



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„Drawing from Life: An Ethnography of Artist Models in
Tokyo“

verfasst von / submitted by

Anna-Maria Stabentheiner, BA

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2023 / Vienna 2023

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / UA 066 656
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / Masterstudium CREOLE - Cultural Differences and
degree programme as it appears on Transnational Processes
the student record sheet:

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Ass.-Prof. Dr. Sanderien Verstappen

Mitbetreut von / Co-Supervisor

Abstract

This thesis examines the embodied practices and lived realities of artist models in Tokyo. Defined as a person, who, to provide a visual reference and inspiration to artists, creates and maintains a coherent state of immobility or mobility for a certain time, these specialized professionals play a critical role in the maintenance of a large number of creative processes. Yet, they remain largely under-researched, especially outside of the European and Anglophone sphere.

This study draws on eight months (November 2021 – July 2022) of ethnographic fieldwork, the first four conducted remotely, while the remaining four were spent on-site in Tokyo. Incorporating data gathered via qualitative methods such as an online survey, formal and informal interviews, participant observation, and observant participation, this study demonstrates the impact and creative potential contained by actors not deemed ‘artists’ in the art world, providing evidence of the co-produced, collaborative and embodied nature of creative processes. It argues for the central role of cooperation in the creation of art and draws attention to the ethics of representation and the equity of art world inhabitants.

Abstrakt

Diese Master-Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit den Praktiken Tokioter Kunstmodelle – Personen, die durch das Einnehmen einer Pose für längere Zeit einen Referenzpunkt für Künstler*innen bieten. Modelle spielen eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Aufrechterhaltung einer Vielzahl von kreativen Prozessen. Dennoch finden sie nur selten ihren Weg in wissenschaftliche Diskussionen. Insbesondere außerhalb des europäischen und anglophonen Raums ist wenig zu ihren Praktiken, Lebenswelten und Meinungen bekannt.

Diese Studie stützt sich auf acht Monate (November 2021 - Juli 2022) ethnografischer Feldforschung, von denen die ersten vier digital durchgeführt, und die restlichen vier vor Ort in Tokio verbracht wurden. Anhand qualitativer Methoden wie einer Online-Umfrage, formellen und informellen Interviews, teilnehmender Beobachtung und beobachtender Teilnahme lenkt dieses Projekt die Aufmerksamkeit auf Akteure, die in der Kunstwelt nicht als "Künstler" gelten und zeigt ihr transformatives und kreatives Potential auf. Die gesammelten Daten liefern Beweise für die ko-produzierte, kollaborative und verkörperte Natur kreativer Prozesse.

Acknowledgements

Words can hardly express my gratitude for the invaluable contributions, encouragement, and support I have received throughout this research journey. This thesis would not have been possible without the collective assistance of a large number of individuals and institutions and I am truly grateful for the opportunities, guidance and insights I have been granted. In the following, I would like to acknowledge all the individuals and institutions who have played a role in the successful completion of my Master's thesis.

To begin with, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Ass.-Prof. Dr. Sanderien Verstappen for her support, her patience and her guidance throughout the research process. Her expertise and dedication have been instrumental in shaping the direction and quality of my work. Further, this endeavor would not have been possible without the help of Prof. Dr. Masato Fukushima. Acting as my supervisor abroad, he provided ample knowledge and encouragement.

Additionally, I would not have been able to undertake this research journey without the generous support of the University of Vienna, whose KWA grant funded my research stay in Tokyo. Their benevolent assistance has eased the financial burden associated with doing research abroad, allowing me to efficiently focus on the completion of this thesis. On this note, I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to the University of Tokyo for hosting me as a short-term research student during my stay abroad.

Naturally, I am also grateful for the animated support of all research participants. Their passionate cooperation and willingness to share their experiences, thoughts and opinions provided a rich pool of data and fascinating insights. Thanks should also go to all institutional agents, such as PourVous and Kitamura, who actively supported my research on site.

Lastly, I would like to recognize the contributions of my family and friends. In addition to providing new perspectives and feedback, their belief in me has kept my spirits and motivation high during this process.

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Introduction

私の存在している姿をこの描いている人が受け取ってくれて、その中にアートの一つになれるというのが、それが形になるっていうのは結構感動しちゃって、私。

“I was quite moved, really. To be perceived like that, to have my presence acknowledged and given shape; transformed through the artist’s eyes and made one with art.”

[Ririko, Interviewed on 31.03.2022]

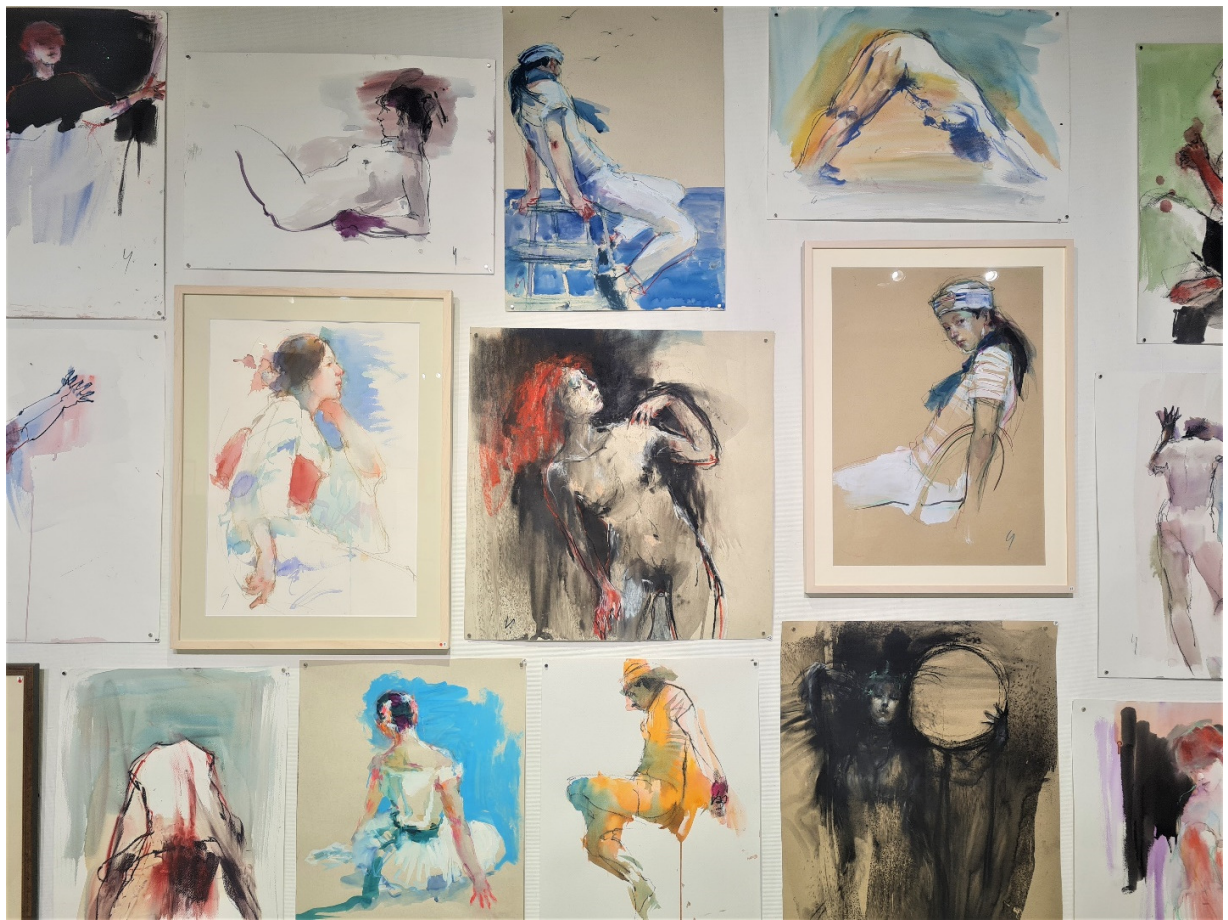


Image 1: Nagayama Exhibition, Model Sketches (photo by myself; Shibuya, Tokyo; 30.09.2022)

Allow me to paint to you a picture. It is a hot and humid day in late August, and Shibuya, a major commercial and financial ward situated in the center Tokyo, is brimming with life. After a brisk walk from the nearest station, I reach my destination: a spacious gallery in the heart of the district. With a leisurely pace, I stroll through its brightly lit exhibition space, marveling at the expertly

executed landscape paintings and still-lives on display. As I make my way towards the back of the gallery, something catches my eye and I stop in my track. With wonder, I take in the familiar form that greets me: my own likeness, portrayed in vivid detail. Rough smudges of black coal outline my tightly strung body and the blazing red pigment mirroring my curly hair permanently burns itself into my mind. As if in a trance, I linger in front of the illustration as a wave of memories floods my conscience. I am reminded of the strain the depicted pose put me through, of my aching muscles and sweaty palms but also of the determination, focus and elation I felt while observing the animated scribbling of the artist. For a long while, I continue to bask in the echo of the underlying shared experience nursed between the artist and myself – the model.

This experience at an art gallery in Shibuya was both personally, as well as academically significant, because seeing the fruits of my labor as an artist model prompted me to once more reflect on the complex interplay of physical, social and emotional aspects constituting creative processes. Led by the exploratory research question “What do artist models in Tokyo do?” the present thesis sets out to investigate the diverse and dynamic ways in which artist models in Tokyo shape and are shaped by the art they inspire, the physical and social spaces they occupy, and the individuals they collaborate with. By doing so, I hope to re-envision artist models as a contemporary, global phenomenon that has long developed an existence independent from its European roots.

In the context of this thesis, I define the ‘artist model’ as follows:

着衣、または脱衣で、ある一定の時間、不動または動の、状態をつくり、また、維持する人

a person, who [in order to provide visual reference and inspiration for artists to realize their ideas and creative conceptions] creates and maintains a coherent state of immobility or mobility for a certain period of time, either clothed or undressed.

[Asahi¹; Survey response]

Further, to describe the space in which posing is conducted I use the term the ‘life room’, a crucial site of artistic experimentation and production, where models and artists work together to

¹ Throughout the research process, I awarded utmost importance to ensure participants’ comfort and safety. In this spirit, the present thesis refrains from disclosing participants’ full names. In order to allow for a concise discussion over the following pages, models will be cited by their first names or in certain cases by a chosen synonym. Artists, on the other hand, will be referred to by their last names.

push the boundaries of their crafts. Lastly, I conflate the collaborative practices models and artists engage in under the word ‘life drawing’ or ‘life modelling’.

Drawing from life, the ethnography at hand relies heavily on qualitative research methods, such as formal and informal interviews, participant observation and observant participation. By analyzing the interactions, practices and narratives through which artist models frame and negotiate their role in Tokyo’s art world, I hope to: (1) shine light on the dynamic and synergetic nature of art production (cf. Becker 2008 [1982]; Gell 1998); (2) underscore the creative and transformative impact actors not deemed ‘artists’ can have in the art world (cf. Kordsmeier 2011; Kordsmeier 2017; Essin 2011; Myers 2002); and (3) establish artist models as a valuable source of knowledge when it comes to the study of art, its functions in society and the worlds, practices and communities build around it (Morphy 2002; Geismar 2015; Marcus and Myers 1995).

To archive this objective, the thesis at hand will proceed as follows. Chapter 1 (*‘The’ Artist Model throughout Space, Time and Literature*) presents a detailed literature review. Next, Chapter 2 (*The How, Who, Why and What of Research*) sets the tone for the following empirical discussion by critically reviewing the methodological and philosophical underpinning of the study at hand. The subsequent third Chapter (*Artist Model Referral Agencies in Tokyo – The Missing Link*) reviews the popularization of life modelling in Japan at the beginning of the 20th century and explores the history, narratives and corporate philosophies of artist model referral agencies in Tokyo. Chapter 4 (*The Ritual of the Artist Model*), then, relies on the concept of the ritual to understand how and why models formalize their practices and interactions in the life room. The subsequent Chapter 5 (*The Performing Artist Model*) concludes this thesis’ empirical discussion by drawing the reader’s attention to the performative character of artist models’ conduct, underlining the experimental, flexible and creative nature of their (inter-)actions. This thesis concludes with Chapter 6 (*Closing Discussion and Conclusion*), which summarizes and critically reflects on the arguments made in the previous chapters.

By the end of this thesis, the reader will have a comprehensive understanding of the role and significance of artist models in Tokyo, and how their inspection contributes to current discussions on art worlds and the anthropology of art.

1 ‘The’ Artist Model throughout Space, Time and Literature

From the prehistoric drawings garnishing the walls of Lascaux in Southern France, over the sumptuously decorated insides of the Egyptian pyramids, to the terracotta troops guarding the last resting place of China’s first emperor: copying and drawing inspiration from life to produce recognizable depictions of reality have been standard human practices for millennia (cf. Baer 2004; China Online Museum 2023; Davidson 1968; Evan 1994; Evans 2012). Notwithstanding that written proof of the systematic employment of real-life (human) models in artistic practices was only to appear much later, the earliest known tales of life modelling date back to antiquity. Some famous tales include, for instance, Zeuxis looking to find a woman beautiful enough to aid him in drawing the legendary Helena, Apelles, creating a painting of Alexander the Great’s favorite concubine Campaspe (Phillips 2006, pp. 4–5), or the Japanese woodblock print artist Kitagawa Utamaro² roaming the streets of Edo’s³ pleasure quarters in search of his next muse (Goncourt 2016, p. 9).

Indeed, if one is just to look closely enough, it becomes apparent that the annals of creative production are not built solely on the actions and residues of a handful of ‘great masters’. Rather, they are orchestrated by a multitude of different people, traditions and meanings that have worked together to bring humankind’s finest artworks, and the lore surrounding them, into existence (cf. Zitzewitz et al. 2022). Guided by several paramount questions, this chapter discusses the context of the study at hand and establishes a shared understanding of the literature and concepts this thesis builds on.

Meandering down the rocky road of the craft’s long tradition, Chapter 1.1 (*Who is the European Artist Model and Where did They come from?*) and Chapter 1.2 (*What can be said about the History of Artist Modelling in Japan?*) trace the history of the profession in Europe and Japan while considering the diverse socio-historical contexts art models found themselves encapsulated in over the ages. Building on the compiled data, the consecutive third sub-section (*What Literary Sources are available on Artist Models?*) organizes and reassesses the bulk of literature on art modelling available today. By inspecting what has been said *about* the model – both popularly and academically – this section does not reconstruct who the artist model is but rather whom they are

² All Japanese names appearing in this document will be written in traditional order. That is to say, last names proceed first names (Example: Kitagawa (last name) Utamaro (first name)).

³ Edo is Tokyo’s feudal denomination.

made out to be by those observing them from a distance. In the fourth sub-chapter (*What have Artist Models said about Themselves?*), the previously carved-out myth of the artist model is supplemented with a critical survey of a variety of autobiographic and ethnographic studies. Chapter 1.5 (*How have Artist Models been Conceptualized so far?*) outlines the theoretical framework supporting this project, discussing several conceptual tools recurring throughout recent scholarly debates on artist models. Chapter 1.6 (*Conclusion*) rounds up this section by providing a summary of what has been said so far. By the end of the present chapter, the reader will have obtained a thorough understanding of what exactly an artist model is, where, how, and why this profession evolved in Europe and Japan, and how it is depicted and viewed in science and popular debate at the present point in time.

1.1 Who is the European Artist Model and Where did They come from?

Depictions of the human figure are of timeless popularity. However, the people who take up the role of the living reference have often been left to ‘play the second fiddle’ in discussions concerning creative production. Despite this, I dare say, without Phryne⁴, who inspired Praxiteles, the Duchess of Alba⁵, who sparked Goya’s creativity, Raphael’s infamous mistress, or Ruben’s younger, second wife Helena Fourment⁶, the chronicles of the arts would lack much of their vibrancy (Borzello 2010, pp. 5–6). In the following pages, I trace the narratives of European art histories to understand who ‘the’ artist model might have been, where they came from and which cultural, social and historical environments influenced the formation of this profession in Europe.

The earliest known literary recordings of life modelling have their origin in Greek antiquity, in a time when (human) beauty was seen as a gift bestowed by the gods, a sign of divine blessing. That which was thought to be alluring was to be worshipped and studied through offerings, rituals and art. The mimetic portrayal of those said to rival the gods in grace, wit, or strength was seen as an admirable act of devotion, an act only possible, however, with the help of real-life models (Bharali 2019, p. 17). A philosophy, which sometimes led to eccentric encounters and fanciful tales.

⁴ Living her life as a courtesan in ancient Greece, it is told that Phryne’s beauty was rivaling that of the goddess of love and passion, Aphrodite, herself. Coupled with her quick wit, she soon became the muse of the sculptor Praxiteles and many more for centuries to come (Haynes 2021).

⁵ Helping the Spanish artist to reach the peak of his artistic career, the Duchess of Alba features in many of Goya’s paintings. The artist’s reputation as a Casanova and his apparent fondness of her likenesses spurred tales of their alleged intimate relationship (Tomlinson 2020).

⁶ Marrying the much older artist – Rubens was 53 at that time – at the youthful age of sixteen Helena Fourment became a reappearing object in his creative pursuit; posing as a model for many of Rubens later paintings (Abastado and Chemla 2008).

To give an illustration: as early as 100 CE, the Roman scholar Gaius Plinius Secundus – or Pliny the Elder – recites a tale about the Greek artist Zeuxis – a known devotee of mimesis⁷ in the ancient Roman empire. Legend has it that, in order to find a model worthy of helping him fashion a painting for the local temple of the Goddess Juno, he had the young girls of Agriguntum, the city in which the temple was to be erected, stripped before him in the forum (Macdonald 1970, pp. 53–54). Yet other sources dramatically depict Zeuxis’ odyssey of finding a woman charming enough to help him paint the magnificent Helena, whose beauty was said to rival that of the goddess Aphrodite (Phillips 2006, pp. 5–6).

Despite being a standard practice among Greek and Roman artists, the custom of drawing from the human model supposedly came to a halt with the dawn of the Christian age in the 4th century. The propagation of biblical dogma rang in an era in which the display of, or gazing at the (nude) human figure was broadly branded as an act of indecency, leading to a decline of life drawing practices in Europe. It was not until centuries later, with the commencement of the Italian Renaissance around 1400 CE, that sketching, painting and sculpturing from the real, living model reappeared among Europe’s artistic professionals (Phillips 2006, pp. 4–5).

The first Europeans to comprehensively resurrect the practice were the inhabitants of the Italian cape. For example, the Carracci Academy in Bologna is rumored to have (re)started employing models for educational purposes as far back as the beginning of the 15th century. Hereafter, models could be encountered in ateliers and classrooms across the peninsula with increasing frequency, from Florence to Bologna and Rome (Hipke 2008, p. 25).

Thenceforth, the practice of drawing from the life model slowly began to travel to other European cities, becoming a standard practice in ateliers and educational facilities across modern-day France⁸, Germany, Spain, or Great Britain. That said, art modelling’s ascent to the heights of being a ‘serious’ profession did not install itself exhaustively until the rise of state-funded art academies in the 18th century. Prominent examples are the Royal Academy in Great Britain and the L’École des Beaux Arts in Paris (cf. Smith 1996).

Little is known about the working conditions of Europe’s earliest artist models apart from the fact that it was not the most acclaimed occupation. It was mostly those ridden by poverty and

⁷ Mimesis refers to the practice of imitating the real world.

⁸ Although current day conceptions of nation states such as Italy, France, Spain or Great Britain were yet in the making at the time under scrutiny, the text at hand will deploy these concepts in order to facilitate comprehension.

social insecurity or those considered of ‘low’ social standing – farmers, ‘commoners’, ‘beggars’ or sex workers – who were scooped off of the streets of Paris and London so as to strike a pose on the modelling pedestal. The resulting supposed link between art modelling, eroticism, and sexual occupations gravely impacted future imaginaries surrounding the craft (Borzello 2010).

Contrary to modern-day popular belief, ‘the’ exemplary, historical art model was not female. Instead, it was mainly young men whom were called to perform in ateliers and classrooms until fairly recently (Borzello 2010; Lathers 2001; Waller 2006). Art historian Frances Borzello (2010), in her study of the history of the artist model in Great Britain, argues that this was largely owed to the societal stigma that came with employing, or being, a woman who publicly expose her nude body⁹. Another constitutional factor for the preeminence of male models is said to be the Renaissance’s yearning appraisal of Roman antiquity and its depictions of chiseled male athletes, which glaringly outnumbered representations of women (cf. Borzello 2010; Waller 2006).

Compellingly, with the commencement of the French Bohemian movement during the eighteenth century, the existence of the previously prevalent male model was nearly eradicated from the popular narrative, and depictions of sculptured male athletes were replaced with those of pliant female Venuses. ‘The’ model was thenceforth intrinsically female. As a beautiful yet mute and abulic object in the artist’s atelier, the art model came to be constructed as an agency-less source of inspiration and lust, a lover rather than a professional¹⁰. This stress on the intimate relationship between the (female) model and (male) artist dominates popular perception and academic discussions of the occupation to this day (Roe 1995, pp. 18–22).

In the mid-eighteenth century, a regressing demand for mimetic accuracy and the proliferation of printed images began dwindling the need for living models. The resulting decline in job opportunities rendered it increasingly difficult to make a living off art modelling, leading to the profession’s slow disappearance from the public’s eye in Europe.

⁹ This does not mean that female models did not exist. Artist models are reported to have been a highly heterogeneous group of individuals. However, most artists preferred to keep their engagement with female models out of the public’s eye (Waller 2006; Borzello 2010).

¹⁰ See, for example, the beginning of this chapter where I referred to Goya and his relationship with the Duchess of Alba, Raphael’s infatuation with his mistress, or Ruben’s love for his second wife Helena Fourment, and how their emotionally charged liaisons formed the cradle of many a famous work of art.

1.2 What can be said about the History of Artist Modelling in Japan?

Compellingly, literature on artist models exhibits a strong Eurocentric focus. While artistic producers across the globe are chronicled to have fallen back on human models as a source of inspiration and reference, records routinely dismiss these encounters as rare and incidental. The case of Japan is of special interest to the study at hand.

The human figure has been a popular subject among the peninsula's printmakers and artists for centuries. Renowned artists such as Utamaro, Utagawa, Toyokuni, Kiyonaga and Harunobu drew much of their inspiration from the merchants, kabuki actors, courtesans and samurai they encountered throughout their daily lives. Their impressions found expression in elaborate depictions of rough-looking samurai, peasants painted by the hardship of everyday life, prideful nobles, as well as exorbitantly adorned Geishas¹¹, Oiran¹² and Tayū¹³ (cf. Evan 1994; Harris 2010).

The fashioned representations, and cooperation predating them, set themselves apart from European traditions of life drawing in a number of ways. First, an absence of commitment to mimesis is typical for Japanese depictions. The women and men studied were not meant to represent reality. Instead, artists hoped to ignite people's imagination and fashion aesthetic representations of their fantasies and aspirations (Amsden and Seidlitz 2014). Second, early Japanese life drawing practices are ascribed lack of professionalization and standardization. However, as literature on repeated cooperation between select individuals is absent, it is difficult to say whether artists truly did not sustain long-living relationships and standardized practices with the people they depicted¹⁴.

Early evidence of the regulated and repetitive cooperation between models and artists dates back to the end of the 19th century. After spending extended periods abroad, Japanese artists began promoting a standardized version of life drawing fashioned after European traditions. The first records of the institutional use of art models date back to 1888, when artist Yamamoto Hōsui is said to have employed real life models in his private painting school, 'Seikōkan', in Tokyo (Miyashita 2008, p. 89).

Again, little is known about the working conditions, practices and lives of the individuals who performed the craft. However, art historian Miyashita Kikurō (2008) hints that, not unlike in

¹¹ The denomination Geishas is used to describe entertainers trained in various forms of entertainment and the arts.

¹² The term Oiran commonly alludes to highly paid courtesans.

¹³ The term Tayū is used to describe highly trained ceremonial entertainers.

¹⁴ This would be a fruitful area for further work.

Europe, the practice of artist modelling was viewed unfavorably by many parts of society due to it entailing acts of displaying and gazing at the nude human figure. Similar observations are recorded by Asao Teisaku (1986) in his annals as an art supply merchant. Asao further adds that the demand for female models far outnumbered that for male models at the times¹⁵. Although periodically halted by the onslaught and aftermath of the first and second World War, the practice of life drawing once more picked up popularity in the second half of the 20th century (Komori 1985). Spurred by the emergence of commercial artist model referral agencies, artist models continue to be deployed to art educational facilities, leisure get-togethers and private ateliers to date (pourvous-model 2022).

This review shows that, although few written records – academic and popular alike – are available on the topic, Japan’s artist models, just like their colleagues in other parts of the world, look back on a long and winding history. The objective of this thesis is to draw attention to the dense informational value contained by the study of the practice in Japan and help remedy this gap in literature.

1.3 What Literary Sources are available on Artist Models?

Routinely overlooked, the practice of art modelling, and the people who engage in it are scarcely discussed in literature. Only touching upon the issue of the poseur in passing, many of the available sources are empty of honest and grounded explorations of these specialized professionals, their occupational values, rituals and systems of meaning. Consequently, the model appears replaceable and feeble, a mere accessory to the artist and their artwork. This section explores what different authors have said about artist models and which narratives and imaginaries they construct through their publications.

To date, it is chiefly (1) fictive writers, (2) biographic publications, and (3) art historians who have expanded on the topic of the artist model. First, let us turn our attention to the genre of fiction. Although authors employ vastly different historical, social, cultural and geographical backgrounds for their stories, they paint a rather homogenous picture of the artist model. What is more, these stories scarcely make the model the center of attention, often relegating them to the periphery of the narrative, overshadowed by the artists they serve (Balzac 1927; Zola 2018 [1886];

¹⁵ A trend, which continues until today, as will be shown in later chapters.

Webb 2015; Chevalier 1999; Du Maurier 1947; James 2011)¹⁶. The paradigmatic storyline goes as follows: A young woman captures the eye of an eccentric, desolated male artist with her otherworldly beauty and, by becoming his muse; they set out on an erotic journey through art, love and adventure. In general, although the discussed works' entertainment factor is high, it can be argued that those who are looking for a varied, more realistic representation of art models are well told to turn their attention elsewhere.

Biographic works might provide a remedy. Kanamori Atsuko (1998), for instance, provides her readers with well-researched considerations on a Japanese art model widely known as 'Oyō'. Similar things can be said about Lou Mollgaard's (1988) *Kiki: Reine de Montparnasse*, which details the life and influence of the French Alice Ernestine Prin in 20th century Paris. Instead of reproducing a generic image of the artist model, these authors draw a less romanticized and generalized picture of reality through their chosen case studies.

Lastly, let us move on to the corpus of art historical publications. While the humanities and social sciences mostly kept their hands off the topic of the artist model until fairly recently, a large corpus of art historical literature has accumulated over the years. Although their perspectives are manifold, these publications – similar to the fictive works discussed previously – exhibit a tendency to focus not on the model, but rather on the artists who drew them and the representations they fashioned (Abastado and Chemla 2008; Borel 1990; Chesterman 2002; Clark 1957; Jiminez 2001; Kinoshita 2012; Lathers 2001; Macdonald 1970; Rubin 2018; Smith 1996; Vaughan 1992; Willson 2020; Lanteri 1985; Kluver and Martin 1994; McDonald 2001). While these studies offer insight into the broader social, cultural, political, economic and creative contexts art models engage in, they omit to address models as agents of their own right, with human motivations, practices and opinions¹⁷.

Additionally, recent decades have seen an increased interest in the topic of the artist model among scholars of gender studies and women's studies (Nead 1992; Nochlin 1973; Shaw 2004; Wakako, Midori 若桑, みどり 2012). They utilize concepts such as gendered space, spectator ship, objectification and the (sexualized and sexualizing) gaze to deconstructing the gendered nature of the social interactions transpiring in the life room. Especially feminist art historian Lynda Nead's

¹⁶ The displayed list of publications is not exhaustive, nor representative of all of the available literature.

