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MEN IN ADVERTISING: GENTLEMEN'S QUARTERLY

A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Men in Advertising:

Gentlemen's Quarterly 1985-2000

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Communication & Media Technologies

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A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Men in Advertising:
Gentleman's Quarterly 1985-2000

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Abstract

This thesis examines images of men and the products they promote in *Gentleman's Quarterly (GQ)* magazine using the symbolic interaction theory of gender display developed by Erving Goffman in his monograph *Gender Advertisements* (1979). The study examines advertising images for evidence of sexual objectification of men, and reports on the extent different product types use gender displays to attract a male target market. 332 advertising images appearing in *GQ* from 1985 to 2000 were coded in ten categories of ritual display: setting, image position, image dominance, skin exposure, body portrayal, self-touch, gaze, and product type. The study concludes that trends of sexual objectification of men in GQ advertising are not revealed by application of Goffman's theory and method.

A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Men in Advertising: *Gentleman's Quarterly* 1985-2000

Introduction

On average, Americans are exposed to 1,500-3,000 advertisements a day (Semenik, 2002). For the most part, we tend to forget what these advertisements and commercials are about, let alone what product and company they are promoting. Even so, we do tend to remember certain messages contained within the advertisements, especially if they are repetitive. In order for a name brand, a product, service, or an idea to have any hopes of breaking through the repetitive noise level, an advertisement needs to have an attention getter, something that draws viewers to concentrate on it long enough for it to get the message across. Although unfortunate for many hoping to retain traditional public codes of morality, sex sells, which is why many marketers use sex appeal to attract attention. Historically, women have borne the brunt of sexual objectification and stereotyping particularly in images designed for the male viewer. There have been numerous theories and studies analyzing specifically the impact of sexual objectification on women and girls especially. However, many commentators have observed that there is a growing trend to objectify men as sex objects themselves, constructing a twisted form of gender equalization feminist scholars did not intend to create.

Rationale

Sexual objectification and the portrayal of gender has been a major topic of discussion for over 30 years; one specific topic has been and continues to be how the two

sexes have been portrayed in the mass media. However, usually the subject of such research has been women and the feminine gender. The portrayal of men and masculinity has usually been discussed as an afterthought, used to point out the inequalities between men and women, as well as the stereotypical gender associations. While such studies are necessary in order to promote women's issues (issues that many say have been ignored far too long), men's issues also need to be examined. In today's continuously changing society, the portrayal of men needs to be examined and considered just as much as the portrayal of women in order to better comprehend how society views gender issues.

According to Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu, and Nishida (2001), "only 29.5% of all role depiction [in U.S. prime time television commercials] were non-stereotypical...[and] that 28% of American females were depicted in masculine roles" (124). Although the authors state that these findings reflect both the changing status of women and men in U.S. culture, they do not discuss the portrayal of men in traditional feminine roles. This is just one example of various studies that concentrate on the portrayal of women, while ignoring the needed examination of the portrayal of men. By examining men's fashion magazine advertisements and their portrayal of men, we can examine one popular form of one medium's (i.e. fashion magazines) portrayal of this often ignored gender.

Furthermore, previous research has claimed the existence of "perfect" and "beautiful" images of women have a tremendous effect on women – creating the desire to become this make-believe, air brushed person, thus creating the desire to purchase whatever product or service is being promoted. But women are not the only ones

susceptible to unrealistic images. Currently, there have been observations made regarding how men are being portrayed in print images – it appears that more men are being used to promote new beauty products made specifically for men. It has also been observed that a correlation may exist between the increase of male beauty products being advertised and the increase of male beauty product purchases, as well as an increase of men going in for plastic surgery, manicures, facials, and other services traditionally marketed to and purchased by women. Thus, from a social standpoint, it is important to address such trends to have a better idea of which direction our society may be taking.

Through this research, I hope to delve further into my personal interests of advertising, marketing techniques and gender studies, as well as open doors to further research focusing on comparison between the genders.

Research Questions

For this thesis, I will be asking the following questions: How have men been portrayed historically and currently in the advertisements of a men's fashion magazines? To what extent have they been portrayed in a sexual manner? Has the portrayal – whether sexual or otherwise, changed over time? Is there a trend towards increased sexual objectification of men in print ads? Finally, has there been a change over time in the types of product advertisement using men?

Review of Literature

Many observations have been made regarding the degrading images of women in today's media and advertising. With popular television shows like "Survivor," "Friends," and MTV's "Real World" splashing images of Barbie-like midriffs around, and a

plethora of look alike "perfect" beauties in advertising, it's no wonder many viewers, scholars and commentators have voiced concern over the increased objectification of women and girls in the media, and the potential effects these images may have on them. The scope of literature related to images of women in advertising numbers in the thousands. Yet other observations have been made commenting on the portrayal of men – not only do media images of men use stereotypical images of males but there seems to be an increasing number of images of men flaunting their sexuality, especially to promote such beauty products traditionally associated with the female market.

During and after the peak of the women's liberation movement (1960s-early 1980s[1]), feminists and scholars have most frequently focused on the female image within mass media. How women are portrayed, in what surroundings they are portrayed in, the products they advertise, and what, if any, occupations they hold appear to be the main topics of scholarship – especially in comparison with images of men. According to a study performed by McArthur and Resko (1975),

> Male product users in...television commercials were more likely than females to be rewarded with social and career advancement. Female product users, on the other hand, were more likely than males to be rewarded with the approval of family and husband or boyfriend...and were more likely than males to achieve success via [nurturing] relationships (218).

In an analysis of print advertisements from 1958 to 1978, Courtney and Whipple (1983) concluded that these ads often showed males and females in a stereotypical way, women

[1] According to: http://www.britannica.com/women/articles/women%27s_liberation_movement.html

as sexual objects and men as the decision makers and breadwinners. Furthermore, Soley and Kurzbard's (1986) research discovered that females were more likely to be shown nude or partially clothed than their masculine counterparts. According to Fowles (1996), author of Advertising and Popular Culture, women are often portrayed as passive creatures in advertisements, being placed indoors and often in a reclining position or sitting. Masse & Rosenblum's (1988) study of the portrayal of men and women in magazine images supports this, finding that females are more likely to be depicted in partial views and/or in a subordinate position (27% for females versus 4% for males). In a study of the portrayal of women in prime time television commercials in April 1993, Lin (1999) concluded that 66% of women's images "were still likely to be presented in a nonfunctional, decorative role in relation to the product they endorsed in an ad" (262). She also states that 42% of females appeared in "alluring contexts" (264), supporting the notion that "sex appeals are still considered an important method in the advertiser's sales approach for a large number of product categories." This is especially interesting since it appears that the feminist movement during the 1970s and 80s did not have an immediate effect on the portrayal of women in the media. However, there is some evidence that this delayed effect is slowly taking place.

Some scholars report changing trends in women's images. Eight years after Lin's study, Bresnahan, Inoue, Liu, and Aishida (2001) examined prime time television commercials, concluding that 28% of American females were depicted in traditionally masculine roles, and 29.5% of all role depictions were non-stereotypical. However, females tended to promote personal care products and household furnishings, (although

more women than men promoted pharmaceuticals and real estate) while males promoted cars, automotive accessories and technology, suggesting "product endorsement has remained stereotyped for gender" (123). Also, according to Fowles, "[in] print advertisements from 1959 to 1989, women were featured decreasingly as homemakers, increasingly without a male present, [but] increasingly in a decorative pose" (211).

Certain products appear to utilize sex appeal more than others. According to Berger (2000), cigarettes and alcohol tend to be the two main product categories using "perfect" women (as well as men, but in a lesser extent) in their advertisements, with automobiles, clothing and certain beauty products like hair care products also among the top of the list. Berger also points out a few other product categories that gratuitously showcase partially clothed or nude supermodels in their advertisements, such as Palm Pilots and other technological gizmos. Thus, it appears women's images in relation to product and surroundings continue to be shown as decoration, rather than as human subjects actively using the product.

Although the portrayal of women still tends to be more decorative than functional, it appears that the clothing they wear, depending on the setting they are placed in, may be leaning more toward a non-stereotypical arrangement. There has also been some evidence pointing to the move toward more unisex clothing, depending on the character and the setting he or she is in. According to Paff and Buckley-Lakner (1997), "The dress and appearances of women in television situation comedies have shifted from being highly feminine to being relatively less so, or to being more androgynous...men's

[attention to] dress and appearance related role behaviors have become more [traditionally feminine]...over time" (31).

Paff and Buckley-Lakner's study also indicates that "...when female roles more closely parallel male roles, female dress is more likely to be similar to male dress" (33). On the other hand, these authors state that "although the dress of women in [magazine] advertisements has become somewhat more masculine, advertisements ...continue to depict women in passive, appearance oriented...in predominantly feminine (although less so than in previous decades) dress" (37). Apparently, stereotypes of women still hold the majority of imagery available within advertising, although some progress is being made toward more modern ideals.

While the majority of women's images still portray women in stereotypical roles and positions, images of men appear to have their own story not unlike their feminine counterparts to tell. Shelley and Lundstrom (1981) observed in their review of advertisements in women's, men's and general interest magazines that "men are increasingly portrayed in decorative roles and less frequently appear in situations involving their manly activities. Only in more recent roles, however, do we see men in nontraditional roles or in which men and women are treated as equals." In a study of prime time television shows, Bretl and Cantor (1988) noticed that males are increasingly being shown in the roles of spouses and parents. Hendriks (2002) concurs, stating "male representations on television appear to be growing more diverse and multidimensional while representations of women remain [one] dimensional and unrealistic" (106). On the other hand, Tebbel and Zuckerman (1991) commented that many women's magazines,

even those published in the beginning of the 20th century, portrayed the mother as "a figure of responsibility, dignity, and authority...This was not however, a move toward equality, since in articles, fiction, cartoons, and comics, poor Dad was usually depicted as a hapless, somewhat silly creature, manipulated by the women in his family" (266). Fowles concurs, stating "feminists...may forget that males are also rendered as brutish or doltish at times, to serve as whipping boys for the female viewership" (223). Thus although images of women as sex objects and homemakers may be prominent in advertising, men also are stereotyped, albeit in different ways. However, it appears that while men may still be portrayed as the idiot husband and father, they may be making the transition to men as sex objects, especially in advertisements targeted to the male audience.

For a full understanding of how gender is portrayed in advertising media, it is necessary to examine how men are portrayed. However, there has been very little research done on the portrayal of men, unless as a secondary thought in a comparative analysis of women's portrayals. According to Bresnahan et al, males were more likely to be found outside the home in prime time television commercials, unlike their female counterparts who were more likely to be portrayed indoors, as the mom in her domestic setting. Also, most television commercials used male voice-overs (approximately 80% compared to 20% for females)[2], with female voice-overs used primarily for audiences comprised of women, children, and pet owners, focusing on products such as pet food, cleaning supplies and make-up (Lin 1993). Although women are still being portrayed in

[2] According to Bretl & Cantor (1988), voice-overs in television commercials consisted of 90% males. Thus, there appears to have been an increase of female voice-overs of about 10% between 1989 and 2001.

decorative settings, as sexual objects promoting products to women viewers to persuade them to use products to increase their femininity, there may be a trend that's slowly neutralizing gender stereotypes. However, instead of a creation of equality between images of women and men by decreasing the amounts of objectification of women, some have noticed that the objectifications of men have been increasing.

According to Kervin (1990), men are increasingly being portrayed using beauty products, and focusing on body image, as well as fashion and sexuality. She claims a new male image within print advertisements is emerging – a male focused on his sexuality as his most important characteristic trait. Solomon, Ashmore and Longo (1992) believe the male market is becoming more elusive, making it harder for magazine advertisers and editors to narrow down on their market. According to Dobosz (1997), men's magazines were primarily used by men for entertainment reasons, whereas women's magazines have historically consisted of self-help information to become better at being a woman. She contends that:

> Now publishers of some men's titles are following in their sisters' footsteps, supplying how-to articles on improving appearance, hygiene, and relationships, implying for the first time that men, too, need to work on themselves...there is also an element of ad-inspired obsession with buying products and with measuring up to an unobtainable ideal of masculinity. Men's magazines have seen a conspicuous rise in ads for beauty and image products – in fact, the service magazines couldn't exist if it weren't for these financial backers...at the heart of

> all these magazines, the message is that men need to improve for themselves, for the world – but mostly for women (90).

Fowles states "gender is increasingly contested territory, with definitions and traits in some degree of flux" (217). So is it now more acceptable for males to adopt female characteristics such as an increased amount of attention to personal beautification and grooming? It appears so, especially in men's magazines focusing on fashion, sex, and health. But do men actually use such products? It's safe to assume that if they didn't, advertisers wouldn't continue to market them. In a study sponsored by *Men's Health* (1996), 20% of American men get manicures or pedicures, 18% use one or more various skin treatments such as masks and mud packs, and 10% enjoy professional facials. Furthermore, according to another survey sponsored by *Psychology Today* (1996), 6% of American men use bronzers and foundations to look younger. According to Rohlinger (2002):

> In 1992, men spent $88 million on liposuction, facelifts, nose-reshaping, and eyelid surgery. This number increased to almost $130 million in 1997. In 1996, men spent $12 million on penile implants, and silicone calf and pectoral implants are rapidly increasing in popularity. In addition, men now account for almost 10% of individuals suffering with eating disorders. In short, men are increasingly dissatisfied with their bodies, go to great lengths to achieve a more youthful and hard-bodied appearance, and are suffering the psychological consequences that are a side effect of consumer culture (64).

So it appears that these advertisements are indeed making an impact on how some men view their physical appearance, in effect creating the need to appear more youthful and sexually appealing.

According to Pendergast (2000), it appears the concept of men needing to beautify themselves has existed previous to WWII, with the birth of *Esquire* in 1933. At this time, the male images within these ads didn't concern themselves with such things as hair and skin care products to anywhere near the extent their feminine counterparts did, but the idea was still the same. To be desirable to the ladies, successful in the career field and to compete among other men, a man needed to submit to certain codes of standards, including wearing the fashionable clothes and achieving and maintaining a good (muscular) physique. This new masculinity, whether created by advertisers to sell products or society to better define their own self-images, became the predecessor of what appears to be one of the more popular current images of masculinity. As more men's magazines focusing on fashion and sex came onto the scene, men within their target market became more exposed to these images. This became more apparent in the early 1980s, as magazine editors like Art Cooper of *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (*GQ*) began to change not only the definition of a "man", but also how *GQ* and other magazines would promote themselves and the lifestyle many fashion/sex/health-conscious men currently desire to attain. Similar to past and current feminine images, masculine images are being shaped to a new more narcissistic and sexually explicit definition of the perfect man. To be the best means conforming to the image of this perfect man; the message is

familiar: consuming the specific product shown with this specific perfect (male) model will help you achieve your goal of becoming closer to this image.

Granted, some magazines serve a niche market by fighting these pretty-boy images, showing men hunting, fishing, camping, working on mechanical objects, sports training, attaining a successful career – being a man's man (even then, they still advertised products designed to fit this type of masculine image). But it appears now that this new image of the man's man dyes his hair, uses lip balm, and knows how to cook – an image most prominent in men's fashion magazines. In effect, before feminists were fighting to shatter the glass ceiling, male fashion magazines attempted to "rescue consumerism for a male audience" (Pendergast 2000, 217) by taking away from women their traditional domain: their place within the home. According to Tebbel and Zuckerman, other magazines such as *Playboy* were also emphasizing a "strategy for liberation – reclaiming the indoors as a realm for masculine pleasure" (285). According to such magazine editors, women were inept at purchasing items, cooking, and throwing parties – making it necessary for men to assume these roles – claims made if only to increase male consumerism. It would be impractical for anyone to claim that a women's place was no less in the home during the time before and even after the peak of the women's liberation movement, but the images and ideas were still there.

Overall, the concepts of masculinity and femininity are socially constructed. While gender roles are an important topic to discuss in today's changing world, sexuality also needs to examined, since it is so often determined by gender roles: "Where male sexuality is traditionally defined as active, seeking and decisive, female sexuality is

defined as responsive and in the position to elicit a response from the male" (Shields 1994, 56). So how is this definition of male and female sexuality determined? According to social learning theorists, people pick up cues as how to act by examining the world around them:

> Most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action. Because people can learn from example what to do, at least in approximate form, before performing any behavior, they are spared needless errors (Bandura 1977, 22).

How people (in this case we'll discuss men) view themselves, others, relationships and behaviors is determined not so much by individual nature as by social nurturing. Before mass media was so influential, people looked to their parents, families, church and political leaders for cues on how to behave. Back then, gender roles had more distinct boundaries. People who crossed them brought repercussions upon themselves. Now, media and its ever-increasing interdependence with society have claimed a more influential role in how people determine who and what they are. Media, and the images that are portrayed via media, make up part of the experiences men go through in determining how to become a "man." According to Morgan (1996), experiences such as bullying and being bullied, sex, interactions (whether real or imagined) with childhood heroes are some of the ways boys learn how to become men. Now it seems, as witnessed by scholars analyzing different modes of media, "there [is] more than one way to become a man" (Morgan 1996, 112).

Cultivation theorists would claim that the images we see in the media cultivate, or encourage, certain audience viewpoints about the society in which they live. According to Littlejohn (2002):

> Cultivation analysis is concerned with the totality of the pattern communicated cumulatively by [media] over a long period of exposure rather than by any particular content or special effect. In other words, this is not a theory of individual media "effects" but instead makes a statement about the culture as a whole (317).

An examination of changing women's roles would support this – as we see more and more women filling non-domestic roles in the media, it would appear that more and more people accept the idea that a woman's place no longer has to be in the home. Naturally, the argument can go both ways: do we see more women filling non-domestic roles in the media because there are more women filling non-domestic roles in the real world? Overall, we need to examine if this hold true for men. Are we seeing more men taking on traditionally feminine roles as more male images are being positioned in certain ways, advertising certain products, and posed as sexual objects for both male and female pleasure? Or are we seeing more images of men posed in traditionally feminine ways because more men are taking on traditionally feminine roles in real life? Overall, the images that are there serve to teach men (at least those who are paying attention to these images) that there is indeed, more than one way to be a "man."

As a possible flux in masculine/feminine role portrayals occurs within advertising and other media, potential changes in proper gender and sex roles could also be

occurring. Compared to Freud's strict definition of gender, modern gender theory reflects the numerous combinations that men and women can use to define masculinity and femininity. No longer do we have to define a man or a woman within strict masculine/feminine guidelines. According to Klages (1997), "gender is an act, a performance, a set of manipulated codes, costumes, rather than a core aspect of essential identity" (para. 13). Fejes (1984) states that media plays an essential role in maintaining and changing the structures of power in society, especially in regards to gendered power. However, according to Shields (1994, 2002), the advertising industry does reflect the changes in society, but at a slower pace than those changes occur. Gender, rather than sex which is predetermined by birth, is determined by both external and internal forces that push and pull on a person. Also according to Shields (1994), "gender is defined as the term that describes the cultural and social basis of roles assumed daily by men and women. Gender is the effect of and is constructed in culture" (1). Rakow (1986) defines gender as:

> Both something we do and something we think with, both a set of social practices and a system of cultural meanings. The social practices – the 'doing' of gender – and the cultural meanings – 'thinking the world' using categories and experiences of gender – constitute us as women and men, organized into a particular configuration of social relations (21).

So how is gender, specifically the male gender, defined in today's mediated culture? Is it still breadwinner and head of household? Or is it equal partner, helpmate, and parent? Perhaps in some instances, is it sex toy, eye candy and decoration? Has the definition of

the male gender changed? Looking at images of men in 1900 and in 2000, we can assume the answer is yes, especially in relation to changing women's roles during the past century. However, as the concept of "woman" seems to be continually in flux during modern times, has the concept of "man" recently changed as well, and if so, how?

Men's roles in society are definitely changing, if not as obvious and fast paced as their feminine counterparts. Especially in today's economy, we're seeing more women becoming the primary breadwinners in traditional husband and wife households, especially when their husbands get laid off, change careers, or are forced to take a pay cut. In more modern circles, this is not shameful, but progressive, whereas even ten years ago this sort of lifestyle would have raised more than a few eyebrows. Even today, more traditional, sometimes religious based communities demand that men take on their traditional roles, so that their wives can attend to their traditional roles as wife and mother. However, social and economic pressures sometimes leave both men and women no choice but to buck the system. We also see more men buying household items and other consumer goods, whether because they prefer doing the shopping, their wives or girlfriends don't have the time, they have moved out of their parents' home and can no longer depend on mom, have become single parents, or have discovered their homosexual orientation, making the idea of "women's work" moot (Rohlinger 2002, Miles, Meethan, & Anderson 2002, Danna 1994). Whatever the reason, women are no longer buying their husbands' underwear, or many other items for that matter, with the exception of the occasional holiday gift. Whether society (and advertisers) are taking notice is yet to be determined.

