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“Desire to be connected to nature”: Materialism and masculinity in YouTube videos by Salomon

Harri Salovaara

A climber faces the face of the mountain, and in that interface relation unfolds, bringing each into intimacy: fraught, perilous, fleeting, familiar, suspended above the certainty of ground. Something happens in such interfacial zones ... generative encounter, an erosion of secure foundation, an ethical moment of connection–forging. (Cohen, 2015, p. 16)

Material ecocritic Jeffrey J. Cohen claims that climbing a mountain can engender ethically invested moments of intimacy with nature. Taking a cue from Cohen, this chapter investigates how male climbers’ experiences of those moments are represented and branded as “green” in contemporary media. Men’s shared moments of physical intimacy with mountain nature have famously been discussed from transcendentalist thinkers such as Henry David Thoreau through to 20th century poets like Gary Snyder¹ and deep ecologists like Arne Naess. It may therefore not be so surprising that even commercial interests have picked up on this notion. Seeking to represent themselves in terms of ecological connection to nature, brands have started to produce content that is appealing also to those consumers who are tired of old clichés of *conquering* nature. Instead, they may find a discourse of *connection* to nature more appealing. Consequently, this chapter explores how contemporary mountain sports media visually and linguistically represent the haptic, that is, multisensory and kinetically and spatially aware, experiences of men in the mountains. The focus will be on the multinational outdoor gear company Salomon’s advertisement videos *Fast and Light* (2015), *Outliers* (2016), and *Kilian* (2016), produced by Salomon on its own Salomon TV YouTube channel. These three videos were selected due to them each presenting specifically male protagonists involved with the same mountain sport(s) and representing Salomon’s recent (2015–2016) branding attempts in ways that invite comparative analysis between the videos.

¹ Indeed, Snyder’s famous poem “John Muir on Mt. Ritter” (1978) describes an incident where Muir nearly falls off a mountain but is saved through a preternatural physical-spiritual connection with it.

Famous Salomon athlete Kilian Jornet is also present in all of the videos, and this further connects them into a thematic entity. Notably, in connection to specifically male protagonists portrayed as feeling intimately connected to nature in the videos, women have traditionally been represented in mountain sports media as more intimately connected to nature than men (Salovaara, 2015). The main argument of this chapter is that Salomon, a major force in the outdoor recreation business, enhances its brand's environmental credentials by employing its athletes as embodiments of new, seemingly ecological and connected masculinities. These new masculinities appear to dispose of the hegemonic discourse of conquest of mountains and instead embody an ostensibly gentler relationship of connection to the natural environment. That connection, however, is dependent on the often environmentally harmful (and expensive) equipment that the company produces, so the true ecological impact of these new masculinities is arguably negative.

Salomon is owned by the Amer Sports group, a multinational conglomerate who claims to be committed "to reduce the environmental impacts" of its production processes but in reality has extremely meagre environmental policies in place (see Amer Sports, 2019). Salomon-sponsored athlete Kilian Jornet's work in aligning his branding with that of his sponsor illustrates the new type of discourse of intimate connection to nature². In his 2015 article in *The American Alpine Journal*, Jornet explicitly frames his experiences in the mountains by his "desire to be connected to nature ... with the fewest layers separating me from my environment" (Jornet, 2015). He attributes his ability to move quickly in the mountains to the lightweight equipment and apparel that he uses, and that the readership knows his sponsor provides him. This he labels as a "new way of attaining³ the mountain ... without materiel [*sic*] that separates us from the land" (Jornet 2015), a seemingly life-affirming direction but nevertheless irrevocably tied to demands of extreme physical fitness as well as the financial means to pursue one's passions in the mountains. Importantly, the demands of fitness and financial means are tied to questions of able-bodiedness, class, ethnicity, and also, since mountain sports often take place in land appropriated for recreational use from indigenous cultures, questions of environmental justice (Evans, 2002;

² For reasons of linguistic pragmatics, I will use the words "nature" and "environment" throughout this chapter.

³ Catalan native speaker Jornet's original meaning may have changed in the translation of this text, and I interpret the word "attain" to refer to "reaching" or "approaching" the mountain. Other interpretations are also possible, including ones implying conquest.

Ray, 2017; Salovaara & Rodi-Risberg, 2019; Wheeler, E.A., 2013). However, discussion on these issues is rare within mountain sports communities, let alone in mountain sports media relying on profit.

The affects of climbers and mountaineers who in concrete terms touch, temporarily inhabit, and move on rocks and glaciers have so far rarely been foci of research, but Jeffrey Mathes McCarthy's book *Contact: Mountain Climbing and Environmental Thinking* (2008) brings those affects, and the narratives that mountain climbers themselves produce, to the foreground. McCarthy introduces three prominent discourses in mountaineering narratives: "conquest," "caretaking," and "connection". A "conquest" discourse may be seen to reinforce hegemonic patriarchal power structures and, as such, to be a wholly negative response towards the mountains, and the environment in general, and the "caretaking" discourse is tied to modes of thinking that see nature as a resource to be protected for human use. But, significantly, the Salomon videos discussed here specifically attempt to frame their male athletes' relationships with the implicitly ecological notion of a multisensory "connection" and identification to nature. Significantly, this is on the surface level congruent with recent work on ecological masculinities, especially as it is informed by deep ecology: Martin Hultman and Paul M. Pulé stress the importance of valuing "psychospiritual relationships with other-than-human nature" to let us "know, feel, trust, and identify with Earth as part of ourselves" (2018, p. 226). Pulé has also advocated ending men's "self-aggrandisement" and "isolation" from women and nature (2013, p. 27), and Greta Gaard (2014, p. 236) in turn suggested sustainable practices such as cycling and gardening as means to directly connect men with the earth. Notably, intimate connection to nature is not characteristic of traditional masculine socialisations but is more frequently associated with women (Twine, 2001; Wörsching, 2007).

