Body Shame and Female Experience[1]

LUNA DOLEZAL

Sartre's existential reflections on the role of emotions can provide some context through which to explore how shame can be constitutive of experience. Sartre reflects on how emotions are not merely cognitive events, but instead are embodied experiences which create a context or situation in which meaning, sense and one's lived experience are shaped. As such, an emotion is an active and embodied response to a situation and discloses not only the self, but, in addition, the quality of one's life-world. An emotion, such as anger, guilt, jealousy, or shame, can evoke, as Sartre argues, a "total alteration of the world."[2] Consider, for example, the jealousy experienced by the voyeur kneeling at the keyhole spying on his lover, in Sartre's famous vignette from *Being and Nothingness*; jealousy organizes his world, shaping his actions, responses, and experience within a particular situation. Jealousy is not merely a cognitive event that can be contemplated; instead Sartre writes, "I *am* this jealousy; I do not *know* it."[3] The world constituted by jealousy is one of suspicion and anger. The door and the keyhole that the voyeur encounters are not merely objective objects in a neutral space, but a landscape of betrayal, obstacle, and embittered curiosity. Jealousy not only colours his intentional relation to the physical realm, but also shrinks his world.

1 This paper is an adaptation of *Body Shame and Female Experience* which appears as Chapter 5 in *The Body and Shame: Phenomenology, Feminism, and the Socially Shaped Body* by Luna Dolezal, Copyright © 2015. Used by permission of Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group. All rights reserved.

2 Sartre, Jean-Paul: *Sketch for a Theory of the Emotions*, Philip Mairet (Trans.), London/New York 2002, p. 47.

3 Sartre, Jean-Paul: *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, Hazel E. Barnes (Trans.), London/New York 2003, p. 283. [Emphasis in original].

The voyeur's preoccupations, attentions, and desires spiral in a tight circle around his jealousy.

Sartre's insights on the world-organizing nature of emotions provide an important framework through which we can articulate the affects and consequences of shame experiences, especially when considering chronic or recurring shame that plagues women and other marginalized groups of individuals. Instead of a discrete disturbance of an otherwise untroubled consciousness, living with chronic shame has profound and on-going consequences for one's subjectivity, both personally and politically, especially when this shame is centred on the body. Shame becomes, to use Sara Ahmed's formulation of emotions as social and cultural practices, a "form of cultural politics" that is "world making."[4]

Shame about the physical body, or body shame, plays an important role in social relations. It links individuals to a set of normative values which make salient the parameters of acceptance, belonging, and recognition.[5] As a result, being a successful social agent entails having a healthy and developed sense of shame. Shame, hence, is not only normal, it is necessary. Although body shame is necessary and an inevitable part of human and social existence, there are also times when shame can be limiting, where *chronic* shame can become restricting and must be overcome for life to have the possibility of autonomy, dignity, and fulfilment. In this essay, I will, in part, utilize the approach of feminist phenomenology to elucidate some of the characteristics of 'typical' female bodily experience with respect to shame, looking at not only the characteristics of that experience but also the discursive structures which frame and shape it. Feminist phenomenology is a particularly powerful tool which has been used to advance more comprehensive analyses of issues such as bodily self-experience, alienation, objectification, difference, and vulnerability.[6] Hence, I will utilize this approach to analyse female embodied experience of beauty and body norms, examining the crippling insecurities and anxieties that plague many women with respect to standards of appearance and attractiveness.

I must stress that this discussion of female embodiment is culturally specific and its applicability is perhaps limited to certain cultural contexts, namely West-

4 Ahmed, Sara: *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh 2004, p. 9, 12.

5 For a fuller discussion of these themes see Dolezal, Luna: *The Body and Shame: Phenomenology, Feminism, and the Socially Shaped Body,* Lanham 2015.

6 See Käll, Lisa Folkmarson/Zeiler, Kristin: Why Feminist Phenomenology and Medicine?, in: Lisa Käll Folkmarson/Kristin Zeiler (Ed.), *Feminist Phenomenology and Medicine*, Albany 2014, p. 1-25.

ern, neoliberal consumer societies.[7] When discussing the categories 'female' or 'woman', I by no means intend to limit gender to the binary categories of male and female. However, for the purposes of this argument my discussion will centre around 'female' bodies and 'women', where 'female' and 'woman' do not imply essential or natural categories based on biological features, but rather can be considered lived relations between self and world produced, in part, through the self-presentation of a gendered identity. Naturally, I cannot speak for all women, nor do I intend my argument to be applicable to all persons that identify as female. As such, my discussion, or parts thereof, may be applicable to other types of body subjects whether they identify as male, intersex, genderqueer, or transsexual. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that the intersections of sexual abuse, class, race, and sexuality, among others, can further shape the experience and intensity of body shame for a female subjectivity.[8]

Despite these qualifications, it is important to be able to generalize without necessarily universalizing. Ultimately, there are tangible and important differences in the manner that many women live and experience their bodies. Women, compared with men, spend more time, energy, and material resources in trying to achieve a socially pleasing body that conforms to prevailing normative standards. Women far outnumber men in incidents of eating disorders, chronic dieting, and cases of cosmetic surgery. Young women are disproportionately affected by poor self-esteem, self-harming behaviour, and other mental health problems. As we shall see, women are more frequently, if not constantly, hindered by disruptions as a result of experiences of a heightened sense of both bodily invisibility *and* visibility within social relations. While often feeling threatened with invisibility in social relations due to a diminished social status, women's bodies enjoy a hyper-visibility in the social realm; they are objectified and on constant display.[9] As a result, for women, more so than men, the body is an

7 However, as the Western, consumer, neoliberal capitalist social structure is a cultural framework that is increasingly infusing other societies, the relevance of this discussion may be more extensive. As we shall see, Western normative standards regarding appearance and attractiveness are increasingly adopted by Asian, African, and other cultural and ethnic groups.

8 See Bouson, J. Brooks: *Embodied Shame. Uncovering Female Shame in Contemporary Women's Writings,* Albany 2009 for an analysis through several literary examples of how sexual, racial, and cultural denigration affects women's perceptions of themselves and their bodies, particularly in terms of spoiled or stigmatized identity.

9 For a discussion of the dialectics of visibility and invisibility that characterize female experience see Dolezal, Luna: The (In)visible Body: Feminism, Phenomenology, and

abiding presence in life; it is a source of anxiety in the ongoing projects of self-presentation and impression management to ensure a sense of belonging and recognition. Oppressive – and world-organizing – experiences of body shame, I will argue, figure centrally in this drama of female embodiment.

