BIOCHEMISTRY OF THE SELF:
Gender, Emotions and Body Work in the Use of Anti-Age Cosmetic Treatments

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

The latest trend in the beauty industry is the growth of lower cost and short-term procedures like Botox, chemical peels, and laser skin rejuvenation, which outnumber severe plastic surgery. Anti-age treatments and Botox, in particular, have made it to the top of the most popular cosmetic procedures worldwide. In a neo-liberal economy, when an individual is evaluated through continuous self-improvement, body becomes a symbol of wealth and classed lifestyle. Within this cultural logic, heroic body work and investment in bodily capital are understood as self-improvement and work towards a better self. Russia has recently moved to the logic of global consumer capitalism introducing new classed symbolic hierarchies of body and gender.

This research aims to analyze the use of anti-age cosmetic treatments in the context of a new symbolic reordering of gender in capitalist Russia. The study draws on the analysis of interviews with Russian cosmetologists and clients undergoing anti-age cosmetic treatments and ethnographic fieldwork in the beauty salons. Using the framework of 'governmentality', 'body work' and 'emotion management', I show how the global circulation of neo-liberal post-feminist values is domesticated in Russia through classed body practices. Anti-age cosmetic treatments become a classed 'technology of the self', which transforms the self with the help of expert-cosmetologists in the expectation of life changes, higher life chances and improvement of status. Emotion work and emotion management become an important part of the project of self-governance. The meta-discourse of choice is the main trope in talking about one's own decisions to undergo anti-age treatments, which presents new challenges for the feminist critique of such body practices.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
Cosmetic treatments, Russia, neo-liberalism, post-feminism, emotion work, governmentality, body work

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1. Introduction

Sitting in the lobby of the salon waiting for my first interview, I was trying to imagine how a woman undergoing anti-age cosmetic treatments would look like. Anna (a cosmetologist) who helped me find the interviewee told me that Marina is a 36-year-old top manager in a big international company — a very busy person, who still finds time to visit cosmetologist at least once per week. A woman standing in front of me was signing up for the next cosmetic treatment. She somehow represented a stereotype of a woman having Botox, which I had created in my head beforehand: straight glossy hair, brand clothes, perfect manicure… But when Marina came for the interview in the salon, I was slightly surprised. She was a nice and easy-going lady, dressed in a simple dress; she was kind to let me do the interview during cosmetological treatment in the salon. When I was allowed to enter the cosmetic treatment room, Marina was lying on the facial bed with her hair hidden in a tissue cap under a blanket with a soft-looking texture. Her face was lit up with a special lamp and Anna started the procedure. It was called 'RF' – a radio frequency massage that goes into the deeper layers of the skin to tighten it. It looked very routinized, the atmosphere looked relaxed, and Marina seemed to enjoy this beautification process… (Field diary, 6.9.14, St. Petersburg).

When I entered the cosmetic treatments room, Katja, a 23-year-old lady, was lying on the facial bed covered with a blanket. Her face was lying like an object under a special lamp in front of the cosmetologist's hands who was preparing to manipulate it like a piece of art. The treatment I witnessed was part of a ten time series of mesotherapy – a non-surgical cosmetic medicine treatment, which employs multiple injections of pharmaceutical medications and vitamins in the middle layers of the skin. This time I could see how Katja was struggling with the pain from the injections made with the needle. In the end, she said that despite the huge pain, it was still worth because it really helps her look better and get rid of the wrinkle on her forehead. (Field diary, 6.12.14, St.Petersburg).

These two illustrations I selected from my field diary are a 'close-up' of a global trend of the use of anti-age cosmetic treatments. Cooperation of beauty industry with the

latest biochemical and technological inventions provides people with non-surgical tools to erase signs of ageing on the under-skin level. Medical cosmetology is a rapidly developing commercial field of medicine for which the main reason of intervention are the client's own desires about her or his face and body look. Beauty has become a field of medicine with fast, lower-cost and short-terms treatments that outnumber severe surgical interventions. According to the International Association for Physicians in Aesthetic Medicine, "there was a 365% increase in the total number of 'minimally invasive procedures' like injections, skin resurfacing and laser treatments from 1997 to 2011" (IAPAM, 2012). Anti-age treatments and Botox, in particular, have made it to the top of the most popular cosmetic treatments worldwide (ISAPS Global Statistics, 2011).

Ever since the discovery of Botox and hyaluronic acid (which is used in most of injective anti-age treatments), men and women are having facial wrinkles and lines prevented and erased in a fast and routine way in cosmetic salons and clinics. Middle and upper-middle class men and women co-operate with beauticians in white coats working on maintaining their classed 'bodily capital' (Wacquant, 2004, p. 127; Skeggs, 2004a, p. 152, see Chapter 2.1.3 for the definition). However, by blocking facial muscles, biochemical under-skin technologies eliminate wrinkles together with traces of emotions and the 'natural' face-work (Goffman, 1955, see also Chapter 3.1.4 for the definition). Despite the reference to ageing in the description of such treatments, the notion of ageing and old body should be also critically re-evaluated, since practices of Botox treatments have already intervened on biologically young bodies (Davis, 2002; Negrin, 2002). The phenomenon of biochemistry of beauty shows how deep biotechnologies are penetrating our bodies and identities invisibly controlling not only embodied representations of age, but also affecting what Erving Goffman (1955) termed 'face-work' and Arlie Hochschild (1983) called 'emotion work' (for the definition, see Chapter 3.1.3).

The starting point of this research is an understanding of the rapid growth of anti-age cosmetic treatments as an important social phenomenon, which shows preoccupation of contemporary Western culture with body and surface, appearance and beauty regimes, age identity and youthfulness. Extensive research has conceptualized the body in consumer market-oriented society as a reflexive project (Giddens, 1991) in which

people understand their body image in an instrumental manner, as a status and as a reflection of the self (Featherstone, 2010). In a neo-liberal economy, according to which an individual is evaluated through continuous self-improvement, body becomes a symbol of wealth and represents a status-bound lifestyle (Ratilainen, 2012, p. 46; Rytkönen & Pietilä, 2012). In the age of 'therapeutic culture' (Illouz, 2008), make-over TV programs (Brooks, 2004; Wegenstein & Ruck, 2011) and self-help literature (Salmenniemi, 2012; Illouz, 2008), heroic body work, cosmetic treatments and beauty industry also become legitimated as a form of self-improvement and positive self-transformation (Fraser, 2007). People become driven by the logic of continuous self-change: "repair the body or face and then the self will be repaired" (Featherstone, 2010, p. 205).

Despite the evidence that men are also getting more involved in the anti-age beauty industry (Atkinson, 2008; IAPAM, 2011), feminist critique has insisted that cosmetic treatments, beauty regimes, ageing and embodiment have always been a more feminine issue (Balsamo, 1996; Negrin, 2002; Cruikshank, 2003; Beauvoir, 1977; Sontag, 1972). Indeed, women greatly outnumber men in the use of Botox treatments doing 94% of total number of injections (Botox and Dysport Statistics, 2009). Many feminist researchers have also insisted that there is a fit between neo-liberal self-improving subjectivities and post-feminist discourse (Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008; Gill, 2007; McRobbie, 2004; Hollows, 2003). According to these researchers, new femininities use the language of individual choice with which they make themselves responsible for disciplining the body and self. The normative post-feminist figure is autonomous and sexually empowered but this autonomy is strictly limited by the existing gendered power structures (Gill, 2007). In line with this logic, the use of anti-age cosmetic treatments is constructed as a free entering of the dominant regime of non-ageing beauty and as an independent agentive will. In other words, within neoliberal notions of femininity it is imperative that one's practices of body surveillance become freely chosen.

This global discussion requires some further consideration within the post-socialist context of contemporary Russia. In the recent decades Russia has moved to the logic of global neo-liberal consumer capitalism bringing the growth of social inequalities, the

eclipse of class and more distinct gender hierarchies. With these changes the cultural understanding of the body as well as practices of care have also changed (Salmenniemi, 2012). Care for the body has become a resource for personal success, a symbol of wealth and an important aspect of classed identity (Ratilainen, 2012; Gurova, 2012; Salmenniemi, 2012). Work on the body is also constructed as a gendered phenomenon, such that a sexualized body and 'emphasised femininity' become a gendered source of success in the scarcity of other resources (Ratilainen, 2012; Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014). And as Rytkönen and Pietilä (2012, p. 196) understand body regimes in contemporary Russia, "taking care of one's body is a sign of having accepted and adapted to the new symbolic system and the rules of the market economy". Recent research shows how fast Russia has domesticated neo-liberal capitalist and post-feminist regimes having intensified the 'economy of personhood' (Skeggs & Wood, 2012, p. 12) and self-government (Salmenniemi, 2012; Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014). This is manifested in the proliferation of consumption (Gurova, 2012), self-improvement services, and high reflexivity towards body.

When I started my research my main interest was in the construction of age and age identities, so my initial research question was the following:

- What meanings of age are mobilized through the control of body ageing?

However, during my research practice my focus shifted to the question of the construction of gender and class through the use of anti-age cosmetics and their functioning as a 'technology of the self' (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999). The main objective of this research is to examine the phenomenon of anti-age cosmetic treatments in the context of the new Russian symbolic reordering of class and gender. The thesis seeks answers to the following questions:

- How Russian women use anti-age cosmetic treatments in the construction of gender and class?
- What gains and capitals are expected through anti-age cosmetic treatments?
- What kind of notions of self is constructed through the use of anti-age cosmetics?

Basing on in-depth interviews with Russian cosmetologists and clients of cosmetic salons (N=13) and ethnographic fieldwork in beauty salons, I argue that that my participants construct a certain type of femininity based on neo-liberal subjectivity (Rose, 1996) with emotion work and emotion management (Hochschild, 1983) as its integral part. Cosmetic treatments become a classed 'technology of the self' (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999), which generates femininity as its own governance within existing power relations with the help of experts. I present my argument by structuring the thesis in the following way. In the first part of the thesis I introduce the overall epistemological, socio-political and cultural context of the research. I discuss co-operation of beauty industry with the latest technological developments, contextualize consumption of anti-age treatments in the context of Russia's transition to the capitalist market economy, review the research on body and age, and offer a feminist position on the use of cosmetic treatments. The second section discusses theoretical notions of my research, namely the notions of governmentality (Rose, 1999), emotion work (Hochschid, 1983) and body work (Shilling, 2003; Wolkowitz, 2006), as well as understanding of age as an embodied accomplishment (Laz, 2003). In the third section, I present methodology and data of my research considering reflexive and ethical issues of doing fieldwork and analysis. In the fourth section I discuss my research findings, which are followed by conclusion of the findings in the last chapter.

2. Research Framework

2.1. Gendered technologies of anti-ageing in global and local contexts

Anti-age cosmetic treatments can be located at the crossroads of several research areas and contemporary cultural phenomenon. Contemporary body and face care becomes the hybrid between beauty industry and the latest biochemical developments, which provide people with the technologies to erase the signs of ageing on the under-skin level. At the same time, cosmetic treatments are a gendered phenomenon, which represents cultural constructions and understanding of femininity. Therefore, anti-age cosmetic treatments can be located in a large feminist discussion on cosmetic surgery and beauty culture. In the end, anti-age cosmetic treatments are also an embodied phenomenon, the study of which should be contextualized as a particular epistemological project. In the following I provide factual context of the phenomenon of anti-age cosmetic treatments. Secondly, I conceptualize Russia's transition to the market economy and its relation to body care. Thirdly, I discuss how age is interrelated with body and gender. Finally, I locate existing research in these areas in the context of contemporary Russian gender regime.

2.1.1. Technologies of Beauty

The development of beauty industry reflects political, cultural and social processes. As Paula Black (2004, p. 21) states, "political battles over the bodies of women may be traced through the treatments offered".

Application of chemical peelings with natural acids and face resurfacing were already practiced in pre-historic times. However, beauty salons and the beauty industry, as opposed to private use of hair and skin care products, have their roots in the nineteenth century (Black, 2004). For example, white Victorian women were purchasing skin lighteners to signify a lack of physical labour and thus maintain class and racial boundaries. Such a skin treatment can be regarded as a product of Victorian political rule and imperialism. The growth of the urban middle class and consumption, the development of department stores and the introduction of photography and women's

magazines characterize commercialization and popularization of beauty industry by the beginning of the twentieth century. The first professional beauty therapists, beauty businesses and salons emerged during this period. By the beginning of the Second World War the beauty industry had become a mass market (Jones, 2010.).

During last couple of decades the key development of beauty industry has been characterized by its cooperation with medical specialties, technologies and application of scientific methods (Moore, 2002). From laser and chemical peels beauty industry in consolidation with medical technologies is literally getting under the skin. "The industry's search for youthful skin is so far-reaching that some technology such as laser and IPL *[Intense pulse light]* therapy has even been derived from military research" (Ma, 2011, p. 196). Some researchers note that such thirst for science sometimes has amusing consequences when scientific language is used in inappropriate and irrelevant contexts in the field of beauty industry as a marketing strategy (Moore, 2002). For example, some producers deliberately make the ingredients sound more scientific and invent impressive names, which are unknown to chemical science.

However, the arsenal of beauty treatments truly consists of the latest technological developments in biochemistry. Introduced in the mass market in 1989, Botox has made it to the top of the rapidly growing beauty treatments (IAPAM, 2012). Botox is a patented name of a product made of 'botulinum toxin type A' and is a non-surgical medical cosmetic procedure (Cooke, 2008, p. 25). Botulinum toxin is considered to be one of the most toxic substances if used in large quantities. It has even been used as a potential substance in chemical and biological warfare. However, it was discovered that once used in small quantities, Botox helps inhibit localized muscle movements, so it was first used for treatments for overactive muscles in medical cases (Cooke, 2008, pp. 25-26). Nowadays Botox doesn't appear in the magazines and advertisements because of its medical application but has got a powerful cultural connotation and is famous for its wide cosmetic use. This treatment is approved by Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for its safety and less-invasiveness compared to surgical procedures (FDA news release, 2013). By paralyzing facial muscles for several months, it prevents and erases wrinkles and lines on the face caused by muscle work. For such a dubious effect, Botox has been called a 'pharmakon' since it poisons as it cures: "Botox delivers the youthful,

human face at the same time as it takes it away and replaces it with a technical simulacrum" (Cooke, 2008, p. 25.). Some women in their twenties and thirties do Botox as a preventive measure against signs of ageing (Field diary, October 2013). The side effect of Botox is that the use of facial features during speech or acting is undermined by its paralyzing effect.

Control of emotional expression of the face is one of the main effects of Botox. This is how the effect of Botox is explained on the website of American Society of Plastic Surgeons:

> Smiling, frowning, squinting and even chewing - basically any facial movement can eventually lead to one of the most common signs of ageing: wrinkles. They can make you appear tired or even angry when you are not. One of the quickest and safest remedies to remove wrinkles is an injection of botulinum toxin. (ASPS, 2012b)

By blocking nerve impulses that control muscle movement, Botox restricts individual's ability to contract facial muscles and, therefore, do facial emotion work. For example, Hollywood directors state that they can't work with actresses and actors who lost their ability to express emotions in a normal way due to the injections of Botox (Cooke, 2008).

Botox is followed by in its popularity by hyaluronic acid, chemical peels and laser skin resurfacing (ISAPS Global Statistics, 2011). Hyaluronic acid – more popularly known as Restylane brand in salons - is another technological breakthrough in skincare. It is used for lip enhancement and anti-age facial creams. Restylane can be used as an injective filling of facial 'defects' like fine wrinkles and lines (Cooke, 2008, p. 24.). It revitalizes the skin by improving skin elasticity (Rotunda, 2007 p. 149). Hyaluronic acid is widely used as an injected substance in mesotherapies. Mesotherapy is another popular non-surgical cosmetic medicine treatment. It employs multiple injections of 'cocktails' – vitamins, hyaluronic acid, pharmaceutical medications and other ingredients in the skin. It has a hydrating effect; it diminishes fine lines and dryness (Rotunda, 2007, pp. 148-149). Injected in other parts of the body, it may be targeted

against fat cells to effect weight loss (Rotunda, 2007, p. 148). Wrinkles and lines can be also treated by 'fillers', which, as the name suggests, fill the wrinkles in. In these cases, fat, collagen and Restylane are injected in the areas around wrinkles lessening the appearance of wrinkles for a limited period of time. Like Botox, such fillers are temporary, and must be injected regularly after each four-six months (Cooke, 2008, pp. 24-25.). These substances are injected with a small needle under the skin. Nowadays there also numbing creams applied before the treatment to decrease the pain and irritation (Field diary, October 2013.).

