

**“Be the best version of yourself!”: Representations of
Women, Femininity and Exercise in *Glamour* and *Brigitte***

Master's thesis

Sanna Partanen

University of Jyväskylä
Department of Language and Communication Studies
English
October 2018

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Tiedekunta - Faculty Humanistis-yhteiskuntatieteellinen tiedekunta	Laitos - Department Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitos
Tekijä - Author Sanna Partanen	
Työn nimi - Title "Be the best version of yourself!": Representations of Women, Femininity and Exercise in <i>Glamour</i> and <i>Brigitte</i>	
Oppiaine - Subject Englannin kieli, Saksan kieli ja kulttuuri	Työn laji - Level Pro Gradu
Aika - Month and year Lokakuu 2018	Sivumäärä - Number of pages 134 sivua
<p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>Naistenlehtien täydellisyyttä hipovat feminiinisyyden representaatiot ja niiden mahdolliset vaikutukset naisten itsekäsitykseen ovat olleet tutkimuksen kohteena jo muutamia vuosikymmeniä. Yleisimmin tutkimuksen kohteena ovat olleet naisten lifestyle- ja fitnesslehdet ja tutkimukset ovat keskittyneet pääosin eniten myyviin amerikkalaisiin naistenlehtiin. Naiseuden representaatiot liikuntaan liittyvissä lifestyle-lehtien artikkeleissa ja eri maiden naistenlehdissä ovat jääneet yleisemmän feminiinisyyden ja fitness-identiteetin rakentumisen tarkastelun varjoon. Näiden tarkastelu valottaisi naiseuteen ja liikuntaan/urheiluun liittyvien representaatioiden ilmenemistä laajemman, ei-fitnessorientoituneen lukijakohderyhmän kuluttamassa sisällössä, sekä laajentaisi länsimaisen naiseuden representaatioiden tarkastelua myös Pohjois-Amerikan ulkopuolelle.</p> <p>Tämän tutkimuksen tarkoituksen on selvittää, miten naiseutta rakennetaan liikuntaan ja urheiluun liittyvissä naisten lifestyle-lehtien nettiaikakappaleissa. Laajemman kuvan saamiseksi tutkimuksen kohteiksi valittiin USA:n ja Saksan myydyimmät naistenlehdet, <i>Glamour</i> ja <i>Brigitte</i>. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksen oli myös vertailla, miten naiseuden representaatiot mahdollisesti eroavat näiden maiden lehtien kuvastossa. Tarkasteltaviksi naiseuden osa-alueiksi rajattiin toimijuus, motiivit liikunnalle sekä kuvissa esiintyvien naisten ulkonäkö. Yhtenä tavoitteena oli selvittää, miten representaatiot näillä osa-alueilla ilmentävät Williamsin (2012) esittämää jakoa resistentistä ja traditionaalisesta naiseudesta. Kattavan analyysin mahdollistamiseksi tutkimusaineistoksi valittiin 45 artikkelia molempien lehtien nettisisällöistä. Tutkielman teoreettisen viitekehyksen muodostaa feministinen kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, jota täydennetään kuva-analyysillä.</p> <p>Tuloksista selviää, että <i>Glamour</i> ja <i>Brigitte</i> kuvaavat naiseutta hyvin samankaltaisilla tavoilla. Resistentin ja traditionaalisen naiseuden diskurssit vaihtelevat naiseuden eri osa-alueiden sisällä. Voidaan kuitenkin todeta, että ulkonäön kuvaukset ja liikunnan motiivit painottavat traditionaalisia kauneuskäsityksiä. Toimijuus puolestaan ilmentää sekä resistenttejä että traditionaalisia naiseuden kuvia. Tutkielman tulokset myötäilevät aiempien tutkimusten linjoja, mutta tarjoavat uutta tietoa eri länsimaisten naistenlehtien tavoista kuvata naiseutta sekä siitä, miten naiseutta rakennetaan suhteessa liikuntaan ja urheiluun.</p>	
<p>Asiasanat - Keywords</p> <p>women's magazines, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis, <i>Glamour</i>, <i>Brigitte</i>, femininity, agency, body, exercise, representation</p>	
Säilytyspaikka - Depository JYX	
Muita tietoja - Additional information	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	INTRODUCTION	5
2	MAGAZINES AS A MEDIA DISCOURSE	8
2.1	Ideology and Representation in Magazine Discourse	8
2.2	Transitivity and Agency in Discourse	12
2.3	Analysing Discourse in Women’s Magazines	15
2.3.1	Women’s Magazines as a Gendered Discourse	15
2.3.2	Feminist Critical Discourse analysis	17
2.3.3	Multimodality in Web Articles.....	19
2.4	Summary of Magazines as a Media Discourse	21
3	WOMEN’S MAGAZINES AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON FEMININITY, BODY, AND EXERCISE	23
3.1	Women’s Magazines Then and Now	23
	<i>History of Women’s Magazines</i>	23
	<i>Women’s Magazines in the Digital Era</i>	25
3.2	Previous Research on Femininity, Body and Exercise	26
3.2.1	Femininity	27
3.2.2	The Body and Social Comparison in Magazines	31
3.2.3	The Portrayal of Exercise in Women’s Magazines.....	36
3.3	Summary of Women’s Magazines and Previous Research	38
4	RESEARCH DESIGN	39
4.1	Research Aim and Questions	39
4.2	The Selection and Collection of the Present Data.....	40
4.2.1	Introducing <i>Glamour</i>	42
4.2.2	Introducing <i>Brigitte</i>	42
4.2.3	Data Collection	43
4.3	Analytic Methods and Procedures	44
5	ANALYSIS	49
5.1	Categorisation in the Web Portals	49
5.1.1	Article Categories in <i>Glamour</i> Web Articles.....	49
5.1.2	Article Categories in <i>Brigitte</i> Web Articles	51
5.2	Women’s Agency in the Magazines	53
5.2.1	Agency in <i>Glamour</i>	54

	<i>Women as Agent-principals</i>	54
	<i>Women as Agent-instigators</i>	55
	<i>Women as Agent-executors</i>	56
	<i>Other Ways of Portraying Women's Agency</i>	58
	<i>Women's Agency in Images in Glamour</i>	61
5.2.2	<i>Agency in Brigitte</i>	65
	<i>Women as Agent-principals</i>	65
	<i>Women as Agent-instigators</i>	66
	<i>Women as Agent-executors</i>	67
	<i>Other Ways of Portraying Women as Active or Passive</i>	69
	<i>Women's Agency in Images in Brigitte</i>	74
5.2.3	<i>Summary and Comparison of the Representations of Agency</i>	77
5.3	<i>Motives for Exercise</i>	80
5.3.1	<i>Exercise Motives in Glamour</i>	81
	<i>Exercise as an Integral Part of Life</i>	81
	<i>Attaining a Better Physique</i>	83
	<i>Trends and Celebrity Influence</i>	84
	<i>Seasonal Motives</i>	85
	<i>Staying Healthy</i>	86
	<i>Conflicting Attitudes towards Exercise</i>	87
	<i>Exercising Anyway - Minimal Effort, Maximal Achievement</i>	88
5.3.2	<i>Exercise Motives in Brigitte</i>	90
	<i>Attaining a Better Body</i>	90
	<i>Health and Fitness as a Lifestyle</i>	93
	<i>Back to Shape after Pregnancy</i>	94
	<i>Easy and Enjoyable Ways to Exercise</i>	95
5.3.3	<i>Summary and Comparison of the Motives for Exercise</i>	97
5.4	<i>Body and Physical Appearance</i>	99
5.4.1	<i>Body Types in Glamour</i>	101
	<i>Representations of Different Body Types in Glamour</i>	101
	<i>Muscles – The Core of Exercise</i>	104
	<i>Bodily Aesthetics and Accepting Oneself</i>	105
5.4.2	<i>Body Types in Brigitte</i>	106
	<i>Representations of Different Body Types in Brigitte</i>	106

	<i>Muscles and Other Building Blocks of Attractiveness</i>	108
	<i>The Maternal Body</i>	110
5.4.3	Summary and Comparison of the Representations of Body Types and Physical Appearance	112
6	DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	115
7	BIBLIOGRAPHY	121

1 INTRODUCTION

For a couple of centuries now, women have been receiving advice from women's lifestyle magazines on how to eat, dress, behave and take care of their households and husbands. In the 1980s, when health and fitness magazines started to become more mainstream and reach a wider audience, articles on exercise and diet started appearing in other women's magazines as well (Williams, 2012: 36). It is common today that almost every women's lifestyle magazine contains a section dedicated to improving one's physical condition. Women are encouraged to be the ideal woman and fit into a certain mould of looking good, being happy and having successful relationships.

This study will examine how the relationship between women, femininity and exercise is constructed through discourse in the web articles of two contemporary American and German women's magazines, *Glamour* and *Brigitte*. More specifically, the present study will focus on the ways in which femininity and women's agency is framed in the magazines' exercise-related articles, and whether the representations echo the values and characteristics associated with traditional or resistant femininity (Williams, 2012). After the analysis, I will compare my findings of the magazines to find out whether the portrayals of women and femininity differ in the German and American content.

The incentive for this study stems from the fact that previous research has largely focused only on American media images, leaving publications from other countries and their ways of framing femininity and exercise mostly unstudied. Moreover, not many cross-national comparisons have been made on the subject. Since most women's magazines tend to follow a rather universal format, it is crucial to examine, how various cultures and the editing offices of different magazines affect the way femininity and exercise is framed for the reader.

This study focuses on an increasingly important medium for women's magazines in

the digital era, namely their web content. Whereas women's lifestyle and fitness magazines have been a target of research for decades, not much research has been conducted on their digital contents yet. Thus, I am interested in finding out if these web articles echo the findings of the previous studies on traditional print magazines. The comparison between German and American content, on the other hand, may provide small-scale insights into the cultural beauty norms of the two countries, although not too many generalisations can be made based on only two individual representatives of numerous similar magazines of their respective countries of origin. However, since beauty ideals in the US and Western Europe are generally seemingly similar, it is possible that not many significant differences between the representatives of the two countries will arise.

Since the emphasis of my study is on the representations of women and the corresponding ideologies of femininity, I will define certain aspects through which the magazines portray women in relation to exercise, on which I will focus in my analysis. Following Williams' (2012) example, I will examine whether those aspects and their related phenomena represent traditional or resistant femininity. The first aspect of femininity examined in this study will be the agency given to the women in the textual and visual representations. The agency given (or not given) to women can give insight into the way the magazines frame women as active or passive. In other words, agency analysis reveals how and to what extent the magazines give women power. The second aspect will focus on analysing how the magazines discuss the motives for engaging in exercise. The motives can reveal the implicit assumptions about the ideology of femininity of the magazines. For example, attaining a more attractive body, versus attaining a stronger body represent opposing feminine ideologies. The third aspect of femininity examined in this study will focus on the physical appearance and body type represented by the women in the visual portrayals. Analysing the trends in the representations of the body will allow determining the beauty ideals of the magazines and which feminine ideology they represent. The reason for choosing the above aspects of representing women, femininity and exercise for the analysis is that the composite image formed by them

gives a more comprehensive understanding of the magazines' ideologies on femininity and exercise than any of the aspects alone would. Although agency, motives and physical appearance each would be viable research topics on their own, combining them allows examining the possible contradicting ideologies of femininity they might offer.

2 MAGAZINES AS A MEDIA DISCOURSE

The media serve as a significant force in the creation of representations. Through representations, they convey social and brand-related ideologies. As these ideologies are projected onto the respective target audiences, they form an implicit set of ideas, against which the audience either consciously or subconsciously compare their identities (see chapter 4.1.2 about social comparison). With specific reference to women, Litosseliti (2006: 92) points out that investigating such representations is important not only because women are often under-represented in the media, but also because the ways of representing men and women in magazines are often stereotypical and narrow. In the next chapter, to clarify these starting points for my study, I am going to define what ideologies are, as well as what role they have in discourse analysis. After this, I will explain the principles drawn on in my analysis of magazine discourse, Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis as well as Multimodal Discourse Analysis.

2.1 Ideology and Representation in Magazine Discourse

When examining how femininity is framed in women's magazines, *discourse*, *ideology* and *representation* are essential concepts. In this chapter, I will describe the interrelated notions of discourse, ideology and representation in more detail and explain how others have defined them in magazine context.

Discourse is a multifaceted concept. For the purposes of this study, discourse will be used in two different meanings explained by Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 27). On the one hand, discourse constitutes all language use and semiotic choices which have social conditions and consequences. Simply put, it means language use as social practice within a certain social context. In the present study, the magazine articles form a social context, and the language choices and visual representations made in them form the discourse within them. On the other hand, discourse also refers to a context-related way of portraying certain phenomena. In the case of this study,

magazine discourse and *feminist discourse* as well as *gendered discourse* are examples of the latter meaning.

One of the key elements of discourse analysis is the element of power that discourses have. According to Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 56), different discourses have the ability to describe, define, frame, challenge, change and set attitudes. Whereas the power that individual utterances and discourses have is bound to a certain situation, on a larger scale, language as a societal phenomenon is both a target and a tool of power. The representational power of discourse stems from its ability to portray events and people of the world as reality, as something that has already happened or is happening at the moment. This ability and power discourses have to shape the way we see the world, events and people through language and culture makes discourse analysis an important field of research (ibid.).

Understanding the relationship between the ideological nature of magazine discourses and representations is an important aspect of this study. *Oxford Dictionaries Online* defines ideology as “a system of ideas and ideals”: for the purposes of this study, this means the systematic body of concepts magazines follow when producing their content. Consequently, ideology dictates the way people and phenomena are represented and framed. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2007: 59) explain that ideologies and discourses can be considered interconnected, since every discourse depicts a certain viewpoint of the world, which is also reflected in the discourse’s semantic choices and language use. To some extent, discourses also help reproduce ideologies, thus always constructing a limited view of the world. Through the use of language and linguistic resources, discourses in turn recycle and challenge ideologies (ibid.).

Fairclough (1995: 44) argues that representations in the media can be considered *ideological* when they serve the function of producing exploitative and dominating media images. By his definition, an ideology is “a meaning in service of power” (ibid.). Ideologies are thus implicit statements embedded in texts, which construct and maintain power and control structures. Ideologies can be detectable in the premises

of a text, which in turn can be anything from written documents to images and video material. Thus, ideologies are interconnected to every other text previously published, as the consumer or the reader processes the meanings behind the texts based on their previous knowledge of the surrounding world. Fairclough goes on to name three questions, through which ideologies and the relationship between representation and identity in texts can be examined: a) what is the origin of the choice made or *who* made the representation? b) what motivates the choice? c) what are the consequences of the choice? In the case of this study, the origin of the representation is the magazine, and the motivation behind their way of representing women comes from their brand-related ideology as well as the societal expectations towards women. The consequences of the representations further contribute to the way society sees women and how women in turn see themselves. The consequential nature of representation and its effect on women's conceptions of themselves will be further discussed in Chapter 3.2.2.

One of the goals of this study is to find out how ideologies affect the way discourse constructs the relationship between women and exercise. Consequently, the media image of the women chosen by the magazines to portray that relationship also indicates the ideologies the magazines endorse their readers. By critically examining the discourses provided by my data, I hope to make these underlying ideologies visible. Analysing the values and belief systems of the magazines are going to offer some insights into the prominent ideals marketed by the leading women's magazines in the USA and Germany, thus reflecting to some extent also the values of these societies.

Another key notion for the purposes of the present study is representation. As Hall (1997: 16) briefly states, "representation is the production of meaning through language". In other words, representations describe, depict and symbolise the world around us. Hall further explains that representations function as the link between language and concepts, either real or fictional. Different phenomena can be represented in a myriad of ways, and each new way has its consequences on the

phenomenon being represented as well as the people observing it. As Fairclough (1995) points out, creating a representation always involves deciding between what is included in the representation and what is excluded. Thus, representations can never be completely objective, because they convey hidden meanings and messages embedded in them. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 57) explain that representations always exist within a context of earlier representations and are thus related to the different levels of discourse analysis through history, politics, and ideologies.

A foundational view of representation has been suggested by du Gay et al. (1997), a group of cultural studies scholars with their model called the 'Circuit of Culture' (Figure 1). For the purposes of the present study, the model provides a foundation for understanding the process of representation in the everyday lives of women. Although the Circuit model will not be further utilised in the analysis of the magazines, it offers a helpful and concrete way of recognising the processes through which representation is produced and consumed, which is crucial for the rationale behind this study. The model indicates the many sites where meaning is produced, and the continuous flow of meanings through various processes and practices. As the figure suggests, representation is one of the key parts in forming meanings through language, which Hall (1997: 16) in turn describes as a "representational system", through which "thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture". In the modern world, media is the biggest tool for representation and meaning making. This study focuses on interpreting the representational process of women's magazines, which are a very particular media in terms of its target audience.

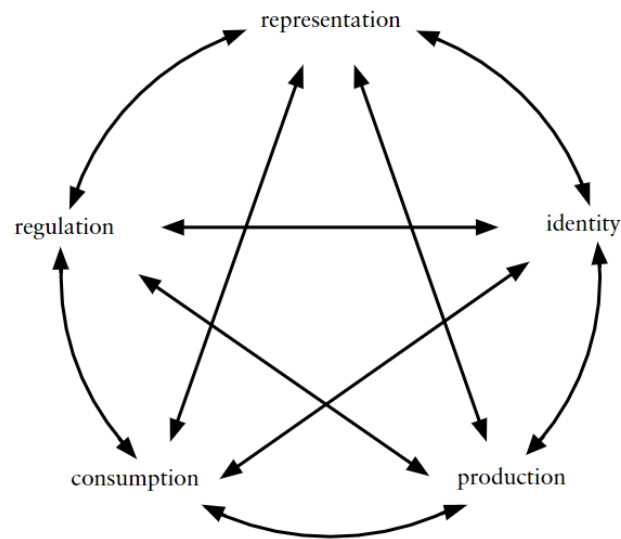


Figure 1. The Circuit of Culture according to du Gay et al. (1997) (reproduced by Storey, 2010: 174)

According to the model (du Gay et al., 1997), the five phases of the circuit model - representation, regulation, identity, consumption and production - describe the sites where culture is produced. *Representation* indicates what the site, text, practice or object that is operating in terms of the five different concepts of meaning making (X from now on) means and to whom. In other words, it tells who is represented and by whom (women by the magazines). *Regulation* constitutes the rules that affect and are affected by X, as well as the people hold the power to regulate X (the social context of women's magazines, magazine editors). *Identity* covers the agents from producing and consuming to regulating X (magazine editors and readers). *Consumption* portrays the process of buying, using and becoming part of X (buying and reading the magazine, becoming a part of the readership). Finally, *production* depicts the site where X is created reproduced, distributed, marketed, and paid for (the system and people behind the magazine). (ibid.)

2.2 Transitivity and Agency in Discourse

In addition to representation and ideology, another key notion for the purposes of this study is transitivity. Simply put, transitivity is described by Machin and Mayr (2012:

104) as “the study of what people are depicted doing”. In other words, it examines who does what to whom and how. This chapter introduces transitivity and its most relevant aspect to the present study, agency.

Representations of transitivity, in addition to other representational strategies discussed above, are an important factor in shaping the way people perceive other people and phenomena (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 104). Since transitivity describes the portrayal of people as either active or passive (i.e. targets of action), representations of transitivity can advocate certain discourses and implicit ideologies (ibid.). In magazine discourse, this means that ideologies promoted by magazines can be detected by analysing the verb processes in articles, even if they are not overtly stated.

Transitivity analysis is based on Halliday’s (1985) systemic functional grammar. Machin and Mayr summarise Halliday’s views on the significance of grammar in the following way:

The grammar of a language is a system of ‘options’ from which speakers and writers choose according to social circumstances, with transitivity playing a key role in meaning making’ in language. (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 104)

According to Halliday (1978: 123), this method of analysing transitivity understands the reality of the culture as “systems of meaning” arising from semiotic choices. In other words, the way in which words are used to describe an action reveal a great deal about the way certain phenomena are framed in texts and who is represented as active and who as a passive.

This study focuses on one particular part of transitivity - agency. Agency shows who acts, how and upon whom. The person who acts is called an agent and the person who is acted upon is either an object or another agent depending on the circumstances. Williams (2012: 57) points out that syntactically, agents are noun phrases, which represent who or what is the executor of the action described by a verb. She also notes that since agency is not a monolithic notion, agents are responsible for the action of

the verb on varying levels. For example, the level of the agent's volition can change according to grammatical case in a sentence or the context of the sentence. Transitivity analysis can be used to determine the interactional roles of participants in a situation. Identifying who has agency and who does not is important, because it reveals how certain things are represented, which in turn reflects the implicit values of society, as already discussed in Chapter 2.1. According to Machin (2007: 123), carefully analysing action in written texts or speech may expose implicit assumptions about who is given agency, what kind of agency they have and who is depicted as passive, without agency.

Besides texts, images are an important indicator of agency. Images in newspapers, magazines and online often go through a process of styling and editing before they are published. As Machin (2007: 109) points out, the final image is always designed to convey certain ideas and attitudes towards the participants. Together with text, images always construct a more or less implicit message that the producer wants to send the readers. Machin (*ibid.*) emphasises the importance of the participants' actions in images. He states that, whereas the underlying messages of people having power or being passive in written texts or speech can be detected by analysing the choice of verbs and lexicon, analysing images requires examining so called "visual verbs". Just as in texts, they can be an important clue about who is given agency and power. Machin also points out that the subtle messages provided by the text and accompanying images can contradict one another. What participants are described doing in texts can differ greatly from how they are illustrated in images. For example, someone's agency can be diminished through semantic and lexical choices, but they can nevertheless be visually depicted as having agency, or vice versa. As images are powerful representations, I have included the images in the articles as part of my analysis to see how they work in terms of supporting or contradicting the textual representations. In other words, the main focus of this study remains on the textual analysis, while the visual representations are viewed as additional information supporting the purposes of this study.

2.3 Analysing Discourse in Women's Magazines

In this chapter, I will discuss the gendered nature of women's magazine discourse. I will also introduce the general principles of discourse analysis, as well as the more specific framework I will rely on in my analysis. The foundation of my research theory is feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA), but to get a more comprehensive view of the topic and to analyse images as well, I am going to combine it with multimodal discourse analysis (MMDA) when applicable. The former approach will enable an analysis of textual data about women that is also directed at women. The latter, in turn, will allow me to examine women's magazines from a perspective that best suits the multimodal nature of the content I am investigating. I will begin by defining the notion of 'gender' and by discussing women's magazines as a gendered discourse. Then, I will move on to explain the general principles of discourse analysis. After this, I will explain the more specific characteristics of FCDA and MMDA and how they are suitable for analysing gendered magazines.

2.3.1 Women's Magazines as a Gendered Discourse

To understand the gendered nature of women's magazines, one needs to understand what is meant by 'gender' first. The foundation of Western feminist thought lies in the distinction made between 'sex' and 'gender' (McElhinny, 2003: 22). According to typical definitions, the term 'sex' is used to refer to "either of the two main categories (male and female) into which humans and most other living things are divided on the basis of their reproductive functions" (*Oxford Dictionaries Online*, 2018). In other words, when referring to 'sex', one is typically referring to the biological differences between females and males. The term 'gender', on the other hand, is widely used to describe the "social and cultural" differences between the female and male sexes (*Oxford Dictionaries Online*, 2018). However, 'gender' is also used more broadly to "denote a range of identities that do not correspond to established ideas of male and female" (*ibid.*). Unlike the strictly dichotomous definition of 'gender' which implies that there are only two genders based upon the two sexes (McElhinny, 2003: 23), the

latter definition acknowledges the multifaceted and flexible nature of gender. For the purposes of the present study, the multifaceted notion of gender is acknowledged, but since women's magazines generally function on the narrow spectrum of gender dichotomy and emphasise heterosexual relationships (Gill, 2007: 184), the gendered nature of women's magazines can be expected to be explainable by using the dualistic sex-gender distinction. Since this dualistic view of gender also contains implicit assumptions of heterosexuality (Kapchan, 1996; cited in McElhinny, 2003: 23), it is likely to be present in women's magazines, as they are a heavily gendered discourse (Burton, 2010: 1). Next, I will explain in more detail, what is meant by 'gendered discourse' in the context of women's magazines.

The term 'women's magazines' already contains the suggestions that they are primarily targeted for females. This creates the foundation for women's magazines as a gendered discourse. 'Gendered' as an adjective means that something "reflects the experience, prejudices or orientations of one sex more than the other", as well as "reflects or involves gender differences or stereotypical gender roles" (Merriam Webster, 2018). Essentially, these definitions are also descriptive of women's magazines, as they are a very particular medium in terms of their target audience. According to Burton (2010: 1), they open a door to a "special, even secret, feminized world, in which the state of being a girl or a woman is celebrated". Moreover, Burton points out that there is no parallel with magazines for men, since magazines targeting men are not characterised by a clearly gendered male culture. Burton (ibid.) also argues that a defining characteristic of women's magazines and a possible reason for women's magazines' special status is the fact that the world they promote is defined in relation to a naturally dominant male culture. According to Holmes and Marra (2010: 6), examining gendered discourse entails consideration of the interaction between an individual and the larger constraining social structures within which the individual acts. In other words, it is important to note the role of these "larger constraining factors" within which women's magazines and the individuals on their pages are represented. In the next chapter, I will introduce the framework for analysing the gendered structures of women's magazines in the present study.

2.3.2 Feminist Critical Discourse analysis

Since Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) is a perspective on CDA, understanding it requires understanding the basic nature of CDA first. According to Fairclough and Wodak (cited in Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 1), CDA considers language a social practice. Its primary emphasis lies in the relationship between language and power, making it a useful tool in examining discourse in contexts of institutions, politics, gender and media, because they often contain more or less implicit struggles of power and position (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:2). CDA does not only focus on texts, but also on the social processes and structures leading to the production of texts, as well as the historical contexts of the social processes and structures, within which individuals interact with texts and give them meaning (Fairclough and Kress, cited by Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 3). The term 'critical' refers to CDA's tendency to scrutinise all forms of social injustice and inequality embedded in the structures of the society. As Fairclough (1985, cited by Wodak and Meyer, 2001: 2) states, the essence of being critical is to make these hidden structures visible. Since my study examines the representations of women in relation to exercise, I applied the theory of FCDA which is better suited for analysing gendered issues, such as the one at hand.

Lazar (2007) points out that a feminist CDA viewpoint is interdisciplinary, since it, on the one hand, contributes to "(critical) language and discourse studies" and, on the other hand, "suggests the usefulness of language and discourse studies for the investigation of feminist issues in gender and women's studies." Therefore, applying FCDA allows me to investigate the underlying social assumptions and implicit structures in the web articles from a feminist perspective. According to Lazar, the aim of FCDA is specifically that. She describes the purpose of FCDA in the following way:

The aim of feminist critical discourse studies, therefore, is to show up the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities.
(Lazar, 2007: 142)

The reason FCDA is needed is the acknowledgment of the fact that the issues and questions it handles, such as representation of gender identity and the institutionalised power asymmetry among groups of men and women, are important from a social perspective, since they have both material and phenomenological consequences for men and women (Lazar, 2007). In other words, it is not irrelevant, how people are represented, as this study will show.

