

**Imaging Men, Masculinity and Fatherhood in Magazine Advertising:  
Ideological and Hegemonic Constructions of Masculinity and  
Fatherhood in Magazine Advertising (1960-2000)**

**By:  
William Peter Gottschall Jr. M.A.**

**(Bachelor of Arts, Honors, St. Francis Xavier University, Masters of Arts,  
Lakehead University)**

**A Doctoral Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and  
Research in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy, Sociology**

**Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada**

**January 2008**

**William Peter Gottschall Jr. M.A.**



Library and  
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et  
Archives Canada

Published Heritage  
Branch

Direction du  
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file* *Votre référence*

*ISBN: 978-0-494-36787-2*

*Our file* *Notre référence*

*ISBN: 978-0-494-36787-2*

#### NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

#### AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

---

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

  
**Canada**

**Imaging Men, Masculinity and Fatherhood in Magazine Advertising:  
Ideological and Hegemonic Constructions of Masculinity and Fatherhood in  
Magazine Advertising (1960-2000)**

**By:**

**William Peter Gottschall M.A.**

**Doctoral Committee:**

**Dr. Michele Martin PhD (Thesis Supervisor)**

**Dr. Andrea Doucet PhD (Committee Member)**

**Dr. Derek G. Smith PhD (Committee Member)**

## **Abstract:**

This thesis presents a survey of the social, cultural and theoretical issues which surround and inform our understandings of both masculinity and fatherhood. Tracing theoretical and empirical discussions in media, gender and identity, this dissertation addresses how masculinity and fatherhood, or 'ways' of 'performing' their gender, are anchored in time and place; the products of socio-historical and cultural circumstances. More of a theoretical discussion, this research looks at the various approaches developed in divergent areas related to masculinity. The originality of this thesis is that it integrates approaches concerned with the concept of masculinity and media and discusses them in the light of an empirical case exposed in the last chapter of this thesis. Thus, this research has compiled theoretical models rarely discussed in relation to one another, particularly in reference to masculinity and fatherhood. This work contributes to theoretical and empirical research in the areas of gender, media and identity.

The main findings arising from this research are far from producing any significant changes in the ways that both masculinity and fatherhood have been, and are represented in the images of advertising (between 1960-2000). Men are portrayed according to an increasingly rigid ideal which reinforces the whiteness, youth and 'up-scale' appearance of men. Increasingly, the men in most advertisements studied show men separated from the world of work, engaged in leisure worlds, and as very appearance and image conscious. Thus, far from immediate and obvious familial commitment and away from work, men in advertisements are increasingly a leisure, image, and consumer-based model. While many of the more 'traditional' markers of masculinity may be no less important in men's lives, the current image of masculinity is one that tell readers that you must be young, white, able-bodied, engaged in leisure, yet retain a commitment to the 'proper' lifestyle and consumer tastes.

## **Acknowledgments:**

First and foremost, I would like to extend my deepest and sincerest gratitude and admiration to a superior supervisory committee who offered invaluable insights all the way along and endless encouragement. Together you have all made this journey exciting, educational and engaging, all the while instilling courage and strength in me that I now carry into the lecture hall each time I teach a class. I was extremely fortunate to encounter a superb group of scholars and three fine individuals. To Dr. Michele Martin, Dr. Andrea Doucet and Dr. Derek Smith I will never forget you and hope someday to be able to bring half as much to academia as you all have.

To Dr. Denise Forcese, I am forever grateful because had it not been for your leap of faith in admitting me into the doctoral program in the fall of 1999 neither my academic career nor this dissertation would have been possible. Thank you from the bottom of my heart and you will never know what a truly profound impact you have made in my life. Through your faith in me it has proven what I always held dear, that those best suited academically and with the best credentials are not always the success stories.

Finally, I would be truly remiss if I did not recognize a colleague, fellow doctoral student, and exceptionally awesome friend, Kirsten Tole. I share this accomplishment with you because you have supported me, inspired me and let me question my place in this world without judging. Many days and nights we have shared a telephone call or a beer and released frustrations over the process, our fears of inadequacy or have celebrated our individual milestones. We have truly walked together on this path, being there for each other as a constant source of encouragement and strength. Thanks for your support, your friendship and your

unselfish supply of insight and academic resources. You have always known what to say, whether it was a friendly piece of advice, a warm gesture or a much needed wake-up call.

### **Dedications:**

To my endlessly supportive and trusting wife Susan (White) Gottschall, I owe you a great deal of thanks. You began the academic journey with me more than 10 years ago never knowing where we were going or what we would do when we got there. During all of this turmoil and uncertainty your love, support and loyalty never wavered. I could always count on you to run with the move to a new and scary city to chase the academic dream, if only for a brief moment. You never questioned my motives or the outcome, but only trusted in my vision and in the hopes that tomorrow would be better for it. You have always been my conscience, my clarity and the anchor that balance this ship we call our live in the stormy seas. Susan, I love you and from the deepest, most intimate place in my heart I thank you for all that you are and all that you have done for myself and our family.

To my parents William (Bill) Gottschall Sr. and Janet (Farrell) Gottschall without whom this dissertation would not have materialized. I am endlessly thankful for your emotional and financial support, but especially for all of the trust you have placed in me to live my life, make mistakes and get messy. You have raised me with courage, strength and the will to persevere despite adversity and when the light at the end of the tunnel seems far away. At every stage of my academic career you stood firmly behind me and all of my choices and never question my place in that world. I am truly thankful for your words of wisdom bolstering my self confidence when I was at my lowest. Thank you all.

William P. Gottschall Jr.

# Table Of Content:

Doctoral Committee

Abstract . . . . .	I
Acknowledgments . . . . .	II
Dedications . . . . .	III
<b>1.0 Chapter One: Masculinity and Advertising: Setting the Research Agenda(s)</b> . . . . .	<b>1</b>
1.1 Advertising, Images and Audience Reception: Agency versus Determinism or Something in Between . . . . .	14
1.2 Gender in the Media: Masculinity as Performance . . . . .	18
1.3 Plan of the Dissertation: Chapter Overview . . . . .	23
<b>2.0 Chapter Two: Methodology</b> . . . . .	<b>27</b>
2.1 Content Analysis: Issues of Definition . . . . .	28
2.2 Defining Content Analysis in Social Research . . . . .	29
2.3 Measurement and Coding . . . . .	34
2.4 Units of Analysis and Sampling: . . . . .	34
2.5 Sampling and Sample Size: . . . . .	35
2.6 Variables and the Construction of Coding Categories . . . . .	39
2.7 Analyzing Quantitative and Qualitative Data: The Processes and Applications	41
2.8 Computer Analysis and Quantitative Data: . . . . .	42
2.9 Data Coding . . . . .	46
<b>3.0 Chapter Three: Tracing the Developments in the Mass Media and Advertising</b> . . . . .	<b>49</b>
3.1 The Historical Development(s) and Progression of Print and Commercial Media: . . . . .	57
3.2 The Historical Development and Evolution of Canadian Magazines . . . . .	59
3.3 Broadcasting Communications meet the Advertising Industry: A Brief Historical Overview of the Developments and Controversies . . . . .	62
3.4 Key Historical Moments in Canadian and American Advertising . . . . .	76
3.5 Advertising and Visual Images in Political and Economic Context: The Political Economy of Media and Communication . . . . .	83
3.6 The Social Role and Significance of Advertising: An Introduction . . . . .	93
3.7 Modern Advertising and its Social and Cultural and Symbolic Impact on Audiences . . . . .	99

4.0	<b>Chapter Four: Practices of Looking, Visual Culture and Visual Representation</b> . . . . .	103
4.1	Images, Power and Politics: An Introduction to Visuality and the Politics of Looking . . . . .	108
4.2	Representation and Visual Culture . . . . .	109
4.3	The Production and Dissemination of Ideologies through Visual Images and Representations . . . . .	113
4.4	Images, Audiences and Meanings: Viewers vs. Producers and the Construction and Negotiation of Meaning(s) . . . . .	117
4.5	Visual Culture in a Global Perspective: Images, Cultural Artifacts and the World Wide Flow of Culture . . . . .	127
4.6	Technological Developments and Practices of Looking: The Impact of Computers and the Internet on Visual Culture and the Globalization of Media and Communications . . . . .	130
4.7	Visual and Consumer Culture: Creating and Selling the Image, and Manufacturing Desire or Promoting Meanings . . . . .	133
4.8	Addressing the Consumer: The Role of the Audience in Making Meaning . . . . .	140
5.0	<b>Chapter Five: Media, Gender and Identity</b> . . . . .	149
5.1	Advertising Gender and Sexuality . . . . .	155
5.2	The Spectacle of Men: Masculinity, Advertising and Male Imagery . . . . .	157
5.3	From the Exotic to the Erotic: Sexuality and Homoeroticism in Advertising . . . . .	159
5.4	The Body Politics: The Eroticization and 'Objectification' of Male Bodies in Advertising . . . . .	163
5.5	Men's Bodies, Women's Eyes: The Reversed Gaze and Male Bodily Display . . . . .	171
5.6	The Male Body Objectified and on Display: Tracing Developments In Male Bodily Representation . . . . .	174
5.7	The Modern Male Body in Context: What Is Next? . . . . .	177
6.0	<b>Chapter Six: Men's General Interest and Lifestyle Magazines – A 'New' Force in Constructing and Reinforcing Ideals for Masculinity?</b> . . . . .	181
6.1	Questions of Content: Men's General Interest and Lifestyle Magazines: Discourses on Lifestyles and Identities . . . . .	187
6.2	Men's Lifestyle and General Interest Magazines: Cultural Representations of the 'New Man' and the 'New Lad' . . . . .	191
6.3	Good-Bye 'New Man', Hello to the 'New Lad': Men's Magazines of the 1990s and the Introduction of a 'Laddish' Masculinity . . . . .	197
6.4	Consuming the Closet: Marketing to the Gay and Lesbian Communities . . . . .	203
7.0	<b>Chapter Seven: The Paradoxes of Manhood: Masculinity, Fatherhood, and Shifting Social Science Discourses</b> . . . . .	213
7.1	Early Equality and Recognition Struggles: Feminism, Fatherhood, and the Division of Household and Child Care Responsibilities . . . . .	217

8.0	<b>Chapter Eight: Gender and Advertising: Masculinity and Advertising in the Visual Images of Advertising</b> . . . . .	239
8.1	Masculinity and Cultural Representation: Men in the Images of Advertising (Results) . . . . .	241
8.2	Models of Manhood in Advertising: Demographic Profiles of Masculinity in Ad Images . . . . .	242
8.3	Beyond Demographics: Imaging Masculinity in Advertising Imagery from 1960 – 2000 . . . . .	249
8.4	Masculinity, Advertising, and Imaging Children in Ads. . . . .	250
8.5	Embodied Masculinity in Advertising . . . . .	267
9.0	<b>Chapter Nine: Drawing it all Together</b> . . . . .	274
9.1	Key Contributions of this Dissertation . . . . .	276
9.2	Research Limitations . . . . .	278
9.3	Avenues for Additional and Future Research . . . . .	279
	<b>Appendix A: Code Book</b> . . . . .	281
	<b>Appendix B: Semiotic Analysis of Esquire Advertisement: “The Baron Cologne” (1985)</b> . . . . .	286
	<b>Appendix C: Data Tables</b>	
	Table 1 Ages of Men in Ads . . . . .	291
	Table 2 Race of Men in Ads . . . . .	292
	Table 3 Depicted Sexual Orientation of Men in Ads . . . . .	293
	Table 4 Number of Kids Present with Men in Ads . . . . .	294
	Table 5 Depicted Setting of Ads . . . . .	295
	Table 6 Thematic Content of Ads . . . . .	296
	Table 7 Occupation of Men in Ads . . . . .	297
	Table 8 Product Being Advertised . . . . .	298
	Table 9 Domestic Duty of Men in Ads . . . . .	299
	Table 10 Activities of Men with Children . . . . .	300
	Table 11 Relationship Between Men and Women in Ads . . . . .	301
	Table 12 Relationship Between Men and Children in Ads . . . . .	302
	Table 13 Body Type of Men in Ads . . . . .	303
	Table 14 Clothing Style worn by Men in Ads . . . . .	304
	<b>Works Cited</b> . . . . .	305

## 1.0 Chapter One: Masculinity and Advertising: Setting the Research Agenda(s)

The way we think about gender and about so many features of our lives is both reflected in and produced by the images that surround us in our culture. Popular conceptions are virtually concerned with popular culture (Kenneth MacKinnon, 2003).

The study of masculinity is a rich multi- and interdisciplinary collection of empirical and theoretical research. Once either completely ignored or treated as a homogeneous and genderless 'norm' against which women and other marginalized groups were compared and evaluated, masculinity has rapidly evolved into a pivotal body of knowledge. Since the 1970's we have become increasingly cognizant of masculinity and its socio-cultural organization. This said, "... it remains the case that far from forming anything homogeneous or conclusive, all this talk about masculinity has often left the notion hanging and inconclusive" (Edwards, 2006: 1). As such, masculinity and its academic study remains a highly fragmented, complex and ever shifting as we gain new empirical and theoretical insights. The originality of this thesis is that it puts together different approaches to masculinity, media and identity and discusses them in context with a case study at the end of this research. My work puts together theoretical models that have rarely been discussed together or in relation to masculinity and fatherhood. Consequently, this study contributes to the ongoing exploration of the cultures of fatherhood and masculinity through a combined content and interpretive analysis of advertising images in *Esquire*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Today's Parent*, and *Maclean's* between 1960 and 2000. Specifically, I address the cultural ideals and expectations for masculinity and fatherhood as depicted in, and reinforced by the images of consumer product advertising. Related to this, I examine the extent to which these

expectations and ideals have shifted or remained the same across time and between magazine types. The central argument in this dissertation is that there will be a distinct evolution in fatherhood and masculinity images in advertising images over the period analyzed and across all of the publications studied. In other words, as we move from 1960 toward 2000 we will see a gradual decrease of ad images that depict men in stereotypically masculine roles and settings (such as, occupational, professional and sport, leisure outdoor roles) toward those associated with children and domestic/household roles and relationships. Related to these shifts, there will also be a corresponding increase in the number of ads depicting the male body in eroticized, objectified and sexualized ways. Taken together, we will see a gradual shift across magazine type and throughout the decades away from images of men that reinforce their public, professional and economic roles as central components of masculinity toward roles and relationships that focus much more on family, domesticity and the care and maintenance of family.

This research offers a unique contribution to the areas of media, gender and masculinity in two interrelated ways. First, it brings together empirical and theoretical literature on masculinity, media and gender in a way that scholars are only beginning to do (Edwards, 2006; Gauntlett, 2002; MacNamara, 2007). Second, this research incorporates a case study of advertising on masculinity and fatherhood at the end through which I illustrate the links between masculinity, gender, advertising and the various chapters of literature review provided in this dissertation.

Despite their relatively slow beginnings theoretical and empirical work on masculinity has permeated various aspects of men's public and private lives, including issues around fatherhood, sexuality and men's bodies. While a half-century of theory and research has

identified that the mass media portrayals of women and femininity are influential in shaping their self image, self-esteem and identities, as well as men's and society's views of them, comparably few studies have examined mass media portrayals of masculinity and men's identities (Edwards, 2006; Gill, 2007; MacNamara, 2006). It is only in the last several years that media research, especially within critical masculinity work, has really embraced and elaborated on representations of masculinity and male identity in various genres of the media. As such, recent literature has begun to look at representations of masculinity in the world of film, television, and cinema, advertising and more recently the internet. Accompanying this work are ongoing concerns and debates about the impact of media images and representations on masculinity, male self-image and self identity, particularly among feminists (Duffy, 1994; Budgeon, 1994; Wolf, 1991). This said, there are currently discussions circulating about shifts in gender roles and relationships, particularly in terms of the mechanisms and process of how we look at men, and the gender relations involved in 'viewing' (Beynon, 2002; Edwards, 2006; Gill, 2007; MacNamara, 2006). There is also much discussion around the shifts in positions on the part of men from the ones who look at women, to being the objects of the female (and gay male) evaluative gaze. The main question here is what does this do to men's gender identity generally, and specifically how do we come to define and talk about masculinity?

In light of the above discussion it would be naive and inaccurate to argue that men and masculinity have been completely absent from media theory and research. Rather, it would be more accurate to argue that this area of work, like critical masculinity theory and research generally has gone through various waves or transitional periods marked by divergent epistemological priorities, varied theoretical perspectives and methodologies. This said, studies of masculinity and the media continue to be a priority given that, in our post-industrial

era of massive economic, technological and social change, mass media are projecting and propagating new images of male identity ranging over the years from the 'new man', the 'narcissist' the 'new lad' to the 'deadbeat dad', 'metrosexual' and man in touch with his feminine side (Beynon, 2002). As I pointed out before early media theory and research owes a great debt to feminists and their desire to understand how images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of dominance, inequality and women's oppression. Many feminists have (and continue to) express concerns with the ways in which various media implicitly and explicitly encode gender and thereby help to produce, reproduce and reinforce stereotypical and potentially damaging discourses on femininity, female sexuality and women's bodies. Accompanying these critiques have been decades of sustained feminist efforts to challenge and reform various cultural representations of femininity that denigrate women and in which, "... women are shown as passive objects of desire, gazed upon by men actively engaged in evaluating and controlling whatever they look at" (Stern, 2003: 216). Hole and Levine reflect further on this point, arguing that various feminists critical of media images and representations tend to generate sweeping statements on how women are often depicted in one or another combination of the following roles and relationships: as wife/mother or as passive, childlike sex-object displayed for the desiring male gaze. More recently scholars from various disciplines have moved beyond a purely gendered discussion of the media to look at its production or the political economy of various media industries (Mosco, 1996; Maxwell, 2001; O'Brien, 1998; Stole, 2001). Taken together, the field of media and gender continues to produce vibrant, engaging and heterogeneous empirical and theoretical insights. As Gill (2007) eloquently puts it,

Researchers may agree that cultural representations constitute an important site for examination and struggle, but on all else they disagree. The field is characterized by a plurality of different approaches and perspectives: different methodologies, different theoretical perspectives, different epistemological commitments, different understandings of power, different conceptualizations of the relationship between representation and reality, and different understandings of how media images relate to an individuals sense of identity and subjectivity (7-8).

I do not wish to discuss all of the above issues, rather my discussion here is focused on cultural and media representations of masculinity and fatherhood only.

While it is clear that feminism has made extremely important and necessary contributions to knowledge on media, gender and identity, we must pose similar empirical and theoretical questions in relation to media representations of masculinity as those posed for women. Supporting and drawing on feminist theory and research I have come to recognize that gender as a concept, gender identity and the role of men and women in society should not be formulated and addressed in feminist terms alone. "In particular, the nature of men, male identities and men's role [must] be subjects in which a range of men (not only pro-feminists) are engaged and given space" (MacNamara, 2006: 2). In line with this, there is growing recognition of the possibility that men are being depicted in various media in ways and contexts that have a direct and sometimes adverse impact on how men come to view and define themselves and on how society sees them. It is here that my work is particularly relevant and timely, having the advantage of decades of critical masculinity theory and research as well as feminist critiques to draw on. Similarly, I also have the added advantage of coming at a juncture in which there is a keen awareness and interest in media, masculinity and male identities. Taken together all of this assists in the formulation and articulation of my own theoretical positioning in relationship to the analysis of my data.

Prior to moving into a discussion of media and identity I want to foreground my discussion in a brief overview of the major moments in the evolution of critical masculinity theory. In particular I trace this discussion in terms of three waves or phases in critical masculinity theory as a way to both provide historical context to my own work and to locate my analysis in the existing literature. This said, I want to be clear that I retain a commitment to many of the core feminist ideals that continue to run throughout the very veins of contemporary work on media, gender and identity. I also want to reiterate that this discussion only represents a sweeping overview of masculinity theory over the last forty to fifty years and in no way claims to be complete and exhaustive. As I mentioned before prior to some of the earliest work on masculinity, particularly within feminism, men and their experiences tended to be treated unproblematically as 'human experience'. Consequently, what often passed for legitimate academic knowledge was highly androcentric, meaning that it was produced by men, for men and with their interests in mind. As such, much of the early work done on masculinity, particularly media research was highly exclusionary in that it did not include the experiences of all men nor did it adequately address the identities, desires, lifestyles and so forth of all men. Hence, many of the now recognizable internal tensions and contradictions within masculinity as an analytical and theoretical concept were not fully and adequately addressed. So women were not the only ones subordinate to masculinity, so were various groups of men who either did not, or could not subscribe to the dominant models of masculinity at any given historical period. With each successive decade of masculinity theory and research masculinity is further opened up to various empirical and theoretical questions, particularly as we recognize that there are many kinds of masculinities in a broad range of areas of social life, from the workplace, to the healthcare system and even in various media. Both mediated forms of

masculinity and fatherhood are two particular areas of inquiry that are currently taking a very prominent position on the academic and political agendas. Similarly, both areas of inquiry offer much insight into how men and boys are produced as masculine subjects (Gill, 2007).

Masculinity theory and research continues to be characterized by a diversity of perspectives, ranging from psychoanalysis, role theory, and social constructionist, biological and more critical theories. This said, many of these theoretical frameworks also began to appear and develop after the initial men's movement, a large portion of which fell under the "Mythopoetic Men's Movement", associated with writers such as Sam Keen, Robert Bly, and others. At its core this diverse movement focused on the psychological damages inflicted on men as a result of being stripped of, or separated from their masculine essence or the deeply masculine sense of self. Similarly, many writing within this time frame focused on men's emotional separation from their fathers and the damages inflicted on their masculinity and sense of self as a consequence. Those involved with, or aligned with this movement advocate a reconnection with themselves and other men through male bonding rituals aimed at remasculinizing Western culture and empowering men. This movement was highly exclusionary since it was based on a mainly middle-class, white and heterosexual ideal of manhood. Another problem with this movement was that, while it may not have been expressly anti women and anti-feminist, it did not seek to align itself with feminism or its principles of gender equality. Though I do not wish to elaborate on this movement it does act as a springboard for the following overview of masculinity theory and research.

As previously indicated my particular overview of masculinity theory breaks it down into three waves or phases, all related, but with divergent approaches, goals and lenses on masculinity. The first major wave I wish to address is the sex-role framework, popularized

throughout the latter 1970's (MacKinnon, 2003). Although highly varied, generally speaking this wave saw masculinity as a socially constructed identity that was a consequence, effect or outcome of the male sex-role and which relied on socialization, learning and social control (Edwards, 2006). Of particular importance here was the role played by various institutions, including the mass media, in socializing boys or teaching them how to be 'properly' masculine, which often included traits such as unemotiveness, competitiveness, occupational and sexual success and male domination/female subordination. One criticism launched against variants of this framework is the potentially harmful effects of sex-role expectations on both men and women, particularly on men's physical and mental health and on their relationships with women and children.

In terms of media representations, the more popular application of sex-role frameworks relies on traditional media content analysis of sex-roles and relationships as portrayed in various media genres (Craig, 1992). As such, it addresses the various ways and contexts in which media help to construct and reinforce stereotypical ideologies for both masculinity and femininity. Hence, a large proportion of sex-role work focuses on measuring the overall impact of sex-stereotypes in various media on male and female audiences (Craig, 1992; MacKinnon, 2003; MacNamara, 2007). This framework is left wanting in its almost exclusive reliance on the manifest or explicit content of various media at the expense of the more latent or implicit ideologies and meanings embedded in many images. Similarly, this approach is also limited in its ability to provide coherent and useful insights into the diversity in male identities and to elucidate the complexities and contradictions in both gender and sexuality. Consequently, this framework frequently loses sight of the social organization of gender and identity as well as the differences between men, and within the category of masculinity. In

doing this, sex-role frameworks reinforce a white, middle-class and often heterosexual ideal for masculinity in opposition to women and various other more marginalized groups of men (Fejes, 1989). Hence, this positions masculinity and femininity as mutually exclusive and rigidly defined identities with discreet and separate sets of roles, values, attitudes and behaviors.

Sex-role framework does begin to introduce the space for one key concept of interest to this dissertation, namely the notion of gender as performative. Consequently, it is not well elaborated in this framework and remains a rather rigid and essentialist notion of performance in the sense that there is one ideal or idealized model of masculinity to which men need to perform to the exclusion of all alternatives. Thus, the immediate difficulty with this model of performance is that it limits itself to one type of performance of gender generally, and masculinity specifically, namely a predominantly white, middle-class, heterosexual, one that is unemotive, competitive and dominant. Hence, the performative aspect of other models of masculinity, whether ethnic, gay, or working-class are unexplored and further marginalized. Another major problem with sex-role frameworks in relation to performativity is that “. . . these early studies of masculinity offered little theorization of performativity in relation to masculinity and tended to utilize mostly commonsense understandings of the concept” (Edwards, 2006: 105). The notion of performance of gender did not fit well with the underlying premises of sex-role frameworks as we understand them because the true sense of performance means that if men perform their masculinity then it is not rigid, inflexible and absolute. This said, it is equally possible and plausible that women could perform masculinity in certain contexts. Similarly, any man could adopt and adapt various values, attitudes and behaviors into their repertoire of masculinities. Finally, if masculinity is a performance it

stands to reason that some men could choose not to perform it or that they could perform various versions simultaneously or different versions according to context, company and necessity to suit the situation. Clearly the sex-role frameworks were not ready for this recognition, especially given their continual focus on gender inequalities in a more generalized and universalized sense.

The second general wave of critical masculinity theory and research grew out of a growing criticism of the previous wave and was heavily influenced by developments within feminism during the 1980's. During this period there was increased recognition that sex-role frameworks were overly and unduly restrictive, tenuous and theoretically problematic. Among the more influential thinkers in this wave was Bob Connell (1987, 1995, and 2005) whose development of the concept 'hegemonic masculinity' was highly useful. His work and that of others tried to move beyond a one-dimensional and highly essentialist understanding of masculinity towards a recognition of the various social structures and institutions that related to, influence and help shape different masculinities. Connell and others had a keen awareness that masculinity was plural and that we required a much more contextual approach to studying gender identity generally and masculinity and femininity specifically. In other words, masculinity derives its meaning relationally, from being constructed against femininity, heterosexual masculinity is constructed against homosexual ones, and all specific forms of masculinity get their meanings from being defined against others. Reflecting further on this point Gill points out that, "... masculinities are classed, raced and aged, but also co-exist and get meaning in a global and post colonial context" (2007: 30).

As mentioned earlier hegemonic masculinity was introduced in this wave of masculinity theory and research to denote recognition that there was no idealized and

essentialized model of masculinity but rather multiple masculinities. Within this concept is recognition that not all constructions of masculinity are equal because some are dominant and more powerful within a given time and in a certain context, especially over gay, racial/ethnic and working-class masculinities (Connell, 1987; 1995; 2005, Edwards, 2006, Gottschall, 1999, Gill, 2007, Whitehead, 2002). Consequently, many of the more subordinate constructions of masculinity are continually exploited by the dominant or hegemonic ones, which as I have said tend to be the white, heterosexual and middle-class model. Arguably one of the central concerns with this framework focuses on issues of power and relations of power, their complexities and operation both between genders and within and between groups of men. While I realize that there are divergent variations within this wave of critical masculinity theory and research my aim is to trace many of the broader themes under this wave as a way to help locate and legitimate my own theoretical perspective.

Another major problem with the second wave of critical masculinity theory and research can be found in its central concept: hegemonic masculinity. While it is said to be the most dominant form or model of masculinity at a given time and in a particular context, it is not the most common, particularly since the vast majority of men cannot and do not approximate the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. This said, “. . . it is dominant in the sense of being socially valued and culturally powerful” (Gill, 2007: 31). In many ways hegemonic masculinity is problematic in that it seems to set up an elusive and unrealistic standard against which all men are compared and judged, but to which the vast majority of men fall short and are therefore deemed to be failures in their masculinity. Another criticism of hegemonic masculinity is that it really does seem to imply a lot of uniformity and consensus in terms of exactly what form of masculinity is culturally valuable and powerful at any given time.

Restated, at any given time and in many contexts there are varied types of masculinity struggling and competing for hegemony so that hegemony is not preordained, but must be fought for, negotiated and renegotiated. Hence, it might be more useful to retain the notion of hegemony and relate it to masculinity in terms of local specificities or local men and their diverse identities.

The third wave of critical studies moves beyond many of the concerns raised above but does not completely abandon its general premises. This wave of theory and research is clearly influenced by post-structuralist theories, especially in relation to gender and questions of normativity, performativity and sexuality (Butler, 1990). This particular approach is highly interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary, including cultural, literary, media studies and various other areas within the social sciences. Moreover, “a common theme . . . is the importance of representation and its connection with wider questions of change and continuity in contemporary, and in some historical masculinities and identities” (Edwards, 2006: 3). Those working within this wave and within the broader theoretical orientation are clear in their insistence that masculinity is always in flux and that it is highly contingent. This recognition allows us to open up masculinity and address some of the tensions within or at play in studies on gender more generally, and on masculinity specifically.

While studies on masculinity boast an extremely rich and diverse history, efforts to engage masculinity in cultural, literary and media studies is still in its infancy. Similarly, there are still fewer studies of this sort that pay homage to the legacy of masculinities studies before them and which clearly influence much of the more modern work. Clearly theoretical and empirical traditions within masculinity studies influence contemporary studies on men and the media, particularly in terms of the methods of study and the media genre chosen, whether it be,

television, advertising, music, magazines, videos or books (Wernick, 1987; Nixon, 1996; Edwards, 2006; Jackson and Brooks et al, 2001; Beynon, 2002; Benwell, 2003; Dotson, 1999; Gottschall, 1999; Gill, 2007). Currently much of this research is based on several central concerns, mostly focused on the range, types and often narrow representations of men offered up for visual consumption in various mediated forms. Similarly, as with representations of women, there are mounting concerns over the potentially damaging impact on boys and men as a result of being bombarded with limiting, violent and otherwise negative images/ideals for masculinity.

Another major focal point within this third wave of critical masculinity studies centers around the real or imagined existence and impact of sexualized, objectified and eroticized images of male bodies and sexuality that has permeated and literally transformed the visual landscape over the last two decades or so (Benyon, 2002; Bordo, 1999; Dutton, 1995; Dotson, 1999; Gill, 2006, 2007; Gottschall, 1999; Luciano, 2001; Posner, 1990). A great deal of this and other work centers on what brought about these shifts in how the male body is (and can be) visually represented and the extent to which this all challenges or redefines well established codes of 'looking'. Similarly, there is a lot of interest in the impact of such visual shifts on men's individual and collective self-image, self-esteem and identities as well as related challenges posed to heteronormativity. I introduce these areas of media analysis because my own research addresses such proposed shifts in visual culture and codes of looking through an investigation of representations of masculinity and male bodies in magazine ads. I also address and engage this notion of shifts in the codes of looking as a result of these representations of male bodies and their implications for gender roles and relationships.

A third area of concern within the third wave of critical masculinity studies address the role and ability of various media to help construct and reinforce or define new forms of masculinity (Beynon, 2002; Gill, 2003). In subsequent chapters I elaborate on this particular line of inquiry in relationship to issues of masculinity and male bodies. At this stage it is important to clarify that this particular area of media analysis is not separate from others. Rather, it represents one among many central areas that masculinity and media scholars are currently exploring in relation to broader connections between masculinity, gender and the mass media.

The following section moves beyond a discussion of the various waves of critical masculinity theory and research toward an articulation of my own theoretical location in reference to media representations of masculinity and fatherhood. However, before moving into that area of discussion it is important to articulate my particular position on the issue of advertising images and audience reception. This is critical as it informs media analysis generally and my own data analysis specifically.

### **1.1 Advertising, Images and Audience Reception: Agency Versus Determinism or Something in Between**

We know that advertising is an extremely powerful and pervasive form of communication in modern society. "It offers the most sustained and most concentrated set of images anywhere in the media system" (Jhally, 2006: 163). So what underpins this considerable power with which advertising and its associated images are charged? Why do advertisements and their images retain such considerable power over their audiences, despite our intellect, our resistance and so forth? A central problematic for this dissertation is the extent to which we are shaped by, or help shape media images and the associated meanings and

interpretations of these images. In other words, are media audience's merely passive receptors of advertising imagery and the associated intended or unintended meanings or are we actively engaged in the making of meanings? If one adopts the position that advertising and its images and meanings shape us we essentially surrender our agency and thereby position advertising as an omnipresent force existing outside of us and the social, cultural and historical context in which they are produced, disseminated and interpreted. As such, we are stripped of active participation in the process of receiving and filtering advertising images and messages and become the product as opposed to the producer of meanings. In short, this position on audience reception argues that we simply fashion our identities according to the ideals and expectations offered by advertising images.

The other extreme position on audience reception argues that advertising images and representations have very little direct impact on identity construction and one's sense of self. Generally speaking, those in this camp agree that we are bombarded daily with highly prescribed and idealized, yet purposefully placed images of bodies, lifestyles, roles and relationships, but that they have very little direct impact on how we come to define ourselves and others or on how we shape our identities, live our lives and interact with others. Restated, we negotiate and construct our identities, especially sexual and gender identities, outside of the direct influence of advertising and its associated images.

This dissertation rejects both positions in their extreme forms, particularly in terms of audience manipulation by advertisers. I do not completely deny an element of influence; since it would be naive and shortsighted to argue that there is no element of persuasion at play in the construction of ad images and in their careful presentations to audiences. However, there is clearly much more going on than advertisements simply duping the audience or completely

shaping us. Rather, I see our engagement with advertising and ad images as a much more interactive process so that we are more than passive receptacles of the ideals and expectations put forth in these images. I do believe that while we do not simply act as passive receptors of these images as reflections of reality, these images do not appear strange to us. Advertisements do seem to provide a sense of structure and guidance to a shared social life; they communicate systems of meaning. In doing this entire ad images used shared cultural and social resources in ways that we collectively and individually recognize or they resonate with particular audiences at certain times and in a given context. Restated, advertisers and marketing firms seem to take the 'stuff' of everyday life, the shared meanings, values and so forth, package them and present them to us as reflections of everyday life.

Advertising is highly effective in helping to shape audiences precisely because they seem to draw many of their materials from the experiences of audiences, reformulate them and present them back to the audiences as reality. We see images so often and in so many areas of everyday life that they become commonsense, they resonate with us and therefore we often fail to question ads and the implicit and explicit assumptions they put forth. Many advertisements are utilizing many of our social and cultural resources, such as gender, sexuality, social class and race/ethnicity and in the process helping to constitute, and in some instances, reconstitute what many of these things mean to and for us. As we know many aspects of our identities are not innate or natural, but are social constructions or performances that are subject to change over time, place and space. Many societies work to maintain conventions associated with things like gender, sexuality, class and so forth. In our daily actions and interactions we are working to establish and maintain social relations and to build an identity. In this process we communicate ideas about self, through actions, behaviors, appearance and such. Advertisers

borrow heavily on all of this, which is precisely why ads are often so successful and do not seem strange to us when we see them. They are highly concentrated and stylized reflections of social life and encourage us to identify and adopt many of the identities and lifestyles contained therein. Reflecting on all of this Sut Jhally points out that, “Advertisers largely do not create the images they depict out of nothing. Advertisers draw upon the same corpus of displays that we all use to make sense of social life” (2006: 165).

Advertising is not simply a reflection of social facts or a preexisting reality, nor are they minor images of how people truly act and relate to self and others. They are actually meant to represent identities’ and lifestyles that are for sale, that we are encouraged to identify with, but which are not universally accurate reflections of social reality (Gauntlett, 2002). Indeed, ads are actually part of our reality, emphasizing certain things and de-emphasizing others depending on the particular audience addressed. While ads do not merely define and direct our attitudes and behaviors, they are also part of a larger context within which we attempt to define and understand both ourselves and others, as well as the larger social world in which we exist. They become part of a process by which we learn about aspects of our individual and collective identities, and in which we adopt, adapt and internalize diverse elements of what we see into our own sense of self. The hope, I think, is that these elements that advertisers draw on and from will strike deeply at the very core of how we see ourselves and others. Finally, through advertising questions of sexuality, gender, race and ethnicity and so forth seem to become elevated to a position of privilege in our imaginations and in popular discourses. Once again Jhally (2006) offers a reason for this obsession with, and elevation of advertising. For him the discourses through, and about objects has come to be largely defined through marketplace information in a rapidly expanding consumer culture. Advertising and its associated images

arguably crept in to help provide meanings and to fill a void left when traditional institutions, such as work, family and religion ceased to hold a place of centrality in our lives.

Another reason for the power and influence of advertising on audiences resides in representations and the fact that they are part of the context within which we define and understand the world and our role in it. Advertising really is designed and presented in ways that are visually and aesthetically attractive and which draw us in, encourage identification and help to create and promote both desire and consumerism.