My aim is to utilize the cultural politics of shame to analyse the contemporary situation of women, particularly with respect to appearance management and a phenomenology of self-presentation under the framework of the contemporary Euro-American Western "market-political rationality" of neoliberalism.[10] In doing so, I will go through some well-rehearsed ideas in the tradition of "corporeal feminism"[11] which theorizes the effect of patriarchal power structures on the female body, and hence on women's subjectivity. I will demonstrate that women's bodies are lived, experienced, objectified, and alienated differently to their male counterparts as a result of oppressive social structures that position women's bodies as a constant site for body shame. I will further argue that these structures are amplified within contemporary neoliberal culture. In short, I will explore the central role that body shame plays in the constitution and development of women's identity and examine the consequences of a body, and hence subjectivity, that is essentially 'shaped by shame'.

BODY SHAME AND FEMALE EXPERIENCE

There is a long association historically and philosophically between women, shame, and the body. In *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir, drawing on insights from biology, social and economic history, and sociology, gives a philosophical account of the process of becoming a woman, essentially characterizing this process as "an extended lesson in shame."[12] She discusses how many ordinary female anatomical differences, such as the onset of menstruation, sexual maturation, and breast development, have long been occasions for body shame for young girls.[13] These bodily changes, deviating from an imagined norm of

the Case of Cosmetic Surgery, in: *Hypatia. A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 25 (2010), p. 357-375.

10 Phipps, Alison: *The Politics of the Body*, Cambridge 2014, p. 11.

11 Frost, Liz: Theorizing the Young Woman in the Body, in: *Body and Society* 11 (2005), p. 63-85, here p. 65.

12 Quoted in: Guenther, Lisa: Shame and the Temporality of Social Life, in: *Continental Philosophy Review* 44 (2011), p. 23-39, here p. 11.

13 Beauvoir, Simone de: *The Second Sex*, H.M. Parshley (Trans.), London 1997, p. 355.

male bodily stasis, are seen as shameful and of needing concealment, and this has a long history in many cultures and traditions. Menstruation, in particular, is a source of anxiety. The "disgrace"[14] of menstruation, and subsequent inferiorization of the female body, is embedded within cultural and religious structures which designate menstruation as impure or unclean and exclude women from certain rituals or activities while they are bleeding.[15] Beyond menstruation, shame accompanies women throughout their sexual development where desire and a sexual appetite are deemed shameful and 'unfeminine.' Furthermore, until recently, pregnant bodies were objects of social taboos, to be hidden and concealed. However, in current times, as motherhood has become fashionable,[16] the post-pregnant body must not show any marks of pregnancy or signs that it has given birth.[17] The experience of becoming and being a woman, as Beauvoir and many others feminist thinkers argue, historically involves a process of learning to interpret the body as a site of shame.

The strong relation and association, historically and culturally, between women's bodies, women's sexuality, and shame, both personally and politically, is far from trivial. While the male body is the standard for the 'normal' or 'neu-

14 Ibid., p. 356.

15 Lee, J.: Menarche and the (Hetero)Sexualization of the Female Body, in: Rose Weitz (Ed.), *The Politics of Women's Bodies. Sexuality, Appearance, and Behaviour*, Oxford 1998, pp. 82-99.

16 Until very recent times, the pregnant body seemed to be exempt, excused, or outside beauty and social pressures. Pregnancy traditionally was seen as a 'grace period' for women, who were de-sexualized and de-objectified as their bodies became functional objects within the institution of motherhood. This was overturned dramatically by the August 1991 issue of *Vanity Fair* magazine which featured Annie Leibovitz's photograph of the very nude and very pregnant actress Demi Moore on its cover. The photograph was extremely controversial as it sexualized and publicized the pregnant body at a time when societal conventions dictated that the pregnant body should be concealed. Since the unveiling of the pregnant body in the Moore picture there has been a dramatic shift in the way pregnant bodies are portrayed in mainstream media. See e.g. Tyler, Imogen: Skin-Tight. Celebrity, Pregnancy and Subjectivity, in: Sara Ahmed/Jackie Stacey (Ed.), *Thinking Through the Skin*, London 2001 pp.69-83; Dobscha, Susan: The Changing Image of Women in American Society: What Do Pregnant Women Represent in Advertising?, in: *Advertising and Society Review* 7/3 (2006); and Earle, Sarah: 'Bumps' and 'Boops'. Fatness and Women's Experience of Pregnancy, in: *Women's Studies International Forum* 26/3 (2003), p. 245-252, here p. 250.

17 See O'Donohoe, Stephanie: Yummy Mummies. The Clamor of Glamour in Advertising to Mothers, in: *Advertising and Society Review* 7/3 (2006).

tral' body in accounts of experience and subjectivity – and there is a long tradition of feminist writing criticizing phenomenologists such as Merleau-Ponty and Sartre for this implicit bias in their work – women's bodies and female experience are positioned as essentially deviant or, in some cases, pathological. This bias whereby male bodies set the standard for what is considered gender 'neutral' and, hence, 'normal' or 'natural' is not just evident in philosophy, but across most disciplines. It is, in fact, well documented that this is a bias which has seeped into everyday understandings of, and attitudes towards, female bodies. Inevitable events in female embodiment such as pregnancy, menstruation, and menopause are positioned as anomalies of 'normal' experience, which are not only stigmatized, but also pathologized, requiring professional medical attention (traditionally from male doctors).

APPEARANCE MANAGEMENT AND BODY SHAME

A significant site for body shame for women is in the realm of the seemingly 'trivial' concerns of appearance and physical attractiveness. Seen as a backlash to the modern feminist movement, the control of women's bodies through oppressive beauty norms has been an explicit focus of the feminist critique of the patriarchal framework of consumer capitalism and neoliberalism for several decades. It is widely acknowledged by feminist thinkers that appearances cannot be considered a trivial concern for women and that body dissatisfaction is not merely an individual – and hence marginal – pathology for women, but rather part of a systematic (and oppressive) social phenomenon.[18] Appearances are much "more than just surfaces."[19] They are intimately linked to how one values and sees oneself, and furthermore to one's social worth and position within a social group. This is especially the case for women, as how they look and present

18 The consequences of beauty norms and pressures on women's bodies have been explored in countless feminist academic and popular works. Notably: Wolf, Naomi: *The Beauty Myth*, London 1990; Bordo, Susan: *Unbearable Weight. Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*, Berkeley 1993 and Orbach, Susie: *Fat Is A Feminist Issue*, London 2006. More recently, see Walter, Natasha: *Living Dolls. The Return of Sexism*, London 2010 and Harris-Moore, Deborah: *Media and the Rhetoric of Body Perfection. Cosmetic Surgery, Weight Loss and Beauty in Popular Culture*, Farnham 2014.