Along with injective treatments, there are non-invasive treatments like chemical peels, radio frequency (RF) therapies, light-emitting diode therapies, nonsurgical facelifts and others (Field diary, October 2013). But as my interviewee cosmetologist Anna says, it is hard to clearly define the range of anti-age treatments since "all the treatments we do after 20 years old are already targeted against ageing".

The treatments described above are referred to as 'cosmetic minimally-invasive procedures', which differ from invasive cosmetic surgical procedures like cheek implants, chin augmentations, ear surgery, lip augmentation/reduction etc. International association for physicians in aesthetic medicine (IAPAM) state that in 2011 aesthetic medicine physicians performed more non-surgical and minimally-invasive procedures like Botox and other injections, chemical peels and laser rejuvenation compared to invasive surgical procedures. This also correlates with the increase in physician training programs for Botox and other injectables (IAPAM, 2012.). What is more, according to the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgeons, botulinum toxin injections are becoming popular among patients of 18-years-old and under (ASPS, 2012a). Therefore, as IAPAM's research shows, the key growth in the beauty industry takes place in lower cost and short term procedures like Botox, dermal fillers, chemical peels and laser skin rejuvenation.

Compared to more severe cosmetic surgeries, minimally invasive procedures and injections are cheaper and more routinized. Botox treatment may take no more than 30 minutes and is easily incorporated in the daily life of a client (Field diary, December, 2014). Beauty clinics even organize 'Botox parties' when injections of botulinum toxin

are performed in a group of several women. The idea of 'Botox parties' – marketed on the websites targeted to women - is that clients could also bring their friends to a clinic or salon so they could enjoy the company and atmosphere of a party while being treated by the medical cosmetologist. Besides, the spirit of the party helps the clients to overcome the fears and 'prejudices' about medical injections. Such parties can be also organized at home when a medical cosmetologist is invited to the host's place. By Russian law all medical cosmetologists are obliged to have higher medical education and specialization in medical cosmetology (The Order of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Development in Russia, 2012). In Finland there is not yet legislation on who can conduct skin injections. At the moment, skin injections in Finland fall under consumer rather than medical services (Kuluttajaturvallisuuslaki 22.07.2011/920). According to the regulation, providers of the services that shape bodies have to conduct a security document that contains a plan on how to guarantee the security of the consumers who enjoy the services. However, this is the only major regulation in the field of cosmetic services in Finland.

The average price of the full face treatment including forehead, areas around eyes and lips, nasolabial fold is around 250-300 euros in Russia (St.Petersburg) and is similar in Finland (Helsinki). The effect lasts from three to six months and then the treatment should be done again. However, the price of Botox can be also measured in units or areas of the face, which prices may vary. For example, one can get rid of an undesirable wrinkle between eyebrows in a younger age for the price of 50-60 euros. A ten-times-series of mesotherapy may also cost around 250 euros. Apparently, the practices of skin care also vary according to the client's financial and time resources: some women combine several treatments throughout a long period of time while others may have a chemical peel for 40 euros once in a while. Looking at the range of prices for professional care in beauty clinics, we may conclude that regular maintenance of face in a salon is mainly affordable for upper-middle-class men and women.

According to the International Survey on Aesthetic/Cosmetic Procedures (ISAPS Global Statistics, 2011), the leading consumers of nonsurgical procedures are USA, Brazil and China followed by Japan, Mexico, Italy, South Korea, France and Germany. Russia in ranked as the 14th in the total number of procedures by countries. Botox is the

most popular nonsurgical treatment both across the globe and in Russia. In 2011, 47 730 Botox injections were done in Russia (compared to 815 150 in the US ranked as the top consumer of Botox, for example).

Consumption of these cosmetic technologies in Russia should be placed in the new cultural logic of major social transformations, social and symbolic differentiation and new 'master narratives', which conceptualize the recent transition to market economy. This leads me to understand how a globally circulating system of meanings is domesticated (Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014; Alasuutari, 2008) in contemporary Russia.

2.1.2. Cultural logic of neoliberal capitalism in Russia

In the recent decades Russian society has moved from the Soviet logic of social differentiation to the logic of global neoliberal consumer capitalism (Salmenniemi, 2012; Salmenniemi & Vorona, 2014). This transition has brought in the growth of social inequalities and reconfiguration of economic and symbolic hierarchies. Commercialization of everyday life plays a key role in the creation of class distinctions and identities in Russia (Rotkirch, Tkach, Zdravomyslova, 2012; Ratilainen, 2012). Major social transformations have led to the "managerialization of identity and personal relations" and "capitalization of the meaning of life" (Yurchak, 2003, p. 75). Similarly to the Western logic, Russia has entered the regime of individualization of inequalities and individualized attribution to failures caused by social structure (Trubina, 2012). Recent research shows that neo-liberal discourse of choice, individuality and autonomy have become important symbolic schemas for understanding identities in contemporary Russia (Salmenniemi, 2012; Salmenniemi & Vorona, 2014). Western logic of neo-liberal governmentality and post-feminism have become domesticated in contemporary capitalist Russia (Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014; Alasuutari, 2008). The capitalist ethic of 'self-work' and labour urges individuals to invest time and labour in self-enhancement and self-improvement in the context of immense social inequalities. The cultural logic of self-help — like self-help literature or life-coaching — becomes a feasible resource in coping with structural economic constraints. Besides, capitalism as

a cultural logic also leads to the construction of femininity as a form of capital in the market logic of exchange (Adkins, 2004). Post-feminism becomes an important symbolic framework, in which there is a simultaneous engagement with traditional gender norms and partly feminist ideas of equal opportunities and female empowerment (Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014).

In the last 20 years Russia has also experienced 'consumer revolution', which shifted the boundaries between necessary consumption and over-consumption (Gurova, 2012, p. 149). Olga Gurova (2012) argues that consumption with its attention to and reflexivity towards body and appearance lie at the core of middle-class identity formation in Russia. Referring to O'Dougherty (2002), Gurova states that communicating identity through consumption is important in societies in transitions due to uncertainties in positions and identities. Research shows that body becomes an important resource and object of investment in the new market economy of contemporary Russia. Body becomes a form of capital: cultivation of body appearance and health care become the symbol of wealth in the new logic of Russian society (Rytkönen & Pietilä, 2012; Ratilainen, 2012). Maintenance of the 'bodily capital' (Wacquant, 2004, p. 127) becomes one of the main tasks in the prevailing sexual economy. Besides, it is also used for class distinctions and representation of status-bound lifestyles (Ratilainen, 2012.).

However, as Salmenniemi and Adamson (2014) remind us basing on Alasuutari's (2008) concept of 'domestication', Western models of self are never fully adopted in another context. The new global regime of the new therapeutic culture should be articulated within particular local and historical context. For example, the readers of self-help literature juxtapose Russia with the West, critically engaging with the Western logic of utilitarian individualism and material values. Such readers become involved in the symbolic struggle against the normalizing Western power of therapeutic self-help culture and re-define work on their selves through non-material success and 'inner harmony' (Salmenniemi & Vorona, 2014.). Self-help culture and post-feminist discourse in Russia are limited by the tradition of collectivism and the requirement to prioritize the needs of masculinity. Besides, there is affinity between Soviet technologies of self and the new neo-liberal governmentality. If in the West post-

feminism evolved as a response to second-wave feminism, in Russia it is mobilized to critique both Soviet gender politics and Western feminist thought (Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014.). As already mentioned, reflexivity towards body becomes central in post-feminist and neoliberal project, which requires a more detailed consideration of the social research on body.

2.1.3. Intersectionality of Body, Age and Gender

In youth-oriented consumer societies, the body is central in framing age-resisting cultural practices and becomes the focus of consumption (Featherstone, 2010). Age and its embodiment are constructed and experienced within the context of multiple power relations that create certain norms of how body should look like in accordance to the normative understanding of age and gender.

In recent decades there has been a significant upsurge in academic attention to the body. Before the 1960s an individual was seen exclusively as a social actor *having* a body, which acted as a shell for the active mind (Turner, 1996). Ontologically the body was seen exclusively in the foundationalist perspective (Turner, 1996; Shilling, 2003) being a subject of natural sciences. However, besides having a body, identity itself is embodied and the body is a display of social practices. The famous work of Marcel Mauss (1934/1973) "Techniques of the Body" shows that fundamental aspects of physical daily activities such as walking, sitting, standing, marching are the result of social construction and cultural development. Norbert Elias (1978) also shows how bodily differences vary cross-culturally, and how bodily discipline and control of its affects lies at the centre of the Western project of civilization.

The social science during its development has mainly failed to provide explicit theories for building Sociology of body and until recently has rarely focused explicitly on the body and individuals as *being bodies.* Such an ambivalent omnipresence and disregard of body in Sociology until recent decades was called by Shilling (2003, p. 17.) as the 'absent presence'.

The research on body and development of the subject area has gone hand in hand with the social and epistemological project of social sciences. Oppositions and divisions between culture/nature, mind/body, and man/woman, which have been prevailing in social sciences and have become the basis for their development, constrained the development of the area. Moreover, methodological approaches promoted by the science were based on the notion of an open and empty mind of the professional sociologist deprived of bodily and emotional affects, which studies the society as a fact (Durkheim, 1938). Shilling (2003) also suggests that the failure of classical sociologists to develop the sound base for the research on body can be explained by their embodiment as men and the project of science carried out by men.

According to Shilling (2003), the current rise of Sociology of body as a discipline involves three main social changes that are of a great concern for the present study: 'second wave' feminism, demographic changes and population ageing, and the rise of consumer culture – which challenge biological understanding of body and problematize it as a social and political site. By questioning ontological questions of being a 'man' and a 'woman', feminist scholars have seen the body as a system of domination and subordination (Balsamo, 1996; Davis, 2002; Negrin, 2002; Wolf, 1991). As Susan Bordo (1999, p. 252) puts it, "feminism imagined the human body as itself a politically inscribed entity, its psychology and morphology shaped and marked by histories and practices of containment and control". 'Second wave' feminism placed on the agenda such things as control of fertility and abortion rights. Academic feminist analysis has also regarded the biological body as the resource for domination and patriarchy due to hegemony of biological reductionism (Firestone, 1971).

Population ageing has also increased focus on the research of body since medical advancement and standards of living managed to increase life expectancy. The shift in the age structure has implications on health, medical services, pensions, care and accommodation of the elderly (Turner, 2009; Vincent, 2003; Arber & Ginn, 1991). However, this demographic trend also questioned the issue of how the image of body has entered our understanding of 'young' and 'old' when only youthful and slim bodies are appreciated in contemporary consumer cultures. Gulette (1997) argues that people age by culture rather than by biological body. Similarly, Woodward (1999) suggests

that individuals are judged by not how old they are, but how young they are not. Therefore, modern culture turns into a 'masquerade of youthfulness' (Woodward, 1991, p. 147) perpetuated itself through such practices of simulation of body youth as plastic surgery, anti-age cosmetic and pharmacological products, active and healthy life style. An individual is placed between the tension of unavoidable biological process and the cultural imperative of preserving a young body. Preoccupation of contemporary Western culture with youthfulness is highlighted by the fact that practices of anti-age cosmetic treatments have already intervened on biologically young bodies (Davis, 2002; Negrin, 2002).

Finally, a shift in the structure of advanced capitalism stressed consumption as a way of 'performing self' when a body becomes a manifestation of personality and reflexivity (Sennett, 1974; Featherstone, 2010; Giddens, 1991). The body became an object for public display. Goffman's notion of the 'presentation of self' (1959) shows that the social self is regulated by the representation of body and that it becomes a display for shared, decoded and recognized embodied techniques of social practices. Technologies of self-monitoring and surveillance like mirrors, media and advertising images lead to people's identifying themselves positively or negatively with their 'outer' selves. This leads to the notion of body anxiety and an experience of one's own body as a project (Shilling, 2003). Body is also theorized as a form of capital, which can be converted into other capitals, according to Bourdieu (1984). Bodily capital is defined as "a rigorous management of the body, a meticulous maintenance of each one of its parts" (Wacquant, 2004, p. 127). In addition, social class also develops different management of bodies leaving the imprint of social location, habitus and taste (Bourdieu, 1984).

Therefore, the study of the body should be seen as a part of a wider cultural turn influenced by critical, poststructuralist and constructivist perspectives (Turner, 1996). One of the recent debates has concentrated on the need for cooperation between subject areas of ageing, body and feminism. Taking a critical perspective towards feminism and ageing studies, Twigg (2004) states that until recently the two fields of feminism and ageing studies were developing with little cooperation; and older women have been excluded from the feminist writing. Indeed, other researchers have also insisted that feminist scholars have given little attention to ageing and its neglect can be seen as a

result of ageism in academia (Twigg, 2004). As Calasanti and Slevin (2006) argue, the situation may be changing due to the awareness of feminist scholars in their own age, when the personal starts being problematized as political once again. Similarly, Twigg (2004) insists, social gerontology tended to avoid the topic of the body until recently. Interrelatedness between age and body was suggested by Laz (2003), examining how the corporeal body contributes to the accomplishment of age. Age is always performed through embodiment; it is a routine and expressive form of personal or collective work (Laz, 2003).

Following this debate on the dialogue between different subject areas, in my Master's thesis I approach the practice of doing anti-age cosmetic treatments as the intersection between embodiment, gender, and age as mutually influencing social categories. Interrelatedness between these categories and their intersection with gender in the construction of power hierarchies has been largely put into the agenda by feminist research, which I review in the next section.

2.1.4. Feminist Perspective on Cosmetic Treatments and Surgery

Feminist scholarship has showed the variety of perspectives on seeing cosmetic surgery — from oppressive and coercive, to empowering, normalizing, choice-based and resistive points of view. Some feminist scholars have extensively stated that women are socially pressured to care more about their appearances, and cosmetic surgery manifests objectification and subordination of women and their bodies (Balsamo, 1996; Negrin, 2002; Kinnunen, 2010; Bordo, 2003; Wolf, 1991). These researchers approach the body of culture and the locus of social control (Bordo, 2003, p. 165). They insist that cultivation of appearances becomes the primary way to create and maintain gender differences. Cosmetic surgery and its underlying ideals reproduce unequal structure based on race, gender and disability (Davis, 2009). Therefore, a female body is analyzed as a cultural statement about gender surrounded by cultural discourses of control and subordination and epitomized by the metaphor of 'cultural plastic' (Bordo, 2003, p. 246). Moreover, beauty standards are constructed within "Western" ideals; cosmetic surgery becomes a tool for 'ethnic cleansing' of specific facial features (Bordo, 2003, p.

24) even in predominantly Western context (Kinnunen, 2010). Wegenstein and Ruck (2011) argue that Euro-centric and often racist ideals of beauty were imported to and dominate late capitalist media culture. In this account, cosmetic surgery works as a device that pushes women to conform to feminine ideals of a beautiful and slim body.

One of the main frameworks, through which feminist scholars have approached analysis of cosmetic surgery, is Foucauldian concept of self-productive and disciplinary power (Bartky, 1997; Bordo, 1993; Morgan, 2009). Foucault (1978) argues that the outcome of disciplinary power is the construction of docile bodies, that is, subjected, transformed and improved. For example, Anne Balsamo (2002) writes about cosmetic surgery as a triumph of the clinical gaze of a physician revealing the truth of a female body in his act of looking, similarly to Foucault's (1973) thinking in his "Birth of the Clinic". She states that the disciplinary medical gaze constructs female body as pathological and turns it into an object of technological reconstruction. Similarly, Susan Bordo (2003) using Foucauldian concepts of normalization and resistance, showed how cultural obsession with slenderness and cosmetic surgery trains the female body in docility according to cultural demands. She argues that the beauty culture constructs the "pedagogy of defect" (Bordo, 2009, p. 24), through which women learn that their bodies are unacceptable and faulty. Paradoxically, the whole cultural industry of normalizing beauty represents cosmetic surgery as an individual choice, which transforms the woman into the agent of her own destiny. Feminine beauty, therefore, in the Foucauldian sense "produces effects on the level of desire" (Foucault, 1980, p. 59), making women comply with the cultural demands as their own desire and choice.