As a particular approach to CDA, FCDA is a tool for analysing the complicated structures of power and ideology in a gendered discourse context. These structures have become increasingly complex and subtle in present times (Lazar, 2005: 1). Women's magazines are just one example of social and cultural contexts which can be analysed from a feminist perspective. Although feminist research can and, for a long time, has been conducted under CDA, there are additional benefits to using FCDA. Lazar names three reasons. Firstly, CDA studies focusing on gendered contexts apply a critical stance to gender relations, which stems from the need for change in the current state of these relations. Secondly, some theorisations of CDA already draw upon feminist works to some extent. Lazar finds it necessary to acknowledge and theorise the "particularly oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices", including CDA. Finally, the lack of a name for their research field has left feminist CDA scholars without a collective. For FCDA to lose its marginal status among the more established linguistics fields, and become more central, it is crucial for it to receive "group visibility" and build a collective of researchers around it (Lazar, 2005: 3-4).

For the purposes of this study, the five interconnected principles of FCDA (Lazar, 2017: 373-374) provide a suitable framework for examining representations of femininity in women's magazines. The first principle according to Lazar is the ideological nature of 'gender'. Since women's magazines are a profoundly gendered medium, and gender is considered by FCDA to divide people based on the innate nature of sexual difference, analysing the representations of the female gender in that particular context falls under FCDA. The notion of gender and women's magazines

as a gendered media will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.2.1. Secondly, Lazar names power as a key factor in analysing representations of gender identities and relations. Whereas earlier feminist theories have focused on the notion of 'patriarchy' and its characteristic predominant male dominance that favours men at the expense of women, Lazar also mentions another view of power by Foucault which considers power as a widely spread and indirect operator. This view has been used by many feminists to define gendered structures of power. In this study, power is examined through the agency given to the women as well as the way femininity is constructed by the magazines. Thirdly, Lazar states that FCDA and CDA share the same fundamental view of discourse as a dialogue between the discourse itself and the social practices surrounding it. In this study, the discourse consists of the articles in the magazines, and the social practices are, in a broad sense, the western culture, in which they are produced and consumed by the reader. The present analysis then aims to find out how femininity is constructed within those contexts. The fourth principle of FCDA, according to Lazar, is interest towards "critical reflexivity as a practice". In other words, the critical awareness of the world and how this awareness is utilised by social and critically aware persons, for example in creating constructive discussion about social problems and driving social changes. Despite the narrow scope of this study, its ultimate purpose is to pay attention to the possible issues related to constructions of femininity in relation to exercise and physical activity. Also related to the bringing social issues to attention, the fifth principle considers FCDA as "analytical activism" (Lazar, 2017: 374), which strives towards a just society, in which gender does not preordain anyone's identity or relationships to others. Taking all these principles and the nature of the present study into consideration, it is justified to conduct my analysis under feminist CDA.

2.3.3 Multimodality in Web Articles

Since web articles are a combination of both verbal and visual texts, analysing discourse based on them without taking images into consideration would only produce deficient results. Even when the bulk of a magazine text is verbal, words are

typically interconnected with the visual clues provided by and in images: gestures, poses and expressions (Fairclough, 2001: 22). In order to examine the visual and verbal compositions in their most basic components and understand how they correlate with each other in order to create meaning, I will apply the framework provided by the multimodal approach of discourse analysis. The term modality in this case refers to how real, or not, a representation claims to be. According to Machin (2007: 46), analysing the reality value of a representation essentially leads to the ideology behind that representation (see Chapter 2.1 for ideology). He adds that examining what is “hidden, changed, lessened in importance, or what is enhanced, added, given increased salience” can help determine, what kind of an image of the world is constructed for us (ibid.), or in the case of this study, the readers of the digital magazines. Inspired by linguistic analysis, modality allows investigating and revealing what is being suggested to one as certain and what is left concealed (Machin, 2007: 46).

Multimodal Discourse Analysis is essentially a social semiotic approach to studying visual communication (Machin, 2007: viii). Kress (2012: 37) describes MMDA as a multimodal semiotic entity, whose purpose is to provide an understanding of the relation of the meanings of a community and its semiotic appearances. The multimodal approach regards language as one among the many ways of making meaning and representing different phenomena. Since all modes of a text are framed as one field in a multimodal approach, they can be examined as one coherent “cultural resource for representation”, as Kress (2012: 38) describes it. Thus, as already mentioned above, MMDA asserts that the meanings found in written or spoken texts by means of discourse analysis can only ever be partial. To better understand the meanings the producer of the text might have intended, one has to examine the text as a whole, including all its different modes, such as images and sounds.

Initially developed to complete language-based discourse analysis due to its systematic neglect of the visual side of texts, MMDA also serves the study of modern discourses, which have appeared with the development of internet. As a result of

digitalisation, print media have attained a multidimensional platform with a myriad of features not available in traditional print media. In addition to text and images, the internet enables magazine producers to connect with readers via various social media platforms, produce and share content with readers in real time, and using videos and animations to illustrate web articles. Moreover, online media offers vast possibilities to advertisers, who can provide direct affiliate links to their products with instant purchase options. Despite all the extra features web content brings to magazines, online portals of magazines can still be paralleled to a traditional magazine. Essentially, their functions are similar; they produce articles with text and images for their readers.

For the purposes of this study, MMDA provides the basic understanding of the meaning of visual images as a part of representation. Additionally, it provides the framework for adapting tools originally developed for linguistic analysis to be used in image analysis. In the present study, this means readjusting the tools used for analysing agency in textual analysis to function for examining women's agency in images. This means investigating the 'visual verbs' in images. Additionally, the framework provided by MMDA will be used to analyse the representations of women's body types and the reality value they promote to the reader. The method and procedures for visual analysis will be explained in more detail in Chapter 4.3.

2.4 Summary of Magazines as a Media Discourse

To summarise, in Chapter 2 I have introduced magazines as a media discourse and explained the intertwined concepts of discourse, representation and ideology, which play a key role in the present study, as they all affect the reality the magazines promote to the reader. Additionally, in this chapter I have explained two concepts, transitivity and agency, which ultimately allow examining what people are depicted doing and how they act and upon whom. Understanding these phenomena are crucial for analysing the agency given to the women by the magazines. Finally, this chapter has introduced the principles of discourse analysis and explained how the present study

falls under the frameworks of FCDA and MMDA, which provide the appropriate tools for analysing women, femininity and exercise in the gendered context of women's magazines.

3 WOMEN'S MAGAZINES AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON FEMININITY, BODY, AND EXERCISE

In this chapter, I will introduce women's magazines and the key concepts relevant to my study. To offer a better understanding of the key concepts and the previous research related to them, I begin by briefly describing the notion of women's magazines and their history in the USA and Europe, after which I will explain the status of women's magazines today. In the second section of this chapter, I begin by discussing the notion of femininity in relation to women's magazines, and how it manifests in women's magazines. Secondly, I will introduce the concept of the body as a social phenomenon and discuss the different attitudes towards the female body. Additionally, I will discuss theories of social comparison and explain their relevance to analysing representations and media images of women. Finally, I will explain the role of exercise in women's magazines and the changes it has undergone over time.

3.1 Women's Magazines Then and Now

History of Women's Magazines

The first ever women's periodical was *The Ladies' Mercury*, published in 1693 in London. A century later, in 1792, the first women's magazine in the United States, *The Lady's Magazine*, was published (Mott, 1966: 65). The birth of women's magazines made them the first medium to address its audience according to gender, instead of social or economic status. Consequently, they became a medium that also acknowledged and constructed the ideals of women. Prior to this, print media was not specifically targeted at a certain demographic; rather it was intended for all readers (Williams, 2012: 27). Although in the 18th and early 19th century magazines were often purchased by the higher social classes, they were targeted at women in general, since it is likely that they were read by servants and other lower-class women as well (Williams, 2012: 28). In the early 1900s, the changing role of women in the home was one of the factors to shape the woman's magazine into its final form. The disappearance of domestic help and the rise of the middle class led more women to

take care of the household chores by themselves (Williams, 2012: 29). Moreover, Gerhard (2016) states that due to these prominent social changes, women had more money to spend, which made them a worthwhile target group in the magazine market. With the new demographic in mind, advice columns in newspapers developed into women's magazines such as *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Woman's Home Companion* and *Good Housekeeping* (Williams, 2012: 29).

Although the basic outline for the current women's magazines was formed already by the early 20th century, the significant social, political and economic changes which took place later on in the 20th century were reflected in the contents of women's magazines as well. Gill (2007: 184) names the rise of feminism, the invention of the birth control pill and the increasing number of women acquiring work outside the home as the key changes in society, bringing with them the transformation of women's magazines as well. One of the key changes in women's magazines from the point of view of the present study took place in the 1980s, when health and fitness magazines started to become more mainstream. This led to other women's magazines feeling the need to evolve, so they also started offering articles on diet and exercise (Williams, 2012: 36). Further changes in women's print media are introduced by Gill (2007: 184) who lists five of the most visible of these changes since the beginning of the 1990s. She (ibid.) names the first change as growing focus on celebrities. According to her, both new and existing magazines began to emphasise the fascination towards Hollywood stars' lifestyles including everything from their exercise routines to diets and relationships. Gill also suspects that the magazines began to reflect as well as contribute to a society strongly interested in the glamorous lives of celebrities. The second notable change according to Gill was the dramatic sexualisation of the body endorsed by the beauty industry, which started to emphasise the look of the female body as an essential indicator of femininity. The third change in women's print media was the rising amount of feminist tones, which began stressing the importance of being in control of one's life and aspiring to find gratification from more self-interested goals. The fourth change underlined work both outside as well as inside the home. In other words, women's magazines began focusing on how women

could have it all: have a job, raise children, entertain guests and take care of their homes. This meant offering advice on being organised and handling several tasks at once. The fifth and last change according to Gill (ibid.) was the increasing emphasis on heterosexual relations, which began stressing the importance of sexuality “in order to please men as well as to fulfil oneself”. In sum, these changes can be seen as a combination of traditional and modern values and reflecting the increasing demands towards women set by the society.

Women's Magazines in the Digital Era

Women's magazines offer an interesting platform for examining the transformations happening in traditional media formats, as they adapt to the demands of the digital age. Like other print magazines, women's periodicals, too, were not unaffected when the media landscape started experiencing turbulent changes in the early 21st century (Duffy, 2013: 37). As digital innovations began widening the concept of different media platforms so as to include the internet, new media channels were introduced. Many media offer additional content online that is either free or paid, exclusive or accessible to all. Moreover, social media have made it possible for media consumers to interact with each other as well as the editors and producers of media content by offering a channel for immediate contact reaching users around the world. Although the changes affecting traditional forms of media are manifold, Duffy (2013: 3) points out that most of them focus around either the merging of print, electronic and digital media on a singular device or the boundaries between media users and media producers becoming more obscure.

Today, people are spending more time on their smartphones than with print products and rather than paying for their entertainment, they turn to free, immediate and interactive services online (Duffy, 2013: 4). Consequently, magazines have lost a large number of readers. Some magazines have given up fighting the changing times and moved their publications completely online. Others have realised the advertising potential that lies in combining print with web content. Kaiser (2002: 4) suggests that while the function of magazines' online portals is mainly to offer additional content

to print readers, they are used to endorse the current print issue as well.

3.2 Previous Research on Femininity, Body and Exercise

According to Gough-Yates (2003: 7), women's magazines have been largely studied by feminist media scholars (see for example Hermes, 1997; Winship, 1987; Ballaster et al., 1991; Ferguson, 1983). Often their conclusion has been that women's magazines portray harmful images of women, which reinforces the inequalities and differences between genders (Hermes, 1997). Gough-Yates (2003: 7) also argues that the women's magazine industry is seen by feminist media scholars as "a monolithic meaning-producer, circulating magazines that contain 'messages' and 'signs' about the nature of femininity that serve to promote and legitimate dominant interests". In other words, women's magazines are often seen as ideologically manipulative and representations of the male hegemony.

Many scholars have contributed to the research of women and sports/exercise in a women's magazine context, and the topic has been viewed from various angles related to the focus of this study. Common viewpoints for women's magazine research in this field have been health and body image-related messages in fashion and fitness magazines (for example Eskes et al., 1998; Conlin and Bissell, 2014, Webb et al., 2017; Wasylkiw et al., 2009) and exercise-related representations of women and their effects on women's self-concepts (for example Duncan, 1994; Markula, 1995, 2001 and 2003; Thomsen et al., 2004). An important aspect of researching women and exercise/sport has also been the notion of sexual difference and its often narrow depictions of sporting women in the media (for example Duncan, 1990; Hargreaves, 1994; Hardin et al. 2005).

In this chapter I will present and discuss previous research done on the issues relating to femininity, the female body, and exercise in women's magazine discourse. First, I will introduce the ways femininity has manifested in women's magazines. Secondly, I will discuss the body as a social phenomenon and the meaning of representing

bodies can have on media consumers. Thirdly, I will introduce and discuss the notion of exercise and its role in women's magazines.

3.2.1 Femininity

Women's magazines are a very particular medium. Fundamentally, women's magazines are about being a woman, and the questions and problems related to being a woman. Or, as Ballaster et al. (1991: 163) suggest, women's magazines "purport to offer a recipe for femininity itself". Not unlike today, a great deal of literature for women in the 19th century was thus, to quote Gerhard (2016), "prescriptive in nature". Women's magazines are an excellent source for investigating discourses on femininity, since they simultaneously reflect and shape the way women see themselves. In this chapter, I will discuss how femininity manifests in women's magazines. I will also introduce two key notions for the purposes of this study, traditional and resistant femininity, and discuss their role in the present study, as well as how they are displayed in women's magazines.

Generally, women's magazines represent their own genre, thus having clearly identifiable qualities. According to Gill (2007: 183), these typical characteristics of women's magazines construct a very particular and often narrow image of femininity. She argues that by doing this, magazines pursue consent for the constructions of femininity and womanhood they communicate to the audience. Gill then moves on to identify several ways in which women's magazines are similar to each other in their ways of constructing femininity. First, the way magazines address their readers is constructed as an invitation to them making them feel like they are being addressed by friends or peers. This creates rapport and a sense of unity between the reader and the producers of the magazine, which gives the reader a sense of trust towards the magazine. Second, the themes of the magazines generally focus around the common experience of femininity, including the joys and struggles. Common themes are, for example, relationships, family and appearance. Third, Gill argues that the ideology of femininity in women's magazines is constructed as a complete opposite to

masculinity. Although the ideal femininity endorsed by women's magazines often represents stereotypically traditional femininity depicting women as wives and mothers and as weaker than men, Gill also points out that femininity has different forms in different magazines. Fourth, women's magazines tend to be aimed at a very limited group of women. Without explicitly stating it, magazines contain hidden restrictions concerning age, ethnicity, sexuality and class. For example, many of the most popular women's magazines in the US, such as *Cosmopolitan* or *Glamour*, are aimed at young, Caucasian, middle-class women. Even though women's magazines do not tend to describe their demographics specifically, the people and advertisements on the pages of the magazines are strong indicators of the more particular characteristics of a typical reader. Finally, Gill mentions the individualistic focus of women's magazines. The language used in the magazines often aims at solving personal problems, instead of raising the issues demanding a larger scale social change. For example, instead of searching for solutions to problems related to inequality between women and men, magazines offer women advice on how to solve issues with their spouses or other problems which are important to an individual, but rather irrelevant from a societal viewpoint (Gill, 2007: 183).

Despite the underlying common features, different magazines can also offer varying ideologies of femininity, as already stated above. Williams (2012) discusses these different forms of femininity in women's magazines and terms the most prominent ones as "traditional" and "resistant" femininity, which are key notions in the present study, and will be referred to throughout the analysis whenever applicable. With the notion of traditional femininity, Williams (2012: 4-5) refers to the "ideals of white, middle-class femininity" valued throughout out the first half of the 20th century, particularly in the 1950s, and often still considered to form the stereotype of feminine today. These ideals are, according to Williams (ibid.), characterised by "sociability, humbleness, others-orientation, passivity, dependence (on men), and submissiveness". In terms of physical appearance, traditional femininity refers to being slender, curvy and even weak. In other words, traditional femininity is about being caring, nurturing, interested in one's physical appearance and forming social

relationships with others as well as not being physically or socially too powerful. By resistant femininity, Williams (ibid.) refers to “ideals of white, middle-class women embraced by the second-wave feminists of the late 1960s and 1970s”. These ideals rely on having what Williams calls “instrumental and agentic” properties such as being independent, assertive, rational, powerful, strong, ambitious, logical, competitive, self-assured, adventurous, objective and active (Williams, 2012: 24). In other words, resistant femininity represents stereotypically masculine characteristics, but women or their behaviour displaying these traits are not to be confused as *being masculine*. Although dichotomising gender stereotypes to reflect feminine and masculine traits may seem conservative considering that the present study investigates contemporary women’s magazines in developed Western countries, it is important for the purposes of the present study for the following reasons. First, as Williams (2012: 5) points out, it can be important for women in contemporary U.S. culture to demonstrate both masculine and feminine traits, since on the one hand, cultural stereotypes and expectations may pressure them to behave feminine and, on the other hand, women may feel that the “male norm of being independent and assertive” is regarded as the norm for all present-day adults. This suggestion can also be applied to contemporary German culture, as it also represents a modern Western country. Second, the focus of this study is on the relationship between femininity and exercise, and sports and physical exercise are often associated with traits such as active, aggressive, energetic, forceful, strong and tough, which represent stereotypically masculine traits all over the world¹ according to Williams et al. (1999: 519). Thus, examining femininity and a stereotypically masculine phenomenon together makes it likely that the women in the magazines will display characteristics of both traditional and resistant femininity. Next, I will discuss how traditional and resistant have manifested in women’s magazines.

An example of the opposing ideologies of femininity is examined by Gill (2007: 183),

¹ For a comprehensive description of typical pancultural sex stereotypes referenced throughout this study, Williams et al. (1999: 519) should be consulted.

who discusses the forms of femininities found in *House* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines. Whereas the former emphasises the traditional femininity focusing on the matters of the home, motherhood and married life, the latter focuses on sexuality and sexual relationships as well as beauty and fashion and the pursuit of a successful career. Homemaking is the culmination of stereotypical traditional femininity, while active sexuality and pursuing a career can be seen as a representation of masculine traits included in resistant femininity. Although traditional and resistant femininity represent two opposites, their presence in magazines is often intertwined, as a combination of the two is used to construct an ideal femininity that appeals to a larger demographic than either of the ideologies individually would. While the goal of this approach is to create a balanced whole, the two forms of femininity can also contradict each other. For example, Inness (2004: 124) argues that although women are portrayed as representing resistant femininity, or 'tough', as she terms the phenomenon, those representations are only a performance - an illusion of toughness. She claims that the mere fact of the portraits of tough women being a part of a women's magazine undermines their toughness since women's magazines are generally not regarded as a serious forum due to them constructing an ideal fantasy world where everything is possible. Moreover, she points out that magazines maintain the impression that toughness in women is sexy, which "assures the audience that women are not abandoning their traditional roles as sex objects for men just because they are tough".

The ideology of femininity embedded in a magazine is not necessarily a fixed characteristic. It is not uncommon for noticeable changes in a magazine's agenda and philosophy to occur over time, since magazines reflect and shape the current values of a society. As Winship (1987) points out, women's magazines adapt to the spirit of the time and offer solutions to the different problems of femininity women in different times face. A notable example of a shift in attitudes between traditional and resistant femininity are the changes that occurred during and after World War II. In the 1940s, magazines adapted more feminist tones embracing independence and work outside the home, but after the war, began embracing the return to family life and to the role of housewife (Gill, 2007: 183). On the other hand, highly feminised depictions of

women were also common during the wartime, as the magazines advised women to make themselves “worth fighting for” (McEuen, 2011: 2). In Germany, *Das Deutsche Mädel* (The German Girl), which was a propaganda magazine aimed at girls, emphasised the strong and active woman, encouraging girls to hike, tend to the wounded and work hard in factories, as well prepare for motherhood (Rupp, 1978). *NS-Frauen-Warte*, the only official party-approved women’s magazine in Nazi-Germany, on the other hand, supported the more traditional role of the woman as a housewife and an exemplary mother, but during the wartime also began encouraging women to take part in the war effort in addition to having children (Bensow, 2016).

3.2.2 The Body and Social Comparison in Magazines

A recurring theme in women’s magazines and a central concept in the present study is the female body and the issues surrounding it. The body is not merely a biological entity but also a complex social phenomenon (Synnott, 1993). Our society is laden with ideas and representations, which shape the way we identify ourselves. As Irvin (2016: 2) states, we assess consciously and unconsciously both ourselves as well as others by the appearance of the body. She also points out that the body is a key contributor in the construction of one’s identity and sense of self. Irvin goes on to argue that women in particular are expected to follow narrowly defined beauty standards which are often laborious, expensive or plain impossible to reach. Aesthetic norms, she further explains, serve a “disciplinary” purpose, which consequently support “the oppressive norms of race, gender, and sexuality”.

It is a fact documented in several studies that most women are not satisfied with their bodies (Smolak, 2006). Women who feel dissatisfaction with their bodies are also more likely to diet and have a higher risk of suffering from eating disorders than men do (Rodin et al. 1984, cited in Strahan et al. 2006). Often even normal-weight women report desires to lose some weight (Connor-Greene, 1988). According to Strahan et al. (2006: 211), some theorists even describe women’s tendency to be unsatisfied with their physique as “normative discontent”, since it is so widespread and affects

women's lives all the way from childhood to old age. Studies suggest that the prominent cultural norms for body aesthetics are a key factor in the dissatisfaction women feel towards their bodies (see for example Botta, 1999; Anschutz et al., 2011). A rather new, similarly worrying phenomenon is the appearance-related expectations towards women who have recently given birth. The beauty ideal of the maternal body echoes the pre-pregnancy body ideals, and mothers are expected to reach their pre-pregnancy shape swiftly (Hallstein, 2015). According to these studies, media is the most significant endorser of the pervasive thin and attractive beauty ideal in the Western world. In point of fact, media directed at women, mainly women's magazines, consist of more discourses emphasising the importance of physical allure and looks than men's magazines do (for example Malkin et al. 1999). Moreover, Strahan et al. (2006: 211) point out that the cultural norms for men's appearance are also more flexible than the narrowly defined features of physical attractiveness for women. The selection of different types of men with varying physical features portrayed by the media as attractive is far wider than the imagery of attractive women (Humphreys and Paxton, 2004, cited in Strahan et al., 2006: 211).

Suls et al. (2002) point out that the experience of comparing oneself to others can have many effects on one's sense of self, feelings of well-being and even behaviour. Among others, Anschutz et al. (2011: 190) suggest that theories of social comparison offer researchers a useful framework that can help describe "the relations between exposure to thin media images, subsequent attitudes towards one's own body and possible behavioural changes". These theories provide a suitable background for this study, since they offer an insight into the subconscious processes women engage in when they read magazines and are subjected to the images and implicit assumptions about the ideal body. In other words, the representations in women's magazines matter, because they provide ordinary women an often unreachable ideal which they still unconsciously or consciously may want to pursue. Thus, media images have a great deal of power. Next, I will explain the concept of social comparison and discuss the Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1954; Sulz et al., 2002) from the perspective of my study.

The Social Comparison Theory was first introduced by Festinger in 1954 to explain the human need to evaluate one's opinions and abilities. Since then, the theory has provided a foundation for similar research in the field of social psychology. According to Festinger (1954: 117), opinions and abilities have "a close functional tie between them" and thus they have an effect on human behaviour and the way people evaluate themselves in relation to others or, in other words, how people compare themselves socially. Suls et al. (2002) define social comparison as the process of comparing oneself to others in order to assess some aspects or abilities of oneself or to develop them. They explain that the key action in the comparison process is answering the question "Can I do X?". The comparison process is automatic and subconscious when people are subjected to images of others that represent the qualities or abilities they want to achieve (see for example Anschutz et al., 2011 and Botta, 1999). Naturally, the process can also be initiated consciously.

Festinger's (1954) original theory has undergone changes over the years, but the foundational features, the human tendency to social comparison and the comparison process itself, have remained the same. One aspect that has changed in light of new research is Festinger's (1954) belief that people tend to compare themselves only with others who are similar, for example in terms of ethnicity or age, or otherwise relevant to them. Although one might argue that models in magazines and advertisements are probably not relevant to average women and therefore not an applicable target of comparison for the average women to compare themselves with, according to Strahan et al. (2006: 213), the opposite appears to be true. They argue that models and celebrities can be seen as representations of the current beauty ideal, and because women know that they will be judged according to these cultural beauty standards, it is relevant for them to compare themselves with these media images they are exposed to. Cash, Cash and Butters' (1983) study supports this. They noticed that when compared to attractive non-professional models, women rated their own attractiveness lower than when they were compared to attractive professional models. Reports from some of the readers of *Brigitte* were similar, after the magazine in 2010 decided to replace professional women with regular women as a statement against

“anorectic” models prominently present in the fashion world (BBC News online, 2012). Nevertheless, readers responded to this innovation saying that they were still feeling inferior compared to how beautiful average women looked in the magazine. After two years, the magazine returned to using professional models. Strahan et al. (2006: 113) suspect that the context in which images of other women are viewed may affect the extent to which people are affected by them. Specifically, when messages conveying cultural norms of attractiveness are particularly conspicuous, women will not dismiss the professional model as irrelevant in comparison to themselves. Furthermore, they believe that women can misinterpret the probability of them being able to reach the standard, particularly because the cultural norms and, for example, media tend to enforce the idea that features such as weight and looks can easily be controlled and shaped.

It is commonly accepted that the prominent thin body ideal provided by the mass media has negative effects on the body image of girls and women (see for example Botta, 1999, Field et al., 1999; Harrison and Cantor, 1997; Posavac, Posavac and Weigel, 2001; Stice, Spangler and Agras, 2001). Despite the increasing feminist emphases in the media, the mediatized portrayals of women tend to get more unrealistic (Sypeck, Gray and Ahrens, 2004, cited by Anschutz et al. 2011). With the spread of digitalisation, in current Western countries it is increasingly more difficult to avoid the daily exposure to this thin beauty ideal. Being subject to idealised images of the female body can leave women feeling insecure and dissatisfied with their own bodies, because most of the time the women presented in the media have an unrealistically perfect body compared to the actual body size of most women (see e.g. Stice et al., 2001). The exposure to thin body ideals can not only cause women to feel negatively about their bodies but it can also trigger behavioural changes to pursue a body that follows the thin ideal.

One contributor to unrealistic media images of the female body is women’s magazines (see for example (Markula, 2001; Stice et al., 2001). Fitness magazines, in particular, can cause body image distortion (BID) and contribute to eating disorders (Anschutz

et al. 2011; Markula, 2001). It is likely that models in fitness and health magazines are thinner and more muscular than in normal magazines, because the target audience is somewhat more narrow and assumed to be more interested in sports than that of women's lifestyle magazines. However, it is probable that these trends typical of fitness magazines have also spread to regular women's magazines. In this sense, it could be argued, along with Gill (2007: 192), that women's magazines are a discourse full of conflicting ideologies. In fact, she argues that the notion of contradiction has become an important tool for interpreting the "fragmented nature of ideologies" and "inconsistencies between different discourses" in women's magazines.