This chapter will proceed by discussing the videos' portrayal of Jornet and the other Salomon-sponsored athletes' intimate, connected, relationships to nature as well as the masculinities they portray as follows. Immediately below, the section titled "Branded Masculinity" investigates the relationship of Salomon's "green" branding and masculinity. According to Susan M. Alexander (2003), particular styles of "branded masculinity" (p. 551) promoted in advertising media socialize men into specific gender performances by means of "[v]isual representations" (p. 540). As sports and branding expert Kimberly S. Miloch points out, if visual branding is done skillfully, the customer buys a company's product not to

“satisfy a particular need” but to buy into the “meaning” that the, arguably incidental, product represents (Miloch, 2010, p. 4). Following the discussion on branded masculinity is an analysis of the three videos, discussing how Salomon’s marketing videos represent the athletes’ relations to nature in each of them individually. The analysis notes especially the videos’ escapist notions of freedom and wildness as well as their seemingly ecological notions of simplicity, intimacy, and tactile connection. This analysis is followed by a theoretically and politically oriented discussion that brings together material feminist and phenomenological research as it relates specifically to the empirical analysis of masculinities and mountain nature.

“Branded masculinity”: The male body in contact with nature (Presented by Salomon®)

Salomon markets itself as a producer of lightweight equipment that enables “fast and light,” “cutting edge” outdoor pursuits. These pursuits are not compatible with traditional images of hypermasculine men “conquering” mountains in military fashion, carrying heavy equipment and being aided by excessive amounts of gear and technology. This contradiction is important for how Salomon positions itself in the field of outdoor sports. To promote sales to as wide a customer base as possible, the videos acquiesce to changes in what Raewyn Connell refers to as hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) and its relation to production; masculinity in the twenty-first century is no more defined solely by what a man *does*, that is, produces, but by what he consumes (Alexander, 2003; Barber and Bridges, 2017), and what Salomon is offering its customer base is, in Barber and Bridges’s terms, “transformation through consumption” (2017, p. 39). In terms of the success of Salomon’s marketing campaign, their new direction in branding seems financially successful, as their net sales have increased by over 100 percent since 2010 (Amer Sports, 2017) This naturally also reflects the general rise of the popularity of outdoors sports but may also reflect how successfully the videos position the viewer as a consumer ready to buy more things (Breivik, 2010).

The cultural coding of the female as part of nature and the male as part of culture is firmly established in ecocritical theory but men engaging in intimate connections with nature run against that settled dichotomy. These videos, however, show the male athlete as ostensibly part of nature, and nature itself endowed with a “moving energy” (Salomon TV, 2015). To enhance sales of its lightweight apparel and shoes by acknowledging changes in

masculinities, Salomon's marketing material seems to sever the ties between hegemonic masculinity, conquest of nature, and outdoor equipment. Somewhat similarly, although in a different context, the recent Gillette advertisement attempts to address changing men and masculinities by challenging toxic masculinity (Gillette, 2019). The misogynist and heterosexist backlash aimed at the video also serves as a useful marker of male resistance to notions of change (Benwell, 2019). Instead of products for conquest-oriented masculinities, Salomon offers products suitable for a new kind of "hybrid masculinity" (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014), an athletic yet sensitive masculinity that no longer isolates itself from nature in heavy boots, thick layers of clothing, and an array of technologically sophisticated equipment but instead professes a desire for intimate contact with it. It should be noted that although the videos proclaim that it is preferable to eschew isolating oneself from nature, the purchasing of the exceedingly expensive lightweight apparel that Salomon markets is inextricably linked to what Greta Gaard calls "elite consumption patterns" and therefore only available to a select minority of the wealthy population in the Global North (2017a, p. 163).

In Salomon's videos the male athlete is, in the McCarthyian sense, in intimate *connection* with the mountain environment and is, at least implicitly, concerned with environmental issues. This is a rather new departure for the brand, as they have previously not been known as an environmental leader in the field. However, their new brand narrative is decidedly more environmentally oriented. *Guilt Trip*⁴ (2016), for example, where glaciologist Alun Hubbard is attached to a group of skiers in an attempt to study climate change, and where the sponsored athletes each in turn commiserate on global warming and their own complicity in it, is an explicitly environmentalist short film with an almost exaggeratedly masculine cast including only one woman. As Ourahmoune et al. (2014) have shown, there is a connection between hegemonic masculinity and environmental destruction but also some hope in sustainable brand narratives to provide a "prism through which ideas of inequality and injustice can be analyzed and fought" (2014, p. 1). However, reliance on a capitalist model, no matter how "green," to solve environmental ills, is precarious at best, and Martha Wörsching (2007) has criticized purportedly "green" outdoor brands for being inherently "unsustainable" while at the same time providing men a fantasy of "escape from an all-too-complex urban social reality into a natural wilderness of primordial innocence" (p.

⁴ *Guilt Trip* is mentioned here to provide context for Salomon's positioning as an environmentally credible brand but is not discussed further.

