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Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences Of Career-Oriented Mothers

Jennifer Haskin
Wayne State University,

THIRD SHIFT APPEARANCE WORK:
EXPERIENCES OF CAREER-ORIENTED MOTHERS

by

JENNIFER HASKIN

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my loves –
James, Daphne, Ava, and Beatrice

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Over the last four decades, we have seen a considerable increase in the number of mothers with young children in the paid work force in the United States. According to 2014 U.S. Department of Labor employment statistics, "57% of women participate in the labor force," over 64% of whom are mothers with children under the age of six.[1] Middle-class working mothers have become the norm, rather than the exception. Paralleling women's participation in paid work is an increase in the attention to working women's bodies and physical appearance (Wolf [1991] 2002; Rhode 2010). Corbett (2007: 157) concurs: "Appearance matters in our society today more than it ever has before." And appearance still matters more for women than men. The increase in attention to women's bodies and appearance also intensifies upon motherhood. In fact, I argue that negotiating appearance norms remains central to working women's and working mothers' daily concerns. For example, alongside other gendered expectations that accompany the transition into motherhood, new mothers in the U.S. are encouraged to rush out and "get their bodies back" to their pre-pregnancy form (Dworkin and Wachs 2004). Career-oriented mothers, already confronted with masculine "ideal worker" (Brumley 2014) norms, find themselves facing additional pressures to negotiate "professional body" (Trethewey 1999) standards and manage their post baby maternal bodies at work (Gatrell et.al. 2013).

The normative assumption that women are the natural caretakers of the family and the lack of paid parental leave on the federal level in the United States, coupled with the

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[1] http://www.dol.gov/wb/stats/stats_data.htm

social and institutional pressures on women's appearance means that contemporary working mothers with young children are presented with (at least) three shifts. For the career-oriented mother, the average workday includes a "first shift" in which she works outside of the home for pay, a "second shift" (Hochschild and Machung [1989] 2003) spent working inside the home caring for children and completing household tasks for no pay, and a "third shift" of work devoted to her physical appearance.

The suggestion that "beauty work" is a "third shift" for contemporary working women in the U.S., particularly women with children, was introduced by Naomi Wolf ([1991] 2002) in *The Beauty Myth*. As defined by Wolf, the beauty myth, like myths about motherhood and myths about domesticity, is a coercive myth used (by men) to keep women powerless and obedient. "The beauty myth is the last, best training technique to create such a [docile] workforce.... Superwoman...had to add serious "beauty" labor to her *professional* agenda" (26-27). This myth teaches girls and women that their value lies not in their intellect or ability to do well in a career but, rather, in their behavior toward the attainment of something unattainable – true beauty. This myth weakens women psychologically, and empties their pockets of their hard earned money (which is still a fraction of their male counterparts' earnings). Wolf asserts that, while the beauty myth seeps into women's psyches during her working hours, it is their duty to devote a third shift of leisure time to beauty work after the workday ends. Wolf's conceptualization implies three things: (1) beauty work is mandated; (2) doing beauty work is neatly compartmentalized to fit within a woman's spare (leisure) time, after the first and second shift are completed; and (3) professional working women value beauty and desire to adhere strictly to beauty norms. Exploring women's experiences with the

beauty myth arose from my own complicated relationship to and with the myth, and my observations of professional women whose behavior seemed to challenge Wolf's aforementioned points. These experiences and observations caused me to wonder about other women's experiences and attitudes about "beauty" and "beauty work", to clarify and extend her concepts and arrive at a more complex understanding of the third shift as it applies to specific groups of professional women.

The purpose of this exploratory research is to garner a better understanding of appearance work as a concept and as a third shift for career-oriented women in the United States who face competing paid work demands and motherhood.

The following research questions form the basis of this research in attempt to fill gaps in existing feminist literature on women's appearance work experiences.

1. What do career-oriented women do in a third shift of appearance work?

    o   How does appearance work intersect with paid work and motherhood?

2. How do women's responses to appearance norms reflect both resistance and accommodation?

    o   How do career-oriented women negotiate appearance work in the face of motherhood?

3. How does social location shape career-oriented women's appearance work experiences?

This research starts from a point of critique. I investigate Wolf's assertions that women are forced into doing beauty work, that this third shift of beauty work happens during a woman's "leisure" time (after the first and second shifts are done), and that professional women adhere strictly to beauty norms. Yes, we know beauty work

happens, and it often happens in the home. We also know that beauty work takes effort, time, planning, and, at times, economic resources. However, this work that women engage in to look a certain way might be broader than she discusses, and not just about beauty. Women may also be far more agentic than Wolf declares. A growing body of feminist literature suggests that women are far from being the victims of cultural norms; instead, women negotiate, accommodate, resist, and bargain with the gendered norms surrounding paid work, motherhood and beauty (Weitz 2001; Kandiyoti 1988; Swidler 1986). Further, beauty work could be experienced as separate third shift after paid work and motherhood tasks are finished for the day, as Wolf claims, but it could also be intertwined with and connected to women's first and second shift. I suggest that, in order to really explore women's lived experiences of the first, second, and third shifts, we need to push our inquiry beyond a basic discussion of mandated beauty work and a bounded third shift, towards a broader and more complex discussion of negotiated "appearance work" and a third shift that might not be so separate from paid work or motherhood.

My conceptualization of appearance work - both as a concept and as a shift - makes the following presuppositions: (1) appearance work is a cultural requirement for a majority of women in the U.S., and women pay attention to and negotiate with these cultural requirements; (2) appearance work takes a commitment of time, money, and emotional resources; (3) appearance work may include thoughts, decisions, and actions/non-actions that involve and produce much more than what the outside observer actually sees. Finally, I suggest that (4) third shift appearance work may be

compartmentalized at times, but much of this shift may also be woven into the fabric of a woman's day and overlap with the first and second shift.

For the purposes of this dissertation, "work" is defined as physical and/or mental effort focused on producing, accomplishing, or manipulating something. While appearance work may be "beauty work" or even "aesthetic labor" (Williams and Connell 2010) at moments, in that women are trying to portray a certain image in a certain setting, however, these concepts may be too narrow to comprise all of what women will talk about in this research project. Appearance work should be conceptualized broadly as a result. For instance, there is a range of body work, emotion work, care work, and identity work that goes into producing a certain corporeal aesthetic, and therefore women's discussions of appearance work may reflect varied types of labor. Appearance work is body work (Gimlin 2002; Gimlin 2007) insofar as it is work performed on one's own body in effort to manage and manipulate appearance. Appearance work may also represent forms of care work because it involves caring about and for others, caring about one's career, and caring about relationships. Further, appearance work is a form of emotion work (Hochschild 2003; Wolkowitz et al. 2013) as women do appearance work to manage others' responses to their appearance. Appearance work may also involve identity work (Watson 2008) for career-oriented women in the United States as they negotiate conflicting "mother" and "worker" identities. Much like the extensive amount of care work and emotion work that women do in order to feed their families (DeVault 1994), appearance work can be conceptualized as a comprehensive response to appearance norms.

I argue that to really capture the essence of appearance work as both a concept and as a third shift for women in the U.S., we must acknowledge *all* of the appearance work that women are doing. By broadening our understanding of women's responses to appearance norms, we gain a richer sense of the ways in which women bargain with patriarchy and seek power through everyday (and not so everyday) bodily expressions. Over time, these expressions have the ability to reinforce and/or change cultural ideas about motherhood, paid work, and appearance. Further, an expanded conceptualization of appearance work allows us to garner a clearer understanding of how appearance work can be both flexible and inflexible, depending on the setting, the audience, and the exact cultural norms women are confronting. We can also explore how appearance norms can be at times controlling, and at other times women may use appearance work to regain control. Women may do appearance work differently based on the situation and setting in which they expect to find themselves.

Chapters in this dissertation all have very specific purposes. Chapter Two provides a review of existing literature, including literature on working mothers and beauty norms for women in the United States (with attention paid to faces, hair, body hair, and body size/physique). Because this research centers on career-oriented women's appearance work, I also review literature on workplace appearance norms.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical and conceptual framework for this research on career-oriented mothers' appearance work experiences. Feminist beauty theories help to explain how women feel and think about their appearances. Resistance and accommodation theories allow us to understand the various strategies of action women utilize as they respond to the varied sets of norms to which they are beholden. Acker's

theory of gendered organizations helps us to understand women's embodied experiences in the workplace (and other) settings. Most importantly, this research uses a feminist standpoint lens, which allows women to voice their experiences with appearance work, paid work, and motherhood work.

Chapter Four provides a description of the methodological approach used in this research, including participant recruitment, data collection procedures, and data analysis. Chapter Four describes how this study involved semi-structured in-depth interviews and a brief participant information survey with a racially diverse sample of 21 career-oriented mothers of children under the age of six. Recruiting career-oriented women with children under six was important because children in this age category are less independent and have more intensive caregiving needs; thus women interviewed for this study had a full set of responsibilities within a first and second shift. Further, appearance mandates may be harder to negotiate in certain life transitions, like the transition into motherhood. Studying appearance work around these transitions will allow me to see appearance work in a potentially busier, challenging time of life – a time when bodies may naturally go against appearance norms and when attention is supposed to be more on motherhood (Hays 1996) and less on themselves.

Three findings chapters discuss women's appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance work. Chapter Five explores women's appearance work experiences. Chapter Five focuses on women's appearance work routines; both on days they are at work, and days they are at home. In this first findings chapter, I show how career-oriented women's appearance work experiences make clear that they do not just do appearance work blindly, but, rather, women negotiate with gendered appearance

mandates for looking a certain way at all times. Chapter Six explores the ways in which the appearance work career-oriented mothers of young children do is impacted by intervening factors like health, time, and workplace environment. I also describe how women's responses to appearance norms reflect both resistance and accommodation to the varied sets of norms to which they are beholden. Chapter Seven discusses how being career-oriented is central to the identities of women in this sample. I also discuss women's perceptions about their appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance in relation to other women. I also use Chapter Seven to describe how race/ethnicity, transitions to motherhood, and workplaces' organizational structures shape women's third shift of appearance work.

Finally, Chapter Eight provides a brief overview of my most important findings, discusses limitations and contributions of the study, and proposes several directions this research should take in the future.

As previously stated, the purpose of this study is to further understand appearance work as a concept and as a shift by exploring career-oriented mothers' appearance work experiences while working for pay and also caring for others. This study also seeks to better understand the impact of appearance norms on busy working mothers, and how working mothers feel about and act toward their bodies. Up until now, feminist literature in the areas of motherhood and paid work has focused on the ways in which working mothers balance the hectic schedules and responsibilities of paid work with the obligations that exist at home. This research will fill the gap that exists in the literature by exploring how working mothers with young children in the U.S. think about and

experience their bodies, and the strategies they use to cope with both mandated

appearance and mandated motherhood while simultaneously managing paid work.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

From a feminist phenomenological perspective, "the body is not merely matter but a continual and incessant *materializing* of possibilities. One is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, one does one's body and, indeed, one does one's body differently from one's contemporaries and from one's embodied predecessors and successors as well" (Butler 1986: 521). Contemporary women in the United States are dealing with (at least) two sets of norms: motherhood norms and beauty norms. The "motherhood mandate" assumes that all women wish to, and eventually will become mothers (Russo 1976). The ideology of good motherhood prescribes that once a woman becomes a mother, all of her time, emotional energy, and financial resources will be devoted to the child (Hays 1996). Competing with norms of motherhood are those norms related to women's appearance. As Gimlin (2002) states, "women in modern society face particular and intense pressures to meet certain ideals of beauty" (4) (See also Kwan and Trautner 2009). Like adhering to motherhood norms, appearance work is time intensive, can be expensive, and is a means by which women are prevented from interacting with the world (Andre 1994).

In this review of feminist literature, I first explore the ways in which socially constructed ideologies of femininity - and more specifically, motherhood norms, and appearance norms - have changed alongside other social developments. Contemporary ideologies about motherhood, and gendered appearance cannot be fully understood if they are not situated within a sociohistorical context. I specifically organize this literature review around three shifts. I briefly review literature on working mothers and highlight the ways in which motherhood norms, like appearance norms are raced and classed, and are really prescribing behavior that if understood in terms of shift work, are

"cultural contradictions" (Hays 1998). Naomi Wolf's ([1991] 2002) suggestion that "beauty work" is a third shift has remained underdeveloped and largely overlooked by feminist researchers, as such I review literature on "beauty work," and focus my attention on appearance norms related to faces, hair, body hair, and body size/physique. Finally, because this research centers on career-oriented mothers' appearance work experiences, I extend my review of appearance norms to include literature on workplace appearance norms. Along the way, I include multiracial feminist literature to highlight the ways that race and ethnicity are important social constructions that shape women's experiences with appearance work, motherhood, and paid work.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE U.S.

Many scholars argue that the role of (white middle-class) women in American society at any given historical moment is related to material conditions, and is situated opposite men (Margolis 1984, Cott [1977] 1997). The Industrial Revolution in the United States resulted in significant changes in the economic and political structure of the family and gendered division of labor. Women, particularly white middle-class women went from being valued for their reproductive ability, as well as their economic contributions to the family economy, to being valued for their ability to provide a safe and loving home for their husbands and children, and seen as a leisurely people. Motherhood and physical appearance became central to women's identities. We also find that "in the emerging capitalist societies, men could help cement their social status by demonstrating that their women enjoyed the time and money needed to maintain fashionable hairstyles, and by demonstrating the market value of their women's beauty" (Weitz 2004: 6). In other words, in the United States, women, particularly upper- and

middle-class white women became objects whose value was based on new ideas of corporeal aesthetics that could only be achieved with the investment of significant amounts of time and money.

Mass media became an important system of representation for emerging ideologies of femininity and domesticity (Cain 2008; Easton 1976; Weitz 2004; Brumberg 1997). Books written by women for women created a "cult of domesticity" (Cott [1977] 1997) and provided instruction on how to embrace this new way of life of domesticity and femininity. These textual guides effectively conveyed information that convinced nineteenth century middle- and upper-class women that their role as wife and mother was of utmost importance, submission to male domination was their duty, and adhering to (raced/classed/gendered) appearance norms was their job.

Ideologies of femininity, particularly motherhood, domesticity, and appearance came to reflect the characteristics of middle-class white women born in the United States, whose ability to stay at home was made possible at the expense of "raced" and "classed" others. The domestic labor of immigrant women, and women of color made it possible for white middle-class, and elite women to accommodate ideologies of motherhood, or at least appear as if they were doing so. Ideologies of domesticity, the ideas that normalized women's containment in the home, were unreachable for immigrant women, the poor, and women of color in the United States who found they had to work in order to survive. Similarly, ideologies of femininity, particularly gendered appearance norms that valorized whiteness, were unachievable for women of color, leaving a large proportion of women in America unable to be fully "woman."

> Dominant beauty standards that idealized fair skin, small noses and lips, and long flowing hair defined black women's dark skin colour, facial features, and tightly

curled, short hair as ugly. In many, but not all representations, black women's bodies were also stigmatized as hypersexual, a characterization that positioned black women as the moral opposites of pure white women. (Craig 2006: 163)

The racial bias in ideologies of femininity in the United States has always favored white women, marginalizing women of color. Making ideal femininity inaccessible to women of color in general, and black women in particular, contributes to the Othering process that justifies their continued exploitation and oppression, and has a significant impact on the relationships that black women have with whites. Patricia Hill Collins (2000) explains:

> Prevailing standards of beauty claim that no matter how intelligent, educated, or "beautiful" a Black woman may be, those Black women whose features and skin color are most African must "git back." Within the binary thinking that underpins intersecting oppressions, blue-eyed, blonde, thin White women could not be considered beautiful without the Other – Black women with African features of dark skin, broad noses, full lips, and kinky hair. (p. 98)

Appearance norms remain an important component of ideologies of femininity that emerged at a time in U.S. history when (elite and middle-class) women's productive role was eliminated and replaced by oppressive containment within the domestic sphere. Motherhood, corporeal aesthetics, and consumption came to be central to the new ideologies of womanhood.

This is not to say that women have not resisted such repressive ideologies throughout history, nor do I mean to imply that women have not made significant gains as a result of their challenges to hegemonic white masculinity – women have, and examples in the literature abound. Challenges to patriarchy and advances made by the various women's movements over the last 150 years, however, have been met with backlash that serve to maintain "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 1987), and reinforce women's subordinate status, and are reflected in prescriptive literature, expressed through

various media outlets, and support our consumerist culture. For women in the mid-1800s, one of the ways that the counter-movement took shape was through the "Cult of Domesticity" (Cott [1977] 1997). The women of the Post WWII era had the "Feminine Mystique" (Friedan 1974) as their guide to freedom. Today, women are more free to move about in society, to obtain a higher education, and to work in the public sphere; however, they are met with the "Motherhood Mandate" (Russo 1976) and "Beauty Myth" (Wolf [1991] 2002).

In *A History of Women's Bodies* (2000), Rose Weitz provides an historical examination of the socially constructed ways in which ideas about women's bodies have reinforced as well as challenged women's social position within society. In the United States, women's bodies have been politically, legally, economically, and ideologically defined as men's property. Although contemporary women's bodies are no longer the legal property of fathers and husbands, the normative practice of taking a husband's name upon marriage remains; a practice that continued through the late 1970s, when "almost all women, even the highly educated and eminent, assumed their husband's surname upon marriage" (Goldin and Shim 2004:143). Today, despite women's legal right to retain their maiden name, "roughly ninety percent of women still adopt their husband's name upon marriage" (Rosensaft 2002: 187), an indication that not much has changed ideologically[2]. It was not until the 20th century that Western women gained certain rights to our own bodies, rights that include the right to vote, the right not to be raped by our husbands and partners, control over our reproductive selves, as well as the right to a higher education and access to jobs that provide a certain amount of economic security.

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[2] To be sure, there are statistical variations across differences in race/ethnicity, social class, education, etc.

These rights did not come without conflict, nor do we maintain those rights as women, without constant struggle. And they do not come without consequence.

What are the consequences of such freedoms? With middle-class women no longer confined to the home and to motherhood, a new ideology emerged that invariably coincides with female liberation. Wolf ([1991] 2002) asserts, "As soon as a woman's primary social value could no longer be defined as the attainment of virtuous domesticity, the beauty myth redefined it as the attainment of virtuous beauty" (18). Ideas about women's paid and unpaid work are always about women's abilities to do more, rather than about true equality. Further, gendered appearance norms construct women's unaltered bodies as unattractive, and prescribe a range of technologies for her to fix/cover/repair/mold it. In other words, in addition to obligations related to first shift paid work and second shift unpaid work, contemporary working mothers must also face the expectation that they adhere closely to appearance norms in a "third shift" of appearance work.

WORKING MOTHERS

While some aspects of women's lives in the United States have expanded since the 1970s, for example, the increase in (white middle-class) mothers' participation in paid work; others – like the cultural mandate that equates successful womanhood with bearing and rearing children – have not. "[M]otherhood has traditionally mandated that women stay at home with their children in order to be good mothers" (Russo 1976: 147). This creates a slippery slope of "cultural contradictions" (Hays 1996) for working mothers, particularly those of preschool aged children. The ideology of intensive mothering is one that "creates conflicts for mothers who have to work outside the home" because it "places

mothering exclusively in the private, emotional realms" (Glenn 1994: 15-16). Motherhood is mandated through restrictions on women's ability to control their own reproductive bodies, which Russo states, "can be seen as the single strongest impediment to change in "the woman's place" (145). Additionally, through the process of sex-role socialization, we learn that "the idea of a woman being anything other than primarily mother and wife has been literally unthinkable" (145). We learn early on through media, books, role models, and the representation of women as being married with children, that womanhood equals motherhood. And not just any motherhood will do – staying at home, and out of the workplace, with children, and devoting one's entire self to their every whim is how women can and should do "good" motherhood. Good mothers employ *intensive* strategies to their mothering work. And the basis for this intensive mothering is love – mothers should love their children in such a way that the needs of the child supersede her own needs. The ways in which becoming mothers is mandated, generally, and doing "good" motherhood are socially constructed helps us to better understand the ways in which career-oriented mothers' appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance work may evolve as they transition to motherhood.

Despite the restrictive motherhood norms that prescribe constant presence, selfless giving, and endless nurturing to mothers, being a "good mother" means different things to different women. For example, working mothers resist the norms of what is considered "good motherhood" by virtue of their participation in paid work, yet they still define themselves as good mothers. Working mothers "respond by creating a new list of all the reasons that they are good mothers even though they work outside the home. In other words, the ideological work meant to resolve mothers' ambivalence generally

points in the direction of intensive mothering" (Hays 1996:146). One such way of coping with this ambivalence is to argue that the income from their work outside of the home provides extra things for the children. Another argument used by working mothers is to contend that because of their commitment to paid work, they must be more organized and efficient with their time – giving only quality time to their children – as opposed to quantity time. As Arlie Hoschchild so astutely states in *The Time Bind* (1997)*, "*Time is a symbol of commitment." By shifting the *kind* of time spent "doing motherhood" these mothers are able to take control, and redefine what it means to be committed to their children. Grant-Vallone, and Ensher (2010) suggest that some working mothers neither opt out of full time paid work, nor do they completely opt in. Rather, some opt "in between," by employing strategies such as flex work schedules, and working from home. Regardless of the ways in which working mothers negotiate their identities as worker and mother – Hays (1996) finds that "these mothers want to make it clear that they still consider children [and not paid work obligations] their primary interest" (148). Roberts (1993) reminds us that Black women's experiences with motherhood and paid work have never been the comparable to White middle-class women's motherhood.

> The experience of Black working mothers complicates the feminist response to domesticity in two ways. First, white feminists' view of work, as resistance to motherhood and a liberating force for women, does not account for Black women's experiences… Black women historically experienced work outside the home as an aspect of racial subordination and the family as a site of solace and resistance to white oppression. (Pp. 20-21)

Career advancement is different for men and women with children in the U.S. Contemporary women in the paid work force face a "modern day "career advancement double standard" in which professional women who marry, and/or have children are considered less serious about their careers, whereas professional men who marry or

become fathers are considered more likely candidates for promotion" (Coltrane 2004: 214).

While women are affected by competing sets of gender norms (beauty and motherhood), it is important to acknowledge the amount of paid work that women are also participating in. Households in the United States today are increasingly dependent on more than one source of income. For two-parent households with children, this means that mothers are working outside of the home. For single female-headed households with children, this often means holding down more than one paid work commitment at a time. According to a May 2010 report prepared by the Joint Committee Majority Committee representative Carolyn B. Maloney entitled *Working Mothers and the Great Recession,* (http://jec.senate.gov/public/?a=Files.Serve&File_id=c8242af9-a97b-4a97-9a9d-f7f7999911ab), "The share of mothers working or actively searching for work increased from 71.0 percent to 71.4 percent between 2007 and 2009." In other words, most mothers are not "opting out" (Stone 2007). While many of the working mothers in the labor force are those with older children (over the age of 6), a sizeable proportion of the working mother population has children *under* the age of six. Indeed, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics 2014 data, 64.2 percent of mothers with children under 6 were in the paid labor force (http://www.bls.gov/news.release/famee.nr0.htm).   Further, breadwinner moms are on the rise. A *Pew Research Center* study reveals, "40% of all households with children under the age of 18 include mothers who are the sole or primary source of income for the family." Of the 13.7-million breadwinner moms, 37% are married, and earn higher incomes than their spouses (Wang et.al. 2013).

Mothers' increased participation and successes in the paid labor force by no means suggests that we have achieved gender equality – neither in the workplace, nor the home. Annual averages for 2009 show us that women with children under the age of six working full time, spent 7.5 hours per weekday working for pay outside of the home. Once at home, women who worked full time outside of the home spent an average of 3.4 hours per day on household and child care responsibilities. Women with children under six employed on a part time basis averaged significantly fewer hours at work, or doing work related activities, and also spent considerably more time on caring for children and taking care of household tasks (2.9 hours and 5.6 hours, respectively). "Traditional family ideology promotes the traditional role of women as the nurturers of children and other family members who need care. Men, still designated as breadwinners, are to be "independent" and free of caretaking responsibilities" (Kurz 1997:102).

As a result of the normative assumption that women are the natural caretakers of the family, contemporary working mothers with young children are presented with an average day that includes the shift in which she works outside of the home for pay, a "second shift" (Hochschild and Machung 1989 [2003]) spent working inside the home caring for children for no pay, and a third shift of "beauty" work (Wolf [1991] 2002). Appearance work, a requirement the vast majority of women, is something that takes a commitment of both time and money. The centrality of appearance to women's identities does not disappear once women become mothers; in fact, I argue that for contemporary women in America, negotiating raced/classed/gendered/aged appearance norms remains central to women's identities and daily concerns. "Appearance matters in our society today more than it ever has before" (Corbett 2007: 157). And it matters more for women

than men. Along with gendered expectations that accompany motherhood, new mothers are encouraged to rush out and "get their bodies back" (Dworkin and Wachs 2004), and also develop coping strategies for dealing with their maternal bodies at work (Gatrell et.al. 2013). Literature on working mothers and home/life balance omits investigation and discussion of the ways in which career-oriented mothers respond to appearance norms in the face of first and second shift demands.

LEARNING APPEARANCE NORMS

Lessons on the importance of an attractive appearance are passed down from mother to daughter like great grandmother's fine china. As enjoyable as trips to the cosmetics counter at the mall, the beauty shop, or even the nail salon may be to girls who accompany their mothers, there are important lessons being taught. Lessons that will be reinforced throughout their lives, namely, women's bodies are not good enough as they are, that solutions can be purchased to remedy deficiencies and contain and tame unruly parts, and that looking a certain way – and the continued quest for it lies at the heart of contemporary femininity.

The lessons in gender that are learned in the home follow us and are reinforced as our social world expands to include school. Teachers and peers reinforce girls' knowledge of the importance of physical appearance and gendered behavior. Martin (1998) reveals some of the subtle ways that children's bodies are gendered in everyday practices of preschools. Martin observed that teachers were more likely to manage girls and their clothing in ways that called attention to appearance and bodily adornment; encouraged girls to pursue formal behaviors; and limited girls' voices. As unintended as these gender lessons may be, girls come away with is the understanding that their

appearance is important and must be monitored, and that they should sit down quietly without taking up too much space.

In addition to these lessons learned from parents, teachers and peers, mass media and media images have a profound impact on the way girls and women experience their bodies. Magazines, television, commercial advertisements, and fairy tales embody and convey ideologies of femininity; our seemingly common sense ideas about what it means (and takes) to be feminine. Dworkin and Wachs (2009) argue that "contemporary media produce body panic not only through idealized imagery that invokes individualized feelings about the body, but also through a process of what is included as content inside of media text and representation – what signifiers are used – and what is, by extension, left out" (12). This allows us to ignore the role of the larger racist and sexist structures at play and place blame and stigma onto those individuals who fail to succeed. And failure is almost inevitable.

Media images of women and girls in magazines, the roles women play on television and in films, and the representation of women in many children's fairy tales and nursery rhymes are imbued with stereotypes that are associated with gender, age, race/ethnicity, social class, and sexuality. Stereotypes are "a schema for people we perceive as belonging to a social group." Additionally, "schemas help structure not only our knowledge of things but also our expectations" (Gorham 2010:17; see also Witt 2000). Stereotypes reinforce ideological hierarchies. Stereotypes allow us to think of constructed differences as natural phenomena. For example, in American culture, we tend to attach the concept "nurturing" to the stereotype of women. This of course has

political and economic consequences; along with that stereotype comes the expectation of heterosexual marriage and motherhood, in turn reinforcing ideologies of domesticity.

Children often have limited social experiences, so the gender stereotyped roles that are prevalent in media are often taken as representing real life. For example, Witt (2000) outlines the following determinations from The National Institute of Mental Health related to television and gender bias:

- Men are usually more dominant in male-female interactions.
- Men on television are often portrayed as rational, ambitious, competitive, powerful, stable, violent, and tolerant, while women are sensitive, romantic, attractive, happy, warm, sociable, peaceful, fair, submissive, and timid.
- Television programming emphasizes male characters' strength, performance, and skill; for women it focuses on attractiveness and desirability.
- Marriage and family are not important to television's men. One study found that for nearly half the men, it wasn't possible to tell if they were married, a fact that was true for only 11 percent of the women. (323)

Thus, when girls are exposed to media programming and images that show female characters as "passive, indecisive, and subordinate to men, and who see this reinforced by their environment, will likely believe that this is the appropriate way for females to behave" (Witt 2000:322). Moreover, women in music videos are often the object of the artist's lustful gaze, are more likely to be dressed provocatively, and are often shown in degrading positions, as compared to men (Witt 2000: 323). Arguably this is an issue that has intensified since the launch of MTV and VH1 in the early 1980s. Female artists such as The Pretenders, Joan Jett, and Pat Benatar were very different in appearance from anything we see in the 2000s and 2010s.

Television is a major part of most children's learning environments. "Studies show that preschoolers spend an average of nearly 30 hours a week watching television;

some spend more time watching television than doing anything else except sleeping" (Witt 2000: 322). Stern's research (2010) suggests a positive correlation between the amount of television watched by kindergarten girls and their thoughts on beauty. Girls as young as five or six exposed to more than 14 hours of television per week (heavy viewers) define beauty as being young and thin, consider beauty to be a trait exclusive to women, and are less likely to think that overweight people can be pretty. Further, both light and heavy viewers associated feminine accessories make someone beautiful.

Thin bodies and a youthful appearance are components of femininity that are widely accepted by women and girls in contemporary America. Television programs and other forms of mass media represent these appearance norms in two ways: 1) the presentation and overrepresentation of thin, youthful bodies in a positive manner; and 2) presentation of fat bodies, and older women in a negative manner. "Most females on prime time television are young, attractive, thin, and have an ornamental quality" (Witt 2000: 323). Such representations reinforce contemporary appearance norms.

Advertisements make a perfect bed partner to television, film, and magazines. Exposure to media images, particularly advertisements, is unavoidable. Advertisements are simultaneously everywhere and nowhere. There is an increasing inability to distinguish between magazine content and advertisements. In other words, the boundaries between what we are reading and what we are being sold are becoming blurred (Dworkin and Wachs 2009). "Advertising is our *environment*. We swim in it as fish swim in water" (Kilbourne 2007: 97). Girls and women are relentlessly exposed to unattainable ideals of physical perfection in media advertisements. "Today at least one-third of 12- to 13- year old girls are actively trying to lose weight, by dieting, vomiting,

and/or taking pills. Some studies have found that nearly 80% of fourth-grade girls are dieting" (Kilbourne 2010: 144).   And while distorted media images are not the cause of disordered eating, they do contribute to body hatred that plagues so many girls and women in contemporary America.

Femininity and feminine beauty is a dominant theme in fairy tales that have survived to become successful mainstream fairy tale films. For example, fairy tale adaptations by Disney Studios often feature female characters who embody femininity and are considered beautiful reap all of the rewards, seemingly because of their beauty; whereas characters who are fat, old, and just plain unattractive, are consistently punished. In an analysis of filmic adaptations of fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm, Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz (2003) found that the stories that highlighted feminine beauty, for example, were more likely to be made into and succeed as films into the twentieth century. This is particularly important because these findings suggest, as others have contended (Wolf [1991] 2002; Weitz 2007) that "this emphasis on a feminine beauty ideal may operate as a normative social control for girls and women" (Baker-Sperry and Grauerholz 2003: 723). As constraints on women's (and girls') lives has diminished over the last century, images representative of an ideal feminine beauty, increased ease of access to watching and re-watching films, and advertisements prescribing solutions to those who for whom beauty does not come naturally, have increased, and mainstream fairy tales continue to be successful.

APPEARANCE NORMS

Cultural norms for physical appearance present women in the United States with rigid, and unrealistic standards of attractiveness. These norms problematize each and

every part of a woman's unaltered body, and prescribe a range of technologies for her to fix/cover/repair/mold it into a more "attractive" form.

> The basic assumption that underlies all of these norms is that women's bodies must be altered in some way – that their natural state is unacceptable. When women do not conform (or attempt to conform) to these norms, they face the possibility of sanctions in both their personal and professional lives. (Trautner and Kwan 2010: 130)

While there are arguably appearance norms for every part of a woman's body, this section is limited to a review of literature on appearance norms for the following areas: faces (i.e., makeup, facial hair, youthful skin), hair, body hair, and body size. Appearance norms and practices related to faces, hair, body hair, and body size are particularly important for the following reasons: (1) faces, hair, body hair, and body size/physique are important to the ways in which women perform gender, and construct a gendered identity; (2) all are sites of a woman's body where "problem areas" have been constructed, and modification is normalized as part of an appearance work "routine"; (3) these appearance norms reinforce dichotomous power relations (i.e., black/white, masculine/feminine, women as consumer/men as producer, and old/young); (4) these appearance norms affect diverse women in varying ways, and as such act as sites for negotiation between resistance and accommodation.

Feminine Faces

A feminine appearance is associated with light skin that is free of unsightly imperfections like wrinkles, acne, and facial hair (Brownmiller 1984; Chapkis 1986; Gimlin 2002). Attractive female faces have smooth skin, "with a slightly reddish tint" (Toledano 2013-2014: 688). Wrinkles are a marker of age, a public indication of the

disappearance of youth (Brownmiller 1984; Gimlin 2002). Boys and men are more likely to suffer from acne, yet the breakout is more commonly framed as a female issue (Brumberg 1997). One need only watch a television commercial for the acne treatment Proactiv® Acne Solution to understand how important clear skin is for women.[3] Additionally, "Hair on the face, or any part of the facial topography beyond the eyebrows and lashes, is definitely off-limits to the feminine woman" (Brownmiller 1984: 138).

"A woman's skin must be soft, supple, hairless, and smooth; ideally it should betray no sign of wear, experience, age, or deep thought (Bartky 1990: 98). Like having a bad hair day, waking up to find a blemish, or discovering a new wrinkle can ruin a woman's day. Skin related appearance work involves meticulous monitoring for blemishes, regular tweezing, application of cleansers, astringents, and creams that moisturize, fight wrinkles, and/or block out damaging UV rays. Hurd Clark and Griffin's (2007) research on aging women's beauty work interventions suggest that, parallel to the normative practice of body hair management, women perceive the use of cosmetics, anti-aging creams, hair dye, etc., as natural ways to achieve and maintain physical attractiveness and femininity.

Women not only invest copious amounts of time practicing self-scrutiny in relation to skin (and hair), but they invest billions of dollars annually on skin care regimes. Global corporations like Proctor & Gamble invest millions on market research to develop lifetime skin care solutions for women. "In addition to pushing pimple creams, Proctor & Gamble spent $11 million in 1992 for a market research program

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[3] In the Proactiv Solutions commercial featuring Jessica Simpson, 10 women were featured as acne sufferers, whereas there were only 2 men. Retrieved April 17, 2011 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K2V5EK0azgA).

(involving two million high school girls) designed to promote Oil of Olay, an anti-aging and moisture-replenishing lotion traditionally associated with mature women" (Brumberg 1997: 92). What results is not only a hyper-vigilant group of up and coming women, but also a lifelong consumer loyal to the brand.

For many women in contemporary United States society, applying makeup according to precise rules before going out in public is a daily ritual, and regular touch ups throughout the day are not uncommon. Findings from Fabricant and Gould's (1993) research on make up careers suggest that women's perception of "real self" is impacted by makeup use. Women who reported infrequent use of makeup felt inauthentic in situations where they wore makeup, whereas frequent users felt like their real selves while wearing makeup. Further, women wear makeup differently for different settings and/or situations. Unlike other appearance work routines, however, women are encouraged to use makeup in effort to look natural. Too much of a good thing, is not a good thing.

> It seems paradoxical and oxymoronic that one could look natural by using something artificial. Yet we see that women use foundation to smooth out their blemished or uneven skin, mascara to lengthen and darken their eyelashes, pressed powder to remove the shine from their faces, eyeliner to widen and brighten their eyes, and blush to contour their cheeks and noses, thereby altering or hiding their natural appearance in order to look natural. (Fabricant and Gould 1993: 538)

Research suggests that women of color internalize certain aspects of Eurocentric appearance standards through the identification with the ideal of light skin, and often resort to extreme measures in attempt to lighten their skin (Hall 2010; Brumberg 1997). Keith and Herring's (1991) research on skin tone stratification among black Americans suggests that skin tone remains a predictor for educational attainment, occupation, and also income. Further, Hill's (2002) research on skin tone and perception of femininity

and attractiveness among African Americans found that African Americans perception of these characteristics is related to skin tone. Lighter skinned black Americans, it seems, have skin tone privilege similar to light skinned blacks during slavery. Kang (1997) refers to this as the ideology of White aesthetics, and says this ideology "not only affects how Black people view Whites, but how they view each other. Because White aesthetic standards are the paradigm of beauty itself, Black Americans have tended to value lighter skin amongst themselves as being more beautiful than darker skin" (10).

Additionally, there have been efforts to scientifically "prove" the beautiful feminine face through mathematical quantification. In an August 5, 1986 *New York Times*[4] article titled "Equation for Beauty Emerges in Studies," Daniel Goleman reported on such an experiment conducted by Michael Cunningham, a psychologist at the University of Louisville. Data from his study, which asked 150 white male respondents to rate 50 female faces for attractiveness reveal an ideal female face– not a real female face, which is quantified by the following formula:

> …eye width that is three-tenths the width of the face at the eyes' level; chin length, one-fifth the height of the face; distance from the center of the eye to the bottom of the eyebrow, one-tenth the height of the face; the height of the visible eyeball, one-fourteenth the height of the face; the width of the pupil, one-fourteenth the distance between the cheekbones; and the total area for the nose, less than 5 percent of the area of the face.

It is important to note that 27 of the female faces studied were Miss Universe finalists, and only 13 were either black or Asian. In essence, what we have here, is an equation for what white males in our society find attractive – and women have "scientific equation" to measure ourselves (and each other) against.

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[4] http://www.nytimes.com/1986/08/05/science/equation-for-beauty-emerges-in-studies.html accessed December 1, 2010

Hair

Feminist literature on hair reveals that ideas about women's hair are a reflection of socially constructed ideas about women's nature, and how women should live their lives (Weitz 2004; Furman 1997; Brownmiller 1984). Referring to the strict moral code of the 16th and 17th century Puritans, Susan Brownmiller explains, "The feminine woman, the virtuous woman, the woman who knew her place, was the female who wore her hair long, neatly arranged, with a concealing cap on her head" (1984: 60). While concealing caps have been left behind, long hair continues to be associated with femininity. "Women with long, straight hair (along with lighter skin and European features) continue to be considered most attractive…" (Weitz 2004: 24). Rich and Cash's (1993) examination of women's beauty with respect for hair revealed that blondeness is a characteristic of the feminine beauty ideal. Blondeness, as an attribute of feminine beauty reinforces the racial dichotomy. White women can achieve "natural" looking blonde hair artificially – black women cannot. Findings of the study show that similar to the ways in which the overrepresentation of thin models we see in magazines do not represent real women in our society, the overrepresentation of blondes in magazines in proportion to the general population give all women an unrealistic standard to live up to.