19 Skeggs, Beverly: Ambivalent Femininities, in: Stevie Jackson (Ed.), *Gender. A Sociological Reader*, London 2002, p. 311-325, here p. 317.

themselves affects how they are treated and their chances for success in various aspects of their lives. In fact, social invisibility is a constant threat for women who feel they are often ignored and looked through in educational, familial, and professional settings. Staying in 'the game,' and securing recognition as a full social agent, is an abiding concern.[20] Cultural messages emphasize that visibility and inclusion in the social sphere, for women, can be achieved through high levels of youthful attractiveness.

As a result, concerns about appearance management have been amplified for women (and increasingly men) under the structures of neoliberalism which promote an endless culture of restyling and self-improvement, centred on the body, within an image-saturated milieu. Under the structures of contemporary neoliberal consumer culture, bodies are seen as potentially unfinished products, the site of projects of self-care, self-transformation and self-reflexive concern.[21] The idea is that changing or transforming the body will yield an improved or more acceptable self. As such, the body is the primary symbol of value and of identity within social relations and as Alison Phipps notes, in her recent book *The Politics of the Body*, the "drive to consume in order to both express and 'add value' to oneself […] feeds markets that rely upon idealized representations of the body and the elevation of particular prestigious bodily forms through advertising."[22] Hence, the body – an endlessly unfinished project – is a central cog in the machinery of neoliberal consumer capitalism.

More specifically, it is, in fact, the female body that occupies this central place in the machinations of neoliberalism. Sustaining a multi-billion dollar set of global industries that centre around body grooming, fashion, well-being, medicine, fitness, and cosmetics, the female body is positioned as perpetually unfinished and imperfect, needing endless restyling and improvement (and hence consumption). Women's bodies are subject to an endless litany of social pressures to emulate the 'prestigious bodily forms' promoted through advertising.

20 Northrop, Jane Megan: *Reflecting on Cosmetic Surgery. Body Image, Shame and Narcissism*, London 2012, p. 113.

21 Although this self-reflexive concern is habitual for those who work on the body, such as athletes and dancers, it has in recent times become a more general concern. See e.g. Crossley, Nick: *Reflexive Embodiment in Contemporary Society*, New York 2006. Some thinkers argue that this excessive concern with controlling the body and the personal sphere is an attempt to cope with insecurities that arise in an increasingly complex, dynamic, and global world which feels out of one's control. Self-control and controlling the body becomes ways to deal with the confusion of modern life. Also see e.g. Frost: Theorizing the Young Woman in the Body, p. 67-68.

22 Phipps: *The Politics of the Body*, p. 10.

These bodily forms, as a result of the routine digital enhancement of images, emphasize an increasingly unrealistic body ideal. The "rhetoric of body perfection" has come to dominate social hierarchies, and what is considered a 'normal' and allegedly attainable standard of attractiveness is in fact an ever-shifting and unattainable body ideal.[23] Body shame is central to this process. As Jane Megan Northrop notes, "grooming industries attempt to access and invigorate the shame associated with the body because it is commonly acculturated in childhood and readily recalled in adult experience."[24] She notes that these industries "recognize the infinite wealth to be made in exploiting the appearance dissatisfactions of women."[25] As a result, in mainstream Western neoliberal culture, minor variations in appearance on fairly ordinary bodies are cast as major 'defects', signalling a spoiled identity, and sit on the side of the 'before' in the commonly employed before-and-after photo set. The normalized, perfected body, implicitly standing in for what we *should* look like, comes 'after'. In general, this body is characterized by a white, Western aesthetic of feminine beauty.[26] It is a body that is "neutral" and "unmarked" and does "*not* look disabled, queer, ugly, fat, ethnic or raced."[27]

In this regard, female bodies increasingly aim to converge on what Rosemarie Garland Thomson has termed the "normate", which is "the corporeal incarnation of culture's collective, unmarked, normative characteristics."[28] The normate has a certain "corporeal configuration" that yields "cultural capital."[29] In our contemporary, image-saturated milieu, it is easy to discern that the female normate is young, heterosexual, Anglo-Saxon, slim, toned, able-bodied, with symmetrically proportioned features and smooth, unmarked skin. Furthermore, she is confident, well-coiffed, sexy, wealthy, and fashion savvy. Although there are still choices and variations around the details of appearance based on ethnicity, age, fashion, subculture, and so on, the normate embodies the pervasive norms that underscore all of these variations. Despite the paucity of real bodies that meet the normate's standards, just a cursory glance at a wide spectrum of fashion

23 Harris-Moore: *Media and the Rhetoric of Body Perfection*.

24 Northrop: *Reflecting on Cosmetic Surgery*, p. 179.

25 Ibid.

26 Negrin, Llewellyn: Cosmetic Surgery and the Eclipse of Identity, in: *Body and Society* 8/4 (2002), p. 21-42, here p. 27.

27 Thomson, Rosemarie Garland: Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory, in: *NWSA Journal* 14/3 (2002), pp. 1-32, here p. 11. [Emphasis in original].

28 Ibid.

29 Thomson, Rosemarie Garland: *Extraordinary Bodies. Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*, New York 1997, p. 8.

and gossip magazines, films, and television shows demonstrates the disproportionate ubiquity of the normate in the images of celebrities, models, and other public figures. Normalization very quickly yields homogenization. These homogenized faultless images have become emblematic of the dominant reality, setting the standards for ordinary bodies.

