

**CHANGING MASCULINITIES:
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MASCULINITY PATTERNS
IN POPULAR MEN'S MAGAZINES OF 2008 IN
UKRAINE**

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis analyzes masculinities which are constructed through the images of men in the advertisements of such men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine as *EGO*, *XXL*, and *Men's Health*.

The current author hypothesizes that 'macho' notion of masculinity is eroding while metrosexual masculinity pattern is becoming prevalent in the chosen set of men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine.

The current analysis substantiates the fact of women being the audience of men's lifestyle magazines, which, as the author argues, influences the set of commodities advertised and the compositions of the advertisements, including the way men are visually represented.

The research demonstrates that it is through certain commodities that particular notion of masculinity is constructed. Heterosexuality becomes contestable through the advertisements of perfumes, which are presumed to be consumed by metrosexual men exclusively, while the advertisements of vodka, cars and watches are aimed at 'macho men'.

Since additionally to the fact that metrosexuality combines homosexual and feminine cultures large percentage of men's lifestyle magazines audience comprise women, most of the advertisements disregard gender-determined characteristics while emphasizing the pursuit of individual style.

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INTRODUCTION

Masculinity became a popular research topic in ‘western’ countries in the late 20th century - a period of major social and political transformations influenced partially by feminist and gay liberation movements. The change of women’s social positions led to the so called ‘crisis of masculinity’, which called for the need to redefine the scientific knowledge about men, which as any discourse, in my view, may have certain social and political implications. Some authors in men’s studies (Kimmel, 1987; Connell, 1995) claim that it is indeed feminist theory and the feminist movement that created the base for, and fostered the emergence of Masculinity Studies. Drawing on the analytical tools developed by Feminist Women’s Studies, contemporary masculinity studies define masculinity as a hegemonic formation of socially constructed positions that are articulated mostly through media and popular culture whose specificities are differentiated by temporal and geographical location.

While I agree that masculinities have their national specificities, focusing on the Ukrainian case, I argue that due to globalization processes there is a tendency for the most recent ‘western’ masculinity pattern that is called “metrosexuality” (a term introduced by Simpson (2002)) - to be adopted in the local context of Ukraine as the recent ideal form of masculinity. The practical part of analyzing advertisements demonstrates similar dynamics of portraying men in both national and national versions of international men’s lifestyle magazines.

Debord (1999) argues that contemporary late modern society is the ‘society of spectacle’ where social relations among people are predominantly mediated by media images. I support this view and believe that the enhanced importance of the media for men’s understanding of masculinity and the social positions and values those images should entail can be best substantiated by the recent emergence of the new genre of men’s lifestyle

magazines at the market on the print media. I find it important to look inside men's lifestyle magazines to understand what kind of masculinity formations are perpetuated through images of men and what kind of social implications they might bring along.

The *purpose* of the research is to show that visual representations of men in men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine seem to push metrosexual masculinity for the status of ideal manhood.

There are around ten¹ men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine. In my analysis I focus on such men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine as *EGO*, *Men's Health* and *XXL*. The choice of the set of magazines can be explained by their overall popularity among men and large circulations of the magazines which, according to the data provided by the magazines, does not show the exact number of people who read the magazines. For instance, with the circulation of 30 000, 74730² people read one issue of *EGO*. Among the three magazines researched *Men's Health* and *XXL* are the local Ukrainian versions of these international magazines, which originated from the USA, while *EGO* was established in Ukraine. The proportion closely resembles the general distribution of global/local magazines on the Ukrainian men's lifestyle magazines media market.

Since the ultimate goal of the study is rather to identify the trends in the visual construction of the image of manhood than to present a sociologically representative analysis concerning the consumption of men's lifestyle magazines, I believe it is enough to acknowledge the potential risks of choosing only the last six issues of each for my purposes.

Another limitation that is imposed on the present research and is determined by the racial composition of the Ukrainian society is the fact that the expected audience of the magazines is predominantly the white Ukrainians. Therefore, I am aware that the results of

¹ Base of marketing information. (2003). Retrieved April, 19th, 2008, from http://www.marketing.vc/view_subsects.php?num=118

² EGO. Men's style of life. (2007). Retrieved May, 30th, 2008, from http://www.ego.com.ua/EGO_web.pdf

the research are inherently white-centered and therefore should not be applied or extended to include any other ethnic groups.

The actual discussion of the research consists of three chapters. In the *first chapter* I give an overview of the literature concerned with the studies on men's lifestyle magazines. The aim of the chapter is to argue for the importance of investigating men's lifestyle magazines in relation to hegemonic masculinity formation.

This section of the chapter provides a set of key definitions which are useful for theorizing contemporary masculinities, such as "hegemonic masculinity", "macho man", "metrosexuality", "consumer capitalism". They are developed in order to address the major social global tendencies that resulted in the circulation of the discourses of the so called 'crisis of masculinity'. I concentrate in more detail on Ukraine to show that the 'western' claims to social and cultural tendencies of 'demasculinization' of men also emerged in Ukraine after the collapse of the USSR, interestingly almost 20 years after the 'crisis of masculinity' was proclaimed in the western countries where the majority of the men's lifestyle magazines available in Ukraine are originated. I shall argue that these processes were intensified and accelerated after Ukraine received its independence and became exposed to the international market and social trends. I argue that the rise of metrosexuality in Ukraine is the effect of consumer capitalism and the improvement of women's social and economic positions which were predetermined by the economic crisis in the beginning of 1990s. These factors turned out to be more influential than the emergence of feminism, which, in Ukraine, unlike the western countries, did not get so much of women's support. The shift in the class of hegemonic masculinity from working to capitalist is discussed as well.

Since I draw on the concept of "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell, 1987) under which Connell presupposed the 'macho' notion of hegemonic masculinity, I demonstrate the

link between the decline of ‘macho’ man as hegemonic masculinity (the so called ‘crisis of masculinity’ (Kimmel (1996); Faludi (1999))) and the rise of metrosexuality in its stead.

In this chapter I also explore major works which show the tendencies of visual representation of men within two periods: the beginning of 1990s and today. I trace the differences in men’s visual representation in the mentioned above periods. I analyze the change in male model gaze, emotions, muscularity, special positions, because these are the means through which masculinities are constructed.

The *second chapter* is dedicated to the actual analysis of visual representation of men in the Ukrainian men’s lifestyle magazines *EGO*, *Men’s Health* and *XXL*. There I concentrate on analyzing the advertisements images exclusively. This section explores the cotemporary specificities of visual representation of men and aimed at demonstrating that advertisements’ discourses in the men’s lifestyle magazines promote metrosexual masculinity.

The *third chapter* identifies the social implications of the dominance of metrosexual masculinity in the men’s lifestyle magazines and the consequences of the shift towards metrosexuality as a social tendency. In the first section I question whether in the future gender is still going to remain the defining factor for the division of magazines. The fact that many women read men’s lifestyle magazines as well as many men constitute women’s lifestyle magazines audience means that there is more concern about individual characteristics rather than about the gendered ones.

Second implication deals with the notion of stability of patriarchy. Metrosexuality within this new gender landscape is not willing to assert itself through domination over women and homosexuals because the latter ones provide the ‘feed’ for metrosexual masculinity (e.g. fashion and beauty tips are partly taken from the gay community). This raises a question of whether patriarchy becomes obsolete within a certain social class as

alternative masculinity or the one as hegemonic. In this section I also identify major social changes which the rise of metrosexual masculinity might cause.

In the final section of the thesis, based on the findings of the practical analysis, I question whether metrosexuality can become hegemonic notion of masculinity.

CHAPTER 1 Conceptualization of masculinity

1.1 Hegemonic masculinity and ‘demasculinization’ of men

Media, including men’s lifestyle magazines emerging in the 1980s, seems to be important in constructing hegemonic masculinity as well as contesting it through the introduction of new masculinity patterns. The men’s lifestyle magazines studies introduced in this section are discussed to support this claim. I agree with Ferguson (1983), who argues that the absence of men’s lifestyle magazines before 1980s could signify that men were certain about their social position and values associated with manhood. The emergence of men’s lifestyle magazines in 1980s, consequently, presupposes that men’s social positions changed toward less stable and secure. Part of this chapter consists of theoretical discussion which acknowledges the change in the notion of ‘macho man’ as hegemonic masculinity towards the ‘new man’ who is considered to be more sensitive, emasculate, less homophobic and misogynistic.

In order to understand the change in the hegemonic masculinity pattern, it is extremely important to understand what “hegemonic masculinity” is and then, to analyze the factors, such as the changes in sports preferences, in that of the social positions of women and consumption practices resulting in the rise of the ‘new man’ (defined in the current study as metrosexual). I connect the ‘crisis of masculinity’ to the rise of feminism and the social status of women. Sports are analyzed as the field that experienced the most visible change in the notion of hegemonic masculinity. Lastly, I relate the change in hegemonic masculinity to consumer capitalism in which possession of certain commodities is what differentiates and defines a ‘self’ (in our case a man), where appearance becomes more important than the inner ‘self’. Advertising and media images, including men’s lifestyle magazines, is the major field for creating the image of the ideal man through commodities, which man is represented to be always in pursuit of.

1.1.1 “Hegemonic masculinity” and “emphasized femininity”

Before going into details about the factors which prompted the so called ‘crisis of masculinity’ and the emergence of metrosexuality in the so-called ‘western’ societies I would like to clarify a few definitions related to masculinities which will be referred to during the present work. I build on the introduced by Connell (1987) term “hegemonic masculinity” in an attempt to trace the change in the notion of hegemonic masculinity.

As Connell (1995) writes, “hegemonic masculinity” in itself has a rather changing nature. He notes:

“Hegemonic masculinity” is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is rather the masculinity occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable. (p.76)

The term of “hegemonic masculinity” was introduced by Connell (1987) to differentiate between traditional notion of masculinity (heterosexual wealthy white men) and what he calls the alternative or subordinate masculinities (for instance, homosexual poor men). However, Connell (1987) claims, masculinities are not necessary actual men, they are rather notions or social knowledge about men.

For Connell (1995) masculinity is hegemonic as long as it can provide “currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy.” (p.77) However, once social conditions change and challenge the notion of hegemonic masculinity which reflects the change in the gender relations, another alternative masculinity may become the new hegemonic masculinity.

Connell (1987) argues there are multiple masculinities which negotiate their power. According to him, homosexual masculinities possess the lowest status in the hierarchy of masculinities, but it is not the only subordinate masculinity. Gay masculinity from the standpoint of hegemonic masculinity is usually associated with femininity. While

negotiating their power, masculinities are constantly changing that is why one can talk about formations rather than types of masculinities which presuppose masculine stability. (p.77)

Kimmel (1987) and Gerson (1993) claim notions of masculinity do not replace one another. Masculinities coexist, although Kimmel (1987, p.9) notes at certain point that they might converge and “a new synthesis might, perhaps, be born.”

“Hegemonic masculinity”, Connell (1987) and Kimmel (1987) note can not exist per se. It should reaffirm its power through other formations among which are alternative (subordinate) masculinities and “emphasized femininity” which is supposed to be oriented towards desires and interests of men. Both “emphasized femininity” and “hegemonic masculinity” is closely related to the institution of marriage, defined through each other and relate to each other in terms of domination of the latter. Buchbinder (1998) associates the desire of men to dominate women and other men with ‘machismo’. (‘macho’ connotes a very muscular and strong man)

Connell (1995), in his revision of his previous work on hegemonic masculinity, also identifies ‘macho man’ as strong and violent and argues “the men who applied force at the colonial frontier, the ‘conquistadors’ as they were called in the Spanish case, were perhaps the first group to become defined as a masculine cultural type in the modern sense.” (p.187)

Connell (1995) also discusses the relationship between masculinity and the male body and notes that masculinity always derives from men’s bodies although that relationship is not to be understood as a biological determinism exclusively which defines masculinity. Gerschick and Miller (1995) argue the male body is the “central foundation of how men define themselves and how they are defined by others.” (p.183) Hegemonic masculinity for Connell (1995), Van Alphen (1994) and Buchbinder (1998) is always *phallogentric*. It is through the penis (which is not only connected to sexual performance) that

heteronormativity and the power over emphasized femininity and subordinate masculinities is maintained.

The muscular inflated male body, argue Dyer (1992) and Van Alphen (1994), represents the *phallus* or symbolical male power in society. Behind men's need for the muscular inflated male body scholars see the desire to maintain control over their bodies, "at least in a limited degree, over their penises" (Van Alphen, 1994, p. 270), which eventually presupposes control over other subordinate categories.

1.1.2 "Emphasized femininity" as a determinant for "hegemonic masculinity"

In this section I discuss the interrelations between "hegemonic masculinity" and "emphasized femininity" and argue that the improvement of women's social roles was among major factors influencing the emergence of discourses on 'the crisis of masculinity', under which scholars (Kimmel (1996); Faludi (1999)) imply the shift from a traditional notion of manhood.

Traditional man for Morgan (1992) is "aggressive, independent, unemotional, or hides emotions, objective, easily influenced, dominant, active, competitive, logical, skilled in business, someone whose feelings are not easily hurt, who never cries, acts as a leader, is self-confident, ambitious, not concerned with his appearance, thinks men are superior to women". (p. 8-9) Referring to Connell's (1987) concept of "hegemonic masculinity", I would add typical man is as well heterosexual and homophobic.

I tend to agree with Sidel (1996) who claims that when women's social and economic power increases – men perceive their positions as violated. Although Faludi (1991) argues against the notion that women can rise only when men fall vice versa, the men she had interviews with were inclined to blame "women's advancement as a driving force behind their own distress". (p.594) Kimmel (1987) and Connell (1995) point out that it were indeed the gains of the feminist movement which caused 'the crisis of masculinity' and it

was influence of feminism which fostered the need for rediscovering men within recently emerged Masculinity Studies. Men, hence, feel themselves less secure when women's social and economic positions are improving. However, the notion of interrelation is only valid, in my view, if one presupposes traditional notions of masculinity and femininity (which I will further call employing the definition of Connell (1987) "hegemonic masculinity" and "emphasized femininity") since masculinity, Kimmel (1987) notes, is dependant on the definition of femininity, vice versa, at certain historical moment.

New definition of manhood which emerged in the 1980s contradicts the notion of typical man implied by Connell's (1987) "hegemonic masculinity" and elaborated by Morgan (1992), and, as Gerson (1993) claims, "rejects the views that manhood is the opposite of womanhood, that masculine means not feminine, and that the values associated with women necessary threaten men". (p. 264)

The changes in men's lives and hegemonic masculinity in recent decades can be partially explained by the success of feminism which prompted the change in social positions of women (the changes in education, increase in the quantity of women employed, the shift in traditional division of labor). While women became economically independent and socially secure, men, Gerson (1993) notes, were able to eschew from their responsibility of primarily breadwinners and had to more responsive to women's demands. According to Connell (1995) the breadwinner role was fundamental for hegemonic masculinity construction. However, men were no longer fully responsible for the family economical well-being. Social and economic transformations of recent decades resulted in the decrease in adjusted to inflation wages of men and "numbers and types of jobs available for men." (Gerson, 1993, p.269) I presuppose not only the rise of feminism in western countries but the growing unemployment and the decline in wages among men could foster women's expansion in the labor market. The organizational structure of work changed at that period

as well. Gerson (1993) claims, recent decades show the rise of freelancers, contract workers and self-employed men.

Gender relations, consequently, changed since men were no longer able to maintain their patriarchal power in the household and their privileges as primarily breadwinners. In new conditions men became more family-oriented and were more willing to think beyond gender stereotypes and establish equal relations within the family. Men were more likely to share domestic work and take on the responsibility for child rearing. Kimmel (1987) argues men today are more inclined to establish intimate relations with others, show their feelings and express a more varied set of emotions.