Historically, hair was such an important component of a feminine appearance that it was worth straining the household budget in effort to achieve (Weitz 2004). It still is. A recent survey by British hair company Tresemmé® revealed that the average woman spends about $50,000 on her hair over her lifetime. In addition, by the age of 65, the average woman has spent over 7 months of her life on back stage preparations of washing, drying and styling her hair (Dunham, March 29, 2010) in order to avoid having

a bad hair day. For women, grey hair is problematic, and symbolizes the loss of youth, femininity, and attractiveness. Hurd Clark and Korotchenko's (2010) research on older women's attitudes about grey hair found that women use hair dye to mask their greys in order to resist ageist stereotypes. The importance of hair is also reflected in the literature on women who experience chemotherapy-induced hair loss. Research suggests that hair loss is the most distressing, and traumatizing side effect of chemotherapy for women, and that some women, in fact, refuse chemotherapy altogether because of it (Lemieux et.al. 2008). Alternatively, women who prepare themselves for chemotherapy-induced alopecia are able to develop strategies to manage their hair loss (Frith et.al. 2007).

In the 2009 film *Precious*, Ms. Rain asks her class of young women of color to write in their journals what they want to be. Precious, a 16-year-old illiterate black girl living in the ghetto, writes, "I be real skinny with light skin and long hair." In other words, she wanted to experience all of the social rewards that go along with being thin, having light skin and long hair. Precious Jackson, like so many women and girls of color in contemporary America wanted to be everything she could never be. Women of color often endure the lengthy process of chemically straightening their hair, and/or invest in expensive hair weaves or wigs to conform to racialized constructions of femininity. This was not the only meaning of straightened hair, however.

> Prior to the 1960s, black women straightened their hair as part of good grooming. Hair straightening was a beauty technique used by black women as they made the transition from rural poverty to urban promise. Straightened and styled hair, shaped into immaculate styles, was worn as a symbol of self-care and urban sophistication to claim the dignity that whites would deny black women. (Craig 2006: 171)

As a site of power, hair can be a means by which women of color reject the white male gaze, and claim self-worth, and embrace racial identity. Craig (2006) says,

"Women of color who wear their hair "natural" engage in the collective racial project of the politics of representation," garner respect from within their own community, and define their own beauty. Craig (2006) goes on to argue:

> Black women's hair care practices, which continue to include straightening techniques but have expanded to include braids, dreadlocks, and the use of hair extensions, remain accessible vehicles for black female entrepreneurship, sites of camaraderie, and ways of producing a locally valued female appearance. (171)

Hair is simultaneously public and private. Weitz (2010) explains, "No matter what a woman does or doesn't do with her hair – dying or not dying, curling or not curling, covering with a bandana or leaving her hair uncovered – her hair will affect how others respond to her, and her power will increase or decrease accordingly (227). In a hegemonic system that normalizes long, flowing locks of healthy hair, however, to not conform to raced/classed/aged standards of feminine beauty is to run the risk of shame and stigma (Frost 2001: 132-135; see also Goffman 1963).

Like appearance norms related to faces, body hair, and body size/physique, hair norms also function to reinforce dichotomies. For example, today's feminine women have long hair, whereas masculine men have short hair. Those who choose to deviate run the risk of having their sexuality questioned. Young women do not have grey hair, old women do. Additionally, men with grey hair are distinguished; women with grey hair are just plain old.

Body Hair

Yet another element of contemporary femininity is the hair free body. Body hair is a symbol of masculinity, as well as a signifier of sexual maturity: two things that violate virtuous femininity. In an analysis of the history of Women's hair removal Kristen Hansen (2007) asserts:

European women did not transfer the practice of hair removal to American society. Thus, custom and tradition cannot account for the history of hair removal among American women, as it might for the practice of facial hair removal among men; rather, hair removal had to be introduced, explained, and marketed to American women in order to become a common practice. (13)

King Gillette's 1901 invention of the disposable razor simplified men's shaving routines; they no longer had to seek the services of a barber to achieve a smooth face. Men who had been shaving their facial hair in various culturally prescribed styles for years were an existing market for Gillette's new product. When he created disposable razor for women, however, he was dealing with a population for whom body hair removal was not culturally prescribed. Ultimately, we have the creation of a product, the women's razor, followed by the creation of a new unsightly "body problem," and aggressive marketing campaigns in women's magazines that promote both. The promotion of a hair-free body, of course, also runs alongside other trends for women; particularly trends related to clothing. When the fashion industry began producing more revealing clothing styles for women, women's bodies became more exposed (Hansen 2007; see also Brumberg (1997) for this last point), and managing unsightly body hair became a routine accomplishment.

Women's body hair work, especially removing leg and underarm hair has evolved into a normative practice in Western cultures, and unlike other appearance norms, is not necessarily specific to white middle-class women. Fahs and Delgado's (2011) study on women's studies students who were tasked with violating body hair norms suggests that women of color, and working class women struggled more with body hair than did white middle and upper middle-class students. Research by Tiggenmann and Hodgson (2008) suggests that a majority of women accept body hair removal work as normal, and consider it a "natural" part of their grooming routine. Their findings also suggest that

women primarily cite "femininity and sexual attractiveness reasons" (895) for removing underarm, leg, and pubic hair, although self-enhancement was cited for pubic hair removal by women who reported removing all pubic hair.

Young women begin their body hair removal careers at the onset of puberty (Toerien et.al. 2005). This means that women begin shaving, waxing, applying hair removal creams, etc., as soon as this marker of masculinity rears its ugly head. As such, Bartky (1990) argues that hairlessness reflects a way in which women are expected to remain child-like, and are infantilized. Further, feminine hairlessness is a taken-for-granted, normalized way in which the masculine is set as opposite from the feminine (Toerien and Wilkinson 2003). The absence of body hair on women not only reflects youth, but it also is a way feminine women are constructed as being tamed and concerned with appearance. The unshaven woman sits in opposition, and is not only viewed as having a general lack of concern for her appearance, but she is also considered less qualified, less sexually attractive, less intelligent, and less sociable, less happy, less positive, and more aggressive (Basow and Braman 1998). The ideas we have about body hair removal reinforce the view that a woman's unaltered body is not acceptable.

Body Size/Physique

Body size/physique also matters in contemporary norms of femininity. While the ideal "feminine" shape and size has varied considerably over the years, Scott (cited in Forbes et.al. 2007) outlines three constants found in the literature:

> First, ideal bodies, regardless of their specifics, have never represented the bodies of most women…. Second, many women, arguably most women, have invested substantial amounts of time, energy, and emotional resources in the usually futile effort to conform to these standards. Third, both men and women have habitually scrutinized women's bodies to see how closely those women approximate the beauty standards. (265)

Like hair, and the face, the body is simultaneously public and private. It is a means by which we tell the world who we are. Contemporary girls and women "believe the body is the ultimate expression of the self" (Brumberg 1997: 97). Today, women and girls are confronted with the thin ideal. Contained within this ideal thin figure is the valorization of youth through the disdain and fear of the natural contours that come with maturity for women: "…it is a silhouette that seems more appropriate to an adolescent boy or a newly pubescent girl than to an adult woman" (Bartky 2010: 80; see also Dworkin and Wachs 2009). Further, "the ideal here is of a body that is absolutely tight, contained, "bolted down," firm: in other words, a body that is protected against eruption from within, whose internal processes are under control" (Bordo 1993: 190). Women (and girls) spend time, money, and energy obsessing about their "problem" areas, and seek solutions to fix unsightly bulges, and firm up soft spots. Having a "fat day" can be disastrous for women in contemporary America who know all too well that "massiveness, power, or abundance in a woman's body is met with distaste" (Bartky 2010: 80).

The thin ideal is made possible only in a culture of consumption and excess. Dieting and working out are a way of life for a large proportion of women in America, and has crept into being a way of life for girls as young as nine or ten. Overweight women are ridiculed; considered failures, with a lack of control over their food intake, their appetites, in essence, a lack of control over their bodies. Overweight women are looked upon with disgust, perceived as lazy, lacking discipline. "Moreover, fat individuals are seen as blameworthy and morally culpable" (Kwan 2009: 43), and face size-related discrimination. Overweight women are not considered as attractive or as feminine as thinner women. Further, fat bodies do not fit with the social constructions of

professional "disciplined" bodies, and as such have consequences for women in workplace settings (Trethewey 1999).

The thin ideal is contradictory. Women (and men) are on average getting larger and heavier, yet the images that we see, and the celebrities we attempt to emulate are getting thinner. "From the 1960's to the 1980's portrayals of the female body in the media became slimmer…" (Frost 1997: 196). Images in magazines do not reflect reality; rather they are a representation of ideals. Media images today undergo a series of alterations before they are displayed for our consumption. What this means is that regardless of how hard we try to control what and how much we eat, how much we work out to tone our bodies, women will fail to achieve the ideal representations.

The importance of being thin or "skinny" is often embodied by inanimate objects and is materialized in objects that we can consume. For example, Diet Pepsi comes in a new slenderized can that launched recently at the 2011 fashion week in New York. We can also eat Skinny Cow® ice cream treats and drink Skinny Water®, or if old enough, have a SkinnyGirl™ margarita, "the margarita you can trust" not to make us fat. Perhaps this is so that women can feel more comfortable in their ever so trendy "skinny jeans," but certainly it is so that women can enjoy food and drink with less guilt. Additionally, women can also apply Super Skinny® Serum to their hair[5] on days when it is unruly and needs to be tamed. Consume (i.e., behave) skinny, and you can feel skinny.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the "in your face" thin images, and the unhealthy and unrealistic ways in which women must behave in order to approach achieving a stick

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[5] The names of these products were obtained by entering the phrase "skinny products" into the Google search engine on February 14, 2011. All products were found on the first page of the results of this search.

thin figure, there is growing movement toward fat acceptance. The National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance (NAAFA) is a "is a non-profit civil rights organization dedicated to ending size discrimination in all of its forms. **NAAFA's** goal is to help build a society in which people of every size are accepted with dignity and equality in all aspects of life. **NAAFA** will pursue this goal through **advocacy**, **public education**, and **support**" (bold in original text, www.naafa.org).

Not all women may identify with the thin ideal, however. Powell and Kahn's (1995) research on the effects of beauty norms on women of color suggests that as a group, women of color may not identify with the "thin ideal" like white women do, and thus, may place less emphasis on the importance of having a thin body (See also Craig: 2006). Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2003) argues that black women's "acceptance" of a thicker body is much more complicated than simply not identifying with, or not placing importance on having a thin body. Discourses of strength and deviance suggest otherwise, and food may be an escape for women who face pressures to be strong and large. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2003) suggests that researchers need to shift toward looking to cultural explications for Black women's weight and size, and place Black women's voices at the center of our queries. She explains,

> We may find that rather than an assertion of agency and power, the weight that some Black women carry is a sign of dis-ease and un-ease, of problematic divisions of labor within Black families as well as between Black and non-Black communities… Future studies, both quantitative and qualitative, are needed to distinguish Black women's individual choices about the size and shape of their bodies and their attempts to speak oppressive realities through their bodies. (119)

The thin ideal is also contradictory to motherhood norms, which prescribe that good mothers engage in intensive motherhood. Bailey's (2001) research on pregnant embodiment among first time mothers suggests that some middle-class white women

temporarily renegotiate their social positioning during pregnancy, particularly while "showing" – the stage in which pregnant bodies communicate an "emphasized femininity" (Connell 1987).   This social positioning quickly shifts after childbirth, however, and new mothers are confronted once again with the thin ideal, and report an increase in body dissatisfaction (Clark et.al. 2009), and experience social pressures to "get their body back" (Dworkin and Wachs 2004).   Further, Stretch marks that result from pregnancy for so most women are considered to be "a feminine misfortune, signs of a used slightly worn body, a negation of the youthful, unblemished ideal" (Brownmiller 1984: 137).

In this section, I have given an overview of literature on norms related to women's physical appearance. Career-oriented women, however, also face pressures to look a certain way in workplace settings.

WORKPLACE APPEARANCE NORMS

Much of the literature on workplace appearance norms discusses the ways in which Title VII legislation does not prohibit employers to discriminate on the basis of physical appearance (Rhode 2010). This literature highlights how workplace appearance norms disproportionately affect women and other marginalized populations by relying on community standards to legitimate appearance discrimination. Research suggests that workplace appearance norms/policies create and reinforce gender/race/class/sexuality stereotypes. Further, workplace appearance norm literature asserts that there are institutional rewards for "attractive" workers, and as such, there are significant pressures for women to do appearance work "just right" in workplace settings. Because this research is on career-oriented women's appearance work experiences, I intentionally

focus this review of literature on research related to "professional" women's workplace appearance norms, and appearance work.

> The Civil Rights Act of 1964, a historic piece of legislation, banned discrimination in public facilities, government, and employment. Title VII was intended to ensure equal employment opportunity, specifically prohibiting discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin, or sex in the employment context. (Mahajan 2007: 177)

However far reaching Title VII is in protecting against certain kinds of discrimination, it fails to provide "protection for women and those who do not conform to traditional gender roles, the manner in which courts interpret Title VII to analyze gender related appearance claims arguably perpetuates gender stereotypes and naturalizes socially constructed gender differences" (Mahajan 2007: 188).

Employers can (and do) discriminate on the basis of appearance, and as a result, women are pressured to do appearance work in order to look a certain way: that is, they must look attractive. Employers have a vested interest their employees' appearance – after all employees' images are a reflection of the organizational structure (Warhurst and Nickson 2007). "Employers often use appearance as a signal of an employee's qualifications, and even after hiring decisions are made, employers continue to regulate the appearance of their employees through dressing and grooming policies" (Mahajan 2007:165). Workplace appearance norms, rooted in societal appearance norms (community standards), disproportionately affect women. Bartlett (1994) explains:

> A woman can be neither too much like a woman nor not enough like one; she must appear competent- and thus formal, covered, and neutered - but not too assertive or manly - and thus soft, frilly, and ornamental. She must not distract others with her sexiness, and thus must be wrapped tight and inaccessible, but she cannot be too independent, and thus should be appropriately exposed (legs), painted (eyes, lips, cheeks, hair), elevated (high-heeled shoes), and vulnerable (clothes that prevent easy movement or escape). (2547)

Title VII fails women and other disadvantaged groups in other ways as well. It

fails to recognize implicit bias, and relies on whether or not a certain trait can be altered. Moreover, it allows for discrimination based on a single ground rather than multiple intersecting bases (Crenshaw 1993). As a result, protected groups (women and people of color, for example) find it necessary to perform gender (and race) in ways that conform to a white male standard. Additionally, employers, coworkers, and clients encourage this assimilation in informal ways. For example, asking if a woman is feeling okay on a day she does not wear makeup, or alternatively, complimenting appearance on days that appearance norms are accommodated reinforces the importance of adhering to a certain way of looking.

Ainsworth (2014) presents three legal cases in which employees contested their employers' appearance codes on the grounds that they violated racial and/or gender identity. In the first case, *Rogers v. American Airlines,* a female employee, Renée Rogers, was threatened with dismissal for wearing her hair in cornrow braids, as it violated the airline's explicit grooming policy against all braids. Rogers argued that her braided hairstyle, like the Afro, was a symbol of black female identity. Therefore, the airline's anti-braid policy, and threats of dismissal were a form of race and sex discrimination. The court, however, disagreed about braids, stating that Rogers' braids were not natural, nor were they an immutable characteristic – they were a choice. In the second case outlined by Ainsworth (2014), *Jespersen v. Harrah's Operating Company,* Darlene Jesperson, a long time, high performing, employee of Harrah's casino, filed a discrimination suit against her employer when they instituted a policy requiring women to wear full makeup, curled hair, nail polish, and hosiery. Her argument rested on the fact that men were not required to make such modifications to their natural appearance,

thereby, this policy treated male employees and female employees differently on the basis of sex stereotyping. The courts disagreed, and ordered that because the policy stated that men could *not* modify their appearance by wearing makeup, curled hair, nail polish, or stockings – they were equally burdened. The final case outlined by Ainsworth (2014) highlights the ways in which Title VII fails to protect appearance discrimination on the basis of gender identity. In *Doe v. Boeing,* Doe, an engineer, and long-term employee who was born biologically male, notified Boeing that she was transgender, and about to go through the lengthy process of sex reassignment surgery. Shortly thereafter, and per her doctor's orders, Doe began presenting herself in public (and work) as a woman, and used women's restroom facilities in the workplace. As a result, Doe was instructed not to dress "feminine," and to use the men's bathroom. Doe violated Boeing's request when she wore pink pearls to accessorize her (masculine pantsuit), and was subsequently fired. Boeing's argument for her termination was that her attire violated their appearance code policy on gender appropriate dress, and argued that had she been born biologically female, this would not have been an issue. Like the aforementioned cases, the courts ruled in favor of Boeing. The lesson here, aside from the glaring shortcomings of Title VII, is that employers have an incredible amount of control over their employee's expressions of race and gender identities. While workplace culture emphasizes the value of cohesiveness and homogeneity, it does so in ways that (depending on job) privilege white middle-class masculinity. These values place the burden of assimilating upon "others," which creates "a double bind in which [certain] employees are unable to fully conform to the expectations of the employer and simultaneously unable to fully be true to their authentic selves, either" (ibid. 256).

Literature on workplace appearance norms suggests, generally speaking, there are institutional rewards for women who perform attractiveness. Attractive employees tend to get better performance evaluations, and get promoted to higher positions. Research also suggests that compared to average and unattractive people, attractive people have higher lifetime earnings. "Indeed, the advantages bestowed upon attractive people are not only parallel to, but are also entangled with the advantages of being white, healthy, and young…appearance-based judgments draw also from measures of affluence, conservatism, and gender conformity" (Toledano 2013-2014: 685). Johnson et.al. (2010) found that attractiveness only hinders women's employment when applying for masculine type jobs where attractiveness is perceived to be unimportant. Since employers use community standards in their appearance expectations, and workplace rewards and sanctions are shaped around those standards, it behooves career-oriented women to do appearance work to look a certain way, and do it right.

As I mentioned in my previous discussion of appearance norms related to hair, hair matters. Weitz's (2004) research on women's hair in workplace settings asserts that women convey messages to their employers, coworkers, and clients through their hair. For the professional woman, this typically means wearing hair in a conservative style that signals she is serious about her work. These changes to her hairstyle not only shape how others view the professional woman, but also how she views herself – more serious, credible, and committed to her work. Further, some women may style their hair in certain ways for workplace settings in effort to deemphasize their femininity. However, because dominant norms about femininity and attractiveness privilege white women, hair may serve as a resource to reclaim a dignity that has been historically denied women of

color. Thus, as Weitz's findings suggest, using hair to downplay femininity can be a source of discomfort for marginalized women.

Women also engage in other kinds of appearance work in effort to manipulate their workplace appearance. For example, Cox and Glick's (1986) study on women's cosmetic use and perceived job performance found that makeup enhanced perceived attractiveness and femininity. However, cosmetic use had a negative effect on perceived performance for women seeking feminine type jobs. More recently, Dellinger and Williams (1997) conducted in depth interviews with professional women, and asked about their makeup experiences to explore how women negotiate certain kinds of gendered appearance rules in workplace settings. Their findings suggest that women cite wearing makeup in workplace settings not to look more attractive, but, rather, to look healthy, well rested, heterosexual, to gain credibility, and to disguise aging in professional settings. Further, Dellinger and Williams' findings suggest that occupational structures' appearance codes may hinder resistance to certain kinds of appearance norms.

Trethewey's research (1999) on women's professional embodiment suggests that professional bodies are fit, not fat. Professional bodies are in control, and not controlled. Professional bodies can endure work requirements.   Women professionalize their presentations of self in effort to convey messages of interest, but not sexual interest. Professional women's maternal [pregnant] bodies are problematic in workplace settings as pregnancy further accentuates her "otherness" by signaling her femaleness. Further, plunging necklines, and short skirts accentuate "differentness," and sexuality – both unacceptable for professional women.   It is clear from Trethewey's research that

professional embodiment is a disproportionately more challenging task for women than

men. Bartlett (1994) also emphasizes the complexities of professional embodiment:

> In choosing what to wear [for work], women often find themselves trapped in no
> win situations - being considered too feminine if they wear traditionally female
> clothing, or not feminine enough if they do not…. Women are cautioned to avoid
> both the "imitation man" look and the feminine look, both of which detract from
> their authority. The imitation man look - a shirt and tie, vest, or pinstriped suit -
> causes women to look as if they are dressing up in someone else's (their father's?)
> suit and thus silly or, in some cases, sexy. It is important for the individual woman
> to show - with a skirt, for example - that she is not departing in too radical or
> threatening a way from accepted gender identifications. The feminine look causes
> a woman to be perceived as a subjugated object rather than as an authority figure.
> Thus, women should not wear frilly or lacy blouses, pastel colors, short or long
> skirts, heavy makeup, low necklines, open-toed shoes, or boots. The irony is
> striking: women have a greater range of dress and appearance options, but with
> that freedom a greater possibility of mistake and a narrower range of error than
> men. (2552-2553)

Women's appearance in workplace settings matters – and it matters a lot. Almost

half of the paid work force in the U.S. is women, and most of them are mothers.

Responding to raced/classed/gendered workplace appearance codes, either implicit or

explicit, in the face of actual paid work commitments and motherhood work means that

women are always thinking about their bodies, always planning, always worrying, always

comparing. They are always disciplining their bodies. As I mentioned in the

introduction of this chapter, Naomi Wolf ([1991] 2002) asserts that a third shift of beauty

work emerged just as women were breaking down the doors of the academy, and

achieving success in the workplace. For career-oriented women, however, I argue that

this third shift of work is likely not *always* about work toward some unachievable ideal of

feminine beauty. In fact, for these women, it likely is not. Rather, I assert that this third

shift is about *appearance,* and that appearance work toward a "professional" appearance

matters more, and appearance work in response to beauty norms matter less for career-oriented women – especially as they transition to motherhood.

This research aims to fill a gap in feminist literature by re-conceptualizing this third shift. Additionally, research on career-oriented women's maternal embodiment in workplace structures focuses on pregnant and lactating bodies. What about career-oriented women's other maternal body experiences, like residual baby weight, or loose belly skin? By listening to career-oriented women's pre-motherhood and post pregnancy appearance work experiences in a variety of settings, alongside a range of "others" we can capture the essence of what this third shift really consists for them.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This qualitative research is situated within a theoretical and conceptual framework that includes: beauty theories, resistance and accommodation, Acker's theory of gendered organizations, and feminist standpoint theory. Beauty theories help to explain how women feel and think about their appearance. Resistance and accommodation theories help us to understand the various strategies of action women utilize as they respond to appearance norms. Acker's theory of gendered organizations helps us to understand women's embodied experiences in workplace (and other) settings. Finally, using a feminist standpoint lens allows us to understand how career-oriented mothers of young children view their own appearance work experiences.

THEORIZING BEAUTY

"The feelings of inadequacy produced by the presence of beauty standards in women's lives are, arguably, among the most personal manifestations of gender inequality in our lives" (Craig 2006: 163). Beauty norms are socially constructed, historically situated, materialized in and articulated through everyday appearance work routines. Women's bodies are "deeply inscribed with an ideological construction of femininity emblematic of the period in question. The construction…is always homogenizing and normalizing, erasing racial, class, and other differences by insisting that all women aspire to a coercive, standardized ideal" (Bordo 1993: 311).

The importance of external "beauty" to women's value is relatively new. Brumberg's research (1997) on girls' diary entries highlights the ways in which a woman's beauty, once an inner quality, came to be about her external appearance. Wolf

([1991] 2002) further explains, "most of our assumptions about the way women have always thought about "beauty" date from no earlier than the 1830s, when the cult of domesticity was first consolidated and the beauty index invented" (15). Forbes et.al. (1997), adds, "Women's economic and social progress has been paralleled by increasingly strict beauty standards and increasingly severe assaults on both women's bodies and their psyches" (266). Beauty norms are a component of contemporary ideologies of femininity that function to "signal women's inferior status and identify their differences from men, shift social awareness from women's competencies to superficial aspects of their appearance, undermine women's self-confidence, dissipate their emotional and economic resources, and reduce them to sex objects" (Forbes et. al. 1997: 273; see also Andre 1994). Naomi Wolf ([1991] 2002) adds that, "the qualities that a given period calls beautiful in women are merely symbols of the female behavior that that period considers desirable: *the beauty myth is actually prescribing behavior and not appearance*" (13-14); thus, beauty norms prescribe women's beauty work. Male dominance is secured by creating unattainable standards of appearance for women: "women are mere "beauties" in men's culture so that culture can be kept male" (Wolf [1991] 2002: 59). This means that, ultimately, women's beauty work involves work towards an unattainable goal. Like doing "good" motherhood, appearance work is time and labor intensive, expensive, and never good enough. Regardless of what physical space a woman occupies at any given time, her appearance in relation to the ideals of feminine beauty is always evaluated, and based on how closely she resembles the ideal, she is deemed a success or a failure. "Appearance, not accomplishment, is the feminine demonstration of desirability and worth" (Brownmiller 1984: 50). A woman's failure to

properly discipline her body "in a world dominated by men" has serious consequences and can result in "the refusal of male patronage. For the heterosexual woman, this may mean the loss of a badly needed intimacy; for both heterosexual women and lesbians, it may well mean the refusal of a decent livelihood" (Bartky 2010: 90).

The development of empirical measures of beauty has been problematic for feminists. Scott (cited by Forbes et. al. 2007), however, identified the following four themes in the feminist literature:

> (1) "Beauty is fundamentally feminine." This refers to beauty as a gendered trait that is both specific to women and required for femininity; (2) "Beauty is imperative for women." That is, almost irrespective of the consequences and the cost, women are expected to be beautiful; (3) "Beauty is paramount among women's qualities." This reflects the belief that beauty is a woman's most important attribute; (4) "Women's beauty requires substantial modification of the natural appearance." That is, in its natural state the female body is not beautiful. To achieve beauty, women must shape, color, shave, or in other ways conceal or modify the natural appearance of their bodies. (266)

In a hegemonic masculine system of stratification, femininity is situated opposite masculinity, consistently devalued, and women's bodies and each of our parts are represented as being inherently deficient, yet consistently lean toward detailing a white/upper-/middle-class/Western/young woman's body. Further, as system of stratification, gender places men above women (race and class being equal). If one gender is dominant, the other must be subordinate, deficient, lacking the qualities of the dominant (Lorber 2007). People "construct their bodies in ways that comply with accepted views of masculinity and femininity" (Lorber and Martin 2011: 281). Of course, these views are always in flux. What is consistent, however, is the representation of women's bodies, or at least women's body parts as out of control and in need of repair. This allows for the regular "creation" of new problem areas from which ALL women suffer and that all women must fix. What results is an ever-increasing level of body

dissatisfaction among women (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Frost 2005; Bartky 2010), and new opportunities for corporations to capitalize on women's insecurities (Kilbourne 2010). For example, Unilever, the global corporation that produces the Dove® brand, recently launched a new deodorant product for women, inspired by recent research conducted by the company "that found 93% of women consider their armpits unattractive" (Byron, March 30, 2011). The new "Ultimate Go Sleeveless" product feeds not only on women's insecurities related to how they smell, it creates and capitalizes on something new – ugly armpits. It also contributes to the objectification of women by turning women's bodies into a set of deficient parts that must be modified in order to look a certain way.

Feminist theorists also have difficulty reaching a consensus on the meaning of beauty in women's lives. Some feminist scholars describe the ways in which beauty can be a source of potential pleasure, and a tool that women can use to achieve certain ends (Craig 2006). For example, feminist research on women who have undergone cosmetic surgery suggests that in the face of all of the risks that accompany surgical procedures, women's body transformations through cosmetic surgery can be for her, and can also be a way for women to feel "normal" (Gimlin 2013; and Davis 2000). Furman (1997) and Weitz (2004) highlight the ways that doing hair work (or having hair work done) can be a source of pleasure for women. In *Hope in a Jar* (1998) Kathy Peiss describes women as agentic in their approach to beauty work. "Women knew then – as they do now – precisely what they were buying. Again and again they reported their delight in beautifying…" (6).

Other feminist scholars, however, situate beauty within a structure of oppression and assert that women's bodies are ornamented surfaces, objects inscribed with inferior status as a result of the strict disciplinary practices required to achieve femininity (Bartky 2010; Andre 1994). To be successful, women must make daily sacrifices and constantly monitor not only their demeanor and comportment (Bartky 2010), but also their appearance in relation to beauty norms. Brumberg (1997) refers to beauty work as a "body project," and suggests that every part of the female body is something to be constantly policed. Bartky (2010) discusses the ever present power of this disciplinary gaze "that inscribes femininity in the female body is everywhere and it is nowhere; the disciplinarian is everyone and yet no one in particular…. The system aims at turning women into docile and compliant companions of men just as surely as the army aims to turn its raw recruits into soldiers" (Bartky 2010:103). Andre (1994) argues, the time, money and energy that women put into responding to gendered appearance norms take away from time, money and energy that could be spent on friendships, nurturing intimate relationships, and paid work. Because a woman's identity and personhood are intimately associated her body, she is continuously tied up in bodily matters that she sacrifices important ways of being with and in the world. Further, Bordo (1993) suggests beauty norms prescribe that women constantly judge, and measure themselves (and other women) against cultural representations of ever changing, never attainable beauty ideal.

These divisions suggest that oppression and pleasure do not co-exist. Craig (2006) points out the difficulties in theorizing beauty, and offers a suggestion to those of us attempting to locate the complex meanings of beauty in women's lives. She notes:

> The difficulty of theorizing beauty is that any body which might possibly be characterized as beautiful exists at a congested crossroads of forces. Bodies

provide us with a principal means of expression, yet our bodies are read in ways that defy our intentions. We act on others through our bodies, but nonetheless our bodies are the sites of the embodiment of social controls. The body is the locus of our pleasures and it is the vehicle through which we consume. Our bodies are the targets and the subjects of advertisements. Our bodies mark us in ways that place us in social categories and these categories may form the bases of political solidarities. Each of these uses and meanings of the body can involve beauty. The meeting of these diverse forces in our bodies confounds broad generalizations we might make about the meaning of beauty in women's lives.

I suggest that we look at beauty as a gendered, racialized, and contested symbolic resource. Since beauty is contested, at any given moment there will be multiple standards of beauty in circulation. By thinking about competing beauty standards and their uses by men and women in particular social locations, we can ask about the local power relations at work in discourses and practices of beauty and examine the penalties or pleasures they produce. If we take this approach, oppression and the production of pleasure, domination and resistance no longer exclude each other. (Craig: 2006: 160)

Women's relationships to socially constructed ideas about beauty are complicated. Women are neither fully agentic, nor are they cultural dopes. Rather, women's responses to beauty norms reflect that she can be both.

STRATEGIES OF ACTION, RESISTANCE AND ACCOMMODATION

Despite the power of norms that speak about the importance of women's attractiveness, there is research that suggests that bodies are simultaneously social and agentic. Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis (2002) assert that social agency "is always informed (and sometimes explicitly driven) by values, ideals and social goals, regularly changes society to the effect that what used to be an impossibility becomes a possibility." Bodies are social in the context that they both construct and are constructed by society. "Women are neither "docile bodies" nor free agents; rather they combine accommodation and resistance as they actively grapple with cultural expectations and social structures" (Weitz 2001: 669). Bodies are agentic in the context that the social actors who inhabit those bodies are, at the end of the day, individual actors making choices within a given

set of social constraints, and gendered identities. When career-oriented mothers of young

children respond to appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work, they do so

within the parameters of their intertwined identities of women, mothers, and paid worker.

Also, and perhaps more importantly informing women's decisions, Swidler (1986)

argues, is culture.

> Culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values toward which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or "tool kit" of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct "strategies of action."…. In unsettled cultural periods, explicit ideologies directly govern action, but structural opportunities for action determine which among competing ideologies survive in the long run. This alternative view of culture offers new opportunities for systematic, differentiated arguments about culture's causal role in shaping action. (273)

Deniz Kandioti (1988) furthers our understanding of the ways in which women

respond to appearance norms in a cultural system stratified along gendered lines.

Kandiyoti makes the argument that although there are different forms of patriarchy

around the world, "women strategize within a set of concrete constraints that reveal and

define the blueprint of" what she terms "the *patriarchal bargain*" (275). For women,

patriarchy remains a constraint within which regular bargains are made. A term that "is

intended to indicate the existence of set rules and scripts regulating gender relations, to

which both genders accommodate and acquiesce, yet which may nonetheless be

contested, redefined, and renegotiated" (286). Alternatively, Lisa Wade, an author and

editor of *Sociological Images*, a website devoted to "Inspiring Sociological Imaginations

Everywhere" explains that, "[a] patriarchal bargain is a decision to accept gender rules

that disadvantage women in exchange for whatever power one can wrest from the system.

It is an individual strategy designed to manipulate the system to one's best advantage, but

one   that   leaves   the   system   itself   intact"

(http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2011/05/22/women-damned-if-you-do-damned-if-you-dont/). Patriarchal bargains may or may not be made consciously, rather, much like the many forms in which resistance takes shape, may lie along a continuum involving the complex interplay between intent and recognition (Hollander and Einwohner 2004).

For this research, I borrow Weitz's (2001) definitions of resistance and accommodation. Specifically, Weitz conceptualizes resistance "as actions that not only reject subordination but do so by *challenging the ideologies that support that subordination*" (670). She goes on to define accommodation as "actions that accept subordination, by either adopting or simply not challenging the ideologies that support subordination" (670). Weitz suggests that resistance and accommodation exist in everyday actions, are simultaneous expressions, and "any given action might contain elements of accommodation *and* elements of resistance" (670).

In the introduction of *Embodied Resistance: Challenging the Norms, Breaking the Rules* (2011), Chris Bobel and Samantha Kwan discuss social norms as being elements of culture that normalize and regulate our everyday lives. Gendered appearance norms prescribe that women look a certain way (i.e., feminine), and provide women with a set of behaviors, commercial products, etc., to get that look – particularly if she is to venture out into the public sphere. Given that what is normal at home may not be considered normal at work, therefore we can deduce that norms vary based on location and audience. Additionally, because people are social actors who are essentially acting in relation to cultural ideas about what is "normal," "[e]very action thus potentially contains elements of both resistance and accommodation" (Bobel and Kwan 2011: 2). For working mothers of young children, free time to spend thinking about, and doing appearance work is

something that is not abundant. What then are some strategies that these women use in order to get beauty work done? How are their strategies reflective of both accommodation and resistance?

Arlie Hochschild (1997) points out that "[t]he more attached to the world of work, the more its deadlines, its cycles, its pauses and interruptions shape our lives and the more family time is forced to accommodate the pressures of work" (45). For middle-class families, particularly women, this has meant outsourcing childcare, domestic work, and appearance work, generally to other women. This also means that appearance work is shortened, and/or more pressured to accommodate paid work and motherhood demands, and women's attitudes about appearance work are likely to change.

There are many ways in which scholars can and do conceive of resistance (and alternatively accommodation). At this point, a discussion of Hollander and Einwohner's *Conceptualizing Resistance* (2004) as well as Scott's discussion of "everyday resistance" is useful, as it has informed my understanding of the concept greatly. Hollander and Einwohner (2004) have created a typology of resistance that "highlights the central issues involved in disagreements about resistance – recognition and intent – and also illustrates the fact that three distinct groups (actors, their targets, and interested observers, including researchers) may judge an act to be resistance" (544). Types of resistance, thus involve intent by the social agent, recognition by the target, and recognition by the researcher. When examining the ways in which women strategize appearance norms in the face of busy work/mom schedules, it is important to keep in mind and be cognizant of the complex interplay between statuses: specifically, mother, worker, and woman; and that

while accommodating cultural norms associated with one identity may indeed be reflective of resistance with another identity.

Further, when talking to women and the ways in which they respond to appearance norms while being mothers and workers, we are likely to find examples of what Scott (2008) refers to as "everyday acts" of resistance (and accommodation) as opposed to overt, organized political action. Scott (2008) explains, "those who employ everyday forms of resistance avoid calling attention to themselves. Such techniques are relatively safe, they often promise vital material gains, and they require little or no *formal* coordination let alone formal organization - although they typically rely on a venerable popular culture of resistance to accomplish their ends" (35).

GENDERED ORGANIZATIONS

Howson and Inglis (2001) state, "The most pressing problem for sociologists inclined towards a phenomenology of the body is the absence of a means to incorporate an adequate account of social structure" (299). Acker (1990) challenges the prevailing assumptions that organizational structures are gender-neutral, and asexual spaces inhabited by disembodied and universal workers, and offers a framework for understanding organizational structures, e.g. workplaces, as gendered processes. Specifically, the following five assertions help to frame women's embodied experiences in workplace settings, and also in the home spaces as they prepare to interact in organizational settings.

First, the divisions that exist in organizations are constructed along gender lines. This includes "divisions of labor, of allowed behaviors, of locations in physical space, of power…" (146). Career-oriented mothers work within a variety of organizational

structures. This first point helps to frame women's appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance work in the context of job type (masculine/feminine), profession and status within the organization (supervisor/subordinate), and also physical proximity in relation to others within the organization (home office/office within the workplace). Further, Arlie Hochschild (1983) suggests that some certain professional roles within organizational structures may provide a "status shield" (174), which function to protect gendered subjects from the emotional effects of others' gazes, and emotional onslaughts. Thus, some women, because of their professional role within a gendered organizational structure, may feel freed up from the feelings that they have to look a certain way in work spaces, but feel bound to appearance pressures in other gendered spaces, like the home and public.

Second, as gendered organizations, the symbols and images within organizations, cultural representations of workers and the workplace, reinforce divisions and at times can challenge those divisions. For this second point, some women may occupy masculine type jobs, thus, challenging cultural representations of workers in that particular field. For example, a female engineer who specializes in welding processes, and has to visit manufacturing plants on a regular basis. This point helps to enrich our understanding of her appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance work as she negotiates the various gendered spaces she occupies at work.

Third, the processes of interaction within the workplace are gendered. This third point adds another dimension to the first two, allowing us to incorporate the gendered interactions career-oriented women in a variety of job types have. Some women in masculine type jobs, for example, may work primarily alongside men, while others may

work primarily alongside women, and only occasionally interact with men, and still others may not interact with men at all in their workplace settings. Further, some women may be the first point of contact for a variety of clients (i.e., men, other women, clients from overseas) within the gendered organizational structure. Anticipating, and managing first impressions, for these career-oriented women, may be something that they always have to keep in mind as they get themselves ready for workplace settings.

Fourth, workers' presentations of self are gendered. Women's (and men's) gendered presentations of self in workplace organizations are enacted in all interactions at all times through dress, hair, ornamentation, props, demeanor, comportment, space occupied within the workplace, and so on. Women whose profession crosses gender lines may have a different presentation of self within her organization, then a woman whose profession does not cross gender lines.