In fitness magazines, the body is often seen as a tool or a canvas: you sculpt it to your own (and the society's) liking. In the modern society, the body has become an important medium for self-expression, and having the ideal body can even be regarded as possessing a status symbol. Gill aptly describes the meaning of the body in today's society:

If in the 1950s the home was the ideal focus for women's labour and attention, and the sign used to judge their 'worth', in the new millennium it is the body. Today, a sleek, controlled figure is essential for portraying success, and each part of the body must be suitably toned, conditioned, waxed, moisturized, scented and attired. (Gill, 2009: 99)

Despite the fact that the focus of modern women's magazines has shifted away from the one in magazines in the 1950s that consisted of advising women on how to take care of their homes and families towards a more individualistic goal taking of care of oneself in all aspects of life, the core message of the magazines has not changed: there is always room for improvement. The magazines kindly offer solutions and advice to women to help them achieve a better self. The ideal female body has also undergone a substantial transformation. Whereas in the 1950s soft curves were valued, today a more athletic and muscular look is the ideal. It is common for women today to pursue a more masculine body with clearly-defined muscles and a low percentage of body fat (Hesse-Biber, 2007: 91-93).

It is important to acknowledge the ideals against which people are compared to be able to evaluate how (un)realistic these expectations are and what consequences the pressure to look a certain way might have on people's self-esteem and mental health. It is part of socialisation to learn to value what the society values. This happens automatically by observing peers and the environment. The media is a powerful influence in portraying the society's ideals and values. According to Hesse-Biber (2007: 109), women are taught to see themselves as others see them because self-image and identity are developed through social interaction. In a larger scale, appearance and body ideals reflect societal structures, which in this case discriminate the majority of women whose bodies do not fit into the narrow mould accepted by society.

3.2.3 The Portrayal of Exercise in Women's Magazines

Women started participating in sports and exercise in growing numbers by the 1970s (MacNeill, 1994). According to Bolin and Granskog (2003:3), this was mainly due to the rise of feminism which began in the 1960s and continued the tradition of progressive changes started by early feminists already in the mid- to late 19th century. Bolin and Granskog (ibid.) also point out that the new feminist agenda and the increasingly liberal atmosphere in the 60s contributed to bodily expression and thus, physical activity becoming more acceptable for women.

Exercise has been a regular part of women's magazines since the 1980s (Williams, 2012). Hagger (2005: 7) defines exercise generally as "structured physical activity whose purpose is to incur a health benefit". Moreover, as exercise is a non-competitive form of physical activity, women are more likely to take part in it than in sport, which in turn is seen as a competitive action (Horne, 2006: 153). In women's magazines, the focus of exercise is often more on looking good, although they promote health and physical attractiveness as something that occurs together. Markula and Kennedy (2011) have observed the increasing importance of fitness as a tool for shaping the female body. They point out that the goal of fitness and exercise today is often to fit into the narrow definition of femininity and physical attractiveness. Already in the

1980s, feminist researchers showed that the ideal fit body was a “feminized” ideal constructed on the masculine, patriarchal representational logic (Markula and Kennedy, 2011: 2). Markula and Kennedy (ibid.) argue that through this representation of the ideal body, women’s fitness mirrors heteronormativity by feminising women’s physical activity. They explain that the reason it is oppressive towards women lies in its singular nature: The narrow definition of physical attractiveness excludes most women, but they are nevertheless encouraged to work towards the goal of attaining the ideal physical appearance.

Exercise has long had its own special media, consisting of DVDs, websites and magazines, but today, increasing numbers of exercise related items have begun appearing in mainstream media (Kennedy and Pappa, 2011). The ways in which the media frame the portrayal of exercise can, according to Kennedy and Pappa (2011: 29), narrow or broaden the circumstances for exercise among women. They (ibid.) suggest that, since exercise has become more mainstream and consequently a popular topic in a wide range of women’s magazines, the framing of it could be expected to change as well. However, previous research on exercise and women has mostly focused on magazines with a clear orientation towards fitness as a lifestyle (Markula, 1995, 2001, 2003; Duncan, 1990, 1994). When Kennedy and Pappa (2011) examined a wide range of women’s lifestyle magazines in an attempt to get an insight into the ideologies of women’s magazines outside the fitness category, they found that the representation of exercise is conflicted. On the one hand, the covers of fitness magazines advertised easy and pleasurable ways of getting in shape. On the other hand, the insides of the magazines offered a different attitude towards exercise. Exercise was described as “a complicated and anxiety-ridden” activity and the regular state of femininity was regarded as naturally resistant to physical transformation. Kennedy and Pappa discovered that this inconsistency between the cover and contents was found in all the magazines they analysed.

Further inconsistencies can be found in the depiction of exercise in media images (Williams, 2012; Kennedy and Pappa, 2011). In exercise and sports related media

images, the models often engage in some form of physical activity. This extends the social comparison process from the appearance of the models to the physical skills they possess. So, not only do readers compare themselves with the physical traits of the models, but also the activity depicted in the media images. Together with the textual implications, women's magazines create the ideal woman in many aspects. Exercise is an activity that especially in women's magazines is often depicted unrealistically. Despite being depicted as engaged in strenuous physical activity, models rarely sweat or show other signs of exertion. The goal is to sell the atmosphere in the photo, which is probably why people are often seen smiling, wearing trendy clothes and enjoying the beautiful weather. In reality, sweat, exhaustion and fluorescent lights are more likely to be involved when exercising.

3.3 Summary of Women's Magazines and Previous Research

In sum, since the present study focuses on analysing women, femininity and exercise in women's magazine, in Chapter 3 I have introduced women's magazines' history and their complex status today's digitalised media world, as well as the key concepts of the present study and how they have been previously researched from the point of view of my study. First, I discussed how femininity has manifested in women's magazines over time and how the feminine ideology reflects the magazine's values. Second, I introduced the concept of the body as a social phenomenon and discussed the different attitudes towards the female body. I also discussed theories of social comparison and explained their relevance to analysing representations and media images of women. Finally, I examined the role of exercise in women's lives and how it has been reflected in women's magazines.

4 RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter, I will introduce the set-up for my study. First, I will explain my aims and research questions. Second, I will describe the method I used to collect the data and briefly introduce the magazines I have chosen for the analysis. Finally, I will introduce and describe the methods I used to conduct the analysis.

4.1 Research Aim and Questions

The purpose of my study is to find out, how American and German women's magazines portray femininity and women in relation to exercise. The goal of my study is to compare two representatives of American and European magazine contexts to see whether they differ from each other, or whether the chosen magazine discourses follow similar patterns in portraying femininity and exercise. What I aim to discover in my study are the implicit ideologies and assumptions about their audience which the magazines convey. The questions I aim to answer are:

- 1)
 - a) How are women represented in contemporary American and German women's lifestyle magazines', *Glamour's* and *Brigitte's*, fitness-related web articles in terms of agency, motives for exercise, and body and physical appearance?
 - b) Do the representations of women encode traditional or resistant femininity?
- 2) Do the representations of women and femininity differ in the American and German content? If so, how?

The first question aims at examining the implicit ideology of femininity through certain indicators. In order to view representations of femininity from different angles, I chose these indicators to be agency, motive for exercise, and body and physical appearance, because they all represent key phenomena through which femininity is mirrored in women's magazine context. As femininity is a rather wide concept,

narrowing it into these individual factors will help me conduct a more nuanced and detailed analysis. In order to examine the above-mentioned aspects, I will focus my analysis on the motivations behind the exercise, as well as the physical appearance and body image of the women in the articles. Analysing agency, on the other hand, will reveal whether women are depicted as active or passive participants in the act of exercising. Examining these above traits in the texts and images will then allow me to determine, whether the representations of the women in the articles represent traditional or resistant femininity. This, in turn, will give valuable insights into the ideology of femininity endorsed by the magazines' web portals.

The second research question focuses on comparing the findings of the analysis of the two magazines. More specifically, here I will evaluate my results and consider, whether any generalizations can be made about the way women and exercise are portrayed in these magazines' online portals in terms of the societal values and ideals of femininity.

In sum, the purpose of this analysis will be to discover what kind of femininity is represented in the online articles and whether exercise is depicted as a tool for reaching specific physical goals or as a healthy lifestyle choice or, rather likely, as both. With the help of these research questions, I will be able to analyse the relationship between femininity and exercise in the online portals of *Glamour* and *Brigitte* magazines in both a detailed and extensive way.

4.2 The Selection and Collection of the Present Data

The study will be carried out by analysing the online contents of the two largest women's lifestyle magazines in the USA and Germany. The magazines I chose for further examination are *Glamour* (US) and *Brigitte* (GER). *Glamour* is actually the second largest women's magazine in the US. *Cosmopolitan* is the largest women's lifestyle magazine in the US, but because its contents are more focused on fashion and sex, *Glamour* is a better point of reference with a similar content and target audience.

Furthermore, *Cosmopolitan* was rejected as a source of data, because I wanted the print versions of the magazines to have an exercise related column. This was important in that it allows me to define exercise as a part of the magazines' central concepts. Although my focus is on the web articles, it is reasonable to assume that women reading the exercise columns in print magazines may also want to search the online portal for supplementary content. This way I can assume that the relationship between femininity and exercise portrayed in the web content is more likely to represent the magazine's ideology of femininity, rather than being a separate entity if the content is similarly edited for both digital and print versions. Considering this, the contents of *Glamour* and *Brigitte* seemed to be more alike than the contents of *Cosmopolitan* compared to *Brigitte*, since both their print versions include an exercise-oriented column. Even though *Brigitte* targets a wider audience in terms of the readers' age range than *Glamour*, the difference is less significant when examining web content, since readers of online content tend to be younger than the readers of print versions of magazines (Karan et al. 2016). Since producing online content always differs from the production of print content to a certain extent, the two magazines are comparable even though there may be small differences in the target demographics of their print versions.

As there were many possibilities to choose from, considering the scope of this study, I had to narrow the selection of data considerably. I chose *Brigitte* and *Glamour* as the data of my study for two main reasons. Firstly, they both are on top of the list of the highest selling women's magazines in their respective countries. Barring the above-mentioned restrictions I set for the magazines, choosing top-selling magazines ensured that no personal preference was involved. Secondly, in order to make a comprehensive cross-national comparison, it made sense to choose two magazines from two different Western cultures. Since both magazines are market leaders, it can be assumed that they represent content that women want to read and to which they can relate. The reason I did not choose two English-speaking magazines was that I found it more sensible to compare two different magazines with original content rather than two versions of the same magazine, which have been modified for their

respective target audiences. I was curious to discover whether American and European magazine discourses would bear a resemblance to each other, because Germany and USA are both substantial economies and represent large markets for women's magazines. Next, I will introduce the two magazines in more detail.

4.2.1 Introducing *Glamour*

Glamour is an American women's magazine published by Condé Nast Publications. Its mission statement is the following:

Glamour believes in the power of women being themselves. We are unapologetically REAL – we stand with women as they do their own thing: honestly, authentically, awesomely. Across every platform, *Glamour* is the ultimate authority for the next generation of changemakers. (*Glamour* Media Kit, 2018)

Founded in 1939 in the United States, the magazine was originally called *Glamour of Hollywood*. In August 1943, the magazine changed its name to *Glamour* with the subtitle of “for the girl with the job”. The magazine features articles on fashion, beauty, sex and relationships, health, living and entertainment. Local editions of the magazine are published in numerous countries including the United Kingdom, United States, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Russia, Greece, Poland, South Africa, Brazil, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Netherlands and Mexico. In most cases, it is a monthly publication. It targets white/Caucasian women aged 18 up to 49, with the median age of the print magazine readers being 39, and 35 among the readers of *glamour.com* (*Glamour* Media Kit, 2017). The US version of *Glamour* reaches an average paid circulation of 2,314,203 (Alliance for Audited Media, 2016, accessed 7 June 2017) and according to their own statistics, *Glamour* has a digital audience of 11,2 million users and over 14 million followers across different social media platforms (*Glamour* Media Kit 2017). *Glamour* also organises the annual Women of the Year awards, as well the annual College Women of the Year awards (*Glamour* Media Kit, 2018).

4.2.2 Introducing *Brigitte*

Brigitte is the largest women's magazine of Germany, with an average paid circulation

of around 395,000 and an estimated readership of 2,69 million (*Brigitte Portfolio*, 2018). The magazine was first published in 1886 under the name *Das Blatt der Hausfrau* ('Housewife's Journal' in English). The magazine was relaunched in 1949 and was renamed and relaunched as *Brigitte* in 1954. *Brigitte* is described as a unique media brand in its profile:

BRIGITTE has been the leading medium for women in Germany for over 60 years. Magazines come and go. BRIGITTE stays. Around 2,69 million women read BRIGITTE – that is the highest coverage in the competition across all age groups. The success can be explained: Our readers have a close relationship with BRIGITTE. The magazine is honest to them, it touches them and supports them. By doing that, it fills the most important job of a media brand: it creates trust. And this trust is transferred to the brands which advertise in the magazine. (translated from Grüner + Jahr, 2018)

Brigitte is published every two weeks by Grüner + Jahr. The magazine launched its website in April 1997. The online portal, *brigitte.de*, has 6.76 million unique visitors monthly (*Brigitte Portfolio*, 2016). According to the publisher, it is one of the leading web portals for women. It consists of similarly themed content as the magazine, covering categories such as fashion, beauty, cooking, health, relationships, family and lifestyle. The target audience of *Brigitte* magazine consists of women aged 20 to 49. *Brigitte* also has several sub-magazines, such as *Brigitte MOM* for mothers and women hoping to have children and *Brigitte Woman* for women over 40 years old.

4.2.3 Data Collection

The data was collected from the internet portals of *Glamour* and *Brigitte* magazines. Since the two portals have differing divisions for their exercise related articles and keyword searches in different languages might not produce comparable results, while simultaneously unintentionally restricting available content, I decided to select my data under the umbrella category related to health, which both of the online portals contain. On *glamour.com* the main category *Wellness* covers subcategories *Workout*, *Healthy Recipes*, *Sexual Health* and *Healthy Living*, which made it fairly straightforward to distinguish exercise related articles from other articles. However, on *brigitte.de* the corresponding category for health, *Gesund* ('healthy' in English), is divided into several sub categories, some of which contain overlapping content with each other.

Particularly the exercise related articles were spread over several categories, so it was reasonable to examine all categories simultaneously to avoid overlooking essential data. The subcategories under the category *Gesund* covered a range of subjects such as *Abnehmen* ('weight loss'), *Yoga und Balance*, *Ernährung* ('nutrition'), *Gesundheit* ('health'), *Natürlich heilen* ('healing naturally'), *Stress bewältigen* ('coping with stress'), *Gesundheits-Tests* ('health tests'), *Gesundheit im Forum* ('health discussion forum'), *Figur im Forum* ('shape/figure discussion forum') and some changing sponsored categories such as *Schnupfen - Adieu!* ('Cold - Good riddance!') at the time of the data collection. My criteria for selecting articles for analysis was that they were focused on exercise, sports or working out. I did not include articles featuring weight loss, unless they were exercise-oriented and weight loss was not the main focus of the article.

My overall data consisted of 45 articles from *glamour.com* and 45 articles from *brigitte.de*. Examining a large data sample allowed a better understanding of recurring patterns and trends in the articles. Articles from both *glamour.com* and *brigitte.de* dated primarily between 2016 and 2017.

4.3 Analytic Methods and Procedures

As mentioned above, the aim of this study is to examine how women, femininity, and exercise are represented in the magazine texts and images. This means looking at the agency women are given, the motives the women have for exercising and the body types the women represent. In this chapter, I will explain and introduce the analytic methods and procedures used to analyse these three aspects.

Since my data is rather large, and it would be impossible to discuss each article individually, I will begin by reading the articles and determining the approach each article takes to exercise. Taking into account the general nature of women's magazines discussed above in Chapter 3, likely approaches can, for example, include instructing the reader, introducing workouts favoured by celebrities, or reporting on new exercise trends. Then, I will choose three typical representatives from each article category. Analysing typical examples from each category will allow me an access to a wider

variety of depictions of femininity than analysing a randomly selected data sample would, as it is possible that the different article categories may represent women and construct femininity in differing ways. Next, I will explain the analytical steps and procedures for the actual analysis.

Firstly, I will examine agency in order to determine whether women are represented as passive or active in relation to exercising. As one way of examining women's agency in text is through syntax, texts can reveal a great deal about the way women are viewed and how they are represented. Traditionally, women are not expected to appear as too powerful or threatening, or give direct commands to others, because it is considered masculine behaviour and thus "unattractive" and "unfeminine" (Williams, 2012: 5). Lakoff (in Lakoff and Bucholtz, 2004: 40) suggest that the reason for this is that girls and women are possibly socialised into not using "rough" language like boys and men do. Instead, they are encouraged to talk like women: politely, indirectly, and hedging their opinions by using, for example, tag questions and "empty" adjectives such as charming, sweet and lovely (Lakoff and Bucholtz, 2004).

I will analyse agency by applying Williams' (2012) adaptation of Goffman's (1981) "production format". Fundamentally, the production format offers an instrument for assessing who produces words in a certain written or spoken circumstances, who constructs them and who is represented by the words in question. Although Goffman's production format is generally used to assess various roles in either written or spoken interactive situations, it can be paralleled to function in agency analysis as, for example, Al Zidjaly (2009) and Williams (2012) have shown. Williams' adaptation of the production format divides women agents into agent-principals, agent-instigators and agent-executors. She bases her three types of agents on Goffman's animator, author and principal² to create a model, which allows the analysis of verbs carrying agency/action on different levels:

² Goffman's production format describes **animator** as a sounding box through which utterances are made, **author** as the creator of words uttered by the animator and **principal** as the body whose beliefs

The **agent-principal** carries the conviction and full volition for the action of the verb; **the agent-instigator** selects and initiates the actions; **the agent-executor** is the body in motion that executes the actions directed. (Williams, 2012: 58)

As agent-principal carries the “the conviction and full volition for the action of the verb”, in syntax it can be determined as the agent of the finite verb. For example, in the sentence *Paula runs 10 kilometres every day*, *Paula* is in control, meaning she is the agent of the finite verb *run*. Since agent-instigators give, select and guide actions for others, they can be distinguished by the advising nature of words. For example, the sentence *Lauren teaches Diane the right weightlifting technique* shows *Lauren* as the agent-instigator, giving advice to *Diane* and guiding her actions. On the other hand, *Diane* is the agent-executor, the one actually doing the action directed by the agent-instigator *Lauren*. Agent-executors are not always directly indicated by texts, since they are sometimes hidden behind, for example, imperatives. In the sentence *Keep your core tight and lift with your legs* no apparent executors are present but based on the context and syntactic clues the agent-executor can be determined as *you*.

Goffman’s production model is a powerful analytic tool, as it offers a way to examine various participant roles and more importantly, it shows the speaker, or agent in the case of the present study, as a complex entity capable of animating various actions and characters as well as reacting to them as the situation progresses (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004: 240). However, as Goffman’s model has some limitations, such as restricting participation mostly to a stream of speech or text and recognising only the speaker/agent as a cognitive entity leaving other participants in the background (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004: 222-225), it could thus not be applied to some meaningful instances of representing the woman’s agency in terms of activity and passivity. Thus, the textual analysis will be supported by an examination of other verbal clues and semantic choices, which would otherwise not fall under the Goffman’s framework. Such instances could for example include using clausal constituents to diminish the woman’s agency by making the woman an object instead

are represented by the words uttered by the animator. (Goffman, 1981)

of a subject, or diminishing the woman's agency in the background by emphasising the action itself. Including these kinds of situations in the agency analysis will allow examining women's agency beyond direct communicational circumstances and will elaborate on the role of the magazine producers as distributors of agency. In addition to textual analysis, the analysis of agency will be supported by image analysis.

The image analysis will be conducted by applying Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) concept of 'visual grammar', which will allow me to examine the participants and their action in the images. In other words, I will examine whether the woman, or the 'participant', depicted in the images is 'doing' or 'being'. *Doing* refers to action, such as running or lifting weights. *Being*, in turn, depicts the woman as passive by picturing her for example sitting down, leaning, or tying her shoes. Such instances can be analysed by examining 'vectors', which Kress and van Leeuwen use to describe visual verbs, which are, as the name suggests, visual equivalents of verbs. Machin (2007: 164) explains that in images different vectors indicating direction of force or motion can be represented by visual elements such as limbs, gaze, or implied movement. Additionally, the composition and the cultural symbols, such as clothing or physical signs of motion, in the images can convey messages about the participant and the action (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007: 130).

Secondly, by conducting a textual analysis separate from the agency analysis, I will focus on the motives for exercising depicted by women in the magazine articles. This will allow me to determine the type of feminine ideology that is constructed through engagement in exercise - traditional or resistant. To this end, I will look at clauses and semantic clues stating whether women are, for example, aiming for a healthier and stronger body or whether the motivation stems from a desire to attain a physically more attractive body.

Finally, I will determine what kinds of body types the women in the magazines represent and which body types are most conspicuously promoted to the reader. In order to form a concrete image of the body type trends in the magazines, I will conduct a quantitative analysis of the different body types represented in the magazines by

determining how each body type is represented in numbers. To complement the findings on visual representations, I will conduct a textual analysis to find out what characteristics and attitudes are associated with the female body in order to not only see how often certain body types are represented but also to determine *how* they are represented. Again, I will focus on various lexical and semantical choices, such as adjectives, which either directly or indirectly refer to body size and type. Additionally, I will determine whether the body type trends in the magazines are more inclined to promote traditional feminine body ideals (thin, toned, curvy, no visible muscles) or resistant feminine body ideals (strong, muscular).

Drawing on the findings based on these three factors and applying Williams' definition of traditional and resistant femininity (discussed in Chapter 3.2.1) I will determine, whenever applicable, whether the construction of femininity in the web articles encodes traditional or resistant views of femininity.

5 ANALYSIS

In this section, I will introduce and discuss the findings of my analysis of the fitness articles on *brigitte.de* and *glamour.com* web sites. For the sake of clarity, I have translated the German examples to English. I have attempted to follow the original message and syntactic phenomena as well as possible while at the same time producing a good translation. However, at times it was necessary to translate more literally in order to describe the relevant syntactic or lexical meanings properly. This occasionally resulted in slightly unconventional English translations.

5.1 Categorisation in the Web Portals

Reading and examining the articles revealed that, as expected, there are a few different approaches the magazines take to exercise. Since my sample of articles was quite large, it was easy to notice which approaches recurred most often. From these recurring approaches to exercise, I was able to form five categories, which varied only slightly between the magazines. I then chose three typical article representatives from each of the five categories for closer examination. Next, I will introduce and discuss the respective categorisations in *Glamour* and *Brigitte*.

5.1.1 Article Categories in *Glamour* Web Articles

Within my data sample of *Glamour* articles, the most prominent categories were *workout guides*, *celebrity fitness*, *role models*, *fitness reportages* and a category which I termed '*quick and easy*'. Workout guides were, as the name of the category suggests, advisory articles on different home workouts. Celebrity fitness articles featured various famous people, such as Hollywood actors and singers who were mostly women, either as a source of workout inspiration or as an instructing party. The category '*role models*' consisted of various articles portraying women, who for one reason or another could be considered positive examples for other women in topics related to exercise, body image and attitude. These women had, for example, overcome difficulties and were nevertheless accomplished athletes, were capable of

intense or difficult athletic performances, or otherwise spread a positive, empowering attitude towards the female body and exercise. Fitness reportages were editorial articles where the reporters of *Glamour* tested various new, trendy sports or sports equipment, and shared their experiences with the reader. Ultimately, these articles were highly commercial, promoting new services and goods for the readers. The last category I named 'quick and easy', because it contained articles which focused on finding the easiest solutions to staying healthy and shaping one's body with minimal effort yet still receiving maximal results.

Table 1 below shows the categorisation of the most prominent article types in *Glamour*. Workout guides were the largest group (n=14; 31%). This is not surprising, since exercise-related articles tend to be prescriptive in nature. As discussed above, a defining characteristic of women's magazines is advising their readers in all aspects of life, including exercise. Thus, it is natural for advisory articles to form the largest category among exercise-related articles as well. Articles about celebrity fitness were also well represented, with 22% (n=10) of the articles drawing on celebrities for inspiration. Different reports, or more accurately advertisements, on new fitness experiences and equipment also formed a rather significant category (n=8; 18%). Articles about finding easy solutions for exercising (n=7; 16%) and articles featuring stories about inspiring women (n=6; 13%) were both rather equally represented.

Table 1. Prominent article categories in *Glamour* web articles.

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	PERCENTAGE %
Workout Guides	14	31
Celebrity Fitness	10	22
Fitness Reportage	8	18
Quick and Easy	7	16
Role Models	6	13
Articles in total	45	100

Each article was assigned one primary category based on its main focus. However, many of the articles had secondary foci from the other categories. For example, celebrities and their exercise routines were often featured in the articles, even though the primary focus was on, for example, offering the reader a guide for a particular workout.

In sum, the categorisation of *Glamour's* articles indicates that *Glamour's* approaches to exercise emphasises the magazine's position as a kind of authoritative figure to the reader. Additionally, *Glamour's* articles are characterised by the promotion of both material and immaterial possessions to the reader. Material possessions include the concrete equipment advertised to the reader, and immaterial possessions consist of the exercise experiences and the fantasy of a better self promoted by the magazine. Also notable, although to a lesser extent, is *Glamour's* way of introducing inspiring women to the reader. On the one hand, it could be argued that these success stories are also a way of motivating the reader to pursue a better self through exercise, as one of the messages that these articles convey is that if other women have achieved good things through hard work and positive attitude despite facing hardship, then the reader should be able to do it as well. On the other hand, many of the articles featuring women as role models also contained a message about self-love and self-acceptance, thus contradicting the approaches of the other categories promoting the pursuit of a better self. Another contradictory category was 'quick and easy', which focused on promoting ways to avoid exercise or to do it with minimum effort. Although this category was one of the smallest categories, its message nevertheless contrasts the most notable categories promoting workout instructions and celebrity inspiration.

5.1.2 Article Categories in *Brigitte* Web Articles

Articles from the *Brigitte* online portal were selected from the category "*Gesund*" ('healthy'). 45 articles were again randomly chosen and divided into categories based on their primary approach to exercise. Again, I was able to distinguish five categories: *workout guide*, *celebrity fitness*, '*quick and easy*', *role models*, and *post-pregnancy fitness*. Workout guides contained advice on working out at home or at the gym. The category

'quick and easy' consisted of articles looking for simple solutions to get fit and healthy, and the category 'role models' portrayed inspiring stories of women and their accomplishments in sports or their empowering messages about the female body. Celebrity fitness articles featured various famous people as a source of fitness inspiration. Instead of Hollywood celebrities and famous singers, *Brigitte* almost exclusively portrayed famous fitness bloggers and Instagram celebrities. Although they might not be known to a wider audience, most of them have as many as hundreds of thousands of followers directly across different social media platforms. Thus, as they are similarly idolised, it is justified to consider them comparable to traditional celebrities in this study. Another prominent category in *Brigitte* was post-pregnancy fitness articles. A distinctive characteristic of this category was the portrayal of fitness aficionados', models' or celebrities' fast recoveries back to their pre-pregnancy body shape shortly after childbirth.