1.1.3 Hegemonic masculinity in men's lifestyle magazines

In this section I argue that the recent generation of men's magazines, namely men's lifestyle magazines, is an important means for promoting a revised version of hegemonic masculinity in the face of feminism's successful attempt at challenging the ideal manhood that prevailed before the 1980s. The various aspects of this renewed hegemonic masculinity construction in men's lifestyle magazines have been analyzed by several scholars, who unanimously claim that men's lifestyle magazines represent a collective solution to multiple discourses of masculinity individual men are exposed to. (Toerien and Durrheim (2001); Beck (1997); Rogers (2005))

Although Stibbe (2004) argues health has not been traditionally associated with men, nevertheless, contemporary men's lifestyle magazines tend to address the issue of health depicting a bodybuilder as 'traditional' man for whom muscles become a fetish through which the power over other men and women is asserted. However, argues Stibbe, men's lifestyle magazines are not successful in promoting a shared idea of embodied masculinity through men's health rhetoric. To substantiate this position, Stibbe investigates *Men's Health* magazine and concludes that it reproduces the 'traditional' notion of hegemonic

masculinity, which can hardly be associated with health itself. It is rather a set of “negative health behaviors” (Stibbe, 2004, p.31) – alcohol consumption, smoking, bad diet, risky behavior, unsafe heterosexual sex, etc., associated with traditional masculinity which found its reflection in men’s lifestyle magazines. Men’s lifestyle magazines fail to challenge hegemonic masculinity “in the interest of health”. (Ibid, p.34) Stibbe (2004) acknowledges the great role of media, including men’s lifestyle magazines, in influencing masculinity formation, which leads to certain behavioral patterns among men. As he argues, these behaviors perpetuated by *Men’s Health* magazine, damage health, however, perceived by men as empowering. Stibbe (2004) claims certain behavior indulging by men’s lifestyle magazines has major implications for gender equality and men’s health.

Instead of analyzing the remains of traditional masculinity, Benwell’s (2004) analysis of men’s lifestyle magazines in the UK is concerned with the fact that humor is a focal component of men’s lifestyle magazines. She mentions the presence of homophobia and misogyny (which are the necessary aspects of Connell’s (1987) concept of “hegemonic masculinity”) as the source of this humor. It is by means of irony, argues Benwell, that men express their dissatisfaction with feminism and disapproval towards alternative masculinities and different social groups, delineating boundaries between hegemonic masculinity on the one side and femininity and alternative masculinities on the other side of the division. For Benwell (2004, p.3) the UK men’s lifestyle magazines represent “an important locus and breeding ground for what has been dubbed ‘new lad’ masculinity.” The emergence of the ‘new lad’ signified the need for reinventing a new man’s role model and was introduced as a reactionary masculinity to the ‘new man’ masculinity cherished by feminism. It was O’Hagan (1991) who first mentioned the emergence of the ‘new lad’, who was partially dedicated to tradition – he was a heterosexual, fun-devoting and not politically correct man. However, at the same time he was a hypercritical and stylish consumer. Hence, according to

O'Hagan (1991), the 'new lad' was the 'modified' traditional masculinity introduced as a role model of the 1990s in opposition to the emerging 'new man' masculinity shaped by feminism. However, since irony is evasive and can be interpreted differently (men's lifestyle magazines might express irony towards "the masculinity of its own readers" (Benwell, 2004, p.17)) men's lifestyle magazines provide a space and conditions for the construction of and evasion from hegemonic masculinity pattern.

Pendergast's (2000) study on the construction of masculinity in American men's lifestyle magazines during the period of 1900-1950 clearly shows the ways they create the self-image of man as consumer who is concerned with his appearance. Pendergast (2000) observes, on the basis of investigating the period of 1920s-1940s that the representation of hegemonic masculinity at that time changed towards the notion of man concerned with outer appearance and self-image. Hence, the construction of men's anxieties about their image in men's lifestyle magazines in the USA has a long history.

In her study of men's lifestyle magazines Rogers (2005) traces the ways media discourses reconcile "shared dilemmas supposed to be facing readers in their relationships with women." (p. 179) In her analysis of the ways intimacy in heterosexual relations is constructed in *FHM* and *Loaded* magazines, she notes that non-face-to-face communication mediated via men's lifestyle magazines as gendered media "offers a shared sense of direction" (p. 175) for an individual man. Furthermore, it is men's lifestyle magazines, contends Rogers (2005), which demonstrate the change in what Connell (1987) calls "hegemonic masculinity". For her and Jackson, Stevenson, Brooks (2001) men's lifestyle magazines through their advisory form erode conventions by exposing the topic of intimacy (which used to be exclusively women's pursuit) to men. Moreover, it is through intimate sexual relations that the myth of men's self-sufficiency and independency is withering away. At the same time, according to Rogers (2005), men's lifestyle magazines are controversial

per se because they may both break traditions and assert them. It is primarily through the articulation of heterosexual relations in men's lifestyle magazines, she argues, hegemonic masculinity is reaffirmed, because the latter can only maintain itself in relation to what Connell (1987) calls "emphasized femininity".

The scholarly works on men's lifestyle magazines above show the contradictory nature of the magazine. On the one hand, they create a unified image of what a man supposed to be. However, they may as well contest the traditional hegemonic masculinity pattern and propose a modified image facing the perceived threat of feminism. This contradictory character of men's lifestyle magazines will be demonstrated in the practical part of the current research.

1.1.4 Constructing masculinity through sports

Institutional sport, according to Connell (1995), is one of the major means of hegemonic masculinity construction. Traditional institutional sports were created for men (they exclude women) and played crucial part in the formation of masculinity. (Messner and Sabo, 1990) For Messner (1985/1987) hegemonic masculinity in traditional sports is defined as oppositional towards femininity and homosexuality. State supported sports (football, hockey, rugby, basketball, box), as Messner (1992) notes, are not just games men play. Hierarchical and competitive space of institutional sports produces relations of domination and subordination among players imposing aggressive and competitive masculinity to be adopted by men. Connell (1995) outlines:

The institutional organization of sport embeds definite social relations: competition and hierarchy among men, exclusion or domination of women. (p. 54)

When researching the behavior of college rugby players Schacht (1996) conclude that rugby's rituals have an after-game influence. It is through entrenched in rugby muscularity that men reproduce hierarchy and demarcate themselves from everything

feminine and other marginalized groups. Rugby players literally embody a 'real man'. Through any contact sports, Schacht claims, the notion of supremacy of men over women are maintained. For Messner (1990) the muscular body produced through institutional sports is a weapon - the mean of reproducing superiority over women and other men.

Burstyn (1999) claims there are positive dimensions of contact sports. These are community coalescence, social equality, and personal achievement. However, competitive sports are homosocial male spaces which maintain a subculture where "aggression, violence, control, discipline, force, homophobia, heterosexism, and the subordination of various others as expressions of a dominant hegemonic masculinity or hypermasculinity" (Sparkes and Smith, 2002, p.263) are glorified. Messner (1995) adds it is not enough just to be within the circle of sports mates. Institutional sports propagate the importance of being a winner.

The shift towards the new sports which stressed hegemonic masculinity is emphasized by Wheaton (2000) who claims "the period between 1960s to the 1990s has seen an explosion in new sports forms and practices in Western societies, as well as transformations in existing sport's arrangement and cultures". (p.435) Wheaton (2000) argues new sport is less traditional, "has fewer formal rules and regulations, and less formal restrictions and exclusion policies; and tends to be opposed to traditional forms of competition, also promoting a participatory ethos." (p. 435) She argues new sports presuppose graceful moves, fluidity and promote to slenderness and avoidance of hypermuscularity. These are aesthetical and risky sports that create the atmosphere of concord with the environment.

Whitson (1994) suggests new sports encourage "femininity and masculinity to be embodied in a variety of shapes and ways that allow power to be embodied in ways not tied to domination or gender." (p.368) The transgression of the traditional gender order through new sports can be embodied. In her study of a windsurfing community of England, Wheaton

(2000) emphasizes “the ‘feminized’ appearance of some male windsurfers, such as long hair, lean not overtly muscular physiques, and wearing jewelry.” (p. 440) However, despite that, according to her, new sports are not completely free from patriarchy. Sports, specifically windsurfing, as Wheaton (2000) implies, is the place of contesting masculinities, a struggle over ideal manhood between ‘new lads’ and ‘new men’.

New sports are discussed as well by Midol and Broyer (1995), who, while researching the development of new sports (windsurfing, skateboarding etc.) in France, note that they derive from avant-garde groups and constitute new subcultures which transgress the order entrenched in the institutional sports.

The emergence of new alternative sports (skateboarding, windsurfing, mountain biking) in recent decades has resulted in the reduction of ‘the cult of muscularity’ which resulted in the blurring of gender boundaries on the bodily level. The tendency for less muscular men propagated through new sports, in my view, can be regarded as a sign of change in hegemonic masculinity. Patriarchy becomes obsolete not only because new sports are less hierarchical, combative and aggressive. Men are losing control over their own bodies because new sports do not presuppose the need for hypermuscularity. Masculinity becomes less phallogentric. Since men no longer control their own bodies, they are no longer able to maintain dominance over other representations of men and women.

Additionally, new sports show the change in the social class of hegemonic masculinity. Institutional sports, according to Messner (1985/1987), are practiced by predominantly poor working class men. In my view, the assumption of Van Alphen (1994) for whom sports is the only place where working class men can get control over their bodies (selves) sounds plausible. Moreover, for me it is also a valid observation because due to the state-supported budgeting and promotion through institutions (family, schools, universities) these sports are almost the only sports working class men can afford to be engaged in.

Further more, sports for working class men, as Connell (2005) points out, is the question of not only the assertion of their dominance over women but much more of a financial necessity since their bodies are their “economic asset.” (p.55)

However, Zita (1998) emphasizes that there has been a decline in the value of the physically strong body which is needed for work. She claims that while the need for manual labor has decreased the need for mental labor has increased. Lastly, but not least, there is also the fact that expensive new sports, apparently, implicates those involved doing them as affluent men. This change in the class dimension of masculinity was first noticed by Aronowitz (1989) who argues that visual representations of working class masculinity is superseded by that of middle class masculinity in recent decades.

1.1.5 Crafting body anxieties: the rise of metrosexual

By this section I explain the change in the conventional notion of masculinity as an effect of consumer capitalism, which maintains in men anxieties about their bodies and self-image. It is the media, more particularly in lifestyle magazines and advertisements that imply that men can create their personality through commodities.

Mishkind et al. (1987) speculate that the convergence of men’s and women’s lifestyles and preoccupations has stimulated men in becoming more concerned with their body – the only place where they could still differentiate themselves from women. Contemporary men place too much importance on “all aspects of a man’s physical self - body build, grooming, dress, handsomeness” (Mishkind et al., 1987, p.46) – the attributes ascribed by theoreticians (Kleinberg, 1980; Lakoff and Scherr, 1984) to gay male culture.

Kimmel (1987), Rodin, Silberstein and Striegel-Moore (1985) claim it is generally believed that it is only women who are concerned with their body image. However, as Mishkind et al (1987) claim men have an ideal body image they are always in pursuit of and “bodily preoccupation with body image has been increasing in recent years” among men.

(Kimmel, 1987, p.16) Ehrenreich (1983) suggests the loss of the breadwinner role was one of the factors that prompted men in a consumer capitalism society to emphasize their role as autonomous consumers concerned with their body images. Simpson (1994) expresses the idea that the more emancipated (wealthy and powerful) women become, the less masculine (in traditional sense) men become. Contemporary women would likely want to see attractive, well-dressed men around them, he claims. Simpson (1994) says it was the influence of feminism in consumer capitalist societies which prompted the change in hegemonic masculinity from the 'macho' to metrosexual notion.

In contemporary 'society of the spectacle' (Debord, 1999, p.12) social relations, including gendered ones, are predominantly mediated by media images. Thus, media, including men's magazines and advertising, plays an important role, Carrigan et al. (1985/2004) and Kimmel (1987) point out, for constructing masculinity, including the anxieties about one's own body since it does not resemble an ideal male body image promoted through advertising. It is through media that persuasion happens and particular masculinity acquires its right for hegemony.

Social relations are mediated by media images of commodities one possess. People consume not goods as such, Lury (1996) argues, but rather meanings ascribed to certain goods. Drawing on Abercrombie she observes that

Producers try to commodify meaning, that is try to make images and symbols into things which can be sold or bought. Consumers, on the other hand, try to give their own, new, meanings to the commodities and services that they buy. (Abercrombie, 1994, p.51 quoted in Lury (1996, p. 53))

The task of advertising, Miller (1987) argues, is to establish association of certain commodity with certain social group. Hence, certain goods have strong association with certain masculinity. Lury (1996, p.64-65) traces the changes in advertising in recent century claiming that there is a clear shift from representing a product itself to a lifestyle and social context of a product consumption (sometimes even without display of a product). It is

through advertising that men consume symbolical meanings ascribed to certain commodities, whose possession and particular way of consumption, according to Lury (1996) defines a person in late capitalist societies. Lury (1996) contends that in late capitalism the 'self' is constructed through commodities which acquire symbolical meanings that go beyond the 'use-value' of commodity.

The most important aspect of this symbolic value is its relevance of our relationship to our own sense of 'self'. The significance of consumer culture regarding the 'self', according to her, is "in defining our sense of ourselves as individuals." (p.232) But she also adds that this commodified sense of 'self' (I am what I consume or posses) is not equally accessible for all social groups and therefore have different implications for different social groups, such as, in the current case, the different groups of men, who are "provide[d by] differential conditions within which [they] work out their identities" (p.233) as 'new lad' or 'new man', or 'metrosexual' man.

In relation to masculinities, consequently, commodities one possesses are items through which a man perceives himself and categorizes others. Commodities, Lury (1996) claims, "act as sources of social identity and bearers of social meaning." (p.14) Clothes, for instance, can be seen as not simply something which keeps people warm but also as markers of social groups which help to differentiate one social group from another (women from men, hegemonic masculinity from subordinate, middle class men from working class men). Moreover, the self, according to Lury (1996), becomes a personal possession. Identity itself becomes a kind of "wealth (of objects, knowledge, memories and experience)." (Lury, 1996, p.57)

To summarize the main tendency in consumer culture and the sense of its possessive 'self', Lury argues that within *consumer capitalism*, which promotes the notion of necessity of commodity possession for self-identification, there has been

a shift away from a sense of self-identity understood in terms of internal or subjective moral and ethical values –that is, in terms of character, or of attributes such as goodness or evil. This was increasingly replaced by a sense of self-identity defined in terms of external, presentational, often visual characteristics – that is, in terms of personality, appearance, demeanor and, most importantly, style. (p. 66)

Metrosexuality as a product of consumer capitalism is a new pattern of hegemonic masculinity. The concept was first introduced by Simpson in 1994. He went on to elaborate the concept and in his work in 2002 Simpson defines metrosexual as the notion of masculinity which is promoted in men's lifestyle magazines and can be regarded as the resurgence of the 19th century dandy whose identity is constructed predominantly through external characteristics.

The typical metrosexual is a young man with money to spend, living in or within easy reach of a metropolis – because that's where all the best shops, clubs, gyms and hairdressers are. He 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. (Simpson, 2002)

Metrosexual is a rich single young man who resides in an urban area and is able to spend much money on his appearance: clothing, accessories, perfume. *Metrosexuality* is closely connected with *narcissism* (self-love) since it is the core of metrosexual masculinity. Metrosexual under the influence of advertising images promoting wide range of authentic products that can differentiate one person from others is or desires to be a man he sees in advertising and media, including men's lifestyle magazines. Simpson (1994) writes “metrosexual man is a commodity fetishist³: a collector of fantasies about the male sold to him by advertising.”