Alternatively, critical feminist research has challenged the approach of seeing women as victims of totalizing feminine beauty system or 'cultural dopes' (Davis, 1993; Gimlin, 2000; Blum, 2003). According to it, cosmetic surgery enables women to empower themselves and resist sexist and ageist forms of discrimination. Bordo (1999, p. 252), notwithstanding being critical to the notion of empowerment, argues that it is a "crucial historical moment in the developing articulation of a new understanding of the sexual politics of the body". Kathy Davis (1993, p. 58) raises the question of "women's lived experience with their bodies, how they actually decide to have cosmetic surgery, and how they access their actions after the fact". This approach argues that 'old feminists'

ignore individual's own experiences with his or her own body and dissatisfaction it may sometimes cause. As Blum's (2003) study of women's motivations for undergoing cosmetic surgery shows, the most popular trope is that they do it 'for themselves'. Cosmetic surgery, according to them, helps women exercise control, choices and power over their own lives and bodies. Besides, as Davis (2009) argues, cosmetic surgery tends to homogenize social inequalities associated with gender and 'race' and eliminate these problematic differences. The entering of dominant beauty regimes is understood as free will. Similarly, Gimlin's (2000) study states that women use plastic surgery to tell stories about themselves and view their new appearances as a better indicator of the self.

In line with the similar logic, the rhetoric of normalization of cosmetic surgery is found among surgeons and patients who undergo these treatments (Dull &West, 1991; Blum, 2003). They argue that surgeons construct 'self-evident indicators' for surgery that have a strong gender bias. Surgeons see women as objectively needing a repair supporting it by the essential preoccupation of women about their appearance (Dull & West, 1991). Contemporary culture of media and TV make-overs reinforces this stereotype (Brooks, 2004; Wegenstein & Ruck, 2011). For example, the culture of TV make-overs constructs the idea of bodily transformation as the work ethic of the capitalist society; bodily transformation reveals a self willing and able to translate mental pictures into reality and to match the inner world with the outer body image (Wegenstein & Ruck, 2011).

However, according to the critique of the empowerment approach, the whole notion of 'choice' can be very problematic due to a limited definition of the norm of beauty, which should be placed within the social, cultural and economic contexts (Bordo, 2003, Morgan, 2009). For example, Bordo (2003) argues that in the context of the late capitalist society and its hard work imperative the fat body is understood as a lazy body. TV make-overs also show the switch "from the diverse wealth of ugliness to a monolithic poverty of beauty" (Egginton, 2007, p. 188). Or as Morgan (2009, p. 57) suggests, while the technology of cosmetic surgery could be used to create uniqueness and eccentricity, women keep bringing similar photographs of movie actresses and celebrities to the offices of cosmetic surgeons. In my research it is important to locate

this feminist discussion within the context of gender and class regimes in Russia and reflect on the reference of using Western analytical tools in another political, socio-economic and cultural context.

2.1.5. Gender and Class Regimes in Russia

In this subsection I describe gender regime and beauty culture in Russia. The theories described above belong mostly to Anglo-American context; however, it is important to keep in mind Russian context of the discussion. Gender scholars question the relevance of Western feminism in the analysis of Russian gender relations and critically re-evaluate development of feminism in Russian and in the West (Chernova, 2005; Rivkin-Fish, 2013). They insist that gender research in Russia is being built on Western theories and English-language terms, which are often used uncritically to describe specific social phenomena in Russia (Zdravomyslova & Temkina, 2000).

Institutional changes of post-soviet society – political openness, democratization, civil society, new educational and research institutions and funding - have encouraged the evolvement and development of gender themes and sensitivity in the society and academic community in Russia (Chernova, 2005.). The development of feminist movement in the 1990s, although not spread across the population at large, expanded feminist knowledge and facilitated feminist network. Feminist theories have been successfully used to understand transformational processes of contemporary Russia, post-socialism and interpret the experience of Soviet era.

However, despite the ongoing transformations in the Russian society, feminism has largely remained a dubious and marginalized term, which is used in emotionally charged and simplified ways (Chernova, 2005). One of the socio-cultural reasons is found in the discursive domination of biological determinism and essentialism, which is opposed to constructivist understanding of gender (Zdravomyslova & Temkina, 2000). Feminism in this context is equated with misandry, political bias, homosexuality, family crisis and decreasing fertility rates. Besides, scholars argue that there is an important difference in the development of feminist theory in the West and in Russia. While in the USA and Western Europe feminism evolved as the critique of the existing social

structure, in the domestic context it evolved as the critique of bourgeois theories (Zdravomyslova &, Temkina, 2000). Researchers insist that adoption of the Western theoretical framework was not enough for the spread of feminism and gender sensitivity in Russia since epistemological roots of feminism were torn (Gapova, 2009).

Elena Gapova (2009) also sees the reason of feminism's failure in Russia in class distinctions among women, which feminism and feminist research have only encouraged. She states that feminist researchers, having had more cultural capitals and having constructed themselves as *intelligentsia*, only widened distinctions between them, academia, and 'ordinary' women. They presented women's problem of post-socialism through the questions of autonomy, subjectivity and representations, while for most of the women in Russia the main problem remained in the daily social issues like free kindergartens and paid leave for childcare. Therefore, the language and problems raised by feminism have been alienated in the wider public. Gapova also insists that the 'fashion' for the new discourse borrowed from the West neglected the question of class and social inequalities in post-socialism, when women became more deprived and impoverished. The new discourse was not sufficient to reveal social differentiation and explained class inequality with patriarchic gender regime instead of capitalism and the shift to market economy. In contrast to post-socialist transformation, the success of the 'second wave' feminism in the West was based in the change of the class structure empowering women and people of color. Therefore, Gapova (2009) concludes that gender as an analytical tool failed to change or challenge existing power relations in Russia.

Similarly, other researchers consider that the general tendencies of individualization, the development of a risk society and reflexive modernization should be contextualized in a strong social differentiation in Russia with new practices blending with Soviet imagery of social interaction (Zdravomyslova, Rotkirch, Temkina, 2009). Russian society is described as a risk society with high rates of uncertainty and new threats to personal security (Beck, 1992; Yanitsky, 2004). In this context the private sphere is becoming a reflexive project, gaining more importance and turning into a shelter from the state and the market.

Like in the Soviet Union, the dominant gender contract in today's Russia is a 'working mother' (Temkina & Rotkirch, 1997; Salmenniemi, 2012). The contract reflects both the cultural normativity of motherhood, market economy and difficult financial maintenance of the family, which force the woman to work, and the general emancipation and individualization of late modernity (Nartova, 2008). Traditional gender relationships with a male bread-winner and female carer are often conceptualized as a successful image of a bourgeois family and a prestigious biography for many women (Temkina, 2009). However, the researchers also state the emergence of alternative gender contracts such as the contract of a career-oriented woman with postponed motherhood, egalitarian model with 'responsible fatherhood', which are gaining more importance in the educated urban middle class (Temkina & Rotkirch, 1997; Rotkirch & Temkina, 2007).

Along with the rationalization and liberalization of gender norms and increasing activity and competencies of women, Russian gender regime is still described through gender polarization and traditional gender practices (Temkina, 2009; Zdravomyslova, 2003). Discursive ambiguity of feminism has also facilitated 'patriarchal renaissance' and the turn to the traditional gender roles (Chernova, 2005). The monetarisation of everyday and family life in post-Soviet Russia supported the ideal of a male breadwinner and increased the divisions of gendered labour (Walker, 2011; Rotkirch, 2000; Gapova, 2009). The growing independency and initiativity of women is also opposed by discursive division between men and women as well as Soviet tradition of distinguishing between femininity and masculinity. Maintenance of traditional gender norms is also supported by male's self-exclusion from the private sphere. In (hetero)sexual relations the norms of male sexuality remain more liberal than the ones for women. Therefore, researchers conclude that gender revolution in Russia is not finished yet (Zdravomyslova et al., 2009.).

The social transformation, class and gender regime in Russia is also described in terms of 'domestication' (Alasuutari, 2008) of neoliberal capitalism and post-feminism (Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014). Suvi Salmenniemi (2010) through the research of self-help literature in Russia shows how popular psychology, neoliberal capitalism and post-feminism are symbolically interwined in the construction of new subjectivity.

Following correct political socialization as the dominant language for understanding selfhood in Soviet society, psychological knowledge and problems have provided a new symbolic framework for experiencing self in the new capitalist logic of contemporary Russia. Salmenniemi argues that this new way of making sense of selfhood in Russia embeds an intimate link between macro-level socio-structural changes and subjectivities of people. If in Soviet times inter-personal problems were understood as communal issues to be solved by the state, in today's Russia people feel that one's problems have to be solved by oneself with the help of the 'psy' sciences. Social change and structural conditions are understood as individual that resonates well with the "widespread sense of powerlessness and inability to influence the structural conditions of everyday existence in Russian society" (Salmenniemi & Vorona, 2014, p. 13). In these conditions self-help provides people with a sense of agency and ability to, at least, change one's self. This finding about emergence of new neo-liberal subjectivity and femininity resonates with my research, where anti-age cosmetic treatments help women become active subjects taking the control over their lives.

Therefore, the analysis of beauty treatments is culturally specific and both global and local peculiarities of beauty culture should be considered in the analysis. Anti-age cosmetic treatments in Russia can be placed in the local context of mainly traditional gender norms, weakness of feminism, wide social differentiation and class distinctions. At the same time, Russia shares global trends of consumption, cosmetic and body culture. There is proliferation of neoliberal discourses of choice, individuality, as well as a certain discourse of self with psychological and individualized understanding of its defects (Salmenniemi, 2012, Salmenniemi & Vorona, 2014).

3. Theoretical Approaches

3.1. Management of the Self through Body, Face and Emotion work

In this section I describe theoretical tools for my analysis. Theoretical framework of my thesis is inductive and mainly derives from the empirical data. The concept of 'governmentality' (Rose, 1996) emerged inductively due to the notion of choice as an active trope of my participants in describing their experiences of anti-age cosmetic treatments. Similarly, 'emotion management' (Hochschild, 1983) as a theoretical tool for analysis evolved from my participants' involvement in emotion work, which is achieved by the effect of Botox blocking facial muscles and preventing certain kinds of facial displays. At the same time I regard anti-age cosmetic treatments through a theoretically driven concept of 'body work' (Wolkowitz, 2006; Shilling, 2003), which allows me to see cosmetic treatments as a particular kind work targeted on prolongation of bodily youth and beauty. Also the phenomenon of cosmetic treatments targeted on the concealing of the signs of ageing brings me to understand age through its connection to embodiment (Laz, 2003). So below I describe my theoretical approach to the understanding of 'age', as well as the concepts of 'governmentality' followed by 'emotion management' and 'body work'.

3.1.2. Governmentality

Contemporary forms of political power within the principles of liberalism and democracy have been transformed in the last decades, which has made sociologists write about reflexive self-production of individuals freed from the ties of location and structure (Giddens, Beck, Lash, 1994). Individuals are now placed in the context of self-help or 'therapeutic' culture (Illouz, 2008), which makes them responsible for their own success and failures, which earlier would be explained in terms of inequality and social structure. The foundations of new power have reached their peak in what has been called neo-liberalism defined through market foundationalism and privatization of risks (Harvey, 2005). The peculiarity of this kind of power is that it reaches the very "depth of the human souls" (Rose, 1999, p. 7).

Production of the new self or ‘genealogy of subjectivity’ has been described through the concept of ‘governmentality’ (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999). The concept of governmentality decomposes the state as a central locus of power and repression of the freedom of individual. The political power is no longer seen as centralized hegemonic mode of power. Instead, the new form of power is based on the management of subjectivity or ‘government of the self’ founded on individuals’ own self-improvement, self-inspection and self-consciousness (Foucault, 1988; Rose, O’Malley, Valverde, 2006.). Power can be manifested positively through the production of knowledge, discourses and techniques that are internalized by individuals and guide people’s behavior. This new understanding of power characterizes advanced liberal democracies, where members of the society play an active role in self-governance. Governmentality as a form of power, therefore, regulates individuals through themselves turning them into agentive subjects. The attention of such an approach is focused not only on the great technologies of power like Panopticon, for example, but mundane little governmental techniques, which develop new ethical truths like ‘technologies of the self’. These technologies are defined as “ways in which human beings come to understand and act upon themselves within certain regimes of authority and knowledge, and by means of certain techniques directed to self-improvement” (Rose, O’Malley, Valverde, 2006, p. 90). Therefore, the individual internalizes political power and structure being its product and producer at the same time.

The new mode of power with a self-governing subject at its centre is a product of the capitalist neoliberal economy that obliges subjects to be agentive, autonomous, self-possessed and responsible for their own success and failures. People become totally responsible for their destiny producing own ‘choice biographies’ (Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008, p. 229). Technologies of the self focus on forcing individuals to work on their skills and qualities to succeed in the new economy of individualized risks (Rose, 1999). In this way, any uncertainty and insecurity engendered by neoliberal economy is experienced as a personal failure.

Postwar advanced capitalist societies have been described as ‘therapeutic’ for their focus on the government of private lives and individual psychology (Illouz, 2008). The central tool of ‘technologies of the self’ is provided by psychological sciences, which

render the individual the knowledge to construct the self as an autonomous agentive subject. Psy sciences enable the power to operate upon subjectivity making it active and agentive. By the use of psychological knowledge, subjectivity remains governed by power, but this power is expressed in the name of its subjective capacities. Therefore, the individual on his or her own becomes the subject of regulation (Rose, 1999).

The main tool, which makes self-governing subjects possible are psy sciences and knowledge. Deriving from statistical calculation and inscription of population's deviations, psychology, psychiatry and other psy sciences have become a tool for systematic government in the pursuit of socio-political ends (Rose, 1999). The central role in the production of power in neoliberalism is given to knowledge. This knowledge is produced by psychological sciences and their practioners – experts – who participate in domination of the subjectivities of individuals. Psy is not only a complex of ideas but a basis for a contemporary form of political power making individuals possible to be governed within the principles of liberalism (Rose, 1999). According to this framework, contemporary government is based on the regimes of knowledge, practices and techniques offered to individuals to work on their selves: bodies, mind and conduct.

'Technologies of the self' guide, evaluate and problematize ways of thinking, feeling and acting, and in effect have regulatory power on individuals. For example, proliferation of the language of IQ tests and manuals of self-assessment is a result of an internalized technique of assessment of own normality within socially normalized concept of intelligence (Rose, 1999, p. 144). Tracing the historicity of work, Rose also exemplifies governmentality by showing how modern companies are willing to engage the worker with the goals at the level of his or her own personality. Using the language of self-fulfillment, corporate culture makes employees willing to regard jobs in terms of self-realization; and the more the individual fulfills himself or herself, the more profit the company gets. Similarly, self-help literature provides people with the language and techniques of self-improvement and produces interpretations about one's own 'ideal selves' (Salmenniemi, 2012). This research insists that by such techniques the real inequalities of power become concealed. Despite people's voluntary involvement with this system of knowledge, judgments on one's personality are still made by experts,

power and regimes of truth. Individuals, therefore, internalize the right sorts of scientific knowledge to create a self-monitoring and reinventive self (Giddens, Beck, Lash, 2004).

One of the central concepts of the government of the self is choice and the creation of freedom. Governmentality produces individuals 'free to choose' and obliged to be independent. This is how Rose depicts the connection between individual choice and authority:

> We are obliged to make our lives meaningful by selecting our personal lifestyle from those offered to us in advertising, soap operas, and films, to make sense of our existence by exercising our freedom to choose in a market in which one simultaneously purchases products and services, and assembles, manages, and markets oneself. (Rose, 1999, p. 103).

The quote shows how the individual is positioned in the alliance between personal objectives and socially prized goals and activities (Rose, 1999). The power governing subjects internally is manifested through the illusionary notion of choice. In this context the government acts at the distance keeping the balance between individual agency and political values of social order.

Feminist scholars argue that the debate on neo-liberal subjectivity resonates with post-feminist discourse when femininity is also understood as a rational subject of choice and flexibility (Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008; Gill, 2007, 2008; Hollows, 2003). In this account, body discipline and hyper-sexuality are legitimized through the discourse of women's own will and choice. The main notion of post-feminist discourse is that women involve with traditional notions of femininity freely and voluntarily (Hollows, 2003). Self-surveillance becomes the new mode of women's empowerment. Gill (2007) writes that within neoliberal notion of femininity it is imperative that one's practices of body surveillance become freely chosen.

