Celebrities at Work:

The Symbolic Production of Masculinities in American & British GQ Magazines in 2012

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the relationship between masculinities and national identities as represented in the editorial content of the 2012 editions of American and British *GQ* magazines. Men's lifestyle magazines, such as *GQ*, are influential in helping readers make sense of themselves through representations of celebrity, fashion and style. Although the magazine began as a men's fashion publication, contemporary editions provide readers a variety of content: business, cars, food and drink, grooming, politics, popular culture, relationships, sport, technology, travel and wellness. This mix of editorial content coheres to produce an aspirational middle-class man, but what distinguishes the American from the British representations in these two cultural texts is a contribution of textual scholarship to the fields of cultural studies, masculinity/gender studies and media studies that this research fulfils.

Academic scholarship on the theme of men's lifestyle magazines remains a niche area of interest. Whilst authors have explored the relationship between American masculinities and men's lifestyle magazines and British masculinities and men's lifestyle magazines, mostly in the noughties, scant attention has been paid to men's lifestyle magazines since, and research on this theme has yet to engage in comparative analyses across national editions of a magazine. Drawing on the work of Stuart Hall, Michel Foucault, Judith Butler and Pierre Bourdieu this research highlights the importance of magazines (and media generally) as cultural products for the on-going reiteration, reinterpretation and representation of cultural constructs, and therefore, as significant sources for the continuance of textual scholarship on gender.

A mixed methods approach utilising comparative and textual analysis is employed for this Anglo-American comparison. As part of the textual analysis, content analysis of the editorial sections was conducted to explore how the editorial content of each magazine was valued. The results of the content analysis were used to direct a combined comparative and discourse analyses supported by tools from compositional interpretation and semiology that followed by using the significant editorial sections as points of entry into the texts, rather than relying on the researcher's own interests of self-selecting editorial sections for reading. Using content analysis in this way along with comparative and textual analyses makes a methodological contribution to textual analyses of media texts.

DEDICATION

For Prof. Charlotte Jirousek (1938-2014), Joe Tarantino (1919-2017) and Nola Tarantino (1917-2018) whom I lost during this journey, and for my father, Frank Roman. As the first recipient of a doctorate in our family, you made all others possible. Thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

When Condé Nast purchased GQ magazine in 1979, it was not the lifestyle magazine that it is today because it focused almost entirely on menswear and style. Additionally, it was known as a queer publication filled with homoerotic fashion spreads often shot in exotic locations (Carr 2003a; Coad 2008; Kamp 2007). In 1983, Condé Nast installed Art Cooper as the editor-in-chief, who would completely revamp GQ into a mainstream and a more successful men's lifestyle publication. The magazine experimented over time with content, but eventually focused on fashion/style, health/fitness, sport, relationships/sex, cars, travel, literature, politics and journalism. Journalism was a new feature for the publication. Cooper used his background and connections in the journalism industry to replace the tales of adventure, bravery and heroism frequently published in American men's magazines of the inter-war and mid-century periods (Osgerby 2001; Pendergast 2000). Aside from broadening the magazine to include other content, during his tenure at *GQ*, Cooper made two other key changes to the appearance of the magazine. The first key editorial decision to his reimagining of the magazine through a discourse on 'celebrity'. Men's lifestyle magazines certainly had featured celebrities before through interview features, but Cooper had American professional baseball, basketball and football stars (Coad 2008), Olympians, and film and television stars modelling the latest men's fashion. The second key editorial decision was featuring these celebrities on the cover rather than nameless fashion models. Cooper's legacy remains today in the American edition of *GQ*, other international editions of *GQ*[1], and in other men's lifestyle magazines across the globe. During Cooper's tenure, *GQ* followed the internationalization model of its sister publication, *Vogue*, and expanded overseas; the first international publication of the magazine was *British GQ* in 1988.

British GQ was not the first men's lifestyle magazine on British newsstands; the first was *Arena*, which launched in 1986 (Edwards 1997; Nixon 1996). The Thatcher government made significant changes to Britain's economy and taxation policies from 1979 through 1990. During the 1980s under the Conservative government there was also

[1] *GQ* currently has nineteen international editions: UK, Spain, Taiwan, Germany, Australia, Italy, South Africa, Korea, Portugal, Russia, Japan, México/Latin America, France, India, China, Brasil, Turkey, Thailand, and the Middle East.

a cultural shift occurring in men's consumer patterns, which allowed a space to open up in the lifestyle magazine market for men (Edwards 1997; Gill 2003; Nixon 1996, 2001). Not long after men's lifestyle magazines established themselves in Britain they were challenged by a bawdier group of magazines known as 'lad mags' (Gauntlett 2008), none of which had staying power. In the end, however, lad mags would lose out to the more established mainstream publications, like *British GQ* and *British Esquire*, because these magazines adapted and adopted the competition's laddish tone when necessary.

At the beginning of the 2010s, the men's lifestyle market became crowded in a new way despite print publications losing audiences and some folding such as *Details* in 2015. Magazines moved beyond print and embraced the digital world. In 2012, men's lifestyle publications that persisted continued with their strategy of diversification where the print publication took on multiple forms (websites and digital/tablet versions), expanding to social media platforms to increase content output (Instagram, Facebook, Tumblr, YouTube), creating smartphone apps to connect the reader right to the magazine, and both publications continued to produce events for readers and celebrities. Whilst each new iteration of a lifestyle publication is integral in the magazine's strategy, each must reiterate the 'identity' of the publication for cohesion.

Research Questions

This thesis began with the following question: what are the similarities and differences in the representations of masculinities in the editorial content of American and British *GQ* magazines in 2012? A second query was added later after spending significant time reviewing the chosen editions; are the representations of masculinities *co*-constructed in each edition and across them as well? Co-construction refers to the idea of reading across the editorial content to see if representations are working together within each publication to articulate the discreet national identities of 'American' and 'British'. Then, to push this idea of co-construction further, this second enquiry seeks to reveal if a 'conversation' between American and British *GQ* exists in the production of masculinities. As the comparative analysis was in process, the idea of valuation began to emerge, which relates to the idea of hegemonic masculinity discussed in Section I.3. Not all masculinities

are constructed in the same way or given the same amount of space in and across the magazines.

As will be discussed below in Chapters II and IV, the above research questions are answered using a mixed methods approach, which utilises comparative and textual analyses to review the chosen editorial content; Chapter II also provides a justification for the timeframe and year chosen for this research project. Textual analysis is an umbrella term that encompasses a wide variety of methods and tools to analyse text – meaning words and images. Textual analysis for this research refers to the combination of content analysis, discourse analysis and tools from compositional interpretation and semiology (Rose 2012a). Content analysis played an important role in challenging my perceptions about what editorial content should become the focus of the empirical chapters. Whilst my preconceptions expected fashion and style to be the main focus of both editions, the content analysis revealed that popular culture content is a near equal partner in the American edition and the main focus in the British edition. This mixed methods approach allowed me to continue the tradition of cultural studies research on men's lifestyle magazines, which often draws from more than one methodology, but also to propose a different mixed methods approach that challenges how research in the field may be conducted.

Contributions to Knowledge

A proliferation of research on men's lifestyle magazines and masculinities occurred in the late nineties and in the earlier noughties (Alexander 2003; Benwell 2003; Boni 2002; Conekin 2000; Crewe 2003; Edwards 1997; Jackson et al 2001; Mort 1996; Nixon 1996, 1997 [2013], 2001; Osgerby 2001; Pendergast 2000; Stibbe 2004), but research since has significantly slowed (Clarke et al 2014; Monden 2012). This thesis contributes to this body of literature on representations of masculinities in men's lifestyle magazines by revisiting the findings of the aforementioned scholarship and exploring these concerns in a different time and through a cross-cultural comparison. My review of the literature shows that there is no in-depth comparative analysis of editorial content of two national editions of a men's lifestyle magazine to date. Moreover, comparative analyses of men's lifestyle magazines

that do exist often focus on a singular subject like advertisements (Moeran 2015), models (Monden 2012) or the production of fashion (Moeran 2002). This thesis addresses these gaps in scholarship by producing a study that reaches across editorial content for analysis to engage with the idea that representations of masculinities are *never* singular. As Mort (1996: 10, original emphasis) argues '[m]asculinity is multiform, rather than unitary and monolithic. The object of inquiry is masculinit*ies*, not masculinity'. This thesis further substantiates Mort's claim by comparing across national editions rather than exploring within a singular national context, which many of the studies cited above do.

More importantly, this thesis seeks to examine the idea of co-construction. Rather than assuming that masculinities are produced in isolation within national borders, this thesis proposes that the representations of masculinities in both editions of *GQ* are not detached from one another. Whilst American *GQ* and *British GQ* are two distinct magazines with two distinct editorial teams, they are part of the same media corporation, Condé Nast, which produces an aspirational middle-class (mostly white and heterosexual) lifestyle across all of its magazine titles. Moreover, this thesis contributes to cultural studies scholarship on national identities arguing that the role of editorial content is constitutive of the production of the United Kingdom and the United States.

Beyond contributing to existing scholarship on representation of masculinities, this thesis makes a methodological argument that using content analysis along with other methods traditionally used in textual analysis can help to direct the readings rather than relying on researchers' preferences for what should be discussed. Much visual culture research overlooks its reliance on that elusive thing called "the good eye"' (Rose 2012a: 81) and can be methodologically silent on its research processes, thus this project makes a methodological contribution to cultural, masculinities, and media studies.

Scope of Study

The mixed methods approach and variety of literature drawn on for this thesis is indicative of scholarship in the field of masculinity studies, which is an interdisciplinary field, much like gender studies as a whole. Theory and methods are diverse in the field and as such interdisciplinarity is embraced as part of the view that knowledge is always situated and

produced in partial view (Haraway 1988). This thesis also sits within the field of cultural studies for considering the 'everyday' (Williams 1958 [1990]) as worthy of investigation. Cultural studies has become a large field that does not view culture as a binary of high/low, but as a set of practices of a group that are constantly reacting to institutions such as the mass media (Jenks 1993 [2005]). This discipline also 'celebrates and politicises all aspects of popular culture' (Jenks 1993 [2005]: 212), which *GQ* magazine, on both sides of the Atlantic, is certainly a product of popular culture worthy of investigation. As mentioned above, this thesis sought to review all editorial content in both editions of *GQ* from 2012 because looking at a section of the magazine, such as cars, in isolation appeared to exclude other representations of masculinities found in the magazine. Since the research would look across all editorial content, the field was narrowed temporally to a single year, 2012. Cooper's editorial decision to use celebrities in American *GQ*, discussed above, is significant for how the representations of masculinities and national identities are and continue to be produced in both editions of the magazine.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into two parts. Part I comprises the essential components of doctoral scholarship: literature review, theoretical framework and methods chosen for the project. It is made of four chapters. Chapter I opens with a brief discussion of why this thesis views masculinity in the plural, e.g. 'masculinities', before introducing and briefly mapping the diversity of research in the field of masculinity studies. Following this overview, research on masculinities, fashion, style and sport are discussed since all three themes emerged as discourses relevant to the production of masculinities in American and British *GQ* magazines. The chapter closes by introducing Connell's (1995 [2005]) concept of hegemonic masculinity, which is used in the empirical chapters to evaluate relations of power between representations of masculinities.

Chapter II begins the discussion of the mixed methods used that came together to form this projects' textual analysis. The chapter opens with a discussion of how this research project came about and why two national editions of *GQ* magazine were chosen.

This chapter introduces content analysis, which was the first method used to approach this thesis's large amount of physical data, to map the editorial content of the magazine and to begin to make sense of the editorial content of both magazines. A discussion of the pilot study and how codes were developed are outlined before the final process of the content analysis is reviewed, including the formulas that were developed to ensure that occurrences were counted accurately. Following Krippendorff (2013), Lutz and Collins (1993) and Rose (2012a), this method was sought to justify what editorial content was given close readings in the second stage of analysis. Rather than relying on what my own preferences lead me to (Rose 2012a), content analysis provided results that were used to determine what editorial content to explore further, as well as to begin to see themes that emerged from the texts based on the frequencies with which they appear.

Chapter III outlines the theoretical framework of this research. The chapter opens with a discussion of Hall's (1997 [2013]) concept of representation. As a concept, representation incorporates ideas from other theorists, such as semiological tools (Barthes 1977 [1987]; Hall 1997 [2013]; Rose (2012a) and Foucault's concept of 'discourse' (1972 [2004]; 1981). Since content from each magazine is not read in isolation, but rather across the magazines, the thesis takes a Foucauldian approach in its readings. Foucault's concept of discourse provides an understanding for how representations of masculinities and national identities are constituted. Since gender was not fully addressed in Foucault's work, Butler's (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004) theory of performativity, which draws on the Foucauldian conception of discourse, is presented to theorise gender as culturally formed. National identities are understood also as objects of discourse and performatively occurring, like gender. Butler's work on hate speech (1997), which followed her treatise on gender performativity, is discussed as a way to theorise text and images as performative. In this work, Butler argues that images can be construed as speech in contemporary Western culture, therefore, contributing to discourse. Moreover, this thesis contributes to studies of performativity by arguing that not only are masculinities and national identities performative, but so is the primary unit of analysis for this research, editorial content.

Whilst engaging in the comparative analysis and considering the concept of hegemonic masculinity, it became evident that the editions appeared to value the representations of masculinities. Bourdieu's concepts of field (1980 [1990]; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), capital (1977 [2002]; 1980 [1990]; 1984 [2010]; 1986; 1993 [2015]) and consecration (1993) were adopted to make sense of the statements, in the Foucauldian sense, on masculinities that appeared to celebrate or give more physical space to some masculinities over others. Butler's work is not concerned, necessarily, with the network of gender identities and how they become to be positioned against one another. Rather her work is concerned with how sex and gender are policed through disources and practices. Bourdieu's work, however, presents an opportunity to evaluate gender identities, how they are valued and how they come to be positioned against one another. As explained more in Part II, this thesis explores masculinities through the discourse on 'celebrity', which is the most common representation of masculinities to appear in both editions. Through a field analysis, the thesis proposes how masculinities may be more valued than others and how masculinities can lose value.

Chapter IV presents the additional methods used to create this thesis's textual analysis toolbox. The chapter opens with a discussion of the advantages of comparative analysis drawing on research on magazines, but focusing on the work of Lipset (1990), Lamont (1992) and Rocamora (2001) in order to understand how comparison is executed. Then drawing on the works of Barthes (1972; 1983 [1990]), Hall (1997 [2013]), Foucault (1969 [2010]; 1975 [1995]; 1976 [1998]; 1981) and Rose (2012a) tools and techniques drawn from compositional interpretation, discourse analysis and semiology are reviewed to articulate how it was used to further expand upon the results of the content analysis and enter the texts. The chapter closes with a discussion of reflexivity in order to address my position as the researcher in 'reading' and 'interpreting' these magazines.

Part II consists of three chapters, beginning with chapter V, which discusses the histories of the American and British men's lifestyle magazine markets in order to contextualise discussions of three key editors of American and British *GQ* whose editorial decisions are relevant to the present thesis. The first editor-in-chief discussed is Art Cooper who was hired shortly after Condé Nast Corporation's purchase of *GQ*. Cooper

successfully rebranded the magazine from a gay to a mainstream straight publication. Jim Nelson, who was editor-in-chief at American *GQ* during the year in question, changes the direction of the publication slightly; namely with a more explicit inclusion of popular culture, whilst contending with 'lad mags' competition. Dylan Jones, current editor-in-chief of *British GQ* who has led the magazine since 1999, is discussed for how he successfully repositioned the magazine after a series of unsuccessful and difficult editors.

Chapter VI and VII focus on representations of male celebrities in both editions of the magazine. The results of the content analysis revealed that fashion/style, grooming, culture and interviews were the four most frequently occurring types of editorial content in both magazines. After revisiting these pages, it was discovered that celebrities – actors, athletes, musicians, etc. – filled these pages, as well as the other editorial content pages. These chapters read across the editorial content to discuss the symbolic production (Bourdieu 1993) of 'celebrity' in American and British *GQ* magazines. Celebrities are represented through their work, who they are connected to and presented in fashion images. These discursive techniques work to not only 'consecrate' (Bourdieu 1993: 42) each celebrity in the field of popular culture, but also position them in the field through various, yet limited selection of signifiers. Following, Douglas and McDonnell (2019: 20) who says that celebrity culture 'plays a major role in constituting who we are, and what we hope for and dream about', these chapters consider these celebrity representations in relation to masculinities and national identities throughout.

PART I

LITERATURE, METHODS, THEORY

CHAPTER I: ‘MASCULINITIES, NOT MASCULINITY’

> England and America are two countries separated by the same language!
> - George Bernard Shaw, 1942

I.1 Masculinities, not Masculinity

This thesis takes a Butlerian approach to gender/masculinities. In her work on gender, Judith Butler (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004) argues that there is no essential or original gender that exists within any person; rather, gender is an on-going interpretation of culturally held norms. Butler’s argument for this understanding of gender as discursively produced is discussed in depth in Chapter III. This cultural understanding of gender means that masculinity cannot be re-produced the same by every person or represented the same in the media, but rather is diverse in its production since it is an on-going cultural process interpreted by every person and institution throughout their existences. Moreover, ‘on-going’ is important here because it indicates that the focus of this thesis – masculinity – is never static or singular, but it is affected by culture, time and geography (Beynon 2002), and therefore, continually changing and plural. As Mort (1996: 10, original emphasis) argues ‘[m]asculinity is multiform, rather than unitary and monolithic. The object of inquiry is masculinit*ies*, not masculinity’. This thesis, therefore, understands gender/masculinities as an unending process that is culturally, historically and geographically produced and always diverse in its interpretations and representations.

More simply, the title of this thesis demonstrates why masculinity is used in the plural in contemporary research; American masculinity and British masculinity are two distinct forms of masculinity. The oft-quoted phrase of Shaw, cited at the beginning of the chapter, is useful for thinking through this idea of ‘masculinities’. Whilst Britain and the United States share a language, it diverges in its pronunciation, cadence, idioms, syntax, word and grammatical preferences, and even meanings attached to words. The same can be said of American and British masculinities; they share commonalities, like a dominant position over femininities, but their expressions differ due to distinct ways in which social structures such as class, race, sexuality, etc. are culturally and historically

formed. For example, the effect of a history of rigid hierarchical class structure on British masculinity mostly based on inherited class position differs from a class system in America, which is mostly driven by financial wealth creating more movement between classes. In the following, the review of literature focuses on the ways in which American and British masculinities differ and where there is overlap, but also how masculinities are plural within their own national borders. The following section sketches out the field of masculinities studies, its main themes and where this thesis is situated within this field before reviewing the literature from two strands within the field relevant to the present thesis: fashion and masculinities, and sport and masculinities. The chapter closes with a discussion of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995 [2005], 1987; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Messerschmidt 2018) which is relevant to the present thesis which is a comparative analysis. This concept is employed to evaluate how various representations of masculinities through 'celebrity' in American and British *GQ* magazines reinforce the plurality of masculinities, but also contribute to the notion of a hegemonic masculinity and the valuation of various masculinities.

I.2 Masculinity Studies

Masculinity studies emerged as part of the reorganisation of academia in the 1960s, and, in particular, as a response to the then new field of Women's Studies, which developed out of Second Wave Feminism. The contention of Women's Studies was that 'women's experiences and perspectives were systematically not incorporated into, or written out of, what has been accepted as knowledge' (Brod 1987: 39; see also Adams and Savran 2002). The objective of this scholarship, therefore, was to reimagine academic scholarship as 'gynocentric' rather than 'androcentric', and to re-write women into the annals of research from which they were excluded. Masculinity Studies developed from the feminist perspective to demonstrate that masculinities are 'historically constructed, mutable and contingent' (Adams and Savran 2002: 2; see also Traister 2000), which this thesis seeks to do thru a comparative analysis of representations of American and British masculinities.

Since its inception, Masculinity Studies grew as an interdisciplinary field and developed subgenres some of which are briefly explored in the following. Men have been and continue to be associated with violence. Both American and British cultures have long histories of exporting violence both of which had mostly men in the positions of leadership directing aggressive campaigns of colonisation also with men executing those operations. Breines, Connell and Eide (2000) explore the relationships between men and masculinity and war and peace in order to locate strategies for integrating peace in the lives of boys and men. Both the UK and US also have histories of exerting violence on their own people such as America's long-running 'War on Drugs' which disproportionately affected people of colour (Loewenstein 2019; Provine 2007) or police raids on queer establishments prior to gay liberation movements in both countries (Houlbrook 2006; Polchin 2020). Such militarised cultures have spillover effects in everyday life as explored by Higate and Hopton (2005) with organisations such as the Boy Scouts (US) and Boys' Brigade (UK) which promote martial masculinity (see also MacDonald 1993). These scholars also examine the representation of this form of masculinity in popular culture as well (see also Dawson 1994). Scholars also examine the ways in which men perpetrate violence against others and themselves. One such example is Collier (1998) who examines the relationship between men, masculinity and crime to argue that crime is overwhelmingly conducted by men through an examination of different stages in men's lives (see also Ellis 2015). Klein's (2013) research on school shootings and bullying culture in American schools looks at the ways in which competitiveness and aggressive behaviours amongst boys and girls are rewarded; status is gained by acting masculine regardless of one's gender identification. *Gender and Society* (2016) dedicated a special issue to the issue of rape which is a timely publication in the era of #metoo. Canetto (2015) explores why older men are over-represented as the victims of suicide. Crewe and Bennett (2012) explore the lives of those who have perpetrated violence and other crimes to uncover their lives inside prisons. Violence may not be a substantial focus of this thesis, however, the celebrities and their representations that are discussed later are often through roles or professions which are inherently aggressive, brutal and damaging to their bodies and the bodies of others.

Research on various life stages of men serves as another area of focus, and fatherhood is relevant to this thesis since representations of fathers or the relationships with their fathers have shaped their stories. Much scholarship in this area looks at the changing patterns of fathering in history and in various cultures, as well as 'father' as a social construct, see for example *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice about Men as Fathers* which started in 2003. Bittman (2005) argues that men are spending more time with their children, but other research points to imbalances in fatherly involvement based on class, race and geographic displacement (see for example Dermott 2008; Taylor and Behnke 2005). Lamb's (2010) edited collection brings together scholars to cover a range of topics from divorce, gay fathers, multi-family networks, public policies, stepfathers and masculinity and fatherhood (see also Cabrera and Tamis-Lemonda 2014). Marsiglio's (2016) work focuses on fathers, children and fitness and how integrating fathers into the health objectives of the family can improve the overall health of children. Representations of fathers in the media is an underexplored area of research. Tropp and Kelly's (2015) edited collection brings together scholarship that examines representations of fathers and fathering across various media. Bruzzi's (2005) decade-by-decade study from post-World War II into the early noughties examines representations of the 'father' in Hollywood films and is the only book-length study on this topic.

I.2.1 Fashion & Masculinities

In her inaugural editor's letter, Valerie Steele (1997: 2) signalled her journal's, *Fashion Theory*, objective as 'the first journal to look seriously at the intersection of dress, body, and culture'. Steele (1997: 1) defines '"fashion" as the cultural construction of the embodied identity', which is of significance for a field finding its footing. The use of 'cultural' aligns the field as part of the 'cultural turn' of the humanities. The employment of 'embodied' announced a move towards the study of fashion away from mere objects to a conceptualisation of the dependency of fashion on bodies, or as Entwistle (2000: 1) says, '[f]ashion is about bodies: it is produced, promoted and worn by bodies'. Clothing, arguably, contributes to the communication of and production of identity, though Entwistle (2000) points out that this is a tenuous relationship, discussed more below. This thesis

aligns itself with Steele's early charge because it examines the representation of men's dressed bodies and how these representations contribute to a cultural understanding of Americanness and Britishness. The following review discusses key literature on fashion and identity, and fashion and the body, so as to situate this thesis within the field of fashion studies.

Fashion studies' preoccupation with identity is a significant theme of research in the field, which continues to grow. Breward et al (2002) explore real and imagined notions of 'Englishness' in historical dress and contemporary fashion. Arnold (2009) examines the production of 'New York style' in the 1930s and 1940s through the development of the American sportswear industry. Eicher (1995 [1999]) brings together scholars to discuss the relationships between dress and ethnicity across space and time in her edited volume. Parkins (2002) reviews how fashion was integral for men and women to participate in various political moments in history. Cole (2000) presents a historical review of gay men's dress in the twentieth century, whilst Geczy and Karaminas (2013) discuss 'queer fashionability' through an examination of subcultural dress in queer communities. All of the aforementioned are just some of the many works that explore aspects of identity relevant to the present thesis, but it is the strand of research within the field that focuses on fashion, dress, style and gender that is of particular relevance.

Davis's (1992) sociological exploration of fashion and identity argues against previous conceptions of fashion as a language (see Barthes 1967 [1990]; Lurie 1983) and proposes that gender, sexuality and social status are communicated via the medium of clothes, which are changed regularly. Scholarship on fashion and identity, since Davis (1992) sought to broaden the discussion beyond gender, sexuality and class. Kaiser (2012) discusses fashion in relation to intersectional considerations – gender, ethnicity, class, race, sexuality – but goes further and brings in the idea of context – time, space, place – to her discussion. 'Fashion involves *becoming* collectively with others' (Kaiser 2012: 1 original emphasis). In line with de Beauvoir's conception of womanhood, Kaiser sees fashion as a process and emphasises fashion's social aspect, meaning that it does not exist in a vacuum. This understanding of fashion as a process structures much of contemporary fashion scholarship, especially when gender is a focus; see for example,

Barry 2015; Bowstead 2015; Craik 1994; Cole 2000; Hancock and Karaminas 2014; Harvey 1995; Green and Kaiser 2016; Lifter 2020; Morgan 2018; Rocamora 2009; Weiner 2019; Wissinger 2015.

The examination of dress, fashion and style is one of the few areas in academia in which the scholarship is significantly larger on women than on men. This disparity could relate to the result of the gender bias in Western culture that fashion and dress are associated with women and femininity (Flügel 1976 [1930]; Simmel 1973; Wilson 1992). Reilly (2013), in the inaugural 'Letter from the Editor' of the journal *Critical Studies of Men's Fashion*, critiques fashion scholarship for reinforcing this association and producing a scholarly imbalance '[i]n general, men represented a small percentage of the literature and scholarship compared to the attention paid to women' (Reilly 2013: 3). In the first decade of the century, two readers were produced that focus on men's fashion (see McNeil and Karaminas 2009; Reilly and Cosbey 2008) that in many ways provide foundation for the study of men's dress, fashion and style. Few academic texts review or examine menswear and womenswear in tandem rather than as separate chapters; a notable exception being Hollander (1994). Though studies of men's dress, fashion and style continues to grow, it remains a niche genre within fashion studies. The following reviews the field of men's fashion studies and situates this thesis within the field.

Despite the proliferation of men's fashion in the second decade of the millennium, the association between women and fashion remains strong. Though written in the mid-1990s, the following by Craik (1994: 177) explains this, the separation of men and fashion, well:

> Accordingly, the rhetoric of men's fashion takes the form of a set of denials that include the following propositions: that there is not men's fashion; that men dress for fit and comfort, rather than for style; that women dress men and buy clothes for men; that men who dress up are peculiar (one way or another); that men do not notice clothes; and that most men have not been duped into the endless pursuit of seasonal fads. In other words, there is a tendency to underplay if not deny the phenomenon of men's fashion. Men's fashion relates to, but is distinct from, the codes of women's fashion. Whereas contemporary codes of women's fashion have revolved around achieving 'a look' as an image to be admired (spectacle), men's appearance has been calculated to enhance their active roles (especially occupation and social status).

Despite being ideals from the Victorian and Edwardian eras, the notions of denial, occupation and status remain important to men's fashion today, and in particular through the representation of men's fashion. As many scholars show, such was not always the case (Chenoune 1993; Craik 1994; Hollander 1994; McNeil 2000). Entwistle (2000) explains that men's dress became more dour and less ornamented from the mid-1850s onwards. 'Men's dress [...] lost much of its decoration and the dominant colours were sober in contrast to the commonly worn pinks, reds, mauves and yellows worn by eighteenth-century aristocratic men' (Entwistle 2000: 107). This eschewing of beauty is understood to be connected to the rise of the bourgeoisie; a group whose identity was attached to work rather than leisure and display of wealth, like the aristocracy. Men needed to be dressed correctly for labour, rather than elaborately (Craik 1994; Entwistle 2000). Flügel's (1976 [1930)]) refers to this as 'the great masculine renunciation', but whilst Flügel's argument draws connections between men's dress and changing class, economic and political structures, it may overstate the eradication of fashion from men's lives. During Flügel's time, and throughout the twentieth century, the primary mode of dress for men, the suit, was played with extensively in order to create different silhouettes and options. The options for play, experimentation or distinction included shoulder width and heft, jacket length, double-breasted versus single-breasted, number of vents, sans trouser cuffs versus turn-ups, the width of lapels, notched collar versus peaked or shawl, length of inseam, width of trouser legs, number of pleats on the trousers, pockets on the trousers and jackets, as well as the number and style of the pockets, the style of buttons and number of buttons on the jacket and sleeves, plain versus patterned fabrics and accessories such as pocket squares, ties, boutonnieres and brooches. The permutations are endless. What the last century demonstrated is that while some men sought an identity of conformity through the suit attached to their occupation, they were participating in an on-going fashion system, however, 'the tendency has been to read only utility into men's fashions' (Entwistle 2000: 173). When men's fashion is colourful, decorative, erotic, fantastical, or satirical, then it often exists at the margins of society first before becoming part of the mainstream.

Subcultural groups additionally formed an important part of the exploration of identity through men's fashion, as well as the dissemination of style in this new century and the previous ones. Dandies, such as Beau Brummell, showed that whilst sombre dress was *de rigueur* not all fashion was lost, but was explored through tailoring, fabric choices and accessories to achieve "'understated elegance'" (Williams 1982 cited in Craik 1994: 185). Brummell suits and waistcoats were not just tailored, but sharply tailored to display his form. His suit fabrics were the finest and set him apart not loudly, but enough to the discerning eye. His ties and accessories added flourishes, again, that pushed boundaries but did not overstep them. Most men, however, were not dandies like Brummell, arguing that men who did not engage with fashion through trends is myopic. The suit continued to go through silhouette modifications as the nineteenth century came to a close to allow middle-class men more comfort in their more sedentary work lives. What was a more rounded look during the 1870s and 1880s became increasingly angular in the 1890s, meant to accentuate the male form with the 'V' of the lapels. Durable fabrications improved which allowed men more freedom to move (Chenoune 1993; Craik 1994). Exploring masculinities through fashion and style has a constant presence in the pages of American and British *GQ* magazines. The choice of clothes by a stylist or styling team for any celebrity has an impact on the production of their image to members of their industry and in how the public perceives them.

Fashion has long had national and arguably regional associations. We speak of American sportswear and British fashion, as well as Parisian couture and Italian tailoring. Cultural fashion histories shed light on the development of fashion and national identity, such as how World War II impacted European fashion significantly (Guenther 2004; Paulicelli 2004; Veillon 1990 [2002]; White 2000). In these and other studies, the 'city' plays a significant role, not simply because fashion was designed and materially produced in urban centres, but because the 'city' shares in the symbolic production of fashion (Breward and Gilbert 2006; Rocamora 2009). Fashion weeks, where the upcoming season's designs are shown to the global press, buyers and favoured clients, are situated in cities, e.g. New York Fashion Week, London Fashion Week, Paris Fashion Week, etc. Breward's (1999) cultural analysis of masculinities, fashion and urban life during the mid-

nineteenth century to the beginning of World War I, reviews the buying habits of British men during the rise of consumer culture. Breward's text critiques a then commonly held idea of the 'Great Masculine Renunciation' and argues that young men could be, in fact, quite flashy with their fashion choices. London receives much interest amongst fashion scholars (Breward 2004; McRobbie 1998; O'Bryne 2009; O'Neill 2007). O'Neill (2000) examines the changing advertising and retailing practices of new entrepreneurs on Carnaby Street in post-WWII London. As he argues, 'style positions were understood by consumption: by the space, place and location of the sale' (O'Neill 2000: 487). As the centre of the American fashion industry, New York figures within scholarship on American fashion, particularly of women's fashion (Arnold 2009; Tu 2011), but less so in scholarship on American masculinities and fashion, though Lifter (2020) and Miller (2009) are notable exceptions. Much scholarship on menswear covers fashion outside of the American fashion capital of New York such as rancher and farmer dress in North Central Texas (Boeck 2009), Lowlife style in Atlanta, Georgia (Speetjens and F. José 2015) and California men's casual style (Scott 2009). This thesis contributes to the discussion of American and British men's fashion and style through the medium of representation.

Scholarship on fashion publications is a niche area within fashion studies, and one of the few genres in the field that is relatively balanced between women's and men's fashion magazines, though significantly more research is needed in both, as well as looking at women's and men's fashion media *in tandem*. Scholars have examined representations of fashion and style in magazines (Benwell 2003; Crewe 2003; Jackson et al 2001; Jobling 1999; Laing 2021, 2020, 2014; Lifter 2020; McDowell 2013; Moeran 2002; Monden 2012; Hall et al 1997 [2013], Nixon 1996, 2001; Osgerby 2001; Rocamora 2009) and newspapers (Rocamora 2001); many of the aforementioned are revisited in subsequent chapters. Shinkle's (2008) edited collection focuses on the fashion photograph, which has become as important in the production of fashion. The collection combines academic analysis with the words of industry insiders in order to demonstrate the collective effort that goes into the production of fashion photography. Bartlett et al's (2013) text is significant as the first text that looks across media – print, digital, moving, editorial and social – to explore the production of fashion alongside themes of gender,

ethnicity and taste. Conekin and de la Haye's (2006) guest edited edition of *Fashion Theory* is composed of articles devoted to *Vogue*[2] magazines' American, British, French, Japanese and Russian editions, and includes timelines for *Vogue*'s then nineteen editions; *Vogue* currently has 21 editions. This thesis contributes to the field of fashion studies by exploring the discursive production of masculinities and national identities within the context of two national editions of a men's lifestyle magazine.

Fashion and sport may seem like two discourses that are unlikely to intersect, however, the following shows that a small body of literature is beginning to develop on the subject mostly centred around sport stars and their fashion. As a young textile designer in New York City in the early noughties, Ishizu et al's (1965 [2010]) monograph *Take Ivy* was a frequently referenced text. The visual survey of style among male students at America's elite institutions in the Northeast (Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Princeton and Yale) represents preppy 'Ivy League style', a part of which involves the combination of athletic wear with other garments. This mix-and-matching of athletics and menswear was my first exposure to such a style practice, but also points to the relationship between sport and fashion as having historical antecedents. Frazier and Berkow's (1974 [2010]) *Rockin' Steady: A guide to basketball & cool* discusses American basketball legend Walt Frazier's fashion choices in the course of the book. Doonan (2018) reviews football's influence on style paying particular attention to the star footballers who used fashion to heighten the attention they received on and off the field. More scholarly attention to sport and fashion, can be found in Bruzzi's (2013) essay that examines the emergence of 'football chic' after the 1990 Euro Cup and the key sport stars involved in this new discursive formation. Coad (2008) draws attention to the use of sport stars as models in advertisements and the popular press, including American *GQ* beginning in the early 1980s, which is discussed more in Chapter V. The following section moves away from fashion to focus on literature that focuses on sport and masculinities.

[2] *Vogue* magazine was founded by Arthur Turnure in 1892 as a weekly newspaper. It was purchased by Condé Nast in 1909 who is credited with refocusing the magazine to appeal to women only and internationalising the magazine; starting with *British Vogue* in 1916 and *Vogue Paris* in 1920.

I.2.2 Sport & Masculinities

From the 1960s onwards on both sides of the Atlantic various fields, especially history and sociology, would take up the subject of sport in different ways. These disparate fields would begin to look at one another's work and even borrow from other fields (e.g. anthropology, literary studies, economics) resulting in an interdisciplinary field of sport studies taking shape from the 1970s onwards (Coakley and Dunning 2000; Pope and Nauright 2010). A new emphasis on social structures – class, ethnicity, gender, location and race – which incorporated influences of British Marxists and continental thought, covered a range of subjects such as, spectator and amateur sport, physical education, kinesiology and movement (Coakley and Dunning 2000; Gleaves and Dyerson 2010; Johnes 2010; Pope 1997).

The most significant way that sport studies developed since the late twentieth century is in relation to the theme of identity. Ann Hall (1978; 1996) is credited with re-directing sociological studies of sport away from sex and physical differences between the sexes to gender, which enabled a critique of sport and physical cultures, 'sporting practices are historically produced, socially constructed, and culturally defined to serve the interests and needs of powerful groups in society' (Hall 1996: 11). Historically, sport has had a stronger association with masculinity and a patriarchal ideology which privileges men over women (Willis 1982; Sabo and Runfola 1980). Such earlier work brought gender order into focus in sport studies paving the way for scholars to critique masculinity and modern sport. Michael Messner (1992; 2002; 2007) is an influential scholar on the subject of masculinity and sport. His earliest work *Power at Play* (1992) utilizes interviews with American athletes to illuminate the role that sport plays in men's understandings of what it means to be a 'man' on and off of the field. Interviews with athletes revealed that young men learn about the physical capabilities of their bodies through the socialisation that organised sport provides (Messner 1992), as well as how success and failure inform their understandings of masculinity.

Like the association between men and sport, sport is also inextricably linked to national identity, in particular when the Winter and Summer Olympics are considered (Guttmann 2002). Stereotypes have developed and evolved through time associating

certain national identities with certain sports. For example, Canada with hockey, China and gymnastics, France and cycling, England with football, India and cricket, New Zealand and rugby, and the US with basketball. Whilst these sport-nation associations currently exist, sport scholarship on national identification grew after Benedict Anderson's (1983 [1991]) and Eric Hobsbawm's (2010) works on the nation were published. They are particularly useful for understanding spectator sport, meaning how citizens use sport to identify with a nation when many do not do or compete in the sports of the aforementioned list (see for example Cronin and Mayall 1998; Mangan 1999; Pope 2007; Tomlinson and Young 2006).

Hobsbawm's (1990 [2012]) later work, though referring to Anderson, views the nation as a hierarchical project, but which requires 'dual phenomena' (Hobsbawm 1990 [2012]: 10) of recognition from those ruling and those being ruled. The nation is 'essentially constructed from above, but which cannot be understood unless also analysed from below' since 'the ordinary persons [...] are the objects of [the ruling class's] action and propaganda' (Hobsbawm 1990 [2012]: 10-11). In his co-edited text with Terence Ranger, Hobsbawm (1983 [1992]: 263) explores some of these actions and propaganda, like 'new public holidays, ceremonies, heroes or symbols' in his chapter 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', which also discusses sport. Hobsbawm (1983 [1992]: 300) argues that through the 'invention of nationally specific sports' and fitness regimes – Welsh rugby, English soccer, German *Turner* – contributed to the idea of nationality as 'we' play this, 'they' play that. Furthermore, national bonds were strengthened by the rise of international contests, which began with football matches between the British Isles in the 1870s, including Ireland in the 1880s and the initiation of imperial cricket test matches in 1877. These inter-isles and colonial competitions, however, 'served to underline the unity of nations or empires' (Hobsbawm 1983 [1992]: 301) rather than create divisions. As the nineteenth century came to a close, the rebirth of the Olympics in 1896 contributed to changing identification through *a* national sport into identification through *many* sports. Other international competitions followed: the Davis Cup (1900), first continental football match between Austria and Hungary (1902), Tour de France (1903) and Giro d'Italia (1909). Hobsbawm's work is relevant to the present thesis when it is combined with

Anderson's concept of imagined communities (1983 [1991]). In Chapter VI, the representations of male sport stars are considered in order to reveal how sport becomes symbolic of Americanness or Britishness in these editions.

Race and class are two themes frequently addressed alongside national identity when it is being addressed in sport studies. Unsurprisingly, there is an imbalance on each side of the Atlantic with these two themes. Race preoccupies sport studies in the US, whilst class leads much sport studies in Britain. Black athletes' experiences in America is one of the most well-developed areas of sport studies (Nauright and Wiggins 2017). For example, cultural histories covering the separation and subsequent integration of black athletes into professional leagues is a ripe area of interest (Craft 1993; Lomax 2003; Shropshire 1996; Wiggins 1997), as well as, key black sport stars who challenged racial boundaries like Jesse Owens (Baker 1986), Jackie Robinson (Lamb 2004), Joe Louis (Mead 1985) and Jack Johnson (Roberts 1983) to name a few (see also Edwards (1968 [2018]) for a broader discussion of resistance and black athletes). Scholarship on contemporary black athletes examines the economic and educational choices black college athletes face (Brooks 2000 [2013]; King and Springwood 2001; Smith 2007) and the prodigious economic capital of professional black athletes, like Michael Jordan (Andrews 2002; LeFeber 1999), which evaluates the role endorsements play (like clothing and trainers) in their economic capital. For a broader discussion of race and sport in the US, Hobeman (1997) argues that black athletes' participation in sport perpetuates narratives of black Americans as physically superior (i.e. ideal for labour), intellectually inferior to white Americans whilst perpetuating myths of black men as violent (see also Entine 2001). The focus of the topic of race and sport in the US, as the above shows, is heavily focused on the black experience, but the field is shedding light onto other racial and ethnic groups in America, like Latinos (Braysmith 2005; Burgos 2007), Asians (Zeiff 2000) and considering the role sport played in the US's colonial ambitions (Gems 2006).

The subject of race in relation to British sport figures predominantly in research on the exporting of sport during British colonialism (McDevitt 2004 & 2003; Stoddardt and Sandiford 1998; Sen 2015). This strand of research points to the way that sport was used by the British to impose Christian values and Victorian ideals (Johnes 2010) and to

demonstrate the superior bodies and civil masculinity of the white British colonisers. Ultimately, sport was one of the tools which gave many colonies a sense of newfound national identity in their pursuits for independence. Sport in the colonies also imparted class-based ideals of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. During the Victorian era, middle-class sports developed a sort of code of conduct around the concept of amateurism, which involved playing a game for the sake of play rather than winning. Gambling was also eschewed, as well as losing without showing one's disappointment (Johnes 2010). Aside from imparting particular values, sport for the middle classes was important for social networking (Lowerson 1993). Amateurism stood in contrast to professionalism, which focused on working-class men being paid for their participation in sports. Most sports did not have rules barring working-class men from participating, however, many middle-class sports prevented working-class men from participating based on the times of day games were played and also where games were played (Coghlan and Huggins 2004). Working-class men simply were unable to get the time off of work. Other scholars argued that the working-class used sport within their communities, as well, to distinguish themselves from the middle and upper classes and focused on different values: cooperation and physical effort (Holt 1990). Joyce (1991), however, does not see sport and class in strict black and white terms. They argue that class was not the only structuring lens through which sport was viewed, therefore, a working-class professional athlete may not see themselves as such when on the field being viewed from the stands by many different classes. Class could be, in fact, the furthest thing from their minds. The literature on British sport and class is useful to the present thesis since there is an evident distinction in *British GQ* as to what sport middle-class readers should participate in the consumption of through spectator viewing (in stadiums or on television) and through their own physical health.

I.3 Hegemonic Masculinity

Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) laid the foundations for the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' in their paper "Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity" which evaluated and analysed 'male sex role' literature that offered a model of power relations based on

multiple masculinities. Using this model, Connell (1987) would later propose a theory of 'hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity', which they and other researchers continue to refine. Hegemonic masculinity is widely employed in studies of masculinities (Beasley 2008) and is considered in this thesis. The following introduces and defines hegemonic masculinity after which a discussion of contemporary refinements are reviewed.

Connell (1995 [2005]) expands on the concept of masculinity as plural and proposes that acknowledgement of plurality is only the first step. Scholarship must consider the power relations between men and women, masculinity and femininity and between different masculinities (Messerschmidt 2018). They draw on Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony and propose a framework for relations of masculinity and gender, termed 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell 1987, 1995 [2005]).

> Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women (Connell 1995 [2005]: 77).

Connell explains that the hegemonic position of patriarchy can only exist if there is a critical mass of cultural groups and institutions that come together to establish this norm. In their earlier conceptualisation, Connell (1987) focused on the power inequality between hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, the latter of which accommodates masculine power through the exhibition of feminine attributes such as 'compliance, nurturance, and empathy' (188). These attributes can exclude women from particular institutions, such as the business world, government, military and sport since 'masculine' claims the primary position over 'feminine' in these aforementioned institutions since women are represented as lacking the intellectual, physical strength and strategic capabilities to inhabit and run these institutions. Connell, however, did acknowledge that not all forms of femininity were compliant since others are produced 'by complex strategic combinations of compliance, resistance and co-operation' (ibid.: 184). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 832) further explain that hegemonic masculinity is normative despite what is often a minority of men embodying 'the currently most honoured way of being a man, [that] required all other men to position themselves in relation to it'. This

relationality of masculinities to hegemonic masculinity is important because it implies that masculinities are positioned in a field (Bourdieu 1980 [1990]; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), which this thesis considers. Messerschmidt (2018: 29) explains that 'there could be a struggle for hegemony, and older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones' (see also Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). The following considers the idea of relational masculinities and reviews the components which Connell (1987, 1995 [2005]) outlines for a framework that creates hegemonic masculinity; they are domination/subordination, complicity and authorisation/marginalisation.

Whilst Connell (1995 [2005]) claims that the most important power relationship between different masculinities in Western culture is the subordination of homosexual masculinity beneath heterosexual masculinity, this thesis argues that there is not one dominant relationship between masculinities, rather the subordination of other masculinities by cis-gender white middle-class heterosexual masculinity is the important case in contemporary Western culture. Subordinated masculinities face regular and sustained 'political and cultural exclusion' (Connell 1995 [2005]: 78) and 'are constructed as lesser than or aberrant and deviant to hegemonic masculinity' (Messerschmidt 2018: 29). For example, various forms of domination such as political abuse (in the United States gay men are symbolic targets of the right-wing religious communities and become prey for physical abuse by conservative and alt-right communities), legal targeting (on both side of the Atlantic non-white immigrants are imprisoned and abused for seeking illegal entrance), representational violence (black men on both sides of the Atlantic are overly represented in media as instigators of violent crimes) and economic discrimination (working-class men are disadvantaged by a economic system which privileges the middle classes). Connell, in their earlier articulation of this theory, argues that gay masculinity is at the bottom of the masculinity hierarchy, but this is an oversimplification. For example, is white cis-gender middle-class gay masculinity inferior to black working-class masculinity in America or Britain? The racial and economic capitals of the former could outweigh the latter, but it may be contingent on the context in which those masculinities are functioning. The editorial pages of American and British *GQ* magazines provide an opportunity to evaluate Connell's proposal of subordinated masculinities.

Along with domination/subordination, Connell (1995 [2005]) argues that complicity with the subordination of women and oppressed masculinities aids in the dominant positioning of hegemonic masculinity. 'Masculinities constructed in ways that realize the patriarchal dividend, without the tension or risks of being the frontline troops of patriarchy, are complicit in this sense' (Connell 1995 [2005]: 79). Messerschmidt (2018: 29) adds that complicit masculinities 'do not actually embody hegemonic masculinity' in practice. For example, religious groups which are conscientious objectors in the UK and US, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Mennonites, Quakers, do not participate in the military in either country and are not actively engaged in stopping military action. Their protected status as conscientious objectors permit American and British military actions abroad, meaning the oppression of mostly non-Western masculinities and the positioning of masculinity over femininity since the former is in the position of power through force. What is important to note here is that '[i]n practice, both incorporation and oppression can occur together' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 848). American and British femininity, and male conscientious objectors are still positioned over non-Western gender identities, whilst being subordinated at the same time.

Authorisation/marginalisation is the final component of Connell's (1995 [2005]) framework for hegemonic masculinity. For Connell (1995 [2005]: 80), '[t]he interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race creates further relationships between masculinities'. As the above mentions, the privileging of whiteness in the conception of hegemonic masculinity produces the continued marginalisation of black men and authorisation of white men in Western culture. Connell (1995 [2005]: 81) points out that even in moments or spaces where black masculinity supersedes white masculinity, like in spectator sport or music, the veneration of black men in these moments and spaces does not have a 'trickle-down effect' to the everyday black man, thus maintaining black masculinity's 'trivialized and/or discriminated' (Messerschmidt 2018: 29) position. In Messerschmidt's (2018) discussion of hegemonic masculinity, he adds protest, an additional component to Connell's conceptualization. As he explains, protest masculinities 'are constructed as compensatory hypermasculinities that are formed in

reaction to social positions lacking economic and political power' (Messerschmidt 2018: 29).

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 838) point out that hegemonic masculinity's existence does not necessarily relate to the actual lived experiences of actual men because part of the realisation of hegemonic masculinity is in the 'ideals, fantasies, and desires'. As they explain (2005: 846), 'hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity (e.g., professional sports stars [Hollywood actors, musicians, politicians, etc.]), symbols that have authority despite the fact that most men and boys do not fully live up to them'. Few men may live up to the exact ideal, but the imaginary exists through everyday practices. For example, the policing of preferred gender behaviour amongst young men – calling effeminate boys "sissies" – (Messerschmidt 2000; Butler 1993 [2011]) contributes to the fantasy of masculinity as tough and strong, meaning not feminine. The ideal, therefore, requires everyday practices to persist. Representations of masculinities, the focus of this thesis, is one such practice which contributes to idealised masculinities on both sides of the Atlantic. One project for this thesis, therefore, is to tease out how hegemonic masculinity is represented in each edition of the magazine, do these constructions relate and how do they differ? Another point to consider is how relevant the concept is in reviewing representations? Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) acknowledge that hegemonic masculinity does flatten out the idea of masculinities and argues to nuance the concept through analysis with local, regional and global geographies in mind, see also Messner (2002). 'Although local models of hegemonic masculinity may differ from each other, they generally overlap' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 850). In his reformulation of hegemonic masculinities, Messerschmidt (2018: 69, original emphasis) takes the aforementioned into consideration and argues that the concept should be pluralised to 'hegemonic masculinit*ies*' to account for the local, regional and global, which are not distinct, but interact.

Comparing representations of two different masculine national identities, like American and British in *GQ* magazines, may contribute to refining the hegemonic masculinity/ies in how it is applied; which is explored in Chapters VI and VII. As mentioned earlier in this section, this concept implies that masculinities are positioned in a

field (Bourdieu 1980 [1990]; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). This thesis extends hegemonic masculinity/ies through the incorporation of Bourdieu's work. The above articulation of this theory is often at a macro level view, which is why Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) advocate for work that evaluates local, regional and global geographies. This thesis proposes that scholarship can evaluate regional and global representations through textual analysis and the application of field theory, which is explored in Chapters VI and VII.

CHAPTER II: CONTENT ANALYSIS

This chapter begins the presentation of research methods. Beginning with two sections that tell the origin of this research project, the chapter then provides a justification for focusing on the American and British editions of *GQ*. Textual analysis is an umbrella term that encompasses different 'qualitative, quantitative, rhetorical, and critical approaches' (Allen 2017: 2). Researchers across cultural studies and other disciplines that use textual analysis often create a 'pick 'n' mix' of what their textual analysis includes. For this research, textual analysis was developed using content analysis, discourse analysis and tools from compositional interpretation and semiology. This chapter focuses on content analysis, which was the first method used in this research project, Sections II.3 through II.6. The additional methods used from semiology and discourse analysis are discussed below in Chapter IV. These additional methods and tools, however, appeared to lack clearly defined procedures for execution and can favour the '"good eye"' (Rose 2012: 81) of the researcher too much; meaning the researcher chooses what to discuss rather than what is discussed being selected by other more objective approaches. Content analysis was, therefore, adopted in an effort to overcome this concern. Section II.3 introduces content analysis, which is followed by a discussion of what the codes are and how the codes were chosen, which draws significantly on the literature on men's lifestyle magazines. Section II.5 begins by reviewing the pilot study on the editorial content of the April 2012 issue of both magazines and how this study helped to refine how this method was employed later. After discussing the refinements made to the pilot study, the section outlines the process used to review the 2797 pages of editorial content between both editions, including the formulas that were developed to count the frequencies of the chosen codes. The last section in the chapter presents the results of the content analysis and introduces how the results directed the next stage of analysis whilst also identifying the limitations of content analysis and the presented results.

II.1 Research Genesis

The idea for this research project revealed itself to me[3] whilst working on my Masters research (Roman 2010), which was about the dress choices of South Asian women who immigrated to the rural United States from the 1970s through the 1990s. In order to learn more about South Asian fashion before conducting the interviews, I turned to various historical and contemporary forms of South Asian media, mostly magazines and Bollywood films. In 2007, *Vogue India* launched, causing a media sensation in major media outlets, particularly in South Asian diasporas in the West. Further deregulatory efforts on the part of Manmohan Singh's government allowed for Western luxury conglomerates and media companies, like Condé Nast, to establish themselves in the Indian subcontinent. I began to collect early editions of *Vogue India* and carried them back to university from visits to New York City. As a graduate assistant on fashion design studio courses, I often flipped through the American editions of *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar* and *Elle* magazines, which were on hand for our students. Occasionally, a copy of *Vogue Italia*, *L'Officiel* or *Vogue Paris* would find its way into the studio as well. I flipped through the magazines that I was collecting and the ones readily available in the studio, one after the other when I had a break and I began to notice similarities and differences in the way that fashion was presented and discussed, but I did not have the 'tools' to discern why. For example, American models always seemed to be caught in motion and models in *Vogue India* appeared to be posed more so than active. It is from this that I proposed a doctoral project on the Anglophonic editions of *Vogue* (Australia, India, UK, US). I chose to focus on the English-language editions of *Vogue* because although I had studied French and Italian, neither language comprehension was developed enough to understand idioms or to catch 'word play' often present in mass media publications, such as *Vogue Italia* and *Vogue Paris*.

During the early stages of literature review, I noticed the paltry amount of research published on men's fashion and men's lifestyle magazines since the wave of 'new man' and 'lad mags' research, discussed in the following chapter. I proposed to pivot the

[3] Chapters II and IV adopt a first-person narrative rather than personifying the thesis, which sounded awkward when discussing methodological processes and decisions.

project to Condé Nast's most successful international men's magazine brand, *GQ*, which is discussed further in the following section. A project covering the Anglophonic editions of *GQ* would include five editions: Australia, India, South Africa, the UK and the US. My desire to complete an analysis of five editions of *GQ* was tempered by the reality of the exorbitant expense of either travelling to the archives of each edition or the less pricey, yet still financially impactful, venture of slowly purchasing my own archive. International editions of *GQ* were easily acquired in London through various international magazine shops, in particular the Condé Nast Worldwide News Store in Hanover Square, London; but editions from abroad could have double or triple the regular newsstand price of their country of origin. During the early research proposal stage of this process, I spent time in magazine shops looking through each of the five aforementioned editions and discovered that reading five different editions of *GQ* required five different cultural competencies, which, acquiring during the timeframe of a doctoral thesis posed a major practical problem. I, therefore, chose to focus the project on the American and British editions since I was living in London, but would need to return to the United States frequently, which is my country of origin. My status as an American living and 'reading' these editions abroad is addressed below in Section IV.3.

The project was originally proposed to focus on fashion and masculinity. The early phase of this research project focused on the fashion spreads in American and British *GQ* magazines, discussed in the next section. A nagging feeling developed in me that ignoring other parts of the magazine, however, was presenting a project too narrowly focused and not challenging enough for a doctoral project. I, therefore, expanded beyond fashion and endeavoured to look across the different content found in the magazines – business, fitness, health, pop culture, sex, sport, travel, women, etc. – to attempt a more comprehensive look needed to address the first research question posed at the opening of this thesis: what are the similarities and differences between the representations of masculinities in the editorial content of American and British *GQ* magazines in 2012?

II.2 Why GQ?

During the initial review of literature on magazines, it was noted that most studies looked at multiple magazines (Crewe 2003; Edwards 1997; Gough-Yates 2003; Jackson et al 2001; Jobling 1999; Nixon 1996, 1997[2013], 2001; Pendergast 2000; Rocamora 2009; Winship 1987), but few took the opportunity to do a focused study of a single magazine title. *Vogue* and *British Vogue* have both received substantial scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic (see Cheang 2013; Conekin 2006; König 2006; Twigg 2010). Conekin and de la Haye's (2006) special double issue of *Fashion Theory* is the only publication found which looks at different national editions of a publication that is not in the discipline of sociolinguistics. *Playboy* magazine, however, is the one title in the men's lifestyle magazine world that garnered singular attention from scholars such as Conekin (2000), Mock (2017) and Osgerby (2001). The question arose as to whether the thesis should expand the research project to look at other market leaders such as the American and British editions of *Esquire* and *Men's Health*, but seeing fewer 'deep dives' into single titles of men's lifestyle magazines, it was decided that the research would be confined to only the American and British editions of *GQ*. Some studies have looked across the American and British editions (see Edwards 1997; Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]), but this fact was not exploited as a point of analysis, which this research uses as a primary point of contention. Further literature review confirmed a lack of research on editorial content in men's lifestyle magazines, whilst research on advertising continues to grow (Jobling 2014; Jobling 2005; Marchand 1985). This discovery propelled me further to focus on the editorial content.

An additional reason that *GQ* was selected was because of my familiarity with the American edition. I began reading American *Esquire*, *Details* and *GQ* magazines around the age of fourteen in the early nineties, which was a particularly successful time in their histories. American *GQ* led in sales over American *Esquire* and *Details* and was not yet under threat from the British lad mags invasion, discussed in Chapter V. From the age of fourteen through to the writing of this thesis, I remained a regular reader of *Esquire* and on-again off-again subscriber of *Details* and *GQ* magazines. Familiarity with *GQ* and how

it has changed over multiple decades as a key voice of the articulation of middle-class American masculinities, but had not received the scholarly attention that *Esquire* and *Playboy* have (Edwards 1997; Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]; Osgerby 2001; Pendergast 2000), encouraged me to fill this gap in scholarship. The prospect of opening up this well-known text to scrutiny through comparison with its British 'brother' appeared as opportune. My tacit knowledge of *GQ*'s other international editions assumed a similar centre-left and middle-class position for *British GQ*, and the empirical chapters put this assumption to a test.

My original intention was not to purchase the year that I sought to study, but to rely on the American and British *GQ* archives available at Central Saint Martins library. The archive of *British GQ* begins in 2008 and the library has continued to collect the magazine, however, the magazines are often in poor condition. Each issue is well-worn and frequently has pages missing from fashion design students removing content from the magazines archives for their reference research. The library ceased collecting American *GQ* in 2011, therefore, I was presented with the decision to use libraries in the US where I could gain access easily, such as libraries in New York state where I lived prior to moving to London. This option presented some difficulties as neither library permitted scanning the issues of American *GQ*, but photography without flash was permitted. Having previously examined editions of *Apparel Arts* and early runs of *Gentlemen's Quarterly* at The Fashion Institute of Technology and Pratt Institute in New York City, I knew that conditions were hard to control and photographs may never be fully clear, therefore, I purchased the year run of 2012 for both American and British *GQ* as the year progressed. The following discusses content analysis and why this method was used to begin evaluating the magazines.

II.3 Content Analysis

Krippendorff (2013) traces the origins of content analysis back to seventeenth century Biblical scholars who were fascinated with the written word. He implies that humans have had a long obsession with the counting and the categorising of information, and which, though not a content analyst, Foucault (1970 [1997]) addressed from a different

perspective, discussed below in Section III.1. Krippendorff (2013) goes on to show that content analysis has been a chosen method for studying the media since at least the 1890s; see also Bell (2012), Bock et al (2012), Lutz and Collins (1993) and Rose (2012). Early analyses of newspapers sought to understand if newspapers were becoming more trivial with their choice of news by measuring the square space devoted to various content such as gossip and scandals versus religious matters, affairs of local and national government and scientific progress; see for example Matthew (1910), Street (1909), Wilcox (1900).

Contemporary understanding of content analysis developed from propaganda analyses during World War II under Harold D. Lasswell at the US Library of Congress and Hans Speier at the New School for Social Research in New York (Krippendorff 2013). The objective of these research projects was to analyse 'domestic enemy broadcasts and surrounding conditions to understand and predict events within Nazi Germany and other Axis countries, and to estimate the effects of Allied military actions' (Krippendorff 2013: 15). Although content analysis was heavily criticised during this time (and continues to be) for a 'simplistic reliance on counting' (Krippendorff 2013: 17), this method continued to be used and refined throughout the latter half of the twentieth century in qualitative and quantitative research. In this section, content analysis is defined and a justification is given for its incorporation in this thesis. The following section discusses how the codes were chosen. Section II.5 reviews how this method was used in this research project, and engages with the content analysis's limitations. Section II.6 discusses the findings of the content analysis.

Bell (2004: 34) defines content analysis as 'an empirical (observational) and objective procedure for quantifying recorded "audio-visual" (including verbal) representation using reliable, explicitly defined categories [codes]'. Rose (2012: 87) similarly defines content analysis as 'counting the frequency of certain [audio-]visual elements'. Content analysis is simply the act of counting what is observed and then recording those observations through categorisation. For this research project, content analysis was used to count the occurrences of different codes of editorial content found in the 2012 editions of American and British *GQ* magazines. The 'codes' are defined in the

following section below, which is what Bell refers to above when he says, 'reliable, explicitly defined categories [codes]'. Some researchers, such as Krippendorff (2013), Lutz and Collins (1993), and Rose (2012), refer to 'categories' as 'codes'. For consistency, I have chosen to use 'code(s)' going forward. A code can be thought of as a descriptive marker, so that every time a researcher observes something specific they record that occurrence.

Although I do not want to get into a lengthy discussion of empiricism, I believe Bell (2012) places 'observational' in parentheses to remind the reader that observation is experiential. Locke (1690 [1998]) argues that knowledge is produced through direct experience, an idea which developed into a body of thought known as empiricism (Macey 2000). The repetitious act of reviewing page after page of magazines is an experience of social scientific observation. Additionally, Bell's intention could be to connect content analysis with more 'scientific' methods (see also Krippendorff 2013 for a similar discussion). The intention of this thesis and its use of content analysis is not to make an argument for how scientific content analysis is or that it is a more valid method to use because it generates quantitative results, but rather, this method is used for the quality of results that it can produce when an effective content analysis process is put into place outlined below in Sections II.5 and II.6.

Content analysis was chosen for this thesis because of the large amount of content through which to sort. With 2797 pages[4] of editorial content in total to review, I needed a systematic way to go through all of them from the start. Simply reviewing every page of each issue without a process did not seem like a valid way to begin the analysis of this project since I wanted to avoid my own assumptions from leading me astray. Rose (2012) explains that content analysis may be turned to when a large set of visual data or multiple sets need to be reviewed carefully and consistently. This method enables the researcher to set up a process that can be repeated when reviewing multiple images, such as a single edition of a publication, a complete year, multiple years or the whole run of the publication. Bell (2012) makes a similar point to Krippendorff (2013) and Rose

[4] The split of the total number of editorial pages across 2012 per edition is American *GQ* 1167 and *British GQ* 1630.

(2012) regarding the simplistic nature of content analysis. Content analysis 'is the most basic way of finding out something about the media's meaning and allows for apparently general statements to be made about aspects of representation' (Bell 2012: 34). The idea of 'general statements' is discussed more below in relation to the limitations of this method, Section II.6. It should be noted that this method is not used to review an individual image. As Bell (2004) argues, content analysis is for the comparison of content, whereas analysis of one piece of visual data should use a method such as semiology or psychoanalysis.

Another reason this method was chosen is because it relates well to comparative analysis, discussed below, because the textual data that content analysis 'usually evaluates are comparative' (Bell 2004: 35). What Bell (2004) is referring to here is that when employing this method, a researcher is usually comparing different sample sets against one another in order to answer one or more questions. As discussed below, Edwards (1997) uses content analysis to compare advertising and editorial content in *British GQ*, *British Esquire*, *Arena, FHM*, *Loaded* and *Maxim*. Edwards content analysis is not fully transparent since the advertising and editorial content codes that were used to conduct the content analysis are not defined. Moeran (2006) also uses content analysis to compare *Vogue Nippon* (Japan) against *Vogue* (US) and *Vogue Paris*. Whilst the focus of Moeran's study is the Japanese edition, he produces a comparison between all three editions (see his Appendix 3, Moeran 2006: 252-253) to show subtle differences between the magazines. Monden (2010) uses this method as well to compare the kinds of content present in three Japanese men's magazines: *Popeye*, *Men's no-no* and *Fineboys*. He proposes that the overwhelming prevalence of fashion content in these magazines in comparison to other lifestyle content such as sport, cars or 'girls' 'goes against the stereotyped assumption that men prioritize utility over aesthetics' (Monden 2010: 300).

