Masculinity and fashion consumption

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Abstract

People consume fashion every day in the sense that they wear clothes. The aim of this Master's thesis is to investigate 'How can Danish and Italian men use fashion consumption to construct their masculinity?'

In this thesis men's construction of masculinity through fashion consumption is analyzed based on two qualitative methods: unstructured non participant observations and semi-structured in-depth interviews. The observations in Italy were conducted between April 6 and April 8 in 2017, during that period 43 observations were made, of which 18 were of men who shopped alone, 10 of couples shopping, and 15 of people that were shopping in groups. The observations in Denmark were conducted between June 1 and June 3 2017, during that period 38 observations were made, of which 16 were of men who shopped alone, 6 of couples shopping, and 16 of people that were shopping in groups. The interviews were made between the April 6 and July 5 2017, the interviewees were between 19 and 28 years old and had either Danish or Italian nationality.

Through the empirical research it was found that the male clothes that mostly represented the hegemonic masculinity was the 'suit'. But even though the suit is seen at the typical hegemonic male fashion, the suit was solely represented by the participants in the observations and the informants all stated that the suit was not a part of their daily clothes. There was also found stigmatization of some clothes, because they were perceived to be related to homosexuality.

In the analysis there was not found a big difference between Italian and Danish men as fashion consumers. But it was found that clothes or fashion is a way to reflect who a person is, and it can be used to express one's personal trait and therefore also one's masculinity.

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1 Introduction

In this thesis masculinity and fashion consumption is the topic of the research. Fashion consumption means to consume fashion. If you look the word 'fashion' up in the Oxford Dictionary, the first result is *"(a) popular or the latest style of clothing, hair, decoration, or behavior"* (Oxford University Press, n.d.). According to Diana Crane (2012) four different concepts for the definition of fashion exist, the first concept *"(...) is that fashion is a form of material culture related to bodily decoration"* (Crane, 2012, p. 1). This definition relates to fashion as a cultural material that can be used to decorate the body, and thereby fashion can be seen as a way to communicate or express oneself to other people. The second concept of fashion *"(...) focuses on fashion as a signifier. Here the emphasis is on fashion as a kind of language in which clothing styles function as signifiers."* (Crane, 2012, p. 1). This concept suggests that fashion can be seen as a language that can be interpreted through norms and codes that are constantly changing. The third concept *"(...) views fashion as a system of business organizations in which fashion is created, communicated and distributed to consumers"* (Crane, 2012, p. 2)*,* this concept implied that fashion is conveyed from one instance to another as for example *"(...) from elites to non-elites."* (Crane, 2012, p. 2). The last concept *"(...) identifies the hypothetical effects of fashion, such as the reinforcement of social differentiation, the expression of aspiration for social mobility and the resolution of anxieties regarding social identity"* (Crane, 2012, p. 2). This concept interprets fashion as something people use *"(...) to express and shape personal and social identities"* (Crane, 2012, p. 2). In this thesis, the term fashion will be seen as an object, like clothes and clothing accessories that people use to create and express their personality.

Fashion is a way in which we can express our feelings and who we are as people or want to be. Fashion used to focus primarily on women, but this has changed, and today fashion also relates to men (Rinallo, 2007, p. 76). But even in today's society the term fashion by itself is perceived as feminine, though both men and women *"(...) wear clothes and modify their appearances"* (Kaiser, 2012, p. 125). One reason why fashion is seen as something feminine is that *""(f)ashion" seems to imply femininity as a process of frivolous change, colorful details, and unnecessary flounces, and superficiality"* (Kaiser, 2012, p. 125). Both men and women use fashion or clothing as part of the identity formation they go through as a teenager, but where fashion allows women to experiment with colors and details, the fashion offered to men is more serious and limited. This may be because the idea of 'men's fashion' for many centuries has

not been recognized, instead it has been referring to as men's wear and viewed as something that has to be practical and comfortable, rather than stylish (Rinallo, 2007, p. 78).

The idea that men are not interested in fashion has changed, and today it is considered normal that a man is interested in his appearance and clothes. Mark Simpson introduced the term 'metrosexual' in an article in the magazine 'Salon.com'. The term metrosexual is often described as *"a straight, urban male who is keenly interested in fashion, home design, gourmet cooking and personal care"* (Solomon, Bamossy, Askegaard, & Hogg, 2016, p. 176). However, according to Rinallo (2007) it is important to emphasize that the sexual orientation of the metrosexual man was irrelevant in the original definition of the term (Rinallo, 2007, p. 79). But as the previous quote indicates, mass media and marketing has changed the understanding of the term to imply that metrosexual only refers to heterosexual men (Rinallo, 2007, p. 79; Solomon, Bamossy, Askegaard, & Hogg, 2016, p. 179). An example of a man how is described as metrosexual is the British soccer player David Beckham who *"(...) is 'almost as famous for wearing sarongs and pink nail polish and panties belonging to his wife, [...] as he is for his impressive ball skills"* (Solomon, Bamossy, Askegaard, & Hogg, 2016, p. 176; Simpson, 2002). Some will see Backham's use of nail polish and women's panties as being feminine, a homosexual or transsexual tendency, but according to Mark Simpson (2002), Beckham is neither heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual, he is *"(...) actually a screaming, shrieking, flaming, freaking metrosexual"* (Simpson, 2002). Beckham has been a huge role model for many young boys and men, and at the same time many young girls and women also find him attractive.

In this thesis is masculinity seen in relation to Raewyn Connells's masculinity types 'hegemony masculinity', 'subordination masculinity', 'complicity masculinity', and 'marginalization masculinity' (Connell R. W., 2005, pp. 77-82). Where the 'hegemony male fashion' is interpreted as something that can be related to strength, leadership, authority and dominance, like for example a uniform. The hegemony male fashion is also clothes that fit to the context which people are in. The 'subordination male fashion' will in this thesis be seen as a deviation from normal, or as something that can be related to femininity. The 'complicity male fashion' is the norm it is the clothes that is normally seen on everyday men, which can neither be categorized as hegemony or subordination male fashion.

The last is the 'marginalization male fashion' it is either the hegemonic or the complicity male fashion, but at the same time can it not be categorize whit the subordination male fashion. This male fashion can be understood in two ways, the first is the same as the hegemony and complicity male fashion, the other understanding is that the marginalization male fashion differs from the hegemony and complicity of male fashion and can in some cases be seen as the subordination male fashion, but the different from the subordination man is that the person is seen as a role model or powerful person.

1.1 Research question

In this thesis is the research question set out to understand how men construct their masculinity through fashion consumption. Furthermore will there also be looked at the difference between how Danish and Italian man construct their masculinity through fashion.

Research question:

How can Danish and Italian men use fashion consumption to construct their masculinity?

In this thesis is masculinity as previous written defined out from Connell's masculinity types. Italian and Danish will be categorizes as men that is born and raised in either Denmark or Italy. Fashion consumption is in this thesis to obtain and use of clothes or clothes related accessories, which people can use to create and express their personality.

2 Theoretical framework

In this chapter, the two theories 'Raewyn Connell's masculinity' theory and 'Men and Consumption' theory described.

2.1 Raewyn Connell's Masculinity

Raewyn Connell (Born Robert William Connell, 1944 in Sydney Australia) became professor of sociology in 1976, (foundation chair) at Macquarie University. Then she moved to the University of California (Santa Cruz) in the beginning of the 1990s. Connell is currently Professor Emerita at The University of Sydney (Connell R. , BIO, 2017; Connell R. W., 2005, pp. xi-xiii)

2.1.1 Masculinity

Masculinity is about gender relation, both the relation between men and women, but also the relation between men and men. Before defining the term masculinity, it is important to define the term gender (Connell R. , Masculinities, 2016).

> *All societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept 'masculinity'.*
> (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 67)

Gender is a term that can only be understood in relation to the term sex. Until the early 1970s, sex and gender were understood as two separate things. Sex was the biology of a person, and gender was the status that was constructed:

> *(…) the late 1960s and early 1970s (…) Sex, we told students, was what was ascribed by biology: anatomy, hormones, and physiology. Gender, we said, was achieved status: that which is constructed through psychological, cultural, and social means.* (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 125).

West and Zimmerman argue in their article that a lot of students find this understanding of gender and sex confusing (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). 'Sex' must be understood as *"(...) socially agreed upon biological criteria for classifying persons of female or males"* (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127) whereas 'gender' is one's social activity that is reflected on the basis of a person's already determined

'sex category', therefore, gender can be seen as something that is socially constructed through a person's life (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 127).

Because masculinity is about social positions that men have in relation to other men and women, is it the 'gender category' that is important when talking about sex and gender because masculinity is socially constructed in the same way as the gender category.

Connell defined the term masculinity based on four different positions: essentialist, positivist, normative, and semiotic in her book 'masculinities' (Connell R. W., 2005, pp. 67-71):

> *Definitions of masculinity have mostly taken our cultural standpoint for granted, but have followed different strategies to characterize the type of person who is masculine. Four Main strategies have been followed; they are easily distinguished in terms of their logic, though often combined in practice.* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 68)

If we look at the concept of masculinity from an 'essentialist' point of view, this definition focuses on the core of masculinity. The essentialists' have had many different views in their attempt to understand the essence of masculinity. Their *"(…)attempts to capture an essence of masculinity have been colourfully varied: risk-taking, responsibility, irresponsibility, aggression, Zeus energy… Perhaps the finest is the sociobiologist Lionel Tiger's idea that true maleness, underlying male bonding and war is elicited by 'hand and heavy phenomena'."* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 68)

The different attempts of understanding the essence of masculinity it is also one of the problem whit the essentialists'. The essentialists' view is that it is *"(…)quite arbitrary"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 69). There is no obligation that the essentialists have to agree on their understanding of masculinities.

The positivist definition of masculinity is based on the logic of masculinity and femininity scales in psychology. The positivist understanding of masculinity is based on statistical discrimination between men and women and on ethnographic discussions of patterns in men's lives and how these patterns can be related to masculinity. The term masculinity helps us to not only understand the difference between men and women;

The terms 'masculine and 'feminine' point beyond categorical sex difference to the ways
men differ among themselves, and women differ among themselves, in matter of gender.
(Connell R. W., 2005, p. 69)

Therefore, it is important to understand that masculinity is not about the gender difference or the relation between men and women, but about the position which men have in the gender order.

The normative definition of *"(…) masculinity is what men ought to be "* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 70). This definition emphasizes the male sex role, it sees masculinity through the *"(...) social norm for the behaviour of men"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 70). This definition is often used in media studies because it provides a standardization of the term masculinity. The problem with the normative definition of masculinity is that it is very superficial and focuses more on standardization than on *"(…) masculinity at the level of personality"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 70).

The semiotic definition is about masculinity on a personal level. The definition is based on a *"(…) system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted. Masculinity is, in effect, defined as not-femininity"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 70). The semiotic definition of masculinity is defined as the inverse of femininity.

> *In the semiotic opposition of masculinity and femininity, masculinity is the unmarked term,*
> *the place of symbolic authority. The phallus is master signifier, and femininity is*
> *symbolically defined by lack.* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 70)

The problem whit this definition is that it is very effective in cultural analysis, but limited within its field of application *"(…) unless one assumes, as some postmodern theorists do, that discourse I all we can talk about in social analysis"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 71)

What all these definitions have in common is the *"principle of connection"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 71). The idea behind the definition is to understand the concept through a system of symbols and that masculinity is part of a system of gender relations.

> *'Masculinity', to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place*
> *in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in*

gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture.
(Connell R. W., 2005, p. 71)

In other words, the term 'masculinity' can be defined through the position of men in gender relations. To understand the concept masculinity, one must see it in relation to gender relations between men. Masculinity is a social concept of gender relations; this means that it is socially constructed through social contracts. This means that masculinity types exist only as long as both hegemony, subordination, complicity, and marginalization support the understanding of the masculine hierarchy (Figure 1: The hierarchy of masculinities).
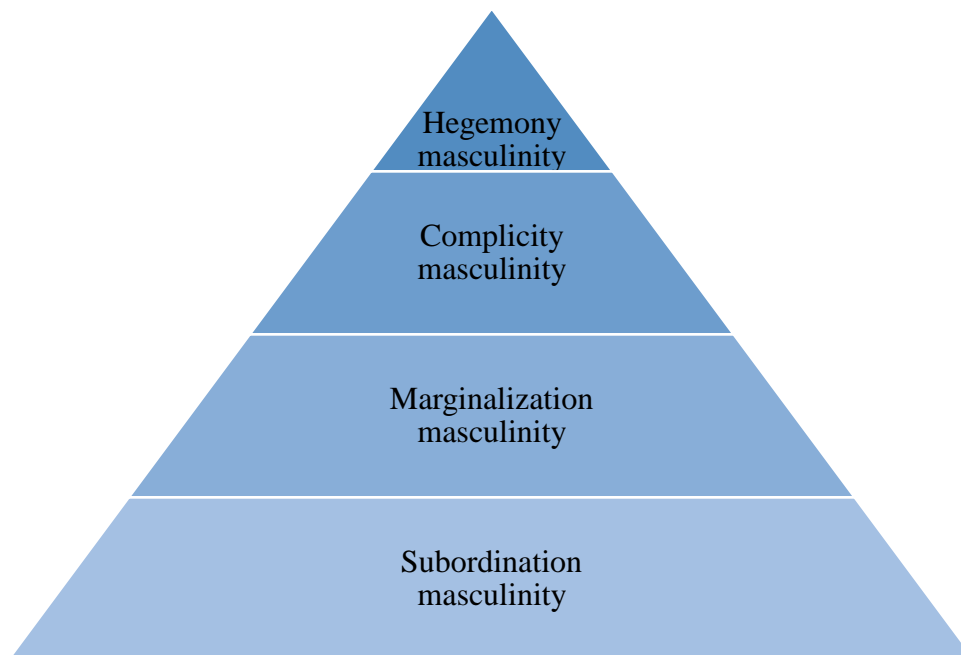
Figure 1:The hierarchy of masculinities

In the top of the hierarchy lies the hegemonic masculinity; this is the dominant masculinity, then there is the complicity masculinity. This masculinity can also be called the supporting masculinity because this masculinity supports the idea of the hegemonic masculinity and enjoys the benefits of hegemonic masculinity without being in the same front position. After the complicity masculinity comes the marginalized masculinity which is the masculinity that is suppressed by the hegemonic and complicity masculinity because of race or class, but even though this masculinity is not recognized as hegemonic or

complicity masculinity, it is not a subordinate masculinity. The last masculinity in the hierarchy is the subordinate, which is the oppressed masculinity, and this type of masculinity is often associated with men who are homosexuals or men who are prone to men and women.

The masculinity types hegemony, subordination, complicity, and marginalization help understand the relation between men. In the next section the masculinity types will be defined.

Hegemony masculinity

Hegemony masculinity can be described as a dominant position that men have in the gender order. (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 77). The term hegemonic masculinity is a concept that is still debated and reconstructed, but according to Connell it is still a concept that is essential in the theory of masculinity because it helps understand the relations between men (Connell R. W., 2005, p. xviii).

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

A hegemonic person is a person that is powerful, dominant and often a leading person in society. Hegemonic masculinity is often seen in people that hold institutional power and wealth, *"(…)the top levels of business, the military and government provide a fairly convincing corporate display of masculinity(…)"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 77). People that have a hegemonic masculine position in society often possess authority in both their professional and personal life, however, men have a powerful position in their professional life and at the same time not have hegemonic masculinity in their private life and vice versa.

