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Reflections on appearance and attractiveness in the opinions of elderly women and men

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Abstract

An observable feature of post-modernity is the social pressure that forces women and men, regardless of age, to accept the criteria for classifying and valuing the body in the context of a strongly rooted cult of attractiveness, with a youthful appearance at its center, and which is promoted by the mass media. While it is more realistic for younger people to meet these expectations, there can be many difficulties for those who experience progressive body aging.

This article presents an analysis of statements made by elderly women and men, in which they share their definitions of attractiveness in general, as well as their opinions on the attractiveness of their appearance and how they evaluate it. The point of reference for these reflections is Catherine Hakim's concept of erotic capital, in which the attractiveness of an individual is understood in a multidimensional way – including physical appearance, biogenic features, personality traits, and the demographic and social conditions of someone's image. We are also based on *the gendered age* approach, i.e. femininity and masculinity are analyzed in the context of the desired appearance in relation to age (here, an old woman and an old man).

The collected material leads to the conclusion that, to some extent, seniors have internalized social expectations concerning the appearance of the body of contemporary man, including the appearance of their aging bodies. However, the age of the respondents makes them pay attention to many more elements of human attractiveness than just physicality. Their gender also differentiated their views.

Keywords:

attractiveness, aging body, femininity, masculinity, elderly people.

Introduction

Through imposed cultural norms and patterns, the body and its appearance, regardless of era and culture, were and still are the subject of social control. The discourses concerning the human body describe it from different perspectives, according to the canons or norms of beauty and ugliness, health and illness, etc. The scope of the universal acceptance of socio-cultural norms changes in time and space, but the view of the body always has a valuing dimension (Wieczorkiewicz, 2000). Attributing great importance to appearance has its roots in the evolutionary process because appearance has become an important source of information about people – about their age, gender, social status, or health (Adams, Galanes, 2008; Pawłowski, 2009). Today, we are considering the body, which is disciplined and “improved” in relation to the practices set by the consumer society, because the body has become a commodity subject to market laws. Appearance has become an element of capital, bringing measurable benefits in the areas of professional, social, or personal life (Hakim, 2010). The literature on the subject indicates that contemporary societies can be described as somatic societies that focus on the issue of the human body. The body is in the center; thus, it has become one of the main areas of scientific, political, and cultural activities. Contemporary man is more aware of the role played by image, and he treats the body as a social construct, a carrier of meanings that determine his position in society (Shilling, 2010; Turner, 1984). Thus, we function in a body culture in which people define themselves and gain awareness through their body (Szczepański, 2008, pp.55–56).

The significance given to human corporality depends on both the context of the issues raised as well as the patterns of action that are characteristic of certain social groups. The way we treat, care for, or nurture our bodies

reveals our belonging to a particular social category; age and gender are of great importance here (Bourdieu, 1979; Dzido, 2006). It also seems that the common denominator of various notions relating to human corporality is the emphasis on its attractiveness, precisely in the context of contemporary norms. (...) *In an era in which nothing is certain anymore, the attractiveness of the body has become the last guaranteed value*, believes Szczepański (2008, p.56). What is important is that there is a conviction that an attractive body is one that looks young, which deprives old age of this privilege. Elements such as personality, life experience, or the knowledge of elderly people, which could replace the loss of attractiveness of their body and constitute the basis of interpersonal attractiveness, in general, are definitely mentioned less frequently (Hakim, 2010; Paluch, 2000).

The word “attractiveness” comes from the Latin word *atractio*, meaning “to attract.” Attractiveness is a feature of something that, through its qualities, arouses the interest of others. This phenomenon can be defined as (...) *motivational and emotional states of various intensity and assessments directed at a person, object, or even place, about which the individual thinks positively and has positive feelings, and about which he or she generally shows approving behavior* (Hołda, 2019, p. 190). Attractiveness can be talked about in different contexts. The first of these is the physical one, in which attractiveness simply means (...) *perceiving someone as beautiful or handsome and may include facial features or the appearance of the figure (long legs, musculature), as well as other physical characteristics (e.g., hair color and length, height)*. (...) *Cultural stereotypes play a certain role in creating attractiveness, i.e., non-empirical and unverifiable judgments that determine how people should look and what qualities a “perfect” woman or a “model” man should display* (Hołda, 2019, p. 191).

Today, the determinants of an attractive body are defined by the media, fashion dictators, cosmetic companies, or plastic surgeons, all of whom attach great importance to biogenic factors such as facial symmetry, skin quality, height, or a slim body (Pawłowski, 2009). Physical attractiveness has become one of the most important aspects that determine an individual’s social status. It is also treated as an advantage that passes with age, and that affects women and men to a different extent (Kluczyńska, Wojnicka, 2015; Malinowska et al., 2012; Nęcki, 1996). Although physical appearance is certainly a basic and direct source of information about a person’s attractiveness – especially during the first encounter – it also includes non-verbal signals, such as the way they look, smile, move, and smell (Pawłowski, 2009). Demographic and social factors, such as age, gender, and ethnic and cultural affiliation, are also important – inter alia, the way they dress, their coloring, accessories, hairstyle, and make-up (Adams, Galanes, 2008).

One of the inspirations for the analysis undertaken in this article is the concept of erotic capital, coined by Catherine Hakim (2010). According to Hakim, an individual’s attractiveness is multidimensional – it consists of both the physical sphere of the body itself, e.g., the beauty of the face and its symmetry, as well as how the individual creates his or her appearance, i.e., style of dressing, make-up, hairstyle, accessories. Specific personality traits and acquired social behaviors also influence human contacts. Hakim mentions sexuality and sexual attractiveness (*sex appeal*), charm, and grace, all of which make people like somebody, as well as vitality, which she defines as having a sense of humor, positive energy, or “being the life and soul of the party”. What is important for this text is the fact that Hakim draws our attention to how ways of combining innate and culturally shaped elements influence the perception of someone’s

attractiveness. Physical appearance, biogenic features, demographic, and social conditions of an individual’s image, combined with his or her personality traits, behavior, and emanation of “inner power” or “energy,” influence social interactions. She notes that this type of capital is greater among women, due to the stronger internalization of the significance of appearance and the socialization of behavior around it as values that are more important for women than for men in the context of social functioning (Hakim, 2010).