As Table 2 below indicates, instructive workout guide articles formed the most prominent category with 62% (n=28) of the 45 articles examined. Articles offering quick and easy ways to exercise and sensational stories about bouncing back after pregnancy both formed 11% (n=5) of the data. Articles with an empowering or inspiring message were a similarly sized category, consisting of 9% (n=4) of the articles. 'Celebrity fitness' was the smallest category consisting of 20% (n=9) of the articles. However, as the articles in *Brigitte* also had secondary foci, celebrities were featured in many of the articles, whose main focus was initially something else, such as instructing the reader to workout. Thus, celebrities were featured more often than the categorisation implies.

Table 2. Prominent article categories in *Brigitte* web articles.

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF ARTICLES	PERCENTAGE %
Workout Guides	28	62
Quick and Easy	5	11
Post-pregnancy Fitness	5	11
Role Models	4	9
Celebrity Fitness	3	7
Articles in total	45	100

In sum, the categorisation of *Brigitte* revealed that the magazine's main approach to exercise is offering the reader prescriptive articles on various workouts. This indicates the magazine's authoritative position to the reader. Although workout guides formed the largest category, it is worth noting that rest of the categories, 'quick and easy', 'post-pregnancy fitness', 'role models' and 'celebrity fitness', were all rather equally represented, thus placing equal emphasis on avoiding exercise, quickly bouncing back after pregnancy, inspiring and empowering women, and celebrity examples. These categories form a rather conflicted image of *Brigitte's* approach to exercise. On the one hand, *Brigitte* offers the reader positive and empowering role models and ways to leave exercise to a minimum but on the other hand, it promotes the reader extreme bodily transformations after childbirth and ideal bodies in the form of celebrities.

5.2 Women's Agency in the Magazines

In this chapter, I will introduce my findings about the representation of women's agency in the magazines. First, I will present and discuss my findings in the *Glamour* magazine and then do the same for *Brigitte*. As discussed in Chapter 4.3, my analytic method follows Williams' (2012) adaptation of Goffman's (1981) production format by dividing the female agents discussed in the articles into agent-principals, agent-instigators and agent-executors. Additionally, I will consider other ways in which

women are framed to appear either as passive or active. This includes, for example, looking at how women and exercise are represented on a clausal level. In other words, is the woman the subject, the object, or altogether left in the background in sentences describing action. Additionally, the way the woman's effort is framed indicates whether the woman is seen as active or passive. Also, I will examine the images in the articles to see whether they support or contradict the findings of my textual analysis.

5.2.1 Agency in *Glamour*

This chapter explains how the three different agent roles manifested in *Glamour*. I will discuss the agentive representations through typical textual examples. Then, I will examine the visual verbs in the images and analyse, how they represent women as agents.

Women as Agent-principals

As discussed above in Chapter 4.3, the agent-principal is the subject of the finite verb. This position also indicates that the agent has the freedom of choice and power to control their actions. Despite being subjects of finite verbs, agent-principals were rather scarcely represented in *Glamour*. This can possibly be explained by direct human subjects in clauses being used sparingly, as it might make the text appear clumsy. In the following examples, women are controlling their own actions and acting voluntarily, thus being represented as *agent-principals*:

- (1) Bosio, 31, regularly runs races that range in distance from 50 to 100 miles.
- (2) These days Stanley teaches yoga in Durham, North Carolina.
- (3) The first thing I noticed on my test run was that I was moving a little faster than I do in my go-to sneakers.

Verbs *runs*, *teaches*, *noticed* and *moving* above show the subjects, i.e. women, governing the action they describe. The women are in control of initiating their own action; no one is helping or instructing them. Moreover, in examples (1) and (2) the women are

shown as powerful or having authority. As running ultramarathons is sport rather than exercise, as it is competitive in nature, it is thus associated with reproducing masculine characteristics, as success in sport can be seen as success in masculinity (Davis and Weaving, 2010: 1). Running for 50 to 100 miles at once requires a great deal of stamina, competitiveness, dedication and the ability to repress one's physical pain as well as emotions, all of which are considered masculine characteristics and thus indicate resistant femininity. Teaching, on the other hand, requires being innovative and authoritative, both of which also refer to being assertive and self-confident. These are all traits associated with the instrumental and agentive properties valued in resistant femininity, as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1. While example (3) also shows the woman as an active agent-principal who coordinates her own action, the verbs *noticed* and *was moving* are neutral compared to the verbs and their contexts in example (2) and (3), as *noticed* merely describes a sensory experience and *was moving* is a rather detached way of describing running. Whereas the other two examples suggest resistant femininity by portraying the women as strong, determined and domineering, example (3) encodes resistant femininity only to the extent of the woman being an independent and active operator.

Women as Agent-instigators

As *agent-instigators* women are responsible for giving and selecting instructions, as well as guiding actions of others. Since such actions indicate leadership and power, agent-instigators generally represent resistant femininity. Women as agent-instigators were also rather scarcely represented, but this can be easily explained. For women to appear as agent-instigators, indirect speech is required, which in a magazine context is generally used, for example, in interviews. As such articles were rather scarce compared to articles where the magazine directly addresses the reader, the occurrence of women as agent-instigators was also low. In the next examples, the agent-instigators can be detected as someone telling the reader what to do and how:

- (4) "Minding your muscle is key with this move – do not use momentum," says Stokes.

- (5) Don't try to direct the fall, *she suggests*; you're more likely to get injured that way.
- (6) "The trick is to jump low, barely off the floor – you only have to jump as high as the rope is thick," *explains Kloots*.

The agent-instigators (*Stokes, she, Kloots*) act as mentors or guides to readers, controlling and guiding their actions. Simultaneously, they are, to some extent, responsible for modelling behaviour for others (minding muscles, not using momentum, directing the fall, jumping), as well as their own role as directors of those actions. This means that in the position of instigator, the women are acting out of their own volition, much like agent-principals. Additionally, they are responsible for having the required knowledge to instruct others and delivering the instructions appropriately, as well as activating others. Thus, the women in examples (4)-(6) represent resistant femininity, as their actions (giving advice and commands, explaining) echo stereotypically masculine traits associated with the notion of resistant femininity, since they assert the women's authority as experts. However, the verb *suggest* in example (5) also contradicts and thus hedges and softens the direct command "don't try to direct the fall". This in turn also encodes traditional femininity, as the woman seems to mediate between her own words and thus seems more polite and less assertive.

Women as Agent-executors

Agent-executors refer to women performing exercise activities. In other words, agent-executors are the 'bodies in motion', the ones performing the physical activity. Sometimes the agent-executor is not directly indicated, but it can be deduced from the clausal context, for example from the use of the grammatical case or subject in question, and the fact that the articles are written for a specific audience. Therefore, agent-executors were the most conspicuously represented agent role in *Glamour*. Demonstrating the indirect appearances of agent-executors, the examples below show how the imperative, which was very common in instructive articles, reveals that the agent-executor is the reader:

- (7) *Keep* your upper body and head relaxed on the floor. *Draw* your navel toward your spine, *press* your low back into the floor, and *perform* a tip of your hips (*think* up, not over). *Do* 15 reps.
- (8) *Combine* their moves for one killer workout – *shoot* for 3 sets of 10 reps for each exercise.
- (9) Wong gifted us with four ultra-effective moves; *do* them daily (and *aim* for one high-, one medium-, and one low-intensity 30- to 60-minute cardio session each week).

Although it is not explicitly stated who will be performing the suggested actions (*keep, draw, press, do, shoot, aim*), the magazine context allows the assumption that the executor is the reader. Although the reader is in control of the verb's action in a similar manner as an agent-principal, the precondition of acting voluntarily is not fulfilled, since agent-executors are responding to others' requests and acting based on their instruction. Executive agency combines both resistant and traditional femininity: Although the women are controlling their action to the extent of choosing to engage in it, they are nevertheless submitting to being controlled by the instructors which in examples (7)-(9) are either the magazine or a fitness expert speaking through the magazine. Thus, the women are not in control of the **full** volition of the action and thus executive agency can be considered lesser than principal agency. A similar phenomenon occurs when the pronoun *you* is used to refer to the reader and it is the subject of a sentence:

- (10) Bosio says *you* don't have to sweat for that long to get a good workout in – *you* just have to make the most of your time.
- (11) If *you* notice it's difficult to make your muscles pop no matter how much *you* squat, *you* may want to scale back the weights.
- (12) The lower *you* go, the harder *you* work your core.

In the above examples, *you* is technically an agent-principal, because it is the subject of the finite verb and controls its own action. However, since the hypothetical women *you* refers to submit to orders from the magazine and trainers, they do not act out of their full volition. Naturally, the reader, or *you*, in real life has the option to ignore the

directives, but the non-interactive representation discussed here seemingly leaves the reader without this option. The agent-instigators in the above sentence are *Bosio* and, although not explicitly stated, the other trainers giving advice for the articles. They are controlling and modifying the action for the agent-principal *you*. Since the women referred to by *you* comply with the requests of the instructor, they represent the dependent and submissive traits associated with traditional femininity, as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1.

To summarise, all three agent roles were present in *Glamour*, although women were most prominently represented as agent-executors, and agent-principals and agent-instigators shared a similarly scarce representation. A reason for the manifestations of all agent roles can be explained by the surrounding magazine context, which sets certain limitations to the language use, and thus affects the agent roles women are assigned by the magazine.

Other Ways of Portraying Women's Agency

Glamour represents women also in ways that could not be analysed using William's adaptation of Goffman's (1981) production format, although the representations were closely related to the phenomenon. Women's agency was also indicated by other verbal clues and semantic choices referring to the women's status as either active or passive participants in the act of exercising.

For instance, a common instance of word choices in exercise-related articles emphasise the active role of the exercise, leaving the woman and her effort in the background. This means that women are represented as targets or recipients of action, rather than as active participants in the exercise, as examples (13)-(15) indicate. Hard work is thus masked by describing the exercise or workout itself, rather than the woman's active role in it. Some clauses imply that, without any physical effort, women would still be the beneficiaries of the action, meaning that they would get physical results without actually doing any of the work themselves, although it is obvious that the woman is required to be an active part of the action in order for anything to happen.

- (13) *This 10 Minute Workout Will Change Your Body*
- (14) *"Planks work more of your core than your typical sit-up, as they tone not only the front but also the sides and back"*
- (15) *This move also tones the arms and shoulders*

Above clauses (13)-(15) are typical examples of the language used in fitness articles. It is a natural feature of English to substitute a verb and noun combination with just a noun (*doing this move tones* vs. *this move tones*), since it is more effective in that it requires fewer words. However, using only noun phrases, which do not refer to the woman as the subject of a clause places the woman in a conflicting position in terms of agency. In the above examples, the subject of the finite verb is not the woman doing the exercising, but the move itself (*this 10 minute workout, planks, this move*). The woman and her body parts appear as an object or target of the verb. Hiding agency in this way diminishes the work done by the woman as it makes her appear a passive recipient of the action, although she in reality is the one executing the action and doing the exercise. Depicting women as passive and minimising their work represents traditional femininity because women have been seen traditionally as the weaker sex, and depicting them in physically demanding actions can be stereotypically interpreted as unfeminine, as physical labour has stereotypically masculine connotations and being strong is one of the key notions of being masculine (see for example Williams et al. 1999: 519; Eagly and Steffen, 1984: 736).

Other ways to minimise the woman's effort was to focus on the results of the workout instead of the process:

- (16) *"You'll see and feel results almost immediately"*
- (17) *-- you'll have a tight, toned body by Valentine's Day.*

By focusing on the results of exercise, the action in examples (16) and (17) is diminished and along with it, the hard work required to achieve said results is masked. Moreover, the use of future tense in the examples indicates certainty that the

results will be achieved, thus also belittling the amount of work needed. Although the agent-principal in the above sentences is *you*, the verbs (*see, feel, have*) do not refer to physical action, but rather place the woman in the position of sensing the change happening **to** her, not **by** her. Another similar way to mitigate the work done by the woman was to use verbs, such as *help*, which imply that the magazine's or trainers' involvement and advice will lessen the amount of work required for shaping her body:

- (18) So do you just pick up a rope and start jumping? Well, you definitely can, but to *help* you get started, we asked Kloots to share a workout with us that anyone can do.
- (19) To *help* you tone those muscles, we asked top trainers to share what they consider the best ab exercises of all time.

Moreover, example (18) shows a slightly condescending attitude towards the woman and her abilities to do something as simple as skipping rope. Instead of letting the woman just start skipping rope, an activity also described by the article as a children's playground activity, the magazine wants to "help" the woman "get started" with some workout advice, even though the workout they offer is something "anyone can do", indicating that the woman needs support in the simplest of actions. Suggesting that the woman needs help in this matter makes the woman seem helpless and dependant, thus encoding traditional femininity. On the other hand, because a children's playground activity has been transformed into a professionalised form of exercise, the advice seems more justified. Getting help from others also emphasises the communal nature of traditional femininity. Similarly, in example (19) the magazine offers to help the woman "tone those muscles" by asking advice from trainers. Implicitly, the magazine is taking credit for the woman's work, although she is the one who needs to engage in the exercise physically.

To summarise, outside the agent roles, women's agency in *Glamour* is rather limited. This manifests in three prominent ways. Firstly, emphasising the role of exercise and depicting exercise as the subject in a sentence diminishes the woman's work in the

action and pushes her into the background, although she is the one who does the work. Secondly, when articles focus on the result of the exercise, the woman's agency is again mitigated. Thirdly, when the magazine offers the woman help in performing the activity, her agency and the role of her physical work is reduced while the magazine's role is emphasised.

Women's Agency in Images in Glamour

To get a more comprehensive idea of the way women are portrayed visually in *Glamour*, I analysed the images in all of the 45 *Glamour* articles. This way, I was able to make more reliable observations of the patterns in the data than if had only analysed the visual representations in the articles chosen for the textual analysis. In addition to images, *Glamour* uses Instagram content, YouTube videos and GIF-animations to illustrate their articles. However, as all of the YouTube-videos within my data are either clips from popular television programmes, campaign videos for advertisements, or otherwise unrelated to exercise, I will not discuss them further, as they can be considered irrelevant for the purposes of this study. *Glamour* also produces their own animated content in the form of stop motion animations. However, since the animations consisted of sequential photographs, they were counted as images, as they were ultimately similar to the series of instructional photos, which depicted different phases of movement in sequential images. In the case of stationary poses, such as yoga poses, which require effort and strength, the women were considered to be active.

Compared to the textual examples, the images in the magazine provided a different view of agency. As Table 3 below shows, the majority (58%; n=52) of the women in images in *Glamour's* web articles are depicted as active participants in exercise. 42% (n=37) of the women are portrayed as either posing or otherwise inactive.

Table 3. *Glamour*: Women's activity in images.

	NUMBER OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE %
Woman active	52	58
Woman passive	37	42
Women in images in total	89	100

Many of *Glamour's* articles use the magazine's own original photos, specifically shot for that occasion. These, in addition to the rest of the visual representations, such as the Instagram photos, stock photos and editorial photos, offer relevant material for the purposes of this analysis. Next, I will discuss these typical visual images, which *Glamour* uses to illustrate their fitness articles and how they convey meanings about women's agency.

In many cases, the women in the images are showing the reader what to do and how to do it (images 1 and 2). Thus, they can be considered agent-instigators, as they are modelling behaviour for others (the reader), as well as agent-principals, since they are in control of the action and act out of their own volition. The images are used as support for the verbal instructions in the articles. Moreover, as the women featured in the photos are typically qualified fitness instructors, they have authority and responsibility over the reader and her safe and correct performance of the exercise. When engaged in hard physical work and being in control of their action, the women in images represent resistant femininity, because physical strength and assertiveness are stereotypically masculine traits associated with resistant femininity, as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1.



Image 1. Instructional image: trainer giving advice.



Image 2. Stop motion animation of Glamour's fitness reporter giving the reader instructions.

In some of the images, in which the women are posing, it was implied that either they are about to begin their workout or performance or that they have already completed it (image 3). This is indicated by several factors. Firstly, the women in these images are mostly “real” women photographed in their natural exercise environment, instead of models in stock photos, which decreases the chance of the photo being a framed one. Secondly, the women exhibit physical signs of exertion, such as sweatiness, messy hair and redness of the face, whereas the models in stock photos do not. Finally, the images of these women are generally featured in articles which focus specifically on these women’s particular exercise stories. Although the woman had in some cases possibly already participated in the exercise or was about to do so, the photos nevertheless depict them as only **reporting** the results of the hard work, thus hiding the actual work in the background and making the women seem more passive than they in reality are.



Image 3. Singer Pink's gym selfie.



Image 4. Stock photo of a woman posing passively.

Another typical example of women posing were stock photos, in which the women's only purpose is to **look** athletic, not actually **do** anything athletic, as Image 4 shows. The only reference to exercise in this photo is made via the woman's athletic clothing and the fact that she seems to be sitting on an exercise or a yoga mat. When an image of a woman is used only in a decorative purpose to illustrate an article, it could be argued that it objectifies the woman, because she does not fulfil any other purpose besides being an ornamental accessory to the accompanying text. In image 4, for example, the woman in the photo is not interacting with the viewer, who in this case is the reader. The lack of engagement with the reader makes the woman become the object of the viewer's gaze. Since the woman is looking somewhere to her side, or perhaps even has her eyes closed, she seems less assertive than as she would if she would look directly at the viewer. Thus, by being passive and submissive, she represents traditional femininity, as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1.

In sum, the majority women (58%; n=52) in *Glamour's* images are depicted as active, which to some extent challenges the textual examples depicting women as passive. In many cases, the women receive their agency from the magazine as they appear in

instructive images, thus making them agent-instigators. In passive visual representations, the woman are often depicted posing before or after exercise, or merely for illustrative purposes, such as in the case of stock photos. Thus, although exercise and physical activity is referenced in the images, the women nevertheless look passive.

5.2.2 Agency in *Brigitte*

The division of women agents into agent-principals, agent-instigators and agent-executors was also present in the *Brigitte* articles. Next, I will discuss how the division manifested itself and how it affected the way women's agency was represented in the textual and visual examples.

Women as Agent-principals

Brigitte offers many examples of women as agent-principals and they are well represented in relation to the other two agent roles. In most cases, the agent-principals are visible due to the fact that *Brigitte* publishes most interviews as a direct dialogue between the magazine and the interviewee, thus minimising indirect speech. The following sentences represent typical examples of clauses, where women are in control of the action they are performing and act out of their own volition:

- (20) An den Tagen, wo er nicht schlafen wollte, habe ich ihn entweder zugucken lassen oder abends *trainiert*, wenn beide Jungs schon im Bett waren.
On the days he wouldn't sleep I either let him watch or I worked out in the evening, when both boys were already in bed.
- (21) Bloggerin Kate *nimmt* euch mit auf ihre Wanderungen oder Skitouren in den Bergen, *läuft* Marathon --
Blogger Kate takes you along to her hikes and ski trips in the mountains, runs marathons --
- (22) Immerhin *hob* Sophie auch noch mit XXL-Babykugel schwere Gewichte.
Sophie lifted heavy weights even with an XXL size baby bump.

Verbs such as *trainiert*, *nimmt*, *läuft* and *hob* ('worked out', 'takes', 'runs', 'lifted') show

the subjects of these finite verbs, i.e. the women, being in control of their action without anyone instructing or guiding them. This suggests independence and authority, which in turn demonstrate resistant femininity, because these traits are stereotypically associated with masculinity. Verbs *trainiert*, *läuft* and *hob* depict the women as active operators in physically demanding actions. Having and gaining more physical strength is again a stereotypically masculine feature, which encodes resistant femininity, as discussed in Chapter 3.2.1. Furthermore, the examples depict the women as having agentive properties, such as being active and determined, which also refers to resistant femininity.

Women as Agent-instigators

Resistant femininity is also represented by women who are portrayed as *agent-instigators*. As they select and initiate actions for others, they are in an authoritative position, which is generally associated with resistant femininity. Agent-instigators were rather scarcely represented in *Brigitte* due to the lack of indirect speech in the articles and the small number of expert interviews. In other words, *Brigitte's* editorial concept affects the agent roles given to women. In *Brigitte*, the articles featuring experts giving advice to the reader were generally constructed as a direct dialogue between the reporter and the expert. Thus, it was difficult to find reporting verbs that would refer to women as agent-instigators. However, although generally speaking, agent-instigators are the agents of the finite verb, semantically their agency also governs verbs of initiation, which are often related to guiding others (Williams, 2012: 60). The following examples (23) and (24) show agent-instigators giving indirect advice to the reader:

- (23) Ich *würde empfehlen*, mindestens zwei Mal pro Woche mindestens 45 Minuten zu trainieren
I would recommend training for at least 45 minutes at least two times a week.
- (24) Weiter erklärt sie, warum sie *glaubt*, dass Krafttraining das bessere Workout für sie sei
She further explains, why she believes that weight training is a better workout for you.

Example (23) shows the subject *Ich* (I) as the agent of the finite modal verb *würde* ('would') and its complementary non-finite main verb *empfehlen* ('recommend'). Semantically speaking, however, the subject *Ich* also governs the action *trainieren* ('training') and how it should be done. Similarly, in example (24) the subject *sie* ('she') governs the finite verbs *erklärt* ('explains') and *glaubt* ('believes'), but what is more important in terms of instigative agency is the content of the rest of the sentence, which describes the action being guided by the agent-instigator (the reason why weight training is a better workout form). In these examples, the agent-instigators (*Ich, sie*) encode resistant femininity because they are in charge of their own instruction (recommending, explaining), as well as the action they are guiding for others (training, reasoning for weight training) and act as mentors for others, in this case the reader. However, indirect verb forms, such as the use of conditional in *würde empfehlen* ('would recommend') and the verb *glaubt* ('believes') shows the woman hedging her authority. This makes the women seem more communal and polite, thus encoding traditional femininity as well. In other words, the woman makes a compromise between using direct commands and being submissive, thus mitigating her assertiveness.

Women as Agent-executors

Agent-executors are the "bodies in motion", as Williams (2012: 61) describes the phenomenon. As explained above, agent-executors govern the verbs of action, but the actions are initiated by something or someone else, often the agent-instigator, which can be implied by, for example, embedded clauses, infinitives or simply the article context. Agent-executors were also well represented in the articles. In the following examples (25) and (26), the instigator of the action is evidenced by the imperative structures *aneinanderpressen* ('press together'), *wiederholen* ('repeat') and *versuche dich* ('try') and the context of the sentences, which leads to the conclusion that the instigator giving the orders is the magazine. Furthermore, although the executing body is also not directly visible in the following examples, the use of the imperative in the magazine context suggests that the agent-executor is the reader.

- (25) Einfach beide Handinnenflächen für rund 30 Sekunden fest aneinanderpressen – und fünf Mal wiederholen.
Simply press both of your palms tightly together for 30 seconds - and repeat five times.
- (26) Dann *versuche dich* an folgenden drei Übungen
Try these following three exercises

In examples (25) and (26), the magazine instructs how to work out. Again, the reader is the assumed “body in motion”, the agent-executor. Because the action is selected and initiated by someone else, in this case the producers of the articles, and the agent-executor is acting in answer to the requests of others, the agent-executor is less volitional and more communal than if she were the agent-principal or the agent-instigator. Another, more visible example of executive agency is the use of the pronoun *du* (‘you’) in reference to the reader:

- (27) Wenn *du* Cardio-Training machst, achtest *du* nur darauf, wie viele Kalorien *du* damit verbrennst.
When you do cardio training, you only pay attention to the amount of calories you are burning.
- (28) Mit dieser Übung förderst *du* deine Balance und trainierst deine geraden und schrägen Bauchmuskeln sowie die tief liegende Core-Muskulatur.
With this exercise you will improve your balance and train your straight abdominal muscles and obliques as well as the deep core muscles.

Syntactically, *du* (‘you’) is the agent-principal in the above examples (27) and (28), thus signifying resistant femininity by being in control of the action. However, since the woman referred to by the pronoun *du* is acting on behalf of the magazine’s requests, she is less volitional and more communal than an agent-principal. Thus, women as agent-executors encode traditional femininity as well, because they submit to orders from others and are less independent as they would be as agent-principals or agent-instigators.

To summarise, all three agent roles were present in *Brigitte*, although women were most prominently represented as agent-principals and agent-executors. Agent-instigators were rather scarcely represented due to the fact that *Brigitte* rarely uses

reporting verbs, thus minimising the chance for women to appear as the instigating party through direct textual examples. Additionally, the occurrences of women appearing as fitness experts and giving advice were rare. Instead, the role of the agent-instigator was often occupied by the magazine itself.

Other Ways of Portraying Women as Active or Passive

Brigitte portrayed women also in ways that did not directly fall under verb-based agency analysis, but which were nevertheless important indicators of the way femininity was framed in relation to sports and exercise. In other words, other verbal clues and semantic choices in addition to verbs were crucial indicators of the women's role as either active or passive participants in the exercise. In this chapter, I will analyse these other agency-related situations and discuss how they represent traditional and resistant femininity.

Women were occasionally portrayed as passive targets of exercise rather than as active participants. This was a common occurrence in all fitness-oriented articles, which on the other hand can indicate the tendency to express things effectively, with as few words and different constructions as possible. Example (29) demonstrates how in German, just as in English, it is more effective to use nouns such *Cardio* and *Krafttraining* ('weight training'), since it requires less words than forming noun phrases with verbs. On the other hand, effective language use does not exclude the fact that the participants in said exercise, in this case the women in the articles or the reader, are positioned in the background, while the exercise or action itself plays the main role.

- (29) So wirkt sich *Cardio* vs. *Krafttraining* auf den Körper aus
This is how cardio vs. weight training affects the body
- (30) Dabei streckt sich die *Wirbelsäule*, der *Brustkorb* hebt sich und macht ein schönes Dekolleté.
Spine stretches, chest lifts up and gives you a beautiful décolletage.

- (31) Die ganze Arbeit wird von den *Armen* und dem *Oberkörper* übernommen.
All the work is done by the arms and the upper body.

Whereas in example (29) the subject of the action is the exercise itself, in examples (30) and (31) the woman is distanced from the active role as she is dissected into various body parts, such as *Wirbelsäule*, *Brustkorb*, *Arme*, *Oberkörper* ('spine', 'chest', 'arms', 'upper body'). Describing the exercise from the point of view of the body gives the impression that the woman is not actively participating in the action. The subjects of the action in these cases are the abovementioned body parts, thus giving them the executive agency. Example (31) further emphasises the disconnection between the woman's effort and her body by stating that *all the work* ("Die ganze Arbeit") is done by the arms and upper body. Despite the fact that the woman is obviously the one controlling her body parts, this semantic construction makes her seem a mere passenger while the body is the active vehicle carrying out the action. Showing the woman as passive this way diminishes her work and signifies traditional femininity, since she does not appear in control of her own body. On the contrary, the woman seems dependent on her individual body parts.

Sometimes it is clear that showing women as passive was merely a language-related feature. Example (32) demonstrates a typical way of instructing the reader. Instead of addressing the reader by using the imperative form, the instructions are given in present tense:

- (32) Eure Beine *sind* während der gesamten Ausführung gebeugt, eure Füße *liegen* mit den Fersen *auf*.
Your (pl.) legs are bent during the whole performance, your feet are lying together with the heels.