¹⁷ Exceptions to this are, just to name a few, Borzello (2010), Lathers (2001), Waller (2006) or Rooney (2008), who, despite focusing on divergent geographical and historical contexts, consciously define artist models, their lives and practices, as the nucleus of their inquiry.

considerations on the artist's gaze prove to be useful for the study at hand, helping unravel the underlying power dynamics lacing model-artist interactions¹⁸.

To summarize, although an extensive body of literature on artist models is available, previous research oftentimes falls into a habit of *reproducing* the historically grown myths surrounding art models rather than *deconstructing* them. The following section will exemplify how a change of perspective and research approach can affect the way artist models are talked about and defined.

1.4 What have Artist Models said about Themselves?

So far, this literature review has focused on what has been said *about* artist models. Complementarily, this section now reviews a handful of ethnographic studies conducted in close cooperation *with*, and works penned *by* art models themselves.

Ever since the 1990s, a handful of in-depth ethnographies on artist models have emerged. In comparison to the fictional, biographic and art historical literature described in the previous section, these reports, fed by mostly qualitative research methods, grant a more applied and personal peak into the realities and practices of artist models across the globe. Framing artist models as human beings with personal and collective experiences, reasons, self-conceptions and practices, authors¹⁹ produce new insights by letting models speak for themselves.

Overall, although authors display similar methodological approaches, they explore the topic of the model from different standpoints, dissecting their findings with the help of a customized kit of conceptual and theoretical tools. Margaret Mayhew (2010), for instance, explores the history and the philosophical underpinning of life modelling in Sidney's art world through an in-depth study of the practice of life drawing in Australian art education. On the other hand, Clay A. Hipke (2008) and Sarah R. Phillips (2006) depend on highly exploratory research questions in their inquiries to better understand the social practices and working environments of art models across US-America. Further, Gordon Roe (1995) inspects models' function, agency in, and value for, the field of cultural production by referring to Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and cultural capital. By contrast, Hong Kong-based gender studies scholar Chan Hao Ying (2010), in their study of female artist models' practices and struggles, accesses the notion of embodiment and

¹⁸ For a more thorough discussion of the concept, please see Chapter 1.5.

¹⁹ Some of them, such as Margaret Mayhew (2010) or Gordon W. Roe (1995) have gathered experience working as artist models themselves prior to their investigations.

performance. Lastly, Kannaki Bharali (2019) discusses the social boundaries ordering models' interactions with artists in 'recreational' life drawing in US-America and how the notion of professionalism is crucial to models' conduct. Additionally, a number of themes such as learning, entrance into the field, and de-sexualization keep reappearing peripherally throughout these publications²⁰.

In addition to these ethnographic studies, models across the globe have issued a number of autobiographic publications since the middle of the 20th century (Crisp 1977; Lindsay 1967; Kayama and Maemoto 1993; May 2014; Komori 1985). Recording their working conditions, erotic encounters, and ambitions, these publications offer incentives as to which theories and concepts might be suited for the study of this highly heterogeneous group of individuals. What is more, a considerable portion of the discovered literature originates in Japan, displaying the country's high potential for contributing insights and new perspectives to the study of artist models. Model Maemoto Yufu and her artist husband Kayama Matazō (1993), for instance, chronicle their opinion on the model's crucial standing within the creative process, highlighting their agency in the co-dependent processes of the art world. By contrast, art model Komori Noriko (1985) provides a thick description of her performance in the life room and her perception of artists' gaze, shining light on the daily life, struggles, interactions and aspirations of a contemporary artist model in Tokyo.

In the section that follows, I present a short review of the theoretical toolkit supporting this thesis, discussing how these concepts have been used in previous studies of artist models and art worlds, and why they qualify for the inquiry at hand.

1.5 How have Artist Models been Conceptualized so far?

The anthropology of art seeks to understand objects, people and practices framed as 'artistic', within various cultural and social contexts. Drawing on diverse, at times interdisciplinary theoretical approaches, research philosophies and thematic foci, anthropologists study art as multifaceted, global sites of knowledge production and contestation. This finds expression in, for instance, the notion of art worlds, which is also widely applied in the study of artist models.

²⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the concepts and approaches mentioned, and why they were chosen or rejected in the thesis at hand, see Chapter 1.5.

First introduced by philosopher and art critic Arthur Danto (1964) in the 1960s, the ‘art world’ can loosely be defined as the complex system of institutions, individuals and practices that are involved in the creation, distribution, evaluation and consumption of art. Since then, an extensive, interdisciplinary literature discussing and refining the concept of art worlds has accumulated, with scientists studying artistic processes in various social, cultural, historical, economic and political contexts.

Early research in this field, such as that of Howard Becker (2008 [1982]) or Pierre Bourdieu (1996), portrays art worlds as centralized, cooperative networks of people, objects, places and institutions. Whereas Becker’s interactionist methodology focuses on the study of the relationships connecting participants and the resulting flow of information, resources, and opportunities in an art world, Bourdieu strives to understand the underlying structure of the artistic field with the help of a number of conceptual aids such as field²¹, habitus²² and capital²³. A number of studies inquiring into innovation in the art world (Cattani and Ferriani 2008; Patriotta et al. 2016; Sgourev 2013) pick up on this proposition. However, they express that there are certain drawbacks associated with the use of a centralized and competitive art world framework as it may prompt researchers to overlook individual and alternative forms of creativity, cooperation and agency in favor of prioritizing structural determinism. As a result, authors suggest that loosening the core-periphery structure might bring favorable results.

Similarly, recent anthropological projects (Zitzewitz 2022, 2014; George 2009) lean toward a more de-centralized perspective of art worlds, drawing attention to the multiplicity of agencies, power dynamics and mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion involved in artistic processes. Eugenia Kisin (2019), George E Markus and Fred R. Myers (1995), for instance, use the notion of the art world to highlight how the production, interpretation and circulation of artistic forms, objects and practices contributes to multifarious, global and local systems of legitimization, meaning-making and power-evaluation (Myers 2002). In a similar vein, Manuela Ciotti (2014, 2020b, 2020a, 2022) studies art worlds and their local implication through the lens of ‘cultural forms’, framing artistic

²¹ A field is “the objective network or configuration of relations [...] to be found in any social space or particular context” (Grenfell 2014 [2008], p. 47).

²² Habitus describes the embodied, historically determined, internalized and thus naturalized sets of rules, dispositions and norms ordering a field (Symonds 2020, p. 140; Power 1999, p. 48).

²³ Capital is “the means by which field participants position themselves and affect change” (Grenfell 2014 [2008], p. 83) in a field. This ‘currency’ does not necessarily have to be monetary or economic but can take on cultural, social, or symbolic forms (Moore 2014 [2008], pp. 98–99).

practice as a “catalyst for a myriad of individual, national, and transnational sensibilities, cultural statements, and politics” (Ciotti 2014, p. 52). Ruth Phillips et al. (2022), Haidy Geismar (2001) and Nelson H. H. Graburn (2004) likewise use the study of cultural forms and artistic events to provide an understanding of how artistic practice may enable agency in de-colonial endeavors trying to rethink modes of representation across the globe.

Compellingly, the notion of art worlds has also found its way into the study of artist models. Bharali (2019), for instance, highlights how politics of inclusion and exclusion are being played out through the idealization of certain body types, genders, ages or nationalities in life drawing practices (pp. 25-28), positioning the art world as an important site for models’ “production and contestation of competing narratives of race and ethnicity” (p. 66). Other authors (Mayhew 2010; Hipke 2008; Hao Ying 2010), by exploring the experiences of artist models, have focused on providing insights into how art worlds are linked to broader patterns of subject formation and agency²⁴ among art workers (Mayhew 2010, p. 8). The current thesis situates itself in the tradition of these studies on artist models as well as the above-mentioned anthropological inquiries, drawing on the art world framework because it provides a comprehensive and inclusive lens through which to examine the meanings, value, social structures and power dynamics shaping, and shaped by, artist models’ practices.

Additionally, the thesis at hand relies on four interconnected concepts that keep reappearing throughout literature on artist models: performance, the gaze, professionalism and ritual. By doing so, I hope to shine light on how artist models enact creativity, agency and influence in the life room, highlighting the artistic and transformative potential contained by actors not deemed ‘artists’ in the art world.

First, ethnographers of artist models employ the concept of performance²⁵ to decipher how artist models are enmeshed in, reaffirm and challenge the networks of social relations, power dynamics, identity and creativity pertaining the life room (Hao Ying 2010; Roe 1995; Bharali 2019; Phillips 2006; Hipke 2008; Mayhew 2010). Performance is hereby defined as a broad spectrum of aesthetic practices and cultural enactments that aim at communicating with, and so influencing others in embodied ways (Kapchan 1995, p. 479; Schechner 2020, p. 2). This concept is deemed

²⁴ Agency is hereby understood as models’ ability and willingness to consciously and active make decisions which influence their own lives as well as the creative processes transpiring within the life room cf. Kockelman (2007).

²⁵ Not to be confused with ‘performativity’ as proposed by Judith Butler (2006) Although a compelling concept, its application would exceed the scope of this project and will thus have to be the focus of future research.

of relevance to the study of artist models as it draws attention to the co-dependent nature of life drawing practices. Moreover, authors (Bharali 2019, p. 58; Hao Ying 2010, p. 158) use the concept to highlight the almost theatrical flow of models' (inter-)actions in the life room, framing them as creatively involved art world participants²⁶.

Second, Bharali (2019), Hao Ying (2010), Hipke (2008), Mayhew (2010), Phillips (2006), and Roe (1995) identify the label of professionalism as central to many models' narratives. Referring to the enactment of a set of culturally and historically determined norms, values and notions of expertise (Hull 2020), professionalism provides a useful tool when assessing the ways in which models construct their creative identities, and try to secure legitimacy and agency in, as well as a sense of belonging to, the art world (Bain 2005, p. 34).

Next, Bharali (2019) has shown that models' sense of professionalism builds on their ability to embody certain ritualized roles and rules. He points to the importance of ritualization when it comes to protecting models' dignity and safety in the life room (p. 109). I further argue that by studying artist models' ritual – the structured repetition of symbolic behaviors aiming at carrying cultural and social significance into effect (Micu 2022, p. 10) – it becomes possible to better understand the power dynamics shaping the life room's social micro-cosmos.

Lastly, most authors agree that the notion of the gaze – describing the power dynamics, social meanings, and objectifying effects associated with the act of observing and being observed within a cultural context (Evans and Gamman 2006, pp. 12–13) – is omnipresent in artist models' professional performances. Whereas Mayhew (2010) and Hao Ying (2010) criticize the politics of the gaze permeating the life room as oppressive and objectifying (cf. Nead 1992), Bharali (2019) details how models might “experience being gazed at in the studio as empowering” (p. 58), reaffirming their belonging to the art world. Highlighting the reciprocal and co-productive nature of models' performance, the concept of the gaze offers an effective way to scrutinize the power dynamics models poise.

In sum, the thesis at hand situates itself in the tradition of the anthropology of art. Building on the framework of art worlds and the interconnected concepts of performance, professionalism, ritual and the gaze, I hope to contribute to broader the discourse discussing the creative and transformative power of art and the people who produce it.

²⁶ For a more detailed definition of the concept, see Chapter 5.1.

1.6 Conclusion

This literature review has shown that artist modelling has a long and winding history, in Europe as well as in Japan. Yet, instead of a living, breathing and vibrant group of people, artist models are depicted as singular, mostly European phenomena, and exiled to a distant past. It was possible to identify that this is prominently because the majority of previous research explores art models via means of archival and literary research, prioritizing artists and the representations they fashion over the models who cooperated with them.

By following the example of a number of recent, ethnographic studies on artist models across the globe, this thesis sets out to fill this academic void by dialogically engaging with the people who practice the profession of art modelling in Tokyo. By doing so, it is possible to, on the one hand, shine light on the informational value the study of these creative professionals holds, and, on the other hand, counteract the strong Euro- and Anglo-American focus of the field. To archive these objectives, the following chapters will critically engage with the question ‘What do artist models in Tokyo do?’ with the help of the framework of the art worlds, as well as the concepts of performance, ritual, professionalism and the gaze.

Before delving into analytical discussions on the topic of the artist models, the following Chapter 2 explores the philosophical and methodological underpinning of the study at hand, contemplating my role as a researcher and my influence on the field.

2 The How, Who, Why and What of Research

“I hope your study will change the stereotype, to change stereotype to artist model, or to female content. If you and people around you continue this study gradually, maybe the stereotype will diminish. I wish such a thing. [...] If many people joined this movement, maybe the stereotypes would diminish. So we have to continue to write something or let people know about how this work is [...].”

[Rin; Interviewed on 09.03.2022]

With a soft beep, the timer signals the start of the session. Confidently, Haruka steps on stages. Looking to the left, then to the right, she settles on a pose and remains unmoving thenceforth. The room is quiet, only the sound of avid scribbling permeating the air. I *consider* her carefully from the sidelines; trying to understand the strategy with which she has decided to insert herself into the space of the life room. Before long, I also discard my robe and *join* her on stage. I circle around her, once, twice, contemplating how I can *fit myself into* her performance. Ultimately, I decide to sink down to the floor next to her. Meeting her eye shortly, a non-verbal *exchange* takes place before I melt into her form; *adding myself* physically, mentally and creatively to her pose.

This description presents a vignette from the field. I chose it to start this thesis’ methods chapter, as it highlights the four major methodological pillars supporting my inquiry: (1) observation (*consider*), (2) participation (*join*), (3) dialogue (*exchange*) and (4) immersion (*fit myself into*, *adding myself*). Led by the exploratory research question ‘*What do artist models in Tokyo do?*’ this study fosters a dialogue in order to produce new knowledge and perspectives. To this end, great attention was attributed to ‘letting loose’ and building the methodological, theoretical and conceptual framework of this thesis ‘along the way’ in respectful cooperation with the people under study. The methodological foundation, which nourished these choices, and the methods that were used to implement my research objectives are summarized on the pages below.

To begin with, Chapter 2.1 (*The Hard Facts*) provides the reader with an overview of my ethnographic work. Next, Chapter 2.2 (*The Practicalities*) examines my research philosophy, design and strategy, while also providing insight into my analytical approach. Third, Chapter 2.3 (*Reflections*) contains considerations on my positionality in the field and the possible implications this might have on the data I elicited and the conclusion I drew. Finally, a short summary of the information presented is given in Chapter 2.4 (*Conclusion*), leading over to the subsequent discussion of my empirical data.

2.1 The Hard Facts

This thesis is based on eight months of fieldwork, four of which were conducted remotely, while the remaining four were spent on-site. During this period, I conducted an online survey composed of mostly open-ended questions, formal and informal interviews, literature research, participant observation and observant participation²⁷. Data was stored in the form of Excel sheets, video and audio recordings, digital and hand-written notes, as well as backups and screenshots of digital communication and photographs. Following a long period of literature research, empirical inquiry took off on November 22, 2021.

Overall, approximately 30 to 40 chief participants contributed to this study²⁸. Due to the, at the times, unrelenting entry ban for foreign nationals prompted by the global Covid-19 health crisis, I initially entered the field remotely. To begin with, I sought contact with art modelling agencies, art educational institutions, or leisure art gatherings across the city of Tokyo via email. As a result, 25 survey respondents²⁹ – twenty of which identify as female, and five state their male gender – could be recruited. 25 out of 25 participants were of Japanese nationality, 88% of which were between twenty and 49 years of age. Only two participants had less than one year of experience as an artist model, with twelve individuals attesting to having entered the profession between 10-20 years ago, four participants picked up art modelling 5-10 years ago, three 2-5 years ago, and another three attested to having between 1 and 2 years of working experience. Table 1 summarizes key facts about survey participants. The questionnaire included 28 mostly open-ended questions to generate a first understanding of the field and its inhabitants. Questions were concerned with a variety of topics, inquiring, among other things, into how respondents got into the job, which troubles they encountered on the way and how they defined their role in Tokyo's art world (for a full copy of the questionnaire in English and Japanese, see Appendix A).

²⁷ The paper at hand relies on Seim's (2021) distinction between (1) participant observation, and (2) observant participation. While I remain in the role of the observing researcher during instances of participant observations – accompanying artist models to their modelling gigs, for instance – observant participation opens up new perspectives by allowing me to transform my body into “a fleshy tablet for collecting memories to later translate into text” (Seim 2021, pp. 20–21). Practicing as an artist model myself, I immerse myself deeply in the group under study, learning to see the world differently by experiencing some of their “collective action, shared rituals and more” (Ibid, p. 3).

²⁸ Additionally, a large number of informal conversations were held with models, artists and institutional personnel. Due to a lack of records and personal information, these participants are not included in and further described by the above-mentioned sample.

²⁹ All survey participants identified as artist models.

Out of the 25 survey participants, eleven – out of which nine identified as female, and two as male – agreed to be interviewed³⁰. The bulk (six out of eleven) of participants was in their thirties and attested to a long connection with, or love for the fine and performing arts. What is more, ten out of eleven interviewees were under contract with a local art-modelling agency (PourVous). Table 2 comprises a detailed register of interview participants' information. Conversations were, on average, between one hour and one hour and fifteen minutes long and were conducted and recorded in video and audio using ZOOM or LINE³¹. Recordings were consecutively transcribed by hand. Although following a simple interview schedule, conversations were generally left to flow freely, not only encouraging participants to give answers but also to ask questions of their own. Questions covered a wide range of topic areas, ranging from more general inquiries such as: *What role would you say, does the model play in the art production process?*; *What is it that fascinates you about modelling for artists?*; or: *You indicated that you work in a variety of setting – art universities, university preparation schools, culture centers etc. What is your preferred place of work and why?*; to more personal and theoretically inspired questions as for example: *How has your self-perception developed since you started modelling for artists?*; or *Have you made any negative experiences so far?* (for the full interview schedule in English and Japanese, see Appendix B).

Ten out of the initial eleven interview participants made themselves available for a personal meeting after my arrival in Japan in April 2022. These meetings were conducted in informal settings, such as cafés, restaurants or art galleries. The choice of place was mostly left up to participants in order to allow them to feel at ease during the event. In addition to presenting a chance to ask follow-up questions, these meetings were further used to better understand my sample. By doing so, I was able to establish a stable relationship of mutual trust with most interlocutors while simultaneously collecting supplementary information on their life stories, character, other occupational endeavors, personal interests, as well as their motivation for participating in my project. These, not to say budding friendships, were an important stepping-stone in expediting my research. Via word-of-mouth propaganda and social snowballing mechanisms, I was able to further broaden my sample, adding another twelve participants to the

³⁰ These first eleven interviews were conducted remotely, in March 2022.

³¹ LINE is a popular instant messaging service in Japan. Originally founded by the Korean Naver Cooperation, the application cannot only be used to send and receive messages, but also to conduct voice and video calls.

pool. In addition to four models, eight artists who regularly engage in life drawing activities were recruited. 100% of the added participants were Japanese nationals, out of which five identified as female and seven as male. Two participants were in their twenties, three were in their thirties and seven were over thirty (for a detailed list of the properties of the expanded sample, see Table 3).

Additionally, two focus group interviews were conducted with the members of the two art modelling agencies dominating Tokyo: (1) PourVous, and (2) Kitamura. Conversations were between 30 minutes and one hour long and included three (PourVous) and two (Kitamura) participants. All of Kitamura's, as well as PourVous' employees are female and over 30 years of age. In the case of PourVous, two out of three have experience as artist models themselves, while both of the employees interviewed at Kitamura still engage in the profession to date. Among the discussed topics were, for instance, the company's origins, its corporate philosophy, and business statistics. Complementarily, questions probed into participants' personal affiliation with the craft of art modelling, their assessment of the artist-model relationship and hopes for the future (for the full interview schedule in Japanese, see Appendix C). These interactions were not recorded but rather documented in the form of notes.

Apart from interview material, the thesis at hand relies heavily on the analysis of personal observations and experiences. To this end, participant observation was conducted. In seven instances, I accompanied six artist models – one of which identified as male and five as female – to their workplace. After monitoring their behavior and interactions for two to three hours each, short follow-up interviews were organized in close-by coffee shops, restaurants or on our way to the train station. Observations and exclamations were recorded in the form of sketches and field notes.

Additionally, I became an artist model myself. Not long after my arrival in Japan I visited an art modelling company (PourVous) and they offered me to help me gather data by deploy me as a model to studios and ateliers across the city. Between the months of May and July 2022, I took up over 40 modelling gigs, turning prior participant observation into observant participation. Even after the official conclusion of the data collection process in July 2022, I continued to work as a model, collecting further experiences, connections and information until my return to Austria in October 2022. The corpus of data described above is further supported by information obtained through a large number of informal conversations conducted throughout the research period.

Table 1: Statistics Survey Participants

		Gender		Age		Nationality	Connection to the arts		Performing Arts		Length of activity			
Survey respondents	25	Male	4	20s	5	25/25 Japanese	Yes	8	Actor	1	< 1 year	2		
				30s	10						1-2 years	3		
											2-5 years	3		
			40s						7	No	0	Dancer	2	5-10 years
				10-15 years	6									
				15-20 years	1									
		Female	21	50s	2		Actor&Dancer	2	>20 years					5
				No reply	1		Non	3	no reply					1
							No data	17						

Table 2: Statistics Interview Participants

		Gender		Age		Nationality	Affiliation with a modelling agency		Connection to the arts		Performing Arts		Length of activity		
Interviews (Models)	11	Male	2	20s	2	11/11 Japanese	Yes	10	Yes	10	Actor	1	1-2 years	2	
				30s	6						Dancer	2	2-5 years	1	
							Female	9	40s	3			Actor&Dancer	2	5-10 years
				Non	6						10-15 years	4			

Table 3: Statistics Additional Participants

		Gender		Age		Nationality	Connection to the arts		Performing Arts		Length of activity of models	
Additional Participants	12	Male	7	20s	2	12/12 Japanese	Yes	12	Actor&Dancer	2	1-2 years	1
		Female	5	30s	3		No	0	Non	1	2-5 years	2
				30s+	7				Artist	9		

2.2 The Practicalities

In an effort to embrace the organic nature of social research and build a grounded understanding of what it is that artist models in Tokyo do, the study at hand relies heavily on an inductive approach fed by qualitative methods and an exploratory research question. The following paragraphs will shortly outline my research philosophy, design and strategy, before diving into an exploration of the methods deployed in the course of data analysis.

Situated in close proximity to nominalist and humanistic schools of thought, the study at hand does not intend to create ‘big data’. Rather, emphasis is put on understanding and representing individual participant’s unique version of reality. Throughout, caution is awarded to not de-humanize the elicited narratives and data; placing human beings, their (inter-)actions, thoughts and meaning at the center of the research process. Attention is paid to not over-generalize but preserve the complex nature of human social life by acknowledging its at times contradictory nature, awarding all collected opinions, experiences and worldviews equal importance. To this end, the present projects imagines research as dialogue (cf. Kaltmeier and Berkin 2012). The process of inquiry functions as a device to enable a free exchange of opinions and ideas, resulting in an inclusive, nurturing and yielding sphere of knowledge production.

The present study relied heavily on nonprobability and convenience sampling³² in its recruitment of interlocutors. Inquiry was mostly conducted overtly, informing models and agencies upon first contact about my identity as a research student. Before interviews, a ‘Research Participation Information Sheet’ (see Appendix D) and a ‘Research Participation Consent Form’ (see Appendix E) were handed over. Only in certain instances, when I was working as an artist model myself, I observed the field covertly so as not to disturb the flow of interactions. However, in case I took pictures or noted down specific utterances, I informed individuals about my actions, asking for permission to use the acquired data in my thesis.

The consequent thematic analytical process aligns with similar perspectives. Tentative analysis kicked off early on in the data collection process, going back and forth between organizing and interpreting the information collected and extracting further material. What is more, participants’ ideas, opinions and incentives were taken into consideration. After experimenting

³² Participant selection criteria were limited to (1) being an art model in Tokyo during the project’s run-period, or having performed the profession in the recent past; and (2) a willingness to participate in the project, as well as an inclination to openly share and honestly reflect on opinions and past experiences.

with a variety of qualitative data analysis software – such as Nvivo – a more ‘hands-on’ approach was deemed most suited for the present project. Taking the collected interview transcripts as a starting point, participants’ narratives were combed through for commonalities. Data was color-coded and relevant segments were grouped together with thematically related passages in a separate text document. Thenceforth, using flashcards and mind-maps, as well as physical and digital notepads, the collected data was organized into several categories, such as (1) performance, (2) infrastructure and agencies, (3) psychic income and immaterial gain, (4) the ritual of the model, or (5) gender. Building on the above-described groundwork, data in each cluster was further processed and analyzed in four stages.

First, in a preparatory step of (1) familiarization, each pile of data underwent close-grained screening. Special attention was paid to comprehending participants’ view of the world and sense of self by scrutinizing their choice of words and uncovering what remained unsaid because of their understanding of common sense. This spadework paved the way for more (2) refined coding. The generated categories and labels were steadily honed and soon they developed a life of their own, yielding new theoretical and conceptual perspectives and approaches. On large sheets of paper, I (3) visualized the net of keywords and concepts, which held my data together, drawing connections between topic areas. Continuously supplementing my analytical results with new corpora of anthropological literature, a red thread took shape before my eyes. Lastly, I (4) formalized the exact structure of my thesis in accordance with the categories developed.

In sum, the project at hand is designed as an organic and dialogical process. Rather than embarking on a quest for ultimate truth, this inquiry hopes to allow participants, just as much as me, to engage in new, creative and co-productive ways of inquisition in which opinions can be voiced, exchanged and developed in tandem (Kaltmeier and Berkin 2012, pp. 10–11). So far, the present methods chapter was concerned with introducing the reader to the ‘what’, ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the study at hand. In the subsequent section, I turn my attention inwards, providing a stage for personal reflections on my positionality in the field and how it might have influenced my findings.

2.3 Reflections

Who I am as a person, what I look like, the language I use and the behavior I exhibit have a lasting impact on the data I elicit. In the following section, I will examine how my positionality as a young, female, and foreign researcher and art model may have shaped the information participants

provided and the conclusions I drew. By engaging in this reflexive exercise, I hope to enhance the transparency and validity of my research.

Despite appearing as minuscule details at first, the fact that I am currently 26 *years* of age, that I identify as *female* and that I was born and raised in *Austria*, hugely affects the data I collect. Other influential factors are: my lifelong *interest in the arts*, and scattered *activity as an artist model in Japan and Austria*; my ability to speak *fluent Japanese*; my affiliation with the *University of Vienna* and the *University of Tokyo*; or my close contact with *PourVous*, one of the two major art model agencies based in Tokyo, whom I later signed with in order to be able to experience the reality of being a professional artist model in Tokyo.

First, my identity as a young woman has crucial implications for my study. Members of this demographic face acute challenges in many industries, including the arts and the scientific sphere. In this specific case, my age coupled with my gender may have influenced the way participants perceived me, as well as the level of authority they attributed to me as a researcher. However, I believe that my role as a young female scholar positively influenced my inquiry and relationship with interlocutors, particularly with female affiliates. Fostering a sense of camaraderie and understanding, individuals might have felt more comfortable opening up to me, allowing for more straightforward and in-depth conversations and interactions. What is more, my womanhood and age were pivotal factors during the period of observant participation. While in Tokyo men and women alike claim the modelling stage, the demand for female models far outweighs that for men. It is especially young women, aged 20 to 40, who enjoy great popularity. This circumstance provided me with abundant job opportunities to further my understanding of the field and its inhabitants.