Because definitions of gender are deeply rooted in culture and society (and, perhaps vice versa), it is fitting to examine how culture and society, specifically American culture and society, reflect and define gender. Since this thesis is examining gender in advertising, advertising will be used as a window of sorts to determine this. As gender roles are possibly changing, it is important to observe what Goffman (1979) calls gender display: "If gender be defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequence of biology or learning), then gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of theses correlates" (1). Goffman also noted a "symbolic interactionism" that applied to his theories to advertising as a form of ritual display. In other words, the way female and male models are shown by themselves and with each other is posed and stereotyped in order to fit within the audience's perceptions of society. Thus, aspects in Goffman's research such as the ritualization of subordination, licensed withdrawal, relative size, and feminine touch are a few ways in which gender is displayed, or ritualized, in advertisements. "What was a ritual becomes itself ritualized, a transformation of what is already a transformation, a "hyper-ritualization" (Goffman 1979, 3). According to Shields (1994):

> ...Individuals feel that gender is one of the most deeply seated traits of human beings; femininity and masculinity are the prototypes of essential expression. Gender display, therefore, is at once something that can be expressed fleetingly and at the same time has the ability to characterize a person at the most basic level. Advertisements, then, are actually ritual-like bits of behavior which portray an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each

> other... Actual gender expressions are artful poses, too. However, advertisements exist in a constant state of hyper-ritualization. Standardization, exaggeration and simplification are found to an extended degree in advertising. The gender displays in advertising are familiar because they show to us rituals in which we engage in real life. However, advertisements further serve to conventionalize our conventions. Cut off from context and taken as a group, advertisements supply us with exaggerated distortion of a world with which we are intimately familiar (37; see also Goffman 1979).

So how does advertising standardize, exaggerate, and simplify gender displays? One of, if not the, most common answer would be the use of traditional gender stereotypes. "How the advertiser succeeds in finding different guises for his stereotypes still instructs in the matter of how the materials of real scenes can be selected and shaped to provide a desired reading" (Goffman 1979, 25). Advertisements of the past relied on the use of traditional stereotypes to meet target market expectations, in hopes of targeting the largest number of people with the least amount of energy. While this method is still in use today, it is important to note that while "traditional roles are not displeasing to everyone, [they] do tend to irritate many consumer segments" (Shields 1994, 30).

Also, many times the sex of the product sponsor (i.e. the model/actor in the advertisement), as well as the gender he/she portrays, is used to "match," so to speak, the product image. The more consistently images are used to market to the target customer, the more likely the customer will pay attention. Even market segments living outside the traditional social roles may still relate to traditional ideals, however. Most first year

marketing students know that aiming toward specific target market traits and attempting to personalize marketing techniques will yield the best results, although at times this can be time and cost prohibitive, depending on the product, producers and market. However, in today's ever increasing segmentation of markets and subcultures, trying to use a uniform approach will turn off most viewers, forcing advertisers to better understand their markets and portray images closer to real-life:

> One consistent finding that emerged from research showed that the sex of the product representative in the advertisement, the role portrayed and the setting for the advertisement should match the product image. Realism in advertising *was* important, therefore, whether the roles were more traditional or progressive in style (Shields 1994, 30).

Thus, if a company's main market consists of 30-something, professional heterosexual men with wives and young children, then that image used to advertise that product needs to fit the target's mental image of himself and the world around him, if the advertiser wants him to feel connected to the product. If the target views the product sponsor as himself, the sponsor's situation as his situation, and/or the sponsor's image as the image he has or desires to obtain, then he will be more prone to desire whatever product is being portrayed, even if the products are cologne, hair care products, jewelry, plastic surgery – items usually associated with women (Manca & Manca 1994, Danna 1994, Rohlinger 2002). Thus self-identified, social-identified and non-traditional gender roles can be used to efficiently advertise products, depending on the desired and actual product image:

> Advertisements invest products with a value by relating the product to a person, object, emotion or image which already has value for us. Products not invested with such value through advertising are 'generic'...It follows, therefore, that viewers give signs value through the recognition or what they replace...Advertising insists that we differentiate what kind of person we 'are' in relation to a specific product (Shields 1994, 47).

Thus, if person A uses product B shown by model C, then person A becomes more like model C, or at least more like the image model C represents. For example, a non-hazardous cleaning product shown with a mother concerned about her children picking up germs, a BMW with a rich entrepreneur, or Revlon lipstick with Halle Berry. Loving mother, successful businessperson, or drop-dead gorgeous actress: "The image promises satisfaction upon obtaining 'the look' and the look can (and must) be purchased" (Shields 1994, 56).

Shields (1994, 2002) also suggests that the psychological aspect of how men view and process such image portrayals may be different than how women view similar images, but the question of whether advertisers are attempting to do to men what works with women is a question being raised in contemporary society. Is what's good for the goose also good for the gander? Perhaps, since magazines such as *Gentlemen's Quarterly*, *Esquire* and *Playboy*, all aimed toward the male consumer (whether blatantly stated or not), have succeeded well beyond everyone's first expectations. Even the surge of the feminist movement witnessed a huge jump in such magazine subscriptions (Crewe 2002).

"Advertising feeds off our desire for coherence and for meaning, by at once alienating our identity and constituting us as one among many objects. We then make the exchange for an image that gives us back our own value" (Shields 1994, 54). Zhou (1997) concurs:

> If people often "observe" a particular group of people engaging in a particular behavior in mass media, they are likely to believe that the abilities and personality attributes required to carry out that activity are typical for that group of people (489).

If this is true, it is safe to assume, then, that people use these images to determine who and what they are. Even though current society still holds on to many of the gender differences it has created, the fact that both men and women can be affected by the same things, even if they are affected somewhat differently, suggests that the chances that advertising will succeed in its attempts to re-create the male as a consumer will be high. Thus, as men absorb the image of the male models in the advertisement, they then will begin to believe that in order to fit in with that particular "group," they will need to obtain those attributes flaunted by the model; the types of attributes embodied by the product they are promoting. According to Rohlinger (2002):

> The logic of economics is also used to explain the muddying of gender role divisions in contemporary advertising. Briefly, the feminine gender role model encourages women to please themselves. Implicit to this model is that in the process of pleasing themselves, women will also please others. Conversely, the masculine gender role model emphasizes power, whether in the boardroom,

> bedroom, or on the playing field. Within this context, the masculine role is not defined through beauty and fashion, but through the power of choice. Products are juxtapositioned with images of power, which suggests that the product is an extension of the owner. In short, the associations of power, performance, and precision with products ultimately reflect the level of physical and financial power as well as the technical expertise of the male owner. However, men are increasingly able to operate in both modes: the feminine mode of indulging oneself and being indulged and the masculine mode of exigency and competition. With the right look and the right stuff, he can feel confident and manly in the boardroom or suburban backyard. In other words, because gender role prohibitions have relaxed, many advertisers feature crossover behavior in their advertisements. The legitimacy of this practice is buttressed by the fact that the consumers with the most desirable demographics to advertisers (young, single, professional, employed, high-income, well educated, and urban) are also the least likely to adhere to and purchase products that depict traditional gender roles... In short, masculinity is not a matter of the mind, but of the body. As such masculinity is expressed physically through muscles and the consumption and adornment of mass-produced goods that are regarded masculine (64-66).

So how have men really been portrayed? Does this portrayal perhaps denote men in real life, outside the advertising world, or does the advertising world retain its tight grip over these images, no matter how inaccurate its gendered portrayals are? "Advertisements are neither true nor false...[but have the] ability to look familiar when on

close inspection they portray a world which is really quite peculiar" (Shields 1994, 33-34). For example:

> When males are pictured in the traditional domains of female authority, namely the home, three trends emerge: the first, and perhaps the best mirror of real life, is to picture the male engaged in no contributing role at all, in this way avoiding either subordination or contamination with the 'female' task. The second is to make the male ludicrous or childlike, therefore distancing the image from real life and preserving the male image of competency. Third, and a more subtle technique, is to picture the male undertaking the task under the watchful eye of the female (Shields 1994, 38; see also Goffman 1979).

Does this scenario hold true for society? This is hard to say. Because nontraditional living arrangements and attitudes have been increasing among the American populace, I would think not. Even among traditional households, more and more people are realizing that a man is not hen-pecked if he does the laundry, dishes, or any other "feminine" chore. On the other hand, women still bear the brunt of domestic chores. Social images of both sexuality and gender are and will continue to fluctuate, despite some advertisers' attempts to obtain a status quo within their markets.

Thus the need for advertisers to realize the lines separating men and women are diminishing. Some have done well in discerning this, while others haven't. Regardless of why this is, it is only a matter of time until the laggards will be forced to recognize this cultural shift. "The apparent split between men as producers and women as consumers has been severely undermined in recent years as the market has woken up to the potential

of men as consumers in their own right" (Meethan & Anderson 2002, 6). Crewe (2002) states similar opinions: the clothing industry is seeing "male markets as more fertile than the relatively saturated women's market" (44). James Brown, creator and editor of the British magazine *Loaded* goes as far as stating that "men are more product and brand-conscious than they used to be – powdering their noses and talking about clothes – we're becoming just like women" (as cited in Crewe 2002, 53). Thus, have such industries, in attempts to consumerize men, feminized men? So instead of asking 'is what's good for the goose good for the gander?' should we instead be asking is the goose becoming the gander, at least in certain product categories?

Smart and progressive advertisers have realized that men, too, are unique and desire a change, a change perhaps leading to a more equal role with women as consumers and targets for advertisers' attention.

> The intensity of attempts to the young...man throughout commercial culture, generated a range of identities for men that both recognized and promoted the increasing integration of modern masculinity and consumer culture. The new man was the most notable amongst these offerings... (Crewe 2002, 43).

But in attempts to reach these men, have advertisers fallen into previous traps of trying to homogenize male markets by promoting uniform images of men? Perhaps not across all media, but according to some researchers, images of men have become more sexualized and objectified, especially in relation to the changing status of women (Danna 1994, Manca & Manca 1994, Rohlinger 2002).

Danna (1994) also suggests that the changing status of women in the 1980s was followed by an increase in the portrayal of men as sex objects, as well as the portrayal of men as idiots:

> As the 1980s progressed, men's ad image changed. Ad themes no longer depicted men as ruler of the household. Men were not consulted regarding child welfare, and they were almost always shown in negative circumstances. They were portrayed as being less competent when appearing with women; they were rarely shown singularly as very competent; the men were the ones with bad breath, bad odor, bad health, and bad eating habits...[whereas] women's image has steadily improved in advertising while men have had a relatively turbulent period of ups and downs – mostly downs during the 1980s...the changes occurring toward the end of the 1980s had one major effect: men were portrayed more than ever as sex objects. Men began to shed clothing and to display more flesh – sometimes gratuitously (75-84).

Even today, according to Rohlinger (2002), more and more men in advertising are being objectified, primarily due to social shifts:

> In a postindustrial era, advertisers seek to find new markets. As such, erotic images of men are designed to appeal to liberated women as well as the new male consumer. Intuitively, this observation makes sense. The feminization of the workforce that resulted from the shift in the economic base (from manufacturing to service) placed more dollars in the hands of consumers. In response to this economic shift, advertisers adapted commercial imagery to appeal to a generation

> of "liberated" women, who made and spent their own earnings. In addition, advertisers have increasingly tried to transform men into consumers through the legitimization of male freedom and beauty…in recent years, sexualized images of men, or the "erotic male," have proliferated in men's magazines. In these images, the erotic male represents a physical and sexual ideal, whereby an attractive, muscular man is placed on display. Such imagery is undoubtedly in part a response to the economic trends over the last 50 years, but it is also a product of cultural changes in American society (67-68).

However, Rohlinger later states that such portrayals of men can backfire, even if such portrayals appear to be progressive. Overall, the main concern for advertisers is whether or not the image shown sells products. If a particular image doesn't fit a target market's ideal, then the product won't sell:

> For example, if half-naked men with a distant gaze were most often depicted in a self-caress [positions normally portrayed by female models], it is possible that heterosexual male and female viewers may no longer be attracted to the image and/or the product being sold; a response that would completely undermine a dual marketing approach (72).

Perhaps society prefers men to be inept or mentally and emotionally weak rather than physically and/or sexually weak. According to some scholars and businesspeople, these supposed new trends will have very little effect on society in the long run:

> In a press report on an advertising trend away from the use of male models in favor of using professional sportsmen, executives, and other real men in male

> fashion layouts, gender differentiation in advertising is bluntly described by Simon Doonan, the creative director of the fashion store, Barneys New York: 'Male models don't communicate to the customer at all. People think they are funny and goofy. The basic premise is absurd. Men are supposed to embody power and decision-making, and what could embody passivity more than modeling?'(as cited in Hope 2003).

Scholars concur with this attitude: "People have [become] accustomed to wanting to see women nude. They don't think a nude woman looks vulnerable anymore. When a man is uncovered, however, the reaction is that he is extremely vulnerable" (as cited in Andrews 1992). Is the portrayal of vulnerable men a bad thing in society? Apparently so, especially in print advertising, which tends to lean more towards traditional attitudes. As progressive advertisements featuring progressive men showed men and women as equal partners, "the more traditional advertisements portraying the other male types tended to keep men and women in separate and unequal spheres or show them interacting as equals in completely frivolous ways…[furthermore], by the 1980s, the image of the playboy was in decline and even [popular television characters] fit that image only partially. [Print advertising] remained one of the last sanctuaries for Joe Camel and other playboy characters" (Manca & Manca 1994, 125-128).

Manca and Manca (1994) also claim that advertisements represent certain aspects of male subculture and are not made up solely for the purpose of selling products. If there were absolutely no truth in advertising, the products would not sell as well. Images are not so much about what is true in society but what is true for the individual (or what

the individual wishes to be true), and/or what the individual can relate too. Thus, whether or not the perception of male sexuality will remain is yet to be seen. The point is that it seems men are becoming more sexualized and objectified for the purpose of selling products. It does appear, though, that gendered lines defining male and female sexuality remain somewhat rigid, even though more men are being targeted as consumers. For example, researchers such as Goffman (1979) and Kilbourne (1999) state that women are more likely to be portrayed solely as body parts, be shown to engage in sexualized self touch, and be shown in somewhat of a distracted, distant gaze, not appearing to be mentally involved with their situation. Not only does this portray women only to be as good or important as their limbs, but that their bodies are "delicate and precious" (Goffman 1979, 31). On the other hand, men are supposed to be strong, aggressive, dominant, and powerful, attributes not usually associated with traditional female poses. According to Kilbourne (1999), "women's bodies, and men's bodies too these days, are dismembered, packaged, and used to sell everything from chain saws to chewing gum" (262). The extent to which men's bodies are equally used is the premise for this study.

Throughout this examination of whether or not the supposed current trend of the sexualization and objectification of men will become a more permanent fixture in society, discussion of how men may be affected by such images has not been done. Whether advertising has played a substantial role in the changing of gender roles (and vice versa), it is important to note how gender roles have changed throughout modern times. Danna (1994) appears to suggest that advertising reaches out to men, who in today's society, are

losing ground to women, but are also able to take other ground that has been traditionally feminine:

> Men, in the past, attracted women by power and money, but this technique no longer works because women also possess these commodities. Men must now work on their appearances as never before, because male body beauty has reached a new premium level (Danna 1994, 84).

Crewe (2002) also suggests that these shifts in male cultures have left men more receptive to advertising appeals, perhaps in hope of regaining personal functions that were comparatively easy to define based on sex and gender in the past:

> Lifestyle and psychographic research conducted within advertising circles indicated the existence of a new set of... 'innovating' men whose 'contemporary' and self-conscious attitudes towards masculinity and consumption made them potentially receptive to the editorial and advertising appeals of a glossy men's magazine…The male image became more concerned with themselves and personal goals, rather than becoming a family man and a steady provider like their fathers…The representations were themselves accorded the potential to undermine traditional conceptions of masculinity. In this respect, much attention focused on the visibility of the male body in the new man imagery...When men were presented as objects of visual attention, the kind of passive and inviting poses that could threaten the masculine status of their carriers and offer narcissistic and homo-erotic identifications for spectators were avoided and suppressed...The new man, as featured in adverts for jeans and toiletries, appeared

> to rupture such conventions, inviting men to take pleasure in themselves and other men as sexual objects...The most optimistic readings of such changes suggested that men and women were now able 'to appear with equal plausibility, at either end of the objectified-objectifying sexual scale…At the same time, the increasing visual objectification of men may merely mean that gender equality has been 'won' along precisely the lines upon which it had already been 'lost' (44-47).

Overall, gender roles for both men and women have been changing. Perhaps it is more difficult to define current male gender roles than it is for women, but as male images are examined, researchers are able to examine possible shifts in culture. Whether these shifts are temporary or more permanent is yet to be seen, although the importance of such shifts is not made more or less important by their permanence. After all, a temporary shift can predict more permanent ones to take place in the future.

Also, the concept of gender fluctuates within different societies and different time periods. Such trends can be perpetuated by the use of media, especially via advertisements, by which advertisers reach out to consumers to sell not just products, but personalities and roles that both fit within the product image and that the product image can fit into. The same could be said of consumers, who, if perhaps only subconsciously, look to advertising and other images to better understand social and individual gender roles. As mentioned previously, many scholars have studied the effects of women's images in advertising and in other forms of media on both women and society in general. We have also seen that at times, mediated images are behind the times, portraying old-fashioned images that are not true to life. Sometimes definitions tend to take a step

backward: a specific example would be how the portrayal of women in the 1930s as confident heroines lapsed to doting housewives of the 1950s.

In studies done throughout the 20th century, it's apparent that the roles and images of women as consumers have fluctuated. There have also been studies done on stereotypical gender roles of both men and women. But little has been done analyzing the role and image of men as consumers. One possible reason is that men's roles may have remained static compared to their female counterparts. But it's becoming evident that as women's roles and images are fluctuating, it's natural to assume that men's roles may be as well.

Although many scholars appear to hold differing viewpoints on the portrayal of both men and women's images, it appears that certain aspects of media are attempting to change with the time, while other aspects cling to traditional imagery. Thus, it is not too big a step for advertisers to market traditionally feminine products to men, while sustaining preconceived and potentially negative sexual, social and other stereotypes of both men and women in attempts to increase sales. While it may be far too early to tell whether various male images will also backslide, it is important to be aware of current trends in order to better predict what may happen.

Theory and Method

For this thesis, I will be using Erving Goffman's theories about ritual display of gender as symbolic interactionism, developed in his monograph *Gender Advertisements* (1979) to analyze the advertisements that portray images of men. Goffman develops a number of categories by which to assess gender relations as ritualized in advertising

images, and concludes that gender displays in advertising circa 1970 most frequently picture women as sexual objects, subordinate to men. Using the categories developed by Goffman, a content analysis of advertising portrayals of men may reveal changing trends in gender displays. Specifically, can Goffman's theories isolate situations of reversal in patterns of sexual objectification? According to Goffman, the examination of expressions, poses, and other visual clues within advertisements

> turn out to be illustrations of ritual-like bits of behavior which portray an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each other, accomplishing this in part by indicating, again ideally, the alignment of the actor in the social situation (84).

Goffman also stated that while advertisements attempt to present society with familiar images so that society may feel comfortable with the image and the product it is portraying, people may also mimic these images in attempts to display to the world a certain, perhaps more socially and/or individually acceptable, persona:

> Thus, just as a Coca-Cola ad might feature a well-dressed, happy looking family at a posh beach resort, so a real family of modest means and plain dress might step up their level of spending during ten days of summer vacation, indeed, confirming that a self-realizing display is involved by making sure to photograph themselves onstage as a well-dressed family at a posh summer resort (27).

Thus, human behavior is presented as specific, symbolic displays. This is even more evident upon the examination of the behavior of male and female images within advertisements: "by the same token…men and women take their cues about 'gender

behavior' from the image of that behavior that advertising throws back at them, and they contrive to become the 'people' in those ads" (viii).

Overall, "advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we *think* men and women behave" (vii). Similar to the ideas behind social learning and cultivation theories, "this depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women *are*, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other" (vii).

Good advertisers will show certain images in certain ways that attract consumers. Some of these portrayals may be true to life, and many of them will have more aspects of fantasy than reality. Goffman uses the example of showing women with shaved underarms: this is true for American women, but not so true for the average French woman, yet such images are shown in both countries. As previously stated in the review of literature, there needs to be some truth (whether real truth or perceived truth) in advertisements, else consumers will not be drawn to the advertisement. For example:

> [The] general difference in hair styling, facial decoration, and clothing pattern that distinguishes male subjects from female subjects in American advertisements is by and large true of how males in all Westernized countries are distinguished from females both in posings for advertisements and in uncontrived scenes. To which must be added that what is common to commercial scenes and rare in life may yet be commonly part of the ideals and fantasies of many actual people (22).

How images of males and females are posed, however, are not so true to life. Unfortunately, while such advertising images are not true to life, many times, "*as*

pictures, they are not perceived as peculiar and unnatural" (ix). While "not representative of gender behavior in real life" (ix), it is still extremely important to continuously examine such images, because they reveal important underlying attitudes of both advertisers and society. While it can be successfully argued that the images that have been examined by Goffman and will be examined by the author of this thesis are "advertisers' views of how women [and men] can be profitably pictured" (25), this argument in no way subtracts from legitimate claims that such advertisements are windows of society. After all, if society didn't relate to or fantasize about these images, they wouldn't be profitable.