Audiences do not receive meanings from above; we constantly participate to create, recreate and reconstitute them. In other words, meanings are always and necessarily a process of negotiation and renegotiation and even struggle so that we are not manipulated, but are invited to participate in the constructions of meanings. Thus, advertising literally plays the role of mediator and the audience is charged with the responsibility of decoding the meaning and also to help code the meanings. For this relationship to function properly advertisers are required to draw on things that are familiar to audiences and to construct and disseminate their product messages around these familiar resources. But in this transfer process exactly what gets changed? As I have already pointed out ads do not reflect social fact and a preexisting reality. This is the case because many of the representations contained in ads are offering audiences extremely concentrated forms of communication regarding various aspects of our social world and the identities therein. Through their images and representations advertisements help to produce and constitute understandings of subjectivity and of the social world. This is a good place to begin elaborating on my own particular theoretical location vis a vis media, gender and identity, as well as the role of advertising in identity formation.

## 1.2 Gender in the Media: Masculinity as Performance

If gender is a kind of doing, an incessant activity performed, in part, without ones knowing, it is not for that reason automatic or mechanical. On the contrary, it is a practice of improvisation within some constraints. Moreover, one does not 'do' one's gender alone. One is always 'doing' with or for another, even if the other is only imaginary (Judith Butler, 2004).

The goal of this section is to both develop and articulate my own theoretical position on masculinity, media and identity. While I recognize both variations and limitations with my particular theoretical lens, I nonetheless feel that it is the most useful and illustrative theoretical and analytical tool for my analysis of ad images. In developing my own theoretical framework I draw heavily on poststructuralist, postmodern and queer theories respectively for various conceptual and analytical tools.

Although not new, since the early 1990's queer theory has continually had a presence and impact on theoretical and empirical work on media, gender and identity. In particular, this line of theoretical inquiry has proven invaluable since, "... its political intent and impact have been to disrupt and destabilize rather than advance alternative truth claims" (Gill, 2006: 69). Queer theory is (and continues to be) highly influenced by the work of Foucault (1978, 1984, and 1984) in his writings on the history of sexuality. Taken together, this theoretical framework advances a critique, both as a basis of theory and praxis, the notion that identities are stable, fixed and biologically based. Among the more influential thinkers associated with this framework is Judith Butler (2004). She, like many others, is skeptical of the notion that there exists a unified and coherent subject that is (and could ever be) autonomous. Restated, subjectivity is not a pure essence, but is constituted in and through discourses, social structures and interactions, such as the mass media. This framework fits well with my own particular

belief that gender and sexual identities are, and must be regarded as provisional and contingent rather than fixed or essentialist. Hence, masculinity and femininity are by definition shifting and subject to change. As identities they are mere construction, projects to be worked and reworked as they are always and everywhere in the process of 'becoming'. Thus, we are not always and everywhere a 'knowing' subject purposefully controlling our performances of gender and sexuality. Instead, gender and gender subjectivity are produced through repeated performance (Butler, 2004). As such, we can use alternative performances of gender and sexuality to subvert or disrupt identity and to perform gender and sexuality differently.

Bringing these ideas back to my own work, I view masculinity and male subjectivity as extremely flexible and contingent in terms of the context, situations and historical moments in which they are performed. Like others before me I believe that nothing about masculinity is necessarily inevitable, fixed or rigid. Similarly, it is precisely because feminism helped to open up masculinity to a vast array of theoretical and empirical questions, particularly around performativity, that we are now able to envision a masculinity that is able to incorporate diverse characteristics and traits. I want to be clear that I am not reverting to a model of performativity that reinforces a model of masculinity which is predominantly white, heterosexual and middle-class. Rather, performativity in my vision includes various and varied constructions of masculinity that co-exist and draw material from one another for their construction and expression. Similarly, since I see nothing inherent in masculinity. I truly believe that women may choose to perform certain elements of masculinity and/or femininity at various times and in many contexts with equal plausibility. I also do not wish to deny that gender, sexuality and various other aspects of ones identity speak to the real, lived experiences

of everyday men and women in the real social world. To argue such would be inaccurate and shortsighted.

Implicit in my approach to masculinity as performance is an integral connection between masculinity generally and a focus on a media and image-driven or commodified form of masculinity which has an impact on how real, everyday men view their own and others masculinity and ultimately impacts how they perform their own gender and sexual identity. Real, lived masculinities (and femininities) are not disappearing. Rather, in a contemporary culture confronted with a saturation of media, particular visual media, our society is replete with images and ideals of masculinity that offer men messages and expectations for developing their identities as men. Increasingly media and image-driven masculinities are focused on men's bodies in ways that sexualize, objectify and commodify men and male appearance, thereby blurring the boundaries of sexuality. "The rise of gay culture is seen as being critical here, as is the inevitable emphasis placed on men simply looking at men within an increasingly visual culture. . . "(Edwards, 2006: 107).

Building on previous critiques of critical masculinity theory and research, I maintain that we must avoid the tendency we sometimes have to revert to outdated gender and sexual dichotomies, mind/body dualism and heterosexual/homosexual debates. While these issues have been debated and dealt with in the literature over time we still have a tendency reproduce these outdated images and ideas when approaching theoretical and empirical media research and analysis. Even when there is recognition that gender is a social construction, a performance we continue to see work that somehow treats sexuality as biologically innate and rigid. Although many theorists have dealt with and moved beyond purely essentialist positions, everyday discourse continually falls back on these archaic notions of gender and sexuality.

This said, alternative constructions of masculinity and issues of social difference in relation to identity seems to both disrupt and destabilize commonsense ideas about these aspects of the social world in ways that we actively resist. My particular implementation of the notion of performativity does not view it in terms of the end of masculinity or as yet another 'crisis' in masculinity as many historical discussions do (see MacInnis, 1998). For MacInnis (and others) the notion of flexibility and fluidity in gender and identity marks the end of masculinity due in part to the instability of the concept. It is often taken as a direct assault on masculinity. While this may be a legitimate argument for some my work seeks to retain the idea of masculinity, but in a more plural sense. Thus, masculinity in the commonsense parlance is not inherent to all men, nor is it experienced and expressed as such by all men. A prime example of this rests in the male body. Clearly all men have bodies that are a central element of masculinity. However, there is no clear cut or one-dimensional relationship between masculinity and the body. In other words, all men do not experience and relate to their bodies in the same way nor do they conceive of the body in terms of the construction of masculinity in the same way.

Specific examples of the performative nature of masculinity are found in discussions of the ranges and types of 'commercially driven' masculinities performed through fashion and the connections between fashion, gender and identity (Enwistle, 2000). This conception of masculinity as performance also opens up the possibility that when men engage with various media images and representations they are not doing so with a fully developed and articulated sense of self that is somehow predetermined by their sex. Rather, it allows for the possibility that we can adopt, adapt and internalize different aspects of the images and the identities displayed therein into our own repertoire of gender and sexual identity. It also opens up the possibility that masculinity is something that can appear quite different, even for some men

according to the particular place and context in which they exist and operates. Similarly, that we may emphasize and de-emphasize certain aspects of our identities at a particular time and in a given context depending upon various social, cultural condition, etc.

### **1.3 Plan of the Dissertation: Chapter Overview**

This dissertation is composed of nine chapters, including two chapters related to the analysis of data and research results and one which lays out the methodology and central research problematics and questions. With the exception of the methodology and results chapters all others act as literature reviews related to various key themes running throughout the data collection and analysis of this research.

**Chapter One:** centers on an articulation of the research agendas and the central problematic for the research. As part of this introduction this chapter traces some of the more central and relevant theoretical and empirical developments in critical masculinity research over the time period of interest to this research. Through this discussion this chapter sets out the research agenda for the study and articulates the theoretical framework running throughout subsequent chapters and informing the analysis used in the case study.

**Chapter Two:** focuses on the methodology used in the data collection and analysis for this study. This chapter begins with a brief discussion of content analysis and its appropriateness to this particular study. This chapter also clearly articulates the central problematics, research questions and hypothesis for this study and the ways in which data will be gathered and analyzed in order to address them. In this chapter there is an explanation of coding development, codebook and how the data were entered, processed and analyzed.

**Chapter Three:** discusses contemporary literature on developments in mass media generally, and advertising specifically. This chapter is particularly necessary because it is centered on a discussion of the key medium for analysis in this dissertation which is advertising. In this chapter there is a brief discussion of some of the key moments in the historical development of advertising, both as an industry and business and as a social, ideological and symbolic force in society. In other words, this chapter balances a discussion of the history of the industry with a discussion of the industry and business behind the ads seen daily by audiences.

**Chapter Four:** this chapter discusses issues related to developments in visual culture and the practices of looking that both inform and influence what we see and how we view and interpret the social world and our place in it. The issues covered in this chapter include: an introduction to visual culture, representation and the politics of looking and the production and dissemination of various ideologies through visual representations. Finally, this chapter spends considerable time addressing the role that audiences play in producing meanings through the images and representations that they engage with in visual culture and the impact that this all has on identity negotiation and construction. This is a particularly important chapter in the dissertation since I am focusing on images of masculinity and fatherhood in advertising images, an inherently visual medium. Similarly, a large part of the goal in this research is to address shifts in these visual images and representations of masculinity and fatherhood over time and what this means for masculinity. Thus, it is important to engage in a discussion of visual culture, looking and meaning as well as changes therein over the last several years.

**Chapter Five:** This chapter is important to the entirety of this dissertation, particularly the analysis of data. This chapter represents an account of the changing landscape of popular

media and culture, demonstrating how gender politics are influenced by, and often reinvented for popular consumption. I draw on some of the historical and contemporary literature to explore the gender landscape of contemporary media and its role in identity construction and negotiation. This chapter discusses some of the many ways that media are used in the shaping and re-shaping of self-identities. This discussion is both necessary and relevant since this dissertation is interested in advertising images and how they depict ideals and expectations for both masculinity and fatherhood. I address the relationship between media gender and identity also because the media, particularly ads are so pervasive and because gender continues to be at the very core of identity in contemporary North America. This said, images of men in the media, like those of women, doubtlessly have an impact on how men view both themselves and other men, as well as on their construction and negotiation of various aspects of their identities.

**Chapter Six:** This chapter discusses developments in men's general interest and lifestyle magazines in terms of shifts in visual representations and associated ideologies around men's roles, relationships and appearance. In this chapter there is a lengthy discussion of developments in terms of two models of masculinity associated with two distinct decades and magazines types. The first model is associated with the 1980's men's magazines and looks at the 'New Man', who was said to be softer, gentler and more narcissistic. The other model of masculinity arose in the 1990's and is associated with the 'New Lad'. This man is argued to be a subtle revision of the older, more patriarchal man under the guise of change. Finally, this chapter ends with a discussion of the gay consumer market and its influence on advertisers and on consumer culture generally.

**Chapter Seven:** this chapter addresses many of the contemporary issues and debates currently circulating in fatherhood and masculinity discourses. As such, a large part of this

chapter deals with issues relating to the links between masculinity, fatherhood, time, space and the body. A large section of this chapter looks at how fatherhood is embodied and includes embodied practices. Additionally, this chapter looks at fatherhood in terms of diversity between men and between men and women in terms of caring and nurturing. This chapter does not spend a lot of time engaging with older scholarship on fatherhood., both because it has been sufficiently undertaken by others and does not inform the discussions in this research.

**Chapter Eight:** This chapter represents the analysis of the data collected in this case study of representations of masculinity and fatherhood in selected ads over the time period identified. In this chapter there is a discussion of the data in relation to the previous theoretical chapters in ways that draw links between the findings from this case study and the literature. In short, this chapter is a data, theory and research chapter that brings the entire thesis together in a coherent discussion of gender, fatherhood and advertising. In this chapter I do not focus much on numbers, but instead draw the reader's attention to the tables as evidence for the larger discussions of the findings in reference to the existing literature.

**Chapter Nine:** This chapter draws all the others together in a coherent and summarized discussion of the major findings arising out of the case study and their significance in relation to the broader bodies of literature. As such, this chapter discusses findings in terms of major themes related to the existing literature . Finally, in this chapter there is a discussion of some of the limitations of this research and suggestions for future and additional work in the area.

## 2.0 Chapter Two: Methodology

Academics and critics of mass media have long maintained that both areas are fruitful places to begin to study the constructions and representations of social reality (Barthel, 1988' 1992; Gill, 2006; Singer, 1995). This is particularly true for mass-distributed magazines, since they are in the business of helping to prescribe (and respond to) gender roles, gender relations and various other elements of our individual and social identities. These magazines are a particularly appropriate medium in which to uncover the evolution of messages about shifts in ideologies about both masculinity and fatherhood.

Despite the preponderance of studies aimed at uncovering the evolution of media messages about femininity, sexuality, appearance and motherhood, comparably few studies take masculinity and fatherhood as their primary or even secondary focus. In fact, until relatively recently, mass media research has not considered masculinity as problematic, or at least not sufficiently enough to warrant detailed investigation (MacNamara, 2006; Penley and Willis, 1988). In order to balance and expand the media, gender and identity literature it is imperative that we work to construct a focused and sustained analysis of the images and representations of masculine subjectivities in various images and texts of the mass media.

The focus of this dissertation is on a combined historical and modern (i.e., comparative) analysis of images and representations of masculinity and fatherhood in mass-distributed magazine advertising. The goal of my research is to interrogate mediated images and representations of masculinity and fatherhood, as well as to investigate historical and contemporary expectations and ideals aimed at men in these ads. Of particular interest to this

research is both the diversity and evolution of these ideals and expectations within, and between magazines.

The social researcher frequently takes too much at 'face value', failing to adequately account for the many images and representations that the advertising industries 'use' and 'misuse' to produce social knowledge (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). In other words, the industry and the people behind it craft the ads in response to, and around prevailing ideologies about gender and identity. Therefore, casting a critical lens on mass media images and representations of gender is important, particularly given their central roles in the creation and negotiation of our individual and collective sense of self and other.

## **2.1 Content Analysis: Issues of Definition**

Content analysis has been selected as the most appropriate method for interrogating mediated images and representations of masculinity and fatherhood, particularly since it allows for a systematic (and interpretive) analysis of manifest and latent contents. This type of methodology also makes it possible to analyze shifting socio-cultural, political and ideological attitudes and values. Krippendorff maintains that, "potentially content analysis is one of the most important research techniques in the social sciences; it seeks to understand data not as a collection of physical events but [also] as symbolic phenomena and to approach their analysis unobtrusively" (1980: 7). Historically speaking, content analysis was firmly rooted in the preoccupation with quantification, often rendering a quantitative research study more legitimate and valid in the eyes of academics and lay persons alike.

## 2.2 Defining Content Analysis in Social Research

Obviously content analysis denotes exactly what the label would suggest, namely a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of something. While content analysis may be a technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their content, it may also involve a more qualitative and interpretive element dealing with both the physically present and more abstract or symbolic content. Taken together, "content analysis may be briefly defined as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics"

(Neuendorf, 2002: 1). Additionally, this method also involves inferences made by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages (Berg, 2001).

Finally, Neuman expands the above definitions to include analysis of

. . . words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The text is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication. It includes books, newspapers, or magazine articles, advertisements, speeches, official documents, films, videotapes, musical lyrics, photographs, articles of clothing or works of art (1994: 262).

The various techniques or approaches that comprise a content analysis have been rapidly expanding both in terms of variety and usage, particularly with the development and proliferation of various computer software for coding and analysis. Despite claims to objectivity and to being completely systematic, it remains the responsibility of each researcher to make decisions about the scope, complexity and direction of the analysis.

My own work moves beyond a straightforward quantitative analysis to incorporate a more qualitative element of analyzing the advertising content. While qualitative this element adds a whole new dimension to quantitative data by allowing the researcher to garner

interpretative inferences from the data and say much more about the ideological assertions and assumptions contained beneath the numbers. Additionally, qualitative approaches to content analysis provide the opportunity to draw links between theory, method and data in ways that allow the researcher to interrogate findings critically, analytically and symbolically or ideologically. A great deal of feminist research provides evidence for the utility and effectiveness of more critical and interpretative approaches to content analysis (Neuman, 1994). Nevendorf states that, “the focus of this technique is on the formation of theory from the observations of messages and coding of these messages. With its roots in social scientific inquiry, it involves theoretical sampling, analytical categories, cumulative comparative analysis, and the formation of types of categories” (2002: 6).

Content analysis is ‘non-reactive’ because the process of placing words, messages, or symbols in a text to communicate to a reader or receiver occurs without influence from the researcher who later analyzes its content. Further, content analysis allows the researcher to reveal the content (i.e., messages, meanings or symbols) in a source of communication (i.e., a book, article, movie, etc.). It allows one to probe into and discover content in different ways from the ordinary ways of engaging with the media (for example, reading a book, watching television, or flipping through a magazine). With this type of content analysis a researcher can compare content across many texts and analyze it with quantitative techniques, such as charts, tables and percentages. Additionally, content analysis can be used to reveal aspects of the texts that are difficult to see.

Hence, “content analysis can document in objective quantitative terms, whether your vague feelings based on unsystematic observation are true. It yields repeatable, precise results

about the text” (Neuman, 1994: 262). Finally, content analysis frequently involves random sampling, precise measurements, and operational definitions for rather abstract constructs.

Researchers have used content analysis for various purposes, among these are analysis of the covers of popular magazines, themes in advertising messages, and gender differences in verbal and non-verbal communications. Content analysis is useful for three types of research problems. First, it is useful for problems involving a large volume of texts so that the researcher is able to handle vast data bases, such as years or decades of magazines, newspapers or magazines. Second, it is helpful when a topic must be studied at a distance, such as studying historical documents, the writings of someone who has died, or broadcasts in a hostile foreign country. Third, content analysis can reveal messages in a text that are difficult to see with casual observation because the creator of a text or those who read it may not be aware of all its themes, biases, or characteristics. For sometime there have been ongoing debates within the academic community over whether content analysis should be strictly quantitative, qualitative or a combination of both. Those opposing a purely quantitative approach argue that it overemphasizes the methods and procedures of analysis rather than the data and what they reveal about the subject of analysis. Also, this approach tends to ignore or marginalize data that is non-numerical or to reduce their meanings by trying to convert data to numbers. Conversely, some critics of qualitative content analysis challenge the history of the approach based on the assertion that it is less legitimate and valid because it brings the abstract and symbolic into an objective and scientific method. More recently, researchers argue a blend of qualitative and quantitative content analysis is the most appropriate because it can analyze the type or form of communication as well as glean numerical and symbolic findings (Berg, 2001). Therefore, combining a qualitative and quantitative approach to media analysis provides

comprehensive and holistic findings that offer great insights into various facets of our social and historical worlds possibly not available with only a numerical analysis.

A second area of contention within social research methods is whether, and the extent to which content analysis should focus strictly on the manifest or latent content of the media, or on both. Manifest content involves coding of the visible, surface content. For example, a researcher may count the number of times a phrase or word appears in a written text, or whether a specific action appears in a photograph. The manifest content is highly reliable because the content either is or is not present without bringing in the symbolic or abstract. However manifest coding has its shortcomings: it does not take the connotations of the manifest content into account. In other words, the same words, phrases and so forth, could take on different meanings depending on the context. "The possibility that there are multiple meanings of a word limits the measurement validity of manifest coding" (Neuman, 1994: 264). Conversely, social researchers can code latent content also called 'semantic analyses. Researchers using latent coding are essentially looking for the underlying, implicit meanings in the content of a text or image. Therefore, when one is Employing this method of coding it requires a coding system with general rules to guide the interpretation of the text or image. Many social researchers argue that latent coding is less reliable than manifest coding because latent coding is much more subjective, interpretative and relies on the coder's knowledge of language and/or social meanings. However, I would argue that the validity of latent coding can potentially exceed that of manifest coding because people often communicate meanings in many implicit ways, depending on context.

My own research overcomes the previous debates by coding both the manifest and latent content. Thus, my approach to content analysis is two-pronged: I conduct a numerical

analysis and summary of the manifest content of advertising images. Then I draw out trends, make inferences and engage the data with the existing literature and my theoretical framework. I also engage with the more latent or implicit content of the advertisements. In other words, this research analyzes and interprets the results of the case study of cultural representations of fatherhood and masculinity within the context of the extensive bodies of theoretical literature discussed in previous chapters. As such, I was able to address many of the subtle and more implicit assumptions being made in reference to the links between masculinity and fatherhood. The organization of the code book (see Appendix A) was such that I was able to code both the latent and manifest ad context and discuss some of the themes and trends arising out of the more quantitative data.

The qualitative elements of my research naturally involved considerably more interpretative and inferential skill than quantitative analysis. The coding and analysis of the latent content required intensive engagement with the existing theoretical and empirical literature on media, gender, identity and fatherhood to assist in the construction of coding categories. Through literature review I was able to ground my findings in the field, suggesting areas of overlap, contention and new areas for investigation. In short, a combined qualitative and quantitative approach to content analytical research allows us to move beyond the limitations and restrictions of a purely quantitative analysis towards research that engages and holds the theoretical and empirical literature accountable. In other words, this combined methodology produces a very rigorous, systematic, critical and analytical analysis of media and communications, remaining sensitive to the multiple, often embedded and symbolic meanings employed.

My research method has several potentially positive elements. According to Berger (2000) and Reffe, Lacy and Ficio (1998), the beneficial elements of content analysis are as follows:

- ▶ It is relatively unobtrusive and inexpensive
- ▶ It can deal with current events and topics applicable to the modern world.
- ▶ It uses materials that are relatively easy to obtain and work with, obtaining data that are open to both qualitative and quantitative analysis.
- ▶ This method also has various potential limitations, which are as follows:
  - ▶ difficulties in finding a representative sample.
  - ▶ difficulties in determining measurable units.
  - ▶ difficulties in defining terms operationally.
  - ▶ difficulties with the reliability of coding.

## **2.3 Measurement and Coding**

Careful measurement is crucial to good content analytical research because a researcher attempts to take a form of content (in this case ad visuals) and turn them into precise data that can be quantified and then turned into qualitative data for interpretive and social analysis. It is also important to carefully design and document procedures for coding to allow for replication if desired.

Constructs in content analysis are 'operationalized' with a 'coding system' or a set of rules and instructions on how to observe, record and analyze data from a type of text or of visual image(s). "A researcher tailors it to the type of text or communication medium being studied (e.g., television drama, novel, photos in magazine advertisements). It also depends on [their] unit of analysis" (Neuman, 1994: 263).

## **2.4 Units of Analysis and Sampling**

The units of analysis can vary a great deal in content analysis, from a word to an entire character on the television. In addition to the units of analysis, researchers often employ units

of analysis that are the specific units of analysis in this research were visual images contained in magazine advertising. The magazines studied were: Ladies Home Journal, Esquire, Parent Magazine, and Maclean's. My selection was based on five criteria:

(1) These periodicals have sufficiently lengthy publication histories which fulfill the historical-comparative elements of this research:

**Publication Time lines by Periodical:**

- ▶ Ladies Home Journal has been in publication since (1883).
- ▶ Esquire has been in publication since (1933).
- ▶ Esquire Fortnightly (prior to 1979).
- ▶ Parent Magazine has been in publication since (1926).
- ▶ Maclean's has been in publication since the early 1920's by Maclean Hunter.

(2) Back issues of all four periodicals are readily available for perusal through the internet, the Carleton University library, interlibrary loans and The National Library archives in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada and through interlibrary loan at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish Nova Scotia.

(3) All four periodicals fit the initial research criteria, a parenting, a men's, a women's and a general/socio-political magazine.

(4) Esquire was selected as the men's magazine because it was one of the few men's publications that did not focus on erotica or pornography, and had a sufficiently lengthy publication history.

(5) Finally, all four periodicals provide a rich venue for a historical and comparative analysis of visual representations (and messages) of men, masculinity and fatherhood.

## **2.5 Sampling and Sample Size**

In any content analytical study the researcher must select the mode of sampling once the units of analysis have been established. Part of this process is to define the population and

the sampling element. For instance, the population might be all words, all sentences, all paragraphs, or visuals in a certain type of document over a period of time. Similarly, it could include each conversation, situation, scene, episode or season of certain types of television programming over a specified time frame. The four periodicals selected for analysis in this study are published monthly so they provide the opportunity to sample an extremely large number of issues. "Unfortunately, there is no universally accepted set of criteria for selecting the size of a sample. A too-common practice is to base sample size on work by others in the area" (Neuendorf, 2002: 88). However, the sample selection process in this study was based on the logistics of the magnitude and availability of each periodical under investigation. Additionally, the sample size for this research was based practically on the manageability and time constraints. The actual time frame for investigation of the advertising visuals for this research was (1960-2000). As previously indicated, given the lengthy publication histories for all four periodicals it was necessary to narrow down the sample to a smaller, select and representative sample of the larger population under investigation.

Therefore, it was decided to examine one full year of each periodical, at five year intervals, from 1960-2000. In other words, beginning the 1960's I sampled all advertising visuals in the issues of each publication for the years: 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, and 2000. The rationale for this method of sampling, aside from manageability, was that it would still provide a representative sample and a large enough selection of magazines from which to examine shifting images and representations of masculinities and fatherhood. Additionally, it allows for the possibility of decade and publication comparison, as well as for looking at specific trends and trend shifts in these images and representations of masculinities and fatherhood.

After engaging with the extensive empirical and theoretical literature existing on both masculinity and fatherhood in subsequent chapters several research questions emerged which guided the development and operation of the case study contained in this dissertation:

- ▶ What is the nature of male parenting images contained in the ads of all four periodicals analyzed in this case study. In other words, are they images of men involved in the daily child care and maintenance (such as cooking, cleaning, care for ill children, shopping for groceries, bathing and feeding children) or are they images of men engaged in leisure, play and recreation activities with children. This study does not prioritize one of these sets of images as the ideal for fatherhood. Rather, the point here is to look at the nature of the images present as a means to identify cultural ideals and expectations for fatherhood and for masculinity.
- ▶ If images of men actively involved in domestic and childcare duties as suggested above are present, are they consistent between all four periodicals analyzed? Similarly, are these images used more or less frequently over the fifty year time period under investigation?
- ▶ What are the specific cultural ideals and expectations for masculinity that are constructed in, and reinforced by the images contained in the four magazines analyzed? Additionally, are these ideals and expectations consistent overtime and between magazines? In other words, subsequent chapters discuss the links between masculinity and various aspects related to identity construction and negotiation, such as the body, appearance, sexuality and so forth. What are the particular ideals and expectations for these and other characteristics as depicted in the various ad images?
- ▶ Have the images and associated ideals and expectations for masculinity and for fatherhood shifted or remained consistent, both overtime and between magazine type?
- ▶ What sorts of roles, relationships and activities are men, women and children shown engaging in within the ad images of the four magazines analyzed? Much of the existing literature points to a marked shift in male images towards greater concern with body and appearance and an 'objectification' and 'sexualization' of male bodies. There is also a body of recent literature dealing with shifts in how fathers/fatherhood (and the associated practices) are depicted, as well as in how we currently conceptualize mens caring and nurturing so that all of those traditional activities men engaged in with children, such as sports, leisure and recreational activities are now recognized as important and necessary components of fatherhood. Similarly, there is some suggestion that men are depicted more frequently engaged in the daily care and maintenance of children and household (cooking, feeding, shopping, bathing, and teaching children).

The question here is whether, and to what extent these proposed shifts are reflected in the ads analyzed here.

In response to these questions and in reference to the theoretical literature contained in subsequent chapters, the case study contained at the end of this dissertation was premised on several research hypothesis:

- ▶ First, cultural ideals and expectations for both masculinity and fatherhood will be quite diverse according to the particular decade one looks at. That is, moving from 1960 to 2000 there would be a gradual, yet sustained shift in all ads across the four magazines towards depicting men involved in the daily operations and maintenance of the domestic realm (cooking, cleaning, shopping, laundry) and in child care/maintenance (bathing, feeding, changing, reading,).
- ▶ Second, in addition to an increase in images of men involved in domestic and child care roles and responsibilities, there would be a corresponding increase in the numbers of ads which depict, and objectify, sexualize and commodify the male body and appearance. Both of these findings would be consistent between magazine type and over the fifty year period discussed.
- ▶ Third, accompanying the above shifts, this dissertation was premised on the assertion that two general models of masculinity would emerge from the case study analysis and in response to the theoretical literature discussed, both across all four publications and over the time period analyzed. First, men fulfilling the roles once taken up almost exclusively by mothers ( meaning the daily responsibilities involved in maintaining the house, care for and feeding children, caring for ill children, shopping for home and children). Second, another, and often related model of masculinity would be the 'man as sex-object', whereby ad images depict an eroticized, objectified and sexualized images and ideal of the male body and appearance. In short, ad images would increasingly construct and reinforce an intimate connection between masculinity and an 'idealized' male body and aesthetic.
- ▶ Related to the above hypothesis it was assumed that there would be a gradual shift away from a visual connection between masculinity and men's professional or occupational success towards their role as actively involved husband and father. This does not mean that this research does not recognize the central role of men in caring and nurturing their children through the time they spend engaged in recreational, leisure and outdoor activities with children. Instead, this case study define shifts in fatherhood and fathering as those where men are depicted in roles and relationships that have traditionally been associated with women/femininity (such as, cooking, cleaning, laundry, caring for ill children, putting children to bed and reading, and so forth).

These findings would be consistent across all magazine analyzed and would increase in frequency and prevalence as we move from 1960-2000.

## **2.6 Variables and the Construction of Coding Categories**

Content analysis necessarily involves the interaction between specification of the content characteristics (basic content elements) being examined and application of explicit rules for identifying and recording these characteristics. The categories into which you code content items vary according to the nature of the research question(s) and particularities of the data. In fact, “as with all research methods, conceptualization and operationalization necessarily involves the interaction between theoretical concerns and empirical observation” (Berg, 2001: 248). This research draws both on the theoretical and empirical from various topics (for example, gender, men’s studies, media and communications, and political economy) to imbue each research category with relevance and meaning to the research questions and hypothesis. Similarly, I constructed this research in a way that would speak to current academic discourse(s) on media, gender and identity, interrogating masculinity and fatherhood directly and not as a sub-text in mainstream literature.

Although content analysis often consults theoretical and empirical literature in order to construct the categories for analysis, there is also some degree of personal choice on the part of the researcher(s). Hence,

a useful way to approach the selection of content analysis variables is to consider what constitutes critical variables- those features that are vital to a comprehensive understanding of (a) the message pool, (b) in the specific medium used. Identifying such critical features is both painstaking and creative. Failure to identify all the form and content variables that distinguish a set of messages can lead to misleading results” (Nevendorf, 2002: 96).

A content analysis may include quite general variables or those of a much more focused and specific nature. This study includes a combination of both the general and the specific .Berg (2001); Nevendorf (2002); and Jackson (1995) discuss four general procedures frequently used to identify and developing classes and categories in a standard content analysis and to interpret and discuss the research: common or universal, special and theoretical. Generally speaking, the common classes apply to society generally and help distinguish between and among persons, things and events (such as, age, gender, class and so forth). Berg (2001), believes that these analytical categories are important for two interrelated reasons: first, they provide a means of designation in the course of everyday thinking and communicating. Second, they engender meanings in social interaction. Third, “these common [categories] are essential in assessing whether certain demographic characteristics are related to patterns that may arise during a given data analysis” (Berg, 2001: 250).

The second method for developing categories for analysis relies on using pre-existing empirical and theoretical literature. “In most content analysis, these theoretical [and empirical] classes provide and overarching pattern (a key linkage) that occurs throughout the analysis. Nonnclative that identifies these theoretical classes generally borrow from that used in special classes and together with analytically constructed labels accounts for novelty and innovation” (Berg, 2001: 250). Theoretical classes are particularly unique since they are directly grounded in both the literature and research data. Nevendorf adds to this stating that “. . . there are three ways in which theory and past research may be employed: (a) by providing predictions about the origins of messages, and by providing predictions about the relationships among variables within a content analysis” (2002: 99).

The coding scheme for this thesis draws categories from both common/demographic characteristics and the more theoretical/empirical cases. Many of the categories contained in the code book for this research speak directly to general information and demographic characteristics about the populations under investigation. Additionally, a significant proportion of the code book for this research draws categories from a review of, and engagements with the existing theoretical and empirical literature in ways that help to interrogate the literature and draw links between it and the research findings.

Because I wanted to see exactly what sorts of things I should examine it was necessary to, “. . . immerse [myself] in the world of the message pool and conduct a qualitative scrutiny of a representative subset of the content to be examined” (Neuendorf, 2002: 102-103). In other words, I found it useful to take a select subset of the larger population of periodicals under investigation to run a preliminary analysis of the images to test the practicality, usefulness and relevance of the code-book and coding categories both to the literature and the research generally. Similarly, this practice analysis assisted in allowing variables and coding categories to emerge from the population under investigation.

## **2.7 Analyzing Quantitative and Qualitative Data: The Processes and Applications**

The scientific method is a systematic, organized series of steps that ensures maximum objectivity and consistency in researching a problem (Richard T. Schaefer and Edith Smith, 2004).

Qualitative research (think “quality”) looks at data that is observed, described and interpreted but is difficult to express in numbers (Richard T. Schaefer and Edith Smith, 2004).

Research based on quantitative analysis generally offers numerical data in the form of graphs, charts, and tables full of numbers. Researchers often do this in order to provide the reader with a summary or condensed picture of the data. However, once all the relevant data are gathered and quantified they are manipulated in order to allow them to say something about the social world. Data collected using quantitative techniques develop numbers which represent values of variables, which measure characteristics of subjects, respondents, and so forth. To accomplish this researcher work on the raw data to see what they can say about the research question(s) and hypothesis(s): they reorganize data into a form suitable for computers, present them in charts and/or graphs to summarize their key features, thereby interpreting or giving theoretical meaning to the results. Before a researcher can examine quantitative data to test hypotheses, he or she must put them into a different form. In order to put the data into a different form researchers frequently code them. Basically, “. . . data coding means systematically reorganizing raw data into a format that is machine-readable (i.e., easy to analyze using computers)” (Neuman, 1994: 283). As with any form of coding, in content analysis researcher(s) must create and consistently apply rules for transferring information from one form to another. Similarly, researcher(s) use a coding system and a code book for data collection and recording. Generally speaking, a code book is a document describing the coding system and the location of data for variables in a format that computers can use (Jackson, 1995; Berg, 2001). Most researchers begin to conceptualize a coding system, code book and coding method prior to data collection. Most computer programs designed for data analysis require data to be in grid format, with each row representing a case. A column or set of columns represent specific variables (see Appendix A for code book).

## 2.8 Computer Analysis and Quantitative Data:

Computers have revolutionized the way social research is done quickly becoming a standard tool for researchers. Indeed, many researchers are increasingly using computers to perform specialized tasks more effectively and efficiently (for example, data organization, calculating statistics, writing reports, and so forth). Basically, the social researcher uses different software packages for organizing data into charts, tables and graphs and to perform statistical manipulation and calculations (for example, SPSS, SAS, Minitab, Micro Case). The level of quantitative analysis in this research is relatively simple in that I limit my analysis to basic frequency tables that describe the prevalence and relationship between different variables and sets of variables in order to make sense of the manifest content.

This study was premised on the notion that analysis of the latent content of the ad visuals was crucial in terms of the ideological assumptions it made about masculinities and fatherhood. Therefore, it struck a balance between a quantitative and a qualitative and interpretive analysis. "Social researchers systematically collect and analyze empirical evidence in order to understand and explain social life" (Neuman 1994: 316). The most obvious difference between quantitative and qualitative analysis is that the latter form of data tends to be in the form of words, sentences, paragraphs or visual images instead of pure numerical data. The orientation of qualitative research, its assumptions about social life, its objectives for research, and the manner in which it deals with data are often at odds with quantitative methodologies. Some individuals and groups believe that qualitative research is easier and less rigorous and legitimate than quantitative research. There is a misconception that qualitative researchers merely roam the social world theorizing and studying abstractions without any real

scientific and theoretical grounding. Qualitative research relies heavily on the interpretive and critical approaches in social science and places emphasis the importance of social context for understanding the social world. Basically, qualitative researchers believe that the meaning of a social action or statement depends on the context in which it appears. Hence, when a piece of qualitative data, such as those indicated above, are removed from the social context in which it appears, or the context is ignored, its social meaning and significance can become distorted (Jackson, 1995). Attention to social context means that a qualitative researcher notes what came before or surrounds the particular focus of study. It also implies that the same events and/or behaviors can have different meanings in different historical, cultural and social contexts. Similarly, qualitative researchers have a generalized commitment placing parts of social life and its diverse elements into a larger whole so that the meanings of the parts are not lost and resonate with the whole.

Qualitative researchers work to ensure that their research accurately reflect the evidence and seeks to check the validity of this evidence through various methods. Generally speaking, a quantitative researchers only gather data once they have immersed themselves in the theoretical and empirical literature, thereby developing their own theoretical framework(s), research questions, hypotheses, and measures of variables. By sharp contrast, qualitative researchers usually premise their research on a question or set of questions and an array of possible answers or hypotheses. Frequently, the data are collected around theory-methods link or theory arises during the process of data collection. "This more inductive method means that theory is built from data or grounded in the data" (Neuman, 1994: 322). Moreover, conceptualization and operationalization occurs at the same time as data collection and preliminary data analysis. Grounded theory is frequently employed by qualitative researchers

because it makes the research sufficiently flexible for the data and the theory to interact (Silverman, 1985). Similarly, a qualitative researcher builds theory by making comparisons, pondering the questions and looking for similarities and differences. Finally, "When data collection and theorizing are interspersed, theoretical questions arise that suggest future observations, so new data are tailored to answer theoretical questions that come from thinking about previous data" (Neuman, 1994: 3233).