Following the three studies discussed above, this thesis compares the results of a content analysis from two sample sets – the 2012 editions of American *GQ* and the 2012 editions of *British GQ* – to determine what broad proposals can be made about the similarities and differences of the editorial content of the magazines as the content relates to representation of masculinities. Before discussing the procedure for the content

analysis, the following section discusses the codes used, and defines each code for clarity.

II.4 Codes

As discussed above, codes used for noting an observed occurrence can be thought of as descriptive markers. Slater (1993: 236) argues that codes must be 'exclusive', 'enlightening' and 'exhaustive'. Exclusive simply means that 'categories [codes] must not overlap' (Slater 1993: 236). For example, if an image contained a drawing of a sweater, then there could not be a code for 'garments' and one for 'knitwear'. All knitwear are garments and garments can be knitted, therefore, the drawing could be categorised twice as an item of clothing. The researcher then has to decide how to resolve these overlapping codes. Enlightening refers to the codes 'producing a breakdown of the imagery that will be analytically interesting and coherent' (Slater 1993: 236). Here, Slater argues that the breakdown provides clear and compelling results. Slater's last criterion, 'exhaustive', means that every aspect of an image (or other cultural object such as a magazine) 'with which the research is concerned must be covered by one category [code]' (Rose 2012: 91).

Rose (2012) argues that it is very difficult to develop a list of codes that satisfies all three characteristics identified by Slater. Similarly, Lutz and Collins (1993) and Seale and Kelly (1993) remark that often the amount of content can be overwhelming, and the richness of the data set is equally immense, therefore, this makes developing a list of codes a formidable task. Most writing on content analysis offers little in the form of solutions to overcoming the difficulty of determining a list of codes, other than referring back to the definition of exclusive, enlightening and exhaustive. Bock et al (2012: 316), however, offers that '[c]ategories [codes] should be relevant to the research question, which means that they should be useful to deduce answers related to whatever the interest of the study might be'. Following these aforementioned authors, I revisited my research questions because the list of codes needed to relate to those concerns. As a reminder, my research questions are:

- What are the similarities and differences between the representations of masculinities in the editorial content of American and British GQ magazines in 2012?

- Are the representations of masculinities co-constructed in each edition and across them as well?

Starting with these questions, I endeavoured to develop one list of editorial content codes that worked for both magazines, so that the results being compared were like to like, rather than developing separate code lists for each magazine. Additionally, developing a single codes list could result in proposals related to the second question for the idea of co-constructions across the editions, and not just within the editions.

Along with Bock et al's (2012) suggestion of referring to one's research questions to develop codes, I would add that referring to the literature reviewed is helpful as well because it provides the opportunity to learn how other researchers categorised and defined editorial content in their respective projects. My editorial codes list was developed from the literature review on men's lifestyle magazines generally, not just the two editions in question, in hopes that the created list of codes could be used and/or modified for research on other magazines and digital media in the future. Whilst the literature review helped to provide an initial list of codes, my familiarity with both editions led me to add other codes that I did not come across in the review. It should be noted here that before beginning any analysis, I mapped out all 24 issues cover-to-cover to familiarise myself with each of the two editions, which is discussed in the following section. The following review identifies and defines each code and references the literature from which it was drawn. The complete list of codes can be found at the end of this section, Table II.4.

As discussed in the introduction, whilst *Esquire* magazine was not the first men's magazine to address men as consumers (see Pendergast 2000), it is arguably the first magazine to bring together various content that would become the lifestyle formula, which began with 'trumpeting the latest trends in masculine attire' (Osgerby 2001: 43). As Osgerby (2001:43) continues, '[a]round this core of sartorial *savoir faire*, *Esquire* elaborated a wider universe of taste and refinement'. For *Esquire* from the mid-twentieth century onwards, fashion and style are infused throughout the magazine and are in many ways its sole purpose. Later in his discussion of *Playboy*, Osgerby (2001) explains that fashion did not become a part of the magazine until it had established itself. Like *Esquire*, *Playboy* would produce a world for its readers based around consumerism, but unlike the

former, fashion was a component of *Playboy* not necessarily the main feature. Women and sex would be the core of Hugh Hefner's publication.

Other scholars discussed or at least mentioned fashion in their research on men's lifestyle magazines. Jackson et al (2001) note the percentage difference that fashion content makes up for *FHM* and *Men's Health*, though they do not pursue an exploration of fashion content further in their research. Edwards (1997) identifies 'Fashion' as a code for his content analysis of men's lifestyle magazines, but this code is only used for advertising and not features. Nixon (1996: 159) notes that *British GQ*, like *Esquire*, organised 'the magazine around menswear and style' and that 'regular style sections' coded this publication as the conservative foil to more avant-garde magazines such as *Arena* and *The Face*. Gauntlett (2008) mentions fashion as part of core narratives found across men's lifestyle magazines that encourage men to buy clothes and how to dress in them. Gauntlett (2008: 172) singles out *GQ* as a particularly product-driven publication, '[the British] *GQ* man, in particular, buys his way to a sense of male specialness with expensive cars, meals, hotels, shoes, grooming products, suits and property'. Without a doubt, American and British *GQ* continue to produce their respective magazines around fashion and style, therefore, the first code determined was 'Fashion/Style'. This code is defined as trending or historical garments, shoes and accessories to wear and how to wear them.

As noted in the above quote by Gauntlett (2008), *British GQ* addresses their readers through a cornucopia of consumer items. A group of products that sit alongside fashion and style are grooming products, which Gauntlett (2008: 172) later explains, '[f]ashion and grooming advice appears in all of the magazines'. Nixon (1996: 159) identifies grooming as a regular section entitled 'Body and soul' in *British GQ* from its launch in 1988, therefore, 'Grooming' became the second code, which is defined as products and processes for cleaning and styling hair and skin.

In his discussion of *Playboy*, Osgerby (2001: 129) says, '[l]ike *Esquire* before it […] a large part of *Playboy*'s rationale was to "colonize" the traditionally "feminine" spaces of commodity consumption on behalf of men'. Two such regular features that appeared in *Playboy*, which in mid-century America were firmly associated as women's duties, were dedicated to cookery and interior design. Food culture is important on both sides of the

Atlantic and grew in print and in broadcast media through the last century into the present. In 1993, Television Food Network (re-branded as Food Network) launched a television network in the US entirely dedicated to food and its preparation (Sugar 2017). Food Network launched in the UK in 2009, but prior to this the BBC already had an established tradition of cooking shows for the British public, such as *Fanny's Kitchen* (1955, 1957, 1961), *Delia Smith's Cookery Course* (1978-1981), *Ready Steady Cook* (1994-2001), *The Naked Chef* (1999-2001) and *The Great British Bake Off* (2010-Present) (Vincent et al 2013); the latter two of which has had crossover success in America. Food culture in men's lifestyle magazines also encompasses more than just cookery, but also restaurants, bars, cocktail culture (Osgerby 2001), and alcohol consumption (Gauntlett 2008). 'Food/Beverage' as a code is defined as cookery, cuisine, alcohol, bars, restaurants, recipes and hosting.

As with its cookery features, *Playboy*'s attention to interior décor revived an interest formerly prominent in *Esquire*' (Osgerby 2001: 130). Interior design features played an important role in these magazines in the mid-century because they taught men how to create masculine spaces, often referred to as 'bachelor pads'. The aesthetic of these spaces was decidedly 'modernist' in comparison to décor promoted to women in their magazines. The bachelor pad was an opportunity to display his purchasing power through the latest furniture, hi-fi units, abstract artwork, etc. (Cohan 1996). Though for *Playboy* 'the modern male's natural habitat was [not] the great outdoors' (Osgerby 2001:131), I believed that American men's obsession with barbecuing and what I came to learn as British men's obsession with their gardens would appear in the editions of *GQ* under consideration, therefore, I named another code 'Home/Garden'. This code is defined as interior and exterior design, indoor and outdoor wares.

Along with consuming clothes, grooming products, food, beverages and furniture, *Esquire* encouraged men to purchase 'trinkets and novelties' (Osgerby 2001: 43) to become part of the 'bachelor' lifestyle; such items included radios, phonographs, sophisticated lighters, bar accessories, and desk accessories, to name a few. *Playboy* had a particular fascination with audio-visual electronics such as televisions, stereos, speakers, cameras, home-video equipment, as well as, refrigerators and telephones.

Osgerby (2001: 133) argues that the 'obsession with push-button gadgetry' promoted these new stylish small machines as items for the individual rather than as work machines for the masses. Gadgets would make men's lives easier and more relaxing. The most important machine to complete a man's world is his car. Promoting driving culture was very important for American media in the mid-century because it was encouraging the purchase of a home-grown industry, but there were class distinctions. According to Osgerby (2001) 'hot rods' were associated with working-class culture, whilst European sport cars were associated with middle-class taste. For teenagers in the 1960s, socialising often centred around access to cars to get outside the home and 'hang-out'. Men's lifestyle magazines from *Esquire* through today have not and are not in the business of instructing their readers on how to fix their cars. Instead, they promote the latest models and inform the readers about machine power, technological and material advances, overall stats and the stylish beauty of various automobiles and motorcycles. Gauntlett (2008: 172) says that '[a] fascination with fast vehicles and electronic gadgets is reflected in almost all of the magazines' that he reviewed. I chose to separate out gadgets and vehicles into two separate codes because I believed that the latter should be its own code because gadgets and cars did not sit side-by-side. Novelties may be featured together or reviewed in a feature, but cars would receive their own coverage and/or spreads in the editions of *GQ* in question. The code 'Gadgets/Tech' refers to new gadgets and electronics for men's lives. The code 'Cars' is defined as promotions and reporting on vehicles old and new.

Rounding out the world of consumption in men's lifestyle magazines is experiential consumption. *Esquire* promoted travel even when that was not the focus of the editorial. Fashion illustrations often featured men outside of their urban concrete habitats and in far-flung locations like the French Riviera and the Caribbean. Travel was also complimented with other leisure activities such as golf, tennis, fishing, etc. (Osgerby 2001). Although *Playboy* would spend less paper on sport, travel featured regularly in the magazine, but travel was often connected to sex tourism. In a regular editorial called 'Travelogues', *Playboy* readers were treated to exotic locations with tropical women where sexual mores were portrayed as relaxed (Osgerby 2001). Putting sex aside for the moment,

'Travel/Leisure' was identified as another code defined as domestic and foreign journeys for relaxation and entertainment.

As mentioned above, *Playboy* did not centre their magazine around fashion and style as *Esquire* and *GQ* would do. *Playboy* produced the 'swinging bachelor' (Osgerby 2001) around the objectification of women and a narrative of heterosexual sex. Although the main theme of a pornographic magazine, like *Playboy*, men's lifestyle magazines have always gazed at and instructed men on how to engage with women, socially and sexually. *Esquire* magazine famously had its Varga girls, which were illustrations of voluptuous women often scantily clad, which Osgerby (2001) draws connections with the Gibson girl of the Victorian era. 'Men like (to look at) women' states Gauntlett (2008: 171). Looking at women in the form of pin-ups – nude or in various states of undress – is not unique to *Esquire* or *Playboy*, but is a common feature in upscale and downmarket men's lifestyle magazines (Gauntlett 2008; Jackson et al 2001). Alongside provocative images of women, this genre of men's magazines remind men that they 'don't know too much about [women]' (Gauntlett 2008: 171). Regular features on sexual relationships with women explore how to get women into bed, how to satisfy a woman sexually, how sexual preferences may have changed, what sex toys will improve coitus, etc. Men also need to relate to women outside of intercourse, therefore, romance, long-term relationships, friendship, marriage, and even fatherhood can make appearances in men's lifestyle magazines as well depending on the slant of the magazines towards a narrative of 'singleton' and 'playing the field', or an emphasis on landing a long-term partner. In his discussion of *British GQ*, Nixon (1996: 162) argues that the magazine produces an 'incommensurability of the cultures of men and women', which speaks to the notion of hegemonic masculinity present in men's lifestyle magazines explored in later analysis. The repetition of naked or barely-dressed women in men's lifestyle magazines prompted a code called 'Pin-Ups', which is defined as images of women. Whilst regular features on (heterosexual) sex are present in both editions in question, *GQ* and *British GQ* walk a line between appealing to single men and partnered men, therefore, a separate code just for sexual relationships did not make sense to me. I thought it more appropriate to have a code that covers relationships generally, which would be more inclusive in the event that

male friendship or gay relationships were discussed. I, therefore, called the code 'Relationships', which is defined as discussions of friendships, dating, familial, marital and sexual relationships.

Editorials focused on sport and fitness could be considered to be the opposite of pin-ups and relationships discussed above because the focus is mostly on men's bodies and their non-sexual performance. Sport remains the domain of men despite advancements of women in professional sports and the formation of women's professional sport leagues. Gauntlett (2008: 170) explains that men's magazines present sport differently. '*Loaded* celebrates watching football with a few beers, for example, but the *Men's Health* reader would forego the drink, and play the game himself'. Gauntlett is actually talking about two different kinds of content in men's lifestyle magazines: sport and sport-related fitness, which can also be thought of as spectatorial consumption of men's bodies versus participatory sport maintenance of one's body. In the early days of *Esquire*, covering sport was intended to remove an effeminate perception of the magazine. '*Esquire*'s sports coverage also bolstered its claims to solid manliness – with regular features on boxing and baseball, complemented by articles on the daredevil challenge of big-game hunting, shark fishing and bullfighting' (Osgerby 2001: 45). The articles on the latter content were not necessarily for all readers to do themselves, but were representations of 'sturdy manhood' (Osgerby 2001:45) to balance out the fashion content and male-on-male gaze that could be off-putting for some readers. Sport that men likely participated in was defined as 'relaxation (golf, motoring, fishing, and so on)' (Osgerby 2001: 43), which spoke more to leisure than fitness since the objective was socialisation, not bodily maintenance. From this literature, I identified two codes: 'Sport' and 'Wellness'. Sport is defined as participatory and spectatorial sport coverage. Wellness is defined as representations of fitness and health covering both physical and mental well-being. Although mental health was not discussed in any of the research reviewed, within the last decade it has felt like an ever-present discussion on both sides of the Atlantic with such topics as work-life balance and mindfulness, hence the code needed to be more inclusive rather than merely addressing the physical body.

In order to consume products, “woo” women, and afford a leisure lifestyle that includes sport and wellness activities, men have to work. Although *Esquire*’s art direction was modelled on *Fortune* magazine, business or work more generally was not mentioned in research reviewed as a content focus for the magazine, it was, however, mentioned for *Playboy*. Throughout the 1960s, *Playboy* had industrialist J. Paul Getty as their Contributing Editor for Business and Finance. The business editorials written by Getty were for the ‘aspiring executive’ (Osgerby 2001: 135) and promoted an ethos of independence rather than conformity to become ‘self-made’ and wealthy. In the early years under editor Paul Keers (1988-1990), *British GQ* stood out in the British men’s lifestyle magazine market for its conservative views on fashion, style and culture, but also for ‘the centrality of success and the making of money’ (Nixon 1996: 159) that also, like *Playboy*, placed ‘an emphasis on individual success and […] enterprising men’ (160). ‘Business’, therefore, was identified as another code, which is defined as monetary and commerce-related content.

The literature reviewed made little mention of politics since my review of both editions showed regular political commentary and features throughout the year. Osgerby (2001: 191) identifies Hugh Hefner, editor-in-chief of *Playboy*, as ‘drifting discernibly leftwards in his political outlook and worldview’. Although *Playboy* would take on political issues such as drug reform, the Vietnam War, and college campus unrest, political themes were often appropriated for the magazine’s indecent pin-ups. For example, *Playboy* Bunnies were sent to Vietnam to boost soldiers’ morale or student unrest was used to feature bunnies from college campuses (Osgerby 2001). Although politics did not stand out in the literature, 2012 was a presidential election year in the US and the UK had local elections and the Scottish referendum, therefore, I thought it important to include politics as a code. ‘Politics’, therefore, is defined as global and national content related to governmental affairs and elections.

As noted above, in his opening discussion of *British GQ*, Nixon (1996) draws sharp contrast between *British GQ* and *Arena*, noting that ‘cultural knowledge’ is categorised differently. The former eschews the popular, whilst for the latter, the popular is its very existence. Aside from Nixon, most research on men’s magazines tended not to discuss

magazines' cultural content such as art, music, theatre, film, etc. so there was little on which to figure out how to categorise these genres, therefore, I had to develop codes based mostly on my observation. In the early years of *Playboy*, the magazine focused almost exclusively on jazz, whilst '[r]ock 'n' roll […] was kept at arm's length. The lower class and commercial associations of rock 'n' roll did not fit in with *Playboy*'s vision of laid-back sophistication' (Osgerby 2001: 139). Since the invasion of lad mags (see Sections V.3 and V.4), however, most mainstream men's lifestyle magazines, like *GQ* and *British GQ*, were forced to become more popular and less lofty by bringing in both more mainstream and subcultural content. Both of the magazines in question devote space to art and book reviews, but also to popular music (indie, hip-hop, pop, rap, R&B, techno), film (indie, foreign, blockbuster), television and video games. Initially, all of the various forms of culture were categorised separately, but during the pilot coding it was discovered that often cultural content is discussed together in its own section or that a page might feature different kinds of the aforementioned content together. It was decided that art, books, film, gaming, music and television would be collapsed into a single code called 'Culture'.

Writing, both fiction and non-fiction, has been an important component of men's magazines (Pendergast 2000). '*Esquire*'s literary pretensions, […] [included] contributions from (among others) John dos Passos, William McFee, Erksine Caldwell, Manuel Komroff and Dashiell Hammett' (Osgerby 2001: 43), whilst later editions featured Pulitzer and Nobel prize-winning authors such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Langston Hughes and Ernest Hemingway (Pendergast 2000). *Playboy* also drew high-profile writers such as 'Vladimir Nabokov, James Baldwin, John Steinbeck, Kenneth Tynan and Ray Bradbury' (Osgerby 2001: 136). The first editor of *GQ* after its purchase by Condé Nast in 1983, Art Cooper, was known in the magazine industry for his 'literary credentials' (Carr 2003) and as 'a writer's editor' (Kelley 2003) who would bring in more longform nonfiction pieces to the magazine, which is also something that *British GQ* has done since its founding in 1988. Longform investigative non-fiction pieces and exposé features were determined to be their own code, which was called 'Journalism'. Just for clarity, it is not that other forms of

writing are not considered to be journalism, but that this seemed like the most appropriate title for this code.

In Edwards's (1997) content analysis, he includes the code of 'Interviews' for his analysis of the features sections, which although undefined in his analysis, prompted me to take a closer look at this kind of writing in the two magazines. It was noticed in the pilot study that interviews are certainly featured throughout both of the 2012 editions of *GQ* and *British GQ*. They usually form the basis for an editorial on a figure of note, but they can include multiple individuals or be shorter in length for a side column as well, therefore, 'Interviews' were determined to be its own code.

Another kind of writing found in both magazines centres on opinion, such as the editor's letter or the agony uncle/advice column. Hugh Hefner, editor of *Playboy*, regularly professed his bachelor lifestyle, views on social issues in his 'Playboy Philosophy' (Osgerby 2001), and such continues with the past and present editors of American and British *GQ*. Opinion also comes in the form of advice columns in which a staff writer is responding to questions sent in by readers of the magazines, or editorials by a staff or contributing writer are offered on a particular topic. Readers also express their like or dislike of features in previous issues, as well as, the overall direction a magazine may be taking in content sometimes called 'Readers' Responses' or 'Letters to the Editor'. Additionally, in my view, surveys are another kind of opinion in which a magazine sends out surveys to their readers, then reports and interprets the results back to their subscribers and other readers. 'Opinion' as a code is defined as opinion editorials, editor's letters, advice content, readers' letters and surveys.

As noted by Gauntlett (2008:176), 'humour, silliness and irony' produce an overall satirical tone used in men's magazines when writing about serious content (see also Benwell (2003); Edwards (1997); Jackson et al (2001) for similar discussions). What Gauntlett and others seem to overlook in their research is that humour appears as content and not simply as tone, which can be found in the form of cartoons, jokes and satire. Both *Esquire* and *Playboy* had cartoon mascots, Esky and Buck Rabbit respectively, that were used to provide roguish humour in situations as either objectifiers or the recipients of excessive female desire (Osgerby 2001). In 2012, neither *GQ* or *British GQ* had a

mascot, but cartoons could be found throughout the year's run. Additionally, writing in the form of jokes or satirical editorials appears in both editions as well. 'Humour' as a code is defined as cartoons, jokes, satire, and other comedic content and should be understood not as tone, but as content.

I knew that some content would not fit into any of the above and some editorial content was not mentioned in the literature reviewed. My familiarity with the 2012 editions of *GQ* and *British GQ* , which I read cover-to-cover, recalled that both have pages dedicated to the covering of social events, such as product release parties or philanthropic events where guests are photographed in action or in front of 'step-and-repeat' backdrops. The code 'Society', therefore, is defined as coverage of parties, philanthropic and promotional events. Some editorial content like the masthead, contributor bios, or content related to the business or publishing of the magazine would be categorised with the code 'Corp Info'. For all content which did not fit into any of the above, the code 'Other' would be used, following Bell (2012) and Slater (1993) to account for content that does not fit into the above codes. This ensures that all content is counted and considered. Through the literature review and prior familiarisation with the magazines, the total list of codes is 21, which is shown below. The following section reviews the process of the content analysis in which these codes were used to evaluate the editorial content of the 2012 editions of both American and British *GQ*.

Table II.4
Codes List for Content Analysis

Code	Definition
Business	Monetary and commerce related content
Cars	Promotions and reporting of vehicles old and new
Corp Info	Masthead, contributor bios, publishing statements
Culture	Art, books, film, music, television and video game related content
Fashion/Style	Garments, shoes and accessories to wear and how to wear them
Food/Beverage	Cookery, cuisine, alcohol, bars, restaurants, recipes and hosting
Gadgets/Tech	New gadgets and electronics for men's lives
Grooming	Products and processes for cleaning and styling hair and skin
Home/Garden	Interior and exterior design, indoor and outdoor wares
Humour	Cartoon, jokes, satire and other comedic content
Interviews	Conversations between a writer and a figure(s) of note
Journalism	Exposé and/or other longform investigative works
Opinion	Opinion editorials, editor's letters, advice content, readers' letters and surveys
Other	Content that does not fit into any other category
Pin-Ups	Erotic images of women
Politics	Global and national content related to governmental affairs and elections
Relationships	Discussions of dating and friendships, and familial, marital and sexual relationships
Society	Coverage of parties, philanthropic and promotional events
Sport	Participatory and spectatorial sport coverage
Travel/Leisure	Domestic and foreign journeys for relaxation or entertainment
Wellness	Fitness and health covering both physical and mental well-being

II.5 Content Analysis Procedure

With each passing month as new issues were acquired, the editorial content pages were scanned and placed in a secure cloud storage that was created to house all of the files. During the process of scanning each page, I mapped out each issue in a Google spreadsheet using separate tabs for the American and British editions. Since I was already mapping the editorial content, I noted advertising as well, but stopped short of

listing details or categorising the ads. Though not a point of interest for this thesis, it would provide a map to fill in for later expansion of this research project. From left to right the columns detailed the following information: month, section title, page number, editorial/advertising and page/feature title; see Table II.5a below. The month columns were color-coded to help distinguish each month from one another. The purpose for the editorial/advertising column was to count the actual number of editorial pages in each issue. During the scanning process, it was discovered that not all issues are accurately numbered, therefore, going by the final page number in the issue would not necessarily provide an accurate count of the number of editorial pages being reviewed. In the pages column when a page was numbered incorrectly, the abbreviation 'NP' was placed to indicate there is no page number or an incorrect page number listed. If the page being reviewed was an editorial page, a '1' was placed in the cell, whilst a '0' was placed in the cell for advertising. These columns could then be totaled for an accurate count of the number of editorial pages per month, which then could provide a grand total for the year.

Table II.5a
Mapping the Monthly Issues Excerpt (GQ US on left and GQ UK on right)

Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE
Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Coun	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		73	0	Ad		
		74	0	Ad		
	The Style Guy	75	1	Glenn O'Brien Solves Your Sartorial Conundrums		
		76	0	Ad		
	The Punch List: The 9 Things In The Culture (the good, the bad, the obscure, the unavoidable) That Matter This Month	77	1	To Behead or Not to Behead		
		78	1	To Behead or Not to Behead; Nightly Nudes: The C		
		79	0	Ad		
		80	1	The Three Movies This Month Every Man Must See		
		81	0	Ad		
		82	1	She's Got a Mouth on Her		
		83	0	Ad		
	GQ Intelligence | The Male Species	84	1	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis		
		85	0	Ad		
		86	1	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis		
		87	0	Ad		
		88	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		89	0	Ad		
		90	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		91	0	Ad		
		92	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		93	0	Ad		
		94	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		95	0	Ad		
		96	0	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		97	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
	gence | cs	98	1	Run, Little Mitt, Run!		
		99	0	Ad		

Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE
Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Count	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		145	1	The 2012 Car Awards		
		146	0	Ad		
		147	1	The 2012 Car Awards		
		148	0	Advertorial		
		149	0	Advertorial		
		150	0	Ad		
	GQ Comedy Special	151	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		152	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		153	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		154	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		155	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		156	1	The Funny Factory		
		157	1	The Funny Factory		
		158	1	The Funny Factory		
		159	1	The Funny Factory		
		160	1	The Funny Factory		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		161	0	Ad		
		162	0	Ad		
		163	1	Pour Elle		
		164	0	Ad		
		165	0	Ad		
		166	1	The Hits Squad		
		167	1	The Hits Squad		
		168	1	The Hits Squad		
		169	0	Ad		
	Michael Wolff	170	1	It's war! Hollywood strikes back		
		171	1	It's war! Hollywood strikes back		
		172	0	Advertorial		
		173	0	Advertorial		

Once the list of codes was finalised, it was then tested in a pilot study on the April 2012 editions of both magazines. For the pilot study, additional tabs were created in the spreadsheet; one for American *GQ*'s April issue and a second for *British GQ*'s April issue. The spreadsheets for the pilot study were simplified by hiding the month, section title and editorial/advertising columns, so that all that was left was the page number and page title. Two columns were added to conduct the pilot study, one for the first coding and another for the second coding. Then, I went through each issue page by page and conducted the first coding. After the first coding was conducted on both April 2012 issues, the columns were immediately blacked out so that this first round could not be viewed when the document was reopened one week later. To demonstrate the categorising process, Table II.5.2b below shows an excerpt from the content analysis of *British GQ*'s April edition.

Table II.5b
Coding Pilot Study Excerpt

American *GQ*				*British GQ*			
Page	Page Title	Coding 1	Coding 2	Page	Page Title	Coding 1	Coding 2
0	Cover	Culture	Culture	0	Cover	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
26	Advertorial / Man on the Scene	Society	Society	NP	Table of Contents	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
44	Table of Contents	Culture	Culture	23	Table of Contents	Culture	Culture
46	Masthead	Corp Info	Corp Info	26	Ad / Masthead	Corp Info	Corp Info
48	Especially Special	Opinion	Opinion	30	Ad / Masthead	Corp Info	Corp Info
50	Letters from Readers	Opinion	Opinion	37	Editor's letter	Opinion	Opinion
55	GQ Endorses | Red (Yes, Red!) Pants	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	38	Editor's letter	Opinion	Opinion
56	How to Buy > A Vintage Watch	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	40	GQ Contributors	Corp Info	Corp Info
58	How to Buy > A Vintage Watch	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	43	{GQ Man of the Month} Mike Birbiglia	Culture	Culture
60	The Goods | The Boat Shoe's Next Wave	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	49	Rod Liddle | Ask Dr Rod | GQ Agony Uncle	Relationships	Relationships
64	The Suited Man > The Perfect $1,000 Italian Suit (	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	50	Hugo Rifkind | The GQ Guide How *Not* to...	Other	Other
66	Tech | Honey, This FaceTime Is Torture	Gadgets/Tech	Gadgets/Tech	52	Jamie Millar | The GQ Lifestyle Guru	Humour	Opinion
68	Drive | All of the Fast, None of the Furious	Cars	Cars	54	Jamie Millar | The GQ Lifestyle Guru	Humour	Opinion
72	Eat | Dress to Impress	Food/Beverage	Food/Beverage	61	Intro page	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
75	Glenn O'Brien Solves Your Sartorial Conundrums	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	62	{The Girl} The real reason to watch Game of Thrones	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
77	To Behead or Not to Behead	Culture	Culture	64	{The Restaurants} Your next dinner is Peruvian / The GQ Insider	Food/Beverage	Food/Beverage
78	To Behead or Not to Behead; Nightly Nudes: The (	Culture	Culture	67	{The Tech} Gramophone 2.0	Gadgets/Tech	Gadgets/Tech
80	The Three Movies This Month Every Man Must Se	Culture	Culture	69	{The Book} Turbo-charge your brain / {The Drink} Artful vodka {The Politics} Poll cra	Culture	Culture
82	She's Got a Mouth on Her	Pin-Ups	Culture	70	{The Film} Decoding The Avengers	Culture	Culture
84	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis	Cars	Cars	73	{The Next Big Thing} Jessica Paré	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
86	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis	Cars	Cars	74	{The Sport} Mark Webber gets bullish / To-do list: Sort out your bed	Sport	Sport
88	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	77	{The Trends} A bag for all seasons / The fedora returns	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style
90	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	78	{The Art} The business of being Damien Hirst	Culture	Culture
93	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	80	{The Music} The lyrical worker	Culture	Culture
94	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	82	{The Photos} Lord Snowdon's life in film / {The Band} Silver Seas: charted / The GQ	Culture	Culture
96	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	84	{The London Page} Secret Comedy	Culture	Culture
97	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	89	GQ Exposure	Society	Society
98	Run, Little Mitt, Run!	Politics	Politics	90	GQ Exposure	Society	Society
100	Run, Little Mitt, Run!	Politics	Politics	92	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
102	Run, Little Mitt, Run!	Politics	Politics	93	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
104	The GQ 100	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	94	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
105	The GQ 100	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	96	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
106	The GQ 100	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	98	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture

After the second coding was complete, the first column was uncovered and the two columns were compared to look for discrepancies, which were then highlighted in yellow and totalled.

Since I was the sole coder for this project, following Bell (2012: 43) both April issues were coded twice, one week apart, to test 'intra-coder reliability':

> If only one coder is to be employed a pilot (trial) study should be conducted to measure intra-coder reliability. Have the coder classify 50-100 examples on all relevant variables. A week later, repeat the procedure (without, of course, referring to the previous results). Correlate the two sets of classifications.

The overall intra-coder reliability is 98%; 98% for *GQ* and 97% for *British GQ*. As per Bell (2012), coding correlation lower than 90% would require codes or the reviewing process to be re-evaluated. With the aforementioned percentage, this allowed me to proceed to the full analysis.

After the pilot study, I chose to add a second stage of coding. Since this thesis is concerned with editorial content and the representation of masculinities, the content analysis needed to explore the complexities of how different kinds of editorial content intersect to produce masculinities as reflected in two magazines. The discussion of codes in the section above discussed different kinds of editorial content – fashion/style, pin-ups, sport, travel, and so on – as necessary features that produced an editorialised version of a white middle-class mostly heterosexual male consumer, but even in separating out different codes it became very clear from the pilot study that many pages were never about just one kind of editorial code.

For example, on page 195 of *British GQ* (Table II.5c), it is easy to note that the page is not just about grooming despite the section title 'Grooming' announcing this to the reader. Featured on the page is a Formula 1 driver, Jenson Button, who is identified as the brand ambassador for Boss Bottled Sport, therefore, although not the main point of the page, car racing (a sport) is being used to editorialise grooming. Furthermore, in the actual text of the page, editor Jessica Punter, tells us that Button recently returned from a race in Abu Dhabi and how he comments that the teams must have a healthier lifestyle. On this one page there are ideas of sport, wellness and foreign travel intersecting with this main idea of grooming that is being promoted. The content analysis, therefore, needed to account for these other codes being brought into the content of this page for the production of a version of masculinity. A two-step approach to content analysis was devised where I would note in one column the primary content for an editorial page and then in the second column note all additional content represented on/in the same page. The primary code relied mostly on titles present on pages that signalled on what the

feature focused. The secondary codes reviewed the text and images to determine what additional codes were present for each page.

Table II.5c
Coding Sample from Revised Content Analysis Process

Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Count	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		73	0	Ad		
		74	0	Ad		
	The Style Guy	75	1	Glenn O'Brien S	Fashion/Style	Opinion, Other, C
		76	0	Ad		
	The Punch List: The 9 Things In The Culture (the good, the bad, the obscure, the unavoidable) That Matter This Month	77	1	To Behead or Nc	Culture	
		78	1	To Behead or Nc	Culture	Pin-Ups, Intervie
		79	0	Ad		
		80	1	The Three Movie	Culture	Sport, Interviews
		81	0	Ad		
		82	1	She's Got a Mou	Pin-Ups	Culture, Intervie
		83	0	Ad		
	GQ Intelligence | The Male Species	84	1	My Other Car Is	Cars	Relationships
		85	0	Ad		
		86	1	My Other Car Is	Cars	Relationships
		87	0	Ad		
		88	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	
		89	0	Ad		
		90	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Interviews, Humc
		91	0	Ad		
		92	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Interviews, Fashi
		93	0	Ad		
		94	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Culture, Humour
		95	0	Ad		
		96	0	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Interviews, Humc
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		97	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Culture, Humour
	GQ Intelligence | Politics	98	1	Run, Little Mitt, F	Politics	Journalism
		99	0	Ad		
		100	1	Run, Little Mitt, F	Politics	Journalism
		101	0	Ad		
		102	1	Run, Little Mitt, F	Politics	Journalism

Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Count	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		145	1	The 2012 Car A	Cars	Humour, Travel/I
		146	0	Ad		
		147	1	The 2012 Car A	Cars	Fashion/Style
		148	0	Advertorial		
		149	0	Advertorial		
		150	0	Ad		
	GQ Comedy Special	151	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		152	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		153	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		154	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		155	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		156	1	The Funny Facts	Culture	Interviews
		157	1	The Funny Facts	Culture	Interviews
		158	1	The Funny Facts	Culture	Interviews
		159	1	The Funny Facts	Culture	Interviews
		160	1	The Funny Facts	Culture	Interviews
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		161	0	Ad		
		162	0	Ad		
		163	1	Pour Elle	Pin-Ups	Fashion/Style, Ti
		164	0	Ad		
		165	0	Ad		
		166	1	The Hits Squad	Interviews	Culture
		167	1	The Hits Squad	Interviews	Culture
		168	1	The Hits Squad	Interviews	Culture
		169	0	Ad		
	Michael Wolff	170	1	It's war! Hollywo	Culture	Opinion
		171	1	It's war! Hollywo	Culture	Opinion
		172	0	Advertorial		
		173	0	Advertorial		
		174	1	The beta Bodyg	Interviews	Culture
		175	1	The beta Bodyg	Interviews	Culture
	Watchmen	176	1	The beta Bodyg	Interviews	Culture

Rose (2012a: 102) criticises content analysis for not being able to 'discriminate between an aspect of an image that exemplifies a [code] perfectly, and one that is only a weak example of it'. This critique may be a bit short-sighted because adding in the element of 'valuation' to the content analysis as I believe I have done here, demonstrates you can indicate on each image/page, at a minimum, primary code versus peripheral code(s). During my own 'toying' with the content analysis process, I attempted to add more than two levels of coding, but beyond the primary code which is anchored by a title confirming its principal role on a page, all other content that appears does not have a similar tool to indicate that it is secondary, tertiary and so on. It is a simple split of primary code and all other codes on a page. This two-step approach to content analysis strives for a layered view of the editorial content in line with my second research question that seeks to explore co-construction. Whilst the original intention of the idea of co-construction is to explore if there is a relationship in the production of masculinities across

American and British *GQ*; there is the secondary idea of how editorial content works together to co-construct masculinities within the publications. This secondary inquiry could not be evaluated with a singular coding, therefore, the second 'layer' of coding was added.

To avoid mistakes in counting up each of the above codes in each column, I utilised the countif function readily built into Google Sheets. 'The COUNTIF function combines the IF function and COUNT function in Google Sheets. This combination allows you to count the number of times specific data is found in a selected range of cells that meets a single, specified criterion' (French 2018: n.p.). A countif formula is created by entering the command '=COUNTIF' in an individual cell in a spreadsheet followed by a parenthetical code consisting of a range and a criterion, e.g. =COUNTIF (range, criterion) or =COUNTIF (A1:A10, 'Business'). The first countif formula was designed to review the cells for the primary column for each month and to provide a total number for each code appearing in a column range per month. The combination countif-concatenate formula was designed to review the cells in the secondary column for each month and total up the number of occurrences for each code in a column range per month. The addition of concatenate in the second formula allows for the list of codes in each cell in the secondary column to be reviewed and for a specific code to be identified and then counted. Listed below are the 'raw' formulas for the primary and secondary columns, followed by actual sample formulas used in the spreadsheets. A key is listed below the formulas to explain the symbols used and their purpose. The following section discusses the results of the content analysis and the limitations of the content analysis for this study and more generally as a method.

CONTENT ANALYSIS FORMULAS

First Column COUNTIF Raw Formulas
GQ | =COUNTIF ('GQ US'! X#a:X#b, $Y#c)
British GQ | =COUNTIF ('GQ UK'! X#a:X#b, $Y#c)

First Column COUNTIF Example Formulas
GQ | =COUNTIF('GQ US'!$F$2:$F$111,$A3)
British GQ | =COUNTIF('GQ UK'!$F$2:$F$256,$A3)

Second Column COUNTIF Raw Formulas
GQ | =COUNTIF ('GQ US'! X#a:X#b, CONCATENATE ("*", $Y#c, "*"))

British GQ | =COUNTIF (‘GQ UK’! X#a:X#b, CONCATENATE ("*", $Y#c, "*"))

Second Column COUNTIF Sample Formulas
GQ | =COUNTIF('GQ US'!$G$2:$G$111, CONCATENATE("*", $A3, "*"))
British GQ | =COUNTIF('GQ UK'!$G$2:$G$256, CONCATENATE("*", $A3, "*"))

Formula Key
X = chosen column where codes need to be counted
Y = the column that lists each codes
#a = the first cell in the column where the counting begins
#b = the last cell in the column where the counting end
#c = the chosen code that the formula reads a column for to count
$ = adding $ before a column letter or cell number ‘locks’ the reference so that when the formula is copied to other cells the reference does not change because it is ‘locked’
"*" = denotes a wildcard character, which asks the program to locate and count all cells containing a certain word (meaning code) that comes in-between these two wildcard characters

II.6 Content Analysis Results

Located in the Appendix, Table II.6a – *GQ* Content Analysis Comparison and Table II.6b – *British GQ* Content Analysis Comparison displays the counts for the content analysis conducted in the form of bar charts, which makes the below results in Table II.6c easier to ‘see’. Each code displays two bars: the first for the primary code, and the second for the secondary code. The charts show that there are four codes that stand out from the other seventeen for both magazines; they are Fashion/Style, Culture, Grooming, and Interviews, and an additional two for *British GQ*, which are Opinion and Pin-Ups. When reviewing the numbers of those codes that were visually significant on the charts were determined to fill at least 10% of the total number of editorial pages for the year; the total number of editorial pages are 1167 for American *GQ* and 1630 for *British GQ*. For both magazines, Fashion/Style exceeds all codes as the primary code: American *GQ* 344 pages, *British GQ* 409 pages, and is also significant as a secondary code: American *GQ* 180 pages, *British GQ* 304 pages. This result was not much of a surprise for the reasons that the literature reviewed indicated as much, see Section III.4 and Chapter IV. In short, both editions of *GQ* have remained true to the magazine’s origin as a former menswear trade publication turned men’s lifestyle magazine focused on fashion and style. In addition, when men appear in the magazine for content that is not specifically identified as fashion/style they may be dressed and styled, which is why the secondary counts for Fashion/Style are high as well. For example, as shown in Tables II.6a and II.6b the

opening page of Eric Puchner's story on dopplegängers (*GQ US* 5/12: 114) or Jamie Millar's piece on playing Texas Hold'em at the Savoy (*GQ UK* 5/12: 30). Neither of these are fashion features, but both have images attached to them where the men in them have been dressed and styled though no clothing or styling credits are given for either. This particular result confirms Nixon's (1996: 159) comment that *GQ* organised 'the magazine around menswear and style', but could also be answered with Entwistle's (2000b: 1) words that, '[i]t is the body that fashion speaks to and it is the body that must be dressed in almost all social encounters'. Whilst both editions are about menswear and style, the way for the magazines to communicate men's fashion and style is by featuring it every opportunity that they have. This reiterates for the reader that fashion/style is an integral part of the aspirational lifestyle that both magazines are promoting.

The three codes that come after Fashion/Style in significance are illuminating because their secondary values are higher than their primary values. Those codes are Grooming, Culture and Interviews. Grooming (American *GQ* 421 pages, *British GQ* 522 pages) as a high secondary code is logical because a dedicated grooming section will take up a page or two at most each month in *British GQ* whilst only appearing sporadically in the American edition. A well-groomed model, however, completes the overall look for a well-styled man in fashion editorials, but also in other representations where men have been styled and groomed, but the core content is another topic, hence the secondary status. The reason, however, that Grooming is not equal to Fashion/Style is that there is fashion content in both magazines that show clothes not on the body or feature stories about a fashion designer or label that discusses fashion, but not grooming. As shown in Tables II.6c and II.6d, 'The Boots That Will Conquer Winter' (*GQ US* 1/12: 13) and 'GQ Directory' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 133), fashion and style are present, but parts of the body that would be groomed are absent from the images.

Culture like Fashion/Style appears twice above the 10% threshold of significance, but in reverse of Fashion/Style since the secondary value is higher than the primary: secondary – American *GQ* 287 pages, *British GQ* 450 pages, primary – American *GQ* 217 pages, *British GQ* 365 pages. *British GQ*'s amount of cultural content is higher than that of American *GQ*'s, whilst the latter's Interviews number is higher than the former's.

Interviews values are American *GQ* 332 pages and *British GQ* 310 pages. As discussed more in chapter IV, a change in publishing houses and editorships at American *GQ* would change the magazine from a men's fashion and style magazine to a men's lifestyle magazine. In this process, commentary on art, books, film, music and television and interviews with artists, writers, actors, directors, musicians and television personalities became important new content that the magazine would rely on to attract new readers.

The two additional codes that are above the 10% threshold which only appear for *British GQ* are Opinion and Pin-Ups. Opinion is a high value as a secondary code with 206 pages because *British GQ* has opinion editorials and advice content that appear almost every month from the same contributors. For example, Rebecca Newman responds to readers sex questions each month in a feature called 'Sex Shrink' and she also contributes an advice piece each month on topics related to sex or sex toys that she is promoting. There is also an 'agony uncle' page and a 'style shrink' page each month. Moreover, there are regular monthly opinion editorials from the same contributors on politics and culture. American *GQ* does not have this amount of monthly contributions from the same writers. The only regularly appearing advice page is 'The Style Guy' which is the American version of the 'Style Shrink'.

Pin-Ups appear as significant as a primary code for *British GQ* with 199 pages. Through historical research both primary and secondary, it was uncovered that both magazines have a history of featuring women as objects. As with the advice content, *British GQ* has content that appears each month and Pin-Ups are also included as content that appears monthly, and it should be noted at least twice each month provocatively dressed women are featured. As with the advice content and opinion editorials, American *GQ* does not have as much Pin-Ups content and the higher of its two values 84 (versus 56) is the secondary code. Whilst sexualised imagery of women appears, it often comes in the form of an interview with an actress so the images are interspersed within the interview rather than being the primary feature.

Table II.6d
Comparative Primary, Secondary and Sum Totals of Content Analysis

American GQ			British GQ	
Secondary Sum	Primary Sum	Codes	Primary Sum	Secondary Sum
15	0	Business	73	46
16	11	Cars	54	28
12	20	Corp Info	50	64
287	217	Culture	365	450
180	344	Fashion/Style	409	304
56	94	Food/Beverage	97	53
21	13	Gadgets/Tech	25	26
421	6	Grooming	29	522
2	2	Home/Garden	9	7
63	3	Humour	17	92
332	14	Interviews	54	310
84	89	Journalism	47	81
35	12	Opinion	46	206
20	4	Other	29	19
84	56	Pin-Ups	199	65
35	97	Politics	60	59
54	37	Relationships	73	22
1	17	Society	24	61
94	105	Sport	130	83
98	40	Travel/Leisure	46	144
30	22	Wellness	37	23

I did take time to consider the mid- and low-range codes, such as Journalism and Society, but decided that I had to begin somewhere with the data; that beginning would be with the first four categories identified that were of significance in both magazines: Fashion/Style, Grooming, Culture and Interviews. I referred back to my spreadsheet where both editions were mapped and the coding was conducted, and highlighted cells where these four codes appeared in both of the coding columns. Then, I went back to the magazines month by month and read all of those pages again whilst exploring other methods and literature.

Although the above results are enlightening, there are limits to these results and what content analysis as a method achieved for this research project. To paraphrase from Section II.4 above, content analysis is simply the act of counting, therefore, what it produces are frequencies, *not grand conclusions*. The reason for this is that these macro-level results fragment the texts (Rose 2012a) being evaluated and then abstract the texts (Bell 2012) by amalgamating them as data. Whilst I agree with these criticisms, the reason I see value in content analysis is because it can direct research to possibilities that are of significance for further exploration through other methods. More simply, employing this method first has directed me to editorial content to explore further rather than me

simply proposing what my 'good eye' (Rose 2012a: 81) sees as interesting and of significance. Bell (2012: 34) explains that '[c]ontent analysis alone is seldom able to support statements about the significance, effects or interpreted meaning of a domain of representation'. Since this thesis uses Butler's (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004) theory of gender performativity which is concerned with the effects of gender, following Bell (2012) such effects require additional methods for interpretation.

I argue, however, that the two-step process that was developed does make proposals about interrelationships between the content, meaning co-construction. Whilst my second research question seeks to explore if the content is co-constructed between American and British *GQ* magazines in 2012, the content analysis uncovered that editorial content within the magazines *is* co-constructed. For example, an interview with a sport star may also contain fashion images, which will involve grooming the athlete also. There is a layering of content within each editorial, some of which may be obvious, such as Fashion/Style and Grooming, but others which may be less obvious such as Wellness and Grooming, or Society and Sport. This layering or mix of content within the pages of each edition is explored further in the empirical chapters.

The next chapter discusses the theoretical framework, which is necessary before discussing textual analysis. Since this thesis uses compositional interpretation, discourse analysis and semiology, it is necessary to introduce these methods' theoretical underpinnings before returning to a discussion of their use in the second stage of analysis.

CHAPTER III: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter opens with a discussion of Foucault's concepts of discourse (1969 [2010]; 1972 [2004]; 1981) and power/knowledge (1975 [1995]) in Section III.1. Foucault's later work on 'practices of the self' (1984 [1992]; 1984 [1990]; 1976 [1998]), discussed in Section III.2, is incorporated to contrast against his earlier work on disciplinary power (1975 [1995]) for a view of the subject as active in their own production. Foucault's concepts are relevant to the present thesis since it considers editorial images and writing to be constitutive of subjects and objects such as American and British masculinities and celebrity. Foucault received criticism for not addressing gender fully in his work (see McNay 1994), therefore, Section III.3 introduces Judith Butler's theory of performativity (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004) as a way to overcome this particular criticism. Gender is theorised and understood as socially and culturally formed through a Foucauldian conception of discourse. As discussed in Chapter I, Mort (1996: 10, original emphasis) argues that '[m]asculinity is multiform, rather than unitary and monolithic. The object of inquiry is masculinit*ies*, not masculinity'. Mort's words, in many ways, provided the critical seed around which this thesis has grown. It is not simply that two national editions of a magazine exist that produce two different national versions of masculinity, but rather, that 'promotional culture has been extremely active in the construction of more plural versions of identity for men' (Mort 1996: 10). Whilst Butler's theory of gender performativity is understood mostly as a practice of negotiating cultural norms, this theory is extended to interpreting cultural representations in the form of editorial content, meaning the combination of text and images. This exploration incorporates Butler's work on hate speech (1997), Section III.4, which followed her treatise of gender performativity, in order to argue beyond the subject that men's lifestyle magazines are performative as well. This chapter closes with a discussion of Bourdieu's concepts of field (1980 [1990]; 1993), capital (1977 [2002]; 1980 [1990]; 1984 [2010]; 1986; 1993 [2015]) and consecration (1993). The empirical chapters engage with these concepts to understand how representations of masculinities are valued in these two editions of *GQ*, which provides

another layer of analysis for comparison and to delve differently into the idea of co-construction.

III.1 Foucault: Discourse & Discipline

There is a moment in the work of Michel Foucault where there is a shift in his thought on the subject and an individual's involvement in their self-fashioning, which is what this and the following section discusses. In Foucault's *History of Sexuality* trilogy, he reconceptualises his concept of subject formation from one of 'docile bodies' and 'disciplinary power' to a new idea of 'practices of the self'. The following discussion begins with Foucault's conception of 'discourse' (1969 [2010]), since this thesis, following Foucault, considers discourse to be productive of subjects and objects, which is one of his primary concepts that structures much of his body of work, in particular his thought on how 'the subject emerge[s]' (1969 [2010]: 16). The following section will review his project on sexuality in which he articulates a more active subject through the idea of 'practices of the self' (1984 [1990]; 1984 [1992]; 1976 [1998]).

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969 [2010]), Foucault acknowledges that his definition of 'discourse' fluctuates in its usage:

> Lastly, instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements' (1969 [2010]: 80).

The first meaning 'general domain of all statements' is outside the scope of this thesis, as in this instance Foucault is referring to *all* statements that have been made and which have in their utterance produced effects (Mills 2003). The latter two notions of 'discourse' are employed in this thesis. By 'individualizable group of statements' (Foucault 1969 [2010]: 80), Foucault refers to statements that come together into a grouping to construct a way of understanding an object, such as the discourse on masculinities. When referring to discourse 'as a regulated practice' (ibid.), Foucault seeks to uncover the rules which produce statements. For example, there is no written rule which designates that a man must watch football games, and yet many in fact do. In this latter instance, Foucault

would look into the structures which govern this behaviour. This thesis considers discourse to be productive of objects, such as masculinities, but is also concerned with the rules which produce such discourses within the context of a men's lifestyle magazine.

For Foucault, discourse refers to a regulated collection of statements on the same topic that are 'historically constituted' (1981: 57), meaning that Foucault's project is synchronic, rather than examining how truths develop across time. Discourses, therefore, are not reflective of all of time, or stretched across different historical periods, but rather indicative of a chosen historical moment. Foucault, therefore, is concerned with how statements come together to form historically specific truths. In *Madness & Civilization* (1961 [1988]), Foucault argues that the discourse on madness differed in the Renaissance, the Classical Age and the Modern era. During the Renaissance, the mad roamed freely on the fringes of society because they were seen to possess special powers, but in the Classical Age the mad, along with other less desirables, were confined in institutions and began to be studied. As he argues later, discourses are 'discontinuous practices' (1981: 67), meaning that they do not neatly flow from one period to the other and can overlap. Madness, therefore, could be 'special' in one period and in need of 'confinement' in the next creating a discontinuity (or break) in the understanding of madness, and 'special' and 'confinement' could exist at the same time creating a discontinuity (or difference in characteristic). This idea of discontinuity is particularly useful to the present thesis. By conducting a comparative analysis, one such aim of the thesis is to uncover discontinuities between representations of American and British masculinities, but also looking for such disparities that occur within the same national edition, or even same issue. For example, the January 2012 edition of *GQ* includes a feature on Matt Damon which discusses his past, present and future projects. Towards the end of the issue is a piece on actor Nick Nolte in which the narrative tells of Nolte being out of work and his many issues with drug addiction. An overlapping discontinuity between different representations of American masculinity and celebrity exists in the same issue; Hollywood actors can have clean records and have consistent work, but they can also have addiction issues and struggle to be hired. What this and other discontinuities

mean as a practice in the representation of the aforementioned masculinities is considered in the empirical chapters.

Moreover, Foucault does not view the defining of 'madness' as special or in need of confinement as the declaration of a singular source, like a monarch. Instead, when statements on madness converge in a '*discursive formation*' (Foucault 1969 [2010]: 38, original emphasis) from across institutions and/or sources, they come together to constitute 'madness' in a particular way and at a particular moment. Through his identification of differing conceptions of madness in this text, Foucault demonstrates that there are relations of power through discourses, meaning that how madness is conceived of at one time or another depends upon those statements that are repeated and those which are not. As he explains later:

> there is in all societies […] a kind of gradation among discourses: those which are said in the ordinary course of days and exchanges […] and those which give rise to a certain number of new speech acts which take them up, transform them or speak of them, in short, those discourses which […] are said indefinitely, remain said, and are to be said again (Foucault 1981: 57).

The repetition of some statements does imply that there are many which are not said again and again, and in fact, 'we choose to speak within very narrowly confined limits' (Mills 2003: 57). In Foucault's conceptualisation, there is a limiting of speech to certain statements that contain a certain authority and, in their repetition, cohere with other associated statements to produce the subject or an object of discourse in a particular manner. This also means that his definition of discourse also contains an exclusionary factor, whereby certain statements are not incorporated because they are 'not speaking the truth' (Mills 2003: 58). For the magazines in question, the repetition of images of men in trousers is part of the discursive formation of masculinities in both national editions, and the broader media. Representations of men in skirts are not part of the discursive formation because it lacks an authority to speak on masculinities. Skirts are associated with femininity, therefore, a man in a skirt is understood as effeminate, rather than masculine. More simply, a man in a skirt lacks power. The usage of 'speech acts' above and their repetition is picked up by Judith Butler (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004) in her work on gender, discussed below in Section III.4, in which she argues that the repetition of

particular utterances constitutes the gender binary as an on-going process. Statements such as 'I now pronounce you man and wife' or 'an Oscar-worthy performance' are two such statements that are repeated thereby contributing to the discourse on gender and celebrity, respectively.

Foucault chooses the word 'constituted' (1981: 57) when defining discourse to illustrate that when statements come together they give form to the objects and/or subjects they are speaking, not in the material sense, but in the sense of establishing a way of thinking about an idea or position a person can inhabit. Foucault does not deny the material existence of things in our world, but he charges that things cannot have meaning outside of discourse (Hall 1997 [2013]). Furthermore, discourse, therefore, is not concerned with the intricacies of language per se because 'neither by "words" nor by "things"' (Foucault 1969 [2010]: 55) can discursive formations appear. Foucault's project is distinct from other forms of textual analysis, like semiotics, since it moves beyond seeking meaning within language, 'when one describes the formation of the objects of a discourse, one tries to locate the relations that characterise a discursive practice, one determines neither a lexical organization, nor the scansions of a semantic field' (Foucault 1969 [2010]: 48). Here, Foucault is arguing that a discourse analysis is more than an examination of the arrangement of words and its rhythms. Moreover, '[a] task that consists of not – of no longer – treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1969 [2010]: 49), or as Mills (2003: 55) explains, 'discourse should be seen as a system which structures the way that we perceive reality', therefore, Foucault's project is about how language is enacted.

Foucault's work *Discipline and Punish* (1977 [1995]) reviews the discontinuities in criminal laws and punishments in the West from the early modern to the modern age to explore the move from public torture to hidden prison reformation. In the early modern age, punishment was a public display of a hierarchical model of power imposed on subjects by a monarch. Punishment in the modern age is controlled by the middle-class, whose power is exercised through a decentralised network of institutions – schools, hospitals, prisons, churches and governments – and 'technicians' (1977 [1995]: 11) –

teachers, doctors, police, judges, clergy and bureaucrats. Later, Foucault will succinctly articulate that '[p]ower is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere' (1976 [1998]: 93). Punishment, therefore, moves from being cruelly and externally exercised on the outside of the body to gentle and humane reformation exercised in the interior of the body, meaning the 'soul'; '[t]he expiation that once rained down upon the body, it must be replaced by a punishment that acts in depth on the heart, the thoughts, the will, the inclinations' (1975 [1995]: 16). One of Foucault's main arguments in this work is that whilst the Enlightenment births the 'self' and this personhood is not free or authentic, but rather a subject confined and produced by public discourses of the middle-class marketplace. 'The soul is the effect and instrument of a political anatomy; the soul is the prison of the body' (1977 [1995]: 30). Whilst the 'soul' is not explored in the thesis, the discursive production of American and British masculinities are explored and how power is enacted externally and internally.

The shift from physical punishment to interiorised reformation results in the production of a gathering of information about the subject. In the chapter "Panopticon" of *Discipline and Punish* (1977 [1995]), Foucault discusses Jeremy Bentham's prison model, the Panopticon, which exemplifies the organisation of middle-class power as an internal phenomenon. The design of the Panopticon consists of concentric ring-shaped structures. The outer ring contains individualised prison cells whilst a circular watchtower stands in the centre. Due to exterior lighting, the inmates are always visible to the guards in the tower, but through a mechanism of blinds in the tower the guards are not visible to the inmates. The result is that since the prisoners are always 'visible' they internalise the gaze of the guards since it is 'unverifiable' as to when they are being watched (Foucault 1977 [1995]: 201). As Foucault explains, '[i]n short, it reverses the principle of the dungeon; or rather of its three functions – to enclose, to deprive of light and to hide – [the panopticon] preserves only the first and eliminates the other two. Full lighting and the eye of a guard capture better than darkness, which ultimately protected. Visibility is a trap' (Foucault 1977 [1995]: 200). Feder (2011: 58) argues that '[t]he inspector is by definition the "watcher", and yet he [*sic*], too, is the object of the gaze: his [*sic*] performance as watcher is ever under scrutiny'. Through this chapter, Foucault constructs power as non-

hierarchical and distributed amongst all. The aforementioned '[v]isibility is a trap' is very telling because no one escapes the gaze because it has become an internalised feature. The prisoner is watched, but internalises the gaze on themselves and becomes the watcher. Moreover, Foucault's concept of the panopticon is extended as a metaphor for 'how we participate in practices of self-regulation in response to systems of surveillance' (Struken and Cartwright 2009: 107). Various forms of camera surveillance (CCTV) are a part of contemporary life, which enacts self-monitoring across a population. Arguably, even the mere presence of cameras is enough to have the desired effect. In this model, subjects classify, discipline and reform themselves through an internalised gaze. The editorial content of American and British *GQ* present opportunities to analyse how readers are instructed to discipline themselves and how those interviewed for the magazines' features may divulge their self-disciplinary practices.

III.2 Foucault: Practices of the Self

In the previous section, Foucault's conceptions of discourse and disciplinary power put forth a subject that is constituted by external structures. In Foucault's collection, *The History of Sexuality* (1976 [1998]; 1984 [1990]; 1984 [1992]; 2018[5]), he looks back to the past in order to scrutinize presently held truths, in this case that '[s]exuality was conceived of as a constant' (1984 [1992]: 4). Foucault refers to this method of submitting contemporary truths to historical examination as a '"genealogy"' (1984 [1992]: 5), which is a concept that he shares with Nietzsche. Foucault, therefore, is not interested in writing the chronological history of sexuality:

> but rather to analyze *the practices* by which individuals were led to focus their attention on themselves, to decipher, recognize, and acknowledge themselves as subjects of desire, bringing into play between themselves and themselves a certain relationship that allows them to discover, in desire, the truth of their being, be it natural or fallen (Foucault 1984 [1992]: 5, emphasis added).

Foucault's new attention on practices is meant to historicise contemporary truths and problematise our understanding of these truths as ever-present. In our contemporary

[5] During the writing of this thesis, the publisher of *The History of Sexuality* collection, Gallimard, published a posthumous fourth volume, *Les aveux de la chair* (*The Confessions of the Flesh*), on 8 February 2018. The English translation was published on 16 February 2021 by Pantheon Books.

moment, we accept that there are different sexualities that exist and that these sexualities are regulated in both American and British cultures. Sexuality is a prominent feature of American and British *GQ* magazines and it is a tool used to inform men about who they are, but in the cases of each edition, it is a discourse on heterosexuality which dominates in both editions.

Foucault argues that sexuality developed from the eighteenth century onwards (Foucault 1984 [1992]). Prior to this era, sexuality did not exist as we know it today. It came into being through various discursive practices. It is through this radical focus on discursive practices that enables Foucault to propose a subject that is more active in their realisation than in his previous work. This section will review this later shift in Foucault's work, the concept 'practices of the self' and discuss its relevance for this thesis.

In the first volume of his sexuality collection, *The Will to Knowledge* (1976 [1998]), Foucault posits the following queries for this new project on sexuality:

> The question I would like to pose is not, Why are we repressed? But rather, Why do we say, with so much passion and so much resentment against our most recent past, against our present, and against ourselves, that we are repressed? By what spiral did we come to affirm that sex is negated? What led us to show, ostentatiously, that sex is something we hide, to say it is something we silence? (8-9).

The main argument of the first volume is against the idea that sex is hidden and that we are repressed, but rather proposes that sex surrounds us, discursively. 'What is peculiar to modern societies, in fact, is not that they consigned sex to a shadow existence, but that they dedicated themselves to speaking of it *ad infinitum*, while exploiting it as *the* secret' (Foucault 1976 [1998]: 35, original emphasis). Furthermore, little of this speaking and writing about sex sought to permit sex, but rather was intended to be censorious and prohibitive. Mills (2003: 84) claims that this restrictive sexual culture had the unintended effects of increasing 'the desire to speak about sexuality and increas[ing] the pleasure gained from violating these taboos'. Since the nineteenth century, the treatment of sex caused a proliferation of discourses on sex. Sex was studied anatomically, physiologically and psychologically. Laws were passed concerning sexual activities. Sexual activities were classified. Sexual identities were named, which had not been identified before, like the 'paedophile' or the 'homosexual'. At the beginning, this sexuality project appears

much in line with Foucault's previous works because like 'madness', discipline or discourse, 'sexuality' is an instrument for producing certain truths; 'sexuality constitutes a site less of liberation than of regulation and control' (Dean 2018: 142). In the beginning of the second instalment of this project, *The Use of Pleasure* (1984 [1990]), Foucault makes the following statement which shines a light on a new line of inquiry in his work:

> To speak of 'sexuality' as a historically singular experience also presupposed the availability of tools capable of analyzing the peculiar characteristics and interrelations of the three axes that constitute it: (1) the formation of sciences (*savoirs*) that refer to it, (2) the systems of power that regulate its practice, (3) the forms within which individuals are able, are obliged, *to recognize themselves as subjects* of this sexuality (Foucault 1984 [1990]: 4; added emphasis).

The focus on the discursive production of knowledges through disciplinary regimes are two features (points one and two) present in Foucault's previous works, but the third point is new because he begins to theorise the formation of the sexual subject through the action of 'recognition'; it becomes experienced. In the remainder of second volume and the third, *The Care of the Self* (1984 [1990]), Foucault develops the concept of 'practices of the self' to propose a model of subjectivity where identities are formed through a process of negotiation with structures rather than the imposition of structures.

> I would say that if I am now interested in how the subject constitutes itself in an active fashion through practices of the self, these practices are nevertheless not something invented by the individual himself [*sic*]. They are models that he finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his social group (Foucault 2000: 291).

Men's lifestyle magazines and the media generally devote significant visual and narrative space to the representation of what men (and women) should do in their daily lives, whether it is how to groom themselves, where to go on holiday, what one should be watching at the moment or how to behave on a first date. It is the editorial content such as longform journalism features or interviews with actors, sport stars, politicians, etc., however, where readers are able to read and to see how other men negotiate structures such as gender, sexuality and class. Editorial content can be both instructive and informative in that it reveals the systems of power-knowledge that produce masculinities (and femininities) that readers then may choose to recognise and adopt through their own practices. The following explores the work of Judith Butler (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011];

2004) who expands on Foucault's ideas and builds on them along with work from other scholars.

