Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

# Manufacturing Authenticity: The Rhetoric of "Real" in Women's Magazines

BROOKE ERIN DUFFY

*School of Media and Communication, Temple University, Philadelphia,
Pennsylvania, USA*

*Discourses of authenticity are symptomatic of an era of destabilized
communication hierarchies, participatory media, and reality tele-
vision programming. Women's magazines are an apt site to
examine articulations of authenticity given the genre's traditional
emphases on aspirational consumption and "making up" the exter-
nal self. This study explores constructions of authenticity in the
advertising and editorial content of two top-ranked publications,*
Glamour *and* Cosmopolitan. *Drawing on a qualitative textual
analysis of these magazines, the author conceptualizes three over-
lapping tropes of authenticity: (a) promoting natural, organic
products; (b) the celebration of ordinary-looking women; and (c)
the encouragement of inner-directed self-discovery. These striations
of real products, real external beauty, and real internal beauty,
respectively, allow authenticity to seep throughout the texts without
fundamentally disrupting their traditional commercial function.*

## INTRODUCTION

It is often said that we must make fashion and advertising images include
us, but this is a dangerously optimistic misunderstanding of how the
market works. Advertising aimed at women works by lowering our self-
esteem. If it flatters our self-esteem, it is not effective. Let's abandon this
hope of looking to the index to fully include us. It won't, because if it
does, it has lost its function.

—Naomi Wolf, 1991

Thin! Bronzed! Botoxed! Blonde! Too many women—even famous ones—are caving in to a cookie-cutter standard of beauty . . . True glamour means not conforming to some standard.

—*Glamour Magazine,* 2008

A common thread running through contemporary discourses of participatory culture and media convergence is the new—or perhaps renewed—placement of "real people" in the culture industries. The explosive growth of low-cost media production and distribution technologies has helped to destabilize traditional communication hierarchies by affording "ordinary" individuals unprecedented access to the mediated public sphere. Citizen journalists, bloggers, and other progeny of the Web 2.0 era often extol the twin virtues of "authenticity" and "transparency" as they attempt to distinguish themselves from top-down sources of news and information (Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007; Rettberg, 2008, pp. 93, 101). At the same time, the enduring success of reality television has been ascribed in part to the genre's claims to "authenticity," whereby viewers watch "real people" and feel as though "that could be me" (Andrejevic, 2003, pp. 6, 260). Meanwhile, in the advertising industry, brands such as Doritos, Nike, and Apple have allowed fans and consumers to take center stage as content creators, models, and spokespersons, respectively. Although this approach is not entirely new—commercials featuring everyday people date back to the 1950s—today's initiatives foreground the "realness" of participants, thus marking a trend toward "authenticity advertising" (Schwyzer, 2011, para. 1). Perhaps the best-known example of "authenticity advertising" is Unilever's 2004 Dove Campaign for Real Beauty, which featured "real women" of various ages, races, sizes, and body types. More recent examples in female promotional culture include Fila's 2010 "Body Toning" collection of clothing shown on "non-professional models ages twenty-five to fifty" and Jones New York's 2011 "Empowering Your Confidence" ad campaign, which depicted successful female career professionals donning their favorite Jones New York fashions. That all of these campaigns include nontraditional representations of women (i.e., those in the margins of the Western beauty ideal) seems noteworthy, especially in light of extensive critiques waged against the culture industries for setting unrealistic standards of physical perfection. As the aforementioned quote from feminist leader and author Naomi Wolf (1991) suggests, the fashion and beauty industries "work" precisely because of the aspirational images they circulate; that is, women are encouraged to consume the advertised products and lifestyles as they aim to conform to heteronormative standards of femininity. It is against this background that there is a tension between traditional constructions of idealized womanhood and the recent uptick in "authenticity advertising."

This tension is also evident in the contemporary women's magazine industry. Although fashion and beauty magazines in the past have emphasized consumer reinvention and "making up" the external self, a number of titles now incorporate seemingly contradictory appeals to authenticity and realness. For example, the editors of the top-selling U.K. magazine, *Essentials*, announced in 2010 that they would no longer feature models or celebrities on their front covers but, instead, "real women." *Marie Claire* made a similar decision in 2012 when they chose professional women from throughout the United States to fill the pages of their newly launched *Marie Claire@Work* supplement. As *Adweek* reporter Emma Bazilian explained of the initiative, "So-called 'real women' have been slowly entering the territory of the professionally glamorous as brands attempt to relate to the woman who is more concerned with balancing her checkbook than maintaining a size zero" (Bazilian, 2012, para. 1).

By putting *real women* in quotation marks, Bazilian seems to acknowledge the elusive—even problematic—nature of the term. There is, after all, no singular objective category of "real women"; instead, this is a social construction that is "as much the product of discursive practices, as the sign 'woman' in the visual image" (Rakow & Kranich, 1996, p. 664). How, then, do the women's magazine and advertising industries construct "real women"? To what extent are these and other notions of authenticity integrated into the texts? In what ways do these appeals support or contradict the commercial function of women's magazines? This study finds answers to these questions in a qualitative textual analysis of two best-selling U.S. fashion and beauty titles, *Glamour* and *Cosmopolitan*. A stratified random sampling method was used to select 24 issues (12 per magazine) published over a 5-year period (2006–2010); the editorial and advertising content of each issue was examined for textual/visual indexes of authenticity, including appeals to realness, naturalness, originality, and self-expression. More than 180 instances of authenticity were coded whereby individual articles, features, and ads served as units of analysis.

The findings of this study reveal three overlapping tropes of authenticity: promoting natural, organic beauty/wellness products, the celebration of real-looking women, and the encouragement of inner-directed self-discovery. Together, these various striations allow authenticity to seep throughout the magazines without unsettling their commercial function. Thus, although there are instances of newly opened up discursive spaces for "real women," most authenticity referents are thinly veiled attempts to engage female readers in a historically anchored culture of consumerism. Not only are such findings useful for understanding the shift toward "authenticity advertising" within the magazine and promotional industries, but they may also signal larger trends in the production of culture within a digitized, interactive, and reflexive media moment.

## CONSTRUCTING AUTHENTICITY IN COMMERCIAL CONTEXTS

"Authenticity" is a richly nuanced and highly contested concept that has been variably defined across disciplinary, historical, and cultural contexts. In tracing the etymological roots of the word, McGee (2005) notes that as early as 13th-century France, the Latin word *authenticus* was associated with the qualities of originality and genuineness. External, social forces were considered a threat to these qualities; thus, the pursuit of authenticity was a quest to discover a sense of self "unsullied by the impact of socialization" (p. 171). This definition is closely aligned with literary critic Lionel Trilling's (1972) often-cited conception of authenticity as the organic, true sense of self that exists apart from society and is realized through the rejection of social and cultural norms.