Simpson (2002) notes that even so called ‘new lads’ magazines (such as *FHM* or *Maxim*), which stand for the ‘traditional’ masculinity pattern, are full of metrosexual images ‘new lads’ so fiercely continue to deny.

³ *commodity fetishism* is a term introduced by Marx (1867) to describe social relations mediated by commodities the value of which is manipulated by advertising, packaging and other promotional practices. The history of those who made commodities and the process of production goes unnoticed and unacknowledged.

Simpson (1994) claims metrosexual is not unique for the 1990s. His figure apparently could be found in the 1980s inside of fashion magazines, in advertising and gay bars. However, it is only in the 1990s when metrosexual “came out of the closet” (Simpson, 2002) and has become omnipresent ever since.

Simpson (2002) claims that the model for the prototype of metrosexual was an urban homosexual - he was single, narcissistic, socially emasculated and pioneer in wearing fancy clothes and accessories. However, as Simpson (2002) claims, the particular sexual orientation of the gay community is not a salient part of the definition of metrosexual although initially commodities for the metrosexual were tested on gay audiences. Yet, the name does underscore the sexual dimension of this form of masculinity.

Metrosexual subverts the traditional notion of heterosexuality because it is not only women who are to be looked at but men too.

The stoic, self-denying, modest straight male didn't shop enough (his role was to earn money for his wife to spend), and so he had to be replaced by a new kind of man, one less certain of his identity and much more interested in his image – that's to say, one who was much more interested in being looked at (because that's the only way you can be certain you actually exist). A man, in other words, who is an advertiser's walking wet dream. (Simpson, 2002)

For Simpson (2002) among the most famous metrosexuals is David Beckham. According to him certain professions (sports, modeling, pop music) are common among metrosexual men but their occupations are not limited to these professions.

In my view, the development of metrosexual notion of masculinity may result in decrease in the level of denial of ‘deviant’ masculinities, more integration of gay culture into the society and less avoidance of ‘femininity’. Thus, the conditions have been created (emergence of new sports, improvement of women’s social positions, and developed consumer capitalism) for the changes in the view on desirable masculinity pattern to emerge.

As I argued above (Section 1.1.3) men’s life style magazines appeared in times that traditional masculinity pattern was under question. As men’s lifestyle magazines studies has

shown men's lifestyle magazines play crucial role in the consolidation of men while constructing the notion of 'macho' man as hegemonic masculinity as well as contesting its right for hegemony. However, as will be demonstrated later while the contemporary men's magazines studies (focused on textual content) still talk about 'macho man' rhetoric, the contemporary studies on masculinity formation concentrated on analyzing advertising images as the next chapter will show clearly notice metrosexual notion of masculinity constructed. This tendency can signify that while journalists who form the content of magazines are still locked up in 'traditional' notion of masculinity, manufacturers of commodities for men interested in the increase of sales are more flexible towards masculinities. Advertising images in men's magazines, hence, is a driven force for metrosexual masculinity construction.

The next section analyzes the studies aimed at tracing the change in visual representation of men in the 80s- the beginning of 90s till today and the ways metrosexual masculinity is promoted as an ideal form through advertising in contemporary men's lifestyle magazines.

1.2 The shift in visual representations of men

The current section discusses the studies that analyze visual representation of men in the beginning of 1990s and in 2000s. Through this chapter I explore the categories utilized when visual representation of men is analyzed (the categories are to be referred to in the practical analysis of visual representation of men in the advertisements of *EGO*, *Men's Health*, and *XXL*) and identify the change in the way men are depicted in these two periods. The contemporary scholars who investigate visual representation of men in men's lifestyle magazines acknowledge coexistence of the elements of conventional depiction of men with the tendency to represent images of 'new man'.

Gaze is one of the major elements of visual code through which masculinity and femininity are constructed and distinguished. The concept of gaze was initially introduced by Mulvey (1975) in her article on the representation of femininity in Hollywood cinema. Mulvey claims patriarchal Hollywood movies are constructed to satisfy desires of male viewers. However, contemporary masculinity studies scholars, drawing on Mulvey's concept of voyeuristic male gaze, show that male models can also be the objects of erotic desires of female spectators. In the process of watching the male gaze is associated with activity while female gaze is thought to be passive.

Despite the fact that male models can be also objectified, as Dyer (1992) argues, there are still conventions of visual representation of men and women which are connected with the way male model looks at the viewer.

When discussing visual representation of men in the male pin-ups, Dyer emphasizes, male models usually do not look directly into the camera (at the viewer). Instead, male detached upward looking, as Dyer suggests, can signify straining, male sexual power or the interest in something else that the viewer can not see. However, when the male model looks directly at the spectator, it is a penetrating (castrating) stare with the emphasis on jaws, which, as Dyer argues, can be threatening for heterosexual male spectators. When women return the spectator's stare, female models are usually depicted with an inviting smile, which according to Henley (1977), is almost illegitimate for a traditional man for whom smile can signify the loss of power. Gray (2003) argues feeling and emotions (I would add excluding 'anger') were traditionally ascribed to femininity, however, in her analysis of the images of men she notices the presence of men who communicate deep genuine emotions towards other people, including women.

The tendency to depict men who do not acknowledge the viewer was substantiated by Godeo (2005). However, the analysis conducted by Kolbe and Albanese (1996) showed

the change in the male model gaze. While the majority of the male models in the advertisements they analyzed didn't look at the spectator, which conveys aloofness from people, around 40 percent of the male models looked directly into the camera.

According to Dyer (1992), men are mostly represented doing something. Dyer argues there are few cases of representing traditional men as supine, but, he claims, then the male power is still evoking through the emphasis on muscularity, which presumes prior activity. However, Gray's (2003) and Kon's (2002) studies of the images of men show the absence of appeal to activity and the tendency to represent men in supine positions.

Dyer (1992) argues through the emphasis on muscular male body, traditional masculinity, which presumes detachment and lack of intimacy with other people, escapes the risk of merging with the environment, homosexuals and femininities. Furthermore, muscularity, Dyer claims, is connected with male power, including sexual potency, since muscular male body is symbolically associated with *phallus* (erect penis). Hence, through muscularity, which distinguishes 'macho man' from subordinate masculinities and femininities, traditional man asserts its power over them. The emphasis on male model muscularity and the lack of endomorphic (soft emasculate) bodies was noticed by Kolbe and Albanese (1996) and Gray (2003), for whom muscular bodies as well connote power and domination.

Another way Kolbe and Albanese argue to assert male dominance is by the angle of the camera taken from below of the male model to make him appear large. However, they mention that male models were depicted on the same level as camera in 90% of the researched sole-male image advertisements.

For Kolbe and Albanese (1996) the objectification of male body can be seen through the exposure of body parts such as bare male chest, which according to them have sexual connotation. The chest hair on the male models, as they argue, is a sign of traditional

masculinity. However, when analyzing the representation of men in the British men's lifestyle magazines, Kolbe and Albanese conclude that most often the chest hair on the male models is absent. Additionally, Gray (2003) notices the absence of body hair on the male models depicted in the advertisements in the British men's lifestyle magazines. The global tendency to make a man refined is discussed by Kon (2002). He claims in the advertisements one can clearly see the shift away from the representation of virile stinky shaggy man.

Another signifier of traditional masculinity for Kolbe and Albanese (1996) is full beard. However, their study showed that the majority of the ads represent men with clean-shaven faces. Although Gray (2003) and Godeo (2005) do not talk about facial hair as a signifier of traditional masculinity, their studies show the absence of facial hair on the male models.

Conservative hair style is considered to be dry hair cut above collar and ears (Kolbe and Albanese, 1996). However, in the advertisements analyzed by them the proportion of male models who had dry hair and those who had wet moussed hair was almost equal – around 40%.

Masculinities, as was mentioned before, are constructed through certain commodities. As Kolbe and Albanese (1996) and Kon (2002) argue adornments are traditionally associated with women. However, according to Kolbe and Albanese men are legitimate to wear watches and wedding rings. Kolbe and Albanese's (1996) study has demonstrated that earrings and other non-traditional adornments on male models in the advertisements in men's lifestyle magazines are almost absent.

Traditional masculinity is not tolerant towards homosexuals, who should be segregated from heterosexual men. However, Gray's (2003) analysis has demonstrated the homosexual appeal in the located in the men's lifestyle magazines advertisements of

perfumes. For Gray homosexual culture in the ads is represented through the combination of pink and blue colors, bedroom environment the male model is located at, male model supine position, nakedness, tanned and muscular body, the emphasis on the male genitals and his direct seductive stare at the viewer. For Godeo (2005) homosexual connotations and the subversion of the notion of male detachment from others might be evoked through the close shot which creates the relations of intimacy between the spectator, who is presumed to be heterosexual, and the male model. Godeo's analysis shows the prevalence of white and black tones in the advertisements. However, he claims, sometimes conventions of visual representation of men are subverted through the usage of blue color.

The body language in gender relations represented in printed media was discussed by Sandfield (2003). Non-reciprocal touching of a woman by a man, which is a sign of dominance and power, according to Sandfield is a traditional way of depicting a man. She claims the fact of man's embracing a woman where he is depicted behind her is a clear sign of man's superiority since this spatial position signifies that it is a woman who needs to be protected by a man. The opposite tendency where men models were squeezed by women was noticed by Godeo (2005) in his analysis of men's images in the advertisements of perfumes in the British men's lifestyle magazines.

The style of the clothes is as well what differentiates the representation of conservative men from alternative. Kon (2002) argues that it is since the 19th century flamboyant colors of men's garment become more strict and dark while the style of trousers become more free and no longer emphasize the male genitals. Hence, since then colorful clothes which tightly circumscribe the body are ascribed to women. However, Kon notes that in the end of the 20th century this social tendency undergoes changes, which as well is reflected in the way men are represented in mass culture. Now in the advertisements of men's lifestyle magazines male models are represented in tight trousers or almost naked.

The color of the garment that male models wear varies subverting the notion of gender differentiation by color of the clothes.

Consequently, hypermuscularity, detached gaze, strict hairstyle and garment, dominance in relation to women, the presence of chest and facial hair and the lack of emotions are the means through which traditional man is represented while the representation of 'new man' subverts all these conventions.

1.3 The Ukrainian political changes and their effect on gender relations

In this chapter I indicate premises that fostered the academic discussions about 'the crisis of masculinity' and the development of metrosexuality in Ukraine. I argue that 'the crisis of masculinity' in Ukraine became visible in the beginning of 1990s. However, the tendency of its reinforcement became obvious only now interestingly 20 years after 'the crisis of masculinity' has been announced in the Western countries. Since academic works on the local context of 'the crisis of masculinity', unlike that on 'the crisis of femininity', among the Ukrainian scholars are scarce, I explain the lack of the academic discussion of it in Ukraine from the end of the 1980s till today by the immaturity of Masculinity Studies as an academic field. Vysotska (2004) argues that it was only after the fall of the Iron Curtain that many academics from the former USSR were able to integrate into western academic fields. As a result, it took almost 20 years for the field of Masculinity Studies in Ukraine to develop.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain Ukraine as well became exposed to the Western cultural patterns, including masculinity notions, through the globalization which, as Kellner (2002) argues, "involves both capitalist markets and set of social relations and flows of commodities, capital, technology, ideas, forms of culture, and people across national boundaries via a global network society." (p. 287) Global free market economy and

consumer capitalism, which, as Zhurzhenko (2001) argues, brought commodities at the national Ukrainian market after 1991 helping forging new gender identities, resulted in the introduction of western lifestyles through diversified global media and communicational networks, which, as Vysotska (2004) points out, became the primarily sources of knowledge and mean of educating gendered citizens on how to dress, behave and what to consume. Zhurzhenko (2001) talks about the emergence of the new femininities as a result of consumer capitalism, free market establishment and the western cultural pattern Ukraine became exposed to. She mentions the shift from the state direct influence on the formation of gender identities towards western mass culture images via which the notions of ideal femininities (a housewife and a businesswoman) were introduced and then adopted by Ukrainian citizens. However, this tendency, in my view, can be valid as well in case of masculinity formation.

Zhurzhenko (2001) argues consumerism for the new socio-economic classes emerged became the focal area of “identity formation, allowing them to imitate certain standards and join some imagined community of ‘new elites’.” (p. 35) I agree with Mayer (2002) who acknowledges the fact of the elevation of capitalist class in the post-soviet countries after the collapse of the USSR. Mayer (2002) claims that political and administrative classes that ruled the Soviet society lost its powers which resulted in the rise of capitalist class. Simultaneously with the fall of the hegemonic classes and the rise of social power of capitalists the working class, which is antagonistic to capitalist class, Mayer (2002) claims, lost its significance in newly independent countries.

The fall of the planned socialist economy resulted in the establishment of capitalist relations. Under the conditions of the economic crisis the system of state-guaranteed jobs and incomes and social welfare was substituted by the market economy, which, as Harrison (2002) argues, brought unemployment and social and economic instability to working class.

The process of privatization that was launched in 1993, as Kubicek (2002) points out, resulted in the decline of membership in trade unions, which defended the interests of the workers and guaranteed their social security and subsidies, working place and stable income. Gapova (2005) mentions ‘the crisis of working masculinity’ appeared primarily because men lost their role as breadwinners.

I would add ‘the crisis of masculinity’ was strengthened as well by changes in the type of works men did. The economic reforms brought stagnation into such masculine production branches as mining and machinery constructions. This negatively influenced social and economic positions of working class men. A man, Gapova (2005) claims, who doesn’t have money is perceived by others to be less masculine since, in traditional terms, he being a head of the family should financially support it. Hence, taking into consideration the decline of the working class men, the capitalist class became the primary indicator of hegemonic masculinity.

In the transitional period the overall ‘crisis of masculinity’ (meaning working class men) was connected with the improvement of women’s social and economic positions, not lastly, because of the globalization processes and the shift towards a market economy. As a result of the emergence of the Ukrainian free market and entrance into global market, gender relations, including within the family, underwent major changes mainly resulting in the stressing of the male role as primary breadwinners. Zhurzhenko (2001) claims there have been two social roles ascribed to women in the transitional period – that of a housewife (which was more easily adopted by younger women) and of a businesswoman (accepted by the older women who had kids).

Since, as Connell (1987) claims, the change in femininities results in a change in masculinity patterns, and vice versa, masculinity notions as well underwent changes after 1991. Since, as Warshofsky Lapidus (1993) argues, economic crisis was the major factor

fostered women to become more involved in the paid employment, men's privileged social positions were challenged. Sobotka (2002) argues that the fact of postponement of childbearing and the decline of birth rate in the post-soviet countries can be explained by the economic crisis and unemployment which emerged after the fall of the communism. However, since I agree with Friedman et al. (1994), who claim a marriage and child bearing can be seen as the means of securing women's future, in my view, the mentioned above facts can be explained by the tendency of women's involvement in the labor force to increase at that times. In the conditions of transformation, the economic crisis hit women more than men (since 1991 more than 80% of unemployed were women; working mothers were deprived of the state social security services (Taraban (2002))). It was not feminism which prompted women to labor market in Ukraine in transitional period, but rather the economic crisis. As Zhurzhenko (2004) claims, the economic crisis was among the focal conditions which pressured women into the job market. In her work Taraban (2002) discusses the 'shuttle trade'⁴, which, according to her, emerged in the beginning of the 1990s in the conditions of globalization of the Ukrainian market and "became the chief occupation of Ukrainian women in the period of transition" (p. 124). This, as Taraban (2002) argues, in terms of creating an identity, crisis was disempowering for women. However, in terms of economic and social emancipation in the following years, it was as well empowering. Furthermore, Taraban (2002) claims women "accumulated market-related knowledge and developed the skills of maneuvering in an unstable economic environment" (p. 127), which, as Zhurzhenko (2001) claims, has led to the transformation of gender relations within the Ukrainian family with strong mother/weak father gender role distribution.