> *Individual holders of institutional power or great wealth may be far from the hegemonic pattern in their personal lives.* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 77).

Hegemonic masculinity is seen as authority and power in gender relation.

Subordination masculinity

The subordination masculinity is often seen as subordinate persons who allow themselves to be suppressed by the dominant hegemonic masculinity. In Western society, subordinated masculinity is often related to homosexuality whereas hegemonic masculinity is related to heterosexuality. Some of the consequences of this understanding are that discrimination of homosexuals still exists in the form of religious persecution, physical and psychological violence, political oppression and social exclusion as they are seen as inferior in relation to the heterosexual man.

Because of the stereotypes that are around homosexual men, gays are often seen as flamboyant individuals with interests in interior design that receive anal pleasure, therefore homosexual men are often seen as more feminine than masculine and become equated with women. Although people often associate the subordinated masculinity with homosexuals, there are also heterosexual men who are excluded by the hegemonic masculinity because they do not fit into the hegemonic understanding of what a man is (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 78).

> *Some heterosexual men and boys too are expelled from the circle of legitimacy. The process is marked by a rich vocabulary of abuse: wimp, milksop, nerd, turkey, sissy, lily liver, jellyfish, yellowbelly, candy ass, ladyfinger, pushover, cookie pusher, cream puff, motherfucker, pantywaist, mother's boy, four-eyes, ear-'ole, dweeb, geek, Milquetoast, Cedric, and so on. Here too the symbolic blurring with femininity is obvious.* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 79)

In the quotation there are examples of how subordinated masculinity is oppressed through psychological violence, however, men or boys who are possessing subordination properties are often subjected to mental as well as physical violence.

Complicity masculinity

> *Normative definitions of masculinity, as I have noted, face the problem that not many men actually meet the normative standards. This point applies to hegemonic masculinity.* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 79)

If we see the gender relation between men as only hegemonic and subordinated masculinity, it will create an imbalance because not all men can live up to the hegemonic standard, but this does not mean that they have a subordinate position in the gender relation. Therefore, we must recognize the complicit masculinity. The complicit masculinity is constructed to have the same advantages as the hegemonic masculinity in relation to women and the subordinated and marginalized masculinity, although they *"(...) without the tensions or risks of being the frontline troops of patriarchy, are complicit in this sense"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 79). According to Connell, *"(i)t is tempting to treat them simply as slacker versions of hegemonic masculinity"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 79). But to understand the complicit masculinity, it is necessary to see the full picture of what is distancing this masculinity from the hegemonic masculinity. Men that are masculine in the complicit sense often have some of the same characteristics as the hegemonic masculinity, but one of the places where the complicit masculinity differs from the hegemonic masculinity is male roles in *"(...) marriage, fatherhood and community life(...)"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 79) because these roles often require compromises with women and not overall dominance and authority. Men with complicit masculinity

> *(...)respect their wives and mothers, are never violent towards women, do their accustomed share of the housework, bring home the family wage, and can easily convince themselves that feminists must be bra-burning extremists* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 80).

Marginalization masculinity

> *Hegemony, subordination and complicity, as just defined, are relations internal to the gender order. The interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race creates further relationships between masculinities.* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 80)

Marginalized masculinity is about the dominant masculinity in relation to subordinate classes or ethnic groups. The reason that this masculinity type is relevant is that the hegemonic, subordinated and complicit masculinities do not account for class or race.

> *(...) new information technology became a vehicle for redefining middle-class masculinities at a time when the meaning of labour for working-class men was in contention. This is not a question of a fixed middle-class masculinity confronting a fixed working-class masculinity.*

Both are being reshaped, by a social dynamic in which class and gender relations are simultaneously in play. (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 80)

Class is important to take into account when looking at the relation between men. Another important issue to take into account when talking about masculinity is race.

In a white-supremacist context, black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction…, ...hegemonic masculinity among whites sustains the institutional oppression and physical terror that have framed the making of masculinities in black communities (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 80).

The white hegemonic masculinity plays a major role in terms of the suppression of masculinity in relation to black men. Marginalized masculinity is about the relation between the dominant masculinity and classes or ethnic groups. Marginalization and authorization also exist between men that belong to the subordinated masculinity.

To understand the relation between the different masculinity types, we must see hegemony in relation to subordination and complicity and marginalization in relation to authorization:

(…) hegemony, domination/subordination and complicity on the one hand, marginalization/authorization on the other – provide a framework in which we can analyse specific masculinities (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 81).

As argued in this section, the hierarchy of masculinity is based on dominance and power. In this thesis there will be looked at how this hierarchy and the masculinity types manifest in men's fashion consumption.

2.2 Men and consumption

There are many books and articles about consumption and consumer behavior. Consumption means to use up a resource like eating, purchase of goods and service, receiving information and entertainment (Oxford University Press, n.d.). Consumption is essential in consumer behavior studies. Consumer behavior is not only about buying things, consumer behavior, is more about the underlying reasons of

our consumption than the purchase of goods or services, and how our consumption influences our lives and the lives of others.

> *(…) products, services and consumption activities contribute to the broader social world we experience. Whether shopping, cooking, cleaning, playing football or hockey, lying on the beach, emailing or texting friends, or even looking at ourselves in the mirror, our lives are touched by the marketing system.* (Solomon, Bamossy, Askegaard, & Hogg, 2016, p. XV)

People consume every day, both when they are considering a purchase, when they purchase goods or services, and when they are using the services or goods they have acquired in their lives (Solomon, Bamossy, Askegaard, & Hogg, 2016, p. XV).

The field of consumption and consumer studies is often divided into groups or segments, based on criteria such as gender, age, income, ethnicity and lifestyle. When considering the gender segment, you must see gender as something that is socially constructed, we are 'doing gender', and our style or clothes is one of our ways to express (show) the gender we are 'doing'. Already from birth we are doing gender, our parents dress us as the gender we are, girls in pink dresses and boys in blue trousers and blouses. This gender segregation of colors, which emerged in the 1930s (Kaiser, 2012, pp. 121-122), allows admissions, but only in one direction: Girls can wear blue, *"(…)but it is still largely considered to be anxiety producing for adults in the United States to see baby boys wearing pink, especially when they are very young (and not yet "fully formed"?)."* (Kaiser, 2012, p. 122). This color division of gender is mostly related to children, as adult men not in the same way will create anxiety in other adults if wearing pink clothes. When looking at fashion consumption there is a division between what is seen as feminine or masculine. The actual interest in fashion and style is something that has previously been seen as something reserved for women and gay men.

However, this division has over time become more blurred, and today, fashion speaks more to men instead of mostly only focusing on women (Rinallo, 2007, p. 76).

The cause for this blurring of the previous separation of men versus women, masculinity versus femininity, and heterosexuality versus homosexuality, is that the world and fashion have changed (Kaiser, 2012, p. 124; Rinallo, 2007, p. 76).

In a world of fragmentation, an increased similarity between straight and gay men – at least with respect to attitudes towards fashion and appearance – is hardly surprising. Postmodern tribes are defined as 'a network of heterogeneous persons – in terms of age, sex, income, etc. –who are linked by a shared passion or emotion' (Rinallo, 2007, p. 77)

It has become more acceptable that men have an interest in fashion and their appearance. Nevertheless, to some people the word fashion still *"(…) seems to imply femininity as a process of frivolous change, colorful details and unnecessary flounces, and superficiality."* (Kaiser, 2012, p. 125). This probably has something to do with the fashion industry often being associated with homosexuality, and many believe that all men who work in the fashion industry are gay. This is true to some extent, many men that work in the fashion industry: designers, photographers, stylists, and models are openly gay or bisexual, but not all men who work in the fashion industry are gay, and especially a lot of the models are heterosexuals (Entwistle, 2008, p. 67). Furthermore, it might have to do with the fact that *"(f)ashionable representations of masculinity have to face centuries-old cultural taboos"* (Rinallo, 2007, p. 78) and that there was a set of social rules that applied to men's relation to fashion:

that there is no men's fashion; that men dress for fit and comfort, rather than for style; that women dress men and buy clothes for them; that men who dress up are peculiar (one way or another); that man do not notice clothes; and that most men have not been duped into the endless pursuit of seasonal fads. (Rinallo, 2007, p. 78)

However, this does not mean that male fashion has not existed previously, but it has been more low-key and has often been referred to as menswear instead of men's fashion (Kaiser, 2012, p. 125). In addition, fashion or menswear has also been a way for men to show their masculinity, 'the suit' (especially the well-tailored suits) can be seen as a symbol of hegemonic masculinity, in addition, also dark colors and especially the color black are associated with dominance and hegemonic masculinity (Kaiser, 2012, pp. 125, 136; Rinallo, 2007, p. 78). The suit is still seen as a hegemonic status symbol, but the idea that men should wear only dark natural clothes has changed.

In June 2002, journalist Mark Simpson authored an article on the online magazine Salon.com in which he introduced his audience to the 'metrosexual', a term he had previously coined (Simpson,1994) to refer to male consumers living in or near metropolitan

areas, who spend significant amount of time and money on their appearance and lifestyles and who, although most often straight, tend to embody the aesthetic sensibility frequently associated with gay men. (Rinallo, 2007, p. 79)

The concept metrosexual soon became part of the advertising industry, but they changed Simpson's original definition of the concept a little; they saw the concept metrosexual as something that only applied to heterosexual men, but Simpson's original definition did not emphasize the sexuality of men and therefore referred to both heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual men. The concept metrosexual describes a change in masculinity where it is okay for men regardless of their sexuality to care about their appearance and fashion. Also the clothes that men can purchase today has changed both in color, shape and the way it is used, and it has become more okay for men to play with style and fashion (Ostberg, 2012, pp. 260, 264-265; Rinallo, 2007, pp. 79-80).

One of the areas where fashion has changed for men is the selection. Today, the range of clothes in men's clothing stores and departments has become much bigger. Jacob Ostberg describes how this fashion development has change by using socks as an example in his chapter in *Masculinity and Fashion* (Ostberg, 2012). *"(…)(T)hroughout history the male fashion dictates surrounding socks have varied considerably."* (Ostberg, 2012, p. 255). In the chapter, Ostberg takes us through the fashion history of socks, and how socks reflect how the whole fashion industry is changing all the time and how the selection in male fashion has expanded. He also points out how this development can be difficult for men to navigate in:

> *Things became slightly more complicated when white sport socks were introduced […] but still, according to the style police, one was not supposed to wear them at any occasion. This when things started to get complicated, but also interesting* (Ostberg, 2012, p. 255).

But fashion changes, and so does fashion rules, what now is a 'no go' maybe be fashionable in 10 years. Some of the fashion rules that Ostberg describes in his example, is when men can wear the white sports socks and socks in the sandals. For many years the idea of white sport socks has been that *"(…) wearing white sport socks with a suit or formal slacks was bad taste."* and *"(…) wearing white sports socks with sandals – representing archetypal bad taste (…)"* (Ostberg, 2012, p. 256). But this has changed and for

some people wearing socks with sandals, maybe even white sport socks, is fashionable or used as a fashion statement.

3 Philosophy of science

In this chapter the different methodological positions of the thesis will be presented. In the first part, the 'philosophy of science', includes the 'ontology', 'epistemology' and 'methodology' of the thesis. The second part informs about the method used in the thesis including the 'unstructured non-participant observation' and 'semi structured interview'.

> *Philosophy of science: The systematic study of how scientific knowledge is produced, substantiated, and used in society* (Holm, 2013, p. 14)

Philosophy of science is important because it helps guide the research through a *"systematic study"* (Holm, 2013, p. 14) to produce knowledge that can help understand society (Holm, 2013, p. 14).

Paradigm is *"(...) a basic set of beliefs that guides action, whether of the everyday garden variety or action taken in connection with a disciplined inquiry"* (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 17; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 22). However, it is important to mention that there is no comprehensive clear definition of the term paradigm, the term has to be in a *"a problematic limbo"* (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 17), this gives the opportunity to reshape the term to one's own understanding (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 17). There are many different paradigms, and Egon C. Guba describes three different paradigms that are followers of positivism in his book *The Paradigm Dialog* (1990), these paradigms are: postpositivism, critical theory and constructivism. These paradigms are different both in their criticism of positivism and in the remedies that they offer (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 9). The paradigm helps guide the reseach through outlining the ontological, epistemological and methodological stances:

> (1) *Ontological stance*: what is the nature of the "knowable"? Or, what is the nature of "reality"?
> (2) *Epistemological stance*: what is the nature of the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the known (or knowable)?
> (3) *Methodological stance*: how should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge
>
> (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 18)

The paradigm in this thesis is constructivism, constructivism does not believe that ultimate truth exists. *"Reality" exists only in the context of mental framework"* (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 25), the world (reality) is constructed by multiple realities. This means that not only one reality exists, but there are more realities based on humans, their action and interactions with other humans. Therefore, it is important when reseaching that the reseacher understands the reseach field and its different realities. Another area that can be influenced by 'me as a person' is the transcriptions and then the translations interview with Danish informants as the interviews will be conducted in Danish and then transcribed into Danish, and thereafter the quotes that I use in this thesis are translated into English.

3.1 Ontology

The ontological position is the basic understanding of reality. Ontology is basic understanding of what the reality is and how we see the world as humans. In the constructivist paradigm the ontological position is relativist:

> *"Relativist- realities exist in the form of multiple mental constructions, socially and experientially based, local and specific, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them"* (Guba, 1990, p. 27).

The world is constructed through both individual and social interaction between people. The relativist beliefs is that there is no ultimate truth, but we live in a world with multiple realities. This means that there is no right understanding or opinion because all understandings and opinions are based on people's different realities and perceptions of life (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 27; Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 110-111). As constructivists we believe that all actions have an influence on our own reality but also on others' realities, therefore it is important that the researchers take into account that their presence have an influence on the field that they are investigating, and, conversely, the field has an influence on them (Guba E. C., 1990, pp. 25-27; Guba & Lincoln, 1994, pp. 110-111; Bryman, 2012, pp. 33-34).

In this thesis, the observations will be based on my understanding of reality as an observer, this is important to be aware of because it is based on my understanding of reality and may therefore not be the same as other researchers' observations. It is also important to take into account the ontological understanding of the interviews as the questions are based on my understanding of the reality. The same

applies to the information of the informants, which must be understood from the perspective of their own reality. Therefore, there are no right answers or understandings of the questions, as they are perceived on the basis of the reality of the interview.

3.2 Epistemology

Epistemology is about the relationship between the researcher and the research field. The epistemology in this thesis is subjectivist:

> *"Subjectivist- inquirer and inquired into are fused into a single (monistic) entity. Findings are literally the creation of the process of interaction between the two."* (Guba, 1990, p. 27).

The researcher influences the research field, both in terms of influence of the people and surroundings that the researcher interferes with during the research, but also in the way that the researcher receives and experiences the research field. The researcher does not only collect data, the researcher is also creating data under the investigation. Therefore, the role that the researcher takes is important under the investigation (Guba E. C., 1990, pp. 26-27; Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111; Bryman, 2012, pp. 33-34).

In this thesis unstructured non participant observation and semi structured interview will be used. In the observations I had two roles, the first role was as a researcher that was looking at men's shopping behavior; the other role was as another person that was out shopping. But that does not mean that there no influence on the field took place, because the thesis is about men and fashion consumption and I am a women, so by walking around in men's shops and men's store departments my gender might have an influence on the behavior of the people that I observed. The same problem with gender may also have an influence during the interviews as the men interviewed may be influenced in their understanding of the questions or in their answer. Another area that can be influenced by 'me as a person' is the transcriptions and then the translations of Danish informants' interviews, as the interviews will be conducted in Danish and then transscribed into Danish, and subsequently the quotes that I use in this thesis will be translated into English.