The uneasy relation between socialization and self-discovery provides the necessary backstory for understanding constructions of authenticity that began to transpire in the early 20th century. Exploring the contemporary history of authenticity discourses through sociohistorical accounts of Western consumer culture, Jefferson Pooley contends that by the 1920s, "a new individualism had supplanted the denialist ideal [of the nineteenth century with] one focused on self-realization and expressions of vitality" (2010, p. 74). Newly emergent cultural messages and products (e.g., self-help books, media and marketing narratives) reinforced the contradictory notion that "the best way to work on yourself is to consciously cultivate an authentic persona." (Pooley, 2010, p. 78). The growing ethos of "authenticity" was thus bound up with social and economic shifts that were symptomatic of early 20th-century consumer culture.

Although the tension between social progress and individualism was a productive one for commercial industries that could incorporate the latter ideal into their marketing pitches, critical theorists saw mass production and authenticity as fundamentally irreconcilable. Walter Benjamin (1936/1992), for example, famously contended that the rise of mechanical reproduction threatened to displace the aura of an object, thus negating its "unique existence in time and space" (p. 220). Literary critic Dwight Macdonald echoed this concern about two decades later in the wake of the American postwar era of economic abundance. Macdonald virulently critiqued the fact that culture had become "fabricated" and "imposed from above," eclipsing the "spontaneous [and] autochthonous" folk culture of earlier societies (1957, p. 60). While Benjamin and Macdonald defined authenticity somewhat differently (i.e., Benjamin conflated authenticity with originality; Macdonald associated it with patterns from folk society), they shared the perspective that the insidious instruments of capitalism ("mass culture") had supplanted "authentic" cultural expressions.

Anxiety about the inauthentic nature of modern society became more widespread in the 1960s as counter-culture groups sought refuge from what

they viewed as a progressively conformist and bureaucratic society (Brick, 2000; Frank, 1997). Despite—or more likely *because of*—amplified social concerns, this decade saw the emergence of authenticity appeals within and across the commercial culture industries. Focusing on the music industry, Stahl (2002) explains how artists (undoubtedly with help from their promotion personnel) aimed to present themselves as "real" in the context of an era that celebrated the "Romantic notion of the autonomous artist wrestling with inner forces to produce material reflective of his or her individual subjectivity" (p. 314). Authenticity ideals, wrought with contradiction as they may be, also infiltrated 1960s art, literature, and poetry, all of which encouraged progressive acts of assertive individuality (Brick, 2000, p. 69).

However, one of the most vibrant sites of authenticity discourse was the advertising industry, which presented citizen-consumers with "authentic" goods and experiences that would help them navigate through an evermore secular, frenetic, even vitriol social world. As Thomas Frank (1997) explains, pervasive fears of conformity and the "faceless cogs in the great machine" led advertisers of the 1960s to integrate counterculture themes of rebellion, self-autonomy, individuality, and difference into their campaigns. While Frank challenges historic narratives that suggest that advertisers coopted a genuine counterculture movement, his work nonetheless reveals how cultural producers were able to respond to sociopolitical shifts (in this case, social reform movements) without disrupting their commercial aims.

Themes of authentic individuality fit well with the neoliberal ideology that emerged more than a decade later, emphasizing self-authority, autonomous choice, and responsibility (N. Rose, 1996, p. 52). This neoliberal philosophy coincided with a surge of writings from scholars and cultural theorists who sought to unpack the meaning(s) of "authenticity." Definitions that circulated in the last two decades of the millennium included a commitment to self-values (Erickson, 1995); a response to hyper-real simulations of reality that conflate the real and imaginary (Baudrillard, 1983; Eco, 1987); and an expressive sense of the individual (Handler, 1986; Jacknis, 1990; Taylor, 1992). Despite variances in the normative ideals of originality, self-expression, and autonomy, each of these definitions understood authenticity as an individual trait that objectively exists in the social world. Other writers, however, emphasized the constructed nature of the term and, in particular, the importance of human agents in setting the terms of authenticity within particular contexts (Carroll & Wheaton, 2009; Grazian, 2003; Handler, 1986; MacCannell, 1973; Peterson, 1997). As David Grazian productively argues, authenticity is constructed through the interplay of various social actors and cultural organizations whereby the staging of authenticity "is an integral part of the culture production process" (2010, p. 192).

Whereas Grazian's (2003; 2010) work focuses on the performative nature of authenticity within Chicago's blues club culture, other scholars have examined the construction of authenticity within such commercial industries as

tourism (Kelleher, 2004; MacCannell, 1973), retail (Botterill, 2007; Goldman & Papson, 1999), video games (Williams, 2005), photography (Frosh, 2001), self-help (McGee, 2005), art (Fine, 2003) and music (Peterson, 1997; Stahl, 2002). Although their empirical and industrial foci differ, these writings reveal how contemporary culture industries *manufacture authenticity* in an effort to distinguish their products and services from their competitors—as well as to respond to the perceived needs of consumers. As R. Rose and Wood (2005) argue to this end, "Consumers increasingly value authenticity in a world where the mass production of artifacts causes them to question the plausibility of value" (p. 286).

Relatedly, a number of scholars have examined the rhetoric of authenticity within advertising campaigns for such brands as Nike (Cronin, 2000; Goldman & Papson, 1999), Hallmark Cards (West, 2007), and Levi's and Reebok (Botterill, 2007). Explaining the commercial appeal of authenticity at this particular moment, Botterill (2007) argues:

> [T]oday advertisers use [authenticity] to soothe their young audiences' anxiety that authenticity is no longer possible. They do so by suggesting to audiences that genuine moments of humanity can still be contemplated, even in contrived and commercialized texts (p. 106).

We can thus see how authenticity functions in these texts to distance products from the very marketplace within which they were created and distributed.

The shifting technologies and economies of media in the early 21st century have ostensibly given rise to a new instantiation of authenticity: the incorporation of "real" people as agents in the mediated public sphere. Much of the success of the reality genre of programming is attributed to the fact that the audiences are considered "real people" who display their "authentic reactions" in front of the camera (Andrejevic 2002, p. 261). Meanwhile, digital technologies have made it possible for ordinary individuals to become cultural producers who participate in—and increasingly create—media and advertising campaigns. Although such user-generated initiatives have been critiqued for exploiting "free" consumer labor (e.g., Andrejevic, 2008; Zwick, Bonsu, & Darmody, 2008) and conflating consumerism and activism (e.g., Johnston & Taylor, 2008; Love & Helmbrecht, 2007), they nonetheless seem to indicate a new construction of authenticity within 21st-century culture industries.

## Authenticity in Beauty Culture

Although it may seem contradictory to trace the historical development of authenticity within female promotional culture, considerations of "realness" have been central to shifting ideologies of beauty, womanhood, and progress. In Victorian America, for example, newly developed beauty tools

and technologies were thought to challenge the authenticity of the unmasked face (e.g., Goldstein, 1995; Peiss, 1999). Cosmetics, associated with the immoral "painted ladies" (Victorian-era prostitutes), were especially provocative and considered something for the public self that "might, or might not, accurately reflect a private self" (Goldstein, 1995, p. 146). Consequently, one of the aims of the nascent beauty industry was to legitimize makeup practice by assuring women that products could reveal—rather than conceal—their true sense of self. Cosmetic companies featured popular stage actresses in their lipstick and powder advertisements in an effort to naturalize the application of these products while tempering public concerns (Hall-Gallagher & Pecot-Hebert, 2007, p. 59).