3.1.3. Emotion management

Similar to the research on body, emotions have become a subject of social research in the last few decades. The main concern of sociological research is how emotions are regulated by culture and how emotional regulation affects individuals (Gimlin, 2007).

The fundamental work, which inspired contemporary research of emotions is Arlie Hochschild's widely cited book "The Managed Heart. Commercialization of Human Feeling" (1983). Hochschild writes about the new management of emotional life among flight attendants at Delta Airlines. She argues that similarly to commodification and exploitation of physical labour of early capitalism described by Marx, nowadays emotional life of individuals is turned into a commodity, which she calls emotional labour. Hochschild came up with the concept of emotion management, which shows how people shape and direct their feelings in accordance with social structure and institutional constraints.

Emotional labour is "a form of emotion regulation that creates a publicly visible facial and bodily display within the workplace" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). Hochschild (1979) criticizes Goffman's dramaturgical approach to emotions for seeing emotion work done only as 'surface acting'. She argues that the key of emotion work is management of inner feelings, and not in the way they appear, which she calls 'feeling rules' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 18). Emotion management, therefore, describes the process of adjusting private feelings to the normative expectations. She argues that it is important to study "how people try to feel, not how they try to appear to feel" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 560). Emotional labour is actualized in the situations when emotion management can be exchanged in the marketplace and sold for wages. It presupposes three components: face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with other people; production of a positive emotional state toward others (like calmness in case of flight attendants); training and supervision that give the employer control over the worker's feelings (Gimlin, 2007). Emotion workers are involved in 'surface acting' when people display the outer emotional expressions, which they do not feel (smiling when one feels sad), and 'deep acting', which means inner control and altering of emotional feelings (trying to think of justifications and feel sympathy for someone's wrong behavior).

Talking about ‘deep acting’ and emotion work, Hochschild (1983, p. 40) refers to Constantin Stanislavsky’s method acting, in which the actor needs to live through some emotional experience, memories and feelings in order to do lifelike acting. Hochschild states that a range of professions selling emotional labour and social groups – mostly women, middle and upper class people – are more exposed to deep emotion management. Similarly to alienation of a worker described by Marx, emotional labour may lead to a sense of self-estrangement and distress.

The same acts done in non-commercial and private context are called are called ‘emotion work’ or ‘emotion management’ (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). Hochschild argues that emotional labour and emotion work reproduce social inequality when service jobs, based on emotional labour, are constructed as a highly feminized occupation. Indeed, further research of emotional labour suggests that this kind of labour is based on deference, which creates gender and ethnic niches in the service sector (Macdonald & Merill, 2009). Some research argues that “the construction and management of emotional labour exploit gender ideologies, reproducing naturalizing assumptions about women’s innate caring capacities” (Wolkowitz, 2006, p. 77).

In my analysis this analytical concept is used to describe women’s conscious control of their emotions and their facial display, since it may lead to undesirable face features like wrinkles and lines. What is left more silent in the research of emotion work is its embodiment and how body is involved in emotion management. This encourages me to review the concept of ‘body work’ (Shilling, 2003; Wolkowitz, 2006), which allows the conceptualization of embodied emotion management, a central part of my analysis.

3.1.4. Body Work and Face Work

Almost inevitably each research in Sociology of body starts with the anti-naturalistic view on the body (Shilling, 2003, p. 75). Such a vision of the body is seen as exclusively produced by and contained within discourses, languages and meanings (Wolkowitz, 2006). Recently the problem of a neglected biological body and physical impairment in social research has been raised (Shilling, 2003; Wolkowitz, 2006; Gimlin, 2007). Researchers claim that sociology has largely ignored mundane forms of

body work and its relevance to individuals' experiences. The concept of 'body work', as suggested by its theorists, tends to overcome this opposition between being body and having body, further developing the framework of Sociology of body. As Shilling (2003, p. 103) claims, "body work is the most immediate and most important form of labour that humans engage in". I argue that anti-age cosmetic culture reflects not only the discursive production of the ageing body and such categories as 'young' and 'old', but also the mundane embodied experience of face and body work.

Debra Gimlin (2007) summarizes the concept of body work within four directions: (1) body/appearance work, (2) body work/labour, (3) body/emotion management, and (4) body-making at work. Body/appearance work describes management and modification of one's looks and physical wellness. Gimlin (2007) argues that this is closely linked to the Western dichotomy between nature and culture, when humans – and women, in particular - are required to spend much time investing in their bodies turning them into the cultural product. So such practices as restrictive dieting, working out, and clothing selection exemplify body work as appearance management. "Body work is rarely called work, but in cleaning our teeth, washing our bodies, cutting our nails, making-up, or shaving our legs or faces, we are all working on our bodies" (Shilling, 2003, p. 104).

Body work as labour is performed on behalf of or directly on other people's bodies (Gimlin, 2007, p. 358). Feminist research has problematized the issue of care as work for others bodies and self-sacrifice (Twigg, 1994; Graham, 1983). Also the hierarchy of labour is constructed through the distance from 'dirty work' (Hughes, 1971) and others' bodies (Twigg, 2000). Wolkowitz (2006) states that the shift to post-industrial economy has significant implications on how employees' embodiment — body, sexuality, body work in addition to physical and mental abilities — is sold to the employer and by the employer. Human bodies are still deeply involved in every aspect of paid work, even though it may seem that industrial work has more impact on the body. Post-industrial use of employees' private capacities have become instrumentalized and built around industrial logic of the production line (Wolkowitz, 2006).

'Body-making at work' as a type of body work shows that body is itself formed by social factors like labour. For example, same study of Hochschild (1983) shows that

flight attendants cannot establish regular sleep patterns, suffer eating disorders and take drugs and stimulants, which affect their health and well-being.

Finally, body work as emotion management presupposes emotional labour, which is the "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7). Shilling (2003, p. 250) suggests that emotional labour is central to humans' experience of body. The concept of emotion work and emotion management described in a previous subchapter should be approached as an embodied experience, as Wolkowitz (2006) argues. Indeed, she stresses the invisibility of the body in the debate on emotional labour and its substitution with disembodied 'emotional intelligence'. Emotional labour in Hochschild's (1983) understanding was closely connected to embodied experience, which was largely ignored by further developers of emotional labour theory. Wolkowitz (2006, p. 79) argues that "body and face are involved not only in the production of the observable facial and bodily displays involved in surface acting, but also because of the depth at which deep acting takes place". Being the product of social relations and historically situated, emotions also involve bodily processes. For example, the means of emotional expression are acquired in childhood through the techniques of body (Burkitt, 1999).

If body work is the actions the individual undertakes on their bodies, similar "actions taken by a person to make whatever he [or she] is doing consistent with face" are face-work (Goffman, 1967, p. 12). For example, Goffman describes *poise* as an important type of face-work targeted on the control of embarrassment. Maintaining of face requires social skills and knowledge about presenting 'social face' as own. These rules determine what kind of and how much feeling should be expressed by the face. I use the term 'face-work' not to designate social rules of displaying emotions on the face in particular, but management of face and facial display in a broad sense.

I suggest that anti-age cosmetic treatment and practices can be approached from the point of view of body work as appearance work and emotion management. The purpose of anti-age treatments is beautification of body according to the dominant standards. So anti-age treatments is work on the body aimed at maintaining its youthfulness and beauty. At the same time, Botox and other treatments containing hyaluronic acid block

facial muscles controlling emotion and face work. In other words, anti-age treatments erase wrong emotion work and its facial display. Therefore, I understand anti-age practices as a particular kind of body work (Wolkowitz, 2006; Shilling, 2003) and face-work (Goffman, 1955), which are targeted on appearance and emotion management.

3.2. Age as Embodied Accomplishment

Despite biological rules of age transformations, they are positioned in a specific cultural context and understood through certain cultural meanings. Following Laz's (2003) critique on the absence of body in the research of age, I approach age as a socially constructed, embodied and accomplished category. In my understanding of age I try to integrate both materialist and constructivist views (Turner, 1996; Shilling, 2003) in the analysis of age-resisting practices. In other words, I approach age not only as a discursively determined concept but as everyday embodied experiences and work on the presentation of age through the body.

The concept of 'doing age', proposed by Laz (2003), illustrates a cultural dimension of age that recognizes age as constant accomplishment. In line with West and Zimmerman's (1987) 'doing gender', Laz (2003. p. 4) conceptualizes age "as something we do, [it] is not something we can stop doing. Even if we are not conscious of age, our actions and interactions constitute it as meaningful, even in contexts that may not appear to be age related". Age is, therefore, understood as an accomplishment, which involves routine or impressive, but always ongoing social and collective work. The breakage in 'doing age' leads to the notions of age appropriateness and moral orders of age. As Laz (2003) argues, age may not be equally meaningful in all life situations, but it functions as a landscape of self, interaction and institutions. Similarly, Twigg (2004) argues that embodiment of age has got critical implications on the construction of gender. Technologies of self-monitoring force women to be conscious of their age identities through body transformations and the loss of their bodily capital.

Trying to look younger, my research participants are drawing on the physical resources of the body and are reflexively working on the way their bodies represent their age.

Embodiment and age become mutually constituting categories; they are both material and representational. Regulation of age is connected to the materiality of bodies.

4. Reflexive Interviewing and Ethnography of Face Care

In this section, I present the methodology of my research, from the choice of research methods to the actual research practice, interactions in the field and analysis of data. But before that I would like to frame my methodological choices and data stating the epistemological position of my research.

4.1. Epistemological Position and Reflexivity in the Field and Analysis

Methodological choices are often put to the test by such notions like 'objectivity' and 'validity' of knowledge production. However, the idea of value-free, impartial and dispassionate research has been widely discussed and contested by feminist scholars (Archer, 2012; Harding, 1991; Oakley, 1981). This debate eliminates the opposition between value-free objectivism and judgmental relativism — which has been persistent in Western scientific practice — calling for reflexivity about the social locations of scientific claims. Feminist research practice insists that all scientific beliefs are socially situated and "require a critical evaluation to determine which social situations tend to generate the most objective knowledge claims" (Harding, 1991, p. 142). Feminist scholars argue that this position may actually increase real 'objectivity' of knowledge as opposed to 'objectivism' which conceals political and cultural background of scientific claims. Besides, it sheds light on the active subject or agent of knowledge abandoning the notion of the 'ideal mind' of a researcher representing the world 'out-there'. The researcher appears not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests, positioned on the axes of social categories of power. My research practice on embodiment of age by itself turned out to be very embodied, when my own gender, body and age became an important background setting for the knowledge production.

This constant reference back to self raises critical issues of the research practice: how participants respond to us is also based on who we are in terms of social categories, to which we belong (Harding, 1987, p. 12). As a result of social distances, researchers "may not know enough about the phenomenon under the study to ask the right questions" (Miller & Glassner, 2004, p. 129). Age appeared to be a crucial social

category in the interaction with my participants itself, when I was 15-20 years younger than some of my conversation partners and was positioned as a 'young girl', who can be only a passive listener of those having much more life experience. Compared to some of my interviewees, I do not have a family life neither children, my own body did not come through significant age transformations and I myself never thought of injecting Botox in my skin. Some scholars emphasize the importance of cultural affinity between the researcher and research participant when interviewers must be in the same position as the conversational partner (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). However, in my research setting this distance in age and life worlds became beneficial, as the interviewees recognized themselves as experts on the research topic and their social worlds, as opposed to the interview situations, when a researcher is placed in a more powerful position. As Taylor et al. (1995, p. 36) note, social distance "may elicit explanations that are assumed to be known by someone with insider status". I believe that my social position as an 'outsider' of ageing encouraged my participants to talk more and legitimized my frequent follow-up questions and requests for clarification more than if had I been a woman of the same age. At the same time, my cultural affinity in terms of age with younger research participants put me in the position of a peer, who might be also interested in face care for our age group.

Introducing the notion of 'participant-situated reflexivity', Kathleen Riach (2009) explores the reflexive work of both parties involved in an interview – that is, researcher and interviewee. In her research on ageing, her own age identity and 'embodied' presence in the interview situation appeared to be used as an artifact that affected communication of knowledge between the participant and interviewer. She hypothesizes that the topic of the research might have made individuals more aware of the interaction in age-related terms or the interviewees had certain expectations about how old a researcher should be. Therefore, in the construction of identities within the research interview, we should not only once again claim the constant 'visibility' and presence of a researcher, but see its effect on the production or co-production of knowledge. Similarly, in my research interactions, the constant presence of my own age and body sometimes turned it into a reference point, silently shaping the interaction through passing comments on my age:

DK: So why do you think people do Botox?

Anna: The thing is if the person comes to me and directly asks for Botox…like you – so young, you would never have an idea to have Botox, right? So it means that when the person visits me, he or she has a real need for that.

As seen from the excerpt, my own age identity provoked the moral argument of a natural need to undergo such treatments in older age.

In case of doing interviews in Helsinki, I believe that our common cultural affinity and belonging to the migrant status in Finland encouraged disclosure and trust in the interview situation. As my participants said, they agreed to give me the interview also because they wanted to speak the native language.

Not only age, embodiment and, in some cases, migrancy (Näre, 2013) shaped communication with my research participants, but also gender worked as a background setting. Some scholars say that women interviewing women bring the tradition of a 'woman talk' in the interview interaction (DeVault, 1990; Oakley, 1981). Woman-to-woman listening is more sensitive to unspoken and unarticulated experiences, when both the parties "help each other develop ideas, and are typically better prepared than men to use the interview as a "search procedure" (DeVault, 1990, p. 101). In my case, by appealing to a 'woman talk' in a research practice, I do not mean that all the women share the same experience; neither do I mean I was sharing a single experience with my participants. However, in some situations, laughter, pauses, silence and ellipsis in the interview transcripts became the signs of mutual understanding, based on some common 'female experience'. For example, in the following excerpt my participant Marina, (42 years old) appeals to the common gender background that I share with her. In addition, it shows how difficult it is to articulate some topics and interpret personal actions:

DK: What do these treatments give you? Why are they so important for you?

Marina: It is like you know, how shall I explain? It is like when you have a hole in your tights and you are wearing a skirt! You are like a loser if you have this hole. Once you change your tights, you feel confident. The same with your face

– once you know that everything is all right, you straighten your shoulders and feel confidence.

While conducting and transcribing interviews, doing observation, and simultaneously reading theoretical literature, I also realized the gap between the theories – mostly produced in the Western context – and empirical data representing Russian gender, beauty and age regimes, to which theories of Western scholars do not always apply. Calling for 'epistemic reflexivity' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), claiming that the world we study is constructed theoretically, I had to take a critical distance from the theories and contextualize them in the setting of contemporary Russia.

Any research is based on epistemological assumptions, that is, the way we understand production and nature of knowledge. Coming back to the question of validity of knowledge, I would state that validity and 'objectivity' (Harding, 1991) in qualitative research is achieved by opening up the procedure of data production and analysis. Having explained my own position in the research setting, I will now move to the description of negotiating access to the field and analyzing my data.

4.2. Negotiating Access to the Field

My initial idea for the research was to interview both men and women and recruit my participants in beauty salons and social media. However, male consumers of cosmetic treatments turned out to be a very invisible though a clearly present group in the field of beauty treatments. Males are almost - if not completely - absent in on-line communities on cosmetic treatments, which made it impossible to contact them via Internet. In a more advanced stage of my fieldwork I also asked cosmetologists if they could help me recruit their male clients for the interview; however, in this case they wouldn't agree to participate either. My presence in the beauty salons was also limited by only appointed meetings with the research participants, which further limited my chances of recruiting male visitors there. So it became clear that despite the growing popularity of beauty treatments among men (IAPAM, 2011), the use of cosmetic procedures may still remain stigmatizing and hegemonic notions of masculinity may explain my problems with

recruitment in my research. Taking into account this limitation of my fieldwork, I had to concentrate only on women's use of anti-age cosmetic treatments.