⁴ "Women in the shuttle trade have to travel across borders to neighboring countries (Poland, Russia, Turkey) where cheap goods are bought and then transported to be sold in one of the local Ukrainian markets." (Taraban, 2002, p. 126)

Additionally, the notion that it is woman's obligation to take care for the children became outdated. Titarenko (1994) points out that after the collapse of the Soviet Union more men became involved in child rearing. Furthermore, Zhurzhenko (2004) and Warshofsky Lapidus (1993) point out that within the family the authority of a mother has increased while, accordingly, the authority of a father has decreased. For a certain period of time after 1991, Zdravomyslova and Temkina (2001) claim, the legacy of the Soviet legislature maintained unequal gender relations which were advantageous for women in relation to men in their marriage, possessing, and reproductive rights and in terms of child rearing in case of divorce. All these facts hinder men from exercising their roles as husbands and fathers.

According to Taraban (2002) and Zhurzhenko (2001), the Ukrainian women, in comparison to men, were more successful in facing new social and economic conditions in the period of transition. Additionally, women's emancipation (resulted in the inclination from the traditional family structure), as Yarushko (2005) argues, is discussed by some in terms of being blamed for the break up of the Soviet Union.

As was demonstrated, 'the crisis of masculinity' in Ukraine, unlike the western countries, was not connected with the rise of feminism, which is not so influential in Ukraine till now, but rather with the social and economic changes that happened at the beginning of the 1990s which opened up the space for adopting global tendencies, such as consumer capitalism. Working class masculinity as hegemonic was superseded by the newly formed capitalist class. Traditional distribution of gender roles (with a man as a primarily breadwinner and a woman being a housewife) changed, fostering the erosion of gender boundaries within a working sphere and a family.

Hence, the fall of the USSR and following events created the conditions which fostered the rise of metrosexual masculinity in Ukraine. The following part of the current

work, which analyzes visual representation of men in advertisements of *EGO*, *XXL*, *Men's Health*, is aimed at demonstrating the tendency for international metrosexual masculinity pattern to be adopted in Ukraine.

CHAPTER 2 The formation of ‘macho’ versus metrosexual men in the men’s lifestyle magazines *Men’s Health*, *EGO*, *XXL*

2.1 Rationale for the chosen set of men’s lifestyle magazines

This section justifies the set of men’s lifestyle magazines chosen for the analysis. The separate attention is given to the analysis of the audience of the magazines to show the class dimension of men’s audience and the significant presence of women’s audience in men’s lifestyle magazines which is exponent for arguing about the erosion of gender boundaries, including within men’s lifestyle magazines.

From ten⁵ men’s lifestyle magazines in the Ukraine I have chosen to analyze three - *XXL*, *Men’s Health* and *EGO* for the period of starting from December 2007 till May 2008. This period, in my view, is enough to see the tendencies of promoting a certain notion of masculinity.

All three magazines are popular among men and distributed in the regional city centers. Two of the magazines – *Men’s Health* and *XXL* are the national versions of international magazines (both of them are of American origin) while *EGO* is the national Ukrainian magazine. Initially this proportion has been done for the set of magazines to be representative since this proportion (2/1) resembles the general distribution of men’s lifestyle magazines in the Ukrainian print media market in terms of their country of origin. However, as the next section will demonstrate these magazines are almost identical in terms of advertisements which are present in men’s lifestyle magazines.

According to the statistics of 2004, only around 350⁶ thousands of copies of men’s lifestyle magazines is produced in one month in Ukraine. The data displayed on the cover

⁵ *Base of marketing information*. (2003). Retrieved April, 19th, 2008, from http://www.marketing.vc/view_subsects.php?num=118

⁶ Ksenz L. (2004). *Mugchini stolko ne chitaut*. (Men don’t read so much). Retrieved May, 31st, 2008, from <http://www.dsnews.ua/advertising/art14820.html>

pages of the May's issues show that 65 000 copies of *XXL*, 65 000 of *Men's Health*, 30 000 of *EGO* are produced in Ukraine each month. Consequently, chosen set of magazines comprises total 160 000 copies produced in a month, which, consequently, is almost one half of the circulation of all men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine. However, I would like to point out that the exact number of people who have read one issue makes up more than the mentioned quantity. For instance, with the circulation of 30 000, 74730 people read one issue of *EGO*⁷

All the data provided in the official documents of the magazines show that more than half of the quantity of the readers of these magazines have a high social status and level of income. This information is valuable for the manufacturers. Since the income of the audience is high, the set of commodities advertised may vary from commodities which an ordinary man can afford towards expensive commodities. The manufacturer's choice of the mass media depends as well on the age of the audience. The majority of men's audience of each man's lifestyle magazine is around 30 years old.

The presence of women's audience, which show the tendency for femininities and masculinities to overlap and according to which the modification of advertised commodities is produced, is acknowledged in the official data provided by the magazines. For instance, 36.5 %⁸ of *Men's Health* readers are women. *EGO*'s women audience makes up 19.8%⁹. Although the exact data which demonstrate the presence of women's audience in *XXL* turned out to be inaccessible, the advertisements analyzed in the next section prove the notion of the presence of women's audience within this magazine as well.

⁷ *EGO. Men's style of life*. (2007). Retrieved May, 30th, 2008, from http://www.ego.com.ua/EGO_web.pdf

⁸ *Men's Health magazine-online* (2007). Retrieved May, 24th, 2008, from <http://www.menshealth.com.ua/advertisement.html>

⁹ *EGO. Men's style of life*. (2007). Retrieved May, 30th, 2008, from http://www.ego.com.ua/EGO_web.pdf

2.2 Analysis of the visual representation of masculinities

This section represents the analysis of advertising (both visual and textual discourses) in the Ukrainian men's lifestyle magazines *EGO*, *XXL* and *Men's Health*. I don't separate visual representation of masculinities from textual content since the combination of both articulates the particular formation of masculinities. I focus only on those advertisings which are representative of the understanding of masculinity patterns promoted in the men's lifestyle magazines.

Firstly, I analyze advertisements in terms of the target groups to see the specific values each of those appeals to. This section shows that the majority of advertisements (most of which are represented by international brands) within both local and international versions of men's magazines in Ukraine promote metrosexuality. Since masculinities are constructed through the possession of certain commodities it is interesting to find out what specific commodities manufacturers think should be consumed by 'macho' and metrosexul to differentiate among different masculinities. Moreover, the possession of certain commodities differentiates between masculinities and femininities. However, although high percentage of men's lifestyle magazines audience comprises women, there are very few advertisements aimed exclusively at women, rather there are many more advertisements without gender differentiation to acknowledge the presence of women readers. But since these advertisements emphasize the commodity itself, they are not representative for the understanding of masculinities. That is why I briefly discuss them while the advertisements aimed at both women and men are investigated in more detail because there one can trace the change in gender relations. This chapter is ultimately exploring similarities between the representation of man in the advertisements of international and local magazines.

For the analysis of visual representation of men, additionally to the textual content, I investigate advertising visual discourse using such categories as: gaze, including emotions

implied, spatial positions of models, clothes which models wear, male models' muscularity, and the visual representation of the commodity itself, colors used.

2.2.1 Identical twins? Advertisements in the local and the international men's lifestyle magazines

Among the commodities promoted in both the local *EGO* and the local versions of international *XXL* and *Men's Health*, there are predominantly global brands which are advertised, such as: *Dolce&Gabbana*, *Armani*, *Hugo Boss*, *Nivea*, *Givenchy*, *Prada*, *Canali*, *Otto Kern*, *Timberland*, *Pierre Cardin*, *LG*, *Sony Ericsson*, *Philips*, *Nikon*, *Nike*, *Adidas*, which have their branches in Ukraine. These names are the global manufacturers of clothing, perfumes, sports wear, and high-tech commodities. Advertisements of local (originally Ukrainian) brands such as *Roshen*, *Korona* (chocolate), *Blagoff*, *Stoletov*, *Nemiroff* (vodka), and *Tavriya*, *Coctebel*, *Klinkov*, *Shustov* (cognac) are rare in men's lifestyle magazines and are mostly food or drinks.

The fact that both the local *EGO* and the international *Men's Health* and *XXL* magazines contain the same range of products, the same brands and identical advertisement compositions support the idea of complementarity and interchangeability of men's lifestyle magazines. For instance, identical advertisements of *BVLGARI AQVA MARINE* perfume can be found in both the local and the international magazines. (*EGO*, March – May 2008; *Men's Health*, March – May 2008). *HP* laptop (*XXL*, April 2008; *EGO*, *Men's Health*, May 2008); *Wittchen* leather goods (*EGO*, February, May 2008; *XXL*, January, March, April 2008); *F by Ferragamo* eau for homme (*EGO*, December 2007; *Men's Health*, December 2007, February - April 2008); *Dolce&Gabbana* fragrance pour homme (*XXL*, *Men's Health*, April 2008; *Men's Health*, May 2008; *EGO*, May 2008); *Braun* shaving tool (*XXL*, *EGO*, February 2008); *Zarina* jewelry house (*XXL* (December 2007 – April 2008); *EGO* (December 2007 - May 2008)).

The overlap between range of products & brands promoted in the local and the international magazines can be explained, as Efremov (2003) argues, by the manufacturers' strategy for efficiency. Manufacturers tend to conduct complex advertising campaigns within one time period choosing a wide range of means for promoting their goods, including similar media channels. Identical advertisements in local magazine *EGO* and local versions of international magazines *XXL* and *Men's Health* demonstrate similarity in the ways they promote certain masculinity (here metrosexual) as the ideal through imaginary malehood advertisements. The tendency of overlapping advertisements also shows that the set of magazines chosen for my analysis is relevant in that the manufacturers themselves consider them worthy of their attention.

2.2.2 'Stylization' of the advertisements aimed at metrosexual masculinity

Having researched the advertisements aimed at men, it is easy to identify the range of certain commodities advertised. It varies from food and drinks to high-tech commodities. The goods being promoted can be located in such groups as: food and drinks; high-tech commodities; skin-care products, clothes, shoes, accessories; the means of transportation; leisure time services. The mere fact of attention drawn to such commodities as skin-care products, shoes, clothes and accessories which were used to be women's concern signifies the shift in traditional 'macho' notion of masculinity towards metrosexual.

Lorentzen (2007) argues that from the 17th century on men have been associated with rationality while women with sensibility. In contrast with traditional man who is perceived to be rational, hence emotionless, the fact that there is no mentioning of technical characteristics of the watch in the advertisement of *EDOX* watch (Figure 1) it can be read like the advertisement appeals to refinement, romance and style, therefore it can signify orientation towards another formation of masculinity. One can see a deck with a man sitting in a relaxed casual way looking at the sea and mountains, which doesn't fit with the

traditional notion of man as active. The reader may assume that it took the man some activity to get to the location. However, the action is not depicted. Moreover, it is a jet-boat, which is easy to navigate, unlike a sail boat, the man is located at. Because of that and since the male model wears casual clothes, he definitely doesn't participate in nor is he worked to have been engaged in any competitive sports rally. The presence of the dishes and a flower on the table implies rather that he is waiting for someone for a romantic dinner. The *EDOX* watch (Classe Royale) the man is wearing signifies, as slogan claims, the belonging to the "Class which does not have any equals". Hence, the watch is inscribed in the depicted image of leisure of a rich (middle aged judging by the gray hair) man.

The tendency to leave out of consumer's consideration technical aspects of any high-tech commodity and appeal to emotional aspect of the situation in which the commodity can be consumed can be as well seen on the example of the *GranTurismo* car advertisement. (Figure 2) Moreover, it is not the utility of a car as the mean of transportation being accentuated (usually it is done by introducing the technical parameters of a car) but rather the refinement, style is underlined by the presence of highway, ocean and cliffs which create the unique atmosphere of "Harmony of exotics and refinement, style and nobleness" (the headline of the advertisement) implying that the pursuit of style and sophistication is what a male consumer should be concerned with.

'Macho man' is not supposed to be preoccupied with his appearance and body. Traditionally it was woman's "duty" to decorate herself and to be concerned with her clothes, shoes, skin, hairstyle, which, argues Lury (1996), implies a construction of self-identity through "external, presentational characteristics" (p.66) But in this new generation of ads products such as skin creams, lotions, perfumes, bags, gloves, accessories that used to be women's prerogative are now actively advertised for men. The presence of the advertisements of these commodities in men's lifestyle magazines promotes the notion of

personal style pursuit which, as it is implied, is promised to be achievable through the consumption of certain commodities.

One of the representative examples of man's concern with his body is the advertisement of the club *Favorite*. (Figure 3) There the young man is depicted lying on a medical couch while two depicted near him women literally merged with the ocean who caress the man. The club *Favorite* comprises spa, fitness gym and image-studio.

Since, as was mentioned before, there has been a shift from institutional sports towards the new alternative sports, which influenced the notion of ideal male body, interestingly enough are the ads which appeal to style using the notion of 'new sports'. The advertisement of *Cruzer* for shaving urges to "Create your own style". (Figure 4) The moves of the *Cruzer* itself, according to the advertisement, can be associated with the gliding of ocean waves which, seems to me, depicted graceful and significant enough to take the attention of both the viewer and the male model. The male model's muscularity is apparent but is not emphasized since he possesses rather small edged area of the ad and the viewer can see only one half of him body. This advertisement appeals to the idea of achievement without aggression. There a male model is shown having a dialog with nature. He is gladly to be merged with the ocean. The windsurfer depicted smiling while looking at the waves, which undermines the notion of hegemonic masculinity as powerful, since, as Henley (1977) emphasizes, men, unlike women, are powerful enough not to have the obligation to smile.

Smile, in my view, can have two connotations in these ads – it is used either to represent happiness (as in the advertisement of *Springfield* clothing where young men are happy from riding bicycles (Figure 5)) or to charm the viewer as in the advertisement of *Givenchy* (Figure 6) which is represented by a close shot of the head of a young man who is smiling in to the camera. The headline of the advertisement claims: "Very irresistible, Givenchy. Fresh attitude." The tendency for smiling male models (*XXL*, April 2008, p. 3;

Men's Health, December 2007, p.7, p. 73; *EGO*, April 2008, p.69; *EGO*, January 2008, p. 43) represents another shift from the traditional depiction of man.

The advertisement of *Springfield* clothing (Figure 5) depicts slim young male models, which, according to Dyer (1997) and Gray (2003), may connote men's inability to be powerful and their close relations with femininity. The 'effeminate' male model is indeed a tendency of many advertisements in chosen set of men's lifestyle magazines. This notion will be proved further down.

The advertisement of *OTTO KERN* clothing and wear boutique (Figure 7) as well appeals to style. The advertisement is represented by a musclesless slim male model which implies his close relations to femininity. The young male model is literally "Captured by style". Since style is represented as powerful enough to capture the male model, the latter is represented as powerless and victimized. The male model does not stand firmly on the floor. He is almost falling judging from the way his right leg is bent. The black line which represents *style* resembles lasso of a cowboy. The male model looks to be intimidated by something (which is presumably 'style'). The absence of fists implies that the man is not going to fight back, he has surrendered. The male's hair seems to be taken care of since he put the gel on which means he is willing to spend time taking care of his appearance. Moreover, as Kolbe and Albanese (1996) argue, wet, gelled hair is usually associated with rebelling over tradition (which is a man with dry hair). The suit the man wears is as well non-traditional since it gleams and has only one button. Additionally, the absence of socks does not go along with conventions.