In modern societies, in which the values of youth play a prominent role, an aging body that does not look “young” can lead to exclusion. It also becomes a source of a lost part of identity, since many studies reveal a dissonance between what the subjects feel (the perspective of their “interior”) and what their body shows (Slevin, 2010; Buczkowski, 2005). There is a belief that aging makes people unattractive. (...) *The appearance of the body of elderly people determines their social identity, which is marked by the stereotype of an unhappy person. The old, wrinkled, gravitationally subordinate body that slips away from the aesthetic canons does not find a place in the public space* (Bieńko, 2015, p. 26). What is more, old age is perceived in a very stereotypical way, and it is accepted as long as the individual looks young and vital. (...) *Old age is a stage of change and development in which an individual has to face and solve a specific internal crisis, in which each of us has to develop our own model of old age that is appropriate for post-modern civilization* (Herudzińska, 2019, p. 7). Although images and content about the aging of bodies do appear more and more often in the mass media, in most cases we see aesthetic and young-looking bodies – an example is the advertising campaigns in which older models took part, e.g., the Polish brand Nenukko engaged an 80-year-old actress, Helena Norowicz, for the session.

It also seems that, despite the extensive exploration of body-related topics in the international field of social and psychological sciences, there are only a few reports in Polish sociology in which the body is the main subject of research, in which people are asked how they usually experience it or how they use it (Jakubowska, 2012). Furthermore, the perspective of overlapping gender and age as analytical categories are only sporadically considered (Kluczyńska, 2008). And even if such analysis is undertaken, it usually concerns the appearance of the bodies of older women, possibly young men. However, old men also face a redefinition of masculinity, even though their old age is marginalized (Kluczyńska, 2008).

Theoretical context, issues, and research methodology

The introductory assumption on which this article is based refers structural and stratification significance of sex and gender. These categories are variables that are capable of explaining social phenomena, including the analysis of identity aspects (Guionnet, Neveu, 2004, p.9). Thus, it is worth asking what reflections on their own appearance and attractiveness accompany elderly women and men. As Urszula Kluczyńska writes (...) *one can still encounter a downplaying of the specificity of old people's generic experiences. In the reflections on elderly people, we usually use the term "old man" – the personification of features that are associated with disappearance and destruction. However, the gender of an old person does not disappear. The category that is considered important for most of our life, and for many, the most important, is still one of the main axes of constructing identity* (Kluczyńska, 2008, p.76). The cultural concept of gender makes it possible to analyze femininity and masculinity in the context of specific social roles, personality traits, and

desired appearance characteristics. Moreover, people are getting older, and this process is different within each gender. It seems obvious that, with age, the ways of thinking about appearance (own and other people's) and behavioral patterns and actions towards is changing.

This analysis uses the gendered age approach, i.e., femininity and masculinity are analyzed in the context of desired appearance characteristics and in relation to age (here, an old woman and an old man). The cultural definitions of youth, middle age, and old age enable individuals to order their own expectations towards themselves and others, as well as society's expectations towards them as people representing a given age category. This, in turn, enables an individual (as a person metrically classified in an age category) to behave in a way that is consistent or inconsistent with social expectations towards his/her age and gender (cf. Laz, 1999). In this context, the importance of a hierarchical arrangement of relations between culturally defined age and culturally defined gender as two independent variables (generally treated either as separate or 'interdependent') can be noticed.

This concept has been adopted as the original gendering process. Thus, gendered age should be understood as (...) *modifying cultural concepts of femininity and masculinity in relation to different age categories within a particular gender category, but always in such a way as to ensure that the model of power relations between the gender categories is valid within a particular cultural model of society. In such an approach, belonging to an age category is of secondary importance: first, for example, one is a female being who, as a result of the process of socialization, "becomes a woman," and according to biological age, first a culturally defined "young woman," then a "middle-aged woman" and finally an "old woman." The same scheme (but not content!) applies to men* (Malinowska et al., 2017, p.20).

In contemporary societies, including Western ones, despite decades of the socio-cultural transformation of the individualization process, we still have to deal with strongly rooted patriarchal gender models. They are responsible for the dichotomous division of personality traits, social roles, and appearance traits into those that are "typically female" and "typically male. In the structure of the cultural gender model, for each gender we can distinguish: a set of key social roles that are considered appropriate; ideals, mainly in terms of their indispensability and suitability to perform the indicated social roles; personality traits; and desired appearance traits

Thus, appearance, in addition to social roles and personality traits, is a very important element in the cultural structure of the gender construct. In the cultural concepts of femininity and masculinity described by psychologists and sociologists, we can find many characteristics relating to appearance (Giza-Poleszczuk, 2004; Kuczyńska, Wojnicka 2015; Majcher, 2012; Mandal, 2000, 2003; Miluska, 2008). The description of a man's appearance on this basis includes the following features: tall, strong, tough, muscular, broad-shouldered, and handsome. As far as the overall impression of his appearance is concerned, it can be positive, such as good physical condition; or negative, e.g., neglected, or that he does not pay attention to his appearance.

The characteristics of a woman's appearance, on the other hand, include delicate, pretty, having charm/moving with charm, graceful movements, having a pleasant voice, having personal charm, and giving the impression of being absorbed by her appearance (Mandal et al., 2010). Some researchers point out that information about physical appearance, and in particular, physical attractiveness, is more important when judging women than men. Patriarchal definitions of femininity and masculinity indicate that a man's social

position practically does not depend on his appearance, only on other characteristics (e.g., related to the professional level), since a man is dominant in patriarchal concepts. On the other hand, the social position of a woman – who is dominated – largely depends on her appearance (Malinowska et al., 2017).

In the patriarchal model, women are generally attributed with greater expressiveness, warmth when dealing with others (Broverman et al., 1972, pp. 60–65), an interpersonal orientation, building closeness, delicacy, tenderness, and caring for the feelings of others (Tannen, 1999). In turn, the model "traditional" male features are considered to be an orientation toward action and activity (Bakan, 1966), competence (Broverman et al., 1972), domination (Lubinski et al., 1983), independence, decision-making, self-confidence, courage, and strength (Brannon, 2002, as cited in Wojciszke, 2003; Deaux and Lewis, 1984 as cited in Mandal, 2000) and rationality, the ability to think logically, composure, and effectiveness in action (Pankowska, 2005). On the other hand, we are currently dealing with modern models of femininity and masculinity that reject such strongly outlined gender dualism. As Krzysztof Arcimowicz wrote (...) *the concept of specialization, i.e., the division of social roles according to gender, is replaced by the concept of complementarity and androgyny* (Arcimowicz, 2003, p.56). In modern gender models, the boundaries of femininity and masculinity are variable, and within them, there are many varieties of femininity and masculinity, from which individuals can choose the ones that suit them better.