"The job the advertiser has of dramatizing the value of his product is not unlike the job a society has of infusing its social situations with ceremonial and with ritual signs facilitating the orientation of participants to one another" (27). Many examples that Goffman uses show many stereotypical and familiar scenes that are common throughout the media, whether as real or contrived scenes. In his study, women are often shown as subordinate to men of equal or greater statue, performing in self-touch, exhibiting licensed withdrawal, and other what appear to be usually gender specific poses. Of course, the image of women may have changed within the last 24 years since his study, which this study will not determine. This thesis will examine images of men and masculinity in advertising to determine if Goffman's analysis of ritual display of gender can detect any trends of sexual objectification of men.

Methodology

Specifically, I will be analyzing *Gentleman's Quarterly* magazine using Goffman's (1979) theories on symbolic interactionism and gender display in order to determine if male gender display is perhaps becoming more akin to female gender display. There were many reasons why I decided to analyze *GQ* instead of other men's magazines. First, *GQ* is one of the oldest men's magazines that exist in the U.S. First published in 1957, its well known editor, Art Cooper, has been with the magazine since 1983, and only retired in June of 2003. Predominately known as a young men's fashion magazine (it's audience's median age is 31[3]), it boasted an 803,652-circulation rate and newsstand sales of 212,601 in 2002, and "remains the unchallenged leader in the [advertising] category, with 1,753.1 pages [in 2002].[4]"

While other magazines may have been a comparable choice, *GQ* tends to connote a consumer attitude: it focuses primarily on fashion, is known for fashion, focuses on younger audiences, and had the highest amount of advertising space out of all other men's magazines in 2002. Thus *GQ*, more so than its predecessor *Esquire*, which is known as an older gentleman's literary magazine, concentrates on selling a specific male image that involves product (primarily clothing and accessories) consumption.

Furthermore *GQ*, unlike many new "lad mags" such as *Maxim* and *Details* that are known for their plethora of beautiful (and naked) female images, appeared to concentrate on the portrayal of the male image. This was mostly due to editor Art

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[3] According to Jeff Bercovici, *At GQ, they seem not to notice the lad titles. Well not much, anyhow: Editor Cooper disdains but pages say otherwise.*
Available at: http://archives.medialifemagazine.com/news2000/feb00/news30202.html

[4] According to *Art Cooper to Si: I believe I'll retire: Longtime GQ editor under pressure from lad titles.*
Available at: http://www.medialifemagazine.com/news2003/feb03/feb24/2_tues/news1tuesday.html

Cooper, who only recently began to incorporate more female images onto its covers, mainly due to pressure from parent company Conde Nast in light of stiff competition from lad mags originating in Great Britain. Even then, compared to other magazines, it remained relatively conservative in the amount of sparsely clothed nude females.

In order to determine how the portrayal of male figures and the products they advertise have changed over the years, this study will focus on five main aspects: how much of the figures' skin is shown to the audience, how the figures are positioned relative to the audience, how they are positioned relative to others in the advertisement, what body parts are showcased, and what product category the model in the advertisement is promoting.

This study examined full page or larger photographic advertisements containing adult male subjects in *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (*GQ*). An approximate 10%[5] sample of advertisements was taken, resulting in 332 advertisements taken from a 3,331 population. The ratio of advertisements from each year is as follows:

Year	1985	1990	1995	2000	Totals
Population Size	963	877	572	919	3331
Sample Size	97	85	58	92	332
Total # of pages (not including covers)	3368	3312	2670	3554	12904

And the respective percentages are:

[5] Specifically, 9.96697%.

Percentages: Year	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population Size	28.91024%	26.32843%	17.17202%	27.58931%
Sample Size	29.21687%	25.60241%	17.46988%	27.71084%
Total # of pages (not including covers)	26.10043%	25.66646%	20.69126%	27.54185%

In order to obtain an adequate sample, every 10th full paged advertisements of all twelve issues published in the years 1985, 1990, 1995 and 2000 of *GQ* were examined, coded and tallied using the evaluation sheet located in Appendix 1. Counting began with the advertisement located on the inside of the front cover of the January issue of *GQ* of each sample year, and ended with the advertisement located on the back cover of the December issue of *GQ* of the respective year. Once all the advertisements were tallied, I compared how men are portrayed each year, how advertisements promoting a particular product category display the product and the model, and which types of products are usually promoted by male images in this specific magazine using Appendices 2 and 3.

This study first compared advertisements that portrayed each male image by himself with advertisements containing couples or groups:

A-1. By himself
A-2. With one or more women
A-3. With other men
A-4. With children
A-5. With other men and women
A-6. Other

This category only focused on the person or persons that are the focal point of the advertisement, excluding people who are merely part of the background. Next, the position of the male image(s) was looked at:

B-1. Sitting
B-2. Standing
B-3. Lounging
B-4. Other
B-5. Unable to tell (ex. close up shot)

According to Kilbourne (1999) and Goffman (1979), men tended to be positioned in a dominant role, that is, usually symbolized by standing or sitting higher than women or children. Thus, a look at who is usually shown in such a position compared to other subjects was made:

C-1. Man/Men
C-2. Woman/Women
C-3. Child/Children
C-4. N/A (man is by himself)
C-5. Main subjects are equal in statue
C-6. Other

In order to examine a possible increase in objectification and sexualization of male subjects through the years, the amount of exposed skin of the male subjects and whether or not men are being shown simply as body parts will be observed:

D-1. Entire or almost entire body
D-2. Limbs
D-3. Face and/or hands/lower arms
D-4. Chest
D-5. None
D-6. Other

E-1. Male is shown as complete person only
(i.e. at least 1/3 or more of body, shown from the chest up, or, if close up, full face, neck and shoulders are shown)
E-2. Male is shown as body parts only (i.e. you only see limbs, part of the face, etc.)
E-3. Both.
E-4. Other

Goffman (1979) also analyzes the topics of gaze and self-touch as portrayals of female subjects' sexuality:

> Women, more than men, it seems, are pictured engaged in involvements which remove them psychologically from the social situation at large, leaving them unoriented in it and to it, and presumably, therefore, dependent on the protectiveness and goodwill of others who are (or might come to be) present (57).

He also states that feminine images responding out of fear, shyness, or humor tend to cover some part of their face with their hand. Other examples he uses to illustrate feminine gender display are the usages of finger-to-finger and finger-to-mouth touch. Thus a modified version of Goffman's analysis was used to examine any change in male subjects' portrayed sexuality:

F-1. At least one male subject is engaging in self-touch
F-2. No male subject is engaging in self-touch

G-1. Gaze is directed at audience
G-2. Gaze is detached
G-3. Gaze is directed at other subjects
G-4. Gaze is directed at self
G-5. Gaze is directed at product
G-6. Other (ex. eyes closed)

In order to determine which types of products are generally advertised using men in the promotion of a masculine ideal currently and in the past, the products shown with the male image were tallied, as well as the brand names that may appear without a specific product in the advertisement[6]. Products and brand names were originally divided up into the following categories, and then compared to the imagery of the advertisement:

H-1. Cosmetics/scents (ex. hair coloring, colognes, plastic surgery)
H-2. Alcohol
H-3. Home furnishings (ex. furniture, appliances)

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[6] The brand names will be considered a product line. For example, an advertisement with a male subject and the words "Elizabeth Taylor" will be counted as an advertisement in the cosmetics/scents category.

H-4. Clothing
H-5. Hygiene (soaps, shampoos, razors, toothpaste)
H-6. Jewelry
H-7. Automobiles
H-8. Work related products (computers, PDAs)
H-9. Entertainment (videos, DVDs, stereos, televisions, radios)
H-10. Other

To ensure coder reliability, only one coder will be used (the author), and a random selection (one advertisement from each magazine) of advertisements will be re-coded one week after its original coding to ensure the process is as un-biased as possible.

Results

Within the sample coded, the majority of the products advertised in *GQ* fell under the "clothing" category (66.06061%), followed by the "other" category (11.51515%), the "cosmetics/scents" category (10.30303%), and the alcohol category (6.06061%). The overall percentages for each year are as follows:

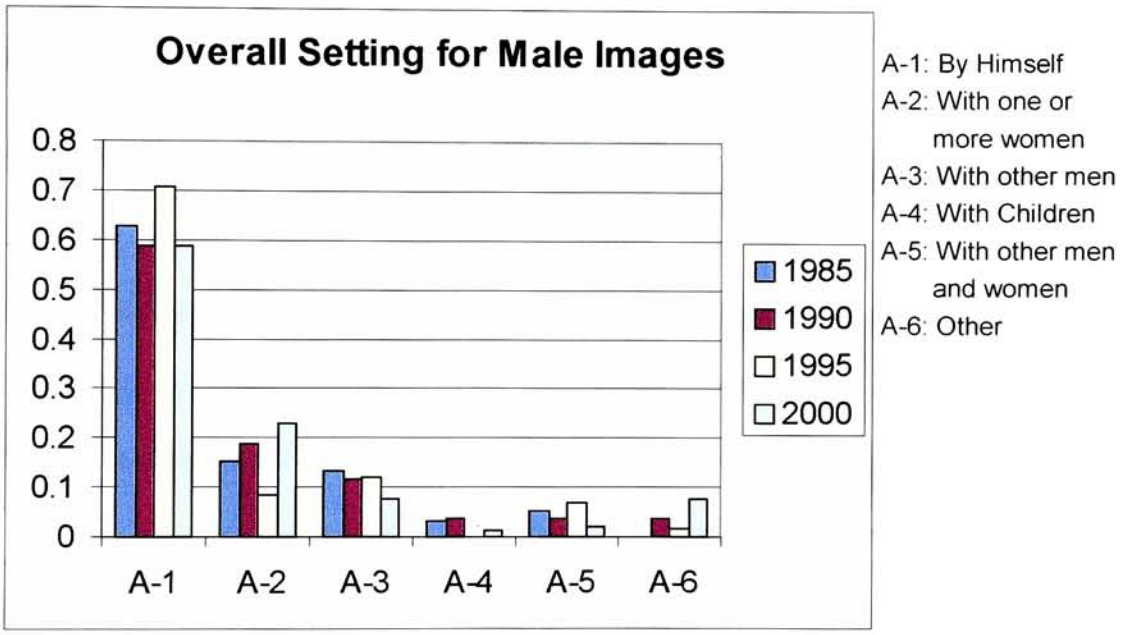
	1985	1990	1995	2000
Cosmetics/Scents	9.28%	10.59%	12.07%	10%
Alcohol	4.12%	8.24%	5.17%	6.67%
Clothing	70.10%	71.76%	65.52%	56.67%
Other	12.37%	4.71%	10.34%	17.78%

The combined total of the "hygiene," "jewelry," "automobiles," and "entertainment" categories comprised of 6.0606% of the sample advertisements[7]. There were no advertisements selling products within the "home furnishings" and "work related products" categories.

[7] Please see Appendix 4 for specific numbers and percentages.

Within the "setting" category, the majority of male images in all four years were shown by themselves, as demonstrated in the figure below[8]. There does seem to be an overall increase of men being shown with women (15.46% in 1985 to 22.83% in 2000), whereas men shown with other men and men shown with children have generally decreased (by 5.79% and 2.01% respectively).

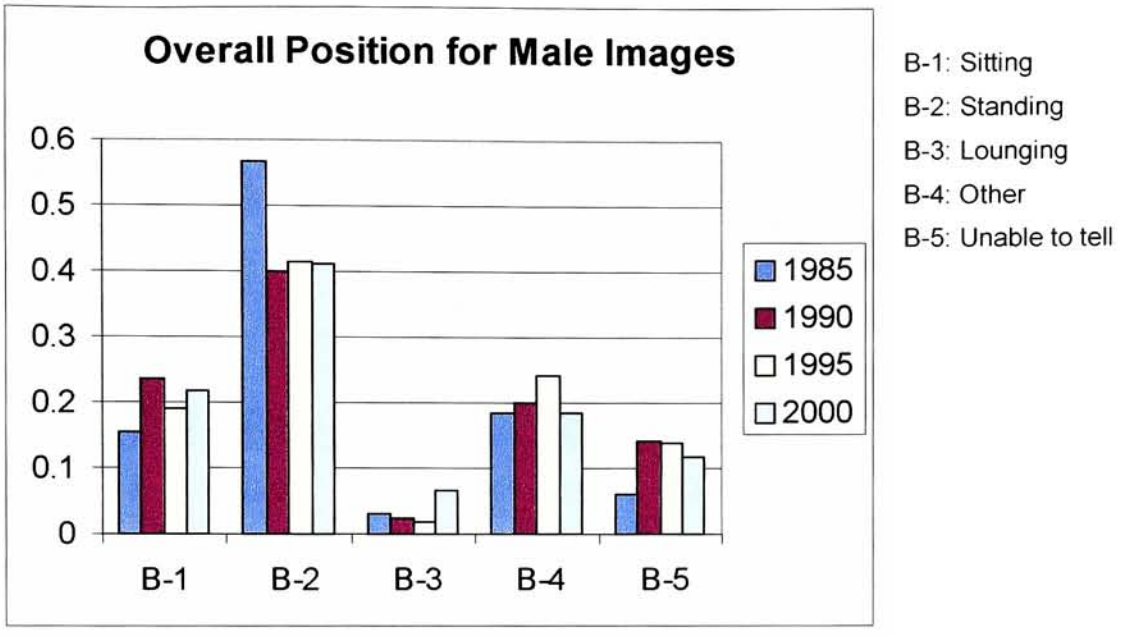
Figure 1: Overall Setting for Male Images



Within the "position" category, the most significant increases are within the sitting category (up by 6.28% from 1985 to 2000) and the "unable to tell" category (up by 5.77% from 1985 to 2000), in which the camera shots were too close to the male that the viewer cannot tell exactly how the male is positioned. On the other hand, male images shown standing decreased from 1985 to 2000 by 15.40%. Male images shown lounging also increased, from approximately 3.10% in 1985 to 6.52% in 2000 of the total sample.

[8] Please see Appendix 5 for specific numbers and percentages.

Figure 2: Overall Position for Male Images



As shown in the figure 3, male dominance had increased by 1.18% from 1985 to 2000, and experienced a dip in 1990 (by 6.36%), which seemed to continue in 1995. Also, female dominance has increased by 3.48% from 1985 to 2000, although decreasing from the high of 9.41% in 1990. Overall, the majority of advertisements (62.89% in 1985 to 57.61% in 2000) contained only one male image.

Figure 3: Overall Dominance of Male Images

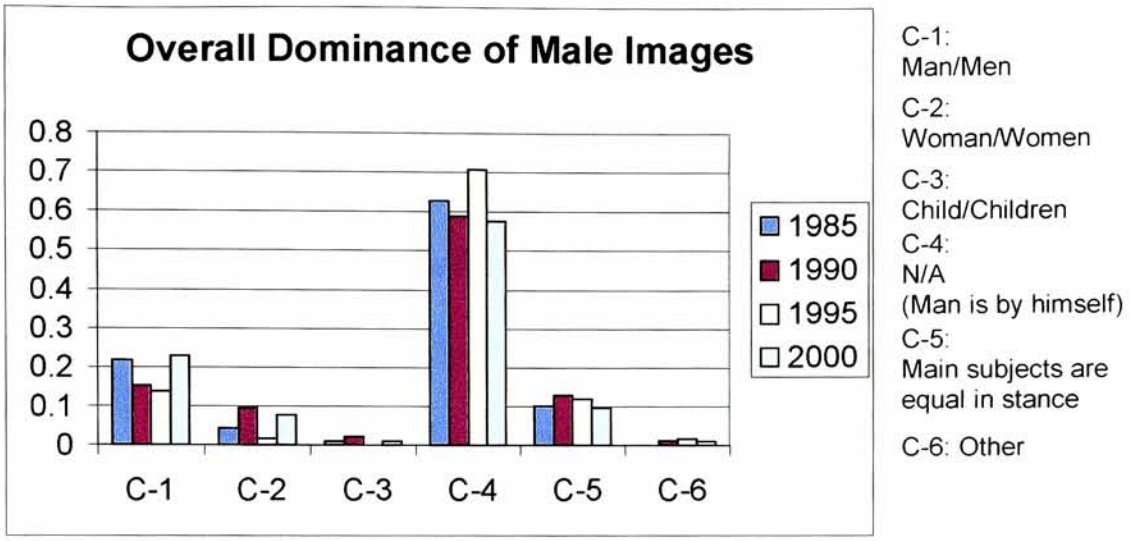
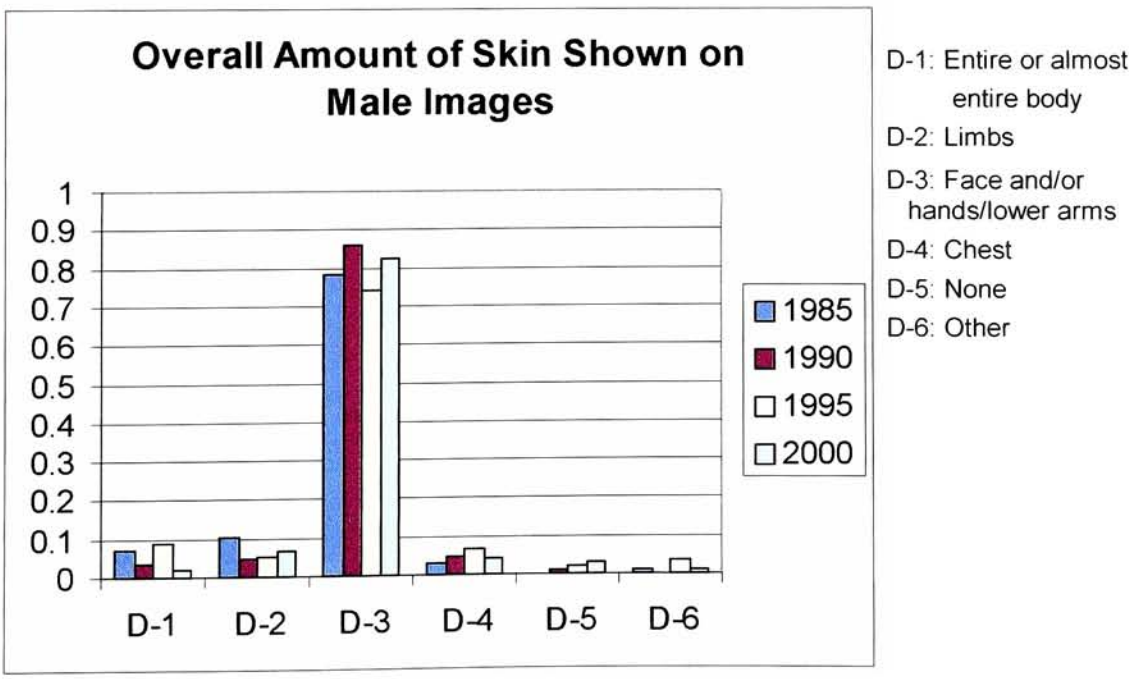


Figure 4 shows, with the exception of the 10.31% of male images showing unclothed limbs in 1985, categories D-1, D-2, D-4, D-5, and D-6 composed less than 10% of the total amount of sample advertisements in each year.

Figure 4: Overall Amount of Skin Shown on Male Images



Figures 5 and 6 show that the majority of advertisements within the sample taken exhibited both the male image as a complete person, and did not exhibit self-touch. However in both instances, the number of male images showing these characteristics has declined overall from 1985 to 2000 (10.12% as shown in chart 5, and 3.93% as shown in chart 6), although there were fluctuations in the years 1990 and 1995.