This research adheres to the theory-method link in that many of the coding categories for analysis arise directly from, or speak to the theoretical and empirical literature. Similarly, my research relied heavily on interpretation of the quantitative data employing qualitative methodologies. Basically, interpretation in this context meant the assignment of significance or meaning to the numerical data by drawing connections between my numerical data and the broader theoretical and empirical literature on men, masculinities and fatherhood, as well as gender, media and identity generally. Essentially, reports of quantitative research usually produce tables, graphs and charts with numbers that are most often expressed in the form of percentages or statistical coefficients. It is the researcher who strives to imbue the numbers with meaning and significance, particularly in relationship to the research questions and hypothesis.

Qualitative research handles the process of interpretation in a dramatically different manner than do quantitative researchers, particularly since it does not tend to employ overt numerical forms. Indeed, a qualitative researcher interprets data by giving them meaning, translating them or otherwise rendering them understandable. Qualitative research does not necessarily include a quantitative aspect, but when it does the numerical data tends to be interpreted and written in ways that unpack and explain the significance of these numbers to

the research question(s), hypotheses and the broader social world. Qualitative research frequently relies on visual presentations in the form of maps, photographs, or some other form of diagram to help illustrate how ideas are, or may be related. Because my research relied on a combined qualitative and quantitative analysis I wove the numerical and interpretive/visual together in ways that helped speak to the literature, illustrates the significance of the numbers and visuals to the literature and to the social world more generally. Through this methodology this research sought to refrain from prioritizing one method or mode of data collection and analysis over another. Rather, both sets of data worked to produce an integrated and holistic picture of the research populations under investigation. In other words, the data sets are scrutinized in ways that make them intelligible, but also make theoretical and practical sense.

## **2.9 Data Coding**

Data for this research was coded by myself over a one year period, being especially careful to ensure that each category was unambiguous and as exhaustive as possible. As such, the categories in this research were carefully defined so that other researchers at different times, using the same categories could code the categories in the same way. Hence, the coding process employed in this research was extremely replicable (Rose, 2005). I took various steps to ensure reliability of categories and overall reliability. The categories used were fully defined and a pilot study conducted on a small sub-sample of ads employing the categories to ensure their applicability and relevance to the questions and the images analyzed. It was felt that by doing a pilot study two independent researchers or coders using the same categories and coding procedures could produce similar results from the same sets of visual images. After the pilot study some of the initial categories had to be further refined for greater accuracy and reliability.

Finally, each category contained in the code book was defined in terms of a set list of things deemed to be included and excluded in each particular category. Having defined, refined and completed the pilot study on the coding categories, the actual coding of data began.

I spent considerable time carefully examining each visual image applying all of the relevant codes contained in the code book. According to Rose, "Practically, there are different ways to record your coding" (2005: 63). In this research I coded all data manually using the code book and then placed all relevant data on a coding sheet (or a summarized version of the code book). This research utilized individual code sheets for each visual image upon which I recorded the publication name, date of publication, and month of the issue analyzed. Once all of the relevant data was collected I set up a computer spread sheet using the SPSS computer program, producing percentages for each category across all four publications for the years and months of interest. This made quantitative analysis easier and provided data from which to conduct a more qualitative and interpretative analysis of the data in reference to the existing empirical and theoretical literature on masculinity and fatherhood in the media.

Once all of the images were coded data was entered into the SPSS spreadsheets to produce statistical results on the visual content across publications, over the time frame of interest and for all relevant coding categories. From the statistical data I conducted a more qualitative and interpretative analysis of the findings *visa vis* the existing work in the area. Finally, all of this was related directly back to the larger theoretical and empirical questions guiding this research.

A large part of the analysis in this research was focused on an exploration of the relations between different coding categories and the larger body of literature on gender and the media. This was accomplished through a combined qualitative and quantitative analysis.

While the initial data analysis was necessarily quantitative, I remain committed to the notion that, “. . . content analysis is a technique, the results of which need interpreting through an understanding of how the codes in an image connect to the wider context in which that image makes sense. To do that requires not just quantitative skills but also qualitative ones” (Rose, 2005: 65). All this aims to produce interpretations of visual data that are valid, as well as empirically and theoretically interesting.

Every stage of this research from the initial formulation of the research design and questions through to the development of the code book and categories and data collection were geared towards meaning and significance of the visual data. The aim here was to interpret the statistical data in relation to the literature as well as helping to understand the socio-cultural meanings of the visual images. This is where this research most clearly employed a combined qualitative-quantitative methodologies. Similarly, combining these two approaches helped to provide rigor and consistency to such as large-scale project.

### **3.0 Chapter Three: Tracing the Developments in Mass Media and Advertising**

Any examination of contemporary societies has to acknowledge the centrality of the media. Similarly, the media can only be understood within the context of the societies and cultures of which they are part (Nick Stevenson, 1995).

Advertising is a controversial subject in American [and Canadian] life (Jean Folkert, Stephen Lacey and Lucinda Davenport, 1998).

The little messages are scattered all over our memories (Paul Rutherford, 2000).

The purpose of this chapter is to trace some of the important historical moments in the development of the mass media generally and advertising specifically. As part of this discussion some of the important and relevant developments in the political economy of advertising are addressed. This chapter is especially important to the overall thrust of the dissertation for several interrelated reasons. First, since advertisements are the among the more central forms of social and ideological communication addressed in the theoretical literature and the empirical case study in this dissertation it is important to discuss their origins and historical development. Second, addressing the business and industry behind the proliferation and popularity of the glossy ad images that we see daily is important to provide context and depth to the more social, symbolic and ideological discussions that are the core of this dissertation. Third, and related to the second point, to gloss over the economic and business side of advertising in favor of an explicitly socio-cultural discussion of advertising would leave a gap in this research and provide readers with a rather shallow and one-dimensional treatment of the topic. One cannot fully and comprehensively address advertising and its social role

without at least some reference to its political economic base and vice versa. Finally, while the social and cultural role of advertising and their associated images have a deep and impressive impact on our social roles and relationships, the industry behind them seemingly draws from and uses these social and cultural resources to attract audiences and sell magazines. In other words, there is an entire industry behind both the magazines and the images contained therein that are important to understand in the context of this research and in the broader social context in which advertising exists and operates. These industries draw on the 'stuff' of our everyday life, package them and then sell them back to audiences as real representations of roles, relationships and identities. Having said this, encouraging audiences to identify with the roles, relationships and lifestyles contained in the imaginary worlds of advertising also helps to bolster magazine subscriptions and readership, and hence the profit margins of the underlying industries. In short, when the social, cultural and symbolic side of advertising is prosperous the industries often benefit.

While advertising is not a new phenomena, "The mass media are a relatively new phenomenon. They are products of a modern society, as are the forms of communication they produce" (Martin & Knight, 1997: 11). Societies all around the globe have sought out ways to communicate between themselves and with other communities and societies. From the lectures of philosophers to the beatings of drums and town criers individuals and groups have communicated and conveyed information to both inform and challenge people. While they were not considered to be ads, these message or communicative forms were critical to the survival and growth of these civilizations and their inhabitants. Communication in pre-industrial and especially preliterate societies was predominantly face-to-face and oral interactions in local markets where they traded and bartered for their livelihood and in churches

and others areas of worship, in courts, and in home communities rooted in social interactions.. Early on “Communication-the transmission of ideas, feelings, attitudes, and experiences-was not mediated by technologies of communication” (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997: 91).

In modern Western cultures communication is mediated through, and by various forms of technology and is therefore involved with various societal structures and institutions. In contrast to pre-industrial societies where contact with the social world occurred via personal and direct communication, such communicative forms are no longer the exclusive or dominant mode today (Fowles, 1996). Instead, modern communication is filtered through, augmented by, and even replaced by the mediating influences of various technological developments. Arguably, the last century or so has witnessed a situation in which communication and the exchange of ideas has become increasingly dependent on technology of various forms, particularly for mass reproduction and dissemination. Successive waves of media and communication technologies have been assimilated into Western cultures with varying levels of success. The focus here is on developments in mass mediated and consumer culture and their impact on social and ideological communication.

In modern society people continue to have face-to-face communications, yet a significant portion of daily communication is filtered through various forms of technology. A technological means becomes the focus of the transmission and reception process, and the qualities of the technology and forms which allows messages to be exchanged influence the patterns of communication (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). There are various types of institutions and organizations that create, own, control and filter human communication. Indeed, these large-scale institutional and structural forces have a huge impact on human communication and on social and cultural life. At the same time, they are closely related to

political economy. I discuss the political economy of the mass media and communications in later sections of this chapter. Together both of the above developments have been central elements in modern social and cultural life. Developments in mass media and communications have (and continue to be) influential in many of our most important social structures and institutions, such as the family, religions, education, politics, and so forth. Technological developments have the capacity to revolutionize communication patterns as well as to bring together far reaching communities in ways, and on a level previously unrealized. Similarly, technological developments are directly linked to the institutional structures in a capitalist industrial economy, placing power and authority at the service of particular groups(s) for particular purposes (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Jhally, 1990; Fowles, 1995; Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998). With industrialization came comparable advances in forms of mediated communication, for example, the coming of the mass media was facilitated by the effects that industrialization eventually had on leisure time as the length of the working day declined and the strictures of the working day loosened, expendable income increased access to necessities and luxurious goods became easier. Indeed, with technological advancements and industrialization well underway the free time spent away from work could now be spent engaged in leisure activities and self-fulfillment.

Various forms of newly emerging media and communication forms quickly moved in to benefit the effects of industrialization and technological developments on social, economic and occupational life. Indeed, many mass mediated forms began to communicate lifestyle changes and consumer interests to their audiences through various media formats, thus encouraging concerns with leisure, entertainment and lifestyle issues. Through printed media (such as, magazines, newspapers,) and films, radio and television, the media began to enter the lives and

increasing free time of communities promoting leisure, lifestyle and generalized concerns with self. Rapidly, audiences for various 'new' communication forms grew, particularly with the introduction of various forms of popular entertainment. Once social life, political concerns and social-cultural attitudes and values were passed around by word of mouth and/or through print media. With rapid technological developments and advancements these concerns were being relegated to news segments between popular entertainment formats. There was a significant portion of time and resources being spent on developing and promoting light entertainment (Fowles, 1996). Similarly, whole new arrays of institutions arose and proliferated around the new drive to promote and profile communications as a social force (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). There was also a movement towards communications as a potent form of social exchange and communication (Benjamin, 1995).

Essentially, the many new forms of communication being developed early on were directed towards providing audiences with light entertainment and leisure after their work days and to fill the time freed up with reductions in daily working hours. The development and adoption of various mediated forms of communication into peoples' lives also witnessed the rapid growth in industries built up around the development and proliferation of communication technologies. According to Lull (2000), initially these technologies were celebrated as revolutionary and potentially liberating advancements that would open up community and global communication. However, these technologies quickly became industrialized, commodified, commercialized and marketed as consumer products that communities had to purchase and compete for. Consequently, the development and marketing of these new communication technologies became industries in their own right seeking new markets, greater profits and overall autonomy from other sectors.

The post 1900s' rapid urbanization had a dramatic impact on developments in mediated communication technologies. Indeed, newspapers first flourished in centers where both business interests and readership were concentrated (Folkert, Lacey and Davenport, 1998). Despite growths in, and the concentration of, populations, interpersonal communication decreased and the media stepped in to assist in informing and bringing people together. The development and evolution of the print press, especially newspaper, helped inform and educate newly emerging urban populations in ways previously unheard of. Indeed, the print media helped inform discussions of the 'free-press' as part of an emerging discourse of 'political democracy'. The introduction of newspapers advertising became increasingly important: "Advertising and the expansion of the commercial media were linked to the maintenance and growth of the market economy, it seems almost inconceivable that we could enjoy the benefit of industrial democracy without the activities of the commercial media" (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997: 94). Hence, the historical developments in the commercial media are critical to most discussions and analysis of contemporary media.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, advertising had become an important financial component of the media. Commercialization of magazines and the movement for increased audiences and lower production costs for newspapers and magazines allowed them to become financially independent and to avoid interference and control by political parties. From this point, notions of the commercial and 'free press' became associated and governed the expansion of the technological changes in media institutions.

Advertising became important to many media developments, and was related to change of audience patterns. In terms of audiences, the introduction of 'new' media often meant the reorganization of the audience-media relationship for other media. Indeed, special interest

periodicals helped to secure a mass audience for newspapers. Magazines were among the first to cultivate large-scale and nationwide audiences. However, broadcast media, such as the radio and eventually television, usurped a large segment of the print media audiences.

Newspapers sought to reach a local audience (although some reached further), while many magazines addressed national, regional, and even international audiences (Fowles, 1996; Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Lull, 2000; Maxwell, 2001). Markets for the emerging magazines were often defined and targeted according to interests, tastes, and even social and class locations. Conversely, early on the radio was a national force that was becoming a very locally influential, particularly among music. Television has been a striking development that has opened up new audiences, but which remains the property of networks and addresses audiences in terms of programming tastes and time slots. While other mediated forms of communication remain important and popular, the television became a central communicative form in the lives of Western people, informing and entertaining. Increasingly the media has become a commercial medium, exploring the meanings of personal and social interaction, as well as the meaning of goods in relation to these interactions (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). The various mediated form in existence today offer a place of prominence to advertising discourses about products and services. Because we are bombarded daily with some form of advertising, commercial messages are omnipresent and inescapable (Singer, 1995). Advertising has not only expanded to become a key part of modern culture, but its discourse(s) have also implicitly and explicitly come to hold a place of prominence in our daily lives. Consequently, as a form of social, cultural, political and economic communication, ads have had to change in response to changes in the social context and in which they are created and the audiences reception of their message. Similarly, advertising has had to change and adapt itself

to changes in audience lifestyles, tastes and desires and needs. In its varied forms and media genres, advertising has the capacity to adapt to, define, and even refine many of the cultural and social changes occurring in modern culture, and turn them back on the audience in the form of lifestyles and images for sale. Accordingly, in many ways advertising may be regarded as the quintessential communication form of the modern era (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Jhally, 1990). This is particularly so given that advertising also possesses the ability to combine language or texts and images and then assimilate them seamlessly into a promotional message. Similarly, advertising and advertisers are able to successfully condense ideas and to use or misuse thematic and socio-cultural references in order to speak to audiences and potential consumers in the language of consumption. In many ways, advertising has gained a degree of influence and acceptance that it can transcend linguistic and cultural barriers. The general efficiency and popularity of advertising as a communicative form and marketing strategy has impacted various other media forms, for example, television, visual arts, and so forth. One of the most influential and notable developments in the world of academia has been the recognition and elaboration of the social and ideological role and influence of advertising (Benjamin, 1995; Ewen, 1969; Fowles, 1996; Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Jhally, 1990; Williams, 1982; Qualter, 1997).

The next section introduces issues related to the historical developments in the print and commercial media. The purpose here is to introduce the reader to industrial developments in printing and their impact on commercial culture and the commercial media, especially on advertising.

### **3.1 The Historical Developments and Progression of Print and Commercial Media**

Unlike commercial radio and television, print was not born as a mass medium (Michele Martin, 1997).

In some ways, the developments of the printing press signaled the commercial development of the communication process in modern culture. The invention of the printing press was the essential step to the industrialization of communication forms and then later to their transformation into commodities. Eventually, it led to advertising as we know it today. It should be noted that this process took several centuries to accomplish.

The majority of products from the early printing press were not mass produced and were read in groups. It took centuries before newspapers, as we know them today, could be produced. Subsequently, specific readership began to be targeted with certain interests. The emergence and developments of commercial daily newspapers significantly influenced the content and forms of knowledge about the world, opening up the written word to a large readership. Essentially, the newspaper helped channel knowledge about various aspects of the social world and made them accessible to a rapidly growing literate society. Newspapers quickly began to carve out an important place in the structure and institutions of the time. Advertising also assisted in funding printing, circulation and maintenance costs for commercial newspapers. The rise and subsequent improvements in the mail service and transportation significantly improved the level and scope of circulation for newspapers. During the nineteenth century, developments in printing technologies and growing literacy witnessed intensified demands for news and current events. The growing demand for news and current

events also helped foster subsequent developments in printing and in further broadening audiences and readerships. Additionally, developments in the 'Koenig Cylinder' made older technologies (such as hand presses, type setting and type making) obsolete, thereby opening up the printing process. With developments in printing technologies and the growth and expansion in the numbers of publications and in circulation, advertising volumes also grew significantly. Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1997) argue that, during the later part of the 1800s and into the early 1900s spending on advertising exploded in North America. A significant portion of this extra revenue went to the print media, especially newspapers. The revenue secured from advertising helped support mass media as a business and as an industry, particularly through the purchase of new technologies or advancing existing ones all aimed at furthering mass circulation. Advertisers saw newspapers as highly problematic due to the editorial restrictions imposed by publishers that tended to make ads look much more like classified ads than those for marketing and promoting goods and services. Indeed, early newspapers ads tended to be grouped together, set apart from the general content and provided limited space. The movements toward an independent press free of political support and open to fostering its own market niche, signaled important landmarks in the long process of the commercialization of the press. In short, the commercial revolution in the daily newspapers was partly caused by subsequent developments in advertising as its own genre. The adoption of 'display ads' and illustration techniques, made possible by new printing technologies were part of the impetus for expansions in advertising revenue (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997).

## 3.2 The Historical Development and Evolution of Canadian Magazines

The magazine business, like all business ventures, has been dependent on supply and demand. Once magazines became established in [North America] they successfully occupied a niche within the world of print and publishing as the nation's conscience, the conveyers of social knowledge (Jean Folkert, Stephen Lacy and Lucinda Davenport, 1998).

Through the long journey towards literacy and the reading public, magazines carved out a special niche in mass media production borrowing ideas and writing styles from books and newspapers. The development of magazines went through various stages of transformation and development. Changes helped influence, and were themselves influenced by, various other media formats. In terms of competition for advertising revenue, magazines were the first major competitors with the papers. Even within contemporary culture magazines retain their central role in the advertising industry, gaining revenue, circulation and audiences from their associations with the advertising industry. Indeed magazines, continue to reformulate and reformat their styles and content as part of the quest for a share of the market.

In Britain after the advertising tax was lifted in 1856, new magazines flooded the markets in an effort to tap new and potentially profitable markets, in similar ways that magazines had done in Canada and the United States all along. '*Pickwick*' and '*Penny saver*' magazines in Britain, '*Harpers*' in the United States and '*Grit*' in Canada seemed to thrive as a result of their lighter and less literary content than many magazines of the time (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). The subsequent lifting of the 'postal act' of 1879 in the United States also helped to foster national magazine distribution and the organization of audiences around particular tastes, interests and lifestyles. Religious and farm journals were successful and

influential at this time, and several of these and other magazines were dependent on circulation and revenue coming from advertisers. Early magazines thrived without being completely dependent on advertising, and some such as the religious magazines sometimes rejected advertising if they believed that it may detract, or otherwise distract from their overall themes. In 1880 other journals and periodicals were specifically created to attract advertising and its revenue (Fowles, 1996). In fact, E. C. Allen launched the 'Peoples Literary Companion' as a magazine to advertise products like soap. Additionally, he also owned exclusive marketing rights for many of the products advertised in his publication. Basically, this magazine achieved widespread circulation and was dubbed as being among the first 'mail-order journals'.

One of the most famous magazines in Canada was that introduced by 'Cyrus Curtis', called the 'Tribune and Farmer', a weekly spinoff from 'Ladies Home Journal'. Early on this publication had a relatively small and select circulation, yet advertising campaigns succeeded in propelling this periodical to extreme popularity. Upon the success of the 'Tribune and Farmer' Curtis launched the 'Saturday Evening Post' with comparable success as he had with the 'Tribune and Farmer'. The popularity of magazines was also fostered by developments in faster linotype, typesetting, and the invention of half tone technologies. 'The Weekly Canadian Illustrated' was particularly successful in combining the above advances with pulp paper which allowed for superior illustrations. 'Munsey's Journal' was a "revolutionary" development filled with illustrations and visual advertising. This magazine was a pioneer in that it sought to profit from advertising, and the low subscription costs drew in a large readership and secured its success among audiences and advertisers alike. 'McClure's' and 'Cosmopolitan' were two other publications that followed in the footsteps of 'Munsey's journal' and helped usher in a era of general interest magazines (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001). By 1905, there were

roughly twenty magazines in circulation with advertising, and its revenues played a significant role in their developments and success. According to Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1997), the periodical press in the nineteenth century helped lay the groundwork for many of the subsequent developments in the commercialization of the mass media. What came to be known as the introduction of the illustrated magazine changed both the magazine and the advertising industries respectively. Using photography and other color reproduction techniques, many periodicals came to rely heavily on advertising revenue. Many of these illustrated magazines helped to set the standard and establish the methods of promotion and distribution that has gone on to impact the evolution of all commercial media institutions. At the close of the nineteenth century several forces began to impact the commercial media directly and indirectly. First, the upsurge in industrial productivity and the recognition that disposing of its output required adequate domestic markets. Second, the shift from rural to predominantly urban populations and the associated changes. Third, the rapid growth of two mediated forms of communications: newspapers and magazines which helped to bring about technological innovations that offered a means of reaching a mass audience cheaply and with better quality products (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001).

Initially advertising was introduced as mere fillers or supplements to the mainstream magazine content. However, as the advertising industry expanded and became more popular, its centrality to the media world became clear. At the turn of the century, the commercialization of newspapers that sought to attract audience loyalty based on their content allowed advertisers to assume a more prominent role in the mass media (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997).

As advertising became an independent force with revenue that helped support the press, publishers began to see ads (and their own publications) as vehicles of communication that helped to target specific audiences and suggest certain lifestyles through advertising. Even the varied media audiences began to be heavily influenced by the visual and textual messages contained in advertising. Audiences and their identities quickly became the direct and indirect products of the image industries and their efforts to appeal to, and helped to construct the needs and desires of their target audiences through the use of carefully crafted visual identities and lifestyles. Shifts in how the media, specifically advertising, approached audiences rapidly became a focus of marketing strategies. Advertising industries were forced to seek new and innovative ways to appeal to diverse audiences in an increasingly competitive markets. Technological developments, particularly in the media, allowed for changes in advertising that challenged the prominence of newspapers as the central medium for advertising. While newspapers held a particularly central position in the advertising industry historically, the introduction of magazines forced newspapers to compete in this market via topical (or concentrated) publications that dealt with issues such as, health, culinary issues, health, fitness, business and so forth (Desbarats, 1991). Similarly, many newspapers various technological innovations, such as visual illustrations, photojournalism, etc. from magazines in an attempt to retain current audiences and attract new ones. Recently newspapers have used colour inserts, weekend ads and various supplements to assist in attracting audiences.

### **3.3 Broadcasting Communications Meet the Advertising Industry: A Brief Historical Overview of the Developments and Controversies**

Various forms of media have competed with newspapers and magazines (and other broadcasting media) for advertising interests and revenues. While in Britain newspapers seemingly brought about the introduction of radio and television, in Canada several newspapers actually invested in, or bought radio stations as a means of retaining and promoting their own market interests.

During the early Depression years in North America, newspapers advertising seemed to suffer while radio advertising flourished, partially in response to sponsorship and spot advertising (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Fowles, 1996). Spot advertising was important in the developmental progression of the radio because it helped the radio to reach and tap into a vast audience. However, the cost of this and other forms of radio advertising quickly rose as live performers began to demand greater shares of the revenue. Additionally, radio arguably helped bring about an expansion in the broadcasting media that the market for such media was saturated to the point where competition for market shares, revenue and a market niche was increasingly difficult. It was mainly the more powerful and attractive radio stations that managed to stand out and separate themselves from the general pool of print and broadcasting media. Early in North American history, and especially during the 1930s' the range of products advertised through the radio was quite small, limited mainly to food, tobacco, soap, etc,. In addition to being limited to a few mainstream products, most of these ads were provided by major advertisers for their own products and in association with influential mainstream advertising agencies. After World War II the radio began to compete aggressively with newspapers for a larger share of the local retail and advertising markets. These changes were particularly problematic because they seemed to occur at a time when newspapers were forced to compete head on with advertising and the changes the inception of television brought

about. Television did bring about shifts in advertising away from newspapers and mass circulation newspapers, yet the real changes could be found in maintaining the competitive pressures on the rate structures for all media. The introduction of the television also increased the newspapers, reliance on retail and regional advertising, which had been increasing relative to the total market since the 1950s' (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997, Jhally, 1990).

The emergence and proliferation of the broadcasting media helped to increase the involvement of the advertising industry in the structural and institutional developments of the mass media. The 1920s' was an era in which the magazine industry continued to expand, with a vast majority succeeding while others failed. Additionally, at this time media and advertising expenditures grew as did the competition between various media for market shares. For instance, the newly emerging 'national general interest' magazines were in direct competition with the radio and radio networks, since national accounts were often divided between them or given to another media form. The magazine industries responded to market competitions with various innovations designed to attract new audiences and prospective advertisers. Many magazines, especially early women's magazines, worked to set up departments with consumer panels and research services. The goal here was to cater to the needs of both audiences and advertisers alike. Quickly the use of audience research was used to counter act the dominance of radio advertising.

Media research has been, and continues to be a fundamentally important method in bringing together various elements of consumer culture (Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998). Beginning in the 1930s' social researchers worked feverishly to help unify business, advertising, the mass media, and through them, the further development of North American Culture (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). Many magazines, especially those surviving the Great

Depression, began to use various forms of research to gain impetus from their audiences on their content, style and advertising. This research quickly became a central concern to the media, advertisers, and audiences alike for setting editorial and advertising standards, for gaining advertising investments and for overall readership ratings on form, content and style.

The introduction of the television in the 1950s' further intensified competition between various media forms, especially in terms of attracting audiences and securing market shares. Consequently, the introduction and subsequent popularization of the television saw many major corporations shift their advertising campaigns to television, significantly narrowing the variety of products and services advertised in both magazines and newspapers. Many of these changes have had lasting effects on advertising in consumer magazines over the last thirty years, with many only advertising a very limited variety of products and services. In order for magazines to remain successful it became clear that they would have to speak directly to special features or segments of their particular audiences, such as sex, age, social status, religion, or lifestyle. This process of segmentation was especially useful in the provision of an advertising base, but also in the marginalization of audiences since very groups interest was not reflected in this process.

Modern 'specialist magazines' were important developments in the media and communications world, particularly since they successfully demonstrated the importance of recognizing and fostering the relationships between magazine format, content and advertising. Generally, these magazines helped dispel the myth that magazines needed to speak only to a certain market segment. The predecessors of the special interest magazines were the 'special-interest journals', first developed during the nineteenth century. These journals were slightly different than the modern specialist magazines in that they did not have specific ads and were

literally marketed to select segments of the population, such as literary audiences, news journals, religious, farm or business journals. Many of these journals were slow and even resistant to fully introduce advertising for a variety of reasons. Instead, the vast majority of these journals remained committed gaining support and production costs from subscription revenue.

The more contemporary special interest and lifestyle magazines are far more inclusive and open in terms of their editorial content and the array of advertising that they permit in their publications. Advertisers generally liked these periodicals and believed that because they focused on lifestyles they were an apt place to market products and services in relationship to certain tastes and lifestyles. These publications also use their narrow editorial content to attract the products, services and advertising that they deemed to be desirable. Several of these new special interest and lifestyle magazines attempted to intermesh editorial content, advertising and general knowledge about products and the social world almost seamlessly. They acted as lifestyle guides, home shopping guides and in many respects they also represented advice columns to their target audience. 'Advertorial sections' were a revolutionary development in the lifestyle and general interest magazines, but were initially limited to topic-specific business magazines. These advertorial sections are also widely used in contemporary mainstream specialty magazines so that ads and their content can be prepackaged and inserted together. Finally, 'controlled circulation magazines' were another important development in the magazine industry. While these magazines were influential for the entire magazine industry, they were no less so for the advertising industry (Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998). These magazines were frequently delivered free of charge to those on mailing lists, and were most often directed towards a more up-scale or affluent sections of urban and rural populations.

Additionally, these publications tended to carry considerable advertising content. Basically, magazines with various audiences, formats and content found their success not in their abilities to capture and retain audiences and audience interests, but also in their success or failure to capture, retain and speak to market shares. Similarly, the success and life of a particular magazine or sector of the magazine industry also depends on competition with other media forms. The special characteristics of the audiences, their spending habits, disposable incomes, and openness to approaches through other media are all key factors in determining whether advertisers will invest, or advertise in a particular magazine (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). Consequently, magazines are always in competition among themselves and with other media forms attempting to reinvent themselves, adapt to changing audiences and their tastes and lifestyles, as well as aggressively seeking out new markets and advertisers.

The introduction and popularity of the radio in Britain and North America significantly changed the face of the advertising industry. Early on the North American advertising industry began to sell radio broadcasting as a 'commercial medium'. Similarly, the radio in Britain also rapidly became a public domain where advertisers had to struggle to secure commercial success through the radio. This was particularly the case since early on British newspapers were key players in the national advertising scene. Initially, British newspapers were highly threatened by, and resistant to the introduction and potential of the radio to the point where they worked to retain advertising investment in the print media. By sharp contrast, despite British reliance on print media well into the 1950s', North American advertisers embraced various media forms and all of their potential for communication and consumer culture.

In both the United States and Canada governments and industries remained skeptical of radio and its potential impact, while also trying to remain open to possibility. Generally, the

radio presented problems to retailers and advertisers because many did not quite know what to do with it. However, with subsequent developments in weekly radio programming advertisers quickly became aware of the potential merits of radios commercial role. Yet, during the late 1920s' and early 1930s' few radio's programs were actually successful in attracting sponsors to the level and degree that various other media forms had. The national advertisers and ad agencies of this time quickly became the best organized forces in the entire radio market with their constant pressure helping to establish NBC as the first national network affiliated station (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Fowles, 1996). Network radio stations were novel and influential developments in the history of broadcasting media, particularly since they produced high quality, audience attracting programming. As the audience appeal of radio stations grew they were able to attract more advertising to their programming.

By the second half of the 1920s' the popularity and effectiveness of radio advertising expanded significantly, attracting even greater numbers and types of advertising. Developments and growth in the audience bases and in advertising agencies sort of fed into one another. Thus, as radio audiences grew, so too did the interests of potential advertisers. Increasingly ad sponsored radio programming grew as did networking to the point where it was only a matter of time before radio was firmly intermeshed in the process of commercialization. Restated, soon national broadcasting and national advertising successfully reinforced each others interests so that eventually many advertising agencies even backed radio stations.

From the late 1920s' until the start of World War II, advertisers and the agencies controlled much of the radio programming, with many sponsors even producing shows, casting, writing, and owing some of the studio space. Thus, whether they wanted it or not, networks often held very little if any formal control over programming. By 1935 radio had

secured a significant portion of the advertising expenditure, a situation that only intensified during the post-war paper shortage (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998; Fowles, 1996). During the war many government agencies in North America developed in order to ensure network sponsors took time to push wartime services. Basically these requests provided advertisers with two important and positive role: to legitimate their roles in society, and to compensate for the wartime shortages of goods and services to sell. Various advertisers and agencies formed what was called the 'War Advertising Council' to produce and disseminate the above requests. After the war ended this council was officially renamed the 'Advertising Council', a changes that ushered in a post-war merger of advertising and public relations.

In 1936 the BBC became a central force in public broadcasting of television signals from 'Alexandra Palace' (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). It was not until 1954 the official shift towards a mixed broadcasting system was made, particularly in response to industry pressures, advertising agencies, and some conservative government majorities. This new Independent Television move successfully challenged advertising control over the production of programs by reinstating spot advertising.

In Canada the 'Massey Report' a Federal public inquiry on the arts maintained the necessity that Canada have a national television network under the CBC. The setback here was that these requests were put forth prior to the time when commercial television was fully permitted.. Despite this roadblock, clamor for the development of a commercial Canadian national television network as well was really driven home by the *Broadcasting Act* of 1958. While this act certainly changed the face of the Canadian broadcasting landscape, many Canadians already has access to American television as did many of the Canadian advertisers.

In America television broadcasting began in 1939 on NBC, with CBC following closely behind in 1952. By 1941 ten commercial television broadcasting licenses were issued in the United States until 1948 when the Federal Communication commission instituted legislation to stop them. (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). It was not until 1952 that the above moratoriums were officially lifted, which was only a formality since the vast majority owned television sets by 1957.

The radio had a particular structure prior to World War II that various broadcasting media, especially television tried to adopt and profit from. During the period 1945-1955 two important factors helped influence and guide the relationships among various broadcast organizations. First, there was a rapid expansion in available consumer goods that helped propel commercial ads into the forefront of the broadcasting world. Second, the atmosphere of fear created by both the Cold War and McCarthyism made sponsors cautious when producing programs. By the mid-1950s' many television networks began to reconsider the control that they had given over to advertisers over thirty-year earlier (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). Legally speaking, networks continued to be responsible for the content even though they had little say over it. Second, scheduling presented quite a problem for networks. Many networks sought to retain programming control and insert spot ads that could enter the audience's space in between programs. However, there was a simultaneous move to reduce time allotment on television for advertising. Production costs of the time were one major intervening factor helping to foster changes in the above situation. Essentially, production and casting costs were high which made it difficult for a single advertiser to buy spots and produce shows at the same time. Thus, production houses became popular so that they owned and operated networks and merely sold advertising spots to advertising agencies. The introduction of production houses

and shifts in production and power dynamics between advertisers and networks shifted. However, because television continued to depend on advertisers for operating revenue, advertisers retained a degree of control. Two important considerations were (and continue to be) influential in determining how much advertisers would pay for spots between programs. First, the audience size of a show and particular ad helps to determine feasibility as well as providing financial support for market needed market research (instead of relying solely on audience size). While advertisers now did not control programming production and development, their power did help set program criteria. Finally, the content, form, and concerns of commercials seemed to mimic one another as well as the surrounding shows (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). Many shows, especially game shows in the 1950s' overtly emphasized 'consumerism', especially *The Price is Right*, while others like *The Dating Game*, tried to connect consumption with social and cultural concerns. Conversely, soap operas with their focus on money, power and sex provided overt reinforcement for consumption, status, and the pursuit of material goods.

Television and the production of dramas and action adventures helped to revolutionize television programming and blur the distinction between ads and programs (each using and profiting from the other). Basically, the larger the audience and the more diverse the programming the more networks could charge for advertising spots. Similarly, the importance of numbers and audience sizes became important in cost concerns, both for advertisers and for network decisions about selecting ad campaigns. Hence, new programming concerns soon turned to selecting programs that would appeal to the masses while not alienating any one audience. Advertising and the mass media have both complemented one another and gone hand in hand into the modern mediated world. Advertising profits and expenditures have

grown steadily, yet slowly before the period of the commercial revolution in the press. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a dramatic increase in the numbers of publications, so that magazines, newspapers and other periodicals that had previously not been accepting of advertising began to open up to them. Similarly, due to the steady growth in new types of products entering the commercial markets, advertising volume also grew rapidly. The beginning of the twentieth century marked a period of radical changes in the advertising world. The revolution in the newspaper industry linked with increases in the productivity of the press with income from advertising ensured that advertising maintained its centrality in the media. At the same time, expansions in both the magazine industry and the types and ranges of products available arguably accentuated the growth and popularity of various forms of advertising and helped bring about the need for the development of ad agencies to handle these changes. The first twenty-five years of the 1900s was a period of intense growth and prosperity for various forms of advertising. As I have already discussed in previous sections, the periods between the 1920s' to the 1950s' were particularly profitable periods for advertising. As successive decade of developments in various mediated forms continues to ingrain advertising and its influences in the media world. The introduction and popularity of the broadcasting media not only brought about competition for advertising markets shares and accounts between various media forms, it also fostered intense competition for audience and advertisers attention. The early depression years of the 1930s' was a period of significant decline in investments for advertising, particularly as many manufacturers were not producing as many products.

Obviously advertising is not solely responsible for the expansion of mediated communication. Indeed, we have already seen that literacy and the so-called 'reading public'

were already in place when the commercialization of the media and the popularization of print media forms began. Rather, the growth and spread of literacy in the working class helped to foster the commercialization of mediated communication. Similarly, the reorganization of the press, linking profitability to advertising revenue helped to render the newspaper considerably more affordable for the new and rapidly expanding lower-middle class literate reading public who were now becoming much more socially, culturally and politically aware. Early on the press assisted in the creation of an institutional context and rationale that supported advertising, as well as laying the groundwork for the commercialization of various other media. Despite competition from various media forms to minimize the role of print media and retain market shares, advertising continued to flourish alongside other print and broadcast media. Rather than overshadowing or squashing advertising, the emergence of new and successive forms and generations of communication merely changed the face of advertising (Fowles, 1996). Restated, as new and different forms of media changed the process of communicating advertising and the packaging and promotion of products and services (i.e., promotional messages) were forced to adapt.

