MASSEY UNIVERSITY

"Hey, we're males; we're different from females": Exploring how men incorporate cosmetic and skincare products into masculine identities

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Abstract

Spending on male grooming and beauty products in the West has increased exponentially over the last decade and shows no sign of slowing. Building upon emergent literature that investigates men's corporeal practices, this study seeks to understand how young men conceptualise, perceive, and construct masculine identities while simultaneously engaging in traditionally feminised beauty practices. Such practices refer to cosmetic use and skincare routines. Utilising a postmodernist perspective, I explored how men are expressing ideas of gender, class, and sexuality within their bodily practices. To achieve this, social media was used as the primary methodological tool. Three online beauty and skincare forums were used—*Makeup Obsessives*, *Makeup Addiction* and *Skincare Addiction*. The data corpus consists of observations of posts written by the participants within these online communities and a number of private conversations carried-out via computer-mediated messengers. I spoke to retail assistants at cosmetic and skincare counters, observed male-targeted products, and analysed a number of men's lifestyle magazines. The data revealed that men are ultimately responding to the demands of a postmodern society that has a strong emphasis on consumption. I use the concept the double-bind of masculinity to explore the way men are experiencing the struggle of two conflicting discourses—that of modern consumerism and traditional notions of masculinity. I argue that the construction of "new" masculinities since the 1980s is most strongly connected to advertising which encourages male consumption of appearance related goods and services, rather than to a true reconstruction of masculine ideals. The research suggests that the characteristics of traditional masculinity remain largely unchanged from conventional notions of what it means "to be a man".

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Chapter One   Introduction

The body occupies a central locus in the shaping of who we think we are, how we want society to view who we are, and how we perceive and understand the world that surrounds us. Sturrock and Pioch state (1998: 337) that "of the many symbols and expressions of self, the body holds a place of paramount importance, both physically and culturally". This has always been the case as involuntary differences, such as ethnicity, class, and gender, have always been inscribed upon our bodies (Turner, 1995). These characteristics can be signifiers of difference or sameness. Bordo (1993: 165) also comments on the significance of the body in relation to the self: "The body—what we eat, how we dress, the daily rituals through which we attend to the body—is a medium of culture. The body . . . is a powerful symbolic form, a surface on which the central rules, hierarchies, and even metaphysical commitments of a culture are inscribed and thus reinforced through the concrete image of the body".

Increasingly so, the body has become ever more important in highly developed, post-industrial Western societies. Bodies have become highly individualised projects of the self in post-industrial societies. Despite always possessing a central place in the formation of identity constructs, the body has shifted from what it can do towards what it can look like. From a postmodern perspective, compared to a modernist approach, consumption, rather than production now shapes the fundamental cornerstones of identity construction (Sturrock and Pioch, 1998: 337). Though both men and women are experiencing these changes in the way identities are constructed, they each face a different set of struggles while forming a sense of self and simultaneously meeting current cultural ideals.

A man's overt concern with his appearance is often seen as effeminate, an indicator of homosexuality, and at times, just plain weird within Western cultures. But, there are signs of this beginning to change. Some men are more readily engaging in appearance related practices, with many young urban men paying attention to the latest fashion trends and

hairstyles. As well as this, it appears that some men are participating in certain appearance related activities, such as frequenting boutique hair salons and day spas, as a form of pampering or luxury leisure time (Barber, 2008). Despite the literature that demonstrates that some modern men are spending more time and money on their appearance (Harrison, 2008; Barber; 2008; Hall and Gough, 2011), a tension still remains between traditional notions of masculinity and Western societies' growing obsession with appearances. For both men and women there is immense pressure to transform the body to meet unrealistic image representations that are often shown in the media (Frost, 2003).

This tension which can be created, perpetuated and experienced by men was summarised well within a conversation I had with two regular customers at my part time work as a waitress. I work at a restaurant in a fairly affluent Auckland suburb which attracts a clientele with relatively high incomes, comparative to the average New Zealander. During one of my shifts, two regular customers, Mark and Simon, were in for lunch. For this service I was their waitress. Simon and Mark are both in their early thirties and run their own companies; Simon has a successful construction company and Mark co-owns a design firm which caters to a number of large companies. Throughout the duration of their time at the restaurant I spoke to them a number of times but after I had cleared away their plates and asked them if they would like another round of drinks, I stumbled into a conversation that related well to my research surrounding men, masculine constructions and appearance related practices. Simon was teasing Mark in a good-natured type way about going to a day spa with his "Missus" to get a massage as part of a couples pampering package. As I placed their drinks down Simon turned to me and said, "Mark goes to day spas to get his nails done and have a back rub; that's a bit gay, don't you reckon?"

I laughed a little and then replied, "oh no, there's nothing wrong with that—everyone should be allowed to relax a bit with a little bit of pampering."

As I look back on this conversation I am struck by how well this encounter encapsulated contemporary men's struggle to retain the essence of traditional masculinity which remains firmly planted in Western cultures, and the pull of consumerist markets to mould the body into something to be consumed. Some scholars (Hall and Gough, 2011; Gill, Henwood and McLean, 2005; Atkinson, 2008) indicate that mass media has aggressively reshaped men into consumers of images and lifestyles through the acquirement of goods and services related to bodily appearance in ways that were once thought to be reserved for women.

One such way the media achieve this is by framing men in terms of their appearances and categorising men into a "type" or construction based on their appearance practices. I came across a recent example of this when reading the *New Zealand Herald's* entertainment magazine, *TimeOut*. Within the March 3rd edition there was a review of the upcoming series of the *Bachelor*. Based on the previous popularity of the debut season, the show has returned to give twelve women the chance to win one man's love in a gameshow-type setting. What is notable about this article is the way it speaks about the bachelor from each respective series. From season one the bachelor, Art, is described as a "sensitive new age guy" based on his urban living and his visible attention to his appearance though his endorsement of the paleo diet. The new bachelor, Jordan, on the other hand is framed as a "manly-man", a "real Kiwi bloke" and a "lads' lad" as he is a man from agricultural Canterbury and as such not so concerned with his appearance in the same way that the previous bachelor is. But, it is quite obvious to the audience that the second bachelor is clearly well-groomed and physically in-shape. It is clear that both these men do dedicate time and money to their grooming routines but the distinguishing quality which differentiates these two men into different masculine constructs is the men's disclosure or nondisclosure of such practices. It is important to note that this should not be read as a true reflection of men's experiences of masculine constructs

but rather it shows how the media can construct these masculine archetypes that can help persuade men to become modern consumers of images and goods.

The media representations of such types of men oversimplifies a man's experiences of modern masculine constructs and does not offer us much in the way of understanding how men actually perceive appearance related practices. Masculinity scholar, Clatterbaugh (1998: 27) comments on the tendency to label men and masculinities and states: "Masculinities are not like the number of shoes at a gathering . . . their kinds (pumps, loafers, etc.) are not apparent. There are no ready criteria that allow me to identify masculinities . . .It may well be the best kept secret of the literature on masculinity that we have an extremely ill-defined idea of what we are talking about". This tendency to label men to encourage consumption of grooming products emerged from the 1980s onwards. Various media constructions of masculinity in relation to appearances have occurred since. The tendency to construct "new" masculinities has been associated with the proliferation of men's lifestyle magazines which advertise, feature and target men's bodies, and other media representations of masculinity. Many (for example, Atkinson, 2008; Hall and Gough, 2011) have cited the overt exposure of male bodies as one of the driving forces of men's increased expenditure on grooming related goods.

More recently, the concept of the metrosexual man has been explored as a masculine identity created by the media to encourage male consumption of appearance related goods. The effects of these media practices have been multi-fold. Firstly, media forms have altered male perceptions towards shopping, which was once seen as a "feminine" activity but this has shifted since the 1980s. Moore (1989: 179 as cited in Hall and Gough, 2011: 68) states that "[consumption patterns began to be] redefined as an activity that is suitable for men—rather than simply a passive and feminised activity—so that new markets can be penetrated . . . shopping is no longer a means to an end but has acquired a meaning itself". In addition to

this, research indicates that men are becoming increasingly body focused due to media representations of the ideal masculine body image (Frank, 2014: 279).

Male body dissatisfaction (or our awareness of men's body issues) has increased steadily since these changes have occurred (Gill, Henwood and McLean, 2005). Gill, Henwood and McLean (2005: 39) state that a number of anxieties in regard to health, body image and self-esteem have been noted among men, and particularly young men. As well as this, there is evidence that shows men are now suffering from a variety of body and eating disorders (Gill, Henwood and McLean, 2005: 39). Men's turn towards consumption and body image can be viewed as one development of a much larger phenomenon of a postmodernist society which prioritises consumerism and the body as fundamental aspects of contemporary identity construction. Or, it could be evidence of a masculine crisis which sees men in a vulnerable position, where the traditional aspects of orthodox masculinity have fallen to the wayside, to be replaced by a "feminised" masculinity. The research at hand attempts to explore these questions, and others, via men's use of cosmetic goods and grooming products. Cosmetic use, more so than grooming practices, can be seen as one of the most feminised body practices men engage in. It is also a relatively new practice and as such literature surrounding it is only beginning to emerge. As this new cultural phenomenon occurs it is a significant task to explore the ways men may be subverting, negotiating, or maintaining traditional concepts around masculine expressions, symbolic characteristics, and ideas of class, ethnicity and sexuality.

I came to study men, masculinities, and cosmetic-use via my previous work in my Honours dissertation. In my previous research project I aimed to understand the role of makeup in the formation of identity among young women. The research focused on the construction of identity within the contemporary West. I used the concept of the 'interface' to explore the way the young women of my research actively negotiate their outer worlds (society, culture,

and social institutions) and their inner worlds (the women's feelings, emotions, and self-reflections) to fashion their faces via makeup to project certain ideas, desires, and thoughts. Makeup has also been a personal passion of mine and I was an active member of makeup forums and follow a number beauty blogs. To conduct the fieldwork for my Honours dissertation I utilised these makeup forums and beauty blogs as the primary methodological platform to collect my data. I began that study with a focus on identity, but by the conclusion I found I was more focused on the issues surrounding gender. Throughout my previous research I also discovered I was drawn towards a feminist perspective towards gender constructions.

While I observed these makeup blogs and beauty forums, as well as watching makeup and beauty related tutorials on YouTube, I became increasingly aware of the growing male audience and participation. As I entered my second year as a graduate student, I needed to formulate an idea for my Master's thesis. With the thoughts and reflections from my previous dissertation fresh in my mind, I decided I wanted to explore my interest in gender construction that I had briefly touched on in my previous graduate research. The men that I had observed within the online beauty communities sparked my interest. Although they were apparently engaging and participating in the very same activities as the women of the communities and the participants of my previous research, their engagement in such groups signaled something different. I saw this trend as an opportunity to explore gender construction that married well with my personal interest in makeup, and also dovetailed nicely with my previous research. This current research speaks to a number of different theoretical concepts. The primary concern is centrally located in discussions around identity, gender constructions, and masculinities. Due to the nature of the research and the analysis that followed data collection, this study also touches on economic changes of the late

twentieth century, as well as consumerist trends which emerged in conjunction with these developments.

With the move towards consumerism as a means to form and perform identities in late modernity, the way we style and fashion our bodies has become an important way for individuals to conform and distinguish themselves with and from others. Barber (2008: 457) writes "the body is often a central mechanism through which people appropriate, perform, and negotiate difference. The clothes we wear, the way we style our hair, how we walk, talk, and gesture are all tied up with doing difference". One way we fashion and style our bodies is via beautification and grooming. Beautification has traditionally been represented as a gendered arena for women via "which [they] shape their perceptions of self and body" (Barber, 2008: 457). However, as society becomes increasingly appearance-orientated men are becoming increasingly involved in similar practices of modifying the body. But rather than being referred to as "beautification", men's appearance altering practices are framed in terms of "grooming". Sturrock and Pioch (1998: 338) provide an overview of this trend and show that the male market for grooming products is the fastest growing division and men's cosmetic goods sales have risen 28 percent between 1989 and 1993. Mort (1988 as cited in Sturrock and Pioch, 1998: 337) shows that there is a distinct difference between the young men of the 1980s and those of the 1950s. Mort (1988 as cited in Sturrock and Pioch, 1998: 337) claims that there has been "an increase in individuality, articulated through the use of clothes, hair and body decoration and body movement, among young men". Gill, Henwood and McLean (2005: 39) also mention this trend and state that although the reasons for it are hotly debated among academics there is some agreement that men "may increasingly be defining themselves through their bodies". Gill, Henwood and McLean (1998: 337) highlight that these changes have occurred in the wake of social and economic changes that "have displaced work as a source of identity, particularly for working-class men". With these

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changes occurring men may be turning towards their bodies to establish "new sites for recovering male power" (Loe, 2006: 28 as cited in Frank, 2014: 280). Bordo (2000: 57) also speaks of this tendency: "[individuals] often turn to their bodies in an attempt to establish a private domain in which a sense of control and self-esteem can be re-established".

In addition to this, Giddens (1991, 102 as cited in Gill, Henwood and McLean 1998) argues that with the destabilisation of traditional social structures there has been a strong turn towards the body as a source of identity. This shift has been accompanied by "ontological insecurity" where the grounded self-identity is no longer defined via a person's place within a given social structure (Giddens, 1991, 102 as cited in Gill, Henwood and McLean 1998, 40). Giddens states that in contemporary society "we have become responsible for the design of our bodies". From this perspective, body modification via consumption of appearance altering goods could be seen to be altering the politics of gender representation. Muggleton (2000 as cited in Atkinson, 2008: 72) describes contemporary Western societies as a "supermarket of commodity and ideological style, where identities are not anchored in stable cultural images and systems of practice, but are attached to transitory, fleeting and polysemic texts, languages and images".

 An individual's appearance and the way they chose to present themselves to their surrounding audience is deeply rooted in the political, economic, and social realities of the cultures to which they belong. Until quite recently anthropologists, and other academics such as those in the fields of sociology, media studies and feminist scholarship, have focused on women as the primary participants to understand how beauty norms and standards are produced, experienced and perpetuated within any given culture. This trend is beginning to change and increasingly research involves men in order to understand their views surrounding bodywork. Such research has focused on bodybuilding and gym culture, hair salons and hair removal practices, as well as so-called deviant behaviours such as piercings

and tattoos. For example, Elena Frank (2014) explores current ideas and expectations of contemporary men through the discourses presented by popular men's lifestyle magazines about body depilation. Frank (2014: 278) presents hair removal practices as a "modern masculinity body project" that men take up in an attempt to reassert self-control when masculinity is at a point of crisis. Hair removal practices for men are largely underpinned by discourses of health and hygiene within men's lifestyle magazines as there are overwhelmingly negative undertones about the "natural" male body.

Research is emerging that demonstrates that men are now experiencing anxiety and fears in regards to their body and body image (Norman, 2011; Gill, Henwood and McLean, 2005). These fears are mostly in relation to the attainment of strong, muscular and lean bodies as such an appearance is synonymous with society's dominant representation of masculinity (Norman, 2011). Some argue that the muscular, tight and trim male physique is increasingly commodified and possibly even eroticised in the same way that was once reserved for the slender female body (Patterson and Elliot, 2002; Bordo, 1999). The increasing representation and commodification of the male body have had consequences for the men who are audience to these discourses.

For example, Norman (2011: 431) highlights that men are now the participants of a number of body image disorders, such as anorexia and bulimia, which rival those in numbers that women have reported. Atkinson (2008) explores men's growing participation in cosmetic surgeries. Atkinson explores this phenomenon among Canadian men who are undergoing non-invasive and invasive surgeries. Common procedures requested by men are rhinoplasty, hair transplants, Botox, liposuction and chemical peels. Since the early 2000s this trend has sharply increased and from 1998 through to 2008 as many as 10,000 Canadian men have had some sort of cosmetic work done (Atkinson, 2008: 69). Atkinson (2008: 69) suggests contemporary men are more willing to surgically modify their bodies in the hopes of "more

youthful, vibrant, attractive and healthy looking bodies (especially around their faces)". Some scholars say this change is a consequence of the current state of crisis in masculinity that has occurred via a symbolic split of masculinity from traditional social institutions such as the family, the workplace and sport (Atkinson, 2008). Frost (2003: 67) says that a "gender parody has developed where "both men and women speak of fears of, or the actual experience of, being excluded . . . for being unable or unwilling to produce the necessary [bodily] style, shape and size". Davies states (2003: 51 as cited in Norman, 2011: 433) that although men are experiencing social pressures to conform to society's ideas about body appearances we should not misperceive men's experiences as the same as women's as this perspective has the potential to "erase women's long and painful history of altering their bodies" while simultaneously ignoring men's experiences and circumstances that shape their perceptions of their own bodies.

Gill, Henwood and McLean (2005) found that the practices men employ (such as working out and bodybuilding, tattooing and piercing, and cosmetic surgery) to modify their natural body are done in a very narrow framework that allows men to maintain the boundaries of masculine appropriateness or "normative masculinity". Despite having a large sample size of 140 British males from a range of different social and economic backgrounds, Gill, Henwood and McLean concluded that the participant interviews, which discussed ideas of how men speak of their own bodies, their bodily practices, and those of other men, can be identified in terms of five key discourses. These discourses include individualism, autonomy, corporeal detachment, complete rejection of vanity, and the "morally accountable body". This research highlights that despite the hypervisibility of men's bodies in the media and the increasingly central place the body holds in the construction of identities in modern times (irrespective of gender), men are positioned in a tricky place that puts pressure and at times unmanageable demands on the upkeep of masculine identities.

Despite the growing body of literature surrounding men's corporeal ideals and practices, there is still a noticeable lack of research that focuses on men's use of cosmetic goods and grooming products. In contrast to the lack of academic literature in regards to men's grooming and cosmetic use, there is considerable market research that supports the claim that men are increasingly engaging in and purchasing such products. For example, the British market for men's grooming and skincare products grew significantly between 2002 and 2006 to equal £781 million. This equates to approximately a 300% increase (Mintel, 2007 as cited in Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith, 2012: 209). As well as this, studies suggest that one third of American men between the age of 21 and 48 are purchasing skincare creams and fragrances (Harrison, 2008: 55-56). Harrison (2008: 56) cites studies that have indicated the male beauty market is growing to include male-only spas and salons, and male specific beauty goods that include toners and lipsticks. Adding weight to the argument that men are becoming increasingly incorporated into the global beauty product economy are statistics released by Datamonitor, an international market research firm, that show the global market for male grooming products was projected to be worth £1.5 million in 2008 (as cited in Harrison, 2007: 56). Given that these predictions were made almost a decade ago we can only surmise that male spending on grooming products may have now surpassed these estimates.