Additionally, my prior experience as an art model allowed me to smoothly blend into the ranks of local practitioners. I first started working as an artist model in 2018³³. ‘Recruited’ by an artist during a visit to a life drawing event in Tokyo³⁴, I soon found enjoyment in my activity as a poseur. Before that point, I had only ever admired art models from afar, gazing at them from behind my isle as an art student. Images 2 to 4 present a handful of paintings that were fashioned after my

³³ This counts my third visit to the country. My first long stay in Japan took place a few years prior, as a high school student. At eighteen, I left Austria to live with a host family and study at a high school in Chiba prefecture, located to the East of Tokyo. One year later, I came back during the summer months to do volunteer work in Hokkaido and the Tohoku region in the North of the country for two months. Since then, my Japanese language ability had drastically improved due to my choice of bachelor course at the University of Vienna: Japanese Studies.

³⁴ <https://tal.tokyo/ja/>

likeness during my early days as an art model in Tokyo. This change of perspective proved to be most impactful, sparking a lasting personal and scholarly interest in the workings of this specialized profession. Carrying over into the present, this interest – this wish to better understand and connect with the people who perform the modelling profession – inspired the project at hand. Providing me with a unique perspective and a deep understanding of the challenges and rewards the profession offers, my identity as a model did not only grant me a smooth entrance into the field, as well as ample opportunities for observant participation but also allowed me to ask more insightful and specific questions from the start. Conversely, my role as a model myself also brought challenges. To be more exact, my prior experience as a model might have bred preconceived notions and conceptions of participants' realities and values³⁵, which consequently might have led to biases in my data collection and analysis.

Second, my ability to speak Japanese helped me accelerate the process of integration upon entering the field. Enabling me to establish connections with interlocutors faster, the lack of a language barrier made it easier to gain access to insider knowledge. In addition to attesting to my investment in the local context, and my willingness to communicate, my past visits to Japan equipped me with a sensibility for local cultural nuances. This aided me in avoiding misunderstandings and facilitated more variegated conversations. On the down side, my fluency in Japanese caused interlocutors to overestimate my language ability at times, using vocabulary and structures I struggled to grasp *in situ*.

Supplementary, my affiliation with the University of Vienna and the University of Tokyo has also influenced my inquiry. As a research affiliate of two prestigious institutions, I had access to a large variety of libraries and databases. What is more, I noticed that especially the mention of the University of Tokyo lent me credibility, making it easier to gain the trust and cooperation of potential participants. Chiefly when speaking with institutional agents such as art modelling agencies, art educational facilities or private ateliers my identity as a research student of the University of Tokyo opened doors, leading to ascriptions of competency, legitimacy and professionalism. Private individuals similarly reacted positively to this connection, stating their hope of my project to have a high impact. Contrarily, my partnership with the University of Tokyo might have underlined my identity as an outsider. Tozawa, an instructor at the Sōkei Academy of

³⁵ For instance, their powerlessness in the face of the artist, their concern with the societal stigma of nudity, or the weight and prevalence of their creative incentives.

Fine Arts and Design³⁶, for instance, expressed worry of me passing un-reflected judgement and prioritizing the perspectives and interests of my fostering institution over those of my interlocutors during our email conversation.

Similar things can be said about my entanglement with the University of Vienna. My positionality as a foreign national might have not only starkly influenced the responses I elicited but also the questions I asked. Some interlocutors attested to feeling intimidated upon first contact due to a fear of possible language barriers and misunderstandings arising from cultural differences. Although dissolving over time, some participants remained hesitant to share their views with someone who they perceived as not fully understanding of the cultural context in which their experiences and views were situated. This was, for example, especially the case with Kitamura, who, focused on protecting the models who entrusted themselves to their care, only reluctantly participated in my study.

Finally, my connection with PourVous is not to be neglected, as they were one of the first agents I contacted after starting my inquiry in November 2021. Meeting me with enthusiasm, they came to be a constant companion and valuable source of connections and information until, and even after, the conclusion of the research period. Reaching out to their models and clients in my stead, PourVous played a pivotal role in recruiting participants and affording legitimacy to my requests. What is more, their long-standing experience and expertise when dealing with art modelling laid bare fascinating insights into the workings of Tokyo's art world. By contrast, it is important to note that my affiliation with such a reputable and well-known company may also have had some less favorable impacts on the way my research proceeded. Notably, it had a lasting effect on whom I did, and whom I did not talk to. By indirectly excluding those who work with other agencies or independently, my research does not capture the entire spectrum of possible experiences and working philosophies. What is more, my contact with PourVous commenced early on in the research process. The perspectives, opinions and stories they presented me with might have tinted my perceptions of the industry and my interpretations of the data collected, potentially leading to a biased understanding of the topic. For instance, PourVous' employees depict the model as a strong and sovereign agent who is respected by Tokyo's artistic communities. Exploitation or assault, in their experience, are scarce phenomena. As models also did not provide much

³⁶ Tozawa also has experience of modelling for artists herself.

information on this sensitive topic, I was prompted to award less attention to extracting in-depth answers or asking follow-up questions in this regard.

As a social researcher, I will always be a part of the field I study. To this end, it is important to remain aware of my potential biases to mitigate their impact on my research.



Image 2: [悪戯 (Itazura)] 'Mischief' by Reiji Sugawara

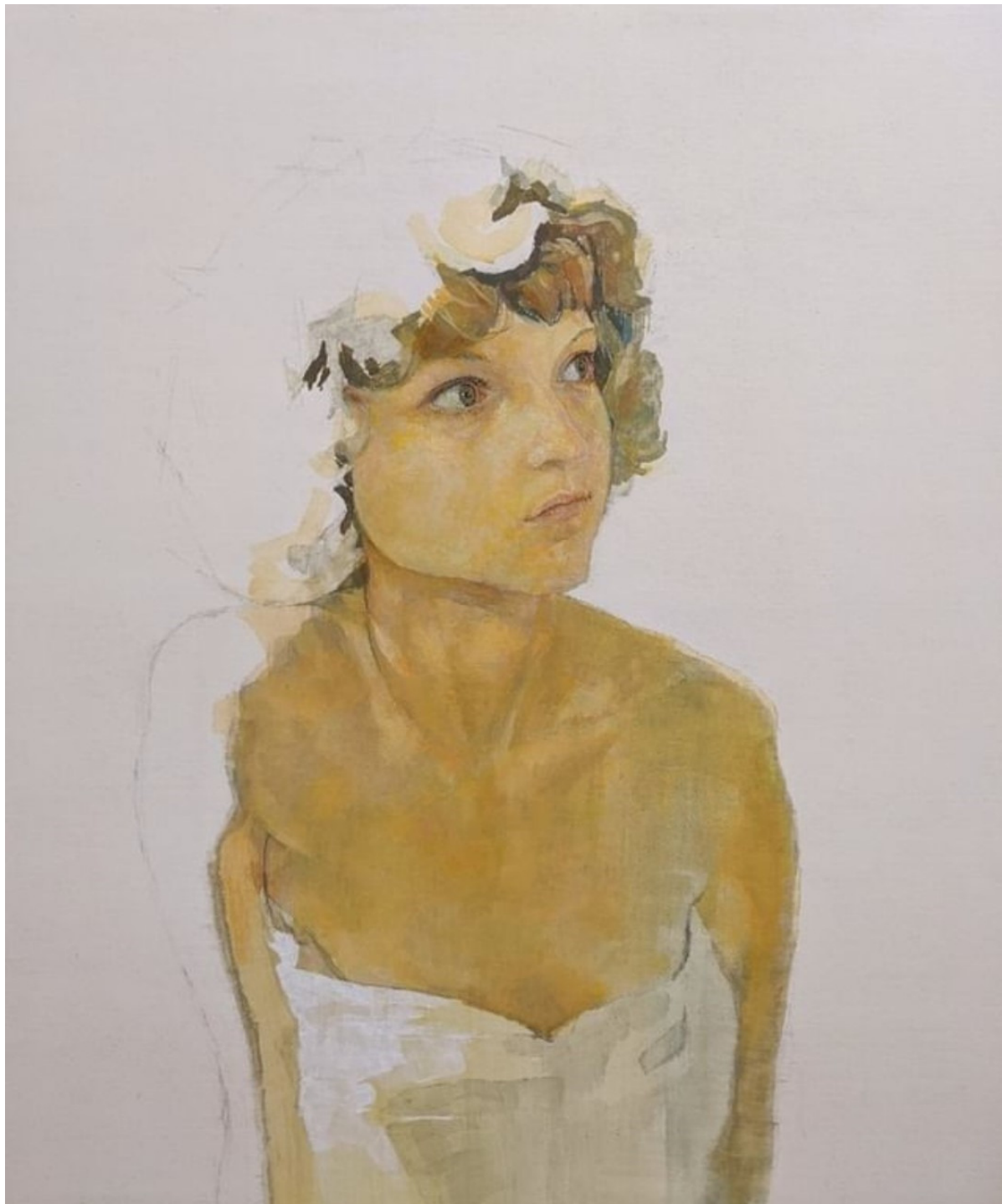


Image 3: [瞬きもしないで (Mabataki mo shinaide)] 'Without blinking' by Reiji Sugawara

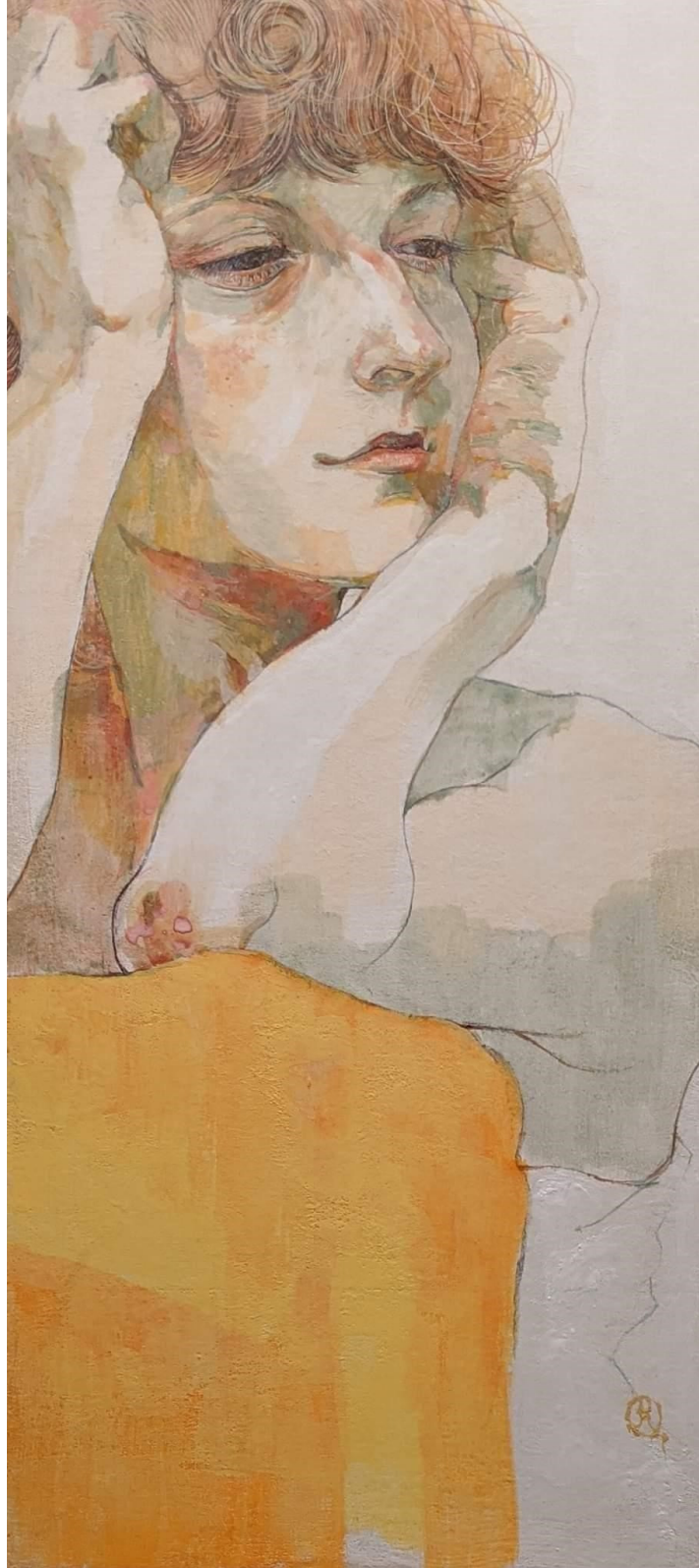


Image 4: [けしかけて (Keshikakete)] 'A spur of the moment' by Reiji Sugawara

2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter's aim was to shed light on the methodological approach employed to answer the exploratory research question: What do artist models in Tokyo do? By focusing on the aspects of (1) observation, (2) participation, (3) dialogue and (4) immersion the present thesis hopes to create a platform for the voices of artist models in Tokyo. Based on eight months of fieldwork – four of which were conducted remotely, four on-site – several qualitative methods were utilized to elicit rich and dense data. First, a digital survey was conducted. A total of 25 individuals were recruited online to answer 28 mostly open-ended questions. Out of these, eleven agreed to be interviewed via ZOOM or LINE in March 2022. A personal meeting was set up with ten interviewees after my arrival in Japan in April 2022. Through further convenience and snowball sampling an additional twelve interview participants were recruited, four models and eight artists. In addition, two focus group interviews were initiated with employees of Tokyo's two major artist model bureaus: PourVous and Kitamura. In seven instances participant observation was performed, accompanying artist models 'on the job'. Further data was drawn from over 40 instances on which I myself performed as a model for artists across the city. During those moments, further information was collected via informal conversations with art instructors, organizational personnel, artists and other models. Data was either recorded as audio and video material, or retained in the form of physical and digital field notes.

The research design underlying this thesis strongly relies on a philosophy of respectful cooperation between the researcher and the researched. By 'letting loose', participants were animated to take control and add their own perspectives, ideas and questions to the study. In a similar vein, the analytical process was arranged to take place, at least in part, synchronously with data elicitation. Strong reflexivity was practiced throughout the research process, hoping to understand my positionality in the field and how factors such as age, gender, nationality, language proficiency, institutional affiliation and prior experience might influenced the data I collect and the conclusions I drew.

After detailing the state of the arts when it comes to the study of artist models in Chapter 1, and outlining the methodological foundation supporting this project in Chapter 2, it is now time to turn toward the discussion of my empirical findings. The next part of this thesis, consisting of three at times overlapping, yet self-reliant chapters, hopes to offer critical reflections on, and novel insights into what it means to be an artist model in Tokyo in 2022. From discussions of their

working conditions, their relationships with artists, their artistic agency in the life room, as well as the various social and cultural factors that shape their experiences, I hope to highlight the complexity and richness of this often-overlooked profession. To this end, I will first describe the historical becoming of Tokyo's art modelling industry, as well as the major institutional players involved in it in the past and present. Next, a discussion of the 'ritual' of the artist model in Tokyo will shine light onto the complex organizational and social structures governing artists and models' conduct *in situ*. Lastly, reference to the concept of performance will draw attention to the variegated ways in which models inspire and participate in the production of art through their embodied activity in the life room.

3 Artist Model Referral Agencies in Tokyo – The Missing Link

アーティストと美術モデルが、ともにアトリエで、佳き時間を過ごすための
お手伝いをさせていただきます。

*“[We] strive to assist both artists and models to have a fulfilling time together at the
atelier.”*

(pourvous-model 2022)

It is a humid summer day. After a brisk walk from the nearest train station, I arrived before Musashino Art University’s administrative office. With a tentative knock, I make my presence known. Only a few seconds pass before a warm voice welcomes me into the room. I shortly introduce myself and state the purpose of my visit³⁷. The young woman behind the counter nods along and explains what I am to expect from this job as an artist model with practiced ease. Using a pre-printed form, she records my personal information – from my age and name to my nationality, gender and bank account number – for insurance reasons and later reference. Suddenly, the woman halts her avid scribbling and lifts her head. Meeting my eyes, she asks “PourVous or Kitamura?”

Tokyo’s life drawing scene relies heavily on artist model referral agencies. Providing a link between models and artists, they describe themselves as intermediaries who serve the needs of models and artists alike. On the one hand, they provide artists with reliable and skilled workers, offering a wide variety of faces, body types and styles of embodied performance to inspire their creative processes. On the other hand, they appeal to models with a steady stream of job opportunities and fixed payment rates, while also positioning themselves as supporters, representatives and protectors of their rights. Today, two bureaus, PourVous Art Model Referral Agency³⁸ (プールヴァーモデル紹介所) and Kitamura Art Model Referral Agency³⁹ (北村美術モデル紹介所), dominate the market in Tokyo.

The academic ‘discovery’ and study of these corporate agents in Tokyo is a central finding of the project at hand. Although similar attempts at institutionalizing artist models have been documented across the globe throughout the centuries (cf. Bharali 2019; Hao Ying 2010; Borzello

³⁷ As stated in the previous section, most of my research was conducted overtly. However, certain aspects of the industry were difficult to capture through overt methods alone. To this end, I incorporated covert elements by working as a model myself and engaging the people whom I encountered in informal conversations. The vignette from the field described above is one example of such covert inquiry.

³⁸ To be referred to as ‘PourVous’ in the pages to come (<https://pourvous-model.jimdosite.com/>).

³⁹ To be referred to as Kitamura in the pages to come (<https://sinnjinnpurogurama.com/>).

2010; Roe 1995), their longevity and reach are recorded to have been limited. By exploring PourVous' and Kitamura's context of emergence, their evolution, their self-portrayal as well as the aims proclaimed by them, the present chapter attempts to answer the question: What makes the case of Tokyo different?

To this end, Chapter 3.1 (*Accounts of Institutional Support of Art Models across Recent Literature*) inaugurates the discussion by shortly listing, comparing and analyzing mentions of similar organizations and movements across existing literature. Second, Chapter 3.2 (*The Birth of an Industry*) looks back in time and scrutinizes the rise of Miyazaki Model Referral Agency (宮崎モデル紹介所)⁴⁰, the first of Japan's artist model referral agencies to be recorded. Chapter 3.3 (*PourVous and Kitamura*), then, provides an overview of today's industry leaders PourVous and Kitamura. Lastly, Chapter 3.4 (*Conclusion*) rounds up this section by critically summarizing and discussing the previously presented findings.

3.1 Accounts of Institutional Support of Artist Models across Recent Literature

Despite being of moderate size, local artist model cohorts often lack horizontal ties (Hipke 2008, p. 13) and thus omit forming professional communities. This lets models appear as competitive, "self-employed, short-term labourers", who, working as isolated individuals, "do not constitute themselves as a community and rarely unite to pursue common interests" (Roe 1995, p. 29). Yet, a thorough literature review has shown that, although oftentimes short lived, small in number and scarcely documented, there are instances where artist model referral agencies and artist model unions have emerged in the past. Referring to Great Britain (Borzello 2010), France (Roe 1995), US-America (Bharali 2019) and Hong Kong (Hao Ying 2010), the sub-section at hand offers insight into the history and spread of the institutional representation and unification of artist models across the globe.

The earliest documentation of the temporary institutionalization of the art modelling business dates back to 19th century France. Following the rise of the Bohemian movement in Paris and the consequently heightened local demand for art models, Roe (1995) recounts the temporary emergence of commercial institutions who "kept models and photos for artists to preview and provided models with wage security and transportation in return for a percentage of their earning"

⁴⁰ To be referred to as Miyazaki on the following pages.

(p. 15). Although at first glance being not unlike their Japanese counterparts, these organizations vanished not long after their foundation.

Before long, “[the] first modelling union [was] established in London in 1920. It campaigned for fair pay, employment rights, regular hours, and uniform terms of employment” (Bharali 2019, p. 120). Divergent from their French counterparts, these unions were oftentimes non-profit organizations whose aim was to advocate for the rights and interests of models. Similarly, however, they were usually short-lived.

Furthermore, Bharali (2019) comments on the formation of similar institutions in US-America during the 20th century. Some examples of such overarching organizations in America are the ‘Bay Area Models Guide’, the ‘Holloway Life Drawing Working Workshop’, or the ‘Register of Artist Models’ recounts (Bharali 2019, p. 21). These

life modelling organizations were formed to provide a network and a support group to standardize rates of pay and improve working conditions. The foundation of the Art Workers’ Club for Women, which functioned as something of a union for artists’ models in turn-of-the twentieth century New York, [was] an extraordinary organization that helped make art modelling a profession rather than an occasional occupation.

(Bharali 2019, p. 120)

Finally, Hao Ying (2010) expands on Hong Kong’s ‘Body Art Association’⁴¹. Originally founded as a nudist organization, they actively recruit models and introduce them to educational facilities, ateliers and artists across the city (p. 126). The Body Art Association, as a non-profit organization, presents union-like features in their advocacy for standardized pay and regulated working conditions, similar to the ‘Art Workers’ Club for Women’ described by Bharali.

While the Body Art Association can be assumed to have persisted until fairly recently⁴², research suggests, that most US-American and European institutions have been discontinued by 2023. No concrete explanation is given for this development in the available literature and further research is needed to make decisive statements on the validity of and reasons behind this statement. This promises to be a yielding starting point for future research.

In sum, the explorations above highlight that the case of Tokyo constitutes a valuable contribution to the state of knowledge as the persistence of artist model referral agencies presents

⁴¹ <http://ctvhk.com/BAA/Member/>

⁴² The most recent online mentions I could find of the organization date back to 2016.

a so far undocumented phenomenon in the study of artist models. The following section will delve into an exploration of the roots of this unique industry.

3.2 The Birth of an Industry

The institutional representation of artist models in Tokyo began around the turn of the 20th century, during the Meiji Era (1868-1912), not long after the practice of drawing from the living human figure became standardized in Japan. Delving into the early days of the art modelling industry, this sub-section explores the birth and evolution of Tokyo's first (known) artist model referral agency Miyazaki, as well as the simultaneous popularization (and professionalization) of the practice of artist modelling. The considerations below are based on three main sources of data: (1) two focus groups interviews conducted with the members of Kitamura and PourVous; (2) published autobiographic material by Asao Teisaku (1986)⁴³ and Teshigawara Jun (1986)⁴⁴; and (3) two grey literature blog posts (cf. Kitazawa 2014a, 2014b).

The Meiji Era (1868-1912) was a time of significant social, economic, political and cultural change that had far-reaching consequences for the island's inhabitants. Abandoning its centuries-old isolationist policies, a vigorous interest in 'foreign culture' swept across Tokyo's art world. The study of 'Western' art – as opposed to traditional 'Japanese' art, which set itself apart through divergent goals, philosophies and materials – exposed local artists to new goods, techniques and styles. Igniting a novel interest in observation and realistic depiction, art educational institutions, such as the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (*Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō* 東京美術学校)⁴⁵ gradually began emphasizing the importance of the systematic study of the nude human body in their curricula (Miyashita 2008, pp. 82–91)⁴⁶, heralding the advent of the professional artist model in Japan.

Before long, the artist model had become a popular commodity in Tokyo's art world. Despite a well-documented, ever-growing demand among art educational facilities (Asao 1986, p. 137) little is known about the identities and biographies of the individuals making up this

⁴³ Asao Teisaku was an art supply merchant and the founder of PourVous who later went on to write down and publish his experiences in Tokyo's art worlds in a number of publications.

⁴⁴ Teshigawara Jun was a Japanese art critic and curator.

⁴⁵ The Tokyo School of Fine Arts is the predecessor of the still existent Tokyo University of Fine Arts (*Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku* 東京芸術大学).

⁴⁶ The Tokyo School of Fine Arts' department of 'Western' painting, for instance, systematized life drawing as a fixed part of students' education in 1896 (Asao 1986, p. 136).

specialized workforce⁴⁷. It can be reasoned that this is in part due to greater sociocultural currents. While the island's pre-Meiji society fostered rather lax views on nudity, the new government cracked down harshly on the population's handling of naked bodies. New social norms were born and their legislative framework demonized the public display of the nude figure (Nakano 2010, pp. 146–149). The result was a disproportion between an ever-growing population of artists hoping to draw from the nude model, and a dwindling number of women and men who would offer a hand and strike a pose.

Reared by educational facilities' growing need for models, the period around the late 19th and early 20th century saw to the emergence of the first artist model referral agency in Tokyo: Miyazaki. Headed by Miyazaki Kiku, an experienced and well-known artist model of the times (Asao 1986, p. 137), the company recruited and dispatched models of different ages, genders and backgrounds to artists across the city, kick starting the standardization of artist models' practices, payment rates and working conditions (Asao 1986, pp. 138–139; Kitazawa 2014a). In addition to providing models with training and representation, Miyazaki invited job-seeking models, and model-seeking artists, into her house every Sunday and Monday (Teshigawara 1986, p. 23; Asao 1986, pp. 140–141), facilitated early community building among Tokyo's artist models and life drawing circles. Although the bureau gathered over 100 models under its name in its heydays, Miyazaki closed its doors in the early 1940s, following Miyazaki Kiku's death (Kitazawa 2014a). It can be argued that Miyazaki is a central figure in the history of artist models in Tokyo, kick starting the advent of the artist model referral industry, a market left mostly unexplored in other parts of the world. Framing models as an institutionalized body of specialized knowledge and practices (Hull 2020, p. 11) they furthered the standardization and professionalization of models' posing practices. The following decades saw to the rise and fall of a number of similar organizations⁴⁸ of which only two, PourVous and Kitamura, remain today.

⁴⁷ Some sources (cf. Kitazawa 2014a) provide a tentative list of the most popular women among the ranks of Japan's first artist models. Some examples are: O-shima (おシマ), O-taka (おタカ), O-kane (おカネ), and O-tai (おタイ). The 'O' preceding their names derive from Japanese formal speech in which prefixes such as 'O' or 'Go' are used to indicate respect for the person spoken about. Other poseurs who enjoyed great popularity were Okada Midori (岡田みどり), Iida Haru (飯田ハル), Takiguchi Fumi (滝口フミ), and Miyazaki Kiku (宮崎菊).

⁴⁸

宮崎のほか、黒田清輝の「昔語り」に登場する仲居のお栄などは、自らモデルを発掘していた早い例である。だがその後の斡旋者については、必ずしもよく分かっていないようだ。牛込で「仏蘭西ナヲイ」を開店した直井是子、田園調布に「南郊モデル紹介所」を作った小林

3.3 PourVous and Kitamura

東京には、北村モデル紹介所、プールヴーモデル紹介所、という二つのモデル紹介所があり、プロのモデルはほとんどこの二つの紹介所に所属しています。

“There are two modelling agencies in Tokyo – Kitamura Art Modelling Agency and PourVous Model Agency. Most professional models belong to either one of these two agencies.”

[Atelier LeBeau アトリエルボー; Email from 23.11.2021]

Today, most art models in Tokyo earn their livelihood as independent contractors. Within their ranks, they synergize two primary fractions: (1) those working freelance⁴⁹, and (2) those operating under the patronage of a referral agency. Agency-bound models are split into two camps: (1) PourVous, and (2) Kitamura, whose histories, corporate philosophies and business strategies will be discussed below.

PourVous⁵⁰ first opened its doors to Tokyo’s art world public in 1949 under the patronage of art supply merchant Asao Teisaku (pourvous-model 2022). Approximately 20 years later, in

源太郎、「目白モデル紹介所」から独立した北村久、「Pour Vous モデル紹介所」主人の浅尾丁策等の名前がわずかに思い起こされるに過ぎない。

Another early example [of a person who founded an artist model referral agency like Miyazaki] is O-bei. Kuroda Seiki mentions this example in his work ‘Tales from the Past’. However, most of these establishments are not well known, and their existence is only sporadically recorded. A few other instances which come to mind are: Naoi Yukiko, who opened ‘France Naoi’ in Ushigome; Kobayashi Gentarō, who established the ‘Minami-Suburban Model Introduction Agency’ in Denenchōfū; Kitamura Hisashi, who, after working for the ‘Mejiro Model Introduction Agency’ set out to open up her own business; and Asao Teisaku, owner of the ‘PourVous Artist Model Referral Agency’.

(Teshigawara 1986, p. 79).