By the early 20th century, makeup was recognized as an essential aspect of a woman's self-expression, offering her a ready-made solution to the problematic struggle between appearance and identity (Hall-Gallagher & Pecot-Hebert, p. 74). This notion of authentic expression dovetailed with another construction of authenticity that grew to prominence in the mid-20th century, namely womanhood as a performance. In striking contrast to Trilling's (1972) understanding of authenticity as the rejection of social norms, this narrative of the "authentic" woman focused on social conformity. Expectations about *how to be a "real" woman* reflected heteronormative gender roles and patterns of femininity; thus, in the 1950s, a "true woman" was one who could simultaneously care for her husband, family, and domestic space (Welter, 1966). A frequently quoted line from the 1959 film *Gidget*— "to be a real woman is to bring out the best in a man"—reflects the extent to which patriarchal norms and values defined the contours of what was considered "authentic" femininity in the Postwar era.

With the rise of second-wave feminism in the 1960s, movement leaders and social critics denounced the lack of "real women" in the media and, more specifically, within popular women's magazines and advertisements. Critiques of the idealistic, artificial, limiting, and objectifying representations of women centered on the discrepancy between these images and the actual lives of ordinary women. In *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan's (1963) clarion call for emancipation from patriarchal structures, she condemned women's magazines for perpetuating an ideal of feminine domesticity ("happy housewives") to which readers ("the real women") were to aspire. Later work by feminist media scholars addressed the role of women's magazines in socializing female readers to be the "perfect mother, lover, wife, homemaker, glamorous accessory, secretary—whatever best suits the needs of the system" (Davies et al., 1987, p. 4).

Another pioneering study of gender representations that emerged in the wake of the feminist movement was sociologist Erving Goffman's 1979 *Gender Advertisements*. Focusing on the subtle visual cues present in print advertisements (e.g., relative positioning and sizing of men and women, female gestures and expressions), Goffman explained how representations of

femininity and masculinity become ritualized, ultimately shaping behaviors, social relations, and gender hierarchies. His acknowledgement of the potential interplay between such "gender displays" and "real life" emphasizes the constructed nature of authenticity while also drawing out the implications of such constructions. In an oft-quoted passage from the book, Goffman writes, "Although the pictures shown here cannot be taken as representative of gender behavior in *real life* . . . one can probably make a significant negative statement about them, namely, that as pictures, they are not perceived as *peculiar* and *unnatural*" (p. 27, italics added for emphasis).

More recent critiques of the women's magazine and advertising industries emphasize their role in creating and perpetuating unrealistic standards of physical beauty; models are typically tall, thin, light-skinned, with clear complexions and symmetrical features. The adverse effects of such imagery have been widely theorized and range from body dissatisfaction and disordered eating behaviors (Wilson, 1999) to the hegemony of patriarchal culture (Wolf, 1991). What weaves these and other critical theories of beauty culture together is the idea that the media and advertising industries circulate *inauthentic* depictions of womanhood to the *authentic* masses. Although magazine readership studies have nuanced the dominant perspective by noting that female readers do not necessarily consume at face value and may see the images as "fantasies for pleasure rather than practical action" (Winship, 1983, p. 55; see also Currie, 1999; Winship, 1987), this does not belie the fact that mediated subjectivities often differ from mass female publics.

The late 20th century seemed to witness a revival of appeals conflating authenticity with women's individual expression, often for commercial aims (Black & Sharma, 2001; Cronin, 2000; Gill, 2008). Rosalind Gill (2008) situates this resurgence at the intersection of neoliberal and postfeminist discourses and explains:

> [Y]oung, media-savvy consumers—must be interpellated through discourses that appear not to be selling or promoting anything, that flatter the consumer that she is too knowing and sophisticated to be "got at" by an advert, and which stress that in buying a product, style or idea one is purchasing a sign of one's own individuality and empowerment (pp. 436–437).

This rationale helps to explain the productive coexistence of inner, individualistic authenticity and the process of "making up" the external self by turning to the tools of the commercial sector. More broadly, Gill's statement indexes the contextual and cultural specificity of authenticity constructions; that is, authenticity appeals vary across time and are shaped by larger sociocultural shifts. Given new and intensified discourses of realness within the current media moment, it seems crucial to reexamine the ways in which authenticity is constructed within gendered promotional texts.

## METHOD

This study draws upon a qualitative textual analysis of two U.S. fashion/beauty publications, *Glamour* and *Cosmopolitan*, to examine the ways in which women's magazine producers and their advertisers construct authenticity at this particular juncture.[1] The selection of these two magazines among many other women's titles was based on their top-ranked positions in the women's fashion and beauty category.[2] For each magazine, I analyzed 12 issues drawn from the last 5 years ($n = 24$) using a stratified random sampling method.[3] After developing a qualitative coding sheet to track the publication, issue date, specific article or ad, referent (product, person, non-material expression), author/creator (if available), and visual, textual, and rhetorical elements, I went through each issue to find references to and ideas about authenticity. This search was guided by themes in the literature review and included verbal and visual indicators of originality, genuineness, non-conformity, realness, individuality, self-expression, and being true to ones' self, among others.[4] A total of 187 instances of authenticity were coded (78 editorial and 109 advertising), which I organized based upon the focus of the appeal (commercial products, the external body, or the internal self).

## RESULTS

Despite the raft of hair extensions, lip plumpers, self-tanning creams, designer knock-offs, and even breast implants pictured, praised, and promoted within the texts, authenticity appeals were also readily discernible. Three particular tropes of authenticity emerged, including the benefits of

---

[1]    According to the 2011 Audit Bureau of Circulation statement *Cosmopolitan's* total paid circulation is 3,032,211 and *Glamour*'s total paid circulation is 3,040,013. These magazines are published by Hearst Magazines and Condé Nast Publications, respectively.

[2]    Based on circulation figures from the MRI (2011) published on *Cosmopolitan*.

[3]    I sampled three issues of each magazine per year beginning in October 2006 and ending with December 2010. The particular issues varied each year to reflect seasonal changes and were based on the availability of issues. In a limited number of instances when a particular issue could not be tracked down, I relied on the one immediately preceding/following it.

[4]    Textual instances were coded as "authentic" if they contained one of these specific referents (authenticity, originality, genuineness, nonconformity, realness, individuality, self-expression, and being true to ones' self) or some variant of these words or phrases (e.g., "be yourself," the joy of "being me," "show the world who you are," "wearing your personality," "embracing your flaws"). Messages denouncing "fake" practices (tanning salons, plastic surgery, excessive cosmetics) were also coded. Visual images were coded as "authentic" if they appeared to depart from the standard magazine/advertising physical aesthetic (e.g., plus-size women, petite women) or from the mass production or commodification process (e.g., natural, organic products, recycled or homemade goods). Images were also coded if they signaled nonconformity (e.g., someone standing out from the crowd in a noteworthy way) or turning away from social norms (see Trilling) in a clearly discernible fashion (wearing a T-shirt with a socially controversial message).

natural/organic products, the celebration of "real"—or physically imperfect—women, and the summoning of an inner sense of expressive individualism. These tropes can be productively conceptualized as real products, real external beauty, and real inner beauty, respectively.