3.3 Methodology

Methodology is about how knowledge is collected.

Methodology: Hermeneutic, dialectic – individual constructions are elicited and refined hermeneutically, and compared and contrasted dialectically, with the aim of generating one (or a few) constructions on which there is substantial consensus. (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 27)

There are two aspects in the constructivist methodology: hermeneutic and dialectic. According to Guba *"(t)he hermeneutic aspect consists in depicting individual constructions as accurately as possible(...)"* (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 26). The hermeneutical process is suitable for studying texts (documents), social actions and social phenomena (Bryman, 2012, p. 560). Where *"the dialectic aspect consists of comparing and contrasting these existing individual (including the inquirer's) constructions so that each respondent must confront the constructions of others and come to terms with them."* (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 26). The dialectic aspect is the process where humans create their world, the world is constructed through people's reality and their actions in the reality they live in.

The methodological position hermeneutics, unlike positivism, can help explain social and cultural phenomena, through the interpretation of texts, conversations or observations.

There are six dominant tendencies in the hermeneutical approach: 'Interpretation' is about how the researcher through explanation and description interprets the reality that the subject field experiences. Interpretation is not just about observation, but how reality is constructed by humans, this is too complex to be observed exclusively. *"Therefore the scientist must interpret in order to reach the deeper levels of reality."* (Gerard, 2005, p. 42). Another important approach that is important is 'Anti-Scientism', which deals with the separation of facts from values. *"(...)(T)he hermeneutical approach argue[sic!] for a strong separation of the social and human sciences from the natural sciences in both the method and the subject matter of science"* (Gerard, 2005, p. 42).

The hermeneutical approach, helps separate the different sciences from each other, and especially the social and human sciences from the natural sciences. 'Value-freedom' is about how hermeneutics differs from positivism, *"the hermeneutical approach has generally been conceived of as value-free and ultimately implies relativism."* (Gerard, 2005, p. 42). This is one of the differences between the hermeneutic and positivist approach. Hermeneutics is about value-freedom in the sense that hermeneutic knowledge creates a higher self-understanding. 'Humanism' fights for the hermeneutical approach that is about human nature that allows interpretation. Understanding that human world is constructed by

people and their reality: *"the belief that the world cannot be meaningless"* (Gerard, 2005, p. 42). The 'linguistic constructivism' is about language as the basic structure of society. *"Society is seen as a linguistically and meaningfully constituted"* (Gerard, 2005, p. 42). The last tendencies 'intersubjectivity', which relate to the relationship between science and its object. *"The hermeneutical conception of science is not then a passive one, but one that implies an element of cultural construction"* (Gerard, 2005, p. 43). This construction of society can lead to self-understanding and world enlightenment, which is an aesthetic part of hermeneutics.

The traditional methodical and philosophical hermeneutics shares the same principle of the hermeneutic circle. "(…) (F)or the constructivist, there is no escaping the hermeneutic circle" (Guba E. C., 1990, p. 273). The hermeneutical circle is based on the structure of dialogue (Gerard, 2005, p. 45).

> *The Hermeneutic Circle: This is the view that all understanding is contextual; i.e., we understand the whole on the basis of its constituent parts, but at the same time we understand the parts because of they are elements of this whole.* (Holm, 2013, p. 86)

So, to understand the whole, one must understand the parts and vice versa. An example could be that to understand a text we have to understand the words, and to understand the words we have to know the letters, if we do not know the letters, we cannot understand the words and thereby not understand the text.
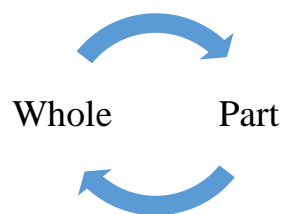
Whole   Part

Figure 2: Hermeneutic Circle (Holm, 2013, p. 87)

Figure 2: The Hermeneutic Circle (Holm, 2013, p. 87) illustrates how the hermeneutic circle works, neither the whole nor the parts is more important than the other, and it is important to go back and forth between the whole and the part to get the full understanding of both the whole and the parts or *"that all*

understanding consists of the constituent parts being explained by the whole and the whole being explained by the parts" (Holm, 2013, p. 86).

Another way to characterize the methodology is through the research design which the researcher creates. The research design influences how the data collection and method is being performed: *"A research design relates to the criteria that are employed when evaluating social research"* (Bryman, 2012, p. 45). David A. de Vaus distinguishes between four types of research design: experimental, longitudinal, cross-sectional and case study (de Vaus, 2001, p. xvii). What all these research designs have in common is that they create structure and thereby help answer the research question through data collection. This thesis is about 'how can men use fashion consumption to construct their masculinity', in this case, as previously mentioned, both 'semi structured in-depth interview' and 'unstructured non participant observation' will be used, as shown in figure 3 below:
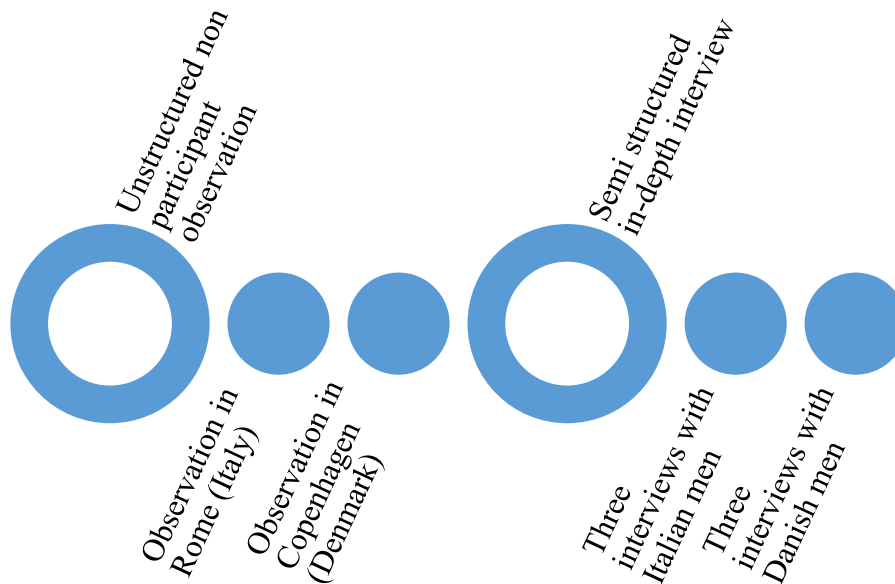

Figure 3: The research process.

Figure 3: The research process is the methodological steps shown, this overview helps illustrate how the data will be collected. However, it is important to add that the figure does not illustrate the order in which the data have been collected.

3.4 Method

The method is, as previous mentioned, an important part of this thesis, and in this section the two methods will be presented. The first method that will be presented is unstructured non-participant observation, and thereafter the semi-structured in-depth interview will be presented.

3.4.1 Unstructured non participant observation

In this thesis there will be used unstructured non-participant observation to investigate Danish and Italian men's consumption behavior while shopping.

Unstructured observation is a method where *"(…) the aim is to record in as much detail as possible the behavior of participants (…)"* (Bryman, 2012, p. 273). Unlike structured observation, unstructured observation has no guide to which specific behavioral patterns the researcher should look for since the goal of unstructured observation is about recording all participants' behavior. Unstructured observation allows the researcher to investigate the subject field in its natural environment and is often used in conjunction with participatory observation *"(…)but the term unstructured observation is usually employed in conjunction with non-participant observation"* (Bryman, 2012, p. 273).

Non-participant observation, as the name suggests, is observations where the researcher does not actively participate in the actions that the participants do. It is a *"(…) term that is used to describe a situation in which the observer observes but does not participate in what is going on in the social setting."* (Bryman, 2012, p. 273). When performing non-participant observations, the idea is that the researcher's role is like a 'fly on the wall' observing people's behavior without attracting attention from the participants. However, it is important to add that one's presence can still have an influence on the participants, because the researcher's gender, ethnicity, social status or own behavior can affect the target field which is observed. (Bryman, 2012, p. 273).

In this thesis, observations were made in both Italy and Denmark. The observations in Italy were made over four days in Rome, from April 5, 2017 to April 8, 2017. During the observations, I chose to focus on sixteen men and nine couples that all spoke Italian. Under the observations there were a lot of other men, couples, women, etc present. But I chose to focus specifically on these sixteen men and nine couples

under my observation to get a more detailed observation of their behavior. The observations in Denmark were also made over four days in Copenhagen from June 1, 2017 to June 3, 2017. Under the observation, my focus was on thirteen men and eight couples that all spoke Danish. To get a better overview over the participants see Table 1: Observation table.

Table 1: Observation table			
City	Observation period	Male participant	Couple participant
Rome	April 6, 2017 - April 8, 2017	33	11
Copenhagen	June 1, 2017 –June 3, 2017	31	6

Under the observation I tried to blend in with the other shoppers to not draw attention to myself. I found that it is normal for women to shop in men's stores or male departments, as there were also other women who were shopping there. The way that I took notes was on my mobile phone, where I wrote notes about the participants I observed. I also had breaks where I, for example, sat on a bench and wrote a little extra for the quick notes I had taken in the stores.

3.4.2 Semi structured Interview

The other method that is used in this thesis is semi-structured interview.

> *The research interview is based on the conversations of daily life and is a professional conversation.* (Kvale, 1996, p. 5)

An interview is a conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee. There are two types of interviews according to Alan Bryman: 'structured interview' and the 'qualitative interview' (Bryman, 2012, p. 469). There is a big different between the structured interview and the qualitative interview, one of the differences is that the qualitative interview is must less structured, because in qualitative interviews the focus is more on the informants' own perspective instead *"(...) of measurement of key concepts"* (Bryman, 2012, p. 470). The qualitative interview helps understand people's life world through conversation, as David A. de Vaus describes it:

> *If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them? In an interview conversation, the researcher listens to what people themselves tell*

about their lived world, hears them express their views and opinions in their own words (…)

(de Vaus, 2001, p. 1)

So the idea behind the interview is to understand people through conversation or interview. In qualitative interview the two main types of interview are 'unstructured interview' and 'semi-structured interview' (Bryman, 2012, p. 469). In this thesis there will be used semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interview is, as the term suggests, a lesser or slightly lesser structured interview, unlike the unstructured interview that is a loose conversation without any guide to manage the conversation. One of the benefits of the semi-structured interview is that this type of interview is both guided by the interview guide, that helps remember and ask questions that have already been made based on the theoretical considerations, but there is also made room for the loose and more informal conversation (Bryman, 2012, p. 472; de Vaus, 2001, pp. 19, 27)

The interview guide in this thesis is divided into five parts: 'the basic questions', 'your opinion about men and fashion consumption', 'masculinity', 'the informant's relationship to fashion', and 'shopping habits'.

The first question in this thesis interview guide is 'the basic questions'; this is the general information about the informants (Bryman, 2012, p. 473), and the question is number 1.b to 7.b (see, 7.1 interview guide). The idea of this question is to know a little about the informant's background, name, age, nationality, place of residence, living arrangement, education, and profession (see, 7.1 interview guide). The questions help create a superficial image of the informants, as visible in the table 2 below:

Table 2: Interview table						
Informant	**Nationality**	**Age**	**Place of residence**	**Living arrangement**	**Education**	**Profession**
D-informant 1	Danish	22	Copenhagen	Alone	CBS	Student
D-informant 2	Danish	24	Aalborg	With girlfriend	Pedagogue	Student
D-informant 3	Danish	23	Aalborg	With girlfriend	Blacksmith	Blacksmith
I-informant 1	Italian	19	Rome	Home with parents	Economic	Student
I-informant 2	Italian	28	Aalborg	One roommate	CCG	Student
I-informant 3	Italian	28	Aalborg	Three roommates	Master in engineering	Student

In *Table 2: Interview table* is a short presentation of the informants based on the basic questions. The reason for starting with such questions is because they are simple and the informant does not have to think about the answer.

The next part of the interview guide is 'Shopping habits'. This part is about some general questions about the informant's shopping habits: *"Now I would like to ask some question about your shopping habits"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide). In this part there are five questions, from question 1 to 5, and one sub-question, the question is 5.1 (see, 7.1 Interview guide). The sub-question ([Question 5.1] see 7.1 Interview guide) is primarily for the interviewer's benefit to remember to ask more into the question. The first question in this part is *"1. Who normally buys your clothes (yourself, partner's girlfriend/boyfriend, gift, etc.)?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the question has been made to get an idea of who is buying the informant's clothes, whether it is him or others, or whether it is both him and others who are buying the clothes, in the parenthesis there are primarily notes or help words for the interviewer to ask about the informant's clothing consumption. The second question *"2. How often do you buy clothes yourself?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), is also to get a basic idea of the informant's shopping habits. The third question is *"3. When you buy clothes do you buy items or the style?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is designed to talk about how the informant sees his own shopping consumption and if he thinks of his consumption as something he just has to do or something he is considering before he does it. The fourth question is *"4. What is the piece of clothing or accessories you last bought?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is a little tricky, because it refers to the past, and therefore it is not sure that the informants remember it. But it still about the informant's consumption habits that are a central part of this project, and it helps create a picture of who the informant is as a consumer. The last question in this part of the interview guide is *"5. When you buy clothes or accessories, are you going after the brand, price or what the latest fashion is?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is, as the previous questions, about shopping habits, subordinate to this question there is a sub-question *"5.1 Why"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), to help me as an interviewer to ask more in o the answer.

The next part of the interview guide is 'the informant's relation to fashion', in this part there are eight questions, from question 6 to 13, and three sub questions ([question 6.1, 8.1, 8.2] see, 7.1 Interview guide) to help the interviewer ask more into the answers. Before the question there is an information sentence to the informants *"the next question is about your relationship with fashion consumption"*. The

first question in this part of the interview guide is *"6. Is it important to you that your clothes fit together?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is a more direct question because it can be answered with yes or no, therefore, there is also a sub question or note for me as an interviewer *"6.1 Why/why not"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide) to help ask more into the answer to the question and to get a more detailed explanation about the importance for the informants that their clothes fit together. The question is made to get an understanding about how important style or their clothes is for their appearance. The second question in this part is *"7. What kind of fashion style will you say you have?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question can be a little difficult to answer because the informants do not necessary think that they have a specific style, but the question leads to a conversation about what they think is their style, or what their style may be from their point of view. The next question in this part of the interview guide is *"8. Do you know anything about fashion rules?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is inspired by the 'Men and consumption' theory (see, 2.2 Men and consumption). What are the fashion rules now? because fashion changes all the time, and so do the fashion rules. This question also tells how much the informant is interested in the fashion scene, whether they are aware of the change in men's fashion, and what the rules are. This question has two sub questions: *"8.1 What kind of rules do you know?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide) and *"Can you tell me something you never want to wear?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide). In the interview I also asked about the rules about socks in sandals that was inspired from the theory *"(...) wearing white sports socks with sandals – representing archetypal bad taste (...)"* (Ostberg, 2012, p. 256; see 2.2 Men and consumption). The fourth question in this part of the interview guide is *"9. How important is your appearance to you?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is connected with question 7, but this question is more direct and at the same time it is a broader question because it may be different what people think of their appearance. The fifth question in this part is *"10. Do you think that your clothes is important when you want to make a good first impression?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is related to the previous question in the sense that it is about appearance, but has more focus on fashion or clothes. The next question is more about how they look at others . *"11. When you meet new people, do you then notice what they are wearing?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the question also tells something about what they think is important when making a first impression. The first impression is also what the next question in this part of the interview guide is about: *"12. Does 's clothes affect your first impression of them?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is more direct than the previous, but at the same time it relates to and helps the conversation continue about appearance. The last question in

this part of the interview guide is *"13. Does your choice of clothing, reflect who you are as a person?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the idea behind this question is to understand whether clothes are chosen from the person wearing it or whether clothing has an effect on the person, or, more directly: can fashion, style or clothes change who a person is?