The aim of using the above-described gender models is not to directly confront the "ideal types" of patriarchal femininity and masculinity with reality, but rather to search for the social determinants of the opinions and reflections on their appearance of the people examined. The interviews were analyzed using analytical categories that resulted from

the researchers' areas of interest. This made it possible to organize and qualitatively explore in-depth the collected material to provide answers to the questions asked during the interviews (Mayntz, Holm, Hübner, 1985).

The publication is based on the results of research conducted under the project "Cultural Concepts of Gender and Age and the Attitudes of Women and Men towards their Health and Appearance" (2013–2016) funded by the National Science Center. The research concerned the expectations and attitudes towards the appearance and health of women and men in three age categories: young (18–37), middle-aged (38–62), and old (over 63). The age categories were determined on the basis of the results of a CBOS (Social Opinion Research Centre) survey in which Poles were asked "when does youth end, and mature age and old age begin" (CBOS 2012). The research was qualitative nature, and the material analyzed in this article comes from 30 structured interviews conducted with women and men over 63 years of age (16 interviews with women and 14 interviews with men) and four focus group interviews in the same age categories (two with women and two with men). All participants lived in a large city (over 500,000 inhabitants) and had secondary or higher education and a similar economic status.

The presented research concerned, among other things, attitudes towards appearance in relation to three components: cognitive, emotional-evaluating, and behavioral. The following definition of attitude was adopted: (...) *The attitude of a certain human being towards a certain object is a general, relatively permanent disposition to evaluate this object and to react emotionally to it, and possibly accompanying these emotional-evaluating dispositions are relatively permanent beliefs about the nature and properties of this object and relatively permanent dispositions to behave towards this object* (Nowak, 1973, p. 23). The main question posed

in the research was: What are the attitudes of men and women of different ages towards their appearance? This article will discuss the part of the cognitive component of the attitude that refers to the criteria of attractiveness, i.e., On what basis do you assess someone as physically attractive? What are the attractiveness criteria for women, and what are they for men? Part of the affective component will also be discussed, i.e., how the respondents assessed their appearance and physical attractiveness, and what were they satisfied and dissatisfied with in terms of their appearance.

Defining attractiveness

One of the aims of the research was to learn the participants' opinions on how they understand "being an attractive (elderly) man" and "an attractive (elderly) woman." In addition to answering the questions asked by the researcher conducting the group interviews, the participants received 14 photos of women and 13 photos of men. They presented portrait photos showing a figure to the bust, and the images of the people in them were to be assessed in terms of their attractiveness. This analysis refers only to the assessment of the photographs of people who were classified by the study participants as "elderly" – they had grey hair, deep wrinkles, a crumpled figure, and skin imperfections. They were usually identified with unfashionable but comfortable clothes, or accessories, such as glasses or a cane. The first associations expressed by the respondents emphasized that old age cannot be or is not attractive at all (youth is attractive). However, during the focus discussions or interviews, it turned out that there were reflections on what attractiveness in old age is or how it can be perceived.

The participants referred to three aspects that prove someone's attractiveness or lack thereof. The first one was the general aesthetic impression – understood as care for

the external image, their outfit, posture, and general care. The second was beauty read from facial features (e.g., symmetry, "youthful appearance," make-up). Facial expressions were also important, as they became a carrier of non-verbal messages. It was based on these factors that personality traits were interpreted, or "read," and they were assessed positively, negatively, or neutral. As Ewa Malinowska writes (...) *the inclusion of personality traits in the resources that make up human capital can be justified by the fact that in society they are considered to qualify an individual as an actor, appropriate or inappropriate to play specific social roles* (Malinowska et al., 2012, p. 140). In the case of the aging process, age-related expectations concern not only the change in the set of social roles, but all components of the cultural gender model defined within a given social order. These expectations are of a normative character, and their function is to consolidate a given social order.

The female perspective

According to the respondents, an attractive woman should have a number of attributes. Interestingly, there were not many indications concerning physicality itself, and they were not important in this case. The most significant attributes were those related to specific personality traits. The images of elderly people shown in the photographs shown during the focus interviews and which were considered attractive were characterized by "life's wisdom written on their face," as well as experience, maturity, kindness, and a positive, optimistic attitude to life, and cheerfulness. When speaking about the attractiveness of their peers, the women pointed out that a gentle smile and calmness on their faces testified to the attractiveness of a woman of their age (FGI/6/F/F3,F8,F10)¹.

Here are excerpts from the statement: (*These women – author's note*) *are older, but they look very good. (...) First of all, you can see what she wants (...). She is liberated (FGI/5/F/F6), She is aware of her maturity (...) there is some sexuality in her (...). She has something interesting in her face (...). She is gentle, but very determined; she knows what she wants (FGI/5/F/F7), Facial expression, intelligent or not (proves attractiveness – author's note) (FGI/6/F/F3).*

The respondents who took part in the one-one-one interviews also referred to this: *An attractive woman should still be nice (F/4/66)², The expression on her face, she is such a friendly person (F/9/71), For me (attractive women – author's note) (...) they are intelligent (F/3/65).* One of the respondents gave an interesting, unusual statement on what the attractiveness of an older woman is: *The word "attractive" is not associated with youth, but with old age. I would say that (one of the young women in the picture – author's note) she is elegant, young, beautiful, but not attractive. (...) Visually attractive is old for me because who should I address the word "attractive" to? (...) If a girl of 19 is here, how can I say that she is attractive? She is beautiful in her youth. Attractiveness is related to age (FGI/5/F/F1).* An attractive "old lady" should be mature, but full of energy, joyful, and smiling.

Attractiveness was perceived as a feature, an attribute which is the superstructure of the image itself, the appearance. The smile, a kind and cheerful expression on the face, became the key to counting another woman – a peer – among those who like others. Since the body undergoes the process of aging – and was one of the most important elements that constructed femininity and being attractive to men – attention is drawn to other features that make a woman attractive (Wolf, 2000). Social

F1 or M1 – respondent's number

1 Focus Group Interview markings – FGI (Focus Group Interview), 6 – group number, F – female, M – male,

2 Interview markings: F – female, M – male, 4 – respondent's number, 66 – respondent's age.

visibility is built, for example, in connection with relations with others, because what is a smile and cheerful disposition? Sometimes it is an encouragement to make contact, or to build a friendly atmosphere. Besides, other features mentioned by women testify to the “external” inner strength that is female “energy,” self-awareness in the context of life experience, competence. This is a way to redefine the notion of an attractive elderly woman.

