

New Lad: Re-Packaged Masculinity in Men's Lifestyle Magazines

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Abstract

This paper examines the representation of *new lad* in men's lifestyle magazines and the cultivation of the masculine identity among magazine readers, seeking to understand how this construction of *new lad* affects the way the masculine gender is performed and conceptualised in a broader social context. Four focus group interview scripts of magazine readers, sponsored by the ESRC and conducted by ESRC researchers in 1997, are analysed by using the qualitative data analytical software, *Nvivo*, to provide a systematic understanding of the cultural shift in the construction of masculinity and the proliferation of male consumerism, represented in men's magazines. This paper argues that the displacement of softer *new man* identity and the eager embrace of *new lad* archetype by UK men's lifestyle magazines is a reassertion of masculine power in a subtler format.

Keywords: masculine gender, men's lifestyle magazine, new lad, focus group, *Nvivo*

บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้ศึกษาการสร้างภาพแทนเด็กหนุ่มใหม่ในวารสารไลฟ์สไตล์สำหรับผู้ชายและการประกอบสร้างอัตลักษณ์ความเป็นชายของผู้อ่านวารสารดังกล่าวเพื่อทำความเข้าใจว่าการประกอบสร้างอัตลักษณ์เด็กหนุ่มใหม่นั้นส่งผลต่อการนำเสนอเพศสภาพนั้นและการสร้างกรอบคิดทางสังคมอย่างไร บทความนี้ใช้โปรแกรมคอมพิวเตอร์สำหรับการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลเชิงคุณภาพเช่น เอ็นวีโว่ ในการวิเคราะห์บทสนทนากลุ่ม สกีลุ่ม ซึ่งได้รับทุนวิจัยและวิจัยโดยนักวิจัยของสถาการวิจัยทางเศรษฐกิจและสังคมในปี พ.ศ. 2540 เพื่อสร้างความรู้อย่างเป็นระบบในเรื่องการเปลี่ยนแปลงทางวัฒนธรรม โดยเฉพาะประเด็นการประกอบสร้างความเป็นชาย และการส่งเสริมแนวคิดแบบบริโภคในผู้ชาย ซึ่งมีการนำเสนอไว้ในวารสารสำหรับผู้ชายดังกล่าว บทความนี้เสนอว่าการที่วารสารไลฟ์สไตล์สำหรับผู้ชายแทนที่อัตลักษณ์ผู้ชายใหม่ที่มีลักษณะอ่อนโยนด้วยอัตลักษณ์แบบเด็กหนุ่มใหม่เป็นการตอกย้ำอำนาจของผู้ชายในแบบที่สุขุมขึ้น

คำสำคัญ: เพศสภาพชาย วารสารไลฟ์สไตล์สำหรับผู้ชาย เด็กหนุ่มใหม่ การสนทนากลุ่มเอ็นวีโว่

Introduction

Since its launch in 1994 *Loaded* has introduced a new articulated masculinity - *new lad* - to the public. Contrary to its predecessor - *new man, new lad* challenges the constructed images of *new man*'s sensitivity and narcissism by reclaiming its "authentic" masculinity. *Load*'s celebration of working class culture, male bonding and heterosexual masculinity is perpetually reproduced in the magazine's contents (Benwell, 2003, p.7).

The commercial success of *Loaded* to an extent influenced other UK men's lifestyle magazines, for example *FHM*, *Maxim*, to replace the "softer" and "caring" images of *new man* with "harder" and a more hedonistic masculine version of *new lad*. (Stevenson, Jackson & Brook, 2003, p. 121). The National Readership Surveys in 2000 confirms the popularity of these new men's lifestyle magazines as two of the five most popular monthly magazines read by men are *Loaded* and *FHM* (Matheson and Summerfield, 2001, p. 71).

This sensational phenomenon raises a question why and how the *new lad* identity might have caused such an impressive impact within a decade of its appearance. The emergence of *new lad* can also be said to offer a possibility for research on the interactive engagement between popular media consumers and the men's lifestyle magazine's construction of modern masculinities in the United Kingdom.