Finally, gender is an ongoing process that helps to construct work organizations. "Work organizations are divided up according to gender, segregated in to female and male work, and thus seen as 'natural' respectively for women and men to occupy" (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 49). These divisions of labor are deeply rooted in the social constructions of gender, and often place women in (lower status/supportive) feminine type jobs, and men in (higher status/leadership) masculine type jobs. Women's appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance for workplace settings are varied in many ways, and are also shaped around their own gendered identities.

> Gendered identities are not just produced in but are also imported into organizations and there is a wealth of gendering institutions and mechanisms of power all the time working on men and women in (as well as outside) organizations, in neighborhoods, mass media, families, etc. (Alvesson and Billing 2009: 108)

Feminist literature using Acker's theory of organizations as gendered processes framework has been useful in furthering our understanding of women's embodied experiences in the workplace. For example, Trethewey's research (1999) extends Acker's theory to explore the "very real and material consequences of those [gendered] organizational discourses and practices for women's perceptions of their corporeal selves" (424). Additionally, Gottfried (2003) explores the ways in which women employed within a Japanese temp agency present themselves within a female-typed organizational structure to suggest "self-presentation is not a solo act; it is a situated, culturally informed performance. She learns how to wrap herself according to implicit and explicit codes of femininity" (270). Longhurst (2012) explores women's experiences with pregnancy in workplace settings. Pierce (1996) applies Acker's Theory of Gendered Organizations (among other perspectives) to highlight the ways in which women (and subordinate status men) working in law firms respond to gendered constraints within the masculine workplace. These examples highlight the ways in which the gendered organization of paid work might make it important for women to do, and think about certain kinds of appearance work in specific ways within the workplace.

Even though home and public spaces are not formally "organizations," they are still gendered. For example, mothers are associated with the private sphere – the home. Along with the association between mothers and the private sphere, are also prescriptions for what she should be *doing* in that space (Dillaway and Paré 2008). As a result of this association and the prescribed behavior that goes with it, there may be different appearance pressures in that space. Therefore, also important in this research concerns women's appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance work for other

spaces. Women may care a lot about looking a certain way for work, and not care as much about their appearance when they are at home. This framework will help further understand how women are gendered in every space, in every role, and the ways in which women are gendering themselves at work, at home, and in public spaces.

STANDPOINT FEMINIST THEORY

Appearance norms and motherhood norms are important components of ideologies of femininity. This research centers on exploring the appearance work experiences of career oriented mothers who, as women in contemporary Western society, are beholden to a first shift of paid work, a second shift of unpaid childcare and domestic work, and also a third shift of appearance work. A career-oriented mother prioritizes her paid work shift, and as such, experiences tensions between her roles as mother and paid worker. A third shift of appearance work further adds to these tensions. Little research on women's appearance work experiences has been conducted using standpoint feminist theory. Patton (2006) uses Afrocentric theory and standpoint theory in her research exploring the ways African American women are affected by White standards of beauty. To my knowledge, no research on career-oriented mothers' appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work, has made use of a standpoint feminist lens.

Standpoint feminism asserts that, "as physical and social reproducers of children -- out of bodies, emotions, thought, and sheer physical labor -- women are grounded in material reality in ways that men aren't" (Lorber 2001: 22). As a result of this connection to the material world, women have a different way of knowing from men. So in order for us to understand women's realities, and challenge hegemony, one must research from their perspectives. Moreover, Lorber (2001) says, "women researchers are

more sensitive to how women see problems and set priorities, and therefore would be better able to design and conduct research from a woman's point of view" (23).

Standpoint feminism argues against the idea that knowledge is a straightforward outcome of essential shared group characteristics. Knowledge, rather, is shaped and also limited by social location. It is "uniquely achieved from a particular standpoint" (Intemann 2010: 783). Spragle (2005) (citing Harding 1998) states that, "Standpoint epistemology argues that all knowledge is constructed in a specific matrix of physical location, history, culture, and interests, and that these matrices change in configuration from one location to another" (41). The career-oriented woman is a:

> [G]ender disadvantaged "insider-outsider" who has no choice, given her social location but to negotiate the world of the privileged, [she is] a knower who must understand accurately and in detail the tacit knowledge that constitutes a dominant, normative world view at the same time as she is grounded in a community whose marginal status generates a fundamentally different understanding of how the world works. (Wylie 2003: 34-5)

And that knowledge, because it is "situated" can only be partial (Spragle 2005; see also Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis 2002).

Further, while career-oriented women may belong to the same "identity community," (Stoetzler and Yuval-Davis 2002:318), I do not assume an automatic relationship between women's common social locations, and standpoint.

> What individuals experience and understand is shaped by their location in a hierarchically structured system of [gendered/raced/classed] power relations: by the material conditions of their lives, by the relations of production and reproduction that structure their social interactions, and by the conceptual resources they have to represent and interpret these relations. (Wylie 2003: 31)

Harding, discussed by Spragle (2005), articulates what Wylie discusses above, and pinpoints four elements that allow for the construction of a standpoint. The first element involves physical location. Women's responses to gendered appearance norms are

shaped and also limited by physical location. Gender and other relations of domination/subordination stratify all social structures/institutions, and as such, Harding suggests, "heterogeneous nature is partly differently distributed in men's and women's lives" (69). Different women may have different responses to appearance norms, however, general observations can be made *because* they share the social location "gender disadvantaged" (Wylie 2003: 34). The second element involves interests. Women respond to gendered appearance norms in ways that are different from men, partly because of bodily differences, but also because of differences in physical location – their interests and desires are different. From this, we can also assert that women of color, poor and working class women, etc., will have still other interests and desires. The third element, Harding says, is related to access to discourses. Discourses, Spragle (2005) says, "are heavily influenced by power" (70). Some women may be more sensitized to, and be able to articulate the ways in which ideologies of femininity that prescribe good motherhood and attractiveness constrains their ability to be full selves. The last element of a standpoint, according to Harding, is its position in relation to the organization of knowledge production. This fourth element relates, in this case, to the relationship between the researcher, and the subject, and perhaps also the relationship between subjects. I do not use feminist standpoint theory as not a tool for creating generalizations about women's appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work. However, because there are some consistencies in the social locations, it is possible to make some general observations about career-oriented women's appearance work experiences, and their attitudes about appearance work (Spragle 2005: 68-71).

These four theories provide a useful framework for understanding women's appearance work experiences. First, the conflicting views presented in the literature theorizing beauty allows us to see ideas about women's physical appearance as relatively straightforward. The literature on resistance and accommodation allows us to complicate women's responses to appearance norms (as well as motherhood norms), to see that while appearance norms are fairly straightforward – women's responses to appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work are not. Acker's theory of gendered organizations can help us understand why women might prioritize certain kinds of appearance work in certain kinds of settings, and de-prioritize it in others. Finally, in order to fully understand career-oriented mothers of young children's appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work in in the face of motherhood and paid work demands, we must listen to individual women tell the stories of their lived experiences. Standpoint feminism is a lens through which we can gain an understanding of how women respond to appearance norms in a variety of settings, and alongside a range of "others." Further, a feminist standpoint lens allows women to voice their experiences with appearance work; their motivations for doing, and alternatively foregoing certain kinds of appearance work, and also under what conditions their attitudes about certain kinds of appearance work change.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Currently, much of the research on career-oriented women with young children focuses on the division of home and work, and the ways in which work life and home life spill into each other. Missing in the literature is research on the strategies that career-oriented mothers of young children use to respond to appearance norms in the face of busy work/mom schedules, as well as how they feel about and act towards their bodies in the process and both resist and accommodate appearance norms at the same time. Also missing in the literature are data on the ways that career-oriented mothers from different racial categories respond to appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work. These are important to consider because motherhood norms, paid work norms, and appearance norms, are all experienced through and within a society that organizes its members into socially constructed racial categories.

This qualitative study was designed to explore and describe the ways in which a racially diverse sample of career-oriented mothers of young children engage in and experience a possible third shift of "appearance work." Appearance work as a "shift" has remained underdeveloped by Wolf and has been largely overlooked by feminist researchers. I use this dissertation as an opportunity to explore and further develop Wolf's concept of "third shift" "appearance work" so that I can illuminate how this third shift manifests in the lives of busy women. Specifically, I explore the complex ways that women who are already locked into a first shift of paid work and a second shift of domestic and care giving work *respond* to appearance norms; those norms that speak about women's external appearance. It is women's varied responses to appearance norms

that will comprise "appearance work." Because I am exploring how career-oriented mothers of young children experience third shift appearance work in the face of busy first (and second) shift demands, a phenomenological approach is most appropriate.

PHENOMENOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) is credited with developing a sociological variant on the philosophies of phenomenologists like Edmund Husserl. Specifically, social phenomenology is "concerned with the way in which people grasp the consciousness of others while they live within their own stream of consciousness" (Ritzer 2008: 80). Much of what Schutz's work dealt with was what he called the "*life world*….an intersubjective world in which people both create social reality and are constrained by the preexisting social and cultural structures created by their predecessors" (ibid 80).

In *On Phenomenology and Social Relations* (1970), Schutz states, "[t]he world of everyday life is the scene and also the object of our actions and interactions" (73). Moreover, according to Schutz, social actors simultaneously act within and upon the world based on what he refers to as a "biologically determined situation" (73). In other words, we act upon and with the world based on our position in terms of physical space and time, of our status and role, and also our moral and ideological position (73).

At base, phenomenology is a way of exploring a lived experience shared by group of people. It is also a way of both doing research and analyzing data. "[T]he task of phenomenology is to reflectively disclose the criteria already implicit in those intentional acts that individuals perform in everyday life through which we come to know this world (Ilsley and Krasemann 2011:4). As I outlined in the previous chapters, ideas about feminine appearance, paid work, and motherhood, are deeply rooted in history. As much

as these ideas are descriptive in terms of the way women should look as they move about in society, these ideas are more about prescribing behavior – what women should *do* as they prepare themselves to move about in society, and where women should be able to move about in society.   Much of this behavior is taken for granted, thus it is the goal of this research to describe women's responses (thoughts and actions) to gendered norms of physical appearance, paid work, and motherhood and explore the similarities and differences in their stories. My goal in using phenomenological methods is to construct a common understanding of how this third shift of appearance work is commonly experienced by my participants.   Additionally, I explore how women's responses to appearance norms are reflective of both resistance and accommodation to the varied sets of gendered norms to which they are beholden. Finally, I use this dissertation to explore social location in the ways in which the women in my sample experience third shift appearance work.

This study employs what Creswell (2007), citing Moustakas, refers to as *transcendental* phenomenology. A researcher using this approach places her/his focus "less on the interpretations of the researcher and more on a description of the experiences of participants" (59). I began the research process with an exercise called "bracketing." Here, the researcher sets aside, or "brackets out" their own experiences with the phenomena they are researching (Creswell 2007).   The purpose of bracketing is to minimize the effects of researcher bias.   "Bracketing is a method used by some researchers to mitigate the potential deleterious effects of unacknowledged preconceptions related to the research and thereby to increase the rigor of the project." (Tufford and Newman 2010: 81). Additionally, "bracketing has the potential to greatly

enrich data collection, research findings and interpretation – to the extent the researcher as instrument, maintains self-awareness as part of an ongoing process" (ibid. p.85). I address my preconceptions of third shift appearance work in the face of competing demands, as well as my interest in the project further on in this chapter.

RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES

The recruitment process began once I received IRB approval (Appendix H). I initially made contact with women within my personal and professional network that I felt fit my sampling frame via an email sent from my Wayne State University account with both the Recruitment Letter (Appendix E), and the Recruitment Flyer (Appendix A) attached. Several of my contacts offered to place copies of the Recruitment Flyer in their workplace, fitness facilities, and daycares. Recruitment Flyers were also posted on public bulletin boards that I came across throughout southeast Michigan where women with children may frequent (i.e. grocery stores, coffee shops, restaurants, libraries, etc.). I contacted several daycare centers in Wayne, Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee Counties, several of which were willing to email my Recruitment Flyer to their families, and/or post my Recruitment Flyer to their bulletin boards. One area daycare allowed me access to a room within the facility in which to conduct interviews. Participants were limited to women who volunteered for the study. All Participants were given a Research Information Sheet (Appendix B) and orally consented to the research before I began interviewing them. Participants were assured that their identities and answers to questions on the Interview Guide (Appendix C) would remain confidential. A

pseudonym was assigned to each participant[6], as was a pseudonym given to any person they referred to in our conversation, i.e., children, husbands, partners, etc. Participants were informed that they could choose to refuse to answer any interview question, or choose to end the interview at any time.

A total of 21 participants were selected by convenience sampling and were screened using the following criteria from the Screening Questionnaire (Appendix F). The screening process was fairly straightforward to ensure that all participants fit the following criteria: (1) female between the ages of 25 and 50; (2) have a child, or children under the age of 6; (3) worked outside of the home in their profession prior to and throughout their pregnancy; (4) currently work outside of the home for pay on a full time (35+ hours per week) basis; (5) returned to work on a full time basis within 16 weeks of having their child; and (6) consider themselves to be career-oriented. All but one participant contacted me via email. Screening participants via email followed along the same lines as the Screening Questionnaire, and included the full list of inclusion criteria (listed above), an estimate as to how long the interview would take, and a request for them to let me know if they were a "fit" so that we could set up a convenient time and location to meet. One participant contacted me through the telephone number listed on the recruitment flyer. Screening this participant also followed the same lines of the Screening Questionnaire. We discussed how long the interview would take, and set up a date and time to meet in her home. Women were enthusiastic about participating in this dissertation research, and were more than willing to fit interviews into their busy schedules. There were no restrictions for participants in terms of income, race/ethnicity,

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[6] Pseudonyms were chosen at random from a list of the top 200 names of the 1970s. This list can be found at: http://www.ssa.gov/oact/babynames/decades/names1970s.html.

sexual orientation, marital status, level of education, type of job, or number of children. It was my goal to have a diverse group of women agree to be interviewed.

A total of 21 interviews were conducted between months of May and August 2012. For both personal and academic reasons related to this study, I decided to take a break from recruitment and interviewing during the month of July. During that break, I transcribed interview data, and evaluated the demographic characteristics of my sample in order to get a feel for the kinds of diversity that I still needed in order to make this study as rich as possible.

Although I felt that I had collected sufficient interview data, and had reached theoretical saturation with the information I had collected, I filed for and was granted IRB continuation (Appendix I) in March 2013. I did this as a "just in case," in the event that more women of color, or single mothers (those underrepresented in my sample) came forth and agreed to participate.

DATA COLLECTION

Upon orally consenting to participate in this study, a face-to-face interview was conducted using questions on the Interview Schedule (Appendix C). Initial contact with participants was comfortable, and conversations flowed without much difficulty. I began each interview with a little small talk in effort to ease into our conversation. There were several occasions when an interview was interrupted by servers, and in some cases other customers. These interruptions, however, did not hinder the overall interview process. Interviews took place in locations that were convenient to the participant and included coffee shops, restaurants/diners, offices, conference rooms, day care facility, and their homes. Additionally, the participants selected interview times that worked best for their

busy lives. I met with each participant only once, and on average interviews lasted 75 minutes.

Following the interview, participants were given a brief Participant Information Survey (Appendix D). The survey took, on average, five minutes to complete and allowed me to gather demographic information about my participants that may be otherwise difficult to ask (such as household income, and age). The demographic information also allowed me to sort my sample for data analysis. I gave each participant the opportunity to ask me any questions at the end of the interview. More often than not, my participants wondered what my study was about, and what I had found so far. Additionally, at the close of each interview, each participant was given a Resource Packet (Appendix G) containing information on positive body image; the media, body image and eating disorders; balancing work and family; myths and facts on size and bodies; and minority women, media, and body image. The packets were positively received, and participants expressed their appreciation. Participants were encouraged to contact me in the future if they had any further comments, and/or questions, or thought of something relevant to the study. To date, only one participant who was curious to know if I had completed my dissertation work has emailed me. I let her know where I was in the writing progress, and thanked her for checking in on me.

The Interview Guide (Appendix C) consisted of four broad topics, and was designed to gather information about: (1) routine/time/schedule; (2) bodies at work; (3) bodies at home; and (4) attitudes about and actions toward physical appearance. Follow up questions were included to guide the conversation and to "follow up on matters that seem most important to the interviewee and that speak to your research question" (Rubin

and Rubin 2005: 136). Probes were helpful in clearing up any confusion with regard to interviewees' responses.

After introducing myself, and gaining consent to continue with the interview, I began with a line of questioning related to my participants' daily routines. I asked, "Can you walk me through your day? What is your daily routine?" I furthered the conversation by asking questions about different kinds of routines (i.e., second shift, and appearance work routines), and how those routines varied depending on whether it was a paid work or a non-paid workday. I also asked whether and how these routines had changed since having kids. For the second line of questioning, I shifted to asking appearance related questions specific to paid workdays, and the time they spent at work. I asked questions like, "Has anyone commented on the way you look (at work)?" and followed up with probes related to the situation. I also asked about how they dress for work, if they wear makeup to work, and if it was expected that they wear makeup, or look a certain way. Finally, I asked interviewees about their experiences with having a maternal body at work. The third line of questioning followed very closely with the second, but dealt with appearance work experiences on days they were not at work.   The final line of questioning dealt with what women liked and disliked about their appearance, and what kinds of appearance work they may (or may not do) related to those parts. I asked questions such as, "What changes to your physical appearance have you experienced since becoming a mother?" As a follow up, I asked, "How do you feel about those changes?" and "How do you deal with those changes?" I asked participants what they thought a "good body" looked like.   Among these questions were also questions related to things they intentionally do, and alternatively do not do to their physical appearance.

Overall, my questions were well received, and women were happy to talk about their appearance work experiences.

In conducting the interviews, I used a semi-structured approach, which allowed each interview to flow more like a conversation. For each semi-structured interview, I had a set of questions on an interview schedule to guide, rather than dictate the conversation. On more than one occasion, the women that I interviewed had little to no difference in terms of the way that they acted toward and/or thought about their bodies at work and their bodies at home (usually because their occupation required or allowed them to "dress down" for their job). In these cases, I had to slightly shift the order of the interview questions for those women. Additionally, I found that more often than not, participants were answering questions prior to my even asking. At times, interviews followed participant's interests. For example, unbeknownst to me when scheduling our interview, Christine moved into a home not far from mine. We talked quite a bit about neighborhood parks that were good spaces to take kids to and also get in some walking exercise. She also mentioned looking for a babysitter, so that she and her husband could have a date night, so I recommended someone I knew. I took field notes directly on the interview guides in order to record participants' body language, and notate places where I needed to listen more attentively when doing transcription. All interviews were audio recorded with participants' permission, and transcribed as soon as I could. I began transcription in September 2012, and completed transcribing audio recordings in December 2012. The audio recordings will be destroyed at the close of this dissertation research. On one occasion, toward the end of an interview, my digital recorder

malfunctioned and I had to manually write out my participant's responses to the best of my ability.

The overall experience of the interviews was quite positive. The women I spoke with were open to talking about their daily routines at work and at home, and the ins and outs of how they feel about and act toward their bodies.   Some of the lines of questioning were easier than others. For example, women spoke with relative ease about their daily routines, they were comfortable with questions about their work and home, but tended to struggle when I asked them to talk about what their priorities were and how they prioritized their day, what they liked about their bodies, and how they felt when they did things like look at themselves in full-length mirrors.   I anticipated this, and in preparation, I placed the more difficult lines of questioning was toward the end of the interview, after I had the chance to build a good rapport. One participant, Rachel, who had three children under the age of five, became teary eyed at certain points in the interview. When this happened, I simply moved on from the emotionally charged line of questioning.

Being in my third trimester of pregnancy during the first 20 interviews was both a blessing and a curse. On the one hand, I think that it helped to make my participants feel more comfortable talking about their appearance, appearance work experiences, and their attitudes about appearance work. I also think that it helped expedite the interviewing process. When I first decided to interview career-oriented mothers with young children, I thought that recruitment and interviewing would take a significant amount of time to accomplish. Because of my impending early July due date, I found participants to be extremely accommodating in terms of scheduling our interviews at their earliest

convenience. All told, I was able to complete 20 interviews in roughly one month. On the other hand, being in my last few weeks of pregnancy during the interviewing process was physically and emotionally exhausting. It was also one of the hottest summers on record in SE Michigan, so often times I was really uncomfortable. In retrospect, I wonder if I might have been more thorough in my lines of questioning had I not been so very pregnant. Whether and how my pregnancy affected my participants is unknown. Many of the women I interviewed had previous knowledge of my pregnancy, as it came up in the screening email/phone conversations when scheduling interviews. For those who had no previous knowledge, my late term pregnant body may have been a source of discomfort. Pregnant bodies are stigmatized bodies, and it is a possibility that I made participants on edge, concerned that I would into labor during our conversations, or upset if they had experienced fertility issues, or a miscarriage at some point. None mentioned such concerns, however, or led me to believe that they had them. In fact, several briefly shared stories of miscarriage at points in their interview.

Several participants expressed interest in the final outcome, and said that they would like to know "how it turns out." I agreed to make my research available to them once finished. Additionally, many of the women in my study were curious as to how *other* women I had spoken with had responded to the questions. It was as if they wanted to see if they "fit in" with the rest. Which in retrospect makes sense, because as my data reveal, women are making comparisons about appearance all the time. When these inquiries happened, I assured them that I was really just interested in *their* experiences and attitudes, that there were no right or wrong answers to my questions, and that for the most part, their experiences lined up with other respondents.

ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The objective of this phenomenological data analysis is to uncover the meanings of career-oriented women's third shift appearance work experiences in a variety of settings and spaces, and alongside other "shifts" to which they are beholden (i.e., first shift paid work, and second shift home/childcare work). As I mentioned previously, the first step in the data-analysis process involves "bracketing." "Bracketing is a methodological device of phenomenological inquiry that requires deliberate putting aside one's own belief about the phenomenon under investigation or what one already knows about the subject prior to and throughout the phenomenological investigation" (Carpenter 2007, cited in Chan et.al 2013: 1). During this stage, and intermittently throughout the data analysis process, I reflected on my own experiences and feelings with having young children, working outside of the home for pay, and also physical appearance work. Since I had limited experiences in some areas, like having a full time career while simultaneously parenting preschool aged children, I was better able to hear my participants' experiences without the intrusion of my own biases. For other areas, particularly related to responding to having a maternal body, bracketing proved to be a meaningful exercise to help me temporarily set aside any biases I may have had.

Data analysis began in the Fall of 2012 when I transcribed each interview recording into individual Microsoft Word files. During this stage, I carefully listened to how women verbally described their appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work for key phrases or words relevant to my research questions. I inserted comments in the margins of each interview transcript when I heard something that stood out as similar to other descriptions, making sure to make reference to the other

transcripts. I also inserted comments when descriptions sounded different or particularly interesting.

I began a more comprehensive and methodical data analysis process in January 2013. My first step was to print and index interview transcripts. I read through each interview transcript several times in order to become as familiar as possible with each participant. Doing this allowed me to better "see" my data. I read specifically for narratives that spoke to each of my research questions. Broad descriptive code categories were hand written in the margins of the hard copies on each of my interview transcripts. For example, when I read a narrative that included the phrase, "I spend more time on hair than makeup" I wrote, "prioritizes hair" in the margin. I did this for each transcript, and made notes in the margins when other women said similar things.

In the next stage in data analysis, I created Word documents for each of the broad descriptive code categories mentioned above. I began working with the electronic copies of my interview transcripts, so that I could copy and paste narratives relevant to the various code categories. In addition, I used the Microsoft Word "Find" feature to search individual transcripts for narratives related to for example, "hair," "shaving," "makeup," "body," and copied and pasted relevant narratives into their corresponding Word data file for further analysis. Creating separate documents, and copying/pasting narratives according to each broad category allowed me to create more specific codes. For example, when reading through all of the "hair" narratives, I was able to separate narratives into more narrow categories like "grey hair," "ponytail," etc. This allowed me to explore and describe more specific appearance work experiences. Some lines of questioning allowed me to separate entire responses, and seek themes that way.

Women's responses to my question, *"Do you wear makeup?"* is one case where I did this. In those instances, I copied and pasted narratives into a corresponding Word document so that I could separate them to better see what themes were there, and coded data accordingly. I also used "Find" to confirm and validate my data counts.

The next step in the data analysis process was to make connections between the themes that emerged in women's narratives. For example, when initially reading through interviewee's appearance work routine narratives, it became clear that several kinds of appearance work were more prioritized over others (i.e. wearing makeup was more important than manicuring fingernails). By further looking for connections, I was able to break down appearance work narratives to explore the role of setting, the function of that appearance work, and also see variations within my sample.

Due to personal and professional demands, I set aside data analysis from August 2014 to April 2015. This departure from my data forced me to reacquaint myself with transcripts by reading the hard copies through again. Because "coding is a cyclical act" (Saldana 2008:8), I continue to search through my electronic files, making use of the "Find" feature as I made revisions to previous drafts of my findings chapters based on comments from my dissertation advisor. This process remains ongoing as I continue to revise this research and better link my findings back to the theory that guides this research.

THE SAMPLE

As stated previously, my sample consists of 21 women who met the following inclusion criteria:

- Between the ages 25 – 50

- Have a child (or children) under the age of 6

- Worked outside of the home in their profession throughout their pregnancy

- Currently work outside of the home on a full time basis (35 or more hours per week)

- Returned to work on a full time basis within 4 months of having their child

- Self-define as being "career-oriented"

- Additionally, all 21 women lived and worked in Southeast Michigan

Recruiting career-oriented working mothers of young children from the greater Detroit area elicited a relatively homogenous sample in terms of education, social class, and marital status. 29% of my sample (six women) had a Bachelor's degree, or the equivalent. Nine women, or 43% had a Master's Degree. Three women, or 14% had a PhD. One woman, or 5% of my sample had her JD. In sum, 86% of my sample, had a Bachelor's degree or higher at the time of the interviews[7]. Inflation adjusted median household income at the end of 2011 in the United States was $51,143 (Davidson, 2012). The vast majority of my sample (around 90%) had significantly higher household incomes than the national median. Twelve women, or 57% reported household incomes in excess of $100K. 24%, or five women reported household incomes ranging between $75,000 – $99,999. 9.5%, or two women reported household incomes ranging from $50,000 - $74,999. Two women reported household incomes between and $25,000 - $49,999. All but one participant was married or cohabiting long term.

All of the participants were between the ages of 25-50, per the aforementioned screening criteria. The women in my sample ranged in age from 27 to 43. The median

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[7] 3 of the women in my sample were currently earning their PhD's.

age was 36. All of the women in my sample delayed childbearing until after they were established in their careers, and all of the women in my sample had children no older than six. The majority (52%, or 11 women) had two children. 38%, or eight women had one child, and two participants had three children.

All of the career-oriented women who volunteered for this study were in professional occupations, and therefore had a similar amount of education, level of economic stability, and/or income available to them. For this reason, I purposely recruited women from more than one racial/ethnic group. Fourteen women, or 67% of the women in my sample identified as White/European, and seven women, or 33% were women of color. According to 2011 census data, this is somewhat reflective of the racial/ethnic composition of Southeast Michigan[8]. Table 1 below provides the specific details on reported race and ethnic identity of the women in my sample.

I surveyed women about household and child related division of labor. Eight women, or 38% of the women in my sample indicated that they do the majority of the household tasks. Four of my participants (19% of my sample) reported that someone else does the majority of the household labor. Two of those women said that they outsourced that labor on a biweekly basis, and two women had stay-at-home husbands who did the majority of the second shift work. Nine women (43% of my sample) responded that they share equally in household tasks with their husbands/partners. Interviewees were much less likely to report doing the majority of the childcare tasks than household tasks. Only four participants, or 19% of my sample, responded that they are the ones doing the majority of the childcare work. Women were much more likely to report sharing equally

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[8] http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/index.html

in childcare tasks than they were to say that they share equally in household tasks. Fifteen women, or 71% of my sample stated that they share equally in childcare tasks. Not surprisingly, the two breadwinner participants in my sample reported that their husbands do the majority of both household, and childcare tasks.

Table 1. Participants

Name	Marital Status	Race/ Ethnicity	Hispanic/ Latina	Age	# of Children	Education	Annual Household Income
Susan	Married	White/ European	No	42	2	Registered Diagnostic Medical Sonographer	$100K and above
Janet	Married	White/ European	No	38	2	Masters Degree	75K-$99,999K
Bonnie	Single	Latina	Yes	27	2	2nd year of college	25K-$49999K
Lisa	Married	White/ European	No	30	2	Bachelor's Degree	50K-$74,999
Kimberly	Cohabiting	Asian	No	40	2	Masters Degree	$100K and above
Christine	Married	White/ European	No	36	2	Masters Degree PhD Student	$75k - $99999K
Shannon	Married	White/ European	No	37	1	PhD	$100K and above
Dawn	Married	White/ European	No	30	1	Masters Degree	$75k - $99999K
Rachel	Married	White/ European	No	33	3	Bachelor's Degree	$100K and above
Amy	Married	Latina	Yes	32	1	Bachelor's Degree/Some Graduate Work	$100K and above
Justine	Married	White/ European	No	44	2	JD	$100K and above

Name	Marital Status	Race/ Ethnicity	Hispanic/ Latina	Age	# of Children	Education	Annual Household Income
Erin	Married	White/ European	No	36	1	Masters Degree	$100K and above
Beverly	Married	White/ European	No	32	2	Masters Degree	$100K and above
Julie	Married	White/ European	No	38	1	MFA, Doctoral Candidate	$100K and above
Sarah	Married	White/ European	No	34	2	BS, Some Graduate Work	$75k - $99999K
Dana	Married	Black/ African American	No	37	3	MBA	$100K and above
Jennifer	Married	Black/ African American & White/ European	No	29	1	HS, Some College	$75k - $99999K
Nicole	Married	White/ European	No	40	2	PhD	$100K and above
Fiona	Married	White/ European	No	31	1	Bachelor's Degree	25K- $49999K
Gretchen	Married	Black/ African American	No	36	2	Masters Degree, PhD Student	$50K- $74,999
Helen	Married	Asian Indian	No	43	1	PhD	$100K and above

Concepts to Consider

I define masculine type jobs as ones in which a worker is in a male dominated profession. For example, Nicole, an Engineer, and Dana, a Marketing Development Manager, are both coded as working in "masculine type" professions. I define feminine type jobs as ones in which a worker is in a female dominated profession. Susan, a Registered Diagnostic Medical Sonographer, and Fiona, Head Teacher of an Infant/Toddler Program are two examples. When I began this research, and data analysis, that this job type coding would be sufficient in terms of locating similarities and differences in women's appearance work, and attitudes about appearance work. I quickly learned that there were more factors to women's appearance work experiences, particularly in workplaces – a major line of questioning in this dissertation. In order to garner a more accurate picture of women's appearance work experiences, I also give consideration to whether, and how often performing in front of groups of "others" is a part of women's jobs. For example, I have a disproportionate number of women who are in the teaching profession (a feminine type job) in this sample. While the grade levels and subject matter they teach vary widely, they all "perform" for a certain kind of audience each day. This matters. And it matters in ways that are different from women who work in masculine type jobs who lead business meetings. Further consideration is also given for whom the women in this sample work alongside in their workplace. Whether women work alongside primarily men, or primarily other women is likely to impact their appearance work experience and attitudes about appearance work. I provide a detailed table of women's job title, and these concepts in Table 2.

Table 2. Women's Career/Organizational Descriptors

Name	Job Title	Job Type	Perform	Primarily Work Alongside
Susan	Registered Diagnostic Sonographer	Feminine	No	Women
Janet	High School Chemistry[9] and A&P Teacher	Feminine	Yes	Women
Bonnie	Shipping Manager	Masculine	Occasionally	Men
Lisa	Assoc. Director	Feminine	Yes	Women[10]
Kimberly	Research Associate	Feminine	No	Mixed
Christine	Middle School Principal	Masculine	Yes	Women
Shannon	HS English Teacher (Private School)	Feminine	Yes	Women
Dawn	Associate Director of Career Counseling	Feminine	Yes	Mixed
Rachel	Business Analyst/Tech Support	Masculine	No	Men
Amy	Product Marketing	Masculine	Yes	Men
Justine	Attorney	Masculine	No	Women
Erin	Teacher (MS Math)	Feminine	Yes	Women
Beverly	Research Project Manager	Feminine	Yes	Women
Julie	Graduate Student Instructor/Writing Lab Coordinator	Masculine	Yes	Women
Sarah	Owner, Small Business	Masculine	No	Women
Dana	Market Development Manager - Americas	Masculine	Yes	Men
Jennifer	Assistant Manager	Masculine	Yes	Mixed
Nicole	Engineer	Masculine	Occasionally	Men
Fiona	Head Teacher/Infant Toddler Program	Feminine	No	Women
Gretchen	Program Manager	Feminine	No	Women[11]
Helen	Associate Professor	Masculine	Yes	Mixed

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[9] Although, Chemistry is often seen as a masculine subject.

[10] Lisa often engages with high status men both in her workplace, and in the community where her workplace is located.

[11] Gretchen often engages with high status men both in her workplace, and in the community where her workplace is located.

A Note On Labeling

In order to contextualize my findings, I include descriptive information for each participant when I introduce them in each chapter. In Chapter 5, Career-Oriented Women's Appearance Work, I include each participant's name, race/ethnicity, and job title. In Chapter 6, Responding to Appearance Norms: Resistance and Accommodation, I follow the same conventions as Chapter 5, however, in the section *Resistant Body Acceptance*, I also include number of children. In Chapter 7: Social Locations and Appearance Work, I apply the following labeling system: *Career-Oriented Mothers:* job title, number of children; *Reference Group Comparisons:* Race/ethnicity, job title, number of children; *Race/Ethnicity:* race/ethnicity only; *Transitions to Motherhood:* number of children only; *Organizational Structures:* race/ethnicity, job title, job type, and work environment descriptors.

RESEARCHER'S EXPERIENCES

Overall, I have had a positive experience conducting this dissertation research. I did have a few preconceived notions going in to the project that were related to the ways in which women engage in appearance work. My preconceived ideas had very little to do with my own engagement, but rather more to do with media representations of what women *should* be doing, and what we *should* be concerned about with regard to our physical appearance. In short, I was surprised by how little visible appearance work the women in my sample were engaging in, and also surprised by how little time and energy women invested in exercising (something that is important to me personally). To be fair, the women in my sample were all newly beholden to motherhood demands, and also deeply committed to their careers. Understandably very few felt that exercise was

something they had time for. Also, at the time of the interviews, the ages of my children were almost 8, 12, and 13. Having older children made it more difficult at times for me to see where my participants were coming from in terms of when they talked about "not having enough time" to engage in appearance work (other than what many referred to as "the bare minimum"). Now that I have a 3-year-old, I am better able to "get" where my participants were coming from. Overall, I believe that I was able to successfully set aside my biases to hear, and subsequently communicate what the women in my study were saying about their embodied experiences associated with paid work, motherhood work, and appearance work.

LIMITATIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

There are several limitations to this study. Specifically, I collected data from a small sample within a limited geographic area. Even if my sample is diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, type of work, age, class, etc., these findings are not generalizable. Nonetheless, even if generalizability is not possible, I sought to achieve internal validity, and tried to track whether the sample data are internally consistent (both within each interview and across interviews) (Creswell 2007). Secondly, at the time I conducted interviews, I assumed the role of "outsider within" (Hill Collins 2000). That is to say, I am a woman and a mother with children aged (almost) 8, 11 and 13[12], and while I am currently employed on a part time basis, I was not employed when my oldest children were younger than age 5. At that time, I was married to an employed partner which allowed me more free time to exercise regularly in order to "get my body back," and focus on body projects of my own. Thus, there are aspects of my own identity and

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[12] These were my children's ages during the time I conducted interviews. I now have four children and their ages are 3, 11, 15, and 16.

appearance that might place me in similar yet also different categories as the women I interview; this could adversely affect interviews at times but also provide me with an ability to analyze women's lived experiences from both within and outside of their experiences. As Creswell (2007) suggests and as I propose above, I maintained a journal to bracket my thoughts during data collection and analysis. Despite these limitations, I feel that I did a good job at obtaining a diverse sample in terms of race and ethnicity, and job/workplace type (male/female dominated job/workplace).

This research project, as limited as it may be, will make several contributions to the field of feminist scholarship. Currently, research on working mothers focuses on the division of home and work, and the ways in which work life and home life spill into each other. Missing in the literature is research on career-oriented mothers' appearance work experiences in the face of busy work/mom schedules. Also missing is research on how working mothers feel about and act towards their post baby maternal bodies in different settings, and how these women simultaneously resist and accommodate appearance norms at the same time. "Feminist theorists have long critiqued the exclusion of women's subjecthood, ways of knowing, and experiences from the production of knowledge…" (Dworkin and Wachs 2009:31). Examining the subjective experiences of women utilizing feminist phenomenological methodology is a way to extend our understanding of women as social agents who are continuously acting and reacting to gendered beauty norms. Gaining an understanding of how working mothers with young children negotiate gendered appearance norms will not only contribute to the growing body of literature, but also give a voice to a group of women who are often overlooked by researchers. Judith Butler remarks, "on the surface it appears that phenomenology shares

with feminist analysis a commitment to grounding theory in lived experience, and in revealing the way in which the world is produced through the constituting acts of subjective experience" (1988: 523).

CONCLUSION

This study explores the ways in which working mothers with young children experience a third shift of appearance work while working for pay and also caring for others. This study also seeks to better understand the impact of appearance norms on busy working mothers, and how working mothers feel about and act toward their bodies. Up until now, feminist literature in the areas of motherhood and paid work has focused on the ways in which working mothers balance the hectic schedules and responsibilities of paid work with the obligations that exist at home. This research will fill the gap that exists by exploring how working mothers with young children, think about and experience their bodies in relation to appearance norms, and the strategies they use to cope with both mandated appearance and mandated motherhood while simultaneously managing paid work. Ultimately I hope to understand more about how women resist and accommodate these norms and responsibilities and fit themselves into their busy schedules.

In the chapter that follows, (Chapter Five), I describe career-oriented women's appearance work experiences. I focus on their appearance work routines; both on days they are at work, and days they are at home. I also explore the meanings women attach to this appearance work, and the relationships between the kinds of appearance work they do. In Chapter Six, I explore how women's appearance work experiences reveal a struggle between resistance and accommodation as they respond to paid work appearance

norms, motherhood norms, and appearance norms. In Chapter Seven, I focus on the ways in which women's appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work are mediated by their identities as "career-oriented" women, reference groups (i.e., other women generally, female family members, and friends – both other moms, and childfree women), by race/ethnicity, by the transition to motherhood, and finally by organizational structure. Chapter Eight is a final conclusions chapter, in which I focus on the research findings as a whole and tie these findings to related literature. I also review the limitations of this study, and offer ideas for future directions this research might take.