Figure 5: Overall Body Portrayal for Male Images

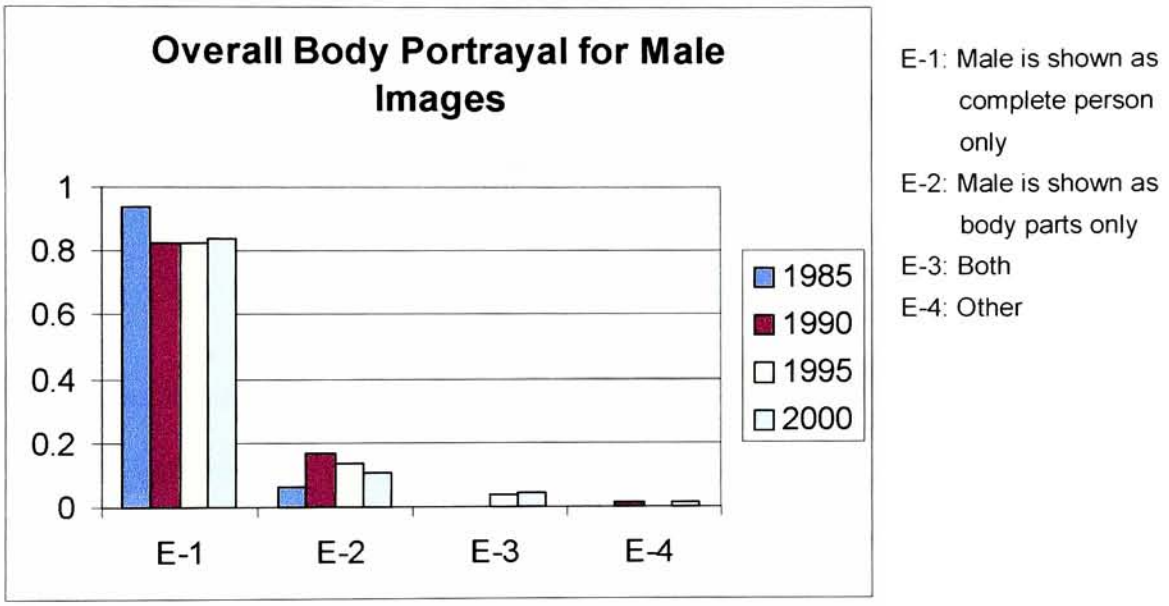
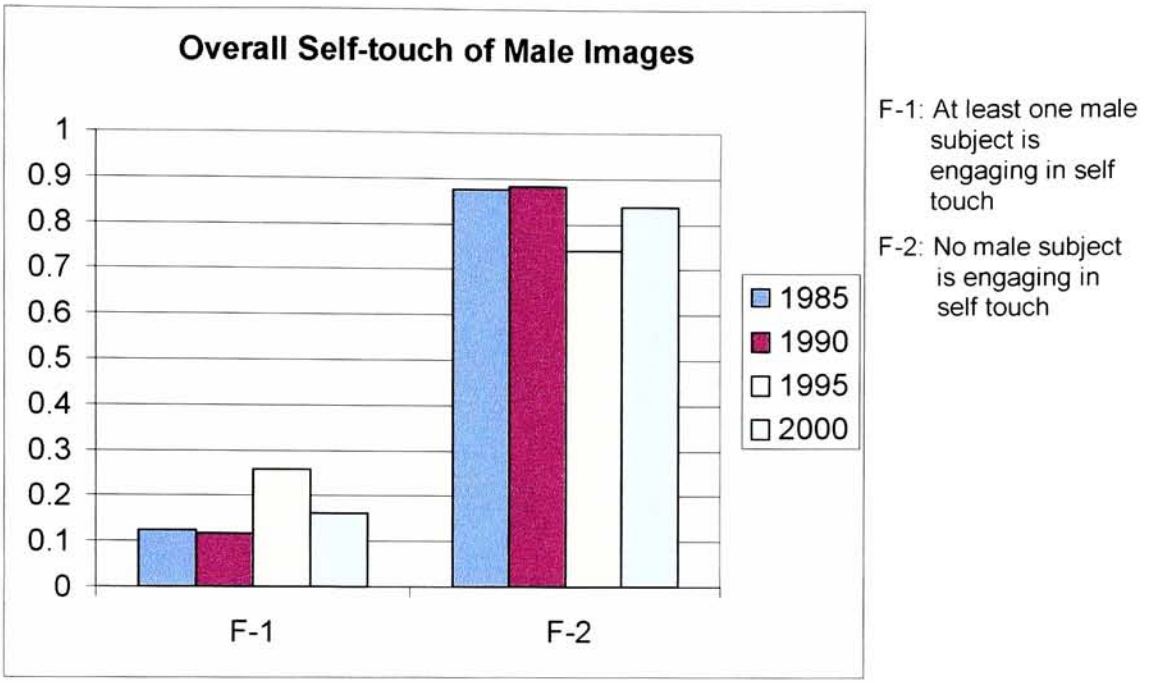
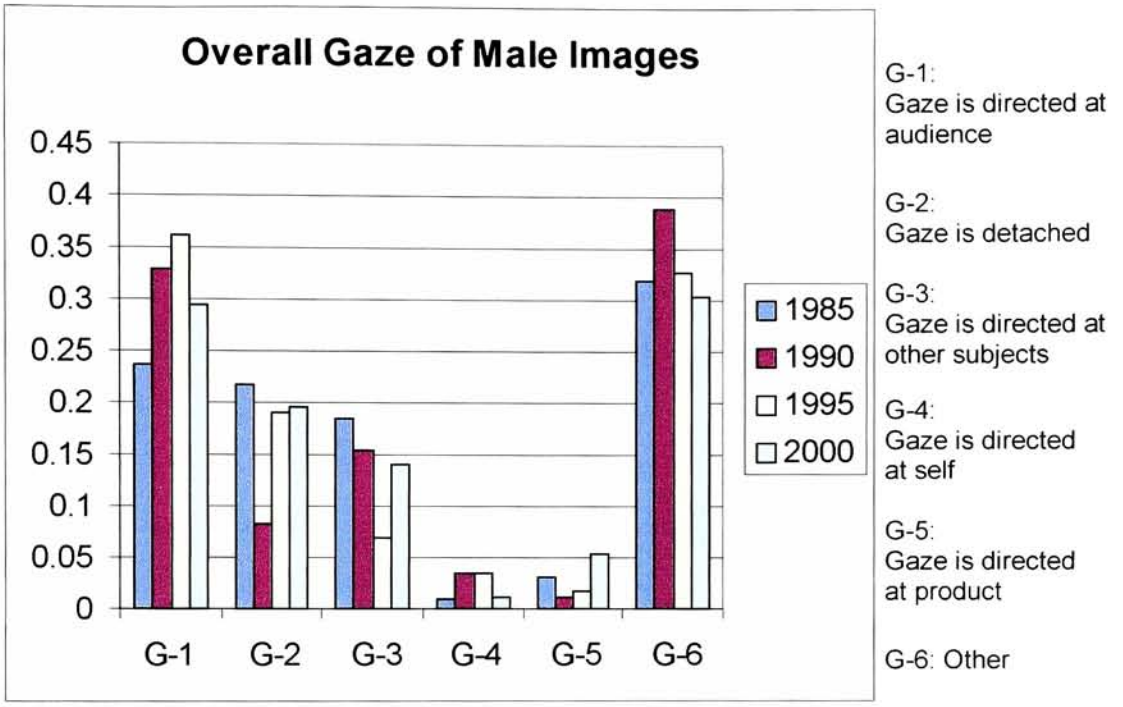


Figure 6: Overall Self-touch of Male Images



The number of male images shown with a detached gaze was the highest in 1985 at 21.65%. After dropping to 8.24% in 1990, the numbers rose again to 19.57% in 2000. The number of male models with a gaze directed at other subjects within the advertisement also decreased in 1995, only to rise again by 7.23% in 2000. Image gazes directed at self and at the product remained less than 5.50% for all four years. With the exception of the "other" category, gazes directed at the audience remained the highest, rising from 23.71% in 1985 to 29.35% in 2000, after a rise and decline in 1990-1995.

Figure 7: Overall Gaze of Male Images



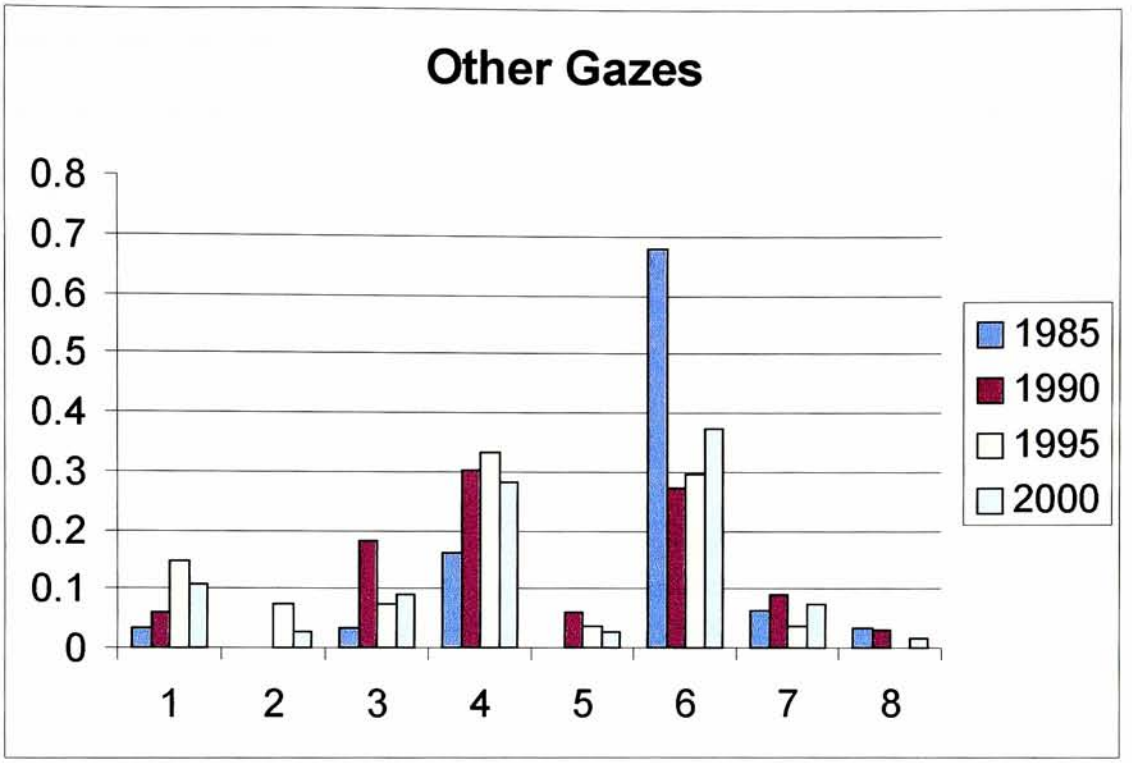
Because "other" gazes comprised a substantial number within the sample advertisements (up to 38.82% in 1990), I divided the "other" category into eight separate sub-categories, as listed below:

1. Eyes Blocked
2. Eyes Closed
3. Facing away from viewer
4. Head/Face/Eyes not shown (N/A)
5. Looking at object (not another subject)
6. "Looking Beyond[9]"
7. Looking Down
8. Unable to tell

The chart below illustrates the distribution among the sub-categories within the "other" gaze category. Appendix 6 lists the specific number and percentages involved.

[9] Unlike the "distant" gaze, the male image appeared to be involved with his surroundings. I will discuss this more in detail later.

Figure 8: Other Gazes

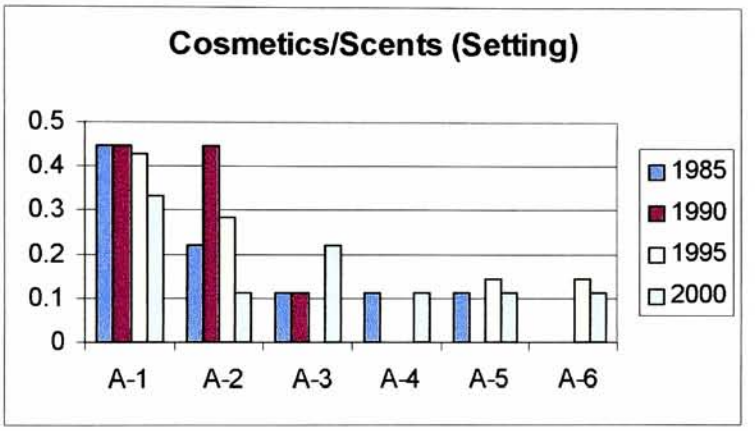


During this study, I also compared the product categories with the other categories (i.e. setting, position, dominance, etc.) to determine whether certain product categories happen to sexualize or otherwise exploit the male image more than other product categories. Since the majority of advertisements consisted of clothing products with the "other," cosmetics/scents, and alcohol categories coming in a distant second, third and fourth, I will briefly list my results focusing on these four categories. A collection of charts for these product categories with results can be found in Appendices 7-10.

First, let us look at the cosmetics/scents category. There were a total of 34 advertisements under the cosmetics/scents category in all of the issues selected for the sample for this study. As shown in Appendix 7 and in the following charts, the majority

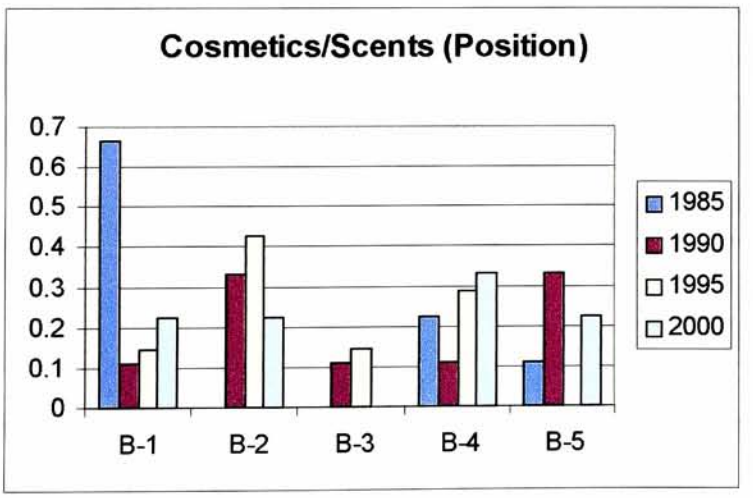
of the advertisements fell under the A-1 and A-2 (Setting: by himself and with one or more women), B-1, B-2, and B-4 (Position: sitting, standing, and other), C-1 and C-4 (Dominance: Man and N/A), D-3 (amount of skin: face and/or hands/lower arms), E-1 (Body Portrayal: Man is shown as complete person), and the G-1 and G-6 (Gaze: directed at audience and other) categories:

Figure 9: Setting within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



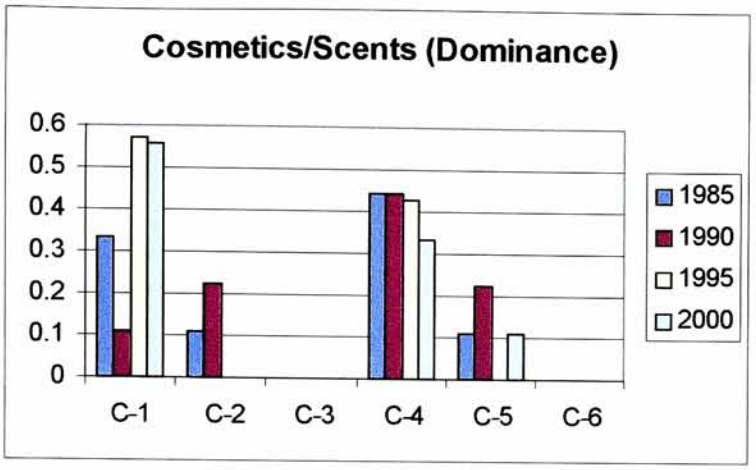
A-1: By Himself
A-2: With one or more women
A-3: With other men
A-4: With Children
A-5: With other men and women
A-6: Other

Figure 10: Position within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



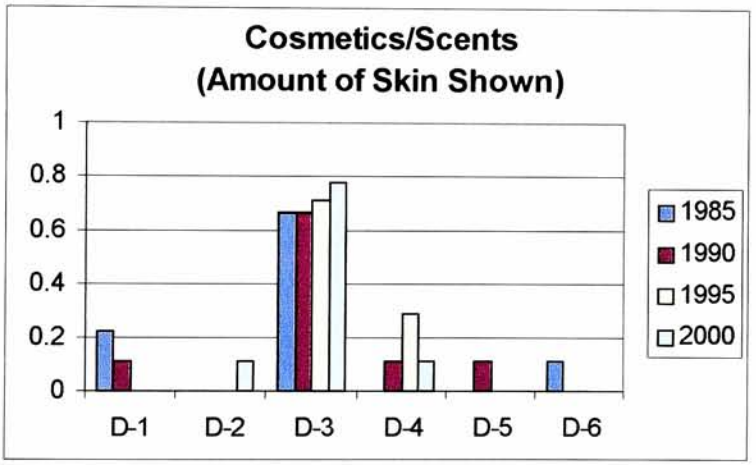
B-1: Sitting
B-2: Standing
B-3: Lounging
B-4: Other
B-5: Unable to tell

Figure 11: Dominance within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



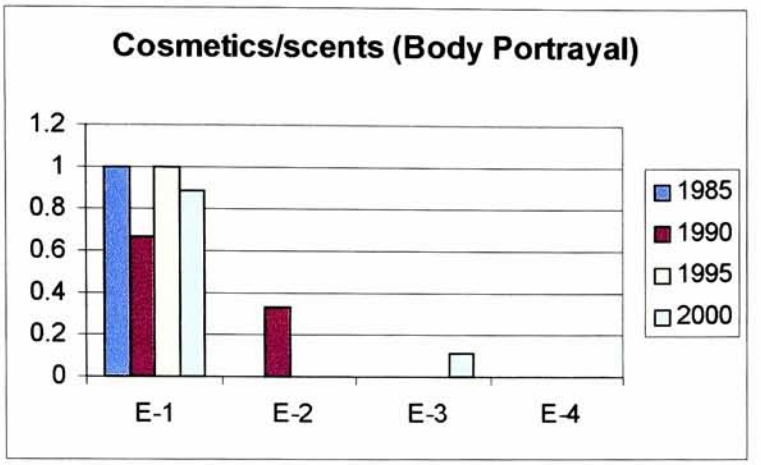
C-1: Man/Men
C-2: Woman/Women
C-3: Child/Children
C-4: N/A (Man is by himself)
C-5: Main subjects are equal in stance
C-6: Other

Figure 12: Skin exposure within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



D-1: Entire or almost entire body
D-2: Limbs
D-3: Face and/or hands/lower arms
D-4: Chest
D-5: None
D-6: Other

Figure 13: Body Portrayal within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



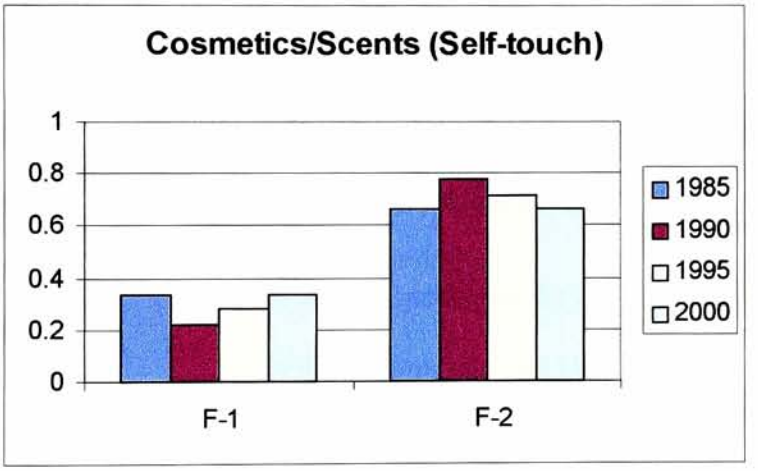
E-1: Male is shown as complete person only

E-2: Male is shown as body parts only

E-3: Both

E-4: Other

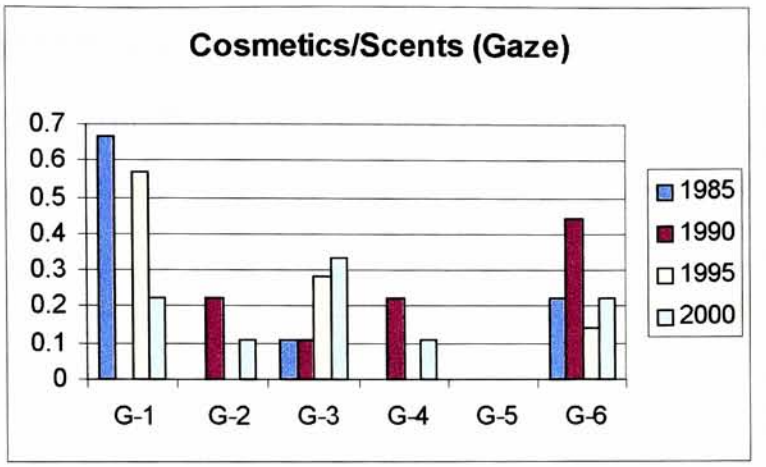
Figure 14: Self-touch within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



F-1: At least one male subject is engaging in self touch

F-2: No male subject is engaging in self touch

Figure 15: Gaze within Cosmetics/Scents Advertisements



G-1: Gaze is directed at audience

G-2: Gaze is detached

G-3: Gaze is directed at other subjects

G-4: Gaze is directed at self

G-5: Gaze is directed at product

G-6: Other

Within the "Gaze: other" category, the gazes were broken down into the following categories:

Year	Other Categories
1985	Unable to tell (1) "Looking Beyond" (1)
1990	N/A (3) Unable to tell (1)
1995	Eyes covered (1)
2000	"Looking Beyond" (2)

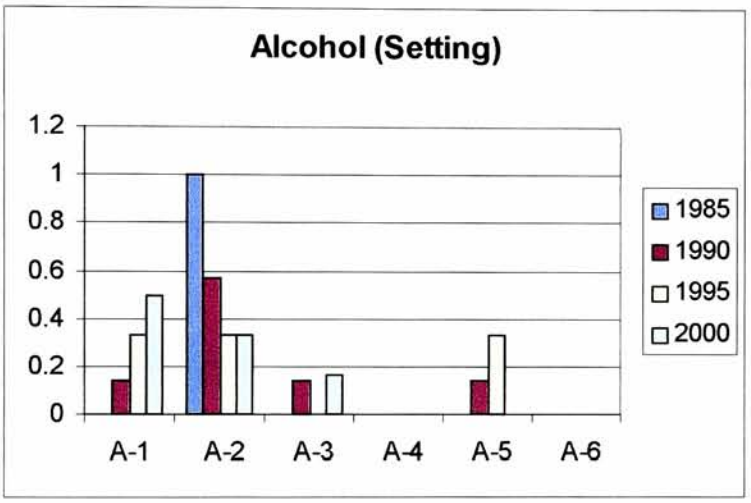
Among the categories and sub-categories with the highest numbers, (for example D-3, E-1 and F-2), the numerical ranges did not fluctuate more than by two or three advertisements over the years.