Although there is a notable absence of research conducted from an anthropological and sociological perspective, there are a handful of studies that have been conducted outside of these fields, for example, within media studies, marketing and advertising, and communications. Some noteworthy examples include Claire Harrison's study, *Real men do wear mascara: advertising discourse and masculine identities* (2008) and McNeil and Douglas's research, *Retailing masculinity: Gender expectations and social image of male grooming products in New Zealand* (2011). Harrison (2008: 56) states that from the late 1980s and into the early 1990s there have been significant changes to male spending habits in

regards to grooming products throughout a number of Western societies. Utilizing a multimodal discourse approach, Harrison critically evaluates the verbal and visual discourses present within an advertising campaign for male mascara. Harrison (2008: 55) concludes that advertisers that market such products "tread a fine line" in their discourse selection to navigate the promotion of conventionally "feminine" products, such as mascara, in a way that allows men to maintain traditionally "masculine" qualities. This is achieved through visual and verbal choices that emphasise the functional aspect of mascara and convey ideas of pragmatism and utilitarianism. In this sense, Harrison (2008: 64) states the use of mascara can be reinterpreted as a masculine practice as it is not "a vanity purchase, but a masculine activity based on forethought and rationality".

McNeil and Douglas's (2011: 448) study is conducted from a marketing perspective to understand how male grooming products are being consumed in New Zealand, which is described as a "typical masculine society" with masculine identities being strongly connected to sport, specifically rugby, and agriculture. McNeil and Douglas indicate there has been a global increase in male-centered grooming and cosmetic goods, but as well as this dietary, slimming, and exercise products that target men are also on the rise. McNeil and Douglas (2011: 448) attribute growing diversification of male-centred appearance products to a number of developments. Firstly and most significantly, is the general trend of society that is placing more importance on appearance (for both men and women); secondly, the growing number of men's style magazines; thirdly, the increased availability of male grooming products; and lastly, the "global health and well-being trend of looking after oneself". Overall, McNeil and Douglas (2011: 449) state that these changes have led to an increased importance in men meeting current standards of masculine appearance. The research finds that despite these societal changes, Kiwi men are still resisting some of the global trends and have a number of unwritten rules when it comes to engaging in grooming practices. For

instance, this research revealed that Kiwi men's justification of grooming products was strongly connected to the functional aspects of such products and the participants had boundaries surrounding specific products and how many products could be used to tread the fine line between functionality and vanity. Although the research was conducted with a marketing perspective, the study still offers valuable insights into New Zealand men's perspectives towards the consumption of grooming products. The research reaches conclusions that indicate that Kiwi men equate personal and professional success with the need to meet current cultural standards of masculine appearance. But at the same time, traditional masculine ideals of practicality, rationality, and hard manual labour still inform men's construction of masculine identities.

Other research that has explored men's use of cosmetics does so by framing it in terms of a metrosexual identity. Hall and Gough (2011), Harrison (2008), Cheng, Ooi and Ting (2010), and Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith (2012) all reference metrosexuality as a "new" identity construction for contemporary men. Despite the use of the term, the studies do not define what a metrosexual identity is and consequently becomes an empty signifier. Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith connect the engagement in "beautification" practices such as grooming and attention to their appearances as indicators of a metrosexual identity. Harrison (2008: 56) states that the "metrosexual economy" is on the rise with more men purchasing skincare creams, fragrances, lipsticks and toners, and removing body hair at salons and getting the "back, crack and sack" wax and saying that cosmetic use is an extreme indictor of a metrosexual identity. Cheng, Ooi and Ting (2010: 574) say that metrosexual men live in big cities and "place high importance on their appearance and spend a considerable amount of money and efforts to boost their self-image and lifestyle". Cheng, Ooi and Ting (2010: 576) also highlight that society's perception of the metrosexual is varied. Some view the metrosexual as a man who is fashion sensitive, "mirror obsessed" and enjoys pampering

himself via the consumption of luxury grooming goods. Others perceive the metrosexual man to be vain, effeminate and gay. Despite this, research surrounding metrosexuality presents the metrosexual man as a heterosexual male who pays attention to his appearance (Cheng, Ooi and Ting, 2010; Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith, 2012). Some scholars that have explored metrosexuality have proposed that it is a "new" identity construct for contemporary men, but Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith (2012: 210) demonstrate that research exploring the metrosexual trend has been largely theoretical and state that "we know little about how self-identified 'metrosexuals' construct this identity for themselves".

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Positions on the lasting effects and the true cause of such a shift towards metrosexuality are varied. For example, Miller (2006) views the metrosexual construct as part of a larger development of the political and economic changes within the labour market. Miller proposes these developments have repositioned men as consumers of appearance related goods as the male body has become increasingly commodified via workplace demands. Despite some scholars exploring what has occurred to the male body over the past three decades, the question still remains of why the body has become commodified in such a way. Coad (2008), on the other hand, proposes that metrosexual tendencies have been promoted by high profile sports celebrities. Coad named Ian Thorpe and David Beckham as high profile individuals who have encouraged heterosexual men to engage in practices, such as an interest in fashion trends and the development of detailed skincare regimes, which have conventionally been considered as activities and interests of women and gay men. Though this shows how the media have used the influence of celebrities and high profile sportsmen this still begs the question of why these men, such as Thorpe and Beckham, used skin products in the first instance. Coad theorises that these changes signify a shift beyond the bipolar construct of masculine/feminine and hetero/homo. Carniel (2009, as cited in Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith, 2012: 210) offers another interpretation of the metrosexual movement. Carniel explored the metrosexual trend among Australian soccer fans. Carniel found these men were more image-conscious when compared to the previous generations of soccer fans, but rather

than being a true reconstruction of hegemonic masculinity, Carniel concluded that it was a hybridisation of current masculinities and male spending was strongly encouraged via the marketing and endorsement of sporting celebrities. Carniel (2009: 81, as cited in Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith, 2012: 210) comments on the metrosexual trend and its effects on traditional masculine ideals: "While metrosexuality re-socialises men as consumers, it does not necessarily alter other fundamental characteristics of hegemonic masculinity". With these perspectives in mind, my research questions whether hegemonic masculine characteristics have shifted; to what degree contemporary men are engaging in consumerists trends; and whether metrosexuality is a true (re)construction of masculinity or if it is a marketing technique employed by advertising agencies to encourage male spending, or alternatively, perhaps these changes go hand in hand.

After reviewing the current literature that relates to men's corporeal practices, this study seeks to understand how young men conceptualise, perceive, and construct masculine identities while simultaneously engaging in what were traditionally regarded as feminised beauty practices. Such practices primarily refer to cosmetic use, but also extend to include habitual skin care routines. Researched from a postmodernist perspective—which views the body as a site to communicate an individual's perceptions of themselves and the culture which they are surrounded by—I wish to explore how men are expressing ideas of gender, class, and sexuality within their bodily practices.

To explore these aims I employed a number of methodological approaches. As mentioned prior, I have previously utilised social media as the primary methodological platform to carry out my Honours research. During this time I noted a number of men use these blogs and forums in a number of ways. I capitalised on these observations and used social media as a methodological tool to connect with multiple participants and as an entry point to forge deeper connections. Three online beauty and skincare forums were used—*Makeup*

Obsessives, *Makeup Addiction* and *Skincare Addiction*. The data corpus consists of observations of posts written by the participants within the three online beauty and skincare communities. As well as this, I carried out a number of conversations via private messaging on each social media platform and used email to have conversations that were complex and to send attachments. Overall, I spoke in-depth to seven men where the conversations were spread over a number of days.

 Although I was able to observe how men use these blogs and forums for a variety of reasons, such as asking for product recommendations and/or help to distinguish particular skin concerns, I did have some difficulties maintaining extended conversations. This may have been caused by the nature of the communication—computer-mediated conversations—which at times can be sporadic and lack the flow and ease of face-to-face conversations. In addition to this, due to the location of some of the participants in America, Canada, and Australia, the time difference did seem to perpetuate the disjointedness of the conversations. While I messaged many of the men I observed making posts in these online communities, I was often ignored. Despite the shortcomings of this type of approach I do believe that it is a valuable technique that offered this research a number of varied perspectives from men who were located globally.

To account for this limitation and overcome this difficulty I also included offline data to supplement the interviews I had with participants. I spoke to three retail assistants at cosmetic and skincare counters. As well as this, I also observed a number of skincare and grooming products that are currently marketed towards men. I found these products in a range of locations, such as supermarkets, department stores and "big-box" stores like Kmart and the Warehouse. As a number of studies (see Hall and Gough, 2011; Cole, 2000; and Moore, 1989, for example) highlight the integral role men's lifestyle magazines and print adverts played since the 1980s in reshaping men into consumers of the aggressively altered images of

men's bodies in a way that redirects the male gaze towards themselves and other men. On this basis, I observed current issues in men's lifestyle magazines, such as *Men's Fitness* and *M2* that are currently available in print-form in New Zealand. The inclusion of "offline" data helped contextualise the online interviews I had with the participants. These issues, as well as the other methodological concerns are explored more in the second chapter. The methodology chapter describes the online setting more so, as well as offering a deeper analysis and appreciation of online ethnographies. The second chapter is written with a reflexive viewpoint in mind to appreciate the particularities of the position of the ethnographer as well as the unanticipated hurdles each ethnography tends to reveal throughout the data collection phase.

The third chapter, the literature review, offers an overview of the relevant literature that is connected to this research project in various ways. The chapter begins by exploring the concept of gender and gender construction. This portion covers significant developments that have shaped the social constructivist perspective of gender. I position this perspective in opposition to an essentialist viewpoint, which sees gender as the innate characteristics of each sex. Influenced by feminist literature the present research views gender from a social constructivist perspective. One of the many theoretical lenses feminist thinkers have employed is the concept of deconstructionism. By adopting this theory, feminists built on the evaluation of the binary ordering of men and women into two mutually exclusive categories of "feminine" and "masculine". The evaluation of such structures demonstrates that this ordering of gender is not natural nor correct but merely a structure that has emerged through a long socio-historical process.

Following this there is a discussion of the theoretical concept of hegemonic masculinity. This segment highlights the value of such a concept within a research project such as this, as well as noting the limitations of such an approach when used exclusively. To attempt to mitigate

some of the mentioned weakness I have also utilised the concept of plurality which attempts to account for the multiple forms of masculinity. Reviewing some of societal changes that have occurred and affected the way men may be conceptualising their identities I turn to examine the different ways men may be modifying their bodies in light of such changes. Following this I review a number of theoretical concepts used by a range of different scholars to theorise men's relationship with their bodies, such as masculinity as cultural capital and the double-bind of masculinity.

The theoretical concept of the double-bind forms the cornerstone of the following chapter. Chapter four explores the multiple conflicting narratives the participants receive in relation to their identities, cultural expectations surrounding masculinity and the demands of an appearance-orientated society. Within this chapter I incorporate participants' perceptions of cosmetic products and grooming routines. Participant interviews revealed that men speak of their involvement with such practices by framing women's use of the same products as vain, unnecessary and excessive. Instead, the participants eschew their association with such practices by participating in it via covert means or defining it as "maintenance" rather than "beautification" as women may do. Building upon this idea of "maintenance", the men also speak of their involvement in, or use of, cosmetic and grooming products as a way to look "normal". The men seem acutely aware of these conflicting discourses and actively employ a number of techniques that can distance themselves from venturing into the effeminate realm of body consciousness.

The following chapter, chapter five, explores the changes that have occurred since the 1980s to reshape men as consumers, the primary change being the introduction of men's lifestyle magazines. The role of these types of magazines are twofold: firstly, they promote shopping as a leisure activity, bodywork and consumerism as generally accepted practices and expressions of contemporary masculinity. Secondly, such magazines actively fashion and

encourage the construction of "new" masculine identities, such as the "new man", the "new lad" and the "metrosexual". These identity constructions actively and aggressively reshape men as consumers—consumers of goods, images and lifestyles. One lifestyle that was most prominently promoted in the magazines I reviewed was the notion of the "professional". The "professional" identity encompassed ideas of class, ethnicity, and masculine privilege. These narratives were achieved through a variety of techniques, for example the language used on the actual products and the descriptions of said products, the images used and the overall tone of the magazine. The chapter goes on to explore how these ideas and messages are also incorporated into products that are currently available to men. Through the analysis it is revealed that grooming and cosmetic products that target men are underscored with conventional ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

Chapter Two   Methodology

This chapter is dedicated to exploring the issues, concepts, and procedures undertaken throughout the data collection phase of the present research. This discussion allows me to adopt a reflexive approach to clarify to the reader my thought processes and reflections, as well how I came to study men, masculinities, and cosmetic-use. As such, this chapter will be my own reflexive narrative intertwined with discussions surrounding the notion of the 'field' in anthropology, as well as the rise of online ethnographies. I will explore the struggles I encountered throughout my fieldwork, my attempts to overcome such struggles, as well as my final reflections on the data collected which serve as an exercise to continue to develop my ethnographic skills and for others to learn from my successes and failures within this particular research context. I will also highlight the relevant literature and studies that have influenced the structure of my own methodology. To begin I will offer an overview of the methods used, some introductory information about the participants, and the detail what the data corpus consisted of. I will then use the rest of the chapter to explore each of these sections in more detail, as well as describing some of the issues that arose throughout the duration of the fieldwork.

I utilized social media as the primary methodological platform to reach potential men who may be able to offer some insights into the way men are preforming masculine identities while participating in "beauty culture". I selected three cosmetic and skincare forums: *Makeup Addiction*, *Skincare Addiction*, and *Makeup Obsessives*. Through these three online communities I was able to speak to ten men in various lengths. I was able to have more complex, developed conversations with seven men. These participants were located globally, but were predominately from New Zealand, Australia and North America. The ages of these participants ranged from 19 to 31. In addition to the conversations I had with these men, I also observed posts that other male members had written to the community. For ethical

reasons some of these posts are not directly quoted within this thesis. If I was unable to gain informed consent from these members I paraphrased the post or only mention the issues that were raised by these men. As well as the interviews conducted and observations made within the online communities I also spoke to three retail assistance at cosmetic and skincare counters and observed a number of grooming products available for men. This approach allowed me to see how retailers of men's grooming products encourage male spending and the techniques employed by such companies to differentiate male grooming practices to avoid effeminate associations. The third method I used was the observation and analysis of men's lifestyle magazines that are available in print or online form in New Zealand. This allowed me to understand the way marketers invoke a sense of lifestyle via the consumption of particular grooming products.

The use of social media within ethnography has become commonplace for many modern anthropological studies, though this was not always the case. A number of pioneering individuals, most notably Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski, fundamentally influenced anthropology as we recognise it today. Rather than studying second-hand accounts from a Eurocentric perspective, as had been common in the 19th century—a trend colloquially referred to as "armchair anthropology"—these anthropologists emphasised the importance of understanding people and their practices within their natural environments (Wittel, 2000). To immerse one's self in another culture it was believed that the anthropologist could contextualise the practices, rituals, and social structures and further understand the complexities of the specific culture. This type of approach entailed long-term participant observation based on face-to-face communication within a specific locality. This type of method remains a fundamental aspect of ethnography since it was developed over a century ago. Clifford Geertz, a prominent individual within this discipline, once described the aim of cultural anthropologists: "They have a culture out there and your job is to come back and tell

us about it" (cited in Wittel, 2000, n.p). But what was a sound mould for the ethnographies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has needed to be adapted to account for social and global changes such as international migration and the advent of the internet. Both of these developments have changed how individuals situate themselves in the world, as well as how they relate to the world around them.

The concept of the field as a geographically located place is strongly connected to the foundations that were laid by Boas and Malinowski, and Omohundro (2008: 59) comments: "Once fieldwork involved catching the slow boat to some distant and exotic locale, there to combat snakes and loneliness for a year or so until one had enough data or too much malaria, and then returning home". Contemporary ethnographies have moved beyond this type of fieldwork and fieldwork techniques have diversified, in part because the lives of our "subjects" are increasingly diverse and mobile. Increasingly anthropologists have turned their ethnographic gaze inwards to explore the cultures that surround them at home, as well as themselves with auto-ethnographic techniques. In addition to this, anthropologists are recognising the increasing integration of the internet (and all the "places" encapsulated within it) into our daily lives and routines.

The internet and the technology it has enabled—such as social media networks, video sharing platforms and blogs—have changed the way people communicate and have created new spaces which generate and produce relationships, identities and social locations (Hallett and Barber, 2014: 307). Despite this, the internet and all the avenues it encapsulates still remain relatively under-researched from an ethnographic perspective (Hallett and Barber, 2014; Murthy, 2008), although there are some notable exceptions to this statement (see: Pink 2014; 2012; Kozinets 2010; Burgess and Green 2009). At the heart of ethnography lies 'fieldwork' or 'field research' which remains an anthropologist's primary research gathering technique. In her fairly recently published text, sociologist Carol A. Bailey (cited in Murthy, 2008: 848).

defines "field research" as "the systematic study, primarily through long-term, face-to-face interactions and observations, of everyday life This statement demonstrates that for many social researchers online spaces and computer-mediated communication remain unrecognised as an aspect of everyday social life.

Other academics have provided more definitions surrounding ethnography that offer a more reflexive and fluid notion of ethnographic research, which also account for the changes taking place online. Dhiraj Murthy (2008), a sociologist with a research focus on digital ethnography, explains that ethnography is about telling social stories. An effective ethnography is always achieved by gaining the most vivid and valued information from those living out the social story. To gather these social stories ethnographers must be constantly aware of how a particular group, community, or organisation functions and operates naturally. Ethnographers need to adapt their methodological approaches to best suit their participants to reveal the most insightful data. In this respect, some ethnographers have overlooked the prevalence of digital technologies and online media, but as Murthy (2008: 838) reiterates, "with the introduction of new technologies, the stories have remained vivid, but the ways they [are] told have changed". Scholars cannot continue to ignore online methodological approaches as they are at risk of being out of touch with those they wish to communicate with and whose lives they wish to understand.