This paper aims to uncover the interconnected relationship between the representation of *new lad* in men's lifestyle magazines and the articulation of this new masculine identity among magazine readers, seeking to understand how this construction of new lad affects the way the masculine gender is performed and conceptualised in a broader social context.

The paper begins with the introspection of the conceptualisation of *new man* and *new lad*, respectively, to find out what social specifics might have constituted the displacement of *new man* by *new lad* in the 1990s and what have contributed to the success of these men's lifestyle magazines in terms of social and commercial capitals. Then, four focus group interview transcripts of men's lifestyle magazine readers are randomly chosen to analyse how the readers identify or relate themselves with the *new lad* ideology in the magazines. The 28 focus group interviews were originally conducted by Peter Jackson, Nick Stevenson and Kate Brooks in 1997 as part of an ESRC funded research, titled *Consumption, lifestyle and identity: Reading the new men's lifestyle magazines, 1985-1997*. Seeking the systematic understanding of the data, the software *Nvivo* was employed in coding significant messages appeared in the transcripts of chosen focus group interviews.

The selected four focus groups are:

- 1) 18 year old male *FHM* readers (Sheffield);
- 2) Male art college students (London);
- 3) Male *Loaded* readers (Bristol),
- 4) Men's fashions shop (male) staff (Sheffield)

The analysis of the focus groups to some extent provides an understanding of how the construction of *new lad* in new men's lifestyle magazines is read by magazine readers and the ways in which *new lad* identity is implemented by young men. This paper argues that the men's lifestyle magazines' popular reinvention of masculine identity is a form of gender politics, making *new lad* a part of the hegemonic masculinity's self-repackaging project in order to negotiate and maintain men's supremacy.

Literature Review: Understanding New Man and New Lad

New Man

According to MacKinnon (2003, pp. 13-16), the construction of *new man* can be traced back to the 1970s. Particularly in men's lifestyle magazines, the *new man* is depicted as being a white, middle class, professional, heterosexual man, aged between mid-twenties and early forties. Unlike the traditional representation of masculinity in the media, the projection of *new man* by men's lifestyle magazines can be said to have been influenced by a feminist ideology on gender equality. *New man* is described as having a non-oppressive relationship with his female partner, not necessary his wife, and other subordinate men. *New man* is also said to have benefited from the 1970s obscured distinction between men's work and leisure enabling him to have more time for taking care of himself and his loved ones. Like the traditional macho masculine identity, *new man* is also being pressured to compete for his social dominance including being financially independent, consuming commodities often associated with masculinity, e.g., cars, watches, etc.

Commodity consumption was conventionally considered a woman's domain due to the European conventional practice of labour division since the 18th century industrial revolution. Men were regarded as marginal consumers since they were traditionally thought of being associated more closely with the "realm of production". Osgerby's research (2003, pp. 57-83) discovers that there was a commercial campaign to encourage men to consume more commodities as early as the 1920s. He points out that men's lifestyle magazines, such as *Esquire*, *Playboy*, *Men Only*, *Lilliput*, etc., painstakingly led a public campaign to dissociate consumerism from femininity so that men would not feel being socially stigmatised about their commodity consumption. He argues that these American and British men's lifestyle magazines

played a crucial role in opening up the possibility for men to enter the realm of commodity consumption and to legitimately develop a hedonistic and narcissistic orientation of personal consumption. The success of men's lifestyle magazines in the United Kingdom and the United States in the 1980s shows the transformation of middle class values from the production-based "breadwinner" archetype to the "progressive" interaction between masculinity and consumerism.

Since the 1960s feminism and women's movements have provoked the transformation of gender relations, opening up the interrogation of taken for granted traditional masculinity. The feminists' critiques of pre-given, universal masculine attributes led to the construction of a new form of masculinity, the *new man*, which includes certain attributes, previously deemed as feminine, for example, emotionality, intimacy, caring, etc. The revision of traditional masculinity as *new man* was a result of feminists' initiated discussions on gender inequality and social movements, for example, peace movements, anti-racist organisations, environmental movements, sexual liberation movements, etc., during the 1970s – 80s. In other words, these social movements provided a suitable environment in which new masculine discourses could be conceptualised and disseminated (Gill, 2003, p. 42; MacKinnon, 2003, pp. 3-6).