The next part of this interview guide is 'Masculinity' (see, 2.2 Men and consumption). Prior to the questions, there was a little introduction *"the next question is about masculinity or manliness"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the introduction text is to introduce what the conversation now is about. In this part of the interview guide, there are eight questions, from question 14 to 21, and five sub questions (16.1, 17.1, 17.2, 18.1, and 21.1). The first question in this part of the interview guide is *"14.What do you understand by the term masculinity?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is made to get the informant's understanding of the term masculinity because the term can be understood in various ways. Therefore, it is important to realize how the informant understands the term before asking questions that use the term or relate to the term. The next question in this part of the interview guide is *"15. If you should describe a masculine or manly person, how would you describe him?* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question also relates to the previous question to understand what the term masculinity means to them, and what they mean is masculine. In this question, it was also asked whether the informants could mention a famous person they think is masculine. The third question in this part of the interview guide is *"16. Do you think that a man can be masculine or seen as a real man, and have a fashion sense at the same time?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question related to both theories; it relates to what is masculine from the masculinity theory (see, 2.1.1 Masculinity) and the male consumption in the men and consumption theory (see, 2.2 Men and consumption). Question 16 has a sub question: *"16.1 Do you think that it is more okay for a man to think about what he is wearing today, than 50 years ago?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is made to talk about if there has been any change in relation to masculinity and men's fashion. The next question in this part of the interview guide is *"17. Are some male clothes or style more masculine or manly then other?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is also about the informant's opinion about what is masculine. This question has two sub questions *"17.1 Can you describe what you find masculine?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), and *"17.2 Can you describe what you find less masculine?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), these questions both relate to question 17 and go more in to depth with what the informant finds masculine. The fifth question in this part of the interview guide is *"18. Do you have*

some clothes you feel more masculine in than others?" (see, 7.1 Interview guide)*,* this question relates to the previous question (question 17), but this question is more about the informant's personal experience. This question has a sub question: *"18.1 What?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is to help me as an interviewer to ask more into the informant's answer. The next couple of questions in this part of the interview guide are questions that refer to some pictures that were shown to the informants (see, 7.1 Interview guide),these pictures are of six different kinds of pants, both different types, styles and colors. The reason for the pictures is to create something more visible for the informants, based on which they can answer the question and create something that the informants can comment on without relating it to themselves or to experience, this can help the informants feel safer when for example commenting on what is masculine. The first question where the pictures were used is *"19. What type of pants do you normally wear?* (see, 7.1 Interview guide)*,* this question is made to see what the informants see themselves wearing. The next question is *"20.What style of pants do you find most masculine?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is to see what the informants find masculine when relating masculinity to clothes. The last question where the pictures is used is *"21. Thy to put the pictures in order in relation to what you find most masculine"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question gives the informants an opportunity to categorize what style they find most masculine and give them something visual they can relate to. In relation to this question there is a sub question *"21.1 Why this order?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide) this question challenges the informants' opinions and makes them think about why they find something more masculine than other things.

The last part of the interview guide is 'Your opinion about men and fashion consumption', the title refers to the informant's opinion. The first question in this part of the interview guide is *"22. Do you feel that people expect a man to think about his look?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question refers to both the informant's personal experience and opinion about social expectations. The sub question *"22.1 Do you expect that?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide) relates to question 22 where this sub question asks about the informant's own action and not only his experience or opinion. The second question in this part is *"23. Do you think people judge other people on their clothes?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is like question 22 about the informant's experience about other people's opinion about appearance and clothing. This question has in the same way as question 22 a sub question that relates to the informant's personal experience *"23.1 Have you experienced that you have judged somebody by their looks?"* (see,

7.1 Interview guide). The next question in this part of the interview guide is *"14. Do you think that there are differences in how much men think about their looks and clothes in different countries (in Europe)?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), this question is to see if the informant sees a difference in how much men care about their appearance in different countries, and how he experiences that. The fourth question in this part of the interview guide is *"25. In your opinion, is there a difference between what type of men's clothing, women and men find masculine?"*, the idea behind this question is to understand if the informant experiences any difference between women's and men's opinion when it comes to men's fashion. The last question in this interview guide is *"26. Do you think that it is masculine, for a man to shop?"* (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the question is a little similar to some of the previous questions, but it is more direct and is about the informant's opinion about masculinity and shopping.

4. Analysis

In this analysis the data will be analyzed applying the theories, in the figure below an analysis design is made to show the idea behind this analysis (Figure 4: Analysis design).
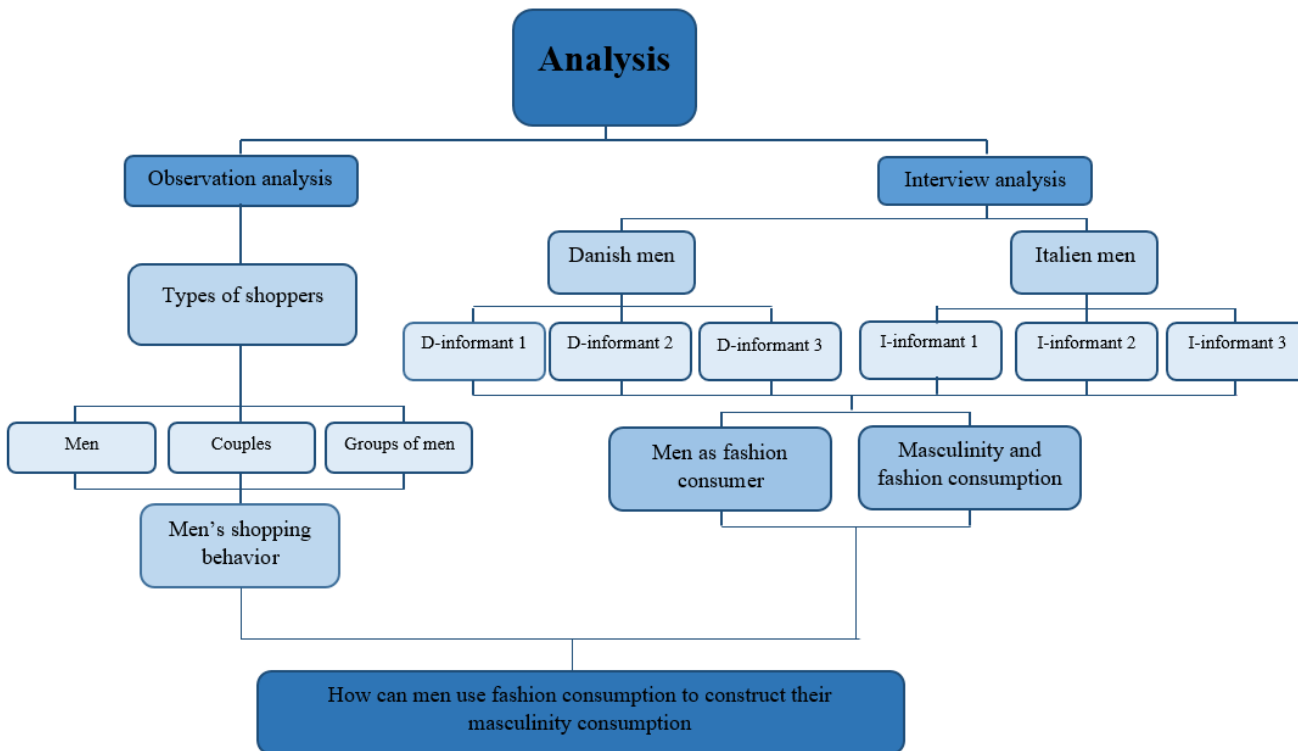

Figure 4: Analysis design (see, 7.2 Analysis design]

In figure 4, is the divided of the analysis shown, the first division is 'Observation analysis' and 'Interview analysis'. Under the observation analysis, is the type of shopper where the three different types of shoppers will be introduced 'Men', 'Couples', and 'Group of men', the come the 'Men's shopping behavior' where the shopping behavior form the observation will be analysis be using the theory's. Under the interview analysis will the informant first be introduces first the 'Danish men' and then the 'Italian men' after that will the interviews be analyzed fist by looking at 'Men as fashion consumer' and then 'Masculinity and fashion consumption'. The last thing that will be made is the conclusion where the research question will be answered with help from the analysis.

4.1 Observation analysis

In this part of the analysis the observations will be analyzed using the theory (see, 2 Theoretical framework). In the first part of the observation analysis, the different types of shoppers will be presented (See, 4.1.1 Types of shoppers), then the behavior of men's shopping behavior will be analyzed based on the observation and theory (See, 4.1.2 Men's shopping behavior).

4.1.1 Types of shoppers

As previously written, I divided the people I observed into two groups during my observations: persons and couples (or individuals). But in this analysis, I will make an extra group because I found that there is a big difference in the behavior of the people that were out shopping alone, and the people that were in groups. Therefore, I have made three types of categories for the people that I observed: persons, couples, and groups.

Table 3: Observation groups				
City	Observation period	Male participant[1]	Couple participant[2]	Group participant[3]
Rome	April 6, 2017 - April 8, 2017	18	10	15
Copenhagen	June 1, 2017 - June 3, 2017	16	6	14

The first group the 'male participant', is men that shop alone or with significantly older people, which I in the observation assumed were their parents. The second group is 'couple participant', the couple category is also based on an assumption that the people that were observed were romantically involved. The last group is 'group participant'; this is male consumers that shop in pairs or in groups whit other young men or women.

It is important to notice is that during the observation, some of the stores I visited were the same in Italy and Denmark: Zara and H&M.

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[1] Men that were alone during the observation period
[2] Couples: people that looked romantically involved or together as a couple
[3] People that were together in pairs or more where they did not look romantically involved

4.1.1.1 Male participant

In the category male participant, I observed 20 persons from Rome in Italy and 13 from Copenhagen in Denmark (see, Table 3: Observation group). Both in Rome and Copenhagen, the types of participants were very different, both in terms of age, clothes and performance. The men that were observed in Rome seemed like they cared more for details in their outfit than they did in Copenhagen, an example is the suit: in Italy I observed six men in suits, and in Copenhagen I did not observe anyone wearing a suit, except some of the shop assistants in Illum. But instead of suits some of the men that were observed in Copenhagen had blazers on, but not dress pants. In the table below (see, Table 4: Italian. Male participant), a short description of each person that was observed in Rome can be seen.

Table 4: Italian. Male participant		
Person	**Description of clothes**	**Place and date**
I-person 1	A light blue shirt with a dark blue pullovers, and black trousers.	Zara, 6/4-2017
I-person 2	dark blue jeans, a white t-shirt or blouse, and an open jacket.	H&M 6/4-2017
I-person 3	A neon green Yankees cap, black skinny jeans with extra stitches, a thin black and dark blue leather down jacket, and a black leather bracelet with some gold on, on his left wrist.	H&M 6/4-2017
I-person 4	A dark blue suit, a light blue shirt, a dark blue/white dotted tie, and dress shoes.	H&M 6/4-2017
I-person 5	Had beige chinos and a black windbreaker on, there was a zip almost all the way op.	H&M 7/4-2017
I-person 6	A black blazer, sunglasses in his hair, nude colored chinos pants, and gray pullover with a dark blue shirt under that had the top button open.	Gap 7/4-2017
I-person 7	A pair of black jeans, a white shirt that had the first two buttons open, tuck in his jeans, a black blazer, and black dress shoes.	Gap 7/4-2017
I-person 8	Had a black suit on.	Adidas Store Rome 7/4-2017
I-person 9	Blue chinos shorts and a white t-shirt with a blue breast pocket.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-person 10	A dark grey suit, a white shirt, a light grey tie and matching handkerchief.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-person 11	A white t-shirt with a black print on, blue jeans, and had something that looked like a black light jacket beside him	Puma 8/4-2017
I-person 12	Light denim jeans on which had a worn-out look, in addition he wore a very loose white blouse under a black leather jacket with a pattern in the sewing on the back of the jacket, he also had holes in one ear that were enlarged, while he had a big nice watch on one wrist and on the other he had different bracelets on in silver and black leather	Zara 8/4-2017

I-person 13	Had denim jeans on, a black t-shirt with some print in grey on and a black bag-pack.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-person 14	He had long light denim shorts, sandals, loose black t-shirt, he also had earphones and his hair was put up in a bun.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-person 15	He had a nice black suit on with a white shirt, a blue tie with white dots, he also had a little trolley suitcase and a computer bag.	Calvin Klein 8/4-2017
I-person 16	He was wearing a black cap, a bright blue t-shirt and jeans.	Nike Store 8/4-2017
I-person 17	I-person 17 had light jeans on and a black shirt on under his leather jacket he also had a silver earring in his right ear and a simple silver chain around his wrist.	Nike Store 8/4-2017
I-person 18	He was dressed in a dark grey suit, with a black shirt, and dark brown dress shoes, brown belt and a lighter grey tie than the suit	Celio 8/4-2017

Some of the descriptions are more detailed than others, but was is clear it that a lot of the men were well dressed or cared for the detail. The expression that I got as an observer was that no matter what style they had, it still looked like the men's clothes were very well considered. The informant that made the biggest impression was I-person 3, I-person 9, and I-person 12, because they all looked so confident in the clothes, but their behavior was different from the other people observed. As previously written, they did not seem to care as much as the other Italians about their look though some of them looked like they had the same attention to their clothes or look, but in a different style. That can be seen in the description of the Danish male participant (see, Table 5: Danish. Male participant).

Table 5: Danish. Male participant		
Person	**Description of clothes**	**Place and date**
D-person 1	Denim shorts, light blue shirt, and a pair of brown suede leather shoes.	The entrance to Fisketorvet 1/6-2017
D-person 2	Shorts, sandals, black hat and grey t-shirt.	Zara 1/6-2017
D-person 3	Big beard, green shorts, white t-shirt, sandals, and a scarf on the stomach where he had his little child.	H&M 2/6-2017
D-person 4	Had a couple of tattoos on his neck, a black cap, dark grey pants, a white t-shirt that looked worn out, a grey open raincoat, and a black bag pack	H&M 2/6-2017
D-person 5	Red sneakers, normal jeans, and a grey tank-top.	H&M 2/6-2017
D-person 6	Dark blue jeans, a beige winkled blazer, and a white shirt.	H&M 2/6-2017
D-person 7	Dark curly hair, plain black pants [looked like chinos], and a dark green t-shirt.	H&M 2/6-2017

D-person 8	Blue cap, dusty red/orange t-shirt, dark blue almost black jeans, and black sneakers.	Kings and Queens 2/6-2017
D-person 9	Denim shorts, white and blue striped t-shirt, sandals and a black bag-pack.	Kings and Queens 2/6-2017
D-person 10	A white t-shirt with rolled up sleeves, black tight jeans, white sneakers and sunglasses in his hair [looked like Ray Ban].	Kings and Queens 2/6-2017
D-person 11	A little trimmed black beard, a light grey pair of jogging pants, and matching grey t-shirt, and black sneakers.	Illum 3/6-2017
D-person 12	A blue t-shirt, black down jacket in his hand, medium blue jeans.	Illum 3/6-2017
D-person 13	Black tight t-shirt, and blue shorts that he tried in the store and bought while still wearing them, and a pair of dark dress shoes.	Illum 3/6-2017
D-person 14	Big beard, a pair of dark blue shorts, and a tan/light grey shirt.	Illum 3/6-2017
D-person 15	Tight black chinos, black t-shirt, and black leather shoes.	Zara 3/6-2017
D-person 16	A pair of worn-out regular jeans, a thin black Nike windbreaker and a pair of white Nike shoes.	NewYorker 3/6-2017

The Danish informant that made the biggest impression was D-person 4 and D-person 5 because both of looked like they really cared about their appearance, even though some of their clothes had a little worn-out look to them.