III.3 Butler: Gender as Performative

In her work, Judith Butler (1990 [2007], 1993 [2011], 1999, 2004) reformulates the linguistic concept of performative utterances of J.L. Austin (1975 [2009]) and Jacques Derrida's (1988) critique of Austin into *performativity*. She argues that gendered identities are repeatedly formed through a Foucauldian conception of discourse, explained above. Butler notes, 'Performative acts are forms of authoritative speech; most performatives, for instance, are statements that, in the uttering, also perform a certain action and exercise a binding power' (1993 [2011]: 171). As discussed below, Butler moves beyond Austin and Derrida's linguistic discussion of performative utterances to the effects performatives have in our society, specifically focusing on sex and gender. For her, commonly repeated statements exert simultaneous assignments of sex and gender, which have wider effects. These statements enforce sex/gender norms and exert a heterosexual imperative; which is to say they reinforce the essential and compulsory categories of 'male' and 'female'. Butler recognises that her conception of performativity 'waffles between understanding performativity as linguistic and casting it as theatrical' (1990 [2007]: xxvi), which can cause confusion surrounding the distinction between performance and performativity. The difference lies in each concept's relationship with the idea of the subject. In Butler's own words, 'performance presumes a subject but performativity contests the very notion of the subject' (Butler 1996: 111-12). Defining the latter through the term 'contests' means that the subject ceases to exist and in its place is a deception of an interior subject because gender is an on-going process 'produce[d] […] *on the surface* of the body' (1990 [2007]: 185; original emphasis). The following unpacks Butler's notion of gender as a process, as well as, other contributions that are utilised in this thesis.

Butler analyses Simone de Beauvoir's assertion that 'one is not born, but rather becomes a woman' (cited in Butler 1990 [2007]: 11). Butler argues that 'male' and 'female' are not essential categories but rather discursive processes of gender becoming. In her essay 'Variations on Sex and Gender' (1987 [2003]), Butler makes two important

claims on which she later expands in subsequent writing: 1) gender is not an 'automatic or mechanical' (Butler 2004: 1) assignment, but rather an unconscious and 'incessant' (Butler 1990 [2007]: 152) process of interpreting cultural norms, and 2) gender has no origin because it is an originating activity that is always taking place (1990 [2007]), i.e. becoming. Butler is drawing on Foucault's theory of subject formation, namely that the individual lacks interiority (Brown 2000), in order to develop her argument that gender is an originating activity. As discussed above, a Foucauldian project is not concerned with how the subject or objects are formed diachronically, but rather how discourse produces the subject or objects at a given moment. In his work, Foucault (1969 [2010]) argues against locating the genesis of a subject/object because discursive formations irrupt 'beyond any apparent beginning, there is always a secret origin – so secret and so fundamental that it can never be quite grasped in itself' (25). Whilst Foucault focuses on the 'ever-receding point [...] that eludes all historical determination' (ibid.: 25), Butler refines this notion of discursive formations lacking origination or an author which first speaks, and instead proposes that in our contemporary moment that gender is repeatedly beginning. Gender is a performative phenomenon that is an incessant practice, therefore, Butler stresses action over being.

In *Gender Trouble* (1990 [2007]), Butler spends significant time unpacking de Beauvoir's assertion to arrive at her claim that gender is not only culturally produced, but constructed through discursive practices.

> Consider the further consequence that if gender is something that one becomes – but can never be – then gender is itself a kind of becoming or activity, and that gender ought not to be conceived as a noun or a substantial thing or a static cultural marker, but rather as an incessant and repeated action of some sort (1990 [2007]: 152).

Butler then translates this idea of gender as an activity and makes a strategic word substitution; 'being' is replaced by 'doing.' By saying that the incessantness of gender is 'doing' rather than 'becoming', Butler constructs a co-dependent relationship in which the individual participates in and responds to structuring cultural norms for their existence. 'If I am someone who cannot *be* without *doing*, then the conditions of my doing are, in part, the conditions of my existence' (Butler 2004: 3, original emphasis). In her work, however, the stress is always placed on the action of 'doing', not on the individual's conscious awareness, '"there is no 'being' behind doing, effecting, becoming; 'the doer' is merely a

fiction added to the deed – the deed is everything"' (Nietzsche 1969 cited in Butler 1990 [2007]: 34).

Where, however, is the 'doing' of gender originating? Butler briefly visits the delivery room, where she explains that 'an infant becomes humanized…when the question, "is it a boy or girl?" is answered' (1990 [2007]: 151). Here, Butler has located the incessant spatial-temporal moment where gender is discursively and powerfully produced by medical authorities. Interestingly, in her text that follows, *Bodies That Matter* (1993 [2011]), Butler revisits this hospital scene (which becomes the site of the sonogram); however, she replaces the above question with the declaration, 'It's a girl!' The medical authority is assigning sex, and at the same time, exerting a heteronormative future onto the baby, meaning that what follows is a life of heterosexual orientation and that other futures are not offered nor considered. What Butler constructs through this scene is that sex is assigned and so is gender, but forcibly, through rather intelligible, unsophisticated and individual acts of language. This scene also reinforces Butler's refinement of de Beauvoir's phrase above; indeed, it is not 'becoming' but a 'being done by' gender. As Butler succinctly says in a Foucauldian moment, 'discourse produces the effects that it names' (1993 [2011]: xii). Butler's view of sex/gender being assigned before an individual is even in the world demonstrates her view that individuals are constrained by this repetitive and socially accepted practice. We are unable to 'negotiate with norms' prior to our birth, but also, 'without norms of recognition' (Butler 2004: 32) one cannot begin to imagine oneself. This construction of the subject relates back to what is said above that there is no interior subject. 'I am outside of myself from the outset, and must be, in order to survive, and in order to enter into the realm of the possible' (Butler 2004: 32).

Throughout Butler's articulation of gender as performative she uses Derrida's idea of iterability from his essay 'Signature Event Context' (1988), in which he argues that a written sign can stand in for the absent author. This sign then can be counterfeited and/or placed in quotations and cited, whether with the intended original meaning or with an alternate and unrelated meaning. Butler draws on this idea of citationality and applies it to performative acts, both juridical and normative, to show that gender is citational in nature. In her discussion of marriage, Butler makes clear that the mere presence of a marriage

officiator and their words alone are not the binding power of the institution of marriage, but rather:

> it is *through* the citation of the law that the figure of the judge's "will" is produced and that the "priority" of textual authority is established [...] in the citational legacy by which a contemporary "act" emerges in the context of a chain of binding conventions (1993 [2011]: 171).

Citationality, therefore, is more than citing that which is prior; it contains the element of authority as well. But, what of the delivery/sonogram scene? If there is no representative of the law present, how is textual authority compelled? In a situation outside of a juridical context, we must refer back to the repetitional and the 'doing' aspects of gender. Gender is not a choice to be donned or doffed by a person, but rather a 'forcible citation of a norm, one whose complex historicity is indissociable from relations of a discipline, regulation, punishment' (Butler 1993 [2011]: 177). Butler is arguing that gender acts alone as a powerful object of discourse from which norms can be forcibly reiterated.

Throughout her work, Butler turns to the marginalised gendered identities of society to explore and illustrate the compelling nature of gender. In one such exploration, Butler uses the gender parody of drag to explain the citational nature of gender. This genre encompasses from those impersonators who desire to pass as the opposite gender to those who wish to parody male and female simultaneously in a drag style known as 'genderfuck'. Butler, herself, appears to focus more on the former drawing in particular on drag performances from the documentary film, *Paris Is Burning* (1990) and the work of Esther Newton (1972), so as to explore a transgression where assigned gender is hidden rather than a tertiary space where 'male' and 'female' are both present. As a result of contemporary media such as *RuPaul's Drag Race* (2009 - Present) and *RuPaul's Drag Race UK* (2019 - 2021) (as well as the Canadian [2020], Dutch [2020 - 2021], Thai [2018-2019], Australian [2021], Spanish [2021] and Italian [2021] spin-offs) conventionally drag is understood as a performance. Butler, however, argues that drag is more than mere performance as it intentionally or unintentionally reinforces the heterosexual imperative through imitation. Through its mimicking of the opposite gender, drag superficially reinforces gender stereotypes and significantly reveals that the mechanism of citation is important for the production of gender (Jagger 2008). Butler argues that by imitating

gender, drag reveals the mimetic or citational structure of gender (Butler 1990 [2007]); by this she refers to her previous argument that gender is an on-going process of interpreting gender norms. Just as drag performers are interpreting and imitating the opposite gender, so too are men and women in their quest to cement their gender identity. Butler, however, contends that the on-going process of parodying gender lacks an original gender to *re*-create. As she states:

> [t]he parody is *of* the very notion of an original […] so gender parody reveals that the original identity after which gender fashions itself is an imitation without an origin. To be more precise it is a production which, in effect – that is, in its effect – postures as an imitation' (1990 [2007]: 188, original emphasis).

Although it appears that drag parodies heterosexual representations, Butler argues here that the idea of an original heterosexual imperative is a fallacy (1990 [2007]). If gender does not have an origin, that is not to say that it is without history, but rather, it is a historical category. 'Terms such as "masculine" and "feminine" are notoriously changeable; there are social histories for each term; their meanings change radically depending upon geopolitical boundaries and cultural constraints on who is imagining whom, and for what purpose' (Butler 2004: 10).

In his examination of the 'macho man', Cole (2000) explains that an effect of the 1960s counterculture movement was for many gay men to question their dress codes as straight men moved away from their own traditional notions of masculinity and fashion. Rather than simply fitting into a quotidian image of heteronormativity, some gay men turned to masculine archetypes, most notably the 'biker', the 'cop', the 'cowboy' and/or the 'lumberjack'. Drag, therefore, is not confined to mimicking the opposite gender; one can drag within one's own gender. The development of masculine stereotypes within gay communities arguably is a form of drag within one's own gender sometimes referred to as 'realness' drag. The term 'realness' is borrowed from the film *Paris Is Burning* (1990) and is employed here to emphasise the desire/need to pass as 'real' and/or to perform, in the case of the 'macho man', the most 'real' version of a masculine archetype, so as to completely hide one's sexual orientation. For gay men, the parodying of masculine archetypes projects an image of an aspirational masculinity (or hypermasculinity), meaning that it simultaneously parodies gay masculinity and heteronormative archetypes

(Cole 2000). Gay men parodying cowboys may look to an image of the most iconic cowboy, the Marlboro Man, and grow a moustache and wear Wrangler jeans, cowboy hat and boots, and a beat-up plaid shirt. They may also wear chaps, an outerwear waistcoat or a denim jacket. Of course, they should not forget to smoke so as to complete the look. Those who want to parody a biker may turn to James Dean in *Rebel Without A Cause* (1955) to style themselves after the character Jim Stark, and so on. As Wissinger (2016: 291) explains '[f]ashion [and grooming are] among the regimes that give bodies intelligibility, that is, make it possible for them to be known. Thus, bodies become part of reality in part through fashion [and grooming], forming identities and subjectivities along the way'. Butler, however, concludes that these parodies imitate the notion of an original of these archetypes of masculinity. The queer 'macho men', whilst contesting the image of homosexuality post-1960s revolution, were presenting a unified representation, which reinforced the heterosexual imperative. '[R]ecurrence does not index sameness'(Butler 2004: 10), the repetition of femininity and masculinity demonstrate the 'performative structure of gender' (ibid.). Gender is never a finished and decided category. It is constantly responding to culture and is being remade.

In his work on representations of non-normative bodies in popular culture Richardson (2010) uses Butler's work to articulate that bodies are unintelligible 'without norms of recognition' (Butler 2004: 32). As Richardson (2010: 10, original emphasis) explains, '[d]rawing upon the philosophy that there is no doer that precedes the deed, Butler argues that the body *cannot* be interpreted outside of culture'. As he continues, 'there cannot be an interpretable body without the cultural regimes which inscribe *but also reify* this body' (ibid., original emphasis). Richardson's reading of Butler is instructive because it points to the centrality of 'the body' in her work, not just objects of discourse such as sex and gender. In his review of research on female bodybuilding, Richardson points to the work of Coles (1999) who argues that 'the resistance of female bodybuilding is not that it represents a masculine woman but that this "constructed" body exposes how gender *itself* is a flexible fiction and thus challenges the concept of an essentially masculine or essentially feminine body' (Richardson 2010: 61, original emphasis). Other scholars, he continues, argue that female bodybuilding reveals 'the masculine ideal of

phallic muscles with a hyper-feminine iconography' (ibid.: 62) through displays of bodily grooming, make-up, hairstyling, posing and comportment that cite traditional notions of heteronormative femininity; see St. Martin and Gavey (1996). The body, or its '*surface*' (Butler 1990 [2007]: 185; original emphasis) as discussed above, is the site where the doing occurs, whether it is gender parody as demonstrated by Cole (2000) or through 'queering' the body in which masculine and feminine ideals are present as discussed by Richardson (2010).

In 2004, Butler revisited her earlier work in *Undoing Gender* in order to update it in light of the 'New Gender Politics' of that time. In her introduction she rephrases her discussion of the improvisational aspect of gender doing and makes a strategic word substitution, 'it is a *practice* of improvisation within a scene of constraint' (Butler 2004: 1, my emphasis). Employing 'practice' in this later text rather than 'action' which was used in her previous texts, signals an awareness of Bourdieu's body of research generally, in particular his concept of habitus, which Butler comments on in *Excitable Speech* (1997) and 'Performativity's Social Magic' (1999). As Butler explains:

> [o]ne does not "do" one's gender alone. One is always "doing" with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary. What I call my "own" gender appears perhaps at times as something that I author or, indeed, own. But the terms that make up one's own gender are, from the start, outside oneself, beyond oneself in a sociality that has no single author (and that radically contests the notion of authorship itself) (2004: 1).

Though implied in her earlier work, the explicit statement of socialisation in her later work demonstrates a movement in her reshaping of her gender theory. Instead of gender being delivered only by a textual authority – doctor or judge – the gender becoming is an on-going process that involves interactions with others, following Bourdieu (1977 [2002]; 1980 [1990]) demonstrates that instruction and acculturation are integral in negotiating gender (see also Richardson and Wearing 2014). Whilst Bourdieu's (1984 [2010]) work on class discusses the role of education in the home and at school, he acknowledges other institutions, such as the media, are involved in teaching class-based dispositions.

The media serves as a rich resource for the instruction of cultural norms such as gender, class and sexuality, to name a few. Glancing or intently reading a magazine such as *GQ* provides readers the opportunity of 'doing' gender in the space of the 'imaginary' as

stated above. Magazines, and other forms of media, sit at the precipice of the real/material world before an individual must go out and negotiate gender in the social world, but the power of the imaginary is the reason that editorial content is repeated in the performative sense.

Furthermore, magazines are integral in the policing of normative gender. Each month American and British *GQ* reiterate, in the performative sense, what men should be 'doing' (Butler 2004: 3), which is explored in the empirical chapters below. For example, in the features on NFL rookie quarterback, Cam Newton (*GQ US* 9/12: 238-244), and the super lightweight boxer, Amir Khan (*GQ UK* 1/12: 227-230), readers are taken behind the scenes of these professional athletes' fitness regimes. Although they are sport stars, as is common in features on such professional athletes, there is a repetition of statements on pushing their bodies to extremes to achieve the high level of performance necessary for their professions. Whilst the average reader may not play professional sports, the repetition of regularly working on one's body, pushing it to the edge or excelling at sport becomes a discursive formation about contemporary masculine bodies. The media, therefore, are integral in repeating on a monthly basis what are valid masculine behaviours and how to present oneself as one of many versions of 'man'. 'Performativity, unlike voluntary performance, is implicated in social and cultural regimes which [...] is dependent upon the validation from witnesses and specific social structures/rules which authenticate [...] performative gesture[s]' (Richardson and Wearing 2014: 51). Such is explored in the following section.

III.4 Butler: Speech Acts

In Butler's work *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (1997), she focuses on the rhetorical and political ramifications of injurious occurrences of speech, which is when language is not only hateful, but acts upon the recipient in a deleterious manner. The focus of this text, therefore, is two-fold: the power of language to produce certain negative effects and the involvement of the state in the regulation of injurious occurrences of language. Whilst this text focuses on speech and speech construed as conduct, Butler discusses judicial examples that interpret visual representations as speech, which is

relevant to the present thesis which considers images as text. In these cases, the legal scholars utilise Austin's (1975 [2009]) work on performative occurrences to argue that representations are performative. That is, 'they do not state a point of view or report on a reality, but constitute a certain kind of conduct' (Butler 1997: 17-8). For example, this means that editorial images cannot state what men are, rather, they reproduce the unrealisability of masculinities. The following will explore Catharine MacKinnon's work on pornography, *Only Words* (1993), in which pornographic representations are treated as speech and conduct. Butler's (1997) critique of MacKinnon is discussed as well for an alternative view of visual representations understood as performatively occurring. During the following discussions, the ways in which representations of American and British masculinities performatively occur in editorial content is considered.

MacKinnon's *Only Words* (1993) understands pornography as injurious speech and conduct; therefore, it acts on women in detrimental ways but also constitutes them as an inferior class. MacKinnon uses both the illocutionary and perlocutionary categories of Austin's performative occurrences to argue her point. An illocutionary act is one in which the saying is the action performed. A perlocutionary act is one that sets into motion a consequence or a series of consequences; therefore, there is a temporal distinction between the saying and the consequence(s) (Butler 1997). The illocutionary act in the example above from MacKinnon is the defining of women as an inferior class, whilst the negative effect(s) is the perlocutionary. A result of MacKinnon's argument of pornography as a kind of hate speech, meaning performatively occurring, is the collapse of the distinction between representation and conduct. As MacKinnon states:

> Pornography does not simply express or interpret experience; it substitutes for it. Beyond bringing a message from reality, it stands in for reality […] To make visual pornography, and to live up to its imperatives, the world, namely women, must do what the pornographers want to 'say.' Pornography brings its conditions of production to the consumer […] Pornography […] establish[es] what women are said to exist as, are seen as, are treated as, constructing the social reality of what a woman is and can be in terms of what can be done to her, and what a man is in terms of doing it (1993 cited in Butler, 1997: 66).

MacKinnon's main point is the personification of the pornographic image that speaks, 'do this', which subordinates women through this powerful visual exchange construed as a perlocutionary act (1993 cited in Butler, 1997: 67). Editorial images in magazines such as

GQ can be understood to function in a related manner to MacKinnon's construction; the functionality is not subordination, but aspiration. Where a pornographic image says, 'do this,' an editorial image says, 'buy this' and/or following Edwards's (1997: 76) argument about men's lifestyle magazines 'aspire to be this' (Edwards 1997: 76). Editorial images, and men's lifestyle magazines in general, indeed, function similarly as they constitute their readers as a materially deficient class (illocutionary) and act on them, not injuriously, but to activate consumptive desire (perlocutionary).

Opposing MacKinnon, Butler comes to a similar conclusion regarding pornography to argue that it is not a substitution for reality that subordinates women as an inferior class. Rather, 'pornography neither represents nor constitutes what women are, but offers an allegory of masculine wilfulness and feminine submission [...] one which repeatedly and anxiously rehearses its own *un*realizability' (1997: 69, original emphasis). Butler argues that pornography does not constitute a reality, but that it functions within a phantasmatical imaginary, which is why pornography is so powerful. The inability of the pornographic visual to produce a reality is the draw to repeat the image, and to refer back to gender performativity, to produce the on-going citation of pornographic representations.

As Butler closes her argument against MacKinnon's literal reading of pornography she argues that it is not productive to personify pornography as a speaking subject. 'It only makes sense to figure the pornographic test as the injurious act of a speaker if we seek to locate accountability at the prosecutable site of the subject' (Butler 1997: 69). Whilst this thesis agrees with Butler that the pornographic images are allegorical (and the editorial images are too, meaning that they can be interpreted to reveal hidden meaning), this thesis disagrees with her that pornographic images are not speaking. Though pornography and editorial content in men's lifestyle magazines may not speak as personified subjects as MacKinnon constructs the former, they are sites in which people are invited to adopt represented subject-positions and/or practices as options for *re*-producing femininities and masculinities, however realistic or unattainable they may be. In her discussion of '*la Parisienne'*, Rocamora (2009) explains that this particular subject-position found across different fashion media sites 'can be appropriated through the purchase of various commodities' (121). Similarly, researchers who investigate

representations of masculinities (see Edwards 1997; Mort 1996; Nixon 1996, 1997 [2013], 2001) or national identities (see Arnold 2009a; Goodrum 2005) argue that magazines are tools to explore masculinities and/or national identities. This research considers editorial content reviewed as allegories of masculinities and national identities on offer for readers to appropriate, and these representations of masculinities and national identities are *re*-iterations of cultural norms, which rehearse the illusion of gender and the nation within the editorial content.

III.5 Bourdieu: Field, Capital and Consecration

As mentioned above in Section I.3, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 832) say that hegemonic masculinity is understood as 'the currently most honoured way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it'. Whilst the main research questions are interested in similarities/differences and co-construction, an additional query arose during the content analysis and continued exploration of literature and theory; how are masculinities positioned in relation to the idea of hegemonic masculinity and one another? The theoretical concepts discussed above focus on discourses and their production, but in order to assess the relationality of various iterations of masculinities, the thesis incorporates 'field' which is one of Bourdieu's (1980 [1990], 1993; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) key concepts. As he and Wacquant (1992: 97) explain, field is:

> a network, or configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation [...] in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.).

More simply, a field is a 'social microcosm' (Rocamora 2016: 234) in which agents that occupy the given field mobilise various forms of capital to conserve or transform a field at a particular moment in time. Bourdieu (1993 [2015]) uses the concept of field to analyse the cultural production of the arts and literature. In this work, he is critical of the way that artists and writers are identified and glorified for the works that they create and instead he

points to a collective effort to identify work as 'art' or 'literature'. As he says, '[t]he work of art is an object which exists as such only by virtue of the (collective) belief which knows and acknowledges it as a work of art' (Bourdieu 1993: 35). The acknowledgement of 'collective belief' is important because it places the celebration of the work or the 'glorification of "great individuals"' (ibid.: 29) outside of the hands/voice of artists and instead argues for the cultural production of the work/artist in 'their social conditions of production' (ibid.: 33). His conception of cultural production resonates with Barthes (1977) who argues that the author is not the producer of a work's meaning, but rather meaning lies with the audience who interprets the work. The difference between Barthes's and Bourdieu's (along with Delsaut's) works, however, is that the former focuses entirely on the linguistic system, which is to say its internal structure of words and how they relate to one another to produce the symbolic 'veil', whilst the latter accounts for the 'field' which is 'external to the discourse itself' (Rocamora 2016: 239).

Since the value of a work is not determined by the artist, the value of a work is created through 'the objective relations which constitute the field' (1993: 30). Again, Bourdieu is arguing that the value of a work is not inherently contained in the work, but in the position that it occupies in the field of cultural production, i.e. the 'network [...] of objective relations between positions' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 92). Moreover, it is an agent or work's relation to other agents/works in the field that determine their/its value at a given moment in time. As he further explains, 'understanding works of art as a *manifestation* of the field as a whole, in which all the powers of the field and all the determinisms inherent in its structure and functioning, are concentrated' (1993: 37, original emphasis). This point is illuminating since it reiterates that works of art do not exist in a vacuum but are tied to their social conditions. Furthermore, the work is not the point of interest, rather the 'objective relations' are what is of interest since these determine the works' positions in the field resulting in realisation of the field.

Following Bourdieu (1993), Chapter VI argues that male celebrities are symbolically produced, which is the discursive or immaterial side of their production. As he elaborates in his work on the cultural production of art and literature:

> the sociology of art and literature has to take as its object not only the material production but also the symbolic production of the work, i.e. the production of the value of the work or, which amounts to the same thing, of belief in the value of the work. It therefore has to consider as contributing to production not only the direct producers of the work in its materiality (artist, writer, etc.) but also the producers of the meaning and value of the work – critics, publishers, gallery directors and the whole set of agents whose combined efforts produce consumers capable of knowing and recognizing the work of art as such (1993: 37).

Celebrities are not inanimate works like paintings, sculptures or novels, but they are the creation of an individual and a well-orchestrated team (Douglas and McDonnell 2019; Turner 2004 [2014]). Various producers invested in the success of a celebrity – critics, the media, directors, producers, acting coaches, trainers, agents (both managing and PR), etc. – will expend significant economic resources (for material results) and discursive effort constructing a façade so that the person is recognised as a celebrity, as well as a particular kind of celebrity (McDonald 2013; Turner 2014; Williamson 2016) such as 'the bad boy', 'the legend', 'the rookie', 'the leading man', etc. Moreover, the purpose of all of this labour by celebrities and their teams is integral in positioning them as established, a rising star, a newcomer, or someone in need of a rebranding. Through their products (magazines, webpages, social media platforms) and through representations such as interviews, critical analyses, satirical pieces, photospreads or the bestowing of honours (purely textual and real with trophies) both magazines in question contribute to the consecration of celebrities – and by extension masculinities – in the American and British fields of popular culture.

Positions within a field are 'the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the distribution of the capital of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits' (Bourdieu 1993: 30). Positions, therefore, are not given to each individual, rather 'agents' who possess the same or similar profile of capital will *all* be identified by a singular position in the field. Bourdieu's conception of field, therefore, is not interested in the minutiae of positioning every individual agent or institution, such as where Matt Damon and Daniel Craig sit in the field of popular culture, rather a field analysis is about the relations between established agents, like Damon and Craig, and the newcomers to the field, such as Dane DeHaan and Douglas Booth, and how the positions between the established players and newcomers

came to be at a given moment. This latter point of a given moment is important since mapping a field produces a historicised 'snapshot' rather than how a field is across all time. The object of inquiry when adopting field as a methodological tool, therefore, is to evaluate the temporally specific relations between the positions in the field and to identify what forms of capital were employed that caused these positions in question to be placed in relation to one another. Since this thesis is a textual analysis, the object of inquiry, therefore, is the evaluation of representations of positions (meaning groups of celebrities) by American and British *GQ* magazines in 2012 and how the discursive techniques define these positions in the field of popular culture.

Bourdieu's theory functions on the binary of the established agents versus the newcomers to the field of cultural production, leaving little discussion to agents occupying middle positions or even positions of decreased or dispossessed capital. As he explains of the struggle between these two positions:

> It is the continuous creation of the battle between those who have made their names [...] and are struggling to stay in view and those who cannot make their own names without relegating to the past the established figures, whose interest lies in freezing the movement of time, fixing the present state of the field for ever [*sic*]. On one side are the dominant figures, who want continuity, identity, reproduction; on the other, the newcomers, who seek discontinuity, rupture, difference, revolution. To "make one's name" [...] means making one's *mark*, achieving recognition (in both sense) of one's *difference* from other producers, especially the most consecrated of them; at the same time, it means *creating a new position* beyond the positions presently occupied, *ahead* of them, in the *avant-garde* (Bourdieu 1993: 106).

As has been indicated above, this thesis proposes that the field of popular culture as represented in American and British *GQ* magazines are more complex microcosms of relations. Whilst the 'struggle' between the new camp attempting to overthrow the established camp is present, the magazines present positions where the aforementioned mid-tier and deficit positions complicate the field. Such is explored and proposed in the empirical chapter through representations of celebrities along with other proposed positions to build upon the theory of field.

Capital is a crucial concept across many of Bourdieu's works (1977 [2002]; 1980 [1990]; 1984 [2010]; 1986; 1993 [2015]) because of his interest in how forms of power are embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Bourdieu (1984 [2010]: 108) defines capital as

a ‘set of actually usable resources and power’ and ‘accumulated labor [...] which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor’ (Bourdieu 1986: 241). Capital, therefore, is not confined to the world of commerce as it is traditionally thought. Bourdieu broadens the definition of capital to argue that resources and labour in various forms that when accumulated can be leveraged to agents’ advantages in a particular field. Bourdieu defines two main types of capital – economic and cultural – in his work, *Distinction* (1984 [2010]). Economic capital is an agent’s ability to convert accumulated assets into money, but can also come in ‘the form of property rights’ (Bourdieu 1986: 242). Making money and being ‘masculine’ are associated in both American and British cultures, especially in the role of male breadwinner (Connell 1995 [2005]; Edley 2017). Ferris (2007: 373) argues that ‘celebrities are not necessarily recognized because they are wealthy, but rather vice versa’. Celebrities’ high pay for contracts is rarely discussed in celebrity features in both editions of the magazines in 2012, but their elevated economic capital is implied in other ways such as the discussion of a creative project and the type of project it is (e.g. mainstream versus niche), record label, managing agency, the draft pick number for an athlete, years of professional service and even the location of their home(s), vacation destinations, number and types of cars they own, etc.

Cultural capital is non-monetary goods and services, which can take three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalised (Bourdieu 1986). Cultural capital is embodied through education and family rearing; such as ways of speaking and behaviour, which Bourdieu argues are taught and learned before becoming second nature. Speech and comportment are considered more below with habitus and bodily capital since in the case of celebrities embodied cultural capital is not necessarily fully pre-reflective. Cultural capital is objectified when it is displayed through objects such as works of art, books, fashion, technology, etc. that are either purchased with one’s economic capital or passed down through familial or other social relationships. Bourdieu (1984 [2010]: 229, emphasis added) explains that taste in cultural objects ‘is assisted by institutions–shops, theatres [...], critics, newspapers, *magazines*–which are themselves defined by their position in a

field and which are chosen on the same principles'. American and British *GQ*, therefore, are instrumental in defining middle-class taste for their readers, much of which is accomplished through representations of fashion, music and sport features on celebrities, which is addressed in the empirical chapters below. Cultural capital is institutionalised through the acquisition of educational credentials, such as GCSE, A-levels, high school diplomas, university degrees and postgraduate degrees, but can also be certifications or other training schemes that may be relevant to a particular field. Celebrities may acquire institutional distinctions such as a BAFTA or an Oscar, BRIT award or Grammy, Player of the Year (Premier League) or Most Valuable Player (MLB, NBA and NFL), or an Olivier or Tony award, which are credentials that increase their cultural capital and status in their respective subfields and the field of popular culture.

Two other forms of capital defined by Bourdieu are relevant to the present thesis: social and symbolic. Social capital is the 'effective possession of a network of kinship (or other) relations capable of being mobilized or at least manifested' (Bourdieu 1980 [1990]: 35). Whilst social capital can be simply understood as how agents utilise the people in their social network, Rocamora (2016: 240) explains social capital as 'the strength of their contacts and their network'. 'Strength' is important in Rocamora's discussion of social capital because it relates to the idea of 'effective possession' (Bourdieu 1980 [1990]: 35). Strength highlights that having any connection is not enough; it has to be the *right* connection. For example, musicians may use a manager to secure gigs at music venues for a tour and gain access to cultural intermediaries to create or enhance their image, but only the *right* manager can help to secure access to the *desirable* venues and the *recognised* cultural intermediaries that can produce or enhance a musician's or band's status in a particular subfield of music (indie, hip hop, country, etc.) or the broader field of popular culture. Furthermore, Swartz (1997: 74) refers to social capital as 'kinship relations and networks of alliances'. 'Alliances' in Swartz's discussion is germane to the present thesis since it connotes mutual benefit. Using the aforementioned example, whilst the musician/band is gaining access to the right venues and cultural intermediaries, the success of the musician/band returns a 'credit' (Bourdieu 1993: 75) to the manager for helping to produce yet another musical sensation.

Symbolic capital is the most ambiguous form of capital defined by Bourdieu since his definitions vary slightly. Bourdieu attaches symbolic capital to 'economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized' (1989: 21) whilst later he argues that symbolic capital is 'economic or political capital that is disavowed, misrecognized and thereby recognized, hence legitimate, a "credit" which, under certain conditions, and always in the long run guarantees "economic" profits' (1993: 75). Bourdieu (1991: 238, emphasis added) also expands to say that:

> Symbolic capital–another name for distinction–is nothing other than capital, *of whatever kind*, when it is perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the incorporation of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident.

These definitions, although slight variations on a theme, seem to be connected by the ideas of recognition, legitimation or distinction, which in and of themselves are related but not necessarily the same. Rocamora (2016: 240) explains Bourdieu's rather opaque definitions more simply as 'status' one possesses. Entwistle and Rocamora (2002: 741) give the example of how the possession of 'high symbolic capital' at London Fashion Week (LFW) can help to secure tickets to important fashion shows such as 'Julian [*sic*] McDonald's, where tickets are scarce and dependent upon being a known and influential player'. In their study, symbolic capital is being discussed alongside social capital, which was used to help secure the researchers' entrance to the LFW venue, which demonstrates that this form of capital identifies the competency with which other capitals are employed to the benefit of agents. As Swartz (1997: 92) explains, symbolic capital is 'the successful use of other capitals. It suggests a state of legitimation of other forms of capital, as if other capitals obtain a special symbolic effect when they gain a symbolic recognition that masks their material and interested basis.' As will be shown in the empirical chapter, symbolic capital often is shadow capital lurking in the discussions of other forms of capital. Sport stars move from a lower rank team to one of higher rank which increases their status in their field of sport. Musicians distinguish themselves not just through record sales, but through the stage and time they play at a music festival. A fashion designer that moves from a ready-to-wear label to a couture house has raised their status particularly if it is a long-established house such as Chanel, Dior or Vuitton.

This thesis, therefore, understands symbolic capital as status, either on its own, or layered on other forms of capital to legitimate them.

Forms of capital do multiply in Bourdieu's work (academic, educational, information, political, religious) and outside of his work; see for example Thorton's (1995) discussion of 'subcultural capital' or Entwistle and Rocamora's (2002) discussion of 'fashion capital'. Following Entwistle and Rocamora, and Thorton, the four forms of capital discussed above – economic, cultural, social, and symbolic – are used in the empirical chapter under the umbrella term 'celebrity capital' to position agents, meaning male celebrities, the field of popular culture as they are represented by American and British *GQ* magazines in 2012. Two other forms of capital – visibility and bodily – are considered to fine-tune the idea of a 'celebrity capital'.

A few scholars present the idea of 'celebrity capital' (Collins 2007; Cronin and Shaw 2002; Driessens 2013; Hunter et al 2009) in their work, whilst the concept is mentioned but not fully realised in other projects (Kerrigan et al 2011; McCurdy 2010; Negra 2010; Tyler and Bennett 2010; Weaver 2011). Hunter et al (2009: 140) focus on how a set of characteristics – 'public awareness, their favorability, their personality, reputation, and the public's knowledge of past behaviors' – cohere to produce celebrity capital. Whilst this definition of celebrity capital is useful, it seems to stray from Bourdieu's work since the characteristics outlined by Hunter et al are not understood or defined through economic, cultural, social or symbolic capital. Entwistle and Rocamora's (2006) work on fashion capital takes such an approach. Rather than outlining new 'skills, knowledge[s] and connections' (Entwistle and Rocamora 2006: 746), fashion capital is a '"specific capital"' (Bourdieu 1995:73 cited in Entwistle and Rocamora 2006: 740) that is composed of Bourdieu's four main forms of capital: economic, cultural, social and symbolic, see also Thornton (1995) for a similar discussion of subcultural capital. For example, in the field of fashion, social capital, as mentioned above, allows the researchers access into the exclusive tents of London Fashion Week, but could also be used to gain access to private sales or in-store events, or even the ability to borrow clothes for a public event. Cultural capital is 'one's knowledge about [...] the history of fashion, but also about up-and-coming designers and trends' (Entwistle and Rocamora 2006: 746), which could

also be an understanding of garment construction, care or styling. Naming a new capital, such as celebrity capital, therefore, should honour the core of Bourdieu's theory of capital by demonstrating how economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals are exploited in the field of popular culture to the benefit of various agents. These four forms of capital, however, are not enough to explain the relations between various positions since 'celebrity' is a particular form of cultural existence.

Cronin and Shaw (2002) relate celebrity to the ever-present notion in celebrity studies of 'well-knownness' (Boorstin 1971, Marshall 2016) or the accumulation of representations in the media, which is discussed more in Chapter VI. Driessens (2013: 553, emphasis added) expands on this idea and layers in the idea of repetition, 'celebrity capital is defined as accumulated media visibility through *recurrent* media representations'. In order for a celebrity to maintain their status as a celebrity, their presence in the media 'needs renewal and repetition' (Driessens 2013: 552). The use of 'recurrent' and 'renewal and repetition' relates to Butler's theory of performativity. For Butler (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004), the repetition of discursive statements and practices produce the gender binary. Driessens is arguing something similar. Celebrities are produced through the repetition of their images in the media, which like gender, is constantly being renewed since there is not an origin to 'celebrity', rather it is an originating activity. 'Celebrity' is also produced exteriorly to the actor, musician, sport star, etc. through the surface experience of the media, hence why it has to be repeated. Without the repetition, accumulation and validation of such statements in the media, such a claim to 'celebrity' is false. Chapter VI continues to explore this idea of performative celebrity through the analysis of the statements that produce 'celebrity' and consecrate individuals as such.

Driessens (2013: 550) briefly mentions French sociologist Nathalie Heinich (2012) who rather than using or defining a celebrity capital, introduces the term "'capital de visibilité" (visibility capital)'. Although unable to find an English translation of Heinich's work, what was gleaned from Driessens is that Heinich views visibility as its own form of capital instrumental in the production of fame. Brighenti (2007) draws the connection between visibility and recognition where the latter is produced through the social practice

of the former. 'Visibility breeds identification and makes it possible' (Brighenti 2007: 333), which has resonances with Foucault's concept of the panopticon (1977 [1995]) discussed above in Section III.1. For the production of 'celebrity', however, the concern is not self-monitoring and self-regulation, but how '[m]ass-media are high-visibility places endowed with the quality of conferring visibility to people' (Brighenti 2007: 332). Though not Brighenti's objective, the word 'conferring' is important to the idea of visibility being a form of capital since it identifies visibility as something that is acquired in order for accumulation and possession of it to occur. In conceptualising celebrity capital, separating visibility from social or symbolic capital made sense since the repetition and accumulation of media representations is specific to the production of 'celebrity' as discussed above. Adopting Heinich's term, visibility capital, is explored below with Bourdieu's four types of capital since a core concern of the thesis is how established celebrities are distinguished from newcomers to the field of popular culture through representation.

Cronin and Shaw (2002) and Collins (2007) relate the accumulation of visibility to symbolic capital since they view it as a particular form of status. Whilst Driessens (2013: 550) agrees that 'celebrity capital finds its material basis in recurrent media representations or accumulated media visibility', it, however, 'cannot be reduced to symbolic capital' since accumulation and repetition do not necessarily equal status, but there may be instances where it does. This thesis agrees with Driessens's point on disentangling celebrity capital from symbolic capital and how accumulated media representations is an important component of this concept. Something that was lacking in the discussions of celebrity capital are how celebrities and their supporting team of cultural intermediaries acquire and mobilise economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital to maintain their position in the field of popular culture, which is how this thesis begins to define celebrity capital. Another area of capital or conceptual consideration that was missing in these discussions is the mention of celebrities' bodies, which is often an important component of capturing the public's attention.

When working with Bourdieu's scholarship and considering the body, most will turn to his concept *habitus* (1977 [2002], 1984 [2010], 1990). One of the main concerns of Bourdieu's body of work is action, its regulation and how it comes to fruition amongst a

group and at the level of the individual. In his analysis of the French class system, Bourdieu (1984 [2010]) places emphasis on the family and schooling as sites where class-based taste is inculcated and its understanding demonstrated. As he explains:

> The family and the school function as sites in which the competences deemed necessary at a given time are constituted by the usage itself, and, simultaneously, as sites in which the *price* of those competences is determined, i.e., as markets which, by their positive or negative sanctions, evaluate performance, reinforcing what is acceptable, discouraging what is not, condemning valueless dispositions to extinction (Bourdieu 1984 [2010]: 78).

It is within these public (school) and private (home) spaces that a market exists where these bodily 'competences' – behaviours, mannerisms, tone of voice, language demonstrations – are evaluated. These competences, also referred to as 'dispositions, cohere as an acceptable collection of bodily awareness, or what he termed as *habitus*. Bourdieu's (1977 [2002]; 1984 [2010]; 1990) concept of *habitus* 'calls us to think of action as engendered and regulated by fundamental dispositions that are internalized primarily through early socialization' (Swartz 1997: 104). Habitus is defined as:

> systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor (Bourdieu 1977 [2002]: 72, original emphasis).

The use of 'disposition' in his concept is key because it refers to the way in which everyday actions and attitudes are the result of the internalisation of 'external structures' (Swartz 1997: 103). Bourdieu is arguing that actions and attitudes become repetitive and thoughtless because they are so ingrained, they become *embodied*.

Habitus, as a conceptual tool, may be problematical for the evaluation of representations of celebrities because for many of them, the bodily competences that are on display in the field of popular culture may not be from the celebrities' private selves, but their public personae (Williamson 2016). When musician Nick Waterhouse is photographed for American *GQ* or Dane DeHaan is being interviewed for *British GQ* (discussed below in Section VI.5) their dispositions could be learned behaviours or ways of speaking passed down from agents or image managers, or from publicists on set at a

photoshoot or present for an interview. 'The celebrity consists of a body, certain skills, and a psychology, and these are the basis for the celebrity's image, which is co-produced by the celebrity industry that further consummates the looks and appearance' (Driessens 2013: 547; see also Gamson 1992). There is inauthenticity and potential ephemerality in celebrity behaviour, which is counter to how habitus is conceived. As Bourdieu (ibid.) states above 'without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor' which means that habitus is pre-reflective rather than comportment or speech that requires consideration for an audience.

Developed by Wacquant (1995; 2004) in his study of boxers who train on the south side of Chicago, 'bodily capital' is a useful concept because it is about how one understands and manages their body for performance purposes since 'the body of the boxer is the focus of unremitting attention' (Wacquant 1995: 68); the same could be said of celebrities' bodies and the incessant attention they and the media devote to them. As he goes on to explain, '[t]he fighter's body is simultaneously his means of production, the raw materials he and his handlers (trainer and manager) have to work with and on, and, for a good part' (ibid.). As discussed in Chapters I and V, Wacquant (2004: 128) explains the bodily capital of the boxers in the following way:

> From the manner of wrapping their hands (and the type of protective bandages used) to the way they breathe during a workout, [...] to the use of creams, unguents, and elixirs [...] to special exercises and culinary regimes the Woodlawn boxers resort to a wide gamut of devices designed to husband and replenish their reserves of energy and protect their strategic organs.

Celebrities, whether actors, musicians or sport stars, all manage the resources of their bodies, often with the support of coaches, doctors, nutritionists and trainers, in different ways so that they can make the most of their bodies when on set, on stage, in studio or on the field. Moreover, actors present an interesting case especially when changing roles, e.g. from a rom-com to an action blockbuster. In the empirical chapters below, habitus and bodily capital are considered because the representations may present different discussions. Discussions of childhood rearing would relate more to habitus, whilst training for a role or match may fall into a discussion of bodily capital. What may be important is

teasing out how past or present instruction impact representations of masculinities in both editions of *GQ*.

When this thesis speaks of celebrity capital it is referring to the ways in which economic, cultural, social, symbolic, visibility and bodily capitals are accumulated and cohere for the mobilisation of agents who have been consecrated as 'celebrities'. Celebrity capital, therefore, is not reducible simply to the accumulation and repetition of media content since it includes celebrities expending their monetary assets to advocate for their position in the field (e.g. agents, publicists, stylists), as well as, for the creation of their work or image (e.g. trainers, time in music studios, purchasing of new equipment). Cultural capital is acquired through credentials such as affiliation with an acting studio or team, acquisition of degrees, receipt of awards for completed work. Social capital allows the celebrities to draw on their network to gain access to the best projects, teams and cultural intermediaries. Visibility capital is a form of power that maintains or can improve a celebrity's position in the field of popular culture through the repetition of their image, work and thoughts. Bodily capital is the management of their bodily resources for the expenditure of their celebrity labour for present and future work whilst symbolic capital is the legitimation of all of the aforementioned forms of capital. How the combination of these forms of capital is represented in celebrity features of both editions of *GQ* is discussed in the empirical chapters alongside the issue of habitus in the evaluation of masculinities, national identities, and 'celebrity'.

Consecration is the final component in this discussion of Bourdieu's field theory which grounds cultural production in social relations rather than originating from the individual, which is a key point in his work. An individual cannot walk into a field and stake a claim as a legitimate 'artist', 'director', 'writer', etc. Only when they have been consecrated by agents in the field endowed with such power is their work and their identity as such bestowed upon them and recognised. As Bourdieu (1993: 42) argues in his discussion of the literary subfield:

> the fundamental stake in literary struggles is the monopoly of literary legitimacy, i.e., *inter alia*, the monopoly of the power to say with authority who are authorized to call themselves writers; or, to put it another way, it is the monopoly of the power to consecrate producers or products (we are dealing with a world of belief and the consecrated writer is the one who

> has the power to consecrate and to win assent when he or she consecrates an author or a work – with a preface, a favorable review, a prize, etc.).

The act of consecration, therefore, applies to the producer and their work. As outlined above and argued below in Chapter VI, celebrities possess multiple forms of capital which they mobilise to maintain or better their position in the field of popular culture, but expenditure of capital does not solely translate to stasis of or ascent to a position in the field. Critics, such as the contributing writers, photographers, stylists and fashion designers consecrate celebrities under the sign of '*GQ*' with their writing, produced images and the 'looks' that are specifically put together and styled on the celebrity to consecrate their entrance into the field, signal their rising star or continue to represent them as an established player. As Bourdieu says in the above, 'we are dealing with a world of belief' (ibid.) and acts of consecration are necessary to establish where and to whom an audience's belief should be directed.

Both editions of *GQ*, however, are not the sole consecrators in question for this study. For actors, musicians and professional athletes seeking to break into their professional arenas, passing an audition and making it onto a major film, television series or professional sport team, or opening at a major music festival are acts of consecration to which gate-keepers of the various subfields have 'hired' them allowing them access or to grow their presence the field of popular culture. Throughout Chapter VI the voices of various celebrities' professional connections also act to consecrate celebrities and their work being featured, though not with a formal review but through comments on what makes their performance exceptional, what gives them a competitive edge or how they have distinguished themselves from others. Such comments are especially important when such figures sharing their thoughts are award-winning or esteemed members of the field of popular culture themselves.

CHAPTER IV: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

Chapter II reviewed how content analysis was used to begin to make sense of the editorial content of American and British *GQ* magazines. Whilst this method produced results, the data did not draw substantive conclusions about the similarities and differences in the production of masculinities or make sense of why fashion/style, culture, grooming and interview features make up the majority of the editorial content in both magazines. Moreover, what do these forms of editorial content tell us about the similarities and differences in the production of masculinities in both editions? Discourse analysis and tools from semiology and compositional interpretation were selected to 'enter' the texts for further analysis.

Before discussing these methods and tools, the chapter will open with a discussion of comparative analysis. In Chapter II, moments of comparison were present since the results of the content analysis for both editions of *GQ* were compared with one another. Comparison of text and images, however, is not well articulated by those who used it which eluded me throughout this research. The following discussion draws out some ideas for formalising comparison. From these ideas, the discussion turns to other methods and tools and how they were developed for this research.

IV.1 Comparative Analysis

Since the objective of this research project is to compare two media products, the literature review sought texts that compared one or more magazines or other forms of media against one another in an effort to learn the 'mechanics' of comparison. Although cultural studies, media studies and sociological works that were reviewed use comparison, too often those mechanics or the actual 'doing' of comparison were not explained. I explored methodology texts designed more for social science research or case study approaches (Kane and Kathwati 2020; Stake 2006 and 1995; Yin 2018), but such approaches would add another layer of complexity unnecessarily. I turned back to the literature to 'tease out' ideas for how to execute comparison. The following reviews selected research that employs comparison in an effort to sketch out processes for

conducting comparative analyses, relevant points of inquiry used in comparing different national editions of magazines with one another and identifies how this tool was employed in the subsequent empirical chapters.

Machin and Thornborrow (2003) analyse similarities and variations in editorial content from forty-four editions of *Cosmopolitan* magazine through a multimodal discourse analysis. They argue that, through the articulation of various social practices identified in *Cosmopolitan*, like work, sexuality, health and fashion, the *Cosmo* brand's core values of independence, power and fun are established across the brand (2003: 458). In their discussion of the editorial writing, Machin and Thornborrow (2003) note that:

> It is…the choice of the local editor to run an article and have it translated. […] One article might be found in say five of the versions in one month and then the same article in another five the month afterwards. Local editors will then have a modest budget to commission pieces with a local feel in order to create a greater sense of intimacy and cultural relevance. […] We found that the translations reproduced the writing styles of *Cosmopolitan* present in the original English version, in the host language (458).

Though not explicitly stated, Machin and Thornborrow may not have set out to search for articles that were repeated across the forty-four editions, but it became a feature for their project. This research alerted me to the sharing of content between different national editions of a magazine. After conducting the content analysis, the editorial features that were reviewed were scrutinized to look for shared interviews, stories, opinion editorials and images that migrated from one edition to the other. This would present opportunities to compare where such shared content appeared in each magazine, meaning was it positioned early in the magazine where readers might see it or was it relegated to the back? In its second appearance was anything changed about the feature, if so what and how? The main question to consider, of course, would be why is this content being *re*-shared in the first place would need to be considered as well. Such questions along with others that arise when this kind of content presents itself would be considered for shared content.

Monden's (2012) analysis of Asian and non-Asian models in Japanese men's fashion magazines provides an interesting insight into research that examined text and images together. Through content and textual analyses, Monden reveals how young

men's subjectivity and aesthetics in these magazines are conceived of in contrast to previous generations and to Western notions of masculinity. Whilst not a cross-national study, Monden argues that the co-presence of Asian and non-Asian models 'does not manifest a simple, cultural imperialism in which one cultural aspect infiltrates the other. Rather they unearth the different modes of male aesthetic sensitivities present in Japan' (Monden 2012: 312). Monden's study presents an interesting idea that cultural comparisons can take place even within national editions of magazines. This thesis explores this idea, which is of particular relevance when representations of American masculinities appear in British *GQ* and vice versa. Such occurrences reproduce cultural notions of masculinities and the nation which, as Monden argues, may have less to do with cultural imperialism and more to do with illustrating and/or reinforcing particular cultural aesthetics.

Moeran (2002) examines the cross-cultural differences in fashion writing between American and Japanese editions of *Elle.* American fashion writing, he argues, focuses on obtaining particular fashion items or a 'look' to display a desirable high social standing (2002: 8-9). By contrast, Japanese fashion writing is 'much closer to the language of fashion designers themselves' (2002: 9). The *Elle* fashion writing in these two national editions, therefore, is produced differently. In American *Elle* notions of fashion are constructed through a discourse of materialism. Japanese *Elle*, by contrast, constructs fashion through a discourse on design, meaning in order to understand the fashion writing of Japanese *Elle* one must possess the cultural capital to know how fashion designers discuss items of fashion, style and the wider field of Japanese fashion.

Similarly, Rocamora's (2001) comparative analysis of the symbolic production of fashion in the French newspaper, *Le Monde*, and the British broadsheet, *The Guardian*. Bourdieu's (1993 [2015]) concept of field is employed in the study to demonstrate how fashion is produced through beliefs in 'fashion as popular culture in *The Guardian* and [...] in fashion as high culture in *Le Monde*' (Rocamora 2001: 124). After the introduction, Rocamora opens the analysis with a discussion of how designers are constructed as 'artists' in *Le Monde* or 'stars' in *The Guardian*. In one example, she uses the reporting on John Galliano's first (and only) couture collection from 21 January 1996 at Givenchy to

illustrate how these two press outlets characterise the designer differently. In *The Guardian*, '[d]esigners are "big names," fashion stars like Galliano, whose collection led to "a standing ovation and [...] scenes in which the designer was mobbed"' (22 Jan *The Guardian* cited in Rocamora 2001: 124). This is followed by '[t]he newspaper talks about "the poetry of John Galliano" and of "his dress out of a painting by Winterhalter"' (23 Jan *Le Monde* cited in Rocamora 2001: 124). Later in this section, the French newspaper will elevate the designer onto 'a theater stage with the designer as director, the author of fashion representation' whilst in the British publication 'the catwalk is the pitch whereon fashion designers as players compete for the top position as in a sporting event' (Rocamora 2001: 126). For Rocamora, comparison is conducted through a volley of statements selected from her chosen newspapers to expand her argument and develop these fields of fashion in each newspaper, rather than discussing one newspaper at a time. 'Volley' here is being used in two senses of the word. The first meaning, which is to hit a ball before it touches the ground, as in tennis. Rocamora frequently moves back and forth between the newspapers to make comparisons. The second, meaning to utter in rapid succession. Statements and phrases drawn from the papers sometimes appear in quick succession at times, which may be subsequently analysed or dealt with later. There is a tension in conducting the writing this way, which almost sounds as if the newspapers are talking with one another. The writing becomes methodological in a sense.

Additionally, Rocamora uses the absence of celebrity culture in the reporting on fashion in *Le Monde* to further her argument of the cultural distinction of fashion between the newspapers. This point is brought up to demonstrate that comparison does not always have to be one to one, but can utilise unrelated material to further the argument. *The Guardian* punctuates its fashion reporting with the names of celebrities on and off of the catwalk. 'Dolce and Gabbana "have made clothes for stars as diverse as Madonna and Tom Cruise"' (*The Guardian* 7 Mar cited in Rocamora 2001: 131). *Le Monde*, however, has no such mention of celebrities in the audience or gracing the catwalk with their star power because the newspaper 'does not find any value in the personal and the anecdotal' (Rocamora 2001: 130). Rocamora explains that in 1998 the French newspaper published a lengthy interview with French rock icon, Johnny Hallyday, and

received vitriol from its readers. Rocamora locates a divisive moment where celebrity and popular music appear in *Le Monde* to demonstrate discourses that do not intersect in this particular publication. This point about absences is relevant to the present thesis since it relates back to Foucault's (1981: 67) notion of 'discontinuous practices'. Rocamora's research is demonstrating that there is a discontinuity in the discursive production of fashion in differing national and institutional spaces. If and when such absences occur in either edition, they will be explored to reveal what the discontinuity/ies say about the production of masculinities or national identities in the magazines in question.

Lamont (1992), like Rocamora (2001), is interested in symbolic production, more specifically symbolic boundaries, or what she refers to as 'boundary work,' which she defines as 'the process by which individuals define their identity in opposition to that of others by drawing symbolic boundaries' (Lamont 1992: 233, n.5). Lamont explores these boundaries through the comparison of interview data conducted with white male college-graduate professionals in the large metropolitan areas of New York and Paris, and two mid-sized cities of Indianapolis and Clermont-Ferrand. Lamont's study, therefore, has layers of comparison. She is comparing broadly American and French upper-middle-class cultures, whilst simultaneously conducting regional comparisons within and across the American and French contexts. When laying out the scope of the study, Lamont (1992: 2) argues that comparative method is used 'on the assumption that cultural differences – the shock of the otherness – will make valued cultural traits salient'. Following Lispet (1990), Lamont juxtaposes the commentary of her American and French respondents in order to demonstrate how the three themes that her book is named after – money, morals and manners – are valued differently between the American and the French and between the aforementioned larger metropoles and the outer-lying cities. For example, on the issue of money, Lamont argues that the French are less oriented towards discussing money or using it as a factor to determine their position or the position of others, in comparison to the Americans in her study. In opening this discussion a Parisian lawyer tells Lamont (1992: 66), "'I am ashamed of asking for money"' whilst an investment portfolio manager from New York tells her, '"[t]he financial incentive is really what I'm here for"' (Lamont 1992: 69). Lamont shows, however, that not all French men interviewed eschew money,

like a mobile engineer who works for Michelin, '"The consumer is dominated, the investor wants to dominate"' (Lamont 1992: 68) and she also does this for a few American men who are not obsessed with money. Pulling out these outlying voices is really where Lamont's study is quite valuable as a qualitative and a comparative piece of research because it illustrates the complexity of upper-middle-class boundaries and identities as being less rigid, in the way that Bourdieu's (1984 [2010]) famous study of the French class system does not, likely because it is a more macro-view study. If and when such outlining content is featured, it will be reviewed rather than passed over since it does not fit within the norm of what is represented by other editorial content.

In the introduction of Lipset's (1990: xii) study of the values and institutions of the United States and Canada, he argues that '[n]ations can be understood only in comparative perspective'. The tool used to conduct Lipset's North American comparison is 'dialogue' (Lipset 1990: xiv, emphasis removed). Drawing on a range of primary and secondary material, Lipset creates a text that volleys back and forth between similar units, ideas or topics because he argues that the more similar the unit, 'the more possible it should be to isolate the factors responsible for differences between them' (1990: xii). It was only after reviewing Lipset's words that I fully understood what Moeran, Lamont and Rocamora were doing in the writing up of their analyses, which is creating a dialogue. This may appear as a simple realisation to some readers, but it was a small piece that helped things fall into place.

The above sought to unpack the mechanics of comparative analysis as it is employed in cultural studies and research on the media. Various ideas presented themselves such as being aware of shared content and cross-cultural comparisons that occur within American and British *GQ*. Noticing absences in the texts and using outliers to contextualise the majority may help to illuminate the discursive production of objects in either or both editions. The use of dialogical writing or volleying of statements was the most illuminating tool from the literature reviewed, which will be used when it is relevant to what is being analysed.

IV.2 Textual Analysis Continued

Since the cultural turn of the 1970s when various disciplines in academia placed culture as the central focus of inquiry, representation is no longer understood to be a reflection of things in the material and natural world, rather 'representation is conceived as entering into the very constitution of things' (Hall 1997 [2013]: xxi). Representation is part of the process that constitutes culture and pivotal in how people understand and communicate with one another. Hall (1997 [2013]) focuses on two constructionist approaches – semiology and discursive – to analyse representations. Scholars who place media at the centre of their work draw on both approaches because they are useful for exploring the production of meaning in advertisements (Jobling 2014, 2005), magazines (Jobling 1999; Laing 2021, 2018, 2014; Lifter 2020; McDowell 2013; Moeran 2002; Monden 2012; Nixon 1996, 1997 [2013], 2001; Osgerby 2001; Rocamora 2009) and newspapers (Rocamora 2001). The following discusses the aforementioned approaches and how they are employed methodologically in the empirical chapters that follow.

Since this research looks at editorial content which is composed of images and written features, methods were needed that allowed me to explore and analyse the images. Compositional interpretation is the term that Rose (2012a) uses to describe ways of viewing images that developed from the tradition of visual connoisseurship from the field of art history in the West. This method is not about analysing chosen images to uncover hidden meaning, rather it is about the '*compositional* modality' (Rose 2012a: 52), meaning describing the formal elements of images such as perspective, colour (hue, saturation and value), placement of figures/objects, lighting, mood and size of the image(s) within the text. This method also looks for information inside or outside of the image that may reveal its method of production and/or manipulation. Such compositional information is important to identify when analysing images so that what is seen can be further interpreted through semiology and discourse analysis which is discussed in the following.

Semiology is often used in still and moving image analyses to uncover the ideology embedded in images, or 'those representations that reflect the interests of [those in] power' (Rose 2012a: 106). Tools from this method are particularly relevant to the

present thesis which explores how images may or may not contribute to the idea of hegemonic masculinity (see Section I.3). Moreover, semiology being concerned with the 'social effects of meaning' (Rose 2012: 107) relates to Butler's work on hate speech (1997; see section III.4) which argues that images construed as speech can have performative effects, such as contributing to cultural allegories (or ideologies since we are discussing semiology) such as the '*un*realizability' (Butler 1997: 69) of completing the 'self' through patriarchal consumerism. Since this thesis is more concerned with meaning across images and written text rather than within chosen examples, tools from semiology are used to enter images, rather than conducting a full semiological analysis. The following outlines some of the tools chosen to interpret images, but then moves back out of the images to connect those readings to wider discourses.

Barthes (1977 [1987]) claims that images are open to all interpretations; what Barthes calls 'polysemy' (39). As he continues, 'underlying their signifiers, a "floating chain" of signifieds, the reader able to choose some and ignore others' (ibid.). Barthes, however, claims that 'in every society various techniques are developed intended to *fix* the floating chain of signifieds in such a way as to counter the terror of uncertain signs' (ibid.). Barthes (ibid.) refers to this as 'anchorage', which is often text that provides clues to the meaning, which will be demonstrated momentarily.

The second line of inquiry in this thesis is that of co-construction, which recognises that an editorial from one issue of the American edition does not sit in isolation from other editorials, or from those editorials in the British edition, other international editions of *GQ*, other men's lifestyle magazines and the wider media. In discussing various images of black athletes, Hall (1997 [2013]) argues that images are intertextual. As he explains, images of black athletes:

> gain in meaning when they are read in context, against or in connection with one another. This is another way of saying that images do not carry meaning or 'signify' on their own. They accumulate meanings, or play off their meanings against one another, across a variety of texts and media (Hall 1997 [2013]: 222).

The uses of 'across' and 'accumulate' are key in Hall's argument. 'Accumulate' refers to the way in which an image of footballer David Beckham, for example, contributes to the variety of images of David Beckham. The idea of 'David Beckham', therefore, is built

upon with each image: long-haired Beckham, shaved head Beckham, coiffed Beckham, lad Beckham, father Beckham, posh Beckham, Victoria and David, English footballer and international footballer, etc. 'Across' stresses that while ideas accumulate meaning, it is simultaneously the result of viewers engaging with a variety of media, historical and contemporary, and comparing images against one another in order to symbolically produce objects of discourse, as in the case of this thesis, such as 'masculinities'. The American and British editorial content is read intertextually in order to argue that the content has meaning across editorial sections and between these distinct editions of the magazine. Such is explored in detail in the empirical chapters.

An example of an image depending on anchorage and intertextuality for its meaning, can be found with Figure IV.2a. The image is from the fashion spread 'Being Frank' from the May 2012 edition of *British GQ* and features American model Sean O'Pry. O'Pry is clutching a fedora resting on his head and wearing a matching grey waistcoat and trouser, white button-down shirt and foulard necktie. Whilst the words 'Frank', 'Rat Pack' and 'Sinatra' *anchor* for the reader who the images are referencing, it is the attitude of O'Pry's cocked fedora, loosened tie and undone collar whilst leaning against a white piano that allude to Sinatra's famous sense of style, see Figures IV.2b and IV.2c. In order to decode the style in the fashion spread requires reading the editorial along with other images, Sinatra's Rat Pack films and knowing his music, which is occasionally interspersed with style advice.

Returning back to Hall's (1997 [2013]) ideas of across and accumulated meaning, scholars who focus on representations have utilised semiology to assess meanings embedded in images; see for example Barthes (1983); Jobling (2014; 2005; 1999), whilst others have turned to discourse analysis to investigate meaning constructed across images; see for example Laing (2021; 2018; 2014), Lifter (2020), Lynge-Jorlén (2012), McDowell (2013), Nixon (1996; 1997 [2013]), Rocamora (2009). Though this thesis incorporates semiotics, discussed above, to unpack meaning contained in images, it also uses discourse analysis to explore how masculinities and national identity are produced in and across the two editions. As discussed above in section IV.2, this thesis adopts Foucault's (1972 [2004]; 1981) interpretation of discourse, which is a group of statements

that are discontinuous and historicised which produce particular objects and subjects. Rose (2012a) argues that discourse analysis is unlike other methods as it is not concerned with uncovering a phenomenon's origin or its essential truth. As Gill (2000: 174) argues discourse analysis is not about '"getting at some reality which is deemed to lie behind the discourse' rather it is concerned with 'processes that […] explain'. This thesis, similarly, is only not concerned with the 'what' and the 'how' of representations of masculinities and the national identities, rather it is interested in the *why* of representations. Hence, discourse analysis is used in conjunction with semiology to move in and out of the texts so as not to become stuck in either method.

Additionally, discourse analysis was chosen to fill in content analysis's inability to account for exclusions. Since content analysis can only account for occurrences, however regular or infrequent, as a method it does not quantify absences. As discussed above in Section III.1, Foucault explains that discourses are 'discontinuous' (1981: 67), which means that they can 'prohibit' (1972 [2004]: 38) or 'be unaware of each other' (1981: 67). Statements that do not relate, therefore, become excluded or invisible. As Rose (2012a: 219, original emphasis) explains, '[a]bsences can be as productive as explicit naming; *invisibility* can have just as powerful effects as visibility'. For example, what statements are said in American *GQ* that are not said in *British GQ* and vice versa in the production of masculinities and national identities? Are there ways that men are represented in one edition that are absent in the other? Such is explored in the empirical chapters below.

IV.3 Reflexivity

Rose (2012a) considers reflexivity one of three criteria for producing a critical approach to visual culture. Reflexivity in research establishes the relationship between the research and what is being researched; it 'is a reflex action or process linking self and other, subject and object' (Babcock 1980: 2). In this process, the researcher positions themselves and their limited scope of vision, since knowledge production is *never* omniscient.

> [R]eflexivity is an attempt to resist the universalising claims of academic knowledge and to insist that academic knowledge, like all other knowledges, is situated and partial. Reflexivity is thus about the position of the critic, about the relation between the critic and the people or materials they deal with, and about the social effects of the critic's work (Rose 2012a: 183).