CHAPTER FIVE

WOMEN'S APPEARANCE WORK EXPERIENCES

As previously discussed, current feminist literature on appearance work tends to focus solely on women's appearance work in response to unattainable beauty ideals -- i.e., the physical appearance work that women do, and are encouraged to do, thereby altering their natural form in response to gendered appearance norms (Wolf [1991] 2002). Career-oriented mothers with young children are also faced with the pull of "good" motherhood ideology, however, which encourages women to be self-sacrificing for the sake of their children (Arendell 1999; Dillaway and Paré 2008; Glenn 1994; Johnston and Swanson 2006). These women further confront paid work demands, appearance-related as well as job-related, that shape the ways in which they respond to gendered appearance norms in a third shift of "appearance work."

I use this chapter to explore and describe career-oriented mothers' depictions of their third shift appearance work experiences. I focus the first part of my analysis on more generic appearance work routines that are prescribed both at work and at home, i.e., makeup, hair, and body/facial hair routines. These generic appearance work routines are what most women report doing before they engage in paid work, or go out in public. In the next part of this chapter, I focus on maternal bodies, and the appearance work that women do in response to having a maternal body. Connecting both sections are women's internalization of gendered appearance norms that prescribe doing certain things to look a certain way. Across both general appearance work, and maternal body appearance work sections, women's appearance work experiences are about enhancing/masking, and fixing/repairing their appearance as they negotiate with appearance mandates for looking

certain ways at all times in a variety of settings. Women's discussions of their appearance work routines make it clear that they negotiate and bargain with gendered appearance mandates for looking a certain way at all times.

MAKEUP

For seventeen of the women in my sample (81%), wearing makeup is described as being an important part of the daily routine on "work days." Sixteen (76%) of the women in my sample also place importance on wearing makeup on the days they do not go to a paid work setting. The narratives of Amy, Rachel, and Fiona shed some light on how women in a variety of jobs talk about their typical makeup routines. Amy, a Latina participant who is in Product Marketing says, "I don't wear too much makeup. Probably put a little shadow, a little bit, but nothing – no – I don't spend hours for make up for sure." Rachel, a White/European participant who is a Business Analyst/Tech Support Professional, adds, "[I] try and make sure that I look presentable, and that I don't have dark circles under my eyes or anything like that." Fiona, a White/European participant who is a Head Teacher of an Infant/Toddler Program adds to the "minimalist" narrative:

> I mean, I tend to just do very minimal, I'll do my eyes just so it doesn't look like I'm tired, 'cuz otherwise it does. Um, so I'll put some mascara on and a little eye shadow, just to make my eyes look not so tired.

Amy, Rachel, and Fiona's makeup narratives illustrate the ways in which women talked about makeup in minimalist terms, often stressing that their makeup routines were not overly time consuming. Rachel and Fiona further the narrative by citing the reasons for their engagement in this activity. These women define the function of wearing makeup as a means by which they mask fatigue, which they feel helps them appear more presentable. Especially on days that they define "paid work days." Amy, Rachel, and

Fiona do not consider makeup activity as something that makes them more attractive but, rather, instead define it as something that they did minimally and with purpose in mind.

Dawn, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director of Career Counseling, goes further than the women above in her explanations. She is reflective about the ways in which her first shift paid work norms (i.e. that a worker is physically healthy and rested enough to do the job) are enacted in a third shift of appearance work. She specifically links her use of makeup to her need to look "healthy" for coworkers:

> …like if I didn't wear makeup somebody wouldn't be like, "Why aren't you wearing makeup?", but . . . if I don't wear makeup people, like, it's not uncommon for somebody to say, "Are you sick?" Because they're just not used to see[ing] my skin blotchy and the bags under my eyes, and things like that…. So, so, in some ways I'd say yes, it is expected because if I didn't wear makeup, people would assume that I might be sick. *[JH: Is it expected that you wear makeup to work?]* No. *[JH: So do you do it for you or do you do it for others?]* For me. And kind of for other people, because I think I would scare them if I didn't have makeup on. (Laughs). But sometimes I don't. Like…literally, like three times a year, they're [her coworkers] like, "Are you ok? Are you…are you sick?" Like, they just don't know what it is, but they know I don't look right.

All of the women in this sample who wear makeup downplay their use of makeup when describing their "paid work" day appearance routines[13]. In addition to the aforementioned use of makeup to look rested and "healthy," this finding suggests that career-oriented women generally, and more specifically, career-oriented mothers of young children are not supposed to appear to care as much about a third shift of appearance work as they are about their first and second shifts. Faces should look natural and well rested, not overly made up and tired. Second, it suggests that the third shift appearance work in which they do engage go as unnoticed by others as possible.

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[13] I discuss the minimization of certain kinds of appearance work further in my third findings chapter.

Interviewees did not want to be perceived as being overly concerned with their appearance – particularly when it came to makeup.

Three of the four women who initially reported not wearing makeup mentioned current or past exceptions, or situations in which they found themselves placing importance on wearing some kind of makeup. For example, Nicole, a White/European participant who is an Engineer is a self-declared non-makeup wearer. However, Nicole confessed to me during our interview that because she was meeting me, she "put lipstick on coming here [to our interview], and that was a big deal." Sara, a White/European participant and Small Business Owner, talks about how she "put makeup on occasionally for special performances," when she worked at a performing arts institution, prior to taking over the day-to-day operation of her and her husband's small business. Erin, a White/European participant is a Middle School Math Teacher and, like Sarah, also reserves wearing makeup for rare, social situations, told me:

> So my husband and I are both on an airsoft team, and I, you know, I will be the only chic sometimes. Most of the time…almost all the time (laughs). And I'm 100% okay with that. And I'll sometimes put on lipstick, cuz, you know, you're representing [women] whether you want to be or not.

Women in this sample are very conscious of their makeup routines, or lack thereof, and many voice their awareness of the importance of makeup when they are either going to be, or anticipate being, in the presence of particular "others." The women in this sample state that wearing makeup (and doing other things to make themselves look a certain way) is not an explicit expectation that others present in their lives (i.e. husbands, family, employers and/or colleagues) have for them. Rather, wearing makeup at paid work and in other social situations seems to be more of an "unwritten expectation."

This narrative of Kimberly, an Asian American participant who is a Research Associate, illustrates how complex the "choice" of wearing makeup can be for some women in the sample:

> …I wear [a] minimal amount of makeup and try to, in fact, one day a week, I try to find a day where I don't wear any makeup. So, I am self-conscious about my appearance in that I don't like to go out in public without makeup on.

Not wearing makeup can be simultaneously freeing and imprisoning for many women. Here we see that Kimberly feels like she has to plan a day in which she does not go out in public (or see certain others) in order to experience the freedom from her makeup routine. Despite feeling free from donning a mask, however, she is left feeling self-conscious about her physical appearance – even though, as she states, she normally wears a "minimal amount of makeup." She infers that she does not want to be tied to this appearance work, but her internalization of appearance norms encourages her to feel badly if others see her without her makeup. Kimberly voices the tensions between desiring days off from makeup and wanting to wear it so that she liked her appearance.

Other reasons for wearing even a minimal amount of makeup, at home or at work were related to avoiding negative reactions from others, and believing (or knowing others believe) that women "just look better" with makeup. For example, Lisa, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director, says, "And I feel like, for most people, a little bit of makeup is required for most women to look their best…. Like, I would never…I wouldn't even probably go to the store without makeup." "Just looking better" was not the only reason that women cited for wearing makeup. Amy, quoted above about only wearing "a little bit" of makeup talks about how she would leave her

house without having straightened her hair, but would never consider leaving without having "painted" her eyebrows:

> I always – that is something that I get up and I always every day, I paint it. So that is something – even if I don't do anything else – just the eyebrow. I have to do the eyebrow. So, I have certain things that I have to do…it's, maybe if I don't do the hair, if I just washed it. Um, I do have to – the eyebrow that is something I don't go out…even days like today. I could never go out without my eyebrow painted [penciled in]…. I feel like I look so much better right!?

Makeup narratives like these also suggest that despite being somewhat controlled by the internalization of appearance norms, some women can derive a bit of confidence, and control from wearing even a minimal amount of makeup. Amy, quoted above says, "My day is more productive when I look better than when I don't."

Helen, an Asian Indian participant is an Associate Professor, and is the only woman in my sample to be makeup-free regardless of where she is, or whom she is with. When it comes to makeup, she says that, having "sensitive skin…it just wasn't ever my, you know, a habit for me to wear makeup." Her argument against makeup, then, is based in a physical condition rather than a stance against appearance work. In our interview, Helen also talks about the ways in which students' opinions of a professor's competence and authority may be based on appearance in part. For Helen, then, paying attention to the way she dresses and the way her hair looks on her "teaching days" helps shield her from negative sanctions from others.

Despite the self-declared "minimal" use of makeup by women in this sample, it is clear that these career-oriented women do use it (particularly eye makeup) and are conscious of using it in specific paid work or social situations. Christine, a White/European participant is a Middle School Principal. Christine talks about how she is cautious about wearing *too much* eye makeup at work. She says, "I don't do a whole

lot of eye makeuppy stuff [for work]. Just because I, I don't know, I feel too dolled up like if I…I feel like it's too much at work." While women are adamant that their use is nominal at times, they voice their awareness of norms about facial appearances, their awareness of others' gazes on their faces, and utilize makeup against appearing tired or sick.

These narratives also illuminate for whom they are doing this kind of appearance work. Interviewees make it clear they do not perceive that intimate "others" care whether or not they wear makeup. Erin (quoted above) says, "My husband hates it [when I wear makeup]." Nicole's narrative suggests that in fact, intimate "others" are, in some cases "put off" by it.

> I went to a, um, professional society, uh, gala occasion thing a few months ago, and I put makeup on, and my son called me a witch and my daughter said, what did she say? Did she say I was scary, or weird…I can't remember the words…

Women's makeup routines reflect that there are a range of "others" that shape whether and how women respond to gendered appearance norms, and that this work is not always straightforward. Makeup narratives also underscore the ways in which women at times use makeup to enhance their appearance, while at other times use it to mask the evidence of fatigue. Women learn what kinds of presentations of self they need to manage in a variety of settings, where they may encounter a variety of "others."

HAIR

In a similar way to makeup, women's hair narratives reflect the internalization of appearance norms. All of the women in my sample mention hair work as a part of their regular appearance routine. Women's hair routines include altering the natural color of their hair to mask grey, applying products to control naturally curly or wavy (read:

unruly) hair, using heat to dry and/or straighten hair, and also styling their hair in a particular way. Interviewee's hair talk was both negative and positive, and like makeup, hair was something women managed in order to look presentable before going out in public.

Nine women (43%) of my sample respond to having a certain amount of grey hair either by masking their natural color completely, or masking grey hair by enhancing their natural color with highlights. Women's hair coloring narratives make evident that this kind of appearance work is one way they maintain a sense control over certain signs of aging. In addition, three of the women in my sample who do not color their hair "yet," but discuss how they plan to color their hair as soon as they have more grey hair than they are comfortable with. Nicole's narrative captures the essence of this feeling:

> I'm starting to get grey hair, you know…. Um, I think this is directly attributable to stress. I've had a real high visibility project come on 2 years ago, and the grey hair started popping out. Um…I don't know…*[JH: So you think you'll dye your hair*?]   No, I'll highlight it…. My hair is like adequately random color that I'll highlight it. Supposedly, it's a pain, but I don't care. *[JH: Ok.]* It's just a matter of when. And I'm going to wait as long as I can.

At the time of our interview, Nicole was approaching her 41st birthday, and talked about being concerned with being too old to be considered "hot" anymore [by her husband]. She attributes her "starting to get grey hair" to job stress. She would rather endure the grief and aggravation of setting appointments, and taking time out of her already jam-packed schedule, to get her hair highlighted, than to let her grey hair show.   Noteworthy is Nicole's knowledge of how getting hair highlighted is a "pain," but she doesn't care. Getting rid of the grey in the future is more important than the effort that appearance work entails. Lisa, who also does not currently dye her hair, furthers the narrative that grey hair is bad hair when she talks about her sister. "Like, my one sister is going grey

really bad, okay maybe then it [dying my hair] might be more necessary." Unlike makeup narratives that suggest that women wear makeup for a range of "others," women's hair narratives surrounding *having to* cover grey hair if it were to become "too much" are more about doing it for oneself. Christine's narrative clarifies this point:

> I don't dye my hair, although I'll probably have to if I get more grey [hair]. I've never dyed my hair…as part of my routine maintenance. But I'm not crazy about how the grey looks on me, so if…I, to me, I look at it and go, "Hmm, I need to pluck that or cover it up."

Similar to the discourse surrounding makeup, hair routine narratives were talked about in negative terms by some women, and in positive terms by others. Erin, who above says she reserves wearing makeup for special occasions, suggests that, at least for some women, regular hair coloring sessions are a "colossal pain in the butt…. [because] it takes her twice as long to dye my hair as she does for other clients just because it's so thick. So she has to leave that much more time in the schedule." Other women like Dawn, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director of Career Counseling, talk about getting their hair done at the salon in more positive ways:

> About every three months, I'll get my hair done. And I'll go to the guy…I'll go to the guy who takes a *full* hour to cut my hair. Um, because it is more luxurious than just kind of going to an in-and-out kind of place.

Personal care activities, like trips to the hair salon, are often framed by mainstream media as being a relaxing, and self-indulgent experience - one that should be enjoyed. Dawn's comments parallel this narrative. Beverly, a White/European participant who is a Research Project Manager, also proposes that there is a kind of permission that women give themselves when it comes to seeking salon services: "I don't know why I do it [dye my hair]. Um…it's just sort of one of those self-care things that I let myself do."

The lore surrounding good hair was also present in women's narratives about the hair products and styling tools they use. For example, Rachel says, "Yeah I have…a lot of hair products I use. Especially, like, if I decide to straighten my hair." Erin, quoted above states, "I use pretty strong hair gel to keep my hair under control because on top of being curly, and tending toward frizz, it's really thick." Justine, a White/European participant who is an Attorney, furthers the idea that good hair is managed with products and heated styling tools: "So I use, um…yeah I use, like, um…the oily things like the things that make it [my hair] look smooth and sleek like while I dry it."

Not all interviewees subscribe to the idea that processed hair is "good hair," however. The following narrative of Shannon, an English Teacher at a Private High School, provides one example of hair talk about *not* applying heat or products to her hair in effort to keep it healthy and "good."

> I like my hair, even though I'm getting a lot of grey right now. It's uh, I like the color it is, and I don't even mind the grey that much. Um, and it's pretty healthy because I never blow dry it, you know?…. I like a little more of a natural and effortless look.

Women talk about taking time for oneself and indulging in self-care as a means to feel better about oneself. In these comments, women in my study discuss some kinds of appearance work as something that they did for themselves and not others. For example, Fiona says (in reference to getting out of her "mommy frump mode"), "I felt so much better…you now even taking that extra time to do my hair in the morning, you know, and put[ting] a little makeup on. I felt so much better." Fiona's narrative about "feeling better" was also discussed above when Amy was talking about "painting" her eyebrows, and underscores the idea that looking good is feeling good, and in order to look good, one

needs to invest time and energy into oneself. Thus, some of the appearance work women do can be about regaining control over how women feel about themselves.

Yet, this self-care narrative ran parallel to a narrative about engaging in hair routines to preserve one's appearance for others. Bonnie, a Latina participant who is a Shipping Manager, discusses the reactions she receives from others when it comes to her hair, and the ways that those reactions from others encourage her to invest more time when preparing to leave the house, and also hinder her from wearing her hair in a shorter style.

> I constantly get, "Don't wear your hair up, you look so pretty with it down." This is one of my assets… *[JH: Your hair?]* Everyone says, "You have long, beautiful hair." So I could never cut it. And I straighten it; I do straighten it almost every day. . . . . Because it shines when you straighten it. . . .. It's really long, so I get commented on that a lot.

In Bonnie's case, then, hair and hair work become a source of pride and the need to keep up a routine to preserve this "asset" is very clear during her interview. The hair routines she follows guarantee positive feedback and attention from others, which she enjoys.

Nonetheless, hair narratives suggest that women in my sample also use or control their hair to convey an air of professionalism and gain job credibility. Bonnie has learned the true power of hair routines, as evidenced by her quotes above, but she also knows how to control others' reactions to her hair and gain a professional identity through her hair routines. She talks below about how she gains control of a meeting through a hairstyle:

> [On] certain days I'll wear my hair in a ponytail, like, get down to business. Like, if I have to lead a meeting, ponytail definitely, because you need to look at me as the organizer of this, you know? I definitely wear a ponytail those days.

The ponytail was talked about as the go-to style for several of the women in my sample. All but one interviewee had hair long enough to be pulled back. Shannon's "default hairstyle" during the school year [at work] is a ponytail. Here she talks about how wearing her hair up helps her avoid responses from her students:

> So like consistently throughout the school year, I wear a ponytail, and if I wear my hair down, like if I've like gotten up early enough to like take a shower in the morning, right? Then all of my students are like, "What happened to you?!", like [they] make these sort of remarks on it.

Bonnie and Shannon's narratives suggest that the ponytail functions to cut down on one's own and others' responses to hair. Bonnie, for example, feels like she can lead a meeting more confidently because she perceives the men she works with will be less focused on her appearance, and more focused on what she is saying. Earlier in our interview, Bonnie talked about wanting "too look pretty enough to not be noticed [at work]." She works in what she describes as a "man's world" and is often present when men make sexist comments about women's appearance. Bonnie, much like Christine (quoted above about her eye makeup) knows that in order to be taken seriously, she has to tread lightly when emphasizing her femininity – the ponytail is a way of taking attention away from a body part that she likes, and one that she gets attention for. It is a way for her to feel like she is taken more seriously in the workplace, and regain control over her identity as a career-oriented woman.

For some women, wearing a ponytail may be an efficient, no-nonsense way to wear hair. Sarah, a small business owner, who is required to wear her hair up when at work, but also wears her hair up on weekends declared that a pony tail is "a great excuse [so] that I don't have to think about it." For others, like Janet, a White/European participant who is a High School Chemistry Teacher, do not leave the house without

"doing something with my hair," wearing a ponytail on non-work days still requires a bit of work. "I might put it up some [non-work] days, but I will usually straighten my bangs…I don't just throw it up and run out the door."

Hair routines/hair work, and wearing makeup matter to women on days they are at their workplaces, and on days they are not. As we see throughout the makeup section, however, women consistently downplay their use of makeup in their narratives. Hair narratives, on the other hand, highlight the ways in which interviewees do not downplay their hair routines, or the time spent on their hair. This narrative of Julie, a White/European participant who is a Graduate Student Instructor and Writing Lab Coordinator makes evident that hair is something worth finding the time to do – even if it is inconvenient sometimes.

> [W]hen my son was like six months old, I was dying my hair at four o'clock in the morning, and I was like, "Oh my God, is this what the rest of my life looks like? Is this…this…this is as good as it gets?" Um, cuz, I remember dying my girlfriend's hair [before I had my son], she had two kids and was a single mom academic, and I was dying her hair at two o'clock in the morning one night…. And I thought…god, this is when moms dye their hair! They dye their hair between two and four o'clock in the morning. Cuz it's the only time that they can.

Julie's pre motherhood experience helping her friend dye her hair during the wee hours of the morning reifies the importance of hair in women's lives. This kind of appearance work is, on the one hand flexible in terms of *when* it can be done, and on the other hand, shows us that at least, for some women, like makeup, it *has* to be done. A second key similarity between makeup and hair narratives is clear: both hair and makeup routines can be manipulated in ways that emphasize femininity (length of hair, for example was important), or down play femininity, depending on audience.

BODY AND FACIAL HAIR MANAGEMENT

Managing body and facial hair is another part of women's regular appearance routines that suggest the internalization of beauty norms. Women's body hair narratives reflect the ways in which audience, or potential audience, helps to shape body and facial hair routines. Like makeup and hair, some women place more importance on body hair management than others. All of the women in my sample mention some form of body hair or facial hair management as part of their appearance routines. However, there is a considerable amount of variation in how women think about and engage in these routines.

Body Hair[14]

Six interviewees (29%) prioritize leg and/or underarm hair removal as being a part of their regular daily or every other day shower routine. For some women, like Christine, daily shaving is related to exposed body parts. She says, "I wear skirts all the time [and so I need to shave]." Erin's narrative, on the other hand suggests that some women who engage in daily or every other day shaving may do it for themselves.

> I do [shave my legs] …um, because it just bugs me. I know. That's more for me too, because my husband doesn't really care. Um, it just bothers me…I've had to let go a little bit too. So…yeah. It's just annoying. Because that really irritates me. I hate the feel under my pants.

In contrast to daily/every other day shavers, the narratives of seasonal or occasional shavers suggest that some women may engage in body hair removal for others. Nine women (43% of interviewees) stress that some body hair only has to be managed seasonally, or occasionally i.e. when they can find the time. Kimberly initially

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[14] This body hair section only includes data from 15 women. 6 of the 21 women in this study did not include information related to leg or underarm hair at all in their appearance work experiences.

talks about not shaving at all, and explains that her ethnicity plays an important role in her not needing to. Later in our conversation, however, she says, "I will shave my armpits once in awhile…probably never in the winter though. But once in awhile, like if I have a Dr. appointment I might." So although body hair maintenance is not a part of her *regular* appearance routine, Kimberly still finds it necessary to manage their body hair in certain situations.   The following narratives suggest that, unlike hair and makeup, which are important on a daily basis, some parts of body hair management routines (e.g. shaving legs, underarms, and taming the bikini area) can be flexible, and are considered seasonal. For some women, these routines are easier to "let go" in colder months and more important during warmer months and/or on occasions when skin was more likely to be exposed.

> In the winter, like once the cold starts, I don't shave, like, for five months or six months, my legs. I always shave my armpits. Um, I just get, kind of, well, my husband doesn't care, and it's winter, I don't really care, but in the summer, um, I probably shave my legs about twice a week. (Shannon)

> It [shaving] tends to be like an every other day type situation and, I mean, I tend to focus on what's going to be [seen]…in the wintertime it's definitely something I let go. So, like, in the summertime when, you know, tank tops, and capris, and stuff like that, it's an every other day shaving, at least my calves and my armpits. (Fiona)

Shannon and Fiona's narratives suggest that on the one hand, they, like all of the other women in my sample, do engage in some form of body hair management. On the other hand, their narratives also suggest a kind of *flexibility* when it comes to how often they feel like they have to do it, and for whom they are doing it.   This flexibility is limited however. For example, Gretchen, a Black/African American participant who is a Program Director, says, "So, like, if I, let's say I haven't shaved all week.   Friday morning, I will shave. Because I know I'm wearing a tank top Saturday." Dawn, also

says, "Maybe I shave every like two weeks, or when I need to wear…like it's, I'm, I don't shave very often. Only when necessary." Sarah, a White/European participant who is a Small Business Owner, reports being is an occasional shaver says, "I shave every once in awhile…. I guess there has been a shift [since having kids] in being more natural [in my appearance] in general. Like not being as worried if my hair is, on my legs or my armpits are long." Beverly who considers shaving to be "not a high priority" shaves her body hair when she can find the time, because the extra minutes in the shower are something she doesn't consistently have.

These narratives suggest that despite being flexible, women remove body hair to be presentable in public for a general "other," and that they do it when absolutely necessary. As much as there are times when women are in control of when and what they shave, there are other times when they are controlled by their internalization of gendered body hair norms. These women shave their legs and underarm areas for specific purposes because they know that others pay attention.

Parallel to makeup and hair routines, women's body hair removal routines are done with a varying kind of "others" in mind. Shannon mentions that her husband does not care much about whether she removes her body hair. Beverly, quoted above, says her husband "can just deal with it."

Julie and Justine further our understanding of body hair routines and introduce the ways in which women can "feel bad" about the appearance work they do, and alternatively, do not do.

> What's interesting about that is I did not [shave] for many, many years. I actively did not. I mean I actively chose not to shave for about 9-10 years. Um, I'm in my second marriage now. I was married then, and he met me with body hair, married me with body hair, we never had a problem with it. Um…and it wasn't until uh, I

was in my Masters program, um, and they were like…you know people making comments, again not about me, but about the nasty hippies that don't shave. Um, and somewhere along the line my self esteem wasn't quite in tact and I started shaving and um…now you know my husband would probably…he would deal with it [if I didn't shave], but he wouldn't be as accepting as my first husband was. That said, I shave when it's convenient for me. So and, and to be fair, he does too. So…you know, um…if we are going to have a romantic evening, I'll make a point of trying to make sure I get around to it. But in the winter I may go a few weeks, um and I'm not, I'm not that worried about it in…um…now I'm getting pretty used to it, but at the end of the day I could also see myself stopping again, like you know? (Julie)

I don't have time [to shave my legs], you have to do it every day…I mean it's…I…my…yeah…it's so lazy and it's so unattractive for my husband too. (Justine)

Both Julie and Justine perceive that their husbands care about their body hair removal, or lack thereof. This perception, however, is not enough to motivate them to actually do it as often as they think they should. These narratives also suggest that there are some emotional consequences that women face when they deviate from what they consider the norm. Julie feels bad about being influenced by "others" because as a non-shaver, she was automatically lumped into a category she did not particularly identify with, and having a lower than she would like self-esteem, gave into those outside social pressures. Despite caving to outside pressures, however, Julie still retains some agency over her shaving routine – she does it when it's convenient for her. Justine's narrative adds to the discourse related to the ways in which women internalize gendered appearance norms. By not shaving daily, she just feels lazy and unattractive for her husband. She wants to be attractive for her husband, yet because of the time crunch she experiences, she is unable to incorporate some parts of appearance work into her daily routine. Whether or not Justine's husband *really* cares is unknown.

Facial Hair

Managing facial hair, mainly eyebrows and/or hair growing above the lip area, is a priority for an overwhelming majority (95%) of the women in my sample. Shannon, quoted above, describes facial hair as "something that I kind of constantly am like on top of, you know?" Only one participant, Sarah, reports not doing anything with her eyebrows, nor did she mention any other facial hair management.

Facial hair routines were prioritized over other body hair routines, are less flexible, and reflect the importance of faces when it comes to women's appearance work routines. Leslie, quoted above, prioritizes shaving leg, underarm or bikini hair "only when necessary," does prioritize facial hair management. "I did actually did laser treatment this spring. Um, like laser hair removal just so I have less, like I have some hair on my chin and on my lip. So I have less like plucking and things to do." Gretchen, also quoted above, furthers our understanding of the importance of facial hair routines for some women. "Eyebrows are not negotiable (laughs). I don't care what's going on. They get done." Bonnie, quoted above, talks about her eyebrows in a way that shows that facial hair management can be an urgent matter. "There's even times I would go to class late like, "I gotta get these suckers cleaned up!" (Laughs). They looked horrible!"

Like hair dying/highlighting, women sometimes pay for body hair removal services in a salon setting. Jennifer, a Black/African American/White participant who is an Assistant Manager, says, in reference to her waxing routine, "I get my eyebrows and my bikini done and that's probably about every two months...". Dana, a Black/African American participant who is a Market Development Manager, says, "For the waxing my

lip, I will do that myself. For the eyebrows I will go and get that done." Similar to head hair management, women adhere to a schedule for body hair maintenance.

Women's body hair narratives illustrate the ways in which some of the women in my sample can and often do pick and choose what they are going to include in their daily, weekly, and even semi-annual appearance routines. Like head hair routines, there is a certain amount of control, and flexibility in body hair routines. Facial hair routines, on the other hand are less flexible. For some women, body hair talk is more like the makeup talk because they do it when it is absolutely necessary, and not as a general routine. These narratives also suggest that managing facial hair is something women know they have to do. Similar to the talk about how important it is to not have grey hair; women understand that it is important not to have facial hair.

APPEARANCE WORK AND MATERNAL BODIES

In addition to talking about more generic appearance routines (i.e., makeup, hair, and body and facial hair routines), women also talk about appearance work related to having a maternal body. Pre-pregnant bodies are as a reference point for all of the women in my sample[15]. Women's maternal body narratives suggest that they are dealing with changes to their bodies that are beyond one's control, and that the maternal body is a symbol of loss and not of gain. Further, these narratives demonstrate the ways in which appearance work toward a maternal body can be about regaining control, and recovering what they perceive to have lost.

> After I had the baby, I think…I don't know, I want to think that we all go through that stage where we just feel so ugly after we give birth. Oh, my God, and I didn't feel ugly – I *was* ugly! (Laughing). My eyebrows fell out! I had no

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[15] All but two interviewees, Lisa and Gretchen, carried their babies to term. Despite having preemies, they both still talk about changes to their bodies since becoming mothers.

eyebrows – I mean eyelashes. All my eyelashes fell out. And…my hair was falling [out] and I had a bald spot right here [pointing to her mid-forehead hairline]. So I had, like, a bald spot with no eyelashes. And I was so swollen. I mean, like, I felt…I just felt…I was ugly. I have pictures, and I look at them and, like, I wasn't feeling – I was actually ugly. So… [*JH: So what happened when you went back to work?*] I – you lose confidence. You're not the same person. At least it took me I would say one year to get used to my new body. (Amy)

Amy's story exemplifies the (albeit arbitrary, culturally constructed) idea that maternal bodies are somewhat lacking in control: her hair and eyelashes fell out, leaving her feeling like, and actually believing that she was "ugly." Amy's narrative also shows us that the bodily changes that accompany biological motherhood may come with emotional costs or emotional adjustments for some women. Erin furthers the narrative to talk about once feeling pride in a body part, and of loss, "I used to be so proud of my stomach…. I mourn the loss of my flat stomach a little bit."

Maternal body narratives are overwhelmingly negative, center primarily on stomachs, and secondarily on residual baby weight. Appearance work on self-declared maternal bodies is always work to control damage, working to hide, fix, and/or manage a part or parts of the body that women feel have been adversely affected by the process of childbirth. to control something that needs to be hidden, fixed and/or managed. Parallel to makeup routines, routines to mask or cover up maternal bodies are notably more important in workplace and public settings for interviewees.

Maternal body narratives suggest that women's appearance work in response to having a maternal body is done in effort to control others' responses. Shannon remarks:

I think the thing that I like the least… um, is the little bit of a belly that I didn't really have before I had [my son]…. I have that belly that if I wear certain clothes, someone could ask me if I was pregnant, you know?

Shannon chooses her clothing carefully as she navigates her maternal body. For her, having a residual belly gives cause for pause when she is making decisions about what to

wear. For 11 interviewees, the stomach is a space where the residual assault of pregnancy and early motherhood on the body is most salient, making it the most disliked body part. Julie furthers this narrative to include the ways in which her stomach makes her feel at times, "I don't like having rolls of anything anywhere. Like for me, if I sit down and some part of my stomach touches another part of my stomach I'm kinda grossed out." Women's stomach narratives also suggest that there is little hope of ever being the same. Justine says, "I don't think I'll ever have a flat belly [again]…[even if I] did all the stuff that I'm supposed to do." Feeling afraid of being mistaken for having a pregnant body because of extra tummy skin when not pregnant points out that for new mothers that they still feel like they have some body work to do. Rachel furthers this idea in her account of a recent experience she had:

> I was out at a party this week, and I had my three kids with me, and three women came up and asked me when I was due. And I was like, it just kind of hit home to me that I really need to do something.

Rachel's recent experience of being mistaken for being pregnant highlights the ways in which new moms can at times feel pressure to "do something" about their maternal bodies. Rachel's narrative, and the ones that follow suggest that when new moms respond to maternal bodies by "doing something," they are doing appearance work in effort to cover, fix, or repair their damaged bodies. One strategy among interviewees involves appearance work to mask the maternal body. A second strategy involves diet and exercise[16].

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[16] Interviewees did talk about the health benefits of a regular exercise routine. However, alongside that narrative was the desire to exercise in effort to look a certain way, and/or maintain a certain physique.

Masking

Similar to women's use of makeup to mask/cover tired faces in workplace, and public settings, women use clothing as a means to mask/cover their maternal bodies, particularly in workplace settings. Jennifer comments, "I think that sometimes like…my stomach's a little flabby, maybe I should not have worn this shirt [to work]." Beverly adds, "I just try to wear, you know looser clothing, so not form fitting stuff that sort of accentuate the ickyness." Christine says, "I definitely try to wear things that aren't clingy around the tummy, that um, the shirt is untucked, or the suits can actually mask some of that stuff...darker colors…". Janet, goes on to add, "And I'm always wearing like some cardigan to cover right here (pointing at her midsection). I'm conscious of that."

These narratives suggest that even though women do certain things, and wear certain clothing items to cover or mask their maternal bodies, they are always conscious that it exists. Unlike other appearance routines, work to mask maternal bodies at work and in public is continuous to ensure it is effective. Bonnie says, "[I can't avoid full-length mirrors] I gotta make sure my shirts covering…. I want to make sure that it's [my stomach] tucked away." For some women, appearance work to mask, cover up, and tuck in maternal bodies function as a temporary cover up for a situation that has not been repaired yet. In addition to masking work to cover up maternal bodies, some women engage in appearance work in effort to realize a body that more closely resembles their pre-pregnant figure.

Good Body/Bad Body Talk: Exercise and Diet

Women's "good body" narratives overwhelmingly suggest that fat bodies are bad bodies. Jiggly bodies are bad bodies. Fat bodies are not healthy. At the same time,

bodies that are *too* thin, or "bony" are bad. Words that the women in my sample used to described "good bodies," include "thin," "slender," "smaller," "athletic," "toned," "fit," "not overweight/obese," and as Amy says, "not wiggly." When I asked interviewees what it takes (and what they do) to get a good body, narratives prescribed *doing something*, i.e., being active, exercising, and controlling, or monitoring food intake. These findings, coupled with maternal body narratives above suggest that while women may not explicitly state that they themselves have a bad body, they do support my argument that exercise and diet are a kind of appearance work that women do.

Eleven women (52% of this sample) say that they exercise regularly. Two report exercising 1 day/week, two report exercising 2 days/week (on weekends), and seven report exercising at least 3 days/week. Ten women (48% of this sample) say they do not formally exercise at all. Exercise is way that some women in my sample deal with their maternal bodies in effort to reclaim a pre-pregnant figure, and/or pre-pregnancy weight.

> I would like to lose weight. So I had gotten to my pre-pregnancy weight, but I gained about 12 pounds. I've gained 12 pounds since moving back to [a Midwestern state]…. So my goal now is um, to get that weight off. To get back to what I believe is my ideal weight. You know, I've gotten back into the range of whatever BMI is supposed to be, but I'd like to get to the weight that I like. Um, and I'd like to get to a shape that I like. (Julie)

> It's just a matter of looking at myself and saying, you know, "You could probably work on your stomach a little bit more," and…at some point, I hope I can say my stomach looks pretty good… (Dana)

Julie's narrative is reflective of the fluctuations in weight that some women experience, and suggests that returning to pre-pregnancy weight is a desirable goal. Her narrative suggests that she associates pre-pregnant weight with a pre-pregnant body. It also highlights the ways in which a healthy BMI range may not be enough for some women to

consider ideal. Dana's narrative reminds us that maternal stomachs are problematic. Her hope of some day approving of the way her stomach looks reifies that for some women, maternal bodies are perceived as temporary. With a little more work, she will eventually get "there." It also suggests that ideals can never be reached. There is always "a little bit more" work that can be done in order to achieve a body that looks "pretty good."

Six of the 10 women who did not formally engage in exercise reinforce the idea that having a maternal body is only a temporary situation. These six women talk about how exercise used to be something that was important them prior to motherhood, and that they have a strong desire to figure out ways to work it back into their lives. For example, Nicole looks back to things she did with her husband before having children:

> …my husband and I keep saying we have to exercise. We used to exercise. Um…we used to go on bike rides. We used to go canoeing. He and I did a triathlon way back when together, like we used to do stuff, and we never do any of that anymore.

So for some women, exercise prior to motherhood was a kind of relationship work they did to connect with their partners. Motherhood introduces a new shift to these busy women's lives. When exercise is a part of relationship work, it can easily get temporarily sidelined while children are young. Some non-exercisers, like Sarah, talk about disliking "exercise for the sake of exercise," and perceive it to be a frivolous activity. However, some narratives, including Sarah's talk about incorporating physical exercise with motherhood work as they take advantage of opportunities to be active with their children.

> …you know when I take, when I walk around the block with the kids I think, "Okay, I'm gonna jump from here to there" to get some exercise and also be a kangaroo with my kids, or something. So I don't exercise formally, but I do try to be active. (Sarah)

Christine's narrative furthers the finding that for some women, exercise seems a frivolous activity when it is not defined as work or not defined as part of the three shifts they have time for.

> Even if I found time to go to the gym, I would feel so guilty. How can I sit there and say, "I'm gone all of these hours, oh and I have to go to class, oh, but honey watch them again I'm going to go work out." – not only to him, but to the kids. "Yeah I haven't seen you all day but mommy's gotta go exercise!" And, and that sounds bad, so what I try to do if I'm going to exercise is, you know put the kids in the stroller and we go to the park that's a mile and a half away. Um, now that, uh the kids are out of school here, I don't have to be to work until 8. So if I get up at 6, I can walk the dog in the morning and then come to work, so you know it's trying to get that stuff in…

These findings suggest that some women have to define exercise as a task (like walking the dog, or playing with the children) in order to make time for it. Certain kinds of appearance work get done if it is seen as work that is necessary. If it is not seen as necessary, then it does not make sense to do it. These findings relate to why some women only shave in summer, why some women define eye makeup as necessary to look less sick/tired, and why some women deemphasize femininity by wearing ponytails in certain situations. Women's exercise narratives speak to the ways that women have control over certain kinds of appearance work. If there is a strict purpose/need for what they are doing appearance work, then they do it. Otherwise they can't justify the time/effort. Exercise routines parallel other kinds of appearance work interviewees do. Similar to body hair routines, exercise routines are something women can and do let go of if their paid work lives got too busy. Shannon says, "But when I'm really, really busy [at work], like I've been for the last two weeks with wrapping up the school year, it's [working out] the first thing to go." Exercise routines also reflect a degree of flexibility.

These routines are something women can weave into other kinds of shift work they do i.e. motherhood work when and if the schedule allows.

Women also talk about finding other ways to control their weight, and/or attain a goal weight. During our interview, Erin talks about how she used to be overweight, and shares her non-exercise strategy for maintaining the figure she is happy with. She says, "I'm fortunate that I learned to control my weight through - I don't want to say diet, because that makes it sound like I'm dieting – through, like, eating [a] healthy, varied diet." A theme in the narratives of these women suggests that women have to be vigilant and monitor what they eat, and when they eat in order to realize certain goals. Lisa, a non-exerciser who also talks about being overweight prior to having her children says, in reference to counting calories:

> I don't do anything like that serious. I just try to be conscious. Never really eat at night, you know? After dinner I try not to eat at all. *[JH: Okay, what are your goals in terms of that...do you have any goals related to your diet?]*…I'd like to be more healthy…I'd really like to get, I haven't been in the 140s since high school, and I'm 152 right now, so I'd love to get in the 140s just to be able to say that I'm, you know, or just be able to know, you know…I don't know.

