industry-level and individual purposes. The fashion industry relies heavily on collaborative labor and networking in order to do business. Like other creative industries, fashion survives through the labor of its members as they build social capital, work together, and compete. At the individual level, almost all participants referred to fashion as a social industry, and to the fashion community as "small." Those hoping to "make it" in fashion must participate in the *social fabrics* of the industry. In a context where jobs are often contractual and short-term and competition is fierce, social capital offers insurance against risk and insecurity. This requires time spent on evenings and weekends networking at industry events (e.g. fashion shows, brand launches) and continually engaging with online social media throughout the course of each day. Most participants noted that if they wanted, they could attend an event every night, and many attended between one and five a week, some bouncing between multiple events in a single evening.

> The one thing that is really important is going to the events, going to the fashion shows, going to the launch of the new issue of the magazine that just came out. You wanna network with those editors and photographers that were featured in that issue of the magazine. You never know what producer is going to be there. (Angela, Fashion Stylist)

Third, fashion is by its very definition about change, newness, and innovation. In recent years, the lifespan of trends and technologies has shortened immensely. There are now even "micro-trends," which last only weeks. Moreover, the sheer quantity of fashion-related news and information available has increased enormously. The need to "keep up" is an important part of working in the fashion industry. Workers update their skills as well as their knowledge of current trends, up and coming designers and models, new technologies,

and other such information. They do so by scouting on the streets of Toronto and Montreal, reading fashion magazines, blogs, and other online industry resources (e.g. *Style.com*, *Women's Wear Daily*), and through discussions with other industry insiders. Stylist Sabrina, for example, describes the work required to keep up with change. She states:

> You have to do a lot of your own research. It's a lot of self-discipline when it comes to this industry. I'm always online researching the latest collections, what's been out, what's coming out, what are the looks... just to be on top of the ball. (Sabrina, Fashion Stylist)

Finally, creative workers manage risk and enhance their employability through identity work, by creating a brand or professional identity that will allow them to stand out amongst their competition. A large part of this is the work that goes into "looking the part" of a fashion insider: cultivating a look or style, shopping, putting together outfits, styling hair and makeup, and other forms of aesthetic labor (Entwistle Wissinger 2006).

> You need to be representing the brand, fashion luxury. You have to sort of do that... hahaha... and it's time, time spent. And it's also to some degree people in fashion tend to spend a disproportionate amount on clothing and all of those things to stay abreast, to be current, to represent the brand (Elyse, Marketing)

On the surface, these four entrepreneurial strategies may appear gender-neutral. In fact, interviews with industry workers suggest these strategies are of a highly gendered nature.

Gendered Time Commitments of Entrepreneurial Labor Strategies

The four entrepreneurial strategies discussed above require enormous time commitments. Maintaining multiple jobs or positions means working long hours and multiple shifts in a

day. Networking events typically occur afterhours, on evenings and weekends. Keeping up with changing trends, news, and technologies requires constant and ongoing research, often outside formal work hours. And aesthetic labor involves time spent grooming, shopping, and cultivating a "look." Participants generally agree that women face more pressures and more obstacles in successfully enacting these strategies, in part because of increased family obligations, but also because men are more likely to have flexibility and control in their working lives.

Many participants noted a preponderance of discrimination against women with children who work in fashion. They are assumed not to have the same flexibility or free time with which to "keep up to date" on the latest trends and news. Maternity leaves are rarely taken, and those who do make use of them are often discriminated against. The widespread perception that parents cannot fit with youth cultures such as fashion, and that moms are not stylish, is reflected in some of these perceptions.

> People in the industry... not look down on, but sort of see women with family
> in the industry as not as... hard working... Here at my job, like a woman went
> away on maternity leave, so she was gone for about ten months or something.
> And then she came back and I think there's a couple times when I, where
> I heard girls being like "oh, she came back from maternity leave," and it was
> "Now she doesn't know what's going on." It, you know, so I think, I don't know
> if it was intentional, I don't know if it was an insult or anything like that, but,
> you know, I think people might look, especially young, like I work with a lot
> of young girls. So this lady is maybe about 40. And so she went on maternity
> leave and came back, and I don't know if it's just because these are young girls
> that mainly work in the fashion industry but, you know, it was just sort of like

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"oh she came back from maternity leave" and it was like, "She's kind of out of the... out of the scene for awhile." "Does she even know what's on trend?" Or, "She has all this other life that she has to take care of." And I think there might be a... .a bias, or, I don't know, that people with family in the industry aren't as dedicated. (Monica, Buyer's Assistant, Product Development, Writer)

Several participants noted that those workers with the highest levels of flexibility and control are actually men, allowing them to manage both entrepreneurial work as well as a personal life. Men are known for having higher-ranking senior positions in the industry and for having "wives at home, wives who make babies" (Hannah, fashion marketing). Felicia, for example, is a 41-year-old magazine editor with two children who, like others, has noticed this gendered advantage:

All I know is, I am hardly the most driven and ambitious woman, but I have a good work ethic. In recent years with the arrival of children I have noticed the subtle sexism in my industry. How men rise above and are allowed downtime or private lives, flexible hours, to make more money when often they are child-free and therefore have less ''big-girl' responsibilities... As with a lot of things in life, men seem to have more opportunity, more freedom to be driven with something they love, not to mention, better bargaining power. Factor [in?] that they don't have kids, or pressure to make them and I think you have a very different headspace for ambition and focus... It's funny, I'm in a unique situation right now where I feel that there is an element of....men getting treated better than woman. That's just what I've noticed. They get better jobs, they get better hours, they get better pay. They also...get treated differently. And that's discouraging, you know, you don't really wanna think that that's happening,

but it is, for sure.....in my office right now, the people with the flexible working

conditions are men. Who don't have children. It just boggles the brain. Did

I ask for it? Maybe not. But I think they would say no anyways. (Felicia,

Magazine Editor)

Penny, a fashion and beauty new editor, articulated the idea that not only do men have

less familial responsibilities than women, giving them a leg up in a competitive labor mar-

ket, but that gay men may have even more advantages because they are supposedly less

likely to have children.[8]

Why do you think men are the CEOs and design directors and women are at

the next tier?: If I had to speculate I'd say it's because... the design director

had two kids but her boss was a male and he did not have any kids... .they

were also all gay, so... .unless they're adopting children but none of them that i

knew ever had any kids at home and they really don't have that distraction from

the work life, and they're still doing things outside of work that are somehow

related to the job. (Penny, Fashion and Beauty News Editor)

In another part of her interview, Felicia noted that her participation in networking and

aesthetic labor has diminished since having children. Asked whether this was because she

now felt more secure and thus more comfortable cutting back on things like networking,

she asserted that this was not the case. She finds that, in fact, the demands of motherhood

have made her feel less secure in her career because it has been harder to find time (and

money) for shopping and beauty work, for keeping up and staying in the loop, and for

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[8]This perception — that gay men can be even more devoted to work than straight men — because they are less likely to have children, is echoed in media accounts as well. See chapter 3 for an assessment of how, among fashion designers, gay men are attributed more symbolic capital because of this supposedly higher level of commitment.

attending events that primarily take place on weekends or weeknights after six — times that are incompatible with the realities of motherhood.