In the above, Rose appears to be drawing on feminist standpoint epistemology, which argues that knowledge is situated and that the marginalised are positioned in such a way to conduct research in ways that the non-marginalised cannot. Situated refers to the way that the researcher's scope of vision is a partial view and in its partiality is comfortable with its 'limits and contradictions' (Haraway 1988: 590). As Haraway (1988: 590) explains, '[w]e see those ruled by partial sight and limited voice – not partiality for its own sake, but rather, for the sake of the connections and unexpected openings situated knowledges make possible'. Understanding research as partial is meant to connect it with other research to establish a wider scope of knowledge, rather than claiming the whole field of knowledge for oneself. Such is the case for this project as well. My contribution to research on men's lifestyle magazines is partial in its view, not simply in the scope of a single year or selection of magazine and two national editions chosen, but also because it is the work of one researcher with a particular theoretical-methodological view outlined in this and the previous chapters. Before addressing the issue of my identity and considering marginality, I want to address the methods discussed above and their relationships with reflexivity first.

Projects that solely focus on content analysis do not address reflexivity because as a method, content analysis is believed to be objective in and of itself (Rose 2012a). The steps of data selection, sampling, coding, reporting/data visualisation (Krippendorff 2013), which if rigorously followed, are intended to remove research bias and ensure replicability; the latter of which assumes that all viewers can code texts and images in the same way. Moreover, content analysis produces quantitative results, which may be thought to be more objective than solely qualitative methods. Rose (2012a: 101), however, critiques this idea that content analysis is fully objective, and argues that there are many places where researchers can show their bias. For example, the coding process and later interpretation of results can 'show' the researcher's biases. For example, studies that

examine the appearance of 'race' in advertisements and use a code that only accounts for a binary of black/white (see for example, Baker 2005; Hazell and Clarke 2008) fails to account for the tertiary of those with black-white mixed-race parentage, and also excludes other racial groups which may appear in the ads being reviewed. This limited code does not achieve Krippendorff's (2013) requirement of a code being exhaustive, discussed above in section II.4, meaning that a code must represent all that is present. The aforementioned binary code cannot do this because it is not inclusive, but exclusive. Whilst these studies will acknowledge the differential correlation between the coders, they rarely if ever reveal on which images/texts the coders differed and why, or acknowledge the biases that each research may bring to the study. This is why the codes for this study chose to focus on editorial aspects of the magazine, which are less unclear and are often confirmed through anchorage. Acknowledging one's biography may not necessarily help the aforementioned studies be more critical of their relationship with their material because what is needed is an engagement with a self-critique of the process by which the researchers are choosing to evaluate individuals in ads as either black or white. The researchers need to deal with the social effects of their analysis, which could nuance or complicate their findings. Evaluating one's process occurs more in other textual methods because they often seek to reveal the social effects of the images in question.

In the second stage of methods, whilst pulling mostly from discourse analysis, utilises compositional interpretation and semiology in order to dive deeply into selected images. Of these two methods, semiology has a specific relationship with reflexivity because, 'detailed readings of individual images' (Rose 2012a: 144) put on view not only the 'reading', but a researcher's interpretation. Following Bal (1996) and her notion of 'double exposure', if a researcher engages with their own interpretation and viewing practices along with the interpretation of the image, then reflexivity is being brought into a semiological analysis. Moreover, whilst Rose (2012a) does not say this outright in her discussion of semiology, acknowledging one's biography is not enough either when using this method because it is not engaging with the social effects of the analysis.

Like semiology, discourse analysis has a similar relationship to reflexivity in that a biography is not the objective for achieving reflexivity when using this method. As

discussed above in Section II.5, discourse analysis was developed by Foucault who himself resisted the notion of identification in his work, '[d]o not ask me who I am and do not ask me to remain the same: leave it to our bureaucrats and our police to see that our papers are in order' (Foucault 1969 [2010]: 17). Discourse analysis needs to engage with the fact that it is participating in the production of knowledge and avoid claims of discovering the truth (Phillips and Hardy 2002; Rose 2012a). Rather, the process of discourse analysis is about opening up texts and images to being challenged, which in turn opens up the researcher's own output to scrutiny as well. A discourse analysis, therefore, cannot claim to be 'wholly objective, factual or generally true' (Tonkiss 1998: 259). Tonkiss goes on to argue that creating persuasive, yet 'modest' claims sets a foundation for reflexivity in discourse analysis. Phillips and Hardy (2002) add that the analysis must be built with a variety of voices and acknowledge where resources or opportunities were left out purposefully. Above all, any discourse analysis has to be aware of how the work engages with others. As Rose (2012a) explains, the aforementioned ideas of modest claims and bringing together a variety of voices is what substitutes for biographical reflexivity with discourse analysis. She goes on to argue that 'conventional, autobiographical versions of reflexivity are difficult in Foucauldian accounts, for they depend on a notion of human agency that constructs the author as an autonomous individual' (222). Since this project uses a variety of methods, not exclusively discourse analysis, there are significant implications for not reflecting on my position as the reader. As Rose (2012a and 2012b) continues, reflexivity in visual culture studies should focus on social effects, or what I would prefer to call 'performative effects' to make the connection with Butler (1990 [2007]; 1993 [2011]; 2004). Acknowledging the position from which one is speaking is important to understand how one's claims are partial, but also how those claims contribute to, in the case of this research, discourses on masculinities, national identities, and celebrity. As a cis male able-bodied middle-class gay American reader in their early forties, I understand that the arguments and conclusions that I draw are filtered through these intersectional lenses. In 2012, American and British *GQ* magazines are heteronormative and rarely acknowledge their LGBTQ+ readers, staffers or contributors. Mentioning this point is not to attack the production of

the magazine because this thesis is not a study of the editorial production of *GQ* magazines, but rather that my reading and analysis come from a position that is not necessarily the intended audience or not the primary audience. My reading and analysis are from a position that is othered by the magazine, which inevitably complicates the conclusions that are drawn.

PART II

THE EMPIRICAL CHAPTERS

CHAPTER V: A TALE OF TWO GQs

This chapter explores the development of the men's lifestyle magazine market beginning in 1931 in the US with *Apparel Arts: Gentlemen's Quarterly* in order to contextualise the chapter that follows on the symbolic production of 'celebrity' in American and British *GQ* magazines in 2012. Changes to the men's magazine markets on both sides of the Atlantic were in response to the changing consumption patterns of men leading to the development of the men's lifestyle markets at different points in American and British histories. After providing the historical contexts for the developments of these markets, the discussion will focus on three key editors of *GQ* – Art Cooper (*GQ US*), Jim Nelson (*GQ US*) and Dylan Jones (*GQ UK*) – whose stability and editorial choices have shaped what the American and British editions became in 2012, and arguably have continued to the present. During the year of rebranding in 1957 where the magazine was taken from *Apparel Arts* to *Gentlemen's Quarterly*, the magazine began to incorporate new types of content like the celebrity interview where men's fashion and style were discussed. In particular, this chapter argues 'celebrity' aided by 'sport', which were infrequently attended subjects in the earlier iterations of American *GQ*, were integrated into other sections of the magazine, in particular men's fashion and style, to reposition it as a mainstream and heterosexual publication in the 1980s. When *GQ* set its sights on expanding the magazine into other international markets, beginning with *British GQ* in the late 1980s, this editorial blueprint of fashion/style produced through 'celebrity' and 'sport' was used to break into these other markets successfully.

V.1 The American Origins of the Men's Lifestyle Magazine Market

Two years after the crash of Wall Street on 29 October 1929 does not seem like an opportune time to begin a men's fashion magazine, but David Smart and William Weintraub thought differently. In September of 1931, *Apparel Arts: Gentlemen's Quarterly* was launched with a print run of 7,500 copies. This quarterly trade magazine was conceived of as a direct competitor to the trade paper *Men's Wear*. Smart and Weintraub,

however, took notice of the success of *Fortune*, 'a sumptuous magazine dedicated to corporate affairs' (Osgerby 2001: 42) which, despite the timing of its first issue in February 1930, was warmly received and acclaimed for its content and innovative design. *Apparel Arts* was lavishly produced. The hardbound editions featured covers that were embossed with metallic lettering set against lacquered backgrounds. Some editions featured an illustration on the cover that appeared to serve as a theme for the entire issue (Figure V.1a). Inside, the illustrations were rich and colourful on heavy stock paper with occasional documentary photospreads to cover various topics related to menswear and style (Figure V.1b); from what to wear when golfing, to dressing for holidays, to balancing fabric textures, to where to shop whilst abroad, all men's fashion and style matters were covered. In issues that focused on fabrics, titled 'Fabrics & Fashions', there were even swatches affixed to pages covering fabric trends (Figure V.1c).

Chenoune (1993) argues that a new ideology of consumption for American men began in 1931 with the publication of *Apparel Arts*, which sought 'to democratize the game of fashion and stylishness' (188). American menswear of this period focused on ready-to-wear clothing. This democratization of American fashion centred on distinguishing American masculinity from British masculinity, whose clothing consumption centred on tailoring (see Breward 1999). Rebecca Arnold (2009), discussed above in Section I.2.1, presents a discussion of American women's sportswear during this period, which can be used to explain this American need to distinguish itself from those across the Atlantic. In 1932, the United States was still in the throes of the Great Depression causing a nation-wide push to re-start consumer spending. The New York women's sportswear industry sought to distinguish itself from Paris and elite artistic couture style and appeal to American women's pocket-books through the promotion of fundamental values like 'practicality' and 'durability' (Arnold 2009: 6). What Chenoune does not dwell on can be gleaned from Arnold. The American menswear industry must have been seeking a similar objective of distinguishing itself from British tailoring traditions through the promotion of American ready-to-wear clothing as 'practical' and 'durable' during a time when spending could not be frivolous. American men were looking for clothing that would last them through a time of seemingly endless financial difficulty. Arnold's study usefully shows that

the American desire to distinguish itself from Europeans was not simply to be unlike the French or the British, but was motivated by an economic motive to stimulate the national economy and a growing industry which sought to stake its claim on the global fashion

According to Pendergast (2000) and Osgerby (2001) *Apparel Arts* was popular with wholesale buyers and clothing retailers as a trade publication, but also with consumers, as a catalogue, who sometimes walked off with copies after pursuing the pages in stores. This popularity with consumers led Smart and Weintraub to launch another magazine in Autumn 1933 named *Esquire* (Figure V.1d). Whilst this new magazine brought together the design of *Fortune* and *Apparel Arts*, the urban focus of *Vanity Fair* and *New Success*, the sexual humour of *Captain Billy's Whiz Bang*, and the consumer lifestyle focus of *Vogue*, *Esquire* began the men's lifestyle magazine market as it is known today (Pendergast 2000). Conceived of for the white middle-class male consumer, it covered men's fashion and accessories, foreign travel, journalism and literature, cuisine, interior decor and sex (Pendergast 2000; Osgerby 2001). *Esquire* replaced Victorian masculinity – God-fearing, property-owning, family-orientated, hard-working, honest, and thrifty – with a new masculinity, which was focused on 'consumption, self-realization and personality' (Osgerby 2001: 44), and suggested to its readers that 'appearance, manners and taste' (Pendergast 2000: 220) mattered. As Pendergast (2000: 220) goes on to say, *Esquire* 'vacates the moral structure of Victorian masculinity and replaces it with a conception of manhood that relies strictly on the show of pleasing social traits'. *Esquire*'s formula was replicated by others for different markets, such as *True* and *Argosy*, for working-class Americans, *Ebony*, the first black American publication to interpellate their readers as consumers, and *Playboy*, the men's lifestyle magazine for the white consumer, but which incorporated pornographic images of women. *Esquire* remained alone in the men's market as the magazine for white middle-class men without full female nudity, until *Apparel Arts* morphed into a new magazine, *Gentlemen's Quarterly* in 1957 (Figure V.1e), which birthed a friendly rivalry that remains today.

The penny-wise culture of the Depression was lifted after World War II and American middle classes were awakened to a re-imagined consumer culture focused on youth. Along with the plethora of products came new magazines for young men, who

sought to distinguish themselves from their fathers. One such magazine, *Playboy*, was significant in the production of these newly identified young consumers. Becky Conekin (2000) examines style and masculinity through the editorial writing of *Playboy* magazines from 1953 to 1963. Conekin demonstrates that *Playboy* became a significant cultural text for the construction of new masculinities for young American men, namely the 'playboy', the 'swinger', the 'hip bachelor', the 'college man' and 'the professional' (2000: 448-9). This 'sophisticated, intelligent, urban…man-about-town, who enjoys good and gracious living' (*Playboy* cited in Conekin 2000: 449) was in direct contrast to these men's fathers' masculinity of the 'shooting, hunting or fishing' men (Conekin 2000: 449), who disavowed any interest in dress and their bodies.

Chenoune and Conekin's works are significant for highlighting that the representation of consumption of ready-to-wear clothing was integral to the production of these new masculinities. Whilst Chenoune and Conekin do not make the following point, what can be extracted from their work is that American men's mass-market magazines work to address more than one version of American masculinity. Conekin demonstrates this with the various subject-positions mentioned above – the 'college man', the 'swinger', the 'professional' – all of which were constructed under the banner of the 'playboy'.

This research contributes to the work of Chenoune, Conekin, Osgerby and Pendergast by examining more closely another successful American men's magazine, *GQ*, which thus far lacks scholarly attention. This research similarly engages in textual analyses to unpack how masculinities and national identities are constructed through the encouragement of fashion consumption. Editorial content – text and image – is the focus rather than only images or only writing as the combination of both in American men's lifestyle magazines are largely unexplored, therefore, providing a terrain to which many of the above ideas can be investigated.

V.2 Art Cooper, Editor-in-Chief of American *GQ*, 1983-2003

Apparel Arts underwent a number of name and publisher changes before it would become the laconically titled *GQ* (Stephensen-Payne 2013: 169). Condé Nast Incorporated purchased the publication in 1979 and hired Art Cooper as editor-in-chief in 1983. Cooper

was editor of *GQ* for nearly twenty years and is credited with turning 'the very term *GQ* [...] [into] a part of American culture' (Kelley 2003: C15). He saw the growth of journalism for men as a result of the 'changing taste patterns of the American publishing market, and increasingly in the consumer choices made by many men' (Mort 1996: 43).

Prior to Cooper's arrival, however, *GQ* was seen as a gay publication. President John F. Kennedy was the first American president to appear on the cover of the magazine in 1961 (Figure V.2a). In an interview with *Time* magazine, Kennedy is asked about the cover, and comments, '"I'll be remembered now as the man who posed for *Gentlemen's Quarterly,*"' (Jones et al 2007: 276), implying that the appearance was not desired. Later in the *Time* piece, his brother, Robert, is more blunt and refers to *GQ* as a '"fag rag"' (Jones et al 2007: 276). Cooper is credited with taking the magazine from 'a small, somewhat gay magazine' (Carr 2003a: C4, see also Coad 2008) and bringing the magazine to a mainstream audience by revamping it almost entirely, '"When I first started editing GQ, it gave the impression of being, and in fact was, a gay magazine [...] What I wanted to do in repositioning the magazine was make it very clear very quickly that this was a heterosexual magazine [...] But the message I wanted to send was that it's not aimed at a gay audience"' (Cooper quoted in Beland 2002 cited in Coad 2008: 40). In an October 2007 article, *GQ* acknowledged its gay history in 'It All Started Here: The Gay Legacy of GQ' by David Kamp (2007), but Kamp disagrees with Cooper's characterization of GQ as a gay magazine:

> Jack Haber, the magazine's editor-in-chief from 1969 to 1983, was a gay man, as were his two extraordinary art directors, Harry Coulianos, who served from 1971 to 1980, and Donald Sterzin [...] [who ran] the department until late 1983.
>
> *GQ* was not explicitly a gay magazine, and its mandate, in fact, was to educate men of all persuasions about fashion and style. But the gay sensibility was unmistakable: the recurrence of the word *rugged* in headlines; the prescient interest in minimalist home decor; the "Every Night Fever" disco-stomp pictorial from 1978, with models in Capezios dancing in a parking lot illuminated by the headlights of Lincoln limos (2007: 344).

For Kamp, Haber was creating a publication that gay men could read and recognise the queer and homoerotic content, but such content was meant to be overlooked by the heterosexual counterparts. Regardless of how the public perceived GQ, Cooper's

perception of the magazine is what directed him to make changes to the editorial content and look of the magazine.

According to Coad (2008), Cooper used sport coverage and professional athletes, mostly from American football, baseball and basketball, as models to reposition the publication for a straight audience by reducing the appearance of professional male models. 'The very fact that they were sportsmen seemed to imply hypermasculinity and unquestionable heterosexuality' (Coad 2008: 40). Coad (2008: 41) refers to Art Cooper's decision as a transformation of 'athletic competition into aesthetic competition'. What began with a feature story of an athlete accompanied by images of them modelling the latest fashions would evolve into fashion spreads of athletes modelling the latest fashions without much story (Coad 2008). Both kinds of athlete pieces – primarily narrative and primarily visual – sit in the 2012 editions of *GQ*. Cooper's editorial decision of sport stars and athletes modelling the latest fashions coverage continues through 2012 and beyond in both editions of *GQ* and serves as the entry point of analysis in this thesis for evaluating representations of masculinities. Since athletes were perceived of by Cooper to 'butch up' the magazine, do the representations of athletes and sport continue the production of the magazine as heterosexual and mainstream? In the following chapter, race is brought into the discussion to argue that the presence of black athletes reinforces masculinity and heterosexuality based on the tradition of viewing black bodies for pleasure in American popular culture.

Whilst Coad is correct in linking Cooper's editorial decision to bring sport stars to the magazine as a motivation to attract a more mainstream audience, this argument is not assessing the whole editorial picture at the time and even before Cooper's arrival. Fred Astaire was the first celebrity to appear in *Gentlemen's Quarterly* in the July-August 1957 "Back to College" issue. The feature, which continues to be available on *GQ*'s website[6], is an interview of Astaire's style. 1962 would be the year that famous people graced two of the year's covers with John F. Kennedy appearing on the March cover and film star Cary Grant on the September cover. Celebrities and other famous people appearing regularly

[6]'Flashback Friday: The Astute Astaire' was uploaded to *GQ*'s website on 14 October 2011. It can be accessed at the following: https://www.gq.com/story/fred-astaire-gq-interview-style-fashion

on covers of *GQ* and being a central focus of the content within, however, would not crystallise until the November 1983 issue (Figure V.2b), which was Cooper's first cover, which features American football legend Joe Theismann on the cover with taglines promoting content on Mick Jagger, John F. Kennedy and Steven Martin. Sport stars were used to attract a portion of the American men's lifestyle reading population that was interested in sport, but *GQ* in its early years under Cooper's editorial vision actually relied more on celebrities drawn from film and television and people of interest from other fields being featured on the cover and within the pages to broaden its readership. Sport was a new attraction, but not the main attraction. For example, Michael Cain (December 1983), Donald Sutherland (January 1984), Jeremy Irons (April 1984), David Letterman (July 1984), Ted Danson (September 1984) and Christopher Lambert (December 1984) comprise the film and television covers that make up Cooper's first full year as editor. He also mixed in other fields of interest such as literature (Joseph Heller, August 1984), business interests (Donald Trump, May 1984), journalism (Peter Jennings, October 1984) and music (Sting, June 1985). Cooper's first cover in November 1983 would begin a chain of celebrity covers and 'name-dropping' on the covers that remains nearly unbroken through to today for the American edition.

Whilst most credit Cooper with turning *GQ* into a highly successful mainstream men's magazine, his true legacy is what Bourdieu (1993 [2015]: 75) refers to as 'a capital of consecration' (see Section III.5) or when a person or institution makes a name for themselves giving them permission to lend value to objects and 'to appropriate the profits from this operation'. By integrating the discourse on 'celebrity' in *GQ*, Cooper successfully rebranded the magazine to be a cultural voice which could promote the latest movies, praise the newest NFL rookie or critique a politician's policies, etc. Cooper also turned *GQ* into a widely 'recognized name' (Bourdieu 1993: 75) in the US that could participate in the production of 'celebrity' and reap the economic benefits from such repeated participation in the act of consecration in the field of popular culture. How the consecration of celebrities occurs in *GQ*, meaning the putting into discourse, is explored further in the following chapter.

Art Cooper was known in the magazine industry for his 'literary credentials' (Carr 2003a) and as 'a writer's editor' (Kelley 2003). In his revamping of *GQ*, he brought feature articles covering social and cultural issues, and opinion pieces written by a wide range of writers; some famously of note: J. Anthony Lukas, Garry Wills, William Kennedy, Gore Vidal, Michael Kelly and Peter Mayle (Kelley 2003). In Section III.5, the importance of interviews, journalism and opinion pieces are an important feature of men's lifestyle magazines. Since Cooper was working to reposition the magazine beyond fashion and style content, these forms of writing became important content necessary to compete with other lifestyle magazines such as *Esquire* and *Vanity Fair*, and most likely more literary magazines such as *The New Yorker* and *Harper's Magazine*. Whilst these forms of writing may be shorter in 2012 for American *GQ* than in Cooper's time (Carr 2003a), the legacy of longform journalistic writing, commentary and opinion remains in the magazine on both sides of the Atlantic and in all international editions of *GQ*. Interviews with and commentary on celebrities serves as a feature of the analysis in the following chapter. Of the studies that mention writing in men's magazines (Osgerby 2001, Jackson et al 2001, Benwell 2003) they focus on how this reinforces masculinity. This thesis extends the conversation to national identity to question how this remnant editorial decision maintains gender boundaries *and* establishes the publication as a middle-class entity through the writing along with images and other text content. In fact, the celebrity features, this thesis argues, is the content which most explicitly produces masculinities and national identities in each edition in question.

In 2001, Cooper hired Fred Woodward as art director for a rebranding of *GQ*, which Cooper told *The New York Times* lacked a 'complete look' (Handelman 2001: C8). Woodward, previously, was the art director of *Rolling Stone* since 1987 for which he won numerous awards, notably from the National Magazine Awards and was inducted into the Art Directors Club Hall of Fame (Handelman 2001). As mentioned in the previous section, early twentieth century magazines such as *Esquire*, *Fortune* and *Apparel Arts* were smartly designed magazines that pushed graphic design boundaries. What Cooper was looking for was visual distinctiveness in a moment when the men's lifestyle magazine market was becoming more crowded. Art direction involves 'set[ting] the artistic tone of a

project, using visuals to bring concepts to life' (Talley 2016: n.p.). For magazines, art directors work with photographers to determine the mood and story of images. They also work with their graphic design team to develop the accompanying artwork and/or graphics that will be overlaid on some of the images, and deal with the juxtaposition of images and text. Woodward would move up in rank at *GQ* from art director to design director. This position sits one level below editor-in-chief and beside the deputy editor at American *GQ*. A design director oversees the aforementioned but focuses more on executing the branding of a magazine. Logos, font choices, colour schemes all fall within the purview of the design director and art department. Art direction does play an important role in determining to whom the publication is intended. Woodward did and continues to maintain a certain 'look' for the magazine, but this thesis argues that the aesthetic direction between both magazines helps to attract more than just readers of the magazines, but the celebrities who want to be featured in it as well. The graphic design of a feature on any celebrity can help to determine the 'mood' of a piece and how celebrities are to be perceived, which is explored further in the following chapter.

V.3 Jim Nelson, Editor-in Chief of American *GQ*, 2003-2019

In 2003, Art Cooper, Editor-in-Chief of American *GQ* was inducted into the American Society of Magazine Editors on 29 January, subsequently announced that his retirement from the magazine would occur later that year and tragically died in June 2003 from complications of a stroke (Kelley 2003). As Cooper's tenure was coming to a close, *GQ*'s once comfortable position was diminished by a new breed of magazines from Britain, 'so-called lad magazines' (Kelley 2003: C15; see also Carr 2003b) and others from within the men's lifestyle market that were seeing a surge in popularity, in particular *Men's Health*. So significant was *GQ*'s (and *Esquire*'s) market loss that it was worth mentioning in Cooper's obituary in *The New York Times* (see Kelley 2003). The new magazines from abroad – *Stuff, FHM* and *Maxim* – were appealing to consumers with much racier content (Carr 2003a). *GQ*'s circulation remained at approximately 950,000 prior to 2003 in comparison to *Stuff* and *FHM* having 'circulations above one million and *Maxim* which achieved an overall circulation of 2.5 million' (Carr 2003a: C1).

Jim Nelson previously served as Executive Editor under Cooper, and his appointment to succeed Cooper came as a surprise to the press, which had touted Dave Zinczenko of *Men's Health*, Dylan Jones of *British GQ* and Michael Hirschorn of *Spin* as top contenders for the position (Byrne 2003a, Carr 2003a, Kelly 2003a). Later accounts would say that Zinczenko wished to stay at *Men's Health*, which was more successful (Carr 2003b) and Jonathan Newhouse, chairman of Condé Nast International, told the *The Guardian* that Jones was staying in London because '"[i]n America they want an American editor"' (Byrne 2003b: n.p.) despite other British nationals such as Tina Brown and Anna Wintour taking up the top editorial positions at other Condé Nast publications, *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue*, respectively. Hirschorn moved onto VH1 and co-founded Powerful Media (Kelly 2003a). In the press that followed Nelson's appointment, a narrative of constancy, evolution and pop culture, while keeping literary contributions at the forefront of the magazine became consistent themes. 'In the eyes of many observers, choosing Nelson over a more high-profile outsider signalled preference for continuity over transformation' (Bercovici 2004: 21; see also Carr 2003c). '"[H]e will lead GQ into the future,"' (PR Newswire 2003: n.p., see also Carr 2003b) James Truman, then Editorial Director for Condé Nast said of Nelson, '"He's expected to add more music, pop culture and humor, but work to preserve the magazine's cerebral literary tradition'" (Truman quoted in Kelly 2003a: 34, see also Carr 2003b and PR Newswire 2003). Although pop, hip-hop and indie musicians play a bigger role in Nelson's magazines, they by no means eclipsed the focus on celebrities from Hollywood and television. Sport stars would continue to play a role in Nelson's magazine, much as they did in Cooper's. Players for the major American sport leagues – American football, baseball and basketball – continued to participate in interviews, other features and fashion spreads. Slowly over time, business content would play a less prominent role in Nelson's magazines, which creates a magazine that truly is focused on popular culture.

Nelson's first issue for *GQ* was September 2003 (Figure V.3a), received mixed reviews despite the forewarning in the press rounds that James Truman and Jim Nelson made. As *The New York Times* reported:

> Historically, the GQ man has been a suave sort, a man who not only looks good in a suit but also has the kind of career and disposable assets that go with it. The GQ man is bold without being crude, sexy without being salacious, and witty without being puerile. The traditional GQ ideal would be a mythical combination of George Clooney and Frank Sinatra.
>
> How out of character, then, for the September cover of GQ magazine to feature Johnny Knoxville, the former star of "Jackass," a television show that canonized the art of the dumb. In the magazine's profile, written by Devin Friedman, Mr. Knoxville treats a hangover by taking 18 airplane bottles of Scotch on a bus to Atlantic City where he gambles and loses $1,000 of the magazine's money. In the photos inside, he wears, variously, a wrestling shirt, worn-out sneakers, a nasty looking fur-trimmed leather coat and a pair of very, very red eyes.
>
> "I think Johnny Knoxville very much has his own style, which is why he is a good subject for our cover," said Jim Nelson, GQ's recently appointed editor in chief. The September issue is the first entirely conceived under his watch.
>
> Sitting on a couch in his office on the ninth floor of the Condé Nast building in Midtown Manhattan, Mr. Nelson, 40, might also be said to have very much his own style – and a fairly subversive plan to remake GQ. He may be wearing a Prada suit, but the shirt is a baseball jersey.
>
> Condé Nast's GQ, with a circulation of 764,000, is in the midst of the kind of change that mass magazines rarely undergo, particularly those that are nearly a half-century old. The classic bible for men who are ready to don the uniform of adulthood, it has peeled back its business suit and emerged a much younger magazine (Carr 2003c: C1).

In the above, there are a few important items of note: the identification of a '*GQ* man' through celebrities – two current and one deceased, a discussion of 'style' and a definitive change in appearance. As much scholarship on men's lifestyle magazines discusses, lad magazines disrupted the market causing mainstream publications like *GQ*, *Esquire* and *Details* to make difficult choices about adaptation versus stasis. As explained in the following section, new lad culture developed in Britain in the late 1980s to early 1990s as a reaction to the end of second wave and start of third wave feminism and British middle-class culture (Benwell 2003; Edwards 2006; Richardson and Wearing 2014). Nelson's editorial direction responded to the lad magazines from Britain, but also, was responding to a cultural shift where the mix of high and low cultures was becoming the norm. Whilst the feature story on Johnny Knoxville followed him to Atlantic City to gamble away money, this laddist feature was tempered by articles examining George W. Bush's relationship with religion, Mehran Nasseri – the man who was 'stuck' at Charles de Gaulle airport for 15 years, Michael Savage – controversial, former MSNBC host, and basketball star, Kobe Bryant's sexual assault charges. Neo-nerd fashion, The Smiths and Jarrod Emick of *The Boy From Oz* are featured as well (Carr 2003c). Though lad culture was absorbed by *GQ*,

traces of it remain in the 2012 edition, in particular the ironic tone. Under Nelson, *GQ* would constantly volley between cultured and laddishness content and ready-to-wear and high street style, which is another point of analysis in the subsequent chapters.

In 2007, Nelson shepherded *GQ* through its fiftieth anniversary. The golden anniversary issue was released in October with a decidedly less text heavy cover than usual; one that looked more mid-century than contemporary. The cover announced the theme of the issue 'The 50 Most Stylish Men of the Past 50 Years: And What You Can Learn From Them' and on the right-hand side of the cover, a small list of ten men of note: Tom Brady, Muhammad Ali, Johnny Depp, Robert Redford, John F. Kennedy, Sean Connery, Jack Nicholson, Al Pacino, Michael Jordan and Paul Newman. The anniversary issue was released with ten different covers, each one featuring the close-up face of one of the aforementioned men, who are identified in the issue as 'each [...] one of the best faces we could conjure' (Nelson 2007: 108, Figure V.3b). In his 'Letter From The Editor: GQ at Fiddy', Nelson (2007: 108) opens with a discussion of George Orwell, who 'wrote that by the age of 50, every man gets the face he deserves', and Albert Camus who said that '"after a certain age," we are 'responsible' for our own faces"'. Nelson tells the reader that both Orwell and Camus died at age 46 before they got to see their deserved faces for which they were responsible. He continues this thread and argues that fifty is a significant milestone in the magazine industry since many magazines fold well before their golden anniversary. He lauds the hard work of *GQ* to get to this age and sums up the past fifty years with the following:

> Of course, fifty years is reason enough to celebrate, but it's *how* we lived that matters. Since 1957, *GQ* has shown men the way, shown them - through fickle times and changing codas, from the politically hairy days of the Eisenhower administration to the literally hairy days of disco – how to dress, behave, live fuller lives, understand the world around them, and become better more civilized men. We're proud of that legacy [...] and we feel a tremendous responsibility to it. Which is why we used Orwell's words as our guiding principle for this issue. We wanted to give *GQ*, at 50, the face it deserved (Nelson 2007: 108, original emphasis).

The notions of legacy and deserved face are interesting in that American *GQ* was unable to choose one face to represent the legacy of the magazine for the jubilee issue. Eight of the faces are white, two are black, nine are American, one is Scottish, three are sport stars, one is a deceased president, six are actors and nine of the faces are from the past.

Nostalgia is a productive tool used in the representations of masculinities and Americanness within the magazine. For example, American style as defined in *GQ* requires knowledge of President Kennedy's mid-century preppy Ivy League style and Johnny Depp's tousled hair and distressed look. Both work, along with a constant volley of past and present references, to constitute American style and Americanness in the pages of *GQ*.

Fashion is one sector of consumer culture noted for its obsession with the past through its unending devouring of bygone colours, patterns, silhouettes and styling and combining them with ideas from the present to create something 'new'. In her discussion of fashion of the late twentieth century, Evans (2003: 13) explains that the 'modern fashion designer rummages in the historical wardrobe, scavenging images for re-use' (see also Lehman 2000). Important in Evans's discussion is the notion of engaging with fashion history or other cultural histories (art, film, sport, etc.), of which a designer does not have direct experience. Jenß (2013: 115) explains that 'memories of previous generations can become deeply integrated into the personal memory of the following generations' because as media technologies evolve they keep the past in circulation. The editors, photographers, stylists, etc. of lifestyle media are just as guilty as fashion designers in their referencing of the past, whether remembered or passed down, to represent current notions of masculinity and the nation. The use of President Kennedy's image in 2007 is one such example of this. Most of the readers of American *GQ* in 2007 would not have been alive during Kennedy's presidency, but his tragic story, mannerisms, speech pattern, style choices and playboy entanglements are regularly replayed and referenced in the performance of American masculinity. Importantly, it is Kennedy's 'celebrity', and the 'celebrity' of the eight other men, that is being appropriated by American *GQ* in its imagining of who the magazine is at fifty. McRobbie (1994: 147) sees the looking back as a '[l]oss of faith in the future [that] has produced a culture which can only look backwards and re-examine key moments of its own recent history with a sentimental gloss and a soft focus lens'. As is explored in the empirical chapters, most of the content in both editions of the magazine is positive because the objective of both editions is how to be your best self, not your worst. When necessary, the magazine looks

back to make sense of the present or to make the present comprehensible. The idea of looking to the past or the use of nostalgia, therefore, is brought into the below analyses to unpack the representations of celebrity, masculinities and national identities.

V.4 Lifestyle to Lad and Back: Men's Lifestyle Magazines in Britain

The British men's lifestyle magazine market is considered by some to be a relatively new market in comparison to its American counterpart (Nixon 1996, Jackson et al 2001). Some scholars attribute the birth of this market with the magazine *Arena* in 1986 (Edwards 1997, Nixon 1996, Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]). *Arena* – an upmarket magazine that covered design, fashion and music – was built on the popularity of style press magazines, such as *The Face*, *i-D*, and *Blitz* (all launched in 1980), amongst mostly young urban male readers (Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]). The term 'style press' refers to glossy magazines from the 1980s, which combined journalism, pop culture and cutting-edge imagery (Nixon 1996). During this time, this genre was further encouraged by the expansion of men's retailing in mid- and upper-level markets, therefore, 'publishers began to draw up plans for the ideal prototype for a men's magazine that would concentrate on dress and style. It was as a result of these initiatives that a crop of the first successful magazines like *Arena*, *FHM* and a British edition of *GQ* came into existence' (Jobling 1999: 49). Edwards (2006: 37, original emphasis) notes that '[t]he new men's magazines, then, are precisely men's *lifestyle* titles as opposed to men's *interest* magazines', meaning that these magazines are not focused on hobbies, such as cars or photography, but cover a broader range of interests. Jobling argues that 'striking the right balance in content [advertising versus editorial] were also to prove paramount' (Jobling 1999: 50) to the success of magazines in this new men's market. According to Gill (2007), the style press pioneered the idea of targeting fashion/lifestyle magazines at men and disseminated new ways of representing masculinities.

Jobling (1999), however, traces the origins of this new market in Britain to the midcentury. 'In 1953 [...] *Man About Town* was launched as a vehicle for males who were interested in fashion and the arts as well as politics. Michael Heseltine and Clive Labovitch bought the title in 1960, rechristening it *About Town* and later *Town*, and it ran

until 1968' (Jobling 1999: 49). Edwards (2003: 133) agrees with a midcentury origin to this genre, but points to the American market in his analysis, 'men's magazines have a longer history than is often suggested, arguably originating in the rise of *Playboy* which was launched in 1953 or the relatively extended longevity of *Esquire* and *GQ* in the USA'. Additionally, Edwards (2003: 133) argues that '[t]his genre has its origins in development of such image conscious titles as *Harper's & Queen*, *Tatler* or *Vogue*' in addition to the development of the style press. Edwards's analysis aligns with Pendergast's (2000) discussed in Section II.4, that American *Esquire* looked to magazines like *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue*, not only to men's magazines. According to Jackson et al (2001: 27), one reason for the delay in the men's lifestyle market in Britain was due to '[t]he major publishing houses had been scared off by the failure of *The Hit*, IPC's first men's title, which was launched in 1985 but collapsed after six issues. NMC had published *Cosmo Man* as a supplement to *Cosmopolitan* in 1984' which only lasted into the late 1980s.

Arena first appeared in November 1986 as a bi-monthly publication and would begin publishing monthly in February 1996. *Arena*'s publisher, Wagadon, discovered that *The Face* sold to more men than women, therefore, it encouraged Nick Logan, creator of *Arena*, to develop a similar publication for style-conscious men, but pitched to a slightly older demographic (Nixon 1996, Gauntlett 2002 [2008]).

> From the outset, the magazine's publisher Nick Logan had set himself realistic targets – pitching the magazine at an adult readership aged between 25 and 35 years old, and aiming to accrue a circulation of between 45,000 and 50,000 readers. [...] it went on to far exceed these expectations, the first two issues selling over 60,000 copies each, and for the period January-June 1996 achieved average sales of 93,513. *Arena* can, therefore, be regarded as the first title to have dispelled the taboo that a general-interest magazine for men was doomed to failure in Britain (Jobling 1999: 50).

In 1988, *British GQ* was launched, also focusing on fashion, style and living, which was then followed by *British Esquire*, which launched in 1991[7] (Crewe 2003; Gauntlett 2002 [2008]; Nixon 1996). *British GQ*'s 'first edition, which sold 57,560, was launched with a

[7] Crewe (2003) claims that *British Esquire*'s first launch was in 1954 and collapsed in 1957. This claim is not referenced and additional research was unable to substantiate it. Online marketplaces such as AbeBooks, eBay and Etsy have 'British' editions of *Esquire* from this time period mentioned, but either 'British' is missing from the cover or the issue says 'Special British Issue'. The latter also appears in editions of *Apparel Arts* which devoted issues to reporting on British menswear. I propose that the *British Esquire* magazines of this time period actually may be American editions that dedicated issues to British menswear and culture, much in the way that men's lifestyle magazines theme issues today such as the 'comedy issue' or the 'sex issue'.

cover of Conservative MP Michael Heseltine (Figure V.4a), shown in a kind of serious pose you'd expect from an elder statesman' (Clydesdale 2008: 25). This happens to be the same Michael Heseltine, mentioned above, who co-purchased *Man About Town* in 1960. Nixon (1996) discusses Heseltine cover and 'former Conservative prospective parliamentary candidate, barrister John Hilton' (161) being featured in early editions of *British GQ*. He argues that '*GQ* signalled this distinction [of being for 'traditional professionals'] very clearly with its first cover star: Michael Heseltine' (159). Heseltine was a British career politician who served as MP for Henley from 1974 through 2001, and held various cabinet posts in Conservative governments under Margaret Thatcher and John Major. Although Heseltine was an ideal choice for the inaugural cover because as a founding member of the publishing house Haymarket, he represented business acumen over 'the media-fashion-art based individuals *Arena* was interested in' (Nixon 1996: 159). Additionally, Heseltine was popular with the British press prior to and after his appearance on the cover of *British GQ* probably due to his outward criticism of Thatcher and his close ties with the wider British media industry (Crick 1997). Whilst these magazines opened a new segment in the market, they were by no means as successful as their female counterparts. All three of these magazines were perceived as being targeted to posh men (Gauntlett 2002 [2008]). During this time, circulation of *British GQ* and *British Esquire* magazines remained under 100,000 (Edwards 2006). The aforementioned low figures were attributable to these magazines' focus on the professional urban male, which spoke more to an upmarket niche rather than a broader population category or any attempt to speak to multiple populations.

On the continent, when Condé Nast expanded into the men's magazine market they aligned the publications with *Vogue* as Jackson et al (2001: 27) explain,

> Condé Nast already had a successful men's title (*GQ*), published in the US since the mid-1980s[8]. The nervousness about the British men's magazine market resurfaced in 1988 when Condé Nast launched a British edition of *GQ*. Though titles like *L'Huomo* [*sic*] *Vogue* and *L'Homme* [*sic*]

[8] Jackson et al (2001) have a historical or typographical error in their analysis. As discussed in the previous section, American *GQ* existed since 1957 under the *Apparel Arts: Gentlemen's Quarterly* title and began in 1931 as *Apparel Arts*. In the 1970s, the magazine shortened the title to *GQ*. As the 50th Anniversary issue of *GQ* attributes their beginning to 1957 rather than 1933.

> *Vogue*[9] had been used in Italy and France, Condé Nast preferred to distance the British edition from its sister magazine.

Jobling (1999: 49) mentions that '*Vogue Pour Hommes* originated in France in 1979 and the Italian title *Per Lui* in 1983'. Nixon (1996: 141) explains that 'The name *GQ* was favoured over *Vogue for Men* because of the feminine connotations of the latter' in Britain. Jackson et al (2001) claim that the British press reported that there were fears that the *British GQ* would fail to appeal to heterosexual readers and that the editor was obliged with '"hetting up"' (Jackson et al 2001: 27) the British edition. The 'feminine' and 'queer' association of men's magazines that feature clothing is a common theme found in the histories of men's magazines on both sides of the Atlantic, as noted above with the review of American *GQ*. For the British edition of *GQ*, what was missing from the historical narrative is if the 'queer' association of *GQ* was attributed to Condé Nast's awareness of American *GQ* being a gay publication prior to its purchase by them in 1980 and if this perception was known to the British public. Additionally, French and Italian male audiences may not have taken issue with '*Vogue*' since fashion and style are valued differently in those cultures.

A small body of research developed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, which focuses on the representations of masculinities, specifically the 'new man' and the 'new lad', from the style press and men's lifestyle magazines of the 1980s and 1990s. Edwards (1997: 76) argues that this new market of men's lifestyle magazines legitimized consumption 'as a socially acceptable leisure activity for men and as a symbolic part of a successful lifestyle'. Mort (1996) and Nixon (1996; 1997 [2003]; 2001) use visual analysis to chart the changing representations of the 'new man', which is discussed momentarily, but it is worth defining the 'new man' before proceeding. The impact of second-wave feminism on men's lives is well documented (Chapman and Rutherford 1998; Connell 1987, 1995 [2005]; Edley 2017; Faludi 1999; Kimmel (1998 [2012]; Reeser 2010). During this time, some men had become more actively involved in child-rearing and balancing the division of labour in the home, along with opening up emotionally to their spouses, friends

[9] I believe Jackson et al (2001) meant *L'Uomo Vogue* (Italy), which was launched in 1967 and *Vogue Hommes International* (France), which was launched in 1985.

and family. Whilst these changes occurred in some of the lived experiences of men, such representations were also produced in the media to establish representations of masculinity beyond the pre-World War II 'head-of-the-house-breadwinner'. Gill (2003) adds that 'a number of other social movements during the 1970s and 1980s–the peace movement, anti-racist organizations, environmental movements, movements for sexual liberation, postcolonial struggles and a variety of identity-based political organizations' contributed to the reimagining of traditional masculinity. As mentioned above, the men's retailing markets expanded in the 1980s in Britain, opening up British men to an increased range of products (Edwards 1997; Mort 1996). These social movements, expanded retail, popular health and psychology (Gill 2003; McKenzie 2013), and the media (discussed below) come together for the 'new man' to emerge as a subject-position. The 'new man' was pro-feminist and actively involved in family and household responsibilities. Although he may continue to watch and/or play sport, he tended to avoid participating in sport deemed violent or regressive; meaning that he may watch football but not get drunk and violent at the pub when his team lost. He paid more attention to his appearance, body and overall health. The 'new man' did not dispense with all aspects of previous versions of masculinity. He was still hard-working and virile, and maintained his hegemonic position over women and non-normative masculinities, but 'with a much softer side' (Richardson and Wearing 2014: 42; see also Nixon 2001). In short, the 'new man' was 'caring, nurturing and sensitive – or [...] more narcissistic, passive and introspective' (Edwards 1997:39). Scholars, however, point out that the 'new man' was 'primarily [a] media-driven phenomenon' (see Gill 2003; Richardson and Wearing 2014). As a media phenomenon, the 'new man' took on representational practices previously attached to femininity, to which is what the following turns.

Mort (1996) and Nixon (1996; 1997 [2003]; 2001) pay particular attention to the representations of masculinities in *Arena*, through the new practice of 'styling'. For Mort, stylists were key in interpreting looks found throughout the streets of London and translating them into editorial content (1996:72). Nixon sees the practice of styling, as introducing 'new codings of masculinity,' (1997 [2003]: 304). Edwards's (1997 and 2009) research centres on the practice of men's fashion and argues that the growth of a

masculine consumer culture results from marketing and advertising efforts (1997: 1). In contrast to Mort and Nixon, Edwards argues that whilst the style press introduced sub-cultural representations of masculinities found on the streets of London, two dominant images of white, middle-class, heterosexuality prevailed during this time: the corporate power look and the outdoor casual look. Edwards (1997) claims that these representations essentially repeated traditional values of affluence and virility, an idea which he supports with a content analysis of the May 1995 editions of *Arena*, *Esquire*, *FHM*, *GQ*, *Loaded* and *Maxim*. Edwards may misinterpret Mort and Nixon's argument to understand new codings of masculinity as new masculine identities. Mort and Nixon, however, argue that representations proliferated but not, necessarily, an increase in masculine identities. Notions of power and heterosexual privilege were reproduced in these men's magazines, but how they were represented altered. As Nixon (1996: 200) says, 'A central characteristic of the codings was the signification of an assertive masculinity with the sanctioning of the display of sensuality'. For Mort and Nixon, the way masculinity was represented changed and multiplied during this period as men and their bodies became the source of much editorial and advertising objectification.

Each researcher focused on the new practice of 'styling' and how this practice responded to embodied interpretations of masculinities found at disparate sites, which were then incorporated and re-interpreted into the editorial photospreads. This thesis considers editorial photographs and photospreads, as these aforementioned projects do, as an active site where cultural notions of masculinities are produced and opportunities for on-going interpretations of cultural norms are explored. However, American and British *GQ* magazines are differently positioned in 2012 than the style press magazines of the late 1980s reviewed by Edwards, Mort and Nixon, as both editions have histories, solid positions in their regional markets and are international.

'The biggest challenge to *GQ* and its competitors came in the Nineties when the success of *Loaded*, a brasher coarser version of a men's monthly, spawned a new breed of weekly imitations' (Clydesdale 2008: 25), often referred to as 'lad mags'. As mentioned in the previous section, new laddism developed in Britain in the late 1980s to early 1990s as a reaction to the end of second wave and start of third wave feminism and British

middle-class culture. Gill (2003: 47) argues that the new lad is 'constructed around knowingly misogynist and predatory attitudes to women, represents a refusal to acknowledge the changes in gender relations produced by feminism, and an attack upon it'. Whereas the 'new man' was viewed as someone who sought to cultivate relationships with women and have a more active role in family life, the new lad's 'attitudes to women are marked by sexism and objectification: women are seen as sex objects to be conquered rather than human beings to have relationships with' (Milestone and Meyer 2012: 118). The gender politics distinction between the 'new man' and the 'new lad' is summed up by Edwards (2006: 39, original emphasis) who says, 'the New Man was apparently a fairly *pro*-feminist, if still narcissistic, invention, the New Lad represented a return to reactionary *pre*-feminist values of sex, sport and drinking and the relatively male-only worlds of pubs, pornography and football'. Crewe (2003: 5) contends that the 'new lad' subject-position is 'hedonistic, "ironically" regressive or assertively heterosexual'. Crewe's thought is important since it points to new laddism not being inclusive of all masculinities, but rather blatantly heterosexist (see also Edwards 1997; Nixon 2001). Moreover, new laddism was more than simply alcohol, sport and the objectification of women, but rather a subject-position rooted in hedonism, which is egocentric in nature. The 'new lad' was seeking a self-indulgent return to being the centre of attention rather than being forced to share the spotlight with women and other non-dominant masculinities, i.e. queer, Black, Asian, immigrant, disabled, etc. Crewe's reading, however, couches this regressivism in irony, meaning that the 'new lad' does not actually mean the aforementioned, but this thesis does not agree with this interpretation because this thesis sees irony as a productive tool. Along this line, Benwell's (2003) edited volume argues that new laddism incorporates an ironic tone when using the discourse on feminism to its advantage rather than simply railing against it. Ironic tone, therefore, was and remains a tool to undercut feminism. 'Irony [...] acts as a defence against critical scrutiny' (Benwell 2003: 156), but only when it is done well. Whilst the tongue-in-cheek moments are present in new laddist media, the offensive representation was given a space to exist and/or repeat the often sexist statement.

Jackson et al (2001) add to the discussion of new laddism by claiming that it was also a reaction to the man being the 'breadwinner' for a family (see also Segal 1990). This claim is rooted in the work of Ehrenreich (1983) who sees men's lifestyle magazines of the 1960s, in particular *Playboy*, as 'advocating a strategy of consumptive fun and sexual liberation away from the normative constraints of the nuclear family' (Jackson et al 2001: 80). Moreover, this promotion of liberation from normative constraints aided the 'belief that well-adjusted heterosexual men could avoid the commitments of conventional marriage for reasons other than homosexuality' (ibid.).

New laddism also was a reaction to British middle-class culture. As Richardson and Wearing (2014: 43) contend, 'a great deal of new lad iconography is the emulation of working-class signifiers even if the subject is himself middle class'. Nixon (2001: 382) argues that it is less emulation and more 'middle-class or lower middle-class young men [...] playing at being working-class lads'. As they go on to explain, the gender politics of the time was a middle-class concern since '[d]ebating gender inequality is the luxury of people enjoying middle-class capitalism' (Richardson and Wearing 2014: 43).

Magazines were an essential part of new lad culture because they provided spaces for the representations of the 'new lad' to occur. Founded in 1994, *Loaded* focused on 'laddish' behaviours and celebrated working-class culture (Jackson et al 2001, Gauntlett 2002 [2008a], Benwell 2003, Edwards 2006) along with 'elements of top-shelf soft porn publications with a puerile interest in the scatological and disgusting' (Richardson and Wearing 2014: 43). *FHM*, whilst similarly focused, was more broadly positioned in terms of class, which may explain the magazine surpassing *Loaded* in sales in 1996 and maintaining its leadership in the British market (Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]); with Edwards (2006: 37) noting that *FHM* hit 'circulation figures of 500,000', which is well above *Arena*, *British GQ* and *British Esquire* as noted above. *Maxim*, which launched in 1995, falls in-between *Loaded* and *FHM* on the laddish continuum (Gauntlett 2008b).

Whilst lad mags diversified the men's lifestyle market in the mid-1990s in Britain, they were not the only publications to further segment the men's lifestyle magazine market. *Attitude* appeared on the market in 1994, which caters to the gay demographic. Whilst this was not the first gay lifestyle publication, *Gay Times* launched in 1984, *Attitude*

positioned itself as a magazine rather than a news-oriented publication (Edwards 1997). *Men's Health*, which entered into the market in 1995, focuses on fitness whilst still covering other topics (Gauntlett 2008b). Whilst lad mags may be more sex-focused, *Men's Health* more fitness-focused, and *British GQ* and *British Esquire* more style-focused, each publication covers a wide range of content that relates to many aspects of men's lives. Edwards (2006) argues that the men's magazine market is not weakened by new titles and segmentation within it, like with upmarket glossies versus downmarket lad magazines, but rather that this maintains the market's dominance. As this market continues to mature and each magazine responds to the shifting discourses on masculinities of their specific readerships, some or all of the following categories can be found within these British lifestyle magazines: culture (art, books, film, gaming, music, technology, television), fiction, finance, fitness/health/nutrition, general interest (human interest, journalism, profiles), lifestyle (culinary arts, restaurants, travel), product listings, sex/women (advice, pin-up images, interviews), sport, style and surveys (Edwards 1997, Jackson et al 2001, Gauntlett 2008b). Gauntlett (2002 [2008a]), however, argues against seeing the men's magazine market as a whole with general categories and encourages researchers to maintain the nuances:

> But the magazines otherwise differ quite a lot: *Loaded* celebrates watching football with a few beers, for example, but the *Men's Health* reader would forgo the drink, and play the game himself. *FHM* encourages quality sex, but *Nuts* and *Zoo* might be more interested in quantity. [...] All too often critics made sweeping statements about men's magazines [...] I felt it was important to point out that, for instance, *FHM* was twice as popular [than *Loaded*], and was not exactly the same, containing more sensitive relationship advice and a less mechanical approach to sex (Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]: 170-171).

Edwards (2003) makes a similar point in distinguishing the British men's magazine market from the European and American markets. He argues that the 'cult of "laddism"' did not develop on the continent or across the Atlantic with the same zeal as it did in the UK, which 'informed the expansion' of the market in Britain (Edwards 2003: 133). Edwards (2003: 143) argues that '[t]he US version of *GQ*, for example, has a stronger emphasis upon corporate masculinity, and suited style in particular, than its UK counterpart'. The following chapters make these kinds of discernments, but through evaluations of celebrity content.

After Alexandra Shulman left *British GQ* in 1992 for the role of editor at *British Vogue,* the men's magazine faced difficulties editorially. While the lad magazines presented an increasing threat, editors were not lasting very long creating instability due to changing editorial visions. Michael VerMeulen, the only American to hold the editorship, died of a drug overdose in 1995. The deputy editor, Angus MacKinnon oversaw the magazine for two years until 1997 when James Brown, founder and editor of *loaded*, was appointed to the role at *British GQ*. Brown worked to broaden the magazine's position from a 'conservative-metropolitan identity' (Crewe 2003b: 107, see also Nixon 1996) into something closer to *loaded*'s demographic, meaning younger, less conservative and not just for executives. Jackson et al (2001) argue that during this time period the distinction between upmarket glossies and downmarket lad mags was blurred. 'James Brown's editorial move from *Loaded* to *GQ* acting as a key signifier in this respect' (Jackson et al 2001: 78). Crewe (2003b: 107) argues that '[t]he redefined reader was assumed to have moved on in ways that paralleled Brown's changing lifestyle, the man who had read *Loaded* four years earlier but whose income and interests were now more advanced'. Brown, however, explained that his newfound maturity did not mean that his inner lad was not necessarily gone, '"when you find yourself wanting to chin someone because they've gazumped you on a house, you know something's up"' (Brown quoted in Crewe 2003b: 107). Brown caused a public relations nightmare for Condé Nast International when the March 1999 issue hit newsstands and included a list of the 200 most stylish men of the 20th century and included some humorous listees, like Batman and Dracula, sitting alongside more serious mentions, such as John F. Kennedy. Many readers and advertisers did not find the humour in including Nazi Field Marshal Erwin Rommel and Nazis generally in this list (Lyall 1999 and McCann 1999). Behind this drama, however, Brown had changed significantly the face of *British GQ* into a more laddish publication, borrowing some of the style and content of the lad magazine that he founded, *loaded*. Under his direction, the magazine relied on sexual innuendo and drug references and pushed the boundaries of British taste, in particular the depiction of women in the magazine. Brown was fired shortly after the March 1999 issue hit newsstands.

V.5 Dylan Jones, Editor of *British GQ*, 1999-Present

Dylan Jones became editor of *British GQ* in March of 1999 (Figure V.5a) and is the longest serving editor of any edition of the magazine to date. Jones's appointment was safe and seen as one which would bring stability to *British GQ* as noted in news coverage of the time. Jones is a 'distinctly uncontroversial replacement' (Collard 2000: 29). He was also pitched as the opposite of Brown, 'Jones has a reputation for being cautious and measured in his pronouncements' (Collard 2000: 29). Jones decided against a public relaunch of *British GQ* and assured readers that there would not be significant changes immediately. 'Instead Jones, who believes James Brown's major mistake was to throw the baby of old GQ out with the bathwater, plans quiet evolution' (McCann 1999:13). Moreover, Jones commented, '"The problem with James's so-called controversial issue was that the pictures were not contextualised in the right way and were surrounded by some things which were less than pleasant"' (Jones quoted in McCann 1999:13). The public relations in which Condé Nast engaged sought to announce to the new lad readers of *British GQ* that the lad experiment was over, but also to announce to those readers that had been abandoned in the wake of Brown's redirection should know that order was being restored.

> If many of the changes Jones has made at GQ seem tonal, he has, by his own admission, a lot in common with the magazine's target reader. Like "GQ Man", he is prosperous, urban, straight. He is also aspirational, doubtless sharing with the reader some of those "Eighties values that are still frowned upon in some media circles" (Jones quoted in Collard 2000: 29).

Jones's background is in the style press – *i-D*, *Face*, *Arena* – broadsheet magazines – *The Observer*, *The Sunday Times magazine* – men's magazines – *Deluxe*, *Frank* – and had a brief period as editor-at-large of *The Sunday Times* (McCann 1999). These experiences prepared Jones for the *British GQ* readers because he had worked across a broad range of publications and he was able to respond to the lad market having worked on *Deluxe*, which was a lad magazine for men in their twenties (McCann 1999). In one of his first interviews after his appointment, Jones spoke of his vision for the magazine:

> With GQ I'm going to be bringing in an awful lot of journalists from the broadsheets. There are a lot of great journalists who aren't working on magazines at the moment and they're going to be working for GQ. What I want to achieve with the magazine is to make it like a mass-market broadsheet – we want to be covering intelligent subjects in a populist way and populist subjects in an intelligent way – all presented with urgenc [sic] and vibrancy (Jones quoted in McCann 1999:13).

Jones's vision for *British GQ* resonates with Art Cooper's overhaul of American *GQ* in the 1980s, which was to bring quality journalism into the magazine. This is not to imply that Jones looked to Cooper or American *GQ*, but rather, there is a consistency in the position that skillful writing plays on both sides of the Atlantic for *GQ* generally. Reflecting on the twentieth anniversary of *British GQ*, Jones commented '"Initially, I think we made a nod to that end of the [lad] market, but we always knew it was a flash in the pan," he said. "Those magazines are dying. We offer quality. Quality journalism, photography, design and fashion"' (Jones quoted in Clydesdale 2008: 25). Jones's comment here on photography and design again echoes the importance art direction plays in the British edition as discussed above with the American edition. The following chapters review the celebrity entertainment, fashion/style, music and sport features and the execution of the text and images to reveal the similarities and differences between the two national editions.

During the late nineties and early noughties, Jones and the editor of *British Esquire*, Peter Howarth, were repeatedly questioned about the subject of the objectification of women within and on the cover of their magazines, the implication being that both magazines had become too laddish for middle-class tastes (Jackson et al 2001). Shortly after taking the editorship Jones commented:

> I don't have a problem with photographic images of women. I think that there were perhaps a few too many in GQ and perhaps they weren't of the right sort. But I certainly don't have a problem with that morally – it is an intrinsic part of the whole package. [...] Women will probably not be as scantily clad (Jones quoted in McCann 1999:13).

It is agreed amongst researchers on the genre of men's lifestyle magazines that they each position themselves as heterosexual (with the exception of those that specifically target gay consumers) meaning that homosexuality is rarely discussed, never promoted and in some cases ridiculed (Gauntlett 2002 [2008a]; Benwell 2003; Gill 2007; Edwards 2009). As Howarth explained to *The Guardian*, '"any good magazine must offer a balance of

content, and part of that balance, if it is to reflect the interests of men, will inevitably be articles on beautiful women"' (Howarth quoted in Jackson et al 2001: 77-78). Whilst this thesis agrees that the representation of women in each edition of *GQ* serves to proclaim their heteronormative position, often ardently, what it considered less in scholarship on men's lifestyle magazines is how the visual representations of men, especially male celebrities, does this as well. In the following chapters, this thesis develops an argument that the representations of male celebrities in both editions is the tool that primarily outlines the magazine's heterosexual agenda, whilst representations of women are secondary confirmation. As discussed above, Art Cooper had to reposition American *GQ* after taking over from a mostly gay editorial team, which he did through the inclusion of previously unincluded men, sport stars, celebrities and famous men of note from the fields of business and politics. *British GQ* followed this format of reporting on celebrities and having them model fashion when it was launched. The following chapter will evaluate the relationship between celebrity, fashion and masculinities, and how they differ between the editions.

Jones, more so than Jim Nelson, engages more with the press and there is transparency in how he directs his publication. He does this through interviews with the broadsheets, as well as penning pieces for them so that his thoughts are not determined by an interviewer's agenda. As a younger publication, *British GQ* has not spent as much time considering its history as American *GQ*. On the occasion of *British GQ*'s twentieth anniversary, Jones was interviewed by the *Daily Record* on the magazine's present and past struggles. Through his discussion with Jones, Clydesdale argues that, '[t]he move towards more celebrity driven content was a reaction to the higher sales it generated, as well as the publicity from the more controversial covers' (Clydesdale 2008: 25). Despite having six editors since the launch of the magazine, Jones said, '"[o]ur policy has broadly stayed the same – actors, politicians, entrepreneurs, models, pop stars, etc,"' (Jones quoted in Clydesdale 2008: 25). With the move towards celebrities, Jones believes that the magazine's readers have changed as well, '"I think the GQ generation has changed enormously as they expect much more than they did 20 years ago, and this applies to everything from jobs, careers, entertainment, service, fashion, the lot," he said. "Men

have also learned to consume more like women and are consequently more confident in this respect' (Jones quoted in Clydesdale 2008: 25). Moreover, Jones is unabashed in who *British GQ* is:

> We've never been embarrassed about being called aspirational. Never been embarrassed about being called yuppies. At *GQ* we always figure there were as many men who wanted a martini as wanted to drink beer straight from the bottle, so into the cocktail bar we marched. And quickly discovered that the thirst for lifestyle brands was not limited to home turf (Jones 2009: 7).

Jones's appearance in the broadsheets serves a dual purpose, the first being self-promotion since he appears to enjoy the limelight, but more seriously is to remind his readers who they are and what their values are. In the below analyses, Jones's comments from outside the pages of his magazine are used to contextualize and help unpack the analyses. Though significantly less, interviews with Nelson and his commentary are used as well.

The cover of the twentieth anniversary featured David Beckham (Figure V.5b), who became post-2000 and continues to be the face of the fashionable British male with *British GQ* and other British publications. As Jones explains:

> [w]e decided on David for our anniversary issue because we felt he was perhaps the one male figure from the last 20 years who had achieved the greatest global sweep in terms of recognition. And he sells a lot of magazines. We put him on the cover of an issue a few years ago dressed as David Bowie's Thin White Duke and it sold out in 10 days (Jones quoted in Clydesdale 2008: 25).

As with American *GQ*'s anniversary discussed above, the past plays an important role in the representation of men on and in the pages of *British GQ*. As discussed above, nostalgia is a productive tool in representation of masculinities, which is explored in the following chapters. Whilst not as monumental as a golden anniversary, for *British GQ*'s there is a merging of past and present, in dressing David Beckham – one of Britain's most recognisable celebrities, globally – as David Bowie's 1975-1976 persona, the Thin White Duke. Dylan Jones is an avowed Bowie superfan. In 2016, he published an oral history of the musician, *David Bowie: a life*, drawn from interviews with Bowie's social and professional worlds. Jones's Instagram also features his musings on Bowie, though this was more prominent before and just after the publication of the book. This digression is to illuminate just how much cultural intermediaries are responsible for sharing memories to

those that were not present. Like American *GQ*, *British GQ*'s audience in 2008 may be aware of Bowie's music, even completely, and get the reference of 'the Duke', but most of the magazine's readers were just being born at the time of this particular iteration of Bowie's music identity. The point, however, of the image is to create something new, which is merging the Davids together. Beckham, one of the top right wingers of all time, he was known as much for his style of play as for his fashion off the field, and his relationship with Victoria Adams, a.k.a. Posh Spice. The merged Davids is less about what they share – a name, being known for fashion, living and working in and outside of the UK – and more about what Jones reveals, Beckham 'sells a lot of magazines' (ibid.). Beckham sells a lot of magazines because of who he is, an established global celebrity who is from England, which will be explored below. The styling of Beckham as Bowie is a layering of celebrities where one is being associated with another – usually a rising star is being linked to an established celebrity – which projects onto the nascent icon their identity. This projection technique, which can be found across a variety of media, is explored below in chapters VI and VII. The merging of the Davids is about understanding the present through the past, or the layering of nostalgia into the image. Beckham, arguably reached the global level of fame that few British celebrities have enjoyed. Bowie is one such legend. *British GQ* may be presenting the past and present together to represent the longstanding success of British popular culture, which is also considered below.