Again, it could be argued that presenting the instructions in this way nevertheless takes the executive power away from the woman, making her a passive bystander as her body parts do the exercise for her. This in turn refers to traditional femininity, since the woman appears dependent and controllable.

Another significant factor in representing the women either as passive or active is the way the woman's physical efforts are framed by using certain word choices and verbs. In some cases, the woman's work was diminished. This phenomenon manifested itself in a couple of ways, which could be distinguished by certain recurring features. One of the ways in which the woman's work in exercise is mitigated is by emphasising the end-result or implying that the results could be achieved effortlessly and instantaneously:

- (33) Mit dieser *einfachen* Atemtechnik *bekommt* ihr einen flachen Bauch
With this simple breathing technique you will get a flat stomach
- (34) Mein Körperfett ist *massiv* gesunken, als ich mit dem Krafttraining
begonnen habe.
My body fat dropped massively when I started weight training.
- (35) Dann versuche dich an folgenden drei Übungen, die den
ungeliebten Hüftspeck *schon nur nach wenigen Wochen* zum
Schmelzen bringen.
*Try these following three exercises, which will melt away the disliked hip
fat only after a couple of weeks.*

Emphasising the end result hedges the amount of physical effort required to reach the promised outcome, which again distances the woman from the position in which her work is not acknowledged. In Example (33) it is suggested that one will get a flat stomach simply by breathing in a certain way. The promise is underlined with the adjective *einfach* ('simple'), which further implies that the transformation is effortless. Moreover, the use of the present tense *bekommt* ('get') implies that the result is guaranteed due to connotations suggesting certainty, which are conveyed by the present tense. Examples (34) and (35) show how certain verbs minimise the physical work by suggesting that the body will simply transform into its new form easily and rapidly. Fat is said to simply *drop* or *melt away* ('sinken', 'Schmelzen'), even though such changes in reality require committing to hard work. The simplicity of changes is further emphasised with adverbs *massiv* ('massively') and *nur* ('only'), although it is mentioned that the woman has just *started* weight training or done the exercises for *a couple of weeks*. In all of the cases the woman is naturally the one who needs to do the work of the exercise if she wishes to change her body. This is implied with expressions

such as “mit dieser Technik”, “als ich mit dem Krafttraining begonnen habe” (‘with this technique’, ‘when I started weight training’) and “versuche dich an folgenden drei Übungen” (‘try these following three exercises’), but not overtly emphasised. Another, rather similar way to hedge the woman’s effort is to suggest that she had help in achieving her new body. While the woman might have been praised for her achievement, it is simultaneously implied that her achievement is dependent on following instructions or getting help from a trainer.

- (36) Tammy Hembrows ist mit einem Fitnesstrainer verlobt. Der Vater ihres Babys hatte beim After-Baby-Body wohl definitiv die Hände im Spiel.
Tammy Hembrows is engaged to a fitness trainer. The father of her child definitely had a hand in her getting her after-baby-body.

Again, although the woman is the one doing the work required to shape her body, example (36) shows how her achievement is minimised by suggesting that she did not do the work all by herself. Merely the fact that the woman’s fiancé is a fitness trainer seems to imply that her contribution in the transformation was thus lesser since she allegedly followed instructions from him. This mitigates the volition of the woman and signifies traditional femininity, since the woman is depicted getting help from a man in an effort that requires strength and determination.

At times, women are also recognised for their hard work. Most often, acknowledging the woman’s efforts is related to their success in transforming their body into a more athletic and leaner form. As such, the appearance-oriented admiration of women suggests traditional femininity. However, as examples (37) and (38) indicate, comparing the woman’s efforts to *Rome* and pointing out that achieving a new body takes more than *three weeks* also acknowledge the demanding nature of changing one’s body.

- (37) Rom wurde nicht in einem Tag erbaut und dieser Popo auch nicht.
Rome was not built in a day and neither was this butt.

- (38) „Habt ihr einen Geheimtipp, um möglichst schnell Bikini-fit für den Sommer zu werden? - Ein gesunder, athletischer und fitter Körper entsteht nicht in den letzten drei Wochen vor Sommerbeginn.“
*“Do you have a secret tip for getting in bikini shape as fast as possible?”
 -“A healthy, athletic and fit body can’t be formed in the last three weeks before summer begins.”*

In example (37), the time and effort spent by the woman shaping her butt is emphasised by comparing the process to the massive effort of building Rome. This accentuates the woman’s commitment and determination to hard work, signifying resistant femininity as well, as ambition is a trait associated with it. Both examples (37) and (38) are quotes from fitness bloggers. The statements can be interpreted as taking credit for her own work, as well as acknowledging the hard work of others who have achieved *a healthy, athletic and fit body* (“ein gesunder, athletischer und fitter Körper”). On the other hand, the examples can also be seen as criticism towards the magazine’s attempt to promote quick fixes to weight loss and promises about achieving a new and transformed body instantaneously.

Sometimes the woman’s commitment to exercise and her achievements are represented as conflicted. Example (39) shows a conflict between simultaneously being a fitness model and a mother. On the one hand, the woman is admired for her athletic body, but on the other hand, she herself mitigates her hard work by stating that she *only* works out 3 to 4 times a week and *only* when her children are sleeping (“-- dass sie *nur* etwa 3-4 Mal pro Woche trainieren würde und *auch nur dann*, wenn ihre Rasselbande noch tief und fest schlummert”).

- (39) Die 27-Jährige versucht die Gemüter hingegen zu beruhigen und erklärt, dass sie *nur* etwa 3-4 Mal pro Woche trainieren würde und auch *nur dann*, wenn ihre Rasselbande noch tief und fest schlummert.
The 27-year-old tries to calm people and explains that she only works out 3 to 4 times a week and only when her little rascals are fast asleep.

Whereas the woman being admired for achieving a muscular body after several pregnancies encodes resistant femininity, mitigating her efforts due to her needing to

prove that she is not neglecting her maternal duties encodes traditional femininity. Motherhood and exercise will be further discussed below in chapters 5.3.2. and 5.4.2.

In sum, outside the three agent roles, *Brigitte* portrays women's agency in a couple of prominent ways. By emphasising the result of the exercise and by depicting the exercise moves or the woman's individual body parts as the active participant in the physical activity instead of the woman, the woman's agency and work is mitigated. Additionally, certain word choices, such as adverbs and verbs are used to diminish the woman's work. On the other hand, *Brigitte* also displays examples, where the woman's determination and commitment to exercise is acknowledged and admired.

Women's Agency in Images in Brigitte

Analysing the images revealed that more than half of the women in the exercise-related images, 56% (n=35) are depicted as active participants instead of posing passively. Passive women constituted 44% (n=28) of the women in the images, so the difference between the two groups was not distinctive.

Table 4. *Brigitte*: Women's activity in images.

	NUMBER OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE %
Woman active	35	56
Woman passive	28	44
Total	63	100

The general style in *Brigitte* is to illustrate articles with a single stock photo. In addition, if the article deals with a certain woman and her exercise practices, usually photo illustrations are taken from the said woman's Instagram feed or they are promotional photos of the woman. Originally produced images are rare even in instructional articles, which are also generally illustrated with image archive photos and photos and video clips from various Instagram users. Next, I will discuss the typical exercise-related photos of women appearing in *Brigitte* and the messages they

convey about agency.



Image 5. Instagram photo of a woman posing.

Image 6. Stock photo of a woman posing.

As *Britte* utilises Instagram as one its key source of images, and as Instagram is an image-sharing platform, it is not unusual that the users post self-portraits in which they pose stationary. Image 5 is an example of a woman posing, or in other words, being passive. However, although the pose in Image 5 is exercise-related merely because it is reporting the results of the woman's work and commitment to the fitness-lifestyle, it can also be seen as depicting a certain action. By looking directly at the camera, the woman in the bikini is inviting the viewer to look at her body. She then extends the invitation by showing her backside in the same photo. Thus, stationary and passive poses can also contain action, but in relation to exercise the women in similar photos are considered passive. It can be argued that in stock photos, the women are on some level more passive than women in their Instagram photos. Often the women in image archive photos whose only purpose is to provide visual illustration to the article are depicted as passive, such as in Image 6. The only connection to exercise is usually constructed with cultural symbols indicating physical activity, such as the model's clothing and the environment, such as the sporty shorts and t-shirt in Image 6. The environment in this case does not necessarily provide any references to physical activity, other than the fact that the photo seems to have been taken outside, where the model could have been, for example, running or riding a bike. A reference to physical activity is achieved through the model's pose. Although

she is stationary, her leaning against the wall and on her knees indicates a certain level of physical exertion and being out of breath, despite the model does not possess any other physical signs referring to exercise, such as sweating or redness. Thus, again, the seemingly passive image conveys meanings indicating an active woman. However, since the action has been omitted from the visual representation and positioned in the background, the women in Images 5 and 6 also encode passivity associated with traditional femininity.



Image 7. Instructional image archive photo.



Image 8. Instructional Instagram photo.

Images 7 and 8 are examples of active representations of women in *Brigitte*, which show the women engaged in physical activity. Image 7 represents a typical example of *Brigitte* utilising stock photos to give exercise instructions to the reader. Since the image is a stock photo, there is no guarantee that the woman in the photo is giving the right advice, as there is no guarantee of her background or qualifications to give exercise advice. Although it appears that she is active and in the middle of movement, her position can also be a fixed pose which would be easier to photograph. This image is also a good example of stock photos often offering a sugar-coated version of reality. Here, for example, the model is exercising in a beautiful landscape and enjoying the nice weather. It is unlikely that the reader's workout would take place in a similar environment, rather than the comfort of her own home. The model in Image 7 also has a thin and toned body, which can be an unrealistic goal for many of the readers. Image 8, on the other hand, provides a more realistic depiction of a home workout. Taken

from an actual person's Instagram account, the image instructs the reader how to train her abdominal muscles. However, again there is no guarantee of the woman's qualifications to give safe instructions to the reader. Although her athletic appearance hints at a fitness lifestyle, the reader again has to rely on the magazine's judgment on the correctness and safeness of the instructions. Furthermore, despite being a real individual and not merely a stock photo model, the woman's home and physical appearance mirror the perfection characteristic of stock photos. Although the women in similar photos and the context of instructional articles are given an expert position and they are viewed by the reader as an authority, these representations can be deceiving. However, as there is no evidence to suggest otherwise, these women taking the time for themselves to exercise and be active, and giving advice to others, represent resistant femininity. Sharing their fitness experience indicates that they are assuming a position as an authority and a role model to their followers.

In sum, the majority women (56%; n=35) in *Brigitte's* images are depicted as active, which to some extent challenges the textual examples depicting women as passive. As *Brigitte* consistently uses stock photos and borrowed Instagram material in their instructional articles, thus giving the women in the images an authoritative position as an agent-instructor and qualifying them to instruct the reader, the magazine is responsible for regulating the women's agency. In many of the passive visual representations, the woman are often depicted posing before, after or even during exercise, or merely for illustrative purposes, such as in the case of stock photos. Thus, although exercise, physical activity and hard work, which represent resistant femininity, are referenced in the images, the women nevertheless appear passive, making them encode traditional femininity as well.

5.2.3 Summary and Comparison of the Representations of Agency

The results obtained with the help of Williams' adaptation of Goffman's production format (1981) in the analysis of the agent roles given to women show that all three roles, agent-instigator, agent-principal and agent-executor, are represented in both

magazines. The woman is often depicted as the agent, only the level of her volition varies. Whereas the most common agent role in *Glamour* was agent-executor, *Brigitte's* most prominent agent roles for women were both agent-executor and agent-principal. However, despite the fact that agent-principals are the subjects of finite verbs, their presence in both magazines is not very conspicuous. This can be due to the fact that the context in exercise articles requires a certain register, which thus minimises the need for direct human subjects in sentences. Agent-executors, on the other hand, have a noticeable presence in both magazines, since they can be referred to by other means than just as the subject of the finite verb or as the reported subject of indirect speech. as the clausal context often permits leaving the actual executor of the action, the reader/the woman, in the background and referring to her by using, for example, the imperative or the pronoun 'you'. When the agent roles are syntactically given to abstract concepts, such as the exercise itself, the woman's work is veiled behind her body and actions, ironically making her seem passive. Thus, the woman becomes a mere passenger who experiences the possible bodily transformations effortlessly, much like a bystander, which indicates traditional femininity. This phenomenon occurred in both magazines. With agent-instigators, on the other hand, a slight difference between their representations in *Glamour* and *Brigitte* can be detected. The distinction between different instigator roles is most notable in articles featuring interviews of a fitness expert. *Glamour's* way of editing interviews was to report them indirectly. Thus, they had more reporting verbs which in turn indicated the orders from the agent-instigators more directly, making the women seem more assertive and encode resistant femininity. *Brigitte*, on the other hand, published interviews as a dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee. Possibly due to this difference, the agent-instigators in *Brigitte* seem to be hedging their commands and instructions by using less direct verb forms, such as the conditional, which frame the commands as more indirect, and thus make the woman seem less assertive and more polite, indicating traditional femininity. They also emphasise their own experiences about following the advice, which lessens their expertise, as it could be seen as a way to avoid taking responsibility and credit for their work. The same phenomenon in lesser extent can also be detected in *Glamour*, as sometimes the reporting verbs used by it are

deliberative in nature and thus less assertive. In other words, some reporting verbs, such as *suggest*, diminish the authority of the woman and make her seem more hesitant. It is also possible that there are some language- and culture-related differences in the way commands are given and agency depicted in the two magazines.

In quantitative terms, the image analysis reveals that in *Brigitte*, 56% (n=35) of the women in exercise-related images are active and 44% (n=28) passive. *Glamour's* profile is similar: the majority of women in images, 58% (n=52), are depicted as active and 42% (n=37) as passive. The textual examples in both magazines, on the other hand, seem to emphasise the minimal achievement phenomenon, which focuses on minimising the woman's work and agency and her interest in exercising by helping the woman achieve results, emphasising the result of the exercise, dissecting her body into independent parts and by describing the general lack of interest and detestation all women seem to feel towards exercising. At times, particularly *Brigitte* also celebrates the achievements of the women by acknowledging their efforts. Nevertheless, the images and text contradict one another to some extent.

In terms of images, *Glamour* and *Brigitte* follow partially similar illustration strategies as they both utilise Instagram content and stock photos in their articles. However, ultimately the functions of these illustrations vary. Whereas *Glamour* uses stock photos mainly for illustrative purposes, where the activity level of the woman is not relevant, *Brigitte* also uses stock photos in instructive purposes, thus showing women engaged in an activity relevant to the article. Instagram photos from various users are also heavily utilised by *Brigitte* as a way to instruct the reader to perform the exercise correctly without having to produce their own content. *Glamour*, on the other hand, often relies on qualified fitness instructors and experts in their instructive articles and their respective illustrations. Thus, it could be argued that in terms of authority, *Glamour* has more qualified women giving the reader advice, whereas the credentials of *Brigitte's* Instagram sources are often not mentioned. However, *Brigitte* also occasionally has professional fitness experts giving advice to reader. The instigative

agency that the women in the instructional photos have stems from different sources. In *Glamour's* articles, and in some of *Brigitte's* articles, the fitness experts have earned their credentials themselves by becoming experts in their field, thus also earning the opportunity to spread their knowledge to *Glamour* readers. When *Brigitte* repurpose stock photos or Instagram posts to suit their own illustrative needs, the magazine is the one instituting the instigative agency to the women, as the initial purpose of the photos might have been different from the instructive purpose for which *Brigitte* utilises them. In other words, by borrowing images for instructive purposes, *Brigitte* gives the women in the images the agency, authoritative position and qualifications to advice others, which the women might not originally have.

To summarise, both traditional and resistant representations of femininity were present in both magazines and their depictions of women's agency. The balance between hedging the woman's work and commending her for her achievements stayed relatively consistent throughout the data in both magazines. However, the distinction between the representations in the images and in the text is worth noting, since the visual representations in both magazines tended to portray the women in more active roles than the textual representations.

5.3 Motives for Exercise

An important indicator of the kind of ideology of femininity promoted by the magazines is how they discuss the motives for exercising. By examining their formulations of these motives, I can distinguish ways in which exercise is used to pursue certain goals representing different aspects of femininity, such as appearance or the implicit expectations society has set for women. The relationship between femininity and exercise is a complex one and permeates the woman's life in various ways. In this chapter, I will analyse my findings first from *Glamour* and then from *Brigitte*. After this, I will summarise and compare my findings from the two magazines.

5.3.1 Exercise Motives in *Glamour*

This chapter introduces the exercise motives in *Glamour*. I have divided the motives into categories, as many of the motives represented different motivational phenomena from perspectives related to one another. The most prominent reasons to exercise according to *Glamour* are the integral nature of exercise as a part of a woman's life, improving one's physique, trends and the changing of seasons and health. Additionally, *Glamour* depicts exercise as a conflicted phenomenon. Next, I will discuss how these motives and conflicted attitudes manifest in the magazine.

Exercise as an Integral Part of Life

One of the crucial observations to be made on the data is that exercising is implied to be integrated into women's lives on a deep and systematic level. It is presented as something natural and it is expected of everyone. This is signified by words and clauses which refer to exercise as a frequent action:

- (40) it's probably not time to quit going on that *daily* run just yet
- (41) So no, Cubii is no magic fitness bullet. You won't be able to cancel your *gym membership* --
- (42) You probably *do your best* to work out as much as you can --

All the above examples imply that exercise is an essential part of the reader's everyday life. Firstly, the adjective *daily* in example (40) directly suggests that the reader goes running every day. Also, the example clearly indicates that there is not a good enough reason to stop doing so by suggesting that "it's probably not time to quit running just yet". The adverb phrase *just yet* indicates that so far, there does not seem to be a better alternative for a daily run and until something better comes along, women should just keep running regularly. In a similar fashion, example (41) implies that a gym membership is a relevant part of a woman's fitness routine. Additionally, the example presumes that the reader possesses a gym membership, which further confirms the inherent nature of exercise in women's lives. The use of the phrase "won't be able to

cancel” gives the impression that it is physically impossible for the reader to cancel their gym membership, indicating that the gym membership is a necessary part of life. Alternately, there is some unmentioned minimum quota of exercise that women are expected to reach and the gym membership is the only way to do it. The phrase “Cubii is no magic fitness bullet” also demonstrates the trend in (women’s) magazines which focuses on finding easy solutions to the reader’s problems, in this case making exercise as easy as possible. This phenomenon will be discussed in more detail later. Example (42) further demonstrates the magazine’s expectations regarding the reader’s exercising habits: the reader is assumed to “probably do their best to work out as much as they can”. The adverb *probably* carries the meaning ‘almost certainly’ (Oxford Dictionaries Online, 2018), which suggests that women who do not do their best to exercise as much as possible deviate from the norm and are exceptions to the “unwritten rule”. As the role of exercise is seemingly a significant part of women’s lives, at times, the reader is made to feel guilty about not exercising:

- (43) Next time you struggle to fit a workout in between work, life, and just not feeling like it, keep this in mind: Rory Bosio has the same challenges – and she runs ultramarathons.

On the one hand, example (43) acknowledges the struggle women often face between “work, life and just not feeling like it”. On the other hand, the example also demonstrates the external pressure on women as they are expected to fit exercise into their already busy schedules even if they do not have an internal motivation for it (“not feeling like it”). The magazine directly urges the reader to “keep in mind” that other women have the same struggles as they do, yet nevertheless manage to accomplish intense sports performances. The magazine views their readers as submissive and tries to use peer pressure to “encourage” them to exercise. This can be interpreted as a sign of traditional femininity, as being submissive is associated with the values of traditional femininity discussed in Chapter 3.2.1. In contrast, example (43) also displays a strong, resilient woman agent (Rory Bosio) taking part in a male-dominated sport (running ultramarathons). As she portrays extreme resilience and determination, which are both stereotypically masculine characteristics, while at the

same time managing other aspects of her life, her aspirations to succeed in a masculine sport can be seen as a representation of resistant femininity.

Attaining a Better Physique

One of the most prominent reasons for exercising in *Glamour* was attaining a more attractive body:

- (44) If your goal is to *accentuate your curves*, McCall recommends sticking to less intense cardio and focusing your effort on strength training – particularly moves that will shape and define your butt, hips and thighs, like squats.
- (45) a 10-move workout that will really *tone and tighten where you want it*

Examples (44) and (45) offer advice for obtaining a *curvier* and a *toned and tight* body. Since the goal is not to get stronger or attain more muscles, but merely to shape one's body into a more attractive form, cases such as this one represent traditional femininity. It is also noteworthy to mention how exercise and physical allure are represented in relation to one another. Both examples (44) and (45) demonstrate a common trend in the articles, which is to only give readers advice on how to shape their bodies for the better ("if your goal is to accentuate your curves"; "focus your effort on -- moves that will shape and define your butt, hips and thighs; workout that will really tone and tighten where you want it"). Curiously, maintaining a certain physique is generally not discussed, thus implying that the reader could always have a better body and look more attractive, never achieving the desired and advertised result or 'perfection'. Moreover, instead of representing the ideal feminine and attractive body as a product of cultural and societal constructions, *Glamour* occasionally suggests that women intrinsically wish to shape their bodies into a more attractive form, as example (45) demonstrates with the phrase "workout that will really tone and tighten *where you want it*". The external pressure to look traditionally feminine and thus attractive according to Western cultural standards is masked behind the woman's own will to have a curvy or toned and tight body, although in reality an individual's desires are strongly affected by the community, as discussed in

Chapter 3.2.2.

Trends and Celebrity Influence

As women's magazines aim to keep their readers updated on current phenomena, it is not surprising that trends are another common motive for exercising. Trends are presented as affecting exercising from forms of workouts to the reasons behind the workouts. Heavily influenced by celebrities, readers are encouraged to shape their bodies according to latest fashion crazes or to follow workout routines by which their favourite stars swear. This includes updating one's wardrobe as well as body, as examples (46) and (47) show:

- (46) If you're a follower of Kardashian workout routines, you've probably noticed Kourtney and Khloe spending a fair amount of time with a classic piece of playground equipment – the jump rope.
- (47) Cutout tops and dresses are everywhere these days, which is excellent news for one very good reason: Toning your obliques.

Example (46) demonstrates, how celebrities are used as a source of inspiration for marketing various workout forms, in this case skipping rope, to the reader. In order to look great in “cutout tops and dresses”, example (47) encourages the reader to tone their obliques following the example of celebrities' red carpet looks (image 9). Fashion trends are a highly appearance-centered phenomena, and as example (47) demonstrates, it is important to have the body that matches the current trend. The rationale for why it is “excellent news” that side-revealing clothing is trending is implied to be that it gives women a “very good reason” to train their obliques. The highly positive adjective phrases *excellent* and *very good* create the impression that this indeed is an important matter and further emphasise the appearance-centered nature of current trends as a motive.



Image 9. Accompanying image to example (47) originally captioned "Taylor, Zoë, and J. Law show off some serious side abs."

Seasonal Motives

Closely related to trends, seasons and specific holidays are often regarded as a good reason either to start exercising or to boost one's existing workout routine. As examples (48) and (49) illustrate, some of the most important seasonal motivations are the New Year and Valentine's Day. Naturally, summer with its bikini weather is also a major incentive for finding new and effective workout routines.

- (48) I Tried an Under-Desk Elliptical Machine, Because January
- (49) Complete this workout at least three times a week and you'll have a tight, toned body by Valentine's Day!

In example (48), the motive for the exercise (trying an under-desk elliptical machine) is justified solely with two words, "because January". These two words do not even form a complete clause, but in the Western cultural context, they reveal a great deal about the expectations these articles set for women and for people in general. As January is generally known as the time for new beginnings and promises to develop oneself into a better person in all aspects of life, messages similar to the one in example (48) are not uncommon in women's magazines. With the magazine's instructions, readers are encouraged to partake in the common effort to look better, but also to be healthier. Thus, as this example shows, the change towards being a better person is often physical. Example (49) hints at the expectations related to Valentine's Day. As

the holiday in the US centres around romantic love, it is reasonable to assume that the reason a woman should have “a tight, toned body” is due to this connection. Although not directly stated, it is likely that the woman should have an attractive body when she goes on a Valentine’s Day date or if she should have an intimate encounter with her partner. If the woman shapes her body in order to look more pleasing for her partner, it can be interpreted as a sign of traditional femininity. Ultimately, both examples (48) and (49) support the argument that seasonal motivation to exercise stems from external pressure and the expectations of others. In other words, societal expectations towards exercise can create pressure to develop oneself as an individual, and often the pressure is related to physical appearance, for example the need to look healthy, fit for beach wear or attractive for romantic relationships. As such, seasonal exercise can be seen as a communal phenomena, which encodes traditional femininity.

Staying Healthy

Besides obtaining a better physique, another common motive for exercise in *Glamour* is health. However, health as a motive seems secondary, in comparison to physical appearance. Although health is pursued in a similar fashion as a better appearance, the attitude towards these two goals is different. According to *Glamour*, whereas the body is often shaped to perfection, being healthy is performed only to a certain extent. In other words, as already mentioned above, there is no limit to looking attractive, whereas health is viewed generally on a rough scale from not-healthy to healthy. As if there is an invisible line between being healthy and not-healthy and staying above that line is enough. Health is never described as a feature that should or would be developed to “perfection”. This can be seen in examples (50) and (51). The former shows the minimal interest in health, while the latter displays the minimal achievement related to getting healthy.

(50) So, how little can you get away with and still be healthy?

(51) It's January, which means that I, like roughly 53 gazillion other people (math: I'm good at it) have decided I could be a little healthier.

The phrase “how little can you get away with” in example (50) suggests that there indeed exists some way of measuring the minimum amount of exercise that keeps one healthy. The rest of the sentence, “still be healthy”, supports this, as well as demonstrates the seemingly insignificant nature of health. Particularly the adjective *little* and the adverb *still* construct the almost negligent and disinterested attitude *Glamour* expresses towards being healthy. Example (51) is a typical description of the way getting healthier as a transformation was portrayed in the articles. Although the writer has “decided” that she could be healthier, the use of the conditional *could* makes the actualisation of the transformation seem unsure, since the decision is actually a mere realisation instead of an actual plan to act on said realisation. The conditional increases the uncertainty of the action since it suggests that although the writer could be healthier, maintaining her current status of health is also an option. The adjective phrase “a little healthier”, on the other hand, highlights the limited extent to which health is “performed”. In addition to the adjective *little* diminishing the transformation towards health, the use of comparative *healthier* implies that there will still be room for improvement left even after the transformation.

Conflicting Attitudes towards Exercise

Although not directly a motive, rather the opposite of it, dislike of exercise is a common occurrence in the articles. Since the phenomenon is linked to motivation by contradicting all other motives discussed in this chapter, I want to examine it further, because I believe it will offer more insight into the relationship between the representation of femininity and exercise. Whereas the above-mentioned motives derive from societal influence, dislike, on the one hand, can be considered to stem from within an individual. However, since the magazine invites the reader to join in the action, as example (53) below shows (“And you’re probably lying to yourself if you don’t agree”), the act of disliking exercise becomes a communal act. Thus, the dislike towards exercise can be seen as a shared experience that connects women, and complaining and communicating the issues related to exercise in this could thus be taken to represent traditional femininity. As discussed earlier, exercise is described as a significant and integral part of a woman’s life. Despite this, the articles imply on

several occasions that no one actually enjoys doing it:

- (52) (As for me? I'll wait until tomorrow. This bag of Ruffles is my priority right now.)
- (53) Though I consider myself athletic, I'm much more comfortable drinking lukewarm rosé in a cabana than I am trying to master an unfamiliar water sport. (And you're probably lying to yourself if you don't agree.)