The next category I examined more closely was the "Alcohol" category, with a total of 20 advertisements within the sample collected[10]. The majority of the

[10] Please see Appendix #8 for specific numbers and percentages.

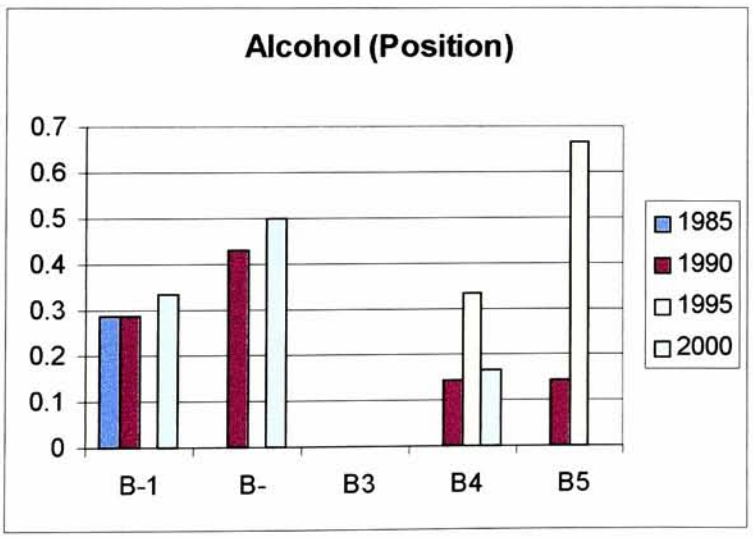
advertisements fell under the A-2 (Setting: With one or more women), B-1 and B-2 (Position: sitting and standing), C-1 (Dominance: man/men), D-3 (Amount of skin: face and/or hands/lower arms), E-1 (Body Portrayal: shown as complete person), F-2 (Self-touch: none), G-3 and G-6 (Gaze: directed at audience and "other") categories.

Figure 16: Setting within Alcohol Advertisements



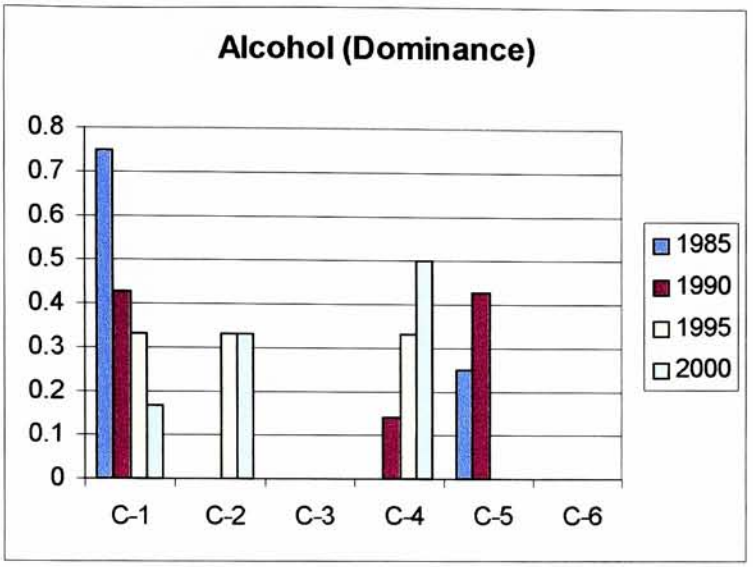
A-1: By Himself
A-2: With one or more women
A-3: With other men
A-4: With Children
A-5: With other men and women
A-6: Other

Figure 17: Position within Alcohol Advertisements



B-1: Sitting
B-2: Standing
B-3: Lounging
B-4: Other
B-5: Unable to tell

Figure 18: Dominance within Alcohol Advertisements



C-1: Man/Men

C-2: Woman/Women

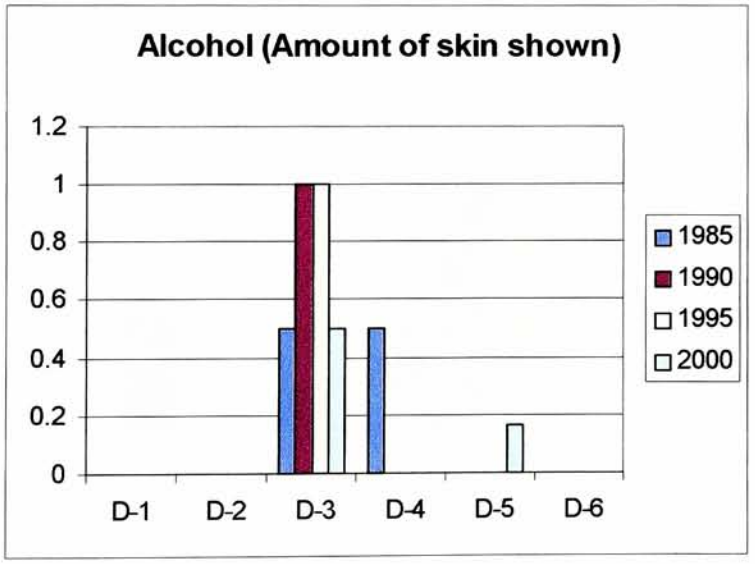
C-3: Child/Children

C-4: N/A (Man is by himself)

C-5: Main subjects are equal in stance

C-6: Other

Figure 19: Skin Exposure within Alcohol Advertisements



D-1: Entire or almost entire body

D-2: Limbs

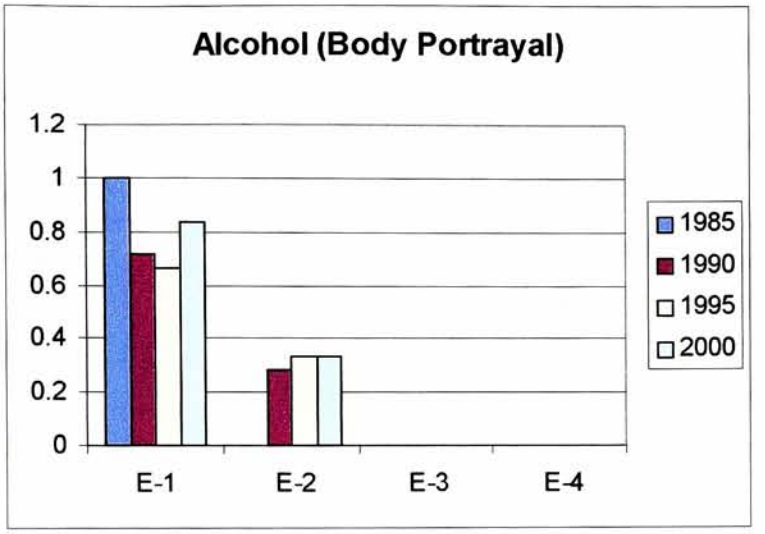
D-3: Face and/or hands/lower arms

D-4: Chest

D-5: None

D-6: Other

Figure 20: Body Portrayal within Alcohol Advertisements



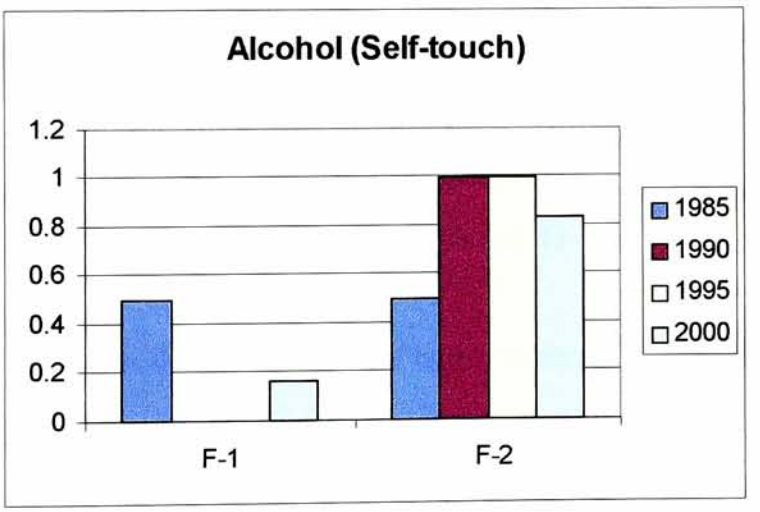
E-1: Male is shown as complete person only

E-2: Male is shown as body parts only

E-3: Both

E-4: Other

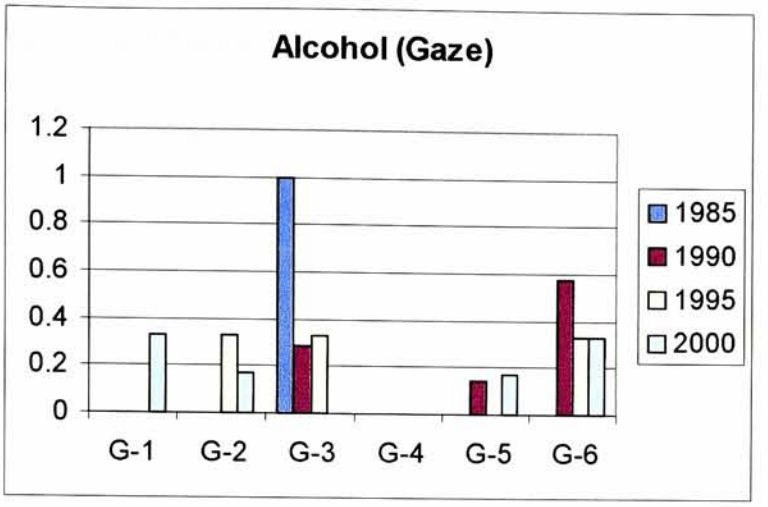
Figure 21: Self-touch within Alcohol Advertisements



F-1: At least one male subject is engaging in self touch

F-2: No male subject is engaging in self touch

Figure 22: Gaze within Alcohol Advertisements



G-1: Gaze is directed at audience
G-2: Gaze is detached
G-3: Gaze is directed at other subjects
G-4: Gaze is directed at self
G-5: Gaze is directed at product
G-6: Other

Within the "Gaze: other" category, the gazes were broken down into the following categories:

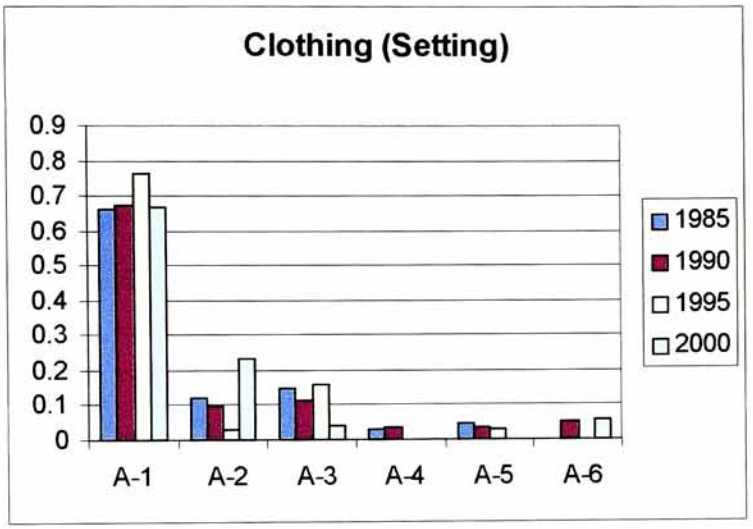
Year	Other Categories
1985	0
1990	"Looking Beyond" (1) Facing away from audience (1) N/A (2)
1995	Eyes closed (1)
2000	Eyes closed (1) N/A (1)

The third category that I further analyzed was the clothing category, which had a total of 218 advertisements over all four sample years[11]. The majority of male images fell into the A-1 Setting: by himself category and the B-2 Position: standing category, with some in the B-1 Position: sitting (increasing from 14.7% in 1985 to 23.53% in 2000) and "other" (decreasing from 63.24% in 1985 to 49.02% in 2000) categories. The bulk of

[11] Please see Appendix #9 for specific numbers and percentages.

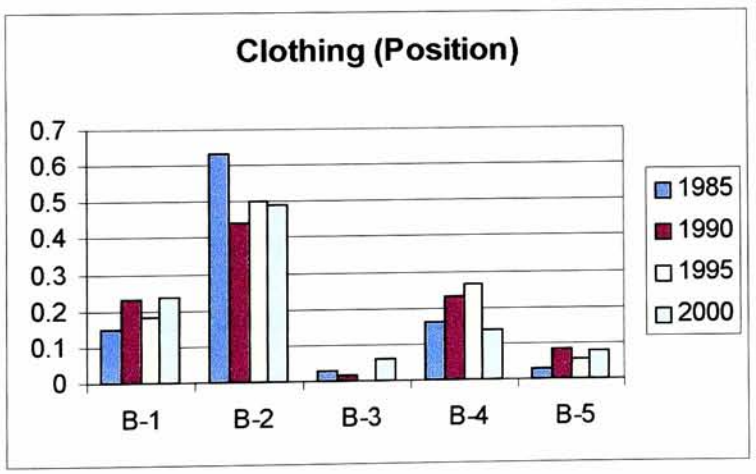
these clothing advertisements also fell into the C-4 Dominance: N/A man is by himself. The C-1 and C-5 fluctuated somewhat, but remained under the 21% mark.

Figure 23: Setting within Clothing Advertisements



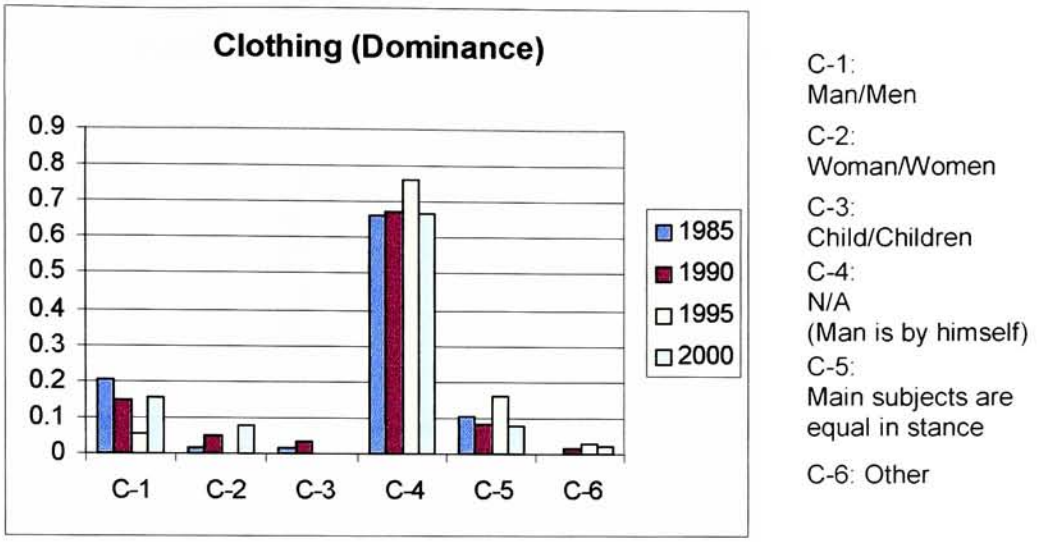
A-1: By Himself
A-2: With one or more women
A-3: With other men
A-4: With Children
A-5: With other men and women
A-6: Other

Figure 24: Position within Clothing Advertisements



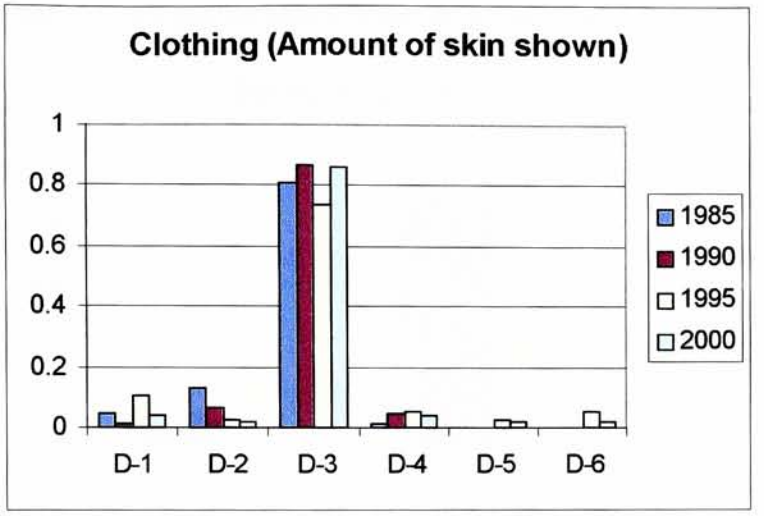
B-1: Sitting
B-2: Standing
B-3: Lounging
B-4: Other
B-5: Unable to tell

Figure 25: Dominance within Clothing Advertisements



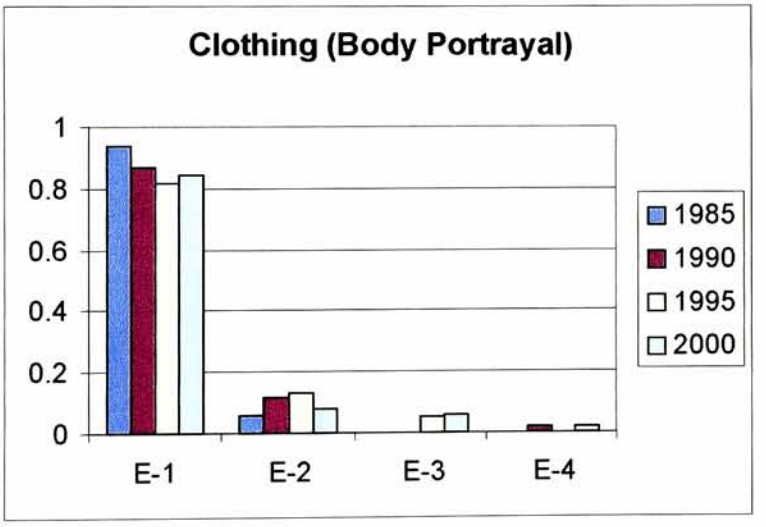
Furthermore, the amount of skin shown has been minimal. The lowest percentage rate the D-3 Amount of skin shown: face and/or hands/lower arms was in 1995, with a low of 73.68%. The next highest figure was D-2: Limbs in 1985, at 13.24%. This coincides with body portrayal, in which the lowest percentage of male images as shown as a complete person was 81.58% in 1995. Similarly, the percentage of male images shown exhibiting self-touch reached its peak in 1990 with 28.95% of the advertisements falling within the clothing category. Gaze appears to be more varied, with male images exhibiting gazes directed at the audience (from 22.06% in 1985 to 35.29% in 2000), some detached gazes (the highest of which was in 1985, at 30.88%) and gazes that fall into the "other" category.