⁴⁹ Unfortunately, this study did not include many freelance art models in its sample. Their perspectives, working lives and practices could be usefully explored in further research.

⁵⁰ Mitonoya, one of PourVous staff members laments the underlying reason for the company’s choice of name as follows:

「プールヴー」

これは彫刻家の木内克（キノウチ ヨシ）先生が初代所長の浅尾丁策（アサオ テイサク）のお人柄を考慮におつけ下さった名前です。「あなたがたのために」←留意したいのは、「あなた」のため。ではなく、「あなたがた」複数形で尚且つ上品な丁寧語な点です。「あなたがた」これは事務所だけが良くなればいい、のではなくモデルも、創り手（作家）も良くなるのを望み、[...] 命名下さったお名前です

‘PourVous’

Asao’s friend, the sculptor Kinouchi Yoshi, suggested the company’s name; considering it a fitting title for a business led by someone as devoted as Asao Teisaku. Note that ‘you’ in this context is to be understood in its plural form. ‘For you’ thus does not dedicate itself solely to the steady improvement of their own situation, but also to that of the artists who confine in them, and their model contractors.

[Email from 02.09.2022]

1963, renowned artist model Kitamura Hisashi followed suit and founded Kitamura. Having had access to a vast network of social liaisons within Tokyo's art world due to their prior engagements, both Kitamura and PourVous quickly gained foothold in the market. Kitamura Taeko, the daughter of Kitamura Hisashi and the bureau's current head, recounts how both agencies cooperated closely in their early days before distancing themselves from each other in recent years. Today, both Kitamura's, as well as PourVous' staff members underline their respective independence⁵¹.

Despite their long-standing history, PourVous and Kitamura remain comparatively small companies. PourVous currently consists of three female staff members – Haruyama, Mitonoya and Yamaguchi. Kitamura similarly enlists the help of two female employees, who are all related to the head of the company. Notably, both companies' cast is entirely female. Similarly, despite welcoming a diverse range of individuals of all genders and ages into their ranks, the bulk of their 300 individual strong workforce is comprised of young women in their 20s and 30s⁵². The reason for this might lie in the historically gendered nature of the practice in Japan, argues Katsuyuki, a male model currently operating under PourVous' guidance. He elaborates that, as the artists and educators who initially promoted the practice of life drawing in Japan were mostly male, a predominance of female models was fostered over the years. This trend continues even today as requests for female models far outnumber those for their male counterparts say PourVous and Kitamura. Katsuyuki's and Asahi's (a young male actor and dancer working as a model under PourVous' supervision) personal experiences back this statement. Additionally, all staff members, except PourVous' Yamaguchi, display experience as artist models themselves. A big advantage, comments Kitamura, as it makes them more relatable to, and understanding of models, their struggles and ambitions.

Today, interested individuals can get in contact with either company by visiting their office venues, or reaching out via phone and fax, as well as email. Trying to elude public attention, their respective office venues are tucked away in unobtrusive residential areas in central Tokyo⁵³, close

⁵¹ Concomitantly, agencies' retellings of history differ from each other, highlighting their own centrality in the development of today's industry. This research has thrown up many questions in need of further investigation. However, due to a lack of secondary sources and the complicated nature of the topic this endeavor is relegated to future inquiries.

⁵² Counting around 180 active models in 2022 (pourvous-model 2022), PourVous attests to 90 to 110 of them being female. A similar gender-ratio is true for Kitamura's approximately 100 models.

⁵³ PourVous' office is located in between Ueno and Nippori station at the heart of Tokyo. Kitamura's bureau can be found in the Daikanyama district.

to the Tokyo University of the Fine Arts. Similarly inconspicuous is their online presence. While PourVous' website contains basic information on their business, its aims and rates, that of Kitamura contains little more than their name, address and telephone number.

Models do not have to sign a contract upon registering with a referral agency. Rather, they are dispatched as independent contractors to art universities, studios and ateliers. While models can largely employ PourVous and Kitamura's services for free⁵⁴, referral agencies levy a small commission of 1,500 Yen⁵⁵ (10.25 Euro⁵⁶) per model and booking from artists. Both referral agencies stress that they do not process models' payment. Rather, artists are required to come up with and hand over models wage personally. The required sum fluctuates in accordance with several factors. Will the model be required to be nude, semi-nude or clothed? Will the model need to travel outside of the greater municipal area of Tokyo? How often will the model need to visit the site?

A standard session, for instance, of 150 to 180 minutes in length, at a venue located within the greater confines of the municipal area of Tokyo is charged at 9,500 Yen (64.91 Euro) for a costume model, and 10,000 Yen (68.33 Euro) for a nude model. In case the intended place of work falls outside the confines of the prefecture of Tokyo, an additional 1,000 Yen (6.83 Euro) is added to models' remuneration. What is more, places further removed from the prefecture of Tokyo⁵⁷ can cost a client up to 3,000 to 4,500 Yen (20.50 to 30.75 Euro) extra. At times, models might be sent off into remote areas, such as Okinawa or Akita prefecture, over extended periods. In such a case, the model is to be awarded 24,000 Yen (163.99 Euro) per six hours of work and transport and lodging expenses are to be covered by the client⁵⁸. In addition, supplementary payment (5,000 to 10,000 Yen) might become necessary if the models' departure from Tokyo is scheduled early in the morning, or late at night.

Despite their fundamentally commercial nature, both agencies present themselves as deeply concerned with models' wellbeing, success and satisfaction. Displaying awareness of the stigma

⁵⁴ Models can enlist PourVous help for free, while in Kitamura's case, a small monthly royalty is demanded. Even upon direct inquiry, the exact amount was not disclosed.

⁵⁵ This sum consists of two parts: first, a standardized administration fare of 500 Yen per model; and second, a variable brokerage fee of 10%.

⁵⁶ All currency conversions are based on the state of international exchange rates as of 14.04.2023.

⁵⁷ When exactly a location counts as 'further removed' is not formalized. Rather, it is up to agencies' employees to judge case by case.

⁵⁸ For convenience, transportation costs are calculated using each bureau's address as its point of departure. In PourVous' case, routes commence at Ueno station, while Kitamura uses Tabata station as its models' point of departure.

and prejudice models might face due to their job, they position themselves as well-meaning representatives and protectors⁵⁹. However, there are a number of differences between PourVous and Kitamura's approach. Whereas PourVous emphasizes a need for public recognition via authentic representation, Kitamura prioritizes deflecting harmful attention and critique via the erection of protective borders. Compellingly, both companies stress the importance of the label of professionalism in their endeavors. Allowing models to gain recognition as skilled workers, Kitamura and PourVous indicate that models' professional status contributes to the enhancement of their position in the art world and awards them elevated prestige and economic viability. These findings tie well with the arguments made by Elisabeth Hull (2020) in her study of the performative, processual nature of professionalism. Although not the focus of the present thesis, the notion of professionalism among art models – and the role referral agencies play in (re-)producing it – is an intriguing one which could be usefully explored in further research.

This section has briefly reviewed the history, basic information and corporate philosophy of Kitamura and PourVous. A summary of the main findings presented in this and the previous sections, together with a discussion of their theoretical implications, is provided in the next sub-chapter.

3.4 Conclusion

本当に事務所ってすごくて、絶対必要だなと思うんですけども。もちろんフリーでできるようになったらやってもいいなと思うんですけども、やっぱりご信用関係をずっと、日本人はそれを大事にするし、大学さんとかと個人と契約するなんて多分難しいことで。やっぱりたくさん仕事があることと、その間に人が入ってくれることによって色んな事故とかを防げることとか。やっぱりいっぱい、裸の世界ってこう舐められるということ変ですけども、どうしてもその弱みに付き込んでちゃったり、「なあなあ」になってしまったりすることも多分あって。多分、フリーでやるほうが絶対いいと思う人もいっぱいいると思うんですけど、事務所は、今のところに必要なんだと思います。

“I really think that agencies are very important and absolutely necessary. Of course, I would be happy to do it [modelling] on a freelance basis, but I think that

⁵⁹ Portraying themselves as union-like, non-profit entities rather than commercial organizations appears to be a major concern for both Kitamura and PourVous. This is highlighted by the fact that (1) both companies initially tried to evade questions regarding the source of their income, and (2) their attempts to stress the non-existent or miniscule nature of the monetary burden agency-support imposes on models. This would be a fruitful area for further work as a greater focus on agencies' self-portrayal and the reasons behind it could produce interesting findings.

could become quite difficult. You see, Japanese people base many of their (business) relationships off fiduciary relations and familiarity. I think that, as an individual model, it would be difficult to do business with well-established, big institutions such as universities, who provision a lot of models. Even establishing contact with such humongous agents would be difficult. In the world of naked work, and this might sound cliché, it is not uncommon to be exploited the moment people realize you are in a weak, disadvantaged position. What is more, such abuse is treated as if it was normal. I think there are many people who would definitely prefer to work freelance, but in today's society, I think agencies are important.”

[Minori⁶⁰; Interviewed on 24.03.2022]

The existence of artist model referral agencies in Tokyo is a key finding of the project at hand. Gradually systematizing model's role, responsibilities and standing in the art world after the popularization of life drawing in the Meiji Era (1868-1912), these commercial entities continue to participate in the ongoing renegotiation of models' practices. While the formation of similar institutional structures has been documented across the globe, most of them were short-lived and remained small in impact and size (Bharali 2019; Roe 1995; Hao Ying 2010). The chapter at hand explored the birth, evolution and present state of Tokyo's artist model referral industry, highlighting the unique characteristics, institutional infrastructure and history of artist modelling in Japan.

The first to tap into the new market of art modelling in Japan was Miyazaki Kiku. After demonstrating the fertility of the referral industry, numerous institutions attempted to follow her example. Today, two artist model referral agencies remain, PourVous and Kitamura. Building on the findings presented on the previous pages it is now possible to turn towards the question what prompted Tokyo's artist modelling industry to develop differently than in other parts of the world. I argue that one possible explanation for why artist model referral agencies in Tokyo showed more resilience can be found in the timing of their emergence. Miyazaki was established around the turn of the 20th century, during period of political, economic, social and cultural upheaval. The 'Westernization' movement pushed by the newly elected Meiji government swept over the island and, in further consequence, also affected the country's art world. Disrupting and fragmenting the local art market, the government's timely reorientation created porous boundaries, new market

⁶⁰ Minori is a young woman working under PourVous with a history in strip dancing and the performing arts.

niches and growingly ambiguous standards of evaluation in art. These findings are in line with Sgourev's (2013) study of the rise of Cubism in Paris that:

“suggests that during times of large-scale economic and social changes, established art worlds are likely to be disrupted by the weakening of conventions, loosening the core's standards of typicality, enabling greater experimentation, and reducing its social network's likely amount of resistance to novel idea.”

(Patriotta et al. 2016, p. 870)

This development facilitated change and, as Sgourev (2013) argues, allowed marginal actors and new players – like artist models and their fostering agencies – to garner resources as well as creative influence in the field, consequently moving closer to the art worlds' influential center. The cultural, political and economic shock that ran through Japan's society after the Meiji restoration – which did not occur in other countries – helped create a space for artist model referral agencies to gain trajectory and assert their and their models' permanent position in the art world. As little research has been done on this topic, future investigations are necessary to draw decisive conclusions. However, the study of the emergence of artist model referral agencies in Tokyo promises to yield valuable insights into mechanisms of innovation and change in the art world.

This research has also thrown up questions regarding the label of professionalism among artist models. Both Kitamura and PourVous comment on their goal to help models gain recognition as legitimate professionals. These results accord with Bharali's (2019) observations, which show that “[professionalism] in a model is highly valued” (p. 33) and helps facilitate improved economic stability and viability, as well as upward social movement in the art world. Although not the main focus of the thesis at hand, this is an important issue for future research.

Having discussed the nature, history and role of artist model referral agencies in Tokyo's art world, I will now move on to take a closer look at the practices models and artists engage in in the life room, conceptualizing models' activity as ritualized performances.

4 The Ritual of the Artist Model

Artist models work in a variety of different settings. Their profession takes them to ateliers, classrooms and studios all over the city – and beyond – and familiar faces are hard to come by. Yet, no matter how divergent their experiences may be, several reappearing sequences of verbal utterances, bodily techniques, and meaning-making structure a model's conduct. I argue that in the life room, seemingly ordinary actions and objects are 'made special' (cf. Dissanayake 2017) – that is to say, they are awarded a divergent meaning or are made symbolically impactful – through ritualized cooperation.

In the context of this thesis, I define ritual as an orderly, cultural “performance of a complex sequence of formalized acts and utterances that are set apart from other forms of everyday activity through framing and formalization and that consist of a series of choreographed movements and gestures [...] in conjunction with words and sounds” (Kreinath 2018, p. 1). Passed from body to body, rituals are repetitive and patterned sets of behavior with communicative purposes. Imbued with transformative power (Mitchell 2010, p. 617), rituals help guide participants via distinct temporal, social and spatial frameworks. Moreover, they oftentimes serve the purpose of demarcating the shift from the mundane to the transcendent (Micu 2022, pp. 9–10), rendering them a powerful tool when it comes to reinforcing a sense of community, communicating cultural values, recalling the past or cementing identities (cf. Turner 1982).

I argue that artist models' practices can be viewed as ritualistic in nature, as it is a routinized string of (inter-)actions structured in accordance with both time and space. Situated within a structured and symbolically charged framework, models' (inter-)actions in the life room follow a recurring format. Governed by predetermined roles and sets of rules their practices purposefully disjoin themselves from everyday life. In order to understand the socio-cultural workings taking place within the life room and the power dynamics constructed through them, the chapter at hand scrutinizes the structure, meaning and purpose of models' practices as ritualized interaction. To this end, Chapter 4.1 (*Prelude*) concentrates on the moment of first contact between a model and a client, highlighting how the borders between symbolically charged ritual and everyday life are fuzzy at times. Next, Chapter 4.2 (*The Act*) delves into the core of artist models' ritual, exploring the ritualization of space, time and communication as well as the meaningful nature of symbolically charged objects in models' professional practices. Lastly, Chapter 4.3 (*Epilogue*) analyzes the

(inter-)actions marking the end of the models' ritual. Chapter 4.4 (*Conclusion*) rounds up this section by providing a critical discussions of all findings. By the end of this chapter, readers will have a well-rounded understanding of what it is that artist models in Tokyo do in preparation for, during, and after a job; and how these reappearing sequences of (inter-)actions help them assert agency and influence in the life room and the art world.

4.1 Prelude

It is late July. By now, I have been living and working as an artist model in Tokyo for nearly three months. One hot and sunny afternoon, as I am taking a walk, my phone rings. The page below presents an excerpt from the conversation that follows, outlining a by-then-practiced exchange between one of PourVous' staff members and myself.

...ルルルルル...ルルルル...

「はい、もしもし」

「あ、もしもし、こんにちは。PourVous です」

「あ、こんにちは。」

「あのね、明日、仕事できますか。」

「明日ですか。何時から何時まででしょうか。」

「夜の6時半から9時までですけど」

「わかりました。ちょっと待ってくださいね。」

...

「あ、もしもし。」

「はい！」

「明日は大丈夫です。お仕事できます。」

「あ、本当ですか。それじゃあ、詳しくはメールで送りますね。よろしくお願いします。」

「ありがとうございます。よろしくお願いいたします。」

「はい。それでは、失礼します。」

「失礼します。」

ガチャン

... Ring Ring Ring ... Ring Ring Ring ...

“Hello?”

“Ah, Hello! This is PourVous!”

“Ah! Hello!”

“Say, are you able to take a job tomorrow evening?”

“Tomorrow? Hmmm, what time are we talking about?”

“In the evening. From six thirty to nine.”

“I see. Let me check.”

...

“Hello?”

“Yes?”

“Tomorrow evening should be fine. I’ll be able to take the job.”

“Really? That’s great. We will send you the details by email then. Thank you.”

“No, thank you.”

... Beep beep beep ... Beep beep beep ...

[Phone call between myself and Mitonoya (PourVous); 28.07.2022; Inokashira Park, Tokyo]

Artist model referral agencies mainly reach out to their affiliated models via phone during weekdays⁶¹. Asahi and Asaki (a professional actress and dancer who has been working as one of PourVous’ models for a couple of years) explain that face-to-face contact and email exchange making up but a fraction of their interactions⁶² with PourVous’ employees. Job opportunities usually present themselves to models unannounced. Being reachable by phone, recalling their schedules off the top of their head, and a generic geographical understanding of the larger metropolitan area of Tokyo – so as to gauge transit times – are thus crucial for a (successful) model, so Rin.

⁶¹ Although job offers are relayed most commonly via phone, Haruka, a young, female performing arts expert under PourVous guidance, commemorates an increased use of digital communication technology in the industry. Due to her dislike of giving and receiving phone calls, she exalts this development.

⁶² In addition to agencies’ services, models often rely on a large network of acquaintances to garner job opportunities. Slowly built and expanded over the years, their social connections in the art world help them secure a steady stream of employment opportunities. During my research stay, for instance, I was routinely called to events hosted by Takami, an artist and art instructors, after assuring him of my skills in an initial meeting. Takami prefers to reach out to models directly, bypassing PourVous’ intermediation in favor of reducing effort. However, in case models are agency-bound, like myself, their fostering institutions are informed about these collaborations and awarded a standard referral fee.

Once the model answers their phone, short pleasantries are exchanged and basic parameters concerning the potential position, such as date, time and location, are conveyed. If schedules align and a model accepts a gig, further details – such as the requested state of undress and name of the fostering institution – are forwarded to the model, either immediately via phone or later via email. In addition, as most of Tokyo's artist models – freelancers and agency-bound individuals alike – work as independent contractors, they are instructed to personally make contact with their hiring institution in order to finalize their cooperation and review potential additional technicalities.

Labor contracts are usually not issued in the industry⁶³. Moreover, agency-referred modelling jobs usually bypass negotiation of labor conditions to facilitate a straightforward and smooth hiring process, argue Kitamura and PourVous. As models are usually informed about the standard pay, behavioral code and labor times of the industry upon signing with a referral agency, clients expect models to be aware of these otherwise unspoken conventions (cf. Becker and Pessin 2006, p. 281). Image 5 presents a copy of the information sheet PourVous provided me with upon signing with them in April 2022. The study at hand reveals that these or similar conventions are abided by models in Tokyo whether they are affiliated with a referral agency or not. Kitamura's and PourVous' status and reputation allow them to hold considerable sway when it comes to structuring and innovating artist models' working conditions and practices. Although their models' well-being is in agencies' own interest, their commercial stakes might discourage them from bargaining for better pay or working conditions for models. Ai, a young, female photo and artist model, prefers to work freelance because of this danger of misrepresentation and loss of agency.

Most female models report an abundance of job opportunities. Male models, such as Asahi and Katsuyuki, struggle more with finding regular employment. Rin, who broadly favors costume modelling in fear of the stigma that comes with displaying her naked body as a woman, further lets on that models who are inclined to work both in costume and in the nude face higher chances of receiving work⁶⁴.

The prelude to artist models' ritual is a short one. Usually winded up within a few minutes, the code governing these interactions is rather fluid. The same cannot be said about the main event

⁶³ However, larger institutional agents such as universities and colleges require models to register with them for insurance reasons.

⁶⁴ In order to heighten her chances of finding work, Rin gives PourVous a call every Tuesday. Mari, a female model who has been working with PourVous for approximately seven years, further recommends personally visiting the agency's office to garner new job opportunities.

of models' practices. Strictly structured and saturated with symbolism and implicit meaning, the following section discusses the central phase of the model's ritual: the Act.

Rules for Models

1. Be Punctual

- Please arrive at least **10 minutes earlier** than the appointed time.
- When you need to wear costumes, please arrive especially early enough, so that you will have time to choose what to wear.
- Your working hours would be only 3 hours or less. **Never be late.**

2. When You Get a Modeling Job

- Please be responsible for your job.
- When you get a job, please **make a phone call** to the client to confirm details.
- Ask details about appointment, such as DATE, TIME, PLACE, when you make a phone call.
(Please ask us if you are not sure about how to get to the appointed place. Do not ask the client for faxing a map or further details.)
- If you work more than one day for the same client, please confirm date and time for the next appointment before going home.
- In case of emergency and you cannot work, please contact us as soon as possible.
- **Contact us** when you get another job from client on-site.

3. Contact Information

- Office hours for phone contact
Mon – Fri: 10:00–17:00
- We prefer you to call us **afternoon** unless emergency, since the line would be busy in the morning.
- Try **not to call on Monday or the day after holiday**. The line would be busy.
- If you visit our office, try to avoid Monday and Saturday.
- In the case of emergency after or before office hours: 090-9373-2912 (HARUYAMA)

4. On-site Rules

- Most of the teachers or students are older than you, so please be polite to them.
- Never evaluate students' artwork.
- Please say NO to photos.
- Break time is also a part of you job, so pay attention to your attitude so as not to offend or upset other people.

5. Standing Pose

- We get some reports that some models avoid standing pose although it is an important basic posture. Please try to take a standing pose positively.

6. What To Bring

- **Jacket** (Something to wear during break.)
- Indoor shoes (so as not to walk on cement with barefoot)
- Footcloth (to keep you comfortable on the floor)
- **Bank account number** (Your wage may be paid through bank transfer, so make sure you have your account number)
- Timer (It is better for you to bring your own timer in case they don't have it for you)

7. About Office

- If you change your phone number or address so on, please contact us.
POUR VOUS model office– 03-3822-1641; TEL p-model@gol.com; E-mail

Image 5: Information Sheet (English Version) handed out by PourVous to new Models (photo by myself; 14.05.2022)

4.2 The Act

「あ、こんにちは。今日のモデルの朝日です。どうぞよろしくお願いします。」

「あ、こんにちは。よろしくお願いいたします。この教室は今日が初めてですか。」

“Hello. My name is Asahi. I am today’s model. I look forward to working with you.”

“Ah, hello. Nice to meet you. Is this the first time you are working with us?”

[Conversation between Asahi and a staff member of Asagaya College of Art and Design;

29.04.2022; Asagaya College of Art and Design’s office]

As advised by PourVous, Asahi and I step out of Shin-Koenji Station⁶⁵ on our way to Asagaya College of Art and Design with ample time to spare. After a brisk walk through the cool evening air, we arrive at our destination. He introduces himself at the facility’s front desk (see the vignette introducing this section), before we are sent up to the life room located on the building’s second-floor⁶⁶. There, *introductions* are once more exchanged. Passing through the cramped *space* of the life room – where rows of isles and chairs are assembled around a square stage – Asahi is shown to a small cabinet, separated from the rest of the room by thick curtains. This makeshift changing room provides him with closure while he changes into his ‘professional garb’ – a simple *robe*, or kimono. Once he reemerges, the local instructor takes Asahi aside to discuss today’s schedule before the shrilling of the *timer* signals the beginning of the first pose.

This description presents an excerpt from my observational log, fashioned during an instance of participant observation on April 29, 2022. By accompanying seasoned male model Asahi to a job at Asagaya College of Art and Design, I was able to witness the strict set of rules governing models’ and artists’ (inter-)actions in the life room. Aided by several objects (*robe*, *timer*), the symbolic and physical configuration of *time* and *space*, and several routinized patterns of verbal and non-verbal exchange (*introductions*), models, as well as artists, ritualize their practices, adding order and meaning to their performances.

⁶⁵ Shin-Koenji Station is located in a residential area in the Western part of Tokyo.

⁶⁶ The floor plans discussed in the thesis at hand are named in accordance with European standards. That is to say, that the bottommost story of a building is referred to as the ground floor and the first floor is the level above that.

4.2.1 Ritualized Objects

“Rituals are able to transform ordinary objects into extraordinary objects. And while rituals typically do not cause physical change, they may imbue objects with a particular specialness – a simple gold band may become a wedding ring, while an ordinary dessert may become a birthday cake. To treat such objects as if they were ordinary then becomes inappropriate.”

(Kapitány and Nielsen 2019, abstract)

The models’ ritual utilizes several material markers to, on the one hand, indicate a shift from daily routine to ritualized behavior, and, on the other hand, help along the symbolic structuration of space, time, and (verbal) communication. The following paragraphs will discuss two meaningful objects, (1) the timer and (2) the robe, in order to shine light onto the intra- and interpersonal meaning, symbolism and dynamism finding embodiment via models’ ritualized practices. First, let us turn our attention to the timer.

任せるときは短い一分のポーズの時とかかな、短いポーズは、グルーブみたいなのがある気がするから、その中で、いちいち、ストップウォッチ触りたくないんだよね。

“Usually, it is during short one minute poses or so that I entrust the task [of timing] to someone else. Short poses, they have a kind of ‘groove’ you see? While in that flow I just don’t want to have to bother myself with resetting the stopwatch time and time again.”

[Asahi; Interviewed on 11.06.2022]

During the ritual of the Japanese artist model, time is relegated to the strict rule of the stopwatch. Usually provided by the artist⁶⁷, its shrill cry marks the beginning and the end of every pose and intermitting break, emphasizing the symbolic significance of specific moments and enforcing a sense of order in the life room. On average no larger than an adult’s palm, this inconspicuous object carries much authority. That is, in addition to its pragmatic function of informing models when it is time to switch poses or take a break, the timer is further used to herald the crossing of symbolic boundaries. Indicating a shift of the dominant *modus operandi*, the stopwatch urges participants to distance themselves from the norms, values and behaviors they usually adhere to and instead heed to the rules of the life room. For instance, while public display

⁶⁷ Although hiring institutions and individual artists generally make a timer available, many models carry one of their own. Kitamura and PourVous also advise this.

and reckoning of nudity is commonly regarded as improper outside of the temporal confines of artist models' ritual, these actions are an integral part of life drawing practices in Tokyo. The timer's shrill reminds participants to suspend such conventional judgement, and assists models, artists and instructors alike to slip into their predetermined roles, and the subsequent necessary mindsets, within the ritual. By calling for focus and professionalism the timer makes sure that the model's integrity and rights are secured and respected, bequeathing a position of power to the person wielding it. It can thus be argued, that the timer is not only ritualized, but also plays a central role in the ritualization of models' practices.

モデルになるのはいつですかね。私自身はモデルになるのは脱ぐ瞬間でも、ステージに上がる時でもないんです。モデルに変身するのはもっと早いうちですよ。モデル用のローブに着替える瞬間に。

“When do I turn into an artist model? I become a model not when I disrobe, or when I step on stage. No, it happens earlier. In the moment when I discard my street clothes and put on my modelling robe.”

[Haruka; Informal conversation on the 30.09.2022]

In addition to the timer, the robe is also bestowed extraordinary significance during the model's ritual. This commonly flowy and simple garment⁶⁸ has two major functions. First, it is tasked with cloaking the artist model's body during recreational sequences. Easily thrown on, it plays a central role in maintaining order and decency in the life room. As mentioned above, outside the life room, the use of the naked body in artistic representation is still frequently viewed with reserve. Ai and Minori confirm this view. As a result, the acts of drawing from, and posing in the nude can create moral conflicts for participants. In order to mitigate tension and discomfort from arising, the ritualized practice of life drawing provides models and artists with superimposed structures and established conventions. Routinizing and symbolically charging participants' interactions, such ritualization helps create a sense of order and predictability, fashioning an atmosphere of shared purpose and responsibility in order to normalize nudity (cf. Gordon-Lennox 2017). In consequence, the deeds of displaying and gazing at the naked human body become locally respectable. However, during recreational time, which customarily intermits models' poses to allow for physical and mental rejuvenation, formalization is enforced less vehemently. The robe,

⁶⁸ Whereas the timer is commonly provided by hiring institutions, a model's robe usually stems from their own wardrobe.

which now replaces the strict behavioral decrees that previously mitigated participants' social relations and behavior, balances the consequently arising insecurity. Veiling the model's exposed body, its opaque fabric re-erects a semblance of normality among participants.