4.1.1.2 Couple participant

The couple participant is the people that looked romantically involved during the observations. In the description of the couples' clothes there was mostly focus on the men, but few of the women's clothes have also been described. Under the observation in Rome there were 10 couples (see, Table 6: Italian. Couple participant).

Table 6: Italian. Couple participant		
Couple	Description of clothes	Place and date
I-Couple 1	The guy had black sneakers, blue jeans, white T-shirt and a knitted cardigan on. The girl had black sneakers, tights, denim shorts, black top and an open plaid shirt [lumberjack shirt].	Zara 6/4-2017
I-Couple 2	[no description]	Zara 6/4-2017
I-Couple 3	[no description]	H&M 6/4-2017
I-Couple 4	The guy was dressed simple, in dark jeans and a black windbreaker, with dark sneakers.	Gap 7/4-2017
I-Couple 5	The guy was dressed in jeans with holes in them, a white t-shirt with blue shade color print, and a black leather jacket.	Adidas Store Rome 7/4-2017

	The girl had tight black pants, black top/t-shirt and a red plaid shirt [lumberjack shirt] on.	
I-Couple 6	The guy had very dark blue almost black pants [that look like something between suit pants and chinos], a black knit sweater with the sleeves rolled up, dress shoes, and two modem bracelets with dark pearls [Hand-knotted pearl bracelet]. The girl had a simple long dress on in dark red and flat sandals, very long dark hair and jewelry in gold.	Nike Store 8/4-2017
I-Couple 7	The guy had light denim jeans with holes in them, and a loose white shirt. The girl had medium blue very tight jeans, a light pink lace blouse with long sleeves, and loose dark hair.	Nike Store 8/4-2017
I-Couple 8	The guy had dark skinny jeans, a black blazer, a white shirt, and dark brown dress shoes on.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-Couple 9	The guy had a light blue polo T-shirt, a pair of beige chinos pants, a nice silver watch, and black Ray Ban sunglasses in his hair.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-Couple 10	The guy had a dark gray plain t-shirt, black jeans, blacker sneakers, and dark sunglasses on	Nike Store 8/4-2017

Out of all the couples the most interesting couples were couple 6 and couple 7, they were actually together when I did the observations, and the interesting thing was that both couples' clothes looked good together with their partners' clothes. During my observations I found that the Italian couples were more stylish than the Danish couples, but the behavior was reasonably similar. During my observations in Denmark I observed (see, Table 7: Danish. Couple participant):

Table 7: Danish. Couple participant		
Couple	**Description of clothes**	**Place and date**
D-Couple 1	The guy has a dark long hair in a bun, tight jeans and a long-sleeved t-shirt in a cloudy blue color.	Bruun og Stengade 1/6-2017
D-Couple 2	The guy had a dark t-shirt with a picture of a Rottweiler, black jeans and black shoes with white stripes on them, and a green shirt or jacket over the t-shirt	Zara 1/6-2017
D-Couple 3	The guy had a tan t-shirt on and a pair of plain jeans. The girl had a pair of really tight black jeans on and a black tight long sleeve t-shirt	Kings and Queens 2/6-2017
D-Couple 4	The guy had a dark blue summer jacket, and some denim shorts and a black cap and black sneakers. The girl had a black leather jacket, a light pink dress with big darker pink flowers on, and beige sandals.	Kings and Queens 2/6-2017
D-Couple 5	The guy had a beige trench-coat on, light blue jeans with holes on the knees, and a white loose t-shirt	Zara 3/6-2017

I-group 5	Was a black young man [I did not describe his clothes but I described the clothes he was looking at]	Zara 8/4-2017
I-group 6.1	Was wearing loose medium blue denim jeans and a darker blue denim jacket with a dark green t-shirt, and black sneakers.	Zara 8/4-2017
I-group 6.2	Had red Nike sneakers on, a white plain t-shirt and a black dress west on, in addition, he had dark blue, almost black denim jeans on, he had a long silver glove chain and a gold watch with a brown leather strap.	
I-group 7.1	White t-shirt with dusty yellow, red and blue stripes on it, dark blue chinos shorts, white sneakers with black socks, and a simple male shoulder bag.	Pepe Jeans 8/4-2017
I-group 7.2	Light blue jeans, and a loose blue t-shirt,	

These informants looked similar to the Italians that were shopping alone (see, Table 4: Italian. Male participant), the difference between the participants in Table 4 and Table 8, is not their appearance, but it is the behavior. The last table (see, Table 9: Danish. Group participant):

Table 9: Danish. Group participant		
Couple	**Description of clothes**	**Place and date**
D-group 1	Dark jeans, white shirt, dark blue pullover, and a bag-pack with the text 'Tommy' in large white letters	Zara 1/6-2017
D-group 2.1	Black cap, tan shorts, light green sweater, and black sneakers	Footlocker 1/6-2017
D-group 2.2	Black jeans, grey black sweater, black cap, white sneakers, and he had dark skin	
D-group 2.3	Dark green t-shirt, black pants, and black cap with a white sign on.	
D-group 3.1	Wild patterned pants and matching sweater in green colors [like leaves], with black sneakers, and black sunglasses	Strøget. outside H&M 2/6-2017
D-group 3.2	Bright red chinos pants, black sneakers, and a tight black t-shirt	
D-group 4.1	Dusty green chinos, white shirt, and dark sunglasses	H&M 2/6-2017
D-group 4.2	Black chinos, beige blazer, white t-shirt, black dress shoes, and black Ray Ban sunglasses	
D-group 4.3	Tan chinos, and black shirt with the sleeves pulled up	
D-group 4.4	Black chinos, a green sweater, and brown dress shoes	
D-group 5.1	Black t-shirt, light jeans, white sneakers, and he hold a black jacket	Kings and Queens 2/6-2017
D-group 5.2	Black t-shirt, green chinos shorts, sandals and a green 'fjällräven' bag-pack	
D-group 6.1	Straw hat, gray and white striped tank-top, black shorts.	H&M 3/6-2017
D-group 6.2	Light chinos, and a dark blue t-shirt with black patterns	
D-group 6.3	Jeans, and a white t-shirt	
D-group 6.4	Red cap, a black hoodie with a zipper, and dark pants.	

The participants in table 9 looked quite similar to the participants in table 5, the only difference is that the participants in table 5 shopped alone and in table 9 they shopped with other people. But two

interesting persons of the Danish group participant that I observed, was D-group 3.1 and D-group 3.2, as they both were dressed in quite extravagant clothes. D-group 3.1 had a whole matching set of green clothes with a pattern that looked like leaves, and D-group 3.2 had really bright red pants on, but the most interesting was that they walked beside each other so both their clothes in some way drew more attention to them.

4.1.2 Men's shopping behavior

During my observations I found that that it is very different how people shop, both in the way they behave, but also the way they interact with people they are together with. Therefore, it can be difficult to produce a generalization of the people that I observed, but some of the things they were buying and some of the things that they were doing were the same, and in some way it looked like socially constructed behavior, as they did it automatically. For instance, if two persons were not together as a couple or group, they did not look at the same clothes rail at the same time, and if one man tried to look at something at the same clothes rail, the first man would move. Another thing that was interesting was that most of the men that were alone or only in groups with men, had a very direct route in the store: first, they went into the store, then they walked around the store and stopped only if there was something that caught their eyes, and then they either went in the fitting room or to the checkout and paid. Of course, this does not apply to all men that I observed, for instance, it did not apply to I-person 3, I-person 12, D-person 4, D-person 5 (see, Table 4: Italian. Male participant; Table 5: Danish. Male participant). I-person 3 was observed at H&M (Via del Corso, 422, 00186 Rome, Italien) Thursday, in addition to the clothes he had on, he also had a bag from Foot Locker (shoe store). In the beginning of the observation of I-person 3, he looked a lot around and seemed very interested in the material, for example he took items down from the hanger and touched the material of the clothes, and then he put it back or laid it over his arm. During my observation of I-person 3 he bought five pieces of clothes that he also had tried on in the fitting room before purchasing them. One of the things that I-person 3 looked at was a pair of grey jeans, he actually looked at them more than once, the first time he looked at them, he put them back on the rail after he had touched the fabric and looked at the price tag, but after having walked around a little he went back to the pants and laid them over his arm and took them into the fitting room with the other clothes he had over his arm. I-person 12 was a more extreme shopper than I-person 3; first of all he had a lot of bags from different stores like foot Locker, Mango, and a bag where there stood 'I ♥ Alcott', he also had

a lot of clothes over his arm before I started observing him. When I first saw I-person 12 during my observations in Zara (Via del Corso, 189, 00186 Roma, Italien) Saturday, he was looking at a knitted sweater with big holes in it, then I had a little break where I did not observe him. When I started observing him again, he had more clothes over his arm, including something that looked like the knitted sweater. The clothes he had over his arm was very simple colors like white, black, and a single item had a yellow color. A lot of the clothes he was looking at had a worn-out look, and he actually walked at least three times around the store while I observed him. D-person 4 and D-person 5 were both observed in H&M (Købmagergade 36, 1150 København K) Friday, This shop was an exclusive male H&M store. D-person 4 looked a while in the store, especially at black jeans and belts, and after a while he went into the fitting room with seven pairs of black jeans, but after he came out of the fitting room, he only had one pair of jeans in his hand. He then went over to a rail and took a new pair of black jeans, and then he saw a grey-green shirt and took it and went over to check out and bought the two pair of black pants and the grey-green sweater. D-person 5 started by looking at a silk jacket with a colorful pattern, which looked like a Chinese tiger with flowers around it, he also looked at a pink hoodie, a pair of white canvas pants, a clothes rail with some tank-tops in different colors, and a pair of jeans. While D-person 5 was in the store, he when back and forth a little, and looked at the different clothes more than once, after he had been in the test room, I lost sight of him and saw him first again when he was on his way out of the store with a H&M bag. This shopping behavior can be perceived at deviating from the norm of the other persons that were observed.To deviate from the norm can be understood as a deviant behavior in relation to men's normal behavior and which can be related to a metrosexual behavior in the way that they use an extensive time and effort on their consumption of their clothes (Rinallo, 2007, p. 79).

Another interesting thing is the difference between men who shop alone, couples that shop together, and men who shop in pairs or groups. During the observation I found that when couples shop, the guys often lets the women help them find clothes or include them in the decision making of their purchase, an example is D-couple 2 Zara (Fisketorvet Copenhaguen Mall, Kalvebod Brygge 56, 1560 København V) Thursday, where the guy tried on a dark blue blazer that the girl he was with gave to him. She looked really happy about how it looked, but the guy looked uncomfortable in it, and shook his head, like he hinted no. then the girl went over to a clothes rail where there were other blazers that looked like the one that the guy just had tried on, then she took one and gave it to him, he tried it, but he did not seem more

comfortable in the new blazer, but a shortly later they bought the blazer. This example can be perceived as a situation where the guy has a subordinate behavior because he lets the girl take the last his decision making despise is discomfort. Another example is I-couple 4 in the Gap (Via del Corso, 472, 00186 Rome, Italy) Friday, here the couple walks in together, but a little after they came in to the store, they each went their own way, the girl in the women's department and the guy in the male department. I decided to follow the guy, and after a while the girl came over to the guy with a lot of clothes on her left arm, the guy showed the girl a Star Wars t-shirt and looked very happy, the girl smiled at him and said something. This is another example on how men include their partner in the decision-making, which can be seen as a more complicit masculinity in the way that the guy in the relationship does not let the girl control the situation, but still includes her in the decision making and thereby respects her opinion (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 80).

During the observation I also found that when men are shopping in group where they are three or more persons, one of the men often takes the control over the situation, this can be seen as a dominant or leading position in the group, and this can be perceived as the person possesses values belonging to the hegemonic masculinity. An example where a man takes the leading position in a group situation is in the group where D-group 6.1, D-group 6.2, D-group 6.3, and D-group 6.4, in H&M (Amagertorv 23, 1160 København K) Saturday, here D-group 6.4 ran the show. He was trying on sunglasses with the other guys, and they laughed a lot, but after a while he stopped having fun and wanted to move on and started walking out of the store, even though D-group 6.1 and D-group 6.2 had not finished. D-group 6.1 said something to him, and then D-group 6.4 when over to him and shouted loudly in Danish, "when I say we are going, so fucking we go, fatty "[4] and poked him on the stomach, the other boys laughed, and D-group 6.1 followed them out of the store. This is an example where D-group 6.4 was using his hegemonic masculinity to show dominant power by being the decision maker and bully that suppresses D-group 6.1 through psychological violence (Connell R. W., 2005, pp. 77-79). It is also an example of how D-group 6.2 and D-group 6.3 show complicit masculinity by supporting D-group6.4 and following his actions

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[4] The original quote "når jeg siger vi skrider, så fucking skrider vi fedeberg"

without taking the same responsibility for those actions (Connell R. W., 2005, pp. 79-80). Another example is the group D-group 4.1, D-group 4.2, D-group 4.3, and D-group 4.4 where it was quite clear that D-group 4.2 ran the show. When the group entered the H&M store (Købmagergade 36, 1150 København K) Friday, D-group 4.2 walked a little faster than the others, and it looked like he was walking in the front of the group, they walked quickly around in the store, then D-group 4.2 turned around and made a gesture with his right arm, and then they walked out again whit D-group 4.2 in front. This example shows a group where it looks like D-group 4.2 has taken the leading position and that the other members of that groups are following him. Even though he expressed power, he did not show suppression of the other people he was walking with, this perception can also be seen as an example of D-group 4.2 using his hegemonic masculinity to take the leader role over the people he is with (Connell R. W., 2005, pp. 77-79).

4.2 Interview analysis

In this part of the analysis, the data from the interviews will be analyzed using the theory (see, 2 Theoretical framework). In the first part of this analysis the six informant will be introduced (see, 4.2.1 informant), then the informants' position and opinion as male fashion consumers will be analyzed (4.2.2 Men as fashion consumers), and lastly, there will be looked at the connection between masculinity and fashion consumption (4.2.3 Masculinity and fashion consumption).

4.2.1 Informants

In this project there are six informants, three from Italy and three from Denmark, in this section the informants will be further introduced.