Parallel to the monitoring that goes into appearance work to mask a maternal body, women's diet narratives suggest that they are vigilant about food portions and healthy eating. Lisa's narrative at first suggests that she watches when she eats, and is conscious of what she eats because she wants to be "more healthy." This narrative parallels some exercise narratives on the surface. However, and much like Julie, quoted above, looking deeper into what the goals are, we can see that losing weight, and reaching a certain (pre-pregnancy) weight goal is really what Lisa wants. These narratives also underscore the ways that women attempt to exert control over their appearance in order to look a certain way.

CONCLUSION

It is likely that the women in my sample overlooked things that they do as a part of their appearance routine because it's just that – a routine - and, therefore, interviewees are likely to have practices that are taken for granted and largely unnoticed. This means that it is difficult to get a complete picture of what a third shift of appearance work experiences look like when asking career-oriented mothers to describe their appearance routines. Nonetheless, the appearance routine narratives discussed in this chapter describe how the women in my sample respond to gendered appearance norms that mandate certain kinds of general appearance work are important. Their experiences reflect the ways in which the general appearance work routines, i.e., makeup, hair, and facial hair that are prescribed both at work and at home are prioritized. Other kinds of appearance work routines, like exercise, and body hair removal can be the first to go when first and second shift demands call for it, or when the situation allows. Women's appearance work narratives suggest that at times, and in some settings, women in my sample assume that people are paying attention to their physical appearance, and that there will be negative attention paid to bodies that do not show at least *some* evidence of appearance work. In this way, appearance work for interviewees is purposeful. These career-oriented women's appearance work experiences make clear that they do not just do appearance work blindly, but, rather, women negotiate with gendered appearance mandates for looking a certain way at all times. Appearance work narratives show priorities at different moments and also illustrate the ways in which women are playing with the different shifts on a continual basis.

In the chapter that follows, I extend my analysis of control and flexibility as women respond to gendered appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work. I explore the ways in which the appearance work career-oriented mothers of young children do are reflective of both resistance and accommodation to the varied sets of norms to which they are beholden.

CHAPTER SIX

RESPONDING TO APPEARANCE NORMS:

RESISTANCE AND ACCOMMODATION

In this chapter, I continue to explore interviewees' appearance work experiences, and their attitudes about appearance work and describe the ordinary ways in which women struggle between resistance and accommodation as they respond to gendered appearance norms. Women's engagement in third shift appearance work is complex, particularly when considered alongside women's engagement in first shift paid work and second shift motherhood work. The findings in this chapter extend and complicate the findings in the previous chapter by exploring ways in which women's appearance work experiences are reflective of resistance and accommodation to a varied combination of paid work norms, motherhood norms, and appearance norms simultaneously.

I begin by furthering my analysis of women's maternal body narratives beyond masking/fixing/monitoring appearance work. Here I advance my inquiry to explore the tensions between women's vocal resistance to body and appearance norms, and highlight the varied ways in which accommodation typically wins. In the next section of this chapter, I discuss three intervening factors[17] i.e., health, paid work environment, and time, that at times constrain women's choices to resist and/or accommodate appearance norms. I end this chapter by highlighting some strategies of action women use as they negotiate intervening factors as they engage in (or alternatively forego) appearance work alongside paid work and motherhood work.

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[17] Financial constraints do come up in women's narratives, however, these data better fit with my analysis of transitions to motherhood, and other social locations in Chapter 7.

VOICING RESISTANCE

The first set of narratives in this section demonstrate the ways in which some women voice resistance to ideal/hegemonic body norms by reactively accepting their resistant bodies. Women also voice resistance by talking against more general gendered appearance norms. Cutting across both sets of resistance narratives, however, it is clear that there is a difference between how women might talk and how they act overall. Vocal resistance narratives ultimately result in a contradiction between talk and action. There is little to no risk in thinking about resisting gendered appearance norms, there *is* risk in doing resistance work. In the end, accommodation typically wins. Women are conscious of gendered body and appearance norms, and they talk against them; yet they often wind up supporting them anyway. Voicing resistance is a way for some women to exert control over certain appearance norms that mandate how they should look, and what they need to do to look a certain way. However, as these narratives reveal, in many ways women are still accommodating those very norms they speak against.

Resistant Body Acceptance

Six women (29% of my sample) voice that they have come to terms with, and accept their post baby bodies. While these narratives do not explicitly speak out against certain appearance norms, they do speak in ways that suggest acceptance of resistant bodies. These women talk about coming to accept (residual) baby weight, transformations in body shape, and/or other bodily changes that typically accompany childbearing. In each of the narratives that follow, I explore the contradictions and tensions between voicing resistance, and enacting accommodation. Shannon, a White/European participant who is a High School English Teacher, and mother of one

says:

> I started to sort of accept the, the state of my body as well, which is about 15 pounds heavier than what it was before I had a baby and say, "Well I'm going to buy clothes that fit me rather than waiting to lose more weight." Um, and that mentality helped a lot, because I feel good about myself rather than stressed out.

Shannon's narrative shows us that at least for some women, economic capital can be helpful when coming to accept a resistant body. During our interview, she described the clothes she wore during her son's first year or so in terms of function and comfort, "rather than any sense of style, or anything like that" in effort to accommodate norms about good motherhood (i.e. pumping, and breastfeeding). Now that her son is weaned, however, she is faced with a tough choice. Wait to lose more weight, and be stressed out, or take control and purchase a new wardrobe from [an upscale online boutique], and feel better about her body, and those extra 15 pounds. Shannon contradicts herself here, though. Recall that previously in Chapter Five, Shannon talks about disliking her little belly that was not there before, and says she is careful about "if I wear certain clothes, someone could ask me if I was pregnant." Shannon does not fully accept the state of her body, but, rather comes to "sort of accept" it. Jennifer, a Black/African American/White participant who is an Assistant Manager and mother of one, calls into question the validity of what her physician says she *should* weigh. So rather than feel bad about her resistant body, she remarks:

> I'm kind of like, meh, whatever; I've got big thighs, but whatever. That's why I think my BMI is goofy. Like, my doctor said that I should weigh like one hundred fifty something. Like, "You'd you like me to cut one of my legs off? What am I gonna do?" Like, I don't know how I would ever lose 40 pounds (laughs). Like, you know? So that's just crazy to me.

Jennifer talked openly with me about her body weight, and she reflected to a time when she was "pretty big" before she got married to her husband. In order to lose weight for

her wedding, she went to the gym for an hour each day, and as a result "ended up losing like 30-35 pounds to get married." At the time of our interview, Jennifer says, "I'm probably within 10 pounds [of my wedding weight], and I can live with that considering a I had a kid, and that was four years ago." Here, Jennifer fits her resistant body not in the context of being bad because it doesn't fit within some BMI or "good body" standard, but rather, she fits it within the context that her resistant body is "good enough" compared to what it used to be, and in light of having had a child. Like Shannon, however, Jennifer contradicts her narrative above to suggest that she is, in fact, not *really* accepting of her resistant body. During our interview, I ask what her gym goals are she says, "really my weight…like in my stomach." In both cases, Shannon and Jennifer voice that they are okay with the state of their bodies, but both respond to their bodies in ways that reflect accommodation to gendered body norms; Shannon masks and monitors her maternal body, and Jennifer has gym routine to fix hers.

Other reactive bodily acceptance narratives further demonstrate the ways that voicing acceptance of a resistant body is accompanied by accommodation. For example, Bonnie, a Latina participant who is a Shipping Manager and mother of two, talks about body acceptance "I'm totally comfortable in my own skin…this is who I am, and I like it. And I don't look thin, and I don't look big, I'm very comfortable, so fuck off!" Earlier in our conversation, however, she reflects back on her pre-baby body in ways that contradict this narrative of bodily acceptance. She says, "I'm just a little less comfortable [with my body] now because I did put on so much weight…". Bonnie is resisting those ideas related to gender and body size, but still feels bad, and thus accommodates because she feels bad about her body in some ways; that is, "it is never going to be good enough, so

fuck off…and yes, I still feel bad." Gretchen, a Black/African American participant who is a Program Director and mother of two, adds, "I dislike the weight, but it's not like a hate type thing. You know what I mean? It's like; it is what it is…I'm working on it. It's all I can do." Gretchen voices acceptance of her maternal body by minimizing the negative feelings she has about it. She does not like it – but she does not hate it, either. Rather, Gretchen is positioned somewhere in between. She accommodates gendered appearance norms, yet regains a sense of control because she is doing what she can to "fix" her temporary condition.

The narratives of Rachel, a White/European participant who is a Business Analyst/Tech Support Professional and mother of three, and Beverly, a White/European participant who is a Research Project Manager and mother of two, extend and complicate their acceptance of a resistant body by framing their acceptance within the context of good motherhood. Rachel says:

> I'm accepting of them [bodily changes since having kids]. Because I see my children, and I love them. And, um, I wouldn't want to have my life with out them. I mean I really wouldn't. I can't…like I said, I don't even remember what it was like without them. They are such a part of my life.

Right after this, however, Rachel talked about feeling bad about being overweight when she looks in a full-length mirror, and how she avoids looking in them because of it. Rachel simultaneously resists good body norms by voicing acceptance of her maternal body, while accommodating norms of "good motherhood." Furthermore, by feeling bad about her resistant body, she accommodates gendered body norms.

Beverly's narrative on maternal body acceptance furthers what Rachel is saying:

> I can either get upset about [my maternal body], and really not like my body and be discouraged about it, or I can you know what…this is just what I had to do to have my wonderful children. And I would do it again in a heartbeat, and they are

far more important to me than the stretch marks, you know? And…you know it doesn't…it doesn't bother me. I mean, I don't like it, but I…if there was something to easily get rid of it, I probably would, but I'm also not going to invest a lot of time and energy into it that would take away from my kids, or other activities that I would rather do.

Rachel and Beverly are both choosing to accept their bodies for what they are, because of what their bodies have given them. Yet they both feel bad about it. Beverly's narrative also hints at the influence of time as an intervening factor that keeps her from accommodating gendered body norms.

Talking Against Gendered Appearance Norms

None of the women in my sample talk about resisting gendered appearance norms because they feel politically motivated to resist those norms. That is to say, none of the women talk about, for example, refusing to dye their hair, nor do any of the women in my sample talk about foregoing body hair removal practices, or wearing makeup to intentionally resist the norm itself. Rather, women's resistance talk often reflects their *desire* to resist gendered appearance norms (i.e. "I wish I had the courage to do that…"). Women also talk about the way they somewhat resist appearance norms currently, but *plan* to accommodate hegemonic appearance in the future, especially when it comes to talking about hair (i.e. "I'll probably have to [dye my hair] if I get more grey").

Resistance talk that reflects a desire to resist, and a verbal refutation of gendered appearance norms illustrates the ways in which *not* engaging in appearance work, for whatever reason, can be a difficult decision. It also reinforces the ways in which women are constantly picking and choosing the appearance work they do, and alternatively do not do as they respond to appearance norms.   For example, Janet, a White/European participant who is a High School Chemistry Teacher, says that she is "getting pretty

grey" says, "I always make time to get to get my hair done…that's the one thing that I will…pay to have that done." She then goes on to speak out against aging norms, "I always thought I was gonna do it [let myself go grey] because I like the way it looks on other people, and I don't…I don't like our cultural…I guess negative attitude about aging." Prior to getting grey hair, Janet was really attracted to the idea of letting her grey hair show. In addition to liking "the look" on other people, she talks about how upsetting it is that our culture devalues getting older – something she is faced with as she notices more grey in her hair. In the end, Janet accommodates norms against aging by staying committed to covering her grey. Later in our interview, Janet talks about how she feels when she looks at her body in the mirror. This narrative suggests that accommodating appearance norms presents a real conflict for her.

> And I think there's way too much focus on that [appearance] anyway. But I always notice that part of me. Honestly, and I don't think it *should* matter to me, and I get mad at myself for the fact that it *does* matter to me. Cuz I wanna just let it go, and accept myself the way I am, cuz I have two beautiful daughters and a happy life, and everything I ever wanted, pretty much I've accomplished. So to be upset about these 10 extra pounds is like a ridiculous waste of my time. It's stupid. (Laughs). But it is the way I feel.

In addition to talking against cultural norms about aging, and being conflicted about accommodating those appearance norms, Janet also is critical of norms about women's bodies. She dislikes the fact that these norms exist, she also dislikes that her body does not conform, and she does not like that these norms have the power to make her feel bad about her body. She has everything she has ever wanted in life, and she beats herself up about feeling bad about this one thing that to her *shouldn't* matter, but *does* matter.

Kimberly, an Asian American participant who is a Research Associate, is also very aware of gendered appearance norms, and the tough decisions she confronts when it

comes to "looking feminine." Recall in Chapter Five (Women's Appearance Work Experiences), Kimberly explained about how she tries to plan a day each week where she doesn't wear makeup. In her narrative here, she talks about the way wearing makeup helps her to feel good about herself. Yet she simultaneously talks about questioning "gender socialization." Kimberly talks about her desire to be at peace in public without makeup, and the struggles she faces as a feminist who accommodates makeup norms:

> Um, so as a feminist, this is something that I kind of was in conflict with in college. Like ok…I know…obviously I dress femininely and wear makeup and do my hair because I've been socialized to think that this is what women should do and how women should look, and at the same time, this is how I really feel the most comfortable. Even though I've been influenced by socialization. Um, so at some point I just kind of came to the conclusion like ok even though I was I've been influenced by social norms about what it means to look like a woman, I am comfortable looking this way and this is actually how I prefer it. I wish I felt comfortable going in public without makeup on, but I feel better when I do. So do I go out without makeup on because I want to fight against gender socialization? Or do I put makeup on and feel comfortable and more happy…more satisfied than if I wasn't wearing makeup? I don't know, it's been a struggle, and it's something that I'm very conscientious about, but in the end I guess I decided I like looking feminine so like I've, I've got a Hello Kitty shirt on and I wear a lot of pink.

Kimberly's narrative suggests that at least for some women, coming to grips with the ways in which engaging in appearance work means participating in their own oppression is something that needs to be reconciled. Kimberly is aware that by accommodating hegemonic appearance norms with regard to wearing makeup, she is in conflict with her feminist identity.

Janet, quoted above, also talks against appearance norms related to women's bodies, and the ways in which these norms make her feel "at war with herself" because she accommodates these norms in practice by covering her maternal body.

> There's a part of me that wants to resist all of that. It makes me mad that women are constantly being…you know, evaluated based on their looks. And then

there's another part of me that buys into it totally and wants to fit the mold. So like, I'm at war with myself. I refuse to buy a scale…but I hate that…I would like to not always have to feel like I have to wear a cardigan, or like I need, you know? Like I look at dresses with belts in the middles and stuff like that and I'm always thinking, "I cannot wear that."

This contradiction between talking and doing is not uncommon among the women in my sample.

The narrative of Dawn, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director of Career Counseling furthers our understanding of this contradiction:

I reject the notion of women being valued for what they look like, and so that, when you talk about the little rebellion type thing, that's what I feel. So that's why I don't go to a great extent because I feel like it's in service of a false god so to speak. It's why I'm resistant to becoming somebody who just chases after makeup and shoes, or things like that.

Prior to talking about how she rejects the idea that women being valued for their physical appearance, Dawn talked about really enjoying the time she spends "going to the guy who takes a *full* hour to cut my hair." Additionally, Dawn discloses that she treats herself to bimonthly pedicures, and recalling her facial hair narrative from Chapter 5, has had laser hair removal on her face so that she would "have less like plucking and things to do." Julie also talks about her issue with gendered appearance norms:

I have a really big problem with a culture that…um…prioritizes looks and so it's an awkward negotiation because I'm not willing…I'm really not willing to go and get the perfect hair, and whatever, and you know get my teeth whitened, and get eyelash extensions, and get…well I might be willing to get lipo, but there's a lot of things I'm not willing to do because I'm not willing to contribute, or buy into that cultural set of assumptions. Even if I'm buying into it in front of the mirror, and in an internal dialogue with myself. Does that [make sense]?…*[JH: It does, it does. You're resisting cultural norms that dictate that women should look a certain way, and I hear you struggle with that.]* Yeah. I still let them make me feel bad about myself.

Julie also spoke earlier in our interview about treating herself to manicures and pedicures each time she reaches an academic milestone (i.e. passing her comps, completing a

dissertation chapter). As much as women like Janet, Kimberly, Dawn, and Julie *want* to reject the notion of women being judged for their physical appearance, and verbally express these feelings, they do not fully reject it in practice. These narratives illustrate the ways in which some women attempt to scrutinize and deconstruct a patriarchal system that says women should look a certain way, and prescribes behaviors for women to achieve a certain way of looking. Additionally, resistance talk narratives place these women somewhere in the middle between resistance and accommodation as they vocally distance themselves from gendered appearance norms, yet begrudgingly uphold those norms with the appearance work they do.

INTERVENING FACTORS

In the interviews, I ask women whether they think there is anything they do not do in their appearance routines that they feel may go against appearance norms. I also ask questions about whether and how those things may have changed since having children. Women's acts of resistance and accommodation to appearance norms are often framed within the context of intervening factors i.e. health and paid work environment, and time. These intervening factors shape the ways in which some women both resist and accommodate gendered appearance norms. The narratives in the subsections that follow show us how women's responses to appearance norms are filtered through certain contexts, and that there are intervening factors that constrain choices (Bird and Rieker 2008) to adhere to and/or resist these norms in the appearance work they do. I also use this section to explore some of the ways women resist these constraints as they negotiate appearance work alongside paid work and motherhood work.

Health

Four women (19% of my sample) cite health reasons in their narratives about how they resist and accommodate appearance norms. Shannon's makeup narrative is indicative of intentional resistance to gendered appearance norms, which prescribe women to wear eye makeup. Although Shannon does wear makeup generally, and says, "I don't really leave the house without makeup," her narrative makes it clear that she intentionally does not wear eye makeup.

> I think the not wearing eye makeup is intentional. I have, like I have eyeliner, and I think I even have some eye shadow, but I don't [know for sure], I threw out the last tube of mascara a couple weeks ago, because I realized it was about a year old and I hadn't used it. So, and I think that's mainly like it's that for practical reasons, just because I don't, I don't like having to like manage the eyeliner, mascara and you know drippage that might happen if my eyes are watering from my allergies, or if my skin is oily, you know?

Shannon's act of resistance is about prioritizing her health over her appearance. She talks about not wanting to have to manage the effect of allergies on her appearance work. Her narrative presents intertwining contexts between a health condition, and appearance work. Helen, an Asian Indian participant who is an Associate Professor, furthers our understanding of the ways that some women prioritize health over some kinds appearance work. Recall from Chapter Five, Helen intentionally foregoes wearing makeup reportedly because she has sensitive skin, and it's "never been a habit" of hers to wear makeup. Important to note here are the ways in which many women in the academy feel discouraged from paying *too much* attention to their physical appearance. Helen says this about a female colleague's hair:

> I mean, we have a faculty member in our department, who dyes her hair like green and purple and things like that, and students will make fun of her all the time. *[JH:Really?]* Yeah, like on ratemyprofessor "the purple haired woman," I mean yeah. They have very stereotypical expectations of what a professor should

be.

Helen's narrative is not simply about habits, or workplace appearance norms as constraints (which do matter, and I do discuss in a later section of this chapter). Like Shannon, Helen's resistance is about prioritizing her health condition (sensitive skin).

This hair narrative of Dana, a Black/African American participant who is a Market Development Manager, shows us that these health related appearance work constrains can present women with the task of figuring out how to adjust and manage their appearance work routine to accommodate both the health concern, and the appearance norm. She explains:

> [Well] for black women, relaxing the hair is common. I've gone away from that. So my hair is not [chemically treated], it's, it's straightened just with heat. So I don't use a relaxer or any chemicals on my hair anymore. Um, that has been an adjustment just learning how to manage my hair in that way. *[JH: I'm wondering what made you decide that? What was behind that choice?]* Well, I would like to say it was me, but it wasn't. After I had [my son], which is common with a pregnancy, you know how your hair begins to just…come out because you know it was all, I forgot all the terms, but basically you don't lose the hair during pregnancy, but after you lose that particular hormone and it begins to thin. I thought, I really convinced myself that I was going to go bald! (Laughs) Really, I did. It just didn't seem, you know, correct that if you had concerns that you were balding that you would be applying chemicals to your hair.

While I discuss more in depth the ways in which hair matters differently for black women in Chapter Seven, Dana's narrative is important here. Dana's hair narrative is about resisting black women's hair norms, while still accommodating "good hair" norms *because of* certain health related factors beyond her control. Dana isn't ready to fully resist "good hair" norms, but mentions that it is something that she is working on. During our interview, Dana also says that she has "a desire to even go to a shorter style that would not be straightened at all, just in its natural state. Um, so that's one challenge…that I'm working toward as far as the hair." Dana's resistance and

accommodation strategies with her hair, and the "challenge" that she experiences show us the ways in which hair norms are simultaneously raced, classed, and gendered, and that going against these norms can be a difficult decision for black women. Fiona, a White/European participant who is a Head Teacher for an Infant/Toddler Program, also talks about prioritizing health when I asked, *"Do you do waxing?":*

> I do not. My skin is so sensitive. I used to do it, actually I used to work at a salon so I'd get everything waxed pretty frequently, and my lip would puff up, it was bright red, it was a terrible situation, so I stopped. So I tend to - and I do now that I have my, have had my wonderful child, I'll get like dark hairs, and I'll get hairs here [pointing to her chin], so I'm really trying to be mindful of that as well, so it doesn't get…(laughs). So…um, but yeah. Um, I'll try and pluck my eyebrows…it's the same as far as, my skin is so sensitive, my eyebrows get all big and red and puffy, so I'll do it once every week or two weeks depending on how out of control it is, um, just my skin is so sensitive, so…

Shannon, Helen, and Dana's narratives all highlight the ways in which some women prioritize health concerns over certain parts of their appearance work routines. Each of these women resisted certain appearance norms, while simultaneously accommodating other appearance norms. Fiona's narrative furthers our understanding to include the ways in which prioritizing health over certain kinds of appearance work can encourage some women to be careful and mindful about the ways that they accommodate certain appearance norms, and how often they accommodate them.

Time

Circumstances like the time squeeze also factor into whether and how women are able to resist and accommodate gendered appearance norms. Women report spending an average of 9.1 hours per day on paid work tasks, and an average of just over 4 hours per day on household/childcare tasks. Nine women (43% of my sample) point to time as an

intervening factor that constrain whether and how they resist and accommodate appearance norms in the appearance work they do.

During our interview, Dana reflects on the ways in which her appearance routine has changed "big time" since having kids. When I ask her if she could tell me more about those changes, she says, "Just, you know, the time that I would take as far as maintaining my nails and my toenails, um, you know changing colors and trying on different colors…. [Now] I don't have that time." She extends her "time" narrative in her response to my question about whether there is anything she intentionally does not do in her appearance work routine:

> The only thing I say I would say I choose not to do is anything that would be more time intensive. So with my hair, it needs to be at a length, at least right now, where I can pull it into a ponytail if I need to. Um, so just everything is just thinking about…is it going to be easy to manage, is it…you know, going to be a time strain or what not.

Janet reflects on how she used to be able to devote time to an exercise routine before having kids:

> I think I'm very active, but as far as making a concerted effort to be in good physical shape, I just don't feel like I have time to work it in my day, you know? I try to make it part of what I do with [my kids], but it's, you know…it used to be something I would do for an hour every day and just focus then. That's not the way it is any more.

Recall that Janet while is very critical of gendered body norms, she also really feels bad about her body shape. Her narrative here highlights the ways in which some women prioritize motherhood, and accommodate good motherhood norms by trying to incorporate her kids into their efforts to be active. At the same time, Janet is resistant to the culturally prescribed behaviors related to achieving and maintaining a certain kind of body, because she can't "work it into her day."

Prior to coming to a narrative of acceptance of a resistant body, Rachel got really emotional when asked her what she liked about her physical appearance. As much as she does talk above about coming to accept her body, she really struggles with it, and points to time constraints as a factor. "I mean, um, I dislike um the extra weight on my legs stomach and arms, um, and um…you know, I just wish that I had more time to work on it." Rachel has three children under the age of five, works a full time, and a part time job. Spare time to devote to exercise in effort to get "fit" is not something she has; yet it is something she talks about needs to happen. She notes, "But, I really need to [exercise]. I mean like I'm really going to make it a point to incorporate it into my day. Um, going forward. It's just kinda…hit me." Rachel's narrative illustrates how for some women, talking about how they feel about their bodies, and intervening factors that constrain whether and how they respond to appearance norms can be a difficult, and emotional experience.

Time constraints do not necessarily lead to resistance. For some women, like Lisa, and Dawn, time constraints shape *how often* doing appearance work that "needs" to get done to accommodate certain kinds of appearance norms, gets done. Lisa says, "Oh yes, I wax my lip. Well, I don't, somebody else does that. *[JH: How often do you have that done?]* It needs to be done every three weeks, but I probably have it done every six weeks. It's more of a time thing than a money thing." Dawn furthers this narrative by talking about the way she enjoys accommodating certain appearance norms, but she can no longer fit that in as often because that time has now shifted over to accommodate motherhood. She remarks,

> I used to spend more time [before having my daughter]...I, I really enjoy primping…I really enjoy taking time at the end of the day to like, pluck my

eyebrows, and since I had [my daughter], like that, like my, it's, my eyebrows are lucky if I get to them every two weeks.

Dawn's narrative furthers our understanding of the ways in which appearance work is at times in tension with motherhood. It also reinforces that women pick and choose which norms to accommodate, and which ones to resist.

Time, although finite and constraining, is something that in some cases presents an opportunity for women to negotiate kid free time with their partners or spouses. Six women in this sample (29%) talk about negotiating with their partners or spouses so they each get kids-free time to do what they want. At times, negotiations are work related. Julie says, "[Like] if I'm up against a [work] deadline, then it means that my husband and I will talk and negotiate and see who needs…you know, the non child time more." Other times, the negotiations allow women to gain time for appearance work. For example, Kimberly reserves an hour per week to running and is owed that because her partner, Liam, has his "kid free" workout time. Julie goes on to say:

> Sundays are my morning, and Saturdays are my husband's morning. So which is to say he gets to sleep in, or do whatever he wants Saturday morning, and I get up with the child, and Sunday I get to sleep in or do whatever I want. So I usually sleep in and then go to spin class, um, on Saturdays he tends to sleep in and read the newspaper.

Dana, Amy, and Beverly's narratives extend beyond negotiating schedules to talk about a purposeful garnering of time for appearance work by scheduling time off from paid work without telling their partners. In these key moments, women are taking control of their time use to accommodate certain appearance norms.

> Um, what I've tried to do for the last couple of years, it doesn't always work, is just take a day off to do something. I was able to do it a couple of weeks ago…to just take a day and went to the spa…to just. . . . I decided, "You know, I'm just gonna take some time to myself and do that." Actually, I'm taking a day next

Friday and going shopping with a friend. And what I've learned is, I'm not, I don't tell my husband…(laughing) (Dana)

I've lied to my husband a couple of times. (Laughing) I love getting massage, but I don't get to do it very often, so once in awhile on Fridays, like I would say at least once a month, I will go to [the mall] for half an hour and get a like a half an hour massage really quick. And the reason why I don't tell him is because then I owe him a half an hour. Because it has to be…like we measure time. (Amy)

Some of the appearance work that women do, or have done, is less flexible in terms of being time sensitive, and needs to be handed over to qualified "experts." Recall Dana's narrative about waxing her own lip, but going somewhere to have her eyebrows waxed. Stealing time narratives suggest that women "steal time" for appearance work they can't do well for themselves, and/or the appearance work they consider "me time."

At times accommodating appearance norms is not flexible, and is deemed significant enough to shift time away from paid work. Interviewees accommodate motherhood norms, and avoid taking time away from their children in order to do things for their physical appearance. For example, Beverly is committed to having her hair cut and colored every six to eight weeks, and has been since before she had children. Rather than leaving her children with her husband (and disrupt mothering time) on a weekend, however, she explains, "Sometimes I'll go during a workday, like I'll just take the afternoon off from work. Then it's not disruptive, it doesn't disrupt our routine at all. Cuz I can just go when I'm not normally at home doing anything anyway." So when appearance work does need more time, and can't be as flexible, women take control and steal time from paid work, and from relationships. They do not shift time away from kids.

In order to accommodate "good motherhood" and simultaneously accommodate gendered body norms, some women incorporate their kids into their exercise routines. Others talk about doing exercise while children are sleeping, either late at night, or early

in the morning. None of the women in my sample sideline motherhood work in order to pursue an exercise routine, but rather, narratives suggest that they add appearance work to motherhood time.

> A lot of times if I exercise, it's walking with the kids…or doing something with the kids, and it's not formal. It's probably not as beneficial. I think I'm very active but, as far as making a concerted effort to be in good physical shape, I just don't feel like I have time to work it in my day, you know?... I try to make it part of what I do with them [the kids], but it's, you know…it used to be something I would do for an hour every day and just focus, and that's not the way it is any more…. But exercise, which used to be very important to me, I just kind of try to, like, push the stroller and, you know, that's my exercise. (Janet)

Dworkin and Wachs (2009) analysis of fitness magazine content finds that mothers with young children are encouraged to incorporate their children in their exercise routines as they journey toward "getting their bodies back."

Not all of the women in my sample are willing to incorporate their kids into what they considered a workout, however. Gretchen, for example, talks about waking up early several mornings per week to go to the gym, provided she gets to sleep early enough the night before. Shannon talks about doing a home workout after their motherhood work is done for the night. Several days each week, Justine utilizes her lunch hour to walk or run at the nearby YMCA (a company paid benefit), while Julie opts for riding a bike to work (depending on the weather) instead of taking public transportation. Similar to the ways in which women weave appearance work into motherhood work during the morning routine, Gretchen, Shannon, Jennifer, and Julie have found ways to weave exercise in to other parts of their day.

Similar to health narratives, time constraint narratives highlight the ways in which resistance and accommodation to certain appearance norms is often beyond women's control. Prioritizing paid work (i.e., getting to work on time) and motherhood work, limit

some of the choices women have as they respond to appearance norms in a third shift of

appearance work. Because time is a finite resource, and because busy career-oriented

moms have other demands, there are times when some kinds appearance work cannott be

a priority at all, and sometimes certain types appearance work has to be postponed. That

said, none of the women in my sample forego appearance work entirely. Rather, these

women constantly negotiate with the mandates for looking certain ways at all times – to

accommodate different settings, different personal standards, different work settings,

aging, time constraints, seasons, etc.

Paid Work Environment

For some women, like Sarah, paid work environments shape some of the choices

women make as they resist and accommodate certain appearance norms, at least while in

those settings. Sarah's job requires that she wear her hair pulled back, and that she not

wear perfumes or paint on her fingernails. As an organic food producing/packaging

business owner, she also must dress comfortably, and casually, and be prepared to get

dirty. Sarah says,

> I think that the thing that has affected my, um, time that I take on my appearance
> [is] probably my job. More so than having children or not having children, or
> what not. But, um, but probably how I have to appear for my job and so currently
> I'm in a job in which I could wear my pajamas to work and not have to think
> twice about it. But past jobs where I've had to dress up for a reason, or whatever
> then I would have to take longer time [to look a certain way], you know?

For Sarah, accommodating workplace appearance requirements necessitates their

resistance to certain appearance norms, at least while at work. She would do appearance

work to look a certain way if it was a workplace requirement, and has in the past done

appearance work to look a certain way to meet workplace appearance norms. Sarah's

shift is not entirely workplace related, however. Right before talking about the ways in

which her workplace environment places constraints on the some of appearance work she does, and does not do, Sarah talks about how motherhood has come to influence her to look more natural. She says, "After being pregnant, I guess I feel like there has been a shift in being more natural in general. Like not being as worried if my hair is, on my legs or my armpits are long…". Sarah's paid work environment simultaneously mandates, and supports this change. Similarly, while Helen, quoted above, attributes her makeup free appearance work routine to "sensitive skin," her internalization of her workplace appearance norms about how female professors should look suggests that she too has a workplace that simultaneously mandates, and supports her resistance of certain appearance norms.

For Erin, a White/European participant who is a Middle School Math Teacher, time away from her paid work environment provides an opportunity to engage in resistance and accommodation to appearance norms in new ways. Erin works in a very appearance conscious environment, and while she says, "I choose not to wear makeup, I choose not to pluck my eyebrows, choose not to put on jewelry. I can't be bothered with jewelry," similar to Helen, Erin still chooses to accommodate workplace appearance norms by paying attention to the way she dresses, and norms against aging by committing to regular hair appointments to cover her greys. During our interview, Erin talks about how excited she is for her upcoming hair appointment. Now that the school year is over, she is able to do something she considers to be "counterculture" to her hair. "I'm very okay with being counterculture, or I wouldn't be putting blue streaks in my hair on Friday." Erin may be choosing to resist one aspect of her workplace appearance norms related to hair because she is on summer break from her paid work, but the appearance

work she does (or has done) to her hair to cover greys still accommodates certain hair norms. Although temporary, her "funky blue streaked hair" is an accommodation of the normative ways to resist. Erin maintains:

> I mean, that's the one benefit of hanging out with a really geeky crowd is that no one's appearance conscious – at all. Everybody wears lots of black, and no one could care less about whether you're like, you know? Like if I dress up people are like, "Why'd you do that?" You know?

Sarah, Helen, and Erin's narratives suggest that workplace appearance norms at times constrain women's choices about the appearance work they do, and at other times free women up from having to do certain kinds of appearance work. Paid work environments shape some of the choices women make as they resist and accommodate certain appearance norms, at least while in those settings.

For other women, paid work environment appearance norms provide a situation where career-oriented mothers of young children can temporarily relax the appearance work they do while they prioritize motherhood, and figure out how to as Fiona, a preschool teacher, says, "get back into the swing of things." Fiona describes her paid workday appearance routine as "low maintenance." Her job as a preschool teacher to 18-month-old children requires that Fiona dress casually, and comfortably, and like Sarah, be prepared to get dirty. It isn't uncommon for her to have to move throughout the classroom and be active with the children in her class. She says:

> So…really low maintenance as far as – I mean, I throw some mousse in my hair and throw some moisturizer on my face, and that's usually just how I roll in the morning. I don't tend to get all dolled up just because, really, I'm just going to go work with kids and [laughs] get thrown up on, and spit up on all day, so yeah.

Fiona's narrative underscores the ways in which her workplace, and job duties support what she calls her "minimalist" appearance work routine.

Similarly, Justine explains, "I think that whole like 'rut,' and not wearing makeup and stuff was just because, um, I don't see anybody during the day except for a bunch of women, and who cares? It was that sort of attitude…". Shannon describes her workplace appearance norms as being "flexible, and it's more relaxed [than a public school]." This flexibility gave her a kind of permission to prioritize motherhood, and (temporarily) feel okay about the way she dressed for work during the first year after having her son. She says,

> I would have dressed up more but in the, especially in the first year after my son was born, when you - you know, you're pumping at work, and wearing nursing bras, and nothing's flattering, and I just would wear whatever was functional, you know?

Fiona mentions thinking she had to be a super mom at first, and feeling like she had to do everything for her son, rather than take time for herself:

> My son was probably I want to say seven or eight months old before I really started to think like, "I need to get back into [doing things to look a certain way] and take care of myself." And I felt like to a certain extent a lot goes when you're pregnant, you know? Your body is completely different afterwards, and you don't have the time, and you're sleep deprived, and things like that. But in my mind I think I was rationalizing. Like, "Okay, it's okay for me to not take any time for myself."

Fiona, Justine, and Shannon each have paid work environments that support their simultaneous resistance to certain appearance norms, and accommodation to "good" motherhood norms. These narratives also illuminate the ways that early motherhood can be a key moment in some women's lives, in which they are temporarily blocked from paying attention to appearance.

REVERSING THE "RUT"

Ideologies of good motherhood stress that moms, especially new moms devote themselves to the care of their children. Career-oriented mothers have to work even

harder at motherhood because of the time they devote to their paid work. Fiona, Justine, and Shannon all talk about key moments when something just "clicked," and they consciously decided that it was time to regain control over their appearance, and "do something" to reverse the "rut." For Shannon, it was the end of nursing, and pumping, that freed her up to opt for less functional, more stylish clothes. Fiona says, "And then I think it got to a point where it was – "I need to take care of myself." It was seeing [pictures of] myself, and not feeling good about what I was seeing, so…and it took me a while to kinda get to that point."

Justine did not have such a clear "aha moment" where she decided that it was time to prioritize appearance work. However, throughout my interview with her, it was clear that she has a lot of self-doubt, and is really hard on herself as a mom. So much of her narrative is about feeling out of control, and just really feeling bad about both motherhood, and about paid work. The following narrative clarifies the former:

> I sort of feed the kids. Like I wish I could feed them more fruits and vegetables and get my act together. Like it kills me when they actually ask for like a banana, and, "Oh my god, we have no bananas!" I can't believe they are actually asking for something good for them, and we don't have it. It kills me. Um, grapes they'll decide, and so…you know I think I feed them, but I wish I could feed them better.

Justine really wants to feel like a good mother, but she is up against motherhood ideologies that suggest that as a working mother, at best, she can only be "good enough." At the time of our interview, Justine was considering transitioning out of her full time position to become an independent contractor for her current employer. She was conflicted, however, even though doing this would give her more control over her paid work schedule. Her identity as a career-oriented full time employee is something that she

finds difficult to let go, and she couldn't possibly fathom being a stay at home mother. One thing Justine *can* take control of is her appearance before she starts to look like "the dog's dinner." She says, in reference to letting it get that far, "I would feel bad about myself, like, I, it would effect my self-esteem if I went to pot."

Fiona, Justine, and Shannon's appearance work routine descriptions underscore how for some women, appearance work can be a way of regaining control over their appearance, and reverse the "rut" they feel like they are in. For example, when I asked Fiona to talk more about her appearance work routine at a later point in our interview, she still describes it as "very minimal" but adds, "[Now] I'll do my eyes just so it doesn't look like I'm tired, cuz otherwise it does. Um, so I'll put some mascara on, and a little eye shadow, just to make my eyes look not so tired." Justine also affirms the temporary nature of her resistance to certain appearance norms when she describes how adding makeup to her appearance work routine is a new thing, "I've sort of started making a little bit more of an effort wearing makeup [everyday].... Like [for the last] couple of months. Cuz, oh…so for the longest time, I just needed something." Shannon says, "I'm trying to…this…to sort of get out of the "mommy frump mode" that I feel like I was in for the first couple of years."