Second, the artist model's robe is imbued with transformative power, creating a physical separation between ritualized practice and everyday life (cf. Dissanayake 2017). In addition to superimposing the structure of the ritual on the life room, the robe helps models separate their daily selves from their modelling selves, aiding them in transitioning into the right headspace. Haruka and Asahi state that to them, the robe is ingrained with extraordinary specialness as it marks the change from one mode of being to the other. The robe is, thus, just like the timer, not only ritualized but also ritualizing.

In sum, it can be said that models rely on the timer and the robe, two symbolically charged tools, to superimpose structure and meaning on their (inter-)actions in the life room. While a timer is usually made available by hosting institutions, the robe is to be brought along by models themselves, making it a highly personal item. Accordingly, whereas reign over the stopwatch is at times handed over to organizational staff and artists for convenience (see the above quote by Asahi), the robe remains the model's domain. Utilized in accordance with the passing of time, these objects help draw boundaries between daily life and ritualized event. The following sub-section sets out to explore how artist models' ritual is structured around specific temporal patterns.

4.2.2 Ritualized Time

3 時間以内に 20 分を 6 回行う。20 分の中で短いポーズを繰り返したりする。
標準的には 5 分 x4、10 分 x2、20 分 x1 を 2 回繰り返す。
休憩時間が 5 分（真ん中に 10 分）か 10 分かで 2 時間半～3 時間のセッションとなる。

“Usually, one 3 hour session contains six 20 minute sub-sequences. If desired, one 20-minute sub-section may be further segmented into shorter poses. In that case, common patterns are 4 x 5 minutes; 2 x 10 minutes; 1 x 20 minutes. This is repeated in the second half of the session. One complete session can last 2.5 to 3 hours, depending on whether breaks are on average 5 minutes (10 minutes in the middle) or 10 minutes long.”

[Kayoko; 45-year-old survey respondent]

Structured around a predetermined alternation between posing and recreation, the notion of time lies at the heart of artist models' practices. Repeated reference to the event's temporal framework reminds participants to adhere to the life room's special code of conduct, while also helping models

optimize their performances throughout their “temporally choreographed” (Morehart 2017, abstract) ritual.

Customarily, models’ labor is limited to a maximum of three hours at a time. This period is further sectioned into six 20-minute slots, separated from each other by five short five- to ten-minute pauses⁶⁹. Segmenting models’ performance in this fashion has proven to allow for optimal concentration and labor quality, observe PourVous’ staff members. While shorter sequences run the risk of disrupting participants’ creative flow, extended intervals drastically reduce the models’ performative capacity. Within the bounds of these 20 minutes, models may be asked to hold poses of varying lengths – ranging from one-minute poses to 20-minute poses. Poses of up to 20 minutes in length are called ‘short poses’. Often used to develop artists’ knowledge of proportions, they allow for dynamic and virtuous poses. Due to their terse nature, models are able to position their bodies more innovatively without fear of muscle fatigue or cramps, encouraging creative experiments and lively mannerisms. Many models, such as Asaki, Haruka, or Katsuyuki, view the resulting creative freedom favorably.

Conversely, ‘long poses’ – when the model repeatedly returns to the same position for two sets of 20 minutes or longer⁷⁰ – are routinely recounted by models as physically and mentally taxing. Poses usually turn out more simple and basic, as even just sitting upright for extended periods takes a considerable toll on the body, comments Rin. Additionally, artist models may also be asked to act out a ‘moving performance’. During these instances, the model engages in continuous, slowed-down and controlled motion instead of holding a static pose. Encouraging artists to forego details in favor of capturing the overall flow of the body before them, this technique is highly demanding for models and artists alike. To this end, predominantly artist models declaring a history in the performing arts, who are thought to possess a grounded understanding of their own bodies’ abilities, limitations and strengths, are scouted for moving poses. Their experience with embodied expression is valued highly among Tokyo’s life drawing circle, assert both models like Asahi, Katsuyuki, Minori, and Rin, and artists such as Yoshida, a freelancer and passionate young artist, or Ueda, Okada and Hiroda (three veteran artists and founding members of Atelier21⁷¹ located in Yokohama). These findings are in line with a study on biotech companies by Powell and Sandholtz

⁶⁹ Usually, at the halfway-mark, participants are awarded an extended period of recreation.

⁷⁰ The location of the models’ feet or arms is marked down with crayon or tape in order to ensure that they return to the same pose after taking a break. Artists’ drawings are further used as reference.

⁷¹ <http://www.atelier21.jp/>

(2012) which indicates that knowhow, prestige and experience – or social and creative capital as described by Bourdieu – may be transferred from one social domain to another. In a similar vein, analysis has shown that art-based backgrounds enable artist models to convert their prior knowledge and expertise appropriately.

Table 4, Table 5 and Table 6 visualize the temporal structuration of the discussed, three distinct types of modelling sessions.

Table 4: Exemplary Schedule of a Long Pose

Total Period	every Saturday between 01.08.2022-01.10.2022 (13.09.2022 excluded: 8 sessions)	Posing Schedule				
		First Half	20 Minute Pose	10 Minute Break	Second half	20 Minute Pose
Official Time	15:30-18:30		5 Minute Break			5 Minute Break
Official Length	3 h		20 Minute Pose			20 Minute Pose
Actual Time	15:30-18:00		5 Minute Break			5 Minute Break
Actual Length	2,5 h		20 Minute Pose			20 Minute Pose

Table 5: Exemplary Schedule of a Short Pose

Total Period	20.05.2022	Posing Schedule				
		First Half	20 Minute Pose (Standing)	10 Minute Break	Second half	10 Minute Pose x 2 (Reclining)
Official Time	17:00-20:00		5 Minute Break			5 Minute Break
Official Length	3 h		10 Minute Pose x 2 (Sitting)			20 Minute Pose (Standing)
Actual Time	17:00-19:30		5 Minute Break			5 Minute Break
Actual Length	2,5 h		5 Minute Pose x 4 (free)			20 Minute Pose (Sleeping)

Table 6: Exemplary Incorporation of Moving Performances into a Long Pose Schedule

Total Period	13.05.2022	Posing Schedule				
		First Half	20 Minute Moving (Keyword)	10 Minute Break	Second half	20 Minute Pose
Official Time	13:30-16:00		5 Minute Break			5 Minute Break
Official Length	2,5 h		20 Minute Moving (Keyword)			20 Minute Pose
Actual Time	13:30-16:00		5 Minute Break			5 Minute Break
Actual Length	2,5 h		20 Minute Pose			20 Minute Pose

The various physical and mental demands short and long poses impose on models are also reflected in the representations fashioned by the artist. The dynamism and bodily tension brought forward by short poses are routinely captured with energetic lines, and mimetic correctness is forgone in favor of capturing the expressive movement contained within a model's pose. Image 6 presents a drawing fashioned after a short ten-minute pose I took while modelling in Kagurazaka's⁷² Session House in August 2022. Arms crossed behind my back, I carry most of my weight on my left foot while I tilt my torso to the front. The artist, Yoshida, captures the tension this pose requires with swift lines, foregoing details in favor of fashioning a balanced sketch. Conversely, long poses allow for more technical prose. Image 7 was fashioned over the span of five weeks during an oil painting class I joined as a model at the Asagaya College of Art and Design. Setting myself up in the same fashion every week, artists were able to work more slowly and methodically, focusing on color and anatomical correctness. Compared to Image 6 the chosen long pose is simple and unwound in order to reduce my physical discomfort to a minimum. Lastly, Image 8 is an example of an artist capturing Katsuyuki, a passionate ballet dancer, in motion. Having to work quickly to bring his form to paper before it passes, the resulting linear drawings are energetic and expressive.

⁷² Kagurazaka is a neighborhood in central Tokyo.



Image 6: Short Pose (10 Minutes) by Yoshida Takashi (photo by myself; Session House Tokyo, Tokyo; 19.08.2022)



Image 7: Long Pose (180 minutes for five weeks) by Kaneko (photo by myself, Asagaya College of Art and Design, Tokyo; 16.06.2022, 23.06.2022, 30.06.2022, 07.07.2022, 14.07.2022)



Image 8: Moving Pose; Model: Katsuyuki (photo by Katsuyuki)

In sum, these elaborations highlight how the passing of temporal thresholds dictates the social micro-politics transpiring in the life room and how models rely heavily on an established temporal framework when performing their ritual. The temporally choreographed practices of models are further intertwined with other subsidiary processes of ritualization. The following section will delve into the formalization of space and mobility that proceeds in accordance with the passing of time.

4.2.3 Ritualized Space

真中にこういう台があって、その横に控椅子みたいな、待機、ポーズをしていない時、休み時間はこの辺にいるんですけど。多分、二段階、三段階ぐらいはあると思いますね。

ここにいる時も何をしているのか見られてるし、本とか読んでいてもどんな本を読んでいるのかを多分見られている、気にされている、気にしている人たちもいると思うから。その状態も確かに普段の状態でもないし、上がった時も。ちょっとやっぱパフォーマティブになりますよね。

“In the middle, there is this kind of stand and next to it there might be some chair for the model to rest when not in pose. That’s where I spend my breaks. The whole space [of the life room] is probably divided into two or three levels.

Even when I am resting, I am being observed. For example, if I am reading a book, the people around me will see and think about what kind of book I am reading. If you put it that way, this state [of being watched] is certainly anything but usual, off and on stage. Indeed, it is somewhat performative.”

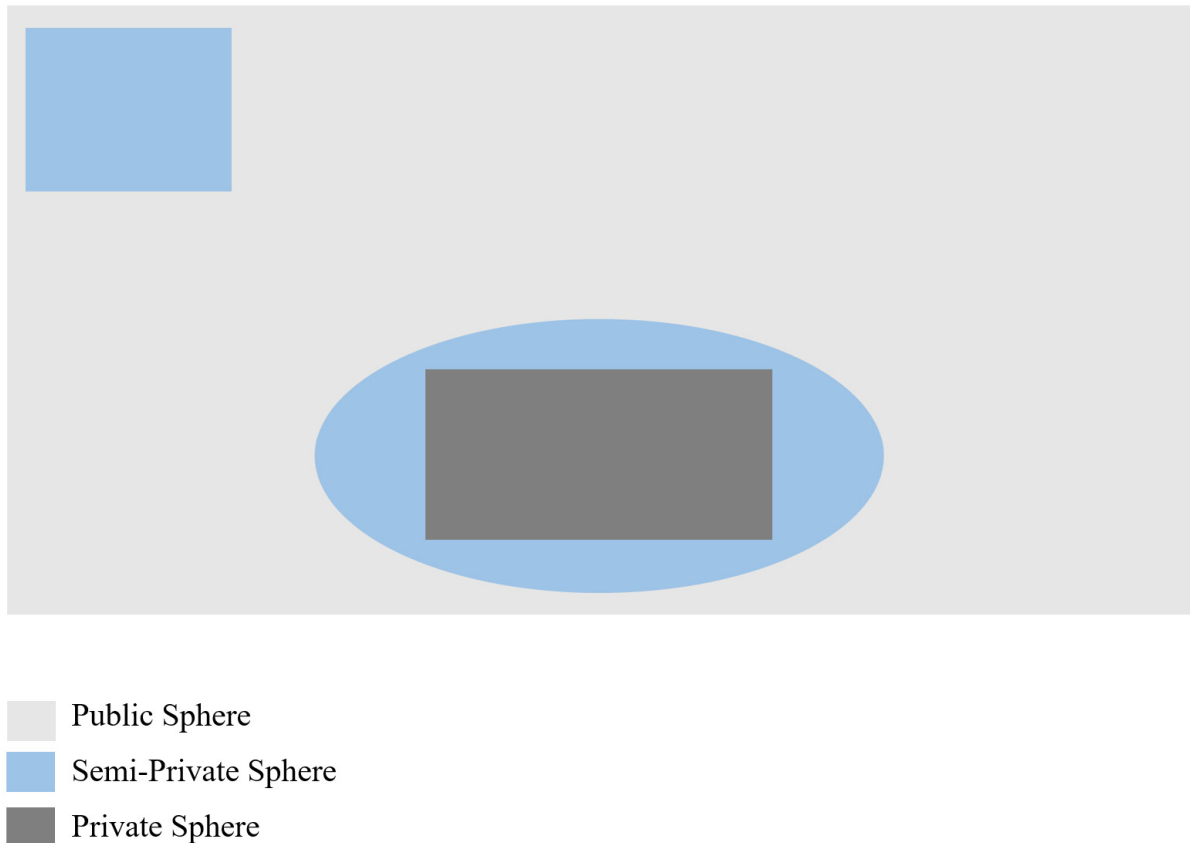
[Asahi; Interviewed on 16.03.2022]

Art educational facilities, private ateliers, culture centers and city halls; artist models in Tokyo work in a great variety of settings. Dispersed across the city of Tokyo and beyond, models are led off the beaten path on a daily basis, argues Mari. Like the participants they encounter, the spatial makeup of their destinations varies greatly, forcing artist models to navigate not only uncharted social but also spatial terrain. Compellingly, although displaying vastly different sizes, layouts and facilities, Tokyo’s life rooms generally share a common symbolic structure. Spatially split into (1) the public sphere, (2) the semi-private sphere and (3) the private sphere (see Figure 1) the ritualization of space plays a crucial role in ordering the (inter-)actions, relationships and mobility of models and artists.

The terms ‘private’, ‘semi-private’, and ‘public’ hereby do not refer to the state of being, or not being hidden from sight. Rather, they are understood as socially constructed and

symbolically charged measurements of spatial travers-ability and right to access. Taking the artist model as my main point of reference, these labels are issued in accordance with their perspective; indexing the space of the life room in regard to the intensity and frequency of the interactions models encounter.

Figure 1: Ritualized Space – private, semi-private, and public sphere



To begin with, a general distinction should be made between the life room and the social world surrounding it. While physically open to the public, the life room is symbolically separated from the rest of society. Its threshold indicates the passage into another realm set apart from the rest of the social world, ordered and held together by a different set of rules and norms. Access rights can be bartered for by a broad, yet entitled artistic public in exchange for money and other capital. At times, entrance may be granted to unconcerned individuals, like delivery personnel, for practical reasons. However, once the artist model's ritual commences within its walls, the borders separating the 'outside' world and the life room harden considerably.

Upon entering the life room, individuals find themselves located within the ‘public sphere’. Enclosing everything and everyone within the life room’s walls, it is the most spatially copious of the three metaphorical areas. The artist model cohabits this space with artists, teaching personnel and organizational staff. Its non-human infrastructure consisting of isles, chairs, canvases as well as other materials and facilities such as bathrooms and cupboards stocked with brushes, paint and requisites. Verbal communication between models and artists is mostly confined to this zone, which bustles with social energy during breaks. Irrespective of their divergent functions, roles and responsibilities, participants find themselves in an egalitarian net of relationships while residing in the public sphere.

Next, within the broader spatial circumference of the above-described public sphere lie the semi-private sphere and the private sphere. Although not necessarily demarcated physically, the right of access to these areas is limited. Protected through mechanisms of monopolized closure, only a select number of individuals – equipped with certain professional labels – are able to pass through their boundaries without having to fear consequences. First, the semi-private sphere stands out due to its spatially dispersed nature. It includes the changing rooms⁷³ and a small stretch of space surrounding the modelling stage. Varying greatly in configuration and size, these areas serve the purpose of granting the model a place to prepare and relax undisturbed. Although accessible mainly to artist models, organizational staff and educational personnel may also interfere with it if deemed necessary.

Second, once it is time to strike a pose, the model ascends, quite literally, to the heights of the private sphere. Commonly composed of a slightly elevated pedestal, this exclusive area clearly distinguishes itself from its surroundings. Generally square or rectangular, this concoction is routinely sized to comfortably accommodate a stretched out adult. Its wooden skeletal is enhanced with one or two layers of padding and covered by a simple, white sheet. The stage’s location within the life room varies. While at times, it is situated in the middle of the room to allow artists and

⁷³ Be the artist model required to pose in the nude, or in costume, most job opportunities demand models to exchange their everyday clothes for professional garb. Usually, institutions provide separate facilities for this purpose. Musashino Art University, for instance, supplies their models with a separate enclosure endowed with changing rooms, lockers, a shower, sofas, books and magazines, as well as a small kitchenette and snacks. Smaller institutions or leisure associations usually lack the funds and space to institute such elaborate facilities. Instead, a small portable fitting room is installed, or a makeshift barrier is set up to shield models from prying eyes. In some cases, reports Asaki, she has been asked to disrobe in the adjoined washroom, awakening in her a sense of lacking respect for and disregard of herself as the model.

students a 360-degree view of the model's form, other times the pedestal is placed closer to one of the room's walls, creating a half-moon layout⁷⁴.

Regardless of the general setup, the artist model is inescapably exposed to the artist's gaze after emerging from the changing rooms, putting them into a vulnerable position, argues Mami. In order to annul this imbalance of power, art models' integrity in the private sphere and semi-private sphere is protected by a strict entry ban, prohibiting the ritual's other participants from physically interacting with them⁷⁵. This entry ban is further supported by a sense of immobility superimposed on artists, and models, during poses. While models' role in the ritual of the life room forces them to remain unmoving and quiet for extended periods, artists technically face none such ruling. However, social code dictates them to remain as still and silent as the model, shunning grand gestures and obnoxious communication as disruptive and unprofessional. Unfit behavior is best immediately discouraged and reported to local organizational staff, advises Rin, so as that offenders may be reprimanded or made to leave the room. Asahi further recommends informing one's fostering referral agency so as that future collaborations may be declined or handled with adequate care⁷⁶.

By viewing the life room as a set of ritually graded, and symbolically charged spaces, it is possible to position artist models as agents who wield considerable power and privilege in the life room. While other participants are in need of institutional licensing or permission from the model in order to traverse from the public, to the semi-private and the private sphere, models may pass through areas freely. Wielding an exclusive right to access, the ritualization of space allows models to counterbalance their originally weakened position. The subsequent section will turn its attention to the ritualization of verbal communication during artist models' performances in Tokyo's life rooms.

⁷⁴ In a private conversation, Haruka revealed that the stage's placement strongly influences her choice of pose. She explains that a half-moon layout suggest poses with a definite primary view, while circumferential visibility stimulates more complex, all-round balanced mannerism.

⁷⁵ Only in the model's absence or after inquiring for permission are select individuals allowed to interact with the private sphere. This is usually done in preparation for the upcoming event or to provide assistance to the model. However, physical contact with the model is avoided.

⁷⁶ How 'right' or 'wrong' behavior is asserted and sanctioned in the life room is a complicated topic. Although models, artists and referral agencies take various precautions to avoid transgressions, exploitation or abuse, participants, such as Asaki and Asahi, do report having made negative experiences in the past, commemorating a sense of helplessness and paralysis in the face of misconduct. Although not further discussed in the thesis at hand, I believe this to be a fruitful, and important, area for future research.

4.2.4 Ritualized Communication

「よろしくお願いします。」

「お願いします。」

...

「ありがとうございました。」

「ありがとうございました。お疲れ様です。」

“Let’s get started, I look forward to working with you.”

“We look forward to working with you.”

...

“It was a pleasure working with you.”

“Thank you for your hard work.”

[Exchange between myself and a group of artists; 07.05.2022; Atelier Ebisu, Tokyo]

Communication plays a central role in artist models’ ritual, from the preparatory negotiation phase to the *in situ* session. Especially verbal communication is strictly controlled. That is to say, who is allowed to say what, in which fashion, to whom and at what point in time is regulated by predetermined sets of unspoken conventions. The following section rounds up the discussion on the main act of artist models’ ritual by exploring how ritualized communication serves to establish social order, and how it creates a relationship of respect, mutual trust and connection among participants.

Standardized greetings (see the opening vignette for this sub-chapter) are used to mark the beginning and end of each of the six 20-minute sequences. These predetermined verbal cues help models and artists transition between the different phases of the ritual and prepare their minds for the switch in behavioral codex that is to follow. What is more, these greetings are a sign of mutual respect and signal participants’ readiness to adhere to the life room’s localized conventions, says Takeichi, an artist and art instructor in his late 60s.

Asaki and Asahi recount that during poses, verbal communication is broadly restricted. To be exact, while focused discussions concerning the creative process, or inquiry into the models’ well-being are permitted to a limited extent, small talk concerning other topics is largely omitted as conversations might disturb other participants and distract them from their tasks. This does seem to further be linked to models’ oath to stillness and silence during poses. By imposing similar rules

of conduct upon artists, the ritualization of communication helps inhibit unequal power relations in the life room.

During break time, communication flows more freely⁷⁷. Creating a relaxed and respectful atmosphere, models and artists subtly exchange experiences and opinions, fostering a platform for learning and knowledge sharing. Katsuyuki further states that small talk also makes it possible to address challenges, aspirations and the necessity of adjustment. However, the social dynamic pertaining a life room varies greatly from location to location. While some groups encourage verbal exchange and the constitution of friendly relations, others prefer quietness in order not to disturb participants' focus.

In sum, not unlike the ritualization of objects, time and space, the structuration of communication within the life room helps establish a sense of order, unity and equality among participants. After approximately 150 minutes, the timer rings for the last time and the model's descent from the stage marks the conclusion of the main act of the artist model's ritual. Thenceforth, the epilogue, to be discussed in the following section, rounds off the encounter, before the model and artist go their separate ways.

4.3 Epilogue

しゃべっていないし、作品を描いているかもわからないから、確かに私のこの「面白いでしょう」が届いているのかどうかは本当は正確には分からないんですよ。でも、届いているときは終わった後に「とてもよかったね」とか「また来てください」って言われるし。ちょっと描いた絵を見るとすごく生き生きしている。

“Of course, as we aren't talking, and I can't see if they are actually drawing me, I can never fully know whether my proposition actually reaches them. Yet, in case we did come to an understanding, they [the artists] approach me after the session and tell me 'Today was great', 'Please come visit us again'. Their artworks are also livelier.”

[Asaki; Interviewed on 15.03.2022]

After the 'Act' follows the 'Epilogue'. This loosely structured sequence of interactions marks the conclusion of the model's ritual while also heralding the transition from ritualized practice back to everyday life, explains Katsuyuki. This finale phase is marked by several sensory cues and standardized interactions: (1) the ringing of the timer; (2) an exchange of formalized greetings and

⁷⁷ Nevertheless, talk still has to adhere to certain standards. Personal topics and intimate details, for instance, are to be forgone, and dialogues must remain respectful at all times.

words of gratitude; (3) the gradual diffuence of symbolic boundaries; (4) the changing of clothes; and (5) the processing of payment.

The ring of the timer, signaling the end of the final pose, initiates the concluding phase of the artist model's ritual. Formalized words of gratitude and farewell are exchanged before artists gradually begin to clean up their workstations. Simultaneously, the model exits their pose, dons their robe and gathers their possessions. Exiting the private sphere, they venture to exchange their ritual garb for their everyday attire. The symbolic boundaries separating the life room and the 'outside' world slowly begin to loosen and fade away. Similarly, the life room's internal symbolic, social and spatial borders that order participants' interactions during ritualized practice also dissipate and participants' rights to mobility and leisure communication are restored.

Ultimately, the processing of remuneration concludes the epilogue of the artist model's ritual. Rin, for example, perceives the handover or discussion of payment⁷⁸ as a crucial part of the ritual, as the mannerism in which this step is conducted symbolizes recognition of the physical and emotional labor invested by her. Most commonly, artist models in Tokyo are paid in cash. The modelling fee and transportation expenses are usually handed over to the model bundled in a simple envelope. At times, larger institutional agents such as Musashino Art University, Asahi Culture Center or Atelier Ebisu compensate their models via bank transfer. They state that, due to the large number of models hired, undertaking a communal lump sum payment once or twice a month chiefly reduces the resulting administrative burden. Just as in the preparatory phase, negotiations are broadly disregarded on purpose, as participants are expected to be aware of and in agreement with the general conventions adhered to in the industry.

With a final word of farewell, the model takes their leave. By this point, the concluding phase of the artist model's ritual has allowed all participants, as well as the socio-spatial dimensions of the life room itself, to return to their mundane state. Found in a similar form throughout Tokyo's art world, the above-described ritual display is central to contemporary artist models' practice. The following, concluding section of this chapter summarizes the analytical inferences outlined over the previous pages while also providing an interpretation of the reasons and necessity underlying the patterns of ritualization performed by artist models.

⁷⁸ In case two sessions at the same institution are performed back-to-back, payment is usually conducted after the conclusion of the second session.

4.4 Conclusion

In summary, it can be argued that artist models' practices are highly structured, symbolically charged encounters. That is to say, despite displaying its fair share of individualized variations, artist models' behavior in preparation for, on and after a job fundamentally aligns with a number of predetermined conventions, roles and rules. Temporally and spatially framed, the model's ritual is set apart from everyday life. The present chapter set out to unpack the intricate patterns of ritualized behavior artist models in Tokyo routinely engage in. In the wake of this effort, the dimensions of space and time take center stage. Furthermore, enterprises of communication and the ordnance of specific objects reveal themselves to be equally crucial.

The model's ritual commences aloof from the life room. While this phase is only loosely structured, the second act of the artist model's ritual consists of a carefully orchestrated sequence of (inter-)actions. Thenceforth, relying on a handful of performative techniques and consecrated objects, the model dictates the rhythm and rules commanding the life room and its inhabitants. First, the stopwatch helps structure models' ritualized practices in accordance with the advancement of time. Relied on to make heard the crossing of symbolic thresholds, the sensory cues of the timer superimpose order on the life room. Another ritualized 'ritualizer' further aids the stopwatch: the robe. Systematically taken off, and thrown on by the model when ascending to, or descending from the stage, this unobtrusive piece of fabric is reconstructed into an extraordinary apparatus within the confines of the life room. Its primary function is not to be decorative or fashionable but rather to be euphemistic, hiding the models (nude) body from view during recreation, while also helping models to enter the right professional mindset.

Models and artists' ritualized interactions are further governed by the inauguration of spatial borders. Viewing the life room as symbolically divided into a 'private', a 'semi-private' and a 'public' sphere, the artist model's relative agency and position of power in their interactions becomes apparent. Communication is regulated in a similar fashion. The ritual is brought to a close via a short concluding stage. Exchanging formalized words of gratitude and farewell, the model replaces their ritual garb with their mundane attire. Payment is processed and the transition from ritual practice back to everyday life is complete.

With the help of the analytical conclusions presented above it is now possible to engage with the question of why such ritual practice is, and continues to be promoted. Overall, the results demonstrate three things. First, a look at how models ritualize objects, space, time and

communication in their practices reveals models' multifaceted and influential position in the artistic process. This result ties well with Lynda Nead's (1992) considerations on the artistic gaze. In line with Nead's argument, the findings at hand demonstrate that the model – the object of the artist's gaze – is not merely subjected to the artist's interpretation but also possesses agency of their own, as their ritualizing presence actively shapes the artist's behavior and perception, as well as the resulting artistic expressions.

Second, the data at hand shows a strong focus on protective and equalizing intent. Artist models are oftentimes required to bare their naked bodies and remain unmoving and quiet for prolonged periods. Minori argues that due to this, the model is put into a somewhat disadvantaged and vulnerable position in the life room. The ritualization of interactions, objects, space, time and communication provides an orderly environment in which the model's structural vulnerabilities are balanced out, protecting them from unwanted attention and advances. It can thus be argued that ritualization serves as a protective mechanism (cf. Yoon et al. 2015) for artist models, provides these professionals with the necessary security and insurance necessary to perform creatively and efficiently.

Third, unearthing artist models' ritual contributes to the cementation of their status as creative professionals. Due to their dispersed nature, art models' professional status is often viewed as disputable in the European and Anglophone sphere (Roe 1995, p. 29; Hipke 2008, p. 13). Yet, in Japan, art models appear to construct themselves as a coherent body of experts by means of (1) their partial institutionalization via referral agencies, and (2) the adherence and reproduction of widely recognized ritualized patterns of behavior.