219). John Tallmadge sees similar escapism in James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking* series. He discusses how it represents nature as a "scene of heroic action" for wild men whose aim may be "meat or discovery, victory or insight" but where nature is perpetually set against the protagonist who is only moving through it (Tallmadge, 2004, p. 25). Tallmadge also discusses mountain climbing, which he sees as one potential positive male response to nature. Tallmadge views mountains as "an arena where manhood could be achieved without violence" (2004, p. 20). However, mountain nature is here implicitly reduced to an arena where vague notions of masculinity are to be actualized in, and the "intrinsic value" of nature in itself is harnessed in service of this, both in *Leatherstocking* and the videos discussed here (Naess, 2008, p. 28). The fantasy of male escapism from urban society is also a recurring feature in the Salomon videos, although contrasting the natural environment with the urban environment is only implicit. More explicitly declared are the oft-used tropes of simplicity, freedom and wildness, as well as both physical and spiritual contact with nature, including concretely touching and feeling the mountains.

The Salomon videos discussed here are approximately 15 minutes long: *Fast and Light* runs for 15 minutes and 18 seconds, *Outliers* for 12 minutes and 26 seconds, and *Kilian* for 13 minutes and 55 seconds. They are artfully crafted in such a way that product placement is done relatively discreetly. *Fast and Light*, *Outliers*, and *Kilian* all share the protagonists' stated desire to move quickly and in a lightweight, intimate manner on mountains, and, predictably, feature Salomon gear in a prominent role in fulfilling that desire. The presence of Salomon's most famous athlete, *National Geographic's* "Adventurer of the Year 2014 and 2018" Kilian Jornet, is another common thread in the films. In *Fast and Light*, he frequently appears as a (mostly) silent figure shown running in the mountains as a kind of embodiment of the "fast and light," minimalist philosophy promulgated by the film's "elder statesmen" protagonists, Bruno Brunod, Fabio Meraldi, and Mario Giacometti. In *Outliers*, Jornet's presence is only alluded to; the film advertises the products that his active social media presence has promoted but never actually shows Jornet himself, only his teammate Michel Lanne and mentor Jordi Tosas. These two films effectively work as the first two parts of a trilogy that concludes with *Kilian*, a film explicitly about Jornet and his relationship to the mountains.

Jornet's athletic personality is thoroughly tied to his performances in the mountains. These performances, including extremely fast ascents of the biggest mountains on earth, are

often timed, and they are well-known in the mountain sports community and partly among a wider audience. His masculinity, however, is not that of the typical “jock” nor that of a rugged outdoorsman for whom “loving nature” is, in Timothy Morton’s words, “enslaved to masculine heteronormativity” (2010, p. 279). Although Jornet certainly possesses traits such as outdoor skills and an able body that Morton (2010, p. 279) gibes, as well as being obviously competitive and fit, qualities that Gaard sees as being negatively implicated in male dominance (2014, p. 227), his thin frame, soft features, and outspoken love of the mountains destabilize possible kneejerk reactions to an athletic, competitive sporting persona. As Garry Whannel has shown, both the male sport star’s perceived morality (in Jornet’s case his seeming espousal of some environmentalist ideas) as well as looks is decisive in “commodifying” them as marketable personalities (194, p. 2003). Further, Whannel has discussed how various masculinities, being as they are in constant flux, are always either experiencing “declining significance” or alternatively “emergent importance,” and how companies are in constant search of “figures with market appeal and dynamic images with positive connotations” (2003, pp. 29, 37). Attaching to an ecologically aware masculinity that can in certain communities be of “emergent importance” seems like a logical strategy for a company that aims to sell its wares to a consumer base that can be expected to be at least superficially interested in such relatively novel forms of masculinity. This new, connected masculinity is depicted in the material as wishing for intimate and caring connection to nature but this wish is in reality simultaneously in tension with actual material harm done to nature through the consumerism implicitly advocated in the videos.

Fast and Light is the first of the three videos analyzed here. Origin stories are attractive to consumers, and *Fast and Light* lays the foundations for Salomon’s position at the forefront of fast mountain movement. The benefits of moving fast in the mountains are not explicated in the video but experienced viewers may empathise with alpinist Colin Haley’s justification for moving fast and light: “[c]arrying little and moving fast is to emulate the experience of a wild, roaming animal ... I am more envious of a lynx or a fox than I am of a mule” (Haley quoted in Ives, 2016, p. 11). Fast and light movement in the mountains is also preferable from a practitioner’s viewpoint in terms of being exposed for less time to the natural hazards encountered in the mountains. Fast movement is also inherently different from a kinetic point of view as compared to slower movement, and demands different kind of presence from the practitioner, which in turn produces a different affective response.

Fast and Light depicts (s)aged, thoughtful, and sensitive men who, in idyllic pastoral settings share with the viewer their views on mountains and nature. The film's protagonist Bruno Brunod, Fabio Meraldi, and Marino Giacometti are "skyrunning" (mountain running as branded by the International Skyrunning Federation) legends, and the principal theme of the film is an entanglement of the beauty of nature and how that beauty is attainable by using the lightweight, simple, equipment that Salomon provides. The beginning of the video uses shots of bright sunshine high up on the mountains alternating with shots of ambient mist down in the valley, and the initial protagonist, Marino Giacometti, is symbolically interlinked to mountain nature by likening him to an Alpine chough who is shown in close-up flying against a mountain backdrop while Giacometti is running up the mountain.