In the analyzed statements of the respondents, femininity is still strongly associated with physicality, in which control of one’s appearance is manifested through the prism of liking others (traditional model of femininity). The evaluations are based on appearance and are often identified with the fact that “a woman is her appearance,” as Elyn Kaschack (1999) wrote. The respondents attached importance to the evaluation of the figure, which, in the opinion of most of them, should be slim and have an appropriate body weight: (*An attractive woman – author’s note*) is a slim, tiny, shapely person (F/6/69), I pay attention to a pretty face, a shapely figure (F/12/84). This a pretty face, a slim, shapely figure is part of the image of the patriarchal model of the female body. The exhibition of beauty and its elevation above other features is equivalent to being an object and not a subject in human relations. It means consenting to being subordinate – here the dominant and judging gaze of men, but also of other women. In the socialization process, women are taught from an early age to constantly control their appearance – even as young girls, they have daily body care routines, carrying them out with particular attention and commitment. They are required to please others, so they take on the role of an external observer of their bodies (Bieńko, 2015). Therefore, it is possible that the respondents did not discuss the diversity of the body and its attractiveness despite its *greater volume*. However, the key attributes of

women’s attractiveness are manifested in what an individual can achieve – general self-care, which involves maintaining a properly created image, from outfit to hairstyle: *An attractive woman must be, you know, always elegant, always well-groomed* (F/15/88), *First of all, she must be clean. (...) neat* (F/10/71). This requirement of being *neat* is again a reflection of the slogan *I look, therefore I am*.

Finally, it is worth adding that several women indicated height as an attribute of an attractive woman – although it is generally identified with a handsome man. And it may be that this male attribute has been transferred to women (tall, therefore attractive) on the one hand, but on the other hand, it is a consequence of images of models promoted in the media, whose height is an indicator of attractiveness. It is also worth noting those statements that raised the issue of changing or adapting their image to age. Attractiveness contains, let’s say, elements of current fashion. Elements, because not everything, not exactly what is being promoted, needs to be applied in your life.

The biggest mistake – in the respondents’ opinion – is that some women do not change their image for years and, for example, *they wear a haircut from their youth because they were beautiful and young at the time; it was for them this particular, fantastic hairstyle. And they believed that their whole lives would be like this. But you just have to change it* (F/4/66). We can see here that not everything that a young woman is allowed to do, which is socially acceptable (e.g., long hair down), is also allowed for older women. What is important is that this image should “fit” the age of the woman, but also “reflect” what is “inside,” her personality traits, so that the clothes fit the woman as she is (F/10/71). Here we have an interesting perspective included in Hakim’s (2010) concept, which combines the dualism of personality traits and the physicality of the body. Perhaps

this is a way of appreciating and noticing those aspects which prove interpersonal attractiveness, not only those that refer to the “bodily” dimension.

Women also talked about symmetrical, gentle facial features, but also delicate, discreet make-up (especially at their age). A woman’s body is simply less attractive or not attractive at all when she is completely deprived of make-up as a form of beautification, adapting to social expectations. The natural face in the patriarchal model of femininity is treated as unattractive (Kowalczyk, 2000). Make-up gives the possibility of metamorphosis, rejuvenating the appearance (Toniak, 2000). However, being an older woman is being a woman who fits into “natural” make-up (not too sharp or expressive, which is associated with emphasizing sexuality, which at this age is considered to be “extinct” or fading away). It was important to have a well-chosen outfit and a well-styled hairdo, i.e., well taken care of, in the sense that she must have nicely done her hair, i.e., dyed, with no roots showing and not cut like a haircut, to have a very feminine hairstyle, and with light make-up. (...) *Nice clothes under the hair color, so that it all comes together, nice shoes, legs depilation, a pretty purse – this is for me an elegant woman who draws attention to herself; to be attractive she must pay attention to herself, and to pay attention to herself, she must have those advantages that I spoke about* (F/2/64).

Coiffured, thick, shiny hair testifies to the social attractiveness of a woman in relation to the patriarchal framework for defining attractiveness (Skrok, 2009). All of these attributes of femininity – *pretty shoes, a bag, trimmed hair* – all fitted, selected, and styled so as to form a coherent whole still reflect those social expectations of women (also taking into account age), which fit firmly into the traditional model of femininity, based on the carnal, physical dimension of femininity. Again, this subordination in the imposed *neatness* and the use of

diminutives, infantilization, young appearance proves the one-dimensionality of the female image which favors or maintains the social visibility of an older woman.

The male perspective

The men’s reflections on the attractiveness of their peers were reserved, the statements more concise, perhaps poorer, which may also indicate that the importance of appearance and its attractiveness (especially physical) is not an important area of reflection of men from this age category. Interestingly, however, the participants of the study first focused their attention on appearance as an important dimension of being an attractive man. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the interviewees of this age generally place the importance of appearance in the context of professional work, an area that fits into the traditional model of masculinity. *Quite attractive gentlemen*, should be characterized by clean and tidy outfits, preferably elegant: *Dressed with taste, trousers pressed, everything clean. You can immediately see that someone takes care of their appearance* (M/6/66), *An attractive man (...) must be clean and tidy. He can also be so elegant, in a suit; at any age, when he is clean and smartly dressed, it is elegant. And when the suit still hangs well, it’s already attractive* (M/8/70).

For the participants, an attractive man is one who is also well-trimmed, shaved. Interestingly, they regretted that modern fashion does not attach such importance to the traditional image of a man: *Surely he does a lot (...) he does a lot of taking care of himself, good cologne, well-trimmed head, shaved, possibly some beard, if he feels good about it, this is an individual matter; I’m not saying that everyone has to be clean-shaven* (M/11/71).

In general, there is a greater cultural acceptance for women to undergo hair treatments than there is for men. These treatments among the members of this generation only concern

haircuts. In turn, beard care (an attractive man is shaved or has a manicured beard) is one of the external signs of masculinity, and even one of the basic attributes, often contrasted with femininity (Synnott, 1987). The use of cologne, in turn, seems to be a manifestation of the feminization of the male cultural pattern of being attractive, of course, in the context of the reflection on the traditional model.