In addition to the diversification of the anthropological "field", the discipline has also undergone significant changes in relation to recognising the role of the ethnographer in any ethnographic study. Prior to the 1970s, anthropologists believed an ethnographer was to remain impartial – or rather invisible – in the final ethnographic product. Following a period of self-evaluation, anthropology developed the concept of reflexivity (Davies, 2008: 11). Reflexivity is the process of self-reflection and critiques the researcher's position within the study (Davies, 2008: 4). During the era of evaluation, anthropologists came to recognise that

classic ethnographies could be seen as an extension of colonial interests and used Western frameworks to interpret the understandings of non-Western cultures (Davies, 2008: 11). To overcome these challenges and gain a deeper, more holistic understanding of the cultures anthropologists wished to explore, ethnographers needed to evaluate their own bias and worldviews to realise the possible effects it may have on the direction and outcome of the study. This trend of reflexivity continued through to the 1990s when the 'reflexive turn' occurred (Pink, 2013: 42). This refers to the inclusion of the ethnographer's experience to contextualise their personal perspectives and the production of anthropological knowledge. Davies (2008: 3) indicates the researcher is an integral aspect of any ethnographic work: "We cannot research something with which we have no contact, from which we are completely isolated. All researchers are to some degree connected to, or part of, the object of their research". It has now a common practice to include a section within one's ethnography which explores the ethnographer's personal connection to their research topic and contextualises their place throughout the fieldwork and the final writing-up of the data.

To construct my methodological framework I evaluated a number of ways I could research men and cosmetic-use. Although I was very familiar with the wealth of literature surrounding women's cosmetic-use, body image, and the ways culture and society are interconnected with each individual's identity, the concepts surrounding masculinity(ies), body work, and the social construction of normative corporeal practices were relatively new to me. I began researching literature that could help inform my understanding of these concepts and the methods that would be best to research men and cosmetic-use. The research I found was mainly centred on the concept of the "metrosexual" man: one who takes an interest in his appearance, enjoys urban living in large metropolitan cities and has a high disposable income which he uses to fashion his image and lifestyle. Hall, Gough, and Seymour-Smith (2012: 210) explore men's use of cosmetic products as an "extreme" indicator of metrosexuality. In

their article, *"I'm metro, not gay!": a discursive analysis of men's account of makeup use on YouTube"*, Hall et al. study self-identified metrosexual males via the social networking site, YouTube. YouTube is a video-sharing site that allows users to create content for an audience, who can then rate and respond to the content through written and/or video comments.

Hall et al explored male makeup tutorials on YouTube and analysed the video content, the video description, as well as the comment section that accompanies the video. Hall et al. analysed the discursive techniques used by the young men—who publically engaged in conventionally effeminate or 'gay' beautification practices, such as cosmetic use—to maintain a heteronormative status. These researchers explored the way the participants actively managed their logics and rationale behind makeup use and description of their video content in relation to gender norms and boundaries to "inoculate themselves against potential charges of being 'gay'" (Hall et al. 2012: 209). Rather than conceptualising metrosexuality as a presumed identity construct such as other masculinity scholars do (for example: Coad, 2008; and Cheng, Soo Ooi, and Hooi Ting, 2010), Hall et al. seek to understand how self-identified metrosexual males conceptualise the label within their own lives, as well as how they negotiate gender boundaries. The research revealed that the participants are aware of these gender boundaries but employ a number of techniques to distance themselves from the possibility of being considered "feminine" or gay. One participant stated, "Before you ask, the reason I wear makeup is because of acne and some scarring and also redness" (Hall et al. 2012: 213). This statement indicates that the participant is already aware that his use of cosmetics is a non-normative practice for a heterosexual male to participate in. The participant justifies his cosmetic-use by expressing that he uses it for pragmatic reasons, rather than beautification, which would be labelled as feminine (though it could be argued that the covering of flaws is an attempt at beautification, it is clear the participant is making an effort to disassociate themselves away from feminine accusations). This research

highlighted that online beauty communities could serve as a valuable platform to reach men who actively engage in beauty practices within a like-minded group.

With this in mind, I recalled the men I had stumbled across while observing the beauty forums and online groups for my Honours dissertation. Although I did not focus on them during my previous research, I thought they could now be potential participants for this present study. My thinking was that these men, who regularly post within online beauty communities and appeared to be very open to disclosing their engagement with cosmetics, would possibly be more willing to discuss their use of cosmetics with a researcher, rather than someone who was practicing cosmetic-use in a clandestine manner. *Makeup Obsessives* and *Makeup Addiction* are the two online beauty communities I used as the primary platforms to connect with potential participants for the current study. I was very familiar with these online communities as they were two of the three groups I used for my previous research and prior to that I was also a casual member in both of the groups. In anthropological terms, these groups were my field. I chose to utilise an online methodological approach as studies (such as Harrison, 2008; Thorta et al., 2014; Cheng et al., 2010) had indicated that men often used the internet as a source of information regarding skincare and cosmetic choices. This is something I had also observed while conducting previous research. For this reason I felt it was a appropriate methodological approach to find when who were engaging in skincare and makeup practices.

As mentioned above, I initially used two beauty forums: *Makeup Addiction* and *Makeup Obsessive*. Firstly, *Makeup Obsessives* is a private group within the popular social media platform, Facebook. The group has approximately 30,000 members located globally, but New Zealanders make up the majority as the group was founded by a New Zealand woman and quickly gained popularity here. From my participation in the group, I observed that the group is mainly women but does have a handful of male members. The photos and questions these

men post within the group usually gain a lot of attention through "likes" and comments. As far as I observed, the *Makeup Obsessive* community was very supportive and inclusive of the men participating in conventionally feminine bodywork. To reach the male members of this group, I introduced myself and disclosed my research interests, as well as stating that the members of this group were really helpful with my previous study (see Appendix One). I accompanied this post with a photo of a male character wearing cosmetics from a popular television series. I do as I had observed that posts with a visual component usually gain more attention. Within this post I asked the men of the group if they would be happy to discuss their thoughts and ideas surrounding men and cosmetic use. In addition to this, I asked the women of the group if they had any male friends, family or partners that use makeup and/or skincare products and who might like to discuss this with me. My belief was that I could possibly reach more men with this type of post. There was an interest in the post and a female member, Shannon, replied that her partner was interested in skincare and grooming products. I replied that I would love to be touch with him if he would be comfortable speaking to me about his engagement with skincare and grooming products. Shannon replied that her partner would prefer not to speak to me directly but was happy to answer any questions I had via his partner, Shannon. I was hesitant as this was a very indirect method to understand an individual's feelings, thoughts, and ideas. I tried to reassure him that it would not be time consuming and completely confidential, but ultimately it did not progress past this point. Overall, I did get in contact with a handful of men and had conversations with each at varying lengths which I was incredibly appreciative for. This first attempt to reach potential participants demonstrated that men were unlikely to respond to these types of posts.

I used a similar technique within my previous research to reach young women and was met with an overwhelmingly positive response. This was the first observable difference I met while trying to explore men's cosmetic use. Though I am not certain why this occurred, it is

possible that like Hall et al. participants, these men were happy to engage in such practices, but did so in such a way which protected their masculine identities. Perhaps my interest in their participation in beauty culture made them feel uncomfortable as they felt it may have questioned their masculinity. Or alternatively, as Gill, Henwood and McLean's (2005: 43) research shows that men when talking about their appearances and bodies have "a very limited range of discourse or repertoires" which may explain why men were reluctant to speak to me. But, unlike myself (who, at times struggled to connect with men to explore more abstract ideas and feelings of my participants), Gill, Henwood and McLean (2005: 43) expected to face resistance when speaking to young men about their bodies. Instead they found "men talked openly and at length about their perceptions of and concerns about their bodies, and about a range of bodily practices". I am unsure as to why Gill et al. had more success talking to young men about their bodies when compared to myself. I suspect that unlike Gill et al. who spoke to their participants about working out, tattoos and piercing (which are relatively accepted practices for contemporary men), I spoke to men about makeup use and skincare which are still considered deviant or abnormal practices for men.

 To try to overcome this and connect with more men who were willing to discuss their cosmetic use, I decided to contact participants directly when I saw their post appear within these online beauty communities. The second beauty community I utilised was *Makeup Addiction*, which is subgroup of a larger social networking service called Reddit. Reddit is a North American based service that attracts many individuals globally. The site encompasses many subgroups which are referred to as "subreddits". In comparison to *Makeup Obsessives*, *Makeup Addiction* is predominantly used by Americans and Canadians, therefore the participants I gained via this platform were mainly based in Northern America. The site is also used anonymously, unlike *Makeup Obsessives* which is directly linked to the user's Facebook profile and gives full identity disclosure.

As I reflected on my first attempt to engage with men about their cosmetic use, I thought it best if I contacted them privately via their Facebook or Reddit profile. Rather than asking an open-ended question as I had in the previous post, I asked a simple but direct question that linked to the content they had posted within the online community. For example, Mark, a member of *Makeup Addiction*, mentioned that he started using concealer to cover acne which was making him feel unhappy and insecure. He now uses concealer fairly regularly but was looking for tips about contouring. I introduced myself and my thesis topic, but rather than asking a question such as, "What are your thoughts about men wearing makeup?" which proved to be too open-ended and not something many men had really consciously thought about before, instead I asked him what his favourite concealer was and how he applied it. Starting with these types of straight-forward and simple questions made the participant feel more comfortable and more willing to answer more questions. I often struggled with trying to figure out the right type of questions that married what I had learnt from the corpus of literature, while at the same time asking questions that people could relate to and which would open up avenues to discuss concepts around masculinity further. I was struggling to gain enough participants while just looking at cosmetic use. To combat this I diversified the scope of my research aims to include skincare and grooming practices of contemporary men. This development allowed me to broaden my field to include the members from the *Skincare Addiction* community.

There were a handful of studies which influenced the types of questions I included in my interview schedule, for example, *Male grooming: an ethnographic research on perceptions and choice of male cosmetics* (Thorta, Hermosillo, Keyhani and Walker, 2014). Though this is not an anthropological study but rather a "business" ethnography, Thorta et al utilised an ethnographic framework to interview three men between 24 and 30 years of ages. Thorta et al.'s interview schedule consisted of 141 questions which asked the men about their lifestyle

and demographic information, as well as their ideas surrounding masculinity, grooming and cleaning behaviours, and skincare products to reveal "deep seated feelings and attitudes towards male cosmetics (Thota et al., 2014: 27). Thorta et al began their research with the initial assumption that male and female consumers process information differently, which affects the way each gender selects and purchases particular consumer goods. Thorta et al proposed that male and female consumers spend differently based on different motivations: women are motivated to spend based on the aesthetic appeal of the product, whereas men are often persuaded by the advertised functionality of goods. These motivations draw men and women to different categories of products: women are generally driven by impulse buys which leads to goods such as clothes, jewellery, shoes, and cosmetics; men, on the other hand, are usually drawn to high-tech equipment, electronics, and sporting goods (Thorta et al., 2014: 26). Despite these differences, male cosmetic sales continue to rise.

Thorta et al.'s research concluded with five key themes. The three men in their study all referenced early experiences with personal care products; the participants' understanding of masculinity incorporated the qualities of calmness and practicality; all saw their fathers as their key role model; the participants valued loyal friendships highly; location and convenience were key components of the men's cosmetic spending. Though this study does not really indicate why men use makeup and skincare products, it does highlight how men conceptualise their masculine identities and in turn how these ideas transfer to their selection of grooming and cosmetic products. In terms of practice for my own research I included questions which pertained to the participants' definition of masculinity and their role models. I also asked about their rationale for buying cosmetics and skincare goods and where they usually made these purchases (see Appendix Two for an example of one of the interview schedules I used). In addition to this I also asked if they made these purchases themselves or avoided specific circumstances to not be seen purchasing cosmetic products and where they

find information regarding their cosmetic needs and skin concerns. I included questions such as these as it was highlighted in Thorta et al.'s research (as well as others Cheng, Ooi and Ting, 2010; Harrison, 2008) that man's grooming habits and product selections are often influenced by the women in a man's life, such as his partner and female relatives.

The article *Magazine and reader constructions of 'metrosexuality' and masculinity: a membership categorisation analysis* (Hall and Gough, 2011) explores the media's construction of the metrosexual identity in men's lifestyle magazines, such as *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Zoo*. Hall and Gough offer an overview of the UK men's lifestyle magazine market since the 1980s when a number of male orientated print magazines were launched. Hall and Gough highlight during this time men's magazines have shifted their content from 'men's hobbies', such as cars, hunting, fishing, and 'DIY' type products, to image consumption where fashion, gym routines, and product promotion are the focus of these magazines. The influence this study had on my research was two-fold. Firstly, I incorporated questions in my interview schedule which addressed where the participants find information regarding their grooming needs, as Hall and Gough (2011: 69) state that "it appears without a doubt that men's lifestyle magazines were pioneers in opening up new space for the different circulation of different representations of men and masculinity". Claire Harrison, who analyses the retailing of male cosmetics in her study, *Real men do wear mascara: advertising discourse and masculine identity* (2008), highlights that products are not uncritically consumed but rather "advertising is not simply a top-down form of communication directed at a passive audience whose members go and purchase whatever is advertised. Rather, advertising can be ignored, challenged, and resisted". Secondly, I also analysed examples of men's grooming and cosmetics advertised in popular print magazines available in New Zealand, such as *Men's Fitness* (October 2015 issue).

Using print media added another valuable dimension to my research. In his critique of online ethnographies in the article *Ethnography on the move: from field to net to internet* (2000), Andreas Wittel states that online ethnographies often lack context. Though this is a very old study by internet standards, the point does remain valid. By context Wittel refers to the "depth" or "thick description" which people often cite as the defining factor of ethnography. Whittel (2000: n.p) states "ethnography is about revealing context and thus complexity" and for Whittel virtual spaces lose the connections and complexities that we experience in face-to-face interactions. Garcia, Standlee, Bechkoff and Cui review ethnographic studies which have incorporated the internet and computer-mediated communication in their article, *Ethnographic approaches to the internet and computer-mediated communication* (2009). Garcia et al (2009: 56) note the criticism of online ethnographies and comment: "while some researchers may perceive examining Websites or CMC as a shortcut to data collection, the setting of the study should typically be defined to include relevant offline components of the social world as well as the CMC". With this in mind, I included offline data to compliment the data I was gathering online. The offline data included conversations I had with retail assistants who work on the cosmetic counters of retail stores as well as taking photos of male grooming products which I will include throughout the coming chapters to complement my interviews, and to analyse how concepts such as the gender binary and heterosexuality are produced and consumed via these products.

Internet-based ethnographies are varied in terms of ethical procedures due to being a relatively new approach, as well as the constantly slippery nature of the internet, where different social media platforms and new websites can sprout constantly, and each virtual space presents a new set of ethical and methodological dilemmas. The literature I gathered prior to starting my fieldwork was contradictory, ad hoc and dependent on the ethnographers' perspective of public and private information. The studies I surveyed offered little direction

in terms of ethics at the early stages of my data collection. Instead I referred to Massey University's *Code of ethical conduct for research, teaching and evaluations involving human participants* to analyse any ethical issues my proposed study could encounter. Massey University also provides a screening questionnaire to determine if a proposed study would be of low of high risk to the participants and other parties involved. This questionnaire addresses issues such as the vulnerability of participants, particularly those under eighteen or those with a disability, as well as consent and privacy. Completing the questionnaire demonstrated that as long as I was conscious of the participants' privacy and gained informed consent, my research was determined 'low risk'. Following this I submitted the *Notification of low risk research involving human participants* which detailed my research proposal and the measures I had taken to ensure my research complied with Massey University's code of ethical standards. My proposal was approved Massey University's research ethics office.

Like every ethnographer conducting research, I was faced with a unique set of ethical issues that needed to be navigated throughout the fieldwork. Privacy was one of my primary concerns. As stated previously, I was able to contact some participants via *Makeup Obsessives* on Facebook. Facebook has complete identity disclosure, therefore pseudonyms were given to all participants. Unlike Facebook, the members of *Makeup Addiction* and *Skincare Addiction* create a user name when signing up to the Reddit community. These user names are users' selected pseudonyms for the site as anonymity is encouraged. Like Facebook, the two Reddit communities create a profile (or page as referred to in Facebook) which store the content which members submit and post in the form of text or photo. The site also provides the ability to search the whole site—this includes submitted content but also the ability to search specific members. For this reason I have not used the pseudonyms the users created for the purpose of this site as I did not want them to be identifiable by the audience of my research; rather I have created a separate pseudonym for this study.

Related to the issue of privacy is the concept of informed consent. To gain informed consent I introduced myself to potential participants by making my research intention clear and stating that their participation was voluntary and able to be withdrawn at any point. But as mentioned above there are different perspectives among online ethnographers towards what is considered private and public information. For example, Murthy highlights that the appeal of internet research is the "fly on the wall" scenario, where researchers can be passive and unobtrusive observers of the online world. Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith use this type of approach in their research surrounding male cosmetic use by observing male makeup tutorials on YouTube. Hall et al incorporated the video content and description as well as the comments that other YouTube members submitted in response to the original video. Hall et al (2012: 212) directly quote the members but state "personal consent was not sought since our data is publically available and the majority of the respondents provided no contact details". But others (Richman, 2007; Bruckman, 2002; Sharf, 1999) contend that researchers of online spaces need to be more conscious of the implications of quoting or referencing participants who have not given explicit consent. Within my own research I have not included any conversations, posts, photos or discussions that I have observed throughout the duration of this study if informed consent was not given. I have made this decision as I do not believe it is ethically correct to directly quote an individual (which can be easily located due to the ability to search direct quotes via a quick google search) who has not been informed or given the chance to decline being included in an academic study. Though some would argue, such as Hall et al., that because it was published on the internet, a "public space", the information can be used in any context. With the proliferation of the internet there are continued discussions surrounding the notion that the internet can be a private place within a publically accessible arena. For this reason I have treated these quotes as "public property", but rather seen them as property of the individuals. On the occasions where I quote or reference a post a

participant may have submitted to any of the three online communities and there is a discussion that follows in the comment section of the posting I will not make any direct reference to individuals I was not able to gain informed consent from. Instead I will allude to the general ideas and paraphrase the collective consensuses that have emerged from these discussions.

In the forthcoming chapter, the literature review, I will explore some of the theoretical ideas I have touched on within this chapter to give more context to the studies I have included in my research. This chapter, the methodology, has given me the opportunity to explore the rationale for some of the choices I have made to the reader. The literature review will marry well with this chapter as it will contextualize the research further and situate it within the present academic climate surrounding men, masculinity and bodywork.

Throughout this chapter I will explore relevant literature that has informed my perspective surrounding particular concepts and theories. This chapter will identify key ideas and conversations surrounding this research area which will serve to lay the foundations of my own analysis in the forthcoming chapters. There are a number of theoretical concepts associated with the aim of the present study—the most obvious of which are the concepts of gender, gender identity and gender classification. The rise in usage of the term 'gender' began post-Second World War and steadily increased throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and through to the present moment (Haraway, 2013: 131). David Haig (2004: 87), an evolutionary biologist of Harvard University, states that between the years of 1945 through to 2001 more than 30 million academic articles used the term 'gender' in the title. There have been two notable developments that have contributed to the exponential increase of the usage of gender in academic discussions, as well as appearances in many popular media stories (Haig, 2004; Haraway, 2013). The first was John Money's (1952) advent of the notion "gender role" in his research surrounding intersexed children (Haig, 2004). Money (1955: 301) refers to the term of "gender role" as:

> all those things that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively . . . Gender role is appraised in relation to the following: general mannerisms, deportment and demeanor; play preferences and recreational interests; spontaneous topics of talk in unprompted conversation and casual comment; content of dreams, daydreams and fantasies; replies to oblique inquiries and projective tests; evidence of erotic practices, and, finally, the person's own replies to direct inquiry.