Predictably, Salomon running shoes are an essential part of the process of pursuing unity with nature: for Giacometti, "to see a beautiful mountain," awakens a desire to climb it "by the simplest means possible using my legs and a pair of shoes". Moreover, for Bruno Brunod, going to the mountains seems to arouse a feeling deep inside him. He declares that there is virtue in simply putting "your shoes on" and go[ing] into the mountains. *Try* the trails, *look* at the mountains, *listen* to the marmots, *watch* the mountain goats, *feel* the stillness of the mountain lakes, the silence" (emphases mine). *Fast and Light* and the other videos discussed here promote the notion of mountain sports being a *multisensory* practice that allows for a direct meeting with nonhuman nature through seeing and feeling. Throughout Brunod's soliloquy, the film plays images of Jornet wearing a pair of red and black high-end Salomon running shoes while running in the mountains. Jornet is frequently present in the background imagery of the film, which uses his star power to put the words of the "elders" into a marketable context. Mountain nature in the film is a source of strength, and seemingly apart from the fragility of the nature of the lowlands. Fabio Meraldi extols it in terms reminiscent of deep ecological thought as being "a moving energy ... the true strength of the Earth," a strength that is possible to understand only "by running, by feeling the energy that it emanates." Arne Naess discussed climbing, and its "simple joy of rhythm and movement ... and the appreciation of lichens, rocks and stones, flowers, animals, the sky" rather similarly to Meraldi but, importantly, contrasted his climbing activities to those "risk- and competition-colored images of climbing propagated by the mass media" (Naess, 2008, p. 60). This implies that personal experiences of feeling connected to nature in the mountains

are tainted by commercial interests that attempt to frame such experiences in service of more sales.

As discussed above, Alexander (2003) and Wörsching (2007) have investigated corporate marketing interests and varieties of masculinity in their works. Alexander recognizes the corporations' desire of "maintaining some aspects of traditional gender roles to ensure continued markets for their products," but maintains "they also serve as agents of social change by creating new consumer markets" (p. 536). This relies on a market where consumers are provided "with the correct answer or product in articles and advertisements" (p. 551). Wörsching, in her analysis, draws an unambiguous dividing line between the kinds of consumer marketing directed at men and women. She asserts that marketing of outdoor and mountaineering gear to women highlights the sport's "pleasurable, healthy, playful, nurturing, and sustainable" qualities while marketing to men addresses them as "real men" and highlights masculine traits such as conquering and battling as well as "risk taking, and (latently violent) domination of the body and the natural environment" through which a man's "hegemonic status" is reinforced and (re)claimed (p. 216). As of this writing, Wörsching's analysis is only a decade old but this type of masculinity seems already outdated, at least in *Fast and Light*, and also in light of the Gillette advertisement discussed previously. This hints at commercial operators, quite perceptively, pursuing changes in masculinity in hopes of increased profits.

In *Outliers*, the second video of Salomon's "trilogy", Salomon athletes Michel Lanne and Jordi Tosas further advance Salomon's marketing strategy of simplicity, connection, and lightweight apparel and footwear. The film illustrates the change in addressing (male) consumers and mountain sports enthusiasts. But, although the men featuring in the film are again portrayed in very sensitive and empathetic terms, expressing these seemingly feminine traits is arguably easier for them because they also profit from certain hypermasculine traits that they implicitly embody. Lanne, for example, is depicted flying in helicopters in his work as a mountain rescue professional, and the film takes advantage of established Hollywood clichés of showing slowmotion images of high octane and high tech work. Although rescue work could be aligned with the important goal of increasing men's care towards others (Hultman and Pulé, 2018), this care in *Outliers* is framed in masculinist imagery. However, as in the other videos, hegemonic notions of masculinity are balanced by expressed softer sentiments: Lanne states that to him, a life in the mountains is "simple," and running is a

“truly humble” way to approach them. For him, mountains represent “reality,” and are “the driving force of my life,” a force that he can feel in his “heart” and “guts”. His mountain man personality is throughout the film contrasted by showing him amidst an idyllic family man scene with his young daughter and his newfound maturity of approaching the mountains in less risky ways than before. This is part of his “freedom,” something “we all have,” Salomon convinces us, if we only invest in the right brand.

For Tosas, the other protagonist in the film, going to the mountains in a “fast and light” style “respects the mountain” because, he claims, it is inherently “much gentler on the mountain.” In the film, he further explicates his philosophy of fast mountain travel in terms suggestive of sensuality, even sexuality: “[f]ast and light is a connection with the mountain. It’s a relationship between it and you. I can really feel the stones. I can feel the snow. I can really touch the mountain all the time. There is no technology in the way.” Conveniently, the excessive amount of fossil-fuel driven research and development that went into the making of Salomon’s lightweight gear is backgrounded here, as is the fact that Salomon’s high tech gear enables Tosas to feel this connection. However, Tosas’s sensual description of his practice could also be read in ecosexual terms. Ecosexuals, as defined in the *Ecosex Manifesto*, strive to love the earth “madly, passionately, and fiercely,” to “caress rocks” and “save the mountains” (Stephans & Sprinkle, 2014). Sarah Ensor is appropriately sceptical of some ecosexuals’ “green hedonism” being capable to truly address environmental ills, and Tosas’s intimate connection to the mountain is therefore best approached critically (Ensor, 2018, p. 151). In *Outliers*, Tosas describes his connection to the mountain as “natural evolution,” and the film’s ending positions Salomon as a pathfinder in this endeavor: “we’re just at the beginning”. Even though Jornet is absent in the film, he is still implicitly present in it via the products that the film promotes, his contact with the people in the film, and the mountain landscape of the Mont Blanc Massif where he has both built his celebrity status within the mountain sports community but also become the embodiment of intimate, not only discursive but bodily connection to the mountains⁵.