In the historical and contemporary context influence of advertising on the social world and the various communication forms has been quite striking and receives much public and academic attention. As we have seen at various points in this discussion, arguably successive forms and generations of media and communications could not have existed and become as successful as they had were it not for the revenue gleaned from advertising. We have also seen that the support provided to various media by advertising occurs through very intense competition for advertising revenue. At various points throughout the historical development of the print and broadcast media, competition for advertising revenue intensified to a point

where it is difficult to control it. Some scholars actually believe that advertising revenue actually helped make certain types of programming possible despite any clear evidence to support. By sharp contrast, some critics argue that advertising is so profitable to the media and programming that many programs actually gear their programs towards being advertising friendly. This view does not necessarily directly associate the financial success of the media with programming. In the television world, the revenue and decision making power that control the process of communication tend to be separate from the actual editorial and creative activities that go into the content and programming (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). It is at this point that the political economy of the mass media and communications become clear, particularly in terms of programming decisions, and the policies and strategies associated with them. Similarly, our interface with television and various other media forms we rarely see or acknowledge the institutional structures and business decisions that occur behind the entertainment and information that these media provide. Advertising is widely regarded as a service industry that is highly dependant on producers and other related service providers. In terms of the commercialized media, consumers are not usually involved in the institutional and business decisions that effect programming and advertising. Rather, we are merely consumers who purchase the use and engagement with various media forms. However, as we will see later, behind the programs, advertising images and the personalities or lifestyles presented are the various sectors of the business and media industries and the decisions that shape the form, content and financial feasibility of the media forms and associated ads. In short, behind these organizations are the 'invisible' institutional structures supported by tradition, financial backing, power (corporate and otherwise), all helping to establish decisions around form, content and context (Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998).

As a result of the intense competition within, and between the various media forms for advertising audiences, advertising and its revenue, actions by one organization can greatly influence and impact the processes through which they attract and draw revenue to a particular media. Government policy also has a very important influence on both the media and the advertising world. We have seen that early newspapers depended relatively little on advertising for their revenue and ads were usually in the form of classified ads for a small and limited array of products. Similarly, in the late 1800s', especially in North America, the majority of the magazines in circulation overtly refused advertising. When magazines finally opened to advertising, it was to a relatively small and select array of products.. Once magazines fully opened up to advertising and its possibilities, they too entered the competitions for advertising revenue. The tensions in the magazine industry only intensified when advertisers for products and services began to work with large advertising agencies for extremely large-scale accounts. Similarly, this was the same time frame when advertising interests were being diffused across a vast array of concerns. Various institutional interests, media and corporate regulation, shifting ideological, value and attitudinal issues, free enterprise, and so forth, all cumulated in an complicated media and advertising world. These concerns also began to greatly influence the business and corporate interests and decision making of the media sector. Restated, as the advertising world opened up and larger scale agencies moved in to operate on behalf of advertisers/manufacturers, advertising interest began to shift in the direction of the format, content and stylistic techniques of the media forms and advertisements. Similarly, these large-scale advertisers became keenly aware of and interested in marketing and marketing strategies, markets and market shares, and generally combining all of the above concerns with the promotion of the interests and goals of advertising.

The following section examines the above structural, institutional and business side of the media and advertising world. Essentially, this section begins to introduce the reader to the political economy of the mass media and advertising.

### **3.4 Key Historical Moments in Canadian and American Advertising**

Despite or because of its ubiquity, advertising is no easy term to define or discuss. Advertisements are all around us today and have been for a long time. In many ways advertisements are a true mirror of life and through looking at ads historians can compose a fairly coherent picture of an era. Hence, advertisements can provide clues about what a society was like at a particular time as well as the business environment of the same period. What is particularly interesting about ads is that they do not readily or easily proclaim their intent nor do they display the social and cultural context of their creation (Goldman, 1992). However, we continue to produce and analyze ads in various contexts and for a plethora of reasons. Studying ads as historical and contemporary sources can be quite fascinating and revealing on several levels.

If asked, most of us would probably argue that we are not affected by ads, that we are able to see through them. There are many different perspectives on ads, their purposes and general impact. Usually advertisements attempt to persuade audiences to purchase particular goods and/or services. “it is mediated persuasion aimed at an audience rather than one-to-one communication with a potential customer” (Pope, 1983:1). However, some of the more contemporary ads, such as those on Amazon and other on-line sources, sometimes address us by name and based on our past purchases.

In Canadian and American history advertising has responded to changing business demands, media technologies, and socio-cultural contexts. Particularly in the US but also here in Canada early ads of the eighteenth century were often announcements of the availability of consumer goods that were on hand. However, ads were also used for political and governmental purposes, as well as tool for resistance and escape, particularly by slaves. Despite their presence and popularity even in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and continual market changes ads rarely showed such market changes through their advertising appeals. What this means is that early newspapers in Canada and especially in the US almost never printed ads that were wider than a single column and generally avoided many illustrations. Magazines tended to include advertising but they were quite restrained in that they tended to place them on the back pages for a long time (Johnston, 2001). Additionally, until late in the nineteenth century there were few companies mass producing branded consumer products with the notable exception of patent medical products (Pope, 1983).

During the 1880's industries ranging from soap to canned foods and tobacco introduced new production techniques and created standardized products on a mass scale previously unknown. As such, these and other producers quickly sought new markets and ways to persuade buyers. Thus, "national advertising of branded goods emerged in this period in response to profound changes in the business environment" (Pope, 1983: 2). Similarly, many large retailers in growing towns and cities began to turn to advertisers for assistance and reaching buyers. This was a phenomena said to be pioneered by many larger American retailers such as Macy's department stores. At the same time many mail-order catalogues cropped up to reach various rural communities.

Advertising agencies were also growing during this time and were attempting to sell advertising space in local newspapers and a limited number of magazines in circulation at the time (Johnston, 2001). Consequently, these ads agencies were attempting to serve the interests of national advertisers, designing copy and artwork and placing ads in the places felt to be most attractive to buyers. "Workers in the developing advertising industry sought legitimate and public approval . . ." (Pope, 1983: 3). Advertising and the associated industry were becoming very popular, widespread and successful during the late 1800's and into the 1900's in both Canada and the United States. While advertising was popular it also managed to generate some anxieties about its social and ethical implications (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997). Nevertheless, despite these concerns, advertising and its popularity only intensified well into the 1920's, 30's and 40's. During these periods, especially in America we see rapid expansion in consumer culture and in consumer spending, with the exception of the Depression years. Much of this growth was brought about and intensified by the increased availability of consumer credit. Increasingly, consumers were buying products such as automobiles, household appliances and various leisure activities, such as movies. This is particularly interesting since, in turn, advertising was also helping to promote these and other products and services as well as a general mood of avid consumerism. The rise and popularity of mass circulation magazines, radio broadcasting and even motion pictures provided a novel and important media for reaching new consumers and consumer markets. Accordingly, ads sought to adjust people to modern life, a life lived in consumer society (Marchand, 1985).

Since the 1920's advertising in both Canada and the United States has continued to grow and change. With each decade comes new media technologies- radio, television, and now the internet, allowing advertisers to deliver commercial messages easier and to a more

diverse audience of potential product buyers. "Beneath the obvious changes, however, lie continuities. The triad of advertisers, agency, and medium remains the foundation of business relations of advertising" (Pope, 1983: 3). One significant change in advertising has been a move away from trying to market mass-produced products to a mass consuming public to more focused (yet subtle) efforts to segment and target particular groups for specific products and brands. Hence, since the 1920's advertisers have slowly moved towards niche marketing and fostering brand loyalty.

An important question posed in relation to advertising across time has been what have ads been attempting to do? Simply, ads have always tried to promote and sell products. Beyond this, we must ask do ads try to get us to buy a product for the first time only, to switch brands or both? Ultimately commercial advertising has always aimed to sell products and services, win sales, markets and to foster and maintain brand loyalty. They also want to get consumer attention and stimulate the interests of all so that those who do not already have their product might purchase it. During the first half of the twentieth century, most national advertising portrayed and promoted a world of mass produced, standardized products (Marchand, 2001; Pope, 1983). Somehow, advertising and mass consumption would slowly eradicate social differences thereby making North Americans (even new immigrants) a homogeneous people. However, in recent decades advertisers and associated marketing strategies have tried to niche market to segmented markets and to fit products to the needs and interests of those markets. During the 1950's and 1960's this trend towards niche marketing accelerated, particularly, but not exclusively within the automobile industry. It was also during this period when advertising design and layout were rapidly changing and advancing to become more impressive and up-scale, especially since technologies to do so were also

advancing. Similarly, these decades were also ones in which consumerism was also in full swing as were various social, political and environmental movements and changes.

Even during the twentieth century advertising did not exist in a 'marketing vacuum'. What this means is that products might appeal to a certain market segment, yet the promotion through ads both aim at market segments and also help to shape those segments (Schudson, 1984). Since the 1920's there has been a consistent and noticeable move towards efforts for target marketing to specific markets and to ensure that ad campaigns target products and services to lifestyles that consumers will 'desire' and aspire to have.

Have advertisers ever offered reasons why consumers should purchase products and services? Conversely, is most advertising strictly focused on emotional appeals? Does the ad focus on the product or the people using them? Finally, do advertisers and their ads address the audience directly or are there other strategies involved?

While many early ads contained limited visuals, most ads for the past several decades contained a combination of visual and textual images. Advertising agencies and those who research advertising continue to pour large amounts of money into ensuring consumers approve of the appearance of their ads, that it appeals to them. Since the early 1920's advertisers have focused on ad details to reflect their particular marketing strategies. "But deliberate or unintentional, details of an advertisement may reveal something about the assumptions and perceptions of those who created it" (Pope, 1983: 5). Since their inception advertisers have employed different methods in order to attract potential customers. For example, many advertisements during the Depression years used stark black and white photos that were like the tabloid newspapers of the time. Similarly, many ads from the late 1960's and 1970's often used very 'psychedelic' visual images and modes of representation.

Advertising continues to be highly selective in its depiction of social reality and of the social world generally. American and Canadian advertising, almost from its' inception has been highly skewed in their portrayals of race, ethnicity, gender and class (Fowles, 1995). This continues to be all in the service of marketing and selling products and services. Restated, advertising has always been 'capitalist realism', an art form that abstracts from and reconfigures the world as it is to fit the marketing needs of the business system (Schudson, 1984). Thus far, three trends in advertising have become clear throughout history. First, they are marketing and selling tools and reflect the business needs of the corporations that pay for them. Second, advertisements are, and have always been cultural/social indicators, even if they are sometimes distorted. Finally, one must remember that advertisements emerge from a professional culture of the advertising industry and often suggests the aspirations and anxieties of those who create them (Johnston, 2001; Marchand, 1985; Pope, 1983).

In order to get a good look at and through advertisements, it is instructive to also investigate those who create them. For almost a century major national advertisers of brand-name goods have used ad agencies to plan out their campaigns, design the ads and often to choose the media form and strategy through which to target buyers and markets. Despite initial resistance, some minor set backs and criticisms from the early 1900's, advertising and the associated industries rapidly took on an air of 'professionalism'. Thus, those who have created the ads designed them with the 'secondary audience' of their peers in mind (Marchand, 1985). This is the case particularly before the 1960's when many ad agencies became open to a divert of social groups.

Early on advertising agencies often either saw or approached consumers as uncultured, ill-informed or irrational. Therefore, ads were created reflective of the perspectives of the

agencies and less of the buyers and target markets. From as early as the 1900's ads are constructed with certain themes to appeal positively and/or negatively to certain target audiences to encourage them to identify with products and to consume. What has changed over time has been the themes used to appeal to ads, for example, same-sex sexual appeals.

Finally, an important point to mention in terms of advertising history involves the people in the ad industry who create and disseminate them. Those who are involved in producing ads have an important impact on how they look and the stories that they tell. Whether it is a man or a woman producing ads greatly influences the stories being told and the target audience sought. Even when women were/are involved in constructing ads and supplying the so-called 'feminine' point of view they often do not speak for or to the lives and realities of all women. As early as the 1900's there were some women involved in the ad industry in various capacities and roles. While the ad world has been male-dominated, many well-educated women, some feminists were and continue to be involved in the industry (Scanlon, 1995).

In short, the history of advertising in both Canada and North America is one intimately tied up with various social, political, economic and cultural trends and changes. It reflects the industry at the time, as well as being reflective of the industry. The appearance and campaigns of ads reflects the particular approach taken – whether men's or niche marketing. Together ads are a creation and product of the culture, and context, in which they are produced, disseminated and consumed by audiences. They have an industry and business behind them with goals and agendas and are released into a socio-cultural and historical context, that influences their reading and interpretation. Hence, the history of advertising is a rich, complex and multi-faceted one which I have only begin to discuss.

### **3.5 Advertising and Visual Images in Political and Economic Context: The Political Economy of Media and Communication**

Advertising, some argue, is all about money and plays a central role in capitalism. In previous chapters and in ones to follow, I make the argument that, as a cultural form, media generally, and advertising specifically help to define a certain way of looking at ourselves and society. My goal here is to move beyond a strict focus on the social, cultural and ideological roles of media and advertising in society to consider the role that media as an industry plays in capitalism. Examining political economy in relation to the media is a useful endeavor for offering insights into how both operate. Essentially, political economy looks at the various ways and contexts in which the structures of power and structures of economics are inextricably intertwined. In many ways political economy encompasses the belief that our economic choices are not necessarily inevitable or beyond our control, but do involve 'relations of power' in a given society and cultural context.

The political economy approach to media and cultural analysis arises out of the late eighteenth century, witnessing the rise of industrial capitalism and the concept of 'nation state'. This approach derives from Marxist theory, focusing on power relations and distribution, as well as issues of control and ownership. In relation to discussions of mass media, political economy allows one to consider the ways in which a particular industry is heavily immersed in corporate structures and government regulations. Often this approach can be empirical in its use of a simpler communication model and in its appeals to empirically based research. However, it can also be theoretical in its orientation and vision of the media. Essentially, the political economy approach has three fundamental components that are of

interest to this research. First, it assists in the examination of how the differing economic structures of the media, together with governmental policies and regulations help to influence media content. The second important dimension of political economy is that it assists in examining power structures and how media content enforces, challenges and influences existing class and social relationships. Finally, political economy helps to illustrate assumptions that public good is not served by a free market, that controls have been put in place. A key strength in much of the political economic work on media rests in its focus on both the larger scale media moguls and on a wide variety of smaller institutions, as well as factors such as time and money constraints, the need for profits, and even the structural components of various organizations. Taken together, political economy and its proponents variously and arguably believe in the 'Liberal theory of the Press', or that various media should be out protecting the public from political and social untruths. In other words, that the media should be objective, open to diverse viewpoints and without hidden agendas and ulterior motives. thereby helping to construct an informed society. However, we can quickly see that the media, especially the press, are far from free.

Mosco 1996), O'Brien (1998) and others adhering to a political economic framework for analyzing media realize and understand the above situation and are much more up-front and realistic about the economic and power factors involved in media production, dissemination and consumption. Similarly, they recognize that many of the dominant ideas contained within various media are much more representative of culture, rather than being there strictly to enforce the interests of the dominant classes. As such, there is a profound recognition that society is not composed of a group or groups who universally agree on common values of the larger society.

Mass media have undoubtedly become one of the main media used to distribute information, whether it be visual, textual, audio or purely ideological. Consequently, the media bears a heavy burden of responsibility for shaping audience opinions. The media represents a great source of power in society. Beyond its sheer presence in society, the media is composed of a vast, highly influential and pervasive ensemble of institutions and methods that are all at once political, economic and socio-cultural (symbolic and ideological). As briefly discussed above, one important aspect in both understanding and studying the media is a keen awareness of its status as a large profit oriented organization, the political and economic influences that they are subjected to, and what affect those elements have on media content and information.. It is crucial that we understand the political economic forces at play that motivate, transform and literally shape what we consume and how we communicate (Maxwell, 2001). Although often more implicit, our daily interactions in and with the mediated world is a highly influential part of our everyday lives. Similarly, almost every aspect of the way that the media is developed, disseminated is mindful of their centrality in our lives.

Arguably we should not be complacent, simply trusting that decision makers shaping various media and communication forms will look after our interests. Before I return to this discussion I want to discuss some of the more useful analytical and theoretical tools arising within political economy, many of which have been discussed by Vincent Mosco. In his influential book '*The Political Economy of Communication*' (1996) Vincent Mosco offers several key insights into the political, economic and social forces that shape the ways in which we communicate. A large part of his discussion is an attempt to understand the political economy of the changing and evolving communication and information sectors. Arguably,

Mosco prefers to study social processes rather than structures and institutions. From his text one sees that he has roughly three main points of discussion in terms of communication, political economy and related social processes: commodification, spatialization and structuration.

Mosco defines commodification as “the process of transforming use value into exchange value, of transforming products whose value is set by what they can bring in the marketplace” (1996: 143-144). Extending this a step further we may argue that, commodification is among the primary means by which social relations become economic relations. The manufacturers and advertisers also effectively commodify the content of various media by transforming messages, be they visual, textual or audio, into marketable products. Restated, goods and services produced are packaged and distributed to consumers in exchange for profits.

For profits to be made by manufacturers, marketers and distributors there is an extent to which labor, consumer and capital markets can be controlled. In other words, often the realization of profits depends upon being able to control labor by increasing work hours for the same pay, increasing the productivity of workers via monitoring and measuring systems, controlling the consumer by fostering brand loyalty and seeking market niches and monopolies. Finally, there must be ways to control the uses of advertising, and diversify product type and availabilities as well as controlling capital by allowing for replacement of labor with machines and the expansion of commodity forms (i.e. looking for new commodities and markets).

The commodification of media products is a central focus of contemporary political economic theory and research, particularly since media are central in shaping consciousness at

both the individual and collective levels. Advertising and television are two particularly good examples because they have both become major influences in the lives of people as they increasingly fill both leisure and non-leisure time with ad and television messages (Fowles, 1996). There is an entire branch of media and communication research that focus on how media messages are shaped to reflect the interests of capitalist enterprises (Maxwell, 2001; Stole, 2001). By this logic media are giving advertisers what their corporate customers desire, namely to induce people to buy their products. Therefore, in addition to the ideological role of the communication industry, and that of being a site of commodity production in its own right, it also supports the commodification process in society as a whole through the provision of advertising services (O'Brien, 1998).

Another key element of the political economy of the media and communication addresses the audience commodity and advertising. Some scholars maintain that, even though audiences think that the purpose of mass media is to provide them with entertainment and information, those in control of the media understand that their primary function is to sell the audience to advertisers (Smyth, 1981). Accordingly, all media forms, particularly advertising construct and disseminate content that has been carefully and purposefully selected to appeal to particular audiences, with their own consumption patterns, lifestyles and identities. As such, "The 'sale' of the various audiences to advertising companies constitutes the main revenue stream for . . . media corporations" (O'Brien, 1998: 4).

The mass media has been highly successful in promoting, as well as creating consumerism and the consumer ethic. In particular, advertising continues to provide us with entertainment, news and information. Stuart Ewan (1976) provides us with key insights into the nature of advertising, arguing that advertising is a key means of promoting and maintaining

a consumption-orientated social ideology. Looking further into the ideas of commodities and commodification we can see that personal information has rapidly become commodified. In many respects personal information is now used as a corporate means of getting information and feedback about consumer needs for, and satisfaction with particular goods and services. As such, related technologies for gathering such information are becoming increasingly sophisticated, utilizing advanced communication and information technologies. Major banks, insurance and credit card companies also compile personal information and sell it to other companies as information on consumer choices. "This becomes the basis for categorizing you into a data base of demographic profiles, which are then sold to companies whose products and services are purchased most by consumers with your profile" (O'Brien, 1998: 4). The value of personal information as a commodity is enhanced because such information provides the manufacturers, marketers and advertisers with essential information to assist them in pricing, product development, advertising and marketing.

Spatialization is another key aspect of the political economy of media and communication, as well as its related social processes. Vincent Mosco defines it as, "the process of overcoming the constraints of space and time in social life" (1996: 173). He does a particularly good job of referring this concept to discussions of the political economy of communication, particularly, ". . . in terms of the institutional extension of corporate power in the communication industry. This is manifested in the sheer growth in the size of media firms measured by assets, revenue, profit, employees, and share value. Political economy has specifically examined growth by taking up different forms of corporate concentration" (1996: 175). Corporate growth and concentration can occur in one or in a combination of ways. If a media company buys up large shares of another company that is not a direct competitor. In

some cases the company bought may or may not be in the same type of industry. Another situation occurs when a company is purchased for re-sale for profit and the use of its products and services. Finally, some companies are bought because they are suppliers of products and services required by the buying company, thus assisting in the reduction of some of the buying company's production and marketing overhead.

Essentially, the desire to maximize profits, reduce risks and expenses and to reduce direct competition often leads to company mergers or overt take-overs and acquisitions. The state also plays an influential role in the various changes that occur in the media industries. Mosco identifies four important processes that relate to 'spatialization' and 'commodification': commercialization, liberalization, privatization, and internalization. Support for commercialization has seen the state moving away from policies and regulations which serve public interests towards those that serve commercial interests, and example of this is deregulation. Government liberalization of restrictions on the sheer numbers of media service providers, such as allowing private competitors entry into markets previously controlled by state owned monopolies, is seen as beneficial by supporters of competition, but as giving up control by the State to business oligopolies (O'Brien, 1998; Mosco, 1996). Privatization of state owned media has also occurred with more open or liberal markets, and for many is indicative of many governments movement towards commercialization. Finally, internationalization, in varied forms, has enabled richer countries and their associated companies to have greater control over global communications and its policies. Governments currently play an active role in fostering the trends towards social dominance by commercial media ownership on the part of large corporations.

Globalization also currently plays a central role in discussions of the political economy of the media. Indeed, "The globalism by large-scale business interests has been matched and fueled by, the globalism of transnational media corporations" (O'Brien, 1998: 6). An important social effect of this move has been 'cultural imperialism' or the domination of the poorer nations by the richer ones in the areas of social and cultural policies. The development, proliferation and successful commercialization of various mass media, especially television and magazines, were once viewed as a positive sign of third world development. However, for many, especially third world governments, such developments coming from the first or developed worlds was received as nothing more than attempts at economic growth in the third world based on a 'westernized' model of capital-intensive industrialization and urbanization. Arguably, many view mass media as a central and influential means by which changes in society and economics spill over to other, potentially less developed nations. Indeed, the media, in its varied forms and manifestations, has the potential to alter the ways individuals, groups and even the people of entire countries think, particularly in terms of social, technological, and economic developments. In short, the media greatly influences the process of modernization in many countries, both in terms of the process and the outcomes. In many ways the media can be responsible for assisting in transporting and/or supporting western ideas and ideals to underdeveloped nations under the assertion that these ideals and ideas will somehow enhance their poor conditions and change their backward ways.

Obviously this sort of logic is shortsighted, not to mention highly ethnocentric. However, it is frequently based on the assertion that the developing world is somehow seriously underdeveloped as a result of inherent shortcomings. This logic is often rooted in the ethnocentric beliefs that our ways of thinking and western development patterns could be

easily transferred to the third world. Furthermore, that these modernization patterns could even meet the unique needs of the countries of interest. Therefore, “like the political and economic thinkers who created the notion of ‘development’ as a world ideal, these . . . researchers ignored the historical reality of the centuries-old, unjust and exploitative relationship between the wealthy and poorer countries, relations established by the old colonial powers primarily to benefit their economics at the expense of the diversification and expansion of the economics of the colonized nations” (O’Brien, 1998: 7).

While the media industries in Canada are rapidly expanding and carving out a niche in both Canada and abroad, we still have a large and influential US-based global media conglomerate, especially in film, music, television, and advertising (Maxwell, 2001). Arguably this is due to the Canadian preference for the presumed superior quality of US media products that come from a superior technological expertise and far superior technology itself. Similarly, this preference for American media products is believed by many to originate from a history of US media products dominating the global media markets. American media industries also have a successful economic position allowing them to dominate markets and to turn out huge profits with relatively small start-up costs. However, despite the sometimes large production costs associated with American media industries, these companies recognize that they have a vast and loyal global market for their various media products. So why has the US global media domination been accepted with relatively few imposed restrictions in ways that the Canadian markets have not experienced? Essentially, some cultural theorists suggest that the Canadian elite and those in power seemingly identify with their American counterparts, sharing many of their business ideologies and a similar consumptive lifestyle.

As such, “The money to pay for such status-conscious materialism often comes from acting as the local agents of the US multinational corporations” (O’Brien, 1998: 7).

The final component of Mosco’s framework for conceptualizing the political economy of the media, which he borrows from Anthony Giddens is ‘structuration’. He defines this concepts as the “process by which structures are constituted out of human agency, even as they provide the very ‘medium’ of that constitution” (1996: 213). What Mosco means here is that he feels that we must study both concrete social institutions and social processes. Put differently, he asserts that class, gender and race are all key categories to look at in terms of addressing and assessing the social and cultural impact of the media. This assertion is also one that guides the research in this dissertation, particularly since it assists in describing and analyzing the ‘social relations’ of communication practices. I will touch on the connections between structuration, political economy and the three areas of social differences identified above since I address these issues at length in other sections of this dissertation.

Social class is currently premised much less on rigid distinctions between rights, responsibilities and privileges and has expanded to include the notion of ‘self-identification’ in terms of things like wealth and income. Social class and the associate real or imagined characteristics become important when addressing the issue of media ownership and control. As such, it has been the case historically that the upper classes retained the vast majority of media ownership and control. Similarly, these same classes were the ones who tended to invest in stocks, shares in companies, investments and so forth. Arguably the media does not exist to serve public interests, but rather to serve the interests of those who own and control them. Therefore, we see certain discourses and ideologies being validated and disseminated over others and at the expense of many disadvantaged and minority groups. O’Brien addresses

this concern quite eloquently, arguing that, “a major part of the structure of our society is linked to ones identity, and two of the more salient attributes of self-identification are gender and race” (1998: 8). Various social institutions and structures, the media in this case, effectively assign different roles and opportunities on the basis of these ascribed characteristics. There is a long and comprehensive theoretical and empirical legacy in communication, cultural studies, media studies and sociology that focuses specifically on portrayals of gender (and more recently race, ethnicity, sexuality and social class) in various media genres, especially in television and advertising. My own work seeks to extend this area of research through a sustained and focused theoretical and empirical investigation of images of men and fatherhood in advertising. This is both an interesting and relatively untapped area of theory and research. Similarly, many studies on media, particularly on advertising and on questions of race, ethnicity, and gender have been addressed more as an aspect of class divisions, with only a few taking these elements directly and independently. I address these issues in this section because we have been discussing media ownership and the impact it has on which discourses and voices get heard and which are ignored or discarded. As such, race, ethnicity, social class and gender all play a large role in media ownership and control, as well as in the particular versions and visions of reality that get told. The next section of this chapter builds on the previous by moving beyond a purely political-economic discussion of the media to address its social, symbolic and ideological role in society. I will begin with a more general discussion of the media in this context and then focus on a particular discussion around the social role of advertising. Whether one is focusing on the economic or the political side of media and advertising, we cannot deny the socially significant role that advertising plays in our everyday lives.

### **3.6 The Social Role and Significance of Advertising: An Introduction**

. . . in industrial societies in this century, national consumer product advertising has become one of the greatest vehicles of social communication (William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally, 1997)

Advertising takes the stuff of everyday life and magically transfigures it into idealized fictions- fictions set in a world where personal satisfaction and positive human relationships are for sale (Margret Duffy, 1994)

. . . the media have become paramount in the construction of our cultural identities, indeed that we identify and construct ourselves as social beings through the mediation of images (Sut Jhally and Ian Angus, 1988)

The previous sections addressed the political economic aspect of the media. This section specifically addresses the more social role that advertising and its images and representations play in our everyday lives, particularly in the construction and negotiation of collective and individual identities. We know that advertising plays an economic and social role in society, with its economic effects on society being felt almost immediately and over time. Advertising also serves to drive competition in the marketplace by stimulating consumer spending and increasing the amount of money a company makes. Similarly, advertising helps to stabilize an otherwise dynamic marketplace. Advertising provides information to consumers on the availability of products and services, and consumers actively participate in the market in this respect through their consumer choices, spending habits and use of the information provided to them. However, advertising also helps to create and define wants where there is seemingly no need. Additionally, it also helps to stimulate buying and a

consumptive lifestyle. Part of the social or rather social-psychological nature of advertising is that it simultaneously creates product images and perceptions for the consumer, both in terms of self perception and perceptions of others.

Depending upon the advertising message and the types of products advertised, consumers hope to satisfy their needs for self-actualization and self esteem, their needs to belong, and other symbolic meanings gained through consumption and the imagined world of advertising. In short, the role of advertising in this respect is to connect meanings from products to the consumer in terms of making a projected link between purchase of a product and the imagined lifestyle associated with it. We are not fully determined by the images of advertising. Rather, “. . . advertising is a bell weather of cultural trend, a mirror of social values, and a powerful, usually malevolent force that shapes those values” (Duffy, 1994: 5). Images contained in advertising help to create and reflect us and our identities simultaneously. It is here that feminist and other critics attack advertising for its potential to assist in the creation and exploitation of desires and fears and for encouraging us to identify with products and lifestyles. Hence, to both identify with, and strive for the fictions or idealized constructions of reality promised in the images.

While we must not lose sight of the fact that advertising is still a business and an industry aimed at market niches and profits, they are also an inherent component of modern culture that not only communicates essential product information, but also dominant discourses about gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and various other aspects of identity. In short, advertising plays a key role in the creation and manipulation of social values and attitudes, and in the creation of social, sexual and cultural identities. These identities are for sale to anyone who has the expendable income required to purchase them. The problem here

is that advertising has become such a pervasive and routine part of our daily lives that we often taken for granted the deep social, cultural and political assumptions that are embedded in its texts and imagery. In essence, “when advertising shifted from merely announcing the availability of goods and merchandise to attempting to define wants and needs, it went from being part of a business enterprise to becoming a social institution” (Budgeon, 1994: 55). It has moved in to become a central and necessary part of consumer culture, one creating structures of meaning almost surpassing, or in many instances even replacing, the influence of various other social institutions in our daily lives. To this extent,

Today advertisements are involved in the transmission and acquisition of cultural values. Like religion or formal education, advertisements provide a framework for society by defining a set of roles and social identities. By serving as a source of authority, advertisements tell people not only who they are, but where they fit in. Furthermore, advertisements [help] circulate a set of social values, transmit a normative standard against which behavior can be judged, and portray goals and ideals (Budgeon, 1994: 55-56).

In many instances the advertising industry does not simply create the images, ideologies and symbolic materials contained in their campaigns out of nowhere. Rather, they often draw on the material of everyday life, the prevailing discourses, but they do so in a highly selective fashion. Leiss, Kline and Jhally reflect on this in their book, *Social Communication in Advertising*, discussing how, “That which is chosen for inclusion is reintegrated into the signifying systems of advertising, where this material then provides the basis for the creation of new meanings. The result is the production of meanings and categories not found anywhere else” (1986: 169). Various scholars have reflected on this suggesting that advertising does not merely reflect the social world, but reconstitutes it and reflects back their own particular version or vision of that world. They effectively encourage

the audience to envision themselves in the contexts, situations and locations advertised and to identify with the identities projected. Finally, advertisers and the associated industry make use of the available 'social resources', such as gender, race, ethnicity and sexuality, in order to construct and project identities for visual consumption and individual and collective identification.

Contemporary social identities are hybrid and highly complex and the mass media play a central role in their construction. This is especially the case as we are seeing a steady shift from political identities based solely on citizenship to social and economic ones based on participation in global consumer market. It validates consumer commodities and a consumer lifestyle by associating goods and services with personal and social meanings and with a sense of aspirations that are not being fulfilled in our everyday lives. Some would argue that consumer culture and its relationship to, and with media, particularly in the form of advertising, commodify identities and desires and sell back to us as idealizations of lives that we should have, need to have, and indeed can have for the right price. Basically, we have come to think that consuming commodities will give us our identities.

The previous section on political economy demonstrated that we cannot fully and adequately understand the multifaceted media industry if we divorce it from the political-economic context in which it operates. Subsequently, we need to be attentive to the internal operations of the mass media organizations, their structures, which exercises the power within them, and the economics behind them. While these relations are important, the focus here is explicitly on the social, ideological and symbolic role of the modern media and the messages delivered to audiences. Media audiences are not merely passive sponges soaking up the messages and images from various mediated forms. This view would be highly inadequate

and naive because it postulates a one-to-one relationship whereby we are overly determined by the media in terms of our roles, relationships and identities. Instead, it is far more accurate to conceptualize media audiences in terms of their abilities to actively engage with, interpret and even reorganize media images and messages. As such, media audiences rely on various external resources in order to help them interpret media images and messages, for example, previous information, knowledge, experience, education and even other mediated sources. Having said all of this, an audience's interpretative skills and experiences with a specific mediated form is often shaped by one's social and class positioning, and within the context of various societal institutions and structures. In constructing one's individual interpretation of the media we draw upon collective resources and experiences that are shaped by our role or place in the social world. Media messages may be rather impersonal and subject to multiple, even contradictory audience interpretations. While this may be true it is also the case that audience interpretations do not occur in individualized isolation. While active audience interpretations are important, engagements with various mediated forms cannot help but influence aspects of our lives since we are not totally immune from their images and messages. In short, there is an inherent tension between the power of the media and its messages/images and the autonomy of the audience. I am not trying to downplay the role of human agency in engagements with various media forms. What I am arguing is that these images and messages have a very definite and real influence on how we come to define, view and come to experience ourselves and others as social beings. Similarly, we use (and are also influenced by) media messages and images in the construction and negotiation of an individual and collective sense of ourselves and others.

The modern media landscape is quite diverse and complex, particularly in terms of its role in the governmental, economic and political structures and institutions within society. However, because the explicit focus of this dissertation is on the social, ideological, symbolic and ritualistic character of the media, I limit much of the discussions to our engagements with the media on these levels. The following section begins the task of addressing our engagements with the media, especially advertising, on the above levels.

### **3.7 Modern Advertising and its Social and Cultural and Symbolic Impact on Audiences**

Advertising has become such an omnipresent force in modern Western culture that many view it as a 'natural' and 'normal' aspect of daily life. As such, the vast majority of media audiences generally do not stop to critically analyze the impact of various mediated forms on the social world and our place in it. At the time of the Industrial Revolution at the end of the nineteenth century, "advertising is also a form of communication diffused through various mass media" (Martin & Knight, 1997: 199). In its economic role advertising is the driving force behind production, distribution and consumption of various products and services. It successfully brings buyers and sellers together in economic markets that supply products and services to audiences and consumers. Advertising also distributes economic resources for societies. "Advertising contributes to those processes by giving consumers information" (Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998: 463).

Advertising assists in the provision of consumer information in terms of what sorts of products and services are available and where we may find them. However, the social and ideological contribution of advertising and other media forms have an important influence on the audiences as well. I do not believe that advertising overtly manipulates the attitudes,

values and behaviors of their audiences. I do feel quite strongly that many advertising forms do guide spending behaviors of their audiences. Overall, the social influences of advertising are significantly more indirect. Critics of advertising are increasingly questioning the short and long term effects of advertising on children and young adults, particularly in terms of shaping expectations for 'normative' behaviors.

Advertising and their associated images have the power to influence and guide roles, relationships and behaviors, and in doing so they also help to impact our sense of self esteem and self identity. However, if we critically analyze ads with a broader perspective on human behavior we can see that ads are flourishing because they are objective on some level. While we must resist an oversimplified perspective on the engagements between ads and audiences, "... we also must not underestimate or neglect advertising's influence upon us as individuals and its influence upon our society and culture" (Berger, 2000: 21). Whether directly or not, advertising has permeated modern culture in profound ways that help guide and shape the social landscape as well as individual and collective processes of identity construction and negotiation. Academic discourse about the real and imagined social impact of advertising have only intensified in recent years, particularly since the media has increasingly become a central element of modern consumer culture. Increasingly, consumer culture is being defined by intense competition to acquire goods and services (and the acquisition of certain lifestyle markers) as markers of individual and social success and status. Contemporary makers or symbols of status, success and worth are increasingly defined by 'what one has' and not by 'what one is'. In other words, "... advertising teaches us about the world of consumer goods- what is fashionable and 'not' or perhaps (for some people), 'cool'" (Berger, 2000: 24). At various points throughout this dissertation I have discussed that alongside of the expansion in

consumer culture has been an increase in leisure time that is increasingly being filled with engagements with some form of media, especially advertising. Consumer culture is a somewhat problematic term in that it focuses on personal lifestyles and the constant acquisition of material goods, often at the expense of the collective and social good. Increasingly, personal consumption is rooted in personal desires and the satisfaction of the individual in contrast to societal well-being.