CHAPTER VI: CELEBRITIES AT WORK

The previous chapter reviewed the history of the men's lifestyle magazine markets in the UK and the US, as well as the editorial decisions of Art Cooper, Jim Nelson and Dylan Jones and how these decisions turned *GQ* into a mainstream men's lifestyle magazine. The discourse on 'celebrity' was and continues to be used to represent editorial content across these magazines. As this stage of the research was in process, Bourdieu's concepts of field (1980 [1990]; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), capital (1977 [2002]; 1980 [1990]; 1984 [2010]; 1986; 1993 [2015]) and consecration (1993) were adopted to make sense of the male celebrities and their representations since statements emerged that appeared to 'value' the celebrities, thereby distinguishing them from one another.

As discussed above in Section III.5, Bourdieu articulates his theory of 'field'; a key spatial concept in his sociological explorations of structural relations, the exchange of different forms of capital (cultural, economic, social, and symbolic) and the embodiment of class-based dispositions. Fields are dynamic spaces where the 'production, circulation and appropriation of goods, services, knowledge, or status' (Swartz 1997: 117) occur. Whilst all of the aforementioned take place in various fields (art, fashion, science, politics, etc.), the concept of 'field' is adopted to evaluate the 'objective relations between' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97) positions that male celebrities hold in the field of popular culture. As discussed above, Bourdieu focuses on the struggle between 'established' (1993: 60) agents and 'newcomers' (ibid.: 82) seeking to displace the establishment. This chapter proposes that there are other positions to consider such as a position in-between new and established, the 'rising star', beyond established celebrities, the 'icon', a position for dispossession, the 'fallen star', and one of re-entering the field after loss of celebrity capital, the 'comeback'.

American and British *GQ* magazines are two such institutional 'voices' who have staked claims for the right to consecrate celebrities and their work in the field of popular culture. These magazines are filled with images of, biographical pieces on, interviews with, and commentary on celebrities. This repetition of celebrities whilst a record of their own lives and work is also a chronicling of contemporary American and British

masculinities, which is what this chapter explores. The chapter begins by introducing the concept of 'celebrity' and some of the key considerations used in scholarship on 'celebrity' which are explored throughout the chapter. Through textual analysis, then, this chapter looks at the discursive techniques that both editions use to consecrate male celebrities in 2012, but also distinguish them as established celebrities, rising stars, breakthroughs, icons/legends, fallen stars and the comebacks, which in turn establishes both editions' legitimacy as critics within the field of popular culture.

VI.1 Introducing 'Celebrity'

This section introduces 'celebrity' in order to establish how this thesis understands this concept. Some scholars are interested in understanding 'celebrity' through analysing the historical developments, which led to it coming into public consciousness. Whilst some scholars (Gabler 1994; Schickel 1985) attribute the rise of 'celebrity' as an outgrowth of the Hollywood star system, others argue that 'celebrity' emerged through a set of practices from as early as the Georgian period (Inglis 2010; van Krieken 2012; Williamson 2016) or as late as the Victorian era (Douglass and McDonnell 2019; Staiger 1991). Whilst this thesis does not seek to answer when 'celebrity' originated, but rather the discursive production of 'celebrity' at a particular time in a particular publication, it is useful to discuss two views of the phenomenon in order to understand what current scholarship believes constitutes 'celebrity'. Drawing on the work of Inglis (2010), Williamson (2016: 29) points out that the rise of the industrialised cities of London, Paris and New York took focus away from European monarchies as the possessors of western society opening the door to 'new forms of leisure in which 'celebrity' comes to be central – London, the theatre, Paris, haute couture, and New York, the industrialized mass press'. Douglass and McDonnell (2019) agree that urbanisation played an important role in the development of 'celebrity', although they argue that 'celebrity' emerged over an eighty-year period from 1840 to 1920, whilst Williamson (2016) finds the origins of 'celebrity' in the Georgian theatre in London in the late eighteenth century (see also Inglis 2010, Morgan 2011, van Krieken 2012). Regardless of the time, the researchers agree that the city becomes an important feature because the rise in urbanisation was coupled with the

development of the new middle classes. Douglass and McDonnell (2019) discuss the growth of the middle-classes in urban locations during this period as a result of industrialisation, immigration, and the codification of leisure time were significant contributors to the making of the 'celebrity'. In Britain and the United States, mass migrations from agrarian regions of the country and immigrants from Europe in search of work in factories created a population of individuals seeking entertainment on their time off, for which they fought hard through unionisation.

Entertainment proliferated beyond the theatre and vaudeville during this timespan to include phonographs, motion pictures, and the radio (Douglass and McDonnell 2019; Rojek 2001; Williamson 2016). Whilst hearing celebrities became important for audiences to connect with celebrities (see Douglass and McDonnell 2019), much scholarship is devoted to the role photography plays in the creation of celebrities and its adoption by the media (Turner 2004 [2014]). Gamson (1994) argues that the focus on famous individuals eventually overshadowed the focus on ideas in the print media causing an increased interest in seeing well-known individuals. Crucially, 'the expanding press and techniques of modern advertising [were used] to create known name performer-stars to attract an audience' (Douglass and McDonnell 2019: 29). As the twentieth century progressed the focus on celebrities proliferated in media texts to include advertisements, commercials, television programmes, newspaper stories, biographies, autobiographies, and celebrity-focused magazines and news programmes (Douglass and McDonnell 2019; Marshall and Redmond 2016, Turner 2016). As noted in the previous chapter, both editions of *GQ* incorporated images and interviews with celebrities in the latter part of the twentieth century to expand the lifestyle content in the magazine beyond fashion and style, and to attract a wider readership.

The proliferation of celebrities across print media is significant because as 'celebrity' begins to take shape in the Georgian or Victorian eras, depending on one's view, it is the proliferation of images and text about the 'celebrity' that constitutes this subject-position. As discussed above in Section III.5, the oft-quoted phrase from Boorstin (1971) at the beginning of the chapter is important because it identifies a key quality that helps to identify a person as a celebrity, which is 'public visibility' (Marshall 2016: 16).

Being ‘well-known’ (Boorstin 1971) or ‘publicly visible’ (Driessens 2013 via Heinich 2012) is not simply the act of being seen, but rather the ‘recognition’ (Brighenti 2007) of particular individuals that is shared by a large mass of the population and it is the press that plays a particularly important role in producing visibility. For example, 2012 was a good year for Damian Lewis due to his leading role on the first season of *Homeland* (2011-2020), which first aired from 2 October 2011 on Showtime in the US, and released in the UK on 19 February 2012 on Channel 4 with a total of twelve episodes (IMDb: n.p.). In the series, Lewis plays Nicholas Brody, a Marines Gunnery Sergeant, who was held in captivity by al-Qaeda for eight years, after which he is freed following a raid led by the US Army Special Services on a terrorist compound. Following his return to the US, he is pursued by CIA Officer Carrie Mathison (Claire Danes), who suspects him of being a turncoat for the terrorist organization. *Homeland*’s premiere was the network’s highest-rated of all time and it received continued high viewership (Seidman: n.p.) and positive critical reception. On 23 September 2012, Lewis received a Primetime Emmy Award for ‘Best Actor, Television Series Drama’ and was nominated for a Golden Globe the same year. Following his Emmy win, Lewis was awarded *British GQ*’s ‘Men of the Year’ award for ‘TV Personality’ (*GQ UK* 10/12: 229; Figure VI.1a) and would appear in the ceremony and after-party feature in the November issue (*GQ UK* 11/12: 54-55; Figures VI.1b). Lewis also appeared in two separate issues of American *GQ*. In ‘There’s No Place Like *Homeland*’ (*GQ US* 10/12: 123-124; Figures VI.1c) which recaps Season 1 for readers whilst discussing other aspects of the show, and in ‘Bomb*Shells*’ (*GQ US* 11/12: 162-165; Figures VI.1d-e), Lewis models four different bomber jackets, which has a short column interview with the actor as well. Both editions of *GQ* contributed to Lewis’s celebrity capital in 2012 by conducting interviews with him, featuring him in photographs and, in the case of *British GQ*, giving him an award. These kinds of features in both magazines are indicative of the coverage that both magazines repeat to contribute to the visibility of celebrities such as Lewis, therefore, a celebrity’s mere presence in both editions is part of identifying and maintaining their star status. This also works in turn to designate American and British *GQ* magazines as cultural commentators that can bestow said moniker. The following section continues the analysis of celebrity content in these two

editions with two established celebrities, Matt Damon and Daniel Craig. These are two celebrities who have been working for a while and whose names are easily recognised by the public. How American and British *GQ* represent them and what this says about American and British masculinities is explored throughout the following four sections.

VI.2 Established Celebrities

The profile of Matt Damon in the January 2012 issue of American *GQ* by *GQ* correspondent, Amy Wallace (Figure VI.2a-c), covers the usual components of a celebrity profile: career highlights, discussion of new endeavours, family, soundbites from colleagues and some explanations of difficult moments in the celebrity's career or the industry of which he is a part. In a rare expositional moment, Wallace pulls back the façade of the piece and says, Matt Damon 'understands that profiles like this one play a part in marketing his films' (*GQ US* 1/12: 98). She further explains that Damon, 'has at times been difficult when interviewers have tried to talk about anything more personal than global politics or film theory' (ibid.); a fact that she also mentions at the story's introduction. Director, Cameron Crowe, explains of Damon's self-preservation that:

> "Matt's a guy who skewers pretension. Hourly and by the minute, nothing is going to get pumped up into some lofty thing with Matt around [...] It may not be as subversive as him trying to be tricky about not letting the interviewer get to him. It's more that he would skewer the guy that you mostly read in celebrity interviews. He laughs at that guy. He's very careful to not be that guy" (ibid.).

Wallace's comment of Damon's awareness of the part the media plays in the success of his work and subsequent explanation of the 'type' of celebrity he is – one who actively works against pretension – is a moment where Wallace, and by extension *GQ*, are revealing to the reader her and the magazine's role in marketing new films and other forms of entertainment, but more importantly, *GQ*'s role in the production of 'Matt Damon' as a 'celebrity'.

Following Bourdieu (1993 [2015]), Wallace's feature on Damon is more than just contributing to the actor's financial success or the production of his 'celebrity', but a performative act consecrating him as part of the field of popular culture. As discussed above in Section III.5, Bourdieu (1993: 42) explains that consecrations are given in

particular forms such as ‘a preface, a favorable review, a prize, etc.’. Favourable reviews and prizes (textual and real with trophies) are ways in which American and British *GQ* consecrate celebrities. Almost all interviews, stories and commentary on celebrities in these two magazines fall into this form of a favourable review, though there are rare instances of unfavourable features, see Section VI.6 below. Wallace’s piece is a favourable review as will be discussed more in the following section, which consecrates Damon and his career, and positions Damon in the field of popular culture. Damon obliges *GQ* for an interview because he has to in order to ‘accumulate’ (Driessens 2013: 552; Hall 1997 [2013]: 222) more favourable reviews to continue to be discursively associated with his fellow actors in the Hollywood establishment, meaning the highly successful star actors, directors, producers and writers whose work is predominately mainstream. *GQ*, therefore, is integral in contributing to his celebrity and also to the production of ‘celebrity’ more broadly. The sections that follow explore the words and images of the celebrity content further seeking to uncover the statements ‘which…are said indefinitely, remain said, and are to be said again’ (Foucault 1981: 57) that discursively produce ‘celebrity’ in the pages of American and British *GQ* magazines and thereby position them in the field of popular culture.

VI.2.1 Established Celebrities Are Working Celebrities

Below the title, ‘Wicked Smaht’, of the piece on Matt Damon, mentioned above (Figure VI.2a), the copy reads, ‘Is there friggin’ anything **Matt Damon** *can’t* do? As the action hero/leading man/activist/Oscar-winning screenwriter/sitcom revelation/Internet meme finally makes the transitions to **Serious Director**, we’re about to find out’ (*GQ US* 1/12: 48, original emphasis). Throughout the piece by Amy Wallace, the films, television shows, and other projects that Damon has been involved in are discussed. Wallace begins with *We Bought a Zoo* (2011) directed by Cameron Crowe, which was released in theatres in December in the US when the January issue of *GQ* would have hit newsstands. Then, she identifies that ‘Damon was in *five* movies released in 2011, and he’s appeared in more than thirty-five films since his breakout role as an emaciated addict in 1996’s *Courage Under Fire*’ (ibid.: 51). Readers are told that Steven Soderbergh ‘has directed

his friend in six of those–*Ocean's Eleven*, *Twelve*, *Thirteen*; *Che: Part Two*; *The Informant!*; and *Contagion*–and most recently has cast him as Liberace's lover in an HBO biopic' (ibid.). These career highs for Damon are followed with Wallace bringing up a box office failure, *The Adjustment Bureau* (2011) which even drew criticism from President Obama at the White House Correspondents' dinner after Damon had criticised the President publicly. Wallace then mentions his forays into television with appearances on *Entourage* (2009), *30 Rock* (2010-2011), and becoming an internet sensation after appearing in a music video with comedian, Sarah Silverman called "I'm Fucking Matt Damon" (2008), which originally aired on the late-night talkshow, *Jimmy Kimmel Live!*. Wallace moves onto Damon's work with the Coen brothers on *True Grit* (2010), which was produced by Scott Rudin, who Damon worked with on *Good Will Hunting* (1997). Damon then discusses with Wallace why he turned down continuing with the *Bourne* franchise before mentioning a sci-fi film, *Elysium* (2013), that is wrapping up. Clint Eastwood is mentioned for directing Damon in *Invictus* (2009) which garnered Damon an Oscar nomination. Wallace also mentions Damon's work on the Stephen Gaghan film, *Syriana* (2005) and his narration of the documentary *Inside Job* (2010) before she revisits how he became involved with the aforementioned music video with Sarah Silverman.

Hollywood celebrity features, such as this one by Wallace, often provide the highlights (and some lowlights) from a celebrity's career; a narrative CV if you will. This representational technique is an important one because it has a two-fold effect: it contributes to the visibility of the celebrity in question and it relates the star to their contemporaries in the field of popular culture, i.e. an articulation of Damon's social and visibility capitals. Much research on 'celebrity' cites Boorstin's (1971: 58 cited in Turner 2014; see also Douglas and McDonnell 2019, Marshall and Redmond 2016, Williamson 2016) phrase 'the celebrity is a person who is well-known for their well-knownness' as one of the formative notions that connects 'celebrity' with public recognition. As Turner (2016: 85) explains, 'celebrity is the consequence of a public awareness which may or may not have arisen as a result of significant personal achievement'. This understanding of 'celebrity' rests mostly on the idea of celebrities being present in '[c]ontemporary mass media' (Turner 2016: 85; see also Marshall 2016; Williamson 2016) as the source of their

notoriety rather than their work. As discussed in Section III.5, Driessens (2013: 552) makes the specific point that a celebrity's presence in the media 'needs renewal and repetition' in order for them to maintain their status as a 'celebrity'. The following demonstrates that a discourse on work is an important component of the production of celebrities in the field of popular culture in American and British *GQ* in 2012 that consecrates celebrities and contributes to the production of their celebrity capital.

Wallace's narration of Damon's 'acting CV' is representing just how visible Damon is *and* has been *and* will be. Readers are told that Damon's breakout role was sixteen years ago with *Courage Under Fire* and since then he has appeared in more than thirty-five films, five of which were released the previous year. Visibility, therefore, is represented by taking readers on a journey through Damon's career and reminding them of the many films, television shows, and other projects that Damon has appeared in across his career. Dotting her article with projects from Damon's career acts as temporal signposts that do more than simply list Damon's projects. Appearing in mass media is a performative reiteration of a celebrity's career that produces their 'visibility' by consolidating past, present and future work into a synopsis of one's career, which is the purpose of a CV. Brighenti (2007: 332, original emphasis) argues that 'visibility has a *flash* and a *halo*: it is both instant and it has a duration'. For Damon, each film or other project that is released causes the flash whilst the time that those projects exist in the public consciousness is the halo. Celebrity interviews, such as this one, bring attention not just to a film, a competition, a performance or a runway show, but bring focused attention to the celebrity in question and their career as a whole. In many ways, these media pieces work to extend the halo effect since they are collapsing time into the space of a written piece with accompanying images. Damon's identity as a celebrity, therefore, is dependent on magazines such as American *GQ* reiterating work from his acting CV to keep him and his work 'visible'.

Work continues to be an important genre within masculinities studies where scholarship evaluates men's relationships to work historically and presently. The association between men and work was reestablished after World War II for men from the battlefields as a marker of midcentury masculinity (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill 2003)

because men were expected to provide for their dependents (Edley 2017, McDowell 2001). As time progressed and turned the page on a new century, numerous changes – globalisation, deregulation, women entering the workforce – eroded that once closely guarded construct of 'man as *the* breadwinner'. Whilst working-class men saw the 'collapse of heavy industries and the associated geographical regions into obsolescence' in Britain (McDowell 2001: 345), middle-class British men were increasingly removed from middle management and moved into contract-based work. The same was experienced by middle-class and working-class American men (Kimmel 2012, Faludi 1999). Whilst the idea of the male breadwinner supporting his dependents has declined significantly in the early part of this century, 'being employed' continues to be a strong part of men's identities. The discussions above on Damon and Craig, in fact, demonstrate that even male Hollywood celebrities are produced through a discourse on work, and one that is project- and contract-based employment. Since the decline of the studio system in Hollywood (Douglas and McDonnell 2019), actors no longer have guaranteed long-term employment, rather they must regularly compete for roles in films, television, and other media as demonstrated through the narration of Damon's and Craig's careers above. This also in turn developed 'the publicity and image management' (Hearn and Schoenhoff 2016) professions within Hollywood. This in fact normalises project- and contract-based work for readers since, following Douglas and McDonnell (2019: 20), celebrity culture 'plays a major role in constituting who we are, and what we hope for and dream about'. Representations of celebrities, therefore, contribute to the production of masculinities, Americanness and Britishness.

Wallace precedes this synopsis of work with a comment from a contemporary of Damon to confirm his 'well-knownness', 'When I tell the director Steven Soderbergh that I'm writing this piece about Damon, he responds with faux derision: "Why? He's not doing much"' (*GQ US* 1/12: 51). Comments such as these from colleagues have a two- or three-fold effect: to name a celebrity's social capital, consecrate them as part of a group within the field of popular culture and depending on the colleague's own status, add symbolic capital to the celebrity in question. Soderbergh is a respected Hollywood director and producer whose directorial debut film, *Sex, Lies, and Videotape* (1989),

garnered him a Palme d'Or at Cannes. His films *Erin Brockovich* (2000) and *Traffic* (2000) were both nominated for Oscars in the same year, the latter of which was awarded 'Best Director'. He was awarded an Emmy for 'Outstanding Directing' for his mini-series on Liberace, *Behind the Candelabra* (2013). He has also had financial success with films such as *Ocean's Eleven* (2011) and the sequels that followed. Soderbergh, therefore, has been consecrated by his contemporaries so that he is socially and symbolically identified as an established agent in the field of popular culture, as well. His faux ridicule of Damon, therefore, identifies that Damon and his projects are known by a well-respected director (social capital) which adds to the status of such a connection. There is, however, an element of consecration to Soderbergh's comment. Whilst it is not a formal review, as discussed above in Section III.5, of Damon, such a comment is a recognition that Damon has a lot on his plate, but also that his work is known by others, such as other established agents, in the field. Whilst Bourdieu's (1993) work on symbolic production focuses on formal acts of consecration (i.e. reviews and awards), this thesis argues that such informal comments are also performative acts of consecration, which this and the following sections continue to explore. 'Performative' is added here to Bourdieu's conception of acts of consecration to underscore that these acts, or statements in the Foucauldian sense, must be repeated regularly in the media so that a celebrity's social capital is reiterated and the status of their social capital repeated. These informal acts of consecration, along with other forms of capital, cohere to establish the agent's celebrity capital, which in turn positions them in the field of popular culture.

Over in the January issue of *British GQ*, John's Naughton's story on Daniel Craig (*GQ UK* 1/12: 52-58; Figures VI.2.1a-c) begins by telling readers that Craig will 'soon be reunited with his *Road to Perdition* director, Sam Mendes, when he begins shooting his third instalment [as James Bond], *Skyfall*, due in October 2012 to coincide with the series' golden anniversary' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 55). Similar to the piece on Damon, this feature on Craig opens by mentioning a decorated director, Sam Mendes, a critically-acclaimed film they worked on together and the successful James Bond film series for which Craig is known. Naughton, therefore, begins to represent Craig's social capital, by being associated with Mendes and establishing that this is not a new working relationship with

the director. Naughton also represents Craig's economic capital by mentioning the third instalment of the Bond series. This particular iteration of the Bond series with Craig as James Bond has been well-received by the public, which also is a form of visibility capital since he is repeatedly appearing in the lead role of this on-going series.

Readers also learn that Craig studied with Declan Donnellan who is the 'legendary British director, co-founder of Cheek by Jowl' (ibid.: 55) theatre company, which is used to certify Craig as a legitimately trained actor. Over in American *GQ*, mentions of celebrities' formal qualifications, especially with Hollywood actors, are rare. Though *British GQ* does not spend significant space discussing training or formal qualifications for their readers, these statements of institutionalised cultural capital have a presence in the British edition. For Craig, mention of Donnellan and Cheek by Jowl connects the actor to a highly-regarded theatre company known for their interpretations of Shakespeare's works and European plays performed in their original tongue or translated language. To have studied at Cheek by Jowl is to have been a member of an internationally recognised theatre establishment, which situates Craig as more than just an actor, but an actor with recognised credentials.

Naughton turns to the reason that he is interviewing Craig in New York City, which is to promote his most recent film, *The Girl With The Dragon Tattoo* (2011) directed by David Fincher. Later in the piece, Naughton will identify two of Fincher's key films, *Se7en* (1995) and the 'Oscar-baiting' (ibid.: 56) *The Social Network* (2010), which places Craig in the hands of an award-winning director and in the company of other successful film actors. Naughton mentions two of Craig's early career highlights, *Our Friends In The North* (1996), and *Love Is The Devil* (1998) and makes a character connection between the 'glamorous gloom' (ibid.) he exudes in those projects and his work in Fincher's film. Mentions of Craig's recent 'big-budget' (ibid.: 55) success with *Cowboys & Aliens* (2011), *The Adventures of Tintin* (2011) and *Dream House* (2011) identifies Craig as an in-demand star who participates in mostly economically productive films. As with Damon discussed above, Craig appearing in Naughton's favourable piece (something that he must accumulate to maintain his celebrity capital) in *British GQ* works to consecrate the actor as a celebrity through the review of his work.

Implied in the listings of Craig's and Damon's projects are reiterations of their accumulations of economic and cultural capital. From their breakout roles through to the present, Craig and Damon have acted in films that on the whole have been financially successful. The same can be said of their television roles and other projects; such as Craig's theatre credits, scripts that Damon wrote and the projects that he produced, all of which contributes to their position as part of the establishment in the field of popular culture. Each successful performance, financially or critically, these actors acquire is the Hollywood version of accumulating more capital. Economic capital is acquired from audience consumption, whilst social capital is built through new or sustained relationships. Cultural capital is received, but often after the critics give their reviews or awards are received. Furthermore, depending on the type of film (blockbuster, indie, period, rom-com, etc.), the status of their fellow cast members and director, along with the overall critical and popular success of the flim contributes to their ability to maintain where they are positioned in the field of popular culture.

Damon and Craig are not the expectations in either edition for this 'work' review. Celebrities across genres receive discussions of varying lengths of their careers. The length of the discussion in either edition mostly depends on where they are in their career, which is unpacked throughout this chapter. The important feature in these narrations of Damon's and Craig's CVs, however, is the prominent discourse on work that produces their 'visibility' within the field of popular culture. Celebrities' positions in the field of popular culture, therefore, are dependent on magazines such as these reiterating their work histories.

As mentioned above, Bourdieu (1993: 37) argues that 'the producers of the meaning and value of the work' are those that symbolically produce the work of art, which is the act of 'consecration'. By drawing attention to these 'producers of [...] meaning and value' (ibid.) Bourdieu identifies a struggle for power in the field of cultural production to consecrate works of art as such. In the case of both *GQ* magazines, they regularly contribute to the discourse on 'celebrity', therefore they produce 'legitimate discourse' (Bourdieu 1993: 36) about 'celebrity'. This thesis understands legitimate discourse by relating it to Foucault's (1969 [2010]) conception of discourse wherein he argues that

statements are limited, meaning not all are accepted. Wallace, Naughton and other writers that produce work for *GQ*, therefore, reiterate these statements on celebrities' 'work' not only to consecrate, but also to establish their symbolic capital in the field of popular culture to make such statements. As Bourdieu (1993) explains of the struggle for power:

> For the author, the critic, the art dealer, the publisher or the theatre manager, the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects (with a trademark or signature) or persons (through publication, exhibition, etc.) and therefore to give value, and to appropriate the profits from this operation (75).

Consideration has to be given, however, to not only Wallace and Naughton's statuses as recognised writers, but also to their work being distributed in the field of popular culture through American and British *GQ*. There appears to be a simultaneous exchange of symbolic capital between magazines and writers. Both editions of *GQ* bestow consecrations on the writers as legitimate cultural intermediaries within the field, but the writers are also returning to the magazines through their possessions of cultural and symbolic capitals.

The review of celebrities' careers is not the reserve of Hollywood film stars such as Damon and Craig, but occurs in feature pieces on celebrities and famous people across pop culture genres that appear in both editions, such as music and sport. In the June issue of American *GQ*, Amy Wallace's feature on R&B celebrity D'Angelo (*GQ US* 6/12: 158-163, 192-195) discusses the performer's return to the studio and stage and after a more than decade-long hiatus, his lauded success in the late 1990s and why he took a break from performing. Over in *British GQ*, Dylan Jones interviews Robbie Williams (*GQ UK* 10/12: 232-236, 312) about his successful British music career from boyband member to soloist, but failing to make it with American audiences. Earlier in the year, *British GQ*'s lengthy feature on Brazilian and global football icon, Pelé (*GQ UK* 5/12: 70-76, 226-227) will discuss his origins, changes in his career and his catapult to global fame, but will also reveal for readers his business failings. American *GQ* has two features on controversial NFL football player, Tim Tebow. Michael Silver (*GQ US* 3/12: 126-132) does an in-depth review of Tebow's 2011 season as quarterback for the Denver Broncos in the style of an

oral history with his teammates, competitors, coaches and American football commentators, whilst Devin Gordon (*GQ US* 9/12: 246-249) uses a few key moments in Tebow's career and his pre-season training to discuss his cult-like following as Tebow begins with a new team, the New York Jets. These are just a few of the nearly monthly features on celebrities from music and sport.

What is consistent across the features on Damon and Craig, and those briefly mentioned above, is that the discourse on work is integral to the representation of 'celebrity' in both editions in question. As Douglas and McDonnell (2019: 99) argue that 'a journalist template emerged' in their discussion of studios mitigating celebrity scandals with favorable pieces. One such component of these pieces was to demonstrate that for a celebrity '[t]o stay at the top, stars had to work hard', which the above has shown persists through to today. The discourse on work comes in the form of reiterations of celebrities' past, present and future projects, which represent celebrities' economic, cultural, social and visibility capitals, and depending on the statement can also represent their symbolic capital as well. As noted earlier in this section, the narrative CV has a two-fold effect. Whilst the representation of their projects was covered in this section, the following section explores the second effect, which is the representation of celebrities' social capital and how this contributes to positioning them in the field of popular culture.

VI.2.2 Representing Celebrities' Social Capital

The second part of this representational technique that is the narration of celebrities' careers is the identification of other celebrities and key players in the field of popular culture that Craig and Damon are, have worked with or are personally connected to in other ways. As mentioned above, early on in both features, Craig and Damon are connected to highly successful directors with which they have had repeated box office successes; Mendes and Soderbergh respectively. Both directors are award-winning and known for spanning cinematic genres. Many of the other directors mentioned in both pieces fall into this award-winning category as well: David Fincher and Martin Campbell for Craig and Cameron Crowe, the Coen brothers, the Farrelly brothers, Clint Eastwood,

Neill Blomkamp and Stephen Gaghan for Damon. Such associations begin to contextualise Craig's and Damon's careers in the magazine pieces, particularly for those readers who possess the cultural capital to know of the directors' bodies of work and the awards associated with their films. Whilst the narrative CV technique produces the actor through a discourse on work, contributing to their visibility and economic capitals, the representation of their professional network helps to validate Craig and Damon within the field of popular culture as established agents by demonstrating their high social capital.

As discussed in Section III.5, strong networks that are 'capable of being mobilized' (Bourdieu 1980 [1990]: 35) are forms of social capital. Both editions of *GQ* are representing celebrities' social capital when relationships with key members in a subfield of popular culture, such as Hollywood, are discussed. Craig's and Damon's relationships with directors are representations of social capital, especially when repeated actor-director '"connections"' (Bourdieu 1995: 32) are mentioned. For Craig, 'he'll soon be reunited with his *Road To Perdition* director, Sam Mendes, when he begins shooting his third instalment, *SkyFall*' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 55). For Damon, as mentioned in the previous section, Wallace lists the six films directed by Steven Soderbergh in which Damon has acted. Whilst any utterance of a successful director in a feature of an established Hollywood actor is an iteration of being a 'successful' actor, the repeated film collaborations evidence, to follow Swartz (1997: 74), an 'alliance', or a relationship that exists for mutual benefit. Such relationships in Hollywood are necessary for an actor to have regular work (economic capital) and maintain their visibility, but also for a director's film to get the 'star-power' necessary to attract audiences. Working with Soderbergh six times implies that Soderbergh may have had Damon in mind for one or more of those five films that followed their first collaboration in 2001, *Ocean's Eleven*, especially those outside of the *Ocean's* series.

Along with mentioning directors, name-dropping of other actors in Craig's and Damon's personal and professional worlds, is another aspect of their social capital. Wallace spends more time outlining Damon's professional relationships than Naughton does for Craig. As mentioned above, Damon has worked with comedian Sarah Silverman, but Wallace also mentions Damon as working with Tina Fey on *30 Rock*

(2010-2011), Greg Kinnear on *Stuck on You* (2003) and Emily Blunt on *The Adjustment Bureau* (2011). '[H]e's also worked with Eastwood, Redford, Scorsese, Gilliam, and Van Sant. De Niro and Affleck have advised him on the challenges of acting and directing at the same time' (*GQ US* 1/12: 52). Wallace represents Damon as an actor engaged in the network of the Hollywood establishment. The cameo-turned-recurring-role on *30 Rock* was the result of Damon actively networking as Wallace explains, 'Tina Fey says he approached her at an awards dinner and said he'd like to be considered for a cameo' (ibid.: 52). Damon and John Krasinski are working on a project together, which was the result of the two actors meeting on set of *The Adjustment Bureau* since Krasinski is married to Damon's co-star in that film, Emily Blunt. Damon's friendship and professional relationship with Ben Affleck is mentioned as well through their production company, Pearl Street Films.

Although Naughton does not produce an equally long list of actors and directors that Craig has worked with, as Wallace does for Damon, he does mention at the end of the piece Craig being signed with CAA (Creative Artists Agency). As Naughton writes:

> Did things really take off when he landed CAA as his American agents? "Well, I think the significant move was Bryan Lourd," suggests Craig diplomatically. Lourd is Hollywood's equivalent of an oil strike. His client list, in alphabetical order, runs: Clooney, Cruise, De Niro...Do we need to go on? (*GQ UK* 1/12: 58).

Whilst Craig may not socialise with these esteemed actors whose surnames are enough to identify them, Naughton's mention of them confirms that Craig is positioned in the same place as some of the most globally recognised names in Hollywood. Craig, however, does qualify his relationship with Lourd, '"I built up a relationship with him and I count him as a friend. That's the only way I know how to do business – being straight and honest – and we found out about each other. [...] It took me ten years to build up a relationship with my British agent, it takes that long, I think"' (ibid.). For celebrities, the erosion of boundaries between professional and personal relationships exists. Wallace mentions Damon's relationship with his '"hetero lifemate"' (*GQ US* 1/12: 53), Ben Affleck, who he s started a production company, Pearl Street Films, with in 2012.

The time that Naughton spends on discussing Fincher brings the reader into Craig's experience. Craig says, '"I was so fit when I started filming," he recalls," that

Fincher just used to send me bowls of pasta and bottles of wine. He said you don't look like a journalist, you're moving like an action hero"' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 58). Craig goes on to share that it took him half a year to remove his chiselled Bond abdominals. Whilst putting on weight may not sound like much work, such bodily modifications are frequent amongst actors regardless of gender identification. Of the actual performances, Naughton shares that 'Fincher worked his actors hard, asking for multiple takes of every shot, à la Kubrick' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 58). Craig acknowledges Fincher's process, but also dismisses it by saying '"But he didn't really do a lot with me. Besides, I'm an actor. I like dressing up and showing off. The more the better"' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 58). Although intended or not, Craig separates himself from the other cast members, including Rooney Mara, who he compliments earlier, as not subject to the same Kubrickesque treatment, therefore, potentially better than the others or at least better at figuring out what Fincher wanted. Naughton brings up Craig's lack of a Scandinavian accent in the film, which Craig shares he negotiated with Fincher not to do it. Naughton uses this moment to situate Craig, 'in the tradition of former Bond Sean Connery and a marker that you are a big star indeed – just sounds like himself' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 58).

In the above, Damon and Craig's social capital is established through the reiteration of recognisable names, which consecrates them as established celebrities in their own right in the field of popular culture. Most of their personal and professional connections mentioned in the features also add the element of status since they are on the whole recognisable names. When the celebrities' forenames or surnames appear on their own, e.g. 'Eastwood, Redford, Scorsese' (*GQ US* 1/12: 52), this is typically reserved for celebrities who are so recognisable that their full name is not necessary to identify them. As with the informal acts of consecration discussed in the previous section, the repetition of other celebrities' names and highly-regarded members of the professional work to position the celebrity in question in the field of popular culture. As mentioned in Section III.5, a person cannot stake a claim in a field without being consecrated. By extension, a celebrity cannot claim a position in the field without being consecrated, which involves identifying their social connections and those 'names' validating their connections in return. Whilst not every fellow actor and director mentioned in the pieces on Damon

and Craig confirm their relationship, only a few quotations from colleagues were needed to verify Damon and Craig as established celebrities. It is worth mentioning that some names are not present in these two features, which are those that may be unrecognisable, meaning celebrities that have just broken into the field of popular culture or are niche, meaning that they require specific cultural capital to be recognised by readers. This is not always the case in features on established celebrities, but it is rare since it does not contribute to the representation of these star's high celebrity capital.

The following section turns to the topic of fashion and celebrity. In all of the celebrity features across 2012 in both editions, celebrity interviews are often accompanied by images, in which the clothes and accessories that the celebrity is wearing are identified. At the beginning of this section, Wallace tells readers that Damon 'understands that profiles like this one play a part in marketing his films' (*GQ US* 1/12: 98), which means that Damon understands that being style and photographed in the latest fashions that *GQ* wants to promote, is also part of marketing his films.

VI.2.3 Celebrities In Fashion & the Celebrification of Fashion Designers

Daniel Craig ranks thirty-seventh on *British GQ*'s 'Best-Dressed Men 2012' list (Figure VI.2.3a). The list is composed of over fifty British men – mostly celebrities or recognisable names for the British public – who are as well as some sublists that may include international men. The close-up image of Craig is minimally edited. Freckles show on his face, lines appear on his forehead and around his eyes, fuzz appears at the edge of his earlobe and the skin around his collar has not been smoothed or recoloured. His famous piercing blue eyes are impossible not to notice as is the tuxedo he has become famous for wearing as the character James Bond. D. W. Griffith is credited with popularising the close-up shot in his films such as *Birth of a Nation* (1915). Douglas and McDonnell (2019: 95) explain the effect the close-up had on the public:

> The close-up, often enhanced by lighting, brought the unique, subtle, and distinctive qualities of the actors' faces into high relief, allowing audiences to view, memorize, and even imitate their looks and expressions. It was the close-up's ability to make recognizable the facial features of famous actors [...] that made the technique so powerful.

The close-up image of Craig, as explained above, brings the celebrity into 'high relief' allowing the reader to contemplate the Hollywood star's face and memorise it so that Craig is always recognised. The image is striking for the lack of post-production smoothing of lines, freckles and evening of skin tone and correcting of anything unsightly so common in lifestyle publications (Wissinger 2013). Although zooming into the image reveals 'noise', or when the pixels become irregular because they have been manipulated, on the whole the post-production is minimal. Prior to the 1990s and the advent of Photoshop, Craik (1994) shares in her discussion of fashion photography manual advice from the Interwar period that 'the studied expression of skin texture gives desired character to male subjects. Men's faces should not be retouched'. The visible lines, freckles, uneven skin tone and even peach fuzz on Craig's ears are a commentary on British masculinity, which is that these signs of ageing are appropriate and acceptable. This, however, is not always the case and how male celebrities and their faces and bodies are shown is explored in the following sections of this chapter to propose what these say about American and British masculinities in 2012.

One of the best-dressed panel's judges, Italo Zucchelli, men's creative director of Calvin Klein Collection (2004-2016), says, '"Daniel Craig is very attractive and talented. Whether dressed elegantly in a suit at a premiere or wearing more casual clothes in his everyday life, he is always confident and stylish"' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 215). *British GQ* adds, '[w]hether on the red carpet or armed with a Walther PPK, the Bond actor always saves the sartorial day' (ibid.). As a fashion designer, Zucchelli is consecrating Craig for his ability to always be appropriately styled regardless of the occasion. The statement is one that straddles bodily and cultural capitals because to wear fashion well one has to understand how clothes should fit on their body, as well as how to move in them correctly. As mentioned above in Section I.2.1, Entwistle (2000: 1) says, '[f]ashion is about bodies: it is produced, promoted and worn by bodies'. The end of Zucchelli's comments tells the reader that Craig always has the bodily and cultural awareness of clothes he wears, which is why he is 'always confident and stylish' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 215). *British GQ* validates Zucchelli's opinion with their trite comment that Craig 'always saves the sartorial day' (ibid.). The comment for Zucchelli is particularly telling because it indicates that Craig, and

by extension British readers, should strive for confidence and stylishness regardless of the occasion. This is a moment of policing masculinity for *British GQ* in that this and the other celebrity representations discussed below connect masculinity not simply to fashion, but to an awareness of one's body and its relationship to what is being worn.

The complete best-dressed list in *British GQ* is a more obvious example of the interrelationship between celebrity and fashion in these editions and contemporary lifestyle media more generally. The repetition of celebrities, images of them as well dressed and commentary on why they are stylish appears to equally justify the list of celebrities as best-dressed as it does to maintain *British GQ* as an arbiter of men's style within and beyond Britain. As the introduction to the list states, '[t]he new breed of British actors [...] are winning plaudits for their unique style that make them some of the most photographed men in the world' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 206). As discussed in Section III.5, awards are a form of institutionalised cultural capital. This best-dressed list, therefore, is a consecration of Craig and the other celebrities for representing British fashion and style abroad. British celebrities abroad are explored further in the conclusion.

American *GQ* does not have a best-dressed list in 2012, but arguably every instance in which a celebrity wears fashion for the magazine, as with *British GQ* as well, is a consecration of the celebrity's ability to use their celebrity capital to sell clothes for the magazine. The following section begins by looking at the fashion images that accompany Damon and Craig's features before turning to a discussion of the 'celebrification' of fashion designers in American and British *GQ* magazine.

As discussed above in Chapter V, men's fashion and style were *GQ*'s *raison d'être* in its earlier years before it expanded its lifestyle content offerings. As discussed in Section V.2, after the purchase of the magazine by Condé Nast, *GQ* co-opted the discourse on celebrity to have a significant impact in the American and then British men's lifestyle markets. Then editor-in-chief, Art Cooper, increased the frequency and range of celebrities that appeared in American *GQ* to improve the magazine's standing as a men's lifestyle magazine, but also to make fashion and style features less threatening to the heterosexual reader as he attempted to 'butch up' the publication to reach a wider audience. Furthermore, as discussed in Section V.5, *British GQ* continued the discourse

on celebrity as the first international publication of the magazine. Whilst the previous section sought to link the symbolic production of established celebrities through a discourse on work, this section adds to the analysis of the representation of 'celebrity' through fashion. As Sill (2008: 127) argues, '[a] look at the history of fashion imagery reveals that fashion and stardom are very closely linked' (see also Church-Gibson 2012). Photos and photospreads that accompany the features and standalone fashion spreads contribute to celebrities' bodily, cultural and visibility capitals. The celebrity fashion image existed before the birth of *GQ* in the 1920s and 1930s with the coverage that accompanied these images having antecedents in the reporting of Vaudeville acts of the 1910s (Douglas and McDonnell 2019). Church-Gibson (2012: 53) argues that 'films themselves [...] are now arguably less important than press and Internet coverage of the stars' outfits and their personal lives, together with their commercial deployment within "the fashion system", in fashion features and advertising campaigns' (see also Douglas and McDonnell 2019; Turner 2014; Williamson 2016). Fashion features and fashion images that appear in American and British *GQ* serve a threefold purpose: to display the celebrity's bodily capital, their understanding of how to wear fashion (cultural capital) and to contribute images of the celebrity to the public's consciousness.

On page 49 of American *GQ*, Matt Damon is grimacing whilst curling a barbell (Figures VI.2a). The weight is fake, however, since behind the actor is a colourful merry-go-round and in the foreground is a smaller barbell with clearly visible dents. An image of Damon standing near a wall of brightly coloured balloons holding a dart spans across pages 51 onto about a third of the previous page (Figure VI.2b). A third and final image of Damon on page 52 has him walking with a bubble toy gun, again in front of the brightly coloured backdrop of what appears to be a children's amusement park of some kind (Figure VI.2c). Since Amy Wallace's story discusses the actor's recently released film, *We Bought a Zoo* (2011), those familiar with the Central Park Zoo, mentioned in the introduction of the piece, may also assume that the images were shot there as well. In each of the images by Ben Watts, Damon is casually dressed despite some of the clothes he wears being from high-end designers/labels such as Prada, Dior Homme and Common Projects. The expensive garments and shoes are mixed with high street brands such as

AllSaints, Club Monaco and Converse; a common styling approach in American *GQ*'s fashion images. As discussed above, Damon knows that he has to participate in the interview to help promote his film that was in theatres when the magazine hit newsstands. For men's lifestyle magazines, companion images or fashion spreads are part of the promotional feature deal. Such is the case in *British GQ* as well.

The photographs by Sam Taylor-Wood that accompany the feature piece on Daniel Craig (Figure VI.2.1a) are different from the images of Damon. The opening image on page 53, is a three-quarters close-up view of Craig's head shot in black and white. He is smoking a cigar and his right hand is perched close by. Lines around the left side of his mouth and eye are visible as a result of the strong light on the left of his face. The shirt he is wearing is barely discernible except for the line of the collar and the faint appearance of a button near the copy, which reads, '**Tinker, tailor, stogie, spy:** Daniel Craig photographed for GQ in Los Angeles (Figure VI.2.1b). Shirt by **Armani Collezioni**, £149. armani.com' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 53, original emphasis). The image on the following page is in full colour with Craig facing forward is a sharp counterpoint to the previous. The bright southern California light is behind Craig and although his face is in pale shadow and he is not as close to the camera, some of the lines visible on his face in the previous image remain. He wears an Armani shirt, which based on the price listed at the top of the image could mean that it is the same shirt. A much smaller colour image on page 57 shows the actor facing forward (Figure VI.2.1c). From Craig's left, soft light washes over him, but viewers only see the left of his face, head and neck, and his crossed arms. The blue of his left eye pierces through the minimalist palette of the image. The black T-shirt he wears merges his torso with the black background. Unless, the viewer reads the text discussing the images from the film to the left of Craig, they are likely to miss that the image in the centre is a fashion image denoted by the text which reads, 'Centre: T-shirt by **Sunspel**, £35.sunspel.com' (*GQ UK* 1/12: 57, original emphasis). A triptych of images placed down the centre of page 58 relate to the opening image, but they are a series of photos taken one after the other of Craig smoking. The setting is unremarkable yet contemplative. Craig's gaze does not leave the camera until the last image. The most

obvious features between these series of images is how colourful those of Damon are and how serious Craig appears.

When men's fashion designers and industry insiders are featured, important moments in their careers are mentioned, but a lengthy catwalk-by-catwalk narrative is not present, in the way that readers are walked through Damon's and Craig's oeuvres. What label or house they are designing for, where they studied, and what key designs or creative outputs moved their careers forward or brought them into the realm of increased 'visibility' are the important CV-related content that gets answered. The fashion professionals' features, however, will not have all of the aforementioned in every fashion piece. There are two discursive techniques that almost always appear across all of these fashion features: who they worked with previously and what celebrities they dress, style, photograph and have befriended. The following discusses these represented 'relationships', i.e. social capital, and how they work in tandem with the discourse on work to consecrate fashion designers as 'celebrities' in the field of popular culture.

In the October issue of *British GQ*, Robert Johnston features American fashion designer Michael Kors (*GQ UK* 10/12: 171-172; Figure VI.2.3b). After identifying Kors's fashion line as 'turning classic American sportswear into a near-fantasy lifestyle' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 171), the piece quickly turns to Kors's discovery story. The former fashion director, Dawn Mello, of the luxury department store Bergdorf Goodman in New York City discovered Kors when walking by the window of the store that he was dressing. Readers learn how in 1997 'he joined French fashion house Céline and two years later became the label's first ever creative director'(*GQ UK* 10/12: 172). From the beginning of this feature, Kors's social and cultural capitals overflow. Not only was he discovered by a top fashion director at one of New York City's most elite department stores which expanded his social capital, but he acquired the title of 'creative director' that beforehand was non-existent at Céline. This latter point is not only a credit in the form of cultural capital, but also symbolic capital since the status of being the first to hold the role establishes the primacy of Kors's impact on the house and the subfield of fashion. Moreover, when American designers breakaway from their continent for posts at European fashion houses, it is a further consecration of their status as superior designers since they are taking on roles at often

more elite fashion labels than the American labels. Johnston says that he was named menswear designer of the year in 2003 by the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) before turning his attention to Kors's run on the 'American reality-TV show *Project Runway*, which moved him from "fashion fame" [...] to genuine American celebrity status' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 172). Johnston's distinction between fashion fame and celebrity are important because it is a valuing statement about fashion generally for readers. Whilst Kors's menswear design award is a moment of consecration in which his contemporaries raised his profile, the CFDA is a subfield-specific honour that only has currency to fashion insiders and followers of fashion. Not until Kors appears on a reality television series that is widely successful from its inception does he make the transition over to 'celebrity' because his visibility capital garnered him representation outside of fashion media.

Kors's increased visibility capital helped his fashion brand to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange in 2011, which at the time was 'the most successful fashion initial public offering in history, valuing the brand at nearly £2.3bn' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 172). Whilst the conversion of visibility capital to economic capital can be inferred from Johnston's piece, such is confirmed by *The New York Times* (La Ferla 2008: n.p.), '[a] source close to the Kors company said that the designer's "Project Runway" fame has translated into 5 percent of the company's gross'. Before Johnston and Kors discuss clothes and his recent collection, the writer will mention Kors 'spending plenty of time on the slopes at Aspen and in his private jet' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 172), which is an additional confirmation of his accumulation of media visibility into economic returns since even in the world of luxury fashion it is rare for a creative director to have their own private jet, though many may be able to charter one.

The feature on Kors, like the other fashion designer interviews that appear in *British GQ* in 2012, uses many of the discursive techniques to either 'celebrify' a fashion designer or contribute to their visibility capital helping to maintain their 'celebrity' status in the field of popular culture. As the above has shown, Johnston provides Kors's origin story for his profession, identifies some of his social network, explains how he increased his public presence, highlights him as an award-winning designer and mentions some of the extravagant ways in which the designer has spent his money, which cohere to identify

Kors as an established figure in the subfield of fashion and the field of popular culture, specifically because of his involvement with a highly successful reality competition series.

The feature on Kors is one of the longer interviews with a fashion designer in *British GQ* in 2012; the other two are on Sarah Burton (*GQ UK* 10/12: 184-187) and Kris van Assche (*GQ UK* 11/12: 155-158). As mentioned in Section II.3 on content analysis, many early studies of newspapers measured the 'real estate' given to particular topics to assess American readers' shifting tastes in content. The idea of the amount of space devoted to a designer in either edition speaks to their visibility in the subfield of fashion and the wider field of popular culture. Michael Kors and Sarah Burton became recognisable names through popular culture. Burton became a recognisable name to the British public and wider fashion world after taking the helm at Alexander McQueen after his suicide in 2010. She reached worldwide fame for designing Kate Middleton's wedding dress which garnered her a position on *Time* magazine's annual list of the 100 most influential people for 2012. Whilst Kris van Assche is notable through his then post as artistic director of Dior Homme from 2007 to 2018. Van Assche raised the profile of Dior Homme by dressing many well-known celebrities for events and expanding the product range. These three features are contrasted with other features on fashion or accessories designers who are given two-thirds to one full page in length features, which is less than the aforementioned multi-page interviews. Brunello Cucinelli (*GQ UK* 1/12: 121), Patrick Louis Vuitton (*GQ UK* 2/12: 89), Angelo Galasso (*GQ UK* 3/12: 182-183), Billy Reid (*GQ UK* 4/12: 188) and Henri d'Origny (*GQ UK* 9/12: 196) are not household names, but *British GQ* features them and their work to increase their visibility and inform their readers of these designers' work. This difference in the amount of 'real estate' these designers are given speaks to their status in the subfield of fashion and the field of popular culture. Those with obviously or possibly recognisable names get a similar celebrity treatment, whilst those lacking the necessary visibility capital are given less space as fits their status in the field. This idea of 'real estate' within the issues is discussed further in Section VI.5 on 'breakthrough' stars where the number of pages devoted to them is consistently different across both editions. The following turns to American *GQ* and their representations of fashion designers and other fashion professionals.

Whilst there are small spotlights on fashion designers found across the year of 2012 in American *GQ*, they are not given the celebrity treatment in terms of the number of pages as Kors, Burton and van Assche receive in *British GQ*. On the whole, fashion designers are given one third or less space of a page when they appear. These designers are most often found in features such as 'The GQ 100' (*GQ US* 4/12: 104-135) – a fashion, product and popular culture list – where they and their label are being 'introduced' to readers. Some of the representational techniques mentioned above, however, remain consistent in these features, but they are done on a much smaller scale. For example, the image of designer Ian Velardi (*GQ US* 4/12: 107, see Figure VI.2.3c) is stamped with a graphic that reads 'The Best New Menswear Designers in America 2012'. Through a collaboration with American highstreet brand, The Gap, each of the selected designers will have a capsule collection sold through The Gap. This program is for emerging or mid-career designers, which is intended to raise the profiles of their labels, but is also an act of consecration by *GQ* and The Gap to identify Velardi as someone to watch. Through a shortened interview, readers learn that Velardi started his label in 2010 and that his aesthetic is a 'relaxed take on tailoring [...] He meshes high/low and uptown/downtown all at once' (ibid.). Velardi shares that he has a fascination with Formula One before his relationship to his work is discussed, '**Work Ethic**: "I have no employees. I do the design, I do the sales, I do the marketing, the merchandising. I handle all of the logistics. I pack everything and ship it myself"' (ibid., original emphasis). Velardi's words on being a one-man show, whilst contributing to the discourse on work, are also statements on what being a self-employed business owner means. Just as failure is normalised by mentioning a film that Damon starred in that was not well received, this statement by Velardi normalises the nature of work involved in being a small business owner, meaning doing everything by oneself if necessary. The image of Velardi even contributes to this idea. Velardi is seated on a bed, which appears to be next to his office area which may indicate that Verlardi work and living space are one and the same. This small feature on Velardi is indicative of features on breakthrough celebrities, which is discussed below in Section VI.4.

Full-length features on fashion designers in American *GQ* amount to only one piece across 2012, which is on Givenchy's then creative director, Riccardo Tisci (*GQ US* 12/12: 272-273, 301-302; Figure VI.2.3d). In the December issue of American *GQ*, Molly Young discusses how Riccardo Tisci's work at Givenchy since 2005 put the couture house back in the centre of fashion whilst engaging with other celebrities and black American urban youth. The centre of page 273 of the December issue of American *GQ*, is surrounded by the text of the interview, a black box contains the words 'GQ M.O.T.Y.', 'RICCARDO TISCI' and 'DESIGNER' (*GQ US* 12/12: 273). The December issue of American *GQ* is devoted to the magazine's annual 'Men of the Year' (or M.O.T.Y.) award recipients. Tisci received the 'Designer of the Year' M.O.T.Y. award. The name of the award without a qualifier could be one of two things: either *GQ*'s long history of distancing itself from the word 'fashion' to avoid the feminine association of 'fashion' (see section V.1 for discussion of this), or more simply that it is implied that the award is for a fashion designer since readers have come to associate *GQ* with men's fashion. Regardless of the reason, *GQ* bestowing Tisci this honour may not be for prestige, as is the case for a BFC Fashion Award or a CFDA Fashion Award[10], but it is a more formal act of consecration by the publication. M.O.T.Y. awards are self-regarding in that they are staking a claim that *GQ* holds in the field of popular culture.

At the beginning of the article, Tisci is associated with designers known for renewing interest in a fashion house. 'Tisci almost instantly brought to Givenchy what Tom Ford once brought to Gucci and Hedi Slimane to Dior: a money-minting black box of creative energy and social capital that's as enigmatic as it is lucrative' (*GQ US* 12/12: 273). This is a new statement, one of association, that does not appear in the features of established celebrities discussed above. Tisci is not connected to Ford or Slimane for a collaboration or socially, but for what each of these designers are or have done for a major fashion house, which is to turn it around and bring it back to the forefront of fashion. In a sense, these associations are quick discursive strategies used to help the reader

[10] The British Fashion Council (BFC) and the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) both hold annual Fashion Award ceremonies to honour fashion designers and other members of the fashion industry.

understand how they are to think of Tisci's role in fashion, which is as a rising star in the subfield of fashion.

Later in the article, Young writes of Tisci's aesthetic, '[i]t's about looking cool without sacrificing sex appeal, which is one key difference between Tisci and, say, Rick Owens' (*GQ US* 12/12: 301). Closely related to association, this kind of statement is a distinction statement because it is meant to use, in this case, the work of another fashion designer to make Tisci's work understandable, which is necessary since the feature lacks images of Tisci's designs. Readers, however, must possess the necessary cultural capital to understand that Tisci's interpretation of Givenchy shares with Owens's gothic and streetwear influences, but the difference between their aesthetics is that Tisci errs on the side of sex appeal, whilst Owens strives for severity and seriousness. Earlier in the year, Tisci is featured in 'The GQ 100' where readers are told that *GQ*'s Creative Director, Jim Moore, says that 'Tisci reminds him of Helmut Lang' (*GQ US* 4/12: 106, see Figure VI.2.3c). This associative statement is not about the designs Tisci produces, but about who Tisci is as a designer, which is 'the sharpest blade right now' (ibid.). Lang was known to be a hard-working designer who pushed boundaries with his minimalist aesthetic, contributed to turning jeans into luxury items, experimented with fabrications, was the first designer to livestream a fashion show in 1998 and started a career as an artist before leaving his label (Bain and Quartz 2015). Tisci's simple but impactful Rottweiler graphic tee shown on the page and his outside projects with Kanye West are two of the reasons Moore may connect Tisci to Lang.

By 2012, Tisci was a well-established fashion designer since taking over the role of creative director for women's haute couture and ready-to-wear lines at Givenchy in 2005, followed in 2008 by his appointment to oversee accessories and menswear in 2008. Though there are no strict rules about what and how often certain statements can be made, the association and distinction statements appear out of place for an established player in the subfield of fashion. These statements appear to be more instructive for American *GQ*'s readers, who may not possess the necessary fashion capital (Entwistle and Rocamora 2006) or be frequent readers of niche fashion magazines (Lynge-Jorlén 2012) to be able to know and recognise Tisci. Moreover, in both editions of the magazine,

the purpose of fashion content is both to articulate the magazines' fashion cultural capital and to display the latest fashion trends to illicit consumer desire.

Immediately following the aforementioned association statement by Young, the dropping of celebrity names begins. Readers hear the names Rooney Mara, Frank Ocean, and Kayne West on page 273, and will see Kayne West's name again on page 302 followed by Liv Tyler, Rihanna, Swizz Beatz[11], Usher, Rick Ross[12], and Amar'e Stoudemire[13]. As discussed above with Damon and Craig, representing a celebrity's social capital helps to position them in the field of popular culture, but also represents the strength of their network. All of the aforementioned names are not only recognisable, but desirable celebrities for a fashion designer to dress. Dressing these celebrities is the equivalent of a musician playing at Coachella or Glastonbury since these are not just anybody, rather they are the right people to wear Tisci's clothes because they return a 'credit' (Bourdieu 1993: 75) to the designer which, although it is not a formal consecration, is a validation of Tisci's work at Givenchy.

In 2012, Kanye West was mentioned more than once in relation to fashion and style. Whilst *GQ* does not give West a fashion award of his own, across the year the mention of Kanye wearing a label or working with a designer or other fashion industry insider becomes a stamp of approval for the label or designer. This is particularly noticeable for the subscriber or frequent reader of *GQ* since it is a repeated statement that appears across the year. Of these Kanye-fashion moments across 2012, three involve Tisci. Earlier in the December issue, a reader's style question was answered by the 'Style Guy', Glen O'Brien, 'What do you think of that leather skirt Kanye West sometimes wears onstage? Art we destined for that to become a trend?' (*GQ US* 12/12: 150). O'Brien explains that Kanye 'was wearing a black leather Givenchy skirt over black leather pants' and that 'Kanye loves clothes' (ibid.). Whilst O'Brien is not saying Tisci's name, in this response, he nonetheless identifies Givenchy which Tisci oversees. In the small spotlight

[11] Swizz Beatz is an American record producer, rapper and businessman. His professional credits include producing hit songs for Beyoncé, DMX, Jay-Z, Kanye West and T.I.

[12] Rick Ross is an American rapper, songwriter and music executive. His song collaborators include Diddy, Dr. Dre, Jay-Z and Kanye West. He is known for a long-running feud with 50 Cent.

[13] Amar'e Stoudemire is an NBA professional coach and former player. He played for the Phoenix Suns, New York Knicks and the Miami Heat. A regular at fashion shows in the 2010s, he has been photographed seated next to Anna Wintour and has attended the Met Gala.

piece in April, Tisci and West are connected through text and graphic image (Figure VI.2.3c), 'Kanye West tapped him to creative-direct the Watch the Throne tour. "Riccardo is super dope!!!" Yeezy told us in an email. "Three exclamation points."' (*GQ US* 4/12: 106). By connecting Tisci with the celebrities mentioned above, and West in particular, the magazine is validating his work because of the repetition of Kanye-fashion and Kanye-Givenchy/Tisci that overlap across the year of 2012.

British GQ does not spend as much time representing fashion designers' social capital as its American counterpart, but both magazines do devote significant space each month to the relationship between celebrity and fashion. Through photospreads of celebrities wearing fashion, features on fashion designers that represent their various forms of capital and to representations of celebrities and fashion designers collaborations, this discursive formation is integral to the success of each celebrity and fashion designer. Both editions of *GQ*, whilst consecrating these celebrities and fashion designers, maintain their position as critical voices in the field of popular culture endowed with the abilities to contribute to the production of these forms of masculinity, American and British national identities.

VI.3 The Rising Stars

2011 was Michael Fassbender's year. He appeared in five feature films that year (*Jane Eyre*, *X-Men: First Class*, *A Dangerous Method*, *Haywire*, and *Shame*), the last of which garnered him significant critical attention for his depiction of a man whose world unravels due to his sex addiction. Both editions of *GQ* would contribute to the publicity of Fassbender in 2012 by placing him on their covers (the most coveted position of a men's lifestyle magazine) and conducting interviews with him that were turned into feature stories interspersed with photographs of the actor. Discussing the covers and features presents a rare temporal opportunity to directly compare the same type and length of editorial content (interview feature with photographs) on the same celebrity, and how Fassbender is constructed pre- and post-Academy Awards; *British GQ*'s article was released in the February edition, but was on newsstands in January prior to the Oscars nominations being announced whilst American *GQ*'s feature appears well after the Oscars

in June. Whilst both articles will devote significant attention to *Shame* (2011) and his full-frontal nudity in the film, American *GQ*'s also promotes his rising status in the lead up to the release of Ridley Scott's *Alien* (1979) prequel, *Prometheus* (2012) in which he played the android, David. By 2012, Fassbender received an increasing amount of coverage; he was arguably a star on the rise.

In Rojek's (2001) exposition on celebrity, he argues that celebrities are worshipped and produced through some of the same tropes associated with Christianity. One such theme is 'ascent' (Rojek 2001: 74). The previous section argued that the discursive strategy of the narrative CV (visibility and economic capitals) and celebrities' networks (social capital) are used to position certain celebrities as 'established' in the field of popular culture. This section turns its attention to the symbolic production of 'rising stars' and uses the two features on Fassbender from each edition as its focus. The following analysis builds on the work of Rojek by focusing on the repeated statements that interpellate celebrities into the position of a star on the rise. The following section continues the discussion of celebrities in fashion and bodily capital through a comparison of the companion photos for the features on Fassbender. Section VI.3.2, returns to the analysis of the tool of the narrative CV, the importance of reviewing Fassbender's work and connecting him to his contemporaries to position him in the field of popular culture. Whilst the listing of his acting projects and network of distinguished actors and directors follows the same script as those established stars discussed above, the following draws out the signifiers that position Fassbender as a 'rising' rather than 'established' actor in the field of popular culture.

VI.3.1 Fashioning Michael Fassbender

The photographs in *British GQ* by Vincent Peters (Figures VI.3.1a-d) are simplistic portraits much in the style of Daniel Craig's photographs by Sam Taylor-Wood discussed above in Section VI.2.2. The unremarkable backgrounds in each bring the viewers' attention to Fassbender, in particular his face, which across all images appears not to be or to be minimally Photoshopped. Visible lines across the actor's forehead and around the corners of his eyes signal an actor who either disregards the expected plastic

conventions of Hollywood or an actor whose career came to a late start, meaning that he was unable to do expensive measures to prevent the lines from settling. Cole explains to readers that '[h]e has worry lines on his forehead, confesses to a loathing for plastic surgery, and has zero dedication to maintaining '"some kind of image"' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). The images appear serious in the way that Craig's images were serious, meaning that there does not appear to be any joking around between actor and photographer. There is one image of Fassbender's face downcast and it is clear that he is smiling, but it is one of two smaller images on page 117 (Figure VI.3.1b). The second image has Fassbender's chest exposed in what appears to be caught in action putting on a shirt. Across the images, Peters's use of lighting enhances the angularity of Fassbender's face, in particular his high cheekbones. On page 116 (Figure VI.3.1b), the lighting is used on the actor's torso to enhance its appearance. The lighting casts a harsh shadow along the side of his torso making his midsection appear thinner, whilst the lighting also enhances his chest to appear larger. The choice of black and white images for those that come after the opening pages, continue Fassbender appearing for the most part, serious. Hollywood actors, even those that are comedians[14], are frequently represented in *British GQ* as not smiling.

The images of Fassbender are fashion images as noted by the text on each page identifying the clothes the actor wears, most of which are by Giorgio Armani, a name synonymous with restrained and luxurious clothes. Rocamora (2001: 140) argues that British fashion in *The Guardian* is created through a 'belief in the value of fashion as popular culture'. In the newspaper, describing fashion through pop cultural references and mentions of stars attending fashion shows are just two examples of how this is achieved. For an American reader, however, 'popular' should not be misconstrued to mean 'happy', 'upbeat' or 'funny'. As seen in the images in *British GQ* of Daniel Craig (*GQ UK* 1/12: 52-58), as well as, Idris Elba (*GQ UK* 6/12: 192-199), James D'Arcy (*GQ UK* 8/12: 172-181), 'The Best Dressed List' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 203-244) and most of the

[14] See for example the April 2012 comedy special issue of *British GQ*. The interview with Michael McIntyre (pages 242-249) and fashion spread featuring David Walliams (pages 256-261) do not show either comedian smiling. In the 'Kings of Comedy' feature (pages 216-231) Paul Rudd and Russell Kane are the only two comedians smiling out of a group of eighteen.

celebrities and persons of interest for the 'Men of the Year Awards' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 217-273), being represented and styled for the magazine is serious; smiles are fleeting. Whilst *British GQ* in 2012 is not describing fashion or reporting on who attended which shows, these representations of fashion and celebrity continue the symbolic production of fashion as popular, but the lack of smiles and black and white photography keep fashion in the realm of the serious for the *British GQ* audience.