⁵ Ironically, Jornet himself is keenly aware of how he is being used by his sponsors: “[we] are now on the era of personal branding, we are all not any more only *a person* but brands who need to act to be liked on a global social world. Myself the first thing I do when I finish a activity is to post my trainings on movescount and Strava, tell my feelings on Twitter, post a nice picture on Instagram and say something stupid and *existential* on Facebook” (2015, grammatical errors in original). Further, a recent film of him depicts him divulging self-

The third video of the “trilogy” discussed here is *Kilian*. The film portrays a curious double entendre: on the one hand, it allows Jornet, the main (and male) protagonist to again express his appreciation of the mountains as a “playground” where he can “feel wild,” but on the other hand that privilege to experience the mountains in this “wild” way is implicitly enabled by his girlfriend Emelie Forsberg, a highly accomplished athlete in her own right, but who is in this film shown in a domestic role as a gardener and cycling supporter of her boyfriend in his grand mountain adventure. As an ironic antithesis to Greta Gaard’s wish for ecomasculine men to engage in cycling and gardening activities (2014, p. 236), this role in *Kilian* still falls to the woman. The film seems to imply that a man cares for the mountains, not for the domestic sphere.

To sum up, all of the films discussed here are thoroughly depoliticized in gender issues, and therefore only seem to reinforce old notions of mountains as playgrounds for masculine men, even in the presence of recent materials showing women competing with men in the mountains (Dream Lens Media, 2019). There are of course no grounds to doubt Jornet’s caring extending beyond the mountains, but the implied message of the film does not support such an analysis nor support interpreting the films’ values in either profeminist or ecologically congruent ways. This is not to diminish the personal practices of the men in the videos, many of whom seem to genuinely connect with mountain nature, but on a systemic level, the videos still rely on perpetuating capitalist notions of mountains as a “playground” where successful and affluent males can temporarily retire for some “me time.” From here, I discuss how to theoretically understand the videos’ claims of intimate connection with the mountains, and what to make of those claims politically.

Discussion: Ecological masculinities and material feminisms

Much of the grounding for new/ecocritical/feminist/vibrant materialisms⁶ relies on the biological notion that nonhuman bacteria and viruses constitute a significant proportion of the

destructive thoughts and feeling “dirty” in part because of his work as a professional, sponsored athlete (Montaz-Rosset & Serra, 2018).

⁶ All materialisms within the environmental humanities rely on feminist thought and the work in Alaimo and Hekman’s *Material Feminisms* (2008) so the term *material feminisms* is

human body and genome and influence our actions (Bennett, 2010; National Institutes of Health, 2012). Therefore, acknowledging the agential power of these entities is at the heart of feminist materialisms (Oppermann, 2016). Pertinently to the current discussion of mountain climbers, Cohen argues that the act of climbing (concretely, the act of touching rock as a climber) enables the climber to feel in nonhuman nature a “dynamism” (Cohen, 2015, p. 11). In *Ecological Masculinities* (2018), Hultman and Pulé discuss the material feminist discourses and their theoretical basis and, drawing on Greta Gaard (2017b), lament their hitherto emphasis on theory instead of political action. Further, I have argued elsewhere that to dismantle Trumped up (pun intended) and harmful boundaries between men, women, and nature, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s *rhizome*, which forms the network where different “assemblages,” that is, “ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant material” (Bennett, 2010, p. 23) appear, would be a useful concept in studying men’s relationships to nature (Salovaara, 2015). While the usefulness of “rhizome-theory” to material feminisms is often acknowledged (Kerridge, 2017, p. xv), the theoretical understanding of male-female-nature “entanglements” (Iovino and Oppermann, 2012, p. 76) should not prevent critically examining why it is precisely men in the global North who are disproportionately complicit in environmental destruction (Pease, 2016). Martin Hultman states this complicity quite simply: “men are the big problem” (Hultman, 2016, p. 2). Further, privileged men who have the disposable income to buy expensive and resource-intensive outdoor gear and travel internationally to feel “connected to nature,” indulge in acts that are arguably directly harmful to the environment, whatever their stated motivations. As Serpil Oppermann and Serenella Iovino point out, humanity is not a unified monolith all equally implicated in the environmental crises but gender, ethnicity, and class, among other things, all affect the level of our complicity (2017).

Although white, middle class men may be seen to be the main culprits in causing global environmental destruction (Hultman and Pulé, 2018), it could theoretically still be possible to change the narrative by engaging men directly with nature, not as an “environment” nor a “natural resource” but as a place to feel connected to earth. According to Cohen, the physical sensation of touching rock may for some individuals cause an “epistemological shift” that reduces ideas of human singularity and separateness from nature,

mostly used in this chapter in favor of, for example, *vibrant matter*, *new materialisms*, or *material ecocriticism*.

to nonsense (2015, p. 43). This is not meant to bestow an intentionality to stone but instead to recognize the concrete, material effects it may have on humans (Cohen, 2015, p. 46). Alan McNee discusses mountain climbers' experiences of connection in the mountains and argues that they are

primarily embodied, physical ones, gained through the act of climbing rather than the act of pure seeing ... an encounter with mountain landscapes in which the human subject experiences close physical contact —sometimes painful or dangerous contact, sometimes exhilarating and satisfying, but always involving some kind of transcendent experience brought about through physical proximity to a rock face, ice wall, or snow slope. It is haptic rather than tactile, because it involves not just skin contact but sensations felt through the whole body, and very often the sensation of movement through the landscape and awareness of one's own position within that landscape. (McNee, 2014, pp. 12–14)

In other words, the mountain affects how the man perceives his place in the world. Oppermann sees nature's power of "making things happen" as congruent with the human ability to construct narratives of how things in the world happen. She argues that matter is "storied" and that the effects of climate-induced glacial retreat, for example, may be seen as "stories about the earth's changing climate, blending global warming with political anxieties and social changes" (2016, pp. 89, 95). Therefore, what kinds of stories matter and are told, matters.