> My god. I'm dying to go to my esthetician. My eyebrows are out of control. I haven't waxed my upper lip in like...I gotta get there. But I have two kids. I notice that. I notice the crunch. It's very hard to just do those things... But you know, do I think it would help me on a personal level, a professional level, as a brand editor? Absolutely... Personal style is very important in fashion, especially in this age of luxury where everybody can buy whatever they want...I feel self conscious everyday... But there's pressure for sure... I've been out of work for a year, right? I've been on maternity leave. So I just came back, and I went out shopping the week before I came back and honestly I spent over a thousand dollars in one day and I was gassed. I haven't bought anything in an entire year. And my husband agreed to give me like 500 bucks. A thousand dollars... you know what a thousand dollars bought me?! Like nothing! It bought me two pairs of J brand jeans. It bought me like two silk blouses. I mean, it was unbelievable. But I still did it. And that's like nothing! But I felt I had to do it. And so I came back thinking to myself, okay, I'm just gonna buy a few basics and then I'm gonna assess what everybody else is wearing and then make my call... yeah it has been difficult (the transition back to work). Like, in terms of knowing where to get stuff, for sure. I'm really out of the loop. And things change so quickly these days. Like, I'm not as savvy about online sales right now. Some girls in my office are really good about that stuff. (Felcia, Magazine Editor)

In this quote, Felicia expresses not only the time pressures felt by mothers who work in

fashion, but also the financial incompatibility of being both a mother and a "fashionista," and the gendered financial dependency reproduced by the organization of this work. Sometimes, financial resources and a supportive partner can mitigate a portion of time pressure that women feel. Since most wages and salaries in the fashion industry are not high, however, women cannot typically pay for these supports themselves. Thus, class advantages that can mitigate some degree of time pressure are also gendered, in that they reproduce women's financial dependency, especially on men (e.g. boyfriends, husbands, and fathers). The following quote from Lynn, exemplifies this phenomenon:

> I heard a funny story about one of the editors at another magazine. She was in Milan with one of our editors and she was saying "Oh, you can't have two kids in this industry," and she was being really, like, I think that's kind of like harassment to be saying you can't have two kids in this industry. She was saying that to someone who had no kids but it was about someone else specifically that works for her... I dunno, I think it would be hard... the hours... everyone has stuff that we have to do in the evenings and it's so unpredictable, so... my editor in chief, she has two kids but she also has like a very wealthy husband and a nanny, so... because the industry doesn't pay very well most people who work in it are already wealthy somehow, so you need like a rich husband or rich parents or something. (Lynn, Magazine Editor)

In summary, the time commitments required to enact entrepreneurial strategies are inherently gendered. Men can more easily meet these goals because of: (1) their lower responsibility for the organization and care of family, and (2) the greater flexibility, control, and power they possess in the industry. Women with financial support from a male partner or family member can alleviate some time pressure and are more advantaged in the

enactment of entrepreneurial strategies. Yet, this class-based advantage may only serve to reproduce gender inequality, being that it implies dependency on the part of female workers.

That time commitments required of the "ideal worker" create work-family conflict for women more than men, is not a novel finding. Acker's original theory (1990) suggested that it is precisely because of women's greater share of family and domestic responsibilities that they are not reflected in the "ideal worker" image, which assumes an abstract worker who exists only to labor, with no responsibilities beyond the confines of the job. What *is* novel about this finding, however, is the way that "extra" labor is built into the organization of creative cultural work and how this "extra work" is gendered. The practices of entrepreneurial labor are not those typically listed in formal job descriptions or laid out in any codified way by the particular organizations that employ fashion workers. As Penny, a fashion and beauty news editor, says "they don't really ever come around with a dress code — it's just implied pretty much." Entrepreneurial labor strategies are the things that workers do for bonus points, to mitigate risk, and to build a career in the fashion *industry* not any *single company or workplace*. They are informal requirements of a successful career. By their nature, they occur outside formal work hours and spaces — they require enormous time commitments and occur at times that are inconvenient for workers with outside responsibilities. The gendered nature of entrepreneurial strategies demonstrates how on a broader level, industries and fields of work can be gendered, and in ways that cannot be captured by analysis of single organizations or workplaces.

4.4.2   Passion

In her original conceptualization, Acker (1990) argued that,

in organizational logic, filling the abstract job is a disembodied worker who exists only for the work. Such a hypothetical worker cannot have other imperatives of existence that impinge upon the job. At the very least, outside imperatives cannot be included within the definition of the job. Too many obligations outside the boundaries of the job would make a worker unsuited for the position (1990, page 149).

This implies that organizational logics support a sharp distinction between work and personal life, and that organizations take no account or responsibility for "outside imperatives" of any kind. What makes creative and cultural industries unique is that, built into their organizing logics is an attempt to invert some outside imperatives to meet the needs and interests of the industry and of business. Creative cultural workers are, in fact, encouraged to blur the boundary between work and personal life, and many aspects of work in these fields includes activities traditionally categorized as "non work," such as consumption, personal care and beauty work, socializing, cultural forms of leisure, and creative expression. Social networking, for example, can be experienced as fun but it also serves to reinforce the embedded networks and collaborative circuits through which the industry functions on both a national and global scale. Shopping, styling, and other components of aesthetic labor may be experienced as pleasurable and as a way to blend leisure activities and personal care with work requirements.[9] For the purposes of the industry, however, appearance standards help to sell products, market images of glamour and luxury, and uphold values of female beauty.

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[9]Of course, the blurring of work and aesthetic labor is more demanding for women than men, since women are held to higher appearance standards and are expected to commit more time to embodying the ideals of fashion, such as thinness, trendiness, etc.

The "ideal worker" in this context is one who makes no clear distinction between work and personal life and who treats their career *not as work but as a lifestyle* that requires a willing adherence to 24/7 immersion. The following quotes exemplify an awareness of this ideal that was reflected in many interviews.

It's not a nine to five, it's 24/7... Because, you know, I wouldn't be working as hard as I do, um, if I didn't love it. Right? So, it's what I live and breath. (Wendy, Brand Strategist, Content Manager, Writer).

We kind of like live and breathe that. So it's like their lifestyle as well as their job. So it's like you can't really escape it. You know what I mean? Like it's all the time you go and you do your job all day and then you have to go home and go to events and then you come here and it's like you're whole persona too (Penny, Fashion and Beauty News Editor).

Many fashion workers do indeed derive pleasure from their labor, feel passionately, and seek personal fulfillment from involvement in fashion. The following quote exemplifies these widespread beliefs and reflects an almost obsessive and frantic "passion for fashion."

You really have to love it. I've always said you have to love it and you have to be a little bit crazy. No sane person thinks that what we do is okay. It's not a comfortable life. It's something you do for the passion. It's something you do because you're so mad that no other job will suit you. And it's not a job. It's a lifestyle. You don't go home and you don't check out. I get home and I look at blogs and I'm always doing something that involves my industry. Sometimes I look at my friends and I look at what they do and it's just nine to five for them and then they come home and they have all these other unrelated

hobbies. Fashion people don't have that. It's your being. It's what you do.
When you're bored you go shopping, which is related to the job. And then
when you're bored of that you go online and shop some more and then you
look at blogs. It's all me. It's so consuming. (Molly, Sales Representative,
Designer)

Because fashion work is constructed as a "labor of love," the ideal worker should not
only be *willing* to work long hours, they should be *happy* to do so. On the surface, this
passion appears gender-neutral, and is certainly promoted as such by creative and cultural
industries, and in popular culture. But is the ability to live up to this passionate ideal
equally available to all workers, or is passion a luxury of a particular group? Findings from
this research suggest that women are often passionate about their work, but are disadvan-
taged when held to ideological standards of passion that require total devotion and 24/7
immersion.

Although creative cultural industries appropriate some aspects of personal needs and
private life into the organization of work, they do so only to the extent that personal and pri-
vate life can blend with the logics of business and cultural production. Aspects of women's
lives that cannot benefit the smooth functioning of the industry continue to be excluded
from organizing logics. First, responsibility continues to be shucked when it comes to
women's bodies that do not conform to youthful, energetic, and childless ideals. Aspects
of embodiment that include reproduction and aging are ignored. Second, while personal
and social relationships are incorporated into the organization of fashion work, the indus-
try takes no responsibility for personal responsibilities outside the fashion industry. Since
women are more likely to be held accountable for the care and organization of family life,

this exclusion is a problem for women more than men. Finally, even when women do conform to these standards, they are met with questions and criticisms in ways that men are not.