Unlike the images of Damon discussed above in Section VI.2.2, the images of Fassbender in American *GQ* are serious and those that contain the female model are erotic. Fassbender is not smiling in any of them to appear like 'the nice guy' as Damon's images do. In these images, Fassbender's face in the images is minimally or unaltered as well. His worry lines are visible in almost all of the images. The images that contain the female model all have her in various stages of undress. In the second of these images, Fassbender is fully dressed in a grey suit with one arm wrapped around the model's bare waist whilst his other arm is extended out towards the camera holding the model's sheer black lace bra. At the bottom of the image, she is grabbing his crotch. In the third image with the model, the actor and model are in side view facing one another. She is bare-chested and blind-folded. One of Fassbender's thumbs sticks upwards to cover the model's nipples. In all of the images, they are all slightly obscured as if you are spying on the subjects of the images, therefore, in the images without the model the voyeurism of capturing the couple turns into a voyeurism of Fassbender or his clothes, or both.

VI.3.2 Producing 'Michael Fassbender'

On the opening pages of both articles, the copy positions Fassbender as a rising star whilst signaling to key moments of discussion in the subsequent pages. The title of the feature in the February edition of *British GQ* asks 'Can everybody stop talking about **Michael Fassbender** already?' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 114-115, original emphasis; Figure VI.3.1a). This ironic interrogative is less of a question and more a statement of his 'well-knownness' or visibility capital. By the close of 2011 five of Fassbender's films had or continued to circulate as 2012 began. His visibility capital was unequivocal. Fassbender,

therefore, is someone that has captured everyone's attention and should be at the attention of readers. Writer Olivia Cole's words on the opening pages says:

> He made his name as a Nazi-hunting, hunger-striking cinematic chameleon, but now he's taking on his biggest role yet: 2012's super-uber leading man. As he prepares for A-list takeoff, the star of Shame talks naked ambition, Oscar buzz and the actor's "buffet of choice" (*GQ UK* 2/12: 115).

The short phrase '[a]s he prepares for A-list takeoff' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 115) signals to the reader that not only are they about to learn about an actor on an upward trend in their career, but that Fassbender is aware of where he is headed. The mention of the 'Oscar buzz' (ibid.) also indicates that the actor is being recognised by the film industry; though not awarded yet at least there is industry chatter for his recent work. Cole's mention of the subject-position 'leading man' (ibid.) along with the modifiers of '2012's super-uber' (ibid.) consecrate Fassbender and where he is moving to in the field of popular culture.

Over in American *GQ*, the feature title is 'FAST BENDER' (*GQ US* 6/12: 140-141; Figures VI.3.2a-e); a play on the actor's last name that appears to make reference to the opening image by Mario Testino in which Fassbender is looking at a woman's black lace underwear who is straddled over him. Before reading the opening copy or any of the article, the title implies that the actor may be 'fast' with women. Writer Chris Heath's description on the opening pages of the June issue is not that much different than what is found in *British GQ*. As Heath says:

> After two decades in obscurity, all it took was a few choice roles to get noticed–a Nazi infiltrator here, an "X-Men" villian there, plus one unforgettable turn in "Shame" that made him a full-frontal phenomenon. His rapid rise continues this month with Ridley Scott's "Alien" prequel, "Prometheus." But as Chris Heath discovers, Michael Fassbender is more than the sum of his parts (*GQ US* 6/12: 140).

After reading Heath's opening words, the title may take on a second meaning referring to '[h]is rapid rise continues this month' (*GQ US* 6/12: 140) which tells the reader that Fassbender is continuing his ascent which is particularly aided by '[a]fter two decades in obscurity' (ibid.) to further represent where Fassbender was in his career versus now. The phrase 'all it took was a few choice roles to get noticed' (ibid.) and 'phenomenon' (ibid.) are other reminders that the actor is past his breakout moment. The opening descriptions of these two articles work to anchor who Fassbender is before the articles are

read and the images are looked at. Fassbender is a star on the rise, and for the American readers, a celebrity who is likely successful with women.

In the opening copy of both articles, both magazines consecrate Fassbender, but the statements 'A-list takeoff' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 115) and 'rapid rise' (*GQ US* 6/12: 140) indicate that he is not an agent of the establishment, which presents an alternative view of Bourdieu's (1993) theory of field. In Rojek's (2001: 75) discussion of the ceremony of ascent which raises celebrities above the masses, the first theme that he discusses is 'elevation', which he defines as 'the social and cultural processes involved in raising the celebrity above the public'. Such processes are the magnification of actors on film screens and billboards and the symbols of 'wealth and luxury' (ibid.). In the small and intimate space of magazines, however, the grand expanse of the former is not present, although close-ups shots are a substitute. The latter statements on economic capital, however, are present as was demonstrated above in the section on established celebrities where the listing of successful films and projects which defined Damon's and Craig's careers reiterate celebrities' economic, as well as, symbolic and visibility capitals. Rojek also points specifically to elevation being 'found in the ubiquity of celebrity biographies in popular culture' (ibid.), which is what the celebrity features in American and British *GQ* essentially are, albeit shortened versions. As discussed above in the section on established celebrities, for the magazines in question biography is filtered through the lens of 'work' with little or any discussion of what came before their breakout roles. As is discussed below, the same narrative CV / 'work' biography is present in the discussion of the rising star, but unlike the established stars, more insight into their past and present is given.

Heath's writing for American *GQ* opens by representing Fassbender as a busy actor who has not had time to fully cash in on the expected trappings of 'celebrity':

> Perhaps the hillside mansions, penthouse duplexes, lakeside haciendas, and beachfront idylls will follow in the traditional movie-star way, but for now these three rooms [...] are the only ones in the world Michael Fassbender can call his own. [...] Since his recent breathless ascent, he has had neither the time nor the inclination to move. [...] Large areas of the floor are covered: boxes, suitcases, clothes, two guitars, one electric with its amplifier. Suits lie and hang everywhere, evidence of an actor promoting three films simultaneously (*Shame*, *A Dangerous Method*, and *Haywire*)–part of a manic two-year flurry of work which also included his

> role as Magneto in *X-Men: First Class*, a remake of *Jane Eyre*, and the forthcoming Ridley Scott science fiction extravaganza, *Prometheus*– someone sometimes only home for a few hours before having to head out to the next premiere, film festival, or awards ceremony (*GQ US* 6/12: 142).

For Heath, Fassbender is caught between two worlds: one of a future 'traditional movie-star' (ibid.) that is well-dressed and out-and-about building his visibility capital, and the other which is the present solitary world of a messy bachelors flat; which potentially is a statement about lower economic capital in comparison to Damon and Craig who would probably have an assistant locate another flat befitting a working Hollywood actor. Fassbender seems blissfully unaware of bringing Heath, a writer, into his messy apartment with 'stains and bubbling paint on the ceiling' (*GQ US* 6/12: 142) in the not nice part of East London that the actor has inhabited since 2006 that is '"[t]raditionally more of a working-class area. A bit of an edginess to it"' (ibid.). The actor also is not fazed to show that he is not living in luxury à la Kors and Tisci. It is that 'edginess' (ibid.) that may be more important for Fassbender to maintain since he may want that distinction as being comfortable where he is, a place many celebrities would either be wary to step foot into, 'a working-class area' (ibid.).

Cole (*British GQ)* also represents the actor as straddling two worlds, 'Michael Fassbender is at that pivotal moment: just before the dam breaks, just before the envelope is opened, at the edge of the abyss, one foot leaning out into the unknown' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). This statement is echoing the start of Cole's piece in which she says, '*Shame* is Fassbender's greatest achievement to date; a film which, without a doubt, signals the arrival of a major new player' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 117). These statements from Cole, however, come after a brief synopsis of his career followed by a lengthy analysis. Whether short or long, both of these reviews in Cole's piece point to an actor who is familiar with the 'unknown' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120) and is not 'new' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 117). Both of the aforementioned seem counter to describing Fassbender's career as taking off. The same could be said for Heath. Is Fassbender a red carpet actor or is he still breaking into the industry? It would be easy to answer that he can be both, but this analysis is interested in the position of 'rising star' and the ways in which it is produced across these two editions. Momentarily representing Fassbender as caught between and as taking off, however, may

be the slipperiness of this 'rising star' position in the field of popular culture, meaning that this position sits between the action of breaking through the clouds before being fully positioned amongst the field of established stars. In the above section, the features do not have to rely on obvious signification to convince readers who Craig and Damon. Their positions are already set because they have moved through the earlier positions to become 'established'. Readers simply need to be reminded of their body of work to aid in the promotion of their new projects. In fact, what the following seeks to reveal is that 'rising star' features such as these are working to tell readers who these celebrities are so that they can be positioned and their actor's identity can become more solidified.

Whilst Craig and Damon discussed above, are nervous to discuss much beyond their work, Fassbender simply is not guarded in the way that established celebrities discussed above are, particularly those in Hollywood. Cole even mentions his openness in her piece in *British GQ*, 'Fassbender has his guard down – and so far as conversation goes, nothing is off limits, least of all sex' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). That openness spills over into Fassbender discussing his personal life, which Craig and Damon were loathed to do.

> Actors, I comment, don't have a terribly good reputation for… "sleeping around?" he provides, cheerfully. The grin is wolfish. "I don't think it's a cliché. You're travelling around a lot and perhaps lonely and you want some kind of connection again. You're in a position where people treat you differently. Maybe a lot of people are in denial and think that it's down to their looks and their charm that a lot of women proposition them, but the fact of the matter is they are living what appears to be an attractive lifestyle. Your opportunities are multiplied again, so there's more of a buffet of choice" (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120).

Fassbender says, '"I think you just have to keep an eye on things," Fassbender chuckles. "I'm not immune to anything, but I'm aware of my weaknesses and the beast within. Like anything, if you feed it enough times, it starts to take control. That thing of being seduced, you've just got to be careful. But…" he pauses and there's that glint, "that's no guarantee that I'm not going to go crazy and destroy the sweetshop"' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). Further down in the interview, Fassbender will admit that '"yes, I have a wandering eye"' (ibid.), which is followed by '"I'm quite a romantic person and I love the idea of having a family. But I'd have to take a step back out of *this*. It's not fair on somebody to be waiting for you."' (ibid.).

In Heath's piece, he mentions that on one of Fassbender's earlier trips to New York City, he was photographed walking in SoHo hand in hand with Nicole Beharie, his *Shame* co-star. Heath goes on to say, 'Fassbender has tended to keep quiet about his romantic life, though not long ago he briefly reflected on the discovery that his new fame comes with '"a buffet of choice"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). Whilst Heath does not cite from where Fassbender's words came, it is clear that they came from Cole's interview with the actor published in the February issue of *British GQ*. Although the magazines may not be regularly engaging with one another, this may indicate that at least the writers are as part of their background research. The actor shares that he and Beharie are seeing one another, or at least trying to since '"she lives [New York] and I live in England"' (ibid.). Before moving on, Fassbender shares that although they met whilst filming *Shame*, they did not develop anything until on tour promoting the film. Heath's comment about Fassbender keeping quiet appears to follow a comment regularly repeated in many interviews of Hollywood celebrities, like Damon and Craig discussed above. Heath, who was obviously aware of Cole's article, may have been given the brush off when trying to get Fassbender to discuss his romantic and sexual relationships, which may explain Heath's comment and the small amount of space given to the actor's relationships in the feature.

As with established stars, both Cole and Heath construct origin stories of Fassbender that incorporate many of the themes found in the origin stories of other celebrities. The origin stories for Fassbender relate more to some of the 'icon' features (see Section VII.1) in *British GQ* since they begin before where he studied acting going back to his childhood. Cole tells readers that Fassbender was born in Heidelberg Germany to a German father and Irish mother. The family moved to Fossa, near Killarney, Ireland so that Michael and his sister, Catherine, would grow up closer to nature. The bucolic childhood was not all idyll since Fassbender's parents ran a restaurant that their son worked in at weekends and during the summers. Cole then connects his upbringing and the influence of his mother with not just the actor, but with the kind of actor that Fassbender is characterised to be; one with the 'ability to disappear inside his own head, morph and take on new faces, new shapes' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118).

> "I think it [inhabiting a character] started perhaps when I was very young, like, [...] four or five years old, and all the kids in my direct neighbourhood were about three or four years older than me. I spent a lot of time with my own imagination and creating my own sort of world." [...] The fact that he grew up in the Irish countryside, stuck halfway up a tree pretending it was a spaceship, and was "allowed to roam freely" might have played a part in shaping his craft. "It was like, 'Off you go as long as you're back here at 5:30pm for dinner, you can do whatever you want,' and so there was a great freedom in that" (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118).

This part of the origin story is important because celebrities are produced, not only through a discourse on work, but at times through a biographical narrative. The biography may be told out of sync for the purposes of the story, but events from a celebrity's early life to the present are frequently told in an effort to explain how they became the actor or celebrity that they are. Biographical statements in features such as these can represent economic capital, if and when homes, property or the professions of parents are discussed. When statements mention familial or educational connections, they are statements about social capital. For Fassbender, the above statements are discussing cultural capital. Whilst his parents ran a restaurant, since it is not identified as rated or well-known, the assumption is that Fassbender's upbringing was not one of privilege. What his parents lacked in economic and social capital, they provided in cultural capital through Fassbender's rearing. In the above, readers are told that Fassbender's freedom to explore, imagine, play and pretend connects to the present with his ability to disappear into a character.

Cole continues articulating cultural capital by exploring the beginnings of Fassbender's origins as an actor by drawing on the entertainment that he was exposed to in his youth. 'His mother, with her favourite Seventies films, fired up Fassbender's imagination too: the early work of Martin Scorsese, Sidney Lumet, Robert DeNiro and Al Pacino' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118 and 120). Though Cole does not spend time discussing these actors and directors and drawing any conclusions from them to Fassbender's style, readers familiar with these individuals' works can draw their own conclusions. As with the feature on Riccardo Tisci, discussed above, whilst not overt associative statements, Cole is drawing associations through Fassbender's rearing. Being introduced to award-winning directors and actors at a young age was a sharing of taste between parent and child.

Additionally, this is another moment where readers with the cultural capital to know why those names are important can fill in the remaining narrative.

Heath's piece touches on many of the same childhood narrative moments. We hear of Fassbender's parents' provenances and how despite being born in Germany, he was raised in his mother's homeland, but, unlike in Cole's piece, the reason for the decision to move is not given. Heath does not devote any space to Fassbender's childhood, pastoral surroundings, pretend play or freedom. Heath begins in Fassbender's midteens when he 'wanted most of all [...] to be a heavy-metal guitarist' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). Readers are told of his favourite metal bands and how the young Michael embodied the part of a metal musician with long hair, mid-calf Doc Martens, and combat gear cut at the knees. He and a friend formed a band but were unable to find a drummer and bass player. They performed one concert 'in a local pub in the middle of the day [...] It wasn't a triumph. '"Nobody wants to hear Metallica at lunchtime," he says' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). As Heath continues:

> It took a while to realize that he would never be good enough. He needed a new plan. "As a teenager, you're searching for something that fits you. I was pretty average at most things. I was just looking for something that I could relate to and perhaps excel in myself." That turned out to be acting (*GQ US* 6/12: 146).

Cole also briefly comments that Fassbender attempted unsuccessfully to become a heavy-metal musician, but 'it wasn't until he found a Wednesday-afternoon drama workshop that he had any idea of what it was he wanted to do' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). As with the icons discussed above and to a degree with established stars' career fumbles, failure is a recurring component of the discourse on work in both editions of the magazine. Heath's discussion of Fassbender's heavy metal pursuits demonstrates his lacking social capital since he and his friend were unable to use their connections to create a full band. For Fassbender, such a lack of social capital does not point to a character flaw, but is used to humanise the celebrity and is used to reflect that failure is part of the production of identity and uncovering who one is and what one does professionally.

Both Cole and Heath will discuss what was supposed to be Fassbender's breakthrough in *Band of Brothers* (2001), but which barely showed in the final edit. After not landing any auditions in Los Angeles after landing on the cutting room floor, '[h]e

retreated to London and spent much of the next few years on British TV, and though the roles got bigger over time, and he always seemed to occupy them with élan, he still didn't radiate anything remarkable' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). Heath also briefly discusses two of Fassbender's film failures, *Centurion* (2010), which was a box office disaster, and a cameo in the Woody Allen film, *Cassandra's Dream* (2007), which did not make the final cut. For the latter, Fassbender describes how he attempted to talk to Allen at the end of the shooting day, but was ignored by the director. These mentions of career fumbles normalise professional setbacks and failures within the discourse on work.

For actors training is something that is mentioned in the pages of *British GQ*, but not in its American counterpart. As mentioned above, Naughton tells readers that Daniel Craig studied with Declan Donnellan. Although that moment was used to discuss advice Donnellan gave to Craig and other acting students, it contributes to Craig's acting CV by identifying his credentials, i.e. institutionalised cultural capital. Cole similarly tells readers that Fassbender studied at the Drama Centre London but uses it to connect to an awarding-winning actor: the 'alma mater, as it happens, of Colin Firth, last year's Best Actor winner; only adding to a sense that, this year, the Oscar planets are aligning' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). As discussed above in Section VI.2.3 in the discussion of Riccardo Tisci, associative statements work to either make the type of actor, designer, musician, etc. more quickly intelligible, or to connect their work to something more recognisable in the readers' consciousness. Since Fassbender's career is less established, mention of Firth momentarily places his identity onto Fassbender. There becomes an intertextual exchange that happens where meaning is exchanged between one celebrity and another. In the feature on Tisci, the associative statement was used to introduce someone to an American readership that may not know who he is. For Fassbender, however, these associative statements are being used to project the shine of the established celebrity onto the lesser celebrity much in the way that the sun casts light onto the planets in our solar system. They are separate entities, but the starshine from one celebrity to another signals to the outside viewer that the light being cast upon those rising stars is bringing them into collective view by association.

Cole makes other such mentions in her piece that reiterate to the reader the company for whom readers should associate Fassbender. In the story's opening, Cole devotes more than a column's worth of space speaking directly to readers explaining that a new obsession is on the scene and George Clooney is no longer alone. 'Well, if you don't know by now, it's time. And if your girlfriend/wife/partner/significant other doesn't already want to sleep with Michael Fassbender, she will at any moment' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 117). His role in *Shame* is discussed as being Oscar worthy, but Cole points out that his 'main competition will be none other than George Clooney, for his part in Alexander Payne's *The Descendants*' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). Drawing this association acts in the same way that the connection that Cole makes between Fassbender and Firth. This instance is both to associate Fassbender with another awarding-winning actor, but also one that is repeatedly described as 'debonair' and 'sexy'. In fact, the very opening of Cole's piece in which Clooney is mentioned, there is a chain of signification that occurs. 'It was always George. Perfect George with that smooth-talking matinee Cary Grant charm' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 117). Cole makes a play on words at the end of the sentence. The term is usually 'matinee idol', which refers to a handsome actor recognised for their good looks. Cole, however, substitutes 'idol' with 'Cary Grant', who has become an idol of Hollywood, acting, style, comportment. In short, an idol is referenced regularly as a masculine ideal of desire. Fassbender is being linked at the end of a chain of signifiers and although we are yet to know if he is as silver-tongued and smooth as Grant and Clooney, the association with the Hollywood establishment and one of its idols will stick nonetheless. This is the third reference to Hollywood icons within the first four pages of the feature, three of which are primarily image-based. Perched in the upper left corner of the first page beside the actor's face a quote from Steve McQueen reads '[y]ou have to go back to actors like Brando or James Dean to find his combination' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 114), which is another piece of text to connect Fassbender to the subject-position of 'leading man' since neither Brando or Dean spent their careers as supporting actors. The quote from director Steve McQueen is pulled out and placed on the opening page spread, '"You have to go back to actors like Brando or James Dean to find his combination"' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 114). This quote out of context simply can connect Fassbender to two actors known for their good

looks or their intensity that they brought to their performances. Again, this is a moment in which the readers' knowledge will determine how they interpret the quote.

Within the article, however, McQueen's association takes on a different meaning, '"He's a one-in-a-generation actor. Michael's a man's man, but he has femininity too, a vulnerability, that's quite beautiful. A lot of actors today are very masculine. You have to go back to actors like Brando and James Dean to find that combination. His openness is key to him being a great actor"' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118). The last two words, '"great actor"', here are significant because they further anchor McQueen's association of Fassbender with two highly-regarded actors known for diligently exploring the complexities of gender in their performances. "'[G]reat actor"' is also a statement of consecration from McQueen to Fassbender. As a multi award-winning director[15], McQueen has the ability to bestow such accolades even when they are given informally in an interview such as this. In his discussion of critics, art dealers and publishers, Bourdieu (1993: 75) argues, 'the only legitimate accumulation consists in making a name for oneself, a known, recognized name, a capital of consecration implying a power to consecrate objects [...] or persons [...] and therefore to give value' to them.

Later, another quote by McQueen furthers this portrayal, '"He's a chameleon but a very beautiful, open chameleon, and that's what's unusual"' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118). Whilst words from Craig's and Damon's contemporaries, or the colleagues of icons, give insider accounts of who those celebrities may be, in the context of a celebrity on the rise, these insider accounts are instructive because they are working to represent the actor in a particular light of success. In this case, McQueen is arguing that Fassbender at this stage of his career is already acting at the level of Brando and Dean, again who become signifiers for '"great actors"', which is anchored by McQueen's use of those words.

Carey Mulligan is quoted in the piece as saying of Fassbender that he '"has no insecurity"' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118), which is in reference to his full-frontal nudity in *Shame*. Mulligan adds that '"A lot of actors, especially when they are as talented and as good-looking as Michael, only want to play parts that show them in a good light. If I learned

[15] McQueen's film *Hunger* (2008) received a BAFTA for 'Best Debut' and a Camèra d'Or at Cannes. This film and *Shame* (2011) would receive multiple other awards on the film festival circuit. McQueen went on to win an Oscar, BAFTA and Golden Globe for *12 Years a Slave* (2013), in which Fassbender also appeared.

anything from working with Michael, it's that he is utterly fearless'" (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118). Mulligan, like Fassbender, is a star on the rise in 2012. Though her appearance in *Shame* gained her praise, her performance in *Drive* (2011) alongside Ryan Gosling would garner a BAFTA nomination for 'Best Actress in a Supporting Role'. Though returning to the stage in 2012, the spotlight remained on her, particularly in the fashion and women's lifestyle media, since she co-chaired the Met Ball in May 2012. Mulligan's comments present a complication to the idea of consecration only coming from designated consecrators. Since Mulligan and Fassbender are in the same position in 2012 as rising stars, such comments demonstrate that thoughts shared by one agent of another in the same position, in fact, work to confirm shared status. Mulligan saying that if she 'learned anything from working with Michael' (ibid.), is a consecration of respect and a statement contributing to the discourse on work.

Later in the piece Cole adds, '[h]e did all his own stunts in Steven Soderbergh's film *Haywire*, opposite professional martial-arts fighter Gina Carono [*sic*], who plays a rogue black-ops soldier. If *Shame* is about raw sex, *Haywire* us about raw violence' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). This moment in Cole's piece is a counterpoint to the earlier discussion of Fassbender being cerebral and being able to disappear into characters. Moreover, Cole is adding to Fassbender's bodily capital. Carano did strike Fassbender on set with a stunt vase and drew blood, but Fassbender did not make an issue of it as other celebrities may have, explains Cole. Instead, Fassbender brushes himself off and keeps going. Though Fassbender has been aligned with suave Hollywood icons, such descriptions about taking a hit from a professional fighter and performing his own stunts, identify the actor as being able to use his body for more than just sex, as is stated in the phrasing 'raw sex [...] raw violence' (ibid.). Fassbender's body can be used for more than just objectification as discussed in the previous section, but also for the representation of another theme traditionally attached to masculinity, violence (Edley 2017).

Woody Harrelson in *Indecent Proposal* (1993) is mentioned, Keira Knightley for *A Dangerous Method* (2011), Channing Tatum and Michael Douglas for *Haywire* (2011), *Jane Eyre* (2011) is mentioned, Gerard Butler for *300* (2006), Carey Mulligan for *Shame* (2011), Patrick Bateman (to make a character association) from *American Psycho* (2000).

Quentin Tarantino *Inglourious Basterds* (2009). Later in the story, Cole will claim that reviewers said of Fassbender's role in Tarantino's film, 'you're meant to be solely responsible for pulling focus from Brad Pitt and Diane Kruger in Tarantino's Nazi slasher' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120). 'Whatever happens, the biggest directors in the world are clamouring for him. He has already shot Ridley Scott's closely guarded *Alien* prequel *Prometheus* and he and McQueen will reunite on a project titled *Twelve Years A Slave*. His co-star? Brad Pitt, no less. He's also started his own production company. If his taste in making films is anything like his nose for a role, that's [*sic*] can only be a good thing for audiences' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 120).

The feature in American *GQ* does not spend time comparing Fassbender to other actors, living or deceased and there are not many mentions of other Hollywood professionals with which Fassbender has worked. The network that Heath creates is sparse, but importantly those names that are mentioned place Fassbender in good company. Heath seems more concerned with providing a detailed review of Fassbender's acting CV, beginning with the actor's first television job on British comedy (BBC One) *Hearts & Bones* (2001). His role as 'Herman the German', which Heath shares 'seems significantly more inconsequential and less attractive than the [now] famous' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146) Fassbender.

Both Cole and Heath discuss other films Fassbender was a part of and how he seemed to harness what he achieved in *Hunger* for supporting roles in bigger films. Heath focuses on three career highlights:

> He could be entrancing as a weak-willed charmer in a low-budget British domestic drama (in the very fine *Fish Tank*) or as an iconic comic-book character in a blockbuster (in *X-Men: First Class*, with his sinister humanization of the young Magento). Perhaps best of all was his brief, majestic turn in Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds*, where Fassbender made it seem as though it had always been the case that he could drop into a movie for less than half an hour and deliver a performance of such precision and charisma that no one would forget it (*GQ US* 6/12: 146).

Cole will also mention *X-Men* and *Inglourious Basterds* and shares similar comments as Heath; one of which was mentioned above in reference to Brad Pitt and Diane Kruger. Cole also mentions his ability to 'humanise morally complex characters who you think you

could never possibly understand' (*GQ UK* 2/12: 118) in reference to his role in *Jane Eyre* (2011) 'wherein his well-crafted Mr Rochester was an almost bipolar bully' (ibid.).

This build up returns the article to focus on the origin of Fassbender's relationship with McQueen. American readers are given context of who Bobby Sands was to which Heath adds, 'Fassbender was wary about how anyone would handle such an important and emotive episode in Irish history' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). Of the first meeting, 'McQueen simply didn't like the man he met. He thought Fassbender was cocky' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). At the persuading of the casting director, McQueen met with Fassbender again and the spark was ignited this time between both. '"You're looking for that guy or woman who's really going to elevate you and push you in the right ways and really get something out of you that you wouldn't be able to achieve yourself"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146).

After previously discussing the considerable and juvenile amount of sexual innuendo Fassbender endured to promote *Shame* (2011) due to his full-frontal nudity, Heath points out that '[t]here is a tendency, as with *Shame*, to reduce what Fassbender did in *Hunger* to one specific physical feat, in this case starving himself so that he could act out the final scenes weighing only 128 pounds' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). Heath stresses the actor's 'daunting commitment and self-control' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146) to weight loss overshadowed his performance which the writer describes as Fassbender 'marshal[ling] the union of otherworldly intensity, naturalism, and serene command that he has brought to a wildly diverse range of roles since' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146). Before moving on Heath points out that Fassbender has 'a single uninterrupted camera shot that lasts for over seventeen minutes' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146) in which he debates a priest. Long uninterrupted shots such as the one mentioned are increasingly hard to find in modern film. The actors involved must know their lines, have the timing and their movements and gestures down, otherwise such a long moment in a film would have to be pieced together with multiple shots.

Tucked in a footnote at the bottom of the page, Heath notes, '[i]ncidentally, Fassbender was just as naked in *Hunger* as he would be in *Shame*, if only fleetingly. No one ever seems to mention that. I suppose that when a prisoner in the last few months of

his life is being forcibly stripped and hosed down, dick jokes don't seem quite so funny' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146).

Heath turns his attention to *Shame* (2011) and the inordinate attention paid to Fassbender's genitalia despite the film not being a box-office success. Heath argues that there is a 'surreal, feverish totemization of penis size in our culture' (*GQ US* 6/12: 146-7). Heath goes on to argue that Fassbender 'has a big dick, so he's got nothing to be unhappy about and every reason to smile at anything we might say on the subject. I think it really may be that idiotic' (*GQ US* 6/12: 147). Fassbender says, '"It's fun to a point," he says of these situations he has been facing, "and after a certain point you worry that it kind of detracts from the movie. But there's nothing I can do. I just have to laugh it off"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 147). Heath argues that he does not think that Fassbender's frontal nudity was the issue, but '[i]t is when you see him actually piss' (*GQ US* 6/12: 147) that is. Since Fassbender was fully nude, he had to actually urinate rather than it coming from a hidden tube. Fassbender acknowledges, '"That peeing cost me an Oscar"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195).

The feature turns to discussing Fassbender's role in Ridley Scott's *Alien* (1979) prequel, *Prometheus* (2012) as an android named David. Heath explains that Fassbender was discovered by Scott in *Hunger* (2008) and *Fish Tank* (2009). Scott describes Fassbender as '"Probably one of the best three or four actors out there" because "[h]e holds the screen"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). Heath takes readers behind David's character telling readers that Fassbender was asked to watch three movies: '*The Man Who Fell to Earth*, in which David Bowie plays an alien visitor whose lack of belonging eats away at him. [...] *Lawrence of Arabia* and the wonderful 1963 film *The Servant*, in which Dirk Bogarde plays a manservant to a rich aimless Englishman' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). After watching the latter film, Scott shares with Heath that '"Fassbender phoned him shortly after watching *The Servant* and said, '"I get it, I get it–I'm the butler"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). Scott discusses how he and Damon Lindelof, the screenwriter, discussed at length what an android might do whilst the human crew is in a deep sleep during the long years of space travel. Teaching himself every skill imaginable came up as did watching every movie. The two, however, discussed how young children often fixate on one movie, refusing to watch others, and that Fassbender's character might do that with *Lawrence of*

Arabia to the point that he styled himself after one of the characters and used borrowed dialogue from the film. Fassbender, in turn, approached the role with an '[o]bsessive repetition [which] is an integral part of his working method' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). Fassbender also brings this same method to his scripts, which he reads obsessively and repeatedly so that 'it helps him to place where, ironically, once the camera is rolling, he feels liberated to go wherever his instinct takes him' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195).

The story ends with Fassbender's *Prometheus* co-star Charlize Theron praising his performance in *Shame*. As she says, '"His performance haunted me. I watched it twice, and when I look at the nuance, the delicacy, the tenderness, there was nothing heavy-handed about him. He knows what the balance is. [...] The bottom line is that he should have an Oscar on his mantel right now"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). Heath continues that later that evening both actors reunited at a Human Rights Campaign gala in Los Angeles where Fassbender presented Theron with an award for her humanitarian work. Theron thanked Fassbender before segueing into some comedy at his expense, '"I have to say I was truly impressed that you chose to play it big [in *Shame*]. *[laughter]* I mean, most other actors would have gone small, trust me. *[more laughter]* No, I know because I've worked with most of them…*[more laughter]* No, seriously [...] ...your penis was a revelation. I am available to work with it anytime"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195). Fassbender shares that Theron is '"pretty mischievous, and she's got a pretty filthy mouth"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 195).

VI.4 The Breakthroughs & The Up-and-Coming

In a thin column on page 77 in the September issue of *British GQ*, is a piece entitled '**Euro 2012's winners**' (Figure VI.4a). Four footballers are caught in various stages of play on the pitch; they are Mathieu Debuchy (France), Alan Dzagoev (Russia), Robert Lewandowski (Poland), and André Schürrie (Germany). The copy says, '[a]s a new season dawns, [British] *GQ* predicts four players coming to a club near you'. Beside each player, three questions–Who, Why and Where–are answered. For example, the first footballer, Debuchy, reads: '**Who?** 26-year-old Lille right back. **Why?** Shone amid the French dross and left Ashley Cole for dead in the England game. **Where?** Newcastle are

very interested, but other suitors have now come calling' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 77, original emphasis). The laconic write-ups for each of the four footballers cuts right to the chase about who these men are, footballers breaking through the fame barrier. The other three players – Alan Dzagoev (Russia), Robert Lewandowski (Poland) and André Schürrle (Germany) – are all under the age of thirty, which is typical of breakthrough stars in both editions of *GQ* in 2012, which ties this position in the field of popular culture to early adulthood. Moreover, the reticent text identifies their shining moment in the UEFA Euro 2012[16], which for Debuchy was outshining Ashley Cole[17], and what Premier League teams are tracking them; for Debuchy, Newcastle United. Whilst this piece is one of the more concise pieces on breakthrough stars in both editions, it highlights the statements that are common to features on this position, which are: who they are, what established stars are they associated with and what is next for them, which is explored below.

Space is another consideration for this position of 'celebrity' as they are represented in the pages of both editions. This small column on these footballers sits beside images of actor Jeremy Renner pointing a gun and a still of Jeremy Renner and Edward Norton from *The Bourne Legacy* (2012) (Figure VI.4b). The real estate of the magazine does matter and this juxtaposition of space tells the reader who is of more importance in this representational space, the Hollywood actors, both of whom are in their forties, and as the content analysis showed pop culture matters more than sport in *British GQ*. What this section contends is that when 'breakthrough' athletes and performers are featured in American and British *GQ*, they rarely receive the amount of visual and textual real estate given to established stars, icons or rising stars. Whilst there may be fewer rising stars represented in both magazines in 2012, when this position is represented in the magazine, the amount of real estate devoted to them is not diminished. Michael Fassbender received features of similar lengths to the pieces on Damon and Craig. Most 'breakthroughs' are given a fleeting page's worth of representation at most. This section

[16] Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) has hosted the European Championship every four years since 1968. England was knocked-out in of the competition on 24 June 2012 by Italy who won on penalties (2-4) (uefa.com 2012: n.p.).

[17] Ashley Cole played left-back for Chelsea Football Club from 2006-2014. He is considered one of the best left-backs of all time.

explores these mostly ephemeral moments to question the purpose of these representations to the production of 'celebrity' and 'masculinities' in both magazines.

Jamie Blackley looks directly at the viewer (Figure VI.4c). The black-and-white photography and high contrast lighting that leave the right side of his face almost completely in shadow is reminiscent of the representations of established celebrity actor, Daniel Craig, and rising star, Michael Fassbender, found in earlier issues of *British GQ* discussed above. As with Fassbender, there appears to be little editing to the image; Blackley's freckles are clearly visible, stubble appears above and below his mouth, and his forehead has not been powder to reduce the shine. Blackley's bowtie is eskew and the left side of his collar has popped out from beneath his jacket's lapel. Like many images throughout *British GQ*, perfection is not pursued, but rather something closer to reality. Moreover, like Craig and most of the images of Fassbender, Blackley is not smiling.

The feature that Blackley is part of, *The Artists*, (*GQ UK* 9/12: 270-275) presents eight of 'the next generation of screen legends. [...] the up-and-coming actors ushering in a new era of entertainment' (ibid.: 270). Blackley is identified as being 21 years of age. The other actors in the piece are each identified as being under the age of thirty, which follows the footballers in the Euro 2021 piece mentioned above. The use of 'next generation' (ibid.) in the copy for the piece signals that these actors are coming up behind everyone else, but at the same time further establishes beyond the listing of age as this position in the field of popular culture as one of newness. Douglas and McDonnell (2019: 61) argue that celebrities are 'primarily young, white, and heterosexual' and that there is 'notorious ageism [in] Hollywood, especially when it comes to women'. Arguably this extends to men in Hollywood, however, what this and the representations of other positions in the field may begin to show is that age becomes less important after leaving the position of 'breakthrough', at least for male celebrities in these two magazines. Fassbender's age (35) at the time of publication is not mentioned in either piece, and neither is Craig's (44) and Damon's (42).

The image of Blackley, and the other actors, play off the trope of 'old Hollywood' not just because of the black-and-white photography and 1930s fashion and styling

choices, but because all of the images are close-up shots. As discussed above in Section VI.2.2 on established celebrities, close-up shots combine emotion, often intense, with the intimacy of recognising facial features up close – lines, wrinkles, imperfections, scars, etc. (Douglas and McDonnell 2019). Blackley is being represented as a 'screen legend' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 270) from a bygone era to position him as breaking away from the pack of unknown actors and landing in the entry position to the field of popular culture. Although there are no direct associative statements about other, more established, celebrities, referencing a golden age of Hollywood is enough of an association to connect these formerly unknowns to the field of 'well-knownness'. This position is the entrance to the field because of how these celebrities are typically identified through one of two actions: either 'breaking through' or as 'coming', as in 'up-and-coming', 'coming to a club/screen/venue near you'. Both terms create the sense of being cut loose from anonymity and that attention has turned to them from those outside and inside the field.

In the short write-up to the right of Blackley's image, readers are told that he has appeared in 'the well-worn Brit-actor path of *Casualty* and *Doctors*[18] [which] doesn't immediately seem like the fast-track to playing the lead in a sword-slashing action blockbuster, but that's the leap 21-year-old Blackley has made, starring in the forthcoming [...] *300: Battle of Artemisia*[19] [sic]' which is followed by 'some equally unexpected casting in *Uwantme2killhim?*' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 270). The short write-up on Blackley is identifying him as an actor who is gaining work and is slowly building his visibility capital by being cast in an action blockbuster and with the release of a film in which he plays the lead role. Whilst *British GQ* does not give a full CV narrative, elements nonetheless are present. Readers are told of two well-known British medical dramas on which Blackley may have been seen by viewers. Even in the short space of a breakthrough star's interview the discourse on work is present. Furthermore, in order to be represented as a screen legend, Blackley is dressed in a tuxedo which is attributed to Thom Sweeney with a bow

[18] *Casual*ty* is a BBC One medical drama series that has been airing weekly since 1986 making it the longest running British medical series in the world (Love 2010: n.p.). *Doctors* is a BBC One medical soap opera series that has been airing weekly since 2000.

[19] In the piece on Jamie Blackley, *300: Battle Of Artemisia* was mistitled and should have been listed as *300: Battle of Artemisium*. The film was retitled *300: Rise of Empire* shortly after the September issue of *British GQ* appeared on newsstands. Jamie Blackley was replaced for the role of Calisto by Jack O'Connell.

tie from Lanvin for his photograph. As discussed above, whilst the intimate connection between fashion and popular culture was discussed above (Rocamora 2001; Church-Gibson 2012), what was argued in the previous sections is that being represented wearing fashion is part of the labour of celebrities must do for lifestyle magazines.

On page 60 of the June issue of American *GQ*, the young man photographed by Hilary Walsh is dressed in a muted coloured geometric printed short-sleeved button-down shirt, high-waisted camel-coloured trousers and horn-rimmed glasses (Figure VI.4d). The midcentury styling would be unmistakable to many readers with that knowledge. He is slightly smirking as he glances off to the left. The title for the one-page piece reads, 'Looks Like Buddy Holly, Sounds Like Ike Turner' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60). Looking back at the man, he does indeed resemble Buddy Holly minus Holly's more curly hair. As for the sound, *GQ* just has to be trusted for the moment. The copy beneath the title identifies the man, 'Think music ain't what it used to be? Then you haven't heard **Nick Waterhouse**. His jumped-up take on 1950s rhythm 'n' blues is the real deal, and he's just as fastidious about his old-school style, too' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60, original emphasis). Writer Andrew Richdale tells readers that Waterhouse is to be found walking around the Los Feliz neighbourhood of Los Angeles, dressed as you see him presently, 'like he just climbed out of a time capsule' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60). As Richdale continues:

> On his debut LP, *Time's All Gone*, Waterhouse makes R&B the way the old guard did it. Seeing him onstage with his seven-piece band, the Tarots, is as close as we can now come to catching Ike Turner & His Kings of Rhythm or "Hit the Road Jack" era Ray Charles. Like Jack White, Waterhouse is an anachronism–a brilliant and obsessive musician trapped in the wrong era (*GQ US* 6/12: 60).

Richdale connects Waterhouse's music and performance with well-known midcentury musicians Ike Turner – known as a trailblazer of blues and rock 'n' roll – and Ray Charles – known as a pioneer of soul music. As discussed in the previous sections, Richdale is consecrating Waterhouse through associative statements. Turner and Charles are 'stand-ins' so that Waterhouse's music and talent are made intelligible, even through a form of media where audio is missing. Connecting Waterhouse to these musicians, whilst placing him amongst greats is also placing a white man in black spaces, which is what blues and soul are known to be. This is important for Waterhouse since much of American pop

music has appropriated black music culture, and many icons in pop music are black. This is an additional consecration of Waterhouse and his music because he is being aligned with 'trailblazers' and 'pioneers' of black pop music. Furthermore, connecting Waterhouse with Jack White associates Waterhouse with a contemporary musician who has received critical acclaim and has collaborated with many leading musicians in the field of popular music. As with Cole's piece on Michael Fassbender in *British GQ*, these historical and present connections position Waterhouse's music and as someone potentially destined for greatness.

The remaining content in the two columns focuses mostly on fashion, style and his music. Waterhouse tells Richdale that he regards Leiber and Stoller (two of Elvis Presley's songwriters) over the man that performed their songs. This comment from Waterhouse is about his cultural capital because he is identifying his knowledge of music goes beyond the more commonly known performances to those that were behind the scenes. When asked how he records, he explains, '"I have a deadline-oriented mentality. I throw myself into my music and go through birth, life, and death within the course of a week. It's my own cycle of discovery"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60). Whilst Waterhouse's mentioning of 'discovery' connects to Fassbender's discussion of his childhood and being allowed to imagine, it also is a statement about work because he has a 'deadline-oriented mentality' rather than the image of the suffering artist who takes their time. Following this comment, Waterhouse shares that he plays on a 1963 electric Martin and uses a 1960s Ampeg and MegaTone amps, the latter two of which he explains, '[b]ut it's not because they're old. It's because they sound better' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60). Though Waterhouse is dismissive of the idea that the midcentury instrument and amp are to extend his 'retro' dress with retro gear, nonetheless, Richdale makes the connection.

As discussed in the Section VI.2.3 above, fashion is part of the labour celebrities must participate in to have their work promoted in lifestyle media, so as to accumulate more visibility capital. Waterhouse tells Richdale that he has been outside of the style norms of his peers even at a younger age.

> "As a kid in Orange County, my look was such a radical thing. I was the only one wearing collared shirts, pegged pants, and leather shoes. I got accosted, beat up, called 'weirdo' and 'faggot.' Then I found this

> community of rock 'n' roll bands. Those guys saw me as this audacious young guy–the one who played 'Long Tall Shorty' on an organ at their emo shows" (*GQ US* 6/12: 60).

Waterhouse says that he wears retro Katin swim trunks because he prefers their fit, uses 'an old-school single-blade razor because my skin is sensitive' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60). Earlier on Richdale peppers the piece with other mentions of fashion and style. Waterhouse not only likes Leiber and Stoller for their work, but also because '"[t]hey didn't have six-inch-high hair or sharkskin suits. They wore dressy bohemian gear like shawl cardigans and loafers. They were vain but not flashy"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60). The musician will also share that he read that Miles Davis wore Brooks Brothers shirts, which Waterhouse thought '"looked so subversive"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60) after which he shares, '"[t]he best place to buy their stuff, though, is at Salvation Army. Old men die and their fifty Brooks Brothers shirts sell for ninety-nine cents apiece"' (*GQ US* 6/12: 60).

Over in *British GQ*, Dane DeHaan's pale blue eyes appear bluer than the washed out sky surrounding him on page 90 of the September issue of *British GQ* (Figure VI.4e). He is seated on the ground with his hands crossed on his knees. In the distance, is a bridge with numerous power lines crossing in the background; a distinctive Los Angeles scene. As with 'The Artists' feature discussed above, the image of DeHaan is purposeful. Whilst he is not dressed and styled as a screen legend as Blackley and others are, the L.A. scene in the background is a similar tool to represent DeHaan as part of Hollywood even if he is relatively new to it. Moreover, *British GQ* is consecrating DeHaan as an up-and-coming member of Hollywood through this setting.

The words to the left of DeHaan's knee reads 'GQ Man of the Month' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90). This label is more frequently attached to established or rising stars in *British GQ*, but writer James Mullinger positions DeHaan as, until recently, fairly unknown. As he explains, 'Ask any journalist what the first thing they did was after leaving the standing-room only screening of crime epic *Lawless* at Cannes and they will all tell you the same thing: they googled: "Dane DeHaan"' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90). The readers are told that his performance was so moving that '[h]e steals the movie from these worthies Gary Oldman, Tom Hardy and Guy Pearce' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90). Before even reading the column, the copy on the page announces this as well, 'Dane DeHaan is a match for the Hollywood

heavyweights' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90). Not only are associative statements important for identifying the type of celebrity they may be, but as discussed above with Fassbender, statements where a rising star is noted as being competition for established stars is simultaneously a statement of social capital and consecration. By identifying DeHaan's ability to pull focus from established figures, especially Oldman and Pearce, means that the breakthrough star belongs in the field because he possesses the bodily capital to embody a role and move the spotlight onto himself and hold the audience's attention. *British GQ* also consecrates DeHaan, not simply for devoting this page to him, but by declaring for the reader that his acting skills in *Lawless* are worthy of the audience's attention.

Mullinger highlights 'an impressive CV' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90) with appearances on television series *In Treatment* (2010), *True Blood* (2011), and his first starring role in *Chronicle* (2012), for which fans mainly stop him for, and an upcoming role in *Kill Your Darlings* (2013) alongside Daniel Radcliffe. Like the established star and the rising star, Mulliger discusses DeHaan's previous and future projects to construct the actor as a working, therefore, building his visibility capital. DeHaan tells Mullinger '"I get stopped [by fans] mainly for *Chronicle* and it's very flattering"' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90). This comment against Mullinger's earlier comment about journalists searching the young actor's name after leaving the Cannes screening and the closing words of the piece, '"everyone should know about but very few people do. Until now." Rather like DeHaan himself' (*GQ UK* 9/12: 90) shows that there is a disconnect between what some fans and press such as *British GQ* see as DeHaan's breakout role. *British GQ*'s demographic is not likely to be the target audience for *Chronicle*, a film about three male teenage friends who after making an underground discovery gain superpowers. The film was released in the UK in February 2012, but did not receive a review in that month's issue of *British GQ*. This is simply to point out that an actor's breakout could be dependent on the audience, though reading beyond *GQ* would be required to substantiate this claim.

CHAPTER VII: CELEBRITIES AT THE EXTREMES

VII.1 Icons, Heroes and Legends

The words 'The man behind the music' are centred on page 125 of the March 2012 issue of *British GQ* below an image of Frank Sinatra with his arm around Quincy Jones (Figure VII.1a). Surrounding this image are twelve other pictures featuring Quincy Jones and other celebrities. There is Quincy Jones pictured with his arm around Amy Winehouse's waist. Quincy Jones holds the hand of Nelson Mandela whilst looking at Robert DeNiro. Michael Jackson has his arm around Quincy Jones whilst the King of Pop's famous single rhinestone-studded white glove holds a Grammy award. Quincy Jones has his arm around Bono who holds Quincy's book. And, there is the hand of Barack Obama on Quincy's shoulder after receiving the National Medal of Arts on 2 March 2011. Ray Charles, Wyclef Jean, Will.i.am, Kanye West, Kid Cudi, LL Cool J, Miles Davis, Quentin Tarantino, Will Smith, Cee Lo Green, Stevie Wonder and Muhammad Ali are also pictured with Quincy Jones. The page is a cabinet of celebrity curiosities representing Jones's long career through the music and entertainment industries and a representation of Jones's social capital. These images are reminders of the relationships Jones forged in the past, some of whom Jones mentored, others for whom he is responsible for launching the careers of. The collaged image is part of a larger feature by Dylan Jones simply called 'Icon: Quincy Jones' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 122). On the opposite page the word 'Heroes' (ibid.: 123) sits in the upper righthand corner of a portrait of Quincy Jones. These two signifiers – 'icon', 'heroes' – appear almost monthly in *British GQ* when reflecting back on the career of a celebrity whose contributions have been significant to their chosen subfield, such as music, journalism or sport. The following section looks at such figures in both editions of *GQ* and the significance of such 'iconic' pop cultural reflections.

In her discussion of the discourse on British fashion as popular in *The Guardian*, Rocamora (2001: 133) argues that '[p]op stars [...] are used as a short cut [*sic*] towards embracing the wider field of popular culture and its heroes'. Whilst many readers to *British GQ* would recognise the name Quincy Jones, the cabinet of celebrity curiosities on

page 125 functions in a similar way to what Rocamora (2001) is arguing, which is a visual shortcut used to represent a celebrity's social capital, which also designates their position in the field of popular culture. From the numerous established music stars that Jones mentored and/or worked with, to the celebrities outside of the subfield of music (e.g. Robert DeNiro), it is clear that Jones's social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital have positioned him outside of the establishment.

Quincy Jones is not the only celebrity to have a series of images from the past in *British GQ*, but his is exceptional for the large number of celebrities represented in visual form, many of whom are discussed in the accompanying piece. Most of the other 'icon' and 'hero' features in *British GQ* will feature a few small images of the icon/hero with other celebrities alongside images from their past. For example, on page 63 of the August issue of *British GQ* (Figure VII.1b), writer and journalist, Gay Talese, is speaking with Lauren Bacall at the top of the page. At the bottom of the page is taking notes on a walk with President Harry S. Truman, whilst on page 62, he sits with Muhammad Ali. Bernard Sumner is shown in five of the successful music groups in which he was a part – from Joy Division to Bad Lieutenant – on page 121 of the September issue. On page 73 of the May issue (Figure VII.1c), retired Brazilian footballer Pelé kisses the head of Nelson Mandela, which is diagonally above a picture of Pelé kissing Muhammad Ali's cheek. Lower down on the picture is Pelé with Robert F. Kennedy, which is next to a picture of Pelé standing in-between Michael Cain and Sylvester Stallone. Joe Frazier (*GQ UK* 2/12: 50-59), Sam Kinison (*GQ UK* 4/12: 92-99, 272-273), and Philip K. Dick (*GQ UK* 11/12: 103-112) each gets a similar treatment with a collection of images that look back on their careers.

Whilst established celebrities, discussed above in Chapter VI, receive similar representations with other celebrities, it is important to note that unlike the aforementioned icon/hero features, rarely are there images of an established celebrity socialising with other celebrities. The focus of established celebrity is on the celebrity in question, therefore, when their connections to other celebrities in the field of popular culture are mentioned, it is usually written rather than represented through images. The exception, of course, is when a promotional image for the release of a project appears in the feature. Such is the case in the feature on Daniel Craig (see Figure VI.2.1c) who appears in an

image with Rooney Mara from the film that Craig was interviewed for, *The Girl With the Dragon Tattoo* (2011); the image is to promote the film, not Craig's social capital as is the case with Quincy Jones. Rising stars may have a random promotional image, in the same manner as established stars, but the focus is on them. As discussed above, breakout stars are alone, which reinforces their low social capital in the field of popular culture.

As with Quincy Jones, the title of these features in *British GQ* use either the word 'icon', 'hero' or both words together on their opening pages and within the articles. Both American and British *GQ*, however, mostly rely on the writing to situate 'icons', 'heroes', and 'legends' much in the same way as the established stars discussed above are positioned. Below the title 'Icon: Quincy Jones' the opening copy reads:

> As a child, he ran with gangsters in the world's biggest ghetto; as a man, he recorded the most successful album ever. The super-mogul has laid down tracks with every key figure in modern music from Miles Davis to Amy Winehouse. And then there was Michael Jackson. Thirty years since Thriller's inception, Dylan Jones meets the kingmaker of pop (*GQ UK* 3/12: 122, emphasis removed).

As this copy indicates, Dylan[20] will follow the representational techniques discussed above with established and rising celebrities in his write-up of Jones's career; the origin story, narrative CV and a discussion of career highs and possibly some lows. After Dylan recounts Jones's difficult upbringing in Chicago and Seattle, he quickly moves to listing many of Jones's accomplishments and celebrities with which he worked and within the one column's worth of text has provided significant content. Some of Dylan's key statements are:

- 'Quincy Jones' fingers have touched pretty much every genre of black music since the Thirties, from swing to jazz to R&B to soul to disco and most things that came after that. A definitive link between old and new schools' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 124).
- 'He has worked with Ray Charles, Michael Jackson, Lena Horne, Sarah Vaughan, Duke Ellington, Dizzy Gillespie, Frank Sinatra, Miles Davis and George Benson' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 124).
- 'He founded *Vibe* magazine, co-produced *The Color Purple*, executive produced *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air*, wrote the themes for TV series such as *Ironside* and *Roots*, and has released dozens and dozens of his own records' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 124).

[20] Since both writer and icon share the same last name, I have chosen to use the writer's first name, Dylan, to avoid confusion with Quincy Jones, *British GQ*'s icon for March 2012.

In the first comment, Dylan represents Jones's professional reach as vast, making him more than a musician or a producer, but one that crosses genres who links many of these schools of music together. This first statement is a complex representation of Jones's celebrity capital. By identifying the musical genres that Jones has been a part of throughout his career demonstrates his cultural capital because he is portrayed as someone that possesses the knowledge to excel in, but also, to move across genres. Social and visibility capitals are implied in this statement because he is moving across in and out of musical spaces, therefore, Dylan is portraying him as almost everywhere and playing with almost everyone. The last two phrases, however, 'definitive link' and 'old and new schools' (ibid.) are statements on *superior* status and temporality. In the discussions above on established, rising and breakthrough celebrities, such a statement on superiority was not found. Jones is being othered from those celebrities that have made it to the established position because he is 'definitive', meaning conclusive or most authoritative, 'link' in the field of popular music. Along with 'old and new schools', the implication is that his presence in the field has been long, yet esteemed.

Whilst the piece will mention numerous celebrities, in the second comment, Dylan features some of the most important figures in music with which Jones has worked, some of which could arguably be called icons themselves. These names reinforce the statements mentioned about working across genres and being a link between old and new schools. Jones's symbolic capital pushes his social capital into a higher realm. Whilst all of the celebrities discussed above have worked with distinguished names or are associated with big names, icons such as Jones are represented as being part of the success of others.

The third comment expands Jones's reach in popular culture that extends beyond music to other forms of entertainment. Most of the celebrities discussed above are confined to a genre of popular culture such as film, television, sport or music, but Jones is an exception since he moved from music into print media, film and television. Of the celebrities discussed above, Damon is the closest established celebrity to this iconic status of someone crossing pop culture genres since Damon has worked in film, television, became a YouTube sensation and started a production company. Kors went

from fashion to television. Damon, however, is still confined to moving images and in 2012 had yet to move beyond into other genres; Kors , to fashion. This boundary-crossing status, however, is not a requirement of all icons, heroes or legends, but one form of this exclusive position. As will be explored below, icons can either accumulate visibility by crossing boundaries or excel at what they do at such a high level that they are represented as the paragon against which all others are judged.

One thing that seems to separate 'icons' from established celebrities is the mention of the many awards or ways that they distinguished themselves from others (such as sporting achievements or unique contributions) in their profession to be considered iconic. For Jones, Dylan says '[t]he man with more Grammy awards (27) than any other producer in pop music' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 124). Later in the article when Dylan brings readers into Jones's home he will comment,

> The house is full of soul, as well as the trinkets of success. [...] The walls of his screening room are covered in framed movie posters of many of the films he's scored, while the rest of this wing, the music wing, is full of gold discs, Emmys, Grammys [...] You have to be careful how you tread in case you knock over an Oscar or ASCAP[21] [...] gong' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 127).

Dylan is representing Jones's objectified forms of Bourdieu's four types of capital. Awards are forms of cultural capital since they bestow on the agent a distinction, but they are also manifestations of symbolic capital since they are signifiers of status. The awards also are objects of social capital since many of these awards are voted on by Jones's peers. Whilst not all awards can be converted into economic capital, it can be assumed by the mention of 'gold discs' and the names of other successful musicians mentioned in the piece, that the majority of the awards are for the lucrative albums that achieved multi-platinum status.

In the icons' stories there is often a discussion of a career failure, soured professional relationships or poor business/personal choices and giving the icon the opportunity to reflect on it. For Jones, he shares of his professional break with Michael Jackson. The two first met on the set of *The Wiz* (1978), which is where Jackson began to trust Jones. After the success of the first album, *Off The Wall* (1979), under Jones's

[21] American Society of Composers, Authors and Producers

production direction, they would continue to work together. The album that followed their first collaboration, *Thriller* (1982) would be the best-selling record of all time. Their third collaboration, *Bad* (1987) would be their last since according to Jackson biographer, Taraborrelli, '"Michael no longer wanted to work with Quincy because he felt that the producer had become too possessive of him [...] and had taken too much credit for it"' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 128) whilst Jones felt that Michael had become 'too demanding and inflexible' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 128). Jones continues and shares that he believes that Michael '"couldn't get back out of the [metaphorical] cage. It all became overwhelming for him"' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 130). Note that this is a discussion rather than just a passing mention of career lowlights such as *The Adjustment Bureau* for Damon or being ignored by Woody Allen for Fassbender. For both editions of *GQ*, celebrities in the icon position in the field of popular culture in the autumn or winter of their careers have to do some reflecting on their careers in their interviews because icons have to be humanised.

Jones, however, ends the discussion by saying that he forgave Jackson long before he died and that now he chooses to focus on how they '"did some amazing work together, produced some remarkable, special records, and you can never forget that"' (*GQ UK* 3/12: 130). Whilst icons sit at this exclusive position in the field of popular culture, even in the looking-back on these highly personal nadirs, the discourse on work is still present.

American *GQ* does not expend many pages in 2012 reviewing the long careers of celebrity 'icons' and 'heroes'. 2012 is a year in which American *GQ* focuses on celebrities and other figures of note predominantly from the present. *GQ* only takes two sustained looks back in time in which celebrities are involved: 'The Dream Will Never Die: an oral history of the Dream Team' (*GQ US* 7/12: 60-70) and '"The Best TV Show That's Ever Been"' (*GQ US* 7/12: 88-90, 128-129). The latter piece is a look-back at the television show *Cheers* (1982-1993) to honour the thirtieth anniversary of its premiere, which is also done in the style of an oral history with some of the cast, creators, director and executives. Whilst the piece is celebratory, it does not construct any of the actors or others involved in the show who would become household names as icons, heroes, legends, or other

venerative terms. The piece on the Dream Team, however, does, to which the following turns.

While most celebrity features in American *GQ* follow a back and forth narrative of the highs and a few lows of celebrities' careers, the July feature on the 1992 US Olympic basketball team is nothing but celebratory. This feature sits in stark contrast to the features in *British GQ* discussed above because these are athletes who did no wrong, did not have any performance slumps and demonstrated American athletic dominance. Below the title 'The Dream Will Never Die' are images of the six key basketball players that made up the team: Charles Barkley, Larry Bird, Michael Jordan, Magic Johnson, Patrick Ewing and Scottie Pipen (Figure VII.1d). Each image shows the aforementioned players caught in action with their bodies cropped making each player appear larger than the other figures in the photos. The copy reads, '[l]egends at every position on the floor. [...] They were the greatest team ever assembled–in any sport–and twenty years ago in Barcelona, they put on a show the world will never forget' (*GQ US* 7/12: 60). As with the piece on Jones, from the story's opening tagline much of their celebrity capital is immediately established. The Dream Team was not just a good team, but the 'greatest ever assembled–in any sport' (ibid.) making them the gold standard of teams across the entirety of contemporary and historical sport. This tagline along with the images at the bottom of the page also imply exceptional bodily capital. If they were the most noteworthy team of all time, then this means either they used the resources of their bodies exceptionally well or that their competitors were so poor in this area that there was no way that they would not succeed. Whitaker also claims that the whole world was watching, making the team's visibility capital all encompassing.

In order to be legends, the Dream Team is othered by those involved with the piece. Team Angola player, Herlander Coimbra, comments that the Dream Team '"were on another level–a galaxy far, far away"' (*GQ US* 7/12: 68). This comment from Coimbra consecrates the Dream Team as superior whilst creating a spatial separation between them and all of the other teams. Sport features are one of the few forms of writing in both magazines in which comments from opponents or outright enemies may be incorporated. For other genres in the field of popular culture, including such commentary would likely

turn a piece too negative, which most pieces avoid since, as discussed above, they are mostly celebratory. Later in the piece, writer, Lang Whitaker, says that the American team was 'barely challenged. Average margin of victory: forty-four points' (*GQ US* 7/12: 70), which is a substantial point disparity for a game where high point values are not uncommon, which is a repetition of superior status through bodily capital. The American team played so well that the scoring gulf between them and other teams was gaping. The purpose of the participation in the Olympics was to 'dazzle, to put on a display of American might' (*GQ US* 7/12: 62). The performance of sport talent was meant to be 'so awe-inspiring that the best our rivals could hope for was a silver medal. Or even better, Michael Jordan's autograph' (*GQ US* 7/12: 62).

Though Michael Jordan was the most recognisable basketball player in the world at the time, US basketball commissioner, David Stern described the opposing teams as being '"more interested in taking photos with our players than playing against them"' (*GQ US* 7/12: 67). The casting of the opposing players as fans rather than worthy opponents not only positions the American team as exceptionally talented, but also as famous in their own subfield of basketball.

The Dream Team is related to other celebrities in the field of popular culture, but not other basketball legends or icons from other sports, which is out of place for pieces on icons. Associative statements are usually reserved for breakthrough and rising stars in order to make the kind of actor, fashion designer, musician, etc. intelligible to the reader. For this team of players, however, the following associative statement is used to consecrate them as legends by relating them to well-known and iconic 'rock stars'. Patrick Ewing describes their presence in Barcelona as '"We were like the Beatles. We were rock stars"' (*GQ US* 7/12: 68). In fact, earlier in the article Craig Miller (Team USA basketball director of public relations) recounts the team landing in Monte Carlo for pre-Olympic practice, which brings to mind the arrival of the Beatles in the US in 1964, in which the boy band was met by crowds of screaming fans everywhere they went not yet seen at the time in American history. As Miller says:

> "I remember the general manager at our hotel telling us before we got there, 'This is Monte Carlo. This is a place that kings and queens come to, that rock bands come to. And to be honest, basketball? People aren't

> that excited.' And we said, 'Okay.' The night we flew in, literally, people are wall-to-wall in the parking lot, cheering and waving" (*GQ US* 7/12: 67).

Miller seeks to elevate or equate the team above royalty and rock stars by again alluding to a scene similar to the Beatles arriving in the US That moment remains a cultural reference in the American psyche of devotional celebrity. Also, important from Miller's description is how the Dream Team is associated with rock stars and the elite world of monarchy with the implication from Miller being that the Dream Team caused more of a sensation than Monte Carlo had seen previously.

Whilst the social capital of established celebrities is a repeated representational technique in both editions of *GQ*, the collection of icons, heroes and legends presented in *British GQ* demonstrates that to achieve such a position in the field of popular culture requires a larger social network than that of established celebrities. Icons' networks extend beyond their subfield to include connections in other subfields of popular culture. These celebrities also need to acquire distinctions whether they be awards or honours bestowed by their colleagues and/or figures in other fields. Finally, icons need to reflect and comment on past mistakes. This is more than mere acknowledgment, but opportunities for icons to take responsibility for these failures. As mentioned above, mentions of career lows or failed projects normalises failure for readers. The icon features take this a step further by introducing reflective statements. Readers, therefore, are shown that success involves failure and such low points should be considered to avoid repeating them. The following discusses celebrities who professional errors have landed them at the bottom of their careers.

VII.2 The Fallen Star & The Comeback Kid

Lifter (2019: 90) argues that '[n]ot all journalists are as blindly celebratory' in reference to fashion media commenting on celebrities' festival fashion choices; such could be said of American and British *GQ*'s representations of celebrities. In each of the positions discussed above – established, rising, breakthrough and icon – celebrities are produced in mostly positive terms by the two editions. Although there are mentions of career low points or criticisms of poor decisions whether professional or personal by the pieces'

authors, they are part of the complex web of statements that produce 'celebrity'. Features, however, that present celebrities at the lowest point in their career amount to one piece in the February issue of American *GQ*, which is discussed below. Though still not frequent by any means, celebrities when they are down are more likely to be represented as 'coming back'. Both of these narratives are harder to find in *British GQ* than its American counterpart. The following section discusses Terrell Owens, the American football star who was released from his contract and finds himself unable to play, and other celebrities who have righted themselves and are making or attempting to make a comeback.