I contacted most of my female participants through the communities in Russian social network Vkontakte, briefly explaining the aims of my research and attaching the introductory letter from the University. Vkontakte has many groups and communities, where people advertise their beauty clinics and services, as well as discuss beauty treatments. So I found several groups, which indicated their locations in St. Petersburg and Helsinki, and contacted women, involved in the groups, through private messages. I decided not to leave a public post 'on the walls' of the communities so that I would not violate the privacy and anonymity of my potential participants in case they would want to answer me. However, I must admit that sometimes I failed to contact the right women, since some of them did not have facial treatments done yet and they were only considering doing so being involved in the Internet group. Thus, at the beginning I was trying to negotiate access to the field almost randomly by contacting the women involved in the public groups on anti-age treatments. At the beginning, I used category 'anti-age treatment' in my explanations of the research and got several refusals and no responses to my messages. I thought that by the use of this category I might stigmatize women and stress their age in a negative way, so I changed my strategy and wrote that I would like to interview women, who do cosmetic procedures – Botox, mesotherapy, radio frequency, biorevitalization, in particular. After getting my first interviews, I contacted other participants through snowballing. But even in this case some of my participants were unwilling to give contacts of their friends as though they would reveal a beauty secret of a friend to a stranger. Therefore, by negotiating access to the field it got clear that beauty treatments are a very private practice and fieldwork requires sensitivity and building trust between me and my research participants.

Another obvious way of negotiating access to the field would be trying to recruit my participants in the beauty salons and clinics. However, I got several refusals to spend some time in the lobbies of the salons as I was not regarded as a client and no other reasons were accepted as an excuse for staying in the salon. Besides, as administrators and owners of the places suggested, meeting women right after the treatments – which are sometimes quite painful and leave harsh signs and irritation on the face from the

needle and injections – would put them in the uncomfortable position. It became clear that some women would feel embarrassed to communicate with a stranger right after sometimes traumatic and painful treatments. Therefore, the only way of accessing the field would be doing so through contacting the clients outside the clinics and salons leaving them more privacy and a more anonymous space for arranging our first meeting.

During my fieldwork I also decided to recruit Russian women in Helsinki in order to facilitate the data production since I could only visit St. Petersburg during the time free of my classes at the University of Helsinki. This strategy was very successful as my participants, as they said, were eager to speak their native language in a foreign country. Our mutual belonging to the category of migrancy (Näre, 2013) in Finland created rapport and trust as we would start the conversation with a brief discussion of living in Finland as foreigners. By rapport I mean "the ability to 'get along with' a research participant in a friendly manner" (Smyth & Mitchell, 2008, p. 442) in order to promote the respondent's disclosure and the researcher's ability to understand. Some scholars have criticized the notion of rapport seeing it an unethical form of manipulating research participants and faking friendship in order to generate 'good data' (Oakley, 1981; Kleinman & Copp, 1993; Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). My own understanding of this ethical issue is that most of the successful interactions in daily life are based on goodwill and openness. Particularly, it is hard not to feel favorable towards a person who agreed to dedicate her or his time for my research. Besides, during the interview I could also challenge and question some of the participant's opinions, which would lead to a better discussion, understanding of other's point of view and disclosure of myself as an active interlocutor. Creating a rapport meant not only establishing trust and showing genuine interest from my side, but also not being judgmental to their decision to conceal the signs of ageing. As after an interview Inna, a girl of my own age, asked me: "So do you blame me now for the fact that I do my lips and forehead?" At this point I had to take a critical distance from the position of my research participant, reconciling my belonging to feminist epistemology and own feminist views on a female body with the acceptance of other women's ways of experiencing their bodies. In general, my understanding of the interview process and establishing relationships with the participants can be epitomized by 'active listening' (Back, 2007, p. 23; Bourdieu &

Wacquant, 1992), which is impossible without genuine interest to other's experiences and seeing interviewees as bearers of certain experiences and senses of self.

Getting access to the rather closed site of beauty salons and clinics required trustworthy relations with my participants; so I first did my interviews and then moved to ethnographic fieldwork in the salons. One of my participants, Katja (23 years old, customer), after the interview was enthusiastic about my research so she negotiated my access to the salon with her cosmetologist and allowed me to stay in a skin care room when she was treated. Another observation occurred through the similar scenario: after the interview I asked a cosmetologist Anna if I could visit her salon. In the end, she found a new interviewee for me – her client – whom I interviewed while she was treated by Anna. My research participants were willing to help me and I am really grateful to them for such collaboration – I would not get access to the field had they been more indifferent and unconcerned about my work. I believe that this collaboration influenced my research design, which for me showed the shift from seeing my participants as informants to seeing them as consultants (Lassiter, 2005). After the interview some of my participants would also ask me to send them the interview transcripts and results of my research, what I am planning to do at the end following the ethics of 'collaborative ethnography' (Lassiter, 2005). Besides, I guess that in some cases my interview interaction with the participants provoked a more critical understanding of the question of ageing and femininity for them. After one of the interviews, my participant Nadya (34 years old, customer) sent me the link on a website depicting the photographs of women, which challenge traditional understanding of a female body. She wrote me: "Now I understand what you meant, you are right. I can understand your point of view better now". Again this small episode showed that a researcher and his or her position is always visible in the research (even though I think I never expressed my positions explicitly) and both sides are actively involved in the research setting, creating mutual exchange of views.

What also requires some reflexivity is my participants' presentation of self (Goffman, 1959) to me in the interview situation. My participants were referring to sometimes negative social attitudes towards women doing cosmetic treatments and surgery, so they were actively normalizing the use of anti-age cosmetic treatments through the discourse

of their own choice in a situation of our communication, like in the following quote, for example: “See, I don’t think it is a crime, I don’t think it is an illness or I am addicted to that – I just think I can make myself better and I do it” (Inna, 26 years old, client). I assume that the discourse of normalization and choice, which is one of my key findings, might have been also provoked by the will to present self as an independent subject rather than what has been constructed as a passive ‘victim of beauty industry’. Yet, I do believe that it doesn’t negate their agentive choice in the actual decisions to do treatments.

In the end, I collected 13 in-depth interviews (5 in St. Petersburg, 8 in Helsinki) that lasted from 50 to 120 minutes, and did two ethnographic observations in two different beauty salons in St. Petersburg. The age of my participants varies from 23 to 42 years old, all of middle class or upper-middle class background, living in St. Petersburg or Helsinki (See Appendix 1). The interviews were conducted in Russian and I wrote my fieldnotes in Russian, too. The interview or research diary passages, which I found important to quote, were translated into English. In effect, translation required interpretation (Asad, 1986). I admit that translation cannot fully capture the original meaning – particularly, I found hard to interpret some expressions with particles, which gently shape the meaning of the sentence, and which are so numerous in Russian language and quite limited in English.

4.3. Research Methods and Analysis Procedure

Talking about the methods of producing and analyzing data, I would like to frame my choice through regarding social scientific methods as performative and enacting the world we investigate (Law & Urry, 2004). In other words, “what we observe is not nature in itself, but nature exposed to our method of questioning” (Heisenberg, 1962, p. 52).

Deriving from my reflexive epistemological position and interpretative-constructionist understanding of knowledge, I decided to conduct qualitative thematic interviews that would cover such range of topics as body images, control of body ageing, looking and feeling old, femininity and sexuality issues (See Appendix 2). Rubin & Rubin (2005, p.

15) state that “qualitative interviews are conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion”, which presupposes an interview to be an extension of the ordinary conversation and interviewees to be partners in the interview encounter. Besides, through qualitative interviews participants reveal not only their own views, feelings and intentions, but structures and contexts of their lives; through these personal narratives we can reconstruct broader social worlds (Charmaz, 2006, p. 66; Miller & Glassner, 2004). The aim of the qualitative interview in this present research was to understand which meanings of age and body are mobilized, and which forms of capital individuals are aiming to through anti-age cosmetic treatments.

During the research process, I also decided to combine topical approach with cultural interview approach, which is targeted not only on learning what people know or think about some issue, but also how they see, understand and interpret their own world (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). This turned out one of the main issues of concern for my participants.

I aimed to collect a sample of interviews that would be representative for the phenomena of my research. This meant that I interviewed people who do anti-age treatment regardless of their age. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 37) refer to it as a ‘purposive sampling’, which aim is to ensure the coverage of features important for the research objectives. During the fieldwork, I also found out that there are three main sources for anti-age treatment: beauty salons, medical clinics specializing on Botox and ‘doctors-entrepreneurs’, who advertise their service through the Internet and do treatment at their homes. In my ‘sampling’ there are women representing all the three groups.

I used general open questions in order to avoid pre-structuring in advance the variety of experiences and intentions that could be narrated and obtain free-flowing interaction. I would start our conversation by introducing myself and explaining the aims of my research by saying that I am broadly interested in the beauty treatments done by women. After conducting a couple of interviews I decided not to stress that I am interested in anti-age treatments in order not to pre-structure our conversation and provoke other

meanings except for resisting ageing by beauty treatments. I would ask my participants to introduce themselves in a relaxed manner and then ask some general easy questions: what kind of treatments they do, how often they do them, when they decided to do them and why, etc. By these questions I intended to make the conversation start freely and easily by discussing a concrete area of their daily life. Then we would move to broader and more abstract questions like ideal bodies, feeling young/old, beauty, being a female body, nature and technology in constructing bodies. Even though I used to have a paper with the questions in front of me, in most of the cases our conversations were flowing freely and the participants would usually raise the topics of my interest by themselves. The interviews with cosmetologists were conducted in a similar manner, but in this case I was also interested in expert knowledge on the field of anti-age treatment: when and how this sphere evolved, what are the risks, what kinds of people visit them, if they always agree to have some therapy or injection done, etc. I also tried to use a reciprocal mode of interviewing (Mauthner, 2000, p. 288): at the end of the conversation I asked my participants, if they would like to question something back or mention a theme that was left outside our communication. Sometimes, this strategy was very helpful opening up a new round of conversation and bringing in new topics for discussion.

In order to obtain a fuller picture of resistance to ageing through 'body work' (Wolkowitz, 2006; Shilling, 2003), I decided to combine interviews with observations in beauty clinics and salons. Observation allowed me to get to a micro level of the beautician-patient interaction and mundane practices of actual body treatment. Also in many cases the two methods were completing each other, when, for example, my participants were showing me the pictures of themselves "before and after the treatment" on their mobile phones, or when the interview itself was taken during treatment in a beauty clinic. Some scholars write about beneficiary effect of doing interviews by participant observation, since the "artificiality of the interview, when compared with 'normal' events in the setting, may allow us to understand how participants would behave in other circumstances" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 108).

The interviews, which lasted on average more than one hour, were recorded and accompanied by my field notes and research diary, in which I provided my personal and

sometimes fluctuating reflections on the research theme, epistemological assumptions and interview interactions with my participants. Oakley (1981), criticizing the taken-for-granted practice of interviewing, insists that research reports should not only state technical information about the interviews – like number and length – but also the quality of interviewer-interviewee interaction, hospitality offered by interviewees and the extension of interviewer-interviewee encounters into more broadly-based social relations. My interviews were conducted in public places or beauty salons in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere. The choice of the interview setting was quite limited and the interviews were sometimes conducted in crowded cafés next to the metro stations, which were the most convenient to my interviewees. It was concerning that the crowded atmosphere of public places might have affected the quality of the interview data: both in recording and participants' disclosure. On the other hand, interviews in beauty clinics were conducted in a private and quiet atmosphere. Conducting interviews in Helsinki was slightly different since my participants could feel more privacy and disclosure in speaking a language, which people around could not understand.

As seen from my previous discussion, the data analysis started long before the actual coding process. While transcribing the interviews, I was writing down my thoughts and observations in a separate memo file, which contained notable quotes from the interview as well as ideas on what themes and concepts to concentrate on in the final analysis. I started the analysis with open coding or 'recognition' (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 223; Gobo, 2008), when I searched for the concepts, themes and topical markers important for my research questions. I decided not to use any software for qualitative data analysis as it might lead to standardization and quantification of my analysis. So what I was doing was to separate themes by copying interview excerpts and group them in a separate file with a thematic heading. I was aiming to put my participants' voices in dialogue with theories, which meant constant moving back and forth between analyzing data, reading theories, reading my fieldnotes and research diary. While developing the categories, I kept in mind 'theoretical sensitivity' elaborated by Udo Kelle (2007), which states that scientific observations are always theory-laden and the choice of units of coding is driven by theoretical lenses at the cost of missing the original insights of the data.

4.4. Ethical concerns

The ethical concern in social research has been mainly focused on such issues like respect for autonomy of participants ensuring voluntary participation, informed consent and the right to stop participation in the research; avoidance of mental, financial and social harm; privacy and data protection expressed in confidentiality, data storage and privacy in publications (National Advisory Board on Research Ethics in Finland 2009). Therefore, all my participants were acquainted with the topic and aims of my research: first, in the Introductory letter, which I sent together with the invitation to participate in the interview via social network Vkontake; and second, I introduced my research project again before the interview. To secure anonymity of my participants, I changed all their names as well as locations in St. Petersburg and Helsinki.

However, these general principles and rules were not always sufficient in the actual research setting, when I dealt with concrete situations and had to do ethics in practice, as I already mentioned above. The new ethical model stresses dialogue and negotiation, as well as analysis of power relations (Doucet & Mauthner, 2002). Even though my participants were quite open during the interview, ageing and body changes is a sensitive topic, especially considering that some interviewees conceal from others the fact that they do anti-ageing cosmetic treatment – even from their families. Therefore, it was important to build rapport, ensure confidentiality and establish trust during the interview, as well as be sensitive to the choice of the categories I used in the questions. Besides, reflexivity and ethical concern were not limited only to the stage of data collection and preserving of its confidentiality, but throughout all the stages of my research I had to be aware of my own physical embodiment and belonging to certain epistemologies that guided my research practice.

5. Research Findings

5.1. "So are you going to stay here?": private spatial negotiations of face and self in a cosmetic salon

First, I would like to introduce my research findings with ethnographic observations in the cosmetic salons and negotiation of space and intimacy in anti-age cosmetic treatments procedure. This will introduce the spatial context for my further findings.

The space where the treatment is done is isolated from the other space of the beauty salon. Such treatments like manicure and hair cut are publicly exposed in contrast to a hidden and private room of the medical cosmetologist, to which access is controlled by the closed door. No other people are present during the process of beautification except for the cosmetologist and a client. The client lies on the facial bed and covers herself with a light blanket with a soft-looking texture. Her face is fully exposed under the bright light to the cosmetologist and lies like a manipulated object. The distance between the two people is minimal; the beautician stands very close to the client's face. The cosmetologist is wearing a white coat, which instantly turns her into a knowledgeable medical expert rather than a simple beautician. There is light relaxing music and lighting, pictures of ideal faces of women on the walls advertising cosmetic products, and large decorated mirrors.

Such an intimate atmosphere is associated with psychotherapeutic sessions when a patient lies on the coach telling life stories to the therapist. Indeed, a medical cosmetologist does 'emotional labour' (Hochschild, 1983), when significant part of their work is dedicated to listening to their client's life stories, adventures and problems. As cosmetologist Vera[1] says:

> They want you to remember the names of their kids and ask how the last holiday with their husbands went. Some busy women come to me, lie down and ask me to do whatever I want with their faces because in this way they relax and forget about their duties. It is also important to understand, when a client wants to talk and share problems, and when she wants to enjoy silence and relax.

[1] All the names mentioned in the thesis are pseudonyms.

The relations between the two parties are based on rapport, mutual trust and intimate negotiation of facial and life problems. The cosmetologist does not only face treatments, but involves in therapeutic conversation. To a large extent, my strong embarrassment of staying in the room during the treatment showed my position of an outsider to these close and established relationships; and intimated that the processes going on there are very private. And if during cosmetologist's preparation I was enjoying my staying in the cosmetic room, right before injecting mezzo-cocktail in the client's skin, Violetta turned to me and asked: "So you are going to stay here and watch?" In embarrassment I answered that if Katja (the client, 23 years old) does not mind, I would rather stay. Luckily and surprisingly, Katja was very open and I could see further negotiation of pain from the needle and the embodied price of beautification. Katja was suffering greatly from the pain caused by the needle on her face while Violetta was calling her with sweet words and asking to tolerate such discomfort a bit longer. Therefore, the micro-act of facial injections itself is based on close embodied relationships between two psychological subjects: a cosmetologists deals with more than the body's surface but inner life of a client.

5.2. Choice and Autonomy in Face Care

> *The irony is that we believe, in making our subjectivity the principle of our personal lives, our ethical systems, and our political evaluations, that we are, freely, choosing our freedom.* (Rose, 1991, p. 11).