Contemporary consumer culture is also highly problematic because it increasingly places pressure on its participants to hinge their sense of self (and to define the status and worth of others) on external, material markers of success instead of in terms of internal characteristics and character successes. Hence, modern consumer culture is saturated with ads (and other mediated forms) that have the underlying message that through the purchase of material goods we will 'magically' become better, more successful people. In North America and elsewhere consumer culture reinforces the notion that what one can afford to acquire becomes external markers of success, how people view others, and ultimately how others come to view and define us. The ethos of modern consumer culture is focused on the self as in the constant state of 'becoming' and as always in need of new and better material goods to be truly happy. While we are currently living in an advertising saturated society obsessed with material acquisition, needs are finite but desires become infinite. Contemporary advertising both directly and indirectly shapes needs and desires and constantly tells us that 'we need more to be more'.

In addition to its central role in consumer culture, advertising is highly influential in helping to shape and construct individual and collective identities through its images of the 'ideal' lifestyle, physical appearance and relationships. In subsequent chapters I explore the

role of advertising and the media themselves in helping to guide and shape notions of acceptable physical appearance, sexuality and sexual behaviors, and in terms of one's overall roles and relationships. For now it is sufficient to simply introduce the role of advertising as a symbolic, ideological and ritualistic force in modern societies, providing discourses about consumption and identities. The modern media industries, especially advertising, are tied up in the culture wars and in the construction and dissemination of images and texts that directly and indirectly teach us lessons about who we are, who we can be or should be, as well as the things we need to be happy and successful. Currently advertising images and texts are under attack as never before for their real and imagined power to promote ideas and ideals that are incorrect, unfounded and in many cases unattainable, such as bodily and appearance ideals for women and men.

In previous sections I looked at the political and economic side of the media and advertising industries as well as how these forms help construct and disseminate discourse(s) about the social world. The next chapter moves beyond a generalized discussion of the mass media towards an in depth look at developments in visual culture and the practices and politics of 'looking'. Similarly, this chapter addresses how the representational practices of various media forms help construct and disseminate discourse(s) on individual and collective identities, as well as on the social world generally. This chapter demonstrates the extent to which modern visual culture and visual representation helps us make meanings and communicate in the everyday world.

## 4.0 Chapter Four: Practices of Looking, Visual Culture and Visual Representation

The new found fascination with modes of seeing and enigmas of visual experiences evident in a wide variety of fields may well betoken a paradigm shift in the cultural imagery of our age (Martin Jay, 1996)

Images have been a source of knowledge and persuasion as well as pleasure every bit as powerful as the written word. And yet, the image as it manifests itself in painting, cinema, journalism, television and photography, remains a fascinatingly enigmatic device (Jacques Aumont, 1997)

Seeing is more than believing these days (Nick Mirozoff, 1998)

Increasingly the contemporary Western world relies on visual images and texts, not only to communicate meanings, but also make meanings. In fact, the last two centuries or so have witnessed visual media forms that almost surpass oral and textual ones in their prevalence and popularity. Even our contemporary print media such as newspapers and magazines, rely quite heavily on a combination of text and visual representation. But why place so much emphasis on visual images in communication? Part of the answer to this question can be found in the aesthetic and optic appeal of visual images. However, visual images are also important because they are not mere pictures or illustration, but also because they have important contexts and meanings. Similarly, visual images are often embedded with socio-cultural, political and ideological significance (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Many people are fascinated with the visual world while simultaneously fearing its potential power and the influence of images on various aspects of our lives. At the beginning of the twenty-first century it was actually felt by many that the above fears were being realized, particularly with subsequent technological developments and their seemingly endless visual possibilities.

With all of this came concerns about how to negotiate and make sense of the vast array of images that we confront daily. In other words, many who are concerned with how the endless array of visual possibilities impacts our personal and interpersonal lives and the ways in which we communicate.

The concepts of the visual and visual culture are highly complex in that they encompass many mediated forms, from the fine arts, to popular films, to advertising and visual technologies for science and medicine. Walker and Chaplin believe that visual culture consists of, “. . . those material artifacts, buildings and images, plus time-based media and performances, produced by human labor and imagination, which serve aesthetic, symbolic and ritualistic , or ideological-political ends and/or practical functions and which address the sense of sight to a significant extent” (1997: 2). Through combining all of the above elements we are provided with a more holistic and comprehensive framework for researching and understanding visual culture and visibility. Similarly, through being attentive to the various aspects of visual culture discussed above we are better able to draw informed and intelligible connections between visual images, representations and the various areas of our lives that are informed and influenced by visual images (Hall, 1997).

The contemporary Western world has a conflicted and contradictory relationship with visual images and visual culture. As such, we often rank different areas of visual culture according to systems of importance that we attach to them often quite arbitrarily. Indeed, for several years most of our academic institutions and the forms of instruction therein have focused on the fine arts, while popular media forms, such as, certain television programming, film and advertising, were not considered significantly worthy of serious theoretical, empirical and practical investigation (Fowles, 1996). Since the 1950s', scholars from various disciplines

have produced substantial theoretical and critical research on print and broadcast media, and more recently on the dual print and visual media (for example, the internet and World Wide Web). Throughout the 1970s' popular media discourses, such as those about print and visual media, have helped us begin to consider how all forms of media and communication contribute to socio-cultural, political and ideological shifts of our modern age. Consequently, successive generations of theory and research on popular media forms have assisted greatly in solidifying the value and legitimacy of studying such forms of visual media.

The emergence and popularization of cultural studies throughout the 1970s to present time have provided us with interdisciplinary ways of conceptualizing and studying popular and visual cultural forms as well as their influence on us and the social world (Mirozeff, 1998; Walker and Chaplin, 1997). One of the main aims of cultural studies is to provide viewers, citizens and consumers with theoretical and analytical tools to better understand visual media and how they impact methods for measuring or gauging the social world and our place in it.

One cannot discuss visual culture without at least addressing the concept 'culture' itself. While there are currently volumes of inter- and multi-disciplinary work on the concept culture, Raymond Williams is one of the leading experts on culture and cultural theory. According to Williams culture is an elaborate and loaded concept with a flexible and historically contextual meaning. Conventionally speaking, culture has been aptly used to refer to the fine arts, classics, paintings, literature, music and philosophy, many of which are included under the label of 'high culture'. The concept of high culture has been used many times in popular definitions of culture, whereby culture becomes separated into high culture and 'low culture' (television, film, advertising, magazines) and other forms of popular culture or mass media. This sort of conceptual framework for studying culture was popular for

decades, particularly since it sought to elevate culture to a position of prominence or legitimacy (Lull, 2000).

Early on both sociologists and anthropologists did much to construct a definition of culture, especially one that was applicable to a critical analysis of both visual culture and the mass media. For many sociologists and anthropologists culture, “refers to a ‘whole way of life’, meaning a broad range of activities within a society. Popular music, print media, art, and literature contribute to the daily lives of ordinary people, so do sports, cooking, driving, relationships and kinships” (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 3). While this definition is useful I would argue that culture is also a meaning producing concept. Indeed, this dissertation defines culture as, “. . . the shared practices of a group, community or society, through which meaning is made out of the visual, aural and textual world of representation” (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 3). In this way I wish to move beyond the pure materialism of culture (while not ignoring it) towards the practices through which individuals and groups come to engage with, and make sense of the material aspects of culture. Therefore, culture in this sense denotes the production and exchange of meanings between members of a group or society. This process of making meaning is not fixed since any interpretation of an aspect of culture is open to another, even contradictory interpretation from different groups and individuals with competing ideologies or political commitment. This approach to culture is applicable to advertising in that while we share broad cultural understandings of ad visual and textual messages, different interpretations may be made based on diverse experiences, theoretical and social positions and so forth. Additionally, interpretation of ad messages is not a solitary process because it occurs through complex process of negotiation and renegotiation among

and between individuals and groups within a particular culture. The interpretative process also occurs in an interface with various cultural artifacts, images and texts.

While visual, textual and linguistic cultures and modes of communication or meaning making are all interconnected, my explicit focus here is on the visual images and messages contained in advertising. Since the 1990s' there has been a virtual discursive explosion in analysis of visual culture and visual representation across various disciplines and sub-disciplines (Mirzoeff, 1998; Walker and Chaplin, 1997). As both discipline and an epistemological approach, various aspects of visual culture have come under intense scrutiny, particularly in terms of the impact of technological advancements and the global movement of images. Hence, not only is our modern culture filled with a greater array of visual images and possibilities, there is also a greater manipulative potential and global movement of the visual world with successive decades of technological advancements. The economic context of post-industrial capitalism has enabled a blurring of many previously understood boundaries between cultural and social realms (such as, art, news and commodity cultures). The mix of styles in post-modernism has aided in producing a context of image circulation and cross-referencing that promotes this kind of interdisciplinary approach (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Therefore, as never before the visual world is a vast space in which the world is not always as it appears and seeing is not always believing.

The following section begins the long journey beyond discussions of visual culture as a discipline towards an examination of the politics of looking and how we actively engage with, and make sense of various visual images. The goals of this section are to investigate visibility, representation, meaning construction and negotiation as well as the intersection of all of these elements on our individual and collective sense of self.

## 4.1 Images, Power and Politics: Visuality and the Politics of Looking

Images are made to be seen . . . (Jaques Aumont, 1997)

Daily we are actively and intimately engaged in optical process and interpreting the world around us. There is a distinction to be drawn between 'seeing' (in the optic sense) and 'looking', in the sense of making meaning of the things we see and the world around us. Similarly, seeing is a rather everyday practice, while the process of looking and meaning-making is often something purposeful and social. Reflecting on the process of 'looking', Sturken and Cartwright maintain that, "through looking we negotiate social relationships and meanings. Looking is a practice much like speaking, writing or signing. Looking involves learning to interpret and like other practices, looking involve relationships of power" (2001: 10). Power in this context operates in terms of persuasion and interpretation. In other words, there are both conscious and unconscious levels of looking and interpretation. We engage in practices of looking to communicate, to influence and to be influenced. We live in a culture that is increasingly permeated and affected by visual images with a variety of purposes and effects (Hall and Evans, 2000).

Images may produce a wide array of physical, emotional and psychological responses. In turn, we also invest heavily in images which imbue these responses with the power to influence and persuade us. While images are created to serve a variety of purposes and appear in a plethora of locations, forms and contexts, we retain our relationship and fascination with them. Finally, many of the images that we encounter span the realms of advertising and popular cultural forms, news, and information exchange, criminal justice, art, commerce and the landscapes and structures of the world around us (Brennan and Jay, 1996). These images

are often experienced and interpreted through a vast array of mediated and technological forms, particularly in the context of modern consumer culture and the computer and information technology age. Having briefly engaged with visual culture and the politics of looking, I turn now to a discussion of representation and its role in visual and consumer's culture.

## **4.2 Representation and Visual Culture**

How individuals see themselves and how they are viewed and treated by others is shored up by representation. Representation determines how a group is presented in cultural forms, and whether an individual is identified as a member of that group (Marji Kibby, 1997)

Representations are presentations. Representation always and necessarily entails the use of codes and conventions of presentation within a specific discourse, limiting the possibilities of depiction (Marji Kibby, 1997)

The concept of representation has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture (Stuart Hall, 1997)

Representation is a focal point in contemporary discussions of visuality and visual culture and the politics of looking. The aim of this section is to introduce issues of representation as well as to discuss representational practices and the associated processes of meaning making. These representational practices are critical because, "representation connects meaning and language to culture" (Hall, 1997: 15). What this means is that we use words and images, sometimes separately, sometimes together, to help us define, describe and understand the world around us and our place in it. "This process takes place through systems of representation, such as language and visual media that have rules and conventions about

how they are organized” (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 12). Just as language has rules about how to interpret meaning and conversation construction, so too do the representational practices and systems of various mediated and visual forms, such as, advertising and television.

In previous sections I discussed the debates and controversies surrounding visuality and visual culture. The process of representation and representational practices are also wrought with debates about whether systems of representation reflect reality and the world as it is or do they reflect a constructed, manipulated and therefore false reality?” (Lacey, 1998). There are various theoretical positions on this question, with the social constructionist framework being among the more popular explanation. For many social constructionists we only make meaning of the material world through specific cultural contexts, occurring through language systems, whether verbal, written or visual. Sturken and Cartwright summarize this best when they state that, “. . . the material world only has meaning, and can only be ‘seen’ by us through these systems of representation. This means that the world is not simply reflected back to us through systems of representation, but we actually construct meaning of the material world through these systems” (2001: 13).

Increasingly images are being used to represent, make meaning and convey various levels or types of information about us as social beings and our place in the world. Similarly, images are often used and misused to represent imaginary worlds and abstract concepts. Throughout history, images mainly in the form of paintings have been used by religions to convey religious myths, church doctrines and historical dramas (Brennan and Jay, 1996; Mirzoeff, 1998; Lacey, 1997). Similarly, many images are produced and deployed with the intent to depict a seemingly accurate picture the ‘real’ world or to express more abstract

aspects of our world ( for example, emotions, feelings, ideas, and beliefs). However, the various representational modes or processes do not necessarily reflect a pre-existing reality or world with an inherent meaning that is simply waiting to be discovered. Indeed, these modes and sites of representation help to organize construct and mediate our individual and collective understandings of the social world and of 'reality'. Finally, representation is a process that once we learn the rules and conventions of a given culture, we interpret and connect meanings to various social structures, institutions and lifestyles.

Images are social and cultural and we attribute different sets of meanings and interpretations to each image or compilation of images according to our culture and the specific historical period in which they are constructed and viewed, for example, those contained in painting, television, advertising, and so forth. The creation of images is also a social process and can be subjective in terms of what to capture, the form, and context of images, particularly in the case of cameras and the photographic image. The camera is a form of technology that is operated by the person who takes the pictures and decides the context, subject and angle (Brennen and Jay, 1996; Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Photography was developed in Europe in the early nineteenth century when positivist science was extremely popular. Positivism was premised on the assertion that empirical 'truths' could be established and verified through visual evidence. Similarly, this approach operates on the assertion that empirical findings were reproducible with the same outcome (Jackson, 1995). This objectivity and reproducibility has subsequently been called into question based on the belief that all findings (and methodologies) are subjective. Since about the 1800s' the objective and 'value-free' character of visual images has been subject to intensive debates and criticisms. These debates have intensified with the advent and proliferation of digital and computer

technologies. There are those who truly believe that photographic images reflect the 'real' world and speak to an immutable 'truth'. By contrast, there is a whole segment of the population which calls the ability of photos (and other visuals) to reflect and speak to any truth and reality into serious question. It remains a fact that images and photographs can be manipulated and that their objectivity and supposed realism rest mainly in a shared belief that they capture 'truth' or speak to events that occur in the 'real' world. Indeed, "our awareness of the subjective nature of imagery is in constant tension with the legacy of objectivity that clings to the cameras and machines that produce images today" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 17).

The belief that photographic images somehow reflect a deep, pre-given reality imbues images with a magical, mythic quality. Images also have two levels of meaning: denotative and connotative meanings (Barthes, 1972). The denotative meaning of an image is believed to speak to its literal, descriptive meaning and provides concrete evidence of objective circumstances. By contrast, the connotative level of meaning relies on the cultural, contextual, historical and situational meanings, as well as on the viewer's or audience's lived, felt knowledge of images (i.e., how they resonate). These two levels of meaning are important since one evokes the image in terms of its capacity to speak to the abstract, complex feelings and beliefs.

Roland Barthes coined the term 'myth' to refer to the cultural values and beliefs that are expressed through connotation. For him myth represents the hidden sets of rules and conventions through which meanings are made to appear universal (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Evoking the notion of a myth in relation to images enables images to appear literal, natural and 'truthful'. The following section begins to introduce issues around images and the production and dissemination of social and cultural meanings through them.

### **4.3 The Production and Dissemination of Ideologies through Visual Images and Representations.**

Images and visual representations are intimately bound up with the production and negotiation of meanings within the dynamics of socio-cultural power and ideologies. Ideology is a complex concept since it has different implications depending on the specific context in which it is applied. For instance, when Marxists discuss ideologies they are typically referring to belief systems that help to justify the actions of those in power by distorting or misrepresenting reality (Stevenson, 1995). Extending discussions of ideology to the media we are also interested in the underlying messages about society and the social groups therein. Inglis suggests that, "ideologizing, like any other process of thought, is imaginative business. We devise symbolic fictions in our heads and try to match them to the world" (1990: 80). Extending this definition, Sturken and Cartwright maintain that ideologies are also systems of beliefs that exist in all cultures (2001). However, it is my contention that a comprehensive definition of ideology is one that combines elements of both of the above definitions as Croteau and Hoynes also argue. According to them,

an ideology is basically a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes value judgments about the world. Ideology is related to concepts such as 'world view', 'belief systems' and 'values', but it is broader than those terms. It refers not only to the beliefs held about the world, but also the ways in which the world is defined (2000: 158-159).

Images are crucial means through which ideologies are produced and onto which these ideologies are projected. Many media scholars conceptualize ideologies in terms of 'propaganda' - or as false representations used to lure people to adopt similar beliefs or values as those of the media controllers (Rutherford, 2000). However, ideologies are not quite as

aggressive as propaganda would suggest. Indeed, whether we are aware of it or not, we actively engage in the process of constructing, reinforcing and disseminating various ideologies. Therefore, while ideologies vary, they do exist at all levels of every culture and constitute broadly shared sets of values, beliefs and attitudes (i.e., world views or notions about how the world should be organized and operate). Although quite diverse and ubiquitous at times, ideologies inform every aspect of our lives so that they often appear as a 'normative', 'natural' and obvious part of our social world (Croteau and Hoynes, 2000).

Mass media images and texts, as well as various other genres of communication and popular culture, are potent sources of ideologies about our social world and the positions of various individuals and groups therein. Whether we are fully aware of their impact or not, various images and texts contained in the mass media and communications are imbued with specific meanings for the producers as well as for audiences in terms of our roles and responsibilities. Often the intended meanings of a particular images or text is different than the one(s) which they audiences actually take away from their engagements with the image or text. Essentially, images and texts are forms through which we are persuaded or persuade others to share certain world views. Similarly, media images and texts are potent sources through which social and cultural narratives about identity are constructed and made intelligible.

Visual culture and the practices of looking are intimately bound up with ideologies that are often in a state of tension or overt contradiction. Visual images are a potent part of contemporary advertising and consumer culture through which assumptions about appearance and the body, sex and sexuality, and various other aspects of identity and social values are constructed, interpreted and responded to. In short, "ideologies permeate the world of

entertainment, and images are also used for regulation, categorization, identification, and evidence” (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 22)

The impact of visual images and representations on the viewer or audiences depends on the larger social and cultural contexts in which they are viewed as well as the capacity they have to evoke shared meanings. In other words, the meanings of images and texts are not inherent or simply existing as a natural property of the image or text. Rather, they are viewed or consumed whereby they are interpreted and meanings are negotiated based on shared cultural values, attitudes, beliefs and political agendas. This is not to say that images may not be subject to multiple, even competing interpretations and meanings or that meaning cannot shift with successive viewing and over time, space and place. For the majority of us viewing and interpreting images and meaning making is not a self reflexive process. Indeed, many of us often give little thought to our engagements with images and texts aside from their esthetic and entertainment value and appeal. Rarely do we consciously evoke the ideological messages and assumptions underneath the surface of the various mediated forms and draw conclusions about ourselves and others.

Images are produced according to social, cultural and aesthetic conventions that we use consciously and unconsciously to help make sense of the images we are seeing. However, the conventions of interpretation are far from fixed because we are always interpreting images according to intended or suggested meanings (Lacey, 1997). Elements of interpretation may be aesthetic (for example, color, shades, depth, tones, etc..) that resonate in terms of social, cultural or political elements that indicate social positioning and meanings. The interpretive process has its roots in ‘semiotics’, which is a process of understanding meanings and signification. Semiotics is traceable to the work of American philosopher Charles Peirce in the

nineteenth century and the Swiss Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure in the early twentieth century (Hall, 1997). Both men produced fascinating work, but the latter really popularized the methods for analyzing visual culture, especially through his theory of 'structuralism'. For Saussure language relies on conventions and codes for its meaning. However, for him the relationship between the words and things in our world is arbitrary and subject to location, context and differing linguistic rules and conventions. Several of Saussure's key ideas have been adopted and adapted by those seeking to understand images and visual systems of representation. In Roland Barthes work he elaborates on the denotative and connotative levels of meaning in visual culture to include the 'sign' (composed of the signifier- a sound, written word or an images, and the 'signified- the concept evoked by the image or text) (Hall, 1997). Employing this particular notion we are able to see that images may convey many different, even contradictory meanings.

We often uncover or read social, cultural or historical meanings through an image without our conscious awareness of the processes involved. Additionally this is the process by which we often derive the most pleasure as we look at, and engage with visual images and the visual world generally. In fact, some of the information that we bring to the reading of, and engagement with images has a great deal to do with what we perceive their value to be in the broader social and cultural context. In essence, images are not inherently or naturally imbued with meanings and significance or value. Rather, images are given value (whether monetary, political, social, cultural or ideological/symbolic) according to the particular context and historical period in which they are viewed and interpreted. According to Walker and Chaplin (1997), images are also afforded value and significance in our culture based on their abilities to provide information and to render abstract or distant events intelligible and accessible to the

specific audience. However, as technological advancements have made media images infinitely reproducible and distributable they have lost some of their traditional value. It must be pointed out that when it comes to images and our value systems and criteria for accessing meaning and value, there is considerable cross-cultural and intra-cultural variation.

#### **4.4 Images, Audiences and Meanings: Viewers vs. Producers and the Construction and Negotiation of Meaning**

It is clear that images generate and help to construct meaning. However, until relatively recently scholars and critics have failed to accurately and adequately consider the role of the audiences in meaning making. Concerns surfaced about the potentially manipulative nature of media images and texts brought many researchers to analyze and theorize, and thereby interrogate media images and messages (see Gill, 2006 and Jhally, 2006). Generally, much of this scholarship focused on the ways in which media images 'cause' certain behaviors and help to create or reinforce certain values and behaviors. Thus, "audiences from this perspective were the recipients of a form of external stimulus - a movie, a song, or television program- that elicited an observable response" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2000: 261). However, with these theoretical and analytical insights came the recognition that meanings and understandings of visual images are not inherent in an image simply waiting to be discovered or uncovered. Instead, the viewer or audience actively participates in the construction and negotiation of meanings through a complex social relationship that involves at least two interrelated elements: how viewers/audiences interpret and experience the image or text, and the context in which the image is viewed. "Although images [and texts] have what we call dominant or shared meaning, they can also be interpreted and used in ways that do not conform to these meanings" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 45). Restated, images and texts

are not interpreted or experienced universally or uniformly, but may speak to certain sets of viewers differently, at different times, and in different contexts. However, just as viewers create meanings from images and texts, they too may help to define, construct and create a narrative about an audience.

In many instances media producers may produce and disseminate images and texts with an intended or intentional meaning. Advertisers, for example, often construct what they call 'audience research' to try to target a particular audience and ensure that their intentional meaning is conveyed and interpreted by the audience. Sturken and Cartwright (2001) maintain that, image producers create advertisements, and various other mediated forms with the intent that they will be read in a certain way. While this may be true we cannot approach images and texts in this way since we have no definitive way of knowing the producers intended meaning. An uncovering producer intention really offers very little insight into the image or text, especially since intentions may not match up with the audience's readings or interpretations. In other words, audiences often see an image or read a text differently than it was intended, either because they bring different experiences and associations to the text or image, or the meanings they derive from it are informed by the context and location in which the image or text is seen. The vast majority of contemporary images and texts, especially those in advertising, are viewed and interpreted in a wide variety of contexts and situations, each of which may influence their meanings (Rogoff, 1998; Hall, 1997; Walker and Chaplin, 1997; Lacey, 1998). Similarly, viewers or audiences bring with them particular sets of 'cultural associations' that influence their relationship to, and interpretation of a given text or image.

I am not suggesting that audiences or viewers wrongly interpret images or texts, or that they fail to be persuaded by them. Rather, meanings are created in different locations, contexts, and by different viewers. Advertisers spend a great deal of time and resources conducting market research and studying the impact of their ads on the target audiences. However, there is an understanding on the part of advertisers that they cannot maintain complete control over the meanings their images and texts will evoke, or the particular meanings and interpretations that a specific audience will make.

An image creates or generates meanings as soon as it is received and interpreted by the audience. Meanings are not inherent, but are produced and negotiated through social interactions among images, viewers and the location, context and time period. Additionally, there is no universal meaning of a given text or image. Rather, there are dominant meanings- or those meanings that tend to pre-dominant within a given culture. All images and many texts are subject to scrutiny and judgments about their qualities and their influences on the audiences.

Images are also read ideologically and symbolically according to tastes, values, and mores of a given culture. Tastes are really connected to what a specific culture finds aesthetically pleasing and which resonates with their values, attitudes and values. While these tastes may shift over time and context, at any given moment they are naturalized so that they embody the particular ideologies and customs of that time and context. This process of normalization and naturalization of particular attitudes, values and beliefs really encapsulates the notion of ideology. "Since ideology defines ideas about how life should be and because our lives are steeped in ideologies, which are often in tension with each other, it is easy not to recognize them as such" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 51). It is particularly difficult to

identify ideologies because they become so deeply embedded in the structures, institutions, practices, routines and relationships of our social world.

The origins of much of the contemporary work on ideology originated in Marxist theory, particularly the work of Antonio Gramsci. Marxism is a theoretical framework and point of analysis that investigates the role of both economics and the progress of history in terms of the operation of capital industrialization. Capitalism in the western industrial world looks at those who own the means of production. Ideology in this context means those who own the means of production are also in control of the ideas and viewpoints produced and disseminated within society, especially in the media. Thus, in Marxist terms it is the dominant social classes that both own and control much of the media and communications industries as well as the content produced therein.

There have been at least two sustained critiques waged against traditional Marxist conceptualizations of ideology which have had a significant impact on subsequent theories of media, culture and society. These critiques have also greatly shaped theoretical and practical approaches to visuality and practices of looking. First, the work of Louis Althusser in the 1960s' demonstrated that ideology cannot simply be reduced to a distorted version of capitalism. Indeed, Althusser believed that ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence (Maxwell, 2001; Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). He overtly rejected a conceptualization of ideology as 'false consciousness'. Instead, Althusser believed that ideology is an extremely necessary 'representational means' through which we come to experience and make sense of 'reality'.

The above reconceptualization of ideology continues to have a dramatic impact on visual culture and visual cultural studies because it extenuates the centrality of representation,

images and meanings to all levels and aspects of social life. Althusser viewed ideology as a set or sets of ideas or beliefs shaped through the unconscious, in relationship to other social forces, for example, the economy. Because we live in society, Althusser believed that we also live in ideologies and are therefore constructed by them daily in images and language.

Althusser's conceptualization of ideologies continues to be an influential idea in analysis of advertising imagery and their social and ideological role in society. However, his theoretical approach is somewhat disempowering in that it presupposes that we are already constructed as subjects. While there are likely useful elements in his approach, it also leaves little room for human agency during our engagements with media images and texts.

Additionally, the notion of a mass ideology, to the exclusion of plural ideologies renders it difficult to recognize how people in economically and socially disadvantaged positions really do challenge or resist dominant ideologies (Lull, 2000).

Prior to Althusser's the work of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci had already written theoretical and critical work on ideology, introducing the concept of 'hegemony' to replace the notion of dominant ideologies. Through his introduction of hegemony into discussions of ideology, Gramsci was arguably among the first to open up the possibilities for resistance in terms of media-audience interactions. Essentially, there are two key aspects of Gramsci's approach to hegemony: first, those dominant ideologies are often presented as commonsense, and that dominant ideologies are in tension with other forces that are constantly in flux.

Secondly, central to Gramsci's notion of hegemony was the belief that power is not wielded by one class over another. Instead, power is constantly negotiated among all classes of people who struggle with and against one another in the economic, political, social, and ideological arenas in which they live (Croteau and Hoynes, 2000; Lull, 2000; Sturken and Cartwright,

2001). According to Gramsci, hegemony is not simply domination won by a ruling class through universal power and brute force. Instead, hegemony is constructed through a 'push' and 'pull' among all levels of society, particularly over meanings. Lull's position on hegemony is that it is really a state or condition of culture arrived at through a struggle and negotiation over meanings and social relationships and that power is ultimately a relationship within which classes struggle.

One critical aspect of hegemony is that the relationships discussed above are constantly shifting and changing, and dominant ideologies are constantly challenged. A significant challenge to dominant ideologies can be found in the daily existence of individuals and groups that work against or challenge these ideologies and in doing so provide the space for the production and dissemination of counter ideologies, for example, the increasing visibility of same-sex coupling and marriages and struggles for equal rights and recognition. Gramsci's conceptualization of ideologies and hegemony are particularly useful in their acknowledgment of the important role of people in challenging the status quo and bringing about social change. Finally, his concept of hegemony is useful in terms of visual culture for those critics who want to emphasize the role of 'image consumers' in influencing the meanings and uses of popular cultural forms in ways that do not benefit the interests of producers and media industries.

At this point an important question is how useful Gramsci's concepts of hegemonic ideology and counter- hegemonic ideology are in understanding how people create and make meanings of images? Generally, people use 'systems of representation' to experience, interpret and make sense of the conditions of their lives, particularly as audiences/viewers. Similarly, we often construct ideological selves through a network of representations- many of them visual- including television, film, photography, art, fashion, and popular magazines.

Sturken and Cartwright maintain that, “media images and popular culture interpellate us as viewers, defining within their mode of address, styles of presentation, and subject matter, the ideological subjects to whom they speak, yet we also negotiate that process ourselves” (2001: 56). When addressing ideologies it is also important to consider how they function to allow for the interactions and conflicts between different world views. Indeed, if one affords dominant ideologies complete power we preclude the possibility for human agency. Yet, if we over-emphasize the endless interpretive possibilities of images and texts we render definite meanings and interpretations impossible. In other words, it makes it appear as if audiences have the power to interpret images any way they desire and that these meanings are naturally imbued with social meanings and significance. This view grossly overstates the power of both the audience and the image since meanings are created and negotiated in complex relationships between producers, images, audiences and the particular context in which they are viewed.

Dominant meanings of a given text or image may be the particular meaning or interpretation intended by the producers. However, more often it can be the meanings that most viewers within a given cultural setting will make, despite intentions. Thus, all images are both encoded and decoded (Hall, 1997). Images, objects and texts are encoded with particular intended meanings during production that may be quite different than those made by audiences when unleashed into a social, cultural, economic and political context. Consequently, these texts, images and objects are decoded or interpreted and imbued with particular meanings and significance when consumed.

Stuart Hall (1997) has published extensively on the issue of representation, arguing that there are roughly three positions that viewers can occupy when consuming and interpreting images and texts: a dominant or hegemonic reading, a negotiated reading or an oppositional

reading. First, dominant or hegemonic reading denotes identification on the part of the viewers with the dominant meanings or messages intended. The negotiated reading indicates that the viewer(s) are able to 'negotiate' an interpretation from the image or texts dominant meanings. By sharp contrast, oppositional readings of a given image or text suggests that viewer(s) either ignore the ideological position intended in the image or text, or they seek to advance a counter-ideological (i.e., their own particular meaning and interpretation). Those who attach themselves to the dominant or hegemonic position decode and interpret images or texts in a quite passive manner. However, I believe that few viewers actually consume images or texts in this way, especially since there are few aspects of mediated culture that completely satisfy and speak to viewers equally or in the same way. Seemingly, the negotiation and opposition are the most useful and realistic options available to media audiences. Negotiation denotes a kind of bargaining process of deciphering that occurs between the viewers, the images or texts, and the particular contexts in which they are consumed. Interpretation in this sense is often a more mental, unconscious process whereby the viewers struggles with the dominant meanings and associations inherent in a given image or text (Lacey, 1998). Sturken and Cartwright further reflect on this, stating that, "in this process, viewers actively struggle with dominant meanings, allowing culturally and personally specific meanings to transform and even override the meanings imposed by producers and broader social forces" (2001: 57). Negotiation is a useful concept because it imbues media audiences with at least some level of agency in terms of acknowledging how cultural interpretations are struggles and meaning making is not a purely passive activity. In other words, the process of negotiation demonstrates how media viewers are much more than passive recipients of socially and culturally intended meanings.

Arguably, all cultures are in a constant state of flux and in the ongoing process of being reinterpreted and reinvented through cultural representations. This is in part, an effect of the economics and ideologies of the free-market, which demands that participants constantly negotiate trade in goods, services and capital, as well as to produce meanings and value in the objects and representations of cultural products (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). In short, there are tensions between meanings (ideologies) and the constant challenges to, and reworking of hegemonic ideologies, allowing for contradictory or even subversive messages to be produced (encoded) and read (decoded) through various cultural artifacts. Despite the existence of dominant or hegemonic ideologies, negotiation provides space for different subjectivities, pleasures and desires to co-exist and/or struggle against one another.

There are various ways and contexts in which interpretations of cultural artifacts and media images and texts become imbued with power relations, as well as the tensions between hegemonic and subversive or counter-hegemonic forces. While the advent and elaboration of various computer technologies (such as, the internet, computer video cameras) have greatly opened up access to technical equipment to greater numbers of people for the production of images and texts, cultural and image production are still largely the arenas of business and entertainment industries (Stevenson, 1995). However, vast majorities of regular citizens are not involved in the production and dissemination of images and texts and only engage with them through consuming practices and spectatorship. While viewers of images and texts cannot directly alter these areas of culture and media, they do have the power to observe, interpret and reject or confirm the intended or dominant meanings attached.

While oppositional readings may take the form of overt rejection of specific or intended meanings in a text or images, appropriation is also an option. Appropriation is an

extension of oppositional readings because it denotes a form of oppositional production and reading (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Cultural appropriation enables viewers to borrow, alter or out-rightly change the meanings of cultural products, images or texts. These processes or strategies of appropriation have become common practice in contemporary image and text production, dissemination and consumption. In short, within the modern context viewers of images and texts may overtly or subvertly, albeit strategically alter their meanings to suit the location, context and purposes. Thus, “meanings that oppose the dominant readings of an image may not cling to an image with the same tenacity as meanings that are more in line with dominant ideologies” (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 63). The process of language and meaning may also involve a degree of appropriation, for example, the appropriation of the negative term ‘Queer’ for political empowerment by some of those involved in the gay and lesbian movement. While at one time this term was derogatory, many gays and lesbian activists have incorporated the term queer as part of their identity and as a tool for activist purposes. Subsequently, this term has also evolved into a whole theoretical discourse within the academy. It is important to keep in mind that appropriation is not always or necessarily an oppositional term or practice. Because the relationships between the viewers, media texts/images and the industries behind them are highly complex, appropriation is also highly complex. In fact, while viewers may resist dominant or hegemonic readings of media images and texts, these cultural industries often try to appropriate marginalized cultural artifacts and styles into mainstream culture, for example, advertisers and fashion designers often capitalize on the styles of subcultures and sell them back to mainstream public as novel trends. The complexities of appropriation and opposition help to demonstrate the flexibility and fluidity of cultural meanings. Similarly, it shows the complex and often contradictory relationship

between, and among images, texts, producers and audiences. In short, the meanings and interpretations of a given image or text emerges through the above processes of engagement, interpretation and negotiation (or appropriation). In this way, culture and cultural meanings and associations are in a constant state of flux and renegotiation (Lull, 1997).

#### **4.5 Visual Culture in a Global Perspective: Images, Cultural Artifacts and the World Wide Flow of Culture**

Produced for consumption, images and texts are also circulated within and between cultures, as well as across cultural boundaries. The media landscape of the twentieth and into the early into the twenty-first centuries has changed considerably, particularly in the context of the rise of world wide communications infrastructures and multi-national corporations (and the resulting emergence of novel forms of local and global cultures). In various ways advances in wireless communications and the rise of multi-national corporations has led to the collapse of geographic and national boundaries- hence a globalization of economics, technology, and culture (Lull, 1997). Hence, the media are currently almost fully integrated into the daily lives of people on a global scale as never before. Sturken and Cartwright also maintain that, the ability to transmit texts, images and sound in one medium through a network facilitates global interconnectivity. Similarly, the rapid growth and expansion of media conglomerates in the 1990s' with ownership across the realms of print media, television, radio, the music industry, and consumer products amplifies the power of the corporation to influence cultural meanings and practices on a global scale (2001). While considerable work exists on visual culture and the practices of looking and meaning making in relationship to media images and texts, considerably less has been done on comparable processes in non-Western and non-industrial cultures. Research that does address the global flow of culture and cultural

meanings in cultural artifacts is often limited to an almost exclusive focus on transmission to the expense of reception and use by these cultures.