VII.2.1 Terrell Owens, Fallen Star

Rojek's (2001) exposition on ascendant celebrities, drawn from ascension and assumption themes found in Christianity, introduced the section on 'rising stars', Section VI.4. He points out that where there are celestial heights for many celebrities, there are also the career shattering downfalls, also drawn from Christian descent themes such as the fallen angels and eternal damnation. When the descent occurs, the celebrity goes through 'a process of status-stripping in which the honorific status of the celebrity is systematically degraded' (ibid.:80), which Rojek refers to as 'scourging' (ibid.). Scourging occurs when the media and/or a celebrity's public turns on them, or when the celebrity turns on themselves. Rojek explains these two scourging practices 'interrelate and are mutually reinforcing' (ibid.), meaning that they often happen one after the other and even simultaneously. For Rojek (ibid.), the descent of celebrities 'centre on the mortification of the body', such as gaining weight, extreme weight loss, drug or alcohol addiction, and self-harm in the form of mutilation or suicide. The following reading, however, demonstrates that whilst the body and bodily capital continue to play an important role in the production of 'celebrity', celebrities' thoughts and actions can be an impetus to their descent.

On page 48 of the February issue of American *GQ* (Figure VII.2.1a), Terrell Owens is glancing away from the camera with his hands on his hips in a three-quarters stance. With the light coming from the upper left of the page, his position accentuates the play of

light and shadow across the muscles of Owens's upper arm, shoulders, neck, chest and abdominals. In the introduction, writer Nancy Hass materialises Owens's frame for those not as familiar with 'the famously cut six-foot-three frame, still impossibly taut at almost 38' (*GQ US* 2/12: 50). From the start of the piece, Hass consecrates Owens's bodily capital. She mentions for the reader that this body is 'famously cut' (ibid.) and that it has remained in peak condition well past the age when most American football stars retire, which averages at '27.6' (RBC Wealth Management: n.p.) years old. For an athlete to be more than a decade beyond this age means that this particular sport star, and their understanding of the bodily resources, is exceptional. In a well-worn representational trope of success among black celebrities, Owens wears a long, thick chain around his neck and a substantially 'iced out' left ear, or as Hass writes 'his earlobes glisten with the dime-sized diamond discs he's worn for years' (*GQ US* 2/12: 50). This moment from Hass creates conflict in the representation of Owens's economic capital. 'Dime-sized diamond discs' (ibid.), and large diamonds more generally, are a signifier of wealth in Western culture and have been adopted by black celebrities to demonstrate their success. The sentence, however, ends with 'he's worn for years' (ibid.) indicating that his economic capital may not be as high as before since he's worn these earrings for years and has not upgraded them or does not rotate differ pairs. This moment by Hass appears to reference the opening page tagline where Hass writes:

> As you're planning your Super Bowl party this year, give thought to future Hall of Famer **Terrell Owens**. He's out of work, out of money, and currently in court with all four of his baby mamas. And now for the part that *really* depresses him: For the first time in his long, checkered, and spectacular career, nobody wants to throw him the ball' (*GQ US* 2/12: 48, original emphasis).

The phrase 'out of work' and 'out of money' along with 'currently in court with all four of his baby mamas' (ibid.) and 'worn for years' (ibid.: 50) represents Owens's economic capital as falling and possibly plummeting depending on the results of his child support cases.

Around his right wrist is a black-and-white rubber bracelet bearing the words 'LOVE ME', whilst on his left wrist the bracelet reads 'HATE ME'. These words are repeated in the piece's title, 'Love Me, Hate Me, Just Don't Ignore Me' (GQ US 2/12: 48). Wearing the word 'hate' on the left and 'love' on the right references the love-hate

soliloquy from Spike Lee's film, *Do The Right Thing* (1989), in which the character Radio Raheem wears brass knuckles with the words 'hate' across his left knuckles and 'love' across his right knuckles. Radio Raheem breaks the fourth wall and speaks directly to the audience and the character Mookie to explain that the left hand is the hand that Cain used to kill his brother, whilst the right hand, which leads directly to the heart is the hand of love. Life is a constant, 'static' (Lee 1988: 45) as Raheem says, battle between the two. At the end of Radio Raheem's soliloquy, he says to Mookie, 'Brother, Mookie, if I love you I love you, but if I hate you...' (ibid.: 46), Radio Raheem stops speaking since the remainder is implied. Owens appears to make reference to Radio Raheem's words on two levels. In the first, Owens is saying that if you love him you love him, but if you hate him, then you hate him; therefore, the moment is turned from one that is interpersonal to one that is parasocial, meaning between the celebrity and the public. Owens also seems to reference the theme of Radio Raheem's soliloquy which is that life is a battle of maintaining stasis between love and hate. Hass does pick up on this love-hate theme throughout her piece, but portrays Owens as confronting most situations with the latter rather than the former, which explains why in Hass's words 'nobody wants to throw him the ball' (GQ US 2/12: 48) is just one statement in a chain of repetition that casts Owens as unlikeable. The last part of the feature's title 'Just Don't Ignore Me' (ibid.) along with the previous one are statements of decreased social capital, with the latter warning of Owens's slowly diminishing star from the decline of his visibility capital. These two capitals, in particular, work together in this representation of a fallen star to show that more than just mortification of the body, as Rojek (2001) argues, is in play for a star to reach the lowest depth of their career. The depreciation of any part of a star's celebrity capital can cause the overall picture of them to become devalued.

Hass continues by representing Owens as unpopular in the present as he was in the past. His friends are not returning his texts to meet up and growing up in Alabama he was 'skinny and unpopular, so dark-skinned that the other black kids razzed him nonstop' (*GQ US* 2/12: 50). Interspersed in this negative portrayal, however, are some comments to show just how far Owens has fallen. Such as his exceptional athletic status, 'the fifteen seasons he spent in the NFL, racking up stats that make him one of the greatest wide

receivers in league history–second only to Jerry Rice in receiving yards' (ibid.). Hass adds more statements on his declining economic capital when she mentions Owens 'pacing the 1,800-square-foot apartment he paid $499,000 for in October 2010' (ibid.). This statement comes after the opening page where the reader learns that Owens is 'out of work' (ibid.: 48), which means Owens does not have new revenue coming in to cover the taxes and other building maintenance fees involved with owning a luxury apartment. Hass also mentions his celebrity connections when she says that he plays 'softball in a rec league run by Jamie Foxx' (ibid.: 50). In 2012, Jamie Foxx was involved in a highly successful film, *Django Unchained* (2012). Although he did not receive the critical reception for his role in the Quentin Tarantino film that he did for his role a decade earlier in *Ray* (2004), Foxx continued to remain in the established position in the field of popular culture. For Owens to be associated with him socially in Hass's representation, puts Owens capital as still high since his network includes Hollywood stars, but this is in direct contrast to celebrity-athletes in his own subfield of American popular sports which, as indicated in the opening, appear to be vanishing.

After contextualising Owens's world and his upbringing, she lays bare his current predicament:

> Since last spring, when the Cincinnati Bengals declined to renew his one-year, $2 million contract, Owens has been a man without a team, making him arguably [American] football's most talented unemployed player. Plenty of teams could use a receiver of Owens's caliber, there's no question about that, but no one has made even a lowball offer (ibid.).

As with the mention of the softball league Jamie Foxx and Owens play in, contrasted with NFL coaches and players failing to return his calls, there is a repetition of high and low capitals constantly in opposition throughout the story. In the above, the Cincinnati Bengals, a mid-tier team, are unwilling to renew his contract, which is usually reserved for underperforming athletes, those at the end of their career or, as is shown below with Owens, those that are deemed 'difficult'. Moreover, those American readers with even little knowledge of American football would likely know that the Bengals are not a highly ranked team, therefore, to have a contract declined by them indicates that Owens is in trouble. Earlier Hass ranks Owens second to the top wide receiver, Jerry Rice, and in the above she identifies him as 'most talented' yet 'unemployed' (ibid.), which again, is

simultaneously consecrating him as a great player yet repeating his declining economic capital with the very antithesis of those celebrities that were discussed above, being out of work. As discussed above, it is not uncommon for both magazines to mention the professional and personal lows of celebrities. For established and rising stars, such mentions are fleeting to normalise failure as part of one's professional journey and humanise successful celebrities. Whilst for icons, low points can be lengthier and more critical evaluations, though they never encompass the whole article, therefore, although lengthier, they are still a small part of the overall discussion. As the following will show, beginning with Owens's mouth, which is known for being filled with malicious words, for the fallen star, failures encompass nearly the whole article:

> It's his mouth, that unhinged gusher of an orifice with its gleaming slice of teeth. Or at least memories of the chemistry-killing vitriol that spewed from that mouth during his time with San Francisco, Philadelphia, Dallas. And how he punctuated the raw stream of consciousness with a magic bag of clever if ultimately self-destructive antics (ibid.).

Owens counters Hass by saying, '"if another player who had performed as well as I have on the field had done those same things, they would shake their little heads and say, 'You gotta admire his enthusiasm,' or, 'Just look at how much he loves the game!' He'd be a hero"' (ibid.: 52). Owens's words are a veiled commentary on racism in American sports and culture in which black players and individuals are often portrayed by the media as more aggressive, difficult and foul-mouthed than their white counterparts. Across 2012, American *GQ* contributes to this discursive formation with this feature on Owens and two other sport stars: Tiger Woods (*GQ US* 5/12: 156-159, 187) and N'damukong Suh (*GQ US* 9/12: 258-261, 295-297). Woods, like Owens, is presented as difficult, but is feminised with the descriptor, 'prima donna' (*GQ US* 5/12: 157) who possesses 'one of the dirtiest mouths' (ibid.: 159) in golf. The piece is titled, 'New Tiger, Old Stripes' which picks apart Woods for lacking any humility following his numerous personal failures which led to the media and public turning on him starting in 2009. Suh, in contrast, is represented for performing 'gratuitous violence and dirty play' (*GQ US* 9/12: 259) on the field, in a piece titled, 'He Didn't Mean to Hurt You'. In this piece, whilst Suh is presented as too violent, the piece ultimately brings the reader to sympathise with him. The difference between

these two pieces and the one on Owens is that Woods and Suh remain employed despite having a negative or declining public opinion.

Later in the article, Hass returns to the idea of Owens's words, but not of vitriol, but of irresponsible public criticism of his teammates. In 2005 after the Philadelphia Eagles lost Super Bowl XXXIX to the New England Patriots, Owen's accused the team's quarterback Donovan McNabb of being 'tired' (ABCNews 2006: n.p.) during the game, implying that McNabb caused their team's loss. Later in the article, Hass writes, 'it's hard to imagine the right time to publicly dis your QB' (*GQ US* 2/12: 119). Quarterbacks, or 'QB' for short, are the captains of American football teams, garnering these players the position of being the 'face' of a team. In the college and professional arenas of American football, quarterbacks are highly celebrated since they are seen as leading a team to victory, more so than the other positions who often do the work that leads to the acquisition of points in a game. Such is evident in the features on Tim Tebow *GQ US* 3/12: 126-132 and 9/12: 246-249), Cam Newton *GQ US* 9/12: 238-245), and Robert Griffin III (*GQ US* 12/12: 170) found in 2012. When Owens responds to Hass's query of his dispute with McNabb, he explains, '"I am not [...] a tactful person"' (ibid.). Hass relays how Jerry Rice tried to impart on Owens to be '"politically correct" to survive the game', but as Owen continues, '"I don't even know what that means" [...] "You know who you're talking to? What does that mean to someone like me? It's like another language"' (ibid.). These comments, represent Owens as possessing low cultural capital. For Owens and his siblings, who grew up in the rural south in Alabama, they were '[r]aised mostly by his joyless Baptist grandmother, who kept the kids inside her tiny, dark home [...] and sometimes drank so much she passed out' (ibid.: 54). Black male celebrities, especially sport stars, and their meagre and/or difficult upbringing is a discursive formation found across 2012 in American *GQ*; see also basketball star, Derrick Rose (*GQ US* 5/12: 126-133, 186) and football star, N'damukong Suh (*GQ US* 9/12: 258-261, 295-297). Despite playing college football at a Division I[22] school, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Owens was not groomed by his family, his university team, or his subsequent professional

[22] Division I is the highest level of the three-level hierarchy of intercollegiate athletics set by the National College Athletics Association (NCAA: n.p.).

teams for how to be in front of the camera except when performing on the field, how to speak to the media or how to interact with the public. It is clear from Hass throughout the piece that Owens was and remains unprepared socially to deal with the public aspect of 'celebrity' but also the interpersonal relationship management that comes with building and maintaining celebrity social capital. Owens's lack of cultural capital and declining social capital are contrasted with his exceptional bodily capital. Even in a moment of criticism from an anonymous NFL executive, they begin by saying, '"[i]t's not his knee that's the problem; it's his attitude"' (*GQ US* 2/12: 119). As the opening images of Owens, Hass's statements on his body and his extraordinary performance statistics prove, Owens is as Hass states, a 'bionic superstar' (ibid.: 50). His bodily capital, even after recovering from an injury, is unquestioned.

> "He may have been less openly divisive with the Bengals," the [anonymous] exec continues, "but you can't live down the destruction of all those years. With T.O., no matter how brilliant he can be on the field, the dark side is always lurking. You don't know which T.O. you're going to get, and no one is comfortable risking that" (ibid.: 52).

'But the media roundly scoffed at the idea of a "new" T.O., and Owens responded as he always has: defensively. "They, you, need a bad guy," he fumes [...] "I think people change, but the media, they never allowed me to change. They never allowed me to be a better person"' (ibid.).

Hass moves to discussing Owens's financial difficulties, which despite making 'at least $80 million' [≅£52 million] (ibid.). Owens tells Hass that almost all of it is gone. Hass explains that Owens did not follow the typical path of living a luxurious celebrity life with expensive cars, multiple properties, mansions, etc., rather Owens was too trusting of those around him, '[i]t's the sad old stereotypical song of the up-from-nothing black athlete: He let other people take care of things' (ibid.). Hass details poors investments and people embezzling from him. Though some of the money was returned, it was not substantial enough for him to provide for his dependents. Owens being too trusting of others to handle his money or lead him to smart investments, connects to similar statements made about Pelé in *British GQ* (*GQ UK* 5/12: 70-76, 226-227). In this feature, Chalmers (*GQ UK* 5/12: 75) says '[i]f there's a single failing that has coloured his life, it's a

propensity for catastrophic financial investment'. Chalmers will feature poor business decisions that led to Pelé losing money from the beginning of his career which continue with his business dealings in his retirement.

Hass details his child support fees. Although teams and his friends may not be calling him, 'lawyers, a slew of them, definitely have him on speed dial. Especially those who represent the four women to whom he pays a total of $44,600 a month in child support for his four children, ages 5 to 12' (ibid.: 54). Hass characterises the financial constraints with the mothers of his four children as part poor decision and part childhood trauma of growing up without a father in the home of his alcoholic and unloving grandmother. Hass moves to discussing his alleged suicide attempts. She reviews his fistfight in the locker room with teammate Hugh Douglas and

Whilst this is the only feature across both 2012 editions of *GQ* on a celebrity who has fallen, it proposes for further investigation that fallen stars continue to maintain their visibility capital by being in the media for their career plummeting. As with the positions discussed above, the fallen star is still discussed through a discourse on work, in which important moments in their career are reviewed, but unlike the positions discussed above, the narrative CV, at least for Owens, was reversed. Rather than being mostly celebratory, Owens career lows were the focus, whilst the high points and achievements were minimally mentioned. Owens also shares with the rising star, statements on family and rearing, but these again, point to adversity and possibly the origin of his lacking sportsmanship. As discussed above, these statements on difficult childhoods are indicative of features on black American athletes, therefore, more research is needed to learn if this is consistent in features on white celebrities who have fallen and those outside of the subfield of sport.

Whilst there are images of Owens taken specifically for the feature along with those from his career, the images by *GQ* do not have the clothing and accessories identified in the usual way. Rather than a text box appearing near the image and identifying each piece along with the designer, this information appears in the gutter of the page, which is the edge of the page that falls into the binding. In the American edition, this is where stylists, hair and makeup artists, and other staff are typically listed. Being

credited in this way indicates that the brand may not have wanted to be associated with Owens at the time, or the clothes the fallen star wear, may be his own, therefore, not relevant information for readers since the items featured may no longer be in stores. This glaring omission may indicate the significant decline of economic and visibility capitals. As mentioned earlier in this section, Hass details Owens's lacking understanding of personal finance. Fashion labels often lend their clothes for photoshoots, but when a celebrity has fallen so much, the label may refuse to lend or ask that their name be minimised or omitted.

This feature in American *GQ*, although negative, is still an act of consecration. As discussed above, Hass repeatedly mentions Owens's prowess on the football field. He is second only to Jerry Rice, who Hass identifies as the greatest wide receiver in NFL history. *GQ*, therefore, is consecrating Owens's career, but providing a negative review of who he is as a professional, i.e. a difficult person to work with who is not a teamplayer. Hass's feature presents an interesting case wherein the celebrity is still a celebrity, but Owens's celebrity capital has changed, jeopardising his status within the field of popular culture. The feature ends without any prospects for Owens, so the reader does not know if his story will continue or if Owens will completely fade into obscurity. Negative features of celebrities in American *GQ* usually end more positively with the celebrity on the return, which is what the following section presents.

VII.2.2 Nick Nolte, The Comeback

Through the window of a beat-up pickup truck, a white-haired Nick Nolte flips off the viewer. The title, in a chrome cursive font, is spread across the two-page image and reads, 'The Madman of Malibu' (*GQ US* 1/12: 94-97, 99-101; Figures VII.2.2a). The copy at the side of Nolte's middle finger identifies him as 'one of Hollywood's leading experts in hard living' (*GQ US* 1/12: 95). Within these first two pages of the feature 'madman' and 'hard living' situate Nick Nolte as a man who is probably a bit unhinged and abuses drugs and alcohol. At first glance, this double-page spread does not appear to be a story about redemption, but it is.

Coming back into the spotlight is incredibly difficult as Rojek (2001: 89) explains, '[r]edemption involves representational negotiation to restore the diminished cultural capital of the celebrity', which means that the public and the media are actively involved in producing a celebrity who is coming back into positive public view. Rojek explains that a common part of the redemption narrative is confession, which can lead to the public and the media dimming the celebrity's light or forgiveness which leads to coming back into view. The above piece of Owens, whilst contributing to the former football player's continued visibility, allows the reader to sympathise with Owens whilst still not forgiving him for past errors. In the below, the same confessional interview with Nolte ends positively, since the notoriously difficult actor is acting again and his performance in recently released film has caused Oscar buzz.

Tucked in the lower corner of the following page is Nolte's 2002 mugshot following his arrest for driving whilst under the influence (Figure VII.2.2b). Nolte is red-faced with sunken cheeks in the mugshot. He wears a Hawaiian shirt and his hair is almost comically wired. The article reveals that Nolte was not drunk but was high on liquid GHB (gamma-hydroxybutyric acid), more commonly known as '"liquid ecstasy[23]"' (*GQ US* 1/12: 99). Even through the retelling of the events that led to Nolte's arrest, writer Chris Heath, manages to position Nolte as part of the Hollywood establishment when he recounts the following: 'After he got home, a friend called. It was Marlon Brando. "He said, 'You know, I don't know if you were drunk or if you're not, I just want to say one thing–don't run away from anything.' I said "No, I won't run away"' (ibid.). Heath is simultaneously representing Nolte's social capital in this moment by mentioning one of Hollywood's most iconic figures, but also associating him with one of industry's notably difficult actors with which to work. This mention of Brando comes towards the end of the piece after a review of missteps in Nolte's career that led to him being labeled as difficult by industry insiders and the media. Although the moment is shared by Nolte, Heath seems to use it to associate Nolte and Brando together more than just socially, but to characterise the level of acting genius and difficult personality that is Nolte and Brando.

[23] GHB is a drug that falls in the 'depressant' category. In the U.S, GHB is known as 'G', 'liquid X' and 'liquid ecstasy', but is more commonly known as the 'date rape drug' (DOJ/DEA 2020: 1). This drug should not be confused with MDMA, or 'ecstasy', which is a psychedelic that when consumed induces euphoria, often at clubs, raves, or music festivals.

Earlier in the piece, Heath reviews Nolte's troublesome celebrity which has plagued his career, which was more than drug and alcohol addiction issues. Nolte was known to make odd requests, such as requesting to be paid to appear as a presenter at the Academy Awards, or arguing with directors, like when he asserted that Superman should be played schizophrenic, which cost him the role. He also has pulled out of roles, such as *Pride and Glory* (2008) which was directed by Gavin O'Connor. Yet despite such known difficulties and being labelled a 'madman' or a 'rebel' in the press, much like Brando, Nolte could still garner praise from his contemporaries such as O'Connor, with whom he worked with on *Warrior* (2011). As O'Connor says in the article, '"I think Nick's a national treasure as an actor"' (ibid.: 100), which is followed with O'Connor explaining that executives at Lionsgate were not enthusiastic about Nolte joining the film. In this moment, O'Connor consecrates Nolte but also tempers the consecration by sharing that it is not universally shared in Hollywood. This article highlights that 'celebrity' is fraught with complexity. Celebrities, such as Nolte, can be associated with the Hollywood establishment even when their representation is mostly negative because it is their work rather than their personal choices that really positions them in the field.

The association of Nolte to Brando helped to solidify Heath's representation of Nolte as 'difficult', 'gifted' and a 'rebel', but it is Heath's presentation of Nolte's CV that reiterates Nolte's 'gifted' status by the company that he keeps. The reader learns that the TV miniseries *Rich Man, Poor Man* (1976) 'launched [Nolte] as the bad-boy heartthrob of the day' (ibid.: 96). His first movie to have commercial success, *The Deep* (1977), is mentioned in the same sentence as *North Dallas Forty* (1979) which is deemed 'personal, edgier, ultimately less commercial' (ibid.). Within the first page of the feature, Nolte is represented as an actor that moves between commercial and 'edgier' films, which identifies the actor as both commercially successful (economic capital) and possessing high cultural capital since he was sought after to work on edgier projects. Nolte, therefore, like Damon, Craig and Fassbender reached a point in his career in which he could take these risks and participate in roles that may not be as economically rewarding, but his previous earnings allow him the freedom to do so.

Throughout the piece, Heath will identify highlights of Nolte's career and those he worked alongside such the television series *Luck* (2011) which stars Dustin Hoffman, *48 Hours* (1982) with Eddie Murphy, *The Prince of Tides* (1991) with Barbra Streisand, for which he received his first Oscar nomination, *Affliction* (1997) with Sissy Spacek and director Paul Schrader for which he received his second Oscar nomination and *Cape Fear* (1991) with Jessica Lange, Robert DeNiro and Martin Scorsese. At this early stage in the article, Nolte's social capital is represented as high, symbolically, since Heath mentions these other well-established Hollywood actors and directors who are equally and in some cases more decorated than him. Heath's representation of Nolte's social capital as high, however, is mitigated. The writer returns, however, to Nolte as 'difficult' when he recounts how Nolte's career took an unfortunate turn after the 1999 Academy Awards when he and fellow actor Ed Harris refused to applaud lifetime achievement recipient, Elia Kazan, due to Kazan's testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1952 in which he outed actors, directors and playwrights as communists. In fact, Heath writes 'that Nolte sat on his hands' (ibid.: 97) resulting in a soured relationship with Martin Scorsese. This is the point in the feature that turns, as Rojek (2001) argues of the redemption trope, into a confessional when Nolte is asked about this moment. "'Well, I'm hurt. And obviously I hurt Marty. But it was a terrible situation. And actors should not have been put in that position to be able to be judged over whether they applauded or not."' (ibid.). Before turning to the main confessional part of the article, Heath again, focuses on Nolte's social capital by mentioning the Oscar buzz surrounding his performance in *Warrior*, for which Nolte would eventually receive a nomination for best supporting actor. As discussed above, the Academy Awards represents both symbolic and social capital because it is voted on by members of the Hollywood Academy. To be nominated is an important consecration because it is bestowed from the superior group of individuals in the subfield of Hollywood entertainment. Whilst the nominations were not known at the time of the story's writing or publication, discussion of industry buzz is nonetheless important in the representation of celebrity capital.

Prior to this moment in Heath's story, Nolte is labelled a 'rebel' who was 'recklessly bucking against expectations' (*GQ US* 1/12: 96). Heath even excavates a quote from a

1979 interview with *People* magazine in which Nolte says, '"The only people who ever called me a rebel were people who wanted me to do what *they* wanted"' (ibid.: 96, original emphasis).

The true confession part of the interview regards Nolte's addiction to drugs and alcohol, and his personal exploration with improving his health and expanding his consciousness, often with the assistance of drugs. Nolte begins by telling Heath that he had his first drink before he was in eighth grade,

> he [Nolte] was alone in his room, looking down at the street. His parents had just moved to Omaha and he didn't have any friends, and he doesn't know why exactly but he went into the room where his father kept the liquor and poured some scotch into a glass. And then he sat at the window of his room and drank it (*GQ US* 1/12: 99).

Whilst the features on Fassbender discussed above present readers with the childhood moment that is the possible origin of how the actor is able to disappear into characters so well, the above from Heath presents the possible origin of Nolte's long journey with addiction. In the process of redemption for any celebrity seeking to return to public view, like icons reflecting on mistakes, celebrities in this position must endure an extended reflection on their past, which the remainder of Heath's article does for Nolte. Heath will go on to share that during the height of Nolte's career he was regularly seen and photographed with a beer in hand or nearby, as is shown in the image on page 97 (Figure VII.2.2b). Nolte did not begin dealing with his alcoholism until his late forties when in a moment of lucidity he realised that his third wife had been leaving plates of food for him outside of his door. He confesses in that moment, '"I just had never thought about not drinking"' (ibid.) which any reader who has dealt with alcoholism could identify with Nolte on this particular thought.

From Nolte's addiction to alcohol, the story turns to what led to the arrest picture shown at the beginning of the article. Nolte will share his experiences with LSD in the 1960s, how he has consumed cocaine but does not like it, and how he is searching for something else to treat his arthritis rather than opiates. The picture that is presented is of a highly informed consumer of drugs, since the actor knows how they affect the body and brain, particularly noted in why cocaine or opiates are not Nolte's favoured drugs of

choice. The focus of the article is GHB and Nolte's relationship with the substance. As Heath explains,

> In the years before the arrest, Nolte's interest in unconventional ways to keep the body healthy and young became fairly well-known. [... he] took human growth hormone, testosterone, and a cocktail of vitamins. Sometimes he would self-administer IVs of vitamins. One of the substances he grew interested in was GHB [...]. When he was arrested, he had been using it daily for the previous four years (ibid.)

Nolte will go on to share in the interview that there were key moments in which he had '"a sip too much"' (ibid.) of the GHB when referring to the moments when the drug got him into trouble. Such moments include passing out in Union Square in San Francisco, not waking up from a deep sleep, and being arrested for reckless driving on the Pacific Coast highway for which the public was given the mugshot in 2002. Heath explains to readers that the story Nolte told after his arrest 'was that he was purposely trying to provoke a situation that would force him to deal with his problem' (ibid.). This is the first of two scenarios in which Nolte will share that he was provoking a situation; the latter being with O'Connor prior to shooting the film began. These revelations convey to the readers Nolte's awareness of his own limitations which humanises the actor. Rather than asking for help at the point of realisation, which though not stated in the piece must be a sign of weakness for the actor, Nolte chooses to provoke a situation where he is forced to seek help. Rojek (2001: 89) argues that 'confession can produce a more nuanced relationship with the public, in which frailty and vulnerability are recognized [...] common to celebrity and fan alike'. This long reflection for Nolte is the actor being vulnerable because he takes responsibility for his actions, even when he does not fully understand them, unlike Owens who was loathed to admit his wrongdoings. Moreover, through Nolte's conversation with Heath, he seeks to justify to the public his consumption of drugs through his long held fascination with his health and consciousness, which he is trying to take ownership of rather than simply leaving it in the hands of healthcare professionals. Rojek (ibid.: 90) argues that not all confessions are successful since they 'acknowledge personality defects and [they] depend on avoiding slipping back into the pattern of behaviour that provoked the public censure and punishment'. Though the public reception is not presented in this feature, Nolte is represented as gaining more work that is of

significance, therefore, at least his professional relationships are garnering the recognition that he needs to move past the reckless driving incident in 2002.

This feature on Nolte ends with a short discussion of his involvement with the HBO series *Luck* (2011-2012), in which he plays Walter Smith, a veteran horse trainer who is seeking to make a comeback to the competitive world of horse racing with a horse of his own. Heath shares the following from David Milch, *Luck*'s creator,

> "Someone once said, [...] 'The secret subject of any story worth telling is time, but you can never say its name.' With Nick, he is that theme incarnate. He has lived into, I think, all of the contradictions and all of the follies and some of the exultations that are available to us, and he carries them all with great grace. He brings it all to life, and he brings it all to life all at one" (ibid.: 101).

Whilst Heath shared earlier that the Lionsgate executives were not keen to hire him for *Warrior*, it is not just O'Connor who views Nolte as an exceptional actor, which helps to mitigate the negative perception shared. Nolte can be both a liability for unpredictability if he is unable to keep his addiction under control, but also an asset for his ability to bring so much to the roles he inhabits. It appears that those who work directly with him value him most for the latter and advocate for him to be signed to projects. After speaking with Milch, Nolte shares that Milch has invited him to write for the show after their discussion of where his character would go in the future. Nolte reads some of his writing with Heath who shares that these are 'the kind of words we wait for Nick Nolte to say, somehow casual and distracted and yet almost deeper and heavier than a listener can hear, with a simple merciless clarity' (ibid.). This almost poetic moment ends the feature positively. Nolte is not just acting again, but actively involved in the production of his character.

CONCLUSION

This thesis analysed the ways in which American and British *GQ* magazines represent masculinities, Americanness and Britishness through the discourse on 'celebrity' in 2012. By building the analysis through 'celebrity', this thesis contributes to scholarship that proposes that celebrities are integral in 'constituting who we are, and what we hope for and dream about' Douglas and McDonnell (2019: 20). Moreover, following 'celebrity' as a discursive tool was integral in demonstrating that '[m]asculinity is multiform, rather than unitary and monolithic' as Mort (1996: 10, original emphasis) argues.

In order to explore the idea of masculinities always as plural, Chapter III presented the theoretical framework for the thesis which was built from the works of Foucault, Butler and Bourdieu. Since the objects of inquiry are magazines, Foucault's work on discourse (1969 [2010]; 1972 [2004]; 1981) and power/knowledge (1975 [1995]) was adopted to understand how discourses produce subjects and objects. Butler's theory of performativity (1990 [2007], 1993 [2011], 1999, 2004) was used to address how gender is produced and policed in contemporary culture. After the content analysis was completed, Bourdieu's concepts of field (1980 [1990]; 1993; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), capital (1977 [2002]; 1980 [1990]; 1984 [2010]; 1986; 1993 [2015]) and consecration (1993) were adopted to make sense of how the representations of male celebrities in both editions of the magazine appeared to be valued.

Chapter V provided the backdrop against which decisions by *GQ* editors and changes to the men's lifestyle magazine market integrated 'celebrity' into the pages of these two editions more intentionally. Using Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital and consecration, Chapter VI argues that representations of 'celebrity' are produced through a discourse on work – named the 'narrative CV' – in these two magazines. Established celebrities and rising stars enjoy a review of past, present and future projects whilst their professional networks are revealed. Whilst the aforementioned representational technique does not differ significantly for established and rising celebrities, Section VI.3 proposed that rising stars' economic, social and visibility capitals have not reached the height of their established contemporaries. The rising position is proposed to build on

Bourdieu's field theory to argue that there are more positions in a field than just established and newcomers. This middle position exists between the establishment and newcomers because their celebrity capital has moved them beyond newness but which has not accumulated the level of celebrity capital necessary to be placed in the establishment. Moreover, signifiers such as 'on the rise' or 'about to take on his biggest role' separate the rising star from an established celebrity.

Breakthrough stars, or newcomers, are also produced through a discourse on work, but the amount of space these new celebrities are given in the pages of *GQ* is significantly less than established or rising celebrities. Moreover, breakthrough stars' celebrity capital make up is much lower than those that came before them. Their economic and social capital is significantly lower since just breaking into the field and they have not accumulated visibility capital to grant them the recognition that established celebrities have with the media and the public.

Chapter VII further complicated the field of popular culture by proposing that there are additional positions that sit outside of the aforementioned three. Icons are celebrities whose long careers have granted them the accumulation of various forms of capital that exceeds that of the established position. This position is also produced through reflective statements that give the icon the opportunity to consider past mistakes and failures, both personal and professional, and either make amends or take responsibility for their role in the failure.

Section VII.2 presented two positions which are of depressed or dispossessed capital, the 'fallen star' and the 'comeback celebrity'. The 'fallen star' is represented as descending or as hitting rock bottom due to their decisions which have affected their relationships with the media and/or the public. Their economic capital may be in jeopardy as is their social network which may be diminishing. Due to their position, their visibility capital is decreasing and their symbolic capital is lowered. Whilst the feature on Terrell Owens in American *GQ* showed that a fallen star can retain their bodily capital, Rojek (2001) argues that it is often because of a decrease in bodily capital that celebrities' fall. This feature on Owens, however, proposes that celebrity descent can also involve professional shortcomings. Since between the two editions of *GQ* in 2012 only one

feature represented a celebrity at their lowest, more research on men's lifestyle magazines is needed to learn if celebrities in this position can retain certain forms of capital, such as bodily in the case of Owens, whilst others are lowered or revoked.

Although few celebrities across 2012 were represented as 'coming back', the feature on Nick Nolte in American *GQ* was used to explore this position in the field of popular culture. Unlike Owens, Nolte's celebrity capital was in less jeopardy. His economic capital was either being maintained or growing based on his recent film and television projects. His social capital was growing or being reestablished based on his new projects, which were helping to grow his visibility capital again. He received the necessary review of his career thus far, but alongside this narrative was a narrative of his battle with addiction. As with the icons who reflect and take responsibility for their professional failures, Nolte spoke of his addiction openly as something that he is actively working through.

Celebrities Succeeding & Failing in America

As mentioned above in Section VI.2.3, British celebrities were taking,

> Hollywood by storm, have won roles as the most American of superheroes and are winning plaudits for their unique style that make them some of the most photographed men in the world. Elsewhere, the British music scene is having an extraordinary renaissance and the look of its leading lights is celebrated far beyond these shores (*GQ UK* 3/12: 206).

One of the main differences between American and British *GQ* magazines is that the British editions celebrate British celebrities that are successful in the US. In *British GQ* there are celebrities famous in Britain and there are those whose 'celebrity' has expanded to the US. The following reviews examples of British celebrities being successful abroad to propose how the British field of popular culture as represented by *British GQ* differs from the American edition, meaning that there is a restricted subfield for British celebrities who succeed and fail in the US.

James Corden is seated on a set of white stairs in a tuxedo (*GQ UK* 10/12: 218; Figure C.1a). His feet are crossed at his ankles and his hands are clasped. He is not smiling. Corden's solemn expression, which is not the Corden that was most frequently

seen in the press in 2012, appears to reflect the seriousness of the award, 'Editor's Special Award', that he has been given, and the serious tone with which Corden as the lead of the 'Men of the Year' spread for *British GQ* has set. Solemn Corden is juxtaposed with some less serious 'props' in the scene: a small dog with an underbite beside him is wearing a black bow tie and surrounding Corden are pairs of long legs in fishnet stockings and black patent leather Louboutin heels (a la the musical *Chicago*) all staged in front of a champagne coloured curtain. The scene is typical irony used in men's lifestyle magazines to lighten serious moments such as this (Benwell 2003). Corden's physicality as the lead in *One Man, Two Guvnors* sets him apart from other actors. Writer Jonathan Heaf tells readers that Corden has completed, '421 two-and-a-half-hour performances so far' of 'this – very – physical comedy' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 218). Corden is not necessarily being praised for his bodily capital in the write-up. Heaf writes that the physical play 'has done wonders to streamline Corden' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 218), but that his body may soon conform to the expectations of celebrity life in America.

The short write-up mentions Corden's upcoming projects, one with Keira Knightley and another backed by Harvey Weinstein. Mentioning these two names – one a multi-award nominated actress the other a now discredited film and television producer – is a representation of Corden's rising social capital. Mentioning Knightley and Weinstein is important for two separate reasons. By 2012, Knightley was a well-established Hollywood actress after the success of *Bend It Like Beckham* (2002) she made the crossover to the US in the fantasy blockbuster film *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl* (2003), which starred Johnny Depp and was produced by Walt Disney Studios. Heaf connects Corden who is finding success in the US with a British celebrity that already has. Whilst this is an example of Corden's growing social capital it functions like the associative statements discussed above because the lesser British star is being tethered to the established British star. This discursive technique works to indicate the direction that Corden is likely headed. Whilst Weinstein is no longer a name burgeoning celebrities want to be associated due to ostracisation following numerous sexual-abuse allegations, but in 2012, Weinstein was a highly sought after Hollywood producer, arguably 'the' Hollywood producer at the time since his name was in the public's consciousness as a

starmaker. Connecting Corden with Weinstein as well is another articulation of his rising social capital, but specifically with the Hollywood elite who make the decisions and control the finances of projects, which is usually a signifier of economic capital that is soon to rise.

Whilst the text beside Corden acknowledges his hard work to improve his bodily capital and his growing social capital, two phrases by Heaf separate Corden from some of the other recipients of the 2012 Men of the Year awards: 'Having enraptured audiences and critics on both sides of the Atlantic' and 'won over the American press' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 218). In features of celebrities that succeed in the US, statements similar to these will appear as well. *British GQ* is not simply saying that Corden has succeeded, but validates his transatlantic success by saying that Corden is packing the house and has received the favourable reviews that consecrate him into the restricted subfield of American popular culture.

The term restricted subfield of American popular culture is used to indicate that this is a field of its own within the British field of popular culture, which *British GQ*, writing from a British position, contributes to the production of through their magazine, events, internet and social media presences. What is clear in *British GQ* is that a celebrity does not need to succeed in the US to be a celebrity or positioned in the field of popular culture, but their success does cordon them off into the aforementioned subfield. Corden is an example of a rising star in the US since how he is represented uses the signifiers discussed above in Section VI.3 on rising stars. The following briefly reviews successful established and breakthrough celebrities, as well as, one celebrity that failed to make it in America to further argue for the recognition of this restricted subfield.

Whilst Corden has garnered an increase in his celebrity capital through packed performances, an expanding professional network and critical success through reviews, TV Personality Man of the Year, Damian Lewis, was granted an honour few American and British celebrities receive, an invitation 'to dine with the president of America' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 229; Figure VI.1a) for his starring role in *Homeland*, which is identified as 'Barack Obama's favourite TV show' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 229). Writer, Stuart McGurk, explains that *Homeland* 'won two Golden Globes and is fêted by every TV critic on the planet) but actual viewers too – nearly 2.8 million tuning in for the [season] finale' (*GQ UK* 10/12:

229). '[C]onquering the small screen stateside and earning an invite to the White House' resulted in honouring Lewis 'in his Homeland' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 229). As mentioned in Section VI.1, Lewis received an Emmy in 2012 for his role in *Homeland* and was featured across both editions of *GQ* more than once. Following Corden, Lewis's feature demonstrates that success in the US has various signifiers that position a celebrity in the field; they are critical acclaim, audience approval through tickets sales or viewers, and approval from other celebrities. Lewis, however, has separated himself from a rising star like Corden to become part of the established position because of his Emmy award, the show's Emmy awards and having the rare distinction of dining with, not just meeting, the US president.

Tinie Tempah, recipient of the 'Man of the Year Solo Artist' award, is on the precipice of success in the US (*GQ UK* 10/12: 250; Figure C.1b). After recapping his first showing at Coachella in 2011, Charlie Burton says that Tempah 'is anything but new to America. Following Coachella, he packed out venues from New York to Detroit. But he hasn't broken the States just yet; that's what his forthcoming second album [...] is for' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 250). Burton contrasts the US with Tempah's origins by saying 'American stardom is a world away from Tempah's council-estate upbringing in London's Peckham' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 250), which is used to magnify success in the US as that much more exceptional. Burton's comment that Tempah 'hasn't broken the States just yet' is an instance where a British celebrity may have two separate and distinct positions at the same time – one in the British field of popular culture and the other in the restricted subfield of American popular culture. In 2012, Tempah was considered a rising star by the British press following his receipt of two Brit Awards in 2011, one for 'Best Breakthrough Act'. Burton's comment indicates that although he has toured in the US he has not necessarily broken through and connected with audiences or started garnering the critical reviews by the American press necessary to start an upward trajectory in the field of American popular culture. Tempah's representation, therefore, presents a celebrity that may need to be positioned in two separate places simultaneously. He is clearly a rising celebrity in Britain, but in the US he has yet to breakthrough to garner the visibility capital necessary as someone to watch.

Not all British celebrities who live in the US are successful there. In his interview with editor Dylan Jones, Robbie Williams is positioned as living in the celebrity mecca of Hollywood and being in close proximity to American music royalty, 'For years, Williams has lived in a spotless gate community way up on Mulholland Drive, overlooking the San Fernando Valley on one side and greater Los Angeles on the other, and where he counts Beach Boy Brian Wilson and Slash as his neighbours' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 234; Figure C.1c). Williams, however, has 'resigned himself to a life without success in America' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 234). Williams has tried to break through in the US, but it just never materialised. When asked how important the American market is to his new deal with Universal, Williams replies '"Not at all. Zero. I haven't released a record there since 1999. [...] What would America bring me? More money? I'm too lazy to try to break America again"' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 312). Such moments of bleak honesty are tempered with *British GQ* awarding Williams the 'Icon' Men of the Year award and Jones's own promotion of Williams with such comments as 'he deserves his success: not only is he innately talented, he also wears his success extraordinarily lightly' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 234). Whilst the article represents Williams as a success at home, the example of Williams demonstrates that one does not have to conquer American audiences to reap the benefits of the US. Williams explains of his residency in the Los Angeles area that '"[o]ne of the best things about living in California is being distanced from my constant need to impress people back home"' (*GQ UK* 10/12: 312).

The above section reviewed the representations of British celebrities succeeding or failing in the US to propose that *British GQ* creates a restricted subfield of American popular culture for these celebrities. This proposed subfield complicates Bourdieu's work because it suggests that celebrities are found in more than one position in the field, meaning that they have positions in the field of popular culture as the magazine represents it, but also the restricted subfield. As demonstrated with Tempah and Williams, celebrities' positions can differ between the main and subfields. The following section reviews other contributions to knowledge.

Contributions to Knowledge

This thesis contributed to knowledge through methods and analysis. Engaging in a focused and yet comparative study provided new knowledge on representations of masculinities and national identities in American and British *GQ* magazines. Moreover, this research used textual analysis to look across issues within the year of 2012 to learn how masculinities and national identities are constructed within and co-constructed across each magazine. As demonstrated in the empirical chapters, American and British *GQ* may not directly engage with one another, but they draw on similar representational techniques to produce masculinities each month. The shared techniques include fashion images and fashion spreads to display their bodily capital and to connect celebrity and fashion together. Celebrity interviews are another technique that use the discourse on work to represent celebrities' economic, cultural, social, symbolic, bodily, but most importantly visibility capitals. As demonstrated throughout chapters VI and VII, celebrities are obliged to participate in the interview features which either grows, maintains or seeks to renew their statuses in the fields of popular culture.

Chapters II and IV proposed a two-step approach to reviewing editorial content which combines content and textual analyses. Whilst the words that anchor the meaning of images to the text were used in the first stage of content analysis, closer review of the text provided insight into how the editorial pieces and photospreads often featured more than one area of content such as fashion/style, grooming and culture. The two-step approach to the review of magazine content sought to avoid the researcher's preferences. Whilst the content analysis did direct what kinds of editorial content in which would become the focus of the empirical chapters, the editorial content chosen for close readings were selected by me, therefore, researchers' preferences were not completely avoided. This thesis is a first step towards developing a methodological approach for cultural and media studies that is more objective and dodges preferences.

As the analysis progressed, Judith Butler and Pierre Bourdieu's works appeared to be increasingly in conversation with one another. Both Bourdieu and Butler build on J. L. Austin's (1975) speech-act theory in their work: for Bourdieu (1977 [2002], 1984 [2010]) his concept of habitus and for Butler (1997, 1999, 2004) her theory of performativity.

Their work, however, sits in opposition to one another since the former's is embodied through acculturation whilst the latter's lacks interiority and history. Whilst this conflict between these theories and their larger bodies of scholarship is clear, in the following, this thesis proposes Butler's work on performativity and Bourdieu's concept of field (1993; see also Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) is an avenue where these two theorists may be brought together.

In his explanation of how agents become members of a field, Bourdieu (1993: 42, emphasis added) says that '[t]here is no other criterion of membership of a field than the objective fact of *producing effects within it*'. In a Foucauldian moment Butler says, 'discourse *produces the effects that it names*' (1993 [2011]: xii, emphasis added) to underscore that gender is an object of discourse. Both scholars are concerned with the production of effects whether they are how objective relations establish positions in a field or how speech and conduct police gender boundaries. It is this shared interest with the production of different effects that provides an opening to bring Bourdieu and Butler together albeit tenuously.

Butler's work is ahistorical which is shown in her articulation of gender lacking an origin, but rather is an activity that is always taking place. Bourdieu's work is the opposite because he states that '[t]he history of the field arises from the struggle between the established figures and the young challengers' (Bourdieu 1993: 60). This thesis, however, proposes that fields can be used to evaluate the field at a particular moment (history), but also that fields are performative (ahistorical). As discussed in Section III.5, fields are not representative of all time in that they provide a snapshot of a chosen field at a particular moment, therefore, one can chart the moment a particular style of music breaks into the field of popular culture and when that music is adopted as part of the establishment. As the above chapters demonstrate, the field of popular culture can be viewed through a lens which evaluates the life stages of 'celebrity'. If the history of a field is the result of struggle between positions within it, then the thesis argues that the struggle is always being renewed because there is the ongoing repetition of celebrity positions vying to make it to the end goal of established celebrity at a minimum or icon at the maximum. As discussed towards the end of Section III.4, Butler's work addressed the social aspect of gender as

her work progressed and the field of celebrity studies reiterates the social nature of 'celebrity'; without an audience, the media, and their team of stylists, managers, agents, etc. the celebrity does not exist. Bourdieu says (1993: 63) 'the collective invention which results in the post of writer or artist has to be endlessly repeated'. This thesis demonstrates that the collective invention of 'celebrity' is endlessly repeated as well and by extension the field of popular culture. Moreover, whilst celebrities may remain, move/be moved or disappear from the field these representations are valuations that are reiterated so that *GQ*, and by extension other men's lifestyle magazines, persist in *being* critics (ontology) and *doing* criticisms (agency) in the field of popular culture. Representation, therefore, is evaluative, productive and performative.

Areas for Future Refinement

Doctoral research is not an end but simply the beginning. Understanding this allows one to complete the task at hand, knowing that refinements are possible in the future. Combining methods is never straight-forward. Whilst content analysis was useful on multiple levels, application of it in future research does require tightening, as well as, seeking out additional coders and/or using qualitative coding software.

As discussed above in Section IV.1, literature on the mechanics of comparative analysis and its epistemological underpinnings was lacking across the fields of Cultural Studies, Fashion Studies, Media Studies and sociological journals and texts that were consulted. This is the second area for refinement in future research so as to develop a more systematic approach to comparison for contribution to the fields of cultural and media studies. The third area for refinement is to continue engaging with Bourdieu and Butler's work in an effort to tighten the bringing together of their bodies of work.

Expanding This Research

As detailed in Section II.1, this research project was originally proposed to examine all five anglophonic editions of *GQ* (Australia, India, South Africa, UK and US), which is the next logical step. Many of the findings and proposals would benefit from exploration in the

other national editions. Alongside the incorporation of other national editions of the magazine, is to expand the timeframe to at least a decade, preferably 2010 to 2020. This presents the opportunity to potentially encounter changes in *GQ*'s editors, which as detailed in Chapter V, had an impact on the American and British editions of *GQ* in the past. Moreover, this anglophonic exploration would complicate the proposal above of British celebrities being successful in the US. Does Australian, Indian and South African *GQ* speak of their homegrown celebrities being successful in the US, UK or other restricted subfields? Additionally, cloning a publication and placing it in a different national context presents many opportunities to examine the sharing of content purposefully and the promotion of pop culture that crosses national borders. As mentioned in Chapter III, I spent many hours looking at other national editions of *GQ*, English and non-English language editions and one immediate observation is that the younger a publication is the more likely they are to use content from more established editions within *GQ*; even so far as sharing the same cover images.

One area of research that was unexplored, is the non-celebrity content that features everyday individuals and advice for the common man. As shown in Chapters VI and VII, celebrity content on the whole is positive with a few exceptions (see Section VII.2), but much of the content on everyday Americans features their struggles through longform journalism and photography. *British GQ*, in contrast, did not have many features in 2012 on everyday Britons. Most of their content is critical or commentary-based editorials. The longform journalism in *British GQ* often examines contemporary politics or stories from abroad, though this could be different in years other than 2012.

Another area for expansion is to address the serious lack of research that compares women's and men's media side-by-side. As my interest in 'celebrity' grew with this project alongside my continued interest in 'fashion' and 'style', engaging in a comparative study between men's and women's lifestyle media would open opportunities to explore gender politics. How are 'celebrity', 'fashion/style' masculinities and femininities symbolically produced in and across *GQ* and *Vogue* for instance? Do we learn about celebrities through a discourse on work – past, present and future projects – in *Vogue* or is the discussion structured around other themes such as family or balancing stardom and

motherhood? Are there different stages to the life of a female versus male celebrity? Do the signifiers or techniques that represent a female celebrity as rising or breaking through differ from their male counterparts? How are female celebrities represented – meaning styled and photographed – and do they receive more post-production editing than their male counterparts? These are just some of the questions that have come to mind whilst working on this thesis and considering the representation of women.

As someone that identifies as an outside observer to heterosexual culture, continuing to engage with mainstream lifestyle media and how identity politics are represented through 'celebrity' is an additional area for expansion. How are queer, trans or non-binary celebrities featured in lifestyle publications and has their representation increased over time? Finally, much further down the road, it would be beneficial to the research to complete the circle of production (du Gay 1997; du Gay et al 1997), therefore, interviewing and observing magazine editors and other staffers to understand how they engage with the concept of 'celebrity' that they are actively involved in producing, and surveying readers on their own interpretations of 'celebrity'.

CHAPTER II APPENDIX

Table II.4
Codes List for Content Analysis

Code	Definition
Business	Monetary and commerce related content
Cars	Promotions and reporting of vehicles old and new
Corp Info	Masthead, contributor bios, publishing statements
Culture	Art, books, film, music, television and video game related content
Fashion/Style	Garments, shoes and accessories to wear and how to wear them
Food/Beverage	Cookery, cuisine, alcohol, bars, restaurants, recipes and hosting
Gadgets/Tech	New gadgets and electronics for men's lives
Grooming	Products and processes for cleaning and styling hair and skin
Home/Garden	Interior and exterior design, indoor and outdoor wares
Humour	Cartoon, jokes, satire and other comedic content
Interviews	Conversations between a writer and a figure(s) of note
Journalism	Exposé and/or other longform investigative works
Opinion	Opinion editorials, editor's letters, advice content, readers' letters and surveys
Other	Content that does not fit into any other category
Pin-Ups	Erotic images of women
Politics	Global and national content related to governmental affairs and elections
Relationships	Discussions of dating and friendships, and familial, marital and sexual relationships
Society	Coverage of parties, philanthropic and promotional events
Sport	Participatory and spectatorial sport coverage
Travel/Leisure	Domestic and foreign journeys for relaxation or entertainment
Wellness	Fitness and health covering both physical and mental well-being

Table II.5a
Mapping the Monthly Issues Excerpt

Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE
Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Coun	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		73	0	Ad		
		74	0	Ad		
	The Style Guy	75	1	Glenn O'Brien Solves Your Sartorial Conundrums		
		76	0	Ad		
	The Punch List: The 9 Things In The Culture (the good, the bad, the obscure, the unavoidable) That Matter This Month	77	1	To Behead or Not to Behead		
		78	1	To Behead or Not to Behead; Nightly Nudes: The C		
		79	0	Ad		
		80	1	The Three Movies This Month Every Man Must See		
		81	0	Ad		
		82	1	She's Got a Mouth on Her		
		83	0	Ad		
	GQ Intelligence | The Male Species	84	1	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis		
		85	0	Ad		
		86	1	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis		
		87	0	Ad		
		88	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		89	0	Ad		
		90	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		91	0	Ad		
		92	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		93	0	Ad		
		94	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		95	0	Ad		
		96	0	Baseball Is Fun Again		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		97	1	Baseball Is Fun Again		
	gence | cs	98	1	Run, Little Mitt, Run!		
		99	0	Ad		

Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE
Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Count	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		145	1	The 2012 Car Awards		
		146	0	Ad		
		147	1	The 2012 Car Awards		
		148	0	Advertorial		
		149	0	Advertorial		
		150	0	Ad		
	GQ Comedy Special	151	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		152	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		153	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		154	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		155	1	GQ presents the 100 best jokes in the world		
		156	1	The Funny Factory		
		157	1	The Funny Factory		
		158	1	The Funny Factory		
		159	1	The Funny Factory		
		160	1	The Funny Factory		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		161	0	Ad		
		162	0	Ad		
		163	1	Pour Elle		
		164	0	Ad		
		165	0	Ad		
		166	1	The Hits Squad		
		167	1	The Hits Squad		
		168	1	The Hits Squad		
		169	0	Ad		
	Michael Wolff	170	1	It's war! Hollywood strikes back		
		171	1	It's war! Hollywood strikes back		
		172	0	Advertorial		
		173	0	Advertorial		

Table II.5b
Coding Pilot Study Excerpt

	American *GQ*				*British GQ*		
Page	Page Title	Coding 1	Coding 2	Page	Page Title	Coding 1	Coding 2
0	Cover	Culture	Culture	0	Cover	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
26	Advertorial / Man on the Scene	Society	Society	NP	Table of Contents	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
44	Table of Contents	Culture	Culture	23	Table of Contents	Culture	Culture
46	Masthead	Corp Info	Corp Info	26	Ad / Masthead	Corp Info	Corp Info
48	Especially Special	Opinion	Opinion	30	Ad / Masthead	Corp Info	Corp Info
50	Letters from Readers	Opinion	Opinion	37	Editor's letter	Opinion	Opinion
55	GQ Endorses | Red (Yes, Red!) Pants	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	38	Editor's letter	Opinion	Opinion
56	How to Buy > A Vintage Watch	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	40	GQ Contributors	Corp Info	Corp Info
58	How to Buy > A Vintage Watch	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	43	{GQ Man of the Month} Mike Birbiglia	Culture	Culture
60	The Goods | The Boat Shoe's Next Wave	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	49	Rod Liddle | Ask Dr Rod | GQ Agony Uncle	Relationships	Relationships
64	The Suited Man > The Perfect $1,000 Italian Suit (	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	50	Hugo Rifkind | The GQ Guide How *Not* to...	Other	Other
66	Tech | Honey, This FaceTime Is Torture	Gadgets/Tech	Gadgets/Tech	52	Jamie Millar | The GQ Lifestyle Guru	Humour	Opinion
68	Drive | All of the Fast, None of the Furious	Cars	Cars	54	Jamie Millar | The GQ Lifestyle Guru	Humour	Opinion
72	Eat | Dress to Impress	Food/Beverage	Food/Beverage	61	Intro page	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
75	Glenn O'Brien Solves Your Sartorial Conundrums	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	62	{The Girl} The real reason to watch Game of Thrones	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
77	To Behead or Not to Behead	Culture	Culture	64	{The Restaurants} Your next dinner is Peruvian / The GQ Insider	Food/Beverage	Food/Beverage
78	To Behead or Not to Behead; Nightly Nudes: The (	Culture	Culture	67	{The Tech} Gramophone 2.0	Gadgets/Tech	Gadgets/Tech
80	The Three Movies This Month Every Man Must Se	Culture	Culture	69	{The Book} Turbo-charge your brain / {The Drink} Artful vodka {The Politics} Poll cra	Culture	Culture
82	She's Got a Mouth on Her	Pin-Ups	Culture	70	{The Film} Decoding The Avengers	Culture	Culture
84	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis	Cars	Cars	73	{The Next Big Thing} Jessica Paré	Pin-Ups	Pin-Ups
86	My Other Car Is a Midlife Crisis	Cars	Cars	74	{The Sport} Mark Webber gets bullish / To-do list: Sort out your bed	Sport	Sport
88	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	77	{The Trends} A bag for all seasons / The fedora returns	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style
90	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	78	{The Art} The business of being Damien Hirst	Culture	Culture
93	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	80	{The Music} The lyrical worker	Culture	Culture
94	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	82	{The Photos} Lord Snowdon's life in film / {The Band} Silver Seas: charted / The GQ	Culture	Culture
96	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	84	{The London Page} Secret Comedy	Culture	Culture
97	Baseball Is Fun Again	Sport	Sport	89	GQ Exposure	Society	Society
98	Run, Little Mitt, Run!	Politics	Politics	90	GQ Exposure	Society	Society
100	Run, Little Mitt, Run!	Politics	Politics	92	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
102	Run, Little Mitt, Run!	Politics	Politics	93	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
104	The GQ 100	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	94	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
105	The GQ 100	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	96	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture
106	The GQ 100	Fashion/Style	Fashion/Style	98	Sam Kinison	Culture	Culture

Table II.5c
Coding Sample from Revised Content Analysis Process

Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE
Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Coun	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		73	0	Ad		
		74	0	Ad		
	The Style Guy	75	1	Glenn O'Brien S	Fashion/Style	Opinion, Other, C
		76	0	Ad		
	The Punch List: The 9 Things In The Culture (the good, the bad, the obscure, the unavoidable) That Matter This Month	77	1	To Behead or Nc	Culture	
		78	1	To Behead or Nc	Culture	Pin-Ups, Intervie
		79	0	Ad		
		80	1	The Three Movie	Culture	Sport, Interviews
		81	0	Ad		
		82	1	She's Got a Mou	Pin-Ups	Culture, Interviev
		83	0	Ad		
	GQ Intelligence | The Male Species	84	1	My Other Car Is	Cars	Relationships
		85	0	Ad		
		86	1	My Other Car Is	Cars	Relationships
		87	0	Ad		
		88	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	
		89	0	Ad		
		90	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Interviews, Humc
		91	0	Ad		
		92	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Interviews, Fashi
		93	0	Ad		
		94	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Culture, Humour
		95	0	Ad		
		96	0	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Interviews, Humc
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		97	1	Baseball Is Fun ,	Sport	Culture, Humour
	GQ Intelligence | Politics	98	1	Run, Little Mitt, F	Politics	Journalism
		99	0	Ad		
		100	1	Run, Little Mitt, F	Politics	Journalism
		101	0	Ad		
		102	1	Run, Little Mitt, F	Politics	Journalism

Y	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE
Month	Section	Page	Editorial v. Ad Count	Contents	Primary Code	Secondary Codes
April		145	1	The 2012 Car A	Cars	Humour, Travel/L
		146	0	Ad		
		147	1	The 2012 Car A	Cars	Fashion/Style
		148	0	Advertorial		
		149	0	Advertorial		
		150	0	Ad		
	GQ Comedy Special	151	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		152	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		153	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		154	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		155	1	GQ presents the	Humour	Culture
		156	1	The Funny Fact	Culture	Interviews
		157	1	The Funny Fact	Culture	Interviews
		158	1	The Funny Fact	Culture	Interviews
		159	1	The Funny Fact	Culture	Interviews
		160	1	The Funny Fact	Culture	Interviews
		NP	0	Ad		
		NP	0	Ad		
		161	0	Ad		
		162	0	Ad		
		163	1	Pour Elle	Pin-Ups	Fashion/Style, T
		164	0	Ad		
		165	0	Ad		
		166	1	The Hits Squad	Interviews	Culture
		167	1	The Hits Squad	Interviews	Culture
		168	1	The Hits Squad	Interviews	Culture
		169	0	Ad		
	Michael Wolff	170	1	It's war! Hollywo	Culture	Opinion
		171	1	It's war! Hollywo	Culture	Opinion
		172	0	Advertorial		
		173	0	Advertorial		
	Watchmen	174	1	The beta Bodyg	Interviews	Culture
		175	1	The beta Bodyg	Interviews	Culture
		176	1	The beta Bodyg	Interviews	Culture

Table II.6a
GQ Content Analysis Comparison

American GQ

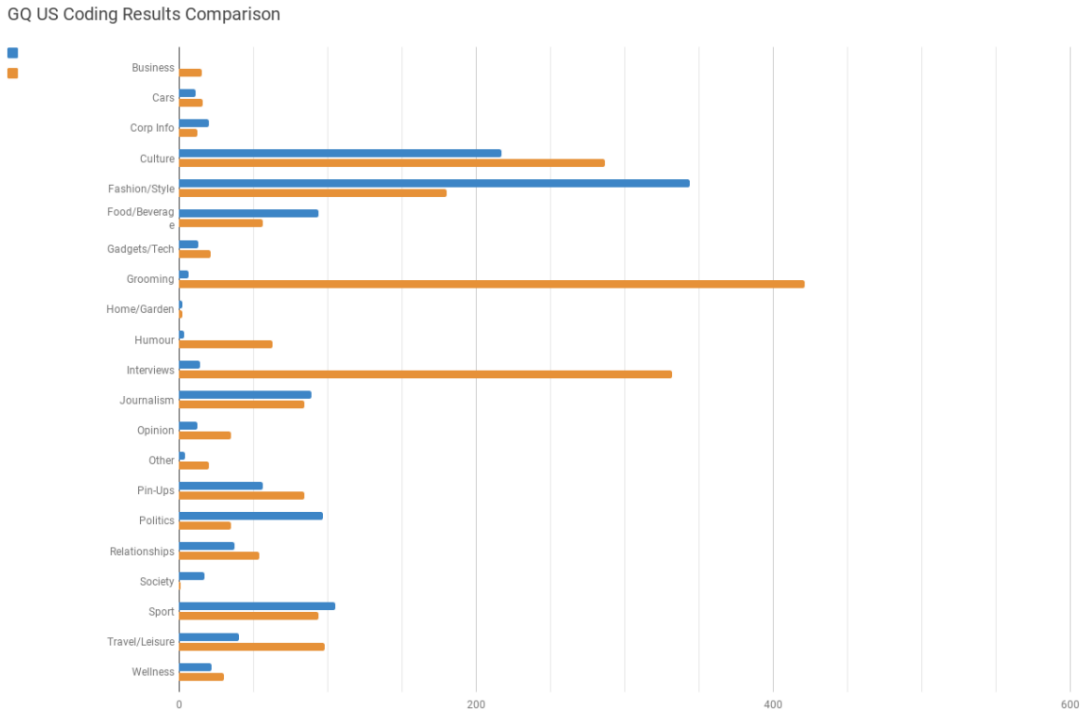
Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec	
P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	
0	10	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	5	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	
1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	2	1	5	1	1	1	3	2	
10	23	2	40	17	25	24	23	13	28	52	8	5	34	5	33	11	7	16	22	13	13	49	31
27	6	25	2	23	18	48	18	23	13	29	26	21	15	32	4	30	14	42	8	27	11	17	45
8	1	1	10	9	2	1	1	1	4	3	1	7	7	9	8	19	9	7	3	19	2	10	8
0	11	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	5	5
0	30	0	25	0	35	0	46	0	26	1	43	0	28	1	31	2	37	0	36	2	33	0	51
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
0	7	0	1	0	2	0	7	1	17	0	3	0	1	0	9	0	2	0	4	0	9	2	1
8	15	0	18	0	14	0	33	6	20	0	37	0	34	0	26	0	29	0	20	0	37	0	49
19	0	8	0	21	0	0	6	9	5	7	0	0	0	10	3	0	35	0	21	9	0	6	14
0	1	0	1	1	5	2	1	1	9	1	4	1	1	0	2	1	5	1	3	2	1	2	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	4
5	1	15	8	3	19	1	1	5	9	0	0	13	11	1	2	3	20	1	1	2	1	7	11
4	3	7	0	0	1	6	2	5	2	1	1	13	2	14	3	7	1	12	2	9	11	19	7
0	2	2	3	4	8	0	3	14	2	4	15	8	2	0	5	3	2	2	2	0	0	0	10
1	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	1
1	6	9	4	5	6	6	2	17	8	5	1	9	11	1	9	25	24	12	10	9	4	6	9
1	8	8	0	0	0	0	7	3	1	1	10	11	3	11	14	4	12	1	8	0	22	0	13
4	1	0	7	0	3	0	7	5	0	0	1	0	3	0	1	8	2	1	1	4	1	0	3