Ideal Bodies

Women's bodies have always been the subject of more scrutiny, control, and discipline than men's. In image-driven industries and aesthetic economies, female workers experience an intensified version of this inequality. All fashion workers must conduct aesthetic labor, be stylish, and "look the part," making aesthetic labor appear gender-neutral. Yet, for women, this means more time and effort, often requiring a longer prep time in the morning with hair and makeup, more trips to salons and estheticians, a greater concern with diet and weight, as well as more complicated "outfits" than those worn by men. When sociologists of time inequality study amounts of time spent on various activities, personal care has generally been ignored or downplayed in favor of analyses of work time, leisure time, and time spent on household chores and childcare. But women in all industries tend to spend more time on their appearance than men, and this is especially true in aesthetically driven economies. Moreover, women's embodiment involves the potential and reality of reproduction, which changes appearance. In fashion, many female workers worry about their ability to live up to aesthetic standards set forth by the industry should they become pregnant.

> I think that fashion in general is very superficial - like, the way we look. So I find a lot of women might put off the fact of like, I don't wanna lose my figure, or get pregnant, or feel like it's gonna pull down my career. (Madeline, Product Development)

In addition, the obsessive pace of work, irregular work hours, and bulimic patterns of work common among creative workers are found to be more difficult as women age. For instance, at 33, designer Remi feels her body aging and wonders how the whims and odd hours of the creative process can be managed against the need for sleep, and how they can be explained to men with whom she may have personal relationships.

> I feel like time is my enemy. There's never enough time for anything. There's not even kind of enough time in a day or week or month for everything I wanna accomplish, everything I wanna do. And the limitations of my own body drive me crazy. I hate that I get tired, cause I've still got all this stuff I wanna do. And I don't work on a normal person's schedule. It's not nine to five and it's as long as I can go without sleep and then I crash, get as much sleep as I feel like I can and then keep going. The problem with that is that I'm going to be 34 in April and I physically can't do what I used to be able to do. I used to be able to sleep for like 3 hours a night for weeks on end. My body physically won't let me go for as long and it won't let me wake up. Now I try to schedule 8 hours a night. I've realized I'm going to have to accommodate this cause it's non-negotiable. And relationships as well. I was single for a lot of my 20's because you're married to your job. I don't know, but it seems to me that a lot of people don't have this level of devotion to their job and their jobs don't take up as much of their time. So it's difficult for dudes to understand. I hate to stereotype this way but it seems to me that dudes don't cope with that well. Guys don't like not being the number one priority in your life so when you have this other thing that's equal they get all snot-faced or whatever.

This quote illustrates not only barriers of age in conforming to the intense pace of work and irregular hours of creative passionate work, but also that these rhythms and hours are often seen as more appropriate for men than women.

Fashion vs. Family

Participants generally agreed that the fashion industry was not supportive of the needs of working parents. Indeed, when I revealed that I did not have children one participant dramatically said: "Don't do it Allyson! I implore you!" Alluding to the idea of "competing devotions" (Blair-Loy, 2003), or perhaps in this case conflicting passions, Felicia noted that women who lead creative careers find that work-family conflict is inevitable and that passion for work and love for your child wind up in competition.

> A lot of older moms, their career is their first born. That's what I've noticed a lot with women in my industry. They love their job so much but now they have something else they love. And it's really hard for them to do both (Felicia, magazine editor).

These conflicted feelings arise from the cultural contradictions between ideal mother-hood norms and ideal worker norms. Fatherhood simply does not compete with work in the same ways and men are not forced to make the same trade-offs between their "first love" and love for their child / children. Many workers noted that women who have or want children tend to drop out of the field, and that even amongst those who remain, many opt not to take maternity leave. Elyse works in marketing for a high-end retail company and was one of the few mothers who participated in the study. Reflecting an observation made by many participants about the incompatibility of a passionate career and motherhood, she

notes how despite being a female-dominated industry, the fashion field offers little flexibility to working mothers and reinforces the idea that passionate workers thrive in fast-paced, time intensive environments.

> It's interesting how female dominated it is and how it's very demanding, changing, there's a lot of evening's, a lot of weekends, and that's really... if you compared it to other industries, my observation is that there's not a lot of flexibility. There's a lot of women in it, but a lot of them tend to drop out of it when they have families. There' s a lot of... .I don't have the flexibility if I wanted to spend half a day at home working in the office... I think fashion tends to be... .and maybe it's just everything in the arts is very fast paced and turning over and people love it. People who tend to lead those organizations, I don't if you want a lot of work-life balance you tend to choose another industry. So it's fairly... it's kind of surprising. It tends to be a young woman's game (Elyse, Marketing).

Passionate standards imply 24/7 devotion to creative work. This approach to evaluating jobs and workers means that if other responsibilities interfere, you aren't just judged as unproductive but as indifferent and un-passionate. Such a moral evaluation is not only disadvantageous in relation to objective career advancement, but also to subjective evaluations of the self. Because it is only possible to have one top priority, one true love, fashion workers who are mothers frequently feel torn between the passion they feel for their work and the passion they feel for their families. Feelings of guilt and inadequacy were common among the mothers interviewed in this study.

The Gendering of the Future

Surprisingly, even young early career workers without children expressed work-family stress. This primarily arose when conservation turned to the future. Perceptions and orientations toward various dimensions of the future are consequential and can differ across social groups (Mische, 2009). What we see as possible, viable, or unrealistic is shaped by our social positions. Based on long hours and low pay, younger workers look ahead and wonder how they will be able to balance work and family should the time come when they choose to have children. This creates stress over the potential for future work-family conflict, highlighting not only the fluidity of past, present, and future, but also the gendered nature of their interrelationship. Hannah, for example, has been employed in both New York and Toronto. Like other women in the late twenties and early thirties who work in fashion, she worries about possible discrimination and career penalties that may accompany motherhood:

> I was at a point a few years ago where that (having kids) was something that I really really wanted and I realized - I'm not going to get hired, I'm going to lose my job, and it's terrible but it's true. If somebody can find a reason - and like mat leave in the US is horrible... but here I wouldn't even consider it until I was much further into my career cause I'd feel so threatened that... I'd go on mat leave and somebody would take my job or it would be too much to balance, but I hope at some point maybe when I'm older. But, I never wanted to be an old mom, so it's really hard (Hannah, Designer, Sales, Marketing, Production Coordinator).

Similarly, it was common for young women in fashion to express anxiety over the future in relation to probable exhaustion resulting from the second shift.

I'm almost 30. I don't know if I... if I want to have kids... you know, I just

cannot fathom being a working mom and having this job. I mean I'm gonna

have to grow an extra head to be able to manage that. I mean, I seriously,

sometimes I come home after a 14 hour day and I'm like you know I wanna

cry because I'm a kid and when I'm tired I cry and I eat a frozen dinner and

I'm like, what the hell, like what if I had to drive someone to soccer practice or

like make dinner for someone and I just, I can't even imagine it. I don't know

how women do it... cause it's not like we can afford nannies. And I wouldn't

even wanna have a kid if I had a nanny! The whole point is to raise a child

yourself, so... (Caroline, Fashion Journalist).

These quotes highlight sentiments common among fashion workers early in their ca-

reers. The long hours required to gain a foothold in the fashion industry leave workers so

exhausted and drained that they cannot imagine raising a family. But many of them want

children in the future and recognize that they eventually will be forced to make trade-offs

— trade-offs that their male partners and spouses will not have to make.[10] Many scholars

have identified the work-family conflicts working women experience once they have chil-

dren, but research has neglected to show how "competing devotions" (Blair-Loy 2003) of

work and motherhood can create feelings of conflict, stress, and anxiety even before having

children. Evidence from the fashion industry indicates that scholars concerned with work-

family conflict should turn their attention to how expectations related to motherhood can

impact women of different ages and life stages. Perceptions of the future are, in this way,

colored by gender inequality. The failure of industries and workplaces to take account of

workers' family responsibilities creates stress for women who are currently mothers, and

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[10]This statement is not intended to make heteronormative assumptions, but represents the participants' sexual identities.

creates stress over the future for those contemplating parenthood. These kinds of worries are simply not as extreme for male workers.

Who is "allowed" to be ideal?