It is not only through advertising casual (instead of business) men's wear in men's lifestyle magazines the conventions are broken but through the composition of the advertisement itself which questions heterosexuality of man. The advertisement of *Canali* men's shoes and wear boutique (Figure 8) consists of the sole-male image. The connotation

of a rebel against tradition is acquired through the absence of socks and the length of hair which seems to be taken care of by a hairdresser. The young musclesless model is sitting in a relaxed pose while having one leg bend in a knee, holding one hand on the inner side of the hip. This posture, combined with the fact that the model looks downward on someone else may connote not only a sexual appeal but also compliance and vulnerability. The model's look is addressed not to the reader but to someone who is not seen in the image but is definitely present. The intimacy between a male reader and the model is constructed through the frontal close shot. A viewer sees the whole male body – not just a part of it. This advertisement represents the case when the whole male body is objectified, being on display not only from the side of a viewer but also from the outside of the street where other people may see the model too, since he is sitting in the window.

The unstable spatial position of a male model in the advertisement of *Hugo Boss* (Figure 9) subverts the traditional notion of hegemonic masculinity. The male model is leaning to the wall as if he needs additional support. The clothing that he wears embraces his slim body while the hand bend in a forearm emphasizes the lips the man is touching. Furthermore, the male is definitely acknowledges the viewer since he seductively looks directly into the camera.

There are advertisements of certain commodities which appeal predominantly to metrosexual masculinity. Among them are the advertisements of perfumes. The mere fact of consumption of perfumes contradicts traditional masculinity since it is commonly known that perfumes were produced for and consumed by women. Moreover, according to advertisements, fragrance can ease the differentiation among masculinities by creating a 'personal' style, however, although spoken in different synonymous words, most of the advertisements appeal to a new man who is elegant, refined and sensitive. For example, *Chopard pour Homme (XXL)*, January 2008, p.86) has embedded such characteristics as

warmth, sensitivity, elegance. *Serge Lutens* (XXL, January 2008, p.86) fragrance has been created for “refined” men. *Canali* (XXL, January 2008, p.86) is “unforgettable fragrance for successful men, who adhere their own style”. *Gucci pour homme* (XXL, January 2008, p.86) emphasizes “elegance”.

As Gray (2003) pointed out in her analysis of male body in printed ads in *Maxim*, *Loaded*, *FHM* it is through advertising of perfumes heterosexuality of male consumers is most often questioned. Homosexual relations between the male model and a consumer in the advertisement of *BVLGARI AQVA MARINE* (Figure 10) are established through male model’s penetrating stare. The absence of any clothing on a male model, close shot of a camera and the big size of the male image creates intimate atmosphere between the viewer and the object of the gaze. Furthermore, the male model’s long and wet hair transgresses the conventions of traditional male. The tanned hairless male body is presumably located in the embankment of an ocean which comprises the background of the image and creates an overall blue tint of the advertising image, which might signify according to western cultural conventions, as Gray (2003) argues, homosexual connotation. Additionally, water, which is referred to in the name of the perfume (*AQVA MARINE*), is a natural substance, which was historically attributed to femininity. Therefore, it definitely does not appeal to traditional macho masculinity.

A similar advertisement is the *Dolce&Gabbana* Light Blue EAU DE TOILETTE POUR HOMME advertisement (Figure 11). There one can clearly distinguish a young man lying in a small white-yellow rubber raft in the ocean with cliffs behind him. The whole picturesque image shows a man who lives in accordance with nature which he seems to be a part of. Traditional masculinity, as Dyer (1992) depicted it, is anxious of being merged with other bodies and environment. The image of male model comprises one half of the advertisement page where the gaze of the reader of the magazine stops on the male model

tanned muscular body. Although passively lying seems to be a vulnerable position for man, however, the advertisement shot emphasizes man's muscles and hard look which speaks of power and tension. While his left hand is located on the hip near genitals covered by the white underwear (in fact it is the only garment the man has), his bent right hand accentuates man's muscles. Blue light tint of the ad, the model's direct penetrating gaze, short camera shot, aroused nipples, hair on the chest, arm-pits and face, spread legs and the emphasis on the men's genitals completes the image of what may constitute gay eroticism. The angle of the camera which shows only one half of the raft can signify that there is additionally one person in the boat who can be, for instance, a male consumer. The commodity itself covers 1/18th of the advertisement page. Hence, it is not the commodity itself which is valued but rather the atmosphere, emotional connotation connected with its consumption.

A bit different in terms of composition but with similar homoerotic connotations is the advertisement of F by *FERRAGAMO* EAU POUR HOMME. (Figure 12) The bottle of the perfume makes up only 1/9th of the overall advertising image. Most of the area is possessed by the male model. The emasculate young man (the reader can see only the upper part of him) has been located in the bed room (he is indeed lies on the bed) which is not typical environment and position for heterosexual 'macho man'. Traditional man would rather be depicted in action and, most often, in a working environment while it is usually women who have been depicted lying on a bed which appeals to sexual associations. The light blue tones of the composition and the male's silk shirt of the same tone create romantic atmosphere. Intimacy between the reader and the male model is reached through the close front shot and male model's straight tempting and inviting look which acknowledge the viewer. Since the man and the commodity are represented on the same spatial line, it seems that not only the product being sold and proposed to the consumer but the male model himself. The headline of the advertisement claims "F for Fascinating". Hence, the male

model is there to fascinate. Since the audience of the men's magazines is composed of male audience predominantly, the male model turns to be there sexually attractive for a male consumer. The sexual appeal is reinforced through the emphasis on the model's half-opened mouth and the fact that the model's hand is positioned near his head (which let us see as well his sleeve's button of a grey color). The pursuit of healthy, shining hair and fascination from the side of men has traditionally been women's concern. The overall image of advertisement appeals not to the model or the commodity itself but rather to the environment in which the commodity is to be consumed.

2.2.3 The crisis of 'macho man'

Among the products advertised predominantly for a metrosexual reader there are still advertisements that presuppose the traditional 'macho man' as a consumer of the same type of product. Although perfumes have not been traditionally a masculine commodity, some men's fragrance advertisements manage to maintain traditional notion of masculinity. This can be done using different techniques. For instance, in advertisement of *Davidoff* fragrance for men (Figure 13) the close shot of a camera creates an enhanced image of man which can signify domination. The man is looking upward implying he is interested in something which can not be seen by a viewer. As Dyer (1992) points out, this can speak of man's distancing from the viewer and striving which is commonly associated with traditional notion of masculinity. The model is standing in front of the engine of the airplane which as well connotes the upward striving, activity and his interest in machinery. The subject wears a conservative dark jacket above the white shirt which does not allow viewing the men's chest which can be the object of viewer's erotic gaze, as Kolbe and Albanese (1996) point out. Additionally, judging from his grey hair and wrinkles, he seems to be not of a middle age. His skin is tanned; however, he seems to have received it naturally while managing his

airplane in the sky. His facial bristle creates the atmosphere of virility and wildness, which has primarily associations with traditional masculinity.

Advertisements of vodka are predominantly aimed at ‘macho man’ because of the notion of winning and striving for absolute power through coercion rather than through manufacturing consent which is promoted via such advertisements. For example, the headline of vodka *Nemiroff LEX* advertisement (*XXL*, December 2007, p.177) announces *LEX* (which is translated from Latin as “law”) to be consumed by those men who “create their own world where I is the LAW.” (p. 177) The advertisement claims, “most, desperately try to conquer the world, while the privileged already possess it.” (p.177)

Although the name *Stoletov Partner* implies the relations between men to be less competitive, nevertheless, this vodka according to the advertisement “underlines bright feelings of winning.” (*XXL*, December 2007, p.18)

The advertisements of cars are mostly aimed at ‘macho man’. *Infiniti QX*, for instance, is “For those who are not used to compromise.” (*EGO*, December 2007, p.1) *Volvo*’s advertisement claims “Strong is always in safe.” (*EGO*, December 2007, p.59) The ad of *Hyundai Santa Fe* implies its consumer needs “More territory.” (*EGO*, February 2008, p. 29) “The absolute power over the road” is promised by the advertisement of Toyota Land Cruiser 200. (*EGO*, February 2008, p. 162)

Most advertisements of watches are also targeted at ‘macho man’. “Only the best is good enough” is asserted in the advertisement of *Bovet*. (*Men’s Health*, March 2008, pp. 4, 5) “What does not kill me makes me stronger” claims the advertisement of *Zenith* watch. (Figure 14) The image of the advertisement consists of a male model who is apparently an aviator since one can see a jet plane behind him. The model wears a special uniform and one can see a helmet in his hand. The interest in machinery has always been ascribed to the traditional notion of masculinity. The overall tone of the advertisement as well as man’s

clothing is black which goes along with the tendency for conventional masculinity and femininity colors. The model is not interested in a viewer, rather he is interested in something (I would suppose it is sky since the model looks upward) which can not be seen from the side of the viewer. As Dyer (1992) claims, the traditional notion of masculinity is maintained through the male upward looking which doesn't show any interest in a viewer. Moreover, this advertisement appeals to 'macho man' since through the close shot the muscular man's hand is emphasized.

The advertisement of *Breitling* watch (*Men's Health*, March 2008, p. 37) emphasizes "pure performance" and "absolute precision" as main characteristics of the watch while the statement is supported by the visual image of the jet plane and radar.

Since the range of commodities produced for men and women is almost similar (at present men also use creams, lotions, shampoos, perfumes), it is hard to maintain the image of 'macho man' in the advertisement of this products since a man should differentiate himself from women and other groups, in present case, via commodities consumed. Consumer should be persuaded that perfumes, creams and other new men-oriented goods are also masculine. The advertisement of shampoo *CLEAR VITA ABE* (Figure 15) depicts a portrait of man looking directly at the viewer with a penetrating stare, which can signify power and confidence. However, as Dyer (1992) supposes the penetrating look can be perceived by traditional heterosexual man as frightening, the presence of such an image might appeal to men with non-traditional sexuality. Although further analysis shows that this is unlikely. The black classical suit, strict hair style, length of hair and overall black tone of advertisement signifies tradition. Although black color is probably used as well to show that this man does not have any problems with dandruff which can be seen clearly on a black surface. The man model is firmly standing although bending. His mouth is fully closed with the emphasis on the jaws. He seems do not never compromise and his look doesn't presume

any emotions except from aggressively. The headline of the advertisement declares: “Men are different that is why we made CLEAR VITA ABE for men with the unique complex VITA ABE.” (p.115) Conspicuous here is the fact that the commodity itself is absent from the advertisement. Only functional notions of shampoo (such as taking away dandruff, decreasing adiposeness, prevent from loosing hair) are accentuated. In fact the mere fact that men here are identified in opposition to women may signify the leaning to traditional macho masculinity which assumes this binary opposition.

In general, the advertisements aimed at ‘macho man’ are rare compared to the advertisements aimed at metrosexual man. Moreover, they are not as valuable for the present research since most of them do not contain an image of male model. Since the notion of a macho man is withering away opening space for a more elegant and refined man, most of manufacturers, judging from the rare presence of a virile ‘macho man’ model in the advertisements, prefer to depict a commodity itself attaching to the image slogan, which emphasize ‘macho man’ as a presumed consumer.

2.2.4 Visual representation of ‘hybrid’ masculinity

Among other advertisements, there are those, which visually disapprove the notion of competitive masculinities and demonstrate the possibility of coexistence of ‘macho’ and metrosexual masculinities. The celebrity Evan Macgregor who managed to overcome the difficulties on his way from London to New York on a bike (judging from the reality TV show) represents men’s fragrance *Davidoff* (Figure 16). Evan’s photo comprises 5/6 of the page. He is represented as a passive viewer sitting somewhere in the mountains and being concentrated on the nature around him. As model Evan does not acknowledge the viewer of advertisement. According to Dyer (1992), this can speak of detachment from the spectator – the tendency which is common among ‘macho men’. His sleeves are rolled up implying that he was working before and now he is having a rest. The presence of the hair on the hands,

the light bristle on the face additionally to the depicted mountains creates the atmosphere of wildness and virility. However, the presence of the white scarf on his neck makes the image of him less strict. Scarf is not a traditional man's accessory; however, it became popular among metrosexuals as one of the elements of style.

The advertisement of Boutique *Baldessarini* (Figure 17) represents another attempt (further analysis will prove it was unsuccessful) to differentiate between 'macho man' and metrosexual and emphasize 'macho man' as a prospective consumer. The frontal angle of a camera represents artificially increased proportions of man which can imply the pursuit of domination and power although the frontal angle simultaneously creates an atmosphere of closeness between a viewer and the object of a gaze. 'Macho man', however, should detach himself from others. Since man's eyes are closed he appears to be disinterested in a viewer. Although at first sight it might seem the man is taking a nap, it is hard to sleep with the left hand bent. Most probably the model is cogitating, which is an active process although the model vulnerably lies - the way woman is usually depicted. Judging from the wrinkles and grey hair of the model, the man is obviously old, which can signify experience and competency commonly related to traditional man. However, man's casual dark blue suit, the non-traditional length of the hair and grey slippers without socks, vulnerable position contradicts the slogan which claims: "Baldessarini. Separates men from the boys." The advertisement details show the male model obviously represents alternative masculinity although the slogan emphasizes his traditionality. One can see the reflection of the man in the mirror which sends us to narcissistic love towards the man's self and man's external representational characteristics. Another interesting detail is the presence of the bracelet (not a watch) on the man's wrist which has a decorative meaning illegitimate for 'macho man'. Although the bracelet is made of black color, it is a flower being depicted on it. Kolbe and

Albanese (1996) argue watch and wedding ring are the only decorations traditional man is legitimate to wear.

Another representative advertisement is that of *Adidas*. (Figure 18) There one can clearly see the friendly co-existence of ‘macho man’ and metrosexual masculinities. Most significant fact, however, is that this partnership is demonstrated via playing such competitive sports as football. Judging from the sports wear, each player represents different team. However, these players (who are in fact famous football players) do not compete since each of them is unique and has its own ball to play with. As it is stated in the advertisement, one of them is virtuoso, the second one is a strong player, which can be associated with macho man masculinity, and the last one is an elegant player, whom I would relate to metrosexual masculinity. The headline of the advertisement claims: “Find your place in a team”. The headline along with the image presumes the absence of competitiveness and the desire to be the leader among men.

2.2.5 The image of ‘woman’ in men’s lifestyle magazines

In addition to the advertisements aimed at ‘macho men’, metrosexual men and hybrid of both, there are ads targeted at women only, both women and men, and the ads of commodities where gender of the target group is not acknowledged at all. Among the explicitly non-gender specific commodities promoted in men’s lifestyle magazines are such products as: mobile phones and packets, shopping malls, décor-, image-studios, restaurants, TV shows and channels, radio stations, laptops, TV sets, hotels, chocolate, beer, champagne, whisky, cognacs, wines, real estate, watches, photo, video cameras, spa salons.

These advertisements emphasize the commodity itself, its characteristics or appeal to style disregarding the gender differentiation of the target group. In other words, most of the advertisements depict the product itself; models or any settings evoking some life-style, which can be associated with the presumed consumers, are usually absent. However, if so,

models of both sexes are represented only to demonstrate that both men and women can be consumers of these commodities.