In the interviews my research participants construct themselves as active autonomous subjects taking control over their lives by the virtue of self-care and body improvement. Talking about their decisions to do anti-age treatment, women use the language of individual choice and independence from the opinion of others about their looks and bodies. Their choice to take control over body ageing is problematized as work on their better selves, and any denial to do cosmetic treatment is seen as a personal weakness and cowardice to accept ageing. This idea of personal empowerment through body treatments and independence is at its best illustrated by Marina:

> Usually I do not discuss what I do with my face with people around, because for some reason they think that you have problems not with your skin but with your head. They say: "You need to love yourself the way you are, and you don't need all this rubbish [*anti-age treatment*], and you do it too much and too often *(sarcastically)* – this bullshit I do not even want to hear. I think this is absolutely stupid because either you can see the changes on your face or you will think that you are just tired, unhappy and need more sleep. I don't care what other people think about the way I look, I decide by myself what to wear, how to look and what to insert in my skin. (Marina, 42 years old, customer).

In the excerpt Marina actively stresses her own subjectivity and agency mobilizing the rhetoric of choice in doing anti-age treatment. Mentioning the potential critique of the people around, Marina implies that she is sensitive to the social critique of cosmetic injections and to the stigma of admitting to having done cosmetic alterations. So, she challenges a popular saying "Love yourself the way you are" and redefines stigmatization of women doing cosmetic treatments. In this way body and face care are problematized as a 'subject-making technology' (Salmenniemi, 2012, p. 75), in which a woman becomes an active agent responsible for self and life. Similarly, Irina understands anti-age treatment as woman's autonomy and alternative to the "life of a housewife":

> It is your own attitude and choice: you can start a family, have children and decide – ok, I succeeded in my life, that's it – and there are dozens of examples like that. They become housewives and stop thinking about themselves. At the same time, there are women, who have their own feelings about themselves, and who are interested in their reflection in the window, who work on themselves. (Irina, 35 years old, customer).

Irina shows how undergoing cosmetic treatments is conceptualized as manifestation of one's own feelings, respect, attention and care for self, as opposed to sinking into housing and caring for other members of the family. Interestingly, such an ethos of expressing self and own feelings is first and foremost expressed through embodiment

and care for the body surface. What is extensively problematized as the adherence to the dominant ideology of control of the female body by feminist scholars (Bordo, 2003; Woodward, 1999; Wolf, 1991; Dally, 1991) is articulated as empowerment and self-indulgence by my research participants. Involvement in the dominant beauty regimes is understood as own active choice, autonomy and expression of own feelings and desires.

Similarly, Katja shares the same narrative of the voluntary will of taking body under control presenting it as own reflexive project and product of own work, will and investment:

> It is just I have got some things in me, which I don't like. Not everyone is lucky to be born really beautiful, but in my soul I can feel that I have a need to feel myself beautiful. Some take it easy, they convince themselves that they love themselves the way they are, while for me it is easier to earn enough money and love myself the way I want to be. (Katja, 23 years old, customer).

In the excerpt the body is presented as one's own project as opposed to a 'naturalistic body' (Shilling, 2002, p. 45) given to people by nature. Besides, Katja admits the *need* to feel beautiful, which becomes her own moral argument for undergoing cosmetic treatment. Many feminist scholars have the raised the issue of the moral argument of need to feel beautiful and the individual's choice to become so (Bordo, 2003; Blum, 2003; Gimlin, 2000). They argue that one's own need for a beautiful body of a woman is actually constructed by the dominant beauty regime and broader cultural considerations such as what constitutes beauty and why beauty is so important in the construction of femininity.

All these examples represent the discourse of choice and active involvement in the control over life through face and body care, which can be regarded as a manifestation of neo-liberal rationality of self-improvement, self-discipline and change (Rose, 1996). Modern self is produced through the 'technologies of the self' – "the ways in which we are enabled, be means of languages, criteria, and techniques offered to us, to act upon our bodies, souls, thoughts, and conduct in order to achieve happiness, wisdom, health, and fulfillment" (Rose, 1999, p. 11). In line with this definition, body care is a

technique that provides a woman with the language of understanding personal selfhood and subjectivity. By appealing to anti-ageing body work, my research participants express responsibility for and control over their bodies, minds and lives.

As suggested by the concept of 'governmentality' (Rose, 1999; Rose, O'Malley, Valverde, 2006), the power and techniques of the self work on deeper levels of the 'soul'. In the case of cosmetic treatments, we can say that the power shaped in anti-age cosmetic chemicals works on under-skin level. The practices of body perfection are understood as a process of self-transformation in general, when the logic of life is guided by the motto "change your body – change yourself". Face treatment for my research participants is understood not only in terms of body perfection, but perfection of their minds and lives. Body is conceptualized as access to inner life, which means that by improving the body an individual masters his or her inner world. For example, one of my research participants, Natasha, 23 years old, was narrating about a difficult period of life, when she wanted to make changes in her life routine: "I broke up with my boyfriend and I wanted to change things in my life. I knew I would not be able to move to another city or country, change a car or apartment". The changes in her life and attitude started with the changes in her appearance: "And then I come to my hairdresser, and she offers me to make a fringe. I left the salon and understood that it was what I wanted! After that I had a boost of energy and inspiration! After that a great moment of creativity and energy came to my life, finally" (Natasha, 23 years old, customer). As seen from Natasha's narrative, the change in the appearance can be also very mundane: it can be seemingly superficial in order to cause 'deeper' changes.

In the next excerpt Katja also elaborates on the concept of 'self-development', which she reaches by undergoing a ten-time series of mesotherapy and a fitness course with a personal trainer five times per week:

> Self-development is also a development, which is brighter and more interesting than some stories about life adventures. This is a harmony and completeness. I mean self-care *[zanyatie soboy]* – that is what harmony is. Of course, you can sleep till midday, eat and drink whatever you want, party, not got to the gym (…) But I understand that this is self-discipline and self-help *[samorazvitie]* in

> the fact that I always think if I ate something [sweet or fat], it means I need to go to the gym and work out because I want to look good. (Katja, 23 years old, customer).

As seen from the excerpt, body care and working out in the gym are understood in terms of self-development and self-improvement. Katja recognizes herself as a particular kind of subject following certain ethics (Foucault, 1978) and regime of the self (Rose, 1999). She constructs the relationship to self through techniques of self-surveillance and voluntary self-discipline like working out once she eats something sweet, for example. The discourse of self-development becomes a way of understanding own actions and entering regimes of body surveillance. It also shows a reflexive attitude towards self (Giddens, 1991) when each action is reflexively evaluated through its effects and goals.

All these examples can be united by the centrality of the discourse on body as a way of constructing the self and an autonomous subject of choice. The body is always conceptualized as the window or access to the interior life of a woman (Gill, 2007). My participants share the same narrative of exercising own choice, control over life, body and conduct. Using cosmetologist Anna's words, we can say that:

> Botox is a treatment that raises the quality of life. It influences women's self-perception, an ability to live through some life situations. When you know that you look good, you start perceiving things around you differently. (Anna, cosmetologist).

Anti-age cosmetic treatments are a 'technology of the self' (Rose, 1999; Foucault, 1988), which works not only on the bodily surface but on one's own conduct and even quality of life, according to Anna. Taina Kinnunen's (2010) research also shows that women understand masking signs of ageing as the improvement of quality of life. Youth and happiness are closely associated and discursively connected, and the feelings of depression connected with ageing are easily cured with anti-age cosmetic treatments. Kinnunen (2010) argues that by extending bodily youth, women not only compete with younger women for capitals but construct an image of happiness representing successful ageing and good life.

Since cosmetic treatments work not only on the body but also on self-conduct, in the same framework, it is important for women to have their bodies and faces be the reflections of their inner selves as chronological or biological age should be adjusted to their 'real' selves: youthful and fresh. For example, in the next excerpt Vera explains how she understands what kind of treatment her client needs:

> She watches in the mirror in front of me and says something like: "Now I have horizontal lines on my forehead" or "I have noticed that I frown all the time and vertical lines appeared. I always look so gloomy and severe, though in fact, I am not like that". And then, according to what she sees in the mirror, I choose the treatment for her. (Vera, cosmetologist).

The interview excerpt shows a confessional mode of interaction between a customer and cosmetologist, when a client is supposed to confess or admit to herself the defects she sees in her face. Confessional mode of domination, according to Foucault (1978), produces bodies as objects of knowledge. Indeed, it is after this kind of a client's confession when a cosmetologist decides what to do with her face. Beautification procedures are exchanged on the admission of own deficiency and problems on the face.

Besides, cosmetologist Vera shows that the chosen treatment is targeted on the adjustment of the outer image of self to the own feelings about self of her clients. The mirror is conceptualized as a tool for self-surveillance – and not only of the face, but the inner self. The face is supposed to mirror the inner side of subjectivity, so that ageing is also understood as a rupture between subjective attitude towards own age and its embodiment. Face is constructed as the most representative signifier of the human appearance and whole subjectivity (Wegenstein, 2002; Featherstone, 2010). The role of the cosmetologist in this case is to understand the inner image of the client's personality and the image of self she wants to reach. Despite the active articulation of own choice, the excerpt shows that it is the cosmetologist that sees the 'defects' and makes the decision on the needed treatment. This also explains such close relations between the clients and cosmetologist, based on rapport and trust. The emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983) that the cosmetologist is involved in, grants access to the inner world of a client to which the appearance is then adjusted.

These examples also show that my participants tend to expand the control over their appearance and self through the experts — medical cosmetologist — who operate not only as body sculptors, but experts of both their bodies and minds. For instance, in their explanations of the decision to start doing anti-age treatment, my research participants stated, that, first, it was important to find the right, that is, trustful medical cosmetologist, and their first meeting would be dedicated only to small procedures like eyebrow shaping, for example. During the first meeting, they would usually have a general conversation in which both the parties need to understand each other and build enough trust. As cosmetologist Anna suggests:

> People never come to me for the first time and ask me to have Botox done. First, I need to understand what image of self the person has, what she wants from life and only then I decide what treatment she needs.

Anna shows that it is she who makes a decision on which treatment is needed, despite the client's active articulation of choice. Construction of inner and outer self is based on the client's trust of the cosmetologist's expertise. So the role of a medical cosmetologist is not limited exclusively to the work on the client's body, but also to understanding the inner self and matching it with the body image she creates. Nikolas Rose (1996) states that one of the manifestations of 'working on self' culture is the birth of a new form of expertise – an expertise of self. This understanding of self is constructed as a reflexive project. According to it, social authority is "based upon the capacity to understand the psychological aspects of the person and to act upon them" (Rose, 1996, p. 2). In line with this logic, cosmetologists are also the "engineers of the human soul", as Rose (1996, p. 3) would call them, modifying the inner self by working on the body's perfection of the clients.

The satisfaction of doing anti-age treatment is often expressed in the power of taking natural or biological changes under control and constructing the ideal image of self. As customer Irina (35 years old) states: "It is a pleasure to understand that you can take things under control if you need, brush up yourself and stop ageing". The transformation of the face is considered accomplished as long as these changes transform the body into a whole new self.

These findings resonate well with other research of cosmetic surgery and body transformation reality shows (Gimlin, 2000; Wegenstein, 2002; Egginton, 2007; Wegenstein & Ruck, 2011). This research shows that the main trope of participating in make-over shows and cosmetic treatments is that individuals' previous selves were deficient and the new bodies better reflect their inner selves. Indeed, as my participant Vera (cosmetologist) says: "You look in the mirror, and you understand that it is not you – old, tired and grey". Researchers interpret it as a contemporary obsession with self-realization (Egginton, 2007) and the fact that the body becomes a symbol of selfhood (Gimlin, 2000). Wegenstein and Ruck (2011, p. 48) argue that it is not the face that has become a sign, but self-identity is conceptualized as a sign or image. The criticism of such self-transformation is that it is shaped by the individual's capacity for material consumption (Gimlin, 2000) and creation of self as 'to be-looked-at-ness' (Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008). As Ringrose and Walkerdine (2008) also suggest, consuming oneself into being becomes the neo-liberal market-driven basis of a reflexive biography project.

However, what remains problematic is the sameness of remedies with which women get to construct their inner selves and the concept of 'real self' they want to see in the mirror. The standard selection of treatments – Botox, mesotherapy, face lifting, etc. – are used to create the image of what my participants call 'inner self'. The propagated models of beauty are based on the 'economy of sameness', as Egginton (2007, p. 188) calls it. Such a construction of dichotomy between inner self and embodiment, in my interpretation, can tell us about the notion femininity as a 'bodily property' (Gill, 2007, p. 149). The tropes of 'choice' in the construction of subjective 'true selves' can be described through post-feminist discourse of agentive femininity, which I discuss in the next subchapter.

5.3. Post-feminist Discourse and Femininity as a Bodily Property

The self, which is constituted by both the levels of body and mind, becomes a commodity, which needs to be worked upon and improved. Many scholars have stated that this rhetoric of working on self has been created by the culture of psychological

self-help literature (Salmenniemi, 2010; Illouz, 2008) and TV make-overs (Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008; Egginton, 2007; Wegenstein & Ruck, 2011). The authors conclude that contemporary individualized time creates psychological subjects driven to improve and transform their selves through the resources available in self-help literature and television programs. Self-help literature and television make-overs provide expert knowledge using psy-sciences and proliferate self-regulatory techniques that become a basis of a make-over paradigm.

Many scholars argue that this debate on the neo-liberal logic of self-improvement is closely connected to the construction of independent, self-governing post-feminist subject (Gill, 2007; Salmenniemi, 2010; Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008). According to this research, femininity celebrates hyper-sexualization and positive naturalization of gender differences, which is constructed, nevertheless, as an individual choice and decision, self-indulgence and pampering of self. Many feminist scholars nowadays argue that the rhetoric of contemporary femininity is articulated around the idea of 'choice' (Hollows, 2003; Gill, 2007; Probyn, 1997). According to them, in the neoliberal notion of femininity it is imperative that one's own sexual practices are freely chosen that construct an own 'choice biography' (Ringrose & Walkerdine, 2008, p. 229). Indeed, the main trope found in the women's narratives on cosmetic surgery is "being pretty for themselves". Yet the notion of 'themselves' should be critically evaluated since the valued looks are always similar. Gill (2007) interprets it so that the socially constructed images of beauty are internalized and made one's own. Therefore, in this post-feminist discourse with an agentive female making own choice biography femininity is constructed through self-surveillance, monitoring, self-discipline with a focus on individualism and empowerment.

Similarly, despite the active involvement in the rhetoric of choice, independence and control over their lives, my research participants reproduce sexist and ageist discourses about femininity and female bodies. According to them, body remains a key capital for a woman to gain success in career and finding a partner. Young ageing women admit high competition in the labour market and state the fact that better and younger looking women have better chances in getting a job and finding a partner. In the following

excerpt Marina combines post-feminist discourse of individual choice, competition over male attention and women as objects of heterosexual desire:

> I do not ask anyone what to do with my body and face – neither my mother, nor my husband. It does not concern anyone except for me personally, this is my own decision. And generally, I think that it is better not to share such things with your husband, because they get used to it and when you do some treatment, they see that now you look even better than before. And then suddenly you find out that they pay attention to women who are 15 years younger *for some reason* (*sarcastically*). They say it is only because it is more *interesting* to be with them. They give some stupid and abstract justifications, which in fact have very concrete and rational reasons behind: fit and young body, and a beautiful, smooth face. That's why I need to keep my standards high. (Marina, 42 years old, customer).

The empowered post-feminist rhetoric is still located within the normative understanding of femininity. The discourse of active choice and independence is, therefore, represented as illusionary and spread only on the field of consumption, where women can gain power and exercise their independent decisions. The reflexive project of selfhood is determined by pre-given strategies and scenarios, yet driven by discipline of the female body, its position as the main female capital and its use to secure woman's position with a male, as illustrated by Irina:

> DK: Don't you think that there is something unfair in the fact that men do not feel this bad about their bodies when they age, or that they just find someone younger than they are?
>
> Irina: No, I do not think so and would like to stress once again that this completely depends on a woman and her responsibility. This is the nature of things, if she is able to keep attention of her husband and keep him from being attracted by younger women. (Irina, 35 years old, customer).