While the significance of these authenticity indexes lies in their totality, there were substantive differences across titles and categories. First, although the number of ads/editorials coded per issue varied extensively (from one up through sixteen), they were consistently greater in *Glamour* than in *Cosmopolitan*. This distinction can perhaps be explained by each title's unique editorial philosophy. Unlike *Cosmopolitan*, *Glamour* often promotes its commitment to female "empowerment" vis-à-vis the "Women of the Year" awards and regular coverage of social and political issues; this, presumably, makes *Glamour* a better "fit" for authenticity appeals. Within each trope, there was a noteworthy disparity between the frequency of editorial and advertising indicators: the majority of the "real product" appeals were contained in the ads (65+, compared with fewer than 5 in the editorial), whereas instances of "real external beauty" and "real internal beauty" were far greater in editorial features (50+ compared with 15; 25+ compared with fewer than 10, respectively).[5] The uneven deployment of authenticity tropes within and across the magazines suggests that cultural producers' attempts to manufacture authenticity are carefully managed. That is, authenticity appeals are orchestrated in ways that make them reconcilable with outwardly contradictory messages.

## "Real" Products: The Authenticity of Natural Goods

Over the last decade, being eco-conscious and "going green" have evolved from internal corporate responsibility standards to strategic initiatives touted in high-profile marketing campaigns (e.g., Todd, 2004; Barton, 2008). Perhaps unsurprisingly, eco-friendly claims and natural and organic products figured prominently throughout the magazines analyzed, though most of these appeared in advertising material. References to "real products" in the editorial content were few and far between, often appearing in April editions timed to coincide with "Earth Day" special features. One of the most extensive examples was an article in *Glamour*'s April 2009 issue titled "70 New Reasons to Live Green" (pp. 193–198). The six-page spread was part of *Glamour*'s regular "Real Stories" feature and included environmentally friendly advice from seventy female "eco go-getters." While some of these women were involved in think tanks, climate awareness campaigns,

---

[5] These figures should be read as estimates as some instances were coded in multiple categories. For instance, a message to celebrate the real you by wearing unique style was coded as "real internal beauty" and "real external beauty." Meanwhile, promotions for *Glamour* and *Cosmopolitan* user-generated initiatives were advertorials and thus could be included in either the advertising or editorial category.

educational programs, and other nonprofit ventures, a handful of them were recognized for commercial ventures including organic skin care, cosmetics, and clothing lines. In other *Glamour* issues, the editors praised "Women of the Year" winners for contributing to "the greening of fashion [before] it was in vogue" (December 2009, p. 228) and participating in the Global Green USA sustainability initiative (December 2010, p. 239).

The April 2009 edition of *Cosmopolitan* also featured several "green"-themed articles and promotions including the "Green Beauty Awards," which encouraged readers to be "more eco-friendly" by trying such "plant-loving" beauty products as Burt's Bees Fabulously Fresh Peppermint and Rosemary Body Wash; Physician's Formula Organic-Wear Mascara; L'Oreal Ever Pure Hair Serum, and Sally Hansen Natural Shine Lip Gloss (p. 92). The product images were set against a pure white background, and each was accompanied by a short description emphasizing both their eco-friendly nature and user benefits. For instance, the editorial description of the Organic Wear mascara, which was packaged in an earth-hued tube with a leaf-shaped green lid, read: "Must Have Mascara: 100 Percent Pure Rice Protein Coats Lashes and Boosts Volume." Although it is likely that many consumers are unfamiliar with rice protein, the rhetorical combination of "pure" and the natural grain "rice" positions this product as distinct from the unnamed other mascaras that presumably feature impure or unnatural ingredients. Equally important is the linkage of these attributes to the product benefit; it promises female readers more fully coated and voluminous lashes, a trait frequently associated with natural beauty. In examples such as this, authenticity is constructed through its distance from the mass production process. Thus, by equating products labeled "fresh," "organic," "pure," and "natural" as "eco-friendly," *Cosmopolitan* seems to suggest that readers can pursue authentic living without turning away from the consumer sphere. Of course, the purchase of these products *does* necessitate participation in the marketplace, which is decidedly antagonistic to the ecosystem.[6]

As noted earlier, the ethos of product authenticity was much more prevalent in advertising copy, which positioned products as "natural," "organic," or "made from minerals"; the terms *nature* or *natural* were used in almost half of the ads coded.[7] The visual juxtaposition of branded cosmetics, face creams, hair products, and body lotions with images of plants, flowers, fruits, and water seemed to reaffirm that these products were somehow more authentic than their artificially produced competitors. One particularly striking example was a full-page ad for Origins Youthtopia Age-correcting Serum with Rhodiola (*Glamour*, April 2009, p. 23). Above the headline, "Grow Younger Naturally," was an image of an open bottle of the serum framed

---

[6]    As ad critic Sut Jhally (2000) reasons, the contemporary advertising system enhances the need for economic production, which will ultimately impel "the coming environmental catastrophe" (n.p.).

[7]    Of the 109 advertisements coded, 48 of them used the terms "natural" or 'nature."

by four sprouting plant buds; the product's medicine dropper applicator appeared to be hydrating the single flowering bud with the serum. Although the idea of *growing younger naturally* is inherently contradictory, this phrasing conveys the notion that a plant-based serum is a more authentic antiaging choice than, say, plastic surgery or chemical peels. Further, and similar to the earlier mentioned positioning of Organic Wear mascara, the Origins copy emphasized the fact that the serum was made from "the legendary plants, Rhodiola rosea and Amalaki"—without any explanation of exactly what this means; that they are plants seems to be sufficient enough to fit the serum within the category of "natural."

Ads for cosmetics often suggested that their products would *reveal* a woman's natural beauty, seemingly recalling the historic reveal/conceal binary. For instance, a full-page ad for Cover Girl Clean Makeup featuring actress Keri Russell called out to readers to "Take off that mask! And let your skin breathe with clean makeup" (*Cosmopolitan*, July 2007, p.8). The decision to construct makeup as a "mask" to be removed is especially significant given the nuanced relation that traditionally existed between the mask and authenticity (e.g., Trilling, 1972). The ad copy emphasized the fact that this product improves the health of the skin; in addition to letting "skin breathe," it offers "natural, good-for-your skin ingredients," both of which counter historical narratives about the use of harmful ingredients in cosmetics (Peiss, 1999). The decision to have Russell model the Clean Makeup Foundation and Powder only reinforces the product's natural ethos. Not only does she appear fresh-faced with soft makeup and a neutral-toned blouse, but her public persona cozily fits into the "girl-next-door" category. Taken together, these examples make it clear how the construction of authentic products helps to massage away the problematic aspects of consumerism without interrupting the economic logic of promotional culture.