Figure 26: Skin Exposure within Clothing Advertisements



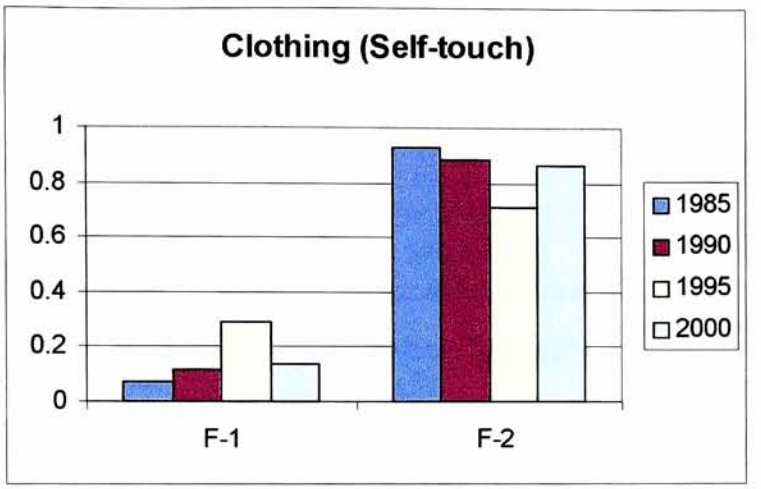
D-1: Entire or almost entire body
D-2: Limbs
D-3: Face and/or hands/lower arms
D-4: Chest
D-5: None
D-6: Other

Figure 27: Body Portrayal within Clothing Advertisements



E-1: Male is shown as complete person only
E-2: Male is shown as body parts only
E-3: Both
E-4: Other

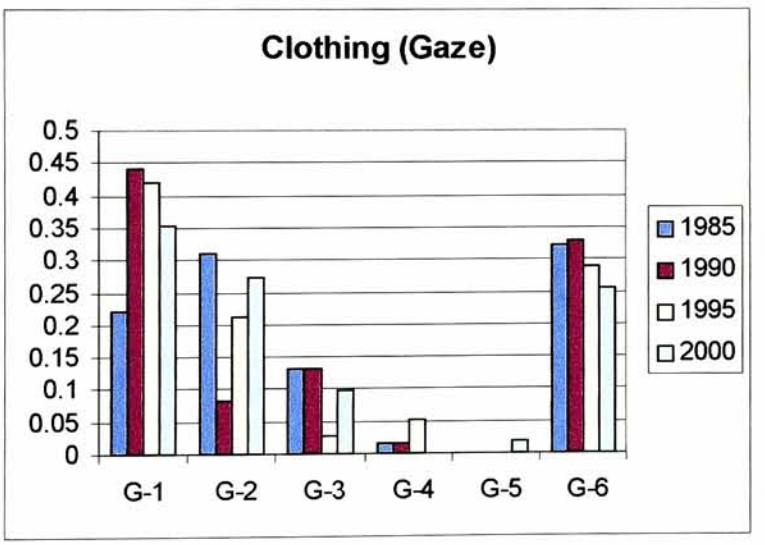
Figure 28: Self-touch within Clothing Advertisements



F-1: At least one male subject is engaging in self touch

F-2: No male subject is engaging in self touch

Figure 29: Gaze within Clothing Advertisements



G-1: Gaze is directed at audience

G-2: Gaze is detached

G-3: Gaze is directed at other subjects

G-4: Gaze is directed at self

G-5: Gaze is directed at product

G-6: Other

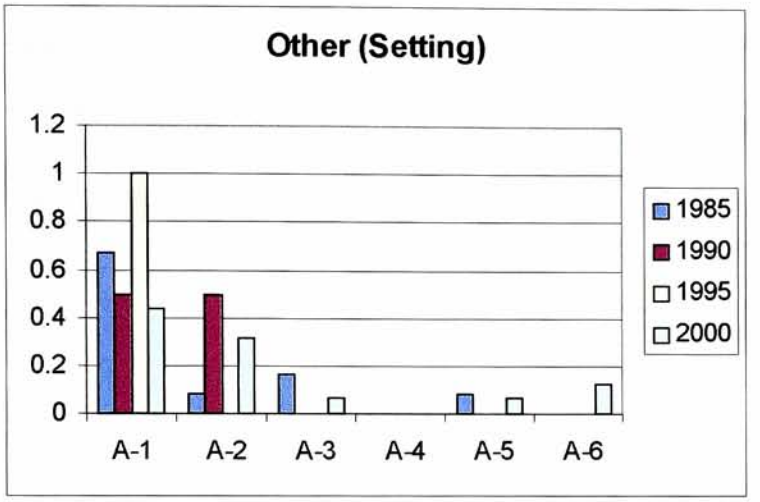
Within the "Gaze: other" category, the gazes were broken down into the following categories:

Year	Other Categories
1985	"Looking Beyond" (15) N/A (3) Unable to tell (2) Eyes blocked (1) Facing away from audience (1)
1990	"Looking Beyond" (7) N/A (5) Focusing on object (2) Eyes Covered (1) Looking down (3) Facing away from audience (2)
1995	"Looking Beyond" (2) Looking down (2) N/A (5) Eyes Covered (1) Facing away from audience (1)
2000	Facing away from audience (1) N/A (4) "Looking Beyond" (5) Eyes Closed (1) Eyes covered (1) Looking at object (1)

The last category I examined was the "other" category, with a total of 38 advertisements[12]. Most fell under the A-1 Setting: by himself category, with a high of 100% in 1995, but dipping to its lowest rate of 43.75% in 2000. Some fell into the Setting: with one or more women with a high of 50% in 1990.

[12] Please see Appendix #14 for specific numbers and percentages.

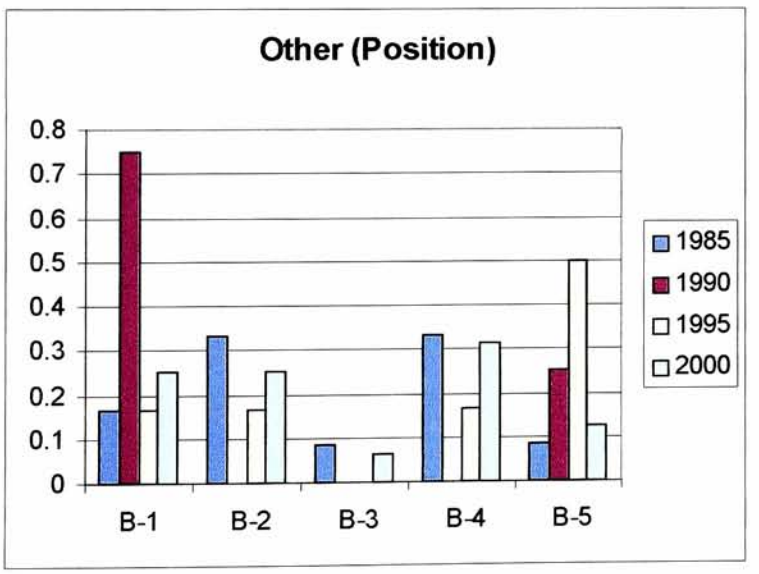
Figure 30: Setting within Other Advertisements



A-1: By Himself
A-2: With one or more women
A-3: With other men
A-4: With Children
A-5: With other men and women
A-6: Other

The bulk of the images also fell into the B-1 Position: sitting category, with a high of 75% in 1990. In 1995, 50% of the advertisements fell into the Position: unable to tell category, dipping down to 12.5% in 2000.

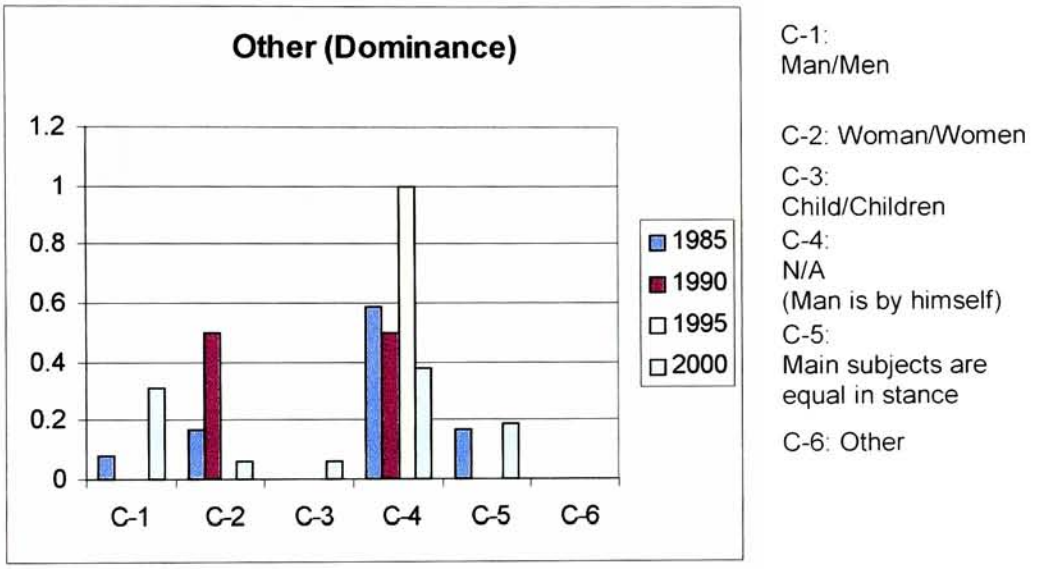
Figure 31: Position within Other Advertisements



B-1: Sitting
B-2: Standing
B-3: Lounging
B-4: Other
B-5: Unable to tell

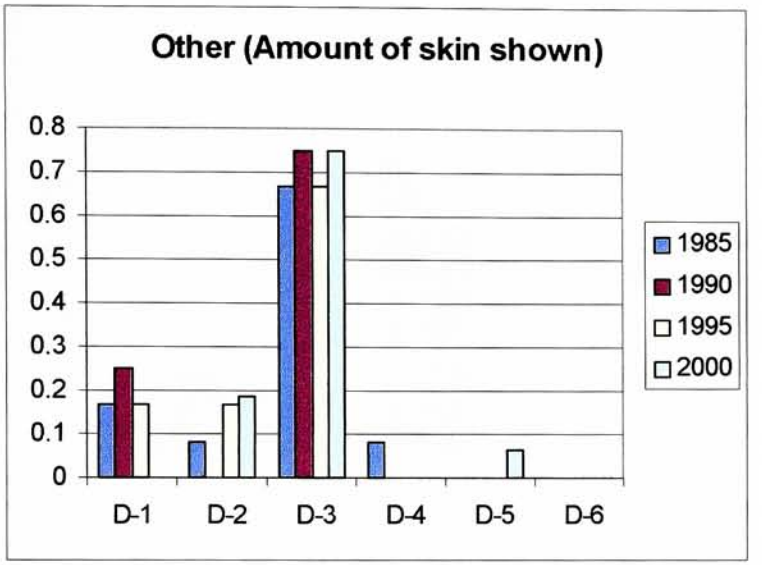
Similar to other product categories, most of the advertisements showed male images by themselves. Notice however, the jump of male dominance from 1985 (8.33%) to 2000 (31.25%), and the drop of female dominance from 1990 (50%), to 2000 (6.25%).

Figure 32: Dominance within Other Advertisements



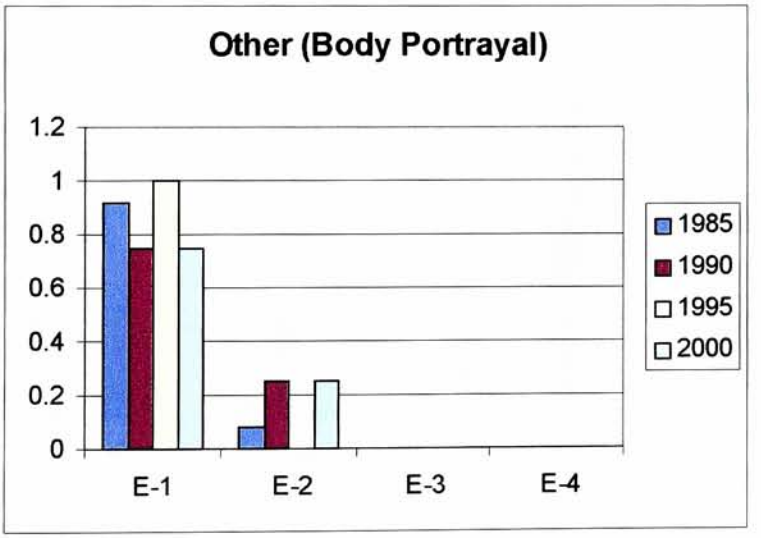
Minimal skin was also shown in the "other" product category with a low of 66.66% in 1985 and 1995. Male images were also primarily shown as complete people, even more so than the alcohol and clothing product categories in 1995, but less so in 2000 among all three other product categories.

Figure 33: Skin Exposure within Other Advertisements



D-1: Entire or almost entire body
D-2: Limbs
D-3: Face and/or hands/lower arms
D-4: Chest
D-5: None
D-6: Other

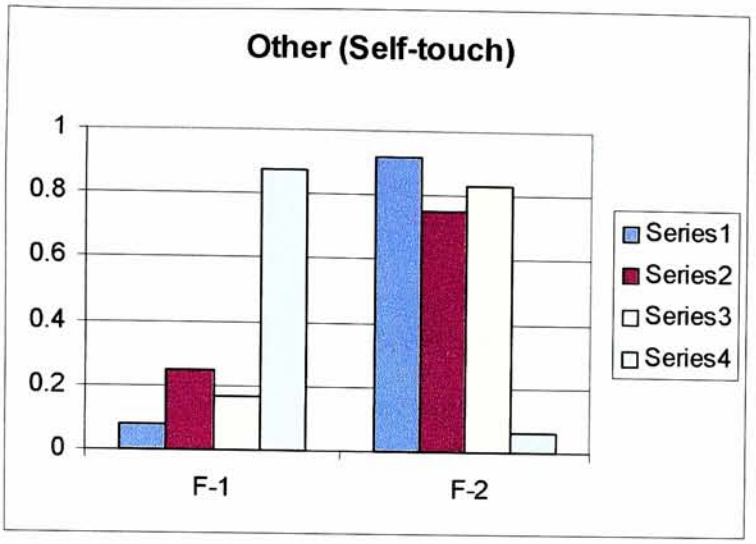
Figure 34: Body Portrayal within Other Advertisements



E-1: Male is shown as complete person only
E-2: Male is shown as body parts only
E-3: Both
E-4: Other

Self-touching increased to 87.50% in 2000 from 16.67% in 1995. Lastly, male image gaze fell mostly into the "other" category, with a low of 50% in 1985 and 2000, and a high of 75% in 1990.

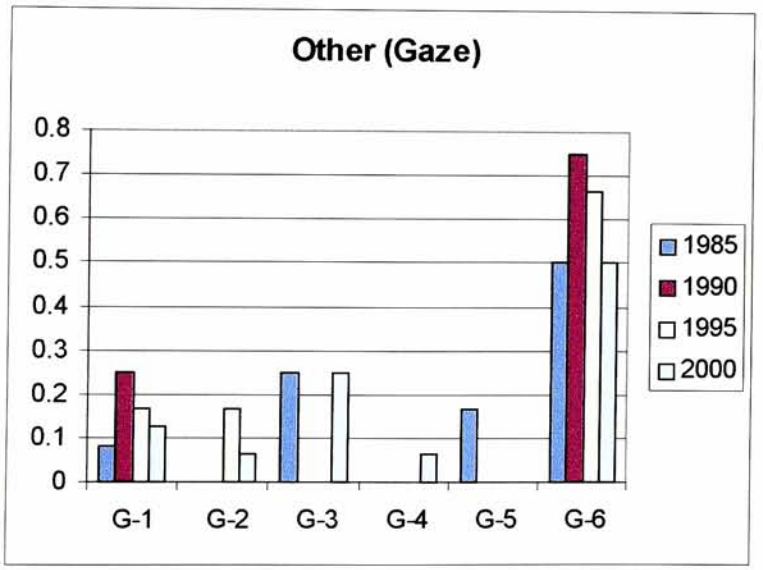
Figure 35: Self-touch within Other Advertisements



F-1: At least one male subject is engaging in self touch

F-2: No male subject is engaging in self touch

Figure 36: Gaze within Other Advertisements



G-1: Gaze is directed at audience

G-2: Gaze is detached

G-3: Gaze is directed at other subjects

G-4: Gaze is directed at self

G-5: Gaze is directed at product

G-6: Other

Within the "Gaze: other" category, the gazes were broken down into the following categories:

Year	Other Categories
1985	"Looking Beyond" (6)
	Eyes Blocked (1)
	Facing away from audience (1)
1990	Unable to tell (1)
	"Looking Beyond" (1)
1995	Eyes Blocked (3)
	Facing away from audience (1)
	Looking at object (1)
	Eyes blocked (3)
	N/A (2)
2000	Eyes Closed (1)

Since 38 advertisements fell into the "other" product category (a distant second to the clothing category), I created a brief table listing the miscellaneous advertisements. The majority of these were cigarette advertisements (16), with eyewear coming in second (7), and beverages (5) in third.

Product/Service	1985	%	1990	%	1995	%	2000	%	Totals (#)	Totals (%)
Awareness (AIDS)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6.25%	1	2.632%
Backpack	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6.25%	1	2.632%
Beverages	1	8.333%	0	0%	2	33.333%	2	12.50%	5	13.158%
Cigarettes	7	58.333%	2	50%	0	0%	7	43.75%	16	42.105%
Cordless Phone	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Credit Cards	1	8.333%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6.25%	2	5.263%
Doctors	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	2.632%
Exercise Equipment	2	16.66667%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6.25%	3	7.895%
Pens	0	0%	1	25%	0	0%	0	0%	1	2.632%
Pro-Basketball yearbook	1	8.33333%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	2.632%
Sunglasses/eyewear	0	0%	0	0%	4	66.667%	3	18.75%	7	18.421%
Totals	12	100%	4	100%	6	100%	16	100%	38	100%

Discussion

The first research question that I endeavored to answer was: How have men been portrayed historically and currently in the advertisements of a men's fashion magazines? According to Shields (1994):

> Traditionally, it is the female body that has served as the object of sexual stimulation in advertising as well as most other mass-mediated forms. Although the male body is now also represented in this capacity, there is little confusion over which gender has traditionally occupied this dubious position in representation" (49).

Kilbourne (1999) concurs, stating that although women have borne the brunt of sexualization for the purpose of advertising, we are now beginning to see more male images that are chopped up and de-humanized for the purpose of selling products. Although this study did show some evidence about the existence of sexual portrayal of men in print advertisements, Goffman's methods did not appear to show specific trends regarding the increase or decrease of specific traits of sexualized male images. This is not to say that such trends do not exist. While trends in sexualization were not evident in this study, continuous trends of ritualistic masculine gender display were noticed. Overall, it has been discussed that men have been historically represented as the ones in charge – as heads of households, heads of business, heads of government. They have also been shown more physically and mentally active than female counterparts. According to Goffman "femininity and masculinity are in a sense the prototypes of essential expression – something that can be conveyed fleetingly in any social situation and yet something that strikes at the most basic characterization of the individual" (7). Throughout this content analysis, I did find many advertisements showing men engaging in a physical activity (usually the reason why many of the advertisements fell under the "B-4: Other position" category), as well as many images of men engaged in what I previously labeled as a "looking beyond" gaze, all examples of how masculinity is defined, at least within these specific situations.

Since approximately 30-40% of male gaze fell into the "other" category, I analyzed each image creating new categories. The bulk of the "other" gazes fell into either the "not applicable" category (in which the head, face, or eyes were just not

shown) or into what I call the "looking beyond" category, in which the model was focusing his attention at something outside the picture shown to the viewer. This is different from what Goffman (1979) labels as a distant or distracted gaze, or "licensed withdrawal", in which primarily women were shown with expressionless, uninvolved-in-their-situation looks, or looking in a way that showed dependence upon the man for protection and/or a solution to any situation than should come their way. Goffman also states "evidence of an individual's involvement will come from the direction and mobility of his gaze, as well as the alignment of his eyes, head, and trunk, these ordinarily oriented in the same direction" (18). The male images shown in this category definitely appeared to be involved with their situations, whether laughing, smiling, appearing to be focusing on the future/what's ahead of him, or to think, it's just that the viewer is unable to tell what that situation is. What I did notice during my examination of distant male gazes was that in 1985, many of these gazes occurred when the man was pictured with one or more children – even if the children appeared active and involved with the man, the man appeared uninterested in the children. In the following years, especially in the year 2000, men appeared to be active with the child, playing with (usually) him, as if he were proud and happy to be a father. When the man was shown with a distant gaze in the later issues, he is usually by himself, and occasionally with a woman who was either shown also with a distant gaze, or as the dominant person in the image. While this example doesn't necessary connote a situation in which men are being objectified (as defined by Goffman), it does suggest a possible portrayal of changing masculine gender roles and gender display.

The second research question I asked was: To what extent have they been portrayed in a sexual manner? Has the portrayal – whether sexual or otherwise, changed over time? Is there a trend towards increased sexual objectification of men in print ads? The vast majority of males images in my sample were not shown as sexual creatures, at least not the same way women are usually portrayed – that is, they were usually clothed, not posed in what Goffman would consider a sexual position (i.e. exhibiting self-touch) or in an otherwise subservient position, and usually seen as active participants in their situations and environment. While most portrayals have fluctuated over the years, there doesn't appear to be a specific trend in the portrayal of male images within my sample size. Again, this is not to say that male sexualization did not exist, only to say that the definition of male sexualization appears to be different to how Goffman defines female sexualization and feminine gender display. According to Goffman, "the females depicted in commercially posed scenes have straighter teeth and are slimmer, younger, taller, blonder, and 'better' looking than those found in most real scenes, even most real scenes occurring in stylish setting" (21). While it can be safely presumed that male images in *GQ* will usually be better looking than the average male, it appears that they look "better" differently. Some obvious examples are male images that are bigger and more muscular, especially in comparison with accompanying female images. Other examples would include male images shown in suits and tuxedoes (formal clothing that, unlike female formal clothing, usually only show the male image's head, neck and hands, making a correlation between the amount of exposed skin and objectification somewhat difficult in these examples, leading to a need of different categories for male image analysis). When

male images are shown with fewer clothes, the models are shown with minimal or no body hair – even underarm hair was usually hidden from view, usually by male images keeping their arms at least part way down. While minimal body hair on women is a cultural aspect of the U.S., and female images with minimal body hair are also shown in European media, body hair on males, whether in abundance or minimal, is not something Western cultures ritualize – in other words, men are usually not deemed more or less attractive with more or less body hair[13]. However, it is often seen in the media, so perhaps there are situations in which the masculine image is becoming more feminized and sexualized to the point that such images are not true to life.