Although gender relations are not embedded in most such advertisements, the advertisement of the studio of interiors *Domus* (Figure 19) demonstrates the change in gender relations. The female model who is sitting on a throne with an arrogant look while the male model is depicted sitting on the floor near her legs is about to give the man a handkerchief implying that he is vulnerable and soft. There one can see a woman being dominant over a man who seems to beg her for indulgence. Hence, in this advertisement the traditional way of depicting man as dominant over woman is subverted.

The example of showing the gender differentiation without demonstrating the tendencies of gender relations is the advertisement of *Hewlett-Packard* laptop (Figure 20). Instead of considering technical characteristics, the ad prescribes emotional ones to the laptop through the accentuation of style. “My style” is a headline for the advertisement where the notebook is located between two types of clothing canvas – presumably that for men and women. The color and style of the upper canvas bring associations with traditional feminine rhetoric because of the roses depicted and certain colors of the canvas – blue, rose, grey. The second set of materials lies beneath the laptop itself and is more strict and dark. The laptop is in dark-violet tones (color coordinated with the dominant shade of the background) with imprinted patterns as if they were made by a needle which additionally turns to be part of the word “My” of the headline. Moreover, the sewing needle can be associated with an ordinary woman, who usually sews as a part of her domestic work. Textual content links the possession of the laptop to the creation of certain individual style. It claims: “My style - my individuality. It is created by books, preferred music, friends ...and everything new and bright that is in the world... and my new notebook *HP Pavilion dv6742er* with double nuclear processor *Intel Pentium* dual-core. One can not get the stare away from its surface -

now I know it is called *Imprint*. But it is not its only advantage. With the help of *Windows Vista Home Pentium* it will be a pleasure to manage own financial information, watch TV shows, play or listen to the music. This is a real personal computer which transfers my preferences, thoughts and impressions. My style is *HP Pavilion*. Individual till the smallest detail.” (p. 41) Apparently, the laptop as a commodity is represented as being able to create the style of its possessor, and is related to the clothing material (differentiated by gender) from which one can make clothes to differentiate him/herself from other people of the same gender.

The advertisements which promoted commodities are consumed exclusively by women in men’s lifestyle magazines, unlike the advertisements with non-gender specific, can be traced very rarely. Among a few exclusively women’s commodities advertised are jewelry and pantyhose the advertising of which as well appeals to style. However, although it is presumed that women would wear this jewelry and pantyhose, it is both women and men who are the target of such advertisements. These are the products that men can buy for their ladies as a present. This fact as well as the fact that they appeal to personal style makes these ads more acceptable to be incorporated in men’s lifestyle magazines. For instance, the jewelry house *Zarina* promoted itself in men’s magazines *XXL* (December 2007- April 2008) and *Ego* (December 2007- May 2008) through showing women’s glove, hat, slipper, handbag made out of the combinations of jewelry. The advertisement claims that *Zarina* is “The Jewelry of your style”.

Additionally, there are the advertisements which are aimed at both women and men. Among these advertisements are those of boutiques and brands, which have the same brand clothing for both women and men. These advertisements are controversial because while there are the tendencies to subvert conventions in the advertisements in general, one and the same advertisement can both challenge traditions and maintain them.

The tendency to represent androgynous male models can be seen in the advertisement of *Hugo Boss* brand. (Figure 21; Figure 22) Such advertisements, seems to me, are threatening for ‘macho man’ notion of masculinity who defines himself through the opposition to women. Since the space that each of the models – male and female comprises is equal, none of the male models depicted on both advertisements strives for dominance over women. It is rather female model, judging from the advertisement (Figure 22), defies the man. The male models of these advertisements are ‘effeminate’ not only because they are slim and depicted with less visible muscles, but also because of the absence of the chest hair, which according to Kolbe, Albanese (1996), who have analyzed sole-male images in men’s lifestyle magazines (*Esquire, CQ, Playboy, Rolling Stone, Spots Illustrated, Business Week*), “has traditionally been an indicator of masculinity and virility.” (p. 6)

Some of the advertisements challenge conventional depiction of man as confident and his dominance over woman. For instance, the advertisement of *Colin’s* jeans wear (Figure 23) comprises of two equal sections. The male and female models are apparently located in the shop where each of them intends to buy new clothes. Both of them are depicted standing (in similar spatial positions), which implies equality among sexes. While young girl is depicted confident, her male friend seems to feel himself not really comfortable in the dressing room. The present of the male model in a dressing room and his confusion there can be explained in two ways. Either, as a traditional man, the male model, unlike woman, is not used to shopping procedures, or the fact that he is depicted in the dressing room itself can be regarded as a subversion of the notion of ‘macho man’ as not interested in the way he looks and confident no matter what. Each of the models has his/her own equal space which means that the social relations between the male and female are presumed to be equal.

The maintenance of conventions is done in the advertisements of *Cottonfield* (*EGO*, May 2008, p.137), *Murphy&NYE* (*XXL*, January 2008, p.3), and *McGregor* (*EGO*, April 2008, p.33) through the fact that female model acknowledges the viewer while the male model looks upwards, which means, as Dyer (1992), Gray (2003), Kolbe and Albanese (1996), who analyzed visual representation of men in men's lifestyle magazines, claim, he isn't interested in the viewer. It is still a man who embraces a woman showing his dominance while she is leaning to him although in most cases they both occupy equal spaces and similar positions (depicted standing) However, the look of the female model in the advertisement of *Cottonfield* (Figure 24) is more determined than that of her male partner. While the male model is almost smiling showing his teeth, the female model's look emphasizes her jaws. Additionally, in the advertisement of *Murphy&NYE* the male model depicted smiling. These facial expressions are inverted if one to consider the way Dyer (1992) depicted visual representation of a traditional man in relation to woman.

A man's role as powerful and dominant is subverted in the advertisement of *OLAF BENZ* underwear (Figure 25) produced for women and men. There a female model exercises power over a male model by literally tearing his t-shirt which can signify that it is she who is powerful in social and sexual terms. Women's dynamic hair and actions proves that she is the one who is active while the man is just passively standing.

Contrary to it, the advertisement of *Fontanelli* fur wear (Figure 26) which perpetuates conventional gender relations where a man depicted as powerful enough to grab a woman not letting her go. This fact and the emphasis on the male model's hand muscles and veins make him look strong.

The 'Woman as décor and an addition to man' notion is constructed in the advertisement of laptop *Fujitsu Siemens*. (Figure 27) There a female model is bending down

to the man from behind him. The man, represented on the first plan, is comfortably sitting on the armchair in the room.

Consequently, the advertisements aimed at both women and men, although showing some changes in the visual representation of genders, still maintain conventional depiction. In my view, this can be explained by the fact that it is more problematic for changes in the visual representation of a man to occur when he is depicted along with a woman, while it is easy to subvert conventions when a man is depicted alone. When represented along with a woman, it is hard to escape the essentialist view on the way the relations between sexes should be, since then a man would be defined through the opposition to a woman, and vice versa.

2.2.6 Concluding remarks

The current analysis of advertisements in men's lifestyle magazines has shown the presence of different masculinities in chosen set of men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine. These are for 'macho man' (Figure 13-15), metrosexual (Figure 1-12) and the combination of both (Figure 16-18). Advertisements aimed at the metrosexual man are prevalent over that of macho man. It is through the advertisements articulating and aimed at metrosexuals heterosexuality of readership is questioned (Figure 10-12). Through the study of advertising in men's lifestyle magazines it became obvious that there are only a few commodities which according to manufacturers should be consumed by different masculinities – 'macho' and metrosexual. Among such products are vodka, cars and watches (for 'macho man'; Figure 14) and perfumes (for metrosexual; Figure 6, 10-12). Those advertisements which appeal to macho man are not successful enough because of their dual connotations.

Among other advertisements there are also those aimed at women, a heterosexual couple (Figure 21-27) and the advertisements without gender differentiation (Figure 19, 20). They have controversial character since while subverting traditional depiction of man they

maintain the notion of 'macho man' masculinity. The presence of advertisements aimed at women, an in much extent - at heterosexual couple and those without gender differentiation support the data provided by publishers that around 37%¹⁰ of readership of men's magazines comprises women. Since primary audience of men's lifestyle magazines is males, it is naturally that the amount of male-oriented advertisements prevails over female-oriented. The fact that many women read men's lifestyle magazines forces advertisers consider them in the choice of products and images used in advertisements. In fact, Gay (2003) argues that sexually enticing 'effeminate' male models are the mean for making the advertisements in men's lifestyle magazines appealing to women. Another way for achieving it is through either emphasis on a product itself or in an attempt to capture both audiences with appeal to shared non-gendered values in one image and message. As a result such advertisements may disregards gender of the audience.

Most analyzed advertisements emphasize emotional (Figure 1-14, 16-27) rather than rational (Figure 15) motives for commodity consumption. In them visual discourse is prevailing over textual which, as Lury (1996) argues, is the global tendency in advertising since 1945. Most often, these advertisements consist of visual image (where commodity is not always depicted) and a slogan attached to the image.

In her book "Consumer culture" Lury (1996) points out that over the 20th century advertising has transformed drastically. Advertising from 1965 shifted towards the included "stylized identification of the consumer and the meaning of the act of consumption in a social situation." (p.65) In most cases it is not a commodity which is accentuated in the advertisements of the chosen set of magazines but rather its imagined consumer. Indeed, most advertisements consist of sole-male model (Figure 1, 4-18). Majority of advertisements (no matter what target groups they are aimed at) accentuate personal characteristics rather

¹⁰ *Men's Health magazine-online* (2007). Retrieved May, 24th, 2008, from <http://www.menshealth.com.ua/advertisement.html>

than gender ones through the literal emphasis on style pursuit (Figure 2, 4, 7, 20). Hence, gender boundaries become less stable. Since women read men's lifestyle magazines and there are many advertisements which aimed at overall women, heterosexual couple as well as of those without gender differentiation additionally to advertisements aimed at men (most of which as the analysis has demonstrated targeted at metrosexual), one can wonder whether there should still be such a distinction between women's and men's lifestyle magazines. Current analysis has showed that presence and composition of advertisements aimed at different target groups in men's lifestyle magazines indicates the blurring of gender boundaries and question the need for solely men's lifestyle magazines.

CHAPTER 3 Implications of the strengthening of the metrosexual image

3.1 Gender as the defining factor for the division of magazines

As was noticed, around 37%¹¹ of men's lifestyle magazines audience comprises women while around 20%¹² of the audience of women's lifestyle magazines consists of men.

The range of the products advertised in men's lifestyle magazines is modified to target both women and men. The advertisements male models are made to be appealing for both women and men. And finally, most advertisements emphasize qualities which are not related to certain gender. These facts seem to be significant enough for questioning the need for solely men's and women's magazines. Bearing all these facts in mind, I presume gender will soon no longer be the defining factor of differentiation among magazines.

3.2 Stability of patriarchy

Judging from the data analyzed, metrosexuality is not willing to reassert itself through the hierarchical opposition to women and subordinate masculinities. I support the view of Kon (2006) who argues that 'emasculate' men erode premises for hierarchy between heterosexual and homosexual men and two conventional genders – subordinate femininities and dominant masculinities. As Kurukin (2005) notices, by synthesizing qualities ascribed to both genders, metrosexual masculinity can be considered a third gender.

With the emergence of metrosexual masculinity one can no longer evoke patriarchy since without hierarchical relation between masculinities and femininities it then becomes an obsolete term. However, I agree with Brittain (1989) and Kon (2006) who argue that this is

¹¹ *Men's Health magazine-online* (2007). Retrieved May, 24th, 2008, from <http://www.menshealth.com.ua/advertisement.html>

¹² Kolomiets, Y. *Grubaya mugskaya pravda. SACHEM mugchini chitaut "Genskie strasti"?* (Rude men's truth. Why men read "Women's passions"?). Retrieved June, 1st, 2008, from <http://www.passion.ru/s.php/6722.htm>

incorrect to say in relation to all social classes. In case of Ukraine, the erosion of patriarchy only valid to say in relation to the certain social strata Ukrainian metrosexual men belong to.

The rise of metrosexuality as a combination of homosexual and feminine culture may create the base for the change in the perception of homosexual and feminine cultures by the general Ukrainian public. I agree with Kon (2006) who claims that the tendency for blurring gender boundaries may erode gender stereotypes which prevail in any society. As for the negative implications of the metrosexual masculinity rise, it may prompt the anxieties about self-identification of person as a woman or a man, which in a wide scale (and here I would agree with Brittan (1989)) seems to be problematic both for a single person and gender relations.

As can be concluded metrosexual is a predominant masculinity pattern in men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine. However, whether this notion of masculinity is going to be accepted as hegemonic pattern fostering the subversion of patriarchy within the Ukrainian society remains to be answered.

3.3 Metrosexual masculinity as hegemonic masculinity pattern?

When talking about 'feminization' of men and 'masculinization' of women, Kon (2006) notices that erosion of gender boundaries opened up the space for developing individual characteristics which are not necessarily connected with gender but rather with an individual. In this regard men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine promote the shift from self-identification as a gendered person who possesses certain place in a hierarchy to self-identification as an equal individual. I think through the emphasis on the shared personal human characteristics which disregarding gender qualities unite all femininities and all masculinities metrosexuality is laying itself a path towards hegemony. However, since metrosexual masculinity promotes gender equality and combines homosexual and feminine cultures, there is no reason for metrosexuality in making other femininities and masculinities

comply with metrosexuality as a hegemonic masculinity since femininities and homosexual culture comprise the integral self of metrosexual masculinity. It is my conviction that the strategy of partnership and consolidation of characteristics of both genders is not good enough for metrosexuality to become hegemonic masculinity pattern. With the strategy of asserting its hegemonic position through the notion of partnership and cooperation (rather than competitiveness and hierarchical opposition as it in case of 'macho man') metrosexual masculinity might turn into hegemonic only for a certain limited period of time. The current author is more inclined to believe that metrosexual masculinity is going to become a transitional notion to other modified or completely new hegemonic masculinity pattern.

CONCLUSIONS

The current research has identified major social tendencies which fostered the so-called 'crisis of masculinity' in 'western' countries. These are the rise of feminism and the empowerment of women, the change in preference towards sports, which subverted the notion of ideal male body as necessarily muscular, and the blowing of consumer capitalism. In Ukraine the 'crisis of masculinity' has emerged after the fall of the USSR and was mostly connected with the economic crisis and consumer capitalism.

As was demonstrated by the studies on men's lifestyle magazines, men's magazines both perpetuate certain pattern of hegemonic masculinity and subvert it by introducing alternative masculinity formations such as metrosexual.

The current analysis completes the set of studies which acknowledge the change in visual representation of men globally and shows that the 'western' masculinity pattern metrosexual was adopted in Ukraine.

As a result of this analysis, it became evident that the men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine promote different forms of masculinities: macho man, metrosexual and the combination of both. However, the prevalent majority of the ads, as the analysis has demonstrated, represent metrosexual masculinity pattern. The fact of the presence of the ads which evoke homosexual connotations through supine male models, their seductive direct stare at the spectator, pink-blue colors of ads, bedroom environment models are placed at can be the major evidence for claiming the fact of the erosion of 'macho man' notion of masculinity.

Additionally, it was concluded during the analysis that masculinities in men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine are constructed through certain commodities, the possession of which gives a base for the differentiation among masculinities. Watches, vodka and cars (the advertisements of which appeal to the notion of winning) are ascribed to 'macho man' while

perfumes (the advertisements of which bring out homosexual connotations) are thought to be consumed by metrosexual.

The current analysis has shown the presence of the advertisements aimed at women, heterosexual couple and the ads which does not include gender differentiation in their basis. These advertisements both maintain and subvert the conventions of depiction of men.