These examples demonstrate the conflicting feelings women have towards exercise. Example (52) is an additional comment at the end of an instructional article by the article's writer. Although the article's ultimate purpose is to motivate and inspire the reader to follow the article's example and exercise, this message contradicts the original message. Instead of encouraging the reader to exercise gives the reader permission to postpone the activity ("I'll wait until tomorrow") and, through example, also the permission to eat potato crisps instead ("This bag of Ruffles is my priority right now"). Example (52) also confirms that not even the producers of the magazine have an uncomplicated relationship with exercise. As already mentioned above, example (53) similarly tries to get the reader to agree to dislike exercise. The assumption that everyone hates exercise is so strong that the magazine suggests that everyone who says they would rather try water sports than "drink lukewarm rosé in a cabana" must be lying to themselves.

Exercising Anyway - Minimal Effort, Maximal Achievement

As a consequence of the underlying negative attitude towards exercise and the assumption that exercise should nevertheless be a part of every woman's life, the magazine offers the reader various tips on how to make exercise easier and less unpleasant and thus more motivating.

- (54) What's the *Absolute Minimum* Amount You Need to Work Out?
- (55) Sounds like it'll [new sneakers] make running *less miserable* to me!

Example (54) combines these two implicit conceptions. First, the magazine reminds the reader of the external pressure to exercise by implying that exercise is something the reader *needs* to do. Then, at the same, the magazine offers advice on how to minimise the amount of exercise while still fulfilling the unmentioned exercise quota. Example (55) in turn demonstrates another typical way *Glamour* encourages their readers to exercise, namely commercialism. On several occasions, new equipment is described to increase the motivation to exercise, although, as example (55) implies, it often could only make exercise “less miserable”, not fully erase the discomfort associated with it. At times, the magazine tries to provide the reader with advice on ways to completely substitute exercise with an action that required no physical activity, as example (56) indicates.

(56) Sorry: A Hot Bath Doesn't Exactly Burn as Many Calories as a Run

The magazine seems to apologise to the reader for not having found a physically less demanding alternative for exercise, although hot baths seem to have been a potential competitor to running. In their search for exercise free life without losing the benefits of physical activity, *Glamour* seems to make some shortcuts. Example (56) is a good example of another important motive for exercise: burning calories. Although the amount of burnt calories is not directly indicative of health or physical progress it is often used interchangeably as a benefit of exercising and a valid reason to engage in physical activity. This can be seen as an implicit sign of the importance of weight loss and maintaining a slim figure, which in turn adverts traditional femininity, since a slender and even a physically weak form is a key part of the traditionally feminine appearance (see Chapter 3.2.1).

In sum, the most prominent exercise motives in *Glamour* emphasise the importance of the role of exercise in women’s lives and the pursuit of the perfect body. The reasons for improving one’s physical appearance, such as following trends and the changing of the seasons, indicate the significant role the woman’s body plays in her life. Health, although also an important reason to exercise, appears as a secondary motivation

compared to physical appearance and is “performed” to a far lesser extent than the shaping of one’s body. Ultimately, the many appearance-oriented motivations to exercise show how the demands of the society influence the relationship between the woman, her body and exercise. Despite the seemingly integral role of exercise in women’s lives, the articles in *Glamour* frequently mention the difficult and unpleasant nature of exercise. However, these notions are often countered by the magazine by offering advice on how to make exercise more tolerable and how to exercise as little as possible without losing any of the benefits of an active lifestyle.

5.3.2 Exercise Motives in *Brigitte*

Brigitte also offers various motives for women to exercise. This chapter introduces *Brigitte*’s most prominent reasons to exercise: attaining a better body, being a part of the fitness lifestyle, getting back to shape after pregnancy, and exercising because it is “quick and easy”. *Brigitte* also represent exercise as a rather conflicted phenomenon. Next, I will discuss these motives and conflicted attitudes towards exercise.

Attaining a Better Body

One of the most prominent motives for exercise, as suggested by *Brigitte*, is improving one’s physical appearance, particularly into a more attractive direction. This manifests as a representation of a variety of ways in which the female body could be improved. First, there are the direct suggestions of particular means with which the reader can attain a better body:

- (57) Erst dann steht eurem *perfekten, flachen Bauch* nichts mehr im Wege!
Only then will nothing stand in the way of your perfect, flat belly!
- (58) Um möglichst schnell *Bikini-fit* zu werden, --.
In order to get in bikini shape as quickly as possible, --.

According to example (57), there exists a way to measure perfection. Moreover, the example suggests that the reader can reach a *perfect, flat belly* (“perfekten, flachen

Bauch“) if they just do the required actions. Example (58) demonstrates the popular theme in women’s magazines, getting in *bikini shape* (“Bikini-fit”). Not only does the concept of ‘bikini shape’ imply that bikinis should only be worn by women with a certain physique, it encourages women to pursue that physique by shaming them into believing that they do not fulfil the requirements to appear in a bikini. Moreover, the need to transform into bikini shape *as quickly as possible* (“möglichst schnell”) signifies the importance of the transformation. As the summer approaches, the pressure for women to look their best increases. However, the need for the swiftness of the transformation can also be interpreted as a sign of lack of interest towards the appearance expectations on the women’s part. For the most part of the year, their bodies are covered with clothing, so it does not matter so much how their bodies look. Thus, the need to get in bikini shape is dictated by external pressure and societal expectations on how a woman in a swimsuit should look.

This leads us to the second motive for improving one’s body: seasonal motives. In addition to revealing the incentive for women to shape their bodies and the ideals according to which they should be shaped, example (58) further affirms the implicit statement that women should invest more time into honing their bodies at certain times of the year. Example (58) also suggests that these efforts are shared: by sharing expert knowledge with the readers, *Brigitte* promotes the idea of getting in bikini shape for a large audience of women, thus creating a communal, social experience for the readers. This in turn can be seen as a sign of traditional femininity, as sociability is one of the ideals related to it (see Chapter 3.2.1).

The third reason behind improving one’s body is also appearance-centered. At times, it is implied that even clothed, women should aspire to look their best and make sure they have the body that highlights the clothes in the best possible way.

- (59) Das neue Kleid ist großartig, aber *die Arme könnten straffer sein?*
 Mach unser Oberarmtraining - für *feste Arme, schöne Schultern* und
 ein *tolles Dekolleté*.
Your new dress is gorgeous, but your arms could be firmer? Do our
upper arm workout - for toned arms, beautiful shoulders and a great
décolleté.

The motive to exercise in example (59) is purely aesthetic: to look more attractive by having *firmer* (“straffer”), *toned arms, beautiful shoulders and a great décolleté* (“feste Arme, schöne Schultern und ein tolles Dekolleté”). The reason for this particular bodily transformation is the purchase of *a gorgeous new dress* (“das neue Kleid ist großartig”) that now should be complemented with a compatible body. This also indicates that the reason to exercise is ultimately external, since the goal is not to **feel** good in the new dress but to **look** good in it. This kind of interest in one’s appearance and the desire to look more attractive for others signify traditional femininity, because they refer to stereotypically feminine behaviour discussed in Chapter 3.2.1.

The fourth and last prominent reason for women to improve their physical appearance by exercising is the inspiration provided by celebrities. *Brigitte* not only takes inspiration from celebrities but also invites the reader to compare herself to them. Examples (60) and (61) demonstrate these two common cases of celebrity influence, inspiration and comparison:

- (60) Und dabei kann ein trainierter Bizeps so toll aussehen, wie nicht nur Michelle Obama auf öffentlichen Veranstaltungen beweist.
Trained biceps can look great, as Michelle Obama has proven at public events.
- (61) Du wünschst dir eine schlanke Taille wie ein Victoria’s Secret-Model?
You wish to have a slim waist like a Victoria’s Secret model?

In example (60), the reader is offered inspiration by pointing out how nice trained biceps look for example on Michelle Obama, although no image was provided to support this claim. Thus, the reader is left to rely on her own imagination and perceptions of how great *trained biceps* (“trainierter Bizeps”) in this case look. Example (61), in turn, demonstrates the direct wish to possess some characteristic of a celebrity, in this case *a slim waist like a Victoria’s Secret model’s*. Although it might not be realistic for the average reader of *Brigitte* to reach a similar waist as a professional model, the magazine nevertheless relies on the power of fantasy by implying that following their exercise advice would lead to such results. Following examples and beauty ideals set

by celebrities could again be considered a representation of communality, or a shared, social experience among women, which would thus signify traditional femininity. Examples (60) and (61) also refer to the power of a public figure's example and social comparison discussed in Chapter 3.2.2.

Health and Fitness as a Lifestyle

In *Brigitte* web articles, health is another important motive for exercise. *Brigitte* depicts health as a holistic phenomenon, which manifests mentally and physically. Not only is it depicted as a natural consequence and benefit of physical activity, but also it is equally important as an essential part of the fitness lifestyle and overall happiness.

- (62) -- um auch andere Menschen für dieses Miteinander von mentaler und körperlicher Stärke, vereint in einem gesunden und sportlichen Körper, zu begeistern.
 -- *to inspire others to this togetherness of mental and physical strength which combines in a healthy and athletic body.*

Example (62) demonstrates how health is often depicted as a combination of mental and physical well-being. However, the consequential nature of health in relation to exercise is rarely emphasized. In other words, the reader and the interviewees are rarely portrayed exercising to **become** healthier, because health is already a part of their lives. Thus, many of *Brigitte's* articles represent the popular contemporary lifestyle phenomenon around health and exercising.

- (63) -- mit einem gesunden, sportlichen Lifestyle.
 -- *with a healthy, athletic lifestyle.*
- (64) --, dass Fitness nicht Low Carb bzw. High Protein und sieben Mal pro Woche Training ist, sondern eine gesunde Einstellung zu seinem Körper und ein ausgewogener Lebensstil.
 -- *that fitness is not low carbs and high protein and working out seven times a week but a healthy attitude towards one's body and a balanced lifestyle.*

Examples (63) and (64) demonstrate the way in which exercise is promoted by many of the experts interviewed in the *Brigitte* articles. In many cases, the words *gesund* ('healthy') and *Gesundheit* ('health') are referred to in the same context with *lifestyle*.

Thus, health and fitness as a lifestyle constitutes a dual motive for exercise. Getting and staying healthy forms the basis for an active “fitness” lifestyle, which in turn further encourages the actions that maintain health. Furthermore, the lifestyle narrative suggests that exercise and being physically active is an integral part of every woman’s life.

Back to Shape after Pregnancy

Post-pregnancy exercise, and combining motherhood and exercise is yet another recurring theme in *Brigitte*. It is particularly important to get back to one’s old measurements as quickly as possible after childbirth.

- (65) BRIGITTE: Wie haben Sie es geschafft, in zwölf Wochen wieder in Form zu kommen?
 CHARLOTTE WÜRDIG: Ich lese überall von zwölf Wochen, es waren allerdings zehn Wochen. Ich habe ja nicht direkt nach der Entbindung gestartet.
B: How did you manage to get back in shape in twelve weeks? CW: I read about twelve weeks everywhere, however it was ten weeks. I certainly didn’t start directly after giving birth.
- (66) Wie ist es möglich, nur knapp zwei Monate nach der Geburt ihres Kindes so schlank zu sein? Mit einer Menge Disziplin und eisernem Willem.
How is it possible to be so thin just barely two months after the birth of her child? With a lot of discipline and an iron will.

These kinds of examples can create pressure for new mothers to get back to their pre-pregnancy size swiftly. Although the woman in example (65) emphasises that she did not start exercising directly after childbirth (“direkt nach der Entbindung”), she nevertheless feels necessary to point out that her transformation took only *ten weeks*, instead of the advertised twelve, thus emphasizing the swiftness and the extreme nature of the challenging transformation. Similarly to Example (66), the woman is inspires astonishment, since she has managed to get back in her pre-pregnancy shape just two months after giving birth. Since the women who look thin soon after childbirth are looked at with such wonder, it implies that such swift transformations are not the norm and clearly not every woman can do the same. However, the magazine’s decision to publish these kinds of stories can be seen as an implicit

suggestion that perhaps women nevertheless should be able to look thin as soon as possible after giving birth. Example (66) even suggests that all it takes is discipline and will power (“eine Menge Disziplin und eiserne Wille”). Such suggestions seem radical, since women and their bodies react to pregnancy in vastly different ways.

Articles on post pregnancy fitness as a representation of femininity combine traits from resistant and traditional femininity. Expressing self-interest and independence by exercising, despite having a child to look after can be argued to be a sign of resistance to the stereotype of mothers being only devoted to their children. At the same time, by trying to lose weight rapidly directly after delivery, women are reacting to societal demands by fading the signs of pregnancy as soon as possible and returning to a more “acceptable” body shape, which based on the articles is slender and athletic.

Easy and Enjoyable Ways to Exercise

Although *Brigitte*'s general attitude towards exercise was not negative, the magazine nevertheless acknowledges that sometimes the reader struggles with motivating herself to exercise or has little time to invest in the activity. In an attempt to motivate the reader to exercise, the magazine uses a promise typical to women's magazines, by assuring that exercise will be quick and easy, and that it requires minimal effort, but that it can still produce maximal results.

- (67) Die Fahrt zum Fitnesscenter dauert viel zu lange? Dann probiert doch folgende 10 Mini-Übungen aus, mit denen ihr den Sport ohne viel Aufwand in den Alltag integrieren könnt.
The ride to the fitness centre takes too long? Try the following 10 mini exercises, with which you can integrate exercise into your daily life without a lot of effort.
- (68) Für alle Morgenmuffel, die sich schwer mit Motivation tun, kommen hier 5 einfache Übungen, die ihr direkt im Bett machen könnt.
For all the grumpy morning people who struggle with motivation, here are five simple exercises, which you can do right in bed.

In Example (67), the magazine introduces moves, which can be conveniently done alongside other mundane tasks. The phrase “Die Fahrt zum Fitnesscenter dauert viel

zu lange?" ('The ride to the fitness centre takes too long?') suggests that the reader in this case is too busy to spend time transitioning to the gym. Alternatively, it could also be interpreted as the reader being too lazy to make the long drive. In any case, the reader is provided with the means to avoid the drive altogether and to integrate exercise easily into their daily life. Example (68) in turn tries to motivate the reader who enjoys her sleep in the morning by offering moves that can be performed in the comfort of one's bed. However, the example does not reveal, whether the *grumpy morning people* generally struggle with getting up in the morning or whether the lack of motivation only extends to exercising, no matter the time of day. Although both examples suggest that exercise should be a part of the reader's life, the tone of the examples is still encouraging and rather than trying to guilt the reader into exercising, *Brigitte* often gently tried to nudge the readers who lacked motivation towards healthier habits. This can also be seen in example (69), which emphasises the importance of enjoying exercise:

- (69) Es ist total wichtig, eine Sportart zu finden, die einem Spaß macht.
It is very important to find a sport that one finds fun.

This phrase distinguishes itself from the other motives, because it is a rare example of *Brigitte* promoting a genuinely internal motivation for exercising. Instead of encouraging the reader to exercise in order to look better or be trendier or just because one is expected to, the advice simply emphasises the importance of having fun while exercising. The importance of having fun is highlighted by the phrase "total wichtig" ('very important'). This example can be seen as a sign of resistant femininity, since the example indirectly suggests that the reader should ignore the external pressure when choosing a suitable method of exercise and instead opt for something the reader personally finds fun. Nevertheless, finding joy in exercise does not remove the possibility that the ultimate motive for exercising can be something else, such as attaining a better physique, and enjoying the process merely makes it easier.

To summarise, the most prominent motives for exercise in *Brigitte* are appearance-oriented. The various reasons to improve one's physical appearance besides the

general desire to reach the expected beauty ideal and looking more attractive include following trends and getting fit for certain seasons, such as the summer, and even complementing one's outfit with a suitable body. Another important appearance-oriented reason for exercising in *Brigitte* is getting back one's pre-pregnancy body. *Brigitte* also emphasises health and frequently combines it as a natural part of the fitness lifestyle, in which the reader is assumed to participate. As *Brigitte* acknowledges the unpleasant nature of physical activity, it attempts to motivate the reader by offering advice on fast, easy and effortless ways to exercise.

5.3.3 Summary and Comparison of the Motives for Exercise

Both magazines represent exercise as an important and integral part of a woman's life. According to the semantic evidence provided by the articles, such as certain verbs and adjectives indicating the expectations towards women exercising, *Glamour* emphasises the phenomenon more, whereas *Brigitte's* view of exercise emphasise the holistic nature of it and depict exercise often as part of a whole fitness lifestyle. As a contrast to the demanding role of exercise in women's lives, the magazines also portray conflicting attitudes towards exercise and the desire for maximal achievement with minimal effort. This manifests in articles in suggestions that even minimal effort in exercise can create the physical benefits of a more comprehensive workout, as well as in articles suggesting ways to replace exercise altogether.

In terms of motives, looking more attractive and obtaining a physically more appealing body are unquestionably the most prominent reasons promoted by both magazines. The quest for the "perfect" body is described in the majority of the articles, although certain semantic choices also indicate that the goal is ultimately impossible for the average woman, meaning the reader, to reach, despite the promises of drastic, yet easy, bodily transformations often already made in the headlines of the articles. Current trends as well as celebrities heavily influenced the notion of the perfect body and the means for achieving it. Certain fashion trends are described as requiring a certain body to match, and when celebrities are seen favouring a particular workout,

it is seen as a way to attain a similar body as them. This also indicates that perfection is measured according to famous people. As the standards of attractiveness are set by societal expectations, and further promoted by the magazines, the appearance-centred emphasis for exercise signifies traditional femininity.

Although exercise for women seems to be a daily responsibility, emphasising the cyclical nature of the need to look attractive contradicts this view. This manifests in the importance of preparing for certain seasons and holidays by exercising and looking as perfect as possible, most notably the bikini-season and Valentine's Day. As both occasions are important in terms of attracting the interest of possible partners, this phenomenon can be seen as a sign of women needing to exercise in order to tempt the opposite sex, which consequently encodes traditional femininity. Another important reason for women to exercise is the beginning of the New Year, which is depicted as a socially demanding time to become a healthier, fitter, and altogether better person. Seasonal motives thus indicate that although women are expected to integrate exercise into their daily lives, it is nevertheless acknowledged that they do not necessarily do that.

Health is another important motive, although it is often merely mentioned as a side remark when discussing other, mostly appearance-related, benefits of exercising. *Brigitte* depicts health as holistic phenomenon, which manifests mentally and physically and is a key part of the fitness lifestyle. *Glamour's* portrayal of health, on the other hand, is polarised. Health is seen as a characteristic that one could possess to a varying extent, and as long as one is above the invisible line that distinguishes being healthy and not-healthy, it is enough. Unlike the body, neither magazine portrays health as something that should be honed to perfection.

A notable motive only present in *Brigitte* is the exercise demands towards women after pregnancy. Most importantly, the post-pregnancy motivation in relation to exercise is characterised by getting "back to shape" after giving birth. Women who have recovered from childbirth swiftly and achieved dramatic transformations are admired

due to their achievements. However, simultaneously they are also disapproved for being too committed to exercising, as they have children to look after. Thus, the representations of women in these articles encode both traditional and resistant femininities. The need to possess an attractive body even directly after childbirth and submitting to those expectations represented traditional femininity, whereas the independence and not only being a mother, but also still a woman who took time for herself represented resistant femininity.

To summarise, most of the motives in the magazines are in one way or another appearance-oriented, and thus represent traditional femininity. Besides *Brigitte's* emphasis on post-pregnancy exercise, there are few differences between the motives in the two magazines. Based on the articles, a key part of womanhood is to balance between exercising enough to look attractive and doing it with as little effort as possible. Although exercise is in many ways depicted as an integral part of women's lives, resistance towards these outside expectations is also present. However, exercise motives stemming from outside expectations are represented more than the ones requiring intrinsic motivation, such as getting stronger or having fun.

5.4 Body and Physical Appearance

To form a comprehensive idea of the body types the women in the magazines represent, I will analyse all the images provided by the 90 articles from both magazines. In this way, I can ensure that the quantitative analysis of the visual representations in the articles is more accurate than if I would only examine the images in the articles chosen for textual analysis. Since the prominent representations of the female body are best examined through the visual images, this chapter emphasises image analysis more than the previous ones. To support and complete the findings from the image analysis, I analysed the textual references to the female body to find out whether they complement or contradict the visual representations.

The women in the image are divided into different categories based on their body

type. There are four main categories: *thin*, *average*, *larger-bodied* and *athletic*. Additionally, a fifth category, *inconclusive*, is suggested to include those women whose body size cannot be determined definitely, since they are portrayed either only in part or in a position that does not allow their bodies to be analysed reliably. Although the categories are rather self-explanatory, a few clarifications are in order. The women in the 'thin'-category are slender and lean and do not have any visible muscle mass, nor body fat. The women in the category 'athletic' are also considered thin, but in addition, they have visible muscles. Overall, the women in this category range from slightly toned women to fitness models focused on building muscle mass. Average-sized women are women, who have some visible body fat and generally more mass in their arms, belly and thighs as the women in the two previous categories. Larger-bodied women are women who are clearly overweight or obese. Below, I have included an example of each body type category.



Image 10. Example of a thin body type.



Image 11. Example of an average-sized woman.



Image 12. Example of an athletic body type.



Image 13. Example of a larger-bodied woman.

To clarify, individual women who are pictured in an article multiple times, for example in a series of instructional photos, are only counted once in order to not distort the statistical distribution. However, if the same woman is depicted in different articles, she is counted once for every article in which she is portrayed. This is justified by the fact that it would be an arduous process to keep track of every single woman across the whole data. More importantly, although the same woman is in some cases portrayed in different articles, from the average reader's point of view each article can be seen as an individual representation of certain body types. These individual representations then form certain patterns and statistics, which would be distorted, if the same woman in different articles was only counted once in total.

5.4.1 Body Types in *Glamour*

Representations of Different Body Types in Glamour

As Table 5 below indicates, most of the women in *Glamour's* articles are thin (n=36; 41%) and thus represent the narrow Western body ideals. Athletic women, who have visible muscle mass, constitute 18% (n=16) of all the women pictured in the data. As

they are also very thin, it could be argued that 59% (n=52) of the women pictured in *Glamour* represent the thin body type. As Table 5 shows, larger-bodied women were scarcely represented in the data, with only 2% (n=2) of the women belonging to this group. Women with an average-sized body constituted 23% (n=20) of the total number of women in the images.

Table 5. Women's body types in exercise-related images in *Glamour*.

BODY TYPE	NUMBER OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE %
Thin	36	41
Average	20	23
Athletic (visible muscles)	16	18
Larger-bodied	2	2
Inconclusive	14	16
Women in Total	88	100

Whereas muscular women represent resistant femininity due to their traditionally more masculine appearance, thin women encode traditional femininity, since women are traditionally expected to look small and slender (Williams, 2012: 43-44). Overall, the sample of women in the articles form a typical representation of women in fitness articles: mostly thin and athletic women, with other body types represented occasionally. Although a variety of different bodies is present, it is clear that thin and athletic looking women are the desired models for exercise-related images. The small number of average- and larger-bodied women gives the impression that women with bodies other than thin and athletic do not exercise or that it is not something the reader wants to see. Although women who differ from Western body ideals and norms are scarcely present in the articles, it is worth noting **how** they are represented. Whereas women who have a body that fulfils the Western beauty ideals are mainly admired for their physique, larger bodied women and women with disabilities are also

admired for their attitude and achievements as a positive role model. In other words, the fact that their body does not follow societal norms is the main focus of the articles, emphasising the fact that they are different from other women and exceptions to the norm. Thus, they are excluded from the group formed by the other, average representations of women in their articles.

- (70) Stanley herself fights the clichés by posing in complex arm balances sometimes wearing little more than a swimsuit. “The more I wear only a sports bra, the more women in my classes take off their shirts too,” she says.
- (71) “I loved racing the girls with legs, and I was really good,” she says. “The other girls didn’t see me as having a disability. I was a competitor.”

Example (70) depicts a large-bodied woman, Stanley, as a fighter against clichés, because she poses *in complex arm balances wearing little more than a swimsuit*. This indicates that larger-bodied women are not often associated with athleticism and neither are they usually seen in revealing clothes. Her example also encourages other women to show their body. This shows how a larger-bodied woman is seen as a pioneer in the body positivity movement, when she merely does what any other woman does. This reveals that the attitudes towards larger-bodied women are narrow and position the women as others, as they are not seen as belonging to same group with other women engaging in exercise. They are also subjects of prejudices related to body size and ability level. Example (71) depicts a disabled woman as a positive role model and a successful athlete, which in itself is a positive thing, but the focus of the article about her was her disability, which emphasised her otherness. Although the women in examples (70) and (71) are excluded from the group of women that is admired mostly because of their physical appearance, they are instead admired as successful and unique individuals, which indicates resistant femininity, because the women are seen as having instrumental properties, such as being strong, self-assured and competitive.

Muscles – The Core of Exercise

Although muscular women are not too common in the images, muscles are nevertheless an important part of the workouts:

- (72) But if you want *a longer, leaner look*, steer clear of moves that only target a single muscle, such as biceps curls and shoulder presses.
- (73) If you notice it's difficult to *make your muscles pop* no matter how much you squat, you may want to scale back the weights.
- (74) These *muscle groups* give you *those nice lines* down the sides of your waist.

However, as examples (70)-(72) indicate, being muscular is a choice given to the reader. One could modify the workouts according to the desired effect; no matter whether one prefers to have visible muscles (“make your muscles pop”) or “a longer, leaner look”. Muscles are thus an important part of shaping the body according to one’s preferences. Example (70) suggests the reader should “steer clear of moves” that would result in masculine looking muscles, whereas example (71) advises readers who wish to attain visible muscles in their lower bodies. This suggests that the way in which a woman wants to look is ultimately entirely her own decision. In example (72), certain muscle groups are described responsible for making the body look feminine. “Those nice lines down the sides of your waist” indicate appreciation towards the traditionally feminine body with curves. Action representing resistant femininity, such as building muscle and the hard work it involves, is thus balanced by the appearance-oriented goal, which represents traditional femininity.

Glamour often emphasises the effect of the exercise on the muscles. Instead of focusing on the beautified result, the body is described as an active and crucial part of the exercise process and the effects of the exercise are described from the point of view of the body and the muscle groups, instead of the cultural viewpoint of attractiveness.

- (75) This exercise is an amazing way to target and strengthen the low abs

- (76) This is a great move because it forces you to engage not only your abs but your lower back muscles as well

In examples (75) and (76), the emphasis is on the body becoming stronger. Since the verbs *target*, *strengthen* and *engage* do not have sexual connotations, they reflect the work involved, instead of objectifying the woman. Becoming more attractive is not mentioned, thus pointing towards resistant femininity.