## "Real" External Beauty: The Authenticity of Physical Imperfection

A second trope of authenticity is the notion of "real" external beauty, whereby readers are encouraged to reject unrealistic standards of feminine perfection while embracing their natural curves, unruly hair, freckles, crooked teeth, and other physical "flaws." This is not to say that "real women" have never appeared in women's magazines; the first known makeover of an "ordinary" reader appeared in a 1936 edition of *Mademoiselle*, and the transformation narrative has long endured. However, the contemporary version seems to foreground the flawed, imperfect, and hence "authentic" nature of ordinary women. As noted earlier, references to "real beauty" in editorial features far exceeded those in the ads, a disparity which can perhaps be explained by the different levels of contradiction inherent in such messages. Thus while the contrast between a "real body" and an idealized form may be quite striking in the context of a print ad selling an aspirational version

of the self, it may be less so when discussed in an editorial style column purveying "sisterly" advice.

Some articles advised women against wasting time on unnatural looks, a seeming acknowledgement of the laboring of self-improvement (Black & Sharma, 2001). For example, a feature in *Glamour* titled "The Ten Best Hair and Makeup Looks. Period" urged women to forgo extensive hairstyling to showcase their "100% natural hair"; according to the text, "Few things are more beautiful than hair that isn't fussed with" (April 2009, p. 229). A quote from Linda Jones, author and founder of an organization celebrating African American culture and identity, helped to bring together themes of inner and external authenticity: "I tell women of all textures, 'stay true to your 'do and stay true to you." The backdrop for the text was a filtered light photograph of an African American model with large, Afro style hair, a seeming nod toward the political possibilities bound up with the embrace of one's true self.

Other examples revealed the compelling—albeit problematic—ways in which women's magazines promote a contradictory culture of authentic external beauty. For instance, an article in *Glamour* titled "The Glamour of Being Yourself" and written by makeup artist/author Poppy King opened, "Thin! Bronzed! Botoxed! Blonde! Too many women—even famous ones— are caving in to a cookie-cutter standard of beauty . . . Thing is, nothing's more alluring than looking like *you*" (March 2008, p. 136). After telling the story of a woman who (unsuccessfully) sought out a shade of red lipstick that would make her look like actress Scarlett Johansson, King assured readers that their best look is their *own* look. On the second page of the article were images of four women recognized for celebrating their "own personal style": Gwen Stefani, Mia Farrow, Diana Ross, and Audrey Hepburn, who were described as "Extreme Glam," "Bare-Faced," "Wildly Sexy," and "Eterna-chic," respectively. Remarkably, while the article purported to celebrate women's authentic, individualistic beauty (and not the artifice of plastic surgery, hair dye, or excessive tanning), it continued to construct this *within* the boundaries of normative femininity (e.g., sexy, glam, and chic). Further, although King disparages celebrities for "looking like they were churned out from the same Hollywood factory," the standards for emulation she offers ostensibly fit within the same star-powered culture machine.

In other instances, magazines conflated authenticity with "real women," a polysemic term which has become increasingly visible in promotional culture since the launch of the Dove Campaign for Real Beauty (Schwyzer, 2011). The majority of the references came from *Glamour* and ranged from "100 Words from Real Women on Figure Flattery" (April 2009, p. 99) to a full-page column celebrating "real women [no models, no stylists] snapped in their own adorable clothes" (July 2008, p. 60). The "real women" in the accompanying images were defined as such because they were not professional models, but rather, women of standard proportions and aesthetics

photographed while going about their daily lives. That many of the images were taken "on the street"—and not in a professional studio setting—added yet another layer of authenticity to the "real women" discourse.

Other discussions of "real women" were articulated through the specific idea of "real bodies." *Glamour* and *Cosmopolitan* included numerous references to and depictions of women whose body types lie outside the parameters of the typical magazine aesthetic—thus earning them the designation as "real." In March 2008, *Glamour* published a four-page report on "Why Men Crave Real (Not Perfect) Bodies," which was written by television actor Gabriel Olds. After recalling countless dates with silicon-enhanced women, Olds explained how he finally found love in a woman with an "imperfectly real body" (pp. 219–222). He describes Kara, a novelist from outside his Hollywood circle, as "what [he] really needed"; while Kara seemed vulnerable and insecure about her "awful" breasts, Olds "loved that they were. . . . hers." The large image on the first page of the article—several rows of identical, robotic-looking women with Barbie-style proportions covered only by underwear—reinforces the plasticity of "perfect bodies" as well as the construction of "real bodies" as imperfect, yet lovable.

Another popular discursive site for "real bodies" and "real women" was within the magazines' regular fashion and style columns. There is, of course, a decisive economic imperative underpinning this as it encourages consumption of the "right" clothing and styles for one's body type. For instance, *Cosmopolitan* assured readers, "There's a spring look perfectly suited for your figure," and provided clothing suggestions for women with curves, small breasts, and pear-shaped bodies, among others (*Cosmopolitan*, April 2009, p. 75). Meanwhile, one of *Glamour*'s monthly "Dress Your Body" columns recommended clothing that would help women to "flatter [their] exact shape and size." Name-brand dresses were endorsed by noting they would look "great on plus sizes," "pretty on petite figures," and "nice on busty figures," all of which seemed to celebrate these body shapes (*Glamour*, December 2010, p. 138). One of the "real women" included in the spread, an attractive, plus-sized blonde woman, seemed to radiate confidence as she wore a "sexy wrap dress" that defined her waist—"a do!" according to *Glamour*. However, the positive framing of these body types should not obscure the underlying message, namely that wide hips, round mid-sections, large busts, and petite sizes are somehow problematic—yet resolvable by turning to the commercial sector.

Although appeals to authentic external beauty were more pervasive in the editorial sections, several advertisers did invoke this by filling their ads with unconventional models. There were at least nine ads for Dove products in the sample that incorporated average-sized or –looking women as part of the company's ongoing Campaign for Real Beauty. Another company who used "real-looking" women in its ads was Nike; one particularly remarkable ad was a two-page color spread for its Nike women line (*Cosmopolitan*,

February 2007, pp. 4–5). The first page featured a close-up of an African American woman with an intense stare and beads of sweat dripping down her face; she appeared above the caption, "I ran across Virginia. Twice." The adjacent page featured a Muybridge-like series of photos of the same woman, which simulated the motion of her run. Although this woman did not conform to the traditional magazine aesthetic with her soft-stomach, muscular legs, and small breasts, she was attractive and conveyed an aspirational image of fitness.

The incorporation of nonprofessional models in the advertising pages ostensibly fulfills a dual role: It deflects critiques about the unrealistic standards perpetuated by the beauty industry while simultaneously tapping into the marketing appeal of using "real" (e.g., credible, authoritative) people rather that models or celebrities. Yet, these definitions of "real" remain narrowly—and institutionally—defined.

## "Real" Inner Beauty: The Authenticity of Expressive Individualism

At the same time that references to authentic beauty celebrated physical imperfections and "real" bodies, there was also a trope of authenticity that spoke to the inner-directed ideal of expressive individualism. In many instances, appeals to the inner- and external-senses of self were so closely intertwined that they were almost indistinguishable. In the previously mentioned article "The Glamour of Being Yourself" (*Glamour*, April 2009), for instance, the central premise was that women should choose a look (external) that expresses to the world their unique identities (internal). As I discussed earlier, the commercial culture industries have long deployed appeals to self-expression; yet some of the applications of this appeal seem unique to the contemporary moment.