It is worth noting that being tall was not key here, which is in stark contrast to the traditional image of masculinity (Goldwell, 2008). What was important was a straight figure: *Attractive man should have an upright body (M/9/70), Attractive, good posture, as they say, not too short, not too tall (M/13/77)*. What is worth emphasizing is that the respondents did not talk about the musculature, although it is, after all, a key element of the image associated with masculinity as a power. Perhaps the “unright figure” is a substitute for “self-confidence,” which is significant for the image of the dominant “male” (Brannon, 2002). It is also possible to grasp the omission of key parts of the traditional model of masculinity, perhaps due to the process of aging and the transition from the category of dominant males (first young, then middle-aged) to old men. Thus, they have lost or are losing these attributes of masculinity; they are becoming a marginalized group, dominated by the younger ones (Connell, 2000, pp. 10–11). No man pointed to the face and its details as elements that build attractiveness (nor to having or not having a beard) – a beautiful face may be, in their opinion, only inscribed in the ideal of femininity.

Statements relating to other (personal-ity) traits also appeared, but they were less numerous than for women. Attractive man looks satisfied (FGI/5/M/M8), *It is difficult to say (if he is attractive – author’s note) because he has a bitter face (FGI/6/M/M6)*. One of the men mentioned a story in which the argument in favor of a man’s attractiveness is his

competences and skills, not his appearance (FGI/6/M/M1), which certainly fits into the patriarchal model of masculinity. Moreover, the participants of the study listed features such as firmness, energy, and good manners as ones that make a man attractive to others: *As far as traits are concerned, he should certainly be firm, unlike women, who are changeable, so here a typical male trait would be some firmness (M/2/63), He is not rude, does not use foul language, he is eloquent, you can have a discussion with him, flexible (M/6/66), He should always have some energy (M/7/67)*. Here, on the one hand, we see very clearly those qualities that fit into the ideal of patriarchal masculinity, for example, “decisiveness.” However, on the other hand, there are also traits such as “flexibility,” which can be interpreted as a shift towards a greater androgynization of masculinity.

A general reflection based on the analysis of the above statements shows that an elderly person who is well-groomed, elegantly dressed, and has a friendly, smiling facial expression is always perceived as more attractive. In the case of women, the size and shape of the body should match socially defined standards, because then the woman can be accepted and may appeal to others (Małecka, 2008). The above analyses are also confirmed by Mary Harris’s (1994) studies, which showed that she more often expects behavior that improves attractiveness and masks the effects of aging from aging women than from men. However, in the case of women, personality traits *read* from the image represented by carnality become the *gateway* to reading attractiveness in a non-physical way. In the case of the female respondents, this is of key importance for defining attractiveness as such – which is also confirmed by the reflections of Hakim (2010).

In turn, in the statements of the men, we can see the influence of the ideal of traditional masculinity, which we can deduce from the fact that the respondents indicate certain

personality traits that predispose them to dominate (cf. Melosik, 1996). In the physical dimension, however, we observe the mutual coexistence of elements of traditional and modern patterns. Perhaps this is the result of perceiving the process of aging, because (...) *in the end, it is difficult to be a man without a male body (...), and the bodies of men are not always very “male.” It is enough to think about the bodies of (...) the old and the weak* (Edwards, 2006, p. 123).

Reflections on the attractiveness of one’s own appearance

The female perspective

The survey participants were asked how they evaluate their appearance. Half of the seniors expressed significantly positive opinions about themselves. The others considered themselves to be *of average beauty, normal-looking, and not standing out from the crowd*. When the women self-assessed their appearance, they very often did so in the context of their age, the moment in which they are now living, and they also referred to their youth. Only two respondents who expressed dissatisfaction with their appearance focused their attention on the aging process itself as causing them to lose their attractiveness.

The women who consider themselves attractive often referred to the actions they take for their appearance: *I would describe myself very positively, because as I say, I care about myself, about my everyday appearance, I won’t go out in the street without combing my hair, I have to get a manicure, so that these hands are taken care of, so that you can see that you care; so I define myself positively (F/2/64)*. Another interviewee confessed: *At the moment, as far as my appearance is concerned, I can say that I’m satisfied in the sense that I managed to lose 8 kilos and I feel good, I feel light (F/5/67)*. So

we can say that the self-esteem of the narrators is dependent, i.e., it is conditioned by the activities they undertake regarding their overall appearance, the condition of their hair, the skin on their hands, or their face – which is in line with the social expectations inherent in the traditional perception of femininity.

The women who take care of their appearance evaluated it positively. However, only a few respondents clearly indicated that they have no complexes and feel good about themselves. When referring to their attractiveness, two of them said they look exceptionally young – for their age. When making a self-assessment of their appearance, they also referred to several features that in the patriarchal gender model are associated with youth, which is attractive in itself, and which also allows for naturalness and a certain *slack* in their appearance (neat hair, appropriate weight, and a young and generally neat appearance). Stereotypes according to which old age is ugly and youth is beauty is also revealed in the consciousness and statements of those respondents who pointed out that a smooth face and a slim figure, regardless of age, are still a manifestation of an appearance that is beautiful because it is youthful (Głębocka, 2009, p.80).

When making a self-assessment of their appearance, the women also indicated that it is dependent on their mood at a given moment. If it was good, they assessed themselves better, and they liked it more. When their mood was worse, they generally disapproved of their appearance: *This hurts, that hurts, I walked broken, and that affects my mood and appearance (F/12/84)*. Or another comment: *I won’t say it here [that I’m attractive], because I just feel something now that it’s getting weaker (F/4/66)*, or: *I’m sometimes dissatisfied when these eyes make me feel like this, but I hope it will pass, when these eyes rest, maybe they won’t do it (F/14/86)*. These excerpts again allow us to conclude that the views expressed depend on

the activities the women undertake to look after their appearance.

Moreover, the above-mentioned concept of erotic capital, which refers not only to elements of physical appearance but also to behavior – revealing one's well-being – helps in interpreting the results obtained. It is clear that these non-physical features are important for the self-esteem of these women, which may indicate a change in the importance of appearance in the life of this age category of women. Appearance becomes less significant than well-being, internal mental state, and health status.

It should also be added that the self-assessment of appearance was carried out in relation to their close circle of friends, or to previous years. Women assessed their appearance in their youth as more attractive – they thought they were slimmer, prettier, and liked others more than nowadays. They also talked about the processes taking place in their bodies, such as the appearance of greyishness, wrinkles, and increased weight. One of the respondents said this: *I never stood out somehow; surely as a young person, I looked better, just because I was slim for a very long time. I felt better then, for sure, and more attractive* (F/9/70).