Workers most likely to conform to the 24/7 lifestyle career of the "ideal fashion worker" are those who opt not to have children, and who attempt to blur work and personal life, including personal relationships. Workers who try to live up to this ideal seek fulfillment not from romantic partners, motherhood, or outside interests, but from the dynamic lifestyle and fun opportunities their careers involve. They socialize at industry events, maintain many close friends who also work in fashion, and try not to differentiate pleasurable work-related activities from leisure. The following quote from Anne, a publicist, reporter, and former model agent and small business owner, is exemplary of the immersive approach to work taken by those who strive to be the ideal passionate creative worker.

> So and I guess a lot of my friends are in the industry. So for me it's making sure that I'm having fun... you know, because this is my life... You know, if you go to work, every single day, nine to five, and you're miserable, and you're not having fun, then you need life-work balance. Whereas with me, or you know my perception of the life that I have, I think it's completely balanced cause I'm having fun and you know I might not necessarily be able to take that traditional vacation somewhere... but I find like I'm having a good giggle for the most part of the day. And you know I meet so many people who I absolutely love, and there you go. That's my life... You know what, I chose a career that I want to adapt to my life more than anything else... um, and you know...actually I think I've more so, I've created a life that allows me to make money off of me living.

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I dunno, it's just... I live. You know? I live and I work. And I enjoy it. And I'm crazy lucky to be doing what I do, even though it drives me nuts sometimes. But I do, I love it! And it allows me to try so many different things and I think it's more freeing, you know? (Anne, publicist, reporter).

Individuals in this category are those who most conform to the ideology of the ideal creative worker. These are the workers who most believe that their involvement in fashion truly is a "labor of love." Still, this choice is not entirely unconstrained. As women they continue to be held accountable to broader cultural expectations associated with motherhood and female gender roles. Interactions with individuals outside the fashion field often entail questions and judgment based on their deviations from the motherhood norm — evaluations that are rarely leveled toward male workers. Although women's engagement in paid work is now an accepted practice, they continue to be defined by social reproduction. Women who forego children in favor of a career continue to face judgment and are assumed to be missing out in some way.

There are a lot of women in this industry but if you take a look at who the CEOs and CFOs are, they're men! And it's hard for women because we want to work, we want to be accomplished, we want to be just as good as the men but at the same time we want the family, we want everything. And it's like, am I digressing here? Am I moving backwards? Am I not doing what I'm supposed to be doing? And it's a really difficult decision sometimes that you have to make. And I remember, I read Kelly Cutrone's book. She talks about it. She says: 'I have a bunch of young girls who are in their 20's working for me and I often hear them on the phone talking to their mothers and their mothers are like, 'Okay when are you gonna settled down? When are you gonna start

having kids? And when are you gonna just... make a life for yourself and start

doing these great things?' And the kids will kind of turn to them and be like,

'Hold on a second mom. I'm working for Kelly Cutrone. People would kill to

have my job.' But parents are like, 'No no no, you need to have kids, you need

to have family.' So I think that's interesting cause it's how you measure success

as a woman too right? Is it just your career? And the thing is if you look at

women in this industry who are so accomplished and so respected, but then if

they're not married with kids you think, okay, there's something wrong there.

What happened? You would never think that for a man! If a man's not married

and doesn't have kids he's just a hard working man but for a woman it's like,

hold on a second! Is this why she's so successful? So it's really interesting and

it's hard to strike that balance and I don't quite understand. There's still such

a big double standard, especially in this industry (Molly, Sales Representative

and Designer).

The latter part of this quote unearths in a very explicit manner the way that gender is

embedded in the ideal creative worker image. Molly's comments demonstrate who is and

is not "allowed" to be a passionate worker. This paper has already established how women

have a harder time living up to the ideology of passion, with it's particular orientations

to time and work-life boundaries. But here we see that even when women *do* conform to

this ideology they are subject to questioning and critique in a way that men are not. This

is the double standard to which Molly refers. It remains more culturally appropriate and

acceptable for a man to exhibit a work-related passion, to be devoted to his work above all

else, to be obsessive, or to be a work-a-holic. Thus, the passionate "ideal creative worker,"

no matter how neutral it may seem, is gendered male.

4.5   Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has drawn on 63 in-depth interviews with Canadian fashion workers to identify and unpack the gendered organization of creative cultural work in the fashion industry. This is an important sociological task, since many characteristics of creative and cultural work are spreading throughout the labor market, heralded as model ways to organize work and work-life boundaries. The potential for this type of work to reproduce inequalities between male and female workers, and between different groups of women, is rarely brought to light in popular culture, policy development, or in workplaces. Entrepreneurial approaches to labor and the ideology of passion appear to be gender-neutral organizing logics of creative cultural work. In fact, as this research has illuminated, they are highly gendered. Because risk, reward, and labor are so highly individualized in contemporary labor markets, success and failure in creative cultural careers appear to workers as meritocratic processes facilitated by individual skill and effort. But the ability to successfully enact entrepreneurial strategies and to embody the passionate "ideal creative worker" is not evenly distributed. Men are advantaged relative to women, and there is variation in advantage and disadvantage between groups of women. In particular, younger women, women without children, and women with outside financial support are better able to meet work norms of passion and entrepreneurialism. Still, even those women who can effectively *act like men*, and come close to these ideals, are met with criticism and questioning in ways that men are not, showing how the ideal creative worker is a highly gendered conception.

One might presume a female-skewed industry would be more supportive of gender inequality. Instead, an organizational analysis of the fashion industry provides evidence to the contrary. Men are advantaged relative to women, and certain groups of women are advantaged relative to others. Indeed, many respondents referred to fashion as a "young woman's

game." It is young women without children or family responsibilities, and who have finan-cial support, who can best live up to the expectations of the "ideal" creative worker. In other words, it is these women who can more easily *act like men*. This highlights the importance of assessing how organizational gendering not only reinforce gender division and advantages men over women, male over female, but also how gendering results in divisions between *different groups of women*. Gender intersects with age, parental status, and class. Future research should further address these complexities, as well as pursuing gendered organizational analyses in other creative and cultural work contexts.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The three articles in this dissertation each ask particular research questions and stand to make independent contributions. Taken together, however, they work toward a common goal of uncovering and unpacking processes through which gender is constructed, reproduced, and possibly resisted, in the fashion industry. To conclude, I summarize key findings, contributions, limitations, and outline goals for future research.

In "Work Horses and Show Ponies: Processes of Cultural Devaluation in the Fashion Industry," I address the devaluation of femininity and feminized labor in the fashion industry. Fashion is both a predominantly female labor market and a cultural practice associated with femininity. Although the industry appears to be a glamorous world populated by wealthy women who appear to be having fun more than working hard, work in the fashion industry is insecure, competitive, and entails long hours and a wide range of skills. There are five processes through which fashion work and workers are devalued: (1) trivialization; (2) the privileging of men and masculinity; (3) the production of a smokescreen of glamour; (4) the use of free labor and "free stuff"; and (5) the construction of symbolic boundaries between *work horses* and *show ponies*.

The devaluation processes identified in this article do not merely work to lower *pay*, as has been the primary focus of most devaluation research to date (e.g. Cohen Huffman 2003a, 2003b; England, Allison, and Wu 2007; Levanon, England, and Allison 2009). Rather, they are also processes of symbolic devaluation, whereby the work and workers are offered less respect, legitimation, and prestige. Members of the fashion industry struggle against these identities on a daily basis, by emphasizing that they are "work horses" (i.e. highly skilled, hard working individuals who put in long hours and take their jobs seriously) rather than "show ponies" (i.e. rich, snobbish young women who are in fashion for "the wrong reasons" — to receive free stuff and to get famous). Ironically, these appeals to legitimacy, being individualized reactions, wind up reproducing the collective devaluation of fashion overall.