As a result, women understand that it is those who emulate the normate and strive to achieve the 'ideal' body that garner recognition and enjoy social, personal, and professional success and fulfilment. This ideal body is characterized by the enduring physical features of the normate coupled with the constantly shifting variations of appearance and style based on the whims of fashion. Hence, what is considered 'normal' is actually based on illusory ideals that are extremely difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

What we find is that the continuous comparison a woman may make between her actual body and versions of the socially constructed 'ideal' body represented in media images is a potent source of body shame. Women's bodies, already shame-prone as a result of their cultural inheritance, are continuously positioned as inadequate or inferior when compared to these elusive body ideals; shame, and body shame in particular, becomes a permanent possibility. As a result, women are already attuned to the feelings and contours of body shame; they expect their bodies to betray them and to deviate from the diffuse and invisible cultural standards of what a body 'ought' to be. Failing to achieve the ideal body signals a deeper failed mastery of the body and corporeal control. This attunement to shame is so pervasive and indeterminate that it is often beyond the reach of reflective consciousness. As normative values are so thoroughly internalized to ensure one's sense of recognition and belonging in a social group, shame is often collectively and personally bypassed. Women may not even realize that they are experiencing body shame or that they are exerting inordinate efforts to avoid it. Instead they become preoccupied with cultivating pride which hinges on the other side of the emotional dialectic which accompanies the narcissistic concern of the body as spectacle.[30] Or, if shame does in fact enter conscious awareness, it is seen as a result of one's own inadequacies and, in particular, as one's own fault. Personal efforts must be made (shopping, exercise, dieting, surgery) in order to eliminate it.

As physical inadequacies are recurrent, difficult to alleviate and ever-shifting, body shame becomes part of a 'normal' landscape of experience, this is what Courtney E. Martin terms the "frightening new normality of hating your

30 Bartky, Sandra Lee: *Femininity and Domination. Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression*, London 1990, p. 84.

body."[31] Furthermore, shame about the body often produces iterated shame, not only because the physical symptoms of shame are themselves shameful, but also because shame about narcissism (especially for feminist women who 'know' appearances *really* don't matter) or certain strategies to maintain appearance (for example, dieting, eating disorders or cosmetic surgery which are often shameful secrets needing to be concealed) become new sources of shame.[32]

LIVING WITH CHRONIC SHAME

Increased self-consciousness and shame about the body in women are not solely a result of the cultural positioning of anatomical differences, appearance management, and sexuality, but in addition are significantly rooted in power discrepancies within gender roles. Women are already prone to body shame, as a result of their subordinated position within social relations, and as a result they are highly susceptible to bodily visibility through objectification by 'the look' of the Other, to use Sartre's formulation.[33] This is reflected in the imbalances regarding gendered experiences of bodily visibility in the social sphere. In general, due to imbalances in power relations, women's bodies are rendered hyper-visible in our contemporary milieu and this has concrete consequences in terms of shame-proneness and its concomitant lived experience.

It is well-documented that a woman's subjectivity is structured by the self-consciousness of being constantly under surveillance and visible as a result of objectification. Simone de Beauvoir's experience is illustrative: "A man, sniggering, made a comment about my fat calves. The next day my mother made me wear stockings and lengthen my skirt, but I will never forget the shock I suddenly felt in seeing myself *seen*."[34] In short, gender has important consequences for objectification, especially with respect to the body. Although Sartre discusses 'the look' in *Being and Nothingness* as though it were indifferent to gender, it is, in fact, the gaze and vantage point of (white, educated, Western) men that is cultural definitive and in which social power is situated.

---

31 Martin, Courtney E.: *Perfect Girls, Starving Daughters. The Frightening New Normality of Hating Your Body*, London 2007.

32 See e.g. Northrop: *Reflecting on Cosmetic Surgery*, p. 162-164; see also: Martin: *Perfect Girls, Starving Daughters,* p. 223.

33 Sartre: *Being and Nothingness*, p. 281.

34 Beauvoir as quoted in: Guenther: Shame and the Temporality of Social Life, p. 11. [Emphasis in original].

While the male body coincides with his status as a sovereign subject, the female body is frequently overshadowed by the male ego and is more readily reduced to an object for his gaze: "what peculiarly signalizes the situation of woman is that she […] finds herself living in a world where men […] propose to stabilize her as object and to doom her to immanence."[35] Being objectified, and subsequently alienated, by the male gaze is an ongoing and often compromising situation for women, not to mention a key source of body shame. Bartky describes this experience of the female body being objectified, and subsequently alienated, due to the antagonizing and objectifying Look of the (male) other:

"It is a fine spring day, and with an utter lack of self-consciousness, I am bouncing down the street. Suddenly I hear men's voices. Catcalls and whistles fill the air. These noises are clearly sexual in intent and they are meant for me; they come from across the street. I freeze. As Sartre would say, I have been petrified by the gaze of the Other. My face flushes and my motions become stiff and self-conscious. The body which only a moment before I inhabited with such ease now floods my consciousness. I have been made into an object […] in this being-made-to-be-aware of one's own flesh."[36]

The invisibility of the body ("an utter lack of self-consciousness"), as demonstrated by this example, is disrupted through the objectifying and, ultimately alienating, gaze of the Other. To deploy Drew Leder's characterization of "social dys-appearance", a disruptive experience in social relations where one is made to feel self-consciously aware of one's self: "one incorporates an alien gaze, away, apart, asunder, from one's own, which provokes an explicit thematization of the body."[37] In this example, the female body is objectified as an object of male desire: she is reduced to a sexual object; or, as Bartky puts it: "a nice piece of ass."[38]

In his discussion of social dys-appearance, Leder recognizes this imbalance in ocular gender relations, commenting that "women are not full cosubjectivities, free to experience from a tacit body."[39] He concedes that, unlike men, women "must maintain a constant awareness of how they appear to men in terms of physical attractiveness and other forms of acceptability."[40] He writes: "For example, while a woman may become self-conscious walking in front of whistling

35 Ibid., p. 29.

36 Bartky: *Femininity and Domination*, p. 27.

37 Leder, Drew: *The Absent Body*, Chicago 1990, p. 99.

38 Bartky: *Femininity and Domination*, p. 27.

39 Leder: *The Absent Body*, p. 99.

40 Ibid.

longshoremen, they do not experience similar objectification in the face of her angry look back. As she is largely powerless in the situation, her perspective need not be incorporated; it can safely be laughed away or ignored."[41] Mirroring the power discrepancies apparent in Frantz Fanon's description of race relations,[42] women often do not have the social power to effectively return 'the look' of their objectifying male counterparts.

Despite Leder's acknowledgments that objectification and the ability to experience the body as 'invisible' is in part determined by gender and power relations, he does not at all consider the effect or significance of social dysappearance for women. In contrast, Bartky's analysis reveals the implicit power relations at play with respect to gender in her particular encounter:

"They could, after all, have enjoyed me in silence. Blissfully unaware, breasts bouncing, eyes on the birds in the trees, I could have passed by without having been turned into stone. But I must be *made* to know that I am a 'nice piece of ass': I must be made to see myself as they see me."[43]

A profound effect of this sort of alienating objectification is that it encourages women and girls to treat themselves as objects to be looked at and evaluated. As a result, avoiding the concomitant shame that can arise from objectification depends on conforming to and *internalizing* the standards implicit in the gaze of the (more socially powerful) Other.