Perhaps an obvious site for the self-expression rhetoric was in the context of the magazines' fashion and style pages. In *Glamour*'s first-ever "Designer Issue," the editors pulled together some "real-life style rules" from a group of top designers (*Glamour*, March 2007, p. 249). In addition to suggesting that readers have a signature look and wear well-fitting pieces, the concluding rule emphasized the need for authenticity. "Style isn't about being trendy. It's about being *you*. If that means taking a fashion risk, do it. Nobody ever got a compliment by looking boring!" (italics original). The idea that one should choose a style that reflects their inner sense of self ("being *you*"), instead of what is trendy ("fashion risk"), recalls Trilling's (1972) definition of authenticity as the rejection of social norms. On the other hand, social approval in the form of external praise ("a compliment") complicates the rhetoric of individualized self-expression.

A more explicit case of the celebration of inner authenticity came from an eight-page spread in the October 2010 issue of *Cosmopolitan* titled "Find Yourself" (pp. 226–233). This editorial feature on five successful online

entrepreneurs headlined, "Before you even open your mouth, your appear-ance is broadcasting info to everyone—so you need to make sure it's sending the message you want." On the pages that followed, the "real women" business executives (all of whom, incidentally, could double as models) provided advice for "creating a buzzworthy image" while showcasing their favorite personal looks. As Erin Carlson, whom the magazine described as a "retro-glam diva," counseled, "Never Fake It: If you create an image for yourself that feels false rather than authentic, consumers will smell it and be turned off" (p. 232). Ironically, then, readers are encouraged to be authentic while still creating (manufacturing) *an image*.

In these examples, the celebration of one's authentic self relies upon the communicative powers of material culture, as if the external self is a perfect projection of one's spirit. Such individualist narratives were also fre-quently evoked in the magazines' ads including Keds' "Be True" (*Glamour*, March 2008); Rimmel Cosmetic's "The best advice I've received is be your-self" (*Cosmopolitan*, October 2010); and Lee Jean's "First your mom dresses you. Then your friends dress you. Now you dress you" (*Glamour*, 2007). The latter ad featured neither jeans nor women models, thus foregrounding the verbal message, namely that readers can enact agency in larger society by turning to the commercial sector.

A somewhat different version of the inner authenticity trope was invoked within many of the user-generated contests featured throughout the magazines. This particular construction of authenticity was bound up with a strategic commitment to empowering "real" women by integrating them into the production processes. For example, a Toyota spread announced its finalists for the "Moving Forward Awards," one of whom was described as a "risk taker . . . [who] goes full throttle against every obstacle, dares to be different, battles the status quo, and makes a difference wherever life takes her" (*Glamour*, 2006). Additionally, the magazines publicized their own user-generated initiatives such as *Glamour*'s Film Fest featuring, "Short films by women. For women" and *Cosmopolitan*'s "Fun, Fearless, Female" virtual photo shoot where real women were invited to "be the star" (December 2010). These campaigns did provide opportunities for "real women" to appear in promotional initiatives for both the magazines and their sponsors. However, the actual progressive possibilities of these campaigns seems lim-ited and ostensibly well placed within what Zwick and colleagues (2008) call the co-creative marketing paradigm, characterized by "a political form of power aimed at generating particular forms of consumer life at once free and controllable, creative and docile" (p. 163).

Although the preceding examples point to the ways in which authen-ticity becomes exploited under marketing logic, there were also instances where this trope leaked outside the borders of consumer culture. Arguably the best example of this was extensive coverage of the *Glamour* "Women of the Year" Awards, an annual ceremony that recognizes trailblazing female

writers, activists, politicians, celebrities, and more. The inner authenticity rhetoric was apparent in a comment made about former supermodel and talk-show host Tyra Banks, one of the 2008 award recipients. As CNN anchor Soledad O'Brien says in the magazine of Banks, "She's a TV powerhouse in terms of genuinely connecting to young women who see her as a real inspiration. That kind of authenticity is hard to find" (*Glamour*, December 2008, p. 215). The rhetorical combination of "genuine," "real," and "authenticity," is all the more remarkable given Banks's former career as a supermodel recognized primarily for her physical attributes.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As discursive sites for reproducing heteronormative ideals, women's magazines have long acculturated readers to turn to the commercial world for feminine and domestic guidance. Many of the commodities and services they promote—including makeup (e.g., Goldstein, 1995; Peiss, 1999), fashions for the body (e.g., Riordan, 2004), and even plastic surgery (e.g., Gilman, 1999)—have historically had a contested relation with the "true" self, veiling it and at the same time promising to reveal it. The findings of this study indicate that contemporary women's publications are encouraging a new unveiling of sorts through their attempts to manufacture authenticity. However, indexes of authenticity in both the editorial and advertising content are limited and should not be bracketed off from the larger commercial context within which they emerged.

Before discussing the ways in which women's magazines seem to successfully reconcile contradictory messages, it seems worthwhile to review the parameters of authenticity as defined in the foregoing analysis. As the thematic categorization of real goods, real external beauty, and real individuality suggests, authenticity is not a monolithic concept but, rather, varies based upon its articulation of "the real." In the former category, discernible through natural and organic products and ingredients, goods are considered authentic if they are distinct from traditional regimes of mass production and labor. Of course, this interpretation is wrought with contradiction in the sense that these items are industrially produced and marketed within traditional structures of consumer capitalism. The construction of real external selves, meanwhile, predominantly works through the rejection of traditional codes of inauthenticity. That is, authenticity is defined by those physical forms and aesthetics that are typically excluded from heteronormative beauty culture; the labels of "flawed" and "imperfect" are subverted to ascribe positive attributes to "average-looking" women. Last, the trope of real individualism is anchored in the idea that the outer self serves to mirror one's unique personhood, with little specific advice about how to cultivate this. Although these tropes can—and did—overlap, the fact that they each manufacture

"real" differently is essential; producers do not have one all-encompassing contradiction to deal with but, rather, a number of smaller frictions that can more easily be incorporated into a commercial context.

A productive way to consolidate these various tensions is through the division of internal (within a single article or ad) and external (across a magazine's textual spaces) contradictions. The former refers to those instances where a singular message runs counter to the action it prompts. For example, although claims of "eco-friendliness" would logically necessitate a decrease in consumer purchases, products constructed as "natural" or "organic" were offered up as better alternatives; the question, then, is not *whether* to purchase but *what* to purchase. Another internal contradiction is manifest in messages for women to enact their individuality by buying something for the exterior. As Black and Sharma (2001) explain to this end, "Women are encouraged to create an *individual* look through consumption of *mass produced* products. The paradox of this situation is overcome through the woman's own labor to create her body or her home" (p. 109).