Most advertisements are constructed through the emphasis on the style pursuit disregarding gender of a consumer or on the advertised product, which, as the current author argues, can be explained by the fact of the presence of women's audience in the men's lifestyle magazines, which substantiates the notion of the erosion of gender boundaries within men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine.

The identified through the analysis facts substantiate the initial presupposition that questions the need for solely men's lifestyle magazines in Ukraine. Among these facts are:

- The presence of women's audience;
- Its influence on the set of commodities advertised;
- Its influence on the composition and the appeal of the ads, including visual representation of men.

The metrosexual masculinity, which combines homosexual and feminine cultures and is not willing to assert itself as dominant over other femininities and masculinities undermines the notion of patriarchy as stable within a certain capitalist class in Ukraine.

Another major implication of metrosexuality is its possible influence on the overall acceptance of homosexual culture and decrease of misogyny in Ukraine.

Although metrosexual notion of masculinity turned out to be prevalent in the ads of the men's lifestyle magazines, the current author is not inclined to believe it will become the new notion of hegemonic masculinity in Ukraine.

APPENDIXES

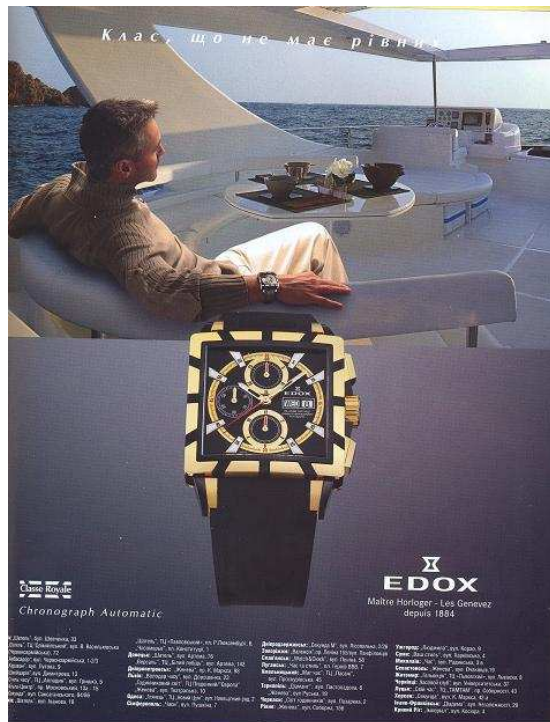


Figure 1 EDOX watch (EGO, May 2008, p.17)

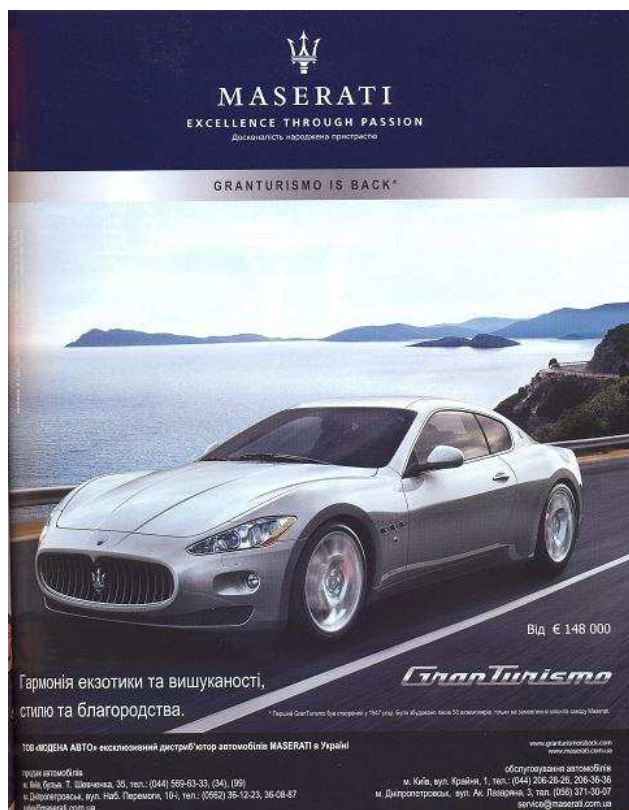


Figure 2 GranTurismo car (EGO, December 2007, p.19)

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Figure 3 *Favorite club* (*Men's Health*, April 2008, p.145)



Figure 4 *Cruzer* shaving tool (*EGO*, February 2008, p.53)

APPENDIXES (page 3)

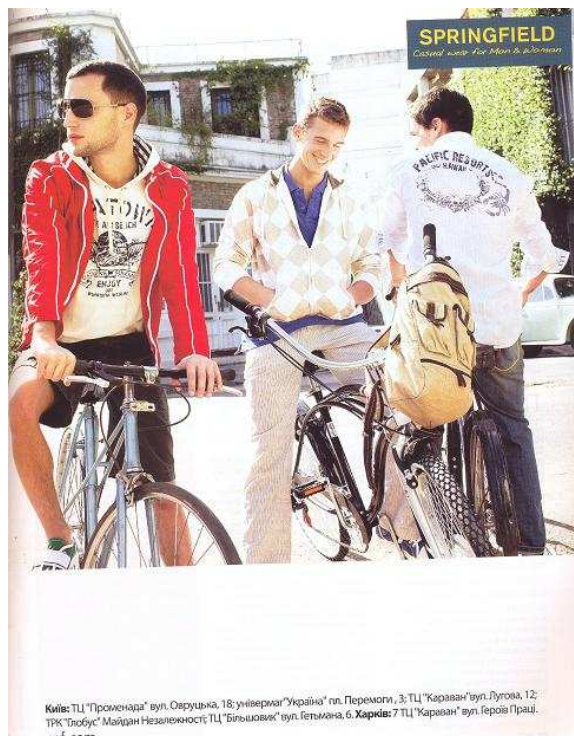


Figure 5 *Springfield* clothing (*EGO*, April 2008, p.69)

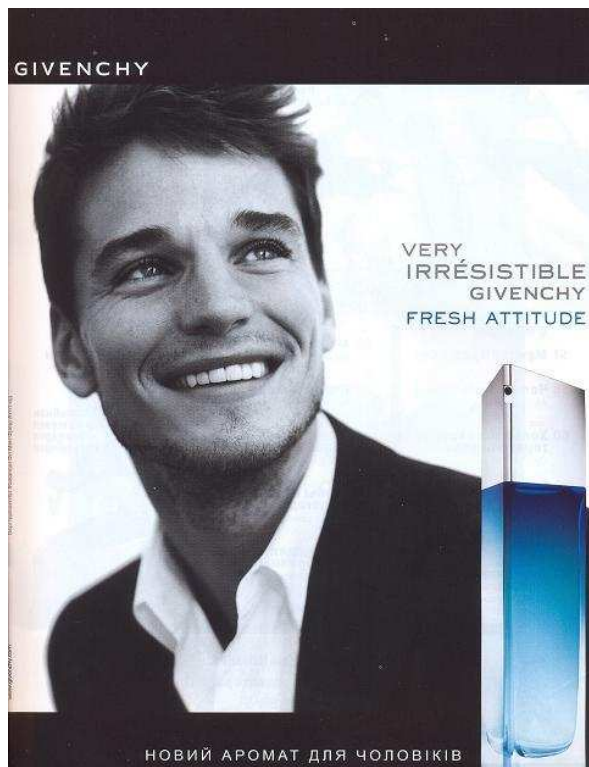


Figure 6 *Givenchy* fragrance for men (*Men's Health*, December 2007, p.7)

APPENDIXES (page 4)

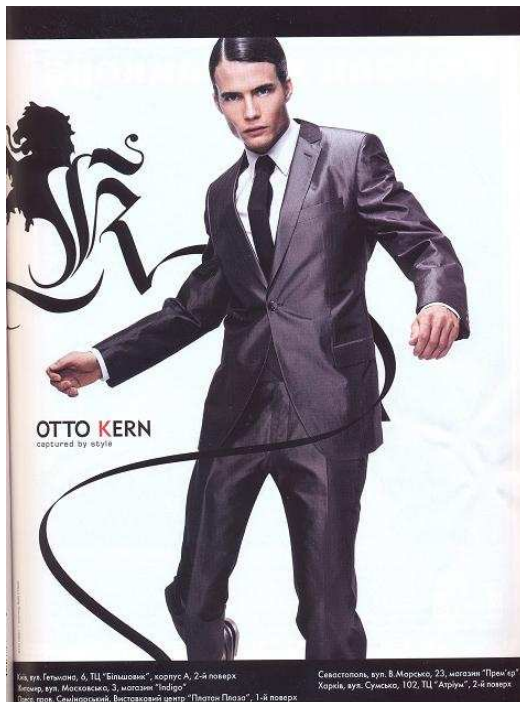


Figure 7 OTTO KERN clothing and wear boutique (*EGO*, May 2008, p.39)

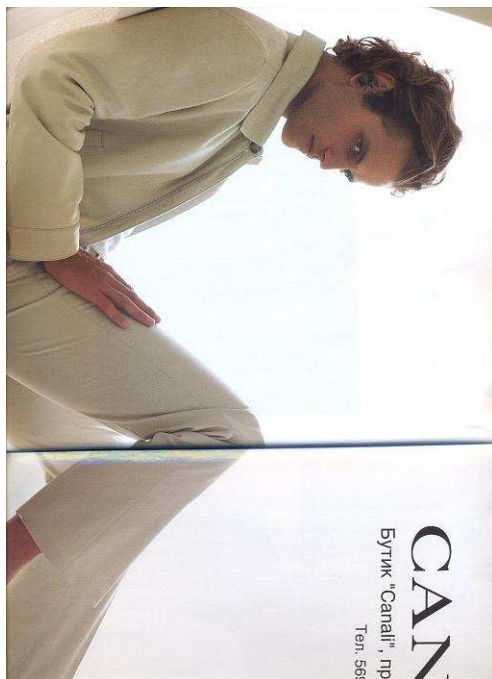


Figure 8 Canali men's shoes and wear boutique (*EGO*, May 2008, p.4, 5)

APPENDIXES (page 5)

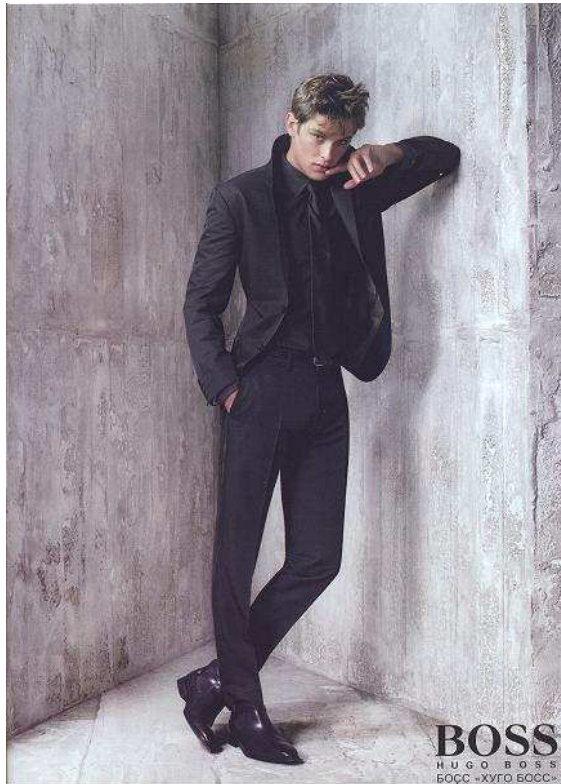


Figure 9 *Hugo Boss* clothing (*Men's Health*, December 2007, p.171)

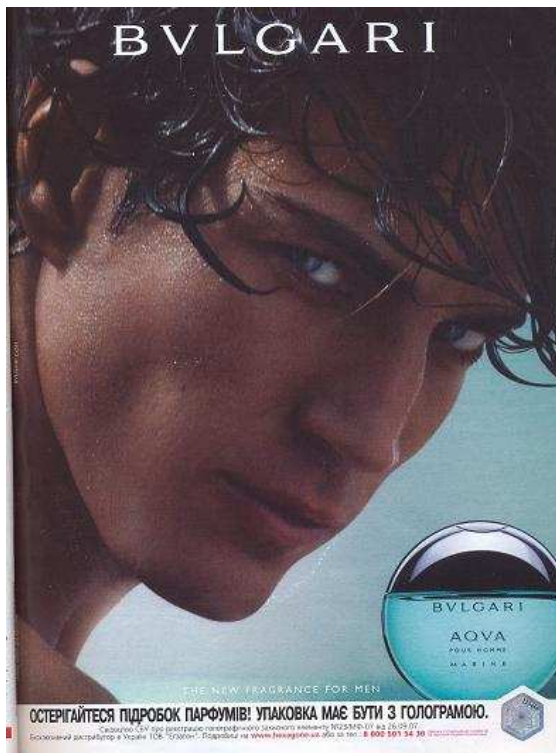


Figure 10 *BVLGARI AQVA MARINE* (*Men's Health*, April 2008, p.29)

APPENDIXES (page 6)

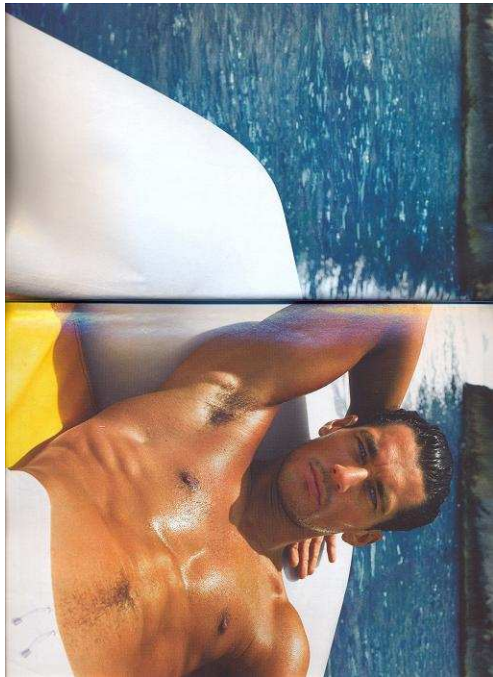


Figure 11 *Dolce&Gabbana Light Blue EAU DE TOILETTE POUR HOMME (EGO*, December 2007, p.5)



Figure 12 *F by FERRAGAMO EAU POUR HOMME (EGO*, December 2007, p.43)

APPENDIXES (page 7)

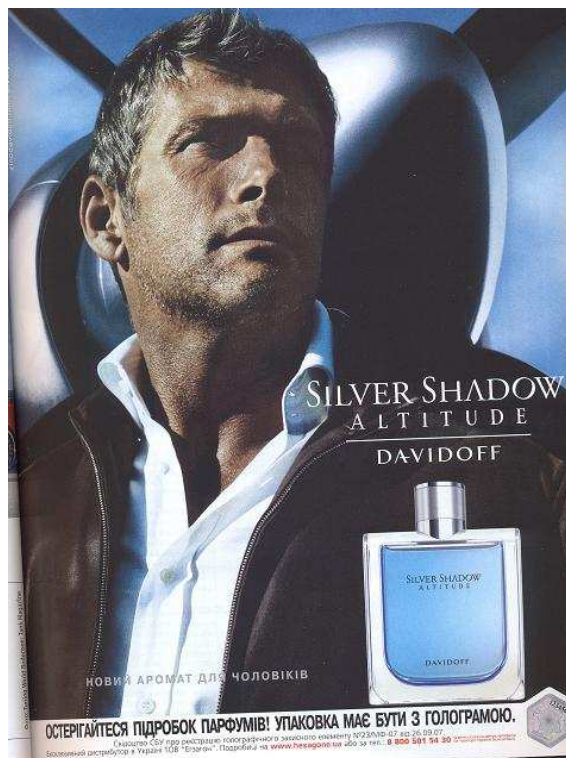


Figure 13 Davidoff fragrance for men (*EGO*, December 2007, p.35)