Women, accustomed to the visual paradigm of being 'seen', often experience their bodies in a permanent state of visibility, where the body's appearance and comportment is self-consciously objectified and regarded as an object for a present or imagined third-person spectator.[44] Femininity, as such, becomes a constant and on-going public performance where the female subject has a continuous self-conscious regard for how the body looks to others within the framework of the restrictive standards regarding appearance and comportment. This is an analysis of female subjectivity that has endured for several decades, arguably intensified in the present day. Writing in the 1970s, the social critic John Berger

41 Ibid.

42 See Fanon, Frantz: *Black Skin, White Masks*, Charles Lam Markman (Trans.), London 1970.

43 Bartky: *Femininity and Domination*, p. 27. [Emphasis in original].

44 These intuitions have been confirmed in some empirical work. See e.g. Fredrickson, Barbara L. et al.: That Swimsuit Becomes You. Sex Differences in Self-Objectification, Restrained Eating, and Math Performance, in: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75 (1998), p. 269-284.

makes this point arguing: "A woman must continually watch herself. She is almost continuously accompanied by her own image of herself […] Her own sense of being in herself is supplanted by a sense of being appreciated as herself by another."[45] Likewise, Beauvoir, writing in the 1940s, argues that when a girl becomes a women she is "doubled; instead of coinciding exactly with herself, she now begins to exist outside."[46]

Foucault's omnipresent panoptic gaze becomes an apt illustration for the visibility of female bodies and their concomitant ongoing projects to avoid body shame. Bartky employs the Foucauldian paradigm of panopticism in her feminist analysis of shame and female embodiment. She argues that in contemporary patriarchal culture "a panoptical male connoisseur resides within the consciousness of most women: they stand perpetually before his gaze and under his judgement."[47] A woman learns to appraise and judge herself and her appearance according to the gaze of this omnipresent "male connoisseur."[48] Women, in the patriarchal order, identify with men and learn to see themselves through their eyes. Having internalized the gaze of the (male) Other, Bartky argues, women begin to regulate themselves according to 'his' standards. Naturally, these standards do not emanate from any particular male person or group of persons, but rather are dictated by mass standards emanating from our socio-cultural milieu, namely the patriarchal framework of late modernity and neoliberal consumer capitalism.

There are concrete consequences in terms of the phenomenology of embodied experience, as result of living with sense of bodily visibility and constant self-consciousness regarding the seen body. When one maintains an observer's or externalized perspective on one's own body, one experiences the body simultaneously as an object (to be watched) and as a capacity (an "I can"[49]). This division of attention, as Iris Marion Young notes in her well-known article *Throwing Like a Girl,* can alter comportment, disrupting flow and

45 Berger, John: *Ways of Seeing*, London 1972, p. 46.

46 Beauvoir as quoted in: Bartky: *Femininity and Domination*, p. 38.

47 Bartky: *Femininity and Domination*, p. 72.

48 Ibid., p. 38.

49 The body as freely movable is that which allows consciousness to be characterized by Husserl as an "I can" in contrast to the usual Cartesian formulation of a mere "I think that". See Husserl, Edmund: *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy. Second Book*, R. Rojcewicz/A. Schuwer (Trans.), Dordrecht 1989, p. 159.

a smooth intentional relation to the world, making movements uncertain, unconfident, and limited.[50]

Employing the methodology of feminist phenomenology and combining insights regarding the phenomenology of embodied experience with reflections about the discursive structures which frame that experience, Young comments on Erwin Straus's discussion of the differences in movement and the use of lateral space among young boys and girls when engaged in the act of throwing a ball. Young girls, in Straus's analysis, do not make use of lateral space – they do not twist, turn, or move their legs – and throw the ball without force. Boys, on the other hand, extend, stretch, and twist using the space around them freely in order to project the ball with considerable confidence, force, and aim.[51]

Young takes issue with Straus's interpretation of this gendered difference and argues that female bodily comportment is not essentially or biologically different to that of male bodies, as Straus suggests, but rather is characterized by self-consciousness and a hindered motor intentionality as a result of pre-existing cultural expectations and conditions. While acknowledging that, on average, there are real physical differences between men and women in terms of size, strength, and physical capacity, Young argues that it is not due to biological difference that male and female body comportment may differ, but rather as a result of the way one uses the body due to internalized ideas about one's social place and role. This inhibited intentionality, as Young describes it, results from the fact that, as a result of certain conditions in place in patriarchal society, woman, as Straus concedes, "lives her body as *object* as well as subject."[52] A woman moves her body, but at the same time watches and monitors herself, and sees her action as that which is 'looked at', so in general, female bodily comportment does not achieve open, free, and unself-conscious movement. Objectified bodily existence, or bodily visibility, leads to an obtrusive self-consciousness and resulting discontinuity with respect to the body and its actions.

Young contrasts this typical female embodiment to the implicitly male body she sees as described by Merleau-Ponty in the *Phenomenology of Perception*. The body described by Merleau-Ponty, according to Young, is a socially uninhi-

50 Young, Iris Marion: Throwing Like a Girl, in: Iris Marion Young, *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory*, Bloomington 1990, pp. 141-159.

51 See Straus, Erwin W.: The Upright Posture, in: Erwin W. Straus, *Phenomenological Psychology. Selected Papers,* Erling Eng (Trans.), London 1966, p. 137-165, here p. 156-157.