Again, the grammar of essential sexual differences, responsibility and 'work on self' is naturalized and articulated in the field of competing for heterosexual attention even in

the field of upper class femininity, having sufficient financial and professional capitals. Some scholars interpret this as redefinition of post-feminist ideals into post-feminist freedoms in a way that does not challenge normative heterosexual femininity (Probyn, 1997) or celebrate the return to the pleasures of traditional femininity (Hollows, 2003). Post-feminist discourse of choice and independence reproduces and naturalizes females' scrutiny and control over the body. The ideal of a self-governed subject makes women morally responsible for the body/self as post-feminist neo-liberal subjects (Gill, 2007). In other words, the discourse of body capital for a woman is constructed by the language and individual choice, which shows how socially approved images of beauty are internalized and made our own. Similarly, analyzing contemporary romances, Gill and Herdieckerhoff (2006) note subjectification of a woman as a hero of a romance, who values autonomy and individual choices. However, the authors insist that women use their empowered post-feminist positions to make choices reproducing traditional notions of femininity: white wedding, giving up work and preoccupying oneself with one's body. "What makes the notion of new freely choosing sexual subjects so problematic is that it presents women as entirely free agents and cannot explain why if women are really just "pleasing themselves" the resulting valued look is so similar: thin, toned, hairless body, etc." (Gill & Herieckerhoff, 2006, p. 499). Therefore, post-feminist discourse of own choice should be approached critically, since traditional notions of femininity become converted into personal agentive understanding of own body. Consumption and investment in the body are also constructed as one of the few fields where femininity can exercise this illusionary choice.

However, as Salmenniemi and Adamson (2014) remind us, this Western neo-liberal post-feminist logic is "domesticated" (Alasutaari, 2008), that is, not fully adapted in the Russian context of gender and class regimes. Domestication of post-feminist ideas in Russia doesn't occur as a response to the 'second-wave feminism' as happened in the Western countries. Women articulate the discourse of own choice and independence negatively portraying Western feminist endeavours. For example, in the next excerpt Tatyana compares Russian and Finnish beauty regimes, depicting 'Finnish feminists' as something alien for Russia:

> They are different here [in Finland], they don't take care of themselves, they are feminists but I need to say that they have resources to be feminists. They have enough men compared to Russia and they are more independent financially so they can afford being feminists, looking bad and not using make-up; it is because in Finland there is less competition over men. But I need to say that when I come home very tired and don't want to put the cream on my face, I always remember how bad Finnish women look and I immediately find energy to care for myself. (Tatyana, 38 years old, client).

In the excerpt Tatyana refers to the Western notions of feminism with a more relaxed attitude towards the body look, which is explained by more financial independency of female. However, it is evaluated as a negative trait, which returns her to the need to work on her body look and to use it as a form of capital. Similarly, Irina was complaining that in Finland beauty industry is much worse than in Russia. She explained that in Finland women don't care how they look while "in Russia people have an eye for the real beauty". In our conversation with Tatyana I suggested that maybe Finnish women invest in other fields than the body, to which Tatyana reacted:

> Where do they invest? These are only Russian women who bring their kids around different hobby groups all the time. I don't think that any Finnish woman will bother to bring her kid to some hobby group. (Tatyana, 38 years old, client).

As Salmenniemi and Adamson (2014) suggest, in contrast to the Western 'cultural cooling' (Illouz, 2008) and emotional detachment, Russian position of a maternal care-taker has remained unquestioned. Normative concepts of gender in Russia are constructed within the opposition between the Western individualist feminist project and the morally superior care-taking Russian femininity. Therefore, the Russian post-feminist project is based on disarticulation of Western feminist ideas and the understanding of Russian women's care for body as an essential 'labour of femininity' (Gill, 2007) and care for others.

My participants show the centrality of 'bodily capital' (Wacquant, 2004, p. 127) in the construction of their femininity. The same logic is used in the construction of their age identities, which I discuss below.

5.4. Age as Embodied Category

In social research age is understood as a socially constructed category (Katz, 2006; Hopkins & Pain, 2007), that is, defined in particular social and historical contexts. However, age identity for my participants is also largely constructed through embodiment, when own subjective age is understood through individual embodied experience. In other words, one becomes old when the body starts having signs of ageing and needs anti-age treatments – even at biologically young age of 23-26 years old. In the following excerpt Marina explains the changes she experiences after the treatment, and surprisingly, the changes are not so straightforward:

> Before I understood the need to go to the cosmetologist, I never felt my age. Once I understood that and started doing these treatments – it is like wearing shape underwear, you know you look good but you know perfectly why it is so. You know you look young, but you know how much you have already done to look young. From this point you start feeling depressed about your age. The more you think how much you have done with your face, how different facial expressions affect the quality of your skin – maybe the better I look, but the worse I feel about my age because I need all this to look good. (Marina, customer, 42 years old).

In the excerpt Marina shows that she realizes her age identity through the consumption of anti-age treatments. Her age is actualized once she admits body ageing. Besides the happiness about personal look, which one gets after Botox (Kinnunen, 2010), anti-age treatments provoke the feeling of one's age identity and remind of one's biological age. Therefore, age is experienced as embodiment, when understanding of age comes with the signs of ageing and the need to erase them. The importance of embodiment as the main conceptualization of age for my participants might be also explained by their

chronological age, when none of them had health limitations or encountered ageism at employment or work.

The state of the body also defines the behaviour applicable to the displayed age. This is how Marina answered my question about controlling her own behaviour because of age:

> If there were no mirrors around us, no one would have any limits in the behavior. When a person is self-critical and sees that there are some changes in the body, he or she starts adjusting internally to what he or she sees in the mirror. If I look like a grandma, I can't behave like a girl because it will look awkward. If I didn't know that I look like a grandma, I would never even guess that I am not a girl anymore, if I am healthy. (Marina, 42 years old, customer).

The aged subject, therefore, both has the body, which needs to be cared and taken under control, and is the body, which defines one's behavior. Following Prout (2000), Laz (2003) talks about age and body as mutually constituting accomplishments. Both authors state that bodily changes are translated into identity. "Bodies shape but do not determine who we are or what we do or how we act our age" (Laz, 2003: 518). Similarly, for my participants having a youthful body and face means adjusting other life situations to the way they look.

5.5. Emotion Management through Skin Care

Anti-age cosmetic treatments, as already illustrated, are targeted not only on the surface of the body but under-skin level and deeper layers of self. Besides the direct function of beautification and rejuvenation, chemical skin injections have certain side effects, which have social implications. The effect of Botox is based on paralyzing nerve endings connected to facial muscles for several months. As a result, it restricts people's ability to contract facial muscles, which consequently prevents the face from the creation of wrinkles: "no contraction of the muscle equals no wrinkles" (Brandt, 2003, pp. 58-59). However, the side effect of this chemical intervention in the facial muscles is that people can't always express their natural emotions – like raising the eyebrows in surprise or frown - the way they did before Botox. For example, this is how

cosmetologist Vera describes the impressions of one of her clients after Botox treatment:

> Sometimes they come back and tell me really funny stories. For example, one girl who had an interesting situation at work. She said: "Usually when I am angry at someone at work, I always frown and everyone understands immediately that I am angry, I don't even need to say anything. But with Botox I got angry and my eyebrows couldn't move!" *(laughing)* So the thing is that the line between eyebrows couldn't appear due to Botox and people could not understand what was wrong with her – her eyes looked furious but the eyebrows didn't move.

As illustrated by Vera, her clients are exposed to the new negotiation of emotions after Botox treatment. The freeze of facial muscles has social implications of the transmission of emotions like the challenge to cope with the chemical control of the face work. The interview excerpt shows how body work is actively involved in the emotion work, when the client realizes the need to negotiate emotions in another way through the chemical control of her face.

This minor side effect of Botox and other injective cosmetic treatments gives something more than just the absence of wrinkles and lines on the face. Some marks of ageing like a wrinkle between the eyebrows or horizontal lines on the forefront, for example, are regarded as an expression of negative emotions and transmission of unattractive personality traits like gloominess, which do not belong to the 'true' self – positive and youthful. This is how Marina speaks about the changes in the emotional display after Botox:

> Once she [cosmetologist] did too much of it near my eyes and I had a feeling that I always had a sad face. You smile, but your eyes look sad. I also did it between my eyebrows and the effect was great, I stopped frowning for one year and a half. I think nobody should ever frown in any conditions for any reasons. Except for actors who have to express certain emotions. Because frowning is bad, these are negative emotions. Some people always look gloomy, they have

> good mood but yet they frown and look gloomy. (Marina, 42 years old, customer).

Marina illustrates that expertise of a cosmetologist has the power to manage emotional expressions of her client's face. As seen from the excerpt, Botox, by preventing certain muscular contractions, erases a wrong emotional message — looking gloomy — and adjusts facial display to self-conduct. So, it re-creates a new self through the 'facial display' (Goffman, 1955), which is not able to frown and, therefore, transmit negative emotions. In effect, it causes more positive attitudes and mood, presenting self differently to others, as Inna says:

> After Botox I do not frown anymore and have fewer negative emotions, I express my emotions by voice and smile. In fact, facial expression affects my behavior and mood, I feel more positive. (Inna, 26 years old, customer).

The example shows how self-conduct, which is so often actualized in the narratives of my research participants, is inextricably connected to face or body work. When undesirable face work is dishabituated, it affects self-conduct or what has been called by my participants as 'inner self'. Control of facial muscles through Botox makes women find new ways to express their emotions, which are also constructed as positive only.

Younger women, who regularly do treatments other than Botox, say that they had it done once in order to dishabituate their face work from using the forehead while talking and expressing emotions. What is more, other women, who do not do Botox at all and prefer other cosmetic treatments, are still aware of the fact that wrinkles are caused by active facial expressions so they try to control their face-work themselves, as Natasha, 23 years old, does:

> You see, when I am talking to you now, I am not using my forehead at all. Because there are women who are too emotional when they speak and they use their forehead too much. And then they have deep wrinkles and need hard stuff like Botox. You can avoid all this by your own attention and control. (Natasha, 23 years old, customer).

Again Inna's own voluntary self-discipline and self-control is actualized to prevent undesirable emotional display. She constructs herself as a reflexive self-monitoring subject aware of possible costs of emotion work. Responsibility for having a good look is also put on the subject, who gets involved in 'emotion management' in order to look good (Hochschild, 1983). Hochschild (1983) argues that individuals are invited to work on their feelings according to 'emotion rules'. According to such conventions of feeling, people get involved in conscious mental work on their emotions. Hochschild argues that emotion work starts with 'deep acting' when people actually try to feel something, which further affects their 'surface acting' or facial display.

I suggest that corporeal dimension of emotion work should be also considered. As the interview excerpts above illustrate, emotion management, body and signs of ageing are inseparable and create a reflexive self-monitoring subject both on the levels of body and mind. Rather than seeing emotions as solely a form of capital, it is important to consider embodiment of emotions and emotional dimension of body-work too.

Unlike Hochschild's framework, for my participants emotion management starts from the body surface or 'surface acting' and affects, according to them, their inner emotional experiences. In this case emotion work does not presuppose 'deep acting' but reshaping of emotional display. This kind of emotion management is not about 'feeling rules' and how one should feel – as Hochschild suggests – but what kind of facial emotional expressions are legitimate and how they should look like. These regimes of emotion face-work are also gendered, when "it is ugly when a woman gets surprised and her forefront looks like a squeeze box", as Katja, customer, 23 years old, says. In line with this logic, a smile — even though it transmits positive emotions — should not be accompanied by wrinkly eyes and nasolabial fold, for example.

Drawing a parallel with dramatic arts and traditions of acting in a manner done by Hochschild, I would compare the relations between body work and emotion work with Vsevolod Meyerhold's biomechanics. This system of actor training is supposed to widen the emotional potential of acting by the actor's mastering of his or her body and face first. Meyerhold in his *Etudes* tried to create a precise system of exercises that contained all the fundamental situations the actor would perform on the stage (Gordon,

2002). A perfectly mastered body of the actor is supposed to transmit emotional message on the stage and make the actor live through it. As opposed to Stanislavsky's method acting, Meyerhold's training starts with the body surface and by this affects emotional state of the actor. Similarly, my research participants, whose faces are trained not to use the forehead or eyebrows by the virtue of chemical injections, are not able to physically perform negative emotions and, therefore, as they say, they stop experiencing them internally too.

Therefore, women not only deny the physical signs of ageing, but constantly control their face-work (Goffman, 1955) and representations of emotions. Emotion work has a corporeal reality, when over-active emotional expressions create undesirable wrinkles and lines on the face. Emotion work, therefore, brings up the centrality of body. The role of body in emotional labour and emotion work was discussed by Carol Wolkowitz (2006). According to her, the research that uses the framework of emotional labour failed to take into consideration its embodiment. In the following interview excerpt cosmetologist Anna elaborates how she determines face work of her clients balancing between their needs to express emotions naturally and erase undesirable expression lines:

> I want to create an image of the natural beauty. Even if I do Botox, I do it in such a way that the eyebrows would be able to rise up but would not create a line on the forehead. I mean in some situations you really need to be able to frown, but in such a way that the line would not appear.

Anna shows how emotion work may have negative effects on the appearance of a woman. Face-work (Goffman, 1955) should be negotiated in such a way that it transmits emotional messages but also in a way demanded by the dominant beauty regime, which neglects expression lines on the face.

Also, customer Natasha, 23 years old, suggests that anti-age treatments are targeted not only on ageing women but also younger women who have too active facial display of emotion work: "Wrinkles are not only the result of ageing, but ugly facial expressions". Therefore, the concept of anti-age treatments presupposes not only denying

chronological ageing *per se* but negotiating emotion work even in the young biological age. Botox and similar procedures can be conceptualized as 'anti-wrong-emotion-work treatments'. Wrinkles are a result of not ageing only but emotion work too. Age and emotions become closely connected categories not only in terms of negative feelings about growing old but also as physically embodied categories.

Therefore, emotions also become the object of power being controlled by an aware and reflexive self-surveillance. My research participants get involved in a knowledgeable management of their emotions becoming the experts of its effects on their faces and bodies.

This has some critical implications on gendered nature of emotion work and its embodiment. Feminist scholars have critically evaluated emotional labour and emotion work as reproduction of gender and class differences (Hochschild, 1983; Nowotny, 1981). Emotional capital is a characteristic of a private sphere and a resource for care; it is a capital, which is targeted on others rather than self (Reay, 2004). Being largely involved in private emotion work and expected to be the source of emotional capital in the family, women are also forced to control their face work by beauty regimes. In other words, as my participants show, the facial signs of public emotional labour and private emotion work are supposed to remain invisible. Besides, professional cosmetic treatments, which tend to erase the signs of 'emotion work', are mainly available for middle or upper-middle class femininities only. Anti-age cosmetic treatments, therefore, also reproduce classed femininities constructing a limited access to the tools, which erase undesirable signs of emotion work.

Emotion work and emotion management become an integral part of a project of self-governance. The self, becomes an emotion manager that tries to display or/and experience emotions in a way demanded by beauty regimes. The project of self-improvement through body work involves emotion management as well.

5.6. Construction of the 'True self' through Body Care

The main trope of talking about own subjectivity, emotions and age is the division between the ageing body and the 'true self'. Body work, according to my participants, means self-development, which transforms the self and leads to the emotional well-being. According to this logic, the body is constructed as the reflection of inner self. The need for the 'mask of ageing' (Featherstone & Hepworth, 1991) in the form of anti-age treatments is motivated by the fact that with age the body fails to reflect subjective understanding of self. The body is constructed in such a way that "a person's inner character will shine through the outer appearance" (Featherstone, 2010, p. 196). However, leaving this interpretation undeveloped would mean ontological reproduction of the Cartesian divide between the body and the self, which is meant to be inscribed on the body. This is how cosmetologist Anna describes this search for and 'inscription' of self on the client's body:

> The thing is that, first, we talk to our clients, we want to understand what they need. Sometimes it is really hard to estimate people's inner world, the image to which they want to come. Their appearance is the product of our relationships, cosmetology is psychology, too. We still create the image, with which the person lives.

The excerpt illustrates the construction of division between the inner and outer, when the body is figured as the surface for inscription of self. According to this logic, the self or the interior is something objective, already existing and stable, something, which cosmetologist should uncover and express on the body. Using the words of Judith Butler on the fault logic of inscription of gender on the sexed body, the self is constructed "as passive and prior to discourse" (Butler, 1990, p. 176). Following Butler, we can also ask: "From what strategic position in public discourse and for what reasons has the trope of interiority and the disjunctive binary of inner/outer taken hold?" (Butler, 1990, p. 183).