The second influential event that has progressed the conversation surrounding gender was the feminist women's movements which used gender to differentiate between the biological

aspect of male and female (sex) and the social and cultural expressions of men and women (gender), commonly referred to as 'masculine' and feminine' in Western societies (Haig, 2004; Haraway, 2013). This idea refers to the sex/gender distinction, where sex is described as the anatomical differences between men and women which can be most clearly observed in the reproductive organs of each sex (Oakley, 2015; Lindqvist, 2013; Sussman, 2012). Gender, on the other hand, indicates the social classification of individuals into 'masculine' and 'feminine' categories (Oakley, 2015; Palerm Mari and Thomson-Salo, 2013; Petersen, 1998; Sussman, 2012). Gender—whether it be masculine, feminine, or another construct outside of the bounds of the man/woman dichotomy— are value systems tied to the social, cultural, economic, and historical particularities of a specific place and time (McLennan, McManus and Spoonley, 2010: 106; Sussman , 2012: 1-2). How individuals receive, interpret, and embody these 'value systems' can be described as 'gender identity'. Identity is an ambiguous term, plagued with many theoretical difficulties (for example, see: Elliot, 2011), but within Western cultures it commonly refers to 'a sense of self' or 'who we are' (Sussman, 2012: 9). Haraway (2013: 135) states, "the proper state for a Western person is to have ownership of the self, to have and hold a core identity as if it were a possession". Haraway's explanation of Western identities implies a high level of personal agency. But, this is somewhat at odds with the notion of the acquisition of a gender, which is university assigned to an individual at birth, or even during the prenatal period, when the parents ask "is it a boy or a girl?". Given the social ubiquity of gender assignment, expectations, and roles, what degree does an individual have agency in achieving a specific gendered identity?

Questions such as these lead to theoretical debates surrounding how gender is acquired, achieved, or determined (Galliano, 2003: 3). Despite the popularity of gender across many academic fields, scholars are still divided on such issues which are often described as the "nature vs. nurture" debate, or, more specifically, essentialism vs social construction, to use

the terminology of gender studies (Sussman, 2012: 3). An essentialist position holds that "that behaviour is determined by innate biological qualities" (Sussman, 2012: 3). This type of thinking can be observed in the common phrase, "Boys will be boys". This idiom expresses the notion that boys are innately livelier and more boisterous compared to girls. From an essentialist point of view these types of behaviours—to be active and aggressive—are inherently connected to their physiology and are seen as a *natural* display of a maleness, predetermined by nature, hence the "nature vs nurture" expression. Conversely, social construction theories maintain that the behaviours, attitudes, and performances of each sex are culturally and socially constructed and (re)shaped (Sussman, 2012: 3). Sussman (2012: 1) uses the common Western paradox, "Not all men are men", to highlight the notion that possessing a male body is not enough to "be a man". This phrase and others such as, "He became a man", denote an element of socialisation and cultural influence upon being a man in any given society. This is only a very brief explanation of two theoretical perspectives one can utilise to explore the concept of gender, but it should be noted that this is an ongoing discussion among scholars of gender studies.

Feminist scholars utilise gender as a concept to challenge the naturalisation of sexual difference between men and women in reference to a number of areas of struggle and inequality. They maintain that gender inequalities have emerged through socio-historical processes by which men and women have become socially positioned unevenly in terms of hierarchy and antagonism (Haraway, 2013: 131). Donna Haraway (2013: 131), an influential feminist scholar, explored the complex debates tied to the term gender to demonstrate that despite many differences, all contemporary feminist understandings of gender originate from Simone de Beauvoir's (1952: 249) statement that "one is not born a woman". For the purpose of my own research I will follow a social constructivist perspective of gender with feminist influences.

As highlighted in Money's explanation of the meaning of gender role, there are a number of complex attributes that make up an individual's gender. This refers to gender expressions and performances. An example of a performance of masculinity within New Zealand would be a straight male who is the DIY type, enjoys rugby (watching and/or playing), accompanied by a few brews (Kiwi male slang used to refer to beer). There are a few key aspects of male gender performance within this one example. This description of Kiwi masculinity is an example of cisgender which refers to the alignment of sex and gender identity i.e. having a male body and expressing the desirable cultural ideals of masculinity (Petersen, 1998: 34). Within Western societies this is the most common expression of sex and gender so it is often referred to as the 'normative' expression of sex and gender, as opposed to transgenderism or intersexed individuals. Sexuality also plays a key role in the construction of gender identity, especially so in reference to masculinity (homosexuality and masculinity will be explored in further detail later in the chapter). A cisgender male who is sexually attracted to women is described as heterosexual. Heteronormativity is a term used by social theorists to describe a worldview which 'organises sex, gender and sexuality in order to match heterosexual norms' (Castro Varela, Dhawan and Engel, 2011: 11). Within Western societies a relationship between a man and woman is seen as a 'normal', whereas homosexuality (despite growing acceptance which can be observed in the legalisation of gay marriages in many countries over the past five years), is still considered 'different' or even 'abnormal' to some.

The concept of heteronormativity organises sex, gender, and sexuality into a dualistic framework, where heterosexual men and women are positioned next to one another to be complementary, natural, and logical (Petersen, 1998: 21-22). The idea of 'dualisms' is a central framework within Western philosophy (Petersen, 1998; Bradley, 2013). In addition to the man/woman dualism, this type of schema can be observed in a number of other relationships, for example, "identity and difference, reason and unreason, being and negation,

nature and culture, self and other, [and] mind and body . . ." (Petersen, 1998: 21). Jacques

Derrida, a French philosopher, has been an influential thinker within the humanities by

questioning the Western tendency to order our surroundings, knowledge, and reality into

unity through binary categorisation (Petersen, 1998; Bradley, 2013; Oakley, 2015). A

binaristic ordering of man and woman has a long history and can be observed within ancient

Greece, which utilised a one-sex model—seeing man as the only sex and woman as

derivative of men, lacking their sexual organs and rational excellence (Petersen, 1998: 22;

Sussman, 2012: 6). However, the theorisation of man and woman as complementary finds its

foundations within the Enlightenment (Petersen, 1998). Kant and Rousseau saw women as

the 'fair sex', who possessed different, though equal, knowledge and understanding of the

world (Petersen, 1998: 22). Kant and Rousseau described man and woman as a single moral

entity, where each gender bettered one another to become more perfect individually as well

as a whole (Petersen, 1998). Although in theory this sounds advantageous for both men and

women, in practice it served as a hierarchical system which limited opportunity and social

variability for both genders, but primarily women (Oakley, 2013; Bradley, 2013; Petersen,

1998). Derrida and those who follow his work highlighted the "privileging of one side of the

dualism over the other" (Petersen, 1998: 22). For example, just as man is elevated over

woman, so is self over other, mind over body, and identity over difference" (Petersen, 1998:

22). In regards to identity politics, this dualistic ordering leads to the "repression or denial of

difference and marginalisation of those who do not conform to narrowly prescribed norms"

(Petersen, 1998 22).

Deconstructionism—the philosophical doctrine of breaking down the binary constructs—was

an appealing approach to the new generation of feminists in the 1980s to challenge the status

quo of male privilege that delimited women's opportunities in a number of areas, such as

education, politics, and career choice (Bradley, 2013; Haraway, 2013; Oakley, 2015). In

addition to this, the sex/gender distinction was also a problematic framework for some second-wave feminists (Bradley, 2013: 21). A notable example is Judith Butler's (1990) critique of these two frameworks. Butler argues the sex/gender distinction is untenable as gender and sex are inextricably bound and concurrently established via repetitive actions which form a coherent whole of a 'masculine' or 'feminine' identity. Butler describes repetitive actions as the way we 'do gender' which can be understood as a performance. Butler (1990: 33) refers to this theory as performativity. Butler argues that gender is not fixed or stable but merely gives the illusion that it is so: "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly regulatory frame that congeals over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being". It is important to review feminist writings surrounding gender, sex, and sexuality, like Butler's (as well as Bordo's (1989) which will be explored further in the chapter), as the work of these scholars formed the fundamental groundwork and opened conversations regarding gender studies and identity politics.

In addition to the influential work of feminist scholars, Michael Foucault's formative work, *History of Sexuality* (1978), has shaped the way social constructivists perceive and theorise sexuality. As demonstrated there are a number of dualistic paradigms the modern Western world uses to order the world around them, one being the hetero/homo sexual divide. Within many Western societies these two constructs are seen as mutually exclusive, as well as a defining aspect of an individual's identity (Petersen, 1998; Bradley, 2013; Edwards; 2005). Foucault proposed that the notion of the 'homosexual' was constructed as a type of identity by European "sexologists". (Edwards, 2005: 52). The late nineteenth century Swiss doctor coined the term "homosexual" but prior to this the concept was not recognised as an identity construct. Herbert Sussman (2012: 133-134) offers a history of some masculine constructs and comments on this phenomenon: "the term homosexual is a recent invention . . .the term

homosexual as well as the term heterosexual as categories of identity for men were invented in the late nineteenth century in Europe within a great paradigm shift in the definition of masculinity that, for the first time in history, imagined the totality of the male self as determined by sexual object choice: this is by whether sexual desire was directed to the same sex or the opposite sex". Foucault says that the rise of pseudo sex scientists in the nineteenth century, as well as state-driven policies and psychiatric labelling of homosexuality, served to legitimise and entrench the notion of homosexuality as a type of 'condition' (Edwards, 2005: 52-53). Foucault highlighted (as well as other sociological and anthropological work, such as Margret Mead's well-known work in Samoa) that sexuality is culturally understood and defined. It has served to decouple sexual activity from sexuality, which has now become a cornerstone theory of the social constructivist perspective (Edwards, 2005: 52). Despite this, homosexuality is still marginalised in the West and many do not see men who participate in same-sex practices as 'real men'. Connell (1992: 736) comments on the trend: "To many people, homosexuality is a *negation* of masculinity, and homosexual men must be effeminate". There are participants within my own research that identify as gay, therefore understanding the scholarly discussions surrounding sexuality is an important activity. I wish to explore further whether the men of my research are making these distinctions— hetero/homo; masculine/'unmasculine'.

The work of Raewyn Connell (1983; 1987; 1995; 2005) builds and broadens on the work of feminist scholars by understanding gender in a manner that was inclusive of men, masculinity, and the issues which surround these constructs. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity has become one of the most well-known theories within masculinity studies— though, it is not without criticism (see Demetriou, 2001; Moller, 2007). Derivative of the Marxist theory of cultural hegemony, hegemonic masculinity is the notion of a dominant form of masculinity which occupies the most advantageous position in any given society

(Connell and Messserschmindt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity is constructed not only in relation to women but also other men, which are often referred to as "subordinate" or "alternative" forms of masculinity (Bradley, 2013: 52). It is important to note that Connell's notion of hegemonic masculinity is not a monolithic construct of masculinity that is accepted globally, but rather culturally dependent and is widely recognised as the conventional form of masculinity within a specific culture. To give an example, I will again call upon the description of the 'typical' Kiwi man: a white (or at least born within New Zealand) "hands-on" type, who enjoys watching rugby with mates as well as drinking a couple of beers. He also identifies as 'straight'. As a New Zealander, I know this example does not describe and account for all the men I know in my own life, but it is a demonstration of what is widely regarded as a 'quintessential' stereotype of a Kiwi male (Penwarden, 2010; Keppel, 2012). Within this example there are a number of qualities that *most* Kiwi men engage with in some form or another: the 'do it yourself' mentality, rugby (whether watching it or playing it), drinking alcohol, and heterosexuality. Connell would describe this as hegemonic masculinity within a New Zealand setting. Bradley (2013: 52) highlights that within many contemporary Western societies, the ideals of hegemonic masculinity can be described as the 'macho' man: "tough, competitive, self-reliant, controlling, aggressive, and fiercely heterosexual". These qualities are often favoured above other variations of masculinity, such as, ethnically different, homosexuality, and 'softer' versions of heterosexuality.

Although well-known, Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity is not accepted by all (Collins and Hearn, 1994; Collier, 1998; MacInnes, 1998). Postmodernist thinkers in particular struggle with the concept as it serves to reinforce gender differences and the dualistic framework of man and woman (Bradley, 2013: 51). Michael Moller (2002; 2007), an Australian sociologist, utilises and critiques the concept of hegemonic masculinity to analyse how Australian rugby league supporters construct and model their notion of

masculinity within this specific community. Moller (2007: 266) highlights that hegemonic masculinity has become synonymous with oppression, domination, and subordination of women other men. Consequently, the embodiment of hegemonic masculine characteristics have been framed in negative terms by scholars of masculinity. To frame hegemonic masculinity in such terms limits our ability to understand how some qualities are legitimised by society—men and women alike—while others are subordinated. Despite the shortcomings of the notion of hegemonic masculinity, it is a valuable concept to be included within the study of masculine identities. Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed concept, therefore has the ability to be utilised in the analysis of a number of different cultures and societies. As it is culturally dependent, hegemonic masculinity is inclusive of the social institutions which can create, maintain, and perpetuate masculine power, such as the political, historical, and economic processes. In addition to this, Moller (2002: 266) also mentions that although hegemonic masculinity is a source of power, it is not distributed evenly across all men: "It is not a power possessed by all or even most men, though many may benefit from it". Another use of the idea of hegemonic masculinity is how it allows us to analyse the way men perceive and relate to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity within their own lives. We can explore how individual men position themselves in terms of hegemonic and alternative forms of masculinity, as well as understanding how 'masculine power' is perceived by individual men.

Herbert Sussman writes a historical account of masculinity: *Masculine identities: the history and meanings of manliness* (2012). Within the text Sussman outlines a number of masculine constructs or identities that have been present throughout history. Sussman's first theme is 'Man as warrior'. Within this chapter Sussman offers a cross-cultural, as well as historical, overview of the warrior as a masculine identity. Sussman highlights that the validity of warrior as a masculine identity (as well as a craftsman and the economic man which he also reviews in the coming chapters), are dominant and influential masculine identities within a

specific time and place due to the needs and values of the society they are formulated within. Sussman (2012: 12) discusses how some forms of masculinity prevail over others, and within the context of the warrior, Sussman states: "The warrior is an individual, but, as with all forms of masculine identity, he derives this identity from the values and structures of the society into which he is born . . . All masculine identities survive because they are functional and serve the purpose of society at large". Although Sussman does not use the concept of hegemonic masculinity, this quote speaks very closely to it by highlighting the dominant forms of masculinity in regards to a specific time and place.

As well as looking at dominant forms of masculinity throughout history, Sussman also explores a handful of other masculine manifestations which include African-American masculine identities, Jewish-American masculine identities, as well as homosexual practices among men. In terms of Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, these masculine expressions or identities would be described as subordinate, marginalized, or alternative. As mentioned above, hegemonic masculinity is the construction of a masculine identity which encompasses the culturally favoured ideals of 'manliness' within a given culture milieu. This results in a hierarchical structure which favours a particular masculine identity—within Western cultures this is usually white, middle-to-upper class, heterosexual men—while discriminating against men who deviate from this norm (Aboim, 2010: 3) This structure usually disadvantages men who are either ethnically different, less educated, lower class, gay, or a combination of these masculine expressions. Rather than viewing hegemonic masculinity as a 'symbolic ideal', Sofia Aboim, a sociologist who researched masculinity within Portugal, conceptualises hegemonic masculinity as a gender order which distributes power unevenly to men in relation to their variance of the hegemonic norms (Aboim, 2010: 3).

Building upon Connell's concept, Aboim develops the theory of plural masculinities. In terms of hegemonic masculinity, Connell distinguished three groups of men: the dominant: those

who benefit from hegemonic ideals; the subordinated, those who are oppressed by hegemonic ideals; and complicit men, those who benefit from hegemonic masculinity but do not face direct criticism in terms of patriarchy (Aboim, 2010; Connell, 1995). The notion of "complicit" men is problematic and Aboim (2010: 3) explains why: "Most men can be viewed as complicit. They are not particularly powerful, nor do they influence the dominant cultural symbols of manhood. Conversely, most men do not explicitly defy the codes of masculinity". It is too simplistic to categorise men into those who actively deconstruct hegemonic masculine ideals and men who uncritically absorb the cultural and societal influences they are audience to. Instead, we can study masculinity in terms of plurality in tandem with hegemonic masculinity. On its own, hegemonic masculinity is an aloof set of masculine qualities that do not always account for the complex experiences of men which are often riddled with contradictions and paradoxes (Aboim, 2010). In this sense, the idea of plural masculinities follows the theoretical trend to see identities, for both men and women, as fragmented (Craib, 1998), liquid (Bauman, 2004), or reflexive (Giddens, 1991).

Masculinity scholars have argued that there are a number of social developments that have led to this 'fragmentation' of male identities, or a 'crisis' of masculinity as some scholars have described (see, for example, Badinter, 1995; Rutherford, 1992; Kimmel, 1987). Some believe the rise of feminism has unhinged a commonly held notion that to be a man is to be not like a woman, and vice-versa, which clearly is built upon the foundations of the man/woman dualism (Bradley, 2013: 57). Middle-class women have entered the paid labour market in huge numbers and the notion of woman as a 'homemaker' has been fractured (though not broken). This has weakened the notion of man as the 'breadwinner' of the nuclear family, and woman as the dependant. Masculinity has long been associated with the role of 'breadwinner', but increasingly connected to paid labour since the industrial and economic revolution in which a 'new' form of masculinity emerged—the middle-class man

(Sussman, 2012, 81; Robinson and Hockey, 2011: 31; McDowell, 2005: 19). In addition to this, Western capitalist markets are changing as a result of globalisation and technological advances; which has further destabilised employment options (for both men and women) as jobs are increasingly based upon casual employment contracts (McDowell, 2005; Robinson and Hockey, 2011;). Some scholars, such as Hise (2004) and Tiger (2000), suggest that the increased visibility of 'femininities' within Western societies has led to masculine 'anxiety' (Atkinson, 2008: 68).