52 Ibid., p. 155. [Emphasis in original].

bited body which has a confident and unhindered relation to the world.[53] Moreover, it has a confident attitude in terms of body movement where "free motion" and "open reach" typically characterize a male approach to sport and other physical tasks.[54] Young argues that Merleau-Ponty implicitly describes male bodily comportment in his discussion of motor intentionality; it is comportment that is, in general, confident, uninhibited, and maximizes its bodily potentialities, moving "out from the body in its immanence in an open and unbroken directedness upon the world in action."[55]

Although Young's analysis of female comportment as self-conscious and inhibited is valid and of interest, it is worth commenting on Young's understanding and critique of Merleau-Ponty's conception of motor intentionality. Merleau-Ponty's description of the lived body, as Young sees it, is expressed in the affirmative expression, 'I can', which Merleau-Ponty borrows from Husserl to describe the structure of bodily intention and fulfilment. In her critique of Merleau-Ponty, Young mistakenly assumes that Merleau-Ponty intends the 'I can' to in some way indicate capability, skill, or the range, size, and scope of movement – namely, a certain masculine quality of bodily comportment. In fact, the 'I can', for both Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, simply describes the faculty subtending the ego which allows it to freely move the body and to perceive in an active, engaged manner. 'I can' illustrates how movement is not "thought about movement"[56] but rather is a bodily structure of intention and fulfilment. This formulation of intention and fulfilment does not carry qualitative claims, as Young suggests. Indeed, Merleau-Ponty uses the blind man – someone whose movement would surely be characterized as hesitant, hindered, and overly self-conscious – as an example of successful motor intentionality.[57]

Furthermore, Young's analysis does not consider how certain activities and body practices are gendered and, furthermore, performed in particular social spaces. While women may lack confidence and skill when it comes to throwing a ball on a football field or performing martial arts, they might display open,

53 In addition, Judith Butler argues that Merleau-Ponty's body subject is not only male, but a heterosexual male. See Butler, Judith: Sexual Ideology and Phenomenological Description. A Feminist Critique of Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception*, in: Jeffner Allen/Iris Marion Young (Ed.), *The Thinking Muse: Feminism and Modern French Philosophy*, Bloomington 1989, pp. 85-100.

54 Young: Throwing Like a Girl, p. 146.

55 Ibid., p. 148.

56 Merleau-Ponty, Maurice: *Phenomenology of Perception*, Colin Smith (Trans.), London 2006, p. 159.

57 Ibid., p. 175 f.

free, and confident movements performing certain typically 'female' practices such as dance or gymnastics, or in certain 'female' social spaces such as an aerobics studio.[58] As such, Jean Grimshaw critiques Young for idealizing 'masculine' embodiment, while ignoring the specificities of its expression. When comparing throwing like a girl with men's participation in an aerobics class, she writes: "Commonly […] men are ill at ease, inhibited in their movements, and above all stiff and rigid; they often find it very hard to engage in […] co-ordinated or flowing movements."[59]

Naturally, this qualification does not override the fact that typically female practices and typically male practices come with their own prejudices regarding the abilities and social roles of girls, boys, men, and women. However, it does point to a shortcoming in Young's analysis. The inhibited 'female' body that Young describes cannot be put into neat opposition with a completely free and uninhibited 'male' body. It is rather the gender coding of certain practices, along with the intersection of a multitude of other factors such as class, race, experience, circumstance, health, etc., which may determine this qualitative aspect of one's motor intentionality.

Despite these qualifications, Young's analysis of female movement as inhibited remains of interest. What Young does successfully highlight in her discussion – beyond the lack of consideration of gender in Merleau-Ponty's account – is how women are more likely to see their bodies as objects and how female comportment is likely to be coloured by experiences of self-consciousness in many, if not most, settings. In general, women are more likely to feel under large- and small-scale surveillance, and this has real qualitative consequences for motility, performance, and action.

As a result, inhibited and self-conscious bodily comportment, arising from the habit of self-conscious appearance management driven by body shame, has implications that extend far beyond merely the manner through which one moves or carries one's body. Bodily self-consciousness arising from imbalanced power relations within the social field breeds insecurity, lack of confidence, and an affective attunement to body shame. Women who are constantly self-conscious about physical appearance, consumed with conscious strategies of self-presentation, may not be attuned to the possibilities of creativity, transcendence, and fulfilment which may otherwise be possibilities for them. An over-developed concern with physical appearance can, as Andrea Dworkin points out:

58 See Jean Grimshaw: Working Out With Merleau-Ponty, in: Jane Arthurs/Jean Grimshaw (Ed.), *Women's Bodies: Discipline and Transgression*, London 1999, pp. 91-116.

59 Ibid., 107.

"[P]rescribe her motility, spontaneity, posture, gait, the uses to which she can put her body. *They define precisely the dimensions of her physical freedom.* And of course, the relationship between physical freedom and psychological development, intellectual possibility, and creative potential is an umbilical one."[60]

Hence, it is no surprise that psychology confirms that women generally have lower self-esteem, less confidence, and poorer self-concepts than men, while at the same time being less assertive.[61] Nor is it surprising that women are more likely to suffer from body issues with a shame component, such as eating disorders. The timidity and sense of inadequacy that comes with chronic body shame can shrink one's world and possibilities. As a result, shame may not only be a part of female embodied experience, but may come to shape, dictate, and dominate that experience. Through chronic experiences of body shame, one's consciousness spirals tightly around concerns regarding the body and appearance.

Women are used to compulsively checking themselves in mirrors and worrying about flaws in clothes, make-up, and appearance while engaged in other projects. Dinah Shore's remark is telling: "One of the many things men don't understand about women is the extent to which our self-esteem depends on how we feel we look at any given moment […] If I had just won the Nobel Peace Prize but felt my hair looked awful, I would not be glowing with self-assurance when I entered the room." [62] Or consider Jennifer, whose obsessive shame-driven concern about her skin continuously involuted attention to her body, disrupting other activities:

"I couldn't stop thinking about my face, and I had to check it. I *had* to make sure I looked okay, but I usually thought it looked bad. When I looked in the mirror I felt totally panicked seeing all those pimples and marks. Sometimes I even had to leave work and go to bed for the rest of the day."[63]

Although Jennifer was eventually diagnosed with Body Dysmorphic Disorder (BDD), which is a pathological condition of which body shame is a core aspect, her compulsive body checking and concern with appearance is reminiscent of 'normal' and mentally healthy female embodiment which involves a preoccupa-

60 Dworkin, Andrea: *Women-Hating*, New York 1974, p. 113. [Emphasis in original].

61 See for example: Matlin, M.W.: *The Psychology of Women*, New York 1987, p. 129-132.

62 Quoted in: Bartky: *Femininity and Domination*, p. 33.

63 Quoted in: Phillips, Katherine A.: *The Broken Mirror. Understanding and Treating Body Dysmorphic Disorder*, Oxford 2005, p. 9. [Emphasis in original].

tion with bodily faults and constant feelings of surveillance and self-consciousness.[64] As Cressida Heyes contends: "Constant intrusive thoughts of one's own embodied ugliness, or the aesthetic failure of a particular body part or parts, or constant comparative and unfavourable evaluation of one's own body with others, seem quite typical of a lived experience of femininity in Western countries."[65] Although most women do not suffer from BDD, it is interesting to note that contemporary neoliberal consumer culture encourages and expects women to maintain a "BDD-like relation" to their own embodied selves.[66] As a result, the body becomes a primary concern, it consumes one's attention and resources. For some women it may become like a hobby, creative outlet, occupation, or even primary relationship. Indeed, a woman whose life centres around her body and self-presentation in this BDD-like manner, who invests her energy and resources into her body, and who feels constantly dissatisfied with her appearance is the ideal neoliberal subject.