My last question was: has there been a change over time in the types of product advertising using men? Since the majority of the advertisements fell into the clothing category, (even though clothing advertisements fell by 13.43%) it would be difficult to assess a general conclusion based on a relatively small sample size of other product categories. Within the cosmetics category, the percentage of male images shown by themselves appear to be decreasing, while the percentage of males showing minimal skin has increased, perhaps hinting at a possible decrease of sexualization of male images within this category. Within the alcohol category, the percentage of male dominance has decreased steadily over the years, while the percentage of male images shown by themselves has increased. Within the alcohol/setting category, the number of men shown with women has decreased from 1985 to 1995, with the number remaining steady during 2000.

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[13] Although there can be instances where too much body hair (especially on the back, shoulders and chest area) can be considered unattractive, women are more likely to be expected to have no hair (especially on the legs and underarms), whereas men are expected to have some.

Within the clothing category, the percentage of male images being shown as complete people has decreased since 1985 by about 10%, suggesting an increased use of objectification of male images. Within the "other" product category, most of the categories appear to have varied results that do not illustrate specific trends.

One interesting fact was the lack of skin shown in the advertisements. Although perhaps sexualized in other areas, men don't seem to be portrayed as scantily clad sex objects, supporting Andrews' (1992) claim that nude men are seen as vulnerable, and a vulnerable man is not seen as masculine or attractive. Perhaps the masculine gender does not include much skin exposure in its definition. On the other hand, the majority of advertisements were showcasing clothing and clothing accessories, so perhaps this isn't a question of whether men aren't supposed to be seen as vulnerable, but rather that since men's clothing (specifically professional, formal, and business casual dress) usually does cover the majority of men's bodies, the advertisement is simply attempting to showcase the product. One interesting side note, however, is that in the majority of cases in which male images were showcased as mere body parts (no matter the product) those body parts were usually clothed, showing little or no skin in the advertisement[14].

So what does this new information mean? This study did not strongly support some scholars' research and predictions that male images in print advertisements are becoming more sexualized, perhaps because the difference is too subtle for the coded categories to pick up[15]. Granted, this study sample size was limited by the fact that only

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[14] The D-5: overall amount of skin shown-none on male images was one of the few categories that experienced a steady increase over the fifteen-year period, increasing from 0% in 1985 to 3.33% in 2000.
[15] Which leads to one idea for future research: using different categories or by dividing one or two of the original categories into more specific sub-categories.

one magazine was used due to time constraints, although certain increases and decreases in male image position, setting, exposure, etc., however small, do hint at the possibility that images of masculinity are changing, albeit slowly. While there were examples of female dominance over men, as well as advertisements selling traditionally feminine products to men, again, the bulk of the advertisements were of men's clothing items, showing the male image in posed, many times action oriented, many times decorative situations. Perhaps while males do appear to be shown in decorative positions, these positions remain masculine, that is, more often than not, fully clothed, active in their situation, and in a dominant position over women and children, suggesting significant changes in the definition of gender, in ritualized gender display or in symbolic interactionism have not occurred.

Furthermore, these results could suggest that male consumerism is on the rise, and instead of the previously stated hypotheses of scholars claiming that men are becoming feminized or the male gender is becoming more gender neutral, perhaps the products themselves are becoming masculine for the consumer, instead of the consumer images becoming feminized for the product. After all, how else can companies maintain and increase revenues for certain product categories without first making them useful for audiences outside their current target market? Since it is no longer a social faux pas for many men to use hair styling products and colognes, perhaps advertisers will soon come up with a way to portray lipstick and nail polish as a masculine product, while keeping their feminine market. While this thought may be somewhat laughable now (especially

in more conservative circles, where even hair care products and colognes are not permitted), the possibility is there.

Then again, perhaps past and current research is jumping ahead of current society: yes, there are male images being portrayed in traditionally feminine roles, as well as female images being portrayed in traditionally masculine roles. There also does seem to be more of the non-traditional imagery today than there has been in the past. However, at least in this study, there doesn't seem to be as many non-traditional sexually stereotypical images as many scholars would lead us to believe in current society. For example, the largest number of male self-touches occurred in 1995, composing of 25.86% of the sample advertisements in that year. However, within this category, men were not usually portrayed as their feminine counterparts were, who, according to Goffman (1979), are usually portrayed as caressing themselves and/or the products, biting their fingers, or covering their mouths or other parts of their faces. On the other hand, most of the self-touches portrayed by male images were of what Goffman called "finger-to-finger position, [which] appears to carry the same dissociated self communication as is expressed in finger-to-mouth gestures but in a still more attenuated form" (61).

Some of the results suggested that male dominance fluctuates differently within different product categories. For example, the overall dominance of male images showed that male images dominated the most in 2000, comprising of 22.83% of the sample, and female dominance occurred 7.61% during the same year. Within the cosmetics/scents category, male dominance has far exceeded female dominance, whereas male dominance within the alcohol category has steadily decreased from 75% in 1985 to 16.67% in 2000,

with female dominance peaking to 33% in both 1995 and 2000. Within the clothing category, usually male dominance was shown when the male image was portrayed with other characters. Furthermore, more self-touch occurred within the cosmetics/scents category than occurred within the alcohol and clothing categories, whereas the amount of self-touch within the "other" category skyrocketed from 16.67% in 1995 to 87.5% in 2000.

Overall, advertising is going to attempt to attract the target market to their product, either by conforming to the target market's ideas of themselves and the world around them, or by attempting to make the target market conform to the product's image.

> The task of the advertiser is to favorable dispose viewers to his product, his means, by and large, to show a sparking version of that product in the context of glamorous events. The implication is that if you buy the one, you are on the way to realizing the other – and you should want to (Goffman 1979, 26).

While many of the advertisement layouts could be dependent upon who is acting as photo editor, the purpose of the photo editor is to create images that will sell the product. What will sell the product is dependent on the views of the target market. Thus, a smart photo editor will be a liaison between audiences and advertisers, keeping a sharp eye on changing trends.

For the most part, the use of Goffman's categories did not reveal a trend toward sexual objectification of men. This can mean that either there is no trend towards the sexual objectification (meaning that the previous research and commentary already stated

are moot points, a possibility that is very slim) or that further research needs to be done in order to uncover such quantitative trends that are not yet detectable.

Because this study was relatively limited in scope, further research ideas pertaining to this line of study should be explored. I noticed that many advertisements promoting products falling into the "cosmetics/scents" and the "jewelry" categories did not contain images of men (thus falling outside my population and sample). If they did contain a male image, a female image was also usually shown. One idea for follow-up research would be to analyze the number of advertisements with and without male and/or female images. Research could also be done on the types of articles and non-advertising images within men's magazines. I happened to notice that self-help and sex-advice columns were regular features in 1995 and 2000 *GQ* issues, but not in 1985 and 1990, in which they appeared sporadically at best. Furthermore, I also noticed that many naked or near naked shots were in general interest articles of both male and female celebrities.

Since *GQ* is predominately a fashion magazine, its fashion layouts could also be examined to further determine how male gender display and the symbolic interaction between images may have changed. Furthermore, since only full-paged advertisements were looked at, smaller advertisements could be examined to perhaps better determine how the image of the gendered male is changing. Such advertisements that I've noticed sold elevated shoes, hair replacement therapy, skin care items, even careers in modeling, stating that modeling "is a man's job." Also, this thesis's methodology could be used in an examination of general and other specific interest magazines (i.e. Popular Science, Field and Stream, or other magazines catering to a specific audiences).

Next, the overall effects of male images on men could be studied. Specifically, how do these images that were just examined help men determine how to be a "man"? How does society, by using and creating images, determine male gender roles? How does the male market view themselves, how do advertisers view the male market, and how does the male market view and respond to advertisers?

Also, the background of the advertisements was not examined. Neither were aspects regarding age, race, ethnicity and class in relation to gender. During my study, I noticed that the majority of advertisements showed white male and female images – granted, the magazine's target market could be specifically made up of white, upper class males, so this type of research may be better suited in an examination of general interest magazines.

Lastly, since this study did not reveal trends toward more sexual objectification of men using Goffman's theories and methods, perhaps different categories need to be developed to ascertain if men are more sexualized now then they have been in the past. After all, if what many scholars' claims about cultural differences in gender theory are true, then perhaps the objectification of men cannot be revealed using women's objectification standards.

Conclusion

The use of sex appeal has and probably will always be a major component of advertising. How sex and gender are used can be quite different when it comes to attracting certain target audiences, and while the study of the general use of sexual and gender display will always be important, perhaps examining how it is used to identify

with certain audiences and products should be emphasized. After all, as society becomes less and less homogeneous, traditional stereotypes will fail to reach out to mass audiences and sell products. Changes in media will also have an effect on how advertisers reach out to audiences, and how audiences perceive advertisers. While this study indicated that the sexualization of men is still very dissimilar to the way women are sexualized, scholars still need to keep an eye out for even the slightest of trend changes. As gender is considered to be one of, if not the most important social and self-identifiers, changes in such gender roles and displays can give scholars significant insights into how society may be changing. As our great-grandmothers may have shunned ideas such as makeup and nylons that our grandmothers and mothers embraced, perhaps a "new man" – a man more consumed with consumption – is embracing a culture that our fathers and some of our brothers reject. As new generations emerge, updated research will be needed to confirm whether a "new man" exist, whether he is a passing fad, or here to stay, just as obsessed as his sister and mother are with the consumer, and gender, ideal.

Appendices

Appendix #1

Year:_____ Month:_____

Page #	A. Setting	B. Position	C. Company	D. Skin	E. Body Parts	F. Touch	G. Gaze	H. Product

Notes:

Appendix #2

Year: _____

	Total Number
Setting:	
A-1. By himself	
A-2. With one or more women	
A-3. With other men	
A-4. With children	
A-5. With other men and women	
A-6. Other	
Position	
B-1. Sitting	
B-2. Standing	
B-3. Lounging	
B-4. Other	
B-5. Unable to tell	
Dominance:	
C-1. Man/Men	
C-2. Woman/Women	
C-3. Child/Children	
C-4. N/A (man is by himself)	
C-5. Main subjects are equal in stance	
C-6. Other	
Amount of Skin:	
D-1. Entire or almost entire body	
D-2. Limbs	
D-3. Face and/or hands/lower arms	
D-4. Chest	
D-5. None	
D-6. Other	
Body Parts:	
E-1. Male is shown as complete person only	
E-2. Male is shown as body parts only	
E-3. Both.	
E-4. Other	
Self-touch	
F-1. At least one male subject is engaging in self-touch	
F-2. No male subject is engaging in self-touch	
Gaze:	
G-1. Gaze is directed at audience	
G-2. Gaze is detached	
G-3. Gaze is directed at other subjects	
G-4. Gaze is directed at self	
G-5. Gaze is directed at product	
G-6. Other	
Product:	
H-1. Cosmetics/scents (Ex. hair coloring, colognes, plastic surgery)	
H-2. Alcohol	
H-3. Home furnishings (Ex. furniture, appliances)	
H-4. Clothing	
H-5. Hygiene (Soaps, shampoos, razors, toothpaste)	
H-6. Jewelry	
H-7. Automobiles	
H-8. Work related products (Computers, PDAs)	
H-9. Entertainment (Videos, DVDs, stereos, televisions, radios)	
H-10. Other	

Appendix #3

Product: _____ Total # of Product: _____

Year: _____

	Total Number
Setting:	
A-1. By himself	
A-2. With one or more women	
A-3. With other men	
A-4. With children	
A-5. With other men and women	
A-6. Other	
Position	
B-1. Sitting	
B-2. Standing	
B-3. Lounging	
B-4. Other	
B-5. Unable to tell	
Dominance:	
C-1. Man/Men	
C-2. Woman/Women	
C-3. Child/Children	
C-4. N/A (man is by himself)	
C-5. Main subjects are equal in stance	
C-6. Other	
Amount of Skin:	
D-1. Entire or almost entire body	
D-2. Limbs	
D-3. Face and/or hands/lower arms	
D-4. Chest	
D-5. None	
D-6. Other	
Body Parts:	
E-1. Male is shown as complete person only	
E-2. Male is shown as body parts only	
E-3. Both.	
E-4. Other	
Self-touch	
F-1. At least one male subject is engaging in self-touch	
F-2. No male subject is engaging in self-touch	
Gaze:	
G-1. Gaze is directed at audience	
G-2. Gaze is detached	
G-3. Gaze is directed at other subjects	
G-4. Gaze is directed at self	
G-5. Gaze is directed at product	
G-6. Other	

Appendix #4

Year Category	1985	1990	1995	2000	Totals
H-1: Cosmetics/scents	9	9	7	9	34
H-2: Alcohol	4	7	3	6	20
H-3: Home Furnishings	0	0	0	0	0
H-4: Clothing	68	61	38	51	218
H-5: Hygiene	1	2	0	1	4
H-6: Jewelry	2	1	2	2	7
H-7: Automobiles	0	1	2	0	3
H-8: Work related Products	0	0	0	0	0
H-9: Entertainment	1	0	0	5	6
H-10: Other	12	4	6	16	38
Totals:	97	85	58	90	330

The respective percentages are as follows:

Year Category	1985	1990	1995	2000	Overall %
H-1: Cosmetics/scents	26.47059%	26.47059%	20.58824%	26.47059%	10.30303%
H-2: Alcohol	20%	35%	15%	30%	6.06061%
H-3: Home Furnishings	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0%
H-4: Clothing	31.19266%	27.98165%	17.43119%	23.39450%	66.06061%
H-5: Hygiene	25%	50%	0%	25%	1.21212%
H-6: Jewelry	28.57143%	14.28571%	28.57143%	28.57143%	2.12121%
H-7: Automobiles	0%	33.33333%	66.66667%	0%	0.90909%
H-8: Work related Products	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0%
H-9: Entertainment	16.66667%	0%	0%	83.33333%	1.81818%
H-10: Other	31.57895%	10.52632%	15.78947%	42.10526%	11.51515%

Appendix #5

Category/ Year	#	Percentage	Category/ Year	#	Percentage
A-1 1985	61	62.89%	A-1 1990	50	58.82%
A-2 1985	15	15.46%	A-2 1990	16	18.82%
A-3 1985	13	13.40%	A-3 1990	10	11.76%
A-4 1985	3	3.09%	A-4 1990	3	3.53%
A-5 1985	5	5.15%	A-5 1990	3	3.53%
A-6 1985	0	0%	A-6 1990	3	3.53%
B-1 1985	15	15.46%	B-1 1990	20	23.53%
B-2 1985	55	56.70%	B-2 1990	34	40%
B-3 1985	3	3.093%	B-3 1990	2	2.35%
B-4 1985	18	18.56%	B-4 1990	17	20%
B-5 1985	6	6.19%	B-5 1990	12	14.12%
C-1 1985	21	21.65%	C-1 1990	13	15.29%
C-2 1985	4	4.12%	C-2 1990	8	9.41%
C-3 1985	1	1.03%	C-3 1990	2	2.35%
C-4 1985	61	62.89%	C-4 1990	50	58.82%
C-5 1985	10	10.31%	C-5 1990	11	12.94%
C-6 1985	0	0%	C-6 1990	1	1.18%
D-1 1985	7	7.22%	D-1 1990	3	3.53%
D-2 1985	10	10.31%	D-2 1990	4	4.71%
D-3 1985	76	78.35%	D-3 1990	73	85.88%
D-4 1985	3	3.09%	D-4 1990	4	4.71%
D-5 1985	0	0%	D-5 1990	1	1.22%
D-6 1985	1	1.03%	D-6 1990	0	0%
E-1 1985	91	93.81%	E-1 1990	70	82.35%
E-2 1985	6	6.19%	E-2 1990	14	16.47%
E-3 1985	0	0%	E-3 1990	0	0%
E-4 1985	0	0%	E-4 1990	1	1.18%
F-1 1985	12	12.37%	F-1 1990	10	11.76%
F-2 1985	85	87.63%	F-2 1990	75	88.24%
G-1 1985	23	23.71%	G-1 1990	28	32.94%
G-2 1985	21	21.65%	G-2 1990	7	8.24%
G-3 1985	18	18.56%	G-3 1990	13	15.29%
G-4 1985	1	1.03%	G-4 1990	3	3.53%
G-5 1985	3	3.09%	G-5 1990	1	1.18%
G-6 1985	31	31.96%	G-6 1990	33	38.82%

Category/ Year	#	Percentage	Category/ Year	#	Percentage
H-1 1985	9	9.28%	H-1 1990	9	10.59%
H-2 1985	4	4.12%	H-2 1990	7	8.24%
H-3 1985	0	0%	H-3 1990	0	0%
H-4 1985	68	70.10%	H-4 1990	61	71.76%
H-5 1985	1	1.03%	H-5 1990	2	2.35%
H-6 1985	2	2.06%	H-6 1990	1	1.18%
H-7 1985	0	0%	H-7 1990	1	1.17%
H-8 1985	0	0%	H-8 1990	0	0%
H-9 1985	1	1.03%	H-9 1990	0	0%
H-10 1985	12	12.37%	H-10 1990	4	4.71%

Category/ Year	#	Percentage	Category/ Year	#	Percentage
A-1 1995	41	70.69%	A-1 2000	54	58.70%
A-2 1995	5	8.62%	A-2 2000	21	22.83%
A-3 1995	7	12.07%	A-3 2000	7	7.61%
A-4 1995	0	0%	A-4 2000	1	1.09%
A-5 1995	4	6.90%	A-5 2000	2	2.17%
A-6 1995	1	1.72%	A-6 2000	7	7.61%
B-1 1995	11	18.97%	B-1 2000	20	21.74%
B-2 1995	24	41.38%	B-2 2000	38	41.30%
B-3 1995	1	1.72%	B-3 2000	6	6.52%
B-4 1995	14	24.14%	B-4 2000	17	18.48%
B-5 1995	8	13.79%	B-5 2000	11	11.96%
C-1 1995	8	13.79%	C-1 2000	21	22.83%
C-2 1995	1	1.72%	C-2 2000	7	7.61%
C-3 1995	0	0%	C-3 2000	1	1.09%
C-4 1995	41	70.69%	C-4 2000	53	57.61%
C-5 1995	7	12.07%	C-5 2000	9	9.78%
C-6 1995	1	1.72%	C-6 2000	1	1.09%
D-1 1995	5	8.62%	D-1 2000	2	2.17%
D-2 1995	3	5.17%	D-2 2000	6	6.52%
D-3 1995	43	74.14%	D-3 2000	76	82.61%
D-4 1995	4	6.90%	D-4 2000	4	4.35%
D-5 1995	1	1.87%	D-5 2000	3	3.33%
D-6 1995	2	3.45%	D-6 2000	1	1.09%
E-1 1995	48	82.76%	E-1 2000	77	83.70%
E-2 1995	8	13.79%	E-2 2000	10	10.87%
E-3 1995	2	3.45%	E-3 2000	4	4.35%
E-4 1995	0	0%	E-4 2000	1	1.09%

Category/ Year	#	Percentage	Category/ Year	#	Percentage
F-1 1995	15	25.86%	F-1 2000	15	16.30%
F-2 1995	43	74.14%	F-2 2000	77	83.70%
G-1 1995	21	36.21%	G-1 2000	27	29.35%
G-2 1995	11	18.97%	G-2 2000	18	19.57%
G-3 1995	4	6.90%	G-3 2000	13	14.13%
G-4 1995	2	3.45%	G-4 2000	1	1.09%
G-5 1995	1	1.72%	G-5 2000	5	5.43%
G-6 1995	19	32.76%	G-6 2000	28	30.43%
H-1 1995	7	12.07%	H-1 2000	9	9.78%
H-2 1995	3	5.17%	H-2 2000	6	6.52%
H-3 1995	0	0%	H-3 2000	0	0%
H-4 1995	38	65.52%	H-4 2000	51	55.43%
H-5 1995	0	0%	H-5 2000	1	1.09%
H-6 1995	2	3.45%	H-6 2000	2	2.17%
H-7 1995	2	3.45%	H-7 2000	2	2.17%
H-8 1995	0	0%	H-8 2000	0	0%
H-9 1995	0	0%	H-9 2000	5	5.43%
H-10 1995	6	10.34%	H-10 2000	16	17.39%