By ritualizing their interactions in the life room, artist models add order, meaning and significance to their practices. Yet, while the ritual is an essential part of artist models' conduct, the concept runs the risk of portraying what artist models in Tokyo do as overly rigid and repetitive. I argue that the concept of performance – long intertwined with the idea of the ritual – can remedy this; adding an element of creativity, spontaneity, and experimentation. The following, last, empirical chapter explores the artist model through the lens of performance to highlight how their liaison with artists is an instance of co-productive artistic expression.

5 The Performing Artist Model

ちょっとやっぱパフォーマティブになりますよね。どういう意味でパフォーマティブなのかはわからないけど。

“Indeed, it [being an artist model] is somewhat performative. Although I can’t pinpoint in what way it is performative.”

[Asahi; Interviewed on 16.03.2022]

The previous chapter glimpsed at the physical and symbolic structures ordering model-artist interactions in Tokyo’s life rooms through the lens of the ritual. So far, the concept of the secular ritual has proven to be a useful tool in our quest to grasp what artist models in Tokyo do, highlighting the symbolic and repetitive nature of their practices. Yet, while it is true that within the life room duties are distributed distinctly and that its spatial and temporal, as well as social and symbolic borders are guarded religiously, the concept of the ritual neglects to expand on the dynamic and creative aspects of models’ work. To remedy this, the present chapter draws on the complementary concept of performance in order to direct the reader’s attention to the situated and mutually dependent disposition of the model-artist relationship, while also highlighting the co-produced nature of the resulting representations and artistic processes. By consciously framing artist models as active performers and artists as their attentive and co-producing audience, I hope to emphasize the synergetic character of their relationship and underline the importance of communication and collaboration in the creation of art.

To begin with, Chapter 5.1 (*Conceptualizing Performance*) shortly discusses the notion of performance. In addition to teasing out a locally specific definition, this section will highlight the relevance of the concept for the study of artist models and introduce key vocabulary. Next, Chapter 5.2 (*The Metaphor of the Performative Soundscape*) explores how shifts in the environment may influence models’ performance. Chapter 5.3 (*Curating the Air*), then, reviews the strategies artist models use to regulate the atmosphere *in situ* and so improve the environmental conditions engulfing their performance. Chapter 5.4 (*Uīn he Ikō – Embracing Models’ Creative and Transformative Potential*) reviews the case of *Uīn he Ikō*, a model-founded and model-organized life drawing event, in order to highlight how artist models do not only perform professionally, but also creatively in the life room. Lastly, Chapter 5.5 (*Conclusion*) summarizes what has been said so far and draws a conclusion on the topic of the artist models’ (artistic) agency. By the end of this chapter, the reader will have developed an understanding of the sociocultural environment in

which models allocate their dynamic and symbiotic performances, as well as the diverse ways in which they interact with it.

5.1 Conceptualizing Performance

描く人がいても、モデルがいなければ描けないし、モデルだけいても描く人がいなかったら意味がないという総合、依存的な関係なので。

“Even if an artist turns up, if their model is absent, they cannot draw. Similarly, if the model strikes a pose but there is no one to fashion a representation of their form, the whole ordeal loses its meaning. In that sense, the relationship [between a model and an artist] is all-embracing and co-dependent.”

[Asaki; Interviewed on 15.03.2022]

The concept of performance has long since found its way into the study of artist models. While Roe (1995) contemplates the life room’s similarity to the theatre hall, and Hao Ying (2010) discusses models’ practice as a type of performance art, others, such as Bharali (2019), Hipke (2008), and Mayhew (2010) engage the concept more subtly. Through a variety of case studies, they argue that artist models perform abstract notions of belonging, community, professionalism and aesthetic self by embodying knowledge and mastery of pre-witnessed behaviors, rules and roles. Although the thesis at hand does orient itself on these prior publications, it has a divergent focus. The center of attention is (1) the metaphorical stage – that is to say the network of social relations and abstract personal expectations – which provides the sociocultural fundament for models’ performance, as well as (2) the strategies artist models use to transform, and insert themselves into the encountered circumstances. To this end, a case-specific definition is necessary in order to understand the unique and culturally relevant nuances of the present context.

The concept of performance does an eventful past. Having originated in the field of theatre studies, it has wormed its way into the theoretical toolkit of countless scientific disciplines over the years to make sense of various facets of human behavior, culture and society (Micu 2022, pp. 53–55). In anthropology, performance is used to examine both aesthetic and mundane practices⁷⁹. Most fundamentally, be it for the purpose of entertainment, the communication of ideas, the negotiation of identity or the fabrication of meaning, to perform means to socially transmit “information and knowledge using the body as a medium” (Micu 2022, p. 2).

⁷⁹ For instance, while Victor Turner (1992) focuses on rites of passage, and Judith Butler (2006) grapples with the construct of gender, Diana Taylor (2016) expands on the topic of performance art and Richard Schechner (2020) experiments with performance as an artistic-intellectual practice.

Any performance is made up of three fundamental elements: first, a featuring performer, second, a participating audience, and third, a hosting stage. Through the synergy of these three components, the purpose, effect and meaning of performance are carried into effect collaboratively. It should be kept in mind that these terms are theoretical aids and thus not set in stone. Rather, they are fluid and interchangeable so as to be tailored to, and distributed in accordance with the respective study's unique requirements and epistemological incentives (Schechner 2020, p. 12; Micu 2022, p. 5).

In the context of the present project, the above-mentioned figurative labels are distributed as follows. Taking the staged, framed and embodied nature of artist models' practices into consideration, they qualify to be ascribed the title of the performer, establishing them as my major point of reference. Orbiting around them are their co-creating audience, the artists, art instructors and organizational personnel cohabiting the life room. Although they are equally involved in the rearing of meaning in the life room, they are more prominently attributed a reactive role in the present study. Lastly, their interactions transpire upon a figurative stage, framed by the ritualization of time, space and communication described in Chapter 4. 'Stage' hereby is to be understood as not only a physical location but as a metaphor describing the social microcosm of the life room. Made up of a complex and dynamic net of social relations, expectations and functions, the stage is the environment that engulfs models' and artists' interactions and performative processes in the life room.

In sum, framing artist models as performers in their own right allows me to lend weight to their role in the socio-creative processes pertaining the life room. What is more, a performative approach emphasizes the synergetic and interactive nature of model-artist cooperation. As the opening quote from Asaki suggests, "the relationship [between a model and an artist] is all-embracing and co-dependent".

5.2 The Metaphor of the Performative Soundscape

An artist model's performance is not a one-person show. Rather, an echo resonating from within the life room follows every action – gestures, poses, movements and verbal assertions – sent out. The created feedback loop serves the model as a point of reference and inspiration. The following chapter draws on the metaphor of sound waves in order to understand the nature of artist models' performance in the life room.

A model's performance causes ripples of influence to permeate the life room, shaping and being shaped by the expectations, creativity and artistic products it encounters. Similar to sound waves, performative utterances disseminate through the air, reverberating from and resonating with their surroundings. Moreover, just as sonic waves change shape in accordance with the size and material composition of the encountered objects, artist models' performance also metamorphoses depending on who, and how many individuals they encounter in the life room. To this end, looking at the social configuration of models' workplaces in Tokyo promises insights into the nature of artist models' performance.

The present study was able to distinguish between two principle setups. On the one hand, the intimate one-on-one session – an experience shared between an individual model and artist – and on the other hand, the group setting, where the model's performative focus is more dispersed. The following pages will examine two complementary case studies in order to illustrate the peculiarities and challenges the above-described arrangements pose.

5.2.1 Asaki and Mochiduki

[モデルをするときには]自分の表現も提案する。[...] 「私はこういう表現をします。こういうところ面白いでしょう?」。投げかける感じ。

"I also offer up my own ideas and embodied expressions [when I model]. I try to communicate to them 'Hey, this is how I express myself, this is me. Isn't this also interesting?' I throw myself at them, you could say. [...]"

[Asaki; Interviewed on 15.03.2022]

[モデルは] 描くきっかけをくれるモノっていう風にはものすごい感じていました。[...] 他者から受けるインスピレーションが直接自分の表現に影響を与えるというのはものすごいです。[...] やっぱり写真から描くのは、あくまで自分の世界観だけに寄せなきゃいけないんじゃないんですか。その写真の世界観じゃなくて、そのモデルの人内の世界観はそこには入ってこないんですよ。[...] モデルを描くという行為の場合はもうそこで対話が成立しているというか、 、それは一人でやると絵との対話になるんですけど、モデルがいるとモデルと自分との間に絵が生まれるというか。絵が勝手に生まれるんですね。そのモデルと対話をするだけで [...] 相手は人間だから意味がある。相手をそういう意志を持ったモチーフと言ったらいいんですかね。そういった自分の中にない物を開いてから受け取ることがある意味で、ごくやりやすいと言ったらいいんですかね。ちょっとことわざを出さないといけないんですけど、 。こちらが受け取ること、相手から受け取るとは容易に

なるというか。[...] 自分が思っていなかったほうに進んだりする側に行く
とやっぱりものすごく面白いなと感じることはありますね。[...]

“The model is what gives me the inspiration to paint. [...] It really is amazing how the inspiration we receive from others directly influences our ways of expression. [...] When using a photograph as a template, you draw only based on your own view of the world, one could say. The depicted person’s personal views and experiences cannot be picked up on if one uses a picture as a reference. [...] When drawing from a model, however, a dialogue takes shape then and there...It is different from when you draw on your own. If I do it alone, there is of course also somewhat of an exchange taking place between the painting and me. However, if there is a model, the artwork is bred from the merge of the model and myself. The piece of art accrues on its own. Just by dialogically interacting with the model. [...]The whole process receives its meaning precisely because the model is human. Because they are – I am not sure, whether these are the right words but – a motif holding will and agency. Creating art becomes so much easier once one opens themselves up to receive inspiration and ideas not to be found within, but outside oneself. [...] It is such a rewarding and fascinating experience when the cooperation allows me to move and think in a direction I had not considered before.”

[Mochiduki; Interviewed on 25.04.2022]

As sound waves travel through space, they may interact with matter, being reflected, redirected, bent, superposed or absorbed. Naturally, the less sound-absorbing material there is in an environment, the longer a tone continues to travel undisturbed, its echo reverberating crisply and permeating the space in its entirety. Compellingly, as is hinted at by the introductory quotes by Asaki and Mochiduki, similar laws apply to artist models’ performance. Just as sound waves are shaped by the material characteristics of the space they travel through, a performance, its meaning and significance are influenced by the social and physical contexts in which it takes place. In other words, models’ embodied utterances reverberate within the life room and are amplified or dampened by the human or material instances they encounter. Additionally, I argue that artists’ reaction and feedback behave much like an echo, reflecting back the impact of a model’s performance and allowing them to adjust their comportment. On these grounds, it can be claimed that, akin to how an echo can shape the sound waves that create it, an audience’s reaction can have a substantial impact on performers’ comportment. Continuing this train of thought, it makes sense that the artist model’s performance may behave differently depending on how crowded the life room is.

A small audience allows a more intimate connection to be fostered between the model and the artist. Because of the relative emptiness of the life room, the model's performative expressions travel comparably undisturbed before being interpreted by the artist. Likewise, the echo reverberated by the artist reaches the model proportionately unaltered. The heightened intensity of interactions enables a mutual understanding of each other's character, creative vision and skill level. What is more, the resulting intimate relationship yields a nuanced and deeply collaborative creative process in which both the model and the artist are free to voice their opinions and expectations.

To give an illustration of this phenomenon, I will discuss the case of Mochiduki and Asaki. It is 2020, and Mochiduki is getting ready to graduate. As a Master's student at the Department of Japanese Painting at Musashino Art University in Tokyo, he is required to produce a piece of art in order to be able to finish his studies. To this end, he calls upon a model, Asaki. Mediated by PourVous, they meet for the first in the life room, where they thenceforth gather several times a week for the next four months. Gradually building a relationship of mutual trust, they join forces to create not only a piece of art but also stage a highly codependent process of artistic production. The relative 'emptiness' of the life room allows both Asaki and Mochiduki to fully unravel their imaginative and performative potential, and actively participate in the act of art creation. Mochiduki recalls a sense of liberation when being able to voice his ideas and concerns freely, relying on Asaki to enrich his vision independently. Similarly, Asaki recalls her cooperation with Mochiduki pleasantly due to the feeling of mutual trust it fostered.

Image 9, Image 10, and Image 11 are an excerpt from the portfolio resulting from Asaki and Mochiduki's collaboration. While some of them are inconspicuous, others appear intimate, tense or overly complicated, highlighting how Asaki and Mochiduki's cooperation allowed them to respectively experiment with new poses and ideas; gradually making the lines symbolically categorizing them into artist and non-artists indistinct. Mochiduki further comments:

ちょっとお願いしたポーズみたいな色々なパターンにしてもらったりとかして、やったりしていて。こういったものを描くにはやっぱりいきなりにモデルにお願いするのはちょっと申し訳ないという気持ちはあるんじゃないんですか。やっぱり信頼関係があるからこそ。ないとかいうのは描けないというのとか。

“Here, I asked the model [Asaki] to take a specific pose, to show me a variety of patterns. In addition, to be honest, to ask for such a pose, out of nowhere at that, I feel like I do not have the right, you know? However, it is only because we have built a relationship of trust [that it becomes possible]. Without that trust, it would be impossible to draw something like this.”

[Mochiduki; Interviewed on 25.04.2022]



Image 9: Excerpt Portfolio Mochiduki (photo by myself; Tokyo; 25.04.2023)



Image 10: Excerpt Portfolio Mochiduki (photo by myself; Tokyo; 25.04.2023)



Image 11: Excerpt Portfolio Mochiduki (photo by myself; Tokyo; 25.04.2023)

In sum, it can be argued that the absence of disturbance factors in the one-on-one session enables both the model and their audience to unfurl their creative potential, producing a nuanced and individually attuned performance. Further enacting a highly synergetic environment, all participants' creative imagination is given space to flourish.

5.2.2 The Group Setting

いっぱいいる所はいっぱいいる所で色んな描き方をする人がいるから私というこの一つの存在を通して色んな表現をしてくれるから。それっていうのは私はそこにいるけれどもまた全然違うモノになるというのはすごい面白いなと思います。

“A place where I pose opposite a large group of people is a whole story of its own, because there are so many different people, who see and draw me in so many different ways. Even though from my point of view, there is only one version of me present, [as a model] I simultaneously become so many things. That I can turn into so many completely different things at once, I think that’s really fascinating.”

[Ririko; Interviewed on 31.03.2022]

The previous sub-chapter introduced the analogy of the sound wave to illustrate that artist models' performative utterances interact and adapt to their environment. Continuing this train of thought, the section at hand turns its attention to another common manifestation of models' performative stage: the group setting.

In the group setting, the life room is filled with a multiplicity of participants⁸⁰, each with their unique characteristics, expectations, and needs. Like an actor on stage, considers Asaki, the model is faced with a large number of heterogeneous address points, presenting them with both challenges and opportunities. On the one hand, individual utterances can quickly become lost in the overall cacophony of the densely populated life room. As a result, both performers and participants have to display higher levels of endurance and mental focus – projecting their embodied performances and voices with greater force and clarity – in order to comprehensively pervade and trawl the life room's saturated air. What is more, Mami recounts that in the group setting, it is preferable to put on a more diverse rather than an individually coordinated performance to accommodate for a wide variety of expectations, skill levels and interpretations. On the other hand, says Ririko, the simultaneous presence of numerous artists fosters a stimulating environment

⁸⁰ The model's audience in the group setting does not only consist of artists but also of art instructors and organizational personnel whom are to be met with divergent attitudes and performances.

in which creativity can circulate freely, allowing artists and models to reap inspiration from each other, as well as giving models copious feedback to hone their performative and social skills. Images 12 to 20 illustrate the fructuous character of such a group encounters. Fashioned by a group of artists studying under Takeichi, a seasoned oil painter and art educator in Yokohama, they are representations of my embodied modelling performances on April 24, 2022, May 22, 2022, and June 26, 2022. Each interpreting my initial performative expression in a unique and distinct manner, they reveal the multifaceted, co-produced and expansive creative potential contained within my pose. What is more, these observations display how an art model's performance interacts differently with the individual artistic sensibilities, technical skills, and imaginative visions of the participating artists. For instance, while Image 12 and Image 13 represent a rather realistic depiction of myself and the environment of the surrounding atelier, Image 14 to Image 16 add a more interpretative touch, altering the compounds and color scheme of the inserted background in order to do justice to the mood carried by the my pose. Images 17 to 20 forgo realistic portraiture in favor of wholeheartedly exploring the emotions and imagery evoked by my presence in the life room.



Image 12: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)



Image 13: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)



Image 14: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)

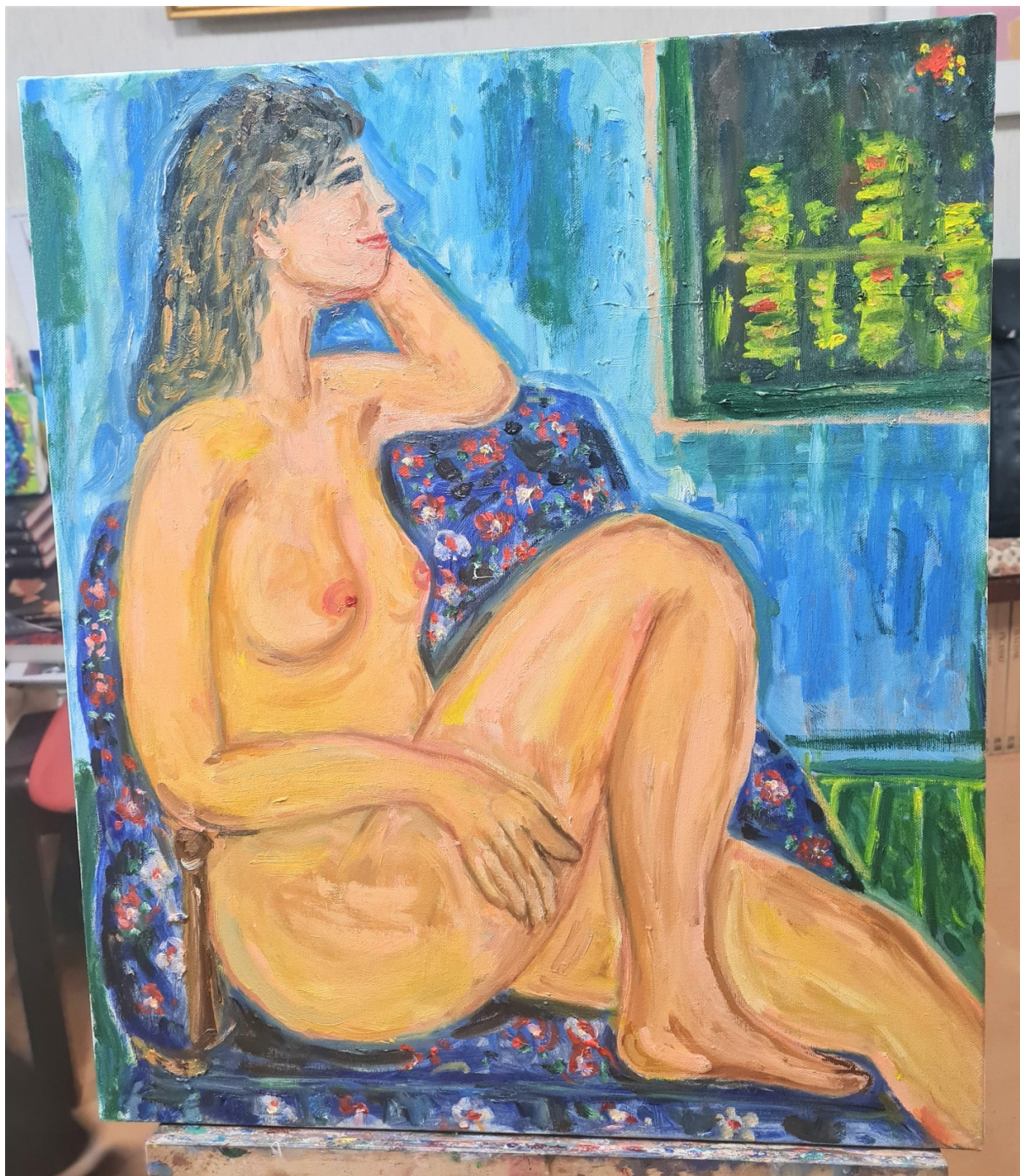


Image 15: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)

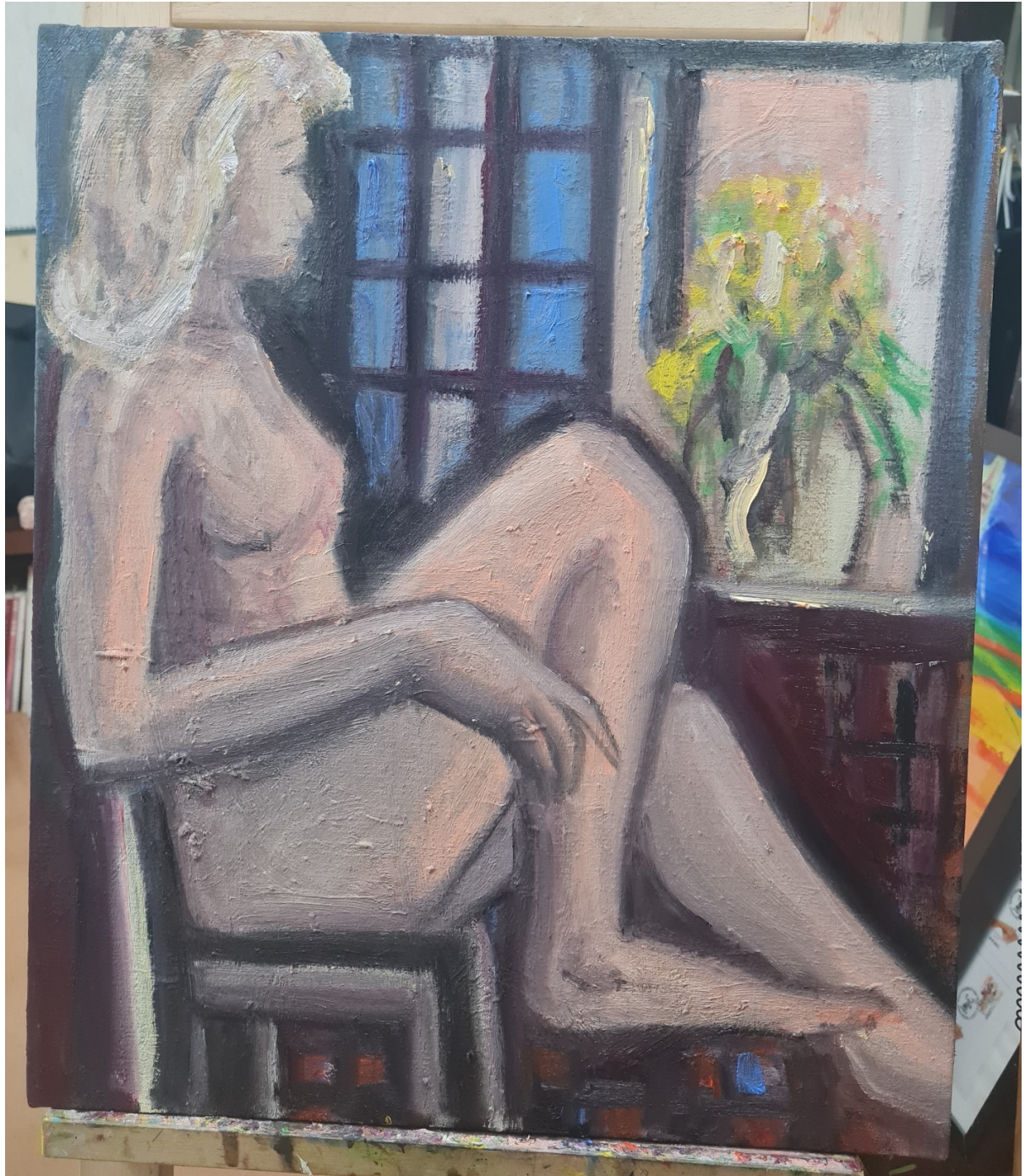


Image 16: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)



Image 17: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)



Image 18: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)

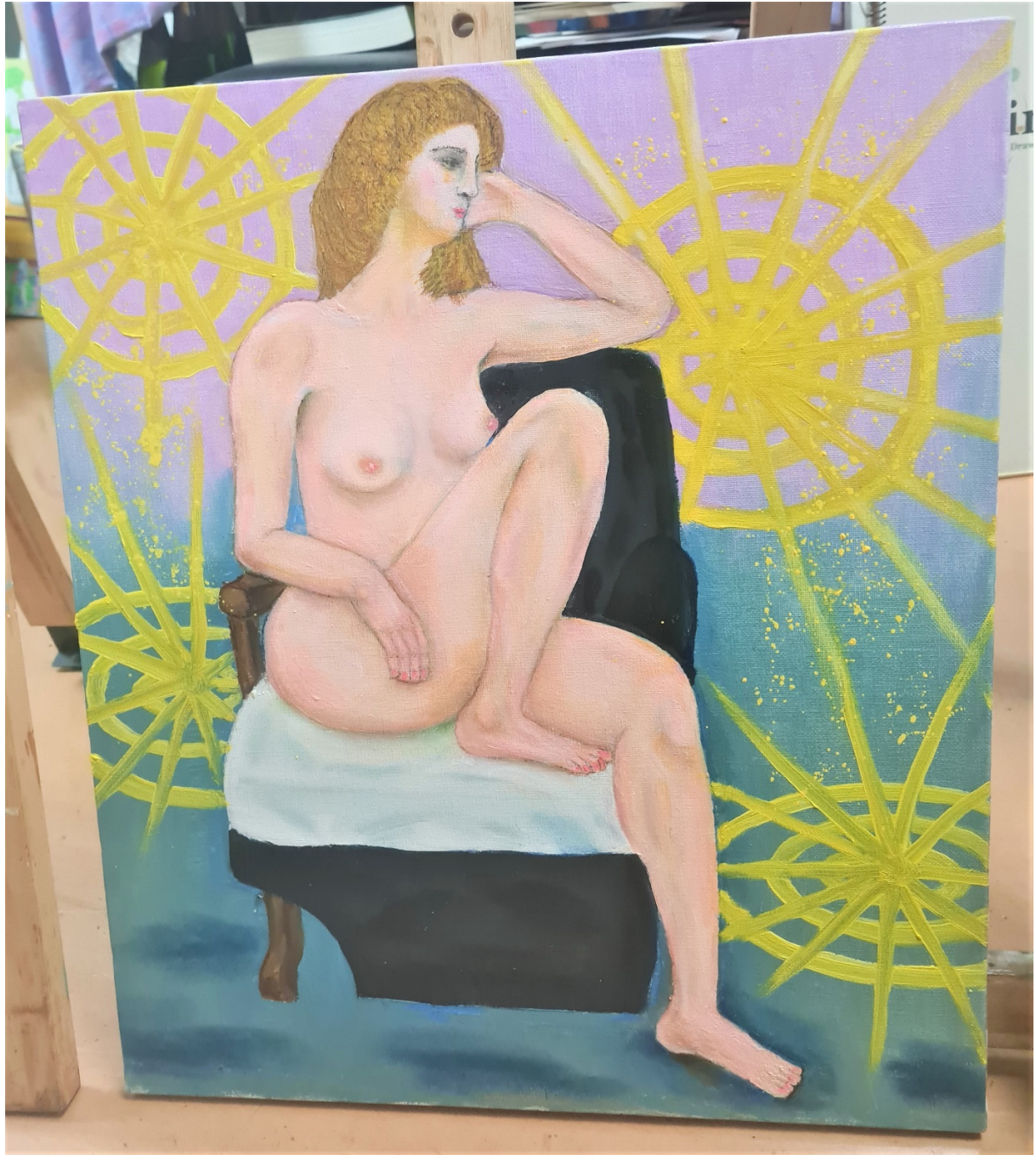


Image 19: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)