The analysis of "Work Horses and Show Ponies" is limited by a sample of participants that are predominantly female (59 women; 4 men) and would be stronger were it to include information on whether male fashion workers who perform these types of labor are equally devalued. Based on supplementary data from industry websites, blogs, and previous literature, it would appear that men in fashion are not devalued in the same ways. First, men tend to occupy more "top positions" in the industry. They are more likely to be CEOs, creative directors, and as chapter 3 of this dissertation describes, they are sometimes offered more fame, prestige, and cultural consecration. Still, interviews with four male fashion workers indicate that their labor is sometimes devalued, and that they are sometimes looked down upon for working in a seemingly superficial and "feminine" context. In the future, I plan to collect more data on men who work in fashion in order to explore these issues more deeply.

In "The Glass Runway: How Gender and Sexuality Shape the Spotlight Among Fashion Designers," I use media-based content analysis and industry statistics to address the

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gendered distribution of symbolic capital in the cultural field of fashion design. Combining Williams' (1992) concept of the *glass escalator* with Bourdieu's (1993) *field theory* and *symbolic capital*, this article takes a close look at the amount of fame, cultural consecration, and prestige attributed to male and female designers by the fashion industry and fashion media. I find that male designers, especially gay male designers, receive more industry awards and outnumber women in lists of "top designers," and design canons. Even among elite designers, men are more likely to be described in ways that offer higher levels of symbolic capital. Depictions of male designers emphasize their objectivity, technical skill and mastery, artistic identities and creations, commitment, and supportive relationships with the media.

Thus, despite women outnumbering men in fashion design, male designers appear to have significant career advantages. The major contribution of this article is in revising the glass escalator concept to make sense in the context of cultural work. Rather than using the idea of a glass escalator, in order to account for symbolic capital as an important measure of success in cultural fields, we must adjust our theoretical tools. The glass escalator is a concept that makes sense in traditional jobs where success is measured by pay and promotion up well-defined organizational hierarchies. But cultural fields are structured differently and have different measures of success (e.g. symbolic capital). I argue for the use of the *glass runway* as a metaphor better suited to capturing the symbolic aspects of success that are so important in cultural fields. This concepts describes how male designers are *pushed forward* into the spotlight of fame, prestige, and honor, rather than being *pushed upward* in a bureaucratic organization. Instead of riding the glass escalator, they walk the glass runway.

Finally, I note how intersections of gender and sexuality shape these advantages. The

runway spotlight is of a dual nature for gay male designers. Certain cultural accounts frame gay designers as having a combination of masculine and feminine traits that supposedly make them uniquely well-suited to designing clothes. This more flattering side of the spotlight is countered by the fact that, as sexual minorities, gay men remain vulnerable to outside criticism. They sometimes receive blame for the prevalence of anorexia among models and for promoting unhealthy standards of thinness and beauty. The glass runway, therefore, is both flattering and harsh, shaped by gender and sexuality.

There are two limitations of this article which should be addressed. First, although I deal with the intersections of gender and sexuality, this is not a fully intersectional analysis. Future research would do well to delve more deeply into the complex intersections of race, class, gender, and other vectors of inequality that may produce glass escalators and glass runways. Second, although media analysis is a useful tool for understanding culture, this data does not allow me to speak to any objective differences in skill or value between different designers.

The Gendered Organization of Creative Cultural Work: A Case Study of the Canadian Fashion Industry is a gendered analysis of two organizational characteristics of creative cultural work in the fashion industry. First, I focus on the *entrepreneurial labor strategies* necessary for workers to manage individualized risk in insecure and competitive labor markets. Second, I assess the ideology of passion in creative work. By this I mean that creative work is a constructed as a "labor of love" offering both professional and personal fulfillment, and that labor is understood to be both driven, and rewarded, by passion. Along with the need for entrepreneurial strategies, this ideology helps to construct the "ideal creative worker" as one who treats their career as a lifestyle rather than a job, who willingly (even happily) embraces long hours and frantic paces of work, and who draws no sharp

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distinction between work and private life. This ideal worker is not gender neutral. The time commitments required to successfully enact entrepreneurial strategies are incompatible with the lives of many women, especially older women, mothers, and those who do not have independent financial support or wealth. The ideal of the passionate creative genius assumes a male worker, as many women realize when met with criticism from: 1.) parents who think they should be "settling down" to have children; 2.) romantic partners who feel women should not place their love for work above their love for a male partner; and 3.) other industry members who discriminate against the bodies and lifestyles of working mothers. Often referred to as " a young woman's game," the case of the fashion industry sheds light on how organizational gendering creates inequalities between women and men, but also between different groups of women. Women who can effectively "act like men" (i.e. young, childless women) are advantaged relative to others.

"The Gendered Organization of Creative Cultural Work" contributes to the literature on gendered organizations by offering a case study of a creative and cultural context where the organization of work is very different than in blue-collar and white-collar professional environments typically studied by gendered organizations scholars. By focusing on the industry level, I show how "having what it takes" to survive in fashion is not gender-neutral. Both entrepreneurial labor and passion are highly-gendered aspects of creative cultural work and are not limited to particular jobs, occupations, or companies, but are reflective of the gendered organization of the industry more broadly. Still, there are limitations to this approach. In particular, an industry-level analysis does not allow for detailed descriptions of company cultures, hiring and promotion procedures, and other policies that may aggravate or mitigate the effects of broader organizational characteristics of the industry.

This dissertation calls for several potential directions of future research for both myself

and other scholars interested in inequality, creativity, and cultural work. First, it suggests the need for more intersectional approaches to studying inequality in creative cultural work contexts. I plan to advance this line of inquiry by comparing data on the fashion industry with a more male-dominated creative context (e.g. IT, film) and to introduce a deeper analysis of class and race by comparing "good jobs" and "bad jobs" (Kalleberg 2011) in these arenas.

A final aim of this research is to emphasize the need for continued sociological attention toward the inequalities present in cultural and creative economies. It is notoriously hard to "make it" in these contexts, as evidenced by recent research (Mears, 2011; Gill and Pratt, 2008; McRobbie, 1998, 2002; Ursell, 2000; Terranova, 2000) and popular cultural accounts (Weisenberger, 2003; Cutrone, 2010). Fashion, music, cuisine, film, television, art, and "new media," are just a few of the creative and cultural economies known to be fiercely competitive, volatile, fast-paced, high risk (even "winner takes all") markets, where work is often informal, contractual, insecure, and precarious. But these labor markets also attract a great many people. They seem to promise an opportunity to escape mundane, boring, and repetitive work, and to offer excitement, status, creative outlets, routes to self-actualization, and the chance (however slight) of hitting the proverbial jackpot (McRobbie 2002). Moreover, cultural and creative economies are growing in influence, being used as models for work in other fields and industries, and their workers are often praised as a largely privileged "creative class" (Florida 2002). The influence of "creative class" theory (Florida 2002) has spread to university research centers, government policy, and popular culture. The idea of a creative class, however, tends to homogenize what is actually an extremely diverse and unequal group of workers, placing fashion designers together with software developers and university professors. Further, the promotion of creative cities may intensify

inequality among geographic regions (within Canada and the US, as well as globally). The uncritical adoption of creative class theory is therefore problematic. There is a need for a great deal more social scientific research on the structure, organization, and culture of creative careers and cultural industries. If these work contexts are becoming more influential and their characteristics are spreading across the labor market, then it is an important sociological task to investigate the inequalities that may be constructed, reproduced, and potentially challenged within them.

In general, this dissertation is a result of my commitment to eclecticism in empirical and theoretical inquiry. Combining insights from the sociology of work and gender with cultural sociology, this dissertation aims to show the important contributions to knowledge that can be gleaned from applying old theories to new cases, revising concepts in light of new evidence, borrowing from one perspective to make sense of another, and mixing theoretical traditions in new and creative ways.