Table II.6b
British GQ Content Analysis Comparison

British GQ

Jan		Feb		Mar		Apr		May		June		July		Aug		Sept		Oct		Nov		Dec	
P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S
15	1	33	21	1	7	1	2	8	0	8	2	3	1	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	8	0	2
4	0	2	7	5	0	7	4	5	1	9	9	5	0	3	1	4	2	4	3	3	0	3	1
4	0	3	0	4	0	4	0	4	3	6	0	6	0	4	0	3	0	5	48	3	13	4	0
28	26	18	23	14	65	58	45	8	28	35	35	27	28	14	44	32	40	41	46	54	31	36	39
28	21	19	37	66	8	16	39	36	20	32	23	53	20	20	8	35	19	32	59	37	38	35	12
20	4	5	5	7	2	5	4	6	3	5	7	10	0	8	6	10	2	9	4	6	9	6	7
1	2	1	1	3	3	1	1	2	0	2	3	5	0	2	6	0	2	5	2	1	3	2	3
1	37	1	34	2	68	2	38	1	34	2	47	3	54	2	20	2	44	3	56	6	61	4	29
1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
0	0	1	3	0	2	10	64	5	2	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	5	0	2	0	4	0	3
7	22	11	16	15	20	9	32	0	21	0	35	0	6	12	26	0	31	0	60	0	15	0	26
3	8	0	4	8	7	0	0	2	11	0	3	6	0	0	4	0	8	12	0	0	18	16	18
2	13	2	14	3	17	2	30	2	8	8	24	3	25	9	20	3	20	2	10	4	17	6	8
11	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	3	5	3	5	0	4	5	0	1	1	1	0	1	3
12	2	13	4	22	1	18	5	17	7	25	2	11	2	14	16	19	4	21	8	10	13	17	1
2	15	3	11	7	6	2	2	17	3	2	1	3	3	9	1	4	1	6	4	3	3	2	9
1	2	6	0	10	6	3	0	15	2	6	1	3	0	11	3	5	0	7	4	3	0	3	4
0	1	4	15	3	2	2	0	1	3	0	1	1	9	3	12	8	7	1	0	0	3	1	8
1	5	15	2	9	6	9	2	18	6	15	17	7	9	17	9	16	2	11	5	5	18	7	2
3	2	1	18	6	4	3	3	4	14	2	14	5	13	8	27	6	13	4	7	2	27	2	2
7	2	2	2	3	4	2	5	0	2	7	0	2	0	5	0	2	3	3	0	4	0	0	5

Table II.6c
GQ US and GQ UK Results Comparison



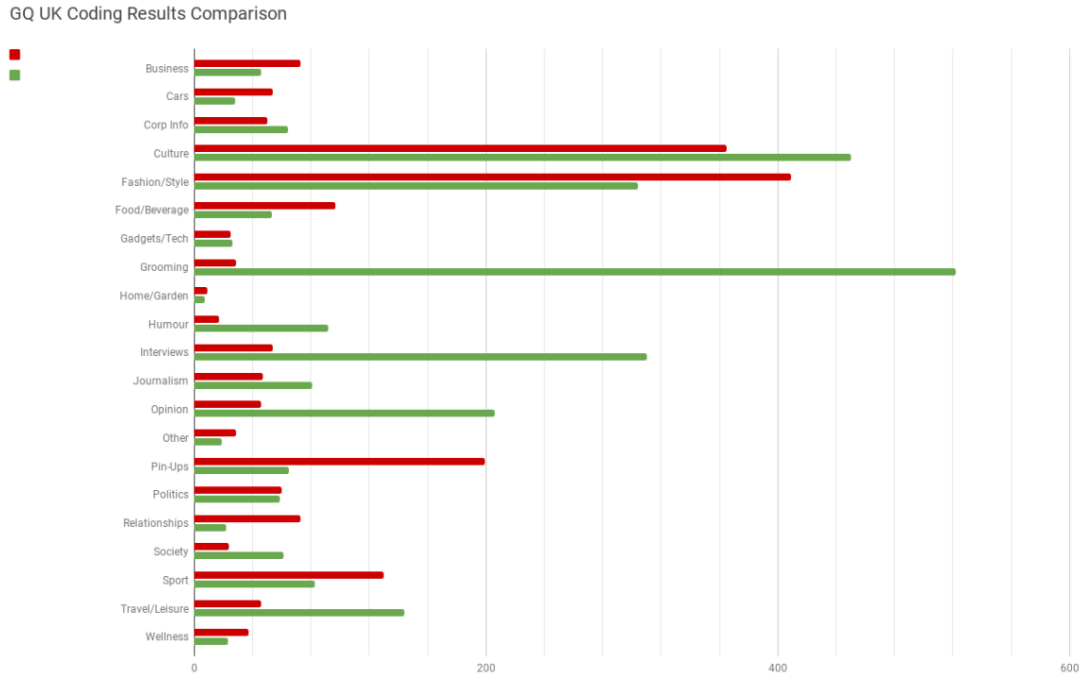


Table II.6d
Comparative Primary, Secondary and Sum Totals of Content Analysis

American *GQ*			*British GQ*	
Secondary Sum	**Primary Sum**	**Codes**	**Primary Sum**	**Secondary Sum**
15	0	Business	73	46
16	11	Cars	54	28
12	20	Corp Info	50	64
287	217	Culture	365	450
180	344	Fashion/Style	409	304
56	94	Food/Beverage	97	53
21	13	Gadgets/Tech	25	26
421	6	Grooming	29	522
2	2	Home/Garden	9	7
63	3	Humour	17	92
332	14	Interviews	54	310
84	89	Journalism	47	81
35	12	Opinion	46	206
20	4	Other	29	19
84	56	Pin-Ups	199	65
35	97	Politics	60	59
54	37	Relationships	73	22
1	17	Society	24	61
94	105	Sport	130	83
98	40	Travel/Leisure	46	144
30	22	Wellness	37	23

Figure II.6a
'The Cooler Me' (*GQ*, May 2012: 114), Written by Eric Puchner, Editorial Photograph by Chris Brooks/Trunk Archive, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure II.6b
'Lifestyle Guru' (*British GQ*, May 2012: 30), Written by Jaime Miller, Editorial Photographs by Richard Cannon, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure II.6c
'The Boots That Will Conquer Winter' (*GQ*, January 2012: 13), Written by Jim Moore, Editorial Photograph by Peggy Sirota, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure II.6d
'GQ Directory' (*British GQ*, January 2012: 133), Edited Giorgina Waltier, Editorial Photographs by Jody Todd, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

CHAPTER III APPENDIX

Table III.1
Editorial Page Counts v. Total Page Counts

American *GQ*				*British GQ*		
Percent	**Total Editorial Pages**	**Total Page Count**	**Month**	**Total Page Count**	**Total Editorial Pages**	**Percent**
81%	89	110	**January**	255	153.5	60%
64%	78	122	**February**	221	139.5	63%
39%	87	225	**March**	348	158.5	46%
48%	93	195	**April**	318	124.5	39%
55%	105.5	192	**May**	270	137.5	51%
50%	101.5	205	**June**	298	141.5	48%
67%	87.5	131	**July**	264	143.5	54%
62%	88	142	**August**	230	141.5	62%
38%	112	294	**September**	342	128.5	38%
45%	97	216	**October**	362	124.5	34%
55%	102	186	**November**	300	126.5	42%
38%	119	314	**December**	340	110.5	33%
50%	**1159.5**	**2332**	**Totals**	**3548**	**1630**	**46%**

Table III.2
Media Pack Comparison

	GQ
Subscribers	809,127
Single Copy Purchases	154,380
Total Circulation	963,507
Total Audience	6,414,000
Media Age	33.9
Median Household Income	$72,374
HHI $100,000+	33%
Male / Female Distribution	73% / 27%
College Education	69%
Professional / Managerial	29%
Single	65%
Married	35%

Source: *GQ* Print Media Kit, 15 October 2012

	British GQ
Total Circulation	125,825
ABC Print Circulation	120,094
AB	43% (163,000)
ABC1	76% (288,000)
Average Age	33
Average Household Income	£66,903
Single	48%
Male / Female Distribution	83% / 16%
Work Full Time	71%
Single	48%
Married / Living as Couple	48% / 48%
London / SE	48%
Average Expenditure On Clothing	£571
Average Expenditure On A Car	£27,142
Average Watch Expenditure	£4,493

Source: *British GQ* Media Pack 2012

CHAPTER IV APPENDIX

Figure IV.2a
'Being Frank' (*British GQ*, May 2012: 206-207), Editorial Photographs by Guy Aroch, Styled by Jo Levin, Modelled by Sean O'Pry, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure IV.2b
Frank Sinatra on the set of *The Frank Sinatra Timex Show*,1959
Photograph by Gene Howard,
Source: https://www.mptvimages.com/

Figure IIV.2c
Frank Sinatra Capitol Records recording session playback, 1958, Photograph by Sid Avery
Source: *Sinatra: The Photographs* by Andrew Howick, 2015

Figure V.1a
Cover (*Apparel Arts: Gentlemen's Quarterly*, September 1931: Cover), Edited by David Smart and William Weintraub, Photograph by Mario Roman

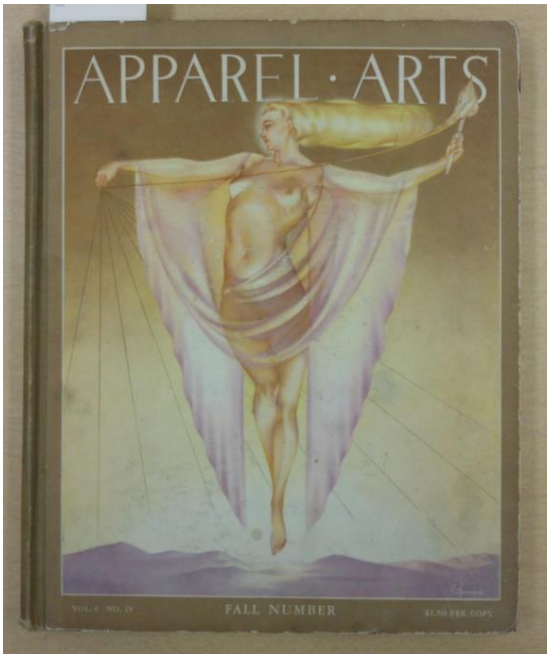


Figure V.1b
'Fashions of the Quarter - As Observed by Apparel Arts' (*Apparel Arts: Gentlemen's Quarterly*, September 1931: 141-142), Edited by David Smart and William Weintraub, Photograph by Mario Roman

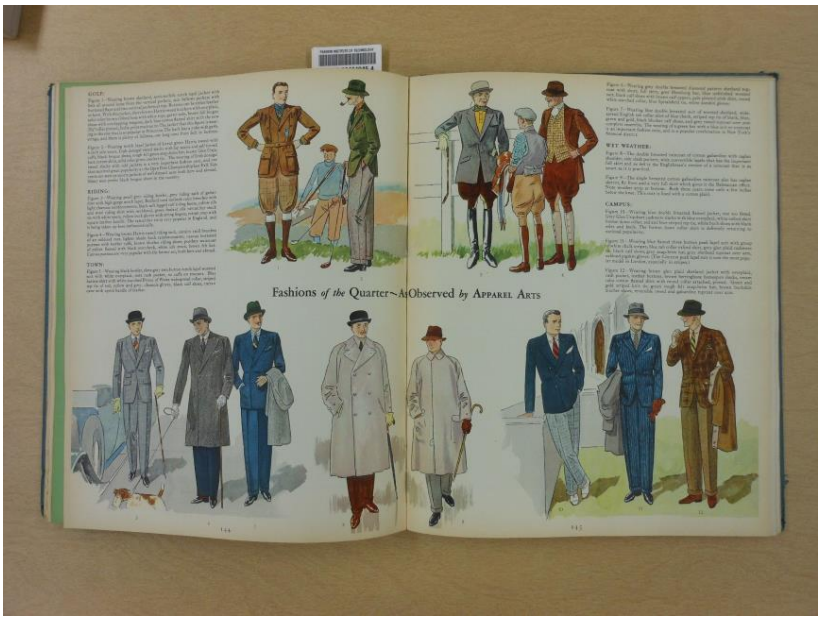


Figure V.1c
'Fabrics of the Quarter - For Town and Country Wear' (*Apparel Arts: Gentlemen's Quarterly*, September 1931), Edited by David Smart and William Weintraub, Photograph by Mario Roman

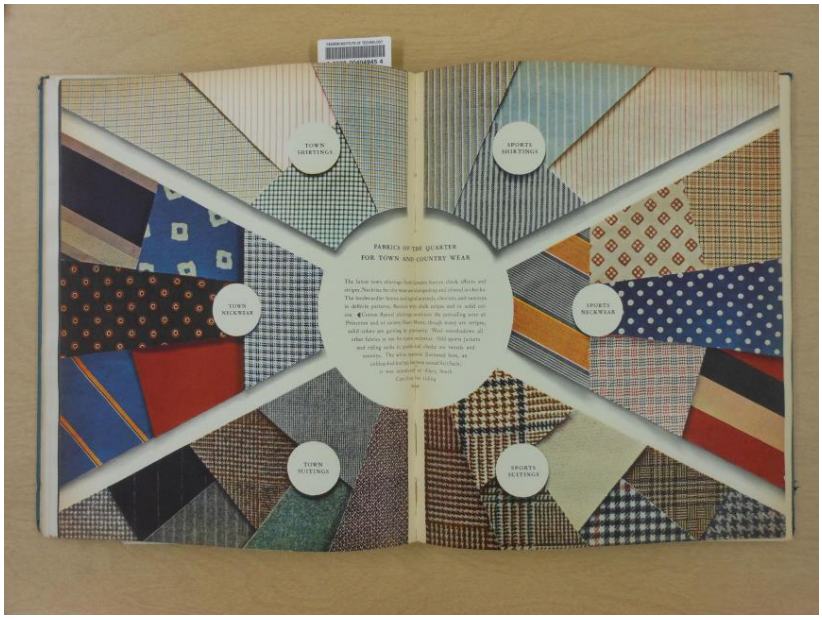


Figure V.1d
'Cover' (*Esquire*, Autumn 1933), Edited by Arnold Gingrich, Source: https://www.npr.org/2014/07/24/332666456/the-evolution-of-the-esquire-man-in-10-revealing-covers

Figure V.1e
'First Issue' (*Apparel Arts; Gentleman's Quarterly*, January 1957), Edited by Everett Matlin, Source: https://www.gq.com/gallery/gq-covers-portfolio-50-years-slideshow

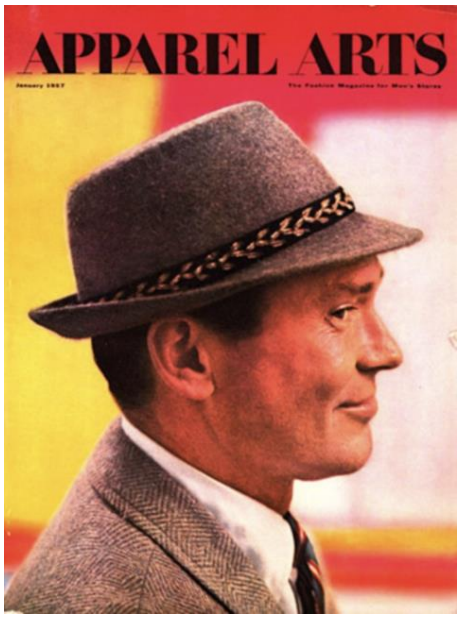


Figure V.2a
First Presidential Cover (*GQ*, March 1962), Edited by Everett Mattlin, Source: https://www.gq.com/gallery/gq-covers-portfolio-50-years-slideshow

Figure V.2b
Art Cooper's First Issue with Joe Theisman Cover (*GQ*, November 1983), Edited by Art Cooper, Source: https://www.gq.com/gallery/gq-covers-1980s

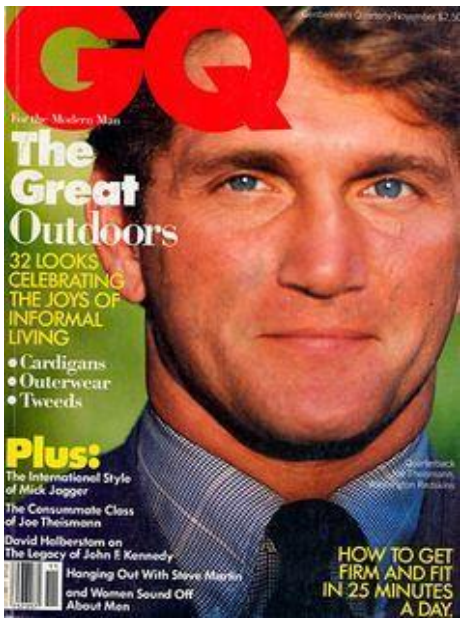


Figure V.3a
Jim Nelson's First Issue with Johnny Knoxville Cover (*GQ*, September 2003), Edited by Jim Nelson, Source: https://www.gq.com/gallery/gq-covers-2000s

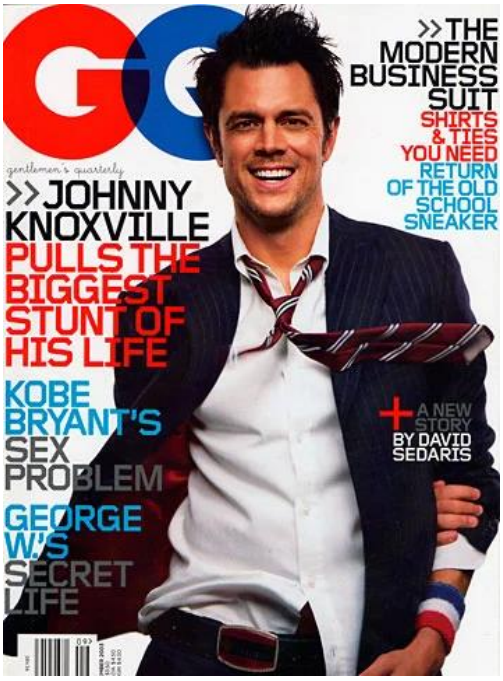


Figure V.3b
GQ 50 Special Anniversary Issue Cover (*GQ*, October 2007), Edited by Jim Nelson, Editorial Photograph by David Sutton for MPTV.net, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure V.4a
British GQ's first issue cover with MP Michael Heseltine (*British GQ*, December 1988/January 1989), Edited by Paul Keers, Source: https://magazinecanteen.com/products/gq-magazine-december-1989-michael-heseltine?_pos=3&_sid=fe2a625f6&_ss=r

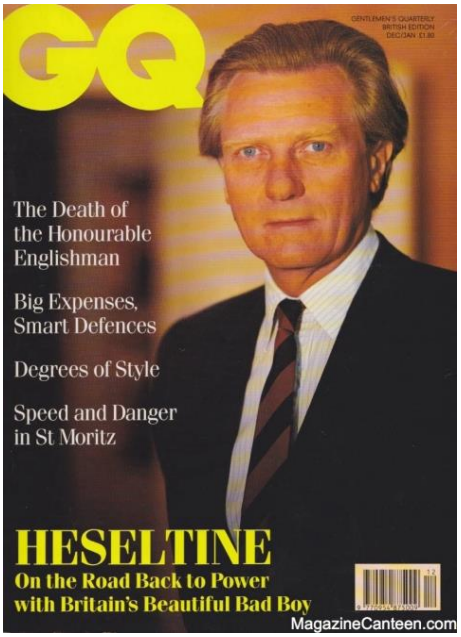


Figure V.5a
Dylan Jones' first issue (*British GQ*, March 1999), Edited by Dylan Jones, Source: https://www.crazyaboutmagazines.com/ourshop/prod_3617184-British-GQ-magazine-Caprice-cover-March-1999.html

Figure V.5b
British GQ's 20th Anniversary Cover (*British GQ*, December 2008), Edited by Dylan Jones, Photograph by Peter Lindbergh, Source: https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/david-beckham-for-gqs-20th-birthday

CHAPTER VI APPENDIX

Figure VI.1a

'Man of The Year: Damian Lewis' (*British GQ*, October 2012: 229), Written by Stuart McGurk, Photograph by Nick Wilson, Styling by Tanja Martin, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.1b

'Men of The Year Awards 2012' (*British GQ*, November 2012: 54-55), Written by *British GQ* staff, Photographs by Richard Young, Charlie Gray and Søren Starbird, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.1c
'The Punch List' (*GQ*, October 2012: 123), Uncredited story, Graphic Design by John Ritter, Additional Image Credits: Lewis Head, courtesy of Kent Smith/Showtime; Patinkin Head, courtesy of Ronen Akerman/Showtime, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.1d-e
'Bomb Shells' (*GQ*, November 2012: 162-165), Written by Mary Kaye Schilling, Editorial Photographs by Ben Watts, Thesis Photographs by Mario Roman

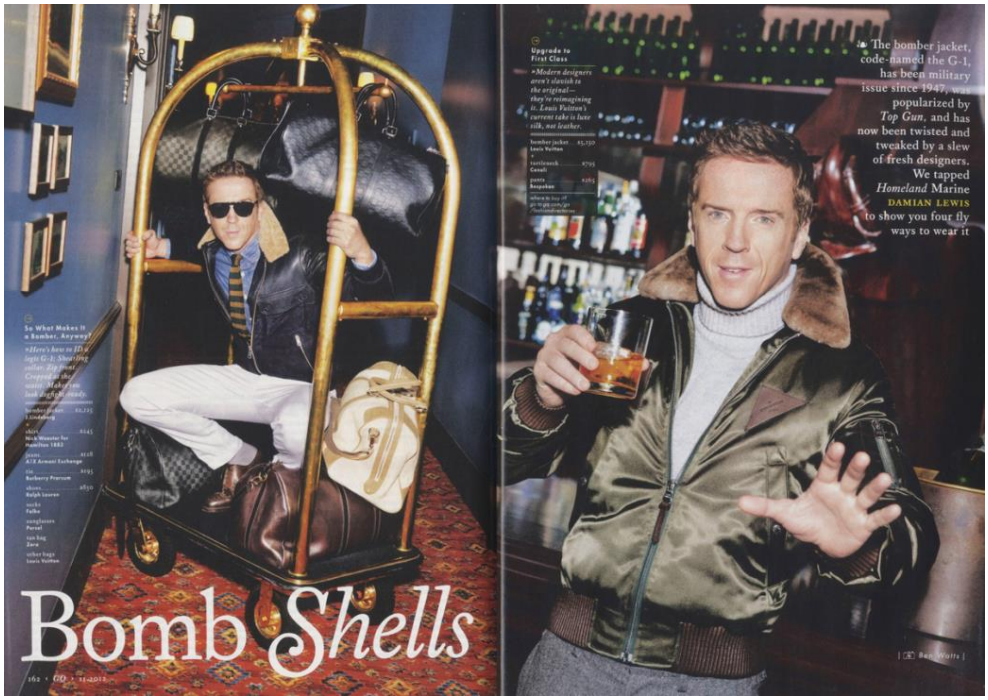


Figure VI.1e

Figure VI.2a-c

'Wicked SMAHT' (*GQ,* January 2012: 48-53, 98), Written by Amy Wallace, Editorial Photographs by Ben Watts, Illustrations by Zohar Lazar, Thesis Photographs by Mario Roman

Figure VI.2a

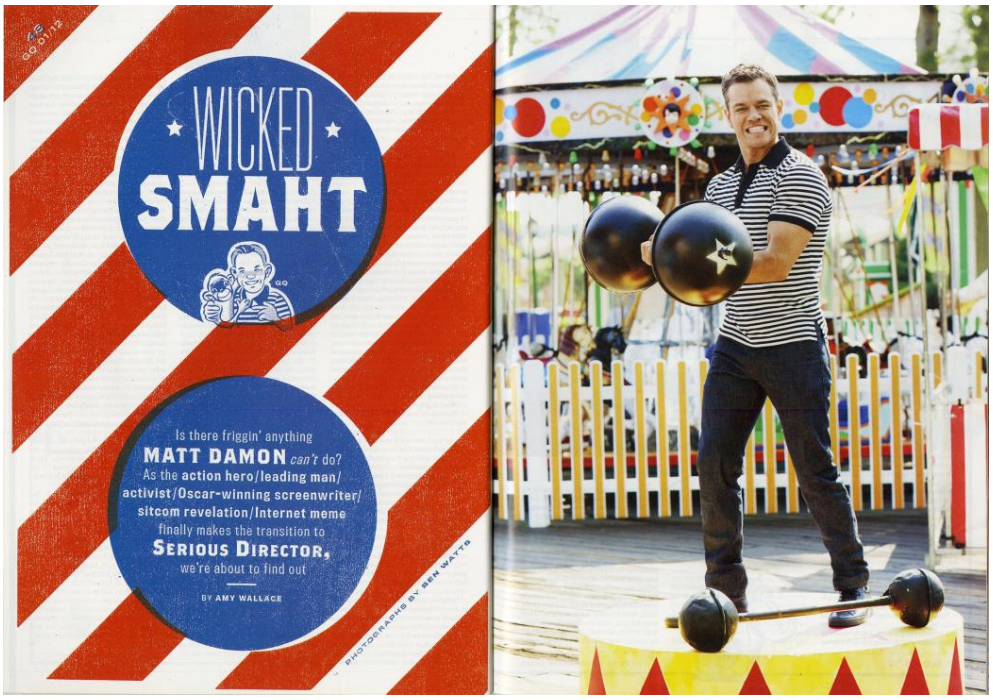


Figure VI.2b

I'm ducking Matt Damon.

We're supposed to meet at the Central Park Zoo ticket booth precisely at noon, but I'm not there. I'm thirty feet away, standing behind a huge oak tree, keeping watch.

Cameron Crowe, the director, has urged me to try to get a glimpse of the 41-year-old actor when he doesn't know I'm there. "Matt's fans relate to him as an older brother or a member of the family. And that's how he relates to them," Crowe says, recalling how during the shoot of their new movie, *We Bought a Zoo*, he liked to do reconnaissance on Damon as he signed autographs and interacted with his public.

The Boston native, who now calls New York home, can be reticent in interviews, reluctant to reveal too much or get too personal. I want to observe him in his natural habitat, and I imagine that my stealth will be rewarded with the kind of unguarded moment that can only be viewed in the wild. As minutes pass, however, and I don't spot him anywhere, a thought looms: This is Jason Bourne I'm hunting—the master of evasion. What if Matt Damon is ducking *me*?

Stepping into the open, I sort of wave my notebook like a journalistic homing beacon, and suddenly there he is, all smiles. "Hi, I'm Matt," he says, extending a hand. He's in jeans, a gray waffle-y long-sleeve T-shirt, and what look to be brand-new black Puma sneakers. He has a knit cap pulled down to his eyebrows, which makes it easy to notice that his hat and his eyes are exactly the same blue. He's taller than I thought he'd be and exactly a quarter inch taller than the man standing next to him: a gray-haired, bespectacled guy in pleated chinos and a baseball cap.

"This," Damon proclaims, "is my dad."

When Damon the younger pulls out a credit card to gain us entry to what we will all agree must be the smallest zoo on earth, Damon the elder (his name is Kent) observes wryly, "This is the first time the son buys the father a ticket to the zoo. When has *that* happened before?" Whereupon the son grins big and says, "There's, like, a disturbance in the Force!"

"Come on," Kent says. "Let's go see the polar bears."

As we set off, I'm immediately struck by the constant cross-generational ball-busting between father and son. For example, the story of when 12-year-old Matt announced his intent to play point guard for the Boston Celtics.

KENT: I said, "Matt, I have to tell you a little bit about the real world."

MATT: My favorite player was Tiny Archibald, and he goes, "You know they call him Tiny because he's six foot one." He told me that he was the tallest Damon to ever evolve at five foot ten.

KENT: Five ten and a half, by the way.

MATT: Used to be, man.

KENT: Not that we're sensitive about it.

I mention something Crowe has told me about Damon's performance in the new film, in which he plays a widowed father of two who buys a ramshackle zoo. Crowe singles out a scene in which Damon talks to an ailing Siberian tiger through a chain-link fence. In the script, the tiger was supposed to be supine, but the minute Damon delivered his first line, the cat got up, snarling, and came toward him with menace. "Most people would have said, 'This isn't funny—put a chain on that thing!' But Matt stays in," Crowe told me, explaining why that first, unexpected take is the one he used in the final film. "You see him flinch but stay in."

Hearing this, Kent gets a mischievous look: "So you were brave?"

"In the end, the director has all the power."

Matt shakes his head and rolls his eyes. "Cameron was telling stories about how I was brave in the face of a caged tiger," he says. "He was working it."

"Bunch of b.s.," agrees Kent. Which is when I realize that we may still be talking about who's the bigger man. Standing in front of a 90,000-gallon tank containing Gus, the zoo's half-ton polar bear, Matt describes borrowing a bike from his elder brother, Kyle, and discovering (when he couldn't reach the pedals) that Kyle has much longer legs. "We realized if you took his lower body and my upper body, we'd be, like, six foot three," Matt tells his dad, who readily concedes that Matt is long of torso. "You have a neck," he tells his son. "I don't even have a neck."

At which point, Matt nods and says simply, "It's true." If you measured the smirks on their faces, I swear they'd be precisely the same size.

WHEN I TELL the director Steven Soderbergh that I'm writing this piece about Damon, he responds with faux derision: "Why? He's not doing much." (Damon was in *five* movies released in 2011, and he's appeared in more than thirty-five films since his breakout role as an emaciated addict in 1996's *Courage Under Fire*.) Soderbergh has directed his friend in six of those—*Ocean's Eleven, Twelve,* and *Thirteen; Che: Part Two; The Informant!*; and *Contagion*—and most recently has cast him as Liberace's lover in an HBO biopic slated to shoot later this year. He calls Damon "probably the least vain person in his position"—meaning movie star—"out there. He has no interest in protecting any sort of idea of himself as an actor."

What he does have, however, is an interest in using his power as an actor to champion the underdog and right what he perceives to be wrong. He has thrown his full weight (and his money) behind a charity, Water.org, that seeks to provide sources of clean water to the Third World. Over the years, he has spoken up about public-school teachers (he supports them), the middle class (he thinks they're getting the shaft), and President Obama (he feels he's not delivering on his promise). At the White House Correspondents' dinner this year, Obama responded directly, saying, "Matt Damon said he was disappointed in my performance. Well, Matt, I just saw *The Adjustment Bureau*...."

Damon tells me he didn't see that speech live but got thirty e-mails from friends the next morning and watched the president's remarks online. "I have to say, it was pretty funny," he says, getting in his own dig: "Whoever came up with it, it was a terrific joke."

Recently the director Michael Moore called on Damon to run for president, which

Polo shirt and jeans Prada Sneakers Common Projects

Henley Dsquared2 Cords AllSaints Necklace Regows Gallery

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ZOHAR LAZAR

Figure VI.2c

he says he will never, ever do. Which may be for the best, given how explicitly he pokes fun at his own image. In appearances on late-night TV and on shows like *Entourage*, he seems to relish being pompous, arrogant, goofy, even profane. Tina Fey says he approached her at an awards dinner and said he'd like to be considered for a cameo on *30 Rock*. ("We don't let people slide," she says, "once they make a mistake like that.") Whether impersonating his pal Matthew McConaughey for David Letterman ("In today's scene, I think it would be a good opportunity for me to take my shirt off...") or pretending to be screwing Sarah Silverman on her then boyfriend Jimmy Kimmel's show (*On the bed, on the floor, on a towel, by the door, in the tub, in the car, up against the minibar!*), he seems to have an intuitive feel for comedy.

"A lot of stars/serious actors try to put some weird 'comedy sauce' on their acting. Matt doesn't put anything on it. He says the lines honestly," says Silverman, whose Emmy-winning music video, "I'm Fucking Matt Damon," nearly melted the Internet after it aired on *Jimmy Kimmel Live!* in 2008. Whether it's comedy or drama, she adds, "he has that Meryl Streep thing where he always blows your mind, and you just want to watch him and watch him. He doesn't need a fancy accent or a fake tooth to play a 'regular person.' He just eats normal and gets a not-expensive haircut."

SCOTT RUDIN, the über-producer who worked with Damon on the Coen brothers' *True Grit*, says he's been a "crazy stalker fan" since he read *Good Will Hunting* fifteen years ago. And Rudin's regard for Damon has only grown, he says, as he's watched the actor carve his own path through Hollywood.

"He's done such great things with his stardom," Rudin says, recalling how Damon turned his nonleading role in *True Grit*—the buffoon with a romantic streak, LaBoeuf—into "the beating heart of the movie." There's something about Damon—a melding of his talent and his public persona—that gives him a "compact with the audience," Rudin says. "And he retains it, whether every movie works or doesn't."

With the Bourne franchise, which has earned more than $1 billion worldwide, he has proved his box-office clout. And then he turned his back on it, at least temporarily. What other A-lister would have walked away from the fourth Bourne film (and an estimated $20 million payday) because, he says, he and director Paul Greengrass felt that the tight timetable set by the studio would endanger its chances of being good? "That's a pretty striking move," Rudin says.

Damon says they had no choice. "If you look at the first three movies, we kind of pounded that idea of identity and amnesia into the ground. We really got everything out of it that we could. So to reboot it, we need to come up with something completely new," he says, explaining why the eleven-month turnaround that Universal Pictures wanted didn't feel doable.

Another Bourne film is in the works, however. Tony Gilroy, who wrote or co-wrote the first three films, has written and begun directing the fourth, *The Bourne Legacy*. The movie is said to exist in the same world as the previous three, but it introduces a new main character, played by Jeremy Renner. Damon says he learned about the project one day while surfing online. "It was a surprise," he says, though he doesn't sound particularly miffed. Not yet, at least.

Damon tells me he thinks Gilroy is a great director *(Michael Clayton, Duplicity)* and that he admires Renner. And because Damon fully intends to make another Bourne movie someday, he says he's "really pulling for this one, even though I don't have anything to do with it. Selfishly, it's bad for me if that movie doesn't do well." He says he still feels "inoculated" by the franchise—as if

Sweater Club Monaco T-shirt Calvin Klein Underwear Jeans Dior Homme Sneakers Converse Watch IWC Special thanks to the Westchester County Film Office and the County of Westchester.

it protects him from having to do anything that could be bad for him. "It feels like I can swing freely, like a baseball player—just be relaxed and really do the things that I want to do and not worry, because I know there's another one out there."

Later, though, Damon will wonder if maybe he has become a little *too* relaxed. Because suddenly, as we sit on a bench in the afternoon sunshine, he takes a major swing at Gilroy. Damon says that back in 2001, when the first Bourne movie, *The Bourne Identity*, was still in postproduction, Gilroy saw a rough cut and got worried. "The word on *Bourne* was that it was supposed to be a turkey," Damon says. "It's very rare that a movie comes out a year late, has four rounds of reshoots, and it's good. So Tony Gilroy arbitrated against himself to not be the writer with sole credit."

Typically screenwriters use the Writers Guild's arbitration process when they feel they've been *denied* credit unfairly. This time, Gilroy wanted to *share* the credit (and the blame), Damon says, "to have another guy take the bullet with him." And so someone named William Blake Herron is now cashing residual checks on *Bourne*, just like Gilroy is. (Actually Damon may have gotten his chronology wrong—one source says Herron initiated the credit dispute, but that Gilroy didn't oppose sharing credit.)

Gilroy wrote Bourne 2 as well: *The Bourne Supremacy*. Then, Damon says, for *The Bourne Ultimatum*, the third in the franchise, Gilroy struck a deal to write just one draft of the script, take no notes, do no rewrites, and get paid "an exorbitant amount of money."

"It's really the studio's fault for putting themselves in that position," Damon says. "I don't blame Tony for taking a boatload of money and handing in what he handed in. It's just that it was unreadable. This is a career-ender. I mean, I could put this thing up on eBay and it would be game over for that dude. It's terrible. It's really embarrassing. He was having a go, basically, and he took his money and left."

Gilroy's lackluster work left the production in chaos, Damon says. "We had a start date. Like, 'It's coming out August of next year.' We're like, 'Hang on, we've got to figure out what the script is.'" In the end, the shooting script was written under extreme deadline pressure by George Nolfi and Scott Z. Burns, with input from Greengrass, Damon says. And then Gilroy raised another challenge. "Before the movie came out, he arbitrated to get *sole* credit," Damon says, disgusted. The WGA looked into it and turned Gilroy down. (He shares credit with Nolfi and Burns.) "That was just a little bit of justice, I have to say," Damon says.

A representative for Gilroy referred all inquiries to Universal Pictures, where spokeswoman Kori Bernards reiterated the studio's support for both Damon and Gilroy. "We could not imagine replacing Matt as Jason Bourne, which is why we're so excited Tony's script creates a fantastic new character in *The Bourne Legacy* and also leaves open the option for Matt to return.... Tony has done everything we've asked of him on each of the Bourne films, and his work has been a huge asset to the franchise."

"There are no small roles. Only small actors."

"ARE YOU SPYING on me?" Damon says into his cell phone, which has just vibrated in his pocket. He's talking to his wife, Lucy, and he's also looking right at her. The petite, dark-eyed beauty is standing forty feet away, on the other side of a low fence.

"Do you want to see a polar bear?" he asks Lucy, his voice playful and delighted and warm as melted butter. (If he bottled that voice, lots of women would pay thousands of dollars an ounce and pour it all over themselves.) But Lucy isn't budging. Damon turns to his dad and me: "She says, 'I've already done the zoo.'"

They met in 2003 in Miami, where Damon was shooting the Farrelly brothers comedy *Stuck on You*, in which he and Greg Kinnear played conjoined twins. The movie was a god-awful flop, but boy, was there an upside: Luciana Bozan, an Argentine-born bartender with a 6-year-old daughter named Alexia. Once they met, Damon—who'd been romantically linked to actresses like Minnie Driver and Winona Ryder—was done looking. They married in a civil ceremony in 2005 and promptly (very promptly: Lucy was pregnant when they wed) had three more girls of their own: Isabella, now 5, Gia, 3, and Stella, 1.

Meanwhile Damon and Ben Affleck, the man he calls his "hetero lifemate," remain as tight as ever. The two have a production company, Pearl Street Films, and Damon lets slip that they are developing a biopic about James "Whitey" Bulger, the onetime godfather of the Irish Mob in Boston, who was on the lam for sixteen years before being apprehended last June. Damon will play Bulger and Affleck will direct.

But that won't be for a while yet. First Damon must finish *Elysium*, a sci-fi picture directed by Neill Blomkamp, who made the acclaimed *District 9*.

Then Damon will direct himself. Beginning sometime in early 2012, he is going into preproduction on an as-yet-untitled movie he's writing with John Krasinski, of *The Office*. They met and hit it off when Damon did *The Adjustment Bureau* with Krasinski's wife, Emily Blunt. Krasinski shared his script idea—about a salesman (Damon) who visits a small town and experiences something that changes his life—and the two started working together on the weekends while Damon was shooting *We Bought a Zoo*.

"I just found writing with him really easy—like writing with Ben," Damon says.

We've stepped briefly into the penguin house, which smelled like you'd expect a place filled with the excrement of sixty-five large birds would. ("The penguins were great, by the way," Damon said as we fled. "Thank you for that.") Now we've detoured past the red panda toward an enclosure that houses three snow leopards. As we wander, I'm struck that Damon appears to approach this major career shift much like he seems to do everything else: without much apparent angst.

To be sure, he is thinking a lot about how to apply the lessons he's learned during the two decades he's closely observed almost every great director alive—in addition to the ones we've already mentioned, he's also worked with Eastwood, Redford, Scorsese, Gilliam, and Van Sant. De Niro and Affleck have advised him, he says, on the challenges of directing and acting at the same time. Damon's not naive: He knows that if he sucks as a director, it will be a very public failure. *(continued on page 98)*

Figures VI.2.1a-c
'You need to impress me, outwit me, compete with me? Go ahead, knock yourself out' (*British GQ,* January 2012: 52-58), Written by John Naughton, Editorial Photographs by Sam Taylor-Wood, Thesis Photographs by Mario Roman

Figure VI.2.1a

Figure VI.2.1b

Figure VI.2.1c

Figure VI.2.3a
'Best-Dressed Men 2012: 37 Daniel Craig' (*British GQ,* March 2012: 215), Edited by Robert Johnston, Editorial Photograph by Rex, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.2.3b
'Kors and effect' (*British GQ,* October 2012: 171-172), Written by Robert Johnston, Main Editorial Photographs by Douglas Friedman, Additional Catwalk Photographs are uncredited, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.2.3c
'There's Never Been a Better Time To Be a Man Who Cares About Style' (*GQ,* April 2012: 106-107), Written by GQ Staff, Editorial Photographs by Tom Schierlitz, David Rinella and Amanda Marsalis, Additional Photo Credits by Fairchild Archive; Go Runway; Courtesy of Riccardo Tisci and Virgil Abloh; Courtesy of Givenchy; Go Runway; Veda Jo Jenkins/Retna Ltd.; Jason Squires/WireImage/Getty Images, Illustrations by Zohar Lazar, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.2.3d
'GQ Man of the Year: Riccardo Tisci' (*GQ,* December 2012: 272-273), Written by Molly Young, Editorial Photographs by Inez and Vinoodh, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figures VI.3.1a-d
'Can everybody stop talking about Michael Fassbender already?' (*British GQ,* February 2012: 114-121), Written by Olivia Cole, Editorial Photographs by Vincent Peters, Styling by Tanja Martin, Thesis Photographs by Mario Roman

Figure VI.3.1a

Figure VI.3.1b

Figure VI.3.1c

Figure VI.3.1d

MICHAEL FASSBENDER

Shirt, £265; Waistcoat, from £320. Both by Giorgio Armani. armani.com

'If I learned anything from working with Michael, it's that he's utterly fearless' Carey Mulligan

'I'm not immune to anything but I'm aware of my weakness and the beast within'

Figures VI.3.2a-e

'Fast Bender' (*GQ,* June 2012: 140-149), Written by Chris Heath, Editorial Photographs by Mario Testino, Thesis Photographs by Mario Roman

Figure VI.3.2a

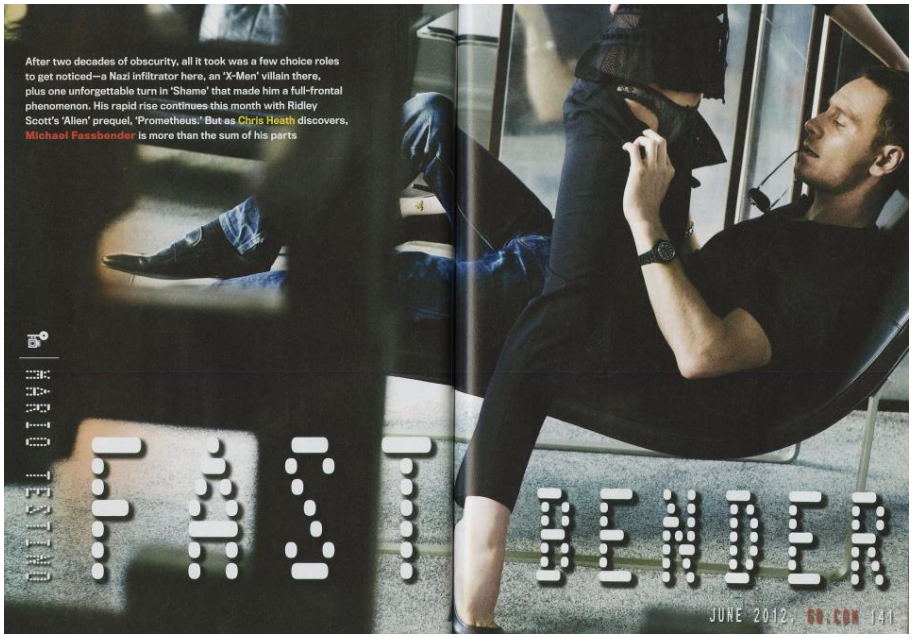


Figure VI.3.2b

IF HE'S GOING TO TAKE ME HOME WITH HIM,

Michael Fassbender first needs a moment alone. That's the one thing he asks. We've been walking and talking for a while in a local park, but he didn't even mention that we were close by his apartment until the increasingly heavy rain triggered his sense of hospitality. "Just give me two seconds to do a little bit of a sort of tidy-up," he requests. "My mother wouldn't be happy."

I wait in the stairwell, glad just to be getting no wetter, until he swings open the door.

"Okay!" he beams. "Welcome to my flat!"

Perhaps the hillside mansions, penthouse duplexes, lakeside haciendas, and beachfront idylls will follow in the traditional movie-star way, but for now these three rooms—this big one we are in, a small bedroom at the back with bedding on the verge of tumbling out the open door, and an unseen bathroom—are the only ones in the world Michael Fassbender can call his own. "For one person, it's perfect, really," he says. Although some areas of East London have become hyper-fashionable in recent years, this is not one of them. He moved to this apartment in 2006, at the end of his twenties, when he was just one more actor getting enough work to live off but still wondering whether that chance would ever come to show the world what he could really do. Since his recent breathless ascent, he has had neither the time nor the inclination to move. "I always liked the energy round here. Traditionally more of a working-class area. A bit of an edginess to it, as well. And the parks are everywhere here. I always just felt like this was the right spot for me."

Fassbender directs me to a perch near a small raised tabletop—"nice little congregation spot"—and offers me a choice of drinks: champagne, beer, tea. It's the early afternoon, and this is the first time we've met, so tea seems most prudent. He opens the fridge. "The milk is just on the edge," he cheerily announces, as though every kind of luck is with us.

He points out the stains and bubbling paint on the ceiling where he's had serious water leakage, only recently fixed, and the similarly buckled floor below. Soon he'll have it all redecorated, move a wall at the same time. "As you can see," he says, "I need storage space."

I can see. Large areas of the floor are covered: boxes, suitcases, clothes, two guitars, one electric with its amplifier. Suits lie and hang everywhere, evidence of an actor promoting three films simultaneously (*Shame*, *A Dangerous Method*, and *Haywire*)—part of a manic two-year flurry of work which also included his role as Magneto in *X-Men: First Class*, a remake of *Jane Eyre*, and the forthcoming Ridley Scott science fiction extravaganza, *Prometheus*—someone sometimes only home for a few hours before having to head out to the next premiere, film festival, or awards ceremony.

Though perhaps it has always looked like this. Fassbender mentions the time during the *Shame* shoot when the director, Steve McQueen, visited his temporary New York home. "It's incredible," he remembers McQueen saying. "It's exactly the same mess pattern." Fassbender tells me that when he was young, and his parents were busy running a hotel, he was responsible for lots of the cleaning at home. That was how he got pocket money. "My mother was very particular about checking," he says, and mimes running a finger across a surface to check for dust. "No shortcuts allowed." I'm not sure whether he's telling me this to explain why things aren't cleaner or why they aren't messier.

In the middle of the room is a mini Ping-Pong table, borrowed from his British agent, who lives nearby. "Now that it's here," says Fassbender, "it's not going. This table has been the best contribution for fun I've had in a long time. This table has seen some action..." He pauses, laughs. "That sounds wrong."

But has it? I say, gently pushing.

"Just the paddles," he deflects, and of course he then realizes that this sounds wrong, too, in exactly the same way.

No matter. Just an inconsequential bit of innuendo. Except that right now, and ever since the release of *Shame*, I'm not sure that in the life of Michael Fassbender there is such a thing as an inconsequential bit of innuendo. For every person who actually saw the movie, and Fassbender's monumental, unflinching portrayal of a man lost in the abyss of his unappeasable sexual appetite, there are dozens more who only know it as the movie in which he shows absolutely *everything*. And so, for the past few months Fassbender has been cast adrift in a shoreless ocean of innuendo. It has been relentless. He has been required to smile through endless hilarious penis-joke interviews. (Here's a representative example, from the prime-time British boys-and-cars TV show *Top Gear*: "You had to do, let's be honest, a full-frontal nude scene—was it hard?" Next, the pithy follow-up remark: "I mean, this was an impressive sausage....") He has been required to grin appreciatively at playful public mockery from his peers. (Most notably, George Clooney's speech at this year's Golden Globes: "Michael, honestly, you can play golf...with your hands behind your back.") And he has been required—this really happened—to identify a series of screen shots of famous penises in the movies. (*Twice*. Both times on MTV. The second time while standing on an awards-show red carpet.)

All of this he has done with apparent good humor, at least if you don't try to read too much into his body language or the way his eyes shift or the flickering edges of his smile. Next to all that, what's a gentle double entendre about sex on a very small Ping-Pong table? Go with it.

"Paddles," he repeats. "And balls."

And he grins, exactly as you would grin if you found this funny, though it's easy to understand why he also says, "So it starts."

(text continued on page 146)

(opening pages)
polo shirt $520 and loafers **Tom Ford**
jeans $250 **A.P.C.**
sunglasses **Oliver Peoples**
watch **Black limited edition**
ON HER:
blouse **Tom Ford**
panties **Agent Provocateur**
pants **Gucci**
heels **Prada**

(opposite page)
jacket $675 **Michael Bastian**
shirt $440 and tie $214 **Prada**
belt **J.Crew**
sunglasses **Oliver Peoples**

A Sure Guide to Seduction

If you look like Michael Fassbender, you can pull off any style. But for some guys, bright colors and busy patterns don't feel right. The clothes here play to Fassbender's strengths—namely his strength, physically. To channel his version of handsome as sin and masculine as hell, go for grand understatements, mixing high and low, and wear it all confidently. Class up jeans and a polo with slick loafers, or take the piss out of a shirt and tie with a military jacket. Finally, focus your attention (and cash) on clothes that fit impeccably. That's the tough-guy secret: No matter your physical type, learn to let clothes flatter your body.
—WILL WELCH

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Figure VI.3.2c

Figure VI.3.2d

IN HIS MIDTEENS

what Michael Fassbender wanted most of all was to be a heavy-metal guitarist. With glee he talks about his youthful favorites: Metallica's "Orion," Sepultura's "Beneath the Remains," anything off Slayer's *Reign in Blood*. He fetches his iPad and searches for his favorite Slayer songs on YouTube. When "Seasons in the Abyss" begins, he talks about how sevenforead the drummer is—"This bit here, I love this bit!"—until the riffage kicks in and he begins to play frantic air guitar, grinning. He shows me his book of Alice in Chains sheet music and tells me how hard it was to learn Megadeth's "Rust in Peace." "Dave Mustaine, he seemed to really pick difficult timings. I think he sometimes made things a bit more complicated than they needed to be."

Back then, Fassbender looked the part. "I had long hair, down to here ," he says, holding his hand level with his chest, "...Xenohole Doc Martens, and combat shorts cut at the knee." He and his friend Mike had a band, but they could never find a drummer or a bass player, and their only concert, in a local pub at the middle of the day, was just the two of them. It wasn't a triumph. They kept being asked to turn down the volume, lower and lower. "Nobody wants to hear Metallica at lunchtime," he says.

He has been required—this really happened, *twice*—to identify screen shots of famous penises in the movies.

It took him a while to realize that he would never be good enough. He needed a new plan. "As a teenager, you're searching for something that fits for you. I was pretty average at most things. I was just looking for something that I could relate to and perhaps excel in myself." That turned out to be acting.

Fassbender's first TV job was in a British comedy called *Hearts & Bones*—he played a boyfriend known as Herman the German who liked to carry around a snorkel. (Fassbender was born in Germany and has a German father, though from the age of 3 he grew up in Ireland, his mother's homeland.) Sometimes, when you see future movie stars in their first small roles, the glow of what they will become dazzles you. But this isn't like that. The young Michael Fassbender seems significantly more inconsequential and less attractive than the famous one. It's totally plausible on-screen when he makes a case to a girl that they should be together because "neither of us are aggressively good-looking."

A year out of drama school, he got what seemed like his big break when he was cast in the HBO World War II series *Band of Brothers*. He spent nine months on-set only to discover the cruel difference between being on-camera day after day and being visible in the finished work. "Blink," he says, "and you'll miss me." Several months in Los Angeles brought more rejection. "I wasn't blowing them away in the audition room, that's for sure," he says. "I just didn't feel settled or comfortable or confident." He retreated to London and spent much of the next few years on British TV, and though the roles got bigger over time, and he always seemed to occupy them with élan, he still didn't radiate anything remarkable.

But Fassbender says that when 2007 arrived, he somehow *knew*. "There was something funny about that year," he says. "I realized that year somebody left the door open. I'm kind of superstitious—I was born in 1977, it was 2007. I just felt something in my bones."

Nonetheless, the opportunity of Fassbender's life nearly slipped him by. He was asked to meet with the English artist Steve McQueen, who was planning to make his first film, *Hunger*, about the IRA hunger striker Bobby Sands, who starved himself to death in 1981 as a protest against the British authorities. Fassbender and McQueen didn't hit it off. Fassbender was wary about how anyone would handle such an important and emotive episode in Irish history. McQueen simply didn't like the man he met. He thought Fassbender was cocky.

McQueen's casting director persuaded him to meet Fassbender a second time, and they both saw what they had previously missed. "I was like, This guy is what I've been looking for for so long," says Fassbender. "You're looking for that guy or woman who's really going to elevate you and push you in the right ways and really get something out of you that you wouldn't be able to achieve yourself."

There is a tendency, as with *Shame*, to reduce what Fassbender did in *Hunger* to one specific physical feat, in this case starving himself so that he could act out the final scenes weighing only 128 pounds. Dropping the weight required daunting commitment and self-control, and the result of these efforts is terrifying, bleak, and heartbreaking: a man forcing his own body to wither so far that soon there will no longer be room for a person inside it. But what Fassbender does in *Hunger* far transcends that. For the first time, he marshals the union of otherworldly intensity, naturalism, and serene command that he has brought to a wildly diverse range of roles since. At one point there is a single uninterrupted camera shot that lasts for over seventeen minutes—a scene where he debates the path ahead with a skeptical priest, just two men talking—but if I hadn't read that it was a single shot, I don't think I would have noticed anything but what they said.*

Whether it was more that *Hunger* sparked something within Fassbender, or whether it simply alerted the film world that here was an actor who could do so much more than had yet been asked of him, after that one role everything seemed different. He could be equally entrancing as a weak-willed charmer in a low-budget British domestic drama (in the very fine *Fish Tank*) or as an iconic comic-book character in a blockbuster (in *X-Men: First Class*, with his sinister humanization of the young Magneto). Perhaps best of all was his brief, majestic turn in Tarantino's *Inglourious Basterds*, where Fassbender made it seem as though it had always been the case that he could drop into a movie for less than half an hour and deliver a performance of such precision and charisma that no one would forget it.

THOUGH IT WAS

well-reviewed and much discussed, *Shame* was not a widely watched box-office hit. And despite its raw subject matter, it is not in the least a titillating film. Also, while Fassbender is very visibly naked in the movie, he is, of course, far from the first male actor to appear this way. So why has his nudity inspired such attention, so much blinkered focus and giggly merriment?

I'd suggest that the main reason, if we're being honest, is a simple one, and relates to the surreal, feverish totemization of penis size in our culture: People feel free to harp on about someone's penis as though this is not insulting or inappropriate because, if that penis is sufficiently large, *any* reference to it is, by default, flattering. (Were he possessed of "an unimpressive sausage," so to speak, far less would have been said.) This is why each time Fassbender's role in *Shame* is reduced to a simple act of undressing, no one seems to worry that it's an insult to everything else he did in the movie. He has a big dick, so he's got nothing to be unhappy about and every reason to smile at anything we might say on the subject. I think it really may be that idiotic.

Maybe there's also something in Fassbender's manner—the happy-go-lucky Irish charmer—that has reassured people that it's okay. One of the things I will find myself wondering as I spend time with Fassbender is how true this is: whether his easygoing, chuckling demeanor at moments like this reflects a similar easygoingness inside—or whether, buried deep behind those sparkly eyes, there's actually a whirlpool of fury and disdain and hurt at how it feels when you give your all for the type of performance that might define a career only to find it routinely reduced to a series of jokes about your genitalia, jokes that you are not only expected to tolerate but to laugh along with, and not only *that* but also to congratulate each new joker for his or her epic wit.

"It's fun to a point," he says of these situations he has been facing, "and after a certain point you worry that it kind of detracts from the movie. But there's nothing I can do. I just have to laugh it off. I can. Pretty much. Because I take my work seriously but I can't take myself too seriously. I'm in such a crazy privileged position—shit, this is the pinnacle of the dream when I was 17... Nobody wants to hear really how difficult it is."

Let's consider a remarkable interview with him in *The Sunday Times*, a British newspaper known for a reasonably high tone and sturdy standards. Much of the article is about Fassbender's anatomy, sex life, and sexual history, and in the published version he is depicted as someone willingly engaged in the back-and-forth. At one point he is quoted as blurting out, unexpectedly, "When in doubt, fuck." It also includes a statement near the end from the interviewer, Camilla Long, that I believe is without precedent even in the giddy history of the celebrity profile:

I...feel quite certain that he would willingly show me his penis, given slightly different circumstances and a bucket of champagne.

"Wow," says Fassbender when I recite this to him. "No, I haven't read that one. Just as well, really." But he does remember the interview. "The first thing she said to me was, 'So, what does it feel like to have a big cock?' That was her opening question."

And as for her bold assertion about what he might've done?

"I don't think I would touch her with a barge pole."

A blunt answer. Though, I wince to point out, one with its own phallic innuendo. That's the trouble. As schoolboys of a certain age know, once it's on your mind there's barely a sentence that can break free of it.

SETTING ASIDE THE

totality of what Fassbender does in *Shame*, there is one moment where I thought: "I'm not sure I've ever sat in the cinema and watched someone do that." It is not where he is facing toward the camera, naked. It is when you see him actually piss.

"I know," he says. Usually for movie pissing, the liquid *(text continued on page 195)*

Figure VI.3.2e

Figure VI.4a
‘Euro 2012’s Winners’ (*British GQ*, September 2012: 77), Written by Jonathan Naughton, Editorial Photographs are uncredited, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.4b
‘Jeremy Renner’s stealth success’ (*British GQ*, September 2012: 76-77), Written by TH, Editorial Photographs are uncredited & ‘Euro 2012’s Winners’ (*British GQ*, September 2012: 77), Written by Jonathan Naughton, Editorial Photographs are uncredited, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.4c

'The Artists' (*British GQ*, September 20/12: 270-275), Written by *British GQ* staff, Editorial Photographs by David Bailey, Styling by Sophie Dean, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.4d

'Looks Like Buddy Holly, Sounds Like Ike Turner' (*GQ*, June 2012: 60), Written by Andrew Richdale, Editorial Photograph by Hilary Walsh, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VI.4e

'*GQ* Man of the Month: Dane DeHaan' (*British GQ*, September 2012: 90), Written by James Mullinger, Editorial Photograph by Patrick Hoelck, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VII.1a

'Icon: Quincy Jones' (*British GQ,* March 2012: 125), Written by Dylan Jones, Editorial Photographs by Rex; David Guilbert/Corbis Outline; Getty Images; Kevin Mazur/Wire Images; Michael Kovac/WireImage; Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VII.1b

'Icon: Gay Talese' (*British GQ,* August 2012: 63), Written by Andrew Anthony, Editorial Photographs Courtesy of Gay Talese; Ron Galella; Michael Schott Slosar, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure VII.1c
'Icon: PELE' (*British GQ,* May 2012: 73), Written by Robert Chalmers, Editorial Photographs George Tiedmann/Corbus; PA Photos; Popperfoto/Getty; Rex Images; Empics, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

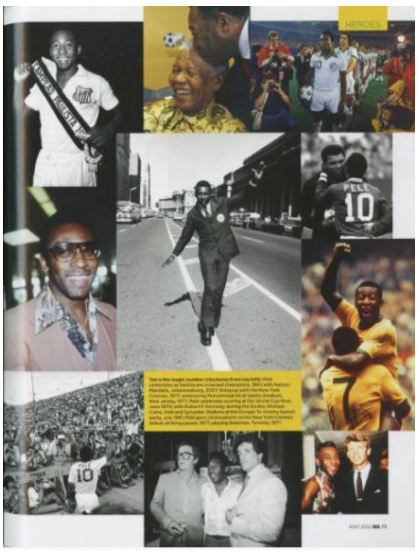

Figure VII.1d
'The Dream Will Never Die' (*GQ,* July 2012: 60), Written by Lang Whitaker, Editorial Photographs Getty Images, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

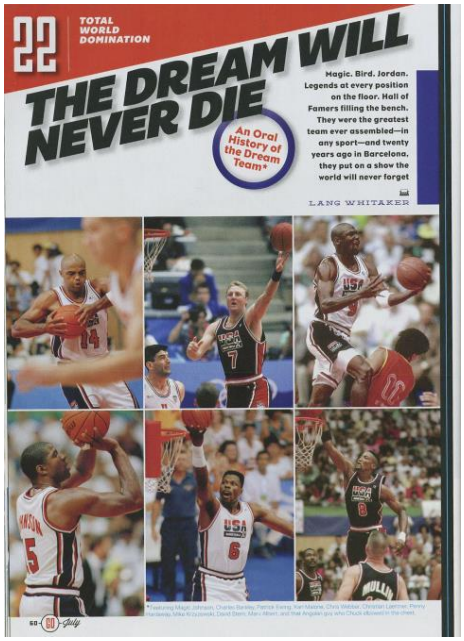

Figure VII.2.1a
'Love Me, Hate Me, Just Don't Ignore Me' (*GQ*, February 2012:48), Written by Nancy Hass, Editorial Photograph by Peter Yang, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figures VII.2.2a and b

'The Madman of Malibu' (*GQ*, January 2012: 94-97), Written by Chris Heath, Editorial Photographs by Peggy Sirota, Styled by Naomi Wilding, Thesis Photographs by Mario Roman

Figure VII.2.2a

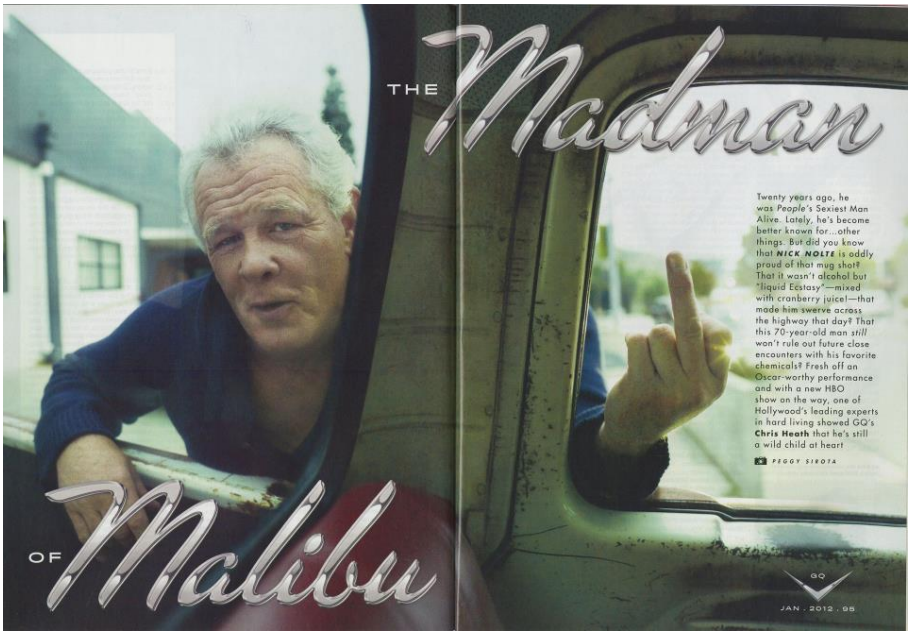

Figure VII.2.2b

News Photograph in lower left corner by Splash News/Newscom, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure C.Ia

'Man Of The Year: James Corden' (*British GQ*, October 2012: 218-219), Written by Jonathan Heaf, Editorial Photograph by Gavin Bond, Styling by Angelo Desanto, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure C.Ib

'Man Of The Year: Tinie Tempah' (*British GQ*, October 2012: 250), Written by Charlie Burton, Editorial Photograph by Dylan Don, Styling by Tanja Martin, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

Figure C.Ic

'Man Of The Year: Robbie Williams' (*British GQ*, October 2012: 232-233), by Dylan Jones, Editorial Photographs by John Wright, Styling by Marcus Love, Thesis Photograph by Mario Roman

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