 I am not sure I believe that masculinity underwent or is currently in 'crisis', but rather I would tend to see masculinity, in its multiple forms (just as "femininity" has), as a type of identity. And like identity, which has been studied extensively throughout the twentieth century (Hall, 1992; Elliott, 2011; Wetherell, 2010; Lawler, 2014), masculinity is not stable or fixed but rather malleable and changeable in response to the developing and shifting social, cultural, economic, and political institutions which surround it. To say that masculinity is in 'crisis' could possibly be overstated as it implies masculinity and masculine constructs and implies that there was/is a fixed experience of 'manhood'. From the multiple studies which offer a cross-cultural analysis of masculine identities, we know this to be untrue (Oakley, 2015; Galliano, 2003). This perspective stops short of analysing the way men perceive and embody these changes (be they political, cultural, economic, or another phenomenon that surround each of us) which play a role in forming a sense of self.

Although I reject the notion that masculinity is in crisis, I do think masculinity, as a type of identity, has undergone some changes throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries within Western societies (see Robinson and Hockey's *Masculinities in transition* for a detailed discussion of these changes). The shift I am most concerned about within the present research is the way men are viewing and altering their bodies, as well as perceiving the bodies of other men in relation to their own. The body has always served an important

function in the construction of a masculine identity (Oakley, 2015; Kessler and McKenna, 1978; Robinson and Hockey, 2011; Sussman, 2012).A masculine body is recognised via muscular limbs, physical toughness, and the presence of a penis (Petersen, 1998: 43). The male body is merely a body but becomes masculine when positioned in relation to a female body (and vice-versa). Some of the broad biological differences between females and males serve an important function in regards to the man/woman dualism. But more recently scholars have been focusing on men's 'experiences with aesthetic body modification' (Atkinson, 2008: 69). The growing body of literature surrounding men's bodywork has explored a range of different practices, such as gym work, body building, tattooing, and hairstyles, along with other normative masculine body modification techniques (Barber, 2008; Frank, 2014; Atkinson, 2008).

There a number of different reasons as to why the body has become a central focus in the study of men and masculinity. A general trend within research conducted surrounding identity indicates that increasingly so, the body is viewed "as a project of the self" within Western societies (Becker, 1995: 5). Gill, Henwood and Mclean also highlight this trend within their own research, *Body projects and the regulation of normative masculinity* (2005), which seeks to explore the private feelings and practices of men to understand how they relate to the wider social and cultural construction of bodily ideals. They state it is ever more apparent that "the body has become a new (identity) project in high/late/postmodernity" (2005: 38). This shift may also be credited to economic changes. The production of masculine identities in the modern industrial West has been strongly connected to paid manual labour (Petersen, 1998; Aboim, 2012). As the global workforce undergoes significant changes in regards to employment, men may be looking for new source of identity and Gill et al (2005: 39-40) comment "males may be *defining themselves* through their bodies . . . less because of what the body is able to *do*, than because of how it *looks*". Bordo (2000: 57) adds

to this by saying individuals "often turn to their bodies in an attempt to establish a private domain in which a sense of control and self-esteem can be asserted". Recent literature also highlights that media representations of male bodies are increasing exponentially in which men are positioned as objects of a gaze (just as women are as highlighted in Laura Mulvey's (1975) well cited work *Visual pleasure in narrative cinema*), as well as presenting an idealistic male body as consumable (Frank, 2014; Bordo, 1999; Barber, 2008; Atkinson, 2008). Gill et al. (2005) explore the real implications this representation of male bodies in the media may be having on men. Gill, Henwood and McLean's research demonstrates that men, like women, also draw on media representations and other cultural discourses to inform their sense of self as well as their bodily ideals and practices. Bordo (1999: 217) comments on this trend: "I never dreamed that 'equality' would move in the direction of men worrying *more* about their looks rather than women worrying less".

The 'metrosexual' is a recent masculine archetype presented in the media which appears consistent with the ideals of 'new' masculinity that is a sexualised object of another's gaze (Frank, 2014: 281). Many academic articles have explored the construction of the 'metrosexual' male since the term was first used in 1994 (Frank, 2014; Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith, 2012; Miller, 2006; Carniel, 2009). The term was coined by British columnist, Mark Simpson, in his article entitled '*Here come the mirror men*'. Simpson described metrosexual as the "new, narcissistic, media-saturated, self-conscious kind of masculinity" which can be seen as the projections of "feminine" qualities onto men (Simpson, 2004). The term did not become part of mainstream vocabulary until a decade after its first use, following Simpson's article *Salon* in 2002 (Harrison, 2008: 54). Simpson 'named and shamed' well known celebrities, such as Brad Pitt and David Beckham, as leading metrosexuals which he further described: "[A metrosexual man] might be officially gay, straight or bisexual, but this is utterly immaterial because he has clearly taken himself as his

own love object and pleasure as his sexual preference" (cited in Harrison, 2008: 55). Since then the term 'metrosexual' has been referenced by "21,500 non-academic online articles and 1.2 million google hits (as of May 2009)" (Hall and Gough, 2011: 67).

Some scholars, such as Claire Harrison (2008: 56), see the metrosexual phenomenon as a significant change in the way masculinity is constructed in contemporary society. Harrison writes: "the concept of masculinity is undergoing significant social changes as many men re-evaluate their appearance, reposition themselves as consumers of fashion and style products, and ultimately re-construct their idea of what it means to be male". David Coad (2008) looks at the intersection of sport, gender and sexuality and suggests that the media's use of high profile sporting celebrities, such as Ian Thorpe and David Beckham, have encouraged heterosexual men to engage in conventionally 'feminine' practices like maintaining an interest in the latest fashion trends and care for one's appearance, for example. Coad goes on to say that the metrosexual trend, as a gender construct, begins to unsettle conventional ideas around the construction of gender and sexuality. Coad (2008: 73) suggests this is achieved through the integration of beautification and self-care—practices which are generally attributed to women and gay men—into the metrosexual identity which may represent a move beyond the restrictive dualism of the masculine/feminine and hetero/homo dynamics. Coupland (2007: 42) adds that the recent construction of the metrosexual male has "[unsettled] traditional notions of masculinity, the public gaze has turned on men, and men's gaze has turned towards the mirror". Such claims as these are supported by consumer statistics which demonstrate the United Kingdom's revenue from male grooming products has tripled between 2002 and 2006 (Hall et al. 2012: 209). This trend has also been observed elsewhere. For example, *The Economist* (2003) stated, "the grooming market for young males in North America was worth around $8 billion last year, and is growing fast" (cited in Hall et al. 2012: 210).

I am not sure I am convinced the metrosexual identity works to weaken the binary dynamic between masculine/feminine and hetero/homo or even that "metrosexuality" is a genuine identity construct. Rather it may be an over simplification of how men are (re)conceptualising their own sense of masculinity in terms of body image, cultural discourses regarding masculine identities, and emerging consumerist trends in the West. Carniel (2009) investigates the validity of metrosexuality within an Australian soccer community. She concludes that while the participants of her research indicate men are more image-orientated, which she believes is driven by consumption practices, the fundamental attributes of hegemonic masculinity (violence, psychological and mental toughness, and heterosexuality) have remain largely unchanged. Rather than shifting the boundaries of hegemonic masculinity, the metrosexual phenomenon has "re-socialise[d] men as consumers" (Carniel, 2009: 81).

Barber's (2008) research, *The well-coiffed man: class, race, and heterosexual masculinity in the hair salon,* is a case study within a small hair salon in Southern California of men's participation in conventional feminine beauty work. White professional-class men are the main clientele for the services these salons provide. Barber demonstrates that despite salons being conventionally defined as feminine spaces, the participants of her study have reshaped the space and practice in terms of white professional-class masculinity. Barber's participants explain their rationale for engaging in such practices by connecting it to their careers as professionals. By stating that beauty work is a requirement of their job, the men are resisting the notion that going to a salon is a form of luxury or emotionally driven (a typically feminine rationale of beauty work), but is rather a means to gain or maintain status and wealth (attributes traditionally connected to masculinity). Barber (2008: 40) comments how men resist feminisations and reconstruct the space and practice in terms of masculine logic: "The men's desires for aesthetic enhancement are potentially threatening to their masculinity

since, as men, their sense of self-worth is not supposed to be tied to how they look. To counteract this potential threat, the men claim they do not *want* to look stylish for themselves; rather they *need* to look good to succeed professionally". It is clear there is a tension for men to maintain the cultural ideals of masculinity while at the same time there appears to be an increasing focus on bodily presentation.

Moss Norman speaks of these tension men may experience. Norman's research, *Embodying the double-bind of masculinity: young men and discourses of normalcy, health, heterosexuality, and individualism* argues that young men are 'confronted with competing discourses of masculinity where they are simultaneously incited to work on and transform their bodies into culturally recognizable ideals, while at the same time remaining distant and aloof to the size, shape and appearance of their bodies" (Norman, 2011: 430). Norman adopts Susan Bordo's concept, the 'double-bind of masculinity', to describe this phenomenon. Other scholars (De Visser, Smith and McDonnell, 2009; Henwood and McLean, 2005) also speak of this personal conflict among men to simultaneously embody contemporary cultural bodily ideals while appearing to maintain an uncaring disposition towards their appearance, because to do so would be vain.

De Visser, Smith and McDonnell's (2009) research suggests that lack of vanity is one of the four key masculine domains which contribute to achieving a 'successful' masculine identity. The research, '*That's not masculine': masculine capital and health related behaviour*, identifies physical prowess, lack of vanity, (hetero)sexuality, and alcohol use as four established social behaviours of contemporary masculinity. De Visser et al.'s (2009: 1048) research echoes Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital which "consists of an individual's knowledge, experience, and prestige and/or social connections that enable them to succeed in social settings". Social capital serves as an important source of power and authority. Symbolic capital is analysed in conjunction with Bourdieu's concept 'habitus'. De Visser et

al. (2009: 1048) cite Bourdieu's definition of habitus as "a durable system of cognitive and behavioural disposition". When used to understand gender identity, habitus is conceived as "the embodiment of social discourses of masculinity" (De Visser et al., 2009: 1048).The study was conducted in London, consisting of men aged18-21. The participant group was diverse in terms of class and ethnicity. De Visser et al. (2009: 1048) state, "men may be able to create a viable masculine identity by using competence in one masculine domain to compensate for a lack of competence in (or refusal to engage with) other masculine domains".

The authors (2009: 1053) asked the participants to discuss David Beckham—a very successful British footballer who is often described as the 'metrosexual archetype'—in terms of the four outlined masculine domains. David Beckham is very successful in regards to physical prowess but could be seen as vain or feminine due to his interest in fashion and his appearance. The participants concluded that although he was vain (an 'un-masculine' characteristic) he was still considered masculine due to his sporting success. This example demonstrates that not all masculine or 'un-masculine' behaviours are perceived equally, which De Visser et al. (2009: 1053) comment on: "The data indicate[s] that men can engage in masculine and non-masculine behaviour, but still have a net masculine identity". Applied to my own research, this claim raises interesting questions and discussions regarding the grooming habits of the participants of this study—who occasionally to semi-regularly participate in conventionally 'feminine' behaviours, such as cosmetic-use. How are the participants of my research distributing their 'masculine capital' to account for their 'un-masculine' behaviours, or, are the participants ignoring these distinctions and conceptualising their cosmetic use in other ways?

Chapter Four: The double-bind of masculinity and techniques used by men to negotiate conflicting discourses

The "double-bind" concept was coined by psychologist, Gregory Bateson, in 1956. Bateson used the term "double-bind" to describe where an individual is presented with at least two competing and contradictory mandates that they are expected to accomplish. This creates a situation in which the individual is faced with the impossible task to make the "right" choice—whatever their final decision is, it will always contradict the other option, hence creating a "lose-lose" situation. Susan Bordo has adapted Bateson's concept to explore gender constructions and to understand the complex contradictions that can be encompassed in society's notion of what it means to be "feminine" and "masculine". The "double-bind" theory first appeared in Bordo's work in her book *Unbearable Weight* (1993). Bordo used the theory to describe the impossible situation women were/are in—where they are expected to compete with men in terms of career development (as well as other areas) and achieve their own independence, while simultaneously preforming a culturally recognised notion of "femininity".

Bordo went on to extend this concept to explore men's sexuality and the multiple cultural and social discourses men are exposed to. Bordo writes about the paradoxical expectations surrounding men's sexuality in her book, *The Male Body* (1999). Here Bordo (1999: 242-253) highlights that hegemonic masculinity is characterised by aggressive heterosexual experiences which promotes the idea that men should competitively pursue sexual encounters with as many women as possible. Concurrently to being audience to this narrative surrounding masculine sexuality, men are also incited to be respectful, sensitive, and accepting of a woman's right to refuse, and to be passionate and lustful if she accepts (Bordo, 1999: 242-253). These competing messages create a double-bind for men who experience

confusion and anxiety in regards to the construction of their own sexuality and the way it relates to a woman and her right to refuse sexual advances (Mansley, 2007: 98). Bordo's theorisation of the double-bind within gender constructions has influenced other academics, one of which is Moss Norman.

Norman employs the concept of the double-bind in his work, *Embodying the double-bind of masculinity: young men and discourses of normalcy, health, heterosexuality, and individualism* (2011). Norman uses the double-bind as concept to describe the antagonistic messages men receive in terms of bodily image and body work. Norman (2011: 430) writes that "young men are confronted with competing discourses of masculinity where they are simultaneously incited to work on and transform their bodies into culturally recognizable ideals, while at the same time remaining distant and aloof to the size, shape and appearance of their bodies". Norman, and others (Gill, Henwood and Mclean, 2005; Hall and Gough, 2011) identify the transcendent nature of the male body as a recognisable cultural ideal of hegemonic masculinity. In their book, *Music Video and the Politics of Representation* (2011), Railton and Watson explore the ways the ideals of hegemonic masculinity (as well as other forms of masculinity such as black masculinity for example) are represented, reproduced and perpetuated in the media and specially so in music videos. Railton and Watson write from a postmodernist perspective which allows them to focus on semiotic connections to understand how representations of race, gender and sexuality are sensationalised, distorted, reproduced and sometimes challenged within popular culture.

For example, Railton and Watson explore the way male bodies are noticeably disconnected from the individual male members of the music videos. They note a number of techniques deployed to attempt to disembody the male body which include the deletion, displacement, and the disguise of the male body. The rhetoric created in some music videos via the techniques mentioned speak to a larger conversation of the somatic (or lack of) realm of

masculinity. Commenting on the Western tradition of masculine representation, Susan Bordo (1999: 19) comments "male scientists and philosophers have created a nearly unbroken historical stream of tracts—philosophical, religious, scientific—on women's bodies . . . [b]ut they have been remarkably good at forgetting that men have a sex". As well as this, within music videos and the wider institutions of media, the male body is positioned next to women who are hypervisible and overtly sexualised, whereas the male body is often represented for what it can do rather than the way it looks. Railton and Watson (2011: 132) highlight that this is achieved by framing the representations of the male artists around their musical abilities and performance, thus rendering the male body sexless.

This notion of the sexless male body was discussed by de Beauvoir (1989: xxi) who said that man never needs to present his sexed body as "it goes without saying that he is a man". De Beauvoir argued that framing the male body in such a way lends credibility to the notion that man is the absolute human, therefore there is no need to assert the "maleness" of the body. Consequently, the subtleties of hegemonic masculinity are continued and feed the narrative that "the unruly, excessive body is culturally coded as feminine, the question of the body—its representations, its history, its speakability—becomes framed within the domain of the feminine" (Norman, 2011: 432). The representations of gender (as well as ethnicity and sexuality) broadcasted by media institutions have a number of repercussions, one being cultural representations. Richard Dyer describes the consequences of such representations: '[They] have real consequences for real people, not just in the way they are treated . . . but in terms of the way representations delimit and enable what people can be in any given society' (Dyer, 1993: 3). One such example of these representations is the anxiety and fears created in young men when this message of male disembodiment is coupled with the promotion of image-based consumption trends that have been observed within modern consumerist societies (Sturrock and Pioch, 1998; Hall and Gough, 2011; McNeill and Douglas, 2011).

Concurrently with receiving these messages men are also exposed to a discourse that is reworking the male body as a new arena to expand consumerists' agendas through the increased representation of stylised male bodies. Hall and Gough explore how the media, and especially so men's lifestyle magazines, construct and represent masculine identities (in this case, metrosexual masculinity) in their article *Magazine and reader constructions of 'metrosexuality' and masculinity: a membership categorisation analysis* (2011). Hall and Gough (2011: 68) note that since the 1980s there has been a growth of men's lifestyle magazines publication that appeal to a number of different "types" of masculinity, such as the "metrosexual", the "new lad" and "new man", and more recently, the "hipster guy". Despite the downturn of many physical publications of men's lifestyle magazine, there appears to be a general shift towards online editions, with *AskMen.com* accounting for 34% of online readership, which roughly equates to 7 million readers each month (Hall and Gough, 2011: 68). Although men's lifestyle magazines were not a new concept in 1980, publications such as *GQ*, *Men's Health*, *Arena*, and *FHM*, have shifted the contents of men's magazines away from "men's" activities and hobbies towards content that is more image-based and focused on styling masculine appearances and promoting consumption (Hall and Gough, 2011: 68). In addition to this trend towards image-based consumption, it is suggested that men and men's bodies became ever-increasingly eroticized and exposed in television and print-based adverts post-1980 (Moore, 1989). Simpson writes in his book, *Male impersonators: men preforming masculinity* (1994), that men's lifestyle magazines play an important role in the circulation of these images as the publications are filled with images of semi-naked male bodies to sell a range of goods such as fashion, grooming products, and health "lifestyles". Hall and Gough (2011: 69) state that a "tension still persists within style magazines between the promotion of consumption with its feminised undertones and a continued allegiance to more hegemonic forms of masculinity".

The tension these two discourses create within individual men is further revealed in Norman's (2011) study which focuses on 32 male participants between the ages of thirteen and fifteen based in two large, urbanised Canadian cities. Norman did not enter the field with a specific practice in mind, such as my own, but rather the semi-structured interviews and focus groups dictated the body concerns and projects that were of concern to the participants. Primarily, the participants were concerned with their height, weight (in terms of not wanting to be overweight or "too" skinny), and muscularity. Second to this, the participants also spoke of their skin complexion, fashion trends and their sense of style.