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Appendix A

Participants

Participant Pseudonyms	Primary Positions
Alexis	Product Development Assistant
Andrea	Production Development
Angela	Stylist
Anne	Publicist, Fashion Reporter
Beth	Intern, Fashion Design Student
Beverly	Public Relations and Communications
Candace	Visual Manager
Cara	Small Business Owner
Caroline	Fashion Journalist
Cecilia	Small Business Owner
Charlotte	Fashion Writer
Claire	Sales Representative
Denise	Buyer
Dorothy	Designer
Elaine	Project Manager, Advertising and Communications
Elenor	Designer
Elyse	Marketing Vp
Emilia	Designer
Eva	Position Redacted
Faye	Position Redacted
Felicia	Magazine Editor
Hannah	Designer, Sales, Marketing, Production Coordinator
Ingrid	Stylist
Jane	Assistant Buyer, Designer

Jennifer	Retail Manager
Joan	Sales Representative
Joyce	Communications Director
Julia	Intern
Kim	Designer
Kurt	Model Agent
Lana	Designer
Lauren	Product Design and Brand Enhancement
Lilah	Public Relations, Communications
Lily	Designer
Liza	Buyer, Strategic Development, Inventory Manager
Lynn	Magazine Editor
Madeline	Product Development
Mary	Fashion Buyer
Michelle	Magazine Writer
Miranda	Retail Manager
Molly	Sales Representative
Monica	Buyer's Assistant, Product Development, Writer
Nancy	Marketing, Public Relations
Olivia	Designer
Pamela	Sales, Fashion Management Student
Penney	Fashion and Beauty News Editor
Peter	Fashion Photographer
Phoebe	Publisher For Fashion E-commerce Website
Rachel	Retail and Consumer Sales
Regina	Stylist, Social Media Coordinator, Blogger
Remi	Designer
Rita	Publicist
Robert	Fashion Photographer
Robyn	Visual Merchandiser
Sabrina	Stylist
Samantha	Stylist, Visual Manager
Sandra	Fashion Marketing, Writing
Shirley	Fashion Journalist
Tamara	Stylist, Sales Associate
Victoria	Position Redacted
Vivian	Designer
Wendy	Brand Strategist, Content Manager, Writer
Wesley	Stylist

Appendix B

Demographic Information

In my initial interviews, I asked participants to provide basic demographic information on their age, education levels, relationship status, whether or not they had children, their personal income, and whether or not they identified as a member of a racial or ethnic group. The majority of my participants were uncomfortable providing this information, even after very open interviews. I decided to give them the opportunity to provide that information anonymously via an online survey. Unfortunately, only 38 of my participants completed the survey, leaving 25 participants without matching data. The anonymity of the survey prevented me from coding the remaining demographic data based on the interviews alone. Table B.2 provides the demographic data reported by the 38 participants who completed the survey.

Finally, the data on personal income is somewhat misleading. Some of my most elite participants sent me emails confirming that they had completed the survey. Their incomes are unusually high, given that they are the "winners" in a winner take all market. They are also the women who have been around in the industry the longest (i.e. more than 20 years). Based on interviews alone, I would speculate that many of the participants, in particular those under 35, who did not complete the survey make less that $60,000 a year. Early career workers typically make less than $30,000 a year.

Table B.2: Demographic Data on 38 Participants

Age Bracket	%	n
18-25	15.8%	6
26-30	36.8%	14
31-35	13.2%	5
36-40	10.5%	4
41-45	18.4%	7
46-50	5.3%	2
51 or older	0%	0
Education Level	**%**	**n**
Less than high school degree	0.0%	0
High school degree or equivalent	2.6%	1
Some University, No degree	7.9%	3
College Diploma	26.3%	10
Bachelor degree	52.6%	20
Graduate degree	10.5%	4
Relationship Status	**%**	**n**
Single	31.6%	12
Married or Common-law	39.5%	15
In a relationship, not living together	21.1%	8
Separated or divorced	10.5%	4
Children Under 18	**%**	**n**
Yes	13.2%	5
No	86.8%	33
Personal Income in 2012	**%**	**n**
$0 - $9,999	7.9%	3
$10,000 - $19,999	5.3%	2
$20,000 - $29,999	5.3%	2
$30,000 - $39,999	13.2%	5
$40,000 - $49,999	10.5%	4
$50,000 - $59,999	15.8%	6
$60,000 - $69,999	13.2%	5
$70,000 - $79,999	5.3%	2
$80,000 - $89,999	7.9%	3
$90,000 - $99,999	5.3%	2
$100,000 or More	10.5%	4

Appendix C

Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) Awards

2012
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Mary Kate and Ashley Olson
Menswear Designer of the Year: Billy Reid
Accessories Designer of the Year: Reed Krakoff
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Joseph Altuzzura
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Phillip Lim
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Tabitha Simmons
International: Rei Kawakubo
Lifetime Achievement Award: Tommy Hilfiger

2011
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Jack McCoullough and Lazaro Hernandez for Proenza Shouler
Menswear Designer of the Year: Michael Bastain
Accessories Designer of the Year: Alexander Wang
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Prabal Gurung
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Robert Geller
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Robert Geller
International: Phoebe Philo for Celine
Lifetime Achievement Award: Marc Jacobs

2010
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Marc Jacobs
Menswear Designer of the Year: Marcus Wainwright and David Neville for Rag Bone
Accessories Designer of the Year: Alexis Bittar

Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Jason Wu
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Richard Chai
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Alexander Wang
International: Christopher Bailey for Burberry
Lifetime Achievement Award: Michael Kors

2009
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Kate and Laura Mulleavy for Rodarte
Menswear Designer of the Year: Italo Zucchelli for Calvin Klein
Accessories Designer of the Year: Jack McCoullough and Lazaro Hernandez for Proenza Shouler
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Alexander Wang
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Tim Hamilton
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Justin Guinta for Subversive Jewlry
International: Marc Jacobs for Louis Vuitton
Lifetime Achievement Award: Anna Sui

2008
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Francisco Costa for Calvin Klein
Menswear Designer of the Year: Tom Ford
Accessories Designer of the Year: Tory Burch
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Kate and Laura Mulleavy for Rodarte
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Scott Sternberg for Band of Outsiders
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Philip Crangi
International: Dies Van Noten
Lifetime Achievement Award: Carolina Herrera

2007
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Jack McCoullough and Lazaro Hernandez for Proenza Shouler.
Menswear Designer of the Year: Ralph Lauren
Accessories Designer of the Year: Derek Lam
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Phillip Lim
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Marcus Wainwright and David Neville for Rag Bone
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Jessie Randall for Loeffler Randall
International: Pierre Cardin
Lifetime Achievement Award: Robert Lee Morris

2006
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Francisco Costa for Calvin Klein

Menswear Designer of the Year: Thom Browne
Accessories Designer of the Year: Tom Binns
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Doo-Ri Chung
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Jeff Halmos, Josia Lamberto-Egan, Sam Shipley an John Whiteledge for Trovata
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Devy Kroell
International: Olivier Theyskens for Rochas
Lifetime Achievement Award: Stan Herman

2005
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Vera Wang
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Alexandre Plokhov
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Nak Armstrong and Anthony Camargo for Anthony Nak
International: Alber Elbaz for Lanvin
Lifetime Achievement Award: Diane von Furstenberg

2004
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Carolina Herrera
Menswear Designer of the Year: Sean Combs
Accessories Designer of the Year: Reed Krakoff
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Zac Posen
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Reed Krakoff
International: Miuccia Prada
Lifetime Achievement Award: Donna Karan

2003
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Narciso Rodriguez
Menswear Designer of the Year: Michael Kors
Accessories Designer of the Year: Marc Jacobs
Swarovski Award for Ready-to-Wear: Marc Jacobs
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Brian Atwood
International: Alexander McQueen
Lifetime Achievement Award: Anna Wintour (note: not a designer)

2002
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Narciso Rodriguez
Menswear Designer of the Year: Marc Jacobs
Accessories Designer of the Year: Tom Ford for Yves Saint Laurent
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Rick Owens

Swarovski Award for Menswear: Richard Tyler / Richard Bengtsson and Edward Pavlick
International: Hedi Slimane for Dior Homme
Lifetime Achievement Award: Karl Lagerfeld

2001
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Tom Ford
Menswear Designer of the Year: John Varvatos
Accessories Designer of the Year: Reed Krakoff
Swarovski Award for Womenswear: Daphne Gutierrez and Nicole Noselli for Bruce
Swarovski Award for Menswear: Daphne Gutierrez and Nicole Noselli for Bruce
Swarovski Award for Accessory Design: Edmundo Castillo