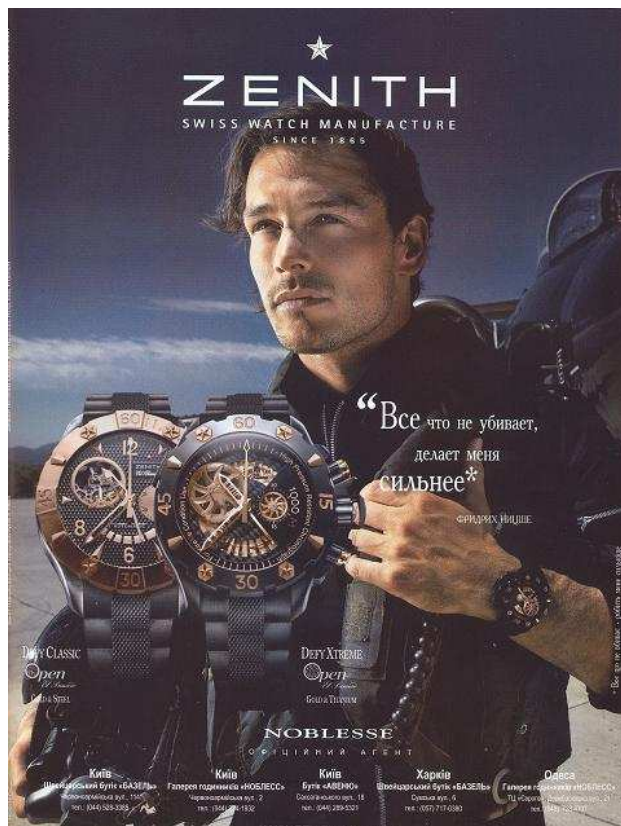


Figure 14 Zenith watch (*Men's Health*, March 2008, p.31)

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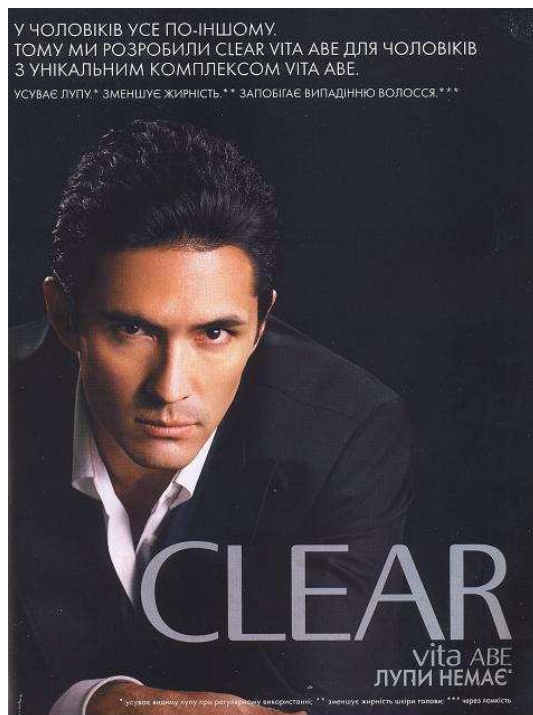


Figure 15 *CLEAR VITA ABE* shampoo (*EGO*, May 2008, p.115)

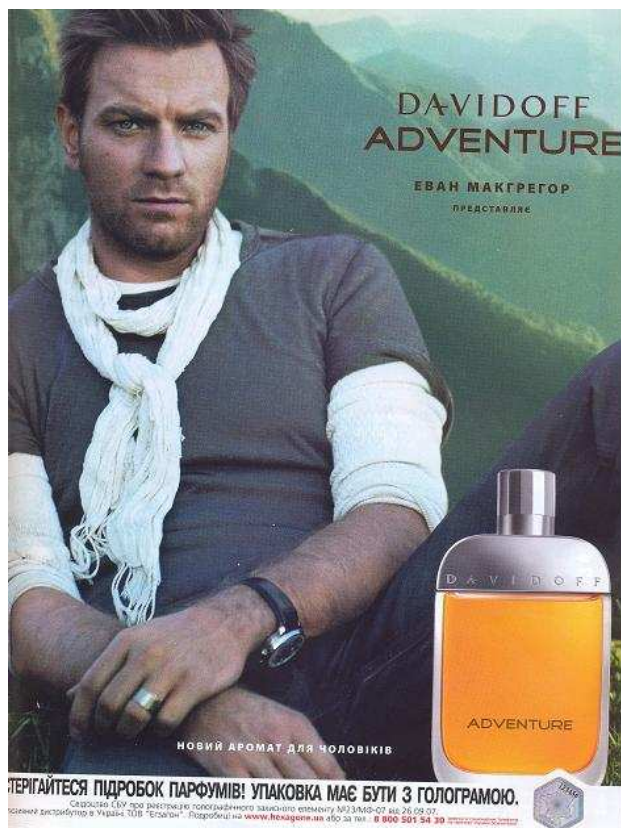


Figure 16 *Davidoff* fragrance for men (*EGO*, May 2008, p. 43)

APPENDIXES (page 9)

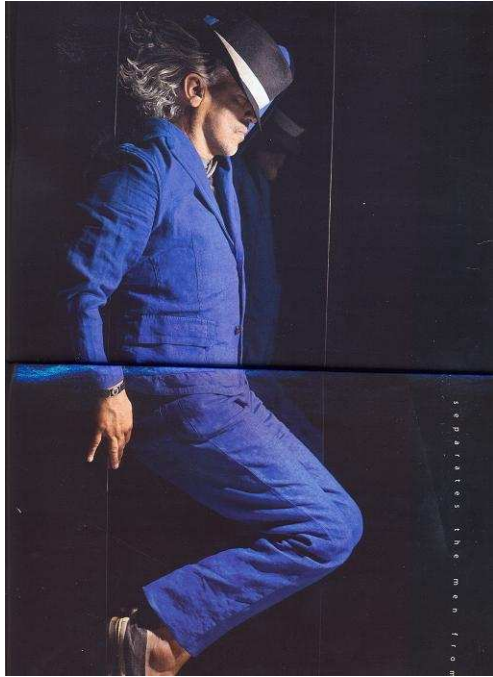


Figure 17 Boutique *Baldessarini* (*EGO*, May 2008, p.8,9)

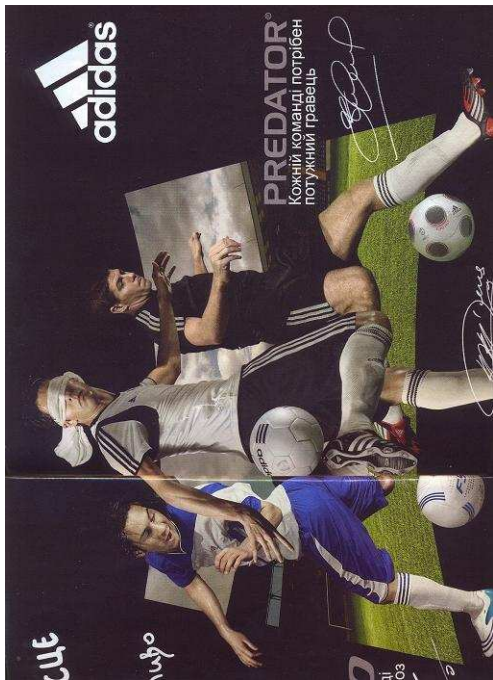


Figure 18 *Adidas* clothing and foot wear for sports (*Men's Health*, May 2008, p.8,9)

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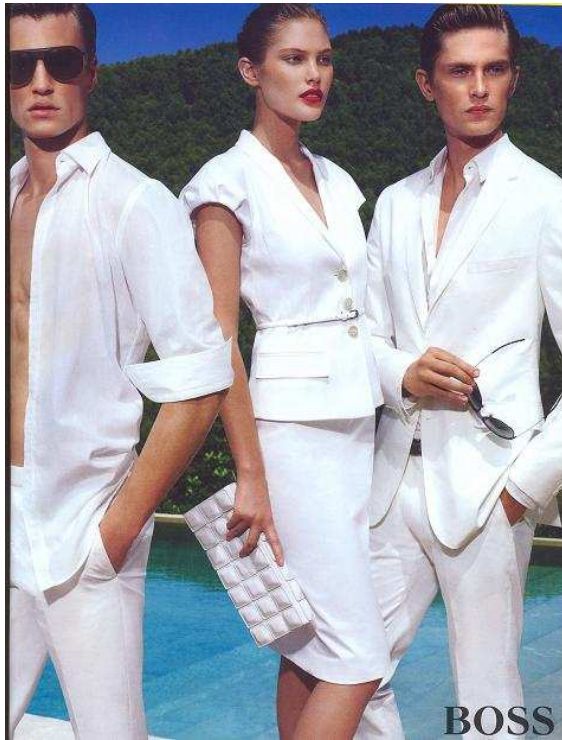


Figure 21 *Hugo Boss* brand (*Men's Health*, March 2008, p.171)



Figure 22 *Hugo Boss* brand (*Men's Health*, April 2008, p.195)

APPENDIXES (page 12)

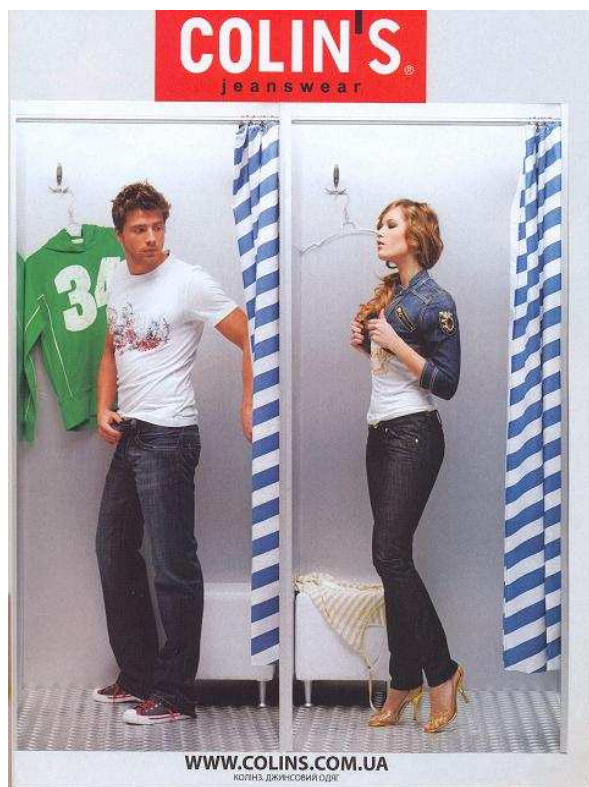


Figure 23 Colin's jeans wear (*Men's Health*, May 2008, p.83)

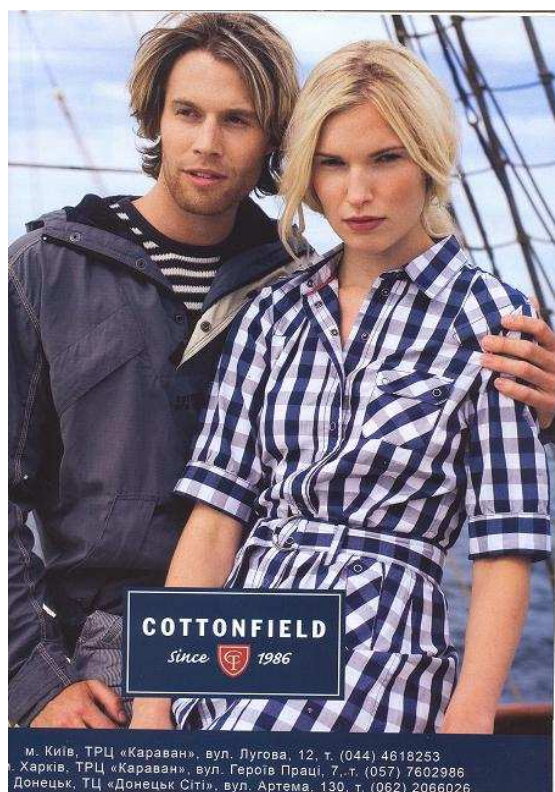


Figure 24 Cottonfield clothing (*EGO*, May 2008, p.137)

APPENDIXES (page 13)

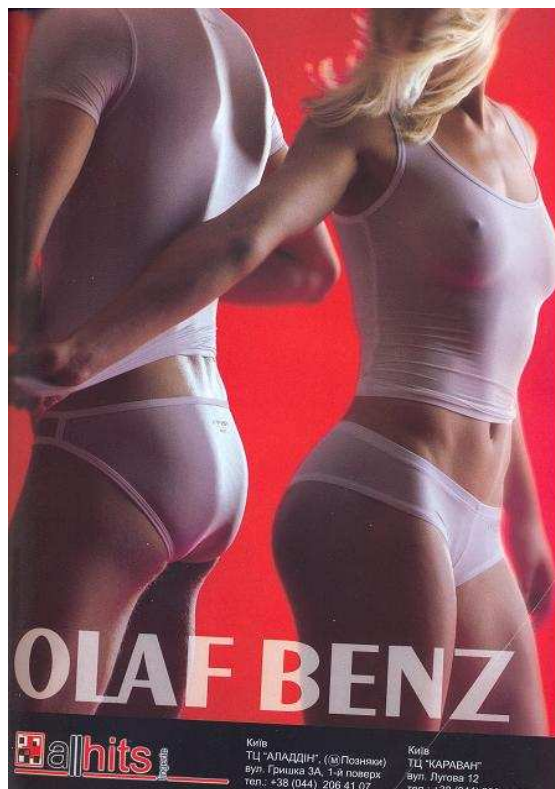


Figure 25 OLAF BENZ underwear (XXL, December 2007, p.27)

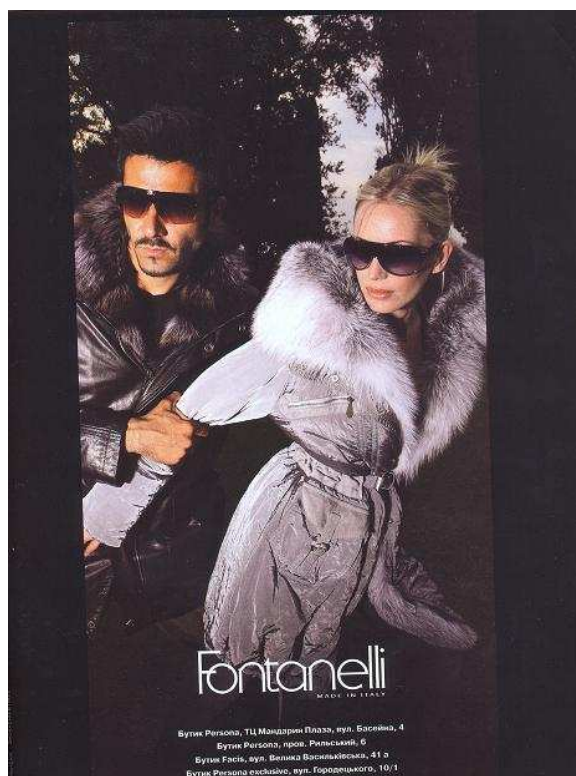


Figure 26 Fontanelli fur wear (EGO, December 2007, p.9)

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Figure 27 *Fujitsu Siemens* laptop (*EGO*, February 2008, p.45)

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