Fiona's "get back into the swing of things," Justine's "rut," and Shannon's "mommy frump mode" narratives suggest that their paid work environments may have only temporarily allowed them to feel okay with their resistance to appearance routines. At some point, paying attention to their appearance once again became important. Shannon expands upon her narrative from above, and describes appearance work as a means by which she emerges out of her "mommy frump mode":

> So I'm also trying to feel more thoughtful about clothing, and I've, I always would have on, um, I don't really leave the house without makeup. Although it's pretty minimal. Um, but that, that's a sort of a necessity for me. Like I'd rather forego a shower than putting on at least my bare minimum makeup, you know?

Shannon, Fiona, and Justine talk specifically about how engaging in appearance work helped them to dig themselves out of their "rut." By taking time for themselves in order to look a certain way, these women are simultaneously resisting motherhood norms, and accommodating certain appearance norms. These narratives describe the ways in which flexible workplace appearance norms can allow some women to sideline appearance work to accommodate good motherhood norms. These findings also suggest that this sidelining is only temporary, and that the controlling nature of appearance work always wins.

"STRATEGIES OF ACTION"

When career-oriented mothers of young children respond to appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work, they do so within the parameters of their intertwined identities of women, mothers, and paid workers. For the women in my sample, negotiating all three shifts within a very short period of time comes in the form of multitasking, and preparing things like wardrobes and backpacks ahead of time. Third shift appearance work inevitably becomes rushed, and routines are shortened and simplified to be more efficient, as women simultaneously prepare to physically engage in paid work and disengage from motherhood work for the day. Accepting a "slid" appearance, getting ready for work faster, and picking and choosing which kinds of appearance work to devote time and energy to, were all made easier when mornings[18]

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[18] Interviewees do talk about other parts of day like evening but the emphasis was on the morning and therefore that's what I focus on here.

were structured. Particularly if appearance work is to be done alongside motherhood work – at least on paid workdays. These themes all illustrate both the flexibility, and the controlled nature of appearance routines.

Multitasking

Appearance work, paid work, and motherhood work intersect during the morning "get out the door" routine for 20 women in this sample (95%)[19] whose workday follows a traditional morning to evening schedule. This makes multitasking on weekdays a necessity. Appearance work becomes woven into the fabric of the hectic hour or two before the actual paid workday begins.

> I get up, I shower first. Um...I shower first, so then I get out of the shower. . . . If it's during the school year, I make sure my um, [son] is up, um, and get him going, then I go back, um, and let's see, brush my teeth, you know, put on my makeup, um, usually my clothes are already out and ironed…uh, get dressed. The whole time I – actually my son brushes his teeth and washes his face in my bathroom, because mirror time is magical time – (laughs) – so I have to keep him focused. So we do that together. Um, and then, let's see, after…I make him go get ready, if I have to iron any of his clothes…um…. [then] I go take him to school. (Gretchen)

While preparing for the workday, busy moms not only engage in varying amounts of appearance work to make themselves look a certain way for paid work, most also have to get their young child or children ready for their day. While 15 of the women in my sample (71%) report sharing equally in overall child care responsibilities, only four (19%) mention morning help from husbands/partners. Regardless of having help, norms about parenting, physical appearance, and the appearance work that goes in to looking a certain way for work disproportionately impacts women. Gretchen's "get out the door"

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[19] Susan, a Registered Diagnostic Medical Sonographer, works evenings and is primary caregiver to her two daughters during the daytime hours.

narrative exemplifies the ways in which workday morning routines require that women weave appearance work into a structured motherhood shift. Morning narratives suggest that motherhood and getting ready for work parts of the morning are inflexible, and women have to pick and choose what kinds of appearance work can fit in around those if it is going to get done. For career-oriented moms, appearance work has to be flexible, as much as it's not (they still need to accommodate certain workplace appearance norms). Women have to show up for work, and children have to get to daycare or school.

Simplicity and Acceptance

For seventeen (81%) of the busy moms in the sample, some aspects of appearance work have become less important than they were in their childfree days. Gretchen says, "A lot of the [appearance] stuff that I used to think matters, just doesn't matter anymore, you know?" Some interviewees also talk about learning to be faster and more efficient at appearance work, and still look "pretty put together." Things like hair straightening become an option "if there's time," ponytails become a "go to" hair style in a pinch, and makeup routines become simpler. Bonnie, a shipping manager and single mother of two, talks about being so rushed in the morning that she keeps her eye makeup in the car so that she can apply it in the parking lot before going into work if she finds herself too short on time to apply it at home. Christine and Janet's narratives also articulate the way that the time spent on appearance work, especially on a paid work mornings are impacted by motherhood.

> Um…I'm a little less [emphasis] on the personal appearance as far as makeup/hair since having kids, cuz I just don't have time…. I do think a little bit more of, "Okay, if I cut my hair short it might be quicker and easier to do, *and look professional*," or, you know, "Do I really [need to do hair work]? A pony tail is really nice and it's quick and easy." You know? (Christine)

> I can get ready a lot faster now. I mean, if I get up late or whatever…I can get ready in half an hour and I think I look pretty put together. You know, I just do everything in half the time I would really like to spend on it. You know? (Janet)

Taking less time than one would *like* to take on appearance work, and thinking of ways to save time while still aiming to look professional was talked about a lot in my interviews with busy career-oriented moms.

Erin, a Middle School Math Teacher, works in a high-income, "appearance conscious" community where she says everyone is *always* "coiffed." She talks about her "pre-kid" appearance as something that has "slid" since having her son:

> Um…when I first started working there, I was very careful about that [the way she looked]. Obviously that's slid now that I had the kid. Um, I mean, I would show up with jewelry and makeup and all that stuff like that when I first started working there. And I just don't have time for it now.

One way that some women counteract devoting less time on hair and makeup routines on workdays is to accommodate other appearance norms, namely clothing choices. While Erin no longer wears makeup on days she works and only devotes enough of her morning to accomplish the "basic standards of hygiene," she makes sure to accommodate certain workplace appearance norms by wearing tailored clothing that she considers "put together" and "professional." These work clothes are not as comfortable as her preferred weekend attire, but dressing for paid work is part of her appearance routine on weekdays.

Multitasking, simplifying appearance work routines, and accepting that not all of the appearance work one wants to do is going to get done are just a few "strategies of action" that women use as they negotiate paid work norms, motherhood norms, and appearance norms simultaneously. I discuss them here because these seem to be the most common strategies among the women in my sample. These women know how they are

supposed to look at all times, in all settings, and they are always picking and choosing which norms to accommodate, and which ones to resist.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have extended my analysis of women's appearance work experiences to explore the ways in which women engage in both resistance and accommodation as they respond to the varied sets of norms to which they are beholden. Women engage in acts of vocal resistance, by both talking against gendered appearance norms, and also by vocally accepting their resistant maternal bodies. Simultaneously, however, these women are also accommodating the very gendered appearance norms they talk against. For some, the accommodation is in dying their hair to cover grey, while talking against norms of aging. For others, resistance is vocalized by saying they accept their maternal bodies – residual baby weight, and other bodily changes that result from pregnancy - yet feeling really horribly about the body they see in the full-length mirror. Some women framed their acts of resistance within the context of intervening factors, like health, time, and paid work environment. When women cite health, time, or paid work environment reasons for not doing (resisting) certain kinds of appearance work, narratives show that they accommodate appearance norms in other ways. Further, when women use appearance work to dig themselves out of "mommy frump mode," they are flipping their response to both appearance norms and motherhood norms. Mommy frump mode is a period of resistance to appearance norms, and accommodation to good motherhood. When women dig themselves out of this "rut" by doing certain kinds of appearance work, they accommodate appearance norms, and resist motherhood norms. Finally, as I mentioned previously, career-oriented mothers of young children are

beholden to a varied set of norms, and as such, employ strategies of action as they negotiate their identities as paid workers, mothers, and women. Third shift appearance work becomes weaved into women's busy morning "get out the door" routine, and as much as it has to be flexible, because paid work and motherhood are inflexible at that time of day, it is also inflexible. Women have to look a certain way for work. One strategy women use to get through these harried moments is multitasking, where they find themselves fitting appearance work in between pouring cereal, and clearing the kids' bowls. Other strategies women use includes simplifying the appearance work routine, and accepting that their appearance may not be the same as it was before motherhood.

I use Chapter Seven to further my analysis to argue that women's responses to appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work, are mediated by a variety of social locations. I begin by discussing how being career-oriented is central to the identities of the women in this sample. I also explore how women see their experiences and attitudes in relation to other women. I also use Chapter Seven to describe how race/ethnicity, transitions to motherhood, and workplaces' organizational structures shape women's appearance work shift.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOCIAL LOCATION AND APPEARANCE WORK

In this chapter, I extend my analysis of women's appearance work narratives to further complicate the ways in which women's appearance work experiences, and their attitudes about appearance work, are mediated by a variety of social locations. I begin with an analysis of the ways that women define the social location "career-oriented." This is a major common social location for the women in this sample, and it is one that precedes motherhood in importance. So, I argue that before we can understand other social locations, we need to first see how women see themselves. Next, I explore how women see their appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work in relation to other women. Finally, I describe how race/ethnicity, transitions to motherhood, and workplaces' organizational structures shape women's appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work. It is important to consider that while hegemonic appearance norms are very narrow, women's appearance work attitudes and experiences are not. To assume anything to the contrary:

> [b]locks meaningful discussion of how women feel about their bodies, their appearances, and social norms. It obscures the complex ways that gender is constructed, and the fact that differences among women-age, race, culture, sexual orientation and class-translate into myriad variations in response to ideals of femininity and their attendant practices. (Deveaux 1994: 227)

The findings discussed in this chapter provide insight on how women see themselves as committed to a first shift of paid work. Findings also illustrate how women see themselves in relation to other women. Finally, these appearance work narratives highlight the ways in which women perceive how others see them in relation to social location.

CAREER-ORIENTED WOMEN

To capture what "career-oriented" means, I asked each participant, "*What does it mean to you to be "career-oriented"?"* When women describe being career-oriented, they talk about paid work as something that is desirable, irrespective of financial necessity. Women also talk about feeling a powerful sense of status from what they do for a living. Many of the moms in my sample are future oriented in their careers, and "want to get ahead" and "go further" in their careers. Alternatively, those who are not *as* concerned with being promoted to a higher level speak more about caring about what they do.

Choosing Paid Work: "I Couldn't Imagine Not Working"

Women primarily talk about *wanting* paid work, and they discuss paid work as a conscious choice that is something they would do even if they did not have to financially. For all of the career- oriented women in my sample, motherhood is something that has been worked into an already developed adult identity. They, like many privileged young women in high-income economies today, delayed motherhood until after completing their education and establishing a career (Bhrolcháin and Beaujouan 2012). Identifying with what it means to be career-oriented means that it is okay not to make motherhood a number one priority. Work, for the career-oriented mother, fulfills a need that is not satisfied by motherhood.

Justine, an attorney and mother of two says, "It means, I guess that, um…I feel like I need to work. *I couldn't imagine not working.*" Sarah, a Small Business Owner and mother of two, who had recently taken charge of the day-to-day operations of the small business she and her husband started about eight years ago says, "Uh, it means that

I would say that you're, you are choosing to have a career to satisfy a part of your life. Not just to make ends meet." Fiona, who is a Head Teacher of an Infant/Toddler program and mother of one, furthers the narrative that speaks to the ways in which women find satisfaction in their careers:

> I mean I think it means that um…like making my career a priority in my life. You know, for me it was never a question of not working after the baby was born. Number one because financially we couldn't, but number two because I need that. I need to be able to get out and to be with people. *[JH: So you would work even if you didn't have to financially?].* [Yes, I would], even if I didn't financially have to.

Not being able to imagine a life without working (for pay), choosing to have a career to fill a void that motherhood does not fill, and making career a priority came up repeatedly in the interviews. Watching one's children learn and grow is enjoyable, and the time parents invest in childrearing is important. However, for some women motherhood may not be as *gratifying* as their paid work shift. Motherhood, especially first time motherhood, is riddled with doubts about whether or not we are doing a "good job," and the fruits of motherhood labor often take decades. Working mothers are already fighting against cultural prescriptions that state that good mothers are intensive mothers who give everything up in order to care for their children. In our careers, however, feedback is often immediate, and the rewards come in the form of employer and co-worker recognition and praise, and money. For the career-oriented women in my sample, being a mom, while rewarding, is just not enough.

Status: I Work, Therefore I Am

In a culture that values activity and paid work (and devalues the invisible work of motherhood), and where we are known for what we do, rather than who we are, being able to tell others what we do for a career means that we have importance and purpose in

the world. It also places us in a measurable space in relation to others. The day in and day out drudgery and invisibility of motherhood work may make it less than appealing for career-oriented women to describe themselves as primarily a mother**.**

> Um, I feel like I have to work. That I have to do something that um, I can feel good about telling other people…. I mean, I like that I could tell somebody that I do something, like there is something for what I do. (Justine, Attorney and mother of two).

> So, for me being career-oriented means that I have a, a, uh…I want to say purpose, it's not my only purpose but, actually a purpose, and it's a role in society.... and have a purpose in society. You know, um, have a, you know a role as a person who contributes in society, you know? (Erin, Middle School Math Teacher and mother of one).

Justine, an Attorney, who above mentioned that she couldn't imagine not working, and Erin, a Middle School Math Teacher, illustrate that for many women, status is an important part of being career-oriented. They also illustrate for us the idea that at least for many career-oriented women in contemporary society, perhaps it doesn't feel *as good* or as satisfying to say, "I'm a mom."

> For Dawn, an Associate Director of Career Counseling at a large University and mother of one, satisfaction comes in the form of control.

> Um…I, I have been lucky to find a career that really fits well with me. I love what I do. I'm really good at what I do. Um, I get a lot of satisfaction in what I do. And it's, it's something that I do that I feel like I can control.   There's not…there's not…like in my role as mother, I feel like there's so much that's out of my control with that it makes it even…my career is even more delicious now that I have Sophia because I just feel like this is my *domain of excellence.*

Motherhood for Dawn, and for a lot of working first time moms, motherhood often feels disorganized, and can lead to a feeling of losing control and insecurity. Her career is "delicious" because it is something that she can control; unlike her successes at motherhood, her successes and achievements at work are her own.

Looking Ahead: "Going Further"

For some women in this study, being career-oriented means that they are actively engaging in an institution that satisfies a need for achievement and success in ways that motherhood does not. They are doing something that they are educated, and/or trained to do, are confident that they are good at, and are interested in doing rather than something that they feel like they *have* to do. These mothers look forward to succeeding and achieving more.

> …I am continuing my education and getting training to, at some point, to go into administration or curriculum design. So I'm just thinking about forward growth in my career, and not…just staying where I am, and doing what I'm doing. I'm always thinking about what I wanna do next, or where I wanna go further. (Janet, High School Science Teacher and mother of two).

> Um…I would love to continue to move up where I am. Um, I started out as the lead teacher, and within a year the opportunity to become the head teacher of my, of the infant/toddler program came about, so I'm the head teacher of my program right now. And ideally, one day I would love to be in a program director situation, so it's just sort of being able to move up. I mean that is something that is important to me. (Fiona, Head Teacher – Infant/Toddler Program and mother of one).

It became clear that for my participants succeeding and achieving more in one's career required conscious choices to temporarily sideline motherhood (i.e., taking classes in the evenings, attending after hours work training, and/or taking on extra work responsibilities).

It Means I Care about My Job

Not all of the women in my sample define being career-oriented primarily as being associated with climbing some corporate ladder of success. Some women talk about being driven by, and getting gratification from caring about the day-to-day ins and outs of their work. Nicole, an Engineer and mother of two, says, "Hmm…I guess career

oriented for me means that I care about my career." Shannon, Private High School

English Teacher and mother of one, adds:

> I don't have any sort of like…grand ambitions, like I don't want to be – I work at
> an independent school so, um…I don't want to be the head of the high school, I
> don't want to be like the head of the whole school. I don't really want to do that
> kind of stuff, so I would say that my, um, understanding for, of what it means to
> be career-oriented has more to do with like caring about my job from sort of day-
> to-day, rather than kind of climbing a ladder of career ambition.

Nicole and Shannon both talk about caring about their jobs as part of what defines them

as being oriented toward their careers. Caring about careers, for both of these women

means never leaving the job behind. During Nicole's interview, she compared herself

with "non-career-oriented" women she knew who, like her, had gotten the Ph.D. These

women either opted for part-time work, or chose careers that could just be "boxed up"

and left behind at the end of the workday once they became mothers. Similarly, Shannon

talked about how she devotes her summers to preparing for the next school year by

improving upon the previous year. Caring about your career means that the work is never

boxed up.

For the women in this study, being career-oriented means paid work is talked

about as a conscious choice; it is something that they *want* to do; something they want to

be *good at,* and something they *care about*. In this way, being career-oriented operates as

a master status for the women in this sample. Paid work, for these women,[20] is less about

economic necessity or financial security (even if their contribution to the household

finances was necessary), and more about participating in an institution is that is somehow

gratifying. Being oriented toward a career gives these women a sense of importance and

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[20] Working Class, and Working Poor career-oriented women are likely to have a very
different take on the meaning of "career-oriented."

control, satisfaction from doing work that they care about, and offers opportunities for achievement and success; all things that women do not necessarily experience in the same way in their motherhood shift, or appearance work shift. It is this social location that forms the basis for a further analysis of the ways in which women compare their appearance work to what they perceive other women do. It also provides a base to better understand how social locations like race/ethnicity, class, and position within organizational structures (workplace, home, and social situations), shape women's engagement in, and attitudes about appearance work.

REFERENCE GROUP COMPARISONS

I explore how the women in this sample talk about how they think their appearance work compares to what they perceive other women do. In comparison narratives, women situate their appearance work, and their attitudes about appearance against several reference groups. Interviewees make reference to other women generally, other women they know, their mothers and/or sisters, their close female friends – some with and some without kids, and also women with whom they work.

All 12 of the interviewees[21] who make reference to other women in their narratives say that like they do less, or the same amount of appearance work in relation to other women they know, or know of – never more. Those who do talk about doing "about the same" reference other moms in their comparisons. For example, when Dawn, a White/European participant who is a Career Counselor and mother of one, says, "When I go out with my friends who have kids, we all kind of look the same [appearance work-

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[21] Nine women in this study did not situate doing appearance work, or caring about appearance against other women.

wise].” During our interview, Dawn offered to show me photos on Facebook from a day

she recently spent with her childfree friends to illustrate how much *less* appearance work

she does in comparison to them. She says:

> And they come and they've got like dresses, and leggings, and super funky haircuts, and accessories. And I'm…well my hair was drip drying, um, and then like this is a t-shirt that I've worn for like months, and months, and months, and months, and I wear it every single time I see them.

Dawn describes feeling okay about her appearance when she is with her mom friends

because they all do about the same appearance work. Her perception of her appearance

work when she is with her childfree girlfriends is that she does significantly less.

Looking at her photos, however, I could not see a big difference.

Similar to women's makeup narratives described in Chapter 5, women minimized

the amount of time spent on appearance work, certain kinds appearance work they do,

and the importance they place on looking a certain way – in relation to other women.

Kimberly, an Asian American participant who is a Research Associate and mother of two

says:

> Based on the women that I know, I spend a lot less time on hair, and makeup, and shopping. **A lot less time.** I'm in shock when I have friends that tell me that they go in every five weeks for cut and color. I mean, that shocks me! I go once a year to get a haircut. Um, so…yeah my sense is that I spend a lot less time.

> Fiona, a White/European participant who is a Head Teacher for an Infant/Toddler

Program and mother of one, adds:

> I don't think that I take as much time on things like [my hair]. Like I said, you know I don't go to the salon to get my hair done, I'll, you know, go buy a box from the store. So I don't think I take as much time as some people do, you know?

Kimberly and Fiona both perceive seeking out hair services at a salon as time intensive.

Because neither of them do that, they see themselves as spending less time than other

women who do go to the salon on a regular schedule. Recall from previous chapters, however, that both Kimberly and Fiona place quite a bit of importance on spending time on other kinds of appearance work, like makeup. Kimberly will not leave the house without her makeup on, and Fiona's makeup (and hair) routine keeps her out of her "mommy frump mode." This finding suggests that some women may pick out certain kinds of appearance work that they themselves deprioritize when comparing themselves to other women.

Janet, a White/European participant who is a High School Chemistry Teacher and mother of two, extends this narrative of "doing less than other women," to talk about *caring less* than other women.

> Uh…I don't know. Compared to the [women] I work with, I think I do less than most of them in terms of my [appearance]…a lot of them are very…most of them tan, most of them…seem very caught up in how they look. I don't know if that's fair to say most, but a good number of them.

Janet sees herself as not being "as caught up" in her appearance as "a good number" of the women with whom she works. They tan at a tanning salon, she does not. When I ask her about using self-tanning lotions, however, she says, "I do that on my legs. Yeah. But not a lot…I don't want to look too tan…like florescent. You know what I mean?" Further, in other parts of her interview, Janet describes certain kinds of appearance work as mandatory if she is going to leave the house. "I won't go in my yard without makeup on, but I honestly don't go to the grocery store without putting on makeup, and showering, and doing something with my hair." Fiona and Janet's narratives suggest that women equate outsourcing certain kinds of appearance work with importance. If it is appearance work that is outsourced, it means they are doing more, and placing more importance on it.

Lisa, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director and mother of two, furthers this narrative when she references her mother-in-law and her sister when I asked her if she felt her appearance routine was different than other women's routines. She says,

> …maybe like spending a lot of money on my hair. All my sisters, and a lot of my, my mother-in-law…. I just kind of feel like it's kind of unnecessary…. I'd love, you know, if I had tons of money and time, but, like most of the people in my family who do that don't have tons of money and they choose to spend their money that way, it's none of my business, but I just feel like it's not necessary.

Lisa's attitude about certain kinds of (expensive) appearance work is that it is unnecessary, and she situates herself against significant women in her life who, in her view, squander economic resources on hair. Recall that Lisa does prioritize her hair in some ways, however, by taking up weekly Malibu © hair treatments herself. She is able to see herself differently than the women in her life, because rather than outsourcing to an expensive salon, she performs this appearance related labor herself.

Christine, a White/European participant who is a Middle School Principal and mother of two, initially says she "doesn't think" that her appearance routine is very different from "other women." In Christine's interview, however, she compares her appearance work to her Assistant Principal's appearance work in a way that contradicts this "sameness." She says, "Our Assistant Principal, she doesn't wear any [makeup] at all. I am a makeup person. I always have makeup on. Um, if I'm hanging out with the kids, I probably have lipstick on, or powder or something." Alternatively, later in the interview, Christine talks about how the amount time *and* money she spends on kinds of appearance work she does do, does not go as far as what her mom and sister do.

> [My] mom was a makeup person, so I mean…my model ahead of me of feminine beauty, my mom is…it doesn't matter if its up north [in the middle of nowhere]

and it's seven o'clock in the morning, she gets up, she does the whole, she does her hair, she does her mascara, she, I mean she's always fully made up. 18 shades of concealer. You know? I don't go that far. My makeup routine can take about 3 minutes. You know? Hers is an hour and a half long process…but you know? And my, my sister is very, very much um, they spend a lot of money and time on their appearance. Sometimes I'm a little jealous of it.

Christine is making reference to two groups of women in her interview. She excludes her Assistant Principal from her reference group so that she can see herself as doing a similar appearance work routine to "other women." Alternatively, she sees herself as quite different, and doing less than, significant women in her life. She does not go as far as her mom or sister when it comes to hair and makeup, but she sure wishes she could. I discuss the ways in which transitioning to a one income household while transitioning into motherhood shapes Christine's appearance work shift further in this chapter.

Whether it was the amount of time spent doing appearance work, or the importance of appearance work, the women in my sample overwhelmingly experience their appearance routines as being different from other women's. When talking to women about this issue, it became clear that there was a tendency to interpret their own routines as less intensive, and taking less time than other women in general – never more. Acknowledging appearance work implies that it is a priority. A third shift of appearance work cannot be a priority for women who already prioritize first shift paid work, and are newly beholden to second shift motherhood. Sarah, a Small Business Owner and mother of two says, "I don't feel like I have time for third shift [of appearance work]. Yeah. I would say uh…that third shift would not factor into the equation because there is no time for it." She follows, however, by talking about how she would do [more] appearance work "to a certain extent" if her first shift appearance norms called for it. The tendencies to downplay the importance of, and engagement in appearance work generally may be a

part of the discourse of career-oriented women. These narratives make it clear that the first shift of paid work is a priority. A career-oriented identity is one that is perceived to conflict with good motherhood. Minimizing the importance of, and resources devoted to third shift appearance work may be a means by which the women in this sample negotiate that conflict.

RACE AND ETHNICITY

At the end of each interview, I ask my participants directly if they think race and/or ethnicity plays a part in women's appearance work experiences. 19 women (90% of this sample), from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds, and a range of interpersonal experience with women of color were able to talk about the role of race and/or ethnicity in women's appearance work experiences. This finding speaks to the importance of appearance, and how much individual women are comparing themselves to other women. This attention to appearance makes the majority of women in this sample able to discuss race/ethnicity in part, even if they talk about it in vague terms. The findings here also suggest that women perceive that other women do appearance work for two reasons: because they care more about it, or because their body necessitates it.

White/European women with a history of limited or no interpersonal interaction with women of color frequently turn to "culture" in their explanations for certain appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance they perceive to be different than their own.

> Um…you know there are several cultures that, you know, for women, they're mostly covered. And so I don't know what they do under their covering…I don't have friends, I'm not part of that. My assumption is that they don't have to do anything with their hair. If they don't shower that day, nobody's going to necessarily know. And then, I think there are other cultures where physical

appearance just isn't a priority, and that's fine in their culture. And then there's other cultures, particularly, you know, in America where it's [appearance is] kind of a high priority, where you're looked down upon if you're not…investing in that to a pretty high degree. (Beverly, White/European)

Like many people with racial and/or ethnic privilege, Beverly fills in her admitted "lack of experience" with women who are "mostly covered" with the assumption that because a [Muslim] woman's hair is covered, she does not prioritize her certain parts of her appearance. Beverly's narrative about a covered head meaning a woman does not "have to do anything" with her hair, much less take a shower, is one that shows us about a perception of different amounts of cultural emphasis on, and a perception of different amounts of time women should put into their appearance. Her narrative also suggests that she believes that "America" in general puts weight on appearance, and that this applies to all women (regardless of race/ethnicity). So she says yes, there are race/cultural differences, but all women in U.S. face the same "American" cultural norms, regardless of race/culture. Beverly's perception about Muslim women's covered heads is similar to women's maternal body narratives that talk about covering up and masking parts of the body that go against certain appearance norms. If it is a body part that conforms to "American" cultural appearance norms – reveal it. If it does not – cover it up.

Rachel (White/European) and Christine (White/European), who both work alongside women of color, also suggest that not doing certain kinds of appearance work is about different amounts of cultural emphasis on appearance. Some cultures place less emphasis, and some cultures place more emphasis. Rachel maintains,

Um…I think it just really depends on them. Um, I work with different ethnicities and um, there are certain women of different races that really take care of themselves, and always have to have their hair done, always have to have their nails done, always have to have their face done. Um, then there are some that just really don't care.

Rachel's narrative suggests that she perceives some women of color have internalized certain appearance norms, because they do appearance work to look a certain way. The women who do not do certain kinds of appearance work to show that they internalize the same set of appearance norms as she, must "just really don't care." Christine follows this line, and says:

> Hmm…I'm trying to…the thing is – surface is I would say yes [there are racial/ethnic differences]. But, I'm trying to think of an example. I think the expectations might be different. I don't…it's so stereotypical to say this – I think thin bodies are a little bit more of a, uh, priority with Caucasian females. It just seems less acceptable to be fat. Ugh…that sounds awful. (Christine, White/European)

Beverly, Rachel, and Christine's narratives provide different examples of how women with a range of interracial/interethnic experiences perceive appearance norms to differ by group. Beverly uses clothing in her example to support her perception of racial/ethnic differences in appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work to suggest that covering up a certain body part means that it is a part for which there are different cultural standards. Rachel uses hair, nails, and skin, in a framework that combines individual responsibility, and cultural explanations in her interpretation of racial/ethnic differences in the ways in women's appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work. Christine's narrative highlights a cultural explanation for racial/ethnic variations in the identification with the thin ideal, and the acceptance of having a "fat" body. All three narratives suggest that women who cover their hair, women who accept being fat, and women who do not always have their hair/nails/face "done" simply don't care about the way they look.

When I asked Shannon (White/European) about whether she thinks there are racial/ethnic differences in women's appearance work experiences, she reflected at length about an experience she had with one of her students.   In this narrative, she talks about being an "ally" to one of her female African American students as she was shifting from chemically processed hair, to natural hair, and the way it helped her reflect on her own hair privilege.

> Yeah, particularly when it comes to hair. Um, so one of my students this year, um is a young black woman who is letting her hair go natural this year. And she and I have had a ton of conversations about it, and um, because she is really nervous about her hair and it being processed and she had had it straightened for so long, and um, she - the first step of course was to cut it really short, right? To cut all of the processed parts off so that her curl could grow. And so that [was] in the beginning of the year, you know, she came to school with her hair really short and like a headband on. I'm like "Sheila, I really like your hair!" and she said, "I'm going to let it go natural," and I'm like "You are? What made you make that decision and, like, why are you thinking about it?" [She said] "I don't know…I'm just tired of having my hair straightened, I just wanted to see what it's like. . . . . [S]he's an 11th grade[r], all year she's like wanting to do it, right? She was committed, but still very anxious about it. Um, about the way that she would be perceived by her mom, right, who still straightens her hair, by her friends, um, both her black friends and her white friends. Um, and she's just, you know…we traded articles back and forth about it, um, and I think, you know…witnessing her experience with that made me realize like well, you know, because I'm white I don't have to worry about any of that stuff right?   Like, I don't have to worry that when it rains outside like my hair's gonna be ruined. I don't have to, you know…I don't…this is easy for me. I don't blow-dry it; I don't do anything to it [referring to her own hair]. . . . . I think the natural hair like trend that we're seeing now is not about like the same kind of like black power politics that it was about in the 60s and early 70s. I think now it's really is more about appearance and embracing that kind of thing natural appearance, um, rather than being a political statement, you know? But our culture hasn't really like gotten over that being a political statement.

Shannon's direct exposure throughout the process of a young black woman, who was making race-based hair decisions, makes her account an excellent illustration of a certain kind of racial/ethnic difference in appearance work experiences.   It is evident that Shannon is invested in understanding the "going natural" experience from her student's

point of view. They trade articles…she wants to learn more about it. Shannon's narrative is rich with examples of the power of hair, for black women, and for white women. Shannon gains a richer understanding of the (rightful) anxieties that black women experience when going against race-based hair norms. In the end, Shannon also comes to see her own racial privilege a little more clearly.

Erin a White/European participant who is Jewish, also recognizes that she has hair privilege – to a degree. That said, she illustrates that for some ethnic women, hair, particularly straight (read: "good") hair, can be a source of envy and a space where assumptions and "impressions" are made about how much work goes into its management.

> I mean, part of it is, speaking as someone who's got very curly hair as most Jewish women do, my hair takes longer than someone whose hair is straight, you know, someone who can just wash and go, and doesn't have to worry about frizz, you know? Um, so I'm very envious of people who have straight hair, because I have to do a routine so, I mean, this could be, you know, this could be totally just a false impression, but it seems like their routines would be more streamlined because of that. Um, but, that said, someone who has African American hair probably has more work than I do, right, because I know getting hair styled can take hours. Hours at a salon. So, um, you know if you're getting a weave put in or something that can be hours and hours, so…and a lot of money. Hugely expensive. So…so I suppose it all falls on a spectrum, but certainly, yes, I think there are huge differences there, and I am extremely envious of anyone who's got very straight hair.

Erin suggests that membership in certain racial/ethnic groups necessitates different amounts of time and different amounts of money for certain kinds of appearance work. Erin feels like she has to do more appearance work for hair than non-Jewish, non African American women who have straight hair, but less than women with "African American hair." Kimberly, an Asian participant, also talks about necessity, and how her "ethnicity" is *the* factor in her never having to shave her legs. She says, "I mean you can see look at

my legs, I have no hair on my legs…I haven't shaved [my legs] in over 20 years…. I

think it's kind of a function of my ethnicity."

Lisa, a White/European participant, offers an alternative view of racial/ethnic

differences in certain kinds of appearance work experiences.   Her view is based largely

on her experience sharing a hotel room with a black female coworker. She explains,

> When I was in [Washington] D.C., two years ago in July, the girl I was [rooming] with was black, and, um, she's getting irritated because I take so much more time in the morning to get ready than her because she can do the oil on her hair and the wrap… like, she does her hair once a week. And while that takes her more time the one day a week she does her hair, she doesn't have…at night she puts the oil wrap on her hair, but in the morning she's ready to go. I don't have that option, and so…um…I think it's different for, at least in my experience it's different. I mean, it's more work, I guess it depends on how coarse your hair is, like the girl I work with right now, it's, like, she has to go and get her hair done every two weeks. She chooses to go and have it done and then it's done for like two weeks, or whatever. Like their showers are not the same as like our showers. They don't wash their hair and then have to get out and blow dry and dadada… or else [it] would be a big frizz ball, like they have, they're, I feel, like, totally different…. That's my perception, I'm very ignorant in that area cuz I don't have a lot of exposure to a lot of…you know, white people is pretty much all I know.

Lisa's narrative is an interesting example of how women can talk about variations in

appearances well, even if they have limited exposure to other racial-ethnic groups. She

also illustrates the ways that some white women may experience their long, straight hair

as burdensome, and perceive other women, in this case black women, as not having to do

as much on a daily basis.   Further, Erin and Lisa's narratives show us that women's

perceptions about black women's hair appointments can be different. I argue that just

like Beverly identifies covering up body parts with covering up what doesn't meet certain

appearance standards, Erin and Lisa perceive black women's hair salon appointments

through the lens of *their own* hair salon appointments. Recall from Chapter 5, Erin is

committed to her monthly "colossal pain in the butt" hair appointments to cover her grey

hair. She talks about black women's hair appointments as something they have to do. Lisa, quoted earlier in this chapter, sees seeking out regular hair services at a salon "unnecessary." She talks about black women's hair appointments as a choice.

While everyone, regardless of race/ethnicity should exercise caution and apply sun block daily in order to prevent certain skin cancers, Amy (a Latina participant) talks about sun exposure as problematic for certain women in other ways.

> Um, yeah, you think…I think that…I mean depending the color of your skin…I have to be very careful how long I'm in the sun. And the reason why is there is a certain time where I can get - you know like this color [showing me her forearm] and look – "Oh, you look dark." And if I stay longer, I mean I start looking – my hands are starting to look like that – like grey looking, and when you turn kind of grey because of the color of my skin, you start to look **dirty**. And I mean, that is just what I see in myself. My daughter is lighter than me, my husband is white, so she's a combination of both. But she has the same problem. She can look very pretty if she stays, if she stays X amount of time for certain days but, by the end of the summer, I have to be very careful, I mean, because she starts – who cares right? But, I think it's like, she just doesn't look clean. So different ethnicity, different skin, different treatment, absolutely.

Amy asks, "Who cares, right?" Even though Amy does not want to care about skin color and getting too dark, she does. And because she cares, she monitors how much she (and her daughter) stays out in the sun.[22] Concerns about looking dirty, because she (or her daughter) stays out in the sun for too long, are very real. Her experience with the "problem" of darker skin, and Beverly's reflection on Muslim women whose cultural values are to wear their hair covered are embedded within a larger conversation about racialized "others" and the (mis)perception of cleanliness. Symbolically, lighter (skin) is represented as being cleaner, purer, and generally better, whereas darker (skin) is represented as being dirty, and less desirable.

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[22] In Latin America there is also a valuation of light skin over darker skin, so to some degree this is also very cultural.

Sarah, a White/European participant, initially reaches for cultural explanations for differences in appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work, and shifts to search for some factor.

> Um…well, gosh, I don't really know because I'm not…I mean, I wish I, I mean, I can only speak to ethnicities in which I feel like I have a close relationship with somebody. Um, and for other ethnicities I can't really speak to. I imagine that there are huge cultural implications and cultural influences in all of them that require or promote, maybe not require, but promote certain behavior and certain um…things. But uh…I'm trying to think, um…hmm…yeah…I mean, I think that there's definitely a stronger emphasis on exercise in the middle-class, white woman's world for sure. I would say that almost all of my friends certainly emphasize this…. So, I would say that, that is definitely an emphasis. Um, I think it's also socioeconomic, and not just ethnic.

At first, Sarah responds with "I really don't know," because she feels like she can't speak with much authority on the matter. Her narrative shifts, however, as she begins to "imagine" huge cultural differences when it comes to certain kinds of appearance work that she understands women within her own race/class location do. Recall from Chapter 5 that Sarah does not exercise, and her perception of exercise for the sake of exercise is that it is a waste of time. Understanding this, it makes sense that she searches for an additional explanation for why certain groups of women may not prioritize exercise the way she perceives middle-class white women to. Sarah brings up an important observation about appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work being tied up with other social locations. Next, I further my analysis of social location and appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance work to explore the ways in which the transition to motherhood can impact women's appearance work experiences and attitudes about appearance work.

TRANSITIONS TO MOTHERHOOD

Of the 21 women in my sample, two (Bonnie and Fiona) reported household incomes of between $25,000 and $49,999 and two (Gretchen and Lisa) reported household incomes between $50,000 and $74,999. The remaining 18 women reported household incomes exceeding $75,000. This is a disproportionately privileged sample. As a result, I was unable to really pinpoint narratives speak to social class location and appearance work experiences/attitudes specifically. Rather, women's narratives suggest that the transition to motherhood encourages, and/or necessitates a reevaluation of appearance work routines, and a reprioritization of financial resources.

Motherhood Means Certain Things Become Frivolous

The transition to motherhood, and the added shift of work is a point in some women's lives where they find themselves re-evaluating the importance of certain kinds of appearance work, and as a result their attitudes about certain kinds of appearance work change. This reorganization of priorities compels some women to shift economic resources away from certain kinds of appearance work, and allocate those financial resources to motherhood, and/or relationship work. Jennifer, who is the mother of one, explains:

> You know, I don't do any of the extra stuff that I could probably do. I think it's, maybe it comes down to the money. That [appearance work] stuff costs money that I don't have – at least to spend frivolously on that. Um, I'd rather go out to a nice dinner with my husband. Or, you know maybe put [my daughter] in gymnastics for, you know, a couple months.

Jennifer, however, does prioritize some kinds of appearance work. For example, she gets her nails done every two weeks, and schedules routine visits to a salon for eyebrow and bikini waxing. There are some kinds of appearance work, however, that since

motherhood, she has decided are more frivolous, and less of a priority than investing in her daughter's cultural capital.