4.2.1.1 D-informant 1

The first informant (D-informant 1), is 22 years old, his nationality is Danish and he lives in Denmark alone in an apartment near Copenhagen. When the interview was conducted, D-informant 1 had almost finished his bachelor in economy at CBS (Copenhagen Business School). D-informant 1 shops for clothes around one to two times a month, he normally buys his clothes himself, but it happens that he gets clothes as gifts or buys clothes when he is out shopping with other people. He describes his own style as casual,

but he also mentions that there is a difference between what he is wearing at school/work and what he is wearing when he is private:

(...) But of course, when I am at work, it is obvious, a little more formal, uhh (hesitant expression), maybe it is a bit more casual when I am private. So it is not because I have my working clothes when I am out privately. (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 3)

When D-informant 1 was asked if he buys accessories, he was a little in doubt what categorized as accessories, in this task I have decided to define accessories as something extra for dressing or outfit, for example, watches, jewelry, tie/butterfly, scarf, etc. He said that one of the things he bought the most was watches and caps, after asking a little into other accessories he also said that he buy ties and scarfs, but it is rare that he buys those kinds of accessories.

During the interview, I got an impression that D-informant 1 really enjoyed shopping and that it was something he could spend a long time doing, hence, when asked about whether he sometimes was an impulse shopper, he replied:

yes unfortunately, it can happen that I do that [...] if I have unlimited time, it can happen that I make an impulse purchase [...] so I am planning my shopping so I only have time for what I have planned to do, but yes, definitely if I had time and I have not planned it, then I might end up buying things I maybe not necessarily need at the moment, but just feel it is something I would like to have (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 14)

It is clear that D-informant 1 likes to shop, and that he can easily get carried away when he is out shopping. As previously written, D-informant 1 both likes to shop alone, but he also likes to shop with others, *"I mostly like to shop alone, uh but, but having said that do I still like to have people there to evaluate if the clothes look good on me(...)"* (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 14). So D-informant 1 both likes to shop alone and with others, but he prefers to shop alone because *"(...) there are not someone who is waiting for me (...)"* (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 14), the way that D-informant talks about the difference between shopping alone and with others can be understood as his attempt to explain that he does not like to be a burden for people, and therefore does not like to shop with people because he maybe is afraid that they will be annoyed if they have to wait for him.

To sum up, D-informant 1has an opinion about fashion; although he says that he mostly likes to dress casually when he is private, he still puts some thoughts into what he is wearing. He has self-knowledge when it comes to his shopping habits, and at the same time he is very independent when it comes to his purchase, he likes to shop alone, this can be perceived as a form of independence, but also as a way to avoid being a burden for others.

4.2.1.2 D-informant 2

D-informant 2 is 22 years old, his nationality is Danish, and he lives in Denmark with his girlfriend in an apartment in Aalborg, in North Jutland. At the time of the interview the informant (D-informant 2) was doing his bachelor in social education (pedagogue) in Aalborg. In the interview he said that he buys new clothes every second to third month, he prefers to shop alone, and therefore he is the primary person who buy clothes for him, except when he receives clothes as gifts, however, he also indicates that he sometimes goes out with others to shop. When asked what style he thinks he has, he answers, ”*(…) well, relaxed I think it is called (…)”* (D-informant 2, 2017, p. 2)*,* he also mentions that he likes to wear clothes that is practical. When he was asked about if he buy accessories, he said that it can happen that he buy accessories, but *“It is mostly watches”* (D-informant 2, 2017, p. 1)*,* but when he answered the question, it did not seem like it was some of the things he was buying often.

It was very important for D-informant 2 to make it clear that he does not mean that clothes define who he is as a person, *“I do not live so much by it is the clothes that define me”* (D-informant 2, 2017, p. 2). But at the same time he acknowledges that appearance and clothing can have a major impact on one's first-hand impression, but he emphasized that the verbal expression influences his impression of a person more than the clothes.

During the interview, he also talks about the influence that other people can have on people's choice when it comes to clothes, especial his girlfriend's opinion influences his purchase of clothes. That he is influenced by his partner in his choice of clothes can be perceived as a way to make his girlfriend happy or as an attempt to satisfy his girlfriend or the opposite sex.

However, he is very goal-oriented in the way he describes his purchases, and he mentioned in the interview that it is part of his personality to be goal-oriented. He also said that he does not get influenced

by special offers when shopping, meaning he does not carry out impulse purchases, but he indicated that he sometimes participates in the big sales in Denmark like the January- and summer sales, but with the goal to save money.

The way that D-informant 2 talks about himself and his relation to fashion can be perceived as an more casual and relaxed relation, he likes to wear practical clothes and does not mean that clothes or appearance should have an effect on our impressions of other human beings. However, at the same time, he acknowledges that appearance and clothing may have an effect on people's first-hand impression before the person has the chance to express him- or herself verbally.

4.2.1.3 D-informant 3

D-informant 3 is a Danish 23 year old young man that lives in Aalborg (north Jutland) with his girlfriend and works as a blacksmith. D-informant 3 said that he buys clothes every second to third mount and when D-informant 3 was asked about who buys his clothes, he started saying that he buys his clothes himself, but afterwards he changed that statement to that his girlfriend stands for half of the purchase when it comes to clothes *"(...)but yes, mostly myself, half, half I would say, that I buy half and* ▬▬▬ *(name of his girlfriend) buys the rest"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 1). Later he also said that his girlfriend previously had influenced him to buy a pair of grey tight pants that he was a little in doubt if he should by them, but his girlfriend convinced him, *"(...)* ▬▬▬ *(name of his girlfriend) convinced me to buy them and I have actually been really happy with them (...)"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 12), he also told that I never get clothes as gift, except if it is from his girlfriend because he does not wish for clothes because he thinks that it is easier to buy himself. Another area where he implied that his girlfriend plays an influence on his shopping habits was when he was asked when he buys clothes, if he buys an item or a style. Here, he answered *"(...) if I buy clothes is it because I need something, it is because I have a pair of pants that is broken or, or* ▬▬▬ *(name of his girlfriend) says my t-shirts are to worn out, so now you have to replace them or something (...)"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 2). It is clear to assume that his girlfriend has an influence on his shopping behavior, but at the same time it did not seem that he has anything against that she influences his purchase of clothes.

When it comes to purchase of clothes and accessories D-informant 3 said that the last piece of clothes he bought was *"(...)two shirts"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 2) and that he does not really buy accessories,

"(...) I bought a tie for my suit when I bought my suit [...] it is not that I go out and buy a watch because it will fit the style that I am wearing" (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 3). Hence, he buys accessories when he feels he needs a new one, but not because it fits his style or the style has changed. This may something to do with the way the D-informant 3 describes his style.

> Interviewer: Yes, oh, what kind of style do you want to say you have?
>
> D-informant 3: Not anything that fashionable, he he (laughs)
>
> Interviewer: He he (laughs)
>
> D-informant 3: I do not know, what style I have, yea, the clothes that I want to wear that day, I got it, I do not really have any, I have some things I prefer to wear, oh, but not like a specific style.
> (D-informant 3, 2017, pp. 3-4)

In the interview the informant made it clear that he does not have a specific style, and he made it clear that it is more important that the clothes are clean than that they match. But when it comes to special occasions, he still finds it important to be well dressed when going to a formal event, like a wedding: *"(...) if it belongs to the occasion, for example weddings or for example gold wedding or something like that, that is a situation where you have to have a tie on in my world"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 2). So even though he does not identify with any specific style, he still feels it important to be dressed properly in the context he is in. It is clear that D-informant 3 dresses according to the context, he also implied that his clothes in some context can have an influence on his behavior.

> *(...) maybe it sounds a little strange, but when I am wearing my work clothes, I expect that we get started, then something need to happen, so we can keep going, then we do not sit down as one of the first things and drink some soda or something [...] that when I have work clothes on then, I speak differently(...)* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 6)

In the quote D-informant 3 talks about how he changes his behavior based on the clothes or context he is in, that can be perceived as that he identifies his working clothes with work and the professionalism that he has as his position as a trained blacksmith.

When it comes to shopping, it is safe to assume that shopping is not D-informant 3's favorite occupation. When asked about it, he was very clear that he does not like it, *"(...) I hate to shop"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 15). Some of the things that he criticized about shopping was the trying on of things, *"(...) I cannot, I hate to shop for clothes and shoes and I cannot do that, where you have to go in an try it out all the time and all that stuff, no, I like it when you go in and find something and say that I like and go over and buy it, I cannot do that where you have to try twenty different pants or ten different kind of shirts(...)"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 15). At the same time he still sees it as a necessity to buy clothes, and sometimes he invests time in buying something new, but it depends on the context and what it is about *"(...) I can do it sometimes, and if I should go out and buy a suit, for example a whole suit, then will I go through more, but if I just have to go out to find a t-shirt or a pair of pants, then is the first and best, come on, that it fine enough"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 15). This can maybe have something to do with the informant seeing himself as an impulse shopper, he buys by impulses, and therefore it can be perceived as natural for him to buy the first and the best because he prefers to make quick decisions without planning or thinking long about it.

To sum up, the informant (D-informant 3) does not like shopping, but does it anyway when he feels that it is necessary or his girlfriend thinks that it is time that he buys new clothes. He is really relaxed when it comes to what he is wearing, but it is still important for him that his clothes is clean and that other people wear clean clothes. This can be perceived as D-informant 3 does not see his choice of private clothes as important because he connects it with relaxation, just as he connect his workwear with having to do something work related.

4.2.1.4 I-informant 1

I-informant 1 is 19 years old, his nationality is Italian, and he lives with his parents in Rome (Italy), during the interview he told that he is studying economy at the Sapienza University of Rome (Università Di Roma). The informant (I-informant 1) shops for clothes about once a month, but it varieshow much he buys, *"(...) big shopping, and sometimes I do only one or few things that I need"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 1). In the quote I-informant 1 tried to explain that even though he shops about once a month, how much he is shopping varies, sometimes he goes out on a big shopping spree, and sometimes he buys only one or few things. In the interview the informant (I-informant 1) made it clear that he normally buys

clothes for himself, but when asked about accessories he expressed that his watches were a gift from his parents, because watches are expensive, so this might imply that expensive clothes and accessories more likely is something he will wish for as gift instead of buying it himself.

It is important for the informant (I-informant 1) that his clothes are fitting together or match, *"(...) there are things that I wear only with other things and not with others, it depends on the color and size (...)"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 2) What I-informant 1 expresses in his quote is that he has some things that he does not want to put together with everything and that he combines his clothes based on color, size and shape the clothes have. This also reflects in his answer when asked what style he thinks he has himself, he described his style as classic, casual or simple, he likes clothes without a lot of colors, *"(...) normally I don't use t-shirt with [...] print on it, all black or blue or grey, normally I wear like this [points at his own t-shirt that was simple and white]"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 2). The informant prefers to wear clothes that only has one color and without patterns or print on it. Another thing that is important for I-informant 1 is that his clothes fits the environment that he is in, "(…) I have to say that it is important also with the environment […] that's not that you have to wear all the same […] for example, (06:40-06-41 cannot hear what he is saying) in school, university have to keep a certain style" (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 3). From the quote it is clear that it is important for the informant (I-informant 1) that his style fits the environment he is in like at the university.

In the interview I-informant 1 did not say directly whether he liked to shop or not, but he expressed that he considered it necessary *"(...) you have to because [...] you can't go naked around (...)"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 10), he also came with a personal example about when he goes shopping:

> *(…) for example,e normally when I go, I choose very quickly, I don't stay there and say 'this, this, this' […] because normally before to go shopping I have clear ideas of what I have to buy (...)* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 10)

In the quote he tells about how he shops, and what he does not do while shopping, he expresses that normally when he goes shopping, he has a clear goal of what he is looking for. But at the same time he still expresses later in the quote that he sometimes can shop without a goal if he happens to pass a store with something that he likes.

To sum up, I-informant 1 is a person that describes himself with a classic style, and does not like clothes that draw to much attention to him. The informant (I-informant 1) likes to dress in simple clothes and feels that it is important to dress properly for the context or occasion that he is in. Furthermore, I-informant sees shopping at something that is a necessity, something that people have to do sometimes.

4.2.1.5 I-informant 2

I-informant 2 is a young man of 28 years old, his nationality is Italian, and he lives in Aalborg (in north Jutland) with a female roommate that also is from Italy. The informant (I-informant 2) is studying CCG (Culture, Communication and Globalization) at Aalborg University, which he will finish this summer. I-informant 2 buys clothes about every third month, depending on season, as he mentions that the last piece of accessory that he bought was a scarf he had bought it in the winter. When I-informant 2 buys clothes he normally goes out to buy what he needs, some of the most important things for I-informant 2 when he buys clothes is the material and color, *"(…) first of all I will say that I follow my taste and the color is the first thing and of course material"* (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 3). The informant (I-informant 2) makes it clear that the color and material has an influence when he buys clothes, but also the price has an influence on where he goes to buy his clothes, he mentions in the interview that H&M[5] is one of the stores that he goes to because of the price.

I-informant 2 describes his style as his own, but mostly casual, but he finds it increasingly important that his clothes fit together, and when asked about if it is important for him that his clothes match, he answered *"(…) quite important, I mean if it wasn't for me, I will care a little bit less (…)"* (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 3), and he implied that it could have something to do with his upbringing in Italy *"(…) but you know being in Italy […] I got some influence from other people whether they was friends or not […] this influence came without my knowledge (…)* (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 3). He also stated that he did not search for his style, but still acknowledges that the style he has created for himself is influenced by his environment and upbringing.

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[5] H&M (or Hennes & Mauritz) is an international clothing chain whose goal is to provide affordable fashion (H&M, u.d.)

In the interview I-informant 1 was asked about how important his appearance is for him, and he described it as a seven and a half or eight on a one to ten scale, *"(…) from one to ten I will say seven and a half and eight, depends on the occasion"* (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 4). He also added that it depends on the occasion, if it is a formal occasion, going to the university or a concert, an example of where I-informant 2 dresses after the occasion is when he goes to concerts.

> (…) again it depends on the occasion, I will be more specific when I, when I go to concerts and I, I am a musician, you know, so when I am playing drums for example, I would not wear a suit, I will wear a t-shirt or, yea, t-shirt without the sleeves (…) (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 8)

In the quote I-informant 2 describes what clothes that he has on when he plays a concert, he later describes this look as something that he feel comfortable in and that he feels that it is connected to what he is doing.

To sum up, I-informant 2 sees his choice of clothes as casual, but still he wants to look presentable and dress according to the occasion and the context he is in. The informant's shopping habits is influenced by the clothes material, color and price.

4.2.1.6 I-informant 3

The last informant is I-informant 3, he is also 28 years old, raised in Italy and lives in Aalborg (North Jutland) with three roommates. During the interview, I-informant 3 was in the middle of his Master of Science in Energy and Engineering studies at Aalborg University. The informant (I-informant 3) buys new clothes ever third to fifth month, but states that he wished that he did it more often, he normally buys clothes if he needs something new, for example, if his clothes are broken. It is mainly the informant (I-informant 3) who buy his clothes, but sometimes his mother also buys him clothes, or he get clothes as gifts, but that mostly happens at Christmas.

The I-informant 3 describes his style as simple, *"(…) simple style, I can usually has not many colors t-shirt, it have to be a gray or blue or red but not with a lot of drawings and stuff and regular trousers not too skinny [...] very simple nothing extravagant (…)"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4). He states that he buys clothes primarily when he needs it, like t-shirts, trousers and shoes, but he also talks about that he

previous had bought a hat, that can be perceived as an accessory and not a necessity. When I-informant 3 was asked about if he goes after the brand or the price while shopping, he answered, *"(...) bit of both I will say, if I know that a brand clothes that fit me okay or they are [05:01 Cannot hear what he says] long lasting yes I will go for that brand, but the price also, it is a bit of both"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 3). So the brand can have an influence on the informant, if he knows the brand or has had a good experience with the brand, he also said later that he also thinks that fashion has an influence on his purchase or everybody's purchase because *"(...) it is up to the fashion (...)"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 3) as he expressed it. Another thing that is interesting is that despite his attitude to what he is wearing, he had a large knowledge about general fashion rules, and when asked about what kind of fashion rules he knew, he answered:

> *oh, like never put blue and black together unless it is a sparkling blue, green and red are not good together as well, never put a shirt with black buttons on a suit unless it is a tuxedo in that case it is alright, oh, whatever, if you have a thick neck you should wear a Winston knot for your tie because it is a bigger kind of tie, a smaller neck a half Winston should be working, what else, I don't know, hmm, I don't know* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4)

This gives a clear image that I-informant 3 has knowledge about some of the general fashion rules, especially when it comes to formal dressing.