Many of the significant assumptions in the material feminist discourses were already vocalized in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological philosophy (1993; 1995) more than five decades before "the material turn was well established in cultural (eco)criticism" (Iovino and Oppermann, 2012, p. 75). Further, Iovino states that expressing joy in simply "feeling" and "touching the mountain" concedes how information flows "through bodies" and directly affects the experiencing subject (2016, p. 21). Phenomenological philosophy in this context is applicable because it acknowledges the materiality of our bodies and thus allows for the understanding that, as eco-phenomenologist Monika Langer puts it, "consciousness is thoroughly corporeal" and "subjectivity" can therefore never be "distinct from bodily being"

(2003, p. 116). According to Langer, Merleau-Ponty's philosophy provides a "nonreductionistic, nonanthropocentric" awareness of nonhuman nature that allows for various ethically viable reactions to nonhuman nature (2003, p. 116). In this eco-phenomenological view, nature is no longer a "stage" but "an actor" (Klaver, 2003, p. 160). Just as the materiality of the human is recognized, so is the coeval agency and "specific materiality of stones" whose agency does not diminish by the "cultural articulations" that humans confer *on* them or by the "practices" that humans engage in *with* them (Klaver, 2003, p. 161). In *Eye and Mind* (1993), Merleau-Ponty even claims that the body can only exist when there is a specific type of meeting, a certain sparkle, between the one who sees and touches and the one who or, *what*, is seen and touched (p. 15). Representations of such intimate and embodied meetings are frequent and foregrounded in the Salomon videos discussed here.

Axel Goodbody claims that the root cause of the current ecological crisis is our "alienation from the body and our feelings" (p. 66). In *Phenomenology of Perception* (1995), Merleau-Ponty claims that to *be* a body, *any* body, is "to be intervolved" with nature and its processes (p. 82). In this view, the "affective life" of the human body and the relation between the body and the rest of the world is that of "a system" where the body and "the world together form a human-nonhuman assemblage of mutually constitutive subjectivity" (Merleau-Ponty, 1995, pp. 154, 203). Human perception of nature is for Merleau-Ponty thus not a prerequisite of the existence of nature. However, for him the "meaning" of nonhuman entities such as "[a]n unclimbable rock face, a large or small, vertical or slanting rock" lies in the meaning that the human actor projects on them, and this is the particular "significance in things" that Merleau-Ponty grants nonhuman nature (Merleau-Ponty 1995, p. 436). In Bennett's terms, this may be seen as the assemblage of the human endeavoring to climb the mountain and the individualistic, more separate, "thing-power" of the mountain itself (2010, p. 2).

To illustrate the connection between climber and mountain, both Bennett and McCarthy refer to Thoreau's famous recounting of his ascent of Mount Katahdin (*Ktaadn* in Thoreau's spelling). Arriving on the summit of the mountain, Thoreau feels an "uncanny

presence” of wildness⁷ (Bennett, 2010, p. 2) that McCarthy interprets not as a feeling of terror but as one of “connection,” a “breakdown of the human/nature binary” (McCarthy, 2008, p. 12). Feeling in awe on the summit of Katahdin, Thoreau momentarily identifies more with genteel society than the “men nearer of kin to rocks and to wild animals” whom he envisions inhabiting the mountain (Thoreau, 2008, p. 180). For a short, fleeting moment, he experiences an epiphany where “this matter” of his own body has suddenly “become so strange” to him that he seems to feel nearly possessed by the material world when he is finally in “*Contact! Contact!*” with the “*actual world*” (p. 181, emphases in original). To acknowledge the strangeness and implicit “darkness” of connecting with a mountain, in Morton’s terms, a “*strange stranger*,” is, however, arguably easier in literary texts than in the commercial content discussed here (Morton, 2016, p. 160, 18, emphasis in original). The nature of commercial media dictates that aesthetic values in Salomon’s videos are always subordinate to monetary values. Highlighting the “weirdness” (Morton, 2016, p. 7) of human-nonhuman encounters would most likely be counterproductive for the purposes of Salomon’s marketing scheme.

It is safe to say that commitment to gender equality is not a salient feature of any of the films but that they do portray a sense of commitment to mountain nature. As such, they can be interpreted as expressing attitudes of biophilia and geophilia, both of which share a resemblance though the former is more committed to expressing solidarity to biotic others and the latter to abiotic “life” forms. In Stephen R. Kellert’s (1993) usage, biophilia expresses an ethical basis of human-nonhuman relations whereas Cohen enunciates geophilia as a “forging of alliance and embrace” with the earth’s very crust and the stones that it consists of (Cohen, 2015, p. 252). Kellert explains the “biophilia hypothesis” (Kellert and Wilson 1993) to consist of nine biological ways of relating to nonhuman nature: utilitarian, naturalistic, ecologicistic-scientific, aesthetic, symbolic, humanistic, moralistic, dominionistic, and negativistic. Simon C. Estok has been vocal in his criticism of the hypothesis because he sees that it “fails to explain why environmental crises are worsening” and also fails to “encompass the complex range of ethical positions that humanity generally displays toward the natural environment” while also falsely producing “a single point” instead of “a spectrum condition”

⁷ See, for example, Robert Bly’s *Iron John* (1990) for more on Jungian male archetypes and how the mythopoetic men’s movement attempts to access men’s wildness through experiences in nature.

that Estok sees to more appropriately describe current human attitudes towards nature (2017, p. 10). Instead of biophilia as a useful heuristic, Estok offers his concept of “ecophobia” because it better captures the “hatred” and “fear” that much of humanity seems to feel towards nature (2017, p. 12).