External contradictions, meanwhile, describe occasions when authenticity-draped pitches conflict with the larger editorial or advertising environment of the magazine. Perhaps the most blatant example is when an article/feature prompting women to celebrate their curves is sandwiched between images of tall, waifish models. To some, the inclusion of these images *at all* may mark a significant advancement in contemporary beauty culture, countering longstanding critiques of unrealistic standards perpetuated by media and advertising industries. Equating such initiatives with political progression seems a bit optimistic to me, especially when one considers who is constructed as real: attractive women who are slightly shorter, curvier, or more muscular than supermodels. Thus, even the "real" women fit largely within traditional standards of beauty resonant throughout the rest of the texts. In their study of reality television, Murray and Ouellette (2004) made a comment that seems an apt way to characterize the problematic construction of "real women" within a feminine culture. As they argued, "The fifteen minutes of fame that is the principal reward for participating on the programs limits the selection of 'real people' to those who make good copy for newspaper and magazine articles" (p. 8).

What emerges from the preceding examples is the fact the neither internal nor external contradictions are wholly disruptive to the conventional magazine function and aesthetic. Internal, within-text, contradictions work by providing a satisfactory solution to readers that still requires their participation in the marketplace. For decades, magazines have certainly succeeded in spite of—and maybe because of—their tenuous messages. External, across text, contradictions, meanwhile, deflect common critiques of normative beauty culture, albeit in narrowly defined ways. This movement is ostensibly recent in the history of magazines, and it remains to be seen whether producers can continue to reconcile empowering messages

with the typical editorial and advertising fare. For now, though, both internal and external contradictions ensure the same type of consumer engagement that has long been at the heart of women's magazine culture.

In closing, I want to suggest reasons that may help explain why authenticity appeals have been able to find an unlikely home in women's magazines at this particular cultural moment. Perhaps the least divisive explanation is the one that has been alluded to throughout this article: the present-day appeal of the real. In the context of a media moment where reality TV programs and consumer-generated media forms flourish, it makes sense that magazine and advertising producers seek to integrate an ethos of authenticity into their own cultural products: it may help them stand out from competitors in the aptly named "attention economy." Real individuals also have a distinct economic value in that they generate significant marketing buzz while at the same time providing free labor (Murray & Ouellette, p. 257). Thus, when *Glamour* turns to the streets of New York to find a "real women" showcasing her style, they are saving expensive fees for professional models while simultaneously promoting their commitment—real or not—to expanding beauty norms.

Illouz (2007)'s discussion of the impact of digital culture on self-presentation provides a somewhat different justification for role of ordinary people in cultural productions. She contends that internet users, principally those on dating sites, are "literally put in a position of people who work in the beauty industry as models or actors, that is they are put in a position where they are made hyperconscious of their physical appearance [and] where the body is the main source of social and economic value" (p. 81). Although her argument focuses on the effect of the Internet as a disembodying technology, it also suggests why the roles of producer and consumer are blurring in the context of the beauty industry: people may grow increasingly accustomed to seeing amateurs in professional contexts (e.g., women's magazines and advertisements) and vice versa. Seismic shifts in magazine production in recent years (e.g., the movement to online and interactive spaces) may mean that these disembodying technologies are even more pronounced within commercial (women's magazines) rather than interpersonal (dating sites) contexts.

A quite different possibility is that in the face of longstanding critiques about problematic gender representations, magazine producers have been prompted to take action. In August 2009, *Glamour* featured a small image of plus-sized model Lizzie Miller, who was photographed nearly nude and positioned in a way that visibly revealed a roll of stomach fat.[8] As editor Cindi Leive later described of the photo:

---

[8]    Although this particular issue was included in the original sample, I opted to discuss it in the concluding section of this article given that reaction/feedback on the image appeared in subsequent issues and online.

> We loved the look on her face, the joy in the way she was laughing, and the fact that she was not sucking her stomach in. The belly is a part of the body women struggle with. Lizzie had an attitude that said, "I don't need to suck in my stomach; I am the sexiest thing in the world just as is" (Leive, glamour.com, March).

Although Leive's comment speaks to the internal motivation driving producers to provide more varied models of femininity, she framed it as a prosocial action that spawned hundreds of highly favorable reader comments. It thus seems that although the inclusion of authentic women can be seen as a positive movement, it is also propelled by a basic economic logic of increasing circulation and thus revenues.

A final explanation behind the "real" trend in women's magazines, which in no way belies the others, is that authenticity is deployed in response to what cultural producers see as an increasingly savvy, reflexive consumer. Not only are 21st-century consumers aware of the smoke and mirrors of contemporary advertising (i.e., digital photo retouching and editing), but media producers feel their audiences are self-reflexive about the media production processes (Duffy, Liss-Mariño, and Sender, 2011). Content creators can thus shine the spotlight on their own flaws and contradictions in an attempt to make their creative products seem more "authentic." So, then, does an authentic turn indexed by real products, real women, real bodies, and more indicate the kind of full inclusion that Wolf (1991) hoped for? Do tan, thin, young, and blonde women (see the *Glamour* quote in the epigraph) still represent true womanhood—or are the boundaries around femininity more malleable? The answers seem to be both *yes* and *no*; women's magazines and advertisements are increasingly infused with various rhetorics of authenticity, but in no way have these texts (to draw on Wolf's phrase) *lost their commercial function*.

## REFERENCES

Andrejevic, M. (2002). The kinder, gentler gaze of big brother. *New Media & Society*, *4*, 251–270.

Andrejevic, M. (2003). *Reality TV: The work of being watched*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Andrejevic, M. (2008). Watching television without pity: The productivity of online fans. *Television and New Media*, *9*, 24–46.

Barton, B. (2008, June 23). Green marketing and the importance of authenticity. *Bazaar Blog*. Retrieved from http://www.bazaarblog.com/2008/06/23/green-marketing-the-importance-of-authenticity

Baudrillard, J. (1983). *Simulations*. New York, NY: Semiotext(e).

Bazilian, E. (2012, April 3). Advertisers keep it real with *Marie Claire*. *Adweek*. Retrieved from http://www.adweek.com

Benjamin, W. (1992). The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction. In H. Zohn (Eds.), *Illuminations* (pp. 211–244). London, UK: Fontana. (Original work published 1936)

Black, P., & Sharma, U. (2001). Men are real, women are "made up": Beauty therapy and the construction of femininity. *The Sociological Review*, *49*, 100–116.

Botterill, J. (2007). Cowboys, outlaws and artists: The rhetoric of authenticity in contemporary jeans and sneaker advertisements. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *7*, 105–125.

Brick, H. (2000). *Age of contradiction: American thought and culture in the 1960s.* New York, NY: Cornell University Press.

Carroll, G. R., & Wheaton, D. (2009). The organizational construction of authenticity: An examination of contemporary food and dining in the U.S. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *29*, 255–282.

Cronin, A. (2000) Consumerism and "compulsory individuality": Women, will and potential. In S. Ahmed, J. Kilby, C. Lury, M. McNeil, & B. Skeggs (Eds.), *Transformations: Thinking through feminism* (pp. 273–287). London, UK: Routledge.