The popularity of psychoanalysis both in the United Kingdom and the United States during the 1970s also led to the social recognition of men's hidden emotionality. Psychoanalysis can be argued to liberate men from their repressive psychic parts, allegedly causing men's physical and mental problems. This concern over "toxic masculinity" or men's patterns of behaviours paved the way for the formation of the new masculinity (Gill, 2003, p. 43; MacKinnon, 2003, p. 6-7).

Asserted by Gill (2003, pp. 43-45), the emergence of "style magazines" during the 1980s, e.g., *The Face*, *Arena*, *Esquire* engendered the visual imagination of *new man* as the magazines aimed to open up the exploration of male-aesthetic based on fashions. They targeted male readership and attempted to redefine how men's bodies are represented in advertisements. This phenomenon can be said to suggest the media's accommodation of the UK economic changes during the 1980s when there was a significant decline in manufacturing businesses but an increase of employment in retailing sectors, including the clothes retailing. As a result, *new man* was seen as a new potential target for the fashion and clothing businesses.

Gill (2003, p. 45) points out that the punk music and the punk style in the 1970s may have possibly presented a challenge to the traditional masculinity, especially in terms of masculine self-presentation as punk allowing men to break off the traditional masculine codes of dressing.

Gill (2003, p. 43-45) asserts that the attempt to play with a new masculine imagery in the "style" magazines was almost aborted. One of the reasons was the belief that men did not define themselves the same way women do since men likely thought of themselves as a norm. Although certain magazines aimed at "men's

interests”, such as cars, fishing, etc., were already circulated in the market, there was no such magazine that exclusively defined itself as a magazine for men’s general interests (Stevenson, Jackson & Brooks, 2003, p. 117). Besides, the reading public are said to regard the magazines’ adoption of intimate language addressing their readers analogous to the style employed by women’s magazines and the presentation of male bodies as eliciting homoeroticism even though the eroticised masculine bodies were produced by the mainstream heterosexual media.

Gill (2003, pp. 45-46) regards the straight /heterosexual/ mainstream media and clothes retailing industry’s appropriation of eroticised male bodies, regularly used in the gay porn and photography industries, as the shift in the heteronormative subject-object order of spectatorship. The growing visibility of eroticised male bodies outside the gay media suggests that men have become an *object of the gaze* (Mulvey, 1999). In other words, the success of the men’s lifestyle magazines indicates the insecurity of monolithic traditional masculinity and opens up a space for the “multiple manifestation of masculinities” to be developed.

In addition, it is important to discern the influence of gay politics on the media’s conceptualisation of *new man*. According to Edwards (1997, cited in Gill, 2003, p. 46), the fact that “gay men tend to have higher disposable income than their straight counterparts” may more or less influence the production of commodities. Moreover, the projection of alternative masculinity as “caring”, “loving”, and “nurturing”, contradictory to the traditional masculinity, according to Gill (2003), can be illustrated by men who have taken care of their partners and friends who suffered from HIV/AIDS.

New Lad

As described by Benwell (2003, p. 6), *Loaded* was

brash, funny and sometimes surreal; it was tongue-in-cheek sexist; it celebrated working class culture, male camaraderie and above all, masculinity. It deliberately presented itself as a challenge to the existing construction of the feminist-friendly, sensitive narcissist known as *new man* embodied in the fashion-based publications founded in the 1980s such as *Arena*, *Esquire* and *GQ*, which were (according to one of its founding editors) by the same editor as ‘an anti-men’s magazine’ (Southwell, 1998, p. 17); its brand of masculinity was quickly dubbed ‘new lad’ by the media; it was called *Loaded*...

Crew (cited in Benwell, 2003, p. 91) asserts that *Loaded*’s rapid popularity underlines the success of the *new lad* in replacing the “dominant commercial representation” of *new man* and the media’s pervasive construction of a new masculine imagery, publicised in the United Kingdom over the past decades.