The mass media continue to be a highly influential force in the changing status of the nation state and the movement towards a global culture (Lull, 1997; Mosco, 2000). Indeed, even in cultures where people are highly dispersed across national boundaries, they are somehow linked by consumption patterns and their love and use of various mediated forms and cultural artifacts. Examples of the importation and exportation of media and cultural artifacts can be found in the import and export of television programming, radio stations and fashion styles cross-culturally. One of the most important and influential changes in the globalization of media and culture is the internet and world wide web since they allow for global communication and the access to texts and images from all over the world. Essentially, the internet and world wide web brings the media, information and visual world into our homes. In short, cultural artifacts and information are currently traveling the world, crossing boundaries of culture, nation and even language.

Comprehending how images and texts circulate and the role they play in support of growth of a global information economy in the late twentieth century is critical if we are to understand practices of looking in the twenty-first century. Among the various mediated forms that currently circulate images and texts on a global scale, television and the internet are highly criticized for erasing national boundaries. Conversely, these same media forms are celebrated in other circles for opening up global communications and for helping to create and foster a forum for cultural awareness and exchange.

A sustained criticism has been waged against the globalization of media based on the belief that it facilitates Capitalism and Capitalist interests at the expense of communities and

the enjoyment of the various mediated forms. The television continues to be an influential force in the construction and promotion of the blending of a national and global media and communication culture. "By marketing commercial programs overseas, networks sell practices of looking and ways of using media images to a global public along with programs themselves" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 319). Corporate backing is also an important element in both the influence and effectiveness of any cultural artifacts or mass mediums in a global market. Corporate backing is one reason why U.S. advertising and the accompanying industries continue to have such a lasting and widespread impact on global media markets. Many other countries, particularly non-industrialized ones, do not have comparable corporate backing that would allow for high quality media production and distribution techniques on a national or global scale.

In the modern global media environment the relationships between production and consumption are also caught up in various power dynamics and relationships. However, the distinct first-third world divide has become less firmly demarcated, particularly in light of the global movement of people, commodities and communications. In short, people and cultures are currently intermingled and interconnected in ways that increasingly call the first-third world distinction into question. This global flow of media and people is not necessarily indicative of 'cultural imperialism' because this overshadows the flow of these elements as well as the various strategies used by people when they appropriate and interpret them. This takes us back to the fact that viewers do not always or necessarily receive media images and texts as producers intend. I have said that audiences often make meanings based in part, on the specific context and location in which an image or text is consumed. Meanings are also shaped and guided by experiences and knowledge brought by the viewers to the viewing

experience and engagement with the image or text. Returning to the notion of appropriation, viewers may actually take an image or text and construct meanings and interpretations that run counter to the intended meanings.

The next section begins to investigate the impact of technological developments on visual culture and the politics and practices of looking. Specifically, this section looks at the role of computer technologies and the internet in the globalization and worldwide flow of the media and visual culture.

#### **4.6 Technological Developments and Practices of Looking: The Impact of Computers and the Internet on Visual Culture and the Globalization of Media and Communications**

Rapid technological advances are changing the landscape of media, communications and globalization (Rogoff, 1998). Regardless of their particular form, technological advancements have always been subjected to criticisms. “In general these responses represent technology as either a panacea for social problems or as a threat to the social fabric” (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 333). During the early nineteenth century the development of the telegraph was heralded as a revolutionary means of bringing the world together and to signaling a movement towards global communication. Much of this celebratory tone was premised on a false assertion that these developments would also lead to, and assist in fostering world unity. Technological developments in the media and communications worlds were met with resistance because they are viewed as an assault on traditions, communities, and on various elements of societal and cultural identities.

Since its inception the internet has been under sustained attacks based on the presumption of its ill effects on the social, physical and mental health and well-being of its

users. Throughout much of the 1990s' there was growing concern among many internet critics that it caused isolation, depression and poor relationships for its users. Countering these criticisms there are many supporters of the internet who believe that this technology has great potential for self-help, self-health and for fostering new social relationships based on 'virtual communities. In terms of its business potential, the internet is often celebrated for its ability to improve business productivity, for curing social inequalities by fostering access to information, and for fostering greater leisure time for users. While some governmental agencies view the internet as a 'global information superhighway' that provides access to knowledge limitless access to information; others see it as another element of corporate control of public dialogue and global markets. Popular opinion currently holds that the internet allows global flow of information on a scale that vastly opens up our world to great information potential. Similarly, "lines of communication are multi-directional and the medium is interactive, hence the experience is more fundamentally democratic than the experience we have with [other media forms]" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 334). Essentially, the internet helps to transform and often alter power relations between the media-communications industries and audiences, especially since it is believed that almost anyone can produce and disseminate images and texts over the internet.

In terms of visual culture, the internet helps to foster world connectivity and global communication through text-based e-mail, teleconferencing, personal home and web pages, and so forth. The internet seems to be moving in to replace the senses of speech, hearing and able-bodiedness in modern communication, yet the blind continue to be somewhat marginalized. The criminal potential of the internet and World Wide Web has become a source of great concern for many, especially in terms of its potential for deceptive communication,

pornography and its impact on child safety. Frequently people construct and present false identities and participate in on-line e-mailing or chat rooms. In some instances criminals and sexual predators gain physical and emotional access to a person through manipulations of situations and on-line trust. Images and practices of looking are highly implicated in the above cases since on-line predators often present false and manipulative photos of themselves as representative of what they 'really' look like. Conversely, supporters of the internet counter this concern by arguing that internet facilitates role-playing and the potential to play with multiple identities in the absence of a visible and material body that sets the internet apart from other aspects of visual culture and technological developments (Rogoff, 1998). Additionally, some psychologists contend that the shifting roles and identities on the internet is indicative of the ways in which many people currently experience identities as fluid, flexible and transformable (McGuigan, 2002; Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Therefore, internet role-playing illustrates the multiplicity, flexibility and fragmentation of the self in modern technological and mediated culture.

Initially the internet was intended to be a system of communication during nuclear war, beginning as a military defense system constructed under the name of 'ARPNET' in the 1970s'. From the moment of its inception the internet was built so that communication could be maintained even if a part of the system was attacked or destroyed. By the mid-1980s' the internet was already being used in non-military circles and for non-military concerns. With all of the rapid developments and debates around the internet there began to be moves to regulate it, which proved difficult in a culture concerned with freedom of speech and information, and desires to maintain global communication and information sharing.

Initially the internet was introduced outside of military circles when computer communications were mainly text-based. However, the rapid development of computer imaging, multi-media and hyper-text propelled the internet into the midst of commercial success during the early 1990s'. These developments in imagery and graphics coupled with sound helped ensure the place of the internet as a central communicative force and as a rich commercial resource.

The internet and World Wide Web has quickly become a business and political force in addition to its potential as a global communication and personal expression form, for example, many personal web sites and pages contain personal, professional, cultural images, texts, and/or music. We have seen that various computer technologies and web developments are not purely optical and visual, but include various human senses. Similarly, these technologies continue to deploy images and texts in ways that thrust communications and media into a global context that fosters world connectivity. A key element of modern visual culture is that images, texts and sounds all seem to converge around the social production of meanings so that we can no longer study such elements of meaning production in isolation. However, global production and exchange of meanings must also account for the complex power relations that are always a necessary part of the production, dissemination and interpretation of images, sounds and texts, and therefore meanings themselves. Similarly, the movement of cultural products and visual images throughout the world is always about the production of different kinds of cultural meanings (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). While we cannot always predict the future, the uses and status of images, as well as their social and cultural roles will retain their central roles in Western culture.

## **4.7 Visual and Consumer Culture: Creating and Selling the Image, and Manufacturing Desire or Promoting Meanings**

Visual images play a pivotal role in the operation of commercial culture and the associated industries, especially through advertising. Essentially, images are a focal point of 'commodity culture' and of consumer societies who are dependent upon the production and consumption of goods and services in order to function (Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997).

Advertising images are central to the construction of cultural notions of self and other, identity and lifestyle. Through the production and dissemination of images and texts, advertising often helps to create, foster and reinforce desires and visions of how life could or should be.

Advertising helps to construct, reinforce and promote ideologies and social values about consumption, thus inviting consumers into a world of brands, lifestyles and identities.

Similarly, advertisements directly and indirectly help promote notions of what we must 'have' in order to be happy, healthy and successful people.

Advertising surrounds us everywhere in our everyday lives. Indeed, we open our mail or read a magazine or newspaper, we walk down the street, ride the bus or subway, or even turn on the radio or television, what do we find? You are surrounded by advertising, imagery in pictures and words designed to sell you products (Fowles, 1996). Advertising addresses us with a broad range of voices and through various strategies, yet the agencies continue to be propelled to find novel ways to address the consumer and hold their attention. The world of consumer culture advertising images and our understandings of them are highly influenced by our experiences with the image as well as the location, context and previous knowledge that we bring to the viewing process.

Advertising and the associated industries are a central component of consumer culture and capitalism (Fowles, 1996; Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Jhally, 1990). Similarly, advertising is also one of the primary modes through which goods are exchanged and promoted, whether on product packaging or in print media forms. While consumer culture itself is not new, the current form is a recent historical development emerging in the context of modernity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A significant impetus for the rise and elaboration or success of consumer culture is directly traceable to the rise of mass production, in the wake of the Industrial Revolution and the concentration of populations in major urban centers (Benjamin, 1995; Fowles, 1996; Martin, 1997; Leiss, Kline and Jhally, 1997; Folkert, Lacy and Davenport, 1998). At the core of consumer culture and consumer society is a situation in which groups and individuals are bombarded with a vast array of products and services and various ads or other media forms from which to select these products and services. Due to the nature of consumer culture and products and services therein, markets are in a constant state of flux and instability. Consequently, it is due to the state of modern consumer culture and markets that advertising finds its utility, status and impact. Indeed, advertisements constantly find new and influential ways to package and promote products and services to a discerning audiences with definite tastes and lifestyles.

Another striking feature of consumer culture is the vast social and physical (as well as psychological) distance between the industries behind the production and marketing of products and services and their daily consumption and meaning for consumers. Increasing industrialization and bureaucratization in the late nineteenth century meant signaled a marked decrease in the numbers and success of small businesses and a rapid growth and expansion in large-scale businesses and manufacturers. While this appears to be a positive and potentially

revolutionary development, it also took production out of the hands of the smaller communities and companies and forced people to travel greater distances to work. "This was a stark contrast to feudal and rural societies of the past where there was generally proximity between producers and consumers. As places filled with mobile crowds, mass transit and city streets became forums for advertising" (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 191). Thus, in the middle of the twentieth century these developments helped usher in the popularization of billboards as venues for marketing and promoting goods and services. Even when novel products are not available in consumer culture are not readily available there continues to be a market and demand for older products. Therefore, producers and manufacturers simply repackaged and reintroduce these older product and services into the existing market with a new advertising campaign. During the late twentieth century mass production and marketing of goods and services included large segments of a given population, making them available to local and small audiences. With rise of e-commerce and telemarketing the telephone has become important as has on-line shopping during the 1990s'. This has slowly changed the face of consumer society and assisted in the elimination of the physical requirements for retail space and shopping. While e-commerce is a relatively new development, it harkens back to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when rural communities used mail order catalogues.

Consumer societies of the late nineteenth were marked by an increasing separation of home and work, which in turn significantly impacted family structures and gender roles and relations. The rapid shift from a solely agrarian lifestyle towards urbanization and urban centers meant that all family members became involved in the production of goods and services. With the shifts in commerce came an accompanying split between the public (work)

and private (home) spheres. In the majority of the cases this public/private split meant that women remained in the domestic realm while men went out to work for a wage. This split often meant that consumer culture and the various manufacturers considered men and women quite distinct consumers, addressed through distinct advertising and marketing strategies. Drastic shifts in the concept and composition of society through diversity, immigration and so forth, had a huge impact on consumer culture generally. As there was a loosening of the sense of community and family the notions of self and identity have become popular in a wider context than the immediate family. The newly emerging urban centers, shifts in the family and home life, as well as growths in consumerism forced many people to negotiate a sense of identity with influences that transcend traditional familial influences.

Another important element of the move towards consumer society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the popularization of department stores. Heralded as a business and source of pleasure' and 'leisure', department stores marked the expansion of retail and display space for consumer products and services. Consequently, these department stores brought commerce and leisure together in ways that also placed products on display as 'spectacles'. Employing mannequins and massive display windows, many stores began to be designed with an explicit emphasis the visual display and consumption of products and on the promotion of consumption as a leisure activity. The development of department stores also helped bring about key shifts in consumer and commercial cultures, including shopping on credit, electronic shopping and more communal shopping. However, at the core of this 'new' consumer culture was a significant shift in ideologies, particularly around work. In European and North American societies, in particular, there was a marked shift away from a focus on work as the focal point of self toward the promotion of leisure, individual satisfaction and

consumption via the acquisition of products and services. An accompanying ideology proliferating in the newly emerging consumer culture was the belief that people were inadequate and in constant need of improvement and satisfaction, which could be achieved only through consumption. Advertisers were able to interject here to speak to, or in many cases help create anxieties over self and identity. Indeed, increasingly advertising was helping to promote self-actualization through consumption. Even in modern consumer societies consumption is viewed as a leisure activity, a form of pleasure and as a method to fulfill emotional needs and desires. However, this quest for self-actualization and fulfillment or satisfaction is quite paradoxical in that the market is forever saturated with new products and services so that we are bombarded with ads that increasingly speak to, and in some instances help to create, inadequacies that can be fixed through consumption of products and services (Fowles, 1996).

Contemporary consumer culture is highly complex, particularly since modern industrial capitalism has evolved into late or post-industrial capitalism (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Increasingly, corporations are multi-national, goods move globally, and consumers purchase goods that are manufactured globally. Thus, the physical and social distance between the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services is also occurring on a global scale. While consumer and capitalist society is about the consumption of physical goods and services, it is also about the exchange of information.

Within consumer culture commodities are central, particularly in terms of cultural meanings. While consumer culture is intensely economic in intent, commodities are also bought, sold and traded within a social and cultural context. Commodity culture is a concept discussed in relationship to consumer culture and denotes the notion that we often construct

and negotiate our identities in and through consumer products and the associated advertising texts and images. That our identities are mediated and, in part, constructed through our consumption and use of commodities, such as, music, fashion, cosmetics, and so forth (Bolino, 2003). Advertising and the promotion of consumerism helps to encourage consumers to view commodities as a way to convey ones personality and sense of self. Although many people truly believe that ads simply show goods and services that consumers are persuaded to purchase, others see this as an overly simplistic view. Indeed, I would argue that advertising operates on a much more indirect level by packaging and promoting lifestyles and identities. Indeed, through style, form, and content, ads help encourage us to identify with the products, identities and lifestyles depicted in the visual images and texts in these ads.

In many ways advertising is an extremely important venue through which products and services become imbued with inherent values and qualities that they do not naturally possess. A significant portion of the analysis of commodities and how they function are connected to Marxist theory and the role and functioning of capitalism (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Marxist critiques of capitalism view advertising as helping to create a demand for products and services and encourage them to consume things they may not necessarily need. In short, advertising encourages mass consumption through the creation of needs and desires. Marxist critiques also focus their attention on the ways in which things in consumer society are valued not for what they do, but for how much they cost and the status that they confer on the owner. A key concept in Marxist analysis is the notion of 'commodity fetishism' (Jhally, 1990). Sturken and Cartwright summarize commodity fetishism aptly as the process by which mass produced goods are emptied of their meaning, of their production (the context in which they were produced and the labor that created them) and then filled with new meanings in ways that

both mystify the product and turn it into a fetish object (2001:200). This reflects the process in consumer culture whereby products are frequently packaged and promoted, then advertised in ways that affix cultural meanings and associations quite separated from the location and contexts of their production. Additionally, many products are marketed and sold quite far away from the place where they are actually produced. Essentially, commodity fetishism is really an inevitable outcome of the modern turn to mass production and distribution of goods to globally dispersed consumers. One particularly problematic element of commodity fetishism is that the glossy, stylized product that is perfectly packaged and promoted in advertisements has become almost completely emptied of the meanings associated with production, distribution, and labor. Generally, the realities of the products are hidden behind its commodity status in a plastic consumer culture.

In addition to attaching certain non-inherent meanings to products, commodity fetishism also works to attach 'emotional associations' to them, such as, sexuality, sensuality, love, romance or even status among peers, colleague and so forth. Many critics of modern consumer society fear that the processes involved in consumer society and commodity culture social interactions become devoid of 'real' meanings and attachments. Similarly, we are becoming increasingly defined through products, services and lifestyles and by 'what we have' as opposed to 'what we are'. Education, family, nationality, religion, etc, used to be crucial elements in helping to define identities and lifestyle choices, it is currently about our status within consumer and commodity culture (Benjamin, 1995). The next section addresses and discusses the role of the audience in making meanings.

## **4.8 Addressing the Consumer: The Role of the Audience in Making Meaning**

Until recently, scholars and critics did not take media audiences very seriously (David Croteau and William Hoynes, 2000) . . . the term 'audience' is in fact so abstract and debatable (James Lull, 2000).

Media audiences have been studied by academics and market researchers since the 1930s' when the radio first became a mass medium. "In many key respects, the ways audience members use the mass media have not changed much since then, it's just taken the researchers this long to be able to better describe the complex relationships . . . '(Lull, 2000: 97). The very first media researchers were sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, and market researchers interested in the media's broad social and cultural effects: mass persuasion, information diffusion, political and consumer behavior, and socialization. These researchers focused mainly on the various categories of media content and aggregated, statistical groups of audience members- how much of this that is being consumed.

One of the initially central questions was the mass media's ability to persuade and/or manipulate audiences. The underlying premise of much of this research was that the mass media's symbolic imagery almost automatically makes audiences conform. However, I believe that this assertion that audiences are merely guided or manipulated by media texts and images is naive and highly problematic. I will discuss advertising images as an example of the extremely complex relationship between the various mediated forms and their audiences.

While advertising and its associated images and texts have a very real presence in our daily lives they also have ideological and symbolic significance for audiences. Indeed, advertising images address the audiences as ideological subjects so that we invest ourselves in

them and their messages, thereby coming to recognize and define ourselves and others through them. While I do not argue that advertising merely dominates us, nor that we are passive recipients, they do address us through specific modes of address that implicitly or explicitly ask us to invest ourselves in the images and lifestyles depicted. In many instances advertising texts and images address us in a voice of 'reason' as if they knew what we needed, wanted and desired. Indeed, assuming a dialogue of almost conversational chat with audiences, ads address us as 'you' in a personalized manner that almost makes us forget that we are merely part of a larger market segment or niche. Products are addressed, or address us as unique and special individuals who will become somehow better people and more successful or worthy through consumption of the product or service. The consumer is sold a form of 'homogenization' while advertisements (and the industries behind them) proclaim that the product or service will produce individuality. This is part of the complexity and contradictory side of advertising and consumer culture because commodities are only successful when mass consumption occurs (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001).

Advertising uses particular 'codes' and 'conventions' in order to convey messages to audiences quickly and succinctly (Benjamin, 1995; Fowles, 1996; Hall, 1997; Jhally, 1990). While some ads address us in completely novel and even potentially shocking ways, most seem to rely on a combination of uniqueness and familiarity. Part of the impact that advertising has on us is that it often turns products into recognizable brands, helping to connect us to them. For all of this to be completely successful goods or services must acquire particular attributes, signal a kind of lifestyle, and produce images of its potential meanings to and for consumers. Despite all of the claims made by advertising, the world views and lifestyles presented in ads is largely fictional (Fowles, 1996, Wernick, 1991). Competition

between products and specific brands is a pivotal motivating force in consumer culture. In fact, many ads construct images and relationships of difference and opposition between products and services in order to challenge their competition (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001). Advertising utilizes a combination of texts, images and photographs in order to construct meanings, grab consumer attention and to produce a fantasy world in which consumers are encouraged to envision themselves in and internalize as part of who they are. Advertising texts also play a central role in both making and changing meanings within visual and consumer cultures. Indeed, frequently texts can even have quite different meanings than the accompanying images. Many advertisements seem to speak a language of transformation in that the promise of positively changing or altering one's life through consumption remains a common theme. Through the language of transformative lifestyles the consumer is always in the process of becoming and should be inherently dissatisfied with ones appearance, personality and lifestyle. A major area of contention is the notion that ads may actually seek to construct dissatisfaction and promote consumer envy through the use of situations, lifestyles and even lifestyles that are stylized, perfected, and endlessly happy. Advertisements struggle to convince us to construct a 'commodity self' and to strive towards lifestyles and attributes that are attached to certain products through their consumption and use. One area of consumer life that is often caught up in the advertising discourses of transformation is those dealing with the body and appearance. Since the 1970s' advertisements have increasingly encouraged us to view our bodies as separate, inadequate and potentially perfectible. This view of the human body has spilled over into consumer and commodity culture. Indeed, consumer and commodity cultures quickly constructed the female body as inadequate, potentially perfectible, sexualized and as a source of great anxiety. This view of the body and embodiment became

particularly problematic for women and has been a focal point of feminist criticism for decades (Brumberg, 1997; Price and Shildrick, 1999; Weiss, 1999; Weitz, 1999). Many of these early criticisms focused on how advertising constructs women's body, bodily ideals and thereby defines and limits women's social roles. However, as I will discuss later the male body is increasingly becoming a central marketing tool in consumer and commodity cultures that is being eroticized, objectified and idealized (and therefore commodified) (Bordo, 1999; Dotson, 1999, Goldenberg, 1990; Gottschall, 1999; Rohlinger, 2003; Schehr, 1997).

Regardless of the particular gender or context increasingly the human body is being depicted as a perfected and flawless consumer and marketing tool. This perfected consumer body may be achieved through air-brushing, color enhancement and other modes of pictorial and digital enhancement and manipulation. However, these representations retain their power and influence over how we come to view ourselves and others, particularly because we see these representations as real not as constructions or purposeful manipulations. Sturken and Cartwright discuss the current state of the male and female body in modern consumer and commodity culture (and in advertising). For them, Michel Foucault's notion of the 'docile body' encapsulates the state of the modern body. Indeed, advertisements speak the language of self-management, self-control, and conformity. Similarly these bodies are regulated or socially trained and managed by cultural norms and ideals (2001). In confrontation with advertisements and consumer culture, consumers are incited to conform to the depicted standards of beauty and to control their bodies, desires, and so forth. Advertising directly and indirectly addresses the consumers about their identities, offering solutions about how to 'fix' their self-image to align it with socio-cultural ideals. Essentially, it is a key element of advertising that it depicts and promises us an abstract and unreal world in which we must

strive toward, but will never fully attain. Therefore, a large part of the success of advertising and their impact on us and the social world is that both rely on, and help construct lacks or inadequacies that are never quite fulfilled. Similarly, ads constantly help create and perpetuate dissatisfactions that are promised to be solved through the consumption of products and services. However, because ads rely heavily on dissatisfaction, lack, insecurities and desires all promises of satisfaction can never be actualized. If satisfaction is even approximated, ads will step in and to reinforce these generalized anxieties. Finally, advertising is also skilled at addressing the consumer in nostalgic terms (Wernick, 1987; 1990). This frequently takes the form of appealing to, and helping create a desire for youth and days gone by. In fact, various ad campaigns purposefully reach back into, and appeal to both our history and that of the product. Appeals to history, lineage and tradition are commodified, packaged and presented to the consumer or audience as desirable and necessary to our sense of self. Advertisements promotes concepts of belonging (to communities, nations, families, etc.) or to special groups or classes of people as well as difference from others (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). In short, many advertising campaigns try to speak to our sense of community, family, nation, with products packaged and presented as a fundamental means to acquire these elements of identity.

Although slowly changing, the notion of the nuclear family continues to be an ideal that is ideologically (and often concretely) promoted in many ad campaigns. While called into serious question, often this family structure is idealized in ads as 'natural', 'normal', 'natural' and inherently unproblematic. Similarly, in many cases the advertised commodities help to promote and preserve this idealized vision of the family. Advertisements around family frequently work to reify the process by which products begin to assume human qualities and the manner in which relationships are mediated by commodities. In addition to all of the other

potential problems inherent in advertising's discourses about family, they seem to address consumers as if they naturally belongs to the 'idealized' family structure. By sharp contrast, as we have seen ads are equally successful at promoting difference and 'otherness', particularly in terms of race and ethnicity (Dyer, 1997). Advertisements are also adept at constructing and promoting difference around nation, sexual orientation, ability, and so forth. Advertisements also use notions of product difference as key selling points, even when products are quite similar and only different in terms of brand and brand loyalty.

Increasingly, markers of race and ethnicity are encoded in advertising in attempts to market and promote products and services (Stecopoulos & Uebel, 1997). While many argue that race and ethnicity are used to construct and promote a sense of 'otherness, Sturken & Cartwright maintain that they also signal an element of awareness and give products 'cultural sophistication' (2001). As such, a growing percentage of advertisements use male and female models of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds in efforts to attach their products to a real or perceived sense of social awareness and responsibility. Part of this marketing strategy is to draw consumers to a product or service through images and texts that appear to advocate social awareness, equality and diversity. Presumably this strategy would appeal to potential audiences, foster brand loyalty and generally 'sell' products and images of the social world around us.

We have seen that consumers are actively engaged in the production and negotiation of meanings associated with advertising texts and images through employing a broad range of strategies for reading and interpretations. Finally, we have also seen that as a form of dominant culture, advertising is subject to various counter-hegemonic forces. We must also realize that despite their various promises and images of lifestyles to be desired, mere product

consumption cannot reach and maintain these goals. In case previous discussions construct an overly pessimistic or deterministic vision of consumer culture and consumer behavior, we nevertheless have the potential to change and reinterpret the meanings attached to products and services. Historical and contemporary examples of such attempts to reconfigure or reinterpret product meanings may be found in various subcultures, such as, the punk, hippie, and hip-hop cultures, which have a history of integrating, reinterpreting and integrating popular cultural trends into their own sense of style and identity. Conversely, dominant or mainstream consumer culture often assimilates or absorbs elements of the styles and lifestyles of various sub-cultures into mainstream advertising and consumer culture (Bolino, 2003).

Many advertising agencies strive to attach abstract concepts to corporate logos (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001). Additionally, several advertisements seek to speak to youth cultures and feminism. In some in some advertising campaigns feminist concepts of 'empowerment', 'strength' and 'confidence' are appropriated into the discourses of consumer and commodity culture. The appropriation of feminist ideals is only one example of the situations in which political principles and elements of identity are reduced to consumerism and the act of selling. The role of brands and brand loyalty are also central components of consumer and commodity cultures. During the late nineteenth century there was an emergence of a commodity culture whereby the distinctions between objects and images rapidly eroded. Far from promoting a material world of actual objects, we are beginning to witness a world in which people are defining themselves and others through their material lifestyles. We are increasingly defining ourselves and others, as well as who does and does not belong through images, symbols and ideologies. In short,

Identity is no longer the signifier of a product. Rather, identity is the pure product that we consume, either as information or as image. Advertisements are not the only means through which we experience the images and signs of commodity culture. They are lived through the insignias and logos affixed to the clothes we wear, the products we use, the food we eat (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001: 228)

The next chapter addresses concrete examples of the construction and negotiation of individual and collective identities in the images and texts of advertising and various other mediated forms. This chapter moves beyond a generic discussion of visual, consumer and commodity culture and the practices of looking. The next chapter discusses some of the more theoretical themes and issues related to discussions of the mass media, gender, specifically in reference to masculinity, the male body and sexuality. From this chapter the case study at the end of this research draws many of its conceptual and analytical tools for the construction of categories for analysis and for later analysis of the data. The goal of this chapter is to provide context to the larger theoretical discussions in other chapters as well as to assist in the design and operation of the research. It also provides a key theoretical piece in the broader discussions of media, gender and identity which is the entire thrust of this dissertation.

## 5.0 Chapter Five: Media, Gender and Identity

The development of selfhood and the relationship to the symbol domains of advertising and popular culture to that process can become more of an addressable topic if the entirety is momentarily limited to the matters of gender construction gender being the keel of self identity (Jib Fowles, 1996).

. . . Identities, of course, are complex constructions . . . (David Gauntlett, 2002).

Social construction and identity politics form a pair of star-crossed lovers, entwined in a relationship suffused with passion, provocation and perfidy (Kenneth J. Gergen, 2002).

There has been a veritable explosion of theoretical and analytical debates recently around identity construction and the role of various media in this process. But why explore the relationship between the media, in its varied forms and expressions, and identity construction? The answer to such a complex social question is that the media is a powerful pervasive and highly influential element of our daily lives. From the moment we become aware of ourselves and our place in the world, we are engaging with various media forms. The presence of media in every aspect of our lives has doubtlessly had some impact on us. Beyond their mere presence in our daily lives, Scholars (such as Gauntlett, 2002 and Gill, 2006) are interested in the real or proposed links between the media and identity both because they are believed by some to shape and reflect images and ideas about core elements of our individual and social identities, most notable about gender and sexuality (Gauntlett, 2002). Gender and sexuality are key focal points in both how we define and think about ourselves, and in how others define and respond to us. This section draws on the rich and diverse social, cultural, and historical process of identity politics developed and elaborated by various waves of feminism, anti-

racism, men's studies and in order to examine the relationship between the media, particularly advertising, and the negotiations and construction of individual social identities.

Media forms have a history of depict images of gender and sexuality and containing messages about men and women, how they need to act, behave, and appear. While these messages have not remained unaltered throughout history, at any given historical moment the media provides audiences with formal and informal, explicit or implicit "instructions" on current ideals for gender, sexuality, and appearance. While I recognize that other elements of identity, such as race, ethnicity, and ability are also integral elements of media images and texts, I limit my discussion to gender and sexuality because they are core categories of analysis in this research. My research in this area does not argue that the media simply 'gives' us our identities, nor do we merely copy our identity from various media images and texts (Gauntlett, 2002; Kellner, 1995). Rather, those behind the multitude of media texts and images take the 'stuff' of everyday life, in this instance gender and sexuality, package it visually, textually (and symbolically-ideologically) and sell it back to the audience or consumer as idealized fictions of lifestyles and identities for sale to those who can afford them. We are not overtly tricked or merely forced to adopt the identities and lifestyles for sale. Instead we are encouraged to identify with the image and representations of identities and lifestyles shown. The images and texts are designed to appeal to us on a deeply personal, social and psychological level, particularly since they speak to issues and themes related to everyday life.

Before proceeding it is important to point out that identity, at least for the purposes of this dissertation, does not refer to a strictly individualized process occurring in a social and cultural vacuum. Rather, it is a highly socio-cultural, historical and political process and is composed of both our self-conception or personal identity and our social self or social identity.

Each of us has an individual and personal sense but it is developed and negotiated in and through group membership. Similarly, we use and incorporate various social cues and contexts into our individual and social 'self'. As I have argued thus far, one key resource utilized in the development of our individual and social self are various cultural texts, such as the media. Reflecting on this, Tim Edwards maintains that, "... movies, advertisements and television programs are, most fundamentally, cultural texts and this then opens up the question of the connection of texts and context or the wider relationship of representation and reality" (2006:122).

Discussions of identity, particularly in relationship to the media, cannot be captured through appeals to its status as a 'state of being' or to complications of personality traits and behaviors that we possess naturally (Gauntlett, 2002). Rather, the process of identity construction and negotiation is a much more flexible, social process that occurs over time and in different contexts. As such, it is open to revision, contradiction or even complete transformation to incorporate new information.

Beyond all biological assignment of sex (i.e., being born male or female), we acquire a sense of our selves as gendered and sexual beings through a highly social, cultural, and reflexive process. Thus, we are a work in progress, always in the process of becoming and never a complete or final product (Kellner, 1995). In other words,, we are always revising our individual and social identities and incorporating new elements to define who we see ourselves as, and who we want others to see us as being (Goffman, 1959). In this process we use various resources, particularly the mass media. I want to be clear here that I am not arguing that we are totally controlled, or in control of outside influences in identity construction and negotiation. Rather, the process is more complex and often more implicit, occurring on both a

conscious and unconscious level. Hence, we neither have total agency nor lack of agency in our engagements with the media and with their influence on the construction and negotiation of our individual and social identities (Gauntlett, 2002).

Exactly what role do the media generally, and advertising particularly have on our sense of self, identity and self-esteem? How do many of these images and representation impact or influence how we come to define others and relate to them in the everyday world? What, if any role do advertising images play in the process of developing and negotiating our sense of ourselves as gendered, sexual and social being? These questions are of great importance and relevance to theoretical discussions in other chapters and to the empirical case study at the end of this dissertation. The central problematic in this research focuses on how cultural representations of both masculinity and fatherhood help to construct and/or reinforce ideals and expectations for and about masculinity and fatherhood for both men and society generally. Issues of identity and its construction are a core focal point of every aspect of both the theoretical discussions and empirical research in this dissertation, and must also inform any discussion of advertising. This is particularly so given that advertising continually bombards us with idealized images and expectations for many of the core aspects of our social world and our individual and collective identities, such as race/ethnicity, social class, gender and sexuality. Whether or not these images and ideals fully direct our behaviors or not does not detract from the fact that they cannot help but have some impact on how we view ourselves and others (Gauntlett, 2002).

Discussions of identity in relation to advertising and cultural representations are also central to this research because what is at stake in the case study is identity construction and negotiation in terms of masculinity and fatherhood and the ideals and expectations that

advertising images both construct and reinforce. Thus, the coding categories used to analyze the advertising images in the case study are drawn from the core theoretical insights in this and other chapters, and from broader discussions on media and identity.

What role do they play in our process of developing and negotiating this self? A vast pervasive and often ubiquitous media culture has emerged in North America and has expanded rapidly to include images, sounds, texts, and so forth. In many ways this expansive and influential media culture hops to produce and reproduce the newly social fabric of everyday life. As such, the media, particularly advertising, dominate much of our leisure time, help shape our political views and guide our social and sexual behaviors. In short, the media help provide the material both real and imagined, symbolic and ideological out of which people fashion a sense of self and in which we negotiate and understand this self individually and in social roles and relationships. Some scholars refer to the media as ‘cultural industries’ that help shape culture itself (Kellner, 1995). These cultural industries help provide models or guidelines for gender behavior (i.e. what it currently means to be masculine and feminine) and sexual behavior, and various other key elements of our identities. Reflecting further on this point, Kellner maintains that “media . . . help shape prevalent views of the world and deepest values: it [helps] define what is considered good or bad, positive or negative, moral or evil. Media stories and images provide the symbols, myths, and resources which help constitute a common culture for the majority of the individuals in many parts of the world today” (1995:1). The media provide the real and symbolic content that assists in the construction and negotiations of various elements of the individual and social self.

I refer to the media in terms of advertising and its associated visual images and representations. However, often a given media format will use one or a combination of visual

textual and audio elements to construct and disseminate their messages. As pointed out in the previous section on political economy, the media are also part of an ever growing industrial-economic culture, involved in mass production, marketing, and in the seeking and accumulation of capital (O'Brien, 1998). In this process it aims at large audiences or market niches, creating themes, lifestyles and identities that resonate with us and at times reflect who we are, and at other times help us to reflect and construct social life. Part of this process includes the media suggesting who has power and who does not and in what circumstances. This theme of power most often gets embedded and reflected in media themes around gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and social class. As such, Douglas Kellner effectively points out that we spend our lives immersed in a media and consumer culture that has an impact on us beyond our consumer choices. He argues that,

In a contemporary media culture, the dominant media of information and entertainment are a profound and often misconceived source of cultural pedagogy: they contribute to educating us how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear, and desire – and what not to (1995:2).

The centrality of media in the process of constructing and negotiating individual and social identities is well established, both in this work and in that of others, we have seen that the media in its varied forms and styles are a form of hegemonic culture that assist in our socialization process. Further, they help provide at least the ideological and symbolic content from which we develop and negotiate a sense of self. We have also seen that various media and their specific discourses about lifestyles and identities doubtlessly influence how we come to define and understand our own world and our place in it. I introduce these issues as a starting point for further discussion of the relationship between media and our gendered and sexual identities.

The following section of this chapter is important both theoretically and conceptually since it deals with discussions of advertising, cultural representations and the male body in relation to masculinity and identity. Similarly, this section is central to the empirical case study at the end since the coding scheme relied heavily on the theoretical insights on gender, sexuality and the body to construct coding categories. In short, these theoretical discussions help to inform the empirical analysis in this study and ultimately the research findings and analysis, particularly since the analysis and discussion of result is related directly back to these and other theoretical issues.

## **5.1 Advertising Gender and Sexuality**

We have already seen that the media generally, and advertising specifically, help provide models for lifestyles and identities through their texts and images. These images and texts both encourage and foster identification with lifestyles and identities that are heavily imbued with symbolic and ideological assumptions about gender and sexuality, and various other facets of our social identities (Byron, 2002; Edwards, 2006; Gauntlett, 2002; Kellner, 1995). Therefore, media images generally and those contained in advertising specifically, are important in terms of their ideological content and for the meanings and values that they communicate to their audience.