CONCLUSION

It is important to remember that a concern with appearance or 'doing looks' is not optional, since we are always, and *necessarily*, engaged in self-presentation and body management. Self-presentation is in fact constitutive of subjectivity. As such, it is certainly not the case that self-presentation concerns about appearance or the publically seen body are inherently oppressive nor that women will ever be free of them. At times, appearance management may even be a potential

64 While BDD is not significantly more prevalent for women, it is interesting to note that women who suffer from BDD are more likely to be preoccupied with their hips, weight and skin, and furthermore suffer from eating disorders, while men are more likely to be preoccupied with their build, genitals and thinning hair. These patterns which mirror societal preoccupations suggest an inherently socially constructed aspect of this disorder. See Phillips, Katherine A./S.F. Diaz: Gender Differences in Body Dysmorphic Disorder, in: *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases* 185 (1997), p. 570-577.

65 Heyes, Cressida J.: Normalisation and the Psychic Life of Cosmetic Surgery, in: *Australian Feminist Studies* 22/52 (2007), p. 55-71, here p. 66.

66 Heyes, Cressida J.: Diagnosing Culture: Body Dysmorphic Disorder and Cosmetic Surgery, in: *Body and Society* 15/4 (2009), p. 73-93, here p. 77.

source of pleasure and creative expression for women.[67] However, when appearance management comes to be dominated by chronic feelings of body shame, then concerns around appearance can become compromising and oppressive. The lived experience of constant and recurring shame is world-making. Chronic body shame can shrink one's world, disrupting ongoing activities and life projects as the self turns attention inwards on itself. This may result in a state of confusion or inaction, and perhaps an inability to engage meaningfully with projects in the world. Or perhaps it evokes an inhibited style of bodily movement, rendering one fragile, insecure, timid, and emotionally vulnerable. To alleviate this shame and reclaim a sense of belonging and acceptance, women will go to inordinate lengths to instil a sense of (in)visibility, where the idea is to remain visible, to remain in play in social interaction, but at the same time to look and act just like everyone else, and hence not draw undue attention to oneself; that is, to be "seen but not seen."[68]

However, compared to other marginalized groups, women find themselves in a unique position. As Simone de Beauvoir notes in the Introduction to *The Second Sex*, the position of women is constituted by the fact that they are positioned as Other, defined in essential opposition to man, woman is incomplete, inessential, mutilated, however at the same time she is necessarily bound to man; she lives "dispersed among the males, attached through residence, economic condition, and social standing to certain men."[69] Unlike other subordinated groups – the "ghetto Jews", the "American Negroes", the "proletariat" – Beauvoir argues that women lack a common past, tradition, religion, or culture. The bond that unites women to her oppressors is "not comparable to any other… she is the Other in a totality of which the two components are necessary to one another."[70] As a result, women "lack concrete means for organizing themselves into a unit which can stand face to face with the correlative unit."[71]

Simone de Beauvoir was, of course, writing in the 1940s, a time when the social position of women was almost nowhere equal to that of men. However, her insight into the status of women, as the objectified Other and as subordinated in social relations due to shame about the body, resonates profoundly in the

67 See e.g. Frost, Liz: 'Doing Looks': Women, Appearance and Mental Health, in: Jane Arthur/Jean Grimshaw (Ed.), *Women's Bodies. Discipline and Transgression*, London 1999, p. 117-136.

68 Gilman, Sander L.: *Making the Body Beautiful. A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery*, Princeton 1999, p. 42. See also: Dolezal: The (In)visible Body.

69 Beauvoir: *The Second Sex*, p. 19.

70 Ibid.

71 Ibid.

present day. However, unlike other marginalized groups, women have not organized collectively to name and subvert the shame that oppresses them. Women are increasingly isolated from each other in a disempowering self-obsessing narcissism that centres tightly around concerns about the appearance of the body. The reasons for this are multiple. Concerns about appearance and the body are positioned as trivial in our cultural discourse, and women as vain and superficial for being affected by them. In some sense, this has an appealing logic, as beauty pressures are in many ways not politically comparable to the oppressive discrimination and social injustices arising from racism or homophobia, for instance. However, this trivialization is precisely why the control of women's bodies through body norms is so pernicious and complete. Because concerns about appearance are seen as marginal to one's social and political identity, tackled recreationally in one's private sphere, women are isolated from each other and, as a result, body shame remains, for the most part, acutely personal, rather than a collective or political concern. Furthermore, as shame is such an integrated part of female identity and preying on this shame such a central part of our cultural discourse and the machinations of neoliberal consumerism, it is easily overlooked or ignored. Tackling body shame as a serious political problem facing women would involve the dismantling of many cumbersome commercial, social, and political structures which have a vested interest in encouraging insecurity, and hence consumption, among women (and increasingly men) through engaging in self-improvement body projects.

As a result, there is an abiding cultural reluctance to confront the pernicious and ubiquitous shame that infects women's day-to-day lived experience. It has become so thoroughly integrated into our social, cultural, and political landscape as to be rendered invisible. It is precisely for this reason that any useful account of body shame must look at its phenomenology, how it is experienced or, in the cases where shame is bypassed or repressed, *not* experienced, alongside the broader social structures which cause it to arise. In short, a subjectivity can be structured by shame, or the on-going strategies of self-presentation to avoid shame, without shame necessarily entering into conscious awareness or being an explicit part of the way one self-identifies one's experience. It is for this reason that any account of affect or emotion must be more than a cognitive or analytic account. Shame is not merely an event that occurs in consciousness, but, as Sartre's insights demonstrate, shame is part of a whole complex nexus of body, self, others and world. Shame has the power to subtend all of our experience and to form our world and this can have profound consequences.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmed, Sara: *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh 2004.

Arthurs, Jane/Grimshaw, Jean (Ed.): *Women's Bodies: Discipline and Transgression*, London 1999.