Rachel, who is a mother of three adds, "[Before kids] We used to belong to the gym. Um, obviously with the cost we decided not to [keep that expense]." Beverly, who is a mother of two says, "[Having my hair colored is] just sort of one of those self care things that I let myself do," and goes on to say:

> I did get my nails done for a while pretty regularly, but I kinda let that go. Gets expensive and then I sort of weigh the you know, it's never something my husband would say you can't go do, and it's not that we can't afford for me to go do it, but would I rather have that $40? Probably. And so I'll do it for awhile, and I'll kind of be like, "Enh…I'm going to stop doing it," you know? And then I'll stop doing it.

Jennifer, Rachel, and Beverly's narratives elucidate the ways in which some women come to define some kinds of appearance work as "frivolous" once they become mothers, and shift economic resources to motherhood work.

Becoming Breadwinning Moms

Gretchen, who is a mother of two, and Christine, who is also a mother of two, experienced a loss of household income at about the point they started having children. Gretchen and Christine are also both students pursuing the Ph.D., and they both have households that reflect gender atypical family arrangements. Christine refers to it as a "complete gender switch," where they are the breadwinners and their husbands are primary caregivers to their children. In contrast to Jennifer, Rachel and Beverly's narratives that suggest certain kinds of appearance work becomes *frivolous*, Gretchen and Christine's shift to one income, and becoming breadwinning moms *necessitates* change in appearance work experiences, and change in attitudes about appearance work so that financial resources can be allocated for family use.

Before having kids, and before her husband lost his job, Christine recalls "You know what I remember before I had kids? I mean, I used to get my nails done…. I spent more money on it. So much more money on makeup, on clothes…". Christine says she is still dealing with a little residual baby weight, and says, "I can't afford new bigger clothes, so I'd better lose some weight somehow." Money, or lack thereof, deeply impacts her appearance work experiences, and also her attitude about appearance work. She says,

> Money is always an issue because we do not have much. Um…so I don't spend much money…the money is prioritized on…if I have to buy clothes, it's clothes out of necessity, or clothes for a purpose. Tennis shoes to walk, suits for work. Not "Ooh, that's a pretty blouse, I'd like to buy it." That's not where the priority is right now. Um…exercise – it's, I try to combine, I try to multitask. And it doesn't cost money, I don't pay for a gym so it's – maybe I can take the kids to the park and I can walk.

Christine can justify prioritizing the expense for walking shoes because she needs to lose weight in order to fit into her work clothes. She can justify spending money on new clothes for work, because as the breadwinner, she has to work. Christine takes a rather pragmatic approach to her situation. If she does not need it, she does not buy it.

Gretchen also takes a pragmatic approach to her shift to one income and transition to breadwinning mom. At the time of our interview, Gretchen, who is Black/African American, had just recently gotten dreadlocks. In this narrative, Gretchen talks about the key moment when she felt forced to reflect on how necessary it was for her to keep up her tiring, and expensive hair routine:

> It's tiring. It's expensive. I mean, and when you have to make decisions, you know, when my husband stopped working…It was funny, because we kept up our lifestyle for awhile, and then I was like, "Okay, something has to give!" And so [my hair] was one of the things that I thought about. And my husband has dreads, and he's had them – this is his second set – he's had them almost our entire marriage, and we've been married over 10 years. And I looked at him and I went,

"Oh my gosh, why can't I just do that!?"

Gretchen's is not only making an economic based decision about her hair, however. She is making a decision about hair that includes race/class/gender based appearance norms. At another point in our interview, Gretchen talks about how difficult the decision was for her to start wearing her hair in dreadlocks, and the workplace related anxiety she felt about it. I discuss this in the next section of this chapter in my analysis of organizational structures.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

As the previous sections point out, women's appearance work experiences, and attitudes about appearance are shaped by a multitude of social locations. In this section, I discuss how career-oriented women's appearance work experiences and their attitudes about appearance are impacted by the structure of their workplace. I try to situate women's experiences and attitudes within the context of job type (feminine/masculine), and whom they primarily work alongside (women/men).

Status

Recall that in Chapter 6, I discuss the ways in which Sarah, a White/European participant who is a Small Business Owner has a paid work environment helps to support her resistance to certain appearance norms, and her tendency towards a more "natural" appearance, through certain workplace related appearance mandates. Here, we can further complicate her resistance to certain appearance norms narrative by taking into account the size of her workplace, whom she works alongside, and perhaps most important - her position within the organizational structure. Sarah is the boss. This is

what she says in response to my question, *"Has anyone at work commented on your appearance?"*:

> Well, because I work in such a small environment, um, like I said, there's only two other people there, and they're both women, and um, and I guess also because partially because I am their employer, I don't know if they would comment on it, um…

Sarah's narrative suggests that sometimes women's status within organizational structures relieve women of having to worry so much about how they look in certain settings. Sarah is not relieved of worry in all settings, however. During our interview, she reflected on a situation one day where she was made very aware of her "natural" appearance.

> So, uh, we at work, we went and visited, they have kind of a summer music festival…where they have a band come and perform during the lunch hour, and people can come. So all of us kind of went over there for our lunch hour, and attended it…. and I was like "Whoa…these girls are dressed differently than I am!" And here I am in my white socks, and my, you know, I'm like… "I don't think I'm, you know, lookin' like these fellow people here." Meh…I mean, I'm insulated enough in my home, and work environment, I guess…. I can't say I think about [my appearance] all that often, but when I was in that situation, I definitely paused, and was like, "Ooh wow…like fashion is very different," you know?

In addition to highlighting the ways that status within an organizational structure can shield certain women from appearance workplace anxieties, Sarah's narrative also underscores the finding that the workplace and the home offer clear-cut guidelines/restrictions/reference points on appearances that are very specific, and become very normal for women. Women know how they are supposed to look at work. They know how they can look at home. When women are in other spaces, however, the rules for appearance are less known/less specific/more complicated, and therefore more anxiety ridden Sarah's, "Whoa," moment in her second narrative shows us how women take on the job of policing themselves when they are in spaces where they feel vulnerable

to unfamiliar gazes. Sarah manages this emotional blow by situating her experience within the context of whom she is surrounded by. She says, "But I also knew that I was looking at college students and they are at a different point in their life."

LOOKING "PROFESSIONAL"

All of the women in this sample are in professions. Looking professional is a theme in all women's appearance work experiences, and their attitudes about appearance work. In this section, I describe the importance of "looking professional," and the varied meanings women in different types of jobs, working alongside different kinds of people ascribe to "looking professional." For some of the women in this sample, looking professional means covering up, or deemphasizing femininity in the workplace. For others, however, looking professional means emphasizing femininity in key moments to achieve certain ends.

Professional Hair

In Chapter Five, I describe women's hair related appearance work experiences, and assert that hair, for these women, is an important component of their third shift of appearance work. Hair narratives also suggest that women also think about their hair in terms of it needing to look professional. For example, Christine, a White/European participant who is a High School Principal and works primarily alongside women, says, "I do think a little bit more [at work] of, "Okay, if I cut my hair short, it might be quicker, and easier to do, and look professional." Similarly, Dawn, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director of Career Counseling at a University and works in a feminine type job alongside both men and women says:

I think about my hair [at work]. You know? I think like, how could my hair look more professional. You know? Things, things that would give me more of like a professional look….Um…that also take, that also fit into my timeline for getting ready.

Christine and Dawn both make reference to accommodating time constraints they are also saying that their hair *has* to look professional. Dawn suggests that for some women, professional hair styles can *add to* a woman's appearance to help her look more professional. Further, both women are thinking about how their hair can be more professional at work. This finding suggests that women are policing their own physical appearance while in workplace settings.

This narrative of Gretchen, a Black/African American participant who is a Program Manager and primarily works alongside other women in a feminine type job, offers an opportunity to explore the ways in which race, class, and gender intersect with workplace culture to shape black women's hair related appearance work experiences, and attitudes about their hair. Her narrative also highlights the fact that certain people in certain settings can perceive certain hairstyles as "unprofessional." describes her workplace environment as "very elitist, everything is class based, you know?". She also says that looking professional, (among other things like where you live, and what your spouse does for a living) matters a lot in her department.

In the following narrative, Gretchen responds to a question I ask about whether people comment on her appearance at work. She further explains why she experienced such difficulty when deciding to start wearing her hair in dreadlocks:

When I got dreads, which was, this is a recent thing…I got them in April, um *[JH: Was that a big decision for you?]* It was a huge decision. It was a hard decision. And one that I'm now comfortable with, but it took, I'd say the better part of a month…to like to be able to walk in here. And then it was walking in, and then the next stage it was walking into a meeting. And then it was depending

on who that meeting was, so when I would meet with Deans, or like a Vice President, or it was preparing myself to if there was going to be a look, or if there was gonna be a…you know what I mean? To just um… *[JH: Were there?]* Um, believe it or not, the higher administrators…no. It was all my colleagues. No one above me ever said anything, never gave a look. It was only my colleagues. One [female colleague] actually said, "You know, you could always tell somebody you're doing a tribal ritual right now" or something like that.

In a previous section of this chapter, I describe the ways in which the transition to a breadwinning mom/caregiver dad household arrangement necessitated that Gretchen shift economic resources away from time intensive, costly appearance work, and so she made the decision to start wearing her hair in dreadlocks. She says, "And, of course I would go through all this [anxiety], because, "How will they look at you at work?" Work was the biggest…. But it has been the most liberating thing, I have to say." As her family's sole source of income, Gretchen's anxieties are not without merit.

In *Rapunzel's Daughters* (2004), Weitz discusses the importance of hair, and says, "…and black women with dreadlocks…sometimes face job discrimination" (xvi). Gretchen's female colleague's (racist) advice that she "could always tell somebody you're doing a tribal ritual right now" reinforces that hair is an important site for policing in the workplace. Gretchen's narrative also helps us to better understand Dana's challenge with her hair. Similar to Gretchen, Dana is a Black/African American participant. Recall from Chapter Six, that Dana recently stopped chemically processing her hair for certain health reasons, and now just straightens it with heat. Dana is a Market Development Manager for a large international corporation in a masculine type job alongside primarily men, and describes her workplace as, "a fairly conservative company so it's…you know most people you see kind of, I guess, if you were gonna label, clean cut. You know?" Unlike Gretchen, Dana works primarily alongside men, in a masculine

type job. She says, "I actually have a desire to even go to a shorter style that would not be straightened at all, just in its natural state. Um, so that's one challenge that I have, um, that I'm working toward, as far as the hair." Gretchen's anxiety, and Dana's challenge highlight the power of hair, and the ways in which career-oriented women of color working in two different job types, along different kinds of people can have similar race/class/gender related concerns.

Covering Up

Hair is not the only site for policing and disciplining women's appearance in organizational structures. This set of narratives highlights the ways that women in a variety of job types, working alongside a variety of people ascribe "looking professional" to covering up. For example, Fiona, a White/European participant who is a Head Teacher of an Infant/Toddler Program works in a feminine type job alongside other women, and is surrounded by small children all day explains,

> Um, my, my work concerns tend to be more as far as my appearance. Do I look professional? As much as I can in my [line of work]. And am I covered, you know? Bending and leaning over to take care of, to do things with the kids. I mean, I can't tell you how many times I've seen down people's shirts, or their shirts ride up in the back, or I've seen their behind crack, it's terrible. So that's something for me at work, that's the concern that I have. Making sure that I look professional, and making sure that I'm covered.

Fiona is more concerned with the way she looks at work than she is at home. When I ask her about her work clothes versus her home clothes, she says, "But they're all the same for me." So for her, looking professional is not about some set of special "work clothes," but, rather, Fiona ascribes looking professional to having certain body parts covered. She also uses her own experiences and attitudes about seeing a coworker's cleavage, or

"behind crack" as a reference for comparison to shape her own definition of what looking professional in a childcare setting means.

Similar to Fiona, Amy, a Latina participant, also talks about covering body parts as a means to look professional. Amy, however, works in Product Marketing in a masculine type job primarily alongside men. When I ask her whether she feels it is important to look feminine at work, she says:

> Depends on the kind of job you do…. First I work with a lot of men, okay? And I deal with numbers, and numbers are very sensitive subject. Meaning for you to be able to be taken seriously, and have people pay attention to what you say, you need to be very professional and look…and if I'm talking to my CEO, which I deal a lot with big executives…it would be very uncomfortable for them, and it would be very uncomfortable for me if were showing parts of my body, and it wasn't correct.

Fiona is concerned that exposed body parts are unprofessional and "terrible." She looks at other women in her workplace that have committed such faux pas and monitors her body at work to make sure she is not making those same mistakes. Amy, on the other hand, covers her body in ways to deemphasize femininity. She voices concerns that showing certain parts of her body will make men (and her) uncomfortable. Amy's narrative runs parallel to Trethewey's (1999) findings that suggest, "a professional woman's body, if not appropriately controlled, is excess(ively) sexual" (446). Further, her narrative shows us that women who work in masculine type jobs alongside primarily men need to manage their bodies in ways to look more like men if they are to be taken seriously.

In contrast, Beverly, a White/European participant who is a Research Project Manager works in a feminine type job alongside primarily women. However, on occasion she has to go out into the field collect to data from men in the military.

Beverly's narrative suggests that at times, emphasizing femininity can get desired results. She says,

> This sounds really bad…so part of the work that I do, um…is with the [military], and so I'll often go out to their drill weekends and collect survey data and interview data…um, in person at their drill weekends. And it's by and large a group of males. So, I'm not the most attractive woman in the world, but I also know that that doesn't necessarily matter. So I'll often wear a dress or skirt and try to look more feminine, because I think it might potentially increase our participation. I don't know. Um…somebody once told me to do that, so I do that.

Beverly strategically emphasizes femininity during her work related interactions with hyper masculine men in the quest to increase participation. Unlike Amy, who needs to be taken seriously by CEOs and other executives, Beverly needs men to want to talk with her.

Bonnie, a Latina participant who is a Shipping Manager and works in a masculine type job primarily alongside men, furthers Amy and Beverly's narratives about the importance of appearing professional for men. She articulates,

> …the only thing I really stay up on is my eyebrows and that's because of work. You have to dress nice [for work], and wanna, you know? Say what you want I'm a woman. I'm a woman working in a man's world. I have to be on my game. *[JH: So you feel like you have to look a certain way?]* Oh yeah, oh yeah. Definitely. Even compared…in my establishment - and I don't know if it happens in other places, is based on looks. I mean, you just, you can see it. It's not talked about, but you can see it. You know what I mean, look who's getting a promotion and look who's not. Look who's equally qualified, and look who's not.

Similar to Beverly, Bonnie suggests that workplace rewards are distributed by appearance. Looking professional is important, and being a woman working in a "man's world," where looks matter means that appearance matters – a lot. Bonnie is also noticing the ways in which rewards are distributed at her workplace. When two equally qualified employees are interviewing for a job, or are up for promotion, she says the better looking candidate wins.

Alternatively, not looking professional can have consequences. Julie, a White/European participant who is a Ph.D. Candidate, Graduate Student Instructor, and Writing Lab Coordinator, works primarily alongside "very skinny, very high maintenance, very…highly motivated women." This narrative of Julie extends beyond talking about the rewards that come with rewarding a professional face, or professional attire:

> I think I actually would have already graduated if I were thinner…. There are a lot of comments made about fitness…um, in my program. Um, and so I think that there is an assumption – I can't prove any of this – my perception is that there is some sort of assumption, and I'm fairly certain that this has been written about, I think I've even read it, that um…if you are fit, you're also organized, which means that you're also more highly driven, which means you're more disciplined, right? And so the fact that I'm carrying an extra nine or 10 pounds at this point, combined with the fact that I wasn't seen out doing…makes it easier to sort of amass a set of combined assumptions.

Julie's narrative furthers our understanding of how important it is to look a certain way in the workplace to suggest that in some kinds of organizational structures, having an "unfit," or "overweight" body is a barrier to professional success for women. Julie's assumptions about fit body privilege in the workplace are not unfounded, however. Trethewey's (1999) research on how women explicitly define a professional body finds that professional women "define the professional body…as fit" (429). Unfit bodies, and overweight bodies are problematic, and signify a lack of discipline and control. Further, Julie's narrative coupled with Trethewey's findings help us to better understand why the career-oriented moms in this sample feel so bad about their maternal bodies, and do appearance work to mask and/or fix their maternal bodies.

Rachel, a White/European participant who is a Business Analyst/Tech Support Professional works in a masculine type job, prioritizes looking more professional than her workplace appearance norms dictate because she too sees looking professional as linked

to getting ahead. Rachel adds to this narrative and talks about the ways in which not dressing professionally (enough) might be a bad thing. She says, "My husband doesn't really dress up [for work] very much, and I think that…because of that, his career path isn't going forward." During our interview, Rachel shared that she really wants to move forward in her career. She sees herself as successful, and partly attributes that to looking a certain way for work. When looking at her husband's lack of progress in *his* career, couples with his not dressing professionally, she assumes they are connected.

KNOWING YOUR AUDIENCE

Career-oriented women's appearance work experiences, and how their attitudes about appearance work are also shaped by who they know they are going to be interacting with, or who they may *potentially* interact with in workplace settings. For example, Janet, a White/European participant who is a High School Chemistry teacher and works alongside mostly women, combines a "looking professional" discourse, and talks about how she uses appearance work to control student's responses. She says,

> I try to kind of dress up a couple of days a week, just because I feel like…the kids…when you present yourself as a professional they treat you like more of a professional…. I am in a position of authority, and I want to present myself to them as a professional.

During our interview, Janet talks about how working with high school students and alongside women who are "caught up" in their appearance makes her aware of her own appearance in that setting. She says, "There's a lot of people noticing exactly what you look like in comparisons between people…. I mean, I've chosen to spend my life in that environment of high school mentality where its, its interesting."   Janet takes control of her appearance in the face of all the comparisons being made by dressing a certain way to assert herself as an authority to her students.

Like Janet, Erin, a White/European participant, is also a teacher, working alongside primarily women. Erin teaches math at a middle school in a very "appearance conscious" school district. As noted in previous chapters, Erin talks about not wearing makeup, and not spending [much] time on her appearance, aside from basic standards of hygiene. Erin does, however, make sure to dress professionally for work, especially when meeting with parents. She explains,

> For parent teacher conferences, it's all about looking professional - for parents. Um, and um, that's I mean, some of the parents wouldn't care, at all. Other parents really would, and they would make a comment and make an issue for you. And that's you know I mean….It's a way of avoiding conflict. It's a way of not of flying under the radar on that particular issue.

Janet dresses professionally to convince her students that she is an authority figure. Erin places particular emphasis on dressing professionally when meeting with parents in order to avoid conflict. Both are using appearance work to control others' responses.

This narrative of Shannon, a White/European participant who is an English Teacher at a Private High School, offers a different view of why it is important to look professional:

> If I have a parent meeting I think the parents tend to, um, take me a little more seriously if I'm dressed [professionally], than if I have, you know, a t-shirt and jeans on. Um, I think it shows a sign of respect as well, like if I have a meeting with, um, like our head of school who's like a principal…um, if I have a meeting with him about department stuff or about my own, I had a meeting about my contract a couple weeks ago, you know? I'm not going to show up in shorts and a t-shirt for that meeting. Because even if he shows up in shorts and a t-shirt, which he did, um, it still, I think sets a tone, right, when you walk in the door, um, of how seriously you want someone to take you and how seriously you want them to take whatever it is that you have to say.

Earlier, Shannon described her workplace dress "code" as being very relaxed. Here, Shannon talks about meeting parents, and her boss, and how looking a certain way is a way to show respect, and be taken seriously. Her boss displays male privilege by

wearing shorts and a t-shirt to their important meeting about her teaching contract. Similar to Rachel, quoted above, Shannon dresses higher than the workplace dress code requires. However, Shannon, who, recall from the beginning of this chapter, defines career oriented as job caring, dresses more professionally because it "sets a tone." Rachel alternatively emphasizes dressing professionally because she believes it will ultimately get her what she wants from her career - to move ahead. Both women are disciplining their bodies in similar ways to achieve different ends.

In the workplace, creating a specific impression in the minds of others involves "looking the part." For the women in this sample, looking the part means looking professional. Admittedly, creating an impression also involves acting the part. The narratives in this section further extend the theme of controlling others first impression responses. First impressions are lasting and made quickly and tend to be largely based on physical appearance. Dawn, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director of Career Counseling works in a feminine type job alongside both men and women says, "I think, I think a lot of us dress [at work] for the people we're meeting for the first time…. because I know that their perception of me the first time they meet me is gonna be based on what they see."

Lisa, a White/European participant who is an Associate Director works in a feminine type job working alongside primarily women in her day to day, but has times where she rubs elbows with important men from the community, as well as from her organizational structure, adds:

> Like on day two [of my job, I was] rubbing elbows with the Vice President [of the organization], who was with the President [of the organization]. And those are the type of people that I'm going to be dealing with. Not only that, like, I go to like, Tuesday it's called the partner's lunch, where I, um, have lunch, and

strategically talk about development before the [area] regent, with the top people in the region, the President of the Port Authority, who I know very well; the President of the Improvement Corporation, who I know really well – not really well, I know him a little, I shouldn't say really well, um, Executive Director of the Community Foundation, and the Chamber, all those people. ….So it's always like "What am I gonna wear? And where is it living right now? Is it clean? And what can I do to make sure [I look right]?"…You know?

Dana, a Black/African American participant who is a Market Development Manager for a large international corporation, works in a masculine type job alongside primarily men adds:

There is always the consideration of, "Okay, who am I going to be meeting with today?" "Who am I going to be seeing?" You know? Customers, um, that comes in mind, and, and plus being a woman and working primarily with men…it, the, the way, you know? I like to wear a fairly high heel, and I'm already tall so that puts me over 6 feet. (Laughs). And you know, it's just, I don't know, maybe it's kind of a power thing, but um, you know, so yeah, I do think about those type of things when I dress.

Lisa and Dana's narratives offer similar viewpoints from two women in different job types, working primarily alongside different people. Both narratives show us the internal dialogues career-oriented women have at home as they are preparing themselves for paid work settings. All of these women know that first impressions matter, and that looking professional is key. These women are all similarly oriented toward their careers, and know that they cannot mess up in the paid work setting by looking less professional.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter on social location and appearance work, I describe the ways in which appearance work is mediated by a variety of social locations. My analysis of women's "career-oriented" identity suggests that the women in this sample are heavily invested in and prioritize their first shift of paid work. Women talk about how they want to work, not because of economic necessity, but, rather, because their identities are so

heavily wrapped up in what they do in this first shift. These women can't imagine not working outside of the home for pay. Further, what they do for a job defines who they are in relation to others. Many want to get ahead in their careers, while others talk about caring about what they do.

I also situate women's minimization of appearance work within the context of reference groups. Women are paying attention to physical appearance work. They are making appearance related comparisons. Reference group narratives underscore the importance of appearance for women. Race/Ethnicity narratives extend the finding that women are always paying attention to physical appearance, are always making comparisons by highlighting the ways in which White/European women with limited interpersonal experience with women of color speak about variations in appearance work experiences. Some women rely on cultural explanations for differences, while others search for more complex explanations. Further, White/European women, with more interpersonal experiences with women of color, seem to be more adept at reflecting upon their own racial privilege when it comes to certain kinds of appearance work. I also explore narratives of women of color to illustrate that certain kinds of appearance norms shape the relationship they have with their bodies, and at times encourage them to do more policing work.

Motherhood is yet another social location shared by all of the women in this sample. The transition to motherhood encouraged some women to reevaluate their appearance work routines, and reprioritize their financial resources. For some women, certain kinds of appearance work become "frivolous," and shifting economic resources to the family makes more sense. For other women, however, a shift to a single income

household necessitates that women forego certain kinds of appearance work, or figure out other ways to do it. Organizational structure narratives are about career-oriented women in different job types, working alongside different kinds of people, disciplining their bodies in different ways in effort to achieve certain ends at work. Julie, whose narrative I previously discussed, says, "Um…different audiences want different things in different places."

These narratives show that women can and do use their hair to reinforce a professional appearance, and that when black women think about, or actually do go against "good hair" norms, the workplace is a serious concern. Women talk about the importance of "looking professional" and discipline their bodies in a variety of ways. These narratives are about women doing appearance work to mask the (sexualized) female body (and placate the male gaze), managing appearance to make a good first impression, convince students/bosses they are in charge, to convince people they should be taken seriously, to avoid conflict, to move ahead in the workplace. Bodies that are undisciplined, like in Julie's case, do not get rewarded. These career-oriented women are working against motherhood norms. They are also working against good/professional body norms. They are making comparisons, and aware that comparisons are being made. Further, they are working to control others' responses.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This research uses a phenomenological approach to explore and describe how career-oriented mothers of young children in the U.S. experience a third shift of appearance work while working for pay and also caring for others. This study also seeks to better understand the impact of appearance norms on busy working mothers, and how working mothers feel about and act toward their bodies. The sample for this study consists of 21 women between the ages of 25 and 50 who self define as being "career-oriented," and are employed on a full time basis. Participants are all biological mothers to a child, or children under the age of six. Further, the women in this study worked in their profession while pregnant, and returned to work on a full time basis within four months of giving birth. I intentionally center my inquiries about third shift appearance work experiences on women with salient career identities, who are mothers of preschool aged children. According to Bell (1990)[23] career-oriented women "perceive their careers as a vital component of their lives…. professional identity is a gratifying part of their core identity." Additionally, "[t]hey are keenly aware that having a career is a life-long endeavor, often requiring rigorous training and continuous development" (459). Furthermore, career-oriented women spend a significant amount of time and energy thinking about *and* doing their career (Bolton 2000). Children under the age of six, by the nature of their lack of ability to complete daily tasks on their own, require a level of care that is time- and effort-intensive. Research suggests that the work of caring for young children falls more upon mothers than fathers (see Hays 1998; and Arendell 2000). This

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[23] While Bell's research refers to black women, her definition of "career-oriented" most certainly applies to other racial/ethnic categories of women in this study.

particular group of women, thus, is heavily invested in the work of the first shift, and the second shift. I argue that career-oriented mothers' engagement in the first two shifts make them ideal candidates for exploring a third shift of appearance work.

In this chapter, I summarize my most important findings. Specifically, I show how women do not just do appearance work blindly, but, rather, women negotiate with gendered appearance mandates for looking a certain way at all times. I extend my analysis of women's appearance work experiences to explore the ways in which women engage in both resistance and accommodation as they respond to the varied sets of norms to which they are beholden. I also describe the ways in which appearance work is mediated by a variety of social locations. Standpoint feminist theory is the primary theory I use in this research. Using a feminist standpoint lens allows us to understand these career-oriented mothers' third shift of appearance work from their own knowledge base which they have gained from their own lived experiences.

Women's Appearance Work Experiences

Women's appearance work experiences reflect the implicit acceptance of gendered appearance norms related to faces, hair, body hair and body size (Wolf [1991] 2002; Forbes, et.al. 1997; Craig 2006; Brownmiller 1984; Bartky 1990; Chapkis 1986), and workplace makeup norms (Dellinger and Williams 1997), workplace hair norms (Weitz 2004), and workplace body norms (Trethewey 1999). Women's appearance work narratives suggest that in both workplace and public settings, women assume that others are paying attention to their appearance. The women in this study make reference to positive reactions others have when they "look nice," or do something different with their appearance. Women also make reference to comments they perceive to be negative, for

example, when they forego wearing makeup. These interactions serve as as a knowledge base they draw from that tells them negative attention is paid to bodies that do not show at least a minimal amount of appearance work. In this way, appearance work for interviewees is done with the intention of controlling others' responses, and also done in attempt to reclaim, and/or assert their identities as career-oriented women. Career-oriented women's appearance work experiences make clear that they do not just do appearance work blindly, but, rather, women negotiate with gendered appearance mandates for looking a certain way at all times. Appearance work narratives show that certain kinds of appearance work can be flexible at times, in some settings, and inflexible at other times, in other settings. Women's appearance work priorities at different moments also illustrate the ways in which women are playing with the different shifts on a continual basis.

The insights garnered from career-oriented women's appearance work experiences speak to the ways in which women in the U.S. are controlled by an internalization of appearance norms, and the disciplinary gaze (Bartky 1990; Bordo 1993; Andre 1994; Brumberg 1997). Career-oriented women's appearance work experiences also show us that at times, women find pleasure in doing appearance work, and use appearance work to achieve intrinsic, social, and institutional rewards (Gimlin 2013; Davis 2000; Furman 1997; Peiss 1998; Weitz 2004).   Women's experiences illustrate how women's responses to appearance norms reflect that women are neither completely agentic, nor are they cultural dopes. Rather, women's responses to appearance norms show us how women are bargaining with patriarchy, and as such they can be both agentic and victims of gendered appearance norms simultaneously.

Responding to Appearance Norms

Career–oriented women's appearance work experiences show us the ways in which women engage in both resistance and accommodation as they respond to the varied sets of norms to which they are beholden. Women's vocal resistance narratives contribute to feminist literature on resistance and accommodation by offering a new perspective on "resistance." Women in this study vocalize resistance to gendered appearance norms. Women also engage in resistance talk when they vocalize an acceptance of their resistant bodies. However, in both cases, women's appearance work experiences show us the true power of appearance norms because accommodation typically wins, and women ultimately wind up accommodating the very norms that they speak out against.

The internalization of motherhood norms is illustrated by some women's resistance and accommodation narratives. This is most salient in narratives of first time mothers who feel pressures to set certain kinds of appearance work aside temporarily in order to focus on their child's intensive caregiving needs i.e., breastfeeding. Once intensive motherhood demands ease, however, women use appearance work in order to emerge from "mommy frump mode" and reassert their identities as career-oriented women.

When career-oriented mothers of young children respond to appearance norms in a third shift of appearance work, they do so within the parameters of cultural norms, and their intertwined identities of women, mothers, and paid workers. This means that especially on paid work days, appearance work has to be flexible, because paid work schedules, and motherhood work are inflexible. However, women's resistance and

accommodation narratives show us how appearance work cannot be *too* flexible. Career-oriented women in the U.S. still experience pressures to look a certain way for work, and as such resort to "strategies of action" in which women weave appearance work into their paid work, and motherhood work schedules. These findings contribute to existing feminist literature on work/family balance to include how women in the U.S. negotiate a third shift of appearance work in the face of paid work and motherhood.

Social Location

Women in this study make it clear that they are deeply committed to their first shift of paid work, and make it overwhelmingly clear that their first shift of paid work is a priority. The first set of findings in Chapter 7 contribute to feminist literature on working motherhood to suggest that a career-oriented identity might operate as a master status for some working mothers. The suggestion that a career-oriented identity as a master status also helps us to further understand that for these women, a third shift of appearance work is not about doing "beauty" work in order to look attractive. Rather, this third shift is about prioritizing certain kinds of appearance work in order to control, and/or mask evidence of motherhood, and affirm their identities as career-oriented women in paid work settings.

When women talk about the appearance work they do (or alternatively do not do), they often do with the context of comparing themselves to other women. In comparison narratives, women overwhelmingly minimize the appearance work they do in relation to other women. Further, some comparison narratives also point to possible cultural or economic differences in women's appearance work. These narratives also show us that when women make comparisons to other women, they are making comparisons from

their own particular standpoint. This may be why white/European participants with little experience with racialized others rely on cultural explanations when they make comparisons to women of color, and why white/European women who do have interpersonal relationships with women of color are more aware of racial bias in appearance norms.

The career-oriented women in this study work in a variety of job types (masculine and feminine), alongside different kinds of people (men, other women, students). All of the career-oriented women in this study work in professions, stress the importance of "looking professional," and discipline their bodies in a variety of ways in order to achieve certain ends. For some of the women in this sample, looking professional means covering up, or deemphasizing femininity in the workplace. For others, however, looking professional means emphasizing femininity in key moments. In all cases, appearance work is purposeful.

This third shift of appearance work for career-oriented women is about doing appearance work to control others responses to a (sexualized/maternal) female body. It is about managing appearance to make a good first impression, convincing others they are in charge, and should be taken seriously. Career-oriented women's appearance work is also about avoiding conflict, and moving ahead in the workplace. These findings underscore the ways in which women who share a common social location are gendering themselves differently in different settings. Despite the implicit acceptance of gendered appearance norms, however, appearance work, for the women in this study is not explicitly about trying to look more attractive, or more "beautiful." Rather, career-oriented women do appearance work in very strategic and purposeful ways.

Third Shift

The concept of a third shift in a woman's day is nothing new. Arlie Hochschild (1997) describes the third shift as consisting of emotional work. Kramarae's research (2001) explains that education is a third shift for women pursuing a degree through online learning programs. Gallagher and Delworth (1993) argue that farm women employed in a first shift of non-farm work, come home to a second shift of domestic and care work, and add a third shift operating the family farm. Gerstel (2000) describes the labor women do in caring for and maintaining extended family and friend relationships as a "third shift" in women's lives. Bolton (2000) argues that the third shift consists of the internal dialogue of self-doubt that women have about the everyday choices they make. Finally, Wolf ([1991] 2001) explores the relationship between women's liberation and the creation of the beauty myth to suggest that "beauty work" is a third shift in women's lives.

> The more legal and material hindrances women have broken through, the more strictly and heavily and cruelly images of female beauty have come to weigh upon us (10).… As soon as a woman's primary social value could no longer be defined as the attainment of virtuous domesticity, the beauty myth redefined as the attainment of virtuous beauty. (18)

As previously stated, the purpose of this research is to extend Naomi Wolf's ([1991] 2002) concept of "third shift" "beauty work." By exploring and describing career-oriented women's responses to appearance norms, this research further develops Wolf's concept to illustrate the ways in which the increased importance of physical appearance for women in the U.S. today requires that a vast majority of women devote a third shift of their day to "appearance work." Acknowledging *all* of the appearance work that women are doing (and not doing), allows us to conceptualize a third shift of

appearance work as a comprehensive ongoing shift in response to appearance norms. By broadening our understanding of women's responses to appearance norms, we gain a richer sense of the ways that women seek power through everyday (and not so everyday) bodily expressions. Further, by presenting an expanded conceptualization of appearance work, we garner a clearer understanding of how appearance work can be flexible at times, and inflexible at other times. We can also see how appearance norms can be at times controlling, and at other times women may use appearance work to regain control. Women do appearance work differently based on the situation and setting in which they expect to find themselves. If Monday is a work day, for instance, it is likely that a portion of her weekend, and/or Monday morning will be spent imagining how she needs to "look" for work, and planning accordingly. For working moms with young children, "living in the minds of others" can be a series of negotiations so that her paid work shift does not appear to interfere with "good" motherhood, and appearance work does not appear to interfere with either her first and second shift obligations.

Women may indeed experience their bodies "as something to be managed and maintained…with special attention to exterior surfaces…" (Brumberg 1997: xxi), however, career-oriented women's appearance work experiences tell us that they are carefully picking and choosing the kinds of appearance work they are doing (and not doing). Sometimes this complex third shift of appearance work is about reclaiming and/or asserting a career-oriented identity by masking the embodied signs of motherhood. At other times appearance work is about looking a certain way for a spouse/partner, family, and friends. Still, at other times, it is about doing things to look a certain way in public. Career-oriented women's third shift appearance work is about assessing others'

potential responses and deciding whether and how to control those responses. It is also about taking into account many other things, such as the potential rewards for adhering to norms, and/or what resources and time is available to engage in efforts around appearance.

Limitations of the Study

Every attempt was made to include career-oriented women from a wide range of backgrounds, and job types. However, the women in this study are all in professions, well educated and most have higher than average household incomes. Only one participant was a single mother. Additionally, because of constraints of time and money, data collection was limited to a small sample size, from a limited geographic area of a Midwestern state. The findings from this research are not generalizable to the wide range of career-oriented women that exist. Nonetheless, I sought to achieve internal validity, and tried to ensure that the data were internally consistent both within each interview and across interviews (Creswell 2007).

Further, as a woman employed only on a part time basis, and mother of children old enough to be self sufficient I assumed the role of "outsider within" (Hill Collins 2000) at the time I conducted interviews. Also, I was not employed when my oldest children were younger than age 5. At that time my children were of preschool age, I was a stay at home mother and married to an employed partner which allowed me more free time to focus on and prioritize body projects of my own. Thus, there are aspects of my own identity and appearance that might place me in similar yet also different categories as the women I interviewed. I do not feel that this adversely affected data collection, however it could have, and I may just not be aware.

In addition, we may never be able to get a full picture of women's appearance work experiences. Many women perceive certain kinds of appearance work as normative, and describe it as "getting ready for work," "getting ready for bed," or "having me time." For this reason, much of the third shift appearance work that women perform may have gone unnoticed by women themselves, and thus, unreported to me.

Future Directions

If we are thinking about appearance work broadly it is likely to include more than what is covered in this dissertation. Future research should continue work to expand this concept and our knowledge of appearance work as both a third shift and a stand-alone concept (since it really is both). For instance, health work around the body might sometimes fall under "appearance" work. Future research should include a wider range of career-oriented women (in terms of race, ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, job type, and relationship status), to gain a richer understanding of whether and in what ways career-oriented women experience a third shift of appearance work, as well as how this "shift" intersects and potentially conflicts with other parts of women's lives. Paying more attention to less privileged but still career-oriented workers would be valuable endeavor and may support findings from feminist researchers who suggest working class individuals do appearance work to be more feminine (Bettie 2014; Weitz 2004). Further, research on appearance work should also apply to men who are fathers and workers. Future research should also explore women's appearance work experiences in response to having a post baby maternal body in the face of workplace appearance norms. Further, future research can explore the ways in which "getting ready for work" and "having me time" appearance work experiences are different.

Tracking bodily work is a complicated endeavor. Research using time log methods might be helpful to track exactly how much time women (or others) spend on their appearances, and get past recall problems or the tendency to not realize that a "getting ready for bed" routine is really appearance work. Finally, photo elicitation methods (Harper 2002) might be useful to explore the meanings women (or others) ascribe to their appearance, and the work they do on their appearance.

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jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

jennhaskin@wayne.e 313.577.2930

APPENDIX B

Research Information Sheet

Title of Study: Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences of Career-Oriented Mothers

Principal Investigator (PI): Jennifer Haskin
Department of Sociology
313.577.2930
Email: jennhaskin@wayne.edu

Purpose:

You are being asked to be in a research study of working mothers with young children. This study explores the ways in which working mothers with young children fit in time to care for themselves while working for pay and also caring for others. This study also seeks to better understand the impact of beauty norms on busy working mothers, and how working mothers feel about and act towards their bodies. This study is being conducted at Wayne State University. The estimated number of study participants to be enrolled in this study is about 30.

Study Procedures:

If you agree to take part in this research study, you will be asked to answer questions during an interview and also fill out a short survey at the end of this interview. The interview questions will ask about your daily routine on days you work and days you do not work, and how you manage to fit in time for taking care of yourself. Interview questions will also ask you about your beauty routines and how much effort or time you put into your appearance. The interview process will take one to two hours, and the survey will be given after the interview and will take about 5 minutes to complete. If you agree to participate in this study an audio recording will be made of this interview for research purposes. There will be no follow-up visits and no further contact is expected of you.