Print advertisements, as we have discussed in previous sections of this research, are particularly pervasive, influential and economically successful aspect of contemporary media industries. We have also seen that advertising are social texts as much as an economic business. They doubtlessly respond to the particular political, social and economic climate of the historical period and cultural context in which they appear. Accordingly, Judith

Williamson (1978) summarizes the social role of media, especially advertising by suggesting that advertising addresses individuals and invites them to identify with certain products, images and behaviors. Advertising provides a utopian image of a new, more prestigious “you” through the purchase of certain goods and services, that we can build, mold, or shape our identities geared toward projecting a certain image and lifestyle. Douglas Kellner (1995) expands on this idea arguing that,

advertising magically offers self-transformation and a new identity, associating changes in consumer behavior, fashion and appearance with metamorphosis into a new person. Consequently, individuals are taught to identify with values, role models, and social behavior through advertising, which is thus, an important instrument of socialization as well as a manager of consumer demands (251).

Taken together, both scholars suggest that through the promotion of products and services, advertising is directly and indirectly promoting certain world views, ideologies, and encouraging identification with certain values, behaviors and lifestyles.

Advertising is particularly successful in assisting consumer’s identity construction and negotiation because they employ images, slogans and often psychological research coupled with rigorous marketing strategies in order to appeal to consumers on levels they can or wish to identify with. As indicated previously and discussed in subsequent sections, many ads help to construct and reinforce dominant images and ideologies around gender and sexuality. Through the visual images, texts and often audio we are provided with very definite and often quite rigid ideas about what is both included and excluded in masculinity and femininity, particularly around sexuality and various other elements of social difference. In short, advertising successfully packages ideologies about socially desirable and undesirable identities, which they cleverly connect to products for consumption. Having done this, they

sell it back to the consumer/audience as something normal, natural, and desirable, as people with lives they need to have.

Before I continue with a discussion of gender and sexuality, I want to be clear that I resist the notion that we are purely manipulated by advertising. The process is much less direct and is much more about the creation of product needs and lifestyles and identities that audiences are encouraged to identify with and aspire towards. Through this process we buy into the ideological system as well.

The following section moves beyond a general discussion of media and identity to address more concretely gender representations and homoeroticism in the visual world of advertising. I prioritize these aspects of identity for two interrelated reasons. First, gender and sexuality are highly pervasive and influential elements of our individual and social identities and are central elements of the visual worlds of modern advertising. Second, both gender and sexuality are core analytical categories for this dissertation. While my own analysis does not treat gender and sexuality as discrete or mutually exclusive categories, for clarity's sake, I discuss them separately in this chapter.

## **5.2 The Spectacle of Men: Masculinity, Advertising and Male Imagery**

We look at men all the time and in all contexts from the home to the classroom and from the workplace to the streets, yet the paradox or conundrum here is that we are often unaware of quite what we are looking at or that we are indeed looking at it (Tim Edwards, 2006).

Gender is a central resource used in advertising, one that strikes directly and heavily at the core of our individual and social identities. For this very reason there is a growing body of theoretical and empirical research exploring the ways that advertising constructs ideologies

about gender. Vigorito asserts: "In studies of gender portrayals in the media, only recently has attention been paid to masculinity. Initially most research on gender depictions focused on the social construction of femininity, with masculinity illustrated by default" (2001:1). However, my position here is that depictions of masculinity in the mass media, especially advertising, are important since visual images of advertising carry significant messages about cultural norms and values around cultural ideas and expectations for men as gendered beings.

"Through critical analysis of men's gender as it is depicted and represented through the lense of visual advertising we are able to shift attention away from 'masculinity as fact' to the 'facticity of masculinity'" (Fejes, 1998). Fejes also asserts that, " we are able to really address critically how masculinity is represented and defined through various types of media and the relationship between these sites and gender, the gender order, other cultural differences, identity and identification, the subject, experience and . . . [much more]" (Fejes, 1998:1). We are able to continue advancing a critical dialogue on masculinity that removes it from its place as a dominant cultural identity and invisible norm. Further, we are able to open up masculinity generally, and mediated masculinity specifically to new questions.

Surely studying images of masculinity in advertising not only helps to prioritize gender in the lives of men and as a key element of their identities, it also offers us a greater understanding of masculinity as a product and process of representation. Representations of masculinity in advertising and other media currently contain copious amounts of information on current ideals and expectations for masculinity. But these representations have a doubtless impact on how we, and the larger society, come to define masculinity and what it means to be a man. Finally, opening masculinity up to a gendered and media analysis demonstrates the diversity, flexibility, and fluidity of male identities beyond the traditional image of the strong,

confident and capable patriarch. It shows that masculinity is a subject position that shifts according to place, space, and in response to historical time and cultural locations. All of this is particularly important since images and texts in various media are highly pervasive and influential and offer much in terms of discourses on gender roles and relationships. This leads me to the next section in which I address issues of sexuality and homoerotic representations in the media generally and in advertising specifically.

### **5.3 From the Exotic to the Erotic: Sexuality and Homoeroticism in Advertising**

Although sexual appeals are used to sell more products – and to boost popularity of media products such as television programming, films, magazines, music, and web sites, many scholars and consumers are still unable to describe ‘if’ and ‘how’ sex sells (Tom Reichart & Jacqueline Lambiase, 2003).

Debates both within and outside of academia continue to erupt over the degree, extent, and impact of sex and sexuality in advertising. These debates are clearly divided over whether advertising is now more sexual or less sexual than in previous periods. Similarly, scholars like Kates, 1999, Fejes, 2000, 2002 are divided over the degree to which men are sexualized in ads and whether there is more or less homoerotic imagery being used to promote and market products. My particular position on this is that modern advertising and the associated images are wrought with sexually charged and sometimes sexually ambiguous images. In other words, I argue that advertising is increasingly relying on sex, sexuality, and erotic displays of both men and women. However, the audience for which such appeals are made is less clear. All of these nude, semi-nude and otherwise erotic images of men cannot be said with any degree of certainty to be aimed only at women. There is a potential for these and other images to be aimed at the homosexual male gaze. Gary Hicks reflects on this, stating that “. . .

whereas a straight audience can see the image of handsome young men playing touch football in a Tommy Hilfiger ad as a symbol of American manhood and, on a quite different level, the joys of consumerism, gay readers might see a lightly veiled homoerotic scene” (2003:229).

Advertising has a long history of embedding such homoerotic meanings of images that indirectly appeal to a potential gay or lesbian audience, but which could only be interpreted as such by these audiences (Walters, 2001).

It is truly fascinating the skill with which advertisers are able to subtly insert homoerotic imagery and meanings into mainstream advertising. However, some argue that these homoerotic images have taken on a much more overtly sexual character, aimed at cornering the growing gay and lesbian market. “In recent years, mainstream advertisers have begun placing their ads with more blatantly homoerotic imaged in the gay press to attract the gay and lesbian community and more specifically, its money” (Hicks, 2003:229). Beyond the lesbian market, which has yet to be fully tapped, contemporary advertisers realize the potential niche in the gay and lesbian communities.

Issues of sexuality, particularly in the media are important in terms of sexuality in society generally, and male sexuality specifically. Like gender, sexuality or sexual behaviors are socially constructed and we make it socially significant by how we talk about and represent it. The mass media, especially advertising, composes one of the most influential societal institutions and aspects of culture that both help to construct sexuality and make it socially significant and socialize gays and lesbians. Advertising influences not only how heterosexuals view the gay and lesbian community, but also how these communities see themselves (Dotson, 1999; Hicks, 2003; Walters, 2001). While various societal institutions play an influential role in this respect, advertising has become a prominent, influential and complex source of

information about homosexuality and lesbians, and about gay identities. After all, gay people, like heterosexual people are social beings and in being so define themselves, at least in part, in relation to societal institutions and structures. In turn, advertising plays an influential role in helping to shape our institutions and structures as well as our social environment.

Advertising is a key resource through which we can get shared meanings and basic understandings of how the world works and how we fit into it. However, power in this instance is important because it often culminates in the ability of a few to create these understandings, particularly around gender and sexual identity, and to speak to all for the majority. Thus, "much of what constitutes gay identity today has been created, or at least modified, by corporate and media organizations . . ." (Hicks, 2003:230). There also continues to be much in the way of politics and political activism around homosexuality, particularly in terms of societal acceptance and fostering a positive gay and lesbian identity.

Nowadays gay and lesbian characters appear more regularly on television and in print advertising. There is some discussions around whether media and advertising merely capitalize on sexual identities to market and promote products and services or whether they are active in helping to construct and constitute gay and lesbian identities. Wherever one is positioned, I agree with Hicks' argument that "... the world of advertising to lesbians and gay men has, until recently, remained a bastion of conservative messages and no risk images" (2003:233).

At least until the 1960's there were few openly gay ads even in gay publications or at least no ads that frequently appeared in 'mainstream' magazines.. However, with the growth of specifically gay publications and a growing recognition of the potential market in the gay community, mainstream advertisers began to reconsider, particularly during the late 1980's,

and into the 1990's (Walters, 2001). Many mainstream companies, like IBM, slowly began to publish advertisements in openly gay publications, such as the *Advocate*. Yet, "when the advertising became more obviously targeted to the gay market, the images remained the same as in the 'straight' advertisements, only the gender of the models changed" (Hicks, 2003:233). In other words, the themes and situations remained the same while the people in these advertisements shifted to same-sex.

I started this section arguing the implicit and explicit use of sex and sexuality to market and promote products is not new. What is relatively new is the level of sex used to sell and the more explicit depictions of homosexuality. Historically many media scholars and critics have argued the use of sex in the media sells products and services. However, in most instance this sex was connected to a masculine and compulsory heterosexual sexuality (Dotson, 1999). In other words, it was a boy meets girl brand of sexuality (Hicks, 2003). Some of the imagery used in ads with opposite gender models that were never seen as overtly sexual brought about outrage and cries for censorship when these same images showed same-sex people. This was particularly so if there was a full or partial nudity and flesh touching (Walters, 2001). Many companies who used such imagery were actually the target of boycotts, while gay rights groups fought back with charges of prejudice, discrimination and homophobia.

The point of this discussion is not to address specific advertisements. Rather, my aim is to introduce the reader to issues around the relationship between advertising and sexuality, specifically sexual identity. Furthermore, my aim here is to introduce some of the shifts around images of sexuality in advertising over time. Debates in this area will no doubt continue long after this research ends, particularly around the goals, larger purpose and impact

of images of sexuality in ads on the gay community and on gay identity, specifically around whether these

... advertisements, and the corporate lust for gay dollars that make them possible [are] proof that lesbians and gay men have further entered mainstream life, or are they just another example of how popular culture and commerce work together to keep minority groups marginalized and powerless. Is the credit for both reflecting [North American] culture and moving it forward, serving as a harbinger or changes to come in society as a whole? Is the willingness of advertisers to use [homoerotic] gay themed images and indication of progressive thinking, or simply an effective means to tap into a lucrative market? (Hicks, 2003:244).

The following section picks up on images of both gender and sexuality in advertising, looking at images of male bodies in the media. This section is not directly related to fatherhood in the media, but is none-the-less important in that it tells us about masculinity and male identity as constructed in, and represented through the mediated world.

#### **5.4 The Body Politics: The Eroticization and 'Objectification' of Male Bodies in Advertising**

Are fat bodies revolting? Popular culture would have us believe so ... (Jana Evans and Kathleen de Besco, 2001).

... in [North America] only women are supposed to worry about their appearance. The real man never looks into the mirror. That's effeminate (Mark Simpson, 1994).

After years of portraying women as half-wits and sex objects, advertising is turning those stereotypes on men (Sammy R. Danna, 1996).

. . . The analysis of the changing images of men in fashion, the media, and advertising in particular, reveals that sexual exploitations in not just a feminist issue (Judith Posner, 1990).

Over the last several decades there has been a veritable discursive explosion in interest in the human body and its' embodiment by sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, anatomists, and other practitioners of the natural and social sciences. Within the social sciences there is a growing recognition of the obvious and essential role of the body in the construction and negotiation of individual and social identities. The self is highly embodied and the body is all at once a deeply personal and socio-cultural and symbolic marker of our identities, roles and relationships (Dutton, 1999). Issues related to the body and embodiment are central to this research for several interrelated reasons. First, any discussion of masculinity is inherently and inescapably intertwined with the body because men both have bodies and masculinity is embodied. In other words, the significance of the male body in this study is that there are broader issues concerned with the nature of embodied masculinity and the coding categories for part of the case study draws on issues related to male bodies. Second, literature on masculinity and fatherhood has a recent history of drawing links between fathering and the male body (see Doucet, 2006). Indeed, some of this work looks specifically at the traditional links between fathering practices and embodied activities with children (such as, sport, recreation, leisure activities) all requiring a very embodied notion of fathering. Related to this is the literature suggesting that men have, and to some extent retain responsibility for the outdoor domestic/household maintenance and repairs, which is often linked to the use/misuse of male bodies. Finally, the empirical case study at the end of this dissertation relies on many

of the theoretical insights gleaned from this discussion of the eroticization, objectification and sexualization of male bodies in the media in order to code and analyze the data.

Academics with divergent theoretical and analytical orientations have come to recognize the integral interconnections between the materiality of the body and its more socio-cultural and symbolic status. It is precisely in this social and symbolic view of the body that theoretical and empirical discussions of the socially constructed status of the body and its relationship to gender, sexuality and other key sites of identity and social difference rest (Cavalliaro, 1998; Dotson, 1999; Gottschall, 1999). As such, we see the body as a medium that gets imprinted with meaning and/or interpreted in terms of specific meanings and ideologies. This level of theoretical and conceptual reasoning provides a framework through which the body becomes a vehicle of social expression and symbolic means. It becomes a site where our individual and collective sense of self is validated or not. In essence, at least in the North American context, our bodies have a vast influence on our existence and on our social roles and relationships. In a culture obsessed with depictions through the mediated world, the body has become a source of anxiety, insecurity and efforts to alter, control and otherwise regulate the self (Foucault, 1986).

Efforts to conform and bring bodies in line with prevailing cultural ideals is not new in that it is a universal human behavior that even the most primitive are not exempt (Dotson, 1999; Gill, 2006; Gottschall, 1999). This discussion leads to another important discussion around the body, particularly the socio-symbolic statuses of the body, the relationship between various media images and their impact on our sense of our selves and our bodies. This said the status of the body symbolically, as projected through media images and representations, such as ads, also has a drastic impact on the material body through our efforts to alter and

manipulate these material bodies to put them in line with the visual ideals presented in various media.

The contemporary symbolic and material body has become increasingly commodified and projected in ways that others visually consume, evaluate, and assign our status and worth based on our physical and aesthetic appearance. In short, “the modern preoccupation with the body (sometimes known as ‘bodyism’) takes the form of a concentration on the outward appearance of the body, as distinct from the control of the inner body which was the more exclusive concern of earlier centuries (Dutton, 1995:178). One thing that renders this development so interesting is that it is not confined to women, the gender traditionally and typically defined by their bodies, but now also includes men. For decades, and to some extent today, women have been held up to idealized and unrealistic ideals of feminine beauty, aesthetics appearance and bodily perfection. Media images and representations help to project, reinforce, and otherwise encourage women to accept, adopt, and internalize these ideals of beauty and appearance. Women continue to be caught in body culture and bodyism to a potentially dangerous degree, starving themselves and undergoing cosmetic surgery (Weiss, 1999). The images and representations of femininity and female appearance are believed by many to be at least partially responsible for the persistent ‘self-loathing’ body image issues and eating disorders among women and young girls, and increasingly among men and young boys (Dotson, 1999; Gottschall, 1999; Gill, 2006)).

A less frequently discussed, yet hotly debated, topic within and outside of academia is the status of masculinity and the male body in the modern mediated world. In other words, the degree and extent to which men and their sense of themselves and embodiment are subject to bodyism and media images and representations.

We have come to know much about male bodies . “Masculinity would seem to be all about the body. After all, one can hardly be a man without a male body” (Edwards, 2006:140). The problem here, however, is unraveling and comprehending the role and status of this body in the modern mediated world, and how it influences men’s sense of their bodies and embodiment. Every culture has its own particular ideals, expectations and types of bodily decorations and adornments for both sexes. Indeed, “anthropologists argue that the body is a bearer of signs. People have, traditionally and in modern societies, adorned their bodies. These adornments – clothing, jewelry, or scarification, tattooing and piercing – are all “signs” that express a particular person’s sense of belonging. Individuals negotiate the relationship between themselves and their society by manipulating their bodies; they reflect the wider social microcosm within their individual being” (Pronger, 2001:1). Increasingly, men and their bodies are being drawn into this process, particularly in terms of the growing presence and status of male bodies in the visual world of media. Indeed, some argue that in a matter of only a few years the male body has gone from near invisibility to hyper-visibility. Similarly, that these shifts towards depicting male bodies in various media “ . . . all attest to a shift in visual culture in which male bodies are presented in increasingly idealized and eroticized ways, which gives permission for them to be looked at” (Gill, 2006:1). Traditionally we have had an unwritten rule in North America in which ‘men look and women appear’ as the objects of the male gaze. Increasingly, especially with the presence and changing status of critical work on both masculinity and the male body in contemporary media and visual culture, the gaze has reversed. Rather than simply of bearer of masculinity because one has a male body normally, naturally, and unproblematically, men are increasingly having to prove their

masculinity and social worth through attention to perfecting their bodies and creating an acceptable appearance.

The twentieth and twenty-first centuries respectively are increasingly visual, ranging from advertising images in magazines on the streets, buses, stores etc, to images floating in cyber-space. The last few decades have witnessed the steady growth and proliferation of images and representations of male bodies in the visual images and representations of advertising. Where once images of femininity and female bodies dominated the mediated and visual worlds, increasingly men's bodies are depicted in these worlds. However, it is not simply that there are currently more male bodies in circulation, but that there are currently novel sets of representational practices for depicting these bodies: an idealized, eroticized and sexualized aesthetic obsessed with youth and a perfect physique (Bordo, 1999; Dotson, 1999; Dutton, 1995; Edwards, 2006; Gottschall, 1999, Posner, 1990; Luciano, 2001). While there is little debate over the sheer presence of the male body in media images, its less clear exactly how such representational practices and their associated images fit into larger discussions of media, masculinity, and identity. For some, such shifts signal economic changes and efforts by marketing firms and advertisers to corner new market niches. For others, these images clearly signal the involvement of men, masculinity and the male body in body culture (Gill, 2006). For still others, these shifts in the role and status of male bodies in the visual world of the media truly point to shifts in the gender order allowing for different ways of representing the male body and masculinity in the media. For men all three positions encapsulate the reality of such shifts in representations of men and their bodies. However, while I suggest that the male body is currently depicted in eroticized, objectified and sexualized in ways that are culturally and historically specific, male bodies have also been presented as desirable

throughout history and across cultures in a variety of ways and contexts. As I have mentioned before, and will pick up on again with the next section, the male body that is currently being presented and represented is an idealized and eroticized spectacle that is subject to female (and potentially male) desiring gaze. Similarly, that the types of male bodies used are increasingly similar in their idealized aesthetic appeal and physical perfection.

A number of trends have converged to produce 'new' representational practices for masculinity and the male body, among them feminism, various other social movements, shifts in the labor force, the rise of men as consumers, and consumerism itself. Feminism has been a central force in producing changes in both the gender order and in the ways that men and masculinity are regarded. They have spent decades interrogating conventional gender arrangements and associated assumptions about gender relations. These efforts have not only problematized traditional masculinity, they have helped reorganize social roles and relationships, and occupational roles, and essentially call traditional assertions around masculine attitudes and behaviors into question (Gill, 2006). Feminist critiques assisted in the ability of men to incorporate previous traits and behaviors into their identities as men that were previously seen as feminine; namely emotionality, intimacy, caring, consumption/shopping, and so forth.

The rise of other social movements joined feminism to demand equality, liberation and an identity based politics (for example, peace movements and anti-racist movements). Taken together, these and other movements argued for reorganization of society, politics and our roles and relationships, as well as promoting a different version and vision of masculinity. They promoted a masculinity that was more intimately connected to family, community and self, essentially the antheses of traditional masculinity. All of this occurred at a peculiar

historical moment. When women entered occupations in growing numbers, men had increased leisure time and retailers and ad agencies were trying to tap this potential market of male consumers. Particularly during the 1950s' but certainly before this, advertisers and the associated industries have tried to adopt their commercial imagery to appeal differently to women and a 'new' male consumer. Drastic economic shifts, particularly during the 1980's witnessed an even greater decline in manufacturing and a sustained rise in the shopping and retailing sector. Alongside this was a new sense in which shopping was promoted as an important leisure activity. Advertisers along with others, moved in here to transform men into consumers, integrate them into consumer culture and market, a growing array of products and services to the discerning male consumer (Wernick, 1990). This was a rather revolutionary development because men had traditionally been seen as a different market to tap.

Women have always been considered the main markets, particularly for retailers and advertisers, since they were encouraged to consume and cultivate their bodies and appearance as part of femininity and using media and advertising as a model. As for men, "traditionally women had done a lot of the shopping for them: mothers, and wives of heterosexual men usually bought many of their clothes. So targeting men as consumers were seen as something that was very difficult but something that promised huge rewards (Gill, 2006).

The rise of the gay movement and the associated proliferation of advertising aimed specifically at gay men have also radically altered representational procedures for depicting masculinity. Increasingly with recognition of the potentially lucrative gay market both gay and mainstream media are offering new and pleasurable representations of masculinity and the male body". Most notably, advertisers aiming at the gay market have cleaved apart the association of masculinity with heterosexuality and the illusion of masculinity with activity by

showing men not simply as sexual subjects, but as objects of desire” (Gill, 2006:3). This type of representational practice, as I have said, is now mainstream, particularly as a result of the realization that such representations of men previously confined to gay subcultures are desirable to heterosexual women. This brings us back to a theme I introduced earlier in this section, and one that is central in discussions of male bodily representations in the media, the female gaze. The growing visibility and acceptability of sexualized, eroticized, and objectified representations of men and male bodies outside of gay media has given permission to gay men to look at male bodies and facilitated a new kind of gaze for women. There has been an extreme disruption in the politics of looking so that men have become the objects rather than the exclusive subjects of the desiring gaze. This issue is the theme of the next section of this chapter.

## **5.5 Men’s Bodies, Women’s Eyes: The Reversed Gaze and Male Bodily Display**

... there are clearly many adverts, which are tapping into the idea of women being subjects, looking at men’s bodies (Rosalind Gill, 2006).

With few exceptions women have conventionally been denied explicit opportunities to view the nude or semi-nude male body. During the nineteenth century a few of these strictures were lifted. While this was not universal, it was not that women never viewed male bodies. Rather, it was that such practices were not widely accepted. The Women’s Liberation Movement sought to change this situation, and from the 1970s’ onward there were various attempts in both media and public representations to open the male body up to the female gaze. “More specifically, these moves were to take place not under the banner of artistic license or higher purposes, but with the avowed intention of presenting the male body as object of

desire” (Dutton, 1995: 330). Hence, in popular women’s, and even a select groups of men’s magazines the male body became a regular visual presence. While it is certainly the case that these images were open to a general audience, the male body and bodily display were open to a potentially desiring female (and male) audience in an erotic exchange and as desirable object on a scale previously unknown. If we look at modern men’s underwear, cologne and jeans commercials it is not difficult to see examples of this use erotic and sexual imagery to both display male bodies and promote products.

The emergence and proliferation of the ‘idealized’ and ‘eroticized’ male body image as potential object of the female gaze has created a dilemma for many feminists, particularly since it contradicts traditional gender assumptions that men look and women are looked at (Cavallario, 1998). Generally speaking there are two quite divergent views held by many feminists in relation to the idea of the male body as public and objectified object. First, some feminists view male bodily display as a welcome turn towards gender equality so that men can experience the kind of issues around the body that decades of women have suffered under (Dutton, 1999). Thus, by placing men in the ‘submissive’ category as the object of the gaze it helps to restore gender relations to a place of equality. This is felt by some to be among the main motivations behind the rapidly growing presence of the nude and semi-nude male body as decorations and playthings in advertising promoting various products and services. There has also been a proliferation of magazines and other publications that focus almost entirely on visual depictions of the nude and semi-nude male centerfold, for example, *Playgirl* and *Cosmopolitan*. In many respects these venues for male bodily display draw heavily on depictions of the nude male body in gay iconography (Mistry, 2002).

A second position on male bodily display views such role reversals as highly problematic and that decades of the use and misuse of the female body in the visual and mediated worlds are no grounds on which to celebrate the male sex-object and male bodily display (Posner, 1990). Indeed, we are on a rather slippery slope whereby both men and women are becoming bodies that are used and misused, eroticized and objectified and generally commercially and voyeuristically exploited. At various times the divergent attitudes towards male bodily display disseminated within feminism is explicable by identifying the evolution in the movements themselves, as well as by shifting, often competing and conflicting theoretical, epistemological and analytical commitments. Initially feminism launched full-scale attacks on what many saw as the sexual stereotyping of women as wives, mothers, and then as sexualized, submissive decorative symbols in the mass media and popular culture. Successive generations of feminism have struggled in their own ways to reconcile these concerns with their divergent orientations, approaches and commitments (Gill, 2006).

There is a branch of modern post-feminists who seek to modify many of the underlying assumptions of both the first and second waves of feminism. While my goal here is not to trace the developments of this branch of feminism in depth, it is important to point out that many of these feminists believe that women are sufficiently sexually liberated to take control of their sexuality, and to construct men as sexual objects. Finally, that the reversal of the gaze or even women being looked at does not disempower women (Rose, 1996)

At this point it is important to ask whether sexual images of men offered up to women as sexual spectacles actually reverses the traditional and fundamental power politics of sexuality beyond the superficial shifts in the object/subject roles. Is it truly the case that 'looking as power' and 'being looked at as powerless undergoes modification when the male

body is exposed, displayed and positioned as erotic and sexual object? Similarly, is it possible that many of these shifts do anything to alter male identities? While some could argue that the above questions can be answered simply, male bodily displays reaffirm their power, I believe this is an over simplified approach to male bodily display, masculinities and representation. Similarly, to connect modern male bodily display directly to patriarchy and power is an overly naive and simplistic picture of the values and ideologies that can be attached to, and read through the modern male body as object of the female gaze. The reading of the mediated male body is one of the more problematic issues currently plaguing the analysis of many visual media. In the case of the presentation of the male body to the female gaze, the issue is further complicated by the socio-sexual perspective of the viewer (Dutton, 1995). Clearly, the debates within feminism as to the implicit symbolism of the male body and bodily display are far from resolved. Part of the problem here resides in interpretation as well as the metaphoric power of the body itself, its capacity to symbolize and incorporate the often ambiguous and even contradictory social messages which modern western culture sends to them in an effort to establish their own meanings and identity. Similarly, addressing the body in these contexts is relatively new terrain for feminists and for men themselves.

## **5.6 The Male Body Objectified and on Display: Tracing Developments In Male Bodily Representation**

We cannot pretend that discourses on the relationship between the male body and bodily display and power are not a presence in empirical and theoretical discussions of media, gender and identity. However, approaching the male body and images purely in terms of the symbolic encoding of patriarchy and male power is insufficient and does not do justice to the growing number of men disempowered by increasing visual display and consumption of

images of male bodily perfection. Consequently, it also overlooks a rapidly growing array of visual contexts in which the modern male body is the object of the desiring female (and male) gaze. I am certainly not denying the existence of visual representations of the powerful male body, and by implication the connections between these bodily representations and patriarchal or macho masculinity. Rather, what I am arguing is that media displays and consumption of the male body is open to multiple readings. Indeed, competing and/or contradictory readings are not only possible but is highly plausible. Furthermore, if we assume that displays of power and dominance underpin all visual representations and presentations of the male body regardless of the specific context we seriously limit what we can say about masculinity and the body as well as what can be said about these issues in relationship to media, gender and identity. In doing this we also necessarily leave aside all male bodily representations and displays that do not confirm and conform to representational practices associated with male power and dominance.

I believe that we should even look at male bodily representation and visual consumption in terms of two often competing or co-existing practices: first, depictions or representations of the male body as power object, stressing masculine traits of assertiveness, dominance and competence (for example, those associated with phallic symbolism) (Schehr, 1997). Second, that male bodily representation in the visual and mediated worlds is capable of being objectified, sexualized, eroticized and idealized for visual consumption, pleasure and even desire. Conventionally masculine power and dominance has been encoded in the male body and bodily display through an exaggerated male perfectible or muscled physique. By sharp contrast, modern popular images of the male body as sexual and erotic object are most commonly, albeit not exclusively, associated with a lean, trim and well developed male

physique. While this body is not overly muscle-bound like older versions it remains an idealized and stylized male bodily ideal that few 'real' men approximate. Facially, this modern male body ideal is also less rugged, tough and harsh than its historical counterpart. "In popular media images designed to appeal to both female and gay male viewers, a little athleticism is combined with regular facial features bordering on the neoteric or 'pretty' rather than the rugged or mature . . . ." (Dutton, 1995: 344).

In many contexts the use of erotic and aesthetic modes of male bodily representation employ homoerotic images. What helps set these images apart from those in gay publications or those employing homoeroticism is the extension of the gaze to women and the appropriation of the homoerotic imagery into mainstream visual culture (Bordo, 1999; Gill, 2006; Gottschall, 1999; Sturken & Cartwright, 2001).

Indeed, everything from male strippers to erotic advertising images depict modern male bodies as the object of visual consumption and desire, often using visual cues typically associated with the male-to-female gaze. The relatively recent integration of male bodily display and objectification and the use of homoerotic imagery and the female-to-male gaze into visual and mediated culture, as well as their growing social acceptability owe a great deal of their success to shifts in the gender order more generally.

Even a cursory analysis of contemporary ad images demonstrates that we can no longer make the universal association between the male body and symbolic expressions of power, dominance, and brute force or 'macho-masculinity'. Men are no longer men or masculine simply because they are men, nor is masculinity produced through and by the male body. The emergence of these erotic and sexual images of men's bodies has led to various claims about what is happening to hegemonic masculinity. One such claim is that we are experiencing

radical shifts in gender roles and relationships and in the 'scopic order'. That it is no longer just women who are objectified ; men are too. Related to this is the claim that men are encouraged to define themselves in, and through their bodies and appearance, particularly in light of various economic shifts and what has happened to work and careers. The decline of manufacturing and shifts in the notion of jobs for life as well as consumer culture targeting the new male consumer have all cumulated in men's new search for a source of identity.

Consumer and visual culture, especially advertising industries have moved in to instruct men and offer up identities for sale. "Here the body has emerged center-stage" (Gill, 2006:5).

### **5.7 The Modern Male Body in Context: What Is Next?**

Disrobed for our approving inspection in advertising images, stripped for military or pugilistic combat on cinema or TV screens, flaunted in strip-shows, paraded in body building contests and muscle magazines, provocatively bared in erotic centerfolds, the male body today has acquired public exposure without parallel in our history (Kenneth Dutton, 1995)

We have examined the male body in terms of visual culture, reversed spectatorship and how it is currently under theoretical and analytical scrutiny. The male body continues to be a rather elusive construction in the modern western world and imagination. Like the human body generally, the male body specifically has historically functioned as a symbol, a metaphor of what men are, seek to be, or should be (Bordo, 1999; Dotson, 1999; Rohlinger, 2002). This situation of the male body is no less the case in modern culture. Therefore, our physical self does not and cannot exist independently from the social and symbolic self. The particular meanings that we attribute to the body as we seek to understand it are influenced by the people that we meet daily. These same meanings and understandings that are read into, onto and

through our body, as well as the meanings and understandings that we force on the person with that physical body are constructed and reinforced in various media. While the body is no more than an external surface or shell, it is the most immediate instrument or venue for our interactions with the external world. The physical body also remains the most immediate and readily available sign of our individual and collective identities (Dotson, 1999; Cavallaro, 1998).

The modern body seems to incorporate and encode our modern values, aspirations and anxieties, which respond to, and help condition the methods and modes of bodily representation and presentation in various media. The late twentieth century and now into the twenty-first century has been marked by deep uncertainty around human values, meanings and lifestyles, particularly since advertising and other media depict all of these as fluid and flexible and endlessly consumable. Modern western and urbanized cultures have become overly preoccupied with lifestyles, visual and mediated cultures, and the surfaces and appearances of many things. The introduction and proliferation of various media and visual forms, for example television, advertising and the internet have only accentuated this situation, particularly in reference to the male body. Faced with consumer and commodity cultures as well as the various technological developments we are increasingly living a sedentary lifestyle. However, while this may be true physical exercise has come into vogue as a symbol of lifestyle in the lives of many people. In fact, images of success in competitive society are increasingly associated with fitness and competition for building and sculpting the body, especially among men (Dotson, 1999). Consequently, a whole fitness industry grew up around these lifestyles and body sculpting, with a fashion industry and grooming industry in place to complete our aesthetic appearance.

Many institutions in contemporary Western culture, such as advertising, are sending contradictory messages and fostering uncertainty and ambiguity around the status we attribute to the human body. As part of this uncertainty values are shifting and meanings are defined and based on the external body more frequently than internal traits, values and so forth. Modern Western society is increasingly concerned with surfaces, spectacles and the images of things on a level where they have almost taken over the things themselves, especially the body. The concept of 'bodyism' has quickly emerged out of this preoccupation with the external, visible 'self' based on the external body. Increasingly, we treat the body as an object that can be controlled, modified and even altered to be put in line with shifting socio-cultural ideals and expectations. The current state of the body in visual and consumer-commodity culture renders it an almost plastic, malleable object that is quite separate from the intimate and internal elements of the self. We externalize and manipulate the body to fit with the self that we and those around us construct for us. At a time of widespread disillusionment with the cultures of mass media and technology, the possibilities for the 'improvement' of the body by instrumental techniques renders it subject to the dictates of fashion (Bolino,2003), popular media images and exploitative consumerism so that the body itself has become a sort of commodity, an object of mass consumerism. The scope afforded by the visual media to open sexual voyeurism has also widened considerably. Indeed, with the exception of artistic nudes, at no other period in western social history have we been presented with such all pervasive and public representations of the male body as the objects of erotic pleasure and as the object of scrutiny.

The body, human sexuality, and increasingly gender roles are in constant flux as are the often complex and ambiguous meanings and status we attach to them. The incremental

entry of women into previously male dominated domains and a renewed demand for sexual equality are placing hegemonic masculinity into serious question. While many men respond quite favorably, fostering a new sense of self, others are quite reactionary and in some cases even anti-women in their responses to these changes. In the midst of all of this uncertainty the mass media and communications are intervening with images and representations of a highly idealized and stylized masculinity and male body. While every male does not and cannot embrace or attain these ideals, they could hardly fail to avoid being at least somewhat affected by them. Whether one adopts or is attentive to these images and ideals, men are forced to confront images of the young, physically fit and stylized male body. Hence, if masculinity is an increasingly central focus of academic and non-academic debates in modern Western culture, the male body is no less so.

As men's studies gains momentum and scholars research and write about issues related to male identity, men are also being forced to confront themselves and their sense of what it currently means to be a man in modern culture. For some men this struggle merely means looking to reassess traditional patriarchal masculine traits. However, for other men the solution is much less clear and absolute. It is at this point at which the relatively new 'cult' of male bodyism is most influential and potentially damaging. It may well be that feminist struggles to overcome stereotypical roles and images is yet to find its male counterparts. However, clearly, masculinity and the male body will never look or be experienced in quite the same way ever again. Like it or not, agree or disagree, the modern male body is subject to societal scrutiny and socio-cultural ideals as never before. The next section begins to investigate the development and proliferation of male focused men's magazines and their impact on socio-cultural construction and ideals for masculinities.

## **6.0 Men's General Interest and Lifestyle Magazines: A 'New' Force in Constructing and Reinforcing Ideals for Masculinity?**

Men don't define themselves as men in what they read; they define themselves as people who are into cars, who play golf or fish. Successfully launching a general men's magazine would be like finding the Holy Grail (Zed Zawada, cited in Lucy Brown, 2002).

Contemporary men's magazines, as we currently recognize them, were introduced into North American culture amidst a climate of skepticism and criticism, particularly from feminists who raised questions as to whether these publications were a positive or negative force in shaping gender roles and relationships (Sharples, 2002). The purpose of this chapter is neither to retrace theoretical developments in masculinity studies nor to take a side in the associated debates over the social role of men's magazines. Rather, the purpose of this chapter is to trace some of the major developments in these magazines in terms of the models for masculinity that they helped to shape and reinforce. Tracing such developments in men's magazines provides invaluable insights into many of the current discourses on media, gender and identity, as well as within the growing body of literature on masculinity generally. The case study in this research relies on many of the theoretical, conceptual and analytical insights related to studies of men's magazines to look at cultural representations of both masculinity and fatherhood in advertising imagery more broadly.

Far from introducing and reaffirming the 'crisis' in masculinity thesis, the intent of this chapter is to demonstrate how the introduction and popularization of these men's magazines have arguably sought to attach themselves to the 'crisis' notion in order to appeal to a broader male readership. In doing this these magazines were able to instruct men on idealized visions for masculinity at a given historical moment, educating them on a vast array of lifestyle and

identity issues related to their appearance, bodies, sexuality, sexual relationships, health and so forth. Discussions of the development and popularity of men's magazines is important also because these publications represent a novel development in the media and cultural landscape that opened up the discursive space for society generally, and men specifically to begin to rethink masculinity and male identities. Finally, while this case study does not focus specifically on men's magazines, it does include *Esquire*, which is defined as such. Similarly some of the conceptual and analytical categories for the larger analysis arose out of discussions on men's magazines.