Appendix #6

	Year/%	1985	%	1990	%
Gaze					
Eyes Blocked		1	3.23%	2	6.06%
Eyes Closed		0	0%	0	0%
Facing away from viewer		1	3.23%	6	18.18%
Head/Face/Eyes not shown		5	16.13%	10	30.30%
Looking at other object (not subject)		0	0%	2	6.06%
"Looking Beyond"		21	67.74%	9	27.27%
Looking down		2	6.45%	3	9.09%
Unable to tell		1	3.23%	1	3.03%
	Total	31	100%	33	100%

	Year/%	1995	%	2000	%
Gaze					
Eyes Blocked		5	26.32%	4	14.81%
Eyes Closed		1	5.26%	2	7.41%
Facing away from viewer		1	5.26%	2	7.41%
Head/Face/Eyes not shown		7	36.84%	9	33.33%
Looking at other object (not subject)		0	0%	1	3.70%
"Looking Beyond"		3	15.79%	8	29.63%
Looking down		2	10.53%	1	3.70%
Unable to tell		0	0%	0	0%
	Total	19	100%	27	100%

	Year/%	Total (#)	Total (%)
Gaze			
Eyes Blocked		12	10.91%
Eyes Closed		3	2.73%
Facing away from viewer		10	9.09%
Head/Face/Eyes not shown		31	28.18%
Looking at other object (not subject)		3	2.73%
"Looking Beyond"		41	37.27%
Looking down		8	7.27%
Unable to tell		2	1.82%
	Total	110	100%

Appendix #7

Cosmetics/Scents

		Setting:					
Year	Total # of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	9	4	2	1	1	1	0
1990	9	4	4	1	0	0	0
1995	7	3	2	0	0	1	1
2000	9	3	1	2	1	1	1
Totals:	34	14	9	4	2	3	2

		Setting					
Year	Total % of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	26.4706%	44.4444%	22.2222%	11.1111%	11.1111%	11.1111%	0%
1990	26.4706%	44.4444%	44.4444%	11.1111%	0%	0%	0%
1995	20.5882%	42.8571%	28.5714%	0%	0%	14.2857%	14.2857%
2000	26.4706%	33.3333%	11.1111%	22.2222%	11.1111%	11.1111%	11.1111%
Totals:	100%	41.1765%	26.4706%	11.7647%	5.8824%	8.8235%	5.8824%

		Position:				
Year	Total # of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	9	6	0	0	2	1
1990	9	1	3	1	1	3
1995	7	1	3	1	2	0
2000	9	2	2	0	3	2
Totals:	34	10	8	2	8	6

		Position				
Year	Total % of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	26.4706%	66.6667%	0%	0%	22.2222%	11.1111%
1990	26.4706%	11.1111%	33.3333%	11.1111%	11.1111%	33.3333%
1995	20.5882%	14.2857%	42.8571%	14.2857%	28.5714%	0%
2000	26.4706%	22.2222%	22.2222%	0%	33.3333%	22.2222%
Totals:	100%	29.4118%	23.5294%	5.8824%	23.5294%	17.6471%

		Dominance					
Year	Total # of Product	C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	9	3	1	0	4	1	0
1990	9	1	2	0	4	2	0
1995	7	4	0	0	3	0	0
2000	9	5	0	0	3	1	0
Totals:	34	13	3	0	14	4	0

Year	Total % of Product	Dominance C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	26.4706%	33.3333%	11.1111%	0%	44.4444%	11.1111%	0%
1990	26.4706%	11.1111%	22.2222%	0%	44.4444%	22.2222%	0%
1995	20.5882%	57 1429%	0%	0%	42.8571%	0%	0%
2000	26.4706%	55.5556%	0%	0%	33.3333%	11.1111%	0%
Totals:	100%	38.2353%	8.8235%	0%	41.1765%	11.7647%	0%

Year	Total # of Product	Amount of Skin D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	9	2	0	6	0	0	1
1990	9	1	0	6	1	1	0
1995	7	0	0	5	2	0	0
2000	9	0	1	7	1	0	0
Totals:	34	3	1	24	4	1	1

Year	Total % of Product	Amount of Skin D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	26.4706%	22.2222%	0%	66.6667%	0%	0%	11.1111%
1990	26.4706%	11.1111%	0%	66.6667%	11.1111%	11.1111%	0%
1995	20.5882%	0%	0%	71.4286%	28.5714%	0%	0%
2000	26.4706%	0%	11.1111%	77.7778%	11.1111%	0%	0%
Totals:	100%	8.8235%	2.9412%	70.5882%	11.7647%	2.9412%	2.9412%

Year	Total # of Product	Body Portrayal E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	9	9	0	0	0
1990	9	6	3	0	0
1995	7	7	0	0	0
2000	9	8	0	1	0
Totals:	34	30	3	1	0

Year	Total % of Product	Body Portrayal E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	26.4706%	100%	0%	0%	0%
1990	26.4706%	66.6667%	33.3333%	0%	0%
1995	20.5882%	100%	0%	0%	0%
2000	26.4706%	88.8889%	0%	11.1111%	0%
Totals:	100%	88.2353%	8.8235%	2.9412%	0%

		Self-touch	
Year	Total # of Product	F-1	F-2
1985	9	3	6
1990	9	2	7
1995	7	2	5
2000	9	3	6
Totals:	34	10	24

		Self-touch		
Year	Total % of Product	A-1	F-1	F-2
1985	26.4706%	44.4444%	33.3333%	66.6667%
1990	26.4706%	44.4444%	22.2222%	77.7778%
1995	20.5882%	42.8571%	28.5714%	71.4286%
2000	26.4706%	33.3333%	33.3333%	66.6667%
Totals:	100%	41.1765%	29.4118	70.5882%

		Gaze					
Year	Total # of Product	G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	9	6	0	1	0	0	2
1990	9	0	2	1	2	0	4
1995	7	4	0	2	0	0	1
2000	9	2	1	3	1	0	2
Totals:	34	12	3	7	3	0	9

		Gaze					
Year	Total % of Product	G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	26.4706%	66.6667%	0%	11.1111%	0%	0%	22.2222%
1990	26.4706%	0%	22.2222%	11.1111%	22.2222%	0%	44.4444%
1995	20.5882%	57.1429%	0%	28.5714%	0%	0%	14.2857%
2000	26.4706%	22.2222%	11.1111%	33.3333%	11.1111%	0%	22.2222%
Totals:	100%	35.2941%	8.8235%	20.5882%	8.8235%	0%	26.4706%

Appendix #8

Alcohol

		Setting					
Year	Total # of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	4	0	4	0	0	0	0
1990	7	1	4	1	0	1	0
1995	3	1	1	0	0	1	0
2000	6	3	2	1	0	0	0
Totals:	20	5	11	2	0	2	0

		Setting					
Year	Total % of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	20%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1990	35%	14.2857%	57.1429%	14.2857%	0%	14.2857%	0%
1995	15%	33.3333%	33.3333%	0%	0%	33.3333%	0%
2000	30%	50%	33.3333%	16.6667%	0%	0%	0%
Totals:	100%	25%	55%	10%	0%	10%	0%

		Position				
Year	Total # of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	4	2	1	1	0	0
1990	7	2	3	0	1	1
1995	3	0	0	0	1	2
2000	6	2	3	0	1	0
Totals:	20	6	7	1	3	3

		Position				
Year	Total % of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	20%	50%	25%	25%	0%	0%
1990	35%	28.5714%	42.8571%	0%	14.2857%	14.2857%
1995	15%	0%	0%	0%	33.3333%	66.6667%
2000	30%	33.3333%	50%	0%	16.6667%	0%
Totals:	100%	30%	35%	5%	15%	15%

		Dominance					
Year	Total # of Product	C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	4	3	0	0	0	1	0
1990	7	3	0	0	1	3	0
1995	3	1	1	0	1	0	0
2000	6	1	2	0	3	0	0
Totals:	20	8	3	0	5	4	0

		Dominance					
Year	Total % of Product	C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	20%	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%
1990	35%	42.8571%	0%	0%	14.2857%	42.8571%	0%
1995	15%	33.3333%	33.3333%	0%	33.3333%	0%	0%
2000	30%	16.6667%	33.3333%	0%	50%	0%	0%
Totals:	100%	40%	15%	0%	25%	20%	0%

		Amount of skin					
Year	Total # of Product	D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	4	0	0	2	2	0	0
1990	7	0	0	7	0	0	0
1995	3	0	0	3	0	0	0
2000	6	0	0	3	0	1	0
Totals:	20	0	0	15	2	1	0

		Amount of skin					
Year	Total % of Product	D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	20%	0%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%
1990	35%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
1995	15%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
2000	30%	0%	0%	50%	0%	16.6667%	0%
Totals:	100%	0%	0%	75%	10%	5%	0%

		Body Portrayal			
Year	Total # of Product	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	4	4	0	0	0
1990	7	5	2	0	0
1995	3	2	1	0	0
2000	6	5	2	0	0
Totals:	20	16	5	0	0

		Body Portrayal			
Year	Total % of Product	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	20%	100%	0%	0%	0%
1990	35%	71.4286%	28.5714%	0%	0%
1995	15%	66.6667%	33.3333%	0%	0%
2000	30%	83.3333%	33.3333%	0%	0%
Totals:	100%	80%	25%	0%	0%

		Self touch	
Year	Total # of Product	F-1	F-2
1985	4	2	2
1990	7	0	7
1995	3	0	3
2000	6	1	5
Totals:	20	3	17

		Self touch	
Year	Total % of Product	F-1	F-2
1985	20%	50%	50%
1990	35%	0%	100%
1995	15%	0%	100%
2000	30%	16.6667%	83.3333%
Totals:	100%	15%	85%

		Gaze					
Year	Total # of Product	G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	4	0	0	4	0	0	0
1990	7	0	0	2	0	1	4
1995	3	0	1	1	0	0	1
2000	6	2	1	0	0	1	2
Totals:	20	2	2	7	0	2	7

		Gaze					
Year	Total % of Product	G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	20%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%
1990	35%	0%	0%	28.5714%	0%	14.2857%	57.1429%
1995	15%	0%	33.3333%	33.3333%	0%	0%	33.3333%
2000	30%	33.3333%	16.6667%	0%	0%	16.6667%	33.3333%
Totals:	100%	10%	10%	35%	0%	10%	35%

Appendix #9

Clothing

		Setting					
Year	Total # of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	68	45	8	10	2	3	0
1990	61	41	6	7	2	2	3
1995	38	29	1	6	0	1	0
2000	51	34	12	2	0	0	3
Totals:	218	149	27	25	4	6	6

		Setting					
Year	Total % of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	31.1927%	66.1765%	11.7647%	14.7059%	2.9412%	4.4118%	0%
1990	27.9817%	67.2131%	9.8361%	11.4754%	3.2787%	3.2787%	4.9180%
1995	17 4312%	76.3158%	2.6316%	15.7895%	0%	2.6316%	0%
2000	23.3945%	66.6667%	23.5294%	3.9216%	0%	0%	5.8824%
Totals:	100%	68.3486%	12.3853%	11.4679%	1.8349%	2.7523%	2.7523%

		Position				
Year	Total # of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	68	10	43	2	11	2
1990	61	14	27	1	14	5
1995	38	7	19	0	10	2
2000	51	12	25	3	7	4
Totals:	218	43	114	6	42	13

		Position				
Year	Total % of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	31.1927%	14.7059%	63.2353%	2.9412%	16.1765%	2.9412%
1990	27.9817%	22.9508%	44.2623%	1.6393%	22.9508%	8.1967%
1995	17.4312%	18.4211%	50%	0%	26.3158%	5.2632%
2000	23.3945%	23.5294%	49.0196%	5.8824%	13.7255%	7.8431%
Totals:	100%	19.7248%	52.2936%	2.7523%	19.2661%	5.9633%

		Dominance					
Year	Total # of Product	C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	68	14	1	1	45	7	0
1990	61	9	3	2	41	5	1
1995	38	2	0	0	29	6	1
2000	51	8	4	0	34	4	1
Totals:	218	33	8	3	149	22	3

Year	Total % of Product	Dominance C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	31.1927%	20.5882%	1.4706%	1.4706%	66.1765%	10.2941%	0%
1990	27.9817%	14.7541%	4.9180%	3.2787%	67.2131%	8.1967%	1.6393%
1995	17.4312%	5.2632%	0%	0%	76.3158%	15.7895%	2.6316%
2000	23.3945%	15.6863%	7.8431%	0%	66.6667%	7.8431%	1.9608%
Totals:	100%	15.1376%	3.6697%	1.3761%	68.3486%	10.0917%	1.3761%

Year	Total # of Product	Amount of Skin D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	68	3	9	55	1	0	0
1990	61	1	4	53	3	0	0
1995	38	4	1	28	2	1	2
2000	51	2	1	44	2	1	1
Totals:	218	10	15	180	8	2	3

Year	Total % of Product	Amount of Skin D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	31.1927%	4.4118%	13.2353%	80.8824%	1.4706%	0%	0%
1990	27.9817%	1.6393%	6.5574%	86.8852%	4.9180%	0%	0%
1995	17.4312%	10.5263%	2.6316%	73.6842%	5.2632%	2.6316%	5.2632%
2000	23.3945%	3.9216%	1.9608%	86.2745%	3.9216%	1.9608%	1.9608%
Totals:	100%	4.5872%	6.8807%	82.5688%	3.6697%	0.9174%	1.3761%

Year	Total # of Product	Body Portrayal E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	68	64	4	0	0
1990	61	53	7	0	1
1995	38	31	5	2	0
2000	51	43	4	3	1
Totals:	218	191	20	5	2

Year	Total % of Product	Body Portrayal E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	31.1927%	94.1176%	5.8824%	0%	0%
1990	27.9817%	86.8852%	11.4754%	0%	1.6393%
1995	17.4312%	81.5789%	13.1579%	5.2632%	0%
2000	23.3945%	84.3137%	7.8431%	5.8824%	1.9608%
Totals:	100%	87.6147%	9.1743%	2.2936%	0.9174%

		Self touch	
Year	Total # of Product	F-1	F-2
1985	68	5	63
1990	61	7	54
1995	38	11	27
2000	51	7	44
Totals:	218	30	188

		Self touch	
Year	Total % of Product	F-1	F-2
1985	31.1927%	7.353%	92.6471%
1990	27.9817%	11.4754%	88.5246%
1995	17.4312%	28.9474%	71.0526%
2000	23.3945%	13.7255%	86.2745%
Totals:	100%	13.7615%	86.2385%

		Gaze					
Year	Total # of Product	G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	68	15	21	9	1	0	22
1990	61	27	5	8	1	0	20
1995	38	16	8	1	2	0	11
2000	51	18	14	5	0	1	13
Totals:	218	76	48	23	4	1	66

		Gaze					
Year	Total % of Product	G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	31.1927%	22.0588%	30.8824%	13.2353%	1.4706%	0%	32.3529%
1990	27.9817%	44.2623%	8.1967%	13.1148%	1.6393%	0%	32.7869%
1995	17.4312%	42.1053%	21.0526%	2.6316%	5.2632%	0%	28.9474%
2000	23.3945%	35.2941%	27.4510%	9.8039%	0%	1.9608%	25.4902%
Totals:	100%	34.8624%	22.0183%	10.5505%	1.8349%	0.4587%	30.2752%

Appendix #10

"Other"

		Setting					
Year	Total # of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	12	8	1	2	0	1	0
1990	4	2	2	0	0	0	0
1995	6	6	0	0	0	0	0
2000	16	7	5	1	0	1	2
Totals:	38	23	8	3	0	2	2

		Setting					
Year	Total % of Product	A-1	A-2	A-3	A-4	A-5	A-6
1985	31.5789%	66.6667%	8.3333%	16.6667%	0%	8.3333%	0%
1990	10.5263%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%
1995	15.7895%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2000	42.1053%	43.7500%	31.2500%	6.2500%	0%	6.2500%	12.5000%
Totals:	100%	60.5263%	21.0526%	7.8947%	0%	5.2632%	5.2632%

		Position				
Year	Total # of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	12	2	4	1	4	1
1990	4	3	0	0	0	1
1995	6	1	1	0	1	3
2000	16	4	4	1	5	2
Totals:	38	10	9	2	10	7

		Position				
Year	Total % of Product	B-1	B-2	B-3	B-4	B-5
1985	31.5789%	16.6667%	33.3333%	8.3333%	33.3333%	8.3333%
1990	10.5263%	75%	0%	0%	0%	25%
1995	15.7895%	16.6667%	16.6667%	0%	16.6667%	50%
2000	42.1053%	25%	25.0000%	6.2500%	31.2500%	12.5000%
Totals:	100%	26.3158%	23.6842%	5.2632%	26.3158%	18.4211%

		Dominance					
Year	Total # of Product	C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	12	1	2	0	7	2	0
1990	4	0	2	0	2	0	0
1995	6	0	0	0	6	0	0
2000	16	5	1	1	6	3	0
Totals:	38	6	5	1	21	5	0

		Dominance					
Year	Total % of Product	C-1	C-2	C-3	C-4	C-5	C-6
1985	31.5789%	8.3333%	16.6667%	0%	58.3333%	16.6667%	0%
1990	10.5263%	0%	50%	0%	50%	0%	0%
1995	15.7895%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
2000	42.1053%	31.2500%	6.2500%	6.2500%	37.5000%	18.7500%	0%
Totals:	100%	15.7895%	13.1579%	2.6316%	55.2632%	13.1579%	0%

		Amount of Skin					
Year	Total # of Product	D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	12	2	1	8	1	0	0
1990	4	1	0	3	0	0	0
1995	6	1	1	4	0	0	0
2000	16	0	3	12	0	1	0
Totals:	38	4	5	27	1	1	0

		Amount of Skin					
Year	Total % of Product	D-1	D-2	D-3	D-4	D-5	D-6
1985	31.5789%	16.6667%	8.3333%	66.6667%	8.3333%	0%	0%
1990	10.5263%	25%	0%	75%	0%	0%	0%
1995	15.7895%	16.6667%	16.6667%	66.6667%	0%	0%	0%
2000	42.1053%	0%	18.7500%	75%	0%	6.2500%	0%
Totals:	100%	10.5263%	13.1579%	71.0526%	2.6316%	2.6316%	0%

		Body Portrayal			
Year	Total # of Product	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	12	11	1	0	0
1990	4	3	1	0	0
1995	6	6	0	0	0
2000	16	12	4	0	0
Totals:	38	32	6	0	0

		Body Portrayal			
Year	Total % of Product	E-1	E-2	E-3	E-4
1985	31.5789%	91.6667%	8.3333%	0%	0%
1990	10.5263%	75%	25%	0%	0%
1995	15.7895%	100%	0%	0%	0%
2000	42.1053%	75%	25%	0%	0%
Totals:	100%	84.2105%	15.7895%	0%	0%

Year	Total # of Product	Self touch F-1	F-2
1985	12	1	11
1990	4	1	3
1995	6	1	5
2000	16	15	1
Totals:	38	18	20

Year	Total % of Product	Self touch F-1	F-2
1985	31.5789%	8.3333%	91.6667%
1990	10.5263%	25%	75%
1995	15.7895%	16.6667%	83.3333%
2000	42.1053%	93.75%	6.2500%
Totals:	100%	47.3684%	52.6316%

Year	Total # of Product	Gaze G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	12	1	0	3	0	2	6
1990	4	1	0	0	0	0	3
1995	6	1	1	0	0	0	4
2000	16	2	1	4	1	0	8
Totals:	38	5	2	7	1	2	21

Year	Total % of Product	Gaze G-1	G-2	G-3	G-4	G-5	G-6
1985	31.5789%	8.3333%	0%	25%	0%	16.6667%	50%
1990	10.5263%	25%	0%	0%	0%	0%	75%
1995	15.7895%	16.6667%	16.6667%	0%	0%	0%	66.6667%
2000	42.1053%	12.5000%	6.2500%	25%	6.2500%	0%	50%
Totals:	100%	13.1579%	5.2632%	18.4211%	2.6316%	5.2632%	55.2632%

Appendix #11

Sources Searched
Computer and Internet Search
http://wally.rit.edu: Wallace Library, Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester, NY.

The following databases were searched:

Einstein:
Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Gender Theory, Women and Advertising, Men and Advertising, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials

EbscoHost Research Database:
Academic Search Elite (1984-Present)
PsycInfo (1987-Present)
PsycArticles (1988-Present)
ERIC (1966-Present)

Key words: Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Gender Theory, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials.

ComAbstracts
Key words: Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Gender Theory, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials

Time Frame: 1966-Present

Contemporary Women's Issues
Key words: Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Gender Theory, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials

Time Frame: 1994-Present

GenderWatch
Key words: Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Gender Theory, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials

Time Frame: 1970-Present

Health Reference Center-Academic

Key words: Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials

Time Frame: 1980-Present

Periodical Abstract Research II

Key words: Key words: Magazine, Editors, Magazine editors, Gender, Male Magazines, Female Magazines, Fashion Magazines, Advertising, Stereotypes, Commercials

Time Frame: 1989-Present

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