The double-bind, as Norman frames it, can be observed within my own research. Jordan, a 21 year old university student from Minnesota, spoke of a tension surrounding skincare, the need to look good, and the construction of masculine identities. Jordan asked the *Skincare Addiction* community for advice regarding his oily skin and pore size, which he identified as his primary skin concern. I messaged him privately via the messaging system on Reddit. I asked Jordan where he primarily sourced his information regarding these skincare concerns and he identified the internet, mainly the skincare group on Reddit, but also using it as a general reference. For example, when a specific skin issue arises, Jordan will use Google as a general search engine and will rely on the sites and blogs that are suggested. I asked Jordan if he would speak to his family and friends about skin concerns he may have or products they may recommend for his skin. He answered that his mum and older sisters have been helpful and a good reference regarding grooming products and techniques. I noted that Jordan did not mention any males when seeking skincare advice. I mentioned this, and asked if he had ever spoken to his male friends regarding the topic. Jordan replied: "*It's just not something guys talk about, I don't really know why. I think part of it has to do with asserting our identities as males. We see females doing skin care stuff all the time, "fussing" over their appearance, so*

to say. So as a way to say, "hey, we're males; we're different from females", we kind of eschew all things beauty related.

Jordan's explanation speaks to the idea that any bodywork that could be considered feminine needs to be distanced, eschewed and renegotiated in a way that allows men to retain their heterosexual masculinity. Norman (201: 430) explores the techniques employed by his participants that allow the men to mediate the circumstances surrounding the double-bind of masculinity. Norman (2011: 430) identifies the discourses of healthy active living, normalcy, individualism, heterosexuality as "technologies of the self" deployed by the participants. In terms of my own research findings, I found that the discourses of normalcy, individualism, and heterosexuality were deployed by the participants to explain their rationale of cosmetic and skincare products. The concept of "normal" or "average" masculine embodiments was a concept referenced by a handful of the participants. For example, while Jordan was talking about his avoidance of speaking to his male family and friends about his skin issue, he also mentioned that "everyone thinks about their appearances and is probably self-conscious about their looks at some point or another". He also noted that if he were to tell his friends about his detailed skincare routine they would probably think he was "weird" or "girly". He noted that his friends only use water and bar soap to clean their faces as they have never had skin issues such as acne or oiliness. When Jordan describes his friend's skin, he used words such as "fine", "good", "normal" and "heathy". While using these words to describe his friend's skin, he is also evaluating and labelling his own as "bad" and "not normal".

Also in the above statement, Jordan says, "*we see females doing skin care stuff all the time, 'fussing' over their appearance, so to say"*. This comment touches on the notion that "fussing" or excessive attention and care to your appearance is an activity for females, and to engage in such practices would be effeminate and would somehow damage the heterosexual masculine performance. Jordan even goes on to explicitly say (by describing women's

attention to their appearance as "fussing" and men's attempts to eschew these practices) that men are attempting to reconstruct the same practice to produce a different performance, which Jordan describes as: *"hey, we're males; we're different from females".* The tendency to categorise men and women into a binary division is evident in Jordan's definition of what it means to be a man, where to be masculine is to not be feminine. The proclivity to renegotiate certain body work, such as dieting, is evident in Bently's work, *The other Atkins revolution: Atkins and shifting culture of dieting* (2004), which looks at how dieting, food restriction and surveillance have been coded as feminine but the introduction of meat-based diets, such as the Atkins program, provides a method to reframe the same body, i.e. dieting, into a masculine appropriate practice. Bently's research highlights that the way men engage in body work through covert or private means allows them to them to distance themselves from feminine angst surrounding appearances and to frame it in such a way that it *appears* to be more about the practice rather than the aesthetic appeal. Bently's participants used the discourses of healthy living or active lifestyles to eschew their practices of diet and exercise away from "fussing" about their bodies and/or appearances as females would do.

The data within my own research also demonstrated that men are actively trying to renounce their association with image-orientated practices. While observing a forum within reddit, I came across a question which asked men: "what products do you secretly use that are actually designed for women?". I read through the thread and found the answer I thought I may find. One user mentioned that he used women's skincare goods as he thought they were a better match for his skin type when compared to the men's counterpart. As well as this, another member mentioned that: "As a guy with acne, I use cover up when I need it". Another member responded to this comment by saying: "So do I bro, girlfriend even helps when we are going out and I feel self-conscious. Have no idea why it's so taboo for men to cover up there acne". These comments show that using cosmetics is still an extremely sensitive

practice for men to engage in and many use covert means, such as their girlfriend's help to try disguise their use of such products. The conversation continued and another member mentioned that he had previously used concealer to cover spots but stopped as someone had noticed and pointed it out. The member wrote, "Yep, used to as well here until someone in class noticed, worst day ever. You don't know what embarrassment is until you're in a class of 30 people and as a guy being called out for wearing a little concealer over some pimples". Another user sympathised with this situation as he said a similar situation had occurred with him. Rather than admit that he was wearing concealer to cover acne, this member lied and said it was not makeup but actually a cream he was using to ease his oily skin. This comment shows that there are still strict confines on what are appropriate behaviours of masculinity. Somehow it seems that "creams" or skincare products are okay to treat oily skin, as after the user lied and said it was "just a cream for oily skin" the other guy "didn't make a fuss". The shame and embarrassment one user felt after his use of concealer was exposed can be seen as the very real effects of not meeting the confines of hegemonic masculinity. When one does not conform to the prescribed ideals of hegemonic masculinity, there are consequences and in this case it was a feeling of shame and embarrassment and the eventual discontinuation of the inappropriate practice.

Throughout my conversation with Jordan we continued to talk about the taboo surrounding men's use of skincare and cosmetic products and I asked him what he thought about men's need to evade the association between men and such products. Jordan commented: "*I think that's kind of strange because I know we all think about it. Maybe not to a degree that women in general think about their skin or appearance, but nobody wants to look bad. Being attractive is such an advantage in society, and probably all my friends have felt self-conscious about their appearance at some point*". Jordan's statement speaks of the lived experience of the double-bind of masculinity. Jordan seems acutely aware of the multiple

discourses men are expected to adhere to. He notes the need for men to remain unfazed towards their bodies; similarly, scholars (Bordo, 1999; Grosz, 1994) have noted "masculine privilege is contingent upon its disembodiment" (Norman, 2011: 434). However, at the same time, as Jordan indicates, there is the social idealisation of attractiveness and meeting the standards of these cultural depictions of masculine and feminine beauty is advantageous.

Kristen Barber's study, *The well-coiffed man: class, race, and heterosexual masculinity in the hair salon* (2008), can be read as the way professional-class, white men from a suburban town in California alter their appearances to gain an advantage in their careers. The participants of Barber's research frequented upper-class or boutique-style salons to achieve a hairstyle which invoked ideas of professionalism and success. The men speak of the need to keep up appearances when dealing with wealthy clients and customers to communicate a level of control and attention to detail. By framing their participation within hair salons (which have typically been categorised as feminine spaces), in terms of workplace success, the men actively reconfigure their beauty work away from a form of leisure and luxury as they view women's time in salons, towards a requirement of social success. Barber (2008: 470) comments on this trend that has emerged throughout her research: "the men claim they do not *want* to look stylish for themselves; rather they *need* to look good to succeed professionally".

Although not as pronounced as in Barber's research, the participants in my own research identified work as a place where they felt the most pressure to alter and conform their bodies to a prescribed standard of appearance. When analysing the data I found that the eight participants that mentioned they altered their appearance in terms of fashion, hairstyles, and grooming products were in professions that required interpersonal skills such as a university lecturer, insurance administrator, and a research coordinator. These participants all cited the need to look presentable and professional for their jobs.

I spoke to a sales assistant at the Clinique cosmetic and skincare counter within the Farmers shop at Westfield, Albany. The shop assistant, Carol, was approximately mid-to-late fifties and had worked for Clinique for over fifteen years. I asked Carol if she had many male customers inquiring about cosmetic and/or skincare products. Carol mentioned that she occasionally does have some male clients who ask about and purchase makeup from the counter but for the most part men usually just stick to skin care goods. I asked Carol if she could identify the 'type' of men who bought makeup and what products they purchase. Carol answered that these men mainly bought concealers, a light coverage foundation and occasionally brow products to fill out their eyebrows and she thought the men she had helped in regards to picking out makeup products were "probably gay". I asked how she came to this conclusion and Carol mentioned that although she would never ask someone about their sexuality, she thought that based on their body language and posture they presented themselves in a more feminine way when compared to other male clients.

Carol and I continued to discuss the male clientele and the products that were generally popular with men. Carol said that she had worked at a number of the Clinique counters around Auckland including the one in the CBD. She noted that the Albany counter that she is currently working on mainly serves "tradies" in their mid-to-late twenties and through into their forties. Carol noted that these men mainly focused on their basic skincare needs, for example, a cleanser and possibly a moisturiser but she identified that men who worked in a trade type job normally just wanted a sunscreen lotion that would protect their skin from the undesirable effects of too much time in the sun. Carol noted that these types of men were not too concerned with their appearance as long as their skin "looked normal", or rather had no pimples or visible texture. Rather, the "tradies" were more focused on the functionality of sunscreen and the health benefits, i.e. being able to prevent skin cancers.

Carol's description of the "tradie" type clientele at Clinique, Albany, chimes well with other ethnographic research surrounding men and grooming products in New Zealand. McNeil and Douglas conducted the research *Retailing masculinity: gender expectations and social images of male grooming products in New Zealand* (2011), which although written from a marketing perspective, still offers some insights into the way New Zealand men engage in grooming and consumerist practices. McNeil and Douglas cite that the men of their research also legitimised their grooming consumption in terms of functionality of the product rather than the desire to look a certain way. McNeil and Douglas (2011: 452) describe this trend: "while women often seek to transform or beautify themselves through grooming, for males a functional justification is necessary to eliminate overtly feminine associations . . . males clearly want their grooming choices to be seen as utilitarian rather than self-indulgent". McNeil and Douglas's research also highlight that many men appear to see skincare products as a practical solution to a specific problem.

This analysis offered by McNeil and Douglas accurately describes the way Alex, a 31 year old systems analyst from Arkansas uses skincare products. I first contacted Alex after I observed his post in the Skincare Addiction community that read:

Hey everyone, I'm new to this sub and I basically just came here for a recommendation. I looked through the side bar and ran some searches but I couldn't find exactly what I wanted. I have oily skin and have breakouts mainly on my back as a result. I'm just wanting a suggestion on a body wash that is all in one, hair body etc. that would help with that. I like to keep things as simple as possible. I have been using Irish Spring Signature because the bottle looked cool and I liked the smell. Yeah I know, stupid reasons. I am in Arkansas and price isn't that important if it works well. Nothing like $30 a bottle though. Any help would be appreciated. Thank you.

Alex's post identifies the issue he is currently concerned with is acne on his back because of an over production of oil. I found acne and oiliness to be the most common issue that men have with their skin. For example, in the online survey I conducted, which consisted of twenty-two participants, just over half the men cited acne and oiliness as their primary skin concern. The number of products a man uses to groom his body seems to be of importance to the participants, and certainly Alex. McNeil and Douglas also provide a number of quotes from their participants that communicate the desire for a limited number of products that can "do it all", or an "all in one" type product to use Alex's terminology. Alex states his desire for simplicity as his justification for wanting such products, and stated further into the interview that he did not see the point of multiple products that would clutter his bathroom counter. He saw the "massive routines" that were often recommended in the *Skincare Addiction* community as "over the top" and "a bit excessive".

The interesting thing here is that although Alex did not connect these "excessive" products to women, when reviewing and analysing our interviews I did note a number of occasions where he had referenced the community as a place for women. For example, he stated earlier in our conversation that he does not normally post in the *Skincare Addition* subreddit because it is not something he is particularly interested in, but in this case he had reviewed other posts as unhelpful as they were mainly geared towards female skin issues which Alex believed were different to his own. Here it is noteworthy to mention that reddit is used anonymously and the posts in this community can include photos that could disclose one's gender, but often there is no photo and the written component of the post is written without explicitly disclosing the person's gender. However, most do include a description of the individual's current routine and the products they use.

It appears that Alex may be making conclusions about other members' gender via the products listed and the quantity of products one uses. At different times, Alex said that the

members of this community are mainly women and later mentioned that all the members recommend really detailed routines. Women's use of multiple products seems unpractical and unnecessary to Alex and fits the discourse that Norman (2011: 432) presents whereby the "unruly, excessive body is culturally coded as feminine". As evident in Alex's need for an "all in one" grooming product that can be used for his acne, oiliness, hair, and general body cleanliness, there appears to be a resistance to using a number of products to solve or help a certain issue. McNeil and Douglas (2011: 453) also comment on this trend that has surfaced throughout their research: "Males clearly see owning multiple grooming products as classically feminine behaviour and thus seek to avoid accusations of femininity by applying unspoken judgement around the number of items one owns".

It appears marketers and companies that develop grooming products for men are acutely aware of men's desire to limit the number of products they use and the desire for a simplistic skincare routine. In response, they have developed multi-purpose products which allow men to navigate the double-bind of masculinity and pay attention to their appearance but not *too* much attention. For example, skincare company, Nivea, has developed a skincare range targeting men, called Nivea Men (see Figure 1). Within the Nivea Men range, I observed a number of products, which claimed to be multi-functional and have the ability to treat and prevent a number of skin concerns. One such product is the "Volcanic Mud Foam Face Wash: Multi-Active 10-in-1" which claims to clear "the 10 problems of oily skin". These ten actions the product claims to accomplish is long-lasting oil control, prevents and reduces acne, tightens pores, prevents black heads and white heads, deep cleans the skin without

drying, maintains correct water balance of skin, adjusts the skin texture, evens the skin, and clears breakouts.

Figure 1 Two examples of multi-purpose products available to men. On the left is the Volcanic Mud Foam Face Wash Multi-Active 10-in1, and on the right is the Shower Gel Body Face and Hair, both from the Nivea Men range.

Although the Volcanic Mud Foam Face Wash claims to have ten different purposes, when you review what the product claims to achieve it appears to repeat the same claim using a range of different terminology. For example, the ability to clear acne is repeated a number of times: black heads, white heads, and breakouts are all synonyms for pimples or acne. Nevertheless, Nivea have tapped into men's desire for a simple skincare routine and to evade the domain of feminine extravagance. McNeil and Douglas's (2011: 453) research also highlights that shower gels and shower products are generally very popular with men in New Zealand. This was evident when I observed the products aimed at men in supermarkets,

pharmacies, and big-box type stores like the Warehouse and Kmart, where shower gels and shower related grooming products easily made up the largest portion of male orientated products on display. The Nivea Men range again provides a valuable example of this trend where they have developed a multi-purpose shower gel that a man can use for his body, face and hair which is the exact type of product Alex was looking for.

While speaking to Carol, the Clinique sales assistant, we discussed the different ways she approached and conducted a consultation with men and women. Carol explained that when women come into the store, she conducts a "full consultation" if the client has enough time. I asked what a full consultation consisted of. Carol explained that she usually sits the client down and ask them why they have come to the Clinique counter today; what their primary skin concerns are; and what sort of products they are looking for. The client may say she has dry skin and is hoping to find a moisturiser that helps alleviate this. Carol may ask what her diet consists of; if she stays hydrated; and to describe her current skincare regime. Carol says she needs to know this information to give the most comprehensive recommendation based on the client's needs. I asked if Carol also followed this procedure with her male clients, as I could not see men being keen to undergo such a detailed consultation. Carol said that no, not many men want a full consultation, but instead they tend to "just grab and go". I asked Carol how she changed her selling approach when she spoke to men and she responded that she asks men "more basic questions" or "guy language". I questioned what "basic questions" or "guy language" meant, and Carol stated that instead of using words like "dry" she would instead replace it with the word "rough", and instead of "oily" she would say "greasy". The "guy language" Carol has developed fits with the literature that suggests that men have a "narrower discursive repertoire" when talking about their bodies and bodily practices when compared to women (Wright, O'Flynn, and MacDonald, 2006: 710 in Norman, 2011: 434). This is also supported within my own data where a number of participants would say that

they joined the *Skincare Addiction* community as their skin just did not look/feel "right". When reviewing the interviews I had with participants, I found that a lot of men said: "I'm not sure" or "I don't know" and "maybe this isn't correct" when talking about different products available or discussing their current skincare routine.

I also noted that the Clinique store only had two male dedicated ranges for "dry/normal skin" and the other for "oily/acne prone skin", while Clinique's women dedicated ranges had up to five different cleansers, toners, moisturisers and night creams. I asked Carol about this difference and why the men's range only had two options while the women's had up to five. Carol responded that "men weren't bothered about all the complicated stuff, they just want their skin to look normal". It seems that to men, the need for five different variations of the same product would be excessive and unnecessary, but a "this-or-that" type decision allows them to show appropriate concern towards their appearance while not appearing too body conscious. In case of men's bodily appearance, "the desire to achieve a particular look must simply be presented in a way that does not transgress the taboo about appearing vain" (Gill, Henwood, and McLean, 2005; 51).

Other companies, such as L'Oreal, have made the distinction between their men's range, L'Oreal Men Expert, and female orientated products even more explicit than the examples already discussed. While observing men's lifestyle magazines, I came across the October 2015 publication of M2 New Zealand (issue 126) which features a number of a product reviews and advertisements for a range of different goods, a prominent category being grooming and cosmetic goods. Within this edition, I found an advertisement for the L'Oreal Men Expert Hydra Electric 2-in-1. Like the Nivea Men products, the L'Oreal Men Expert range also capitalises on the multi-functional products that promote their products for their time saving abilities. However, accompanying the image was a written description describing the benefits of the product, which read: "One simple step: Most men have a skincare routine

these days, however unlike their female counterparts are not interested in five different products to get the job done. Here is where L'Oreal comes in with one product that ticks all the boxes. Two affordable, all-in-one moisturisers that are both face care and after shave balm rolled into one easy to use product; one for sensitive skin and the other a refreshing formula to revitalise the skin, to completely revolutionise your skincare routine".

This description is laden with a number of different concepts surrounding gender and highlights how embedded these constructs are. These discourses relate to the gender binary: femininity as excessive and indulgent, hegemonic masculinity, as well as the double bind of masculinity. For example, using the term "counterpart" when referring to women implies the notion of a whole entity, where women make up one part and males the other. Within the line that states, ". . . unlike their female counterparts are not interested in five different products to get the job done", the concepts of feminine excessiveness and are touched on. It presents women's consumption of skincare goods as excessive, unnecessary, and somewhat silly. In addition to this, they juxtapose men's approach to skincare as more logical, practical, and functional—qualities that are tied to the definition of hegemonic masculinity. Framing male body work, and in this example specifically, moisturising, as a "job" harks back to the traditional notion of masculinity as inherently connected to labour and a male's job status.