MacKinnon (2003) sees the emergence of a more boisterous version of masculinity as part of men's movements in the 1990s, believably inspired by the famous novel, *Iron John* (1991), written by Robert Bly campaigning a return to the concept of "pre-given", "eternal" masculinity, allegedly threatened by "industrialisation, nearly distinguished by at least four decades of feminism, but waiting hidden to reinvigorate itself and leap into life" (p. 21).

Drawing on the *new lad*'s "misogyny", it can be understood that *new lad* is a "backlash against feminism" aimed to defensively reassert the "nostalgic" patriarchal power over women. However, the "individualistic" and "hedonistic pleasure"-oriented perspectives of the *new lad* can also present a serious challenge to *new man*'s imagery of "breadwinner" and "family provider". In other words, *new lad* can be seen as an attempt to unlock the traditional masculinity's emphasis on committed marriage, men's responsibilities, and to open up a space for developing a new form of men's lifestyle, focusing on consumption, non-committed sexual relations (Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks, 2003; Gill, 2003, pp. 46-47; MacInnes, 1998, p. 1)

New lad's criticism of *new man* as inauthentic suggests that *new man* as well as *new lad* are invented and employed as a marketing strategy by the media and retail industry. Describing *new man* as an articulated position adopted by ordinary men to get women to their beds, *new lad*, according to Gill (2003, p. 47), is hypothetically constructed on grounds of masculine "honesty".

Drawing on Beck's *Risk society*, Benwell (2003, p.11; p.17) explains that the construction of *new lad* is more about a "psychic response" to the insecurity of patriarchal values, for example, family, marriage. In other words, the constructed laddism can be understood as men's attempt to reaffirm a "clearer" and more "unified" ideology by drawing on the biological essentialism of gender.

During the 1990s the mainstream media played a significant role in the construction and promotion of the *new lad* culture, particularly in men's lifestyle magazines, for example, *Loaded*, *FHM*, *Maxim* in which a considerable proliferation of sexualised representation of women and a more assertive, hedonistic, heterosexual masculine discourses were encouraged. At the same time, the rise of "Neo-Darwinism", seeking to explain allegedly pre-given masculine attributes, for example, men's promiscuity, oppressiveness, etc., also contributed to the return to essentialist concepts of gender. The popular increase of gender essentialism in books, e.g., *Men Are from Mars,; Women Are from Venus* (1993), *Bridget Jones' Diary* (1996) and the pervasive commercialisation of sports, especially football, can also be said to help strengthen the *new lad*'s project to reclaim its masculine authenticity and solidarity.

Moreover, the failure of adequate HIV/AIDS campaigns in the United Kingdom and the proliferation of explicitly eroticised male and female images produced by the mainstream media since the 80s are blamed for the rise of "risk-

taking” and hedonistic pleasure discourses in laddism (Gill, 2003, pp. 48- 53; Benwell, 2003, p. 17).

Methodology: Examining New Lad in Men’s Lifestyle Magazines

In the following section, the representation of the *new lad* in men’s lifestyle magazines is discussed through the analysis of focus group interviews. As mentioned earlier, the interview data were conducted by Peter Jackson, Kate Brook & Nick Stevenson (1997). Four focus groups are chosen to analyse how magazine readers (focus group participants) understand the cultural shift in the construction of masculinity and the proliferation of male consumerism, represented in men’s magazines. To borrow Edwards’ analysis of men’s lifestyle magazines as “cultural text” and “cultural phenomenon” (2003, pp. 134-136), the representation of *new lad* identity can be found in the production of men’s lifestyle magazines in which the definition of *new lad* is also articulated and contested. These four focus groups are selected because all participants are regular readers of the magazines and they are the perfect magazines’ target groups. That is, they are young men, aged between 18 and 23, single, presumably white and heterosexual.

Findings: New Lad Readership and Identification

Although all participants are *new lad* magazine readers, London’s art college students initially rejected the idea that they were into lad culture. As one of the two participants gave his reason that: “No, I’m not really into the lad culture, I mean I have a quite mixed group of friends, mixed sex friendships. Really, we usually go out in a group, so no I’m more into clubs and bars than pub”.