2000
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Oscar de la Renta
Menswear Designer of the Year: Helmut Lang
Accessories Designer of the Year: Richard Lamberston and John Truex
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Miguel Androver
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: John Varvatos
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Accessory Design: Dean Harris
International: Jean-Paul Gaultier
Lifetime Achievement Award: Valentino

1998-99
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Michael Kors
Menswear Designer of the Year: Calvin Klein
Accessories Designer of the Year: Marc Jacobs for Marc Jacobs
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Josh Patner and Bryan Bradley for Tuleh
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: Matt Nye
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Accessory Design: tony Valentine
International: Yohji Yamamoto
Lifetime Achievement Award: Yves Saint Laurant

1997
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Marc Jacobs for Marc Jacobs
Menswear Designer of the Year: John Bartlett
Accessories Designer of the Year: Kate Spade
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Narciso Rodriguez
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: Sandy Dalal
International: John Galliano
Lifetime Achievement Award: Geoffrey Beene

1996
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Donna Karan
Menswear Designer of the Year: Ralph Lauren
Accessories Designer of the Year: Elsa Peretti
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Daryl Kerrigan
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: Gene Meyer
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Accessory Design: Kari Sigerson and Miranda Morrison
International: Helmut Lang
Lifetime Achievement Award: Arnold Scaasi

1995
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Ralph Lauren
Menswear Designer of the Year: Tommy Hilfiger
Accessories Designer of the Year: Hush Puppies
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Marie-Anne Oudejans
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: Richard Tyler / Richard Bengtsson and Edward Pavlick
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Accessory Design: Kate Spade
International: Tom Ford
Lifetime Achievement Award: Hubert de Givenchy

1994
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Richard Tyler
Accessories Designer of the Year: (for women âĂŞ Robert Lee Morris; for men âĂŞ Gene Meyer)
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Victor Alfaro and Cynthia Rowley
Lifetime Achievement Award: Carrie Donovan / Nonnie Moore / Bernardine Morris

1993
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Calvin Klein
Menswear Designer of the Year: Calvin Klein
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Richard Tyler
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: John Bartlett
International Award for Accessories: Prada
Lifetime Achievement Award: Judith Leiber / Polly Allen Mellen

1992
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Marc Jacobs for Marc Jacobs
Menswear Designer of the Year: Donna Karan

Accessories Designer of the Year: Chrome Hearts
Perry Ellis Award: Anna Sui
International: Gianni Versace
Lifetime Achievement Award: Pauline Trigere

1991
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Isaac Mizrahi
Menswear Designer of the Year: Roger Forsythe
Accessories Designer of the Year: Karl Lagerfeld
Perry Ellis Award: Todd Oldham
Lifetime Achievement Award: Ralph Lauren

1990
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Donna Karen
Menswear Designer of the Year: Joseph Abboud
Accessories Designer of the Year: Manolo Blahnik
Perry Ellis Award: Christian Roth
Lifetime Achievement Award: Martha Graham

1989
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Isaac Mizrahi
Menswear Designer of the Year: Josaph Abboud
Accessories Designer of the Year: Paloma Picasso
Perry Ellis Award: Gordon Henderson
Lifetime Achievement Award: Oscar de la Renta

1988
Menswear Designer of the Year: Bill Robinson
Perry Ellis Award: Isaac Mizrahi
Lifetime Achievement Award: Richard Avedon / Nancy Reagan

1987
Best American Collection: Calvin Klein
Menswear Designer of the Year: Ronaldus Shamask
Perry Ellis Award: Marc Jacobs for Marc Jacobs
Lifetime Achievement Award: Giorgio Armani, Eleanor Lambert

1986
Perry Ellis Award: David Cameron
Lifetime Achievement Award: Bill Blass, Marlene Dietrich

1985
Womenswear Designer of the Year: Oscar de la Renta
Menswear Designer of the Year: Helmut Lang
Accessories Designer of the Year: Richard Lamberston and John Truex
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Womenswear: Miguel Androver
Swarovski Award (Perry Ellis) for Menswear: John Varvatos
Swarovski (Perry Ellis) Award for Accessory Design: Dean Harris
International: Jean-Paul Gaultier
Lifetime Achievement Award: Valentino

1984
Special Awards: James Galanos, Astor Place Hair Design, Bergdorf Goodman, Kitty D'Alessio, John Fairchild, Annie Flanders, Peter Moore NIKE, Robert Pittman MTV, Stephen Sprouse, Diana Vreeland, Bruce Weber
Special Tribute: Eugenia Sheppard

1983
Award Recipients: Jeff Aquilon, Giorgio Armani, Diane De Witt, Perry Ellis, Calvin Klein, Antonio Lopez, Issey Miyake, Patricia Underwood, Bruce Weber

1982
Award Recipients: Bill Cunningham, Perry Ellis, Norma Kamali, Karl Lagerfeld, Antonio Lopez

1981
Award Recipients: Jhane Barnes, Perry Ellis, Andrew Fezza, Alexander Julian, Barry Kieselstein-Cord, Calvin Klein, Nancy Knox, Ralph Lauren, Robert Lighton, Alex Mate Lee Brooks, Yves Saint Laurent, Fernando Sanchez