Benefits:

As a participant in this research study, there will be no direct benefit for you; however, information from this study may benefit other people now or in the future.

Risks:

There are no known risks at this time to participation in this study.

Costs:

There will be no costs to you for participation in this research study.

Compensation:

You will not be paid for taking part in this study.

Confidentiality:

You will be identified in the research records by a code name or number. There will be no list that links your identity with this code.

Voluntary Participation /Withdrawal:

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You are free to not answer any questions or withdraw at any time. Your decision will not change any present or future relationships with Wayne State University or its affiliates.

Questions:

If you have any questions about this study now or in the future, you may contact me at the following phone number (313) 577-2930. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, the Chair of the Human Investigation Committee can be contacted at (313) 577-1628. If you are unable to contact the research staff, or if you want to talk to someone other than the research staff, you may also call (313) 577-1628 to ask questions or voice concerns or complaints.

Participation:

By completing interview and survey you are agreeing to participate in this study.

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule

Title of Study: Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences of Career-Oriented Mothers

Jennifer Haskin
Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Routine/Time/Schedule: I would like to ask you a few questions about your schedule in order to get a sense of how you spend your day

1. Can you walk me through your day? What is your daily routine?
   a. What is the first thing you do when you wake up?
   b. What is next…and so on…
   c. Can you tell me about your regular daily routine on days that you go to work?
   d. Can you tell me about your regular daily routine on non-work days?
   e. How do you prioritize your day? What is your priority?

2. How has your routine changed since having kids?
   a. Can you give me an example/tell me a bit more?

3. How many hours per day do you normally spend on work related activities?
   a. What kinds of things do you do?
   b. Can you give me an example/tell me a bit more?

4. How many hours per day do you normally spend on home related tasks?
   a. What kinds of things do you do?
   b. Can you give me an example/tell me a bit more?

5. Do you make time for yourself?
   a. At work? (for example, lunch hour)
   b. At home? (for example, child's naptime)
   c. Can you give me an example/tell me a bit more?
   d. What kinds of things do you normally do when you take time for yourself?
   e. What kinds of things do you wish you could fit in?
   f. Are there things that you do for yourself that you fit in every day regardless of other things going on?

6. How much time do you spend on doing things for your physical appearance?
   a. What kinds of things do you do?

    b. On work days?

    c. What about on non-work days?

    d. Has this changed since having kids?

        i. How so? What has changed?

        ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?

7. How flexible is your work schedule?

    a. How flexible is your partners work schedule?

    b. How flexible are the hours you spend on mom stuff?

    c. Who chooses your work schedule? How much control do you have over the time you spend at work?

8. You were selected for this research because you fit certain criteria related to your work/home life. What does it mean to you to be career-oriented?

    a. What does this mean for other parts of your life?

    b. Can you give me examples? Tell me more?

9. How happy are you with your schedule?

Not Happy--------------------Happy--------------------Really Happy

    a. If not happy – what would you change if you could?

    b. If happy – what do you like about your schedule?

    c. Can you give me an example/tell me a bit more?

At Work: Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about when you are at work

10. Has anyone commented on the way you look? Who? What did they say?

    a. Do you think people at your work think it's important for you to look a certain way at work?

        i. How so? Who thinks it's important?

        ii. Do you try to look a certain way for other people at work, or for yourself?

    b. Has the importance of the way you look at work changed since having kid(s)?

        i. How so? What has changed?

        ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?

    c. Do you think about the way you look at work?

        i. How so? In what ways?

       ii. Has this changed since having kids?
1. How so? In what ways?
2. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
    d. Can you give me an example? Can you explain that a bit more?

11. Do you have a particular way of dressing for work?
    a. Do you plan ahead what you will be wearing at work?
    b. Do you have specific work clothes?
    c. How much control do you have over the way you look at work?
    d. Do you wear clothes you choose?
        i. If no:
1. Do you like your work clothes?
2. What do you like/dislike about them?
       ii. If yes:
1. How do you choose what to wear to work?
2. Do you try to look a certain way for you, or for others?
3. Have you ever gotten into trouble for not looking the right way?
    a. What happened? Can you give me an example?

12. Do you wear makeup on days that you work?
    a. Is it expected? By whom?
    b. Why do/don't you wear makeup?

13. How often do you attend to your appearance at work? (touch up makeup, hair, etc.)
    a. Can you give me an example of some of the things you do?

14. Do you feel it necessary for them to hide their maternal bodies at work (residual baby weight, lactating breasts, etc.,)?

Not important --Very Important

*If it is important/very important – how is this "hiding" accomplished? (by wearing different clothes, shifting focus from body to face by changing hair/makeup, etc.)

    a. Did you try to hide your pregnant body at work?
    b. Can you give me an example/tell me a bit more?

At Home: Next I would like to find out about when you are not at work

15. Is the way you look different on work days than on non-work days?
    a. How so? In what ways?
    b. Can you give me an example?

16. Do you believe that people consider it to be important for you to look a certain way on non-work days?
    i. How so? Who thinks it's important?
    ii. Do you try to look a certain way for other people or for yourself?
    b. Has the importance of the way you look on non-work days changed since having kids?
    i. How so? What changed?
    ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second (and/or third) child? How so?
    c. Do you think about the way you look on non-work days?
    i. How so? In what ways?
    ii. Has this changed since having kids?
        1. How so? In what ways?
        2. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
    d. Can you give me an example? Explain a bit more?

17. Do you have a particular way of dressing for non-work days?
    a. Do you have specific "non-work" clothes?
    b. How much control do you have over the way you look on non-work days?
    c. Do you like your non-work clothes?
    i. What do you like/dislike about them?
    d. Has the way you decide to look on non-work days changed since having kids?
    i. How was it before?
    ii. How is it now?
    iii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?

18. Do you wear makeup, do your hair, etc., on days that you do not work?
    a. If so, why? For whom?
    b. If not, why not?

19. How often do you attend to your appearance on non-work days?

    a. What kinds of things do you do?

20. Do you think it is important to your family/friends (kids, partner, other moms, etc.) that you look a certain way?
    a. Who thinks it is important?
    b. How so?
    c. Can you give me an example/explain that a bit more?

21. Do you think about your physical appearance on non-work days?
    a. What are some things that you think about?
    b. Can you explain a bit about that?

Physical Appearance (thinking/liking-disliking/doing) Questions

22. Do you think about your physical appearance more in certain settings than in others?
    a. What settings
    b. How so? In what ways?
    c. Can you give me an example?

23. What do you like about your physical appearance?
    a. Are there things that you do specifically related to the parts that you do like? (For example, wear lip color because you like your lips)
    b. Is this the same as before you had kids?
        i. If different: What changed?
        ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
    c. Can you give me an example?

24. What do you dislike about your physical appearance?
    a. Are there things that you do specifically related to what you dislike?
    b. Is this the same as before you had kids?
        i. If different: what changed?
        ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
    c. Can you give me an example?

25. What changes in your physical appearance have you experienced since becoming a mother?
    a. How do you feel about those changes?
    b. How do you deal with those changes?
        i. Can you give me an example?

26. How do you feel when you look at yourself in a full length mirror? Do you avoid looking in the mirror?
    a. Has this changed since having kids?
    b. How so?

27. Did you feel pressure to "get your body back" after having children?
    a. Were there pressures from work?
    b. Were there pressures from family/friends/doctors?
    c. What were some of the things that they said?
        i. Can you give me an example?
    d. If so, what kinds of things did (do) you do to get your body back?

28. There are a whole host of things that women do in order to make themselves look a certain way. Some of which include: haircuts/color, manicure/pedicure, tanning, special undergarments, laser hair removal, chemical peels, supplements, special lotions, breast augmentation, weight loss surgery, liposuction, etc. What are some of the things that you do in order to make your body look a certain way?
    a. Can you walk me through your beauty routine?
    b. Are there things that you do that you think that are different from other women?   (for example, tattooing)
        i. If yes: Why do you think you do those things?
        ii. If no: why not?
    c. Has your beauty routine changed since having kids?
        i. How so? In what ways?
        ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child?

29. Are there things that you do <u>not</u> do (intentionally) with regards to the way you look? (For example, not dying your hair)
    a. Why or why not?
    b. How do you feel about those things?
    c. How do you think others feel about those things?
    d. Can you give me an example?

30. Do you exercise?
    a. How often?
    b. What are your goals?
    c. Where do you go to exercise?
    d. Has this changed since having kids?
        i. How so? In what ways?

      ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child?

e. If they go to a gym: does your gym offer child care?

      i. If yes – do you take advantage of the child care offered by your gym?

31. Do you diet (count calories, avoid certain types of food, etc.)?
    a. Why do you diet?
    b. What are your goals?
    c. Do you keep track of what you eat?
    d. How has this changed since having kids?
       i. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
    e. Do you diet for you, or to look a certain way for someone else?

32. What does a good body look like?
    a. Is there a difference between a good male body and a good female body?
    b. What kinds of things do you do to have a good body?
       i. How much time do you spend on these things?
       ii. How much money do you spend on these things?
    c. Where did you learn what a good body looks like?
       i. Can you explain that more?
    d. Do you think it is important to have a good body?
       i. How so? Can you explain that a bit more?
    e. What does it take to have a good body?
       i. Can you give me an example of what women with good bodies do in order to have a good body?

33. Is the way you look important?

Care less about appearance------------------------------Care a lot

    a. How has this changed since having kids
       i. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
    b. Do you care about how you look for yourself, or for someone else?
       i. Who?
    c. Does it matter if it is a work-day or a non-work day?
       i. How so?

34. Is it important to look feminine? What does it mean to look feminine?

Not Feminine--Very Feminine

      a. What are some things you do?
      b. Has this changed since having kids?
          i. How so?
          ii. If respondent has more than one child: is it different after the second child? How so?
      c. Does it matter if it is a work day or a non-work day?
          i. How so?

35. Existing research on work/family talks about paid work as being "first shift," and childcare work as being a "second shift," would you agree with this?
      a. Can you tell me a bit more about that?
      b. Would you consider physical appearance work important enough to be a "third shift" of work?
          i. Do you think that you are similar to other women in that way?

36. Some of the other women I have talked to in my sample have said that race/ethnicity matters in all of this. Would you say that there are differences in the ways that women do physical appearance work?
      a. How so? Can you give me some examples/tell me more about that?

APPENDIX D

Participant Information Survey

Title of Study: Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences of Career-Oriented Mothers

Jennifer Haskin
Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

<u>Please check the box or fill in the blank as it pertains to you:</u>

1.   What is your marital status?

□   Single
□   Cohabiting (living with partner)
□   Married
□   Separated (legal or informal)
□   Divorced
□   Widowed
□   Other (please specify)_____

2.   What best describes your race/ethnicity?

□   White/Caucasian
□   Black/African American
□   Asian
□   Native American or Alaskan Native
□   Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
□   Other (please specify)_____

3.   Are you Hispanic/Latina?

□   Yes
□   No

4.   What is your age?
_____ years

5.   How many children do you have?

_____ children

6.   What are their ages?

Child 1:_____

Child 2:_____

Child 3:_____

Child 4:_____

Specify ages of any other children:_____

7. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

_____

8. What is your total annual household income?

☐   Less than $10,000
☐ $10,000 to $24,999
☐ $25,000 to $49,999
☐ $50,000 to $74,999
☐ $75,000 to $99,999
☐ $100,000 and above

9. How many hours per week (on average) do you work for pay?

_____Hours

10. What is your job title?

_____

11. How long have you worked at your place of employment? (If less than 5 years go to question # 12)

_____years _____months

12. If less than 5 years, what was your previous job title?

_____

    a. How long were you there?

_____years_____months

13. At home, who does the majority of the childcare?

☐ I do the majority of the childcare
☐ Someone else does the majority of the childcare (who:_____)
☐ I share equally in the childcare with someone else (who:_____)

14. At home who does the majority of the household tasks?

☐ I do the majority of the household tasks
☐ Someone else does the majority of the household tasks (who:_____)
☐ I share equally in the household tasks with someone else (who:_____)

APPENDIX E

Recruitment Letter

Title of Study: Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences of Career-Oriented Mothers

Jennifer Haskin
Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Dear Friends,

As many of you know, I am in the final stages of earning my PhD in Sociology from Wayne State University. I am currently seeking candidates to interview for my dissertation research. Specifically, I am looking for career-oriented women with children under the age of six. My project is concerned with exploring how working mothers of young children balance motherhood and paid work and how they feel about their physical appearances. If you are interested in participating, or you know of anyone who might be interested please contact me at 517-902-6214, or via email at jennhaskin@wayne.edu, and I can provide more information about my research and set up an interview.

I appreciate any and all help with this project.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Haskin

APPENDIX F

Screening Questionnaire

Title of Study: Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences of Career-Oriented Mothers

Jennifer Haskin
Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

The PI will have subjects contact PI via information provided on flyers posted in public locations where women with young children frequent.

• The PI will greet the subject and introduce herself.
• The PI will say a script to the letter of invitation.

Script:

I am a researcher and I would like to talk with you about participating in a Wayne State University study. The study is about the experiences of working mothers of young children. If you are eligible and choose to participate, you will be interviewed for about 1-2 hours and asked to fill out a short survey immediately after. During the interview I will ask you questions about your experiences as a career-oriented mother of young children and how you balance motherhood, paid work, and attention to physical appearance.

Are you interested in seeing if you qualify for the study?
      IF YES: Continue with screening questions listed below
      IF NO: Thank person for his/her time

Screening questions: These are questions to see if you qualify for the full study.

Initial question: Are you between the ages of 25-50?
      IF YES: Continue with screening questions listed below.
      IF NO: The person does not qualify, thank her for her time
2. Do you have a child, or children under the age of 6?
      IF YES: Continue with screening questions listed below.
      IF NO: The person does not qualify, thank her for her time
3. Did you work outside of the home in your profession prior to and throughout your pregnancy?
      IF NO: The person does not qualify, thank her for her time
      IF YES: Continue with screening questions listed below.
4.   Do you currently work outside of the home on a full time basis (35 hours or more/week)?
      IF NO: The person does not qualify, thank her for her time
      IF YES: Continue with screening questions listed below.

5. Did you return to work on a full time basis within 16 weeks of having your child?
   IF NO: The person does not qualify, thank her for her time
   IF YES: Continue with screening questions listed below.
6. Would you consider yourself to be career-oriented?
   IF NO: The person does not qualify, thank her for her time
   IF YES: Schedule the interview.

APPENDIX G

Resource Packet

Title of Study: Third Shift Appearance Work: Experiences of Career-Oriented Mothers

Jennifer Haskin
Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan 48202

Dear Participant,

I want to express my sincere gratitude for your participation in my dissertation research. I want to reassure you that your information will remain confidential, and you will be given a pseudonym for my final dissertation write up. Additionally, I will not contact you for further information.

This resource packet contains information about the impact of media images on body image, information on positive body image, work/family balance, and a selection of myths and facts on sizes and bodies.

I want you to know that once you leave, you are more than welcome to contact me if you have any questions, comments and/or concerns about what we talked about today. I can be reached via email at: jennhaskin@wayne.edu, and via telephone at 313-577-2930. If you have any reactions to the information in this packet, I would love to hear what you think about the items I include.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Haskin
Wayne State University

20 Things People With A Positive Body Image Know

By Margarita Tartakovsky, MS

{via pinterest}

I used to think that people with a positive body image simply were thin and muscular (and thereby fit our odd Western standards), so how could they not like and appreciate their bodies?

Or I used to think that I couldn't like my body until I lost weight, until I actually deserved to love it. In my current shape, it just wasn't right to have a healthy body image. I had to be ashamed if I weren't thin.

But, as we know, nothing could be further from the truth. I've learned, thankfully, quite a bit since those days. That's why I wanted to share with you some of the things that people with a positive body image know. The real stuff. Not what you read in women's magazines or see in weight-loss commercials.

1. That it's important to take good care of your body.

2. That our body does a lot for us, even though we've bashed it over and over and over.

3. That exercise is meant to be enjoyed, so you only practice the physical activities that are fun and truly make you feel good.

4. That you'll still have days where you probably hate your body and your life. And that's OK.

5. That your negative thoughts are *not* actions. So just because you feel bad about your body and want to restrict your food or over-exercise or miss that get-together doesn't mean you will. It's just a thought. You can *choose* to act on it or not.

6. That a positive body image means more than liking your thighs, butt and belly. That it encompasses not

just taking good care of yourself but also honoring your body, respecting your boundaries and seeing doctors for regular appointments and when you're sick.

7. That sleep does a mind and body good!

8. That you always have time to take care of yourself.

9. That you're more than a few body parts. You're an entire, amazing package.

10. That you're worthy and deserving of respect at any size, shape or weight.

11. That weight loss isn't a magical elixir for everything that's wrong with your life.

12. That ads and magazines are preposterously Photoshopped so that the actual actresses and models don't even look like that. That's why they have to "train" so hard for their fashion shows. (And by train hard, I mean engage in super unhealthy habits.)

13. That eating is flexible and enjoyable.

14. That you can wear whatever the heck you like, not just supposedly slimming black clothes or bulky cardigans and sweatshirts.

15. That you don't have to wait to lose weight to pursue your dreams. You can. do. it. right. now. (And I hope you will.)

16. That people who make mean remarks about your body are jerks, and their comments are more about them than you.

17. That just because everyone around you is dieting doesn't mean it's the healthiest thing to do. (If everyone was jumping off a cliff...just kidding.)

18. That your feelings are not scary or to be avoided at all costs. Instead, they provide you with valuable information about your needs and the actions you might want to take.

19. That having a positive body image is a process. Day by day. It might seem oh-so impossible at first but if you start small, it'll improve.

20. That you deserve to love your body at any size, shape or weight!

What would you add to the list?

* Inspired by Alisa Bowman's post "What Happily Married People Know" on her blog Project Happily Ever After. It's an awesome, honest, hilarious and helpful blog. I'm not married but I read it regularly.

You can skip to the end and leave a response. Pinging is currently not allowed.

Last reviewed: 2 Dec 2011

APA Reference
Tartakovsky, M. (2011). 20 Things People With A Positive Body Image Know. *Psych Central*. Retrieved on January 26, 2012, from http://blogs.psychcentral.com/weightless/2011/12/20-things-people-with-a-positive-body-image-know/

Source: http://blogs.psychcentral.com/weightless/2011/12/20-things-people-with-a-positive-body-image-know/, accessed January 26, 2012

The Media, Body Image and Eating Disorders

Eating disorders are complex conditions that arise from a variety of factors, including physical, psychological, interpersonal, and social issues. Media images that help to create cultural definitions of beauty and attractiveness are often acknowledged as being among those factors contributing to the rise of eating disorders.

Media messages screaming "thin is in" may not directly cause eating disorders, but they help to create the context within which people learn to place a value on the size and shape of their body. To the extent that media messages like advertising and celebrity spotlights help our culture define what is beautiful and what is "good," the media's power over our development of self-esteem and body image can be incredibly strong.

Some Basic Facts About the Media's Influence in Our Lives:

★ The average US resident is exposed to approximately 5,000 advertising messages a day (Alfreiter, Elzinga & Gordon, 2003).

★ According to a recent survey of adolescent girls, their main source of information about women's health issues comes from the media (Commonwealth Fund, 1997).

★ Researchers estimate that 60% of Caucasian middle school girls read at least one fashion magazine regularly (Levine, 1997).

★ Another study of mass media magazines discovered that women's magazines had 10.5 times more advertisements and articles promoting weight loss than men's magazines did (as cited in Guillen & Barr, 1994).

★ A study of one teen adolescent magazine over the course of 20 years found that in articles about fitness or exercise plans, 74% cited "to become more attractive" as a reason to start exercising and 51% noted the need to lose weight or burn calories (Guillen & Barr, 1994).

★ The average young adolescent watches 3-4 hours of TV per day (Levine, 1997).

★ A study of 4,294 network television commercials revealed that 1 out of every 3.8 commercials send some sort of "attractiveness message," telling viewers what is or is not attractive (as cited in Myers et al., 1992). These researchers estimate that the average adolescent sees over 5,260 "attractiveness messages" per year.

Encouraging the media to present more diverse and real images of people with more positive messages about health and self-esteem may not eliminate eating disorders entirely, but it would help reduce the pressures many people feel to make their bodies conform to one ideal, and in the process, reduce feelings of body dissatisfaction and ultimately decrease the potential for eating disorders.

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Levine. (1997). Plenary Presentation at the Third Annual Eating Disorders on Campus Conference, Penn State University.
Aufreiter, N., Elzinga, D. & Gordon, J. (2003) Better Branding. The McKinsey Quarterly, 4.
Myers et al. (1992). Journal of Communication. 42. 108-133.

Source:
http://www.nationaleatingdisorders.org/nedaDir/files/documents/handouts/MediaBI.pdf, accessed January 26, 2012.

Balancing Work and Family

All of us must allocate 24 hours a day to the activities of life. How well we balance responsibilities with doing things we truly enjoy directly affects our quality of life. It also helps manage stress. Are you satisfied with your balance of time between work and family?

If you answered "no," you are not alone. Achieving balance with work and family is an ongoing process of juggling responsibilities at work and the needs of family members. These needs change over time. The key to success is stepping back and periodically analyzing how things are going. You can then decide if changes are needed. The result will be enjoying your life more and being in harmony with the things you value most.

Take the following quiz to see if you could use some re-evaluation of work and family balance. If you answer "no" to any question, you may benefit from some of the steps that follow.

Work and Family Balance Quiz
*   Do you successfully allocate time in your day to the things you want to do with your family?
*   Can you participate in meaningful activities with family without feeling anxious or talking about work?
*   Do you participate in family activities without the gnawing feeling of so much work being left undone?
*

10 Steps Toward Balance with Work and Family

1. Work and Family Balance is a Conscious Decision. Work and family don't "balance" automatically. Achieving balance is an ongoing process. Understanding this can reduce frustration and help you act to gain control.

2. Write Down Family Goals. Family needs change over time. Opportunities to build a tree house for the kids or participate in a new family pastime don't last forever. Decide what is important and write it down. Assign a date, and make these goals "absolutely-will-happens."

3. Stick to Your Values. Sometimes it can be tough to make a choice between a family and a work activity. Knowing where you stand on your values can make tough choices easier.

4. Recognize that Imbalance is Sometimes Inevitable. It is important to recognize that jobs and responsibilities are important and that they sometimes take priority.

5. Revisit Your Schedule. When your work schedule changes, new opportunities may become available to participate in family activities. Claim the high ground!

6. Recognize the Benefits of Balance. Balancing work and family has pay-offs for children, home relationships, and everyone's future happiness. Recognizing this can help you keep balance in mind.

7. Manage Distractions and Procrastination. Working long hours causes stress that sometimes finds relief naturally through workplace distractions and procrastination. If you are at the office for 12 hours, do you really work only 10? If you are searching for more family time, it might be found here.

8. Discuss Expectations and Responsibilities. When one family member is taking on too many responsibilities at home, resentments can build. Periodically discussing the perceptions of others can provide the awareness you need to consider opportunities and choices for work and family balance.

9. Organize Your Work Better. Improving your delegation and time-management skills can buy you time needed for family life. Learning how to put work down, say "no," and let go of workplace worries are skills that are learned through practice.

10. What Partners EAP Can Do. Despite these suggestions, improving balance of work and family may be a lot easier said than done. The EAP can help you find sources for defining priorities, acquiring assertiveness skills, making tough decisions, or even identifying family goals that you want to pursue so you can look back and say, "I did it."

Source:
http://www.eap.partners.org/WorkLife/HealthyLiving/Balancing_Work_and_Family/Balancing_Work_and_Family.asp, (accessed February 6, 2012).

Myths and Facts on Size and Bodies

Myth: Barbie and Ken are hot!

Fact: If Barbie were a real woman-She would have to grow to be seven feet tall. She would have a bust that was between 38-40 inches, her waist 18-24 inches, her hips around 33-35 inches. Barbie's weight would be 110 pounds. If she were a real woman-Barbie would have to walk on all fours due to her proportions. If Ken were a real man-he would be seven-feet, eight-inches tall. An average man would have to add seven inches to his chest and about eight inches to his neck to equal Ken's measurements.

Myth: Fat people are ugly.*

Fact: Beauty is a learned concept, and the cultural norm of beauty changes over time. At the turn of the century, the leading sex symbol, Lillian Russell, weighed over 200 pounds. Marilyn Monroe would be considered "overweight" today. The media, advertisers, and the diet industry tend to set the standard of beauty in today's society. We must remember that they are selling us dissatisfaction with our bodies in order to make a profit.

Myth: Fat people are all at health risk.*

Fact: There are both health risks and benefits associated with being fat. Research seems to indicate that the healthiest weight is a stable weight, even if a person weighs more than average. The best way to maximize your health is to adopt a healthy lifestyle, which includes regular physical activity.

Myth: You have to exercise a lot for it to do any good.*

Fact: There are big health benefits in accumulating 30 minutes of moderate activity on most days (ten minutes three times a day equals 30 minutes!). But any movement is better than no movement. You could start with a five-minute walk today and build up from there.

Myth: There's no such thing as too much exercise.

Fact: Compulsive exercising is a disorder and exercising too much can have serious physical and emotional effects. Exercise becomes a problem, or an addiction, when you prioritize it over most other parts of your life. You may feel anxious, guilty, unattractive or out of control when you are unable to exercise. You may continue to exercise even when it poses a risk to your health.

Myth: Fat people are fat because they are lazy.

Fact: Different people have different bodies. Sure, there might be some lazy fat people, but there are also plenty of lazy thin people. All of our bodies

have a different natural baseline size and while food intake and exercise may contribute to changing this some, there are also many other factors involved that can't be controlled, such as metabolism, bone structure and genetics. Just because someone is fat does not mean they are anymore lazy than someone who is thinner.

Myth: I will be able to tell if someone has an eating disorder.

Fact: There are many types of eating disorders and they all manifest themselves differently. Many people with eating disorders are very good at hiding their eating and exercising habits. A person can be fat, thin or anywhere in between and have an eating disorder. Even if they do not meet the medical criteria for size, weight or behavior of an eating disorder, it does not mean that they do not need help. Eating disorders get worse as they go on and it's even possible for the person with the eating disorder to not know that there is a problem.

Myth: Eating disorders are a woman's problem.

Fact: Eating disorders affect many people regardless of sex, gender identity, race, ethnicity, age, class or sexual orientation. All types of eating disorders affect men as well as women, including anorexia, bulimia, compulsive overeating, and over-exercise. Due to the myth that eating disorders don't affect men, fewer men who have eating disorders have actually been labeled as such. Most figures say that about 10% of people with eating disorders in the U.S. are men, though even this number may be low.

Myth: All fat people are compulsive overeaters.*

Fact: The compulsive eater, whether fat or thin, is a person with an eating disorder. Simply being fat does not indicate the presence of an eating disorder. Studies which set out to prove that fat people eat more than thin people concluded that there is no measurable difference in the food consumption of fat and thin people. Compulsive dieters, who ignore their body's hunger messages, tend to become obsessed with food, and usually overeat after a round of dieting.

Myth: I want to look like a magazine model in real life.

Fact: You may want to look like a model, but it's important to understand that even models don't look like their pictures in real life. There are many tricks to "doctoring" pictures. Some techniques include airbrushing, computer alterations, special lighting to cast shadows in just the right places, or even black and white photography, especially on "muscular" men so that the definition of muscles is greater. All types of media trick us into thinking that there are people who look far more "perfect" than any person really ever does.

Myth: If I hate my body, there is nothing I can do about it.

Fact: There may be little you can do to change the body you have, but there are many things you can do to change your way of thinking about your body. To build your body-confidence, try new activities and find things that your body is good at doing. For every negative thought you have about your body come up with a positive one to counter it. Try not to break your body down into parts, but rather think of it as a whole, functional unit. For more ways to improve your body-confidence check out 15 Ways to Create a Body-Positive World.

* Reprinted with permission from National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance, www.naafa.org.

Selected from:
http://www.amplifyyourvoice.org/main.cfm?actionId=globalShowStaticContent&screenKey=tabContent&htmlKey=issuesbodyimagehf&s=amplify, accessed January 26, 2012

Minority Women, Media, and Body Image[1]

Carolyn L. Martin and Eboni J. Baugh[2]

Residing in a society where youth and thinness are the ideal may cause body image issues in many women, especially those who do not fit this mold. American criteria for beauty are based on standards that many women cannot attain, especially those from minority groups. Unfortunately, these minority women are being subjected to the same messages and judged on standards that are not based on their unique beauty. The media's influence on young women's self-perception is apparent in all cultures; however, the degree to which it affects women in minority communities is now a new focus area of research.

Internalization of the projected ideal can lead to:

- Lower self-esteem

- Decreased performance in school and other activities

- Psychological problems

- Depression

- Eating disorders

- Suicide (in some cases)

However, there are things that can be done to reduce the risk. This article will investigate the myriad effect of media on minority women's self-perception and body image, as well as provide tips on combating negative imagery so that young women may positively enhance their view of themselves.

History

Body image is the perception that one has about herself, which can be either positive or negative. Included into one's body image are weight, body shape, body size, hair and skin color, and facial features. In addition to self-perception, other influences on women's body image include family, peers, and the media. Although some research reports that minority women are protected from the adverse effects of media images, others highlight that the inferiority that many minority women internalize when compared to the majority can put them at risk.

Research suggests that direct exposure to negative media images does not necessarily lower one's self-esteem. However, when a woman who previously has low self-esteem is exposed to these images, there is an increased risk for issues with body image. We will examine the media's effects on three

minority communities: African/Black-Americans, Hispanic/Latino-Americans, and Asian/Asian-Americans.

Effects on African/Black-American Women

Historically, African-American women have reported being comfortable with full figures and accepting a larger body type. Although, according to current research, this trend is reversing due to acceptance of influences from the mass media to become thin. Since slavery, members of the African-American community have been judged according to their physical appearances. Traits such as hair color and texture, and skin color are still used as the basis of grouping and identification. Some African-American women report the divide based on physical appearance still exists within their community. Many African-American women, in an attempt to alter their appearance to reach a goal they cannot attain, become dissatisfied with their physical appearance.

Effects on Hispanic/Latino-American Women

Similar to the effects on African-Americans, the media has perpetuated stereotypes about Latin-Americans, those of which differ from the typical non-Hispanic woman. These images are shown on television, which is heavily consumed by Latin-American women. Latin-American women on average watch four more hours of television daily than women in other ethnic groups. Due to this increase in exposure, Latin-American women are more susceptible to negative images, making comparisons to the media ideal more detrimental. As a result, Latin-Americans have a heavy loyalty to the health and beauty industry. The support that they give to this industry may be associated with the dissatisfaction felt when media ideals are used for comparison.

Effects on Asian-American Women

On average, Asian women typically have smaller frames and smaller bodies than other minorities. Also, within the Asian community both here and abroad, it is suggested that a woman should possess a realistic body image. With that, the images given from the media are combated and conversations about beauty and body begin during childhood. Because of these factors, many assume that Asian women are immune to negative images in the media, but many Asian women now report that they are susceptible as well.

Research conducted in Singapore discovered that 84% of teens were not content with their bodies, and wished that they could change their physical appearances. Sixty percent of those teens were also battling issues with their weight and struggling to attain the "perfect look." As a result, many were indulging in unhealthy practices such as vomiting or drastically decreasing their caloric intake. Dieting among this group was the norm and it was often practiced by girls as young as 13. Additional research throughout Asia reports that teenage girls severely lack confidence and will take extreme measures to alter their appearance. Not so much concerned with body shape and size, these girls are dissatisfied with their facial features and some even resort to plastic surgery to alter their bodies.

What can be done?

A woman can attempt to alter her physical appearance to fit the standards for beauty, but most of these attempts prove futile. Instead of altering physical appearance, it is healthier to attempt to alter perception. Regardless of race or ethnicity, women can combat the negative effects of the media with the implementation of the following:

- Strive for a healthy body

- Focus on positive points

- Limit exposure to negative images in the environment

- Take notice of all the cool things the body can do

- Develop a positive social support system

- Devote time and energy towards helping yourself and others

Additionally, parents and friends can help combat the negativity by giving positive compliments on a regular basis. Compliments can include, but are not limited to, the following:

- "You're beautiful"
- "You're smart"
- "You're gifted"
- "I love you"
- "You're special"

Resources in Print

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Online Resources

About-Face's *Making Changes*
http://about-face.org/mc/

Media Awareness Network's *Beauty and Body Image in the Media*
http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/ stereotyping/women_and_girls/women_beauty.cfm

National Eating Disorders Association's *Eating Disorders in Women of Color: Explanations and Implications*
http://www.nationaleatingdisorders.org/ p.asp?WebPage_ID=286&Profile_ID=73571

PBS/Nova Online's *Minority Women: The Untold Story*
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/thin/minorities.html

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Source: http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/pdffiles/FY/FY113500.pdf, (accessed February 6, 2012).
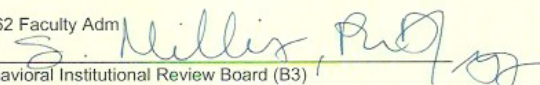
APPENDIX H

WAYNE STATE
UNIVERSITY

IRB Administration Office
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://irb.wayne.edu

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED APPROVAL

To: Jennifer Haskin-Corwin
Sociology
656 W. Kirby, 2262 Faculty Adm

From: Dr. Scott Millis
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: April 20, 2012

RE: IRB #: 035412B3E

Protocol Title: Third Shift Beauty Work & Career-Oriented Mothers of Young Children

Funding Source:

Protocol #: 1203010728

Expiration Date: April 19, 2013

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

The above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were **APPROVED** following *Expedited Review* Category (#6 #7)* by the Chairperson/designee *for* the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of 04/20/2012 through 04/19/2013. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Revised Protocol Summary Form (received in the IRB Office 04/18/2012)
- Protocol (received in the IRB Office 03/06/2012)
- The request for a waiver of the requirement for written documentation of informed consent has been granted according to 45 CFR 46.117(1)(2). Justification for this request has been provided by the PI in the Protocol Summary Form. The waiver satisfies the following criteria: (i) The only record linking the participant and the research would be the consent document, (ii) the principal risk would be potential harm resulting from a breach of confidentiality, (iii) each participant will be asked whether he or she wants documentation linking the participant with the research, and the participant's wishes will govern, (iv) the consent process is appropriate, (v) when used requested by the participants consent documentation will be appropriate, (vi) the research is not subject to FDA regulations, and (vii) an information sheet disclosing the required and appropriate additional elements of consent disclosure will be provided to participants not requesting documentation of consent.
- Research Information Sheet (dated 04/06/2012)
- Study Flyer
- Recruitment Letter
- Letter to Participant and Resources Packet
- Data collection tools: Interview Schedule, Participant Information Survey, and Screening Questionnaire

° Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may* receive a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval *before* the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can never be reported or published as research data.

° All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the IRB **BEFORE** implementation.

° Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the IRB Administration Office Policy (http://www.irb.wayne.edu//policies-human-research.php).

NOTE:

APPENDIX I

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

IRB Administration Office
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://irb.wayne.edu

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED CONTINUATION APPROVAL

To: Jennifer Haskin
Sociology
656 W. Kirby, 2262 Faculty Adm

From: Dr. Scott Millis _____
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: March 21, 2013

RE: IRB #:   035412B3E

     Protocol Title: Third Shift Beauty Work & Career-Oriented Mothers of Young Children

     Funding Source:

     Protocol #:   1203010728

Expiration Date: March 20, 2014

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

Continuation for the above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were APPROVED following Expedited Review by the Chairperson/designee of the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of **03/21/2013 through 03/20/2014**. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Actively accruing participants
- Research Information Sheet (dated 04/06/2012)
- Waiver of documentation of consent continued and approved
- Study Flyer
- Recruitment Letter
- Letter to Participant and Resources Packet

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* Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may receive* a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval *before* the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can never be reported or published as research data.

* All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the IRB **BEFORE** implementation.

* Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the IRB Administration Office Policy (http://www.irb.wayne.edu/policies-human-research.php).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the IRB Administration Office must be contacted immediately.

2. Forms should be downloaded from the IRB website at **each** use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

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ABSTRACT

THIRD SHIFT APPEARANCE WORK:
EXPERIENCES OF CAREER-ORIENTED MOTHERS

by

JENNIFER HASKIN

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Advisor: Dr. Heather Dillaway

Major: Sociology

Degree: Doctor of Philosophy

Over the last four decades, we have seen a considerable increase in the number of mothers with young children in the paid work force, particularly mothers with children under the age of six. Up until now, feminist literature in the areas of motherhood and paid work has focused on the ways in which working mothers balance the hectic schedules and responsibilities of paid work with the obligations that exist at home. This purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which working mothers with young children experience a third shift of appearance work while working for pay and also caring for others. This study also seeks to better understand the impact of appearance norms on busy working mothers, and how working mothers feel about and act toward their bodies. The sample for this study consists of 21 women between the ages of 25 and 50 who self define as being "career-oriented," and are employed on a full time basis. Participants are all biological mothers to a child, or children under the age of six. Further, the women in this study worked in their profession while pregnant, and all returned to work on a full time basis within four months of giving birth. Findings suggest

that for the women in this study is not explicitly about trying to look more attractive, or more "beautiful." Rather, career-oriented women do appearance work in very strategic and purposeful ways.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

I received my Bachelor's Degree in Psychology from Eastern Michigan University in 1998, and my Master's Degree in Sociology from Eastern Michigan University in 2005. I began my Ph.D. studies at Wayne State University in 2008. My areas of specialization include inequalities of race/class/gender/sexuality, sociology of the body and embodiment, motherhood, paid work, families, feminist media criticism, and qualitative research methods. Prior to and throughout the course of my Ph.D. studies, I have taught a range of undergraduate Sociology courses at Washtenaw Community College, Eastern Michigan University, Lawrence Technological University, Baker College Online, and Wayne State University. I am a King/Chavez/Parks Future Faculty Fellow at Wayne State University, and also a KERN Innovative Teaching Faculty Training Initiative Scholar. I have won numerous departmental awards. In 2014, I was elected Graduate Student Representative for the American Sociological Association's Body and Embodiment Section. I recently organized a Roundtables Session for the 2015 ASA Annual Meeting in Chicago, Illinois. I am webpage organizer for the Parenting Section of "Gender & Society in the Classroom." I am Editorial Assistant for the academic journal *Michigan Family Review*, and have been a blind reviewer for manuscripts submitted to the journals *Families, Relationship and Societies, Critical Sociology,* and *Michigan Family Review.* I have given numerous conference presentations related to my research, and have several manuscripts in progress.

As I move forward in my career as a researcher and academic, I hope to be able to add to our understanding of how people think about and act upon their bodies in the face of the demands they face on a daily basis.