What makes the notion of 'true self' so problematic is not only ontological division on inner/outer but the sameness of the ways it is performed within the body: active life style, smooth skin, no wrinkles, emotion management. The language of the 'true self'

enables my participants to construct the socially approved bodies and represent them as the reflections of their own subjective feelings. Quoting Foucault, Butler reminds us:

> It would be wrong to say that the soul is an illusion, or an ideological effect. On the contrary, it exists, it has a reality, it is produced permanently around, on, within the body by the functioning of a power that is exercised on those that are punished. (Foucault cited in Butler, 1990, p. 184).

The true self is performed within the body through the dominant beauty regime, which is internalized and made one's own. Makeover culture and culture of self-perfection is made legitimate through the illusion of inscription of 'true self', which is actually constructed within bodily discipline.

Following Butler's framework (1990) of performativity, we can say that the self is not expressed through the body but the self is performed through the body. The 'true self', to which my participants appeal, is a construction itself performed through such bodily practices as training in the gym, anti-age cosmetic treatments and emotion management. Such identical and bodily performed 'true selves' reflect Foucauldian 'technologies of the self' (1988), with which hegemonic social conventions and ideologies are made one's own. In other words, "acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create an illusion of the interior. An illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality" (Butler, 1999, p. 417) and gender. Rose (1999, p. 7) states that contemporary form of power reaches "the very depth of the human soul". But the whole notion of 'inner self' is a construction inscribed on the surface of body. As Skeggs (2004b) insists, the self does not pre-exist the discourse that constitutes it – the self is produced through techniques. Following this logic, we can say that through the techniques of face care the self generates its governance, transferring power from direct oppression (Skeggs, 2004b, p. 78).

Skeggs (2004b) also argues that such cultural resources for self-making are class processes and making the self makes the class. Bourdieu-inspired feminists insist that such a classed production of the self creates symbolic violence pathologizing femininities having less capitals to construct the self in a 'proper', that is, middle class

way (Skeggs, 2004a 2004b; McRobbie, 2004; Reay, 2004; Adkins, 2004). Bodily capital like clothing, consumption, teeth and hair detach the upper class femininity (Skeggs, 2004a). Femininity is not a 'bounded entity' but is filtered through the class judgments. For example, in the next excerpt Irina wonders why not all women undergo professional beauty treatments:

> I feel good when I know that I did everything with my face what I needed. And when I see a woman, who obviously needs some professional treatments, I can't stop wondering – why doesn't she do them? She would immediately look better and fresher. It is just like washing your face or painting a house. You look at them and think how much better they would look like. But I just keep silent. (Irina, 35 years old, customer).

As Skeggs (2004b, p. 91) puts it, "a refusal to play the game or the lack of knowledge to participate in middle-class taste culture is read back onto the working-class as an individualized moral fault, a pathology, a problem of bad choice, bad culture, a failure to be enterprising or to be reflexive". In the interview excerpt Marina constructs inability to have cosmetic treatments as a failure to be the 'enterprising self' (Gay, 1996, p. 65) and enter the logic of commodification of the body. Similarly, during my observations in the cosmetic salon cosmetologist Violetta shared a similar tone claiming that everyone can find 300 euros per year to do cosmetic treatments but "people just don't care". 'Technologies of the self' (Rose, 1999; Foucault, 1988) within the post-feminist logic are, therefore, also classed, producing moral judgments and classed-gendered distinctions.

5. Conclusions

The research task of this Master thesis was to analyze the use of anti-age cosmetic treatments in the context of the new Russian cultural logic of capitalism. In order to answer this question I have developed a theoretical framework of government of the self (Rose, 1999) through body, face and emotion work (Shilling, 2003; Wolkowitz, 2006; Hochschild, 1983; Goffman, 1955). My research findings show the construction of a classed neo-liberal post-feminist subject through the practices of body care. My research participants actively articulate their agency and subjectivity in the construction of their age identities, bodies and femininities, while reproducing their normative understanding. 'Choice' becomes a meta-discourse in the interviews with my participants, which is an integral part of governmental understanding of self (Rose, 1999).

In line with post-feminist logic, women construct scrutiny of the body and control of ageing as self-empowerment, which is spread over other spheres of life like self-conduct, employment and personal relations. Using the words of McRobbie (2004, p. 100) we can say that "no longer defined in terms of husbands, fathers or boyfriends, women have been set free to compete with each other". The notion of the 'true self; becomes an active trope in justification of their body practices, when the body is constructed as a reflection of inner self. Significantly then, anti-age cosmetic treatments become a 'technology of the self' (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999), which transforms the self with the help of experts-cosmetologists in the expectation of life changes, higher life chances and improvement of status. This new feminized space of imposed self-transformation defined through status, affluence and body image is also a highly classed social space, which becomes distinguished through corporal styles.

This self-conduct targeted on the preservation of bodily capital also actualized emotion management and emotion work (Hochschild, 1983) as an integral part of self-management. I have shown how embodiment and materiality are inextricably connected to emotion work. Sociological discussion on emotional labour and emotion work has mainly concentrated on the analysis of 'feeling rules' or deep management of emotions (Hochschild, 1983; Wolkowitz, 2006; Gimlin, 2007; Wharton, 2009). The case of Botox and conscious control of face-work (Goffman, 1955) for the sake of preventing wrinkles

shows embodiment and materiality of emotion management. The biochemical control of the face makes a consumer of Botox negotiate emotions in alternative ways. This finding is very important in the context of the wide use of the concept of 'emotional labour' (Hocschild, 1983), which should be further analyzed in terms of its embodiment and materiality. Similarly, I have shown how age is constructed through embodied experiences when understanding of one's own age identity comes through bodily changes and the need to erase signs of ageing.

I have also demonstrated that this global circulation of meanings is not fully adapted but 'domesticated' (Alasuutari, 2008) in the context of Russia. Post-feminist discourse as problematized in the Western context still differs from the Russian context of gender and class regimes. Within the weakness of feminism in Russia, post-feminism didn't emerge as a critique of the second-wave feminism as happened in the Western countries (Salmenniemi & Adamson, 2014). As my analysis shows, in Russia it is constructed through the opposition to feminism as an alienated ideology and Western individualistic project of self. Salmenniemi and Adamson (2014) argue that, in the context of scarce resources and major social inequality in Russia, femininity becomes the main feasible resource to establish a secure position in the power hierarchies of the society. Commodification of body and personality become a way to cope with the gendered and classed constraints. As seen from my research findings, even among women belonging to top managerial positions, a rigorous management of the body is emphasized as key capital in the maintenance of their positions and further promotion of life chances. Despite the compliance of a post-feminist subject to an atomized psychological subject demanded by neo-liberalism, the female project has got limited scenarios and variance of practices of reflexive selfhood.

What remains problematic is that 'bodily capital' (Wacquant, 2004, p. 127) is still conceptualized as a feasible resource even among financially successful 'self-made' women who did it to the top of their professional careers. Extensive feminist discussion has emphasized subordination of women's bodies through the patriarchal gaze of culture (for ex., Bartky, 1997; Balsamo, 2002). My research shows a somehow different functioning of power within female bodies when power is transferred from the direct repression. The notion of power is hardly visible through the active articulation of one's

own independence yet it is constantly limiting the scope of women's choices. Women become subjected to a more subtle form of power "directed to winning their consent to and approval of a more competitive consumer-oriented neo-liberal meritocracy" (McRobbie, 2006, p. 105). My participants construct themselves as 'valuable subjects' (Skeggs, 2004a, p. 62) through continuous agentive work on their selves but their autonomy is strictly constrained by the dominant gendered structures. The critique of such post-feminist citizenship should be also targeted towards the agentive articulation of own subjectivity through body work, which ignores its classed background. Such a classed access to the 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999) reproduces symbolic hierarchies and symbolic violence against differently positioned women with fewer capitals for agentive self-production.

By claiming this, I don't want to contest my participants' right on deciding what to do with their bodies and claim them as passive recipients of gendered ideology. Moreover, I think the opposition between structure and agency as a framework of thinking may be counter-productive as it imposes a certain lens of seeing data. Instead, I have been trying to direct my thinking towards the question of what is the 'genealogy' of my participants' agency in the context of neo-liberally imposed self-transformation.

Uneasily, Nancy Fraser (2009) has pointed out that the critique of the second-wave feminism has contributed to the production of neo-liberal individualism. Concentrating on the recognition, their critique didn't spread over redistribution and reconfiguration of the social structure. Similarly, we may claim that despite recognition of own subjectivity in body care among women, the parameters of feminine beauty — that is, the structure within which the choices are made — haven't changed. Similar to the individualization of inequality in the context of unequal social structure in neo-liberalism, the post-feminist subject turns hegemonic gendered social conventions and ideologies into own individualized agentive choice. This introduces new challenges for the feminist critique when "on the one hand, feminist ideals of gender equality, so contentious in the preceding decades, now sit squarely in the social mainstream; on the other hand, they have yet to be realized in practice" (Fraser, 2009, p. 98). What is disturbing is this matching between the emancipatory goals of post-feminism and neo-

liberalism (Näre, forthcoming), which shows how easily (post)-feminist discourse of choice 'marries' neo-liberal governance of the self.

What is more, when something is articulated as a free will and choice, or a technology of happiness (Kinnunen, 2010) the critique of such 'truly one's own' practices becomes very problematic (Näre, forthcoming). Especially it concerns the context when women are constructed as 'cultural dopes' in many studies of cosmetic treatments and the recent academic debate has insisted on granting the women agency in the practices of body care (Davis, 2002, 2009; Blum, 2003; Gimlin, 2000). An emancipatory discourse of my research participants could be approached as a victory of the feminist battle for recognition of women's agency and independence. Indeed, my participants' narratives comfortably fit one of the main feminist mottos "my body – my choice". However, within the cultural logic of neo-liberalism it gains a meaning, which is deeply at odds with the initial feminist project. From the macro-perspective of immense growth of anti-age cosmetic treatments and their gendered and classed consumption worldwide, it becomes obvious that such choices are constrained within gendered and classed structure of society, in which 'bodily capital' (Wacquant, 2004, p. 127) remains the key resource for women. So within neo-liberal logic of imposed self-improvement, structural constraints are turned into individual challenges, which — counter-intuitively — create one's own space for self-empowerment.

Therefore, the research findings point to some possible implications on feminist critique and research. As the emancipatory discourse of my participants shows, it requires some further criticism and sensitivity to do feminist critique in the context when life and political decisions are constructed as choice biographies. Just like neo-liberalism produces entrepreneurial agentive subjects, feminist research may be tempted to depict women doing beauty treatments as free and unconstrained. Indeed, following Gill (2008, p. 435), we can ask: "Yet how much purchase does the notion of objectification have at a moment when far from being presented as passive objects of an assumed male gaze (some) women are increasingly presented as active, desiring heterosexual subjects?" Such a changing mode of power and subjectivity in the context of neo-liberally imposed individualism has become a new challenge for the critical thinking.

This may require feminist thinkers to come up with the new vocabulary of critique that would reconsider the zero-sum relationship between power and subjectivity.

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Appendix 1: Profiles of the Research Participants

№	Pseudonym	Participant in the research	Year of Birth for a Client	Occupation or Socio-Economic Status
1	Inna	Client	1987	Student, works as a secretary
2	Vera	Cosmetologist		
3	Marina	Client	1971	Top-manager of an international company
4	Natasha	Client	1990	Student, maintained by a partner
5	Irina	Client	1978	Manager, spends money on skin care ‘by necessity’
6	Anna	Cosmetologist		
7	Oksana	Client	1986	Unemployed, on maternity leave
8	Katja	Client	1990	Manager of a big company
9	Alyona	Client	1988	Unemployed, on maternity leave
f	Tatyana	Client	1976	Has a permanent managerial position
11	Violetta	Cosmetologist		
12	Polina	Client	1987	Student, Unemployed
13	Nadya	Client	1980	Lawyer

Appendix 2: Interview Themes

Interview Guide for a Client

As was indicated in the University paper I sent you before, the interview is anonymous, all the names and places mentioned in the interview will be changed. The interview will be transcribed and used only for a scientific analysis. An audio file will be destroyed after the end of the research.

Background

Before recording, I ask a participant to indicate the year of birth and the amount of money spent on themselves per month in a piece of paper.

Could you please tell me a few words about yourself? What do you do? What is your occupation? What are your interests?

Can you tell me about the treatments you have had? When you have had them? Why did you decide to have treatments the first time?

Age

Sometimes it is considered impolite to ask someone's age. Do you think it is awkward when people ask woman's age? How do you feel when people ask your age?

Could you describe a situation when you feel your particular age, when something reminds you of how old you are?

Did you ever have a difficulty finding a job because of your age? Does your age play any role in your work life?

Do you think it is bad that sometimes people hide their age? Why do you think people feel shy about their age sometimes? Did you ever feel anything like that?

Were there any situations when people made a mistake defining your age by chance? What did you feel about it?

Probably, you know that in Russian there is a saying "Life begins at 45" – what do you think about it? Would you agree with that? Do you think that a woman/ a man gains or loses sexuality and beauty with age?

Or if you remember the lyrics from the song "The main thing is to be young in our hearts" – do you think people should actually pay less attention to their "body" age?

Body

How would you describe a perfect female/male body?

Do you have any public image/popular person that inspires you, the one you would like to look like?

Did people around you ever give you comments about your body? Did you ever feel that people pay attention to your age? In which situations?

Did you ever feel that you can't do anything with your body because of age? Like buying clothes, doing some kind of sports etc.? Do you think that age puts some limitations on your behavior?

Did you ever notice that somebody was behaving the way he or she should not behave in this age?

Some people think that our bodies are given to us by nature, that we should love our bodies the way they are. Would you agree with this position?

Cosmetic treatments

Why did you decide to do cosmetic surgery? What did you consider when you were thinking about it? When did you first understand you have got some signs of age? When did you first have an idea to do cosmetic surgery? Is it a new experience for you? How often do you visit a cosmetologist?

Do you think people have changed their perception of cosmetic surgery lately? In what way? Did you change it too?

How did people around you react on your decision? Do you discuss questions of body changes with your friends?

How did you find a doctor? Did she or he support your decision to do cosmetic surgery? Did she or he warn you against anything? Did you discuss it with the doctor?

Do you find it a pleasure or a pain to do such treatment? Is there anything painful in these treatments (physically)? How do you cope with this pain?

Could you describe your first impressions when you did some treatment? Did you expect the same effect? Did you have anything disappointing?

Do you feel different about your body now? What changed in the way you feel about your body?

Do you think that people see you differently now?

Are you going to continue these procedures?

Gender norms

Do you think that cosmetic surgery is a woman's prerogative? What do you think about the men who do anti-age cosmetic treatments? Do you think that men and women experience age and ageing in different ways? What does it mean to live in a woman's body? What is positive/negative in it?

Consumption and socio-economic status

Do you spend much money on anti-ageing cosmetic and beauty treatment? Do you find it expensive to do such procedures?

Interview Guide for a Cosmetologist

As was indicated in the University paper I sent you before, the interview is anonymous, all the names and places mentioned in the interview will be changed. The interview will be transcribed and used only for a scientific analysis. An audio file will be destroyed after the end of the research.

How many years do you work as a beautician? Why did you decide to work in this field? Are there any legislative regulations in the field (like education, training, certificates)?

Could you tell me a little bit of the industry of anti-ageing procedures? How it evolved? When it started? When did you notice that people became more interested in that? Are there any changes in this field?

How can you see that someone needs an anti-ageing treatment? Are there any indicators? Are they the same for all the people?

Are there any risks concerning this treatment? Do you always tell your clients about them? How do they usually react?

What kind of people visit you? What kind of people ask for anti-ageing treatment? Are they of the same age? Are there young people coming?

Do men visit you for anti-ageing treatment? Do you think it is more a feminine field? Are there any differences in men's and women's attitude to this treatment? Do you see the same motivations among men and women to do these treatments?

Do you always agree to do this kind of treatment to the clients who visit you? Are there cases when you decide not to do that? Do you always support their motivations and decisions to do that?

Do you understand people's motivations to do these procedures? Do you think it is always justified when people want to do Botox or something like that?