Appendix D

Voguepedia's Design Canon

- Adrian: Male, Gay

- Alber Elbaz: Male, Gay

- Alberta Ferretti: Female, Straight

- Albertus Swanepoel: Male, Gay

- Alexander McQueen: Male, Gay

- Alexander Wang: Male, Gay

- Alexis Bittar: Male, Gay

- Ann Demeulemeester: Female, Straight

- Anna Sui: Female, Not Public

- Antonio Azzuolo: Male, Not Public

- Behnaz Sarafpour: Female, Straight

- Bill Blass: Male, Gay

- Calvin Klein: Male, Bisexual

- Carlos Campos: Male, Not Public

- Carlos Falchi: Male, Straight

- Carolina Herrera: Female, Straight

- Charles James: Male, Not Public

- Charlotte Dellal: Female, Straight

- Christian Cota: Male, Not Public

- Christian Dior: Male, Gay

- Christian Lacroix: Male, Straight

- Christian Louboutin: Male, Gay

- Christopher Bailey: Male, Gay

- Christopher Kane: Male, Gay

- Clare Waight Keller: Female, Straight

- Cristobal Balenciaga: Male, Gay

- Dana Lorenz: Female, Not Public

- Derek Lam: Male, Gay

- Diane von Furstenberg: Female, Straight

- Donatella Versace: Female, Straight

- Donna Karan: Female, Straight

- Doo-Ri Chung: Female, Straight

- Dries Van Noten: Male, Gay

- Eddie Borgo: Male, Not Public

- Elsa Peretti: Female, Not Public

- Elsa Schiaparelli: Female, Straight

- Erdem Moralioglu: Male, Not Public

- Francisco Costa: Male, Gay

- Frida Giannini: Female, Straight

- Gareth Pugh: Male, Gay

- Gary Graham: Male, Gay

- Giambattista Valli: Male, Not Public

- Gianni Versace: Male, Gay

- Giles Deacon: Male, Straight

- Gregory Parkinson: Male, Not Public

- Haider Ackermann: Male, Gay

- Halston: Male, Gay

- Hedi Slimane: Male, Gay

- Hussein Chalayan: Male, Not Public

- Irene Neuwirth: Female, Straight

- Isaac Mizrahi: Male, Gay

- Isabel Marant: Female, Straight

- Isabel Toledo: Female, Straight

- J.W. Anderson: Male, Gay

- Jacques Fath: Male, Not Public

- Jason Wu: Male, Gay

- Jean Paul Gaultier: Male, Gay

- Jeanne Lanvin: Female, Straight

- John Galliano: Male, Gay

- Jonathan Saunders: Male, Gay

- Joseph Altuzarra: Male, Gay

- Judith Leiber: Female, Straight

- Junya Watanabe: Male, Not Public

- Karl Lagerfeld: Male, Gay

- L'Wren Scott: Female, Straight

- Manolo Blahnik: Male, Not Public

- Marc Jacobs: Male, Gay

- Marco Zanini: Male, Not Public

- Maria Grazia Chiuri: Female, Straight

- Pierpaolo Piccioli: Male, Straight

- Marios Schwab: Male, Not Public

- Matthew Williamson: Male, Gay

- Michael Kors: Male, Gay

- Miuccia Prada: Female, Straight

- Moss Lipow: Male, Not Public

- Narciso Rodriguez: Male, Gay

- Nicolas Ghesquiere: Male, Gay

- Olivier Theyskens: Male, Gay

- Oscar de la Renta: Male, Straight

- Pamela Love: Female, Straight

- Paul Poiret: Male, Straight

- Pauline Trigere: Female, Straight

- Peter Dundas: Male, Not Public

- Peter Som: Male, Gay

- Philip Treacy: Male, Gay

- Phillip Lim: Male, Gay

- Phoebe Philo: Female, Straight

- Pierre Balmain: Male, Gay

- Prabal Gurung: Male, Gay

- Raf Simons: Male, Not Public

- Ralph Lauren: Male, Straight

- Rei Kawakubo: Female, Straight

- Riccardo Tisci: Male, Gay

- Richard Chai: Male, Gay

- Richard Nicoll: Male, Gay

- Rick Owens: Male, Bisexual

- Robert Geller: Male, Straight

- Roberto Cavalli: Male, Straight

- Roland Mouret: Male, Gay

- Sarah Burton: Female, Straight

- Sonia Rykiel: Female, Straight

- Sophia Kokosalaki: Female, Straight

- Sophie Theallet: Female, Straight

- Soraya Silchenstedt: Female, Straight

- Stefano Pilati: Male, Gay

- Stella McCartney: Female, Straight

- Thakoon Panichgul: Male, Gay

- Thom Browne: Male, Gay

- Tom Ford: Male, Gay

- Tommy Hilfiger: Male, Straight

- Tory Burch: Female, Straight

- Valentino Garavani: Male, Gay

- Vera Wang: Female, Straight

- Victoria Bartlett: Female, Straight

- Victoria Beckham: Female, Straight

- Vivienne Westwood: Female, Straight

- Yohji Yamamoto: Male, Straight

- Yves Saint Laurent: Male, Gay

- Zac Posen: Male, Gay

- Zandra Rhodes: Female, Straight

Appendix E

FashionTV's List of Top Designers and Brands

M = Male, *F* = Female, *G* = Gay, *S* = Straight, *B* = Bisexual, *NP* = Not public

Table E.3: *FashionTV's* List of Top Designers and Brands

Name	Founder	Current Head
Louis Vuitton	Louis Vuitton *MS*	Marc Jacobs *MG*
Issey Miyake	Issey Miyake *MNP*	Issey Miyake *MNP*
Andrew GN	Andrew GN *MG*	Andrew GN *MG*
Valentino	Valentino Clemente *MG*	
Ludovico Garavani *MG*	Maria Grazia Chiuri *FS*	Pierpaolo Piccioli *MS*
Oscar de la Renta	Oscar de la Renta *MS*	Oscar de la Renta *MS*
Max Azaria	Max Azaria *MS*	Maz Azaria *MS*
Marc Jacobs	Marc Jacobs *MG*	Marc Jacobs *MG*
Luca Luca	Luca Orlandi *MS*	Raul Melgoza *M*
Lanvin	Jeanne Lanvin *FS*	Alber Elbaz *MG*
Karl Lagerfeld	Karl Lagerfeld *MG*	Karl Lagerfeld *MG*
John Galliano	John Galliano *MG*	John Galliano *MG*
Jean Paul Gaultier	Jean Paul Gaultier *MG*	Jean Paul Gaultier *MG*
Hussein Chalayan	Hussein Chalayan *MNP*	Hussein Chalayan *MNP*
Gucci	Guccio Gucci *MS*	Frida Giannini *FS*
Hubert de Givenchy	Hubert de Givenchy *MS*	Riccardo Tisci *MG*
Giorgio Armani	Giorgio Armani *MB*	Giorgio Armani *MB*
Emmanuel Ungaro	Emmanuel Ungaro *MS*	
Dries Van Noten	Dries Van Noten *MG*	Dries Van Noten *MG*
Donna Karen	Donna Karen *FS*	Donna Karen *FS*

Carolina Herrera	Carolina Herrera *FS*	Carolina Herrera *FS*
Calvin Klein	Calvin Klein *MG*	Francisco Cost *MG*
Anna Molinari	Anna Molinari *FS*	Anna Molinari *FS*
Yves St Laurent	Yves St Laurent *MG*	Hedi Slimane *MG*
Yigal Azrouel	Yigal Azrouel *MS*	Yigal Azrouel *MS*
Vivianne Westwood	Vivanne Westwood *FS*	Vivianne Westwood *FS*
Viktor and Rolf	Viktor Horsting *MG*	Viktor Horsting *MG*
	Rolf Snoeren *MG*	Rolf Snoeren *MG*
Versace	Gianni Versace *MG*	Donatella Versace *FS*
Stephane Rolland	Stephane Rolland *MNP*	Stephane Rollan *MNP*
Stella McCartney	Stella McCartney *FS*	Stella McCartney *FS*
Sonia Rykeil	Sonia Rykeil *FS*	Sonia Rykeil *FS*
Salvator Ferragamo	Salvator Ferragamo *MS*	Massimiliano Giornetti *MNP*
Roberto Cavalli	Roberto Cavalli *MS*	Roberto Cavalli *MS*
Ralph Lauren	Ralph Lauren *MS*	Ralph Lauren *MS*
Prada	Mario Prada *MS*	Miuccia Prada *FS*
Pollini	Romeo Pollini *MNP*	Jonathan Saunders *MG*
	Domenico Pollini *MNP*	
Nina Ricci	Nina Ricci *FS*	Peter Copping *MNP*
Missoni	Ottavio Missoni *MS*	Angela Missoni *FS*
	Rosita Missoni *FS*	
Moschino	Franco Moschino *MG*	Rossella Jardini *FS*
Max Mara	Achille Maramoti *MS*	Laura Lusuardi *F*
Gianfranco Ferre	Gianfranco Ferre *MNP*	Federico Piaggi *MNP*
		Stefano Citron *MNP*
Christian Dior	Christian Dior *MG*	Raf Simons *MNP*
Alberta Ferreti	Alberta Ferreti *FS*	Alberta Ferreti *FS*
Anna Molinari/Blumarine	Anna Molinari *FS*	Anna Molinari *FS*
Fendi	Eduardo Fendi *MS*	Karl Lagerfeld *MG*
	Adele Fendi *FS*	
Etro	Gimmo Etro *MS*	Veronica Etro *FS*
		Kean Etro *MS*
Elie Saab	Elie Saab *MS*	Elie Saab *MS*
Dsquared2	Dean Caten *MG*	Dean Caten *MG*
Blumarine / Blugirl	Anna Molinari *FS*	Anna Molinari *FS*
	Gianpaolo Tarabini *MS*	
Christian Lacriox	Christian Lacroix *MS*	Christian Lacriox *MS*
Cloe	Gay Aghion *FS*	Clare Waight Keller *FS*
Chanel	Coco Chanel *FS*	Karl Lagerfeld *MG*
Burberry	Thomas Burberry *MS*	Christopher Bailey *MG*

Bottega Veneta	Michele Taddei *MS*	Tomas Maier *MG*
	Renza Zengiaro *MNP*	
Dolce & Gabbana	Domenico Dolce *MG*	Domenico Dolce *MG*
	Sepfeno Gabbana *MG*	Sepfeno Gabbana *MG*
Alexander McQueen	Alexander McQueen *MG*	Sarah Burton *FS*
Allesandro Dell'acqua	Allesandro Dell-acqua *MNP*	Allesandro Dell-acqua *MNP*
Balenciaga	Cristóbal Balenciaga *MG*	Alexander Wang *MG*