Estok is especially critical of including a “dominionistic” attitude, “the desire to master the natural world” (Kellert, 1993, p. 56) as one form of biophilia because he sees it as continuing a discourse of nature as something to be “conquered” (Estok, 2017, p. 10). However, according to Kellert, biophilia may also manifest as a “naturalistic” relationship towards nature, and this “tendency may simplistically be regarded as the satisfaction derived from direct contact with nature” and the “intimate experience” that is available for those who venture open-mindedly into nature. He specifically sees “climbing” as one possible activity through which such direct contact may be experienced (Kellert, 1993, p. 46). In Salomon’s videos, the “dominionistic” (Kellert, 1993, p. 56) attitude that Estok criticizes is not apparent on the surface level. They do not follow a discourse of conquest, and do not seem to regard nature as an adversary. Bestowing a certain agency to nonhuman nature and expressing a desire to be intimately connected to nature are seemingly on the biophilic end of the biophilia-ecophobia spectrum yet promoting industrially produced outdoor equipment, which through its manufacturing and distribution processes is unambiguously complicit in destroying the very places where that equipment is to be used, they participate in a process not dissimilar to any (other) ecophobic human practice.

When famed veteran mountain climber Conrad Anker was recently interviewed, he lamented the silence on climate change and environmental issues among mainstream sports personalities. Indeed, although some professional sports organizations and their athletes may occasionally take political stances against, for example, racism, active and vocal insistence on the importance of fighting against climate change or biodiversity loss are exceedingly rare. Anker further surmised that due to mountain climbers having a “direct connection” to nature and the mountains, that connection “permeates who we are,” and perhaps enables more realistic perspectives on the supposed exceptionality of humans and, indeed, allows for the conspicuously materialistic observation that “we *are* carbon” (Ives, 2017, emphasis mine). This may be so but, again, despite this privileged position or, perhaps precisely because of that, (male) mountain athletes are not flocking to the defence of the environment. This implies internalized indulgence: Since mountain athletes rely on their privilege to adventure

in the mountains, especially professional mountain athletes may be reluctant to voice even implicit criticism towards their sponsors, regardless of their sponsor being implicated in environmental harm. So, even though mountain athletes rely on the environment not changing so drastically that they would not be able to indulge in their mountain pursuits, their very practice contributes to said change.

Although the desire to conquer is sadly alive and well in many mountaineers and the discourse widespread in mainstream media, according to McCarthy⁸, there are also many mountaineers who actively denounce an acquisitive “conquest” mode of approaching mountains and instead align with a “caretaking” attitude towards them. The caretaking discourse, as discussed by McCarthy, is based on environmentalist attitudes, but problematically, also implicitly treats the mountain environment as a “resource” (2008, p. 108) to be managed. The caretaking discourse is congruent with how Bennett has framed “environmentalism” as part of a green consumerist movement (Bennett, 2010, pp. 111, 114). Bennett bases her analysis of different ecological attitudes to earlier work by Guattari and comes to the profound conclusion that environmentally-minded individuals in fact act out the roles of consumers bestowed upon them by a powerful capitalist ideological “assemblage” that produces a certain “psychosocial self” that sees environmentalism as a viable personal project of self-actualization (Bennett, 2010, p. 113). Such a psychosocial self, having had their “bodily affect” appropriated into a green consumer self can act in ways that are both consistent with their environmentalist self and the capitalist system without feeling the kind of cognitive dissonance that engaging in an implicitly hostile conquest discourse would produce (Bennett, 2010, p. 114).

Extending Marx’s famous parable that production both “creates the consumer” as well as “the manner of consumption” to mountain climbing, (Marx, 2005, p. 92), the circular assemblage of the Salomon production company and brand becomes clearer: by producing the “need” to move quickly in the mountains, Salomon creates a customer base looking for certain kind of products, and it then becomes financially viable to use environmental

⁸ McCarthy’s findings are significant because they run counter both to some male mountaineers’ hypermasculine posturing as conquerors of mountains as well as mainstream media’s uncritical reiteration of such attitudes. My personal experience interviewing mountain athletes for a research project supports McCarthy’s notion that ecological attitudes are more prevalent in actual practitioners of the sport than mainstream media reporting would indicate.

“resources” to make the product that the newly created customer base then may use in a “natural resource” such as the mountains. As Stacy Alaimo claims, green, environmentalist attitudes become “just another consumer choice” available for the environmentally conscientious consumer (2010, p. 92). Further, Bennett argues that if we humans accept the discourse of being consumers instead of political actors, then we will not be able to stage truly alternative and effective resistance to capitalist, profit-driven consumerism that merely poses as “green” while at the same time being implicated in the destruction of the very greenery it claims to be devoted to (2010, pp. 113–114).

To offer an alternative to a consumption-based attitude to the environment, Bennett suggests that espousing “vital materialism” instead of environmentalism would allow us to see ourselves as *part of* various natural processes and not as *consumers of* a resource; in other words, to live not “on earth” but “as earth” (Bennett, 2010, p. 111). According to Bennett, to “horizontalize” and thus reframe human-nonhuman relations in such a way could alter our current, destructive, practices where especially the populations in the global North continue to “produce and consume in the same violently reckless ways” as before (pp. 112–113). In other words, though environmentalist consumers have a “psychosocial self” that resists the exploitation of natural “resources” and is thus obviously preferable to an overtly exploitative mindset, in Bennett’s view environmentalist consumers are nevertheless not materialistic *enough* to accomplish a change in human-nonhuman relations. Instead, the perpetuation of the imagery of *man* raised above and apart from nature as its consumer continues to contribute to what Alaimo has termed “semiotics of the vertical” (2001, p. 283). However, Salomon’s recent marketing videos, at least on their surface, resist such simple semiotics, and Kilian Jornet’s personal athlete brand, for example, has for several years aligned with a more “horizontal semiotics” where human-nonhuman relations are presented more in the form of an assemblage, or, rhizome than as a vertically aligned hierarchical structure (Salovaara 2015, p. 83).