Bodily Aesthetics and Accepting Oneself

Another common body-related phenomenon is depicting the body as a canvas or a sculpture, and the modification of the body and exercise as a kind of art form. This is done by using aesthetic verbs, which in turn highlight the aesthetic importance of the female body as well as the beauty-oriented nature of women's physical activity, thus objectifying the woman's body.

- (77) "Defined obliques are like *contouring* for your waist and make you look slimmer overall,"
- (78) Sit-ups may get all the glory, but they're hardly the only exercise that will *sculpt* your six-pack – and they're not even necessarily the most efficient.
- (79) In honor of the new year, we asked Payne to put together a 10-move workout that will really *tone* and tighten where you want it

Words such as *contouring*, *sculpt* and *tone* in examples (77)-(79) all convey artistic meanings. Representing the female body as an art project objectifies the woman, although at the same it is obvious that she is the one doing the physical work needed for the results. However, as the clausal context in the above examples suggests that the executive agency is possessed by *obliques*, *sit-ups* and *a 10-move workout*, the woman's work is diminished, and consequently, the resulting beauty is emphasised.

Occasionally, *Glamour* promotes messages of self-love and self-acceptance. Example (80) displays an indirect suggestion to accept one's body structure, as it cannot be changed ("you can't shrink your shoulders").

- (80) “Your structure is your structure—you can’t shrink your shoulders. But you can focus on lower body strength moves that will create a *balanced look*,”

However, simultaneously the example states that women do not need to accept their body as it is, as they can “create a balanced look” by training muscles in the opposite end of the body with which they are not satisfied. This example can also be interpreted as a message about the constant inadequacy of the female body; no matter how a woman looks, she can always improve herself.

In sum, the representations of different body types in *Glamour* mirror the Western beauty ideals. Majority of the women in the images (41%; n=36) represent the thin body ideal. It is worth pointing out that although women with athletic bodies also possess a thin body, muscular bodies share an almost equally limited representation (18%; n=16) with average-sized bodies (23%; n=20). Larger-bodied women are hardly represented and when they are, the articles focus on their body size. Moreover, when larger-bodied women are admired, it is due to their positive attitude and accomplishments they have reached **despite** their bodies, whereas thin women are mostly admired **because** of their bodies, which are regarded as accomplishments themselves. Another notable phenomenon related to the female body is the emphasis on the aesthetics and the beautification of the body, which have a key role as the desired effects of physical activity. Occasionally, *Glamour* also promotes self-love and the acceptance of one’s body, although these messages are often contrasted by suggestions to compensate for the undesired features of the body by accentuating one’s more attractive body parts.

5.4.2 Body Types in *Brigitte*

Representations of Different Body Types in Brigitte

Table 6 below displays the quantitative division of the women’s body types in *Brigitte*’s articles. Analysing women in exercise-related images revealed that a clear majority (45%, n=23) of the women in the web articles on *brigitte.de* are thin, toned and

have neither body fat nor too much muscle on them. Thus, they exemplify traditional Western ideals of the “perfect” female body. The second largest category is formed by athletic looking women (25%, n=13). Visible muscle mass can be seen pointing to physical strength, thus making athletic women represent resistant femininity. Average- and larger-bodied women constitute the smallest categories with only 2% (n=1) of the women representing average-bodied women and 4% (n=2) representing larger-bodied women.

Table 6. Women’s Body Types in Exercise-related Images on *brigitte.de*.

BODY TYPE	NUMBER OF WOMEN	PERCENTAGE %
Thin	23	45
Athletic (visible muscles)	13	25
Larger-bodied	2	4
Average	1	2
Inconclusive	12	24
Individual Women in Total	51	100

The different body types are represented in various ways. The thin and athletic women appear in all kinds of articles, but generally only in positive connections, where their bodies are celebrated and admired. The average-bodied women are mostly depicted being ashamed of their bodies, but on rare occasions they are also portrayed next to thin women without any further attention given to their body size. Both of the only two larger-bodied women are displayed in the same article about overweight people doing yoga. Thus, it is clearly indicated that women with more body mass belong to the margin. Placing larger-bodied women only in articles which focus on their body size limits the presence of certain types of women in the representations of exercise culture.

Muscles and Other Building Blocks of Attractiveness

Although many of the trainers and fitness models giving advice and inspiration to the reader represent the athletic type with muscular bodies and their hard work was praised and revered, muscles were primarily seen as a way to shape the body sexier. This balances the muscular bodies and the hard work done by women which represent resistant femininity, and the appearance-oriented goal of this work which, on the other hand, emphasises feminine attractiveness and traditional femininity. The following example demonstrates the balance between traditional and resistant femininity by describing the nature of muscle building:

- (81) *Definierte Bauchmuskeln, einen starken sexy Rücken, straffe Schultern und eine kurvige Kehrseite kommen nur vom Krafttraining.
Defined abs, a strong sexy back, firm shoulders and a curvy backside only come from weight training.*

Example (81) shows how a traditionally masculine form of exercising such as weight training can lead to distinctly feminine results such as *defined abs, a strong sexy back, firm shoulders and a curvy backside*. The adjectives in front of the body parts identify their femininity. More specifically, they underline the ideal look for women's muscles: firm and defined, but not too muscular. Although *stark* ('strong') is the first adjective mentioned, indicating primary incentive for the exercise, the adjective *sexy* following it is given equal importance through the lack of a connecting word. Additionally, example (81) represents an example of dissecting the female body into sexualised parts (*sexy, curvy*). The objectification of the woman is then masked by giving the body parts attributes, which aren't sexual, but instead refer to strength (*strong, firm*).

While having firm and toned muscles is encouraged and considered attractive, on the other hand, it is implied that there is a distinction between having an attractive amount of muscle and being too muscular:

- (82) *Ob ihr Muskel-Körper allerdings noch schön ist, ist eine andere Frage...
Whether her muscular body is still beautiful, is another question...*

Example (82) reveals the conflicting role women often might encounter in exercise and sport culture. Exercising and engaging in traditionally masculine exercise forms, such as weight lifting, is considered acceptable as long as it serves the purpose of shaping the body more feminine. As soon as a woman has 'too much' muscle, she is considered masculine and unattractive, as she does not fulfil the beauty ideals set for Western women. Interestingly, the comment in example (82) is made about a professional fitness model, thus demonstrating that women are expected to follow the societal beauty norms, even though they are professional athletes or fitness models and their lifestyle revolves around building muscle mass. A muscular female body represents resistant femininity and hence does not fit under traditional appearance expectations for women, even though the appearance-oriented motive for fitness modelling is ultimately in line with traditional femininity, despite the result often pointing more towards traditional masculinity than traditional femininity.

In addition to an appropriate amount of muscle, other bodily features are often mentioned. Example (83) indicates how favourable and attractive features are described with positive adjectives, such as *gewünscht* ('desired'), while examples (84) and (85) show how unattractive qualities are described with negative adjectives, such as *ungeliebt* ('unloved') and *lästig* ('annoying').

- (83) gewünschten Sixpack
desired six-pack
- (84) den ungeliebten Hüftspeck
unloved hip fat
- (85) dem lästigen Hüftspeck
annoying hip fat

However, it is not indicated, whether women themselves *desire* or think of these features as *unloved* or *annoying* or whether society expects them to think that way. It is likely, that women adopt such views from the media which then feed the views of attractive qualities back to them as if it were something the women themselves

initially wanted. Examples (83) to (85) all represent the traditionally feminine beauty ideals with their emphasis on the lean, fat free waist area.

The Maternal Body

The emphasis in articles featuring mothers is appearance-oriented. Stories discussing the themes of mothers, exercise, and looking attractive seem to create a certain division between women with no children and women with children, particularly in terms of the way they were expected to look. Example (86) states that, based on the woman's body, it is difficult to believe that she has four children.

- (86) Unfassbar! Dieser Muskel-Body hat VIER Kinder zur Welt gebracht
Unbelievable! This muscle body has given birth to FOUR children

This implies that a woman who has given birth looks a certain way. Based on the body of the woman in example (86) (see image 5 in Chapter 5.2.2), she is not expected to look thin and muscular. Beyond that, it is never mentioned explicitly what the expected look for a mother is. Based on the example, it could be said that although mothers are expected to look thin and attractive as they are still judged by the same criteria as all women are, they should not be **too** thin or **too** attractive, because then they won't look like mothers anymore. Certainly, they should not look too athletic, as that would suggest that they spend their time for selfish purposes, and do not care about their children (see the discussion on example (39) in Chapter 5.2.2). This contradictory relationship between motherhood and looking attractive is aptly described by Dworkin and Wachs (2009: 106): "exactly at the moment when a woman's body is accomplishing a highly valued route to femininity, she is least likely to be viewed as aesthetically ideal." In other words, while motherhood is often considered the epitome of traditional femininity and something that fulfils a woman's "deepest purpose", simultaneously a pregnant woman's body or the body of someone who has recently given birth does not fulfil the narrow conception of traditionally feminine beauty prevalent in the Western society. Thus, women who are also mothers seem to be subject to even more scrutiny regarding their appearance. As women, they

are expected to have an attractive body, but the role of mother sets certain limitations to achieving this goal, as society also has strict expectations regarding suitable behaviour for mothers. Thus, pursuing the slender maternal body can be seen as a way of distancing oneself from the maternal role, as it contradicts the expected “maternal look” (Williams, 2012: 45). Consequently, despite the praise and acclaim of women who have shed the baby weight fast, or are otherwise in a fit shape “for a mother”, dramatic transformations are nevertheless criticised:

- (87) Ein Vorbild für uns alle? Natürlich nicht - diese Abnahme ist ziemlich extrem und sieht, zumindest auf den Bildern, auch nicht gerade gesund aus. -- Schließlich haben die meisten von uns nach der Geburt auch andere Dinge im Kopf - wie etwa das Baby, das plötzlich die volle Aufmerksamkeit der Mutter will!
A role model for us all? Of course not - this kind of weight loss is rather extreme and at least in the photos does not look that healthy. – After all, most of us also have other things on our mind after giving birth – like the baby, who suddenly wants the mother’s full attention!

Example (87) is taken from an article with the headline “Wow! So sieht diese Frau nur zwei Monate nach der Geburt aus!” (“Wow! This woman looks like this only two months after giving birth!”). The headline and this endnote of the article strongly contradict one another. Although the producers of *Brigitte* decide to include an article admiring the woman’s quick transformation after childbirth, they nevertheless condemn the phenomenon of women getting back in their pre-pregnancy shape swiftly. Simultaneously, *Brigitte* seems to be encouraging women to look thin shortly after childbirth and judging the women following the example by pointing out that they should be giving their *full attention to the baby*. This is another good example of the conflict that the media create between motherhood and the expectations towards mothers’ physical appearance.

In sum, most women in *Brigitte* represent the thin body type (45%; n=23). Athletic women, who in addition to being muscular are also very thin, constitute the second largest category (25%; n=13). Both average-bodied (2%; n=1) and larger-bodied women (4%; n=2) are only marginally represented. Although muscles thus seem to be an appreciated feature on a woman, the textual examples nevertheless display

muscular women as a conflicted representation of femininity. Muscles are often seen acceptable only when they accentuate the feminine features of the body, but as soon as a woman is 'too' muscular, she is no longer considered attractive according to the Western beauty ideals. Besides muscles, *Brigitte* mentions other aspects of the female body which, according to societal expectations and beauty norms, are either desired, such as defined abdominal muscles, or undesired, such as hip fat. Another prominent phenomenon in *Brigitte* is the conflicted nature of the maternal body. Although mothers are judged according to the same beauty ideals as women without children, they are still expected to look like mothers. In other words, mothers balance between looking physically attractive, but not too sexualised.

5.4.3 Summary and Comparison of the Representations of Body Types and Physical Appearance

The body plays an important role in the representations of femininity in both *Glamour* and *Brigitte*. The body is an important tool of self-expression for women, as it could be argued that whereas men are usually valued on their actions, women are often judged based on their body and appearance.

A common phenomenon in both magazines is discussing the female body in parts. Dissecting the body enabled the objectification of the woman's body by portraying only the sexy body parts, such as the back, belly, and legs. *Brigitte* especially emphasises the beautification of the body by using sexualised adjectives in front of the words describing body parts. *Brigitte* often describes certain qualities of the body with positive and negative adjectives depending on the quality. For example, whereas a flat belly was a desired quality, fat was annoying or unwanted. *Glamour*, on the one hand, mostly describes the dissected body parts and muscle groups in association to exercise without mentioning any physical benefits besides getting stronger, thus emphasising the effect of the work. On the other hand, *Glamour* also uses a pattern of depicting the body as an art project, which objectifies the woman and her body. Muscles are a key factor in shaping the body. Although traditionally muscle building has pointed to

masculinity, the fitness culture as well as the magazines have turned shaping muscles into a tool for acquiring a traditionally feminine, slender body. However, as the magazines suggested, there is a certain limit, after which a woman is considered too muscular and no longer attractive.

The representations of different body types follow similar patterns in both *Glamour* and *Brigitte*. Most of the women present in the images are thin and athletic looking. Thus, they echo the narrow Western beauty ideals. Average-sized and larger-bodied women and women with disability are marginally represented. Even in the articles where they are present, the focus is on their body, which distinguishes them from the norm. Thus, women whose bodies differ from the Western beauty ideals or the norm are others and do not belong in the same group as thin and athletic women.

The only clear distinction between the two magazines is *Brigitte's* portrayal of the maternal body, which is a non-existent theme in *Glamour*. The maternal bodies are usually present in articles admiring the women's quick transformations back to their pre-pregnancy shape. Contradicting the admiration and astonishment, drastic transformations are also disapproved, and suggestions of negligence towards the women's children are made. In this respect, *Brigitte* seems more conservative than *Glamour*. The representations of maternal bodies indicate the conflicted attitudes towards mothers and their roles as women and caregivers. It could be argued that the women wanting to possess a slender body swiftly after childbirth indicates a desire to distance themselves from the maternal body by pursuing a slender, non-traditional maternal body.

To summarise, the representations of the female body in both magazines were heavily traditionalist. In other words, they in many ways represent the ideals of traditional femininity, which sees women as submissive (to men) and in general the weaker sex. The Western beauty ideals that the body representations follow also mirror the traditional view of femininity, according to which the female body should look slender yet curvy in the right places. Although strength is also referred to on occasion,

it is evident that the primary goal for the female body is to look attractive, and not to be strong if it threatens the feminine appearance of the body. Besides *Brigitte's* portrayal of the maternal body, there are no significant differences between the two magazines' representations of the female body and its standards for physical attractiveness.

6 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this study, I have examined the representations of femininity portrayed in *Glamour* and *Brigitte* magazines' exercise-related web articles. *Brigitte* and *Glamour* were chosen as the data for the present study as they both ranked as the most sold women's lifestyle magazines in their respective home countries, USA and Germany. Choosing magazines produced in their original language and culture made it possible to compare the representations of femininity between the two Western countries. For the analysis, I approached the subject using Lazar's (2005) framework of Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis and complemented it with Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) as well as Machin's (2007) outlines for image analysis to understand the multimodal aspects of the magazines better. Due to the scope of this study, I narrowed my focus onto women's agency, the motives for engaging in exercise and the depictions of the female body and physical attractiveness as the aspects of femininity most relevant for my purposes. In the examination of these different aspects, I used a range of analytic methods. Firstly, I analysed the agent roles given to women by using Williams' (2012) adaptation of Goffman's production format (1981) in the representations of agency in textual portrayals of women exercising. The visual examples were analysed through Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) concept of visual grammar. Secondly, I examined the construction of femininity through the motives the magazines provided for engaging in exercise by conducting a textual analysis of the articles. Finally, I inspected the representations of the female body, using image analysis to gather quantitative data of the various body types present in the images, as well as textual analysis to complement the representation in the images and to understand better the attitudes towards the female body in exercise and sport culture.

In terms of the agency given to women, I found that the three different agent roles, agent-instigator, agent-principal, and agent-executor were similarly represented in both magazines. All three agent types were shown to entail some agency, and only the extent of the woman's volition in her actions varied. Agent-instigators were women who were in a position of expert or authority. They gave the reader advice on exercise,

thus initiating the reader's work as well as taking responsibility for it. Both magazines contained a fair number of women in expert positions. Agent-principals were syntactically speaking the subjects of the finite sentence, and semantically they portrayed the woman actively engaged in specific actions. Due to the rarity of finite sentence structures in the articles, agent-principals were rather scarcely present, but nevertheless there. Agent-executors, on the other hand, being the "bodies in motion", were well represented. Portraying the women in agent roles, in other words giving them agency, resulted in representations of resistant femininity. In addition to the syntactic agency, women were depicted as active and passive through different semantic methods. For example, the woman's work was often hidden behind word choices, which, on the one hand, can indicate an attempt to disguise the effort required by working out to make it seem more appealing to the reader. On the other hand, it could be a language and context-related issue. For example, one possible reason for giving agency to the woman's body and individual body parts and depicting the woman as a mere passenger can be the surrounding magazine context. In other words, some of the ways in which agency was distributed in the articles was merely a matter of effective and fluent language use.

Secondly, I found that the motives for women to engage in exercise were mostly appearance-oriented and emphasised the importance of the traditionally feminine physical appearance in particular. Although developing the body and becoming stronger were also present as motives, it was evident that the primary goal was nevertheless attaining a more attractive body. Thirdly, my findings about the representation of the female body echo the findings of the motives for exercising, as the body ideals represented by both magazines were a manifestation of the narrow Western beauty ideals. The women represented in both magazines were mostly thin and athletic, and average-bodied and larger-bodied women as well as women with disability or a clear ethnic background were only marginally represented. In *Brigitte*, the phenomenon of slender maternal bodies was also present. Mothers were depicted as pursuing a slender body quickly after giving birth, perhaps to distance themselves from the association to the maternal body and to be considered physically attractive

in comparison to other women.

My first research question was concerned with examining the representations of women in terms of agency, motivations for exercise, and their bodies and physical appearance. Additionally, I analysed these representations to determine whether they portrayed characteristics of resistant or traditional femininity. As already discussed above, women were represented in many different roles, yet the representations of their incentives for exercise and their bodies were mostly appearance-oriented. While the various agent roles offered portrayals of both traditional and resistant feminine ideologies, the motives and the women's body types mainly pointed to traditional femininity. For example, some of *Brigitte's* examples regarding women's muscular appearance and athletic-looking mothers were heavily conservative in the sense that **too** much muscle was deemed unattractive according to traditionally feminine beauty ideals, and mothers spending time shaping their bodies were disapproved for not giving their full attention to their children. Based on the articles, it could be argued that although the values of traditional femininity appreciated in the first half of the 20th century still affect the expectations towards femininity and how women should look and behave, the instrumental and agentive properties associated with resistant femininity are also expected of today's women. In other words, the magazines' portrayals of femininity indicate the constant pursuit of balance in women's lives.

The second research question focused on examining the similarities and differences between the American and German representations. In my analysis, I discovered that there were not many distinguishable differences between the representations in *Glamour* and *Brigitte*. Whereas one magazine portrayed more traditionally feminine values on a particular aspect in a way different from the other magazine, the situation was often reversed concerning another aspect. Thus, it could be argued that the Western beauty ideals and other conceptions of femininity are rather similar in both the American and German magazine. Additionally, the magazines' differing editorial concepts can explain some of the differences, for example in the case of the division of agent roles. *Brigitte*, for instance, seemed to portray the women as less assertive and

more polite, and avoiding taking responsibility for the instructions they were giving, even when they were given the role of agent-instigator. As the same phenomenon was also present in *Glamour*, although a lesser extent, it is likely that the polite nature of the German language and the magazines' editorial concepts are the reason for this. However, as already mentioned above, *Brigitte* expressed more conservative views in some aspects than *Glamour*. Moreover, *Brigitte's* portrayal of the female body was often sexualized even in purely exercise-related contexts, such as describing the workouts. *Glamour*, on the other hand, sexualized the body to a lesser extent and instead focused on the agentive properties of the body, emphasizing the woman's work. In regards to the health aspect of exercise, *Brigitte's* views were more holistic and emphasized both mental and physical sides of being healthy, whereas *Glamour* depicted health as a more one-dimensional phenomenon. More specifically, *Glamour* portrayed health as a kind of "necessary evil" that was performed to a minimal extent. Unfortunately, as the sample in this study has been rather narrow, these results cannot be widely generalized to speak for the cultural values of the magazines' home countries.

My findings echo the results of earlier research on women's magazines and the representation of women and femininity, as they also suggest that women's magazines offer narrow and traditionally feminine representations of women even in the context of exercise and sport, which culturally is seen as a masculine arena. In terms of agency analysis, my findings are similar to Williams' (2012) findings on American women's magazines. However, the present study also offers insight into the agentive representations of a German magazine and discusses how cultural and language-related aspects can affect the division of agency to participants. Additionally, since the present study also examined the visual representations of women's agency, my findings offer new insight into the relationship between textual and visual representations. As the analysis suggests, the textual and visual examples contradicted one another to some extent. Whereas the textual representations tended to mitigate the woman's agency in various ways, the image representations in both *Glamour* and *Brigitte* indicated that a majority of the women were active and possessed

various agent roles. As for the body image-related results, the present study repeated the messages of narrow beauty ideals found by for example Eskes et al. (1998), Kennedy and Pappa (2011), and Conlin and Bissell (2014). However, the findings of the discourse regarding maternal bodies in an exercise context also offered new insight into the appearance-related expectations towards women and indicated that even during and directly after pregnancy, women are scrutinized according to strict criteria.

For other researchers in the field of FCDA, this study has provided an analysis of the way in which women and femininity are depicted in an exercise-related context in magazines directed at the 'every woman', not only in fitness-oriented magazines, whose target audience is arguably more fitness-oriented as well. However, the focus of this study was simultaneously wider than just the representation of the body, including also other ways of constructing femininity, such as agency and the motives behind the women's actions. This study also attempted to compare representations of women cross-nationally. At the same time, due to the scope of this study, the results have provided a mere glimpse into the phenomena studied. Thus, my findings on the above-mentioned aspects call for further and more extensive study.

In a broader spectrum, the findings of this study have illustrated the narrow depictions of women in the media. It is particularly curious that, as women's magazines are ultimately made by women for women, as well as being consumed mostly by women, one could expect a more empowered form of discourse from them. From this perspective, studies such as the present one encourage readers to have criticality when consuming the media images to which we are subjected daily. The producers of the magazines could also benefit from these findings and rethink their representations of women, particularly in terms of adding a more empowered discourse of women with agentive properties and widening the possibly harmful and unrealistic depictions of the female body towards a more realistic and diverse direction. However, as the vast field of research before my study has shown, change tends to move slowly and is not always linear.

Although the starting point for this study was rather critical towards women's magazines, I have managed to approach the subject objectively and draw conclusions that are not overtly critical considering the rather polarized nature of the data. As the scope of this study has been relatively narrow, and any one of the aspects of femininity that have been discussed in this thesis would alone provide enough material for a study, the findings of this thesis have provided a mere footing for further research. However, I attempted to conduct a comprehensive analysis of my data, and designed the study so that my analysis would reveal as much as possible about the phenomena examined. In hindsight, nevertheless, perhaps narrowing the data and the research questions would have allowed results that could be generalized more. Due to the vast amount of my data, I could only analyse a handful of it, thus only scratching the surface of the possible representations in the magazines. Additionally, to study the differences between the representations of femininity properly in different countries, one would need a much larger data sample and more resources for conducting the analysis. Although the results cannot be generalised, I am, overall, satisfied with the conducted analysis and the outcome of the present study.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary sources

glamour.com

- “5 Genius Ways to Get a Full-Body Workout With Just a Jump Rope” *glamour.com*, 17 Jul 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/5-genius-ways-to-get-a-full-body-workout-with-just-a-jump-rope>.
- Arneson, K. “Pink Just Posted an Inspiring, Empowering Message About Health, BMI, and Body Image” *glamour.com*, 1 Apr 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/pink-just-posted-an-inspiring-empowering-message-about-health-bmi-and-body-image>.
- Arneson, K. “This Fitness Model Shared a Pic of Her Cellulite – and Then Got Real About Self-Love” *glamour.com*, 15 Apr 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/this-fitness-model-shared-a-pic-of-her-celluliteand-then-got-real-about-fitness-and-self-love>.
- Chan, L. “I Tried Surfing for the First Time, and Damn, It's So Hard” *glamour.com*, 15 Aug 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/i-tried-surfing-for-the-first-time-and-damn-its-so-hard>.
- Dreisbach, S. “Hello Side Abs! How to Tone Your Obliques So They Look Amazing” *glamour.com*, 1 Apr 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/how-to-tone-obliques>.
- Dreisbach, S. “How Jessica Long became a 17-time Paralympic Medalist Swimmer” *glamour.com*, 9 June 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/how-jessica-long-became-a-17-time-paralympic-medalist-swimmer>.
- Dreisbach, S. “The Bootcamp Workout You'll Actually Want to Do” *glamour.com*, 13 Jul 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/the-bootcamp-workout-youll-actually-want-to-do>.
- Dreisbach, S. “The 30 Minute Workout You Can Do Anywhere” *glamour.com*, 28 Dec 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/a-30-minute-workout-you-can-do-anywhere>.
- Dreisbach, S. “The Best Workouts for Your Body Type” *glamour.com*, 29 Dec 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/the-best-workouts-for-your-body-type>.
- Friedman, K. “Sorry: A Hot Bath Doesn't Exactly Burn as Many Calories as a Run” *glamour.com*, 31 Mar 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/hot-bath-does-not-burn-as-many-calories-as-a-run>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. “Give Your Fitness Routine a Spring Cleaning With the Tone It Up Girls” *glamour.com*, 28 Mar 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/toner-it-up-girls-fitness>.