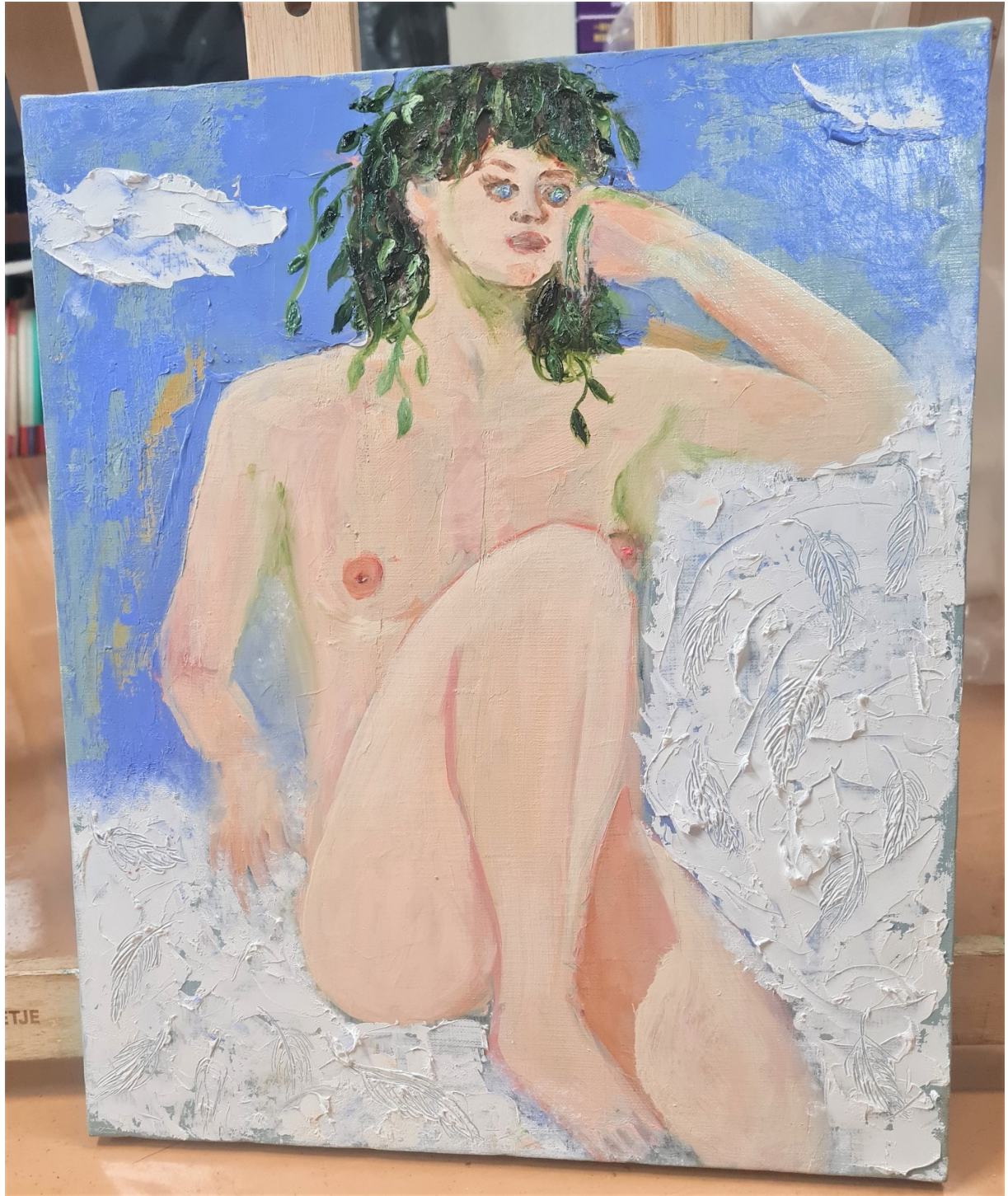


Image 20: Long Pose, Takeichi's Class (photo by myself; Noborito, Kanagawa; 24.04.2022, 22.05.2022, and 26.06.2022)

Compellingly, regardless of the varying levels of abstraction in the backgrounds, all artists devote similar attention to realistically depicting my likeness. This observation suggests that the model's physicality functions as a shared source of inspiration and a unifying anchor within the life room's creative processes.

In sum, while communication in one-on-one encounters tends to be more focused, crisp and direct, the group setting offers its own rich and stimulating toehold. Like a sound wave traveling through a densely populated space, a model's performance reverberates and interacts with the diverse artistic energies, ideas, and interpretations of the assembled artists, and creates a many-voiced web of artistic exchange and inspiration. Generating a symphony of artistic utterances that harmonize, clash, and intertwine, the multidimensional, creative potential and agency contained within models' performances is revealed. The following section will expand on how models may deliberately exert transformative influence on the life room's social dynamism in order to foster a yielding creative environment for their audience and themselves.

5.3 Curating the Air⁸¹

[モデルは]演出家か、空間プロデューサー的な[...]その場の雰囲気演出する人のような気がします。

"The model could be compared to a director, an 'air' producer [...], someone who curates the atmosphere of the place [the life room]."

[Katsuyuki; Interviewed on 16.03.2022]

I argue that the notion of 'curating the air' is a central element of artist models' practice. Referring to how a model gauges, influences and shapes the atmosphere and mood of the life room, it encompasses the conscious use of the model's presence, the communicative strategies and the establishment of agency and relationships of trust necessary to nurture successful creative synergism in the life room.

First, artist models may curate the air via their embodied practices, that is to say, their poses, gestures and the direction of their gaze. By striking a pose, the model establishes a visual focal point, commanding attention and setting the tone for the following creative exchange. According to Asaki, simple and complex poses resonate differently with the audience. While simple poses,

⁸¹ In the original Japanese, models speak about influencing the “空間” [*kūkan*] of the life room. *Kūkan* literally translates to space, room or airspace. In the present context, however, I decide to use the word 'air' instead in order to highlight the fact that models do not only intervene in the physical makeup of the life room, but also influence the transient and ephemeral network of sociocultural relations underlying this space.

such as seen in Image 21, create a sense of calm and tranquility, complex poses (see Image 22) supplement dynamism to the air, challenging artists to engage with new forms, perspectives and ideas. Models in turn draw on the life room's atmosphere as feedback and inspiration⁸², continuously optimize their performance in dialogue with their audience, argues Asahi⁸³.

⁸² Are their participants leaning forward, making eye contact, nodding their heads and emitting approving hums, elated chattering or excited 'Ah's and 'Oh's, or are they slouching in their seats, looking at their phones, and fidgeting?

⁸³

「あ、今乗ってるんだろうな」と思ったときはチョウッとエンジンをかけるように、エンジンっというか、加速させるようにしたりはするかもしれないです。

“When I feel “Oh, now we are vibing” I ride that wave by putting in a little extra effort; by accelerating that animated state.”

[Asahi; Interviewed on 16.03.2022]



Image 21: Simple Pose by Ando (photo by myself; Shimomaruko, Tokyo; 25.09.2023)



Image 22: Complex Pose by Nagayama (photo by myself; Musashisakai, Tokyo, 30.09.2022)

Second, helping models understand and relate to the assembled artists, communicative strategies play an essential part in the curation of the life room's air. Asking about artists' work, inquiring into their interests or exchanging personal anecdotes during break times, models use communication to break down barriers and create a more relaxed and informal environment. By doing so, they encourage artists to feel more comfortable and expressive in their interpretation and representation of the model's performance. Katsuyuki expands:

コミュニケーションという点で僕は大事だなと思っているのは休憩時間なんです。 […] 話をする则だんだんその会話を聞きながら回りの空気が緩んできて、なごんでいくんですから。そうするとそこで意識が通い合うようになっちゃうんですから。

“In terms of communication, I think it is especially the breaks that are of utmost importance. As we talk, we become more at ease with each other and the atmosphere around us gradually relaxes. It is during those times that we can truly come to understand each other and foster fruitful exchange.”

[Katsuyuki; Interviewed on 16.03.2022]

Third, models pay attention to underscore their agency and establish relationships of mutual trust within the life room when curating the air. By setting boundaries, asserting their artistic autonomy, and expressing their preferences or limitations, models actively shape the dynamics of the space and the interactions with the artists. In this quest, models may rely on the help of art instructors or organizational personnel. Entrusted with bureaucratic as well as manual tasks such as preparing the stage, panning the session ahead, ensuring models' comfort and safety, or collecting and distributing participation fees and models' salary, they hold a special, authoritatively elevated position in the life room, explains Yumi. Cementing the model's integrity, independence and agency, they act as a mediator between models and artists in group settings, facilitating communication and making sure that the session passes smoothly by offering feedback and directions. Experienced, established or reputable veteran artists commonly fill the position of the instructor or organizer. While at certified, educational institutions – such as art universities or

colleges – these individuals are clearly marked as different⁸⁴, leisure get-togethers are inclined to operate more informally⁸⁵.

In sum, it can be said that by curating the air of the life room, artist models influence the quality and depth of the resulting shared experiences and representations. By scrutinizing how artist models consciously utilize their physical presence and various communicative strategies to establish a harmonious rapport between themselves and the artists, we gain a deeper understanding of the impact those not labeled artists in the art world can have on the creative process. The following section will build on the notion of the artist model as an active participant in artistic creation by reviewing the case study of *Uin he Ikō*, a model organized, model-led monthly life drawing event in Tokyo.

5.4 *Uin he Ikō* – Embracing Models’ Creative and Transformative Potential

私たち自身であること：期待に応えて無理をしたり、リスペクトにかけた発言で傷ついたりするようなことがないように、全員が敬意をもって参加すること。モデリングや描くことの純粋な喜びを得られること。クロッキー会を通して、私たち自身が自信を高め、成長し、ウィーンに行けますように。

“[We aim at] Respectful participation, where we can be ourselves and rid ourselves of outside expectations without being disrespected and hurt by careless utterances. We aspire to facilitate a joyful experience for participants, both those who model, as well as those who draw. Through this life drawing event we hope to increase our confidence, attain personal and professional growth, and become able to go to Vienna one day.”

[Excerpt from the founding principles of *Uin he Ikō*; LINE; 20.07.2022]

Mami, Mari and Yumi, among others, indicate that, as artist models, facilitating artists’ creative fruition and advancement is not only a professional, but also a personal commitment. However, I argue that artist models do not only support the creative endeavors of others but also actively engage in their own artistic journeys. In order to lay open how artist models contribute to the rich

⁸⁴ Take, for example, Takami. Owning his own art school in Mitaka, a district in Western Tokyo, he holds considerable authority over the process of a session, the behavioral and organizational code followed, as well as the artistic focus pertaining the life room. He himself scarcely picks up pen and paper. Rather, Takami offers advice and criticism to his students.

⁸⁵ One example of such an organizer, as opposed to drawing instructors such as Takami, is aspiring artist Yoshida. Following his regular and long-lasting attendance of the ‘Session House Croquis Association’, he has recently replaced the previous coordinator. He does little to set himself apart from his compeers, scribbling away animatedly during poses. Covertly, however, he handles the timer and dictates the length of poses. What is more, it is Yoshida who makes sure that all the model’s needs are tended to and that breaches of the code of conduct are corrected or punished adequately.

tapestry of the art world in meaningful ways through their own creative exploration, the following paragraphs will consider the case of *Uīn he Ikō*⁸⁶ – a monthly, model-organized life drawing event inaugurated in the course of this research project.

In the hopes of creating a space in which models and artists could fully savor the various embodied, performative and creative prospects arising from their collaboration, *Uīn he Ikō* arose from a collaboration between two female artist models whom I met during my research stay in Japan and myself. One of them was Asaki, a professional actress and dancer who picked up artist modelling a couple of years prior and had since developed a deep-rooted passion for the profession. She introduced me to Haruka, a young performer and artist model in her 30s, and together, we debated the challenges, aspirations and visions that accompanied us throughout our professional conduct⁸⁷. Our collective aim was to foster a nurturing environment that celebrated models as active contributors in the creation of art and allowed us to explore the expressive and transformative potential contained in our posing performances. In other words, we aspired to:

描き手とモデルとが対等に、そして高め合っていくような関係を築き
ながら作品を創作していく環境を作る

“inaugurate an environment where models and artists could work together as equals, building a relationship of mutual trust aiming at enhancing the possibilities for growth for all participants.”

[Excerpt from the founding principles of *Uīn he Ikō*; LINE; 20.07.2022]

Uīn he Ikō hosted its first life drawing event on August 24, 2022 at Musashino City Hall. The session was, as industry standards dictated, about 180 minutes in length and split up into six 20-minute sequences. Featuring moving poses, individual short poses, as well as more complex pair-, or group compositions, we tried to integrate a unique twist into the traditional format. For instance, the session concluded with an uninterrupted, 40-minute long pose performed by all three of us, allowing artists and ourselves a focused and immersive experience. Table 7 displays the exact structure of the described event.

⁸⁶ Originally written as “ウィーンへ行こう” in Japanese, the event’s name vaguely translates to “Let’s go to Vienna”.

⁸⁷ This collaboration emerged in June 2022. By that time, I had not only made the acquaintance of a great number of models and artists – engaging with and recorded their experiences and opinions – but I myself had become a part of the group under study. Having started working as an artist model under PourVous’ guidance in April of the same year, I had collected a fair share of experience as an artist model myself.

Table 7: Posing Plan Uīn he Ikō; LINE (14.08.2022)

August, 24th Posing Plan	
1.	20 Minutes Moving Pose (à 3 Models)
2.	2 X 10 Minutes Short Poses (à 2 Models)
3.	2 X 10 Minutes Short Poses (à 2 Models)
4.	2 X 10 Minutes Short Poses (à 2 Models)
5.	40 Minutes Long Pose (à 3 Models): Costume (White Clothes)
6.	

Encouraging direct, verbal feedback from participants, we hoped to accommodate both artists' wishes and our own ideas in future sessions. Thenceforth, monthly events integrated variegated themes and posing styles, taking the creative contributions, goals and visions of all involved participants into account. Tables 8 to 12 present our posing plans for the sessions between September 2022 and February 2023.

Table 8: Posing Plan Uīn he Ikō; LINE (02.09.2022)

September, 9th Posing Plan	
1.	App. 15 Minutes Moving Performance (à 3 Models) → Long Pose (Fluid Transition)
2.	40 Minutes Continuation of Long Pose
3.	
4.	2 X 10 Minutes Short Poses (à 2 Models)
5.	2 X 10 Minutes Short Poses (à 2 Models)
6.	2 X 10 Minutes Short Poses (à 2 Models)

Table 9: Posing Plan Uīn he Ikō; LINE (30.09.2022)

October, 7th Posing Plan	
1.	20 Minutes Moving Performance
	<i>5 Minutes Break</i>
2.	30 Minutes Long Pose
	<i>10 Minutes Break</i>
3.	Short Poses (30 Minutes): 7 minutes per person with spontaneous, smooth switches from one person to another
	<i>5 Minutes Break</i>
4.	Short Poses (30 Minutes): 10 minutes per person, free choice of length and type

Table 10: Posing Plan Uin he Ikō; LINE (24.10.2022)

October, 31st Posing Plan	
1.	‘Contact Poses’ (à 3 Models): led by the keyword ‘touch’ we will create poses only the three of us can do together combining moving and still poses (1 X 15 Minutes; 3 X 10 Minutes)
2.	Short Poses à 5 Minutes by turns: impromptu poses made by the flow between all three models
3.	Free Expression (10 Minutes): Timeslot for each of the models to freely chase expression (the source of inspiration)

Table 11: Posing Plan Uin he Ikō; LINE (01.11.2022)

December, 14th Posing Plan	
1.	2 X 10 Minutes (Asaki, Haruka) Keyword ‘Touch’: combining moving and still poses
3.	2 X 15 Minutes (Haruka, Asahi, Asaki) Keyword ‘Hands and Feet’: Poses à 3 models inspired by different body parts
4.	Short Poses à 7 Minutes (Haruka, Asahi, Asaki): impromptu poses made by the flow between all three models
5.	Free Expression (10 Minutes): Timeslot for each of the models to freely chase expression (the source of inspiration)

Table 12: Posing Plan Uin he Ikō; LINE (03.02.2023)

February, 10th Posing Plan	
1.	2 X 15 Minutes (à 3 Models)
2.	Long Poses: 2 X 20 Minutes (à 3 Models)
3.	Short Poses à 5 Minutes (theme and pose ‘catchball’)
4.	Free Expression (10 Minutes): Timeslot for each of the models to freely chase expression (the source of inspiration)

As time passed, the event’s structure started to move away from the traditional format of life drawing more and more. We utilized our bodies as a medium of communication and artistic creation and engaged with various spaces, individuals and creative notions. Alternating between single, double and triple poses, we explored new ways to express ourselves through our bodies while also learning from the conduct of our peers. Additionally, we decided to raise artists’ participation fees from the industry average of 2000 to 3000 Yen (13.38 to 20.07 Euro) to 5000 Yen (33.45 Euro) per session so as that the performing models could be awarded what we

considered to be more adequate pay⁸⁸. Compellingly, over time, our increased departure from convention saw to the blurring of the historically grown ritualized norms and codes usually governing artist models' conduct in Tokyo (Cattani and Ferriani 2008, p. 824). Actively participating in the re-stating and re-negotiation of payment rates, behavioral codes and expectations, *Uīn he Ikō* challenged established hierarchies and power dynamics, embracing a comparatively collaborative and inclusive approach.

In order to return to Austria, I departed from our group of three in October 2022. Asaki and Haruka, however, continued to coordinate monthly life drawing events until February 2023⁸⁹, routinely inviting other models to perform with them. Thus, *Uīn he Ikō* also provided a platform for inter-model exchange, enriching the group's performance and influence in the art world, as well as participants' experiences in unexpected ways.

The results demonstrated above contribute to the findings of previous studies discussing the creative and transformative potential of the art world's supposedly 'marginal' support personnel (Acord 2010; Essin 2011; Kordsmeier 2011; Kordsmeier 2017). The case of *Uīn he Ikō* verifies that although these individuals play an important role in enabling and supporting the creative endeavors of others, they are a heterogeneous group of individuals who possess their own artistic agency, aspirations and influence in the art world (Cattani and Ferriani 2008, p. 824).

5.5 Conclusion

"The notion of agency is implicit in performance".
(Kapchan 1995, p. 479).

In sum, this chapter shines light on the aspects of creativity, co-productivity and agency embodied by artist models' practices. It was possible, by relying on the concept of performance, to argue for the determinant, propellant and transformative role those not deemed artists could have in the art world (Acord 2010; Cattani and Ferriani 2008; Essin 2011; Kordsmeier 2011; Kordsmeier 2017).

Viewed through the lens of performance, model's practice reveals its embodied and synergetic character. Situated on a metaphorical stage – the social micro-cosmos of the life room – models, the performers, and artists, their co-performing audience, act out the play of life drawing

⁸⁸ 15,000 Yen (100.34 Euro) instead of 10,000 Yen (66.89 Euro) per session.

⁸⁹ In February 2023, *Uīn he Ikō's* activities were periodically suspended due to PourVous' intervention. As many of the models invited by us were officially under PourVous' guidance, the office requested we awarded them the necessary commission fee. Hoping to prevent conflict from arising, activities were temporarily suspended.

in close cooperation. By reviewing how models and their performances behave differently in a one-on-one session and in a group event, it was possible to highlight how models actively participate in and influence artists' interpretations of their form by curating the air. However, models do not only exert influence on artists' individual experiences and expression but they also have the ability to alter the conventions governing their practices. By assessing the case of *Uīn he Ikō* the chapter at hand underlined how models do not only exist to support the creative endeavors of others, but also practice their profession for their own creative fruition. Further highlighting the transformative and creative potential contained within groups and individuals not labeled 'artists' in the art world.

The following chapter, the overall conclusion, will once more discuss and critically reflect on these and the other findings presented in the previous chapters, drawing this thesis to a close.

6 Closing Discussion and Conclusion

“I think art model is an important job. Models can achieve and express their wish and passion. At the same time, artists can get inspiration from the model. Artists and models can create something new from out of nothing together.”

[Rin; Survey Response]

Led by the main research question of ‘What do artist models in Tokyo do?’ this project collected the narratives and opinions of artist models in Tokyo via qualitative methods such as online questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and observant participation. In eight months of fieldwork – four of which were conducted remotely, and four on site – I delved into the ritualized practices artist models employ, the creative and professional performances they engage in, and the institutionalized infrastructure they rely on in order to smoothly navigate the art world. The following pages, in addition to recapitulate the main findings, limitations and future trajectories of this research project, will assess in how far this thesis was able to fulfill the three aims proclaimed in the introduction. These aims were, first, to highlight the dynamic and co-productive nature of artistic practices, second, to shine light on the creative and transformative impact actors not classified as ‘artists’ can have in the art world, and third, to establish artist models as a valuable source of knowledge when it comes to the study of art, its functions in society and the worlds, practices and communities build around it.

To begin with, a review of the existing academic and popular literature on artist models revealed that they are oftentimes constructed as mute, emotionless and disconnected existences. What is more, although publications on the historical or contemporary practices of artist models outside of the European and Anglophone sphere are largely missing⁹⁰, this study has found that the craft has a long and winding history in Japan. Compellingly, divergent from other parts of the world, artist models in Tokyo can rely on institutional representatives to help them navigate their working lives. These commercial corporations have their origins in the Meiji Era (1868-1912), a time of social, political, cultural and economic upheaval. The consequent nationwide structural transformations functioned as a catalyst for development and change in the art world by deluding its boundaries, cultivating new marked niches, and allowing new and old art world participants

⁹⁰ A handful of individuals breaking this trend Hao Ying (2010); Kanamori (1998); Kayama and Maemoto (1993); Komori (1985); Miyashita (2008); Kinoshita (2012); Wakako, Midori 若桑,みどり (2012).

more room for experimentation and reform (cf. Sgourev 2013). This investigation identifies these institutions as powerful players in Tokyo's art world who are to this date involved in the renegotiation of the unspoken conventions governing models' (inter-)actions.

The analysis of Tokyo's artist model referral industry has further thrown up questions regarding the label of professionalism, its construction, negotiation and meaning among Tokyo's models. Although only discussed in passing, the present study has found that referral agencies, artists and models award the label of professionalism considerable importance, identifying it as a marker of prestige, a source of social mobility and economic security. This promises to be a fruitful area for future research, as models' aspirations for and opinion on the benefits of the label of professionalism might provide valuable insights into the epistemic assumptions, institutional networks and social relations necessary to sustain processes of professionalization in society.

This study has also found that models' professional practice fundamentally follows certain industry-wide standards, which find embodiment in reappearing patterns of ritual behavior. Imbuing models' practices with meaning and impact, ritualization helps them (and artists) draw a line between the mundane and the extraordinary, facilitating a switch in social, behavioral and professional code. What is more, by promoting the ritualization of interactions, artist models inhibit the becoming of unwanted power imbalances in the life room (cf. Bharali 2019; Dissanayake 2017; Yoon et al. 2015).

Further, while the notion of the ritual has proven to be a useful tool in understanding what artist models do, and why, overuse runs the risk of letting models and their embodied comportment appear overly rigid. The paper at hand has shown that the concept of performance provides a remedy. Theorizing how models 'curate the air' of the life room, that is to how models utilize their bodies to communicate and influence their environments (Micu 2022; Schechner 2020), this thesis found artist models' performance to be imbued with considerable creative and transformative power. Challenging traditional notions of artistic production, representation and agency in the study of art, this investigation shows that artistic processes are highly collaborative endeavors.

Compellingly, a large portion of artist models in Tokyo proclaims long lasting involvement, or interest in the arts. While some attest to having received artistic education prior to their work as

a model⁹¹, others have a background in the performing arts⁹² or feature professional experience in another creative industry⁹³. The data obtained through interviews and participant observation shows that such a resume is highly prized by artists, models and institutional agents alike, who stress the elevated quality of the service these individuals provide. Showing that artist models who brandish a background in the arts have the ability to transfer and inherit knowledge, legitimacy and influence from their prior achievements in the art world, these observations highlight how social and creative capital can be transported from one social domain to another (cf. Powell and Sandholtz 2012). This provides a promising area for future research as inquiry into this phenomenon could facilitate insight into the formation and re-negotiation of conventions in the art world, and the role ‘non-central’ agents play in these processes.

Naturally, these results are subject to certain limitations. First, one central concern is the gender-imbalance pertaining the underlying sample. Just as the bulk of ethnographic literature on artist models (Bharali 2019; Hao Ying 2010; Hipke 2008; Mayhew 2010; Phillips 2006; Roe 1995), the study at hand relied heavily on information shared by female models. Future studies could thus profit from inquiry into the narratives, lived experiences and practices of male artist models, shedding light on the challenges and embodied comportment unique to this largely omitted demographic. Potentially granting insight into, for instance, gender-specific barriers to professionalization and career advancement in the art world, research on male artist models might allow for a more nuanced understanding of the performative nature of professional status (Hull 2020, pp. 4–7). Moreover, the study of male artist models could challenge traditional notions of artistic representation and aesthetic norms in art by dissecting the myth of the artist model as an inherently female figure.

Second, the sample largely failed to account for non-agency-bound artist models. Future research might thus explore the motivations, practices and struggles of freelance models, as well as how their embodied performances and interactions in the life room may differ from their agency-bound colleagues. Such an inquiry could yield insights into referral agencies’ influence in Tokyo’s art world and the systems through which change and conventions are disseminated in the industry.

⁹¹ Yumi, for instance, frequented a high school that focused on artistic education.

⁹² See, for example, Asahi, Asahi, Ririko, Minori, Katsuyuki and Haruka who, simultaneous to their activity as art models also pursue careers as dancers, actors or performance artists.

⁹³ Take for example Mari, who worked as an animator for many years, and Mami, who is currently employed by a photo printing company.

Third, despite engaging with a broad spectrum of topics, several areas remain unexplored. Further research needs to be undertaken to explore, for instance, the issue of stigmatization, among artist models.

Notwithstanding these limitations, it can be argued that the project at hand was able to fulfill the aims outlined in the introduction. By studying artist models in Tokyo, this thesis argues for the impact and creative potential contained by actors not deemed ‘artists’ in the art world and provides evidence of the co-produced, collaborative and embodied nature of creative processes. By taking *with* models rather than just *about* them, this thesis situates itself in the tradition of a corpus of ethnographies that study art models (Bharali 2019; Hao Ying 2010; Hipke 2008; Mayhew 2010; Phillips 2006; Roe 1995) and art worlds (Ciotti 2014, 2020b; Geismar 2001; George 2009; Marcus and Myers 1995; Myers 2002; Kisin and Myers 2019; Phillips et al. 2022; Zitzewitz 2022) as global, social phenomena. The findings will be of interest to scholars trying to understand creative practices and objects as the outcome of intricate collaborative art world processes.

With every sentence I write, the end of my research journey is drawing closer. Reflecting on what has been done, said and witnessed, I am at once reminded of the impactful encounter with my likeness one fine afternoon in Shibuya. Faced with the fruits of my labor, I am left in awe at the academic and personal value the study of artist models in Tokyo has yielded. My journey to understand the lived experiences and practices of artist models in Tokyo has been an exciting one, one full of unexpected turns and encounters. Just as the paintings fashioned of me in the process, this piece of writing was a group effort, coming into existence only due to the active support and vigorous cooperation of a large number of individuals. Moving forward, I hope that my research will inspire others and contribute to ongoing conversations about the role of cooperation in the creation of art, the ethics of representation and the equity of art world inhabitants, posing as a platform for dialogue and inclusive knowledge production.

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Appendix A – Survey questionnaire

1. Name (optional)

2. Age

3. Gender

• diverse; _____

• female

• male

4. Nationality

5. Profession (s)*

*please mention all your occupations, including volunteer work, studies, part time work, etc.