I-informant 3, as previously written, sees himself as having a simple or casual style, but still he expresses that he feels that there is a pressure from others to dress in a certain way, he came with an example that his brother sometimes comments on his clothes: *"(...) I am constantly insulted by my brother [...] he is saying that I dress like crap [...] I am pretty sure that people have expectations about other people about how they should dress (...)"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 10). And even though he does not care what others think about how he dresses, he also believes that there are some situations or contexts where one has to be dressed in a certain way, like for example *"(...) again it is up to the context we are talking about, oh, so I would not expect someone who is a bank director to be wearing shorts an and a broken t-shirt of course (...)"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 10), thus, he finds that in some situations it is important to have a certain style or dress properly to the situation.

To sum up, I-informant 3 is a young man with a relaxed relationship to which clothes he is wearing. However, he shows that he has some knowledge of fashion and that his upbringing has been a part of it. He also in some situations expects other people to dress in a certain way, despite the fact that he himself prefers to dress in casual clothes and does not worry about what others think of his clothes.

4.2.2 Men as fashion consumers

In the previous section, the informants were introduced, and one of the things that all the informant had in common was that they perceived their own style as simple or casual. However, it can be questioned if the informants' own understanding of what is casual and simple is the same, but the idea of dressing casually of comfortably is more or less an old idea, that can be related with *"(...) centuries-old cultural taboos (...)"* (Rinallo, 2007, p. 78)*,* where the idea is that men's fashion does not exist, but that men only wear clothes for *"(...) comfort, rather than for style (...)* (Rinallo, 2007, p. 78)*.* This may be perceived as if some of the old attitudes or understandings still exist to some extent in the way that the informants still prefer their everyday clothes to be casual and comfortable more than fashionable. But in some respect we can see that fashion has changed like in the details and accessories because if you look at the old understanding, there was no room for detail or accessories unless it had a purpose or meaning, because it was previously seen as something feminine and not related to men's clothes (Kaiser, 2012, p. 125)*.* But now accessories or detail is more frequently used to create a look or style, like I-informant 3 bought a hat, or D-informant 1 buys caps, that most have the purpose of creating a look or a style (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 2; I-informant 3, 2017, p. 3) than to be used with a purpose. The same also goes for colors where some of the informants express that they liked simple colors and not too bright colors or too many patterns when it came to their clothes (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 3; I-informant 1, 2017, p. 2; I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4).

The informants' shopping habits vary a little: D-informant 1 shops approximately one to two times a month (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 2), whereas I-informant 1 shop about once a month (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 1). D-informant 2 shops a little less, between every second to third month (D-informant 2, 2017, p. 1), and I-informant 2 and D-informant 3 both said that they shop about every third month (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 2; D-informant 3, 2017, p. 2). The last informant (I-informant 3) is the person that shops the least according to himself, he shops every third, fourth or fifth month (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 2). This is

interesting because both D-informant 1 and I-informant 1 were the informants that seemed most interested in shopping, because D-informant 1 said in the interview that he had to limit himself because he had problems with controlling his consumption of clothes, if he does not limit his time (D-informant 1, 2017, pp. 13-14), and I-informant 1 told that he sometimes has the tendency to windowshop or to buy clothes in situations where he did not intend to buy clothes (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 10). However, both D-informant 1, I-informant 1 and the rest of the informants expressed that they mostly saw shopping as a necessity and something they do when they need new clothes.

During the interview, some of the informants mention that they felt that is was important that their clothes was not worn out. One example is I-informant 3 that in the beginning of the interview mentioned that *"(...) if I have broken clothes I change clothes"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 2), and again later in the interview he talked about how he experiences the difference between Danish and Italian men's clothes.

> *(...) when I see Danish clothing is washed out, I can say like washed out style like slightly not care but obviously they do [...] slightly broken pants and ruined t-shirt [...] I (27:00 cannot hear what he is saying) try to be a little more neat about it, not as washed out (...)*
> (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 11)

In the quote he explain how he experiences that in Danish male fashion the clothes looks 'washed out' and that he feels that his style or clothes is more 'neat', he later also says that one of the things that he thinks that his parents will criticize about his clothes was if he had 'broken jeans', so for the informant the washed out or broken look is not something he would wear because he prefers to look more neat. I-informant 3 is not the only one of the informants that is not fond of the worn-out look, also D-informant 3 comments on that look during his interview:

> *(...) A person who comes in frayed clothes [...] and big holes on the knees or something that I do not like, because it makes me think [...] that you must have enough money to buy clothes that are complete [...] I mean if you come in old worn out shoes, old washed out pants, a shirt that has barely been washed, all that will make me think 'no', then it is trivial, I do not need to spend time on this.* (D-informant 3, 2017, pp. 5-6)

D-informant 3 makes it very clear that he does not accept people that have broken clothes and feels that it is important that people wear clean and neat clothes, because he feels that it is the least a person can do if they want his attention. This can be perceived as an underlying expectation that men think about the cleanliness and condition of their clothes, and that this aspect has a higher priority than fashion and style in an everyday context.

4.2.3 Masculinity and fashion consumption

In the interview there were also six pictures of pants about which the informant had to answer. One of the questions was: '20 What style of pants do you find most masculine?' (see, 7.1 Interview guide), here most of the informants in some way mention the dress pants (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 6; I-informant 3, 2017, p. 8; D-informant 2, 2017, p. 7; D-informant 3, 2017, p. 10), but also the jeans were mentioned as one of the pants that related most to masculinity. According to Susan B. Kaiser *"(t)he business suit, in one form or a subtle another, has endured more than 200 years as a dominant symbol of hegemonic (bourgeois) masculinity"* (Kaiser, 2012, p. 127), that can be related to some of the informants' understanding of the relation between the suit and masculinity (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 6; I-informant 3, 2017, p. 8; D-informant 2, 2017, p. 7; D-informant 3, 2017, pp. 10-11). The jeans were also one of the pants that the informants found masculine, both informant I-informant 3, D-informant 1, and D-informant 2 found that the jeans were the most masculine or just as masculine as the dress pant, one interesting comment from D-informant 2 was that he felt that the color also had an influence on how masculine the pants were perceived, and when asked if he thought that some jeans could be less masculine than other jeans, he answered yes, and when he was then asked what could make them less masculine than other jeans he answered *"(...) it depends on, on the shade of color, oh, yes the color (...)"* (D-informant 2, 2017, p. 8). This can support the idea that dark colors and especially the color black relates to dominance and the hegemonic masculinity (Kaiser, 2012, pp. 125, 136; Rinallo, 2007, p. 78). The colors are also something that the other informants mention, D-informant 1 says that he feels most masculine in a white or black tight t-shirt, and previously in the interview he also mentions that he likes to wear one colored t-shirts. The idea that menswear of men's fashion should be simple is something that most of the informants still embrace and find the most masculine, this can, as earlier written, be perceived as that some remains of the old understanding or beliefs still exist to some degree when it comes to men's fashion.

However, despite the informants' understanding of what they find most masculine, some of them saw masculinity more as some inner values or a certain way to behave. According to Raewyn Connell, masculinity can be seen as the *"(…)social norm for the behaviour of men"* (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 70). In the interviews the informants were ask about: '14 What do you understand by the term masculinity?' (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the idea behind this question was to get an understanding of the informants' perspective of the term masculinity.

I-informant 1, describes the term masculinity as *"(…) the characteristics […] of the man kind, the male kind we can say"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 4), and when asked if he saw masculinity as a good or bad thing, he answered that *"it depends on how you interpret it we can say, […] if you mean from masculinity […] for example aggressive behavior or something like this, no, no of course it is bad, or if it means, uh determination, uh, strongness [being strong, but he put the ness behind, so maybe he wants to emphasize that he means it as something special or it was because he could not find the word strength instead of strong] or things like this, I think it is a good term"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 4). It is clear that I-informant 1 sees masculinity as something that can be perceived closest to the hegemonic masculinity because both the good and the bad characteristics I-informant 1 described relate to the hegemonic masculinity. Another thing that criticized the hegemonic masculinity that I-informant 1 talks about is the behavior that he relates to a masculine person: *"(…)how he talks, how he […] connects with other people or, uh, how he works, also how hard he works […] I think the most important surely determination and […] to have a target and to make anything you can to reach it."* The word 'determination' is a word the informant (I-informant 1) repeats several times in relation to masculinity, determination can be perceived as a characteristic within hegemonic masculinity, because it relates to power and the idea of aiming high at all costs (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 77).

I-informant 2 also mentioned the characteristics, in his opinion masculinity is some characteristics that both men and women can have, *"(…)masculinity is, will be some of the characteristics that might, oh, give a man or even a women a certain, mainly, not just appearance but feeling the way they are(…)"* (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 5). He later tried to connect the word with something that relates to the appearance, but still he did not really feel that he could describe what a masculine appearance is *"(…) if you are a woodcutter […] you have an ax in your hand and a shirt; typical that will be defined as manly but it is like an image […] so I don't really know because I used to connect masculinity with an inner side of a*

person instead of with the clothing or the appearance" (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 5). The informant makes it very clear in the quote that he sees masculinity as an 'inner side of a person' or personality, but he does not describe what characteristics contribute to creating a masculine personality (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 6). The informants' description of masculinity is – like I-informant 1 – mostly related to the hegemonic masculinity because he later in the interview relates masculine to the actor Gerard Butler and his character in the movie '300' where he plays a king (King Leonidas), the leader, that lead his army at war against a larger army (IMDb, n.d.). This character can also be related to the hegemonic masculinity in the sense that he is a dominant leader and a powerful person. Because I-informant 2 makes the comparison between the King Leonidas character and masculinity, it can be perceived that I-informant 2 related his understanding of the term as hegemonic masculinity.

D-informant 2 did not mention the word 'characteristics' when explaining his understanding of masculinity, but he still described things that can be understood as a relating to the characteristics, *"(...) masculine is, is a person that, [...] stands on his own, and oh, maybe not strong in that sense but brave maybe [...] can take care of himself and, and aware of his closest (...)"* (D-informant 2, 2017, p. 5). These characteristics relate to the hegemonic masculinity in the sense that he sees independence and bravery as masculine qualities.

D-informant 1 describes masculinity as something that both can be seen as the person's appearance and the person's characteristics, in the following quote, D-informant 1 explains what he perceives the concept of masculinity is.

> *What do I understand about the concept of masculinity [...] the classic with big beard and cut firewood [...] but I also feel that masculinity can be just as much, oh, that taking care of one's wife, partner, children and is sensitive and like make it work, and it does not have to be a 'he man' that has hair on the chest and is really masculine in that way, I feel that masculinity is like to live up to [...] ones duties, it does not matter if it is one's work, family life or friends, but that the person takes responsibility and, like, does something in the situations, this is what I feel that masculinity is and not so much, like, what looks good on you and the big beard or something* (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 6)

D-informant 1 starts out with explaining some external characteristics about the persons looks like the 'big beard', and he also describes an action: cut 'firewood', but then he changes it to some inner values, like caregiver, protector, provider, etc. He sees masculinity as some positive traits and obligations that a person commits himself to. D-informant 1's way of talking about the inner values can to some degree both relate to all of Connell's masculinities in the way that even a man that can be categorized as subordinate masculinity can have characteristics like caregiver, protector and provider and still be suppressed by men that possess the hegemonic masculinity (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 77).

In D-informant's 3 description of masculinity, his focus was more on the appearance and actions of people than characteristics, in addition, his description relates more to what he did not find masculine rather than what he considers masculine: *"(…)(M)asculinity is that, oh, but that is that you have a job and that you wear the right clothes, so you are not masculine if you are 'mincing' [he used the Danish word 'vimsene' that is normally used to describe feminine movements] down the street in a pink sweater and a little poodle in a, in one hand, that is not masculine in my world, maybe it is for somebody, but not in my world (…)"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 7). The D-informant 3 sees masculinity as something that does not relate to feminine movements or clothes in some colors. This can be understood as D-informant 3 is trying to make a distance between what can be perceived as feminine or homosexual, the movement, clothes and dog, to what he understands as being masculine. D-informant 3's description of masculinity is hard to define as either hegemonic, subordinate, complicit, or marginalized, but his description of what he does not find masculine can be described as a character that belongs to the subordinate masculinities, in the sense that D-informant 3 suggests that the character has feminine or homosexual tendencies.

The last informant (I-informant 3), stands out from the other informants' understanding of the term masculinity, in the sense that he describes it as a meaningless subject in relation to today's society, *"(…) in the most classical way will be act in a more classical way that men are supposed to like […] be rude, and flirty, and muscled and this kind of things, but I think that it doesn't really apply, or at least that it should not apply that much anymore (…)"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4). I-informant 3 explains that he does not feel that the term masculinity 'should apply' to the society that we live in today, and his description of what he will characterize as masculine can maybe also be perceived as that he found the word masculinity to be a dominant or hegemonic masculinity. During the interview D-informant 3 gave

the impression that he dislikes the word masculinity and saw the descriptions 'flirty, rude and muscular as bad characteristics.

These understandings of masculinity relate mostly to the hegemonic understanding of masculinity because most of the informants gave the value of strength as an example of something that relates to masculinity. Some of the informant also saw masculinity as something that relates to more soft values like caring for other people. What is clear is that the understanding of what masculinity is, is perceived in various ways and that it can have something to do with that "*(a)ll societies have cultural accounts of gender, but not all have the concept 'masculinity'.*" (Connell R. W., 2005, p. 67), therefore it is also natural to have different opinions because the informants have different social backgrounds.

As previously written the idea that men only dress for comfort has changed, and in 1994 Journalist Mark Simpson introduced the term*"(…) 'metrosexual' […] to refer to male consumers […] who spend significant amount of time and money on their appearance and lifestyles*" (Rinallo, 2007, p. 79). The concept metrosexual is about a culture where men, regardless of their sexuality, spend time and money on their appearance. Most of the informants also expressed that they found their appearance important.