Chapter Five: From labouring to create a lifestyle, to consuming to project a lifestyle: Masculinity since the 1980s to explore the effects of economic and consumerist changes

The once strong connection between the production of masculine identities and the ability to perform manual labour and to be the sole provider and protector of the family unit has begun to fade (McNeil and Douglas, 2011; Bocock, 1993). The changing Western labour market throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s has considerably diminished labour as a source of self-identity for men (Beynon, 2002: 86-87). In the last three decades of the twentieth century (and into to the twenty-first century) there has been a number of changes to the labour market which have limited the employment places and options for men. These changes include the increasing corporatisation of firms and the disappearance of smaller, family-based firms; the introduction of new technologies that have shifted the economy from industrial to post-industrial; the streamlining of workplace structures resulting in a huge number of redundancies; the increasing integration of local and global economies and the implementation of market-led economic policies since the early 1980s; and lastly, women's ever increasing involvement in paid labour (Beynon, 2002: 86-87). The once accepted notion of men as the producers and women as the consumers of society is coming undone as men adapt to the societal shifts and look for new avenues to establish a sense of self. McNeil and Douglas (2011: 449) highlight this shift in society: "Where traditionally a man was defined in terms of his occupation, today a man is more likely to be defined in terms of his six pack".

This shift is a defining quality of postmodernism, where consumption, rather than production, is the prominent practice used by individuals to produce a sense of self. Mort (1988) indicates that there are distinct differences between the men of the 1950s and the 1980s (cited in Bocock, 1993: 101). Rather than the emphasis on being self-reliant, independent, and the breadwinner of the family unit, there is more of a focus on individuality that is defined

through hairstyles, fashion, and bodily presentation. Mort (1988 as cited in Bocock 2001) attributed these changes to the increasing display of men's bodies in men's magazines and television advertising that were progressively becoming more erotic and sexualised. However, Featherstone (1991) suggests that this trend towards overt attention to one's appearance is most apparent in the professional-managerial class as they have both time and money to devote to their bodywork.

I would tend to agree with Featherstone based on the data I collected throughout my research. For example, returning to the magazine advertisement of the L'Oreal Men Expert Hydra Electric 2-in-1 moisturiser and post-shave balm, it is valuable to examine the tone of the magazine that is created through the articles the editors choose to include, the placement of other products and the overall purpose of the magazine. M2 describes itself as "the Complete Lifestyle Magazine for the New Zealand Man. To feed his interests, passions, curiosities, motivations and desires. To help him achieve his goals in business and in life". In addition to this, within the same edition that featured the advertisement of the L'Oreal product, there were a number of noteworthy articles. For example, "The Fastest Growing Occupations in the Next 10 Years", "7 Scientifically Proven Habits to Boost Success", "53 stylish Work Wear Essentials", "7 Habits You Should Stop" and "60 Manly Things to do Before You Die". These articles seem to be talking to the professional-managerial type men that Featherstone mentioned in his comment, as surely no trade-based occupation would require a man to worry about wearing "stylish work wear essentials". Rather it relates more to the men that Kristen Barber discussed in her work. Just as the men who frequent the boutique-style salons of Sothern California to consume and construct an image of professionalism, the readers of M2 magazine are also absorbing similar messages through the content provided. Barber (2008: 456) highlights that "for women beauty work is often about more than beauty, it is about

appropriating and expressing a particular social status by grooming the body in a particular way".

As well as the articles the magazine includes, it is valuable to explore the other products the magazine includes. For example, situated below the L'Oreal product there is an advertisement for Dior's new fragrance for men, "Sauvage". The description for this scent reads: "Luxury fashion house Dior has continually shown its ability to understand men. The new fragrance Sauvage is confident, crisp and clean. Notes of Bergamot, geranium, and lavender are mixed with spices by Dior perfumer-creator François Dermarchy to create "A strong and unmistakable masculinity. Like the image of a man who transcends time and fashion." Johnny Depp is the perfect choice as the "Sauvage" man, his first time being the face of a fragrance for a project that seems tailor-made for him. The bottle is luxuriously designed in a heavy glass with dark shading from total opaqueness to smoky transparency and the signature initials CD embossed in the bottom.

There is another example of the luxury, specialist skincare goods for men. The advert is for a male eye cream called LQD eye restore. LQD eye restore retails for $95 and claims to wake up and rejuvenate the eyes by reducing fine lines, dark circles and puffiness to give the impression of an overall more youthful appearance. The Dior fragrance and the LQD eye cream would fall into the category of more specialised grooming products for men. McNeil and Douglas (2011: 450) state that the increase in male related grooming sales worldwide over the last decade has stimulated growth and led to the "increased sophistication and segmentation, with the market defined by a number of distinct male grooming categories including fragrances, body-sprays, deodorants, hair care, shower gels, skin care and shaving preparations". Men's styling magazines have been identified as one of the key influences for this increase (McNeil and Douglas, 2011; Byrnes, 2006).

The stylised images of male bodies are one contributing factor towards the increasingly image-focused man, but along with the images there are a whole host of discursive techniques used throughout men's lifestyle magazines that invoke a number of different narratives about masculinity, masculine expression and social appropriateness of certain identities. The advertisement for the Dior men's fragrance, Sauvage, and the revitalising eye cream LQD employ a number of words, such as "luxury", "confident" and "victory", which invoke ideas of success, professionalism, as well as wealth and leisure. Rather than just consuming fragrances or eye creams, the men who use these products are consuming the ideas of professionalism, wealth, and success. In addition to consuming these ideas, the men are also defining themselves for others to view and consume. Consumption trends such as these have become "the means through which individuals define their self-image for themselves to and for others" (Firat, Dholakia and Venkatesh (1995) cited in Sturrock and Pioch, 1998: 337). The fragrance and eye cream type of advertisements are clearly targeting professional-class men who no longer source their sense of masculinity from manual labour jobs, but rather their image created via fashion choices, hairstyles, muscular bodies, and grooming techniques.

These differences between men who source their sense of self via manual labour versus those who place an increasing emphasis on self-presentation was highlighted throughout my research. Returning to my conversation with Carol, the shop assistant at the Clinique counter in Albany Westfield, there was a discussion of the different "type" of men, as Carol phrased it, who shop for skincare goods and cosmetics. As mentioned previously Carol has worked at a number of Clinique counters throughout Auckland. Carol mentioned that she had noticed in her current position at Albany there is an emphasis on "basic" skincare needs which Carol defined as cleansing, moisturising and sun protection. But in the CBD the male clientele were far more particular about their skincare needs. Instead of just buying the "basics" the men in

the city would ask for eye creams, toners and moisturisers with a tint to them to help even out the complexion of the skin. I asked Carol why she thought these differences occurred between the Albany store and the one based in the city. She replied that there are "different types" of men in city. I asked her what types of men are in the city and she answered "business men… you know, lawyers, accountants, CEOs or analysts . . . men like that". I then asked why she thinks businessmen have more of a focus on their appearance when compared to the "tradie" type she referred to earlier. Carol replied that businessmen need to be more aware of their appearance due to the nature of their job, where they are expected to interact with a number of different clients, which are usually well-off in regards to wealth, and there is "a certain standard" that these men need to be. I pressed Carol on what she meant, to which she responded that you would not trust a man with huge amounts of money if he could not even present himself nicely.

The ideas that Carol raised throughout our interview where she equated the well-groomed man and white-collar professions are explored in Barber's article. As Beynon (2002) highlighted, there have been a number of significant changes to the labour market since the 1970 onwards and Barber extends these ideas to demonstrate how the concept of a professional appearance has emerged for some men. Following the close of the Second World War there was huge economic growth coupled with the increase of corporations along with career opportunities in white-collar jobs (Barber, 2008: 459). A man's job was, and still remains, an integral aspect of a man's sense of self and identity, but as the type of work changed, the way men embody the ideals of such work has changed too. By this I mean that if a man's job requires him to perform laborious tasks, "the literal sweat and blood of men are outwards signs of the appropriate performance of masculinity" (Barber, 2008: 459). However, with the rise of white-collar jobs that required different skills based on a man's interpersonal skills working between clients and corporate companies, the appropriate

performance of masculinity shifted to create an appearance that invoked ideas of professionalism and success (Barber, 2008: 459).

Luciano (2001) describes how this trend towards the image of the professional-class man emerged from capitalist notions of success and wealth. Business corporations urged men to pay more attention to their appearances and to "package their bodies and personalities for success" (Barber, 2008: 459). During this time there were discourses that emerged that associated men's (and women's) appearances to wider range of social narratives. For example, Luciano (2001) states that employers paralleled "softness" (mental and emotional) to Communism, and fatness to laziness, two qualities which were seen as detrimental to the company's growth and sales. Beynon (2002: 108) comments that a hierarchy of masculinities emerged that was based primarily on appearances rather than work ethic and employment position. This meant that "wealthy, good-looking and well-located young men [have been] increasingly socially valorised over older, uglier or poorer men . . . those with the looks, income, and the time on their side have never had it so good in terms of the opportunities which the expansion of men's style and fashion have to offer them . . . In this sense fashion is fascism: conform in the mirror of judgements, or else take the consequences" (Edwards 1997: 133-4 as cited in Beynon, 2002: 108). It appears that since the 1980s "men's style and fashion" has extended to include skincare and cosmetic goods.

This trend to correlate professional success and appearance seems to have continued and intensified through to the present moment. For men in corporate jobs there is still immense pressure to conform to a certain standard of appearance. This is evident in my own research where a number of men identified work as a social situation in which they needed to be aware of their appearance. My findings are consistent with other studies, such as Salzman, Matathia, and O'Reilly's (2005) research on the metrosexual man. These authors demonstrate that masculine success in white-collar jobs is inherently tied to appearance and the way a man

presents himself. Salzman, Matathia, and O'Reilly (2005: 36) state that: "in a 2003 poll of American men, 89 percent agreed that grooming is essential to the business world".

Giddens (as cited in Harrison, 2008: 56) calls this trend "commodity capitalism". Commodity capitalism refers to the notion that the consumer is presented with consumption "packages" via advertising. Marketers neatly weave ideas surrounding particular types of lifestyles, such as the successful professional, into the presentation of certain products and goods. These connotations become embedded within the products. In these way individuals are able to associate themselves with such ideas via the acquisitions of such goods and services. In this way, consumption has become the modern way to create a "project of the self". As a consequence of such developments consumption has become more about the "pursuit of artificially framed lifestyles" rather than the actual need for such goods (Giddens, 1999, as cited in Harrison, 2008: 54). In this sense, the men who purchase the luxurious Dior fragrance, Sauvage, and the revitalising eye cream LQD, are consuming and projecting the ideas contained within these products. Thus, "luxury" implies a certain level of wealth and success. "Revitalising" also has its connotations with youthfulness and health. The attributes of wealth, success, youthfulness and health are all viewed as positive qualities within the business world (Barber, 2008: 459). Therefore, these products become much more about the lifestyle you lead, rather than purely appearance based.

Although there is clear evidence to support that men, especially men in white-collar professions, are increasingly paying more attention to their appearance, I do not think one can claim that men have abandoned traditional notions of masculinity completely (or if at all). Some scholars, such as Coad (2008) and Coupland (2007), for example, have suggested that the construction of the "metrosexual" man has transgressed gender constructs to allow men to incorporate appearance-enhancing practices, such as cosmetics and skincare, as appropriate performances of masculinity. I am not convinced of this argument to the degree that has been

suggested. There are a number of reasons that have contributed to this conclusion. Firstly, within my own data there is evidence that shows the participants' notion of what is "feminine" and what is "masculine" do not deviate much (or at all) from the traditional notions of each gender. For example, I asked the participants to describe the qualities and characteristics that they see as "feminine". Jordan responded:

In general? Probably compassion, kindness, flexibility. To some degree, a bit of cattiness. I don't want to sound like a misogynist (what a terrible way to start a sentence) but women I think have a tendency to talk behind people's back more. I think they may be a little more socially intelligent whereas guys are just too dumb to talk behind people's backs. I think they think of themselves a lot less than most guys do.

Alex responded in a similar fashion: "*I want to preface this and the next question by mentioning that I'm a bit old-fashioned in my preferences, but I don't really care about how other people live. I don't try to get people to think like me, it's all just personal preference. I think feminine qualities would be nurturing, kind, loving; basically the whole 50s housewife image.*"

Both Alex and Jordan define femininity in terms of being caring, kind, and generally quite emotionally driven. Another interesting point was that both Alex and Jordan felt it was appropriate to defend their answers when describing femininity. For example, Jordan stated, "*I don't want to sound like a misogynist",* and Alex said: "*I want to preface this and the next question by mentioning that I'm a bit old-fashioned in my preferences, but I don't really care about how other people live".* Alex and Jordan's comments could be reactionary responses to feminist discourses that emerged during the middle to late end of the twentieth century. Beynon (2002: 100-101) highlights that, although feminism (in all its forms) was an overall positive shift for society, it did problematize traditional gender roles. Men who failed to

amend their dated views of "woman as homemaker" would be labelled as sexists and accused of perpetuating patriarchal agendas. Alex and Jordan appear acutely aware of this narrative and preface their description with a reflective comment on their views to avoid appearing sexist. In addition to this, both of their views surrounding femininity are made in reference to masculinity. This appears to conform to the notion that we are socialised to see men and women, and masculinity and femininity, as binary entities—where one does not exist without the other.

This was made more evident when I asked the participants to describe the qualities of masculinity. Jordan described masculinity as:

Stoic, hard, rigid. A little more discipline, a little less compassion. I think guys in general are more focused. They can see the big picture a little better most of the time, so they can kind of shrug off the small things in life. They aren't generally as socially intelligent, we have trouble with nuance. Like when a girl says she's "fine" a lot of times guys don't have the social intelligence to read into her tone and body language to realize she's not "fine" and wants to talk about something. I think we're a little more direct, too. If we want to talk about something, we'll just talk about it, whereas girls I think feel that they have to be invited to talk about something. That's why they say "I'm fine". They're waiting for the guy to say "do you want to talk about something?" because they don't always feel that their emotions are worthy of discussion, whereas guys do. That might be a societal thing, just a lagging effect of a history of female oppression, or it might be biological, I don't know, just something that I've noticed.

Jordan describes masculinity in terms of "stoic, hard, and rigid" which aligns with traditional notions of masculinity which is described as "self-sufficiency, activity, mastery, courage, toughness, autonomy, rationality, competitiveness, technological skill, stoicism, and

emotional detachment" (Harrison, 2008: 56). Jordan describes men as more logical in comparison to women when he states, *"They can see the big picture a little better most of the time, so they can kind of shrug off the small things in life"*. Despite this, Jordan's description does vary slightly from the statement provided by Harrison. Harrison states that men are emotionally detached, whereas Jordan states that men are more ready to bring their emotions up. In this case, I think that rather than being "emotional", Jordan is making the point that men are generally more assertive and direct about their thoughts when there is an issue or problem. In this sense, it feeds back into Jordan's notion of men being "more focused" on the end task. If a male is concerned about something, he will bring it up so it can be recognised, dealt with, and resolved.

When I asked Alex to describe what he viewed as masculine, he said: *"As far as masculine, it would be more protective, providing, fixing things. The entire persona of the man working while the woman stays at home with the kids type thing"*. When Alex described his opinion of masculinity and femininity he did also mention that his views on these constructs were quite traditional and conservative. I asked what influenced and shaped Alex's conservative views on gender roles. I asked if it could possibly be the culture of Arkansas or asked if he had a conservative upbringing. Alex responded:

Arkansas does have a fairly conservative culture. I've realized that my views on gender characteristics are more common in women than men around here, though . . . I honestly don't really know why I have those kinds of views. Growing up my dad was on disability and my mom worked evenings so dad did the cooking for us and laundry and stuff, so that was a bit flipped around. I think it's really developed mostly during my adult life. I probably romanticize it a bit too much too, lol. I was married for 7 years and never had that, my ex would have hated living like that. I've just finally got a good paying job where that is a feasible option, and I like the idea of being able to come home to someone like the whole

1950's stereotype . . . I know how stressful it is to make sure all the bills are paid and everything is working and I've just thought it'd be awesome to be able to give [a woman] the freedom from that. I wouldn't care if they wanted to get a job to have extra money or whatever, that's up to them. Also, I've got two daughters and I want to basically try to give them the best example possible of how a man should act that I can, and I'm probably a bit over-protective.

It appears Alex's ideas surrounding masculinity are firmly rooted in the idea of man as breadwinner. Alex values his ability to earn enough money to support someone and give them the freedom to not worry about expenses. At another point in our interview, Alex also mentioned that since he separated from his wife he has been making an effort to date. He noted that he has met a number of women on these dates who are single mothers, struggling to make ends meet because their children's father has left. Alex said that this type of occurrence "disgusts" him as he finds it unfathomable that a man would abandon his responsibilities. In addition to this, Alex also sees himself as a role model to his young daughters and tries to provide an exemplary demonstration of masculinity and show his daughters "*how a man should act"*. Despite Alex's emerging interest in skincare products it appears that it is not due to shifting notions of gender constructions. Instead, it appears that traditional ideas of masculinity have remained intact. This was also the conclusion Robertson (2006, as cited in Norman, 2011: 433-434) reached, where "traditional notions of masculinity remained salient" and real men are expected to remain unconcerned with their appearances. Analysing these findings in respect to the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which Connell described as a symbolic ideal, rather than a true representation of embodied masculinity, I would suggests that a man's supposed disinterest surrounding his appearance is a symbolic characteristic of traditional masculinity, rather than the true embodied experience of all men. Using the concept of hegemonic masculinity allows us to see that often the true realities of

most men is not reflected accurately in the construct of hegemonic masculinity. In this way we can see that hegemonic masculinity is a symbolic archetype that encompasses multiple ideal characteristics of masculinity. Modern men have the ability to adapt, mollify and reshape the way they fashion such characteristics into their identities. Rather than concluding that all men are not concern with their appearances, I would suggest it would be more apt to say that the some men, such as those I have focused on within the chapter—the successful professional—do appear to be paying more attention to their appearance. From this perspective we could say that the symbolic ideals of hegemonic masculinity remain largely unchanged but for some men the embodied expectations have shifted to be more appearance driven.

Adding to this position that sees these changes to men's appearance practices as more of a response to economic and commercial developments of the late twentieth century, opposed to a true reconstruction of masculine qualities, is Beynon's (2002) overview of masculinity since the middle of the twentieth century. Beynon (2002: 104-105) shows that the rise in corporate jobs in the 1980s led to new descriptions to refer to men who deviated from traditional masculine performances. One such term used was the "yuppie" (Beynon, 2002: 105). Yuppie referred to men who lived in metropolitan cities, had high disposable incomes that they spent on goods and services in the pursuit to be seen as driven, wealthy and successful (Beynon, 2002: 105). Edwards (1997 as cited in Beynon, 2002: 105) states that the yuppie "was not only a product of the economic expansion of the financial sector, he was the advocate of the most striking conspicuous consumption . . . posing, parading and swaggering around the City in his pinstripe and power-look suits, ties and accessories [and] slicking his hair.