6. Please describe shortly what an ‘artist model’ is, and what they do.

7. How do you think people with no experience in working with artist models perceive them?

8. When did you first become an artist model?

9. How regularly do you model?

• every day

• more than once a week

• once a week

• more than once a month

• once a month

• less than once a month

• irregularly; (about _____)

10. How did you first become involved in artist modelling?

11. Please shortly describe a “standard modelling session”.

12. In what type of setting do you pose? (eg. Private studio, university classroom, primary education setting, group setting)

13. How do you choose your poses?

14. Prior to your first time posing, did you undergo any sort of “training”?

- Yes
 - No
 - If yes, who “trained” you or explained the rules to you?
-

15. Did you ever undergo any sort of artistic training?

- Yes
- No

16. Where do you get inspiration?

17. Do you know any other individuals who model?

- Yes
 - No
 - If yes, please shortly describe in which situations such contact occurs, and what these interactions look like.
-

18. What do you enjoy about modelling?

19. What do you NOT enjoy about modelling?

20. Is there a difference between a ‘professional’ and an ‘amateur’ model?

- Yes
 - No
 - If yes, please shortly describe what sets a professional model apart from an amateur model.
-

21. What criteria make a “good” and successful artist model?

22. How open are you about your activity as a model?

(Not open at all) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (very open)

23. Who in your network knows of you being a model?

24. Please shortly elaborate the importance and societal standing of artist models in Tokyo’s society and art world.

25. What should I have asked you that I did not think to ask that is important for me to know?

26. Would you be willing to participate in a more elaborate interview on the topic of artist models?

- yes
 - no
-

- if yes, you may leave your contact information below or contact me via the contact information provided below.

1. お名前（任意）
_____（姓） _____（名） _____
2. 年齢

3. 性別
 - ・ 男性
 - ・ 女性
 - ・ _____
4. 国籍

5. ご職業
 - ・ モデル
 - ・ 会社員
 - ・ 学生
 - ・ アルバイト
 - ・ 自営業
 - ・ 公務員
 - ・ その他 _____

*ボランティア活動、学業、アルバイトなど、すべての職業をご記載ください。
6. 「アーティスト・モデル」とは何か、何をする人なのか、簡単にご説明ください。

7. 「アーティスト・モデル」に触れあったことのない人にはどのように映ると思いますか。
8. 「アーティスト・モデル」になったのはいつですか。

9. モデル活動を始めたきっかけは何ですか。

10. どれぐらいの頻度でモデル活動をされていますか。
 - ・ 毎日
 - ・ 週に一回以上
 - ・ 週に一回程度
 - ・ 月に一回以上
 - ・ 月に一回程度
 - ・ 月に一回以下
 - ・ 不定期に（約 _____）
11. 標準的な「モデリング・セッション」とはどのようなものなのか簡単にご説明ください。

12. どのような環境でお仕事をされていますか

*(例：プライベートスタジオあるいはアトリエ、大学、予備学校、学校、ミートアップのイベントなど)

13. ポーズはどのような基準に応じて選んでいますか。

14. 初めてモデル活動をする前に、何か トレーニング 、養成などを受けたか。

- ・ はい
- ・ いいえ
- ・ 「はい」と答えた場合は、何を誰に教わったのかをお聞かせください。

15. 何か芸術的な訓練を受けたことはありますか。

- ・ はい
- ・ いいえ

16. インスピレーションはどこから受けますか。

17. 他にモデル活動をなさっている方を知っていますか。

- ・ はい
- ・ いいえ
- ・ 「はい」と答えた場合は、どのような場面で接触があるのか、また、そのような接触がどのようなものかを簡潔にご説明ください。

18. 「アーティスト・モデル」としての楽しみは何ですか。

19. 「アーティスト・モデル」としての苦しみは何ですか。

20. 「プロ」と「アマチュア」のモデルの違いはありますか。

- ・ はい
- ・ いいえ
- ・ 「はい」と答えた場合は、プロのモデルとアマチュアのモデルとの違いを簡単にご説明ください。

21. 「良い」アーティスト・モデルの基準は何ですか。

22. モデルとしての活動について、どの程度公にしていますか。以下の 1～7 からお選びください

(全然全く公にしません) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (すべて公にしています)

23. モデルをしていることを知っている方は誰ですか。

24. 社会や芸術界におけるアーティスト・モデルの重要性について、簡潔に説明してください。

25. 私が聞かなかったことで、私が知っておくべき重要なことは何かありますか。

26. 「アーティスト・モデル」をテーマにした、より詳細なインタビューにご協力いただけますでしょうか。

- ・はい

- ・いいえ

- ・「はい」と答えた場合は、以下にご連絡先をご記入いただくか、下記の連絡先にご連絡ください。

アンケートにご協力いただき、誠にありがとうございます。

Appendix B – Interview schedule

1. General Questions

- In the survey, you indicated that you started modelling around ____ years ago.
 - What has made you continue this profession for so long?
 - How long do you intend to keep going? Why?
- What is it that fascinates you about modelling for artists? (for instance, being involved in the art production process, being a source of inspiration, being able to meet new people and go to new places, being able to explore new ways of self-expression etc.)
- What role would you say does the model play in the art production process?
 - (If you had to describe their position in one word or phrase, what would it be?)
 - (Are they active or passive participants?)
- How would you describe the relationship between you, the model, and the artist?
 - (for instance, are they equal (a team?), are they like a performer and their audience, a skilled master of his craft and his assistant or probe?)
 - (if you compared the drawing process to a stage play, what role would the model play? Which role would the artist hold?)
- The model is often described as an assistant to the artist in their artistic activities. In that vein, they are scarcely accredited artistic agency. In how far would you say that modelling in itself is a creative and artistic activity?
 - Please keep in mind that the arts are not only drawing, painting or sculpturing. Including performative practices such as dance and acting into your considerations, how does your answer change?
- You indicated that you work in a variety of setting – art universities, university preparation schools, culture centers etc. What is your preferred place of work?
 - Why do you feel that way?
 - Does it sometimes happen that you arrive at a location and you think, “Well, this isn’t great”?
 - Could you imagine such a situation and describe it to me?
 - What do you see, smell, feel, and hear that makes you think in that way?

2. Interaction and Performance

- Humans interact with each other using spoken language, but other means, such as body language, are equally important. Simultaneously we continually ‘read the air’ and notice the messages the opposite party sends our way. Through communication – that is to say, sending, receiving and interpreting information – we share ideas, inspiration and visions of reality and ourselves. With this in mind, how and what would you say to you, as a model, communicate to artists verbally and non-verbally while posing?
 - What do you try to communicate to the artist?
 - How does this communication differ before, during, and after posing?
 - How do you ‘read the air’?
 - Are there moments when communication does not go smoothly?
 - How do you feel in these moments? What do you think? How do you react?
- What kind of poses do you enjoy the most?
 - Why?
 - Do you remember where you got the inspiration for that pose?
 - What kind of pose do you think artists like most?
- How has your self-perception developed since you started modelling for artists?
 - What have you learned about yourself and your body through this experience?
- How does it feel like to be on the modelling platform? What do you see, hear, and smell?
 - Would you say you are the same person on, and off the modelling platform?

3. Privacy and Safety

Some models have indicated concerns and bad experiences regarding unfair payment, societal stigma, sexual harassment and violations of privacy. Some refrain from talking publicly about their activity, others make use of synonyms. In the following, I would like to ask you about your personal behavior and opinion on the matter of psychological and physical danger and safety as an art model. As this is a rather sensitive topic, please feel free to not answer any questions you might feel uncomfortable with.

- Have you made any negative experiences so far?
- Have you heard of other models who did? (nature of problem, gender, age)
- What measures do you personally take to protect yourself?

- Which precautions would you recommend (a new) other models to take?
- What could be done to foster a safer working environment for models?
 - Who would be responsible for it?
- How could this survey contribute?

4. Finishing up

I would like to thank you so much for this informative conversation. With this, we have covered all the questions I intended to ask.

- Is there anything else you would like to mention or emphasize?
- Do you have any questions for me?
- (if you cannot think of any right now, you can always reach out to me via E-Mail)

1. General Questions

まずはじめにお伺いしたいのは

- ____さんにとって、アーティスト・モデルとしての活動の魅力は何ですか。
 - (例えば、書き手のインスピレーションになることとか、 普段なら行かない色んな場所で色んな人と出会えることとか、 新たな身体表現の発見ができることとか。)
- アーティストとアーティスト・モデルを比べるとしたら、芸術制作においてそれぞれはどのような役を演(えん)じると考えますか。
 - (舞台劇の役者に例えるならどのような役割を果たすかとか、 もしもモデルがこの世から消えるとしたら何が変わるかとかと考えて答えてみてください。)
 - アーティストとモデルはどのような関係でしょうか。
(例えば、役者と観客とか、妙手と道具とか、対等である同格者)
- アーティスト・モデルは芸術活動のための補助的な存在とされることもよくあり、そのような意味で、彼らは芸術的な創造性をほとんど発揮していないと言われることがあります。 ____さんの経験から、アーティスト・モデルの活動自体はどこまで芸術的活動に含まれると考えますか。
 - (芸術とは絵画や彫刻だけでなく、演技やダンスなどのパフォーマンス的なものも含まれて考えてみてください)
 - ____さんは長い間、アーティスト・モデル活動されていますね。
 - いつはじめてのでしたっけ?
 - これからも活動を続ける予定ですか。
 - それはなぜですか。
- ____さんはあらゆる環境でアーティスト・モデルの仕事をされているとのことでしたが、芸術大学、予備校、カルチャーセンター、プライベートアトリエなどの中で ____さんの好ましい仕事場はどこですか。
 - それはどうしてですか。
 - どのようにしてそう考えることになりましたか。

- 仕事場について「いや、ここはちょっと嫌だな」と思うことはありますか。
 - そのような状況を想像して、説明(せつめい)してみてください。
 - 視覚、聴覚、嗅覚、または触覚も含んで答えてみてください。

2. Interaction and Performance

これまではアーティスト・モデルという職業に対する__さんの意見や感覚など、一般的な質問をお聞きしました。今度は書き手との関係や交流についてお伺いしたいと思います。次の質問は、特に私の研究にとって重要になります。

- 人間は、さまざまな方法を通してコミュニケーションをとっています。言語的コミュニケーションだけでなく、身体言語などの静かなコミュニケーションも重要な役割を担っています。人々は、言葉や「ボディランゲージ」などを通して、自己概念、そして一身上のアイデア、インスピレーションを伝えたり、共有したりします。また他人が何を伝えようとしているのかを正しく理解するためには、話し相手の言葉に耳を傾けるだけでなく、常に「空気を読む」ことが大切です。そこで、__さんに書き手とのさまざまな関わり方、特にポージング中のコミュニケーションの取り方について考えていただきたいと思います。
- 身体を使って受け手に何を伝え、何を見せようとしていますか。
 - (もしも私が__さんと呼んだアーティストだとしましょう。私のアトリエについてから帰るまでの間はどんな方法で何を交流すると思われますか。ポーズ前後、そしてポーズ中はどう違いますか。音声言語だけでなく、より抽象的なコミュニケーション（身体言語、つまりボディランゲージや視線など）も考えてみてください。)
- 何を頼りにして空気を読もうとしていますか。
- コミュニケーションが上手にいかない場合がありますか。
 - その理由は何でしょうか。
 - そんな場合はどう思い、どう反応しますか。
- どのようなポーズが一番好きですか？
 - それはなぜですか。

- (例えば、自分が奇麗に見せることができるからとか、アーティストのインスピレーションを高めることができるからとか)
- そのポーズのインスピレーションはどこから得たのでしょうか。
- 受け手はどんなポーズが一番好まれていると思(おも)われていますか。
- アーティストのモデルを始めてから、自己認識はどのように変化しましたか。
 - 何か勉強になりましたか。
 - この体験を通して、自分自身や自分の体について学んだことはありますか。
 - (例えば、自分を綺麗に見せることが学んだとか、美術とその作家に関する理解を得たとか)
- モデルが描かれるとモデル台の上に立つことがほとんどだと思います。その舞台に上がると何か自己概念、思考（マインドセット）、そして身体感に変化があると思われますか。
 - モデル台の上にいるとどのような感覚や気分になるのでしょうか。
 - (例えば、台に上がるなりに自分自身であることをやめ、俳優と同じようにアイデアやキャラクターを演じ始めるとか、日常の心配が頭から消える等)
 - 何が見え、何が聞こえ、何が感じられ、どのような臭(にお)いがしますか？
 - (例えば、特に人の目が目立ちますとか、鉛筆やドローイングペーパー（画用紙）の匂いがするとか)

3. Privacy and Safety

以前行ったオンラインアンケート調査の中で不当な支給額、社会的な偏見、セクシャルハラスメント、プライバシー侵害などの問題を指摘された方が何人かいらっしゃいました。このような悪い経験を得たためアーティスト・モデル活動を公にしなかったり、芸名を利用したりする方もいます。これからはアーティスト・モデルとしての心理的・身体的な危険や安全について、____さん自身の意見をお聞きしたいと思います。不快に思われる質問には、お答えいただかなくても構いません。

- まず、これまで嫌な経験はありましたか？
 - 詳しく教えてください。
 - 知り合いに嫌な経験に会った方はいらっしゃいますか。
- そのような経験は、労働行為、あるいは私的生活に何かの影響を与えたのでしょうか。
- 今までの個人的な経験を踏まえて他のアーティスト・モデルには、どのような予防策をとることをお勧めしますか？
- アーティスト・モデルの労働条件や安全性を向上させるために、どのようなことが必要だと考えられますか？
 - (例えば、モデル間のより強力なネットワークの構築、制度的な規制の作成など)

4. Finishing up

これで私が伺おうと思った質問は以上となります。貴重なお話を聞かせて、いろんなことがわかってきたように思います、本当に助かります。

その他、何か補足したいことはありますか。

- (ポーズ中の交流により詳しく自分の意見を語りたいとか、アーティスト・モデルの安全性についての話がまだ終わってないとか)
- 何かご不明な点やご質問等がございますか。
- (今すぐには思いつかない場合は、いつでもメールで遠慮なくご連絡ください)

Appendix C – Interview schedule

- ____とはどのような、何を目的とした会社なのでしょうか。
 - いつ発展したのか、何がきっかけでしたかなどの____の年歴について詳しく教えていただけますか。
 - 誰が始まったんですか。
 - 振り替えてみるとしたら、年がたつと____はどうやって変わってきたと思われますか。
 - これからは____がどうやって発展していくかと思われますか。
- いつから____に努めていますか。
 - どのようにしてこの仕事をするようになりましたか。
 - 自分自身でアーティスト・モデルのお仕事はしたことはありますか。
 - ____での仕事内容を説明していただけますか。
- ____はどのようなサービスを提供していますか。
 - モデルが登録すると、どのようなメリットがあるのでしょうか？
 - 新登録者のモデルに何かの指導をしていますか。どのようなアドバイスをしますか。
 - 個人的な偏見なのかもしれませんが、芸術モデルは男女比がずれているような気がします。つまり、女性モデルのほうが男性モデルより多いということです
 - その点についてどうと思われますか。
 - 男性モデルと女性モデルに頼まれるポーズや作家からの具体的な扱い方はどう違うと思われますか。
- 東京に似たようなアーティスト・モデル紹介所は他にもありますか。
 - ____はそれらと比べてどう違いますか。
 - ____ならではの特徴は何でしょうか。
- ____は色々な施設や個人とやりとりをしていると思いますが、例えば、どの人からお願いを受け取っているのかを説明していただけますか。
 - 主なお客様はどちらの方々でしょうか。
 - その方々はいつから____にお願いしているんですか。
 - 何を頼りにしてお客様とモデルを組み合わせているんですか。
 - 客寄せはどうしますか。
- モデルから、またはお客さんからクレームなどを受け取ることはありますか。

- どのような場面で問題が起こったりしますか。
- 皆さんにとって、アーティスト・モデルの魅力は何でしょうか。
- 振り替えてみるとしたら、アーティスト・モデルという職業は、みなさんがモデル活動と初めて振り合った頃から今までの間で、どのように変わりましたか？
- アーティストとアーティスト・モデルを比べるとしたら、芸術制作においてそれぞれはどのような役を演じると考えますか。
 - 例えば、モデル活動を舞台劇（演劇）に例えるならモデルはどのような役割を果たすと思われますか。
 - アーティスの方はどうでしょうか。
 - そしたら、___の方はどうでしょうか。
- アーティスト・モデルは芸術活動のための補助的な存在とされることもよくあり、そのような意味で、彼らは芸術的な創造性をほとんど発揮していないと言われることがあります。皆さんの経験から、アーティスト・モデルの活動自体はどこまで芸術的活動に含まれると考えますか。

これで私が伺おうと思った質問は以上となります。貴重なお話が聞けて、いろんなことがわかってきたように思います、本当に助かります。

その他、何か補足したいことはありますか。

何かご不明な点やご質問等がございますか。

- （今すぐには思いつかない場合は、いつでもメールで遠慮なくご連絡ください）

Appendix D – Research Participation Information Sheet

– Drawing from Life –

Lived Experiences, embodied practices, meaning making and processual learning among Artist's Models in Tokyo, Japan

December 2021 – February 2022

Supervisor: ____, ____; University of Vienna

Supervisor Abroad: ____; University of Tokyo

Dear Madam, Sir

I am ____, a graduate student of Social and Cultural Anthropology, currently enrolled in the CREOLE (Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes) Master's program at the University of Vienna. You are invited to take part in a MA research project investigating the livelihoods, experiences, reputation of, and challenges faced by artist's models currently active in Tokyo, Japan. Before you decide whether to participate it is important that you understand why this research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you would like further clarification. In case you decide to participate, you will be given a copy of this information sheet and your signed consent form. Your agreement to take part would be greatly appreciated.

What is this study about?

This study is the basis of my Master's dissertation at the department of Social and Cultural Anthropology⁹⁴ at the University of Vienna. This study aims to address the underexplored topic of the artist's models as living beings, living real lives. In order to critically discuss models' subjective voices this study will interview individuals engaging in modelling professionally or for leisure. I also aim to interview artists, art students or instructors to get their perspective on models' role in

⁹⁴ <https://studieren.univie.ac.at/en/degree-programmes/master-programmes/cultural-differences-and-transnational-processes-creole-master/>

the art production process in current day Tokyo. The project will last from December 2021 until the end of February 2022. I intend using the findings to complete my Master's thesis.

What will taking part involve?

Participants will be asked to take part in informal one-on-one interviews – either (1) in person, or (2) digitally (over Zoom, Collaborate, Microsoft Teams etc. etc.). Interviews will be arranged for a time, date and location of your convenience, prior to the end of February 2022. Conducted in English, Japanese, or German, interviews will approximately last between 30 to 90 minutes. This interview will ask questions related to the participants personal opinion on and individual experience as a/with artist models.

Questions asked may relate to when, why and how you started modelling, in which establishments you are active, how you learned to be a model, as well as what you perceive to be the role of models in modern art production. You are not obliged to, but you might find it useful to think about some of these things prior to the interview. What is more, with your permission, I may contact you on further notice with follow-up questions.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen for this study because you (1) are/were active as an artist model, or (2) (regularly) engage in artistic activities relying on artist models. Your insight into artist modelling, and your personal experience during this time are highly valuable in gaining perceptions of the realities of artist models. So far ____ other people have participated in this study.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether to take part. If you do decide to participate, you will be given this information sheet to keep. In addition, you will be asked to sign a consent form. In case you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time, for any reason, with no negative consequences. As your participation in this study is voluntary, you may choose not to answer any of the questions asked without stating reason.

What are the risks/benefits of taking part?

Apart from taking some of the participant's time, no risks are foreseen from this research. On top of that, I hope that the findings of this research will raise awareness of the issues affecting artists'

models and their modelling activities, providing meaningful guidance and insight for models and researchers alike, as well as increased scholarly understanding regarding the topic.

How will information you provide be recorded, stored and protected?

For the purpose of enhancing the accuracy of the qualitative analysis conversations and interviews will be recorded via a portable recording device, transcribed and stored on a password-protected hard-drive for up to five years after my graduation. Data will be loaded into Nvivo software for analysis. The data will only be accessible by the researcher and will only be used for research purposes. The full thesis and any subsequent charts, tables or other data generated material will be provided by request.

Will taking part be confidential?

Any data collected will be kept strictly confidential. It will be anonymized to ensure the safety of the participant and all individuals mentioned in the course of our interaction. All identifying information will be removed and your words might be quoted (in-) directly in my thesis. Your responses will not be discussed with any fellow interviewees. You are entitled to access the information you have provided at any time.

This research has been organized , in consultation with my research supervisors: (1) Ass.-Prof. Sanderien Verstappen, PhD; University of Vienna, and (2) Prof. Dr. Masato Fukushima; University of Tokyo. Funding is being provided by the KWA grant of the University of Vienna.

Thank you for reading this info sheet and considering participation in this study. Please keep this for you record. If you are willing to continue with being a participant, please sign the Research Participant Consent Form.

If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisors via the contact information bellow.

－生きたドローイング－

東京都の美術モデルの生きられた経験、具体化された実践と社会的学習

研究実施者: ____

調査期間: 2022 年、3 月 – 2022 年、5 月

指導教員: ____; ウィーン大学

____; 東京大学

「芸術モデルに関する研究」の説明およびご参加のご依頼

私はウィーン大学大学院、社会文化人類学研究科修士課程 2 年の ^{アンナ・マリア} Anna-Maria ^{シュターペンタイネル} Stabentheiner と申します。ウィーン大学、社会文化人類学科に関する論理委員会の承認を受け、標記研究を次のように実施することを計画しています。研究の目的や実施内容等をご理解いただき、本研究にご参加いただける場合は、同意書にご署名をお願いいたします。研究に参加しない、あるいは一度参加を決めた後に途中で辞退されることになっても、不利益を被ることはありません。あなたの意思で、研究に参加いただけるかどうか判断いただけますようお願いいたします。

【研究の意義・目的】

この研究は、未だ踏み込まれていない現代東京都における活躍中美術モデルの意見、経験、役割などを明らかにすることを目的として、実施いたします。社会における芸術の機能に貢献できるのではないかと考えております。この研究の成果は、修士論文としてまとめる予定です。

【芸術モデルとは】

絵画や彫刻などの美術品を製作する人のモデルになる人のことを芸術モデル、美術モデル、またはアートモデルなどといいます。現代芸術モデルは衣服を着てポーズする場合もあれば、裸でポーズする場合もございます。

【研究方法・研究機関】

この研究は、この研究は、東京大学大学院情報学環・学際情報学府と共同で行うものです。質問紙にご記入いただいた後、30分から60分までの程度のインタビューをさせていただきます。インタビュー内容はICレコーダーなどで録音し、逐語録を作成してNvivoソフトウェアを通して分析いたします。分析をするなかで改めてお話を伺いたいことが出てくる可能性がございます。その場合、追加インタビューをお願いすることがあります。加えて、インタビューを終えて「ダイアリー・スタディ」（質的な日記の分析研究）に参加する可能性もございます。

インタビューは2022年3月オンラインで（Zoom, Microsoft Teams等を通して）行われる予定でございます。インタビュー言語は日本語、英語、ドイツ語の可能性がございます。詳細な時は参加者のご具合に合わせて決定いたします。

【研究対象者として選定された理由】

この研究は芸術モデルとしての経験のある方を対象とさせていただきます。なお、モデルと定期的にかかわるアーティストも参加可能です。東京都で芸術モデルとしての|芸術モデルとかかわる経験のある方であれば、性別・年齢・国籍は問いません。

【研究に参加することにより期待される利益】

この研究に参加することにより、直接的にあなたの利益となることはありません。芸術モデルの生活、活躍分野、意見などをより明らかにすることによって、芸術創造と社会のつながりの理解が進み、社会に貢献することを期待しています。

【予測されるリスク、危険、心身に対する不快な状態や影響】

この研究に参加することにより、特別な経済的負担はありません。何ら身体的な危険も伴いません。お話になることがつらい場合、お話しになりたくないことが質問された場

合は、無理にお話しただかなくて結構です。お申し出いただきましたら、いつでもインタビューを中断します。インタビューを中断された方はあらためて研究に参加いただけるかがいますので、ご意向を研究者にお伝えください。

【研究への参加と撤回について】

研究の趣旨をご理解いただきご参加いただければと思いますが、参加するかどうかはご自身で決定ください。説明を聞いてお断りいただくこともできますので、研究辞退については、研究者に口頭もしくはメールにてお知らせください。お断りになったり、一度参加を決めてから途中で辞退されることになっても、何らの不利益を被ることはありません。また、研究途中で参加をやめることもできます。その際には、それまでに収集したデータを分析対象としてよいのか、廃棄を希望されるのかをお聞かせいただければ、それに従ってデータを取扱います。ただし、論文出版の段階以降に辞退を申し出られた場合は、ご希望に添えないことをご了承ください。

【研究結果の公表、情報公開、主事や奇人情報、および研究データの取り扱いについて】

この研究の結果は研究実施者の修士論文としてまとめる予定とともに、学会にてポスター発表の可能性もございます。論文や発表はお名前やご所属などの個人情報個人の特定ができない表記にいたします。ご希望であれば論文作成前に会話の記録を確認していただくこともできます。インタビューの際に録音させていただきました音声を聞きながら、ご自身の発言が誤りなく引用されているか、また個人が特定できる情報が含まれていないかを確認していただくことができます。

また、他の研究対象の方の個人情報等の保護や本研究の独創性の確保に支障がない範囲で研究計画書等の資料や完成後の論文をご覧いただき、ご説明させていただくこともできますので、ご希望があればお申し出ください。

【研究に関する資金源及び利益相反の状況】

この研究はウィーン大学 KAW 研究費補助金⁹⁵の補助を受けて実施いたします。

【お礼】

この研究の説明および依頼書をお読みくださり、誠にありがとうございます。本研究にご参加いただける場合は、同意書にご署名をお願いいたします。

【研究者、および問合せ先について】

この研究は、ウィーン大学大学院、社会文化人類学研究科修士課程 2 年の^{アンナ・マリア}Anna-Maria
^{シュターペンタイネル}Stabentheinerが東京大学大学院情報学環・学際情報学府と共同で行います。研究内容に関するご質問等は、以下の連絡先までご連絡ください。

研究責任者：

⁹⁵ <https://international.univie.ac.at/en/student-mobility/outgoing-students/short-term-grants-abroad-kwa/>

Appendix E – Research Participation Consent Form

Research Participant Consent Form

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point without giving a reason. Although if I do so, I understand that my data might still be used in anonymized, collated form. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the researcher and that my identity, as well as the identity of all people mentioned during the interview, will be protected in the publication of any findings. I have been informed that I can request a copy of the transcribed interview, the full thesis and any subsequent charts, tables or other data generated material at any given time. I consent to the collection and procession of my data in accordance with _____ and with the University of Vienna's Data Protection Policy.

Date, Place

Name

Signature

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation, or any other queries, please raise this with the investigator or one of their research supervisors.

Contact details:

研究参加同意書

研究責任者

- ・ ウィーン大学、社会科学学部、社会文化人類学科 助教授 Sanderien Verstappen
- ・ 東京大学大学院、情報学環・学際情報学府 教授 福島真人

研究実施者

- ・ ウィーン大学、社会科学学部、社会人類学科 _____

私は、「芸術モデルに関する研究」について説明書に基づき説明を受けました。研究の目的、方法等について理解したので、研究参加に同意いたします。

1. 逐語録の確認について

- ・ インタビューの逐語録の確認（希望する ・ 希望しない）

2. 研究成果の報告について

- ・ 論文の概要報告（希望する ・ 希望しない）
- ・ 上記 1、2 のいずれかを「希望する」場合の資料送付方法

☐

E-mail:

☐

郵

送

:

日付： _____ 年 _____ 月 _____ 日

参加者 （署名）

【問合せ先】