I-informant 1 finds his appearance important, when asked about '9. How important is your appearance to you?' (see, 7.1 Interview guide), the informant responded, *"(…) it is important, uh, not for others but for me"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 3). He also finds that clothes is important when making a first impression, so appearance and clothes are important, because they can give people an impression of who the person is. When asked about '13 Does your choice of clothing, reflect who you are as a person?' (see, 7.1 Interview guide), he answered that *"(…)I think that it is maybe for example a person […] who always wears expensive clothes, expensive shirts, ties and, has an important style maybe it is a person who is very concentrated on for example career or money(…)"* (I-informant 1, 2017, p. 4). I-informant 1 finds that looks and appearance are important factors because they are the person's expression. In the interview, I-informant 1 replied that he accepts and agrees that it okay for a man to care about his appearance and clothes, this is related to the understanding that society has changed and that is the idea behind the metrosexual man, in the way that it is accepted that men can use both time and money on his appearance (Rinallo, 2007, p. 79; I-informant 1, 2017, pp. 3-4, 9-10). I-informant 2 also expresses that he cares about his own look. When asked about how important that finds his appearance, he answered,

"(…) from one to ten I will say seven and a half and eight; it depends on the occasion […] but if I am going to the university, I be casual and it is like I would say seven, yea so it is important" (I-informant 2, 2017, p. 4). That I-informant 2 finds that his appearance is important can be perceived as that he spends time to think about how he is looking, despite of the fact that he describes himself as casual. Although I-informant 3 expresses that he did not find his appearance that important, this does not mean that he does not believe that it is not okay for a man to think about his appearance, since he does not express any positive or negative feelings regarding men's interest in their own appearance. D-informant 1 did in the same way as I-informant 1 express that he found it important to care about his own appearance, he described it as something that he feels always is in the back of his mind, and that he sometimes dresses according to the situation or the people he is going to be with. Both D-informant 2 and D-informant 3 did express that they did not feel that their appearance is so important for them, however, D-informant 3 in spite of his feeling of not caring still expresses that *"it is not important to me, but I still care about how people, if you go into a store then you look at yourself in the window to see if your hair looks silly (…)"* (D-informant 3, 2017, p. 5) What the informant here tries to express is that even though he does not find his appearance important, he still cares about how other people perceive him and therefore looks at himself before going in to a store to check if he looks presentable. The informants' description of the appearance's importance suggests that they to some degree consider it important or accept that it is important for some men, this can be perceived as an acceptance of metrosexuality and of men who choose to spend both time and money on their appearance.

But even though the informants showed acceptance of metrosexuality, still one of the informants had a negative attitude towards pink clothes and tight pants (D-informant 3, 2017, pp. 7, 8, 9). D-informant 3 did not seem to not like or hate the persons that wear pink clothes or tight pants: *"(…) I can agree with the person who 'mincing' down the street in a pink sweater […] with the things he says, his personal opinions and stuff like that, I can easily agree with, but this do not decidedly makes him masculine to me, that is mostly about the looks and a little about the behavior (…)"* (D-informant 3, 2017, pp. 7-8). In the quote it is clear that D-informant 3 does not find people with pink sweaters masculine, this can be interpreted as D-informant 3 seeing the color pink as a feminine color, and to see the color pink as feminine can be related to the gender segregation of colors, which is mostly seen in children's clothing: pink for girls and blue for boys (Kaiser, 2012, pp. 121-122). Also, some of the other informants indicated

that pink is a less masculine color, in the interview I-informant 3 was asked what type of pants from the pictures in the interview guide (see, 7.1 Interview guide) he finds less masculine, and he answered, *"I will be honest and say the pink one"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 9), and both I-informant 1, D-informant 2, and D-informant 3 all rated the (6) Pink jeans (see, 7.1 Interview guide) the least masculine. This can maybe also have something to do with the gender segregation of color that links the color pink to femininity (Kaiser, 2012, pp. 121-122).

The gender segregation of color, as previously written, relates mostly to children's clothes, and according to Susan B. Kaiser the color pink on small boys can still be provoking for some adults (Kaiser, 2012, p. 122), and to some degree the gender segregation of colors still applies for some people when talking about masculinity andits relation to the color of male clothes. However, there are no color rules, and it is not forbidden or wrong for men to wear pink, but according to some of the informants, the color pink does not relate to masculinity. Though there are no rules about using the color pink, fashion rules still exist (Ostberg, 2012, p. 274). In the introduction of the I-informant 3, his knowledge of fashion rules was described, also D-informant 1 had some knowledge about fashion rules: *"(...) I know of course the basic rules [...] about such thing like how to wear a tie or one's shoes and belt have to have the same color and stuff like that [...] I know them and I follow them sometimes (...)"* (D-informant 1, 2017, pp. 3-4). These rules describe that D-informant 1 has knowledge about rules that relate to male fashion, but those rules, like the rules that I-informant 3 describe, in some way relate mostly to formal attire (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4; D-informant 1, 2017, pp. 3-4). Another rule that the informant was asked about in the interview was about 'wearing socks and sandals'; that question was inspired from Jacob Ostberg (2012) chapter *10 Masculinity and fashion*, where he mentions that *"(...) wearing white sports socks with sandals – representing archetypal bad taste (...)"* (Ostberg, 2012, p. 256). When the informants were asked about what they think about the rule about 'socks and sandals', they all said that they saw it as bad taste, and some of them stated that they would not wear it themselves (I-informant 1, 2017; I-informant 2, 2017, p. 3; I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4; D-informant 1, 2017, p. 4; D-informant 2, 2017, p. 3; D-informant 3, 2017, p. 4). However, D-informant 1 also mentions that he thinks it looks good on somebody with the right clothes, but he also mentions that he would not wear it himself. That D-informant 1 finds that 'socks and sandals' can look good in some contexts can actually be related to what Ostberg mentions about that

the idea that although 'socks and sandals' is considered as bad taste, maybe one day it can be considered good taste (Ostberg, 2012, p. 256).

In the interviews it is clear that despite of the differences between the informants, they all distinguish between casual and formal clothes in the sense that they all describe their private/everyday clothes as casual and at the same time express that in some situations or contexts it is expected that a person dresses formally. However, there are also many differences between the informants, and I want to emphasize that all the informants were different people with different backgrounds, so there are both similarities and differences between the different informants' opinions and their own behavior when it comes to masculinity in fashion consumption. At the same time, it is clear that the difference not only lies in their nationality, but there are also other factors that affect their interest in fashion consumption. This may be due, in part, to the geographical elements; if the person lives or is raised in a big city or in a small city, and another factor may be the educational background of the persons or their parents' background. There is no clear picture why the informants have different opinions and attitudes, however, it can be concluded that the informants give a broad picture of how men's fashion consumption is different depending on the person.

5 Conclusion

In the analysis of the interviews, all of the informants stated that they dress casually (D-informant 1, 2017, p. 3; D-informant 2, 2017, p. 2; D-informant 3, 2017, p. 4; I-informant 1, 2017, p. 2; I-informant 2, 2017, p. 3; I-informant 3, 2017, p. 4). This may be related to the observations, as the majority of those who were observed wore what can be categorized as casual clothes (see, Table 4: Italian. Male participant; Table 5: Danish. Male participant; Table 6: Italian. Couple participant; Table 7: Danish. Couple participant; Table 8: Italian. Group participant; Table 9: Danish. Group participant). Therefore, the casual style in this thesis can be seen as the norm for male clothes, and cannot be categorized as either masculine or not masculine.

Nevertheless, as previously written, male fashion has changed, and what it is fashionable today may be seen as bad taste in ten years (Ostberg, 2012, p. 256), and style and fashion is individual, which means that not all will agree on what they find fashionable. During the interview D-informant 3 talks about how he does not particularly like pants with holes in it (D-informant 3, 2017, pp. 5-6), and I-informant 3 talks about how he experiences the Danes' fashion: to have clothes that looked *"washed out"* (I-informant 3, 2017, p. 11), but during my observations, I found that both in Denmark and Italy the stores had various kinds of jeans, that had a worn-out look on display, and especially in the Zara stores in Italy, I found a lot of these kinds of pants in the stores. Therefore, despite what the informants express, clothes with a worn-out look is maybe on its way to become everyday fashion, because fashion changes. On the other hand, according to most of the informants the 'suit' is still the clothes that is most likely to be the masculine status symbol, and according to Susan B. Kaiser the 'business suit' has been related to the hegemonic masculinities in over 200 years (Kaiser, 2012, p. 127). So, when men put on their nice suit, and it makes them feel more manly or masculine, it might have to do with an inherited image of masculinity in relation to fashion.

During the observations in Italy, I found that there were more men that wore suit in their everyday style, whereas in Denmark it was more pieces of the suit, like blazers or a shirt, that were worn. This is interesting because if the suit is a symbol of the hegemonic masculinity, why is it not worn more in everyday clothes? In the interviews some of the informants expressed that the suit was mostly worn on special or formal occasions or at some schools and workplaces, this might be an explanation to why the

suit is not the dominant part of the men's consumption and everyday style. Another explanation can be, as some of the informants stated, that jeans or just the clothes they felt comfortable in, were also the clothes in which they felt masculine. The casual style is therefore maybe more related to the hegemonic or complicit masculinity than the other masculinity types. Following this argument, the more special or extravagant clothes in some cases will be seen as a symbol of the subordinated or suppressed masculinity, where colors like pink or laces are perceived as less masculine, even thought it might be fashionable. This may change, like the idea that men that cared about their appearances previously were seen as feminine or homosexuals, and today it is expected of a man to care about his appearance, and the men that use significant time and money on their clothes and appearance are seen more as metrosexuals than feminine or homosexuals. In the interviews, most of the informants felt that people in general had expectations to men's appearance and what they are wearing.

In many areas both Danish and Italian men agree in their opinion on how a man should dress and what type of clothes they find masculine, but when it come to the research question: 'How can Danish and Italian men use fashion consumption to construct their masculinity', they use the fachion symbol of masculinity 'suit' in different ways. Where Italian men both bought more suits and wore them more in a everyday context during my observations, the Danish men used parts from the suit, like the blazer or shirt, and this can be perceived as the Italians in some degree use fashion and fashion consumption to construct their masculinity in their everyday life, whereas the Danes only use parts of what can be termed as masculine fashion in their everyday life. Another way to look at constructing masculinity through fashion, is that *"clothes makes the man"* (Kaiser, 2012, p. 125), or more specific, fahion reflects the man. During the interviews some of the informants stated that their clothes in some way reflected who they were as a person because of the impression it gives others, and if masculinity is seen as a personality trait, it will be one of the things that will reflect through their clothes. Therefore, their masculinity can be reflected through their apparance and clothes. Fashion consumption can be used to construct a image of a person through the persons reflection of themselve, and, therefore, fashion consumption can be used as a element to construct masculinity.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Interview guide

Interview guide   **Informant number:** _____

1.b. Name: _____

2.b. Age: _____

3.b. Nationality: _____

4.b. Place of residence: _____

5.b. Living arrangement[1]:   _____

6.b. Education: _____

7.b. Profession: _____

[1] live alone, whit roommates, girlfriend/boyfriend, living at home whit parents.

My research project is devoted to understand how men relate to fashion. First, I have some questions about your shopping habits, then I have some questions about your relation to fashion, masculinity, and in the end, I have some questions about your opinion about men and fashion consumption.

Shopping habits
Now I would like to ask you some question about your shopping habits.

1. Who normally buys your clothes (yourself, parents, girlfriend/boyfriend, gifts, etc.)?

2. How often do you buy clothes yourself?

3. When you buy clothes do you buy items or the style?

4. What is the piece of clothing or accessories you last bought?

5. When you buy clothes or accessories, are you going after the brand, price or what the latest fashion is?
   5.1 Why?

The informant relation to fashion

the next question is about your relationship with fashion consumption

6. Is it important to you that your clothes fit together?

   6.1 Why/why not?

7. What kind of fashion style will you say you have?

8. Do you know anything about fashion rules?

   8.1 What kind of rules do you know?

   8.2 Can you tell me something you never want to wear?

9. How important is your appearance to you?

10. Do you think that your clothes is important when you want to make a good first impression?

11. When you meet new people, do you then notice what they are wearing?

12. Does people clothes affect your first impression of them?

13. Does your choice of clothing, reflect who you are as a person?

Masculinity

the next question is about masculinity or manliness

14. What do you understand by the term masculinity?

15. If you should describe a masculine or a manly person, how would you describe him?

16. Do you think that a man can be masculine or seen as a real man, and have a fashion sense at the same time?
    16.1 Do you think that it is more okay for a man to think about what he is wearing today, then 50 years ago?

17. Are some male clothes or style more masculine or manly then other?
    17.1 Can you describe what you find masculine?
    17.2 Can you describe what you find less masculine?

18. Do you have some clothes you feel more masculine in than others?
    18.1 What?

Picture Question:

19. What type of pants do you normally where?

20. What style of pants do you find most masculine?

21. Try to put picture in order in relation to what you find most masculine.
    21.1 Why this order?

Your opinion about men and fashion consumption

22. Do you feel that people expect a man to think about his look?
    22.1 Do you expect that?

23. Do you think people judge other people on their clothes?
    23.1 Have you experience that you have judge somebody on their look?

24. Do you think that there are difference in how much men, think about t heir looks and clothes in different countries (in Europe)?

25. In your opinion, is there a difference between what type of men's clothing, women and men find masculine?

26. Do you think that it is masculine, for a man to shop?

(1) Dress pants

Tommy Hilfiger. Suit Separate Trousers. 425 (Blue). 100% Virgin Wool. Style #: TT67866530. Tommy Hilfiger Tailored: A timeless collection of perfect cuts, fits and fabrics. http://eu.tommy.com/Suit-Separate-Trousers/TT67866530,default,pd.html?cgid=201050#!color%3D425%26size%3D46

(2) Chinos

Jack & Jones. MARCO ENZO WW PICANTE CHINOS. Red / Picante. 98% Cotton, 2% Elastane. - Mens pants with button fly. Twill weave garment with stretch. Enzyme washed for a soft touch. The model is wearing a size 31/32 and is 187 cm tall. JACK & JONES JEANS INTELLIGENCE. http://www.jackjones.com/it/en/jj/trousers/chinos/marco-enzo-ww-picante-chinos-12118016.html?cgid=jj-trousers-chinos&dwvar_colorPattern=12118016_Picante

(3) Jeans

Levi's Men's 501 Original-Fit Jean. Rinse. 100% Cotton. Button Fly closure. Machine Wash. Straight-leg jean featuring five-pocket styling with signature arcuate stitching on rear pocket. Leg opening: 16". Modified construction of the front fly to prevent tearing. https://www.amazon.com/Levis-Mens-501-Original-Fit-Jean/dp/B0018OR118

(4) Cargo Pants

Jack & Jones. ARMY CARGO PANTS. Green / Green Eyes. 98% Cotton, 2% Elastane. Anti fit pants with button closure. We've added a lot of stretch to ensure comfort. Cargo pockets add a utilitarian vibe. The model is wearing a size 31/32 and is 187 cm tall. JACK & JONES JEANS INTELLIGENCE. http://www.jackjones.com/it/en/jj/trousers/cargo-pants/army-cargo-pants-12115694.html?cgid=jj-trousers-cargo&dwvar_colorPattern=12115694_GreenEyes

(5) Jogging pants

H&M. Joggers. Black. Polyester 100%. Item nr, 0478831001. Joggers with elastication and a concealed drawstring at the waist, a fake fly and tapered legs with a contrasting colour trim down the sides and ribbed hems.
http://www2.hm.com/en_gb/productpage.0478831001.html#Black

(6) Pink jeans

H&M. Skinny Low Jeans. Light pink Denim. Cotton 99%; Elastane 1%. Item nr, 0451229007. Stretch Jeans in 5 pocket denim and washed. Leg narrow and low waist. Button closure.
http://www2.hm.com/it_it/productpage.0451229007.html#Denim rosa chiaro

7.2 Analysis design

Analysis

- Interview analysis
  - Italien men
    - I-informant 1
    - I-informant 2
    - I-informant 3
  - Danish men
    - D-informant 1
    - D-informant 2
    - D-informant 3
  - Masculinity and fashion consumption
  - Men as fashion consumer
- Observation analysis
  - Types of shoppers
    - Groups of men
    - Couples
    - Men
  - Men's shopping behavior

How can men use fashion consumption to construct their masculinity consumption