McCarthy’s work on mountain climbing and the environment would seem to support Bennett and Alaimo’s views. Drawing on thinkers such as Thoreau, John Muir, and Terry Gifford, he discusses the long tradition in mountain climbing of seeing nature not as something hostile to conquer or something feminine and inert to manage but profoundly as a companion and subjectivity with which “climbers are fundamentally intertwined” (McCarthy, 2008, p. 169). In this discourse of multisensory “connection” climbers are “connected” to

their environment, in tune with “the overlap between the human and the world,” and can *hear* “the ice speak” (p. 169). According to McCarthy, climbing provides an ideal vehicle to move past Cartesian dualisms: the “intense physical attention” that the climber must extend to “ice or rock” forces an individual to “experience nature” directly and to “know it as more than the passive resource our culture of consumption” represents it as (p. 170). Such sentiment is, perhaps surprisingly, fairly prevalent among contemporary professional climbers who insist on not being “adrenaline junkies” hooked on ever bigger and more dangerous challenges in the mountains but instead seeking an “intimate relationship” with nature (Caldwell, 2017). Even so, the individual ecological sentiments of climbers and athletes, laudable as they may be, remain largely depoliticized and thus do not offer obvious departure points for widespread change.

Summary: “Men are still the big problem”

In this chapter I have explored the emergence of new representations of connected masculinities through the lens of mountaineering and mountain sports by employing theories of material feminisms and phenomenological philosophy to investigate how Salomon’s commercial videos represent the embodied experiences of male mountaineers “in nature.” The key discovery was that although the videos do present glimpses of intimate male connection and caring towards nature, they do not in themselves offer very useful guideposts for what Hultman and Pulé describe as “masculine ecologisation” (2018, p. 37). However, as the popularity of outdoor sports keeps rising, and correspondingly the revenues for companies producing equipment for those sports increase, the role of men and masculinities “in nature” is also inevitably changing. This would offer willing companies an avenue to engage with broader fronts of new masculinities but since companies operating within the capitalist system rely on ever-increasing sales and production, that avenue also seems inherently problematic.

In an attempt to enhance the brand’s environmental credibility and, perhaps to “naturalize” the gear that it sells, Salomon attempts to display the male athletes and their bodies as *part* of nature, not *above* nature: The videos represent the male body’s interaction with the material nonhuman world with which it is in physical contact as a “natural” activity for men in tune with their bodies and its surroundings. That said, the visually most evocative

imagery in the videos still often relies on cinematic shots of men skipping across knife-edge ridges silhouetted against the sky. The most germane question that follows from this is whether we can infer based on the above discussion that the commercial videos represent a more general trend towards increased connection in man-nature relationships or whether they merely reflect the company's clever and inclusive branding. Sadly, the latter seems more likely.

Although there are weak positive signs of changing masculinities in relation to the earth in the videos and in society at large, men still remain “the big problem” and their practices in nature and in society at large need to be politicized and analyzed beyond exclamations of connection on the surface and *de facto* destruction deep down. To achieve that, novel forms of living, in Bennett's terms, “*as earth*”, are needed (2010, p. 111, emphasis mine). Arne Naess, often admired for connecting his environmental and mountaineering practices into a comprehensive whole, said that “human stupidity and hubris and a lack of intimate feeling for the environment result in human catastrophes,” and that “modesty” and “understanding ourselves as part of nature” and mountains are vital when striving for authentic ecological being (2008, p. 66–67). Indeed, Naess may provide a useful point of comparison for discussions of contemporary mountain athletes. Naess was a prolific mountaineer as well as being instrumental in developing deep ecology. He was also explicitly political and was arrested for participating in environmental protest. However, he was also a very privileged individual who was at times myopic towards gender, class, and ethnicity issues, and relied on his physically fit body to experience the mountains, similarly to the representations of men in the videos discussed here.

As Raewyn Connell points out, many men and masculinities are heavily implicated in environmental destruction but this is not a biological, “material,” trait but one borne of socialization and therefore one that it is possible to change (Connell, 2017). Martin Hultman, in his keynote speech at the Rachel Carson Center's workshop on masculinities and the environment in 2016, stressed that “[w]e need to make men a marked category as well as creating a possible exit politics for men who want to change” (Hultman quoted in MacGregor and Seymour, 2017, p. 12). McCarthy claims that just as the Romantics changed peoples' views of mountains, so can new understandings of climbers in nature inspire new ways to connect with nature (2008, p. 12) but I hesitate to consider athletes and mountaineers as avatars of true change: Even though the subtle positive glimpses may be encouraging,

moving ever faster and lighter in the mountains still does not get us “far enough fast enough” towards masculine ecologisation. Instead, each individual male mountain athlete acknowledging their own privileged position and acting, through the old “personal is political” adage from that realization towards better equity and ecology, could perhaps make sure that there is enough mountain nature to enjoy for future generations of individuals across the gender and species spectrum. Crucially, this realization should rely not only on their personal enjoyment but on acknowledging the intrinsic value of nonhuman nature.

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