- Gaynes Levy, S. "We Love the Message From Athleta's New Empowering Campaign" *glamour.com*, 18 Apr 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/we-love-the-message-from-athletas-empowering-new-campaign>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "The 7-Minute Workout You Can Do Anywhere" *glamour.com*, 18 May 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/the-7-minute-workout-you-can-do-anywhere>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "Instagram Yoga Star Jessamyn Stanley Shares Her Headstand Secrets" *glamour.com*, 14 June 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/instagram-yoga-star-jessamyn-stanley-shares-her-headstand-secrets>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "Here's a 30-Day Squat Challenge You'll Actually Enjoy Doing" *glamour.com*, 15 June 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/heres-a-30-day-squat-challenge-youll-actually-enjoy-doing>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "Your 30-Day Summer Workout Challenge" *glamour.com*, 18 Jul 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/gallery/your-30-day-summer-workout-challenge>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "The Secrets Behind the Newest Supermodel-Approved Workout" *glamour.com*, 9 Aug 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/the-secrets-behind-the-newest-supermodel-approved-workout>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "How to *Actually* Have an Awesome At-Home Work Out" *glamour.com*, 6 Oct 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/how-to-actually-have-an-awesome-at-home-work-out>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "3 Quick and Easy Lower-Body Workouts from Tone It Up Founders Karena and Katrina" *glamour.com*, 4 Jan 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/3-quick-and-easy-lower-body-workouts-from-tone-it-up-founders-karena-and-katrina>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "I Tried Jogging in "Air" Sneakers and It Was Like Running on Clouds" *glamour.com*, 3 Apr 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/i-tried-running-in-nike-air-vapormax-sneakers>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "7 Moves We Should All Steal From Drake's Fitness Routine" *glamour.com*, 4 Apr 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/drake-fitness-tips-anyone-can-steal>.
- Gaynes Levy, S. "I Went on a Quest to Find a Sports Bra That Doesn't Suck" *glamour.com*, 2 May 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/lululemon-enlite-sports-bra-review>.
- Gold, M. "The Body by Glamour Supermodel Workout Challenge" *glamour.com*, 1 Jan 2015. <https://www.glamour.com/gallery/gisele-workout-supermodel-moves-from-trainer-jill-payne#7>.
- Golstein, J. M. "Professional Stuntwomen Share Their Best Real-World Fitness Tips" *glamour.com*, 17 Jan 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/professional->

- stuntwomen-share-their-best-fitness-tips.
- Hilmantel, R. "What Weights Should I Be Using Anyway?" *glamour.com*, 1 Jul 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/what-weights-to-use>.
- Hilmantel, R. "Can Light Weights Get You Just As Toned As Heavier Ones?" *glamour.com*, 22 Jul 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/can-light-weights-get-you-just-as-toned-as-heavier-ones>.
- "How Fit Are You? The Workout Test You'll Actually Want to Take" *glamour.com*, 28 Feb 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/how-fit-are-you-test>.
- Hubbard, L. "I Tried an Under-Desk Elliptical Machine, Because January" *glamour.com*. 4 Jan 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/i-tried-an-under-desk-elliptical-machine>.
- Lanquist, L. "USA Boxing Finally Allows Muslim Women to Box in Their Hijabs" *glamour.com*, 1 May 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/usa-boxing-allows-muslim-women-to-box-in-hijabs>.
- Logan, E. "How to Work Out Like a TV Character, Because Why Not?" *glamour.com*, Jan 10 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/how-to-work-out-like-a-tv-character>.
- Miller, K. "This Ultramarathoner's Attitude Toward Working Out Is Everything" *glamour.com*, 21 Mar 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/roxy-blasio-ultramarathons>.
- Miller, K. "What's the Deal with Working Out When You're Sick?" *glamour.com*, 8 Apr 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/work-out-when-sick>.
- Miller K. "What's the Absolute Minimum Amount You Need to Work Out?" *glamour.com*, 6 Jul 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/minimum-amount-need-to-work-out>.
- Rosa, C. "Just Watching Victoria's Secret Models Work Out Before Their Big Show Will Exhaust You" *glamour.com*, 11 Nov 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/victorias-secret-models-workout>.
- Schlinger, A. "I Tried the Nike+ Apple Watch and It Actually Made Me Enjoy Running" *glamour.com*, 4 Nov 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/i-tried-the-nike-apple-watch-and-it-actually-made-me-enjoy-running>.
- Schlinger, A. "The 9 All-Time Best Ab Exercises" *glamour.com*, 4 Nov 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/gallery/the-9-all-time-best-ab-exercises>.
- Schlinger, A. "This 10 Minute Workout Will Change Your Body" *glamour.com*, 1 Dec 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/this-10-minute-workout-will-change-your-body>.
- Schlinger, A. "15 Hacks for Working Out Indoors" *glamour.com*, 2 Dec 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/gallery/15-hacks-for-working-out-indoors>.
- Schlinger, A. "I Worked Out With The Bachelorette's Shawn Booth and Earned My Fitness Rose" *glamour.com*, 12 Jan 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/i>

- worked-out-with-the-bachelorettes-shawn-booth-and-earned-my-fitness-rose.
Schlinger, A. "I Did Yoga With a Goat on My Back and It Was Surprisingly Zen" glamour.com, 30 Jan 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/i-did-yoga-with-a-goat-on-my-back-and-it-was-surprisingly-zen>.
- Schlinger, A. and Friedman, K. "11 Amazing Butt Exercises You've Never Tried Before" glamour.com, 6 Feb 2017 <https://www.glamour.com/gallery/11-of-the-best-butt-exercises-youve-never-tried>.
- Schlinger, A. "These Celebrity Trainers Swear It's Possible to Get a Good Workout in 5 Minutes" glamour.com, 3 May 2017. <https://www.glamour.com/story/these-celebrity-trainers-swear-its-possible-to-get-a-good-workout-in-5-minutes>.
- "The Hottest New Piece of Workout Equipment Is a Mermaid Tail" glamour.com, 17 June 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/mermaid-fitness>.
- Yara, S. "YouTube Star Chrissy Shares Her Workout!" glamour.com, 23 Jul 2015. <https://www.glamour.com/story/chrissy-weight-loss-workout>.
- "We Tried Fall's 5 Best Leggings and, Honestly, They All Impressed Us" glamour.com, 16 Sep 2016. <https://www.glamour.com/story/we-tried-falls-5-best-leggings-and-honestly-they-all-impressed-us>.

brigitte.de

- "4 Fitnessgeräte, die alles andere als effektiv sind" brigitte.de, 20 Feb 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fitnessgeraete--die-nicht-effektiv-sind-10901680.html>.
- "5 Fitnessübungen, die ihr im Bett machen könnt" brigitte.de, 25 Apr 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/zu-faul-zum-workout---5-fitnessuebungen--die-ihr-im-bett-machen-koennt-10168094.html>.
- "5 Gründe, warum ihr JETZT mit dem Workout anfangen solltet" brigitte.de, 7 Apr 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/sport-motivation--5-gruende-mit-dem-training-zu-starten-10917700.html>.
- "6 Dinge, die du nach jedem Workout tun solltest" brigitte.de, 6 Jul 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/trainings-tipps--6-dinge--die-du-nach-jedem-workout-tun-solltest-10717050.html>.
- "7 beliebte Sportarten: So unterschiedlich formen sie eure Figur" brigitte.de, 27 Sep 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/7-beliebte-sportarten-so-unterschiedlich-formen-sie-eure-figur-10850212.html>.
- "10 Ideen, um Zeit beim Sport zu sparen" brigitte.de, 23 June 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/effektiv--10-ideen--um-zeit-beim-sport-zu-sparen-10723028.html>.
- "Ab in die Mitte, Power Workout" brigitte.de, 25 Apr 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/bodyart--ab-in-die-mitte--power-workout-10657730.html>.

- “Balance-Aerobic für einen starken Rücken” brigitte.de, 19 May 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/workout--balance-aerobic-fuer-einen-starken-ruecken-10098360.html>.
- “Bikini-Body: Diese Sportarten bringen euch in Top-Form” brigitte.de, 6 Apr 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/sportarten--mit-denen-ihr-schnell-abnehmen-koennt-10917050.html>.
- “Charlotte Würdig über ihren After-Baby-Body, ihren Sport - und ihre Kritiker” brigitte.de, 29 Jul 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/charlotte-wuerdig-im-interview--trainieren-nach-der-geburt-10832660.html>.
- “Dein Körpertyp verrät, welches Workout du brauchst” brigitte.de, 21 Apr 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/koerperbau--dein-koerper-typ-verraet--welches-workout-du-brauchst-10168524.html>.
- “Diese 6 Fehler solltest du beim Sport unbedingt vermeiden!” brigitte.de, 7 Dec 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/gesund-dank-sport--diese-fehler-solltest-du-beim-training-vermeiden-10876230.html>.
- “Diese 7 Yoga-Übungen stärken deine Core-Muskulatur” brigitte.de, 26 Apr 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/yoga-balance/yoga-uebungen-zur-staerkung-der-core-muskulatur-10922700.html>.
- “Diese Fitness-Blogger machen richtig Lust auf Sport!” brigitte.de, 10 Mar 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fitness-blogger-machen-lust-auf-sport-10908886.html>.
- “Dieses Foto zeigt, wie egal euer Körpergewicht wirklich ist” brigitte.de, 27 Jul 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/instagram-star-zeigt-mit-diesem-bild--wie-unwichtig-das-koerpergewicht-ist-10832020.html>.
- “Diese Mutter zeigt, wie ihr Yoga und Kids sinnvoll kombinieren könnt” brigitte.de, 31 Jan 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/yoga-balance/yoga-mum-trainiert-mit-ihren-beiden-kindern-10894238.html>.
- “Diese Übungen solltest du meiden, wenn du abnehmen möchtest “ brigitte.de, 27 June 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/workout-tipps--diese-uebungen-solltest-du-meiden--wenn-du-abnehmen-moechtest-10805380.html>.
- “Diese Übungen sorgen für straffe Beine” brigitte.de, 31 May 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/workout--diese-uebungen-sorgen-fuer-straefe-beine-10114506.html>.
- “Du bist unsportlich? Mit diesen 6 Tipps wirst du sportlich!” brigitte.de, 5 Jan 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/sport-motivation--mit-diesen-tipps-kannst-du-dich-aufraffen-10885328.html>.
- “Du hast Laufen? Dann probiere eines dieser Workouts!” brigitte.de, 13 May 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/sportmuffel--du-hast-laufen--dann-probiere-eines-dieser-workouts--10167240.html>. “So laufen Sie im Winter

- gesund und sicher weiter" brigitte.de, 05 Dec 2014.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/jogging--so-laufen-sie-im-winter-gesund-und-sicher-weiter-10696066.html>.
- "Fitness für zu Hause - das beste Programm!" brigitte.de, 2 June 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/workout--fitness-fuer-zu-hause---das-beste-programm--10598332.html>.
- "Fitness-Lexikon: Sportkurse von A bis Z" brigitte.de, 2 Dec 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fitness-lexikon--sportkurse-von-a-bis-z-10085408.html>.
- "Fitnesstrends 2017: So trainieren wir im neuen Jahr!" brigitte.de, 17 Feb 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fitnesstrends-2017--so-verausgaben-wir-uns-im-neuen-jahr-10883750.html>.
- "Harvard-Studie: Mit dieser Übung bekommst du am schnellsten einen Sixpack!" brigitte.de, 25 Apr 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/harvard-studie--planks-sind-am-besten-fuer-den-sixpack-10922274.html>.
- "Hängebusen ade: Diese Yoga-Übungen straffen deine Brüste" brigitte.de, 15 Feb 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/yoga-balance/straffe-brueste-7-yoga-uebungen-fuer-einen-schoenen-busen-10899976.html>.
- "Inspirierende Worte: Das sagt Pink über ihre "Fettleibigkeit"" brigitte.de, 3 Apr 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/pink-spricht-auf-instagram-ueber-ihre-fettleibigkeit-10916052.html>.
- "Ist Yoga auch etwas für schwere Menschen?" brigitte.de, 16 June 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/yoga-balance/yoga-fuer-uebergewichtige--ist-yoga-auch-etwas-fuer-schwere-menschen--10177122.html>. "So hält uns Sport jung" brigitte.de, 19 May 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/tipps--so-haelt-uns-sport-jung-10153544.html>.
- "Krasser Vergleich! So wirkt sich Cardio vs. Krafttraining auf den Körper aus" brigitte.de, 10 Oct 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/cardio-vs--krafttraining--das-macht-es-mit-deinem-koerper-10968838.html>.
- "Laufen - der Trainingsplan für Einsteiger" brigitte.de, 2 June 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/ausdauer--laufen---der-trainingsplan-fuer-einsteiger-10132086.html>.
- "Mit dieser 5-Minuten-Übung bekommst du einen straffen Bauch" brigitte.de, 8 Aug 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/5-minuten-uebung-fuer-einen-straffen-bauch-10835078.html>.
- "Mit dieser einfachen Atemtechnik bekommt ihr einen flachen Bauch" brigitte.de, 22 Feb 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/bauch-vakuum-diese-atemtechnik-sorgt-fuer-einen-flachen-bauch-10902862.html>.

- “Nachgefragt: Wie werden wir bis zum Sommer Bikini-fit?” brigitte.de, 11 Apr 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fitness-bloggerinnen-erzaehlen--so-werdet-ihr-bikini-fit-10918766.html>.
- “Neue Studie: Darum solltest du vor dem Frühstück trainieren” brigitte.de, 27 Apr 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fruehsport-verbrennt-laut-studie-am-meisten-fett-10922864.html>.
- “Oberarmtraining für feste Arme” brigitte.de, 30 June 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/workout--oberarmtraining-fuer-feste-arme-10132836.html>
- “Ran an den Hüftspeck – mit diesen 3 Übungen!” brigitte.de, 17 Feb 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/hueftspeck-loswerden-mit-diesen-3-uebungen-10901024.html>.
- “Richtig laufen - die besten Tipps” brigitte.de, 30 May 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/ausdauer--richtig-laufen---die-besten-tipps-10091520.html>.
- “Sport-Sucht: Erin trainiert 8 Stunden am Tag!” brigitte.de, 26 Apr 2017.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/sport-sucht--frau-trainiert-acht-stunden-am-tag-10922562.html>.
- “Unfassbar! Dieser Muskel-Body hat VIER Kinder zur Welt gebracht” brigitte.de, 14 Dec 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/sophie-guidolin--das-fitness-model-hat-vier-kinder-10878968.html>.
- “Warum die Promis derzeit Liegestütze im Akkord Machen” brigitte.de, 27 Sep 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/22-pushup-challenge--warum-promis-aktuell-liegestuetze-machen-10850372.html>.
- “Wie euch Seilspringen zum Sixpack verhilft” brigitte.de, 7 Jul 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/fitnessstudio-ade--warum-euch-seilspringen-zum-sixpack-fuehrt-10169180.html>.
- “Wow! So sieht diese Frau nur zwei Monate nach der Geburt aus” brigitte.de, 30 Sep 2016. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/fitness-fatburn/after-baby-body--so-sieht-diese-frau-zwei-monate-nach-der-geburt-aus-10852114.html>.
- “Yoga mit 98: Von dieser Dame können wir uns einiges abgucken!” brigitte.de, 30 Mar 2017. <https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/yoga-balance/tao-porchon-lynch-macht-mit-98-jahren-immer-noch-yoga-10915322.html>.
- “Yoga nach dem Joggen - für mehr Beweglichkeit” brigitte.de, 20 May 2016.
<https://www.brigitte.de/gesund/yoga-balance/yoga-stretching--yoga-nach-dem-joggen---fuer-mehr-beweglichkeit-10206892.html>.

Secondary sources

Alliance for Audited Media. (2016). [online]

- <http://abcas3.auditedmedia.com/ecirc/magtitlesearch.asp>. (7 June 2017).
- Al Zidjaly, N. (2009). Agency as an interactive achievement. *Language in Society*, 38(2), 177-200. DOI: 10.1017/S0047404509090320.
- Anschutz, D., Van Strien, T., Becker, E. and Engels, R. (2011). Nothing compares to you: The influence of body size of models in print advertising and body comparison processes on women's body image. (189-201). In Greene S. B. (ed.). (2011). *Body image: Perceptions, interpretations and attitudes*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Ballaster R. (ed.). (1991). *Women's worlds: Ideology, femininity and the woman's magazine*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Bensow, L. (2016). „Frauen und Mädchen, die Juden sind Euer Verderben!“ - Eine Untersuchung antisemitischer NS-Propaganda unter Anwendung der Analysekategorie Geschlecht. Hamburg: Marta Press.
- Bolin, A. and Granskog, J. (2003). *Athletic intruders: Ethnographic research on women, culture, and exercise*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Botta, R. A. (1999). Television images and adolescent girls' body image disturbance. *Journal of Communication*, Spring, 22-41. doi: [10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02791.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02791.x).
- Brigitte Portfolio (2018). Grüner + Jahr, <https://www.gujmedia.de/print/portfolio/brigitte/profil/>. (27 May 2018).
- Burton, G. (2010). *Gendered magazines*. https://www.mheducation.co.uk/media/wysiwyg/openup/burton_gendered_magazines.pdf. (13 August 2018).
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Tenth Anniversary Edition*. New York: Routledge.
- Cash, T. F., Cash, D. W., and Butters, J. W. (1983). Mirror, mirror, on the wall ...?': Contrast effects and self-evaluations of physical attractiveness. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9, 351-358. doi: 10.1177/0146167283093004.
- Conlin, L. and Bissell, K. (2014). Beauty ideals in the checkout aisle: Health-related messages in women's fashion and fitness magazines. *Journal of Magazine & New Media Research*, 15 (2), 1-19. doi: 10.1177/1464884917716818.
- Connor-Greene, P. A. (1988). Gender differences in body weight perception and weight-loss strategies of college students. *Women and Health*, 14, 27-42. doi: 10.1300/J013v14n02_03.
- Davis, P. and Weaving, C. (2010). *Philosophical perspectives on gender in sport and physical activity*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Duffy B. E. (2013). *Remake, remodel: Women's magazines in the digital age*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- du Gay, P., Hall, S., James, L., Mackay, H., and Negus, K. (1997). *Doing Cultural Studies: The story of the Sony Walkman*. London: Sage.
- Duncan, M. C. (1990). Sports photographs and sexual difference: Images of women and men in the 1984 and 1988 Olympic games. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 7, 22-43.

- doi: 10.1123/ssj.7.1.22.
- Duncan, M. C. (1994). The politics of women's body images and practices: Foucault, the panopticon, and shape magazine. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 18(1), 48-65. doi: 10.1177/019372394018001004.
- Dworkin, S. L. (2009). *Body panic: Gender, health, and the selling of fitness*. New York: New York University Press.
- Eagly, A. H. and Steffen, V. J. (1984). Gender stereotypes stem from the distribution of women and men into social roles. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(4), 735-754.
- Eskes, T. B., Duncan, M. C. and Miller, E. M. (1998). The discourse of empowerment: Foucault, Marcuse, and women's fitness texts. *Journal of Sports & Social Issues*, 22(3), 317-344.
- Evans, S. (2012). German magazine *Brigitte* overturns 'no models' rule. BBC News [online] <http://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-19504587>. (13 Oct 2017).
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). *Language and power* (2nd ed.). Harlow, Eng.: New York: Longman.
- Ferguson, M. (1983). *Forever feminine: Women's magazines and the cult of femininity*. London: Heinemann.
- Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, 7, 117-140. doi: 10.1177/001872675400700202.
- Field, A. E., Camargo, A. Jr., Taylor, C. B., Berkley, C. S., Frazier, L., Gillman, M. W. and Colditz, G. A. (1999). Overweight, weight concerns, and bulimic behavior among girls and boys. *Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry* 38, 754-760. doi: 10.1097/00004583-199906000-00024.
- Gender [def. 2]. (n.d.). In *Oxford Dictionaries Online*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/gender>. (14 August 2018).
- Gendered. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster Online*. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/gendered>. (15 August 2018).
- Gerhard, K. H. (2016). International women's periodicals: Late 18th century to the Great Depression. [online] http://iwp.library.cornell.edu/i/iwp/women_intro.html. (18 July 2017).
- Gill, R. (2007). *Gender and the media*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gill, R. (2009). Supersexualize me! Advertising and the 'midriffs'. Attwood, F. (2009). *Mainstreaming sex: The sexualization of Western culture*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Glamour Media Kit. (2017). Per request from Condé Nast Publications.
- Glamour Media Kit. (2018). Condé Nast Publications, <http://s16896.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/Glamour.pdf>. (27 May 2018).

- Goffman, E. (1981). *Footing. Forms of talk*. Philadelphia (PA): University of Pennsylvania Press. (pp. 124-159).
- Goodwin, C. and Goodwin, M. H. (2004), "Participation", In Duranti, A. (ed.), *A companion to Linguistic Anthropology (Alessandro Duranti, ed.)*, Oxford (Blackwell), pp. 222-244.
- Gough-Yates A. (2003). *Understanding women's magazines: Publishing, markets and readerships*. London: New York: Routledge.
- Hagger, M., and Chatzisarantis, N. (2005). *Social psychology of exercise and sport*. Maidenhead, England; New York: Open University Press.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1978), *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hallstein, D. L. O. (2015). *Bikini-ready moms: Celebrity profiles, motherhood, and the body*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hardin, M., Lynn, S. and Walsdorf, K. (2005). Challenge and Conformity on "Contested Terrain": Images of Women in Four Women's Sport/Fitness Magazines. *Sex Roles*, 53 (1-2), 105-117. doi: 10.1007/s11199-005-4285-6.
- Hargreaves, J. (1994). *Sporting females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Harrison, K., and Cantor, J. (1997). The relationship between media consumption and eating disorders. *Journal of Communication*, 47(1), 40-67.
- Hermes, J. (1997). *Reading women's magazines*.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2007). *The cult of thinness* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Holmes, J. and Marra, M. (2010). Femininity, feminism and gendered discourse. Retrieved from <http://www.cambridgescholars.com/download/sample/58783>. (14 August 2018).
- Horne, J. (2006). *Sport in consumer culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ideology [def. 1]. (n. d.). In *Oxford Dictionaries Online*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ideology>. (27 Apr 2018).
- Inness, S. (2004). Pretty tough: The cult of femininity in women's magazines. In Carter, C. and Steiner, L. (eds.), *Critical readings: Media and gender*. Maidenhead: Open University Press. (pp. 123-143).
- Irvin, S. (2016). *Body aesthetics* (First edition.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kaiser, U. (2002). Optimal cover prices and the effects of website provision on advertising and magazine demand. [online] <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/24590/1/dp0254.pdf>. (12 July 2017)

- Karan, K., Park, C. S. and Xie, W. J. (2016) Online women's magazines: Differences in perceptions between print and online magazines among female readers. *Advances in Journalism and Communication*, 4(1), 31-42. doi: 10.4236/ajc.2016.41004.
- Kennedy, E., and Markula, P. (2011). *Women and exercise: The body, health and consumerism*. New York: Routledge.
- Kennedy, E. and Pappa, E. (2011). Love your body? The discursive construction of exercise in women's lifestyle and fitness magazines. In: *Women and exercise: The Body, Health and Consumerism*. New York: Routledge.
- Kress, G. (2012). Multimodal discourse analysis. In Gee, J. P. and Handford, M. (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of discourse analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Kress, G. & Leeuwen, T. v. (2006). *Reading images: The grammar of visual design* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Lakoff, R. T. and Bucholtz, M. (2004). *Language and woman's place: Text and commentaries* (Rev. and expanded ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lazar, M. M. (2005). *Feminist critical discourse analysis: Gender, power, and ideology in discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist critical discourse analysis: Articulating a feminist discourse praxis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4(2), 142-164. doi: 10.1080/17405900701464816.
- Lazar, M. M. (2017). Feminist critical discourse analysis. In Flowerdew, J. and Richardson, J. E. (eds.). (2017). *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*. London: Routledge.
- Litosseliti, L. (2006). *Gender and language: Theory and practice*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Machin, D. (2007). *Introduction to multimodal analysis*. London: New York: Hodder Arnold; Distributed in the U.S.A. by Oxford University Press.
- Machin, D. and Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction*. London: Sage.
- MacNeill, M. (1994). Active women, media representations and identity. In Birrell, S. and Cole, C. L. (eds.). *Women, sport, and culture*. Champaign (IL): Human Kinetics. pp. 273-287.
- Malkin, A. R., Wornian, K., and Chrisler, J. C. (1999). Women and weight: Gendered messages on magazine covers. *Sex Roles*, 40, 647-655. doi: 10.1023/A:1018848332464.
- Markula, P. (1995). Firm but shapely, fit but sexy, strong but thin: The postmodern aerobicizing female bodies. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 12, 424-453. doi: 10.1123/ssj.12.4.424.
- Markula, P. (2001). Beyond the perfect body: Women's body image distortion in fitness magazine discourse. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 25(2), 158-179. doi:

- 10.1177/0193723501252004.
- Markula, P. (2003). Postmodern aerobics: Contradiction and resistance. In Bolin, A. and Granskog, J. (2003). *Athletic intruders: Ethnographic research on women, culture and exercise*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Markula, P. and Kennedy, E. (2011). Beyond binaries: Contemporary approaches to women and exercise. In Kennedy, E. and Markula P. (eds.) (2011). *Women and exercise: The body, health and consumerism*. New York: Routledge.
- McElhinny, B. (2003). Theorizing gender in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. In Holmes, J. and Meyerhoff, M. (2003). *The handbook of language and gender*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.
- McEuen, M. A. (2011). *Making war, making women: Femininity and duty on the American home front, 1941-1945*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Mott, Frank Luther. (1966). *A history of American magazines: 1741-1850* (v. 1). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Pietikäinen S. and Mäntynen A. (2009). *Kurssi kohti diskurssia*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Posavac, H. D., Posavac, S. S., and Weigel, R. G. (2001). Reducing the impact of media images on women at risk for body image disturbance: Three targeted interventions. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 20(3), 324-340. doi: 10.1521/jscp.20.3.324.22308.
- Rupp, L. J. (1978). *Mobilizing women for war: German and American propaganda, 1939-1945*. Princeton, N.J.
- Sex [def. 2]. (n.d.). In Oxford Dictionaries Online. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/sex>. (14 August 2018).
- Smolak, L. (2006). Body image. In J. Worell, and C. D. Goodheart (Eds.), *Handbook of girls' and women's psychological health: Gender and well-being across the lifespan*. Oxford series in clinical psychology (pp. 69-76). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Stice, E., Spangler, D., and Agras, W. S. (2001). Exposure to media-portrayed thin-ideal images adversely affects vulnerable girls: A longitudinal experiment. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 20(3), 270-288. doi: 10.1521/jscp.20.3.270.22309.
- Storey, J. (2010). *Cultural studies and the study of popular culture* (Third edition: revised and expanded.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Strahan, E. J., Wilson, A. E., Cressman, K. E. and Buote, V. M. (2006). Comparing to perfection: How cultural norms for appearance affect social comparisons and self-image. *Body Image*, 3, 211-227. doi: 10.1016/j.bodyim.2006.07.004.
- Suls, J., Martin, R. and Wheeler, L. (2002). Social comparison: Why, with whom, and with what effect? *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 11(5), 159-163. doi: 10.1111/1467-8721.00191.
- Synnott, A. (1993). *The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society*. London: Routledge.

- Thomsen, S. R., Bower, D. W. and Barnes, M. D. (2004). Photographic images in women's health, fitness, and sports magazines and the physical self-concept of a group of adolescent female volleyball players. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 28(3), 266-283. doi: 10.1177/0193723504266991.
- Wasylikiw, L., Emms, A. A., Meuse, R. and Poirier, K. F. (2009). Are all models created equal? A content analysis of women in advertisements of fitness versus fashion magazines. *Body Image*, 6(2), 137-140. doi: 10.1016/j.bodyim.2009.01.005.
- Webb, J. B., Vinoski, E. R., Warren-Findlow, J., Burrell, M. I. and Putz, D. Y. (2017). Downward dog becomes fit body, inc.: A content analysis of 40 years of female cover images of *Yoga Journal*. *Body Image*, 22, 129-135. doi: 10.1016/j.bodyim.2017.07.001.
- Williams, J. E., Satterwhite, R. C. and Best, D. L. (1999). Pancultural stereotypes revisited: The five factor model. *Sex Roles*, 40(7-8), 513-525. doi: 10.1023/A:1018831928829.
- Williams, T. R. (2012). *Empowered femininity: The textual construction of femininity in women's fitness magazines*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub.
- Winship, J. (1987). *Inside women's magazines*. New York: Unwin Hyman.
- Wodak, R. and Meyer M. (eds.). (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: SAGE.
- Wykes, M. and Gunter B. (2005). *The media and body image: If looks could kill*. London: SAGE.