Bartky, Sandra Lee: *Femininity and Domination. Studies in the Phenomenology of Oppression*, London 1990.

Beauvoir, Simone de: *The Second Sex*, H.M. Parshley (Trans.), London 1997.

Berger, John: *Ways of Seeing,* London 1972.

Bordo, Susan: *Unbearable Weight. Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body*, Berkeley 1993.

Bouson, J. Brooks: *Embodied Shame. Uncovering Female Shame in Contemporary Women's Writings*, Albany 2009.

Butler, Judith: Sexual Ideology and Phenomenological Description. A Feminist Critique of Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception*, in: Jeffner Allen/Iris Marion Young (Ed.), *The Thinking Muse: Feminism and Modern French Philosophy*, Bloomington 1989, pp. 85-100.

Crossley, Nick: *Reflexive Embodiment in Contemporary Society*, New York 2006.

Dobscha, Susan: The Changing Image of Women in American Society: What Do Pregnant Women Represent in Advertising?, in: *Advertising and Society Review* 7/3 (2006).

Dolezal, Luna: *The Body and Shame: Phenomenology, Feminism, and the Socially Shaped Body*, Lanham 2015.

Dolezal, Luna: The (In)visible Body: Feminism, Phenomenology, and the Case of Cosmetic Surgery, in: *Hypatia. A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 25 (2010), pp. 357-375.

Dworkin, Andrea: *Women-Hating*, New York 1974.

Earle, Sarah: 'Bumps' and 'Boops'. Fatness and Women's Experience of Pregnancy, in: *Women's Studies International Forum* 26/3 (2003), pp. 245-252.

Fanon, Frantz: *Black Skin, White Masks*, Charles Lam Markman (Trans.), London 1970.

Fredrickson, Barbara L. et al.: That Swimsuit Becomes You. Sex Differences in Self-Objectification, Restrained Eating, and Math Performance, in: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75 (1998), pp. 269-284.

Frost, Liz: 'Doing Looks': Women, Appearance and Mental Health, in: Jane Arthurs/Jean Grimshaw (Ed.), *Women's Bodies: Discipline and Transgression*, London 1999, pp. 117-136.

Frost, Liz: Theorizing the Young Woman in the Body, in: *Body and Society* 11 (2005), pp. 63-85.

Gilman, Sander L: *Making the Body Beautiful. A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery*, Princeton 1999.

Grimshaw, Jean: Working Out With Merleau-Ponty, in: Jane Arthurs/Jean Grimshaw (eds.), *Women's Bodies: Discipline and Transgression*, London 1999, pp. 91-116.

Guenther, Lisa: Shame and the Temporality of Social Life, in: *Continental Philosophy Review* 44 (2011), pp. 23-39.

Harris-Moore, Deborah: *Media and the Rhetoric of Body Perfection. Cosmetic Surgery, Weight Loss and Beauty in Popular Culture*, Farnham 2014.

Heyes, Cressida J.: Normalisation and the Psychic Life of Cosmetic Surgery, in: *Australian Feminist Studies* 22/52 (2007), pp. 55-71.

Heyes, Cressida J.: Diagnosing Culture: Body Dysmorphic Disorder and Cosmetic Surgery, in: *Body and Society* 15/4 (2009), pp. 73-93.

Husserl, Edmund: *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy. Second Book,* R. Rojcewicz/A. Schuwer (Trans.), Dordrecht 1989.

Käll, Lisa Folkmarson/Zeiler, Kristin: Why Feminist Phenomenology and Medicine?, in: Lisa Käll Folkmarson/Kristin Zeiler (Ed.), *Feminist Phenomenology and Medicine*, Albany 2014, pp. 1-25.

Leder, Drew: *The Absent Body*, Chicago 1990.

Lee, J.: Menarche and the (Hetero)Sexualization of the Female Body, in: Rose Weitz (Ed.), *The Politics of Women's Bodies. Sexuality, Appearance, and Behaviour*, Oxford 1998, pp.82-99.

Martin, Courtney E: *Perfect Girls, Starving Daughters. The Frightening New Normality of Hating Your Body*, London 2007.

Matlin, M.W: *The Psychology of Women*, New York 1987.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice: *Phenomenology of Perception*, Colin Smith (Trans.), London 2006.

Negrin, Llewellyn: Cosmetic Surgery and the Eclipse of Identity, in: *Body and Society* 8/4 (2002), pp. 21-42.

Northrop, Jane Megan: *Reflecting on Cosmetic Surgery. Body Image, Shame and Narcissism*, London 2012.

O'Donohoe, Stephanie: Yummy Mummies. The Clamor of Glamour in Advertising to Mothers, in: *Advertising and Society Review* 7/3 (2006).

Orbach, Susie: *Fat Is a Feminist Issue*, London 2006.

Phillips, Katharine A: *The Broken Mirror. Understanding and Treating Body Dysmorphic Disorder*, Oxford 2005.

Phillips, Katherine A./S.F. Diaz: Gender Differences in Body Dysmorphic Disorder, in: *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases* 185 (1997), pp. 570-577.

Phipps, Alison: *The Politics of the Body*, Cambridge 2014.

Sartre, Jean-Paul: *Sketch for a Theory of the Emotions*, Philip Mairet (Trans.), London/NewYork 2002.

Sartre, Jean-Paul: *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology*, Hazel E. Barnes (Trans.), London/New York 2003.

Skeggs, Beverly: Ambivalent Femininities, in: Stevie Jackson (Ed.), *Gender. A Sociological Reader*, London 2002, pp. 311-325.

Straus, Erwin W.: The Upright Posture, in: Erwin W. Straus, *Phenomenological Psychology. Selected Papers,* Erling Eng (Trans.), London 1966, p. 137-165.

Thomson, Rosemarie Garland: *Extraordinary Bodies. Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature*, New York 1997.

Thomson, Rosemarie Garland: Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory, in: *NWSA Journal* 14/3 (2002), pp. 1-32.

Tyler, Imogen: Skin-Tight. Celebrity, Pregnancy and Subjectivity, in: Sara Ahmed/Jackie Stacey (Ed.), *Thinking Through the Skin*, London 2001 pp.69-83.

Walter, Natasha: *Living Dolls. The Return of Sexism*, London 2010.

Wolf, Naomi: *The Beauty Myth*, London 1990.

Young, Iris Marion: Throwing Like a Girl, in: Iris Marion Young, *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory*, Bloomington 1990, pp. 141-159.