Due to his cultural training background, the other participant from the art college categorised the *new lad* magazines as downmarket and asserted that the magazines were not for people like him. As he put it:

“I don’t think it’s really sort of aiming to a cultured intelligent person, I think and you know looking for people who are going to read it pure entertainment value rather than any kind of intellectual stimulation.”

The former participant eventually admitted that he was into lad culture after discussing with the moderator. As he discussed his passion for adventurous sport and his activities with his male peers, he described his interest:

It’s like exactly what my friends would do and but no one of the things we do each year is have a fortnight’s holiday in Cornwall and we just go down there

and literally get stoned...we go down and always say we're going to do some surfing, go down there and never even get to see the sea most of the time... we usually end up getting barred from the local pubs.

When asked to characterise the *new lad*, the participants identified the characteristics of *new lad* as, for example, "young beer head football hooligan", "16-30", "Stone Island wearing", "someone who goes out at weekend and gets totally pissed", "single", "no plans has a laugh", "no cares in the worlds" (Sheffield's men's fashions shop (male) staff). Therefore, it can be said that the production of *new lad* imagery is discursively understood by the magazine readers.

Focusing on the representation of *new lad* in men's lifestyle magazines, it is interesting to note that certain *new lad* discourses or "constructed certitudes" can be found in the participants' responses. Benwell (2003), explains that "constructed certitudes" is a means of shoring up a clear and unified sense of ideology partly by casting out or ignoring ambiguity or complexity" (pp. 17-20). That is, these discourses suggest how the representation of *new lad* in men's lifestyle magazines is interpreted by the participants.

-The Honesty of New Lad

Honesty is one of the features, participants found *new lad* distinctive from *new man*. According to Sheffield's men's fashions shop staff, *Loaded* is "just a young person's view on everything...we can relate to it a lot easier. It wrote in our language. It's not like an old man writing it. Whereas GQ or something like that...It's too formal, isn't it".

18 years old lads from Sheffield similarly found that they could "relate to some of the stuff, just like how can you be that stupid!" While being *Loaded* regular readers, Bristol students described *Loaded* as "just basic", and "blatant" due to its focus on "women", "drugs", "sport", and the "entertainment world". To Bristol students, *Loaded* was brave to report certain issues often ignored by the mainstream media, e.g., the scoop on "Howard Marks", the marihuana smuggle. The students put it:

E: Everybody else would have shied away from that sort of thing, they'd have tackled it as a social crusade.

E: The Howard Marks one might be an example. Instead of shying away from everything and doing a, doing a sort of tabloid piece about drugs or saying that drugs are good or drugs are bad, they make no qualms about, they're not hypocritical about getting pissed or smoking fags is socially acceptable but doing cocaine or smoking marijuana shouldn't be and because they do they've got no qualms about saying it.

-The Naturalisation of Heteronormative Masculinity of New Lad

To most participants, *new lad* represents a more “authentic” version of masculinity compared to the rather “contrived” version of *new man* (Stevenson, Jackson & Brooks, 2003, p. 124). Every participant in the four focus groups claimed that the exhibition of eroticised female bodies in *new lad* magazines represented a true nature of men. London’s art college students shared their opinions that:

A: I dunno, I think men just like women, they like to see naked women I think that adds a lot of it...

B: I think men have always been interested in pretty women...

18 year old Sheffield lads analogously shared the notion of heteronormative masculinity that:

“The fact is! The fact is that men want to look at those pictures!”

To the participants, the representation of *new lad* in men’s lifestyle magazines is so “natural” that some of them defended that the way women were represented in the magazines was not sexist. This view was echoed among Bristol students:

Richard: I don’t think that it’s sexist at all, well I mean the whole debate of sexism in life read into like this and you know like the only sexism bit would I personally say was the bit where women are revealing their breasts, but I mean, women reveal their breasts in numerous publications.

E: I don’t think it’s sexist, the writing’s not sexist at all...

Richard: I know it sounds really crap, but it’s more a celebration of it, they love it so...

E: No, I don’t...see in the writing they don’t slag women off or something, a lot of the articles talk about their girlfriends and stuff and they never talk about them in a damning light or anything, they always sort of appreciate...