Currie, D. (1999). *Girl talk: Adolescent magazines and their readers*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Davies, K., Dickey, J., & Stratford, T. (Eds.), *Out of focus: Writings on women and the media*. London, UK: Women's Press.

Deuze, M., Bruns, A., & Neuberger, C. (2007). Preparing for an age of participatory news. *Journalism Practice*, *1*, 322–338.

Duffy, B. E., Liss-Mariño, T., & Sender, K. (2011). Television depictions of the creative industries: Peeking behind the gilt curtain. *Communication, Culture, & Critique*, *4*, 275–292.

Eco, U. (1987). *Travels in hyper-reality*. London, UK: Picador.

Erickson, R. J. (1995, Summer). The importance of authenticity for self and society. *Symbolic Interaction*, *18*, 121–144.

Fine, G. (2003). Crafting authenticity: The validation of identity in self-taught art. *Theory & Society*, *32*,153–180.

Frank, T. (1997). *The conquest of cool: Business culture, counterculture, and the rise of hip consumerism*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Frosh, P. (2001). To thine own self be true: The discourse of authenticity in cultural production. *The Communication Review*, *4*, 541–557.

Friedan, B. (1963). *The feminine mystique*. New York, NY: Dell Publishing Co.

Gill, R. (2008). Culture and subjectivity in neoliberal and postfeminist times. *Subjectivity*, *25*, 432–445.

Gilman, S. (1999). *Making the body beautiful: A cultural history of aesthetic surgery*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender advertisements*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Goldman, R., & Papson, S. (1998). *Nike culture: The sign of the swoosh*. London, UK: Sage.

Goldstein, J. (1995). The female aesthetic community. In G. Marcus & F. Myers (Eds.), *The traffic in culture: Refiguring art and anthropology* (pp. 310–329). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Grayson, K., & Martinec, R. (2004). Consumer perceptions of iconicity and indexicality and their influence on assessments of authentic market offerings. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*, 296–312.

Grazian, D. (2005). *Blue Chicago: The search for authenticity in urban blues clubs*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Grazian, D. (2010). Demystifying authenticity in the sociology of culture. In J. Hall, L. Grindstaff, & M. Lo (Eds.), *Handbook of cultural sociology* (pp. 191–200). New York, NY: Routledge.

Hall-Gallagher, A., & Pecot-Hebert, L. (2007)."You need a makeover!": The social construction of female body image in *A Makeover Story*, *What Not to Wear*, and *Extreme Makeover*." *Popular Communication*, *5*, 57–79.

Handler, R. (1986). Authenticity. *Anthropology Today*, *2*, 2–4.

Illouz, E. (2007). *Cold intimacies: The making of emotional capitalism*. London, UK: Polity Press.

Jacknis, I. (1990). Authenticity and the Mungo Martin House, Victoria, BC: Visual and verbal sources. *Arctic Anthropology*, *27*(2), 1–12.

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Jhally, S. (2000). Advertising at the edge of the apocalypse. In R. Anderson & L. Strate (Eds.), *Critical studies in media commercialism* (pp. 27–39). New York, NY: University Press.

Johnston, J., & Taylor J. (2008). Feminist consumerism and fat activism: A comparative study of grassroots activism and the Dove real beauty campaign. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *33*, 941–966.

Kelleher, M. (2004). Images of the past: Historical authenticity and inauthenticity from Disney to Times Square. *CRM Journal*, *1*(2), 6–19.

Leive, C. (2009). The picture you can't stop talking about: Meet "the woman on p. 194." On the C. L. Blog. *Glamour*. Retrieved from http://www.glamour.com/health-fitness/blogs/vitamin-g/2009/08/on-the-cl-the-picture-you-cant.html

Lewis, D., & Bridger, D. (2000). *The soul of the new consumer: Authenticity—What we buy and why in the new economy*. London, UK: Nicholas Brealey.

Love, M., & Helmbrecht, B. M. (2007). Teaching the conflicts: (Re)engaging students with feminism in a postfeminist world. *Feminist Teacher*, *18*, 41–58.

MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged authenticity: Arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *Journal of American Sociology*, *79*, 589–603.

MacDonald, D. (1957). A theory of mass culture. In B. Rosenberg & D. M. White (Eds.), *Mass culture* (pp. 59–72). New York, NY: Free Press.

McGee, M. (2005). *Self-help Inc.: Makeover culture in American life*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Murray, S. & Ouellette, L., Eds. (2004). *Reality TV: Remaking television culture*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Peiss, K. (1998). *Hope in a jar: The making of America's beauty culture*. New York, NY: Metropolitan.

Peterson, R. A. (1997). *Creating country music: Fabricating authenticity*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Peterson, R. A. (2005). In search of authenticity. *Journal of Management Studies*, *42*, 1083–1098.

Pooley, J. (2010). The consuming self: From flappers to Facebook. In M. Aronczyk & D. Powers (Eds.), *Blowing up the brand: Critical perspectives on promotional culture* (Vol. 21). New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing.

Rakow, L. F., & Kranich, K. (1991). Woman as sign in television news. *Journal of Communication*, *41*, 8–23.

Rettberg, J. (2008). *Blogging (digital media and society)*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Riordan, T. (2004). *Inventing beauty: A history of the innovations that have made us beautiful*. New York, NY: Broadway Books.

Rose, N. (1996). *Inventing ourselves: Psychology, power and personhood*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Rose, R., & Wood, S. (2005). Paradox and the consumption of authenticity through reality television. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *32*, 284–296.

Schwyzer, H. (2011, November 16). *Real women have . . . bodies*. Retrieved from http://jezebel.com/5860264/real-women-havebodies

Stahl, M. (2002). Authentic boy bands on TV? Performers and impresarios in *The Monkees* and *Making the Band*. *Popular Music*, *21*, 307–329.

Taylor, C. (1992). *The ethics of authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Todd, A. (2004). The aesthetic turn in green marketing. *Ethics and the Environment*, *9*, 86–102.

Trilling, L. (1972). *Sincerity and authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Welter, B. (1966). The cult of true womanhood: 1820–1860. *American Quarterly*, *18*, 151–174.

West, E. (2007). When you care enough to defend the very best: How the greeting card industry manages cultural criticism. *Media, Culture & Society*, *29*, 241–261.

Williams, J. (2005). Consumption and authenticity in the collectible strategy games subculture. In J. Williams, S. Hendricks, & W. Winkler (Eds.), *Gaming as culture: Essays in social reality, identity and experience in fantasy games* (pp. 77–99). Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Wilson, N. E. (1999). Food advertising and eating disorders: Marketing body dissatisfaction, the drive for thinness, and dieting in women's magazines. *Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education & Development*, *38*, 111–122.

Winship, J. (1983). "Options-for the way you want to live now," or a magazine for superwoman. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *1*, 44–65.

Winship, J. (1987). *Inside women's magazines*. New York, NY: Pandora Press.

Wolf, N. (1991). *The beauty myth*. New York, NY: Anchor/Doubleday.

Zwick, D., Bonsu, S. K., & Darmody, A. (2008). Putting consumers to work: "Co-creation" and new marketing governmentality. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *8*, 163–196.