Although one can suppose that the statements of the respondents suggest that the process of physical aging takes away what defines the appearance of a woman in the patriarchal model, one should wonder whether we are dealing here with the idealization of the past. Women's level of satisfaction with their own body is sinusoidal. Teenagers attach great importance to the appearance of the body, and yet their level of satisfaction is low. Graduating from university and starting a professional career promotes self-confidence and satisfaction with one's appearance until the moment of starting a family and having a child. Then self-esteem begins to fluctuate again. Research confirms that (...) *age differentiates*

between women due to the quality of factors that shape their body image and concern the individual's personal resources (Kochan-Wójcik, 2010, p. 29). The woman quoted earlier does not and has never considered her appearance to be "special." Perhaps when she was younger, she also noticed the imperfections of her appearance, just as she does when she is older. The sinusoidal self-assessment of appearance may be anchored in the patriarchal definition of femininity, which assumes that a woman's social position largely depends on her appearance (Malinowska et al., 2017). Perhaps the loss of physical attractiveness becomes painful, especially for those women who, in the name of patriarchal ideals, have built up their self-esteem mainly in this area, overlooking other, non-physical aspects. However, this empirical material is unable to confirm this.

The male perspective

The men surveyed generally assessed themselves neutrally or positively. They emphasized their *normal, average* appearance or said that they were "generally satisfied" or "satisfied" with it. Only one of them expressed their appearance in a definitely negative way.

A positive assessment for men meant *no complexes* and general satisfaction with what they look like. The respondents said: *I consider myself attractive* (M/10/71) or *Yes, I rather am [satisfied with my appearance]. At least I'm not angry because of the mirror; before leaving, I see if everything is there* (M/13/77), *I accept myself* (M/4/64; M/9/70). We can catch here the *lack of compulsion* of attractive appearance, which is characteristic of the patriarchal way of judging men. Appearance is important in the way men judge themselves, but not the women. Moreover, the respondents expressed positive opinions about their appearance, without making their opinions dependent on having to do something about the way they look, as was the case with women.

One of the men made an interesting comment that it is convenient for him to be *averagely attractive* because he does not have to spend too *much time to make himself attractive*. However, the rest of the speech contradicts this: *When I go to work in the morning, I have to devote some time to shaving, using cream, rubbing my nose with tonic, and various masks. That's a total of 30 minutes on this. It's gonna take a while. There is such a rule, and life has taught me that there are no perfect people in every respect* (M/6/66). This statement is certainly a testimony to the feminization of male behavior – masks, tonic, and cream fit into the female-dominated sphere – so, it is more like an androgynous model.

The only respondent who made a negative comment regarding his self-esteem stated that he *has already come to terms with age*, but he does not like the wrinkles that make him older and that have made him physically unattractive over the years (M/12/72). This statement is interesting because the man pays attention to his complexion, which is a *typical problem* for women. In general, the older men accepted changes in their appearance to a greater extent than the women, and they treat visible manifestations as a natural result of the aging process (Wiśniewska, 2014). If they do pay attention to the changes taking place, they usually concern their figure – the appearance of a belly and a loss of muscle mass (Malinowska et al., 2017).

It is worth emphasizing that among the participants of the research were those who did not want to judge their appearance, as if following the principle that in a patriarchal society, a man should not be too interested in his appearance: *Am I attractive? Ask the wife. I think I'm normal, neither beautiful nor ugly, ordinary* (M/8/70), or *I mean, maybe I got used to myself, that's the problem. I don't see what women see in the mirror. Maybe women look at me in a different way, it's always about being both accessible*

and neat, because that's the most important thing (M/7/67). Self-esteem in men is like "unmanly," i.e., they are not used to focusing on their appearance, judging themselves in this respect or talking about it – they seem to defend themselves against it. This is where the issue of the external appearance is manifested. It is not of interest or social evaluation in the context of the traditional model of masculinity in which these statements fit in. They believe that they are not the ones to judge themselves in this respect, but others. Only one of the seniors referred to comparing himself to his peers. In his statement, he drew attention to weight and figure, because in his opinion, we have an influence on them, in contrast to hair on the head, which is genetically determined: *When I see a man with a strong, athletic build, and walking next to him there is someone twice as heavy with a belly, 150cm at the waist, it is clear that I judge myself closer to the former than the latter* (M/11/77).

The material under analysis shows that old women look in the social mirror more often than old men. They quote others' opinions about themselves or use comparisons, either to the appearance of other women or to their own appearance at earlier stages of life. This is because femininity is traditionally more closely related to carnality, and girls/women socialize the need to pay more attention to controlling their own appearance, nurturing their beauty, and thus meeting social expectations and making self-esteem dependent on it (Kaschack, 2001; Wolf, 2014).

In general, women are subject to much more severe criticism than men with regard to physical attractiveness, which, according to the patriarchal concept of gender, has a greater impact on their life and functioning in society. An attractive body is one of the fundamental elements of the modern concept of femininity, and the external appearance as an element of erotic capital, or more broadly, the capital of

a woman, influences her social position and is subject to constant evaluation (Berry, 2008; Jakubowska, 2009; Wolf, 2014). By contrast, the men's statements point to elements that fit into the patriarchal model. However, they also point to androgyny, and they are full of self-reflection based on the fact that appearance and its attractiveness are important for the social functioning of the "elderly man". Perhaps such reflections come with greater difficulty for some men, and it was only the aging process that drew their attention to it.

Elements of own appearance positively and negatively assessed by the seniors

The female perspective

Satisfaction with our appearance is a very complex issue. The study participants were, therefore, asked about which aspects of their appearance they are satisfied with and which they are dissatisfied with. Speaking about the strengths of their appearance, the women emphasized those features that fit into the patriarchal model of a female image: thick hair, a smooth complexion, and a slim figure. Some respondents expressed their joy/contentment that, despite the passage of time, these elements of their look are still their strong points. Speaking about their faces, the women expressed satisfaction with the condition of their skin and the absence of visible wrinkles: *I don't have wrinkles either at the age when they are formed there; at that age, you should have more of them. And yet there are not so many* (F/14/86). Another woman admitted that she has a lot of hair, which is the reason other women her age are envious (F/1/64). Another female participant liked her teeth, which others considered to be "artificial and made" (F/6/69). Two women stressed their satisfaction with their body shape and proper weight: *As far as*

my figure is concerned, I'm satisfied because I'm relatively slim; I am not fat. I'm straightforward, I have good posture, I'm not hunched, I walk vigorously, with a spring in my step (F/7/70).