As pointed out by Benwell (2003, p. 20), the adoption of “new sexism” in men’s lifestyle magazines is a “strategic accommodation” or “negotiation” with feminist discourses. These laddish magazines often employ “anti-sexism” and gender essentialism discourses, reinvent men confused by feminists’ charge of unfair treatment as a new “oppressed category”, and use ironic language, etc. These tactics, according to Benwell (2003, p. 20) are put in place to reassert male power. In this case, the participants rejected the charge of sexism in the magazines by claiming that the articles in the magazines in fact celebrated the feminine beauty, and the exhibition

of women's breasts in the magazines is a natural response to (heterosexual) men's desire. On one hand, the participants resisted the identification with the notion of sexism. On the other hand, they ironically celebrated the essentialist notion of constructed heteronormativity.

-The Openness of New Lad Magazines

Most participants agreed that *new lad* magazines had opened up a space for men to explore certain issues, such as men's pursuit of hedonistic pleasures, sexual liberation, etc. In other words, *new lad* magazines legitimise the "lad" lifestyle by detaching certain social stigmas and claiming that the manifestation of *new lad* reclaims the lost masculinity of *new man*. A London art college student asserted that:

Yeah I think it is a good thing, I think it ...err... men have always been very cosy to talk about certain things and I think blokes are sort of starting to talk about like... I don't know... it's like about their sex lives and whatever and things like that as women have done for ages probably...It's bringing a lot of things out into the open I think. Because people are and one of the classic things like wanking all these people, virtually everybody does it and they'll have things like talks about that and it's always quite amusing always good to laugh about it some of the things...like ice breakers lots of different thing

Although *new lad* magazines are found to contain "bizarre" and "deviant" lifestyles, frank discussions about sex and men's predatory attitudes towards women, the participants recognised that these issues were constantly monitored by the magazines to accommodate certain discursive feminist discourses.

Conclusion

It is undeniable that men's lifestyle magazines, especially *Loaded* and other *new lad* magazines play an important part in installing a harder version of masculinity in the replacement of the softer version of *new man*. Regardless of the commercial success and the popularity of the magazines, the representation of *new lad* has been criticised for its emphasis on new sexism and hedonistic lifestyles, and has been condemned for its nostalgic yearning for the "authentic" masculinity.

The attempt to reconstruct "real" masculinity in men's lifestyle magazines can be understood as a backlash against feminism. For the almost four decades that feminists' and women's movements have challenged and deconstructed the patriarchal values, *new lad*'s rejection of caring, feminist-friendly, and narcissistic archetypes of *new man* also suggests the rise of "Neo-Darwinism" ideology, emphasising the certainty of biological essentialism of gender. However, *new lad*'s redefinition of

masculinity indicates *new lad*'s contention against the traditional masculine discourse of responsibilities.

The representation of *new lad* is also contested and negotiated within men's lifestyle magazines, a site of production of *new lad* imagery. Discussing in the focus groups, participants demonstrated the understanding of the differences between *new lad* and *new man*. *New lad* was seen as "honest", "simple", "basic" and "open" by the participants as they agreed that the magazines provided a virtual and textual space for men to discuss certain issues, such as, relationships, sexuality. The presentation of eroticised female bodies in the magazines was understood by the participants as responding to the true nature of men. In other words, the magazines empower men to reassert male supremacy as a strategic negotiation.

In sum, a harder or softer version of masculinity is, according to MacKinnon (2003, p. 14), "a package of power that changes" in order to retain male supremacy despite having compromised on certain masculine attributes. However, unlike *new man*, *new lad* puts its negotiation more bluntly.

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Appendix

Node: new lad characteristics

Focus group 16: Men's clothes shop staff (Sheffield)

Document 'Focusg16', 7 passages, 214 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 147, 33 characters.

A: Well Loaded's like the young beer head football hooligan

Section 0, Paragraph 149, 22 characters.

B: That's like 16-30...

Section 0, Paragraph 157, 36 characters.

B: A lad. Stone Island wearing lad.

Section 0, Paragraph 161, 61 characters.

B: Someone who goes out at weekends and gets totally pissed...