This description of the yuppie from the 1980s sounds strikingly similar to the contemporary description of the metrosexual. It appears that since the 1980s, society has become increasingly more image-orientated and consumerist-driven and men are merely reacting to the demands of contemporary society. The plausibility of the argument that some scholars (such as Coad, 2008 and Coupland, 2007) have made that presents the metrosexual male as a "new" masculine construction which transgresses some traditional gender boundaries, is significantly weakened when reviewing some of the previous masculine constructions, such as the yuppie in the 1980s. Beynon (2002: 119) states that "New 'types' of men are constantly being invented by the media" and it appears that this is indeed that case with the metrosexual man.

When discussing the changes that were occurring to masculinity from the 1980s onwards Nixon (1996: 177 as cited in Beynon, 2002: 105) stated that

> Whilst it is true to say that the boundaries between gay and straight, or even between male and female, are becoming more blurred in terms of media representations, the marketing of up-market fashion and the consumption patterns of some affluent and professional groups, this barely marks a sea change in the entire population where the categories of male and female, straight and gay, black and white, remain remarkably stable.

I think it is a fair evaluation that although this statement was written twenty years ago it remains pertinent to current studies of men, masculinities and body practices such as skincare and cosmetics. The traditional qualities of masculinity remain largely intact but the pull of an appearance orientated and consumer driven society draws men further into the consumption of goods, which allows them to continuously rework their body image. Presented with these conflicting discourses men are faced with new challenges. Gill, Henwood, and McLean

(2005: 51) write: "The 'real' skill for men seems to be in negotiating the boundaries between appropriate concern and vanity".

In conclusion, I would say that men's involvement in cosmetic and skincare goods is a notable trend within the exploration of masculinity to understand men's perceptions surrounding body image and corporeal practices. However, rather than representing a significant shift in symbolic construction of masculinity, which appear to remain largely unchanged, the inclusion of men into such "feminised" arenas appears to speak more to the economic and consumeristic changes that have occurred since the 1980s. I have argued that a man's identity and worth has traditionally been strongly connected with manual labour but has increasingly weakened in modern times in which it has become more about how you look rather than how you do. It should be noted that this applies to some men but not all. For professional-class men being well-groomed and presentable is built into the very nature of the job, but for labour-focused jobs, such as builders and trade workers, the idea of appearance standards is not so pronounced. What Mort wrote in 1996 (as cited in Beynon, 2002: 117) still rings true today: "I am not arguing that the 1980s 'new man' is totally new. But nor am I saying that nothing has changed . . . For we are not just talking images here: images are underscored by the economics and cultures of consumption . . . [what] the 1980s [witnessed was] an intensification of that process and proliferation of individualities—of the numbers of 'you's' on offer". Men are simply responding to the demands of a postmodern society which places a stronger emphasis on projecting narratives of individuality.

Chapter Six   Conclusion

Far-reaching historical changes in contemporary Western societies have had a profound effect on the way people understand their individuality. Such developments include the rise of feminism and post-feminist ideas, the emergence of postmodern societies, continued globalisation and the growth of consumerism. These developments led to changes in identity construction which have interested scholars from a range of different disciplines. These include feminist studies, media studies, communications, gender studies and masculinity studies. With such a diverse range of scholars exploring gender a variety of theories, concepts and perspectives have emerged that attempt to understand the complexities of identity in this epoch. One such debate that has been central to my own argument is the "nature versus nurture", or rather the essentialism versus social constructivism debate in relation to identity, sex and gender. Essentialism, when discussed in the context of identity and gender, sees gender as an inherent quality of sex. From this perspective males and females act in "masculine" and "feminine" ways due to their sexual biology.

For the purpose of this thesis, I have explored and analysed gender in terms of a social constructivist perspective. My own perspective of such issues has been influenced by a number of notable theoretical developments that have impacted the way some scholars analyse identity, sex and gender. Some of these developments are grounded in Money's (1952) research surrounding gender expression among intersexed children. Rather than seeing gender beginning with a set of sexual organs, Money proposed that gender was more to do with the way an individual discloses himself or herself as a girl or a boy. The way individuals disclose their gender is through their mannerisms, interests and hobbies, sexual interests, as well as an individual's own sense of their gender. Money used the concept "gender role" to theorise the way individuals disclose their gender identity. Feminist scholars have also contributed to this conversation. Within this research I have included a handful of

such feminist work, for example, Haraway (2013), Oakley (2015) and Bordo (1999) as they have continued to explore the concept of the "gender role". Feminist scholars have focused on women as the primary participant group to explore society's role in constructing ideas, norms and expectations surrounding gender. Such work has attempted to detangle society's thinking that feminine or masculine characteristics and expressions from men and women are "natural", but rather individual performances that are deeply entwined with society's economic, political, and socio-historical developments that favour specific characteristics and expressions of gendered identities. In addition to this, the work of anthropologists has further added weight to this perspective. Anthropologists have used cross-cultural data to demonstrate that there is global diversity of what is accepted as correct expressions for men and women, or even that the categorisation of male and female into binary structures is hugely dependent on cultural context.

As well as understanding the role of gender in the formation of self-perception or an identity, scholars have also recognised historical and cultural shifts in how individuals perceive themselves and construct their identity. More so than ever the body occupies paramount place in identity construction (Frost, 2003). The body is favoured for how it looks rather than what it can do and Frost (2003: 54) comments that there is currently a "unique obsession with the visual display of identity . . . particularly in the West". Key scholars in identity studies, such as Giddens and Featherstone, have noted that contemporary society places far more importance on the body as an identity signifier when compared to previous generations (Frost, 2003: 54). This trend has been linked to the rise of consumer cultures where the way we cloak, alter and disguise the body are techniques that allow individuals to display a certain type of lifestyle that they lead or wish to lead to the surrounding audience. In this way, contemporary individuals consume the images portrayed within capitalist society but also package themselves as images to be consumed. Frost (2003: 54) comments on this trend:

"The market offers not just goods, but goods attached to versions of selfhood". Frost (2003: 54) also goes on to say, "Concerns with the self, the well-being of the self, and the "actualisation" of the self, including the body and the appearance, have developed in relation to the imperative of consumer capitalism to produce individualised consumers with a whole range of wants and needs".

Previously these tendencies to be concerned with one's appearance and participate within consumerist trends were mostly confined to the realms of feminine expression. But more increasingly there is evidence that men are now participating in such practises. This evidence includes the growing market of male specific cosmetic goods and grooming products. Men's lifestyle magazines are laden with appearance focused articles that detail the ways men can increase their body mass and sculpt larger, more visible muscles. Not only this, there are pages dedicated to men's fashion and advertorials of new men's fragrances, hair pomade, cleansers and eye creams. Previously men's lifestyle magazines were centred around "masculine" interests and hobbies such as hunting and fishing, DIY-type projects and sporting activities. These changes appear to fall in line with the comments made by identity scholars which note that consuming rather than producing has become prioritised as the new way to create and broadcast a type of lifestyle. Bocock (1993: 102) comments on change among contemporary men and their engagement within consumerist practices: "Men . . . are now as much a part of modern consumerism as women. Their construction of a sense of who they are, of their identity as men, is now achieved as much through style of dress and body care, image, the right "look", as women". Men's engagement in such practices has led some scholars to claim that men are at a point of crisis in masculinity or that masculinity is currently undergoing feminisation.

The most pronounced and contemporary example of men's active image construction via consumption was evident in the "metrosexual" man. As demonstrated throughout the thesis,

the metrosexual construct has been a popular concept used within popular culture as well as some academic studies (some of which have been noted throughout this research).

These articles included Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith's (2012) study which offers a discursive analysis of men's engagement with male make up tutorials on YouTube, and Claire Harrison' (2008) exploration of an online advertisement for a men's mascara. Harrison (2008: 56) indicated that makeup use is extreme on the spectrum of a metrosexual identity. These articles and others, (such as Cheng, Ooi and Ting (2010) and Hall and Gough (2011)), that examined the metrosexual identity from various disciplines, served as my entrée to academic studies of male make up use and grooming engagement. Some, such as Hall and Gough (2011: 82) who explored men's lifestyle magazines usage of the metrosexual construct, suggest that the metrosexual trend demonstrates "that aspects of conventional masculinity are being challenged" and Hall and Gough's "analysis has shown that 'metrosexuality' has elicited both positive and negative responses and raised questions over the fixity of traditional gendered identities" . However, Harrision (2008: 71) concludes her research by stating, "metrosexuality is not diametrically opposed to traditional masculinity as the advertising discourse of grooming aids would suggest, but merely one aspect of the complex, multi-faceted, and continually changing face of gender that feeds the beliefs and behaviours around body, image, fashion, and style that are exhibited by both men and women".

The literature revealed that there were various perspectives of the metrosexual trend but all seem to present the idea that only metrosexual men were using cosmetics and grooming products. For the purpose of this study I removed the construct of the metrosexual from the core aims of the study. This research aimed to explore the construction of masculine identities in relation to grooming habits and cosmetic use within the contemporary world. I explored ways young men are incorporating traditionally "feminine" products—such as

cosmetics—into their grooming practices, while still maintaining a "masculine" identity. To achieve this I needed to understand how young men are conceptualising contemporary masculinity and analyse the values and behaviours that young men rate as essential to a "masculine" identity. In addition to this, I also explored the societal influences—such as consumerism and the rise "professional class" employment—that appeared to perpetuate the idea of the body as a "project of the self".

A number of themes arose throughout the duration of the fieldwork and the analysis phase. It became clear that all the men who participated in the study felt a pressure to conform to stylised images of men's bodies that saturate contemporary media publications, while simultaneously they were acutely aware of the symbolic underpinnings of Western masculine constructs that disavows an overt concern with a man's appearance. In chapter four, *The double-bind of masculinity and techniques used by men to negotiate conflicting discourses*, I explored these ideas in more detail to understand how the participants experienced these conflicting discourses. I utilised Bordo's theory of the double-bind of masculinity to analyse the way men are situated in an increasingly difficult position to negotiate current expectations of masculine identities. Influenced by Moss Norman's usage of the concept, I analysed how the participants are exposed to conflicting discourses regarding male body image and appropriate body concern and awareness. These discourses have emerged from an increasingly image and body focused culture that values how one's body looks over what it can accomplish. And, traditional ideas of what it means to be "masculine" and "feminine" within Western culture. The data revealed that the participants employed a number of techniques, such as avoiding appearance related conversations with their male family and friends, to maintain an appropriate masculine performance. The participant quotes within chapter four offer an insight into difficulties men face when trying to meet cultural standards

of body normativity while still trying to maintain the conventional attributes of hegemonic masculinity and the ways they try to negotiate such challenges.

One such technique used was to eschew their own grooming and cosmetic practices away from women by describing women's use of cosmetic and grooming products as "fussing". The term fussing denotes a certain level of excessiveness or vanity, which within the current gender framework would be considered feminine. However, the participants rationalise their appearance practices as "necessary" or the "bare minimum" to maintain a certain appearance standard, therefore protecting their status as a heterosexual man. Relating to this point was the participants' need to look okay, average or normal. For the participants their engagement in such practices is seen as a way to maintain or conform to the cultural standard of masculine appearances whereas women participate within beauty culture to appear prettier, more attractive, or more beautiful than other women. Framing it this way allows the participants to perceive their grooming and cosmetic habits as something different or that their actions signify a different message to that of women, or as Jordan phrased it: "Hey, we're males, we are different to women". Whether this is the case, or the participants merely frame it so, it is clear that although identity construction for both men and women are becoming more image-dependent. Though this may be the case, this research has demonstrated that there are clear differences in the way men and women experience these social pressures. For women being concerned with one's appearance is accepted, or rather expected by society, but men still feel a societal pressure to defend their appearance practices or distance themselves from it to avoid accusations of being effeminate.

This shift towards more appearance-driven identity constructs has been encouraged via the advent of "new" masculinity types that were aggressively promoted within men's lifestyle magazines. This trend emerged in the 1980s—a time where office work and corporate jobs were burgeoning due to huge economic and political which altered career options for many

middle-class income earners. These concepts were explored within chapter five. Along with changes to the employment landscape men were also exposed to aggressive advertising to encourage consumption of goods and services. This era saw the emergence of the "yuppie": a metropolitan man who had a high disposable income which allowed him to follow the current fashion trends and consume luxury goods. The description sounds very similar to the one given to the metrosexual. This leads me to conclude that the metrosexual man is not a new identity type as some would suggest but rather an empty signifier of sorts. Instead of being a new concept that signifies a dramatic change to the concept of masculinity, the metrosexual could be viewed as part of the progression of marketing techniques that have emerged from the 1980s to invert a man's gaze towards himself.

Prior to these changes in the labour market and increased consumer trends, traditional notions of masculinity for the working class man were strongly connected to the practice of manual labour and therefore the appropriate signifier of a masculine identity was a tough physique accompanied by sweat and blood. These signs demonstrated a man's work ethic and physical abilities. But, as white-collar employment continues to play a significant role in Western capitalist markets the appropriate indictors of a masculine identity have changed for some men. Paid labour has traditionally been inherently connected to notions of hegemonic masculinity and despite the changes the labour market has undergone from the middle of the twentieth century this remains true. Paid labour is still a valued attribute of white-collar men's identity as males but the skills required for such jobs are different to those of the working-class. White-collar jobs are largely centred around interpersonal skills and a large part of interpersonal skills are dependent on appearance. Therefore, due to the different skills required for each profession (i.e. manual labour is largely dependent on physical abilities, whereas white-collar jobs are largely built on interpersonal skills which demand appearance standards) we see different masculine signifiers from each group of men.

This has led to the emergence of "professional-class" men who are more readily engaging in traditionally feminine arenas, such as fashion and grooming, to maintain an appropriate standard of appearance required for white-collar professions. Influenced by Barber's (2008) work which looks at the emergence of male hair salons in relation to professional-class careers, I explored the way men's bodies are becoming increasingly commodified within these professions. The research revealed that men are increasingly encouraged to package their bodies for success and this was a pressure felt by a number of participants. Magazines, adverts and product designs are built into the perpetual cycle which continues to modify men into consumers of appearance orientated goods in such a way that allows men to retain their sense of masculinity while denouncing any association with the effeminate.

Throughout this thesis I have explored the way modern men in the West are incorporating cosmetic and grooming products while simultaneously retaining most of the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. This has occurred through a number of developments within the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century. Beynon (2002: 10) suggests that there are a number of factors entangled in the "form, experience and enactment" of masculinities. These factors can include culture and subculture, historical location, age and physique, sexual orientation, education, status and lifestyle, ethnicity, religion and beliefs, and class and occupation (Beynon, 2002: 10). These different aspects are clearly experienced differently depending on the individual. As well as this, masculinity is not innate but rather has the potential to change and respond to societal shifts that occur. Within this thesis I have explored three developments that have occurred to reshape the way men are experiencing and embodying masculinity.

Firstly, significant social and political changes have occurred, such as the growing number of women entering the workforce and moving away from the homemaker as their primary role in Western societies, which has slowly destabilised the man's role as the breadwinner of the

household. Though this was not an actual reality for many people, this family structure seems to be fundamentally tied to the traditional notion of masculinity. Concurrently to these domestic changes within a man's life, a variety of economic and political changes have also modified the employment landscape for many men. This is significant as work, particularly manual labour, was a key signifier of traditional concepts of masculinity. Through mechanisation, a growing white-collar employment sector, globalisation and the intensification of capitalist markets, men are now employed in more jobs that require interpersonal skills, rather than physical abilities, and as a result men are increasingly appearance-orientated to meet the demands of such career paths. Lastly, and most significantly, postmodernist societies have witnessed a change in the way identities are constructed when compared to modernist societies. Consumption, rather than production, is now the favoured way used by individuals to form a sense of self. These combined changes have seen some contemporary men expressing the ideals of masculinity differently when compared to previous generations. By this I mean that the bodily practices of men have changed to now include conventionally feminised goods and activities, such as cosmetics and grooming, but men still appear to be governed by the traditional ideals of masculinity. In this way the performance of masculinity has shifted and modified for some men, but the symbolic underpinnings of hegemonic masculinity remain largely unchanged. These differences between the appropriate masculine performance for some men (namely the professional-class) and the symbolic groundings of hegemonic masculinity has left many men conflicted between the two discourses. Though I am hesitant to conclude that masculinity is in a state of crisis, I would say that the findings of this study reveals that there is more research needed to further understand how men are experiencing and responding to the image-centered demands of contemporary Western societies.

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Appendix One: Introduction post to the members of Makeup Obsessives

Hi everybody!

Last year I asked you guys for some help to write my Honours dissertation and you guys were all so helpful so I'm back again to ask for another favour!

I'm carrying out my Master's thesis at Massey University, Albany, which is looking at young men's use of makeup. I've seen loads of guys in this group with amazing makeup skills that I would really love to speak to. Guys, if you're interested in talking to me about your experiences with makeup could you please comment below so I can contact you via private messenger. I would really appreciate any time you have to spare to have a chat about your style and cosmetic choice!

Ladies, I would also really appreciate if you could mention any male makeup artists/beauty bloggers that you watched on YouTube so I could possibly get in contact with them. If you ladies have any male family or friends that use cosmetics that would be interested in talking to me about it, could you provide their Facebook/email address so I could contact them?

Just a little side note: your privacy is really important to me and all details will be kept anonymous. If you feel more comfortable contacting me via private messenger that is totally cool or you are welcome to send me an email on emma.halpin@hotmail.com.

Thanks so much in advance for any help you can give me!

Name, age, and current location (all details will be kept private and pseudonyms will be used).

- What do you do for a job?

- How would you (or your partner/friend/family) describe your personality?

- Could you describe some of your hobbies?

- What does your current skincare routine consist of? For example, what products do you use and what is your reasoning for each product selected?

- On average, how much time do you dedicate to you skincare routine?

- What is your reasoning for having a detailed skin routine? For example, acne or signs of aging etc.

- Who/what influences you choice in skincare products? For example, does your girlfriend recommend products or do you see skincare suggestions in men's magazines, such as *Men's Health*?

- When did you start a skincare routine? Has your skincare needs changed since you first began using skincare products?

- Where do you primarily purchase your products? For example, a department store, the pharmacy, at a grocery store, or online?

- Do you make these purchases yourself, or would you rather your partner picked up these products? If you avoid buying these products yourself, why is that?

- Would you detail your skincare routine to your male friends and family? If not, why's that? Would they react negatively or is it just something you would just prefer to keep private?

- Do you ever cater your appearances to look good in a photo that would appear on your social media site?