A proper body structure is also an important factor in mobility and fitness. This was pointed out by one of the women, who said that thanks to the fact that she managed to lose a significant amount of weight, she is in good shape and can be physically active (F/4/66). Only one female respondent expressed satisfaction with her growth, which is not a typical attribute of the female body (F/9/71).

However, what is an advantage for some women is a defect or a complex for others. When indicating elements of their own appearance that raised concerns, the participants of the study referred to their complexion, the eye or hair area, and being too heavy, which negatively affected various areas of their personal life. They mentioned difficulties in choosing clothes and their mental state: *Unfortunately, I am quite plump; it also makes me feel frustrated because most of my life I was a slim person* (F/9/71). Another woman explained: *If I had lost 15 kilos, I would have been happier. And this also limits me in choosing proper clothes; it's true, because I can't wear everything I would like to, because the clothes don't fit me* (F/7/70). These statements signal, first of all, that women refer to refer to their youth or when they were middle-aged. Secondly, there is again a dependent approach to appearance, that is, *if I dropped a few kilos, then...*

Other women expressed dissatisfaction with the appearance of their faces, especially in the context of the changes resulting from the aging process. They were dissatisfied with the condition of the area around the eye, drooping eyelids, spider veins, and bags under the eye: *Sometimes I'm upset, because when these bags appear under these eyes...* (F/14/86) or: *These eyelids are drooping* (F/16/89). Other women declared that they are not satisfied

with their hairstyle or the condition of their hair: *I don't have very good, thick, nice hair, so I've been dreaming of good hair since I was a child* (F/7/70). For this woman, the condition of her hair has always been a matter of concern, and the aging process has not changed much. Only one participant expressed dissatisfaction with her bust and neck: *Surely everyone has something like this; for example, I would like to have a better neck or smaller breasts* (F/4/66).

In the Polish literature on the subject, there are few publications that deal with the issue of the body of elderly people or that result from research conducted among seniors. If they are initiated by psychologists, they use a standardized tool, e.g., the Body Esteem Scale (BES), which analyzes the attitude of respondents towards their own somaticity. The scale considers dimensions of carnality such as sexual attractiveness, weight control, or physical condition³. For example, research conducted by Natalia Mazurkiewicz among 42 women aged 55–83 indicated that they had a negative image of their bodies, which deepened with age. The older the woman, the greater her dissatisfaction with her weight, sexual attractiveness, or physical activity (Mazurkiewicz, 2013, p.251). Dorota Niewiedział, also using the BES scale, researched 134 widows aged 61–78. On the basis of the study, she recognized that for the attractiveness of the body in aging women, self-esteem was differentiated in many aspects: (...) *The widows who took part in the study assessed their lips, ears, eyes, face or cheekbones as the highest in terms of sexual attractiveness, while the chin and breasts were the lowest in terms of sexual attractiveness.* (...) *The*

results of the weight satisfaction survey showed (taking into account generally reduced satisfaction) that respondents perceive and rate their weight highest, through the appearance of their waist and body shape, but they are not satisfied with their appetite or the appearance of their thighs (Niewiedział, 2014, p. 273).

The results of Niewiedział's research show how many factors determine the self-assessment of appearance. However, the research we have analyzed in this article shows that women who make a self-assessment of their appearance most often reach for probably the strongly internalized schemes that fit into the model of traditional femininity, where attractiveness is identified with youth, sex appeal, and the duty to "be beautiful" and to please others. Thus, well-being is built on those elements of appearance that pointed to a "youthful face," so frustrations appeared as a result of its absence. Interestingly, in the above reflections, there were no statements that *strictly* concerned elements that were mentioned in the general definition of attractiveness, i.e., personality traits, temperament, inner "energy". In this case, women seem to have taken away the right to build their attractiveness on non-physical features.

The male perspective

The men's answers are a little different regarding what they like in their appearance and what they do not. Almost half of the seniors mentioned at least one element of their appearance that brought them self-satisfaction. Several respondents expressed satisfaction with their weight: *I am the most satisfied when I am slim, when I have such a period that instead of 80 kilos, I weigh 75 or 72, and then I feel satisfied* (M/6/66). The same man was satisfied with the lack of "big wrinkles" on his face and the resulting younger appearance, and he was happy to still have hair. Others expressed themselves more generally, e.g., that they are

³ The scale consists of 35 points which list various body-related issues, e.g., body smell, appetite, nose, body structure, physical fitness, figure, hands, face, etc. The person's task is to assess the points listed in one of the five possible ways: strong negative feelings, medium negative feelings, no feelings, medium or strong positive feelings.

satisfied that “they still feel the need to look after their appearance” or that they “feel good at their age.” None of the men declared satisfaction with their height, which belongs to the canon of male appearance in the patriarchal perspective of society. It seems, however, that the men’s statements reflect the current trend of the cult of youth and attractive appearance in modern society. However, they do not directly indicate that elderly men are experiencing any external coercion or pressure from those around them in this respect.

What are the senior men dissatisfied with in their appearance? In most cases, they were dissatisfied with facial features and wrinkles: *I see wrinkles getting bigger, and it makes me older* (M/12/72) or: *My nose is crooked* (M/6/66). The condition of their hair was also objectionable, which was expressed by the respondents in the statement *I wish I had hair*. They also mentioned the necessity to wear glasses: *I’m dissatisfied because I have to wear glasses (...). I would like to have better eyesight and not to wear these glasses* (M/8/70) or the desire to be tall: *I would rather be a metre ninety with dark hair than a metre seventy-six blond who is losing his hair* (M/4/64). Individual statements concerned dissatisfaction with their posture, indicating which elements should be changed. One of the men said: *Oh! I have bow legs. I would change my legs; I would like to straighten them* (M/4/64), or: *I would straighten up a little* (M/14/82). While their posture may be a consequence of progressive aging processes, curved legs seem to be a feature of the person’s “equipment” examined for a long time. The opinions of the men prove their awareness that they differ from the “male model of appearance”, which involves being tall and handsome, having a slim figure and hair. This might also be proof of the change observed today – old men are becoming interested in their appearance.