Section 0, Paragraph 169, 10 characters.

B: Single.

Section 0, Paragraph 171, 21 characters.

A: Single, no plans has a laugh,

Section 0, Paragraph 175, 31 characters.

A: Yeah, no cares in the world.

Node: rejecting the identification with new lad

Focus group 09: Art College students (London)

Document 'focusg09', 2 passages, 441 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 12, 199 characters.

A: No, I'm not really into the lads culture, I mean I have a quite mixed group of friends, mixed sex friendships really we usually go out in a groups, so no I'm more into clubs and bars than pubs..

Section 0, Paragraph 92, 242 characters.

C: I don't think it's really sort of aiming to a cultured intelligent person, I think it's going a bit downmarket and you know looking for people who are going to read it pure entertainment value rather than any kind of intellectual stimulation

Node: Identification with laddism

Focus group 09: Art College students (London)

Document 'focusg09', 1 passages, 360 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 158, 360 characters.

It's like exactly what my friends would do and but no one of the things we do each year is have a fortnight's holiday in Cornwall and we just go down there and literally get stoned ...we go down and always say we're going to do some surfing, go down there and never even get to see the sea most of the time...we usually end up getting barred from the local pubs

Node: Honesty of New Lad

Focus Group 02: 18 year old 'lads' (Sheffield)

Document 'focusg02', 1 passages, 67 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 143, 67 characters.

You can relate to some of the stuff, just like, HOW can you be that stupid!

Focus group 13: Bristol students (Loaded readers)

Document 'focusg13', 4 passages, 1059 characters.

Section 10, Paragraph 82, 78 characters.

B: It's blatantly, women, drugs, some sport, um and the entertainment world...

Section 10.7, Paragraph 120, 367 characters.

B: I think the funniest thing out of the whole thing which just basic... blatantly takes the piss is the League of Greed. Basically they just ask for stuff - it's brilliant. The league of Greed. They say what they want and the company sends it to them so they get free advertising. It's blatantly taking the piss out of all the other magazines. It's the best way.

Section 10.13, Paragraph 198, 201 characters.

B: Everybody else would have shied away from that sort of thing, they'd have tackled it as a social crusade.

Section 10.18, Paragraph 239, 413 characters.

B: The Howard Marks one might be an example. Instead of shying away from everything and doing a, doing a sort of tabloid piece about drugs or saying that drugs are good or drugs are bad, they make no qualms about, they're not hypocritical about getting pissed or smoking fags is socially acceptable but doing cocaine or smoking marijuana shouldn't be and because they do they've got no qualms about saying it.

Focus group 16: Men's clothes shop staff (Sheffield)

Document 'Focusg16', 2 passages, 217 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 127, 149 characters.

A: It's just a young person's view on everything, on all their like articles, we can relate to it a lot easier, it's not like an old man writing it..

Section 0, Paragraphs 139-141, 68 characters.

A: Whereas GQ or something like that...

B: It's too formal, isn't it?

Node: The Naturalisation of Heteronormative Masculinity

Focus Group 02: 18 year old 'lads' (Sheffield)

Document 'focusg02', 1 passages, 74 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 57, 74 characters.

[Loudly] The fact is! The fact is that men want to look at those pictures!

Focus group 09: Art College students (London)

Document 'focusg09', 2 passages, 95 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 178, 38 characters.

I dunno, I think men just like women,

Section 0, Paragraph 184, 57 characters.

I think men have always been interested in pretty women

Node: The openness of New Lad magazines

Focus group 09: Art College students (London)

Document 'focusg09', 2 passages, 625 characters.

Section 0, Paragraph 68, 287 characters.

: Yeah I think it is a good thing, I think it err men have always been very coy to talk about certain things and I think blokes are sort of starting to talk about like, I don't know, it's like about their sex lives and whatever and things like that as women have done for ages probably..

Section 0, Paragraph 72, 338 characters.

: It's bringing a lot of things out into the open I think. Because people are and one of the classic things like wanking all these people, virtually everybody does it and they'll have things like talks about that and it's always quite amusing always good to laugh about it some of the things... like ice breakers lots of different things.