Generally speaking, male old age is not talked or written about a great deal. It is less

frequently the subject of research, so the problems experienced by elderly men are described less reliably than in the case of elderly women (Kluczyńska, 2008). However, the results of the studies presented in this paper show that the issue of the look is also important for elderly men. In their view, caring for appearance is, on the one hand, related to paying attention to having neat clothes. On the other hand, attractiveness is strongly connected with sexual activity. This second factor is an important element of male identity, compared to the beauty of a woman’s body or a woman’s reproductive ability (see Bielawska-Batorowicz 2011). Remaining sexually able requires taking care of their physical condition as well as their weight. It is possible that the surveyed seniors are aware that. As Beata Mirucka explains: (...) *adaptive investment in men’s own appearance includes a regular commitment to taking care of themselves and their own image, mainly for the sake of ensuring their well-being and health* (Mirucka, 2018, p. 26).

The women in the study assess their appearance in relation to features *strictly* related to the traditional femininity model. Even if they like some elements of their body, there are no certain grounds for this self-assessment. The “proof of appropriateness” turns out to be a mirror in the form of other women, peers to whom they compare themselves. The results of this comparison decide whether they see themselves in a positive or negative way, or whether they consider themselves “average” and not distinctive. In the case of the older men, for whom their external appearance should only complement the patriarchal concept of masculinity (which consists primarily of certain personal characteristics and social roles), we observe an in-depth self-assessment. The analysis of the above data contradicts the fact that they do are self-reflective in this respect and they attach less importance to appearance as a resource. They also spoke

about it less “effeminately” than women. Men sometimes compare themselves to their peers, and this is also a matter of dependency – the more they like each other, the more they find themselves attractive (cf. Shilling, 2010).

Conclusions

The article sought to answer to several questions: how do men and women in old age define attractiveness, how do they evaluate their appearance, and what elements of it are they satisfied with, and what are they not?

In the definitions of attractiveness given by the participants of the study, there are three aspects of this concept: 1) features of the appearance of the body itself; 2) aspects that are the result of the social construction of the external image, i.e., make-up, outfit, and hairstyle; 3) what can be read from facial expressions, posture, and gestures, i.e., personality, temperament, mood, or well-being. This certainly fits into the concept of social attractiveness (not only strictly physical) presented by Hakim (2010), where appearance is understood as the harmony of physical and non-physical features. According to Hakim, women have more erotic capital than men, precisely because, in the process of socialization, they internalize patterns relating to the traditional model of femininity – to please others, to draw attention to themselves through appearance, and to be visually attractive. It seems that these models played a special role in the process of socializing people who are seniors today. Based on the opinions of the female participants of the study, we can conclude that the way they talk about appearance is an outward reflection of what is inside them, i.e., “strength” or “decisiveness”. However, the seniors’ self-esteem itself still clearly refers to the patriarchal model of femininity and is deeply rooted in it.

According to our study, there is an evident diversity of opinions among the men,

sometimes even an internal contradiction. The analysis shows that there is no uniform image of attractive masculinity – there is one that is based on, or refers to, the patriarchal model, and one that is a harbinger of androgynization, paying attention to those elements that have so far been identified with the area of femininity (e.g., smell, neat hair). The respondents regret the loss of the strong and upright “male” body. Their reflections on self-esteem show that they see the significance of them lacking carnal attributes inscribed to a masculinity that is attractive since it is young. It must be admitted, however, that in the opinion of some of the men surveyed, appearance itself does not yet constitute attractiveness in the social dimension. On the one hand, men find it very difficult to judge themselves; they think that other people should judge them. On the other hand, analyzing their statements shows that they are able to compare themselves to other men and to take advantage of the capital culturally assigned to women. That may indicate a change within masculinity models.

We can agree today that there is no single model of “femininity” and no single model of “masculinity”. Today, we are dealing with femininity and masculinity that are socially constructed, that co-exist, and that refer to both the traditional and the modern models (Kimmel, 1998). It cannot be ruled out either that the process of rejuvenating old age, which is a consequence of the rejuvenation of culture, has a significant meaning here (Konieczna-Woźniak, 2012).

The process of aging emphasizes the need to face what has so far constructed one’s own femininity and masculinity – in the context of features ascribed to patriarchal models as a reflection of social expectations. However, it initiates the need to search for one’s own way and to become aware of the importance of corporality for constructing one’s own femininity and masculinity “here and now”. 👁

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Refleksje na temat wyglądu i atrakcyjności w opiniach starszych kobiet i mężczyzn

Abstrakt

Zauważalną cechą ponowoczesności jest presja społeczna, która zmusza kobiety i mężczyzn, niezależnie od wieku, do zaakceptowania kryteriów klasyfikacji i oceny ciała w kontekście silnie zakorzenionego kultu atrakcyjności, z młodzieńczym wyglądem w jego centrum, który jest promowany przez środki masowego przekazu. O ile dla osób młodszych spełnienie tych oczekiwań jest bardziej realistyczne, o tyle dla tych, którzy doświadczają postępującego starzenia się ciała związane jest z wieloma trudnościami.

W niniejszym artykule przedstawiono analizę sposobów rozumienia i definiowania atrakcyjności przez starsze kobiety i mężczyzn, zestawioną z ich wypowiedziami odnoszącymi się do atrakcyjności własnego wyglądu i sposobu jego oceny. Punktem odniesienia dla tych rozważań jest koncepcja kapitału erotycznego Catherine Hakim, w której atrakcyjność jednostki rozumiana jest w sposób wielowymiarowy – jako wygląd zewnętrzny, cechy biogenne, cechy osobowości oraz cechy demograficzne i społeczne uwarunkowania czyjegoś wizerunku. Opieramy się także na koncepcji upłuciwionego wieku, w której kobiecość i męskość analizowane są w kontekście pożądanego wyglądu w odniesieniu do wieku (tu: starszej kobiety i starszego mężczyzny).

Zebrany materiał prowadzi do wniosku, że seniorzy w pewnym stopniu zinternalizowali społeczne oczekiwania wobec wyglądu obowiązujące we współczesnym społeczeństwie. Wiek badanych sprawia jednak, że zwracają oni uwagę na znacznie więcej elementów ludzkiej atrakcyjności, niż tylko na fizyczność. Płeć również różnicowała te poglądy.

Słowa kluczowe:

atrakcyjność, starzejące się ciało, kobiecość,
męskość, osoby starsze.