Traditionally the majority of magazines aimed at a male audience tended to focus on an extremely narrow range of subjects considered of interest to men, such as, pornography/erotica, sports, leisure, recreational activities, automotive and hobbies. The appeal to a specific audience and model of masculinity was taken for granted and presumed hegemony in terms of men's lifestyles, identities and consumer tastes. This said, *Esquire* has existed in varied forms since the 1930's and is widely regarded to be the predecessor of the 1980s' and 1990's men's magazines. Seeking to strike a balance between recognizing men as consumers and maintaining compulsory heterosexuality, this magazine and others of its kind were introduced into decades of intense sexual and gender tensions (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001). Despite the existence of some more male orientated and gay publications, the notion of launching a men's general interest and lifestyle magazine was met with criticism and skepticism both in North America and abroad. Despite this much of the 1980's and 1990's was marked by efforts to develop and market men's magazines under various titles and with varying levels of success (Brown, 2002; Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001). All of this said, one notable exception to the climate of criticism and skepticism around men's magazines

was the launch of *Achilles Heel* in 1978 and its efforts to position itself socially and politically.

Accordingly, “. . . this was a radical journal run by a collective of socialist men who were interested men’s consciousness-raising and other forms of anti-sexist politics. With its close links to feminism and interest in men’s liberation, the magazine was never commercially very significant. But it provided an important forum for debates about changing masculinities, including discussions about the significance of the ‘new man’ and the ‘new man’ glossies” (Jackson, Stevenson and Brookes, 2001: 27).

Those historical developments in men’s lifestyle and general interest magazines point to their long and complex history, predating their immense popularity during the 1980's and 1990's. Many of these men’s magazines were different than those of previous generations since their editors often had backgrounds in style industries, music and other genres of magazines within the broader industry. In short, despite early efforts to introduce men’s magazine, it took some time since there was a general skepticism prior to the 1980's about whether men would actually buy such magazines, particularly those which focused on and sought to expose intimate aspects of their public lives. However, the men’s magazine industry exploded and grew to great success throughout much of the 1980's and 1990's, with many remaining popular today. The following sections divide the developments of men’s magazines into two distinct, yet related and overlapping periods in their history. Both of these historical moments speak to two divergent, yet central models of masculinity: the ‘new man’ of the 1980's and the ‘new lad’ of the 1990's. At the outset of this chapter there was discussion about some of the questions posed in relation to the content of these magazines and whether they were a positive and progressive development in both gender politics and in their depictions of masculinity and femininity. Consequently, did both the editorial content and visual images

signal a significant revision or change in how men could be addressed as men, particularly through different images and discourses on male sexuality, sexual relationships and issues related to male identity? Conversely, there were concerns by some that these magazines could actually be implicitly, or even explicitly reinforcing traditional and conventional connections between masculinity, heterosexuality and patriarchy under the guise of 'real' changes in masculinity (Brown, 2002; Sharples, 2002). Were the magazines industries publishing and distributing these men's magazines merely adopting the rhetoric of change in relation to masculinity as a clever marketing tool to attract readers, expand markets and further promote consumerism?

Men's lifestyle and general interest magazines had, and continue to flourish in North America and abroad. Together, discussions of men's magazines and developments therein fit within the broader focus of this dissertation since they provide part of the larger picture of developments in both media and visual culture, as well as shifts in cultural representations of masculinity which are a focal point of the empirical case study for this work. These publications assist in the production and dissemination of ideals for gender roles and relations generally, and for masculinity specifically that force us to think and rethink possibilities for the performance of men's gender. Consequently, "the unprecedented commercial success of men's magazines in the [1980's and the 1990's to present] suggests that something has changed in the way that men can be addressed as men" (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001: 2).

The introduction of men's general interest and lifestyle magazines also begs the question as to what extent their associated images and ideals for masculinity reflect real changes in masculinity and gender/sexual politics or the efforts of the magazine and associated images industries to capitalize on the rhetoric of changes. This question is centrally important

to this research since much of the theoretical and empirical discussion in this dissertation seeks to elaborate on, and discuss some of the real and/or proposed shifts in masculinity in advertising. Hence, as previously discussed, many of the theoretical debates and issues of content related to developments in men's magazines are both useful and inform the empirical work in this case study and in the theoretical chapters that precede it.

While a considerable body of theory and research exists on cultural ideals and expectations for femininity, female bodies and women's sexualities, considerably less comparable work has been done on similar issues in relation to men and masculinity. However, it is in the larger context of research on women's magazines that we are able to locate a wider context and justification for comparable work on men's magazines. From the conceptual and theoretical insights provided in discussions related to men's lifestyle and general interest magazine I was able to construct many of the empirical categories relevant to analyzing images and ideals for masculinity of interest to this research.

The majority of men's general interest and lifestyle magazines tended to be charged with being overly stylistic and low in editorial content. However, they were also highly successful in capturing the interest of a 'new' male readership that might not have been as responsive five to ten years previously (Brown, 2002). Between 1980 and 1990 a whole array of men's lifestyle and general interest magazines were introduced into the magazine market with varied degrees of success and influence, including *Loaded*, *FHM*, *Men's Health*, *Men's Journal*, *Maxim*, *Men's Health*, *Men's Fitness*, *Esquire*, *Gentlemen's Quarterly* and *Stuff* (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001). For the first time men's magazines focused explicitly on issues related to men and various facets of their personal, sexual and lifestyle 'choices'. By allowing the space for a broader range of images and ad campaigns many of these men's

magazines addressed a wider, more diversified audience, which secured a larger readership and profit margin (Sharples, 2002). After their initial introduction and some struggle, men's magazines rapidly began to outsell some of the more popular women's magazines within Canada, America and abroad.

Engaging with representations of masculinity in media generally, and in men's magazines specifically attention to diversity, as well as context, historical moment and context is crucial. Although some images in magazines may be considered dominant or 'hegemonic' as with masculinity, these depictions are articulated in relation to wider sets of power relations and are always contested (Sharples, 2002). Therefore, even in terms of media images of masculinity consideration should be afforded to diversity or plurality in constructions of masculinity. Male readers, in their performance of masculinity, are able to adopt and adapt elements of a plurality of images into their repertoire of gender practices. Consequently, the introduction and popularization of men's magazines continues to spark debate about their content and potential impact on cultural ideals and expectations for masculinity

The following section examines many of the previously discussed issues around the introduction, popularization and real or imagined impact of these magazines on cultural ideals and expectations for masculinity between 1980 to the present). The following section examines two related historical moments in the development and popularization of men's general interest and lifestyle magazines. As part of this discussion this section addresses the contribution of these magazines to constructing and re-enforcing discourses on masculinity, male sexuality and male lifestyles and identities generally. Additionally, this section addresses the real and/or ideological impact of images and ideals in these magazines on men's self identity and self esteem.

## **6.1 Questions of Content: Men's General Interest and Lifestyle Magazines: Discourses on Lifestyles and Identities**

In the preceding section we examined the appearance and popularity of men's general interest and lifestyle magazines which continues to spark debates about their content and impact on cultural constructions and performances of masculinity. The popularity of such publications, especially throughout the 1980's and 1990's positions them as a useful venue for studying cultural ideals and expectations for masculinity (men's public, professional, sexual and family lives). While these magazines are diverse, this section of the chapter focuses on how the visual content of these magazines helps construct and reinforce ideals and expectations for men's gender roles and relationships, particularly in terms of their sexual identities and relationships with women and children. This focus is central for two related reasons: first, questions about various elements of male identities are still very much on the academic agenda. Second, issues related to the connections between and tensions within masculinity, male identity, and men's bodies, sexualities, and so forth are central analytical, theoretical and conceptual categories running throughout this research. Consequently, "Given the popularity of the magazines and the fact that many of the features concerns men's behavior and relationship, it seemed possible that the magazines represented an acceptable vehicle for exploring the more intimate aspects of masculinity, for which few alternatives [existed]" (Morely, cited in Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001: 74).

While the use of masculinity and male identity as a marketing tool is often used to justify the existence and popularity of men's magazines there is no consensus in terms of their existence and impact. It has already been pointed out that some critics of these publications believe that they represent little more than refashioned patriarchy and that they advocated anti-

feminist ideals. Following from this, rapid social changes over the last several decades have placed masculinity in 'crisis' and these magazines further reinforce this one-dimensional portrayal of manhood. Consequently, modern men's magazines successfully reinforce stereotypical images of 'macho' masculinity, at the expense of realistic depictions which focus on diversity, complexity and even contradiction within male identities. Whether one is looking at men's magazines during the 1980's or the present many of whom emphasize the rhetoric of changes in masculinity and thereby build their imagery around their own particular conceptualization of change. At stake in these debates is the level and degree to which these publications represent a positive or negative force in society, particularly given that many of them refuse to expose masculinity to criticism and thereby working to reformulate definitions and performances of manhood (Brown, 2002; Gauntlett, 2002; Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2002; Sharples, 2002).

Those who celebrate men's magazines as a positive force in both the advertising and magazine industries point to them as evidence for changes in what is deemed 'acceptable' concerns for men. That these magazines, with their textual and visual focus on men's lifestyle and consumer choices are reflective of broader shifts in gender politics. Thus these magazines are successfully opening the visual and discursive space for questioning masculinity and male identities in a rapidly changing social world. Reflecting on these tensions over the content and goals of men's magazine, Brown asserts that, "the magazines are . . . caught between an attempt to construct masculinity as a form of fundamental certitude, while simultaneously responding to a world where gender relations are changing" (2002: 2). While responding to socio-cultural, economic and political changes in the Western world, there are also debates about the level and degree to which men embrace these magazines, particularly in terms of

their initial introduction. Thus, “. . . to most men this is an acceptable contradiction. Self-disclosure and self-consciousness is viewed as permissible, even attractive in women, it is perceived as weak and unmanly in men” (Sharples, 2002: 2).

Moving beyond questions of the impact and effect of men’s magazines, many initially believed that these publications would fail. Even if they experienced initial success, men were not used to talking about and confronting issues related to masculinity, nor were most men in the habit of taking instruction on intimate and personal aspects of the identities (such as health, sexuality and appearance). Beyond questions of gender and sexual politics in relation to feminism, history points out that hegemonic masculinity in the west has meant that men define themselves as ‘self confident’, ‘self reliant’ and in control, not as people into self disclosure. Similarly, men are supposed to be into leisure, sports, recreation, work and heterosexual sexual conquest (Connell, 1995). Launching a general interest or men’s lifestyle magazine, especially those associated with images and discourses on love, romance, fashion and appearance runs counter to acceptable masculinity, and might therefore be unpopular. However, the initial and continued success as well as the influence of these magazines points to definite shifts in gender politics, especially in terms of what are legitimate concerns for men. Additionally, the persistence and popularity of various men’s magazines suggests different ways in which men can be addressed both as gendered and social beings.

While the introduction and popularity of various men’s magazines points to shifts in how men could be addressed, skepticism around their retention of elements of the traditional gender stereotypes and status quo never entirely ceased. Several of these magazines tried to address and construct the male subject through both conscious and unconscious dimensions of manhood. In this way many of them addressed the male reader as a ‘friend’ or a ‘mate’,

offering them friendly advice on their personal, professional and sexual life. In some respect they also offered men advice on more traditional masculine concerns, such as sexual conquest and having more and better sex. Throughout the 1980's men's magazines were successful in their appeals to a softer, more 'narcissistic' masculinity associated with the 'new man'. By sharp contrast, much of the success of these magazines during the later 1980's and into the 1990's was premised on their concerted efforts to construct and define masculinity based on a more 'laddish' masculinity, one associated with implicit sexism, leisure lifestyles and carefree fun. Thus, there is an inherent contradiction when addressing developments in men's magazines in terms of their content and impact on masculinity.

Early in the 1980's there was a whole generation of men's magazines that seemingly challenged hegemonic constructions of masculinity associated with previous decades and in the process reformulate cultural constructions and performances of masculinity. In this way, these men's magazines sought to construct and reinforce a model of masculinity under the guise of the 'new man', who would be more emotionally available, concerned with his appearance, and committed to gender and sexual equality. This model of masculinity, as we will see later was a direct contradiction to the model of masculinity evident in the men's magazines of the 1990's who was premised on a play with knowing sexism and reformulated patriarchy. "In sociological terms the magazines can be made sense of by identifying the social and cultural contradictions that they are trying to handle, caught between an awareness that old-style patriarchal relations are crumbling and the desire to reinscribe power relations between different genders and sexualities" (Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001: 79).

It remains unclear what men's magazines were really intended to accomplish, except to say that they were and still are big business with a diverse and vast readership. Similarly,

whether directly or indirectly, these magazines continue to have a profound impact on cultural constructions and ideals for masculinity and men's lifestyles and identities. Through their role in helping to define and shape masculinity, these magazines have become financially successful in their abilities to define new markets, secure profits and enhance their readership. Most men did not simply or necessarily change their attitudes, values and behaviors in response to the sheer growth in men's magazines. Rather, the very presence and popularity of these magazines suggests that something had changed in masculinity. Consequently, "During the 1980's, for example, men started to take greater interest in buying clothes with the result that magazines could be supported with advertising, so there was, a commercial base. Ten years later, men have become more comfortable with considering various parts of their lives and engaging in the consumer market in ways, and on levels unrealized in previous decades" (Sharples, 2002: 3). The debates rage over whether men were simply becoming more comfortable with their masculinity and whether the magazine and advertising industries were tapping into this for profit or whether these industries were causing such changes in masculinity.

The following section picks up on some of the core themes addressed in the previous section, particularly in terms of the commercialization of masculinity and male identities. Specifically, the next section looks at the men's magazines of both the 1980's and the 1990's and their respective commercial images of masculinity (the 'New Man' and the 'New Lad')

## **6.2 Men's Lifestyle and General Interest Magazines: Cultural Representations of the 'New Man' and the 'New Lad'**

Young men are being sold images which rupture traditional icons of masculinity. They are stimulated to look at themselves and other men as objects of consumer desire. They are getting

pleasures previously branded as taboo or feminine. A new bricollage of masculinity is the noise coming from the fashion houses, the marketplace and the streets (Frank Mort, 1988).

In recent years there has been a growing interest in men's magazines, particularly lifestyle and more general interest ones. This is particularly important within the context of this research since, "this is partly attributable to the more arts, humanities and social sciences, and partly a result of the sudden proliferation of lifestyle titles targeted at men in the 1980's and 1990s . . . " (Gill, 2007:204). These men's general interest and lifestyle magazines in Canada, the United States and in the UK are an important vehicle for understanding masculinities. These publications are a central locus and breeding ground for what has been dubbed the 'new man' of the 1980s and the 'new lad' of the 1990s (Benwell, 2004; Beynon, 2001; Nixon, 2001). In part, these two models are often perceived as responses to second-wave feminism, post-feminism, or more appropriately for my purposes as part of a wider process of the commodification of masculinities. Critics suggest that this 'new' man is little more than the same old man in a new form or that he is more of an academic abstraction than a reality. If we presume that he does exist, what does the new man look like? Related to this, where does he originate?

At the outset it needs to be made clear that the 'new man' exists in two separate, yet related senses. First, the new man exists in relation to feminism and men's reactions to social change and the changing role of men in the 1970s and 1980s in reaction to feminism (Beynon, 2002). The new man in this sense spoke to a movement of pre-feminist men who aligned themselves ideologically and often literally or practically with feminism and who were working towards social change (Christian, 1994). This is not the sense in which I am referring to the new man, although I acknowledge a debt to these discussions.

The second sense in which the 'new man' exists is associated with the commercialization of masculinity, particularly in relation to the rise and popularity of men's general interest and lifestyle magazines. He is a more commercial male identity and speaks to the expansion of consumerism since the end of the second world war (Beynon, 2002; Edwards, 2006; Gill, 2007; Nixon, 2001). The new man in this sense is frequently referred to the 'new-man-as narcissist' who is interested in his body and appearance, particularly in terms of his attention to fashion. "Although the commercialization of masculinity accelerated in the 1980s, the trend has its origins in the late 1950s pop culture . . ." (Beynon, 2002:102). Specifically this man was said to be heavily implicated in shifts in the politics of looking occurring in visual culture, particularly since he was fashion conscious, dressed as such, and liked to be looked at (Nixon, 1996; 2001). Alternatively, the new man seemed to speak to a shift from class identity to a masculinity to be gazed upon, admired, even desired. The 'new man' in this context is much more of a commodified and style-based one.

During the beginning stages of the 1980s, the commercial exploitation of masculinity and men-as-sex-objects grew into a big business. "The voyeuristic sexualization of the female body, its packaging as visual erotica, was now transferred to the male body with the same ultimate purpose in mind – to sell, sell" (Beynon, 2002:103). The 1980s also witnessed a dramatic shift in the politics of looking, particularly as men became the object of the female and potentially male gaze, especially among young, fashionable urban men with high disposable incomes (Sturken & Cartwright, 2001; Nixon, 1996, 2001). In various genres of photography a new narcissistic man emerged who was well-groomed, physically and aesthetically pleasing and image-conscious. At the same time, the 1980s witnessed the expansion of clothing stores exclusively for men, new visual representational practices for

masculinity in advertising, particularly on television. With these new representational practices the male body was further eroticized and objectified (Bordo, 1999; Dotson, 1999; Gottschall, 1999, Posner, 1990). "In the hands of photographers . . . advertising agencies . . . and in cards and posters . . . a narcissistic man emerged, self-confident, well-groomed, muscular, but also sensitive" (Beynon, 2002:104).

Finally, as this entire chapter makes clear, the emergence of a new generation of men's lifestyle and general interest magazines particularly men's lifestyle presses, during the 1980s had a huge impact on both popular culture/mass media and on cultural representations of masculinity. Between the covers of these new publications was a plethora of visual and textual material resources for men to negotiate a sense of self and self-identity based on a more flexible and diverse masculinity. Hence, in terms of both layout and content, these 'new' men's magazines were really a rather novel development geared towards a 'new man' (Jackson, Stevenson & Brocks, 2001). They represented a sort of 'lifestyle manual' for men, offering them new ways of 'being' men, of performing their gender, while simultaneously providing themselves a mirror to look at themselves and to be looked at by others. In short, ". . . the new style magazines in the 1980s had a considerable impact on new markets for the constant re-construction of masculinity through consumption" (Edwards, 1997:2).

Homoerotic and overtly gay imagery was also quite predominant in early fashion pages of men's lifestyle and lifestyle magazines, and were often blamed for the feminism of masculinity and men's fashion. Some critics felt that there was an overuse or misuse of the 'gay look' in mainstream men's fashion, including the setting up of 'macho' masculinity in terms of hyper-masculinity. Conversely, various critics within, and on behalf of the gay community resented what they saw as the cheapening and commercialization of gay identity in

mainstream fashion industries. All of this said, the 1980s was characterized by two general masculinities: the Wall-street yuppie, and the old industrial man (Beynon, 2002). While the term 'yuppie' is equally applicable to men and women, in this context it refers to masculinity, cultural and media representations of male identity and the consumption of lifestyle and/or leisure goods as well as arising out of an expansive financial sector of the western economy. This model of the yuppie man tends to express his self-image and identity through career successes, taste, and lifestyle choices and his appearance and general sense of style. The lifestyle images associated with the 1980s yuppie are also tied in with virility, sexual prowess, masculine sensuality and a corporate look in the boardroom and a more casual attire during leisure pursuits. The corporate look epitomizes an upwardly mobile professional, while the casual, more outdoor look assists in accentuating and displaying a lifestyle and hard work in the gym.

If men's public and professional roles declined slowly during the rapid advancement of both industrialism and urbanization, the recession of the 1980s and the early 1990s only accelerated their loss of jobs and economic authority. Indeed, developments and changes brought about by industrialization helped change economic structures and pave the way for consumerism and retail as a mainly leisure and pleasurable pursuit. Previously, in this chapter we examined how the 'new man' as narcissist proliferated within the context of post-industrialization and the growing of various media and image industries, such as public relations and advertising. During these transitions many traditional male careers were under siege, particularly as many societies shifted from manufacturing to service and from industrialized to electronic technologies. These changes were especially problematic for working-class men whose identities were connected to physical and manual labor, struggling

to support their families. Basically, shifts toward industrialization, and all associated advancements in technologies rendered many labor-intensive, skilled and semi-skilled occupations obsolete. Positions requiring physicality were all but replaced by short-term, part-time, and contractual work while these changes in society and in the labor force would seem to be a cause to celebrate, they essentially stripped many working-class men of their benchmarks of masculinity. Economic, technological and social changes reorganized the labor force and in the process challenged men's self-esteem and their societal/familial authority once celebrated as an integral part of manhood. Arguably, the 1980s witnessed the resurfacing of job insecurities and a generalized sense of anomie for many men who were once again confronted with personal, professional, and social change that were life altering.

Since the shift to industrialization, traditionally masculine and working-class jobs have declined steadily, particularly as women moved into the labor force in increasing numbers. Men continue to experience dramatic employment and lifestyle changes, while a growing number of combine motherhood, and careers in high demand fields. This is worth mentioning since not all men (or women) experience and respond to these changes in the same way. Hence, "Increasingly style marked off young man from old, rich from poor, powerful from powerless, gay from straight. What emerged was a hierarchy of masculinities based on appearance and which abolished more traditional masculine divisions based upon work roles, ownership and sexual orientation. It became clear that men did not participate equally in consumer society" (Beynon, 2002:108).

### 6.3 Good-Bye 'New Man', Hello to the 'New Lad': Men's Magazines of the 1990s and the Introduction of a 'Laddish' Masculinity

We have seen that the 1980s male body was increasingly treated as an objectified, eroticized, and sexualized commodity, as the female body has traditionally been. Additionally, consumerism, material possessions, and appearance had become key markers of status and worth almost synonymous with masculinity. This all provided the impetus for the growth and popularity in new consumerism and the niche marketing of sensuous and sexual imagery of young affluent masculinity, epitomized in the men's general-interest magazines. "The new, glossy men's style magazines were the principal vehicles for this commercial project based on male narcissism" (Beynon, 2002:108).

The 1990s ushered in a move to reverse the images of men and of masculinity and to resist the men's magazines popularized throughout the 1980s. During part of the 1990s we begin to see the proliferation of images of a harder, more laddish masculine image. What this and the more narcissistic 'new man' held in common was that they were both commercial ventures, created by advertisers and other media industries to attract markets and increase profits. Many men's magazines in the 1990s seemed to tone down the masculine sensuality of the 1980s (Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks, 2001). Magazines like *'Attitude'* attempted to retain a bit of the sexual ambivalence opened up in the 1980s while *'Arena'*, *'Gentlemen's Quarterly'* and others were believed to subvert the 1980s images by introducing a strong 'heterosexual' male image, combined with soft pornographic images of women.

"The 'new lad' and 'laddism' are seen to have developed with the launch of *'Loaded'* Magazine in 1994, which spawned others such as *'Front'*, *'Maxim'* and *'FHM'*. While the

new man was apparently a fairly pre-feminist, if still narcissistic invention, the new lad represented a return to reactionary pre-feminist values of sex, sports, and drinking and the relatively male-only worlds of pubs, pornography and football” (Edwards, 2006:39).

Generally speaking, many of the new men’s magazines cropping up during the 1990s were aimed at the man who did not know how to grow up; he liked a good time and was always up for a party. Not surprisingly, contemporary academic attention to men’s general interest and lifestyle magazines has turned at least partial attention to the shift from the ‘new man’ to the ‘new lad’ as a key historical moment in cultural representations of masculinity in the publishing industry. In short, ‘*Loaded*’ and other similar publications seemed to reflect the pre-feminist, narcissistic image of the ‘new man’ in favor of the ‘new lad’, reworking traditional patriarchal masculinity. Many academics who have looked at ‘*Loaded*’ place it at the forefront of young male culture in the 1990s and as a key socio-culture influence during that period. “By the summer of 1994 , ‘*Loaded*’ was synonymous with irreverence and laddishness was in the air as a backlash against 1980s over-dressed, narcissistic new man” (Beynon, 2002:111).

This new lad was seemingly a sort of throwback to a time when men were able to behave badly without fear of reprisal, as well as being a reaction to 1980s-style press and a growing assertiveness of women. With his rejection of the feminine and much of what the new man stood for, the new lad was also concerned with consumerism, labels and brand-loyalty, so that, “if the ‘new man’ sold muscles and scent, Armani and Calvin Klein, the ‘New Lad’ sells t-shirts and trainers, Hugo Boss and Prada . . . the style may have altered, yet the drive to consume remains the same . . . ‘New Lads’ are just as much a phony marketing phenomena as ‘New Man’” (Edwards, 1997:83).

The success of '*Loaded*' and other similar publications was really about selling magazines through the exploitation of working-class machismo. Essentially, the entire 'lad' occurrence was somewhat market and profit-driven designed to appeal to certain groups of consumers. However, the 'new lad' or Laddism was not simply a reaction to the real or imagined constraints placed upon male behaviours by feminism, but was also a counter or reaction against the 'Metropolitan chic' of the 1980s men's style press. As such, many celebrated laddism and his appearance in many men's publications as refreshing since young men were suddenly allowed to display the 'errant' side of masculinity, a return to unconstructed basis like flesh fun and non self-consciousness (Beynon, 2002). Laddism was also a celebration of the more irresponsible, unconstructedness of young men running wild and being brought back to a primal masculinity, reminiscent of early mythopoetic men's movements.

In the last decade there has been a renewed interest in attempting to understand laddism and the impact of men's magazines on constructions of masculinity. We have seen that he was a sort of reaction against, or antithesis of, the 'new man'. The new lad was constructed and presented as less complex than the new man, especially since he was unapologetically interested in and appreciative of both the female body and heterosexual sex. We have also seen in this section that the new lad represented almost an attack on the narcissism of the 'new man' his overemphasis on external appearance and what some saw as an inauthentic masculinity. Unlike the new lad, the new man "... was presented alternatively as a media fabrication or marketing tool, or a calculating pose by ordinary men to get women to sleep with them. Against his apparent duplicity and hypocrisy, 'new lad' was depicted as

honest, open, and authentic” (Gill, 2007:211). By contrast, the lad was felt by many to be true to men’s real selves, a reflection of everyday masculinity.

The introduction and popularity of the new lad is also understood by many as a reaction against feminism, and slightly anti-feminism, even that he is knowingly and purposefully sexist, anti-women and even overly misogynistic. In his image, the new lad is reflective of this sort of refusal to acknowledge and engage in the gender revolution of the significant inroads in gender roles and relationships brought about by feminism. The laddish tone of men’s magazines in the 1990s seemed to ignore or downplay the vast impact of feminism in favor of a bolstering lad magazine ideologies. I believe that the new lad is much more complex than simply a phoneme of feminist backlash and anti-womenism. Nor is he simply a marketing scheme designed to reinstate misogynistic masculinity. While he may clearly represent all of those things, the new lad for me also reflects the ambivalence of masculinity during the 1990s facet with social, political, professional, occupational, and various related changes. The new man and new lad are clearly media, and specifically marketing constructs, yet they are also speaking to broader societal changes in relation to masculinity and its social organization. The new lad is not overtly misogynistic but is overt in his sexism, particularly in his lifestyle and consumer tastes. New lad magazines seemingly wished to reclaim the power and prominence of masculinity, while also trying to preserve an intelligent post-feminist political identity by using an ironic distancing (Benwell, 2003). The new man tried to distance himself and masculinity from sexism, the new lad seemingly subverts criticisms, while promoting the very images and ideals of masculinity the new man reflects.

Essentially the masculinity constructed in many lad magazines is highly ambivalent in the sense that he seemed to oscillate between a discourse of the fallible, self-deprecating, anti-heroic masculinity and that of a more traditional one (Gill, 2007). This was a tone or theme in many of the images and articles associated with men's magazines during the 1990s. Gill (2007) reflects further on this theme, suggesting a time at which masculinity became an ongoing masquerade, always liable to failure or exposure. This is a theme not completely separated from my own notions of gender as 'performative' whereby we are constantly making, remaking and presenting ourselves as gendered subjects in different contexts and with different outcomes. Overall, many lad magazines projected this rather emotional detachment and nostalgia for the past, irony, humor and what some call a post-feminist sensibility (Benwell, 2003; Beynon, 2002; Edward, 2007). Many also held this notion of gender difference, while all taken together to construct the ideal of the lad.

The lad magazines aid the cultural ideal and character of the lad himself was, and to some extent continues to be a classed and radicalized phenomenon. Indeed, "the magazines are [and were] constructed around an assumed white working-class aesthetic and sensibility, centered on football, (beer) drinking, and heterosexual sex. They are explicitly hostile to middle-class articulations of masculinity which are regarded as insipid and inauthentic)" Gail, 2007:215). This speaks to another contradiction or source of ambivalence both in terms of the lad magazines and their tone generally, and in cultural constructions for the lad himself while many images of the lad really sought to align themselves with, and had a celebratory air around their middle-class status and criticized middle-class notions of higher education, they often reinstated a middle-class air when challenged for sexism.

To end this section, it is useful to turn to Tim Edwards (2000) as he provides a useful summary. He separates the 'new man' image into three intersecting ideals: the 'old man', the 'new man' and the 'new lad'. For Edwards, the old man was one relatively disinterested in fashion, his bodily appearance, and tended to have a family, yet was also married to his profession. This model of man was also firmly rooted in traditional 'macho' attitudes, values, and behaviors. The 'new man' by sharp contrast, is much more concerned with his appearance and bodily aesthetic, meaning fashion, grooming, health and so forth. In many ways this new man was professionally progressive, even aggressive since he had rather extravagant lifestyle and consumer tastes. Additionally, the new man was somewhat ambivalent in his sexuality in the sense that he was not homophobic and his preoccupation with body, appearance and the finer tastes in consumer goods positioned him in a place where his sexuality was often called into question.

Edwards, like others, connects the rise and popularity of the 'new man' to the early pre-feminist anti-sexist men's movements, particularly since he believed in equality and was not afraid to expose his 'softer side' or to exhibit qualities typically considered 'feminine'. This new man faced intense skepticism and criticism on several fronts, most of which came from those arguing that he was merely the same old man in sheep's (designer) clothing, a kinder, gentler version of the same old patriarch created by marketing and advertising industries to capture market roles and sell products. Finally, the 'new lad' was believed to be a stark contrast to both of the previous models of manhood because he was ambivalent to fashion, grooming, and relationships with women and children, particularly since he was committed to leisure and a party lifestyle. This model of masculinity was promoted in various media, especially men's magazines, and never before. For Edwards, and others, these three

models of masculinity are media constructions, market driven, and carefully crafted, disseminated with the purpose of capturing markets and selling products. The problem with laddism, especially for some feminists, was that he signified a regression in sexual politics, an exploitation of young men and a negative force in the socialization of working class boys and men.

The following section moves away from addressing men's magazines towards a discussion of the significance of the discovery and use of the gay and lesbian market. Focusing specifically on advertising images of sexuality, the next section traces the initial discovery and recognition of the potential prosperity of the gay and lesbian consumer market and cultural representations of sexuality and masculinity and their intimate interconnection. This is a key area of inquiry for this broader research for two interrelated reasons. First, whether consciously or unconsciously, willingly or not, sexuality is a core element of masculinity and how men come to define and perform their gender. Sexuality is a core aspect of male (and female) subjectivity, informing how they come to define and understand themselves and how others relate to men. Second, sexuality is a core coding category in this case study. Drawing on this body of theoretical literature as well as that on the use of homoerotic imagery in advertising, the case study in this research was able to discuss implicit and explicit homoerotic and homosexual images in the ads contained in *Esquire*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Macleans*, and *Today's Parent* magazines.

The next section moves away from looking specifically at masculinity to address the importance and significance of discovering the gay and lesbian markets for the ad industries, as well as for the images and ideals of masculinity and femininity made possible.

## 6.4 Consuming the Closet: Marketing to the Gay and Lesbian Communities

The struggle for legal and social equality for lesbians and gay males is still being fiercely fought (and often lost), the struggle to treat them as full and equal citizens in the republic of post scarcity, post-modern hyper-consumption is all over but the shouting (Fred Fejes, 2002)

Since the mid-1990's advertising has increasingly employed images which gender and sexual orientation of the subject(s) are markedly (and purposefully) ambiguous (Rena Mistry, 2002)

The advertising industry has produced cover stories and in depth demographic studies detailing the juicy gay market and its enviable buying power. The gay press was clearly perpetuating the idea that much of gay lifestyle centers on entertainment and consumption (Benjamin Forest, 1995)

... and gays themselves have been intimately involved in the proliferation of gay marketing mania, through gay marketing firms and the proliferation of books extolling gay buying power and brand loyalty (Susan Walters, 2001)

The gay and lesbian populations remain a relatively untapped media and economic resource relatively to heterosexual culture, particularly in terms of advertising. Despite their persistent label as 'dream consumers' due to their supposedly limitless expendable incomes, recent consumer and advertising research seems to suggest that they have yet to be explored fully as vital consumers (Kates, 1999). Part of the impetus for viewing gay men as 'dream consumers' rests in the belief that they have extremely high levels of education, professional jobs, above average expendable incomes and impeccable tastes. This homogenized image of the 'ideal' gay male consumer continues to be promoted by mainstream media sources who fail to fully and adequately account for and reflect the diversity within the gay and lesbian culture.

One important oversight is that they often fail to account for social class differentials and the fact that there is poverty and hunger within the gay and lesbian communities just as there is within heterosexual culture. With disregard for diversity stereotypes of the gay lifestyle continue to be at least partially the motivating force for advertisers and marketers to exploit this segment of the population as a market niche. Despite their status as 'dream consumers' much of the discourse and imagery on the gay and lesbian market continues to place emphasis in their sexual identities, especially in ad images, rather than exclusively on their role as economic subjects (Fejes, 2002). Some could make the argument that gays and lesbians have made far greater in-roads in gaining equality and commercial visibility in their roles as consumers than they have as social, political and sexual beings. Consequently, gay and lesbian power has not come largely from their role as producers and controllers of capital, but through their roles as an attractive market niche and as consumers (Walters, 2001). Celebration of gay and lesbian equality should not overlook the fact that in this case it is premised more on their pocketbooks than it is on acceptance and integration of their identities and lifestyles into mainstream political, legal, social and sexual culture. Part of the concern of this dissertation is with what increased media attention and economic visibility for gays and lesbians has been for helping to foster positive images and role models for gay and lesbian identity worldwide. In other words, with all of the battles waged around freedom and equality, what sorts of images of gay and lesbians are in circulation within the advertising world? Are we now witnessing positive images of gay and lesbian identity that media audiences, especially children are able to either identify with, or come away with a positive vision of gay and lesbian identity?

At the birth of the gay and lesbian movement there was widespread silence and stigma attached to any discussion of homosexuality, particularly within the advertising industry. Two

intersecting things are responsible for this silence: the moral, social and political climate at the time and a fear on the part of advertisers to attach their products to anything remotely related to homosexuality for fear of losing funding and consumer support. While recognition of the potential gay and lesbian markets were not far off at this time, there was still a residual fear on the part of many advertisers to even use the word 'gay' or 'lesbian' in promotional ads for their products and services. An additional early barrier to both addressing and reaching the gay and lesbian markets, particularly in the 1970's and 1980's was the invisibility of people living the openly gay and lesbian lifestyles, after all, how one goes about addressing a population that you cannot identify? Finally, in addition to fears of associating products with gay and lesbian identity and the invisibility of the lifestyle itself, was the widespread (mis)belief that marketers could still reach these markets through mainstream marketing strategies.

At a more practical level, it was extremely difficult to reach the gay and lesbian markets because there was a serious deficiency in reliable market data from which to base any sort of consistent or reliable market campaign. Thus, part of bringing this segment of the population into mainstream consumer culture meant struggling to produce and disseminate comprehensive and reliable consumer statistics on this community. The first comprehensive marketing survey of gay men was conducted in 1977 when the *Advocate*, the only openly gay publication with a national audience hired a marketing firm to conduct market and survey research (Fejes, 2002). The goal was to produce market information on its readership in an effort to attract major national advertisers. The results of this effort seemed to reinforce the popular stereotype that the average reader was a young, professional, gay male between the ages of 20-40 years old. Essentially, the conclusion here was that these men were young, relatively free of familial responsibilities and had a sufficiently large income to spend on lifestyle and leisure activities.

Once again, the problem with this vision of the gay male consumer is that it does little to dispel popular myths about homosexuality, does not allow them to reach and speak to ALL gay men, particularly those who are younger or older than the average, who may be a full or part-time parent and who struggle economically. What this large-scale effort did do was to open up the possibility for later mainstream advertisers to move their ads campaigns into gay and lesbian publications.

By 1980's *Advertising Age* and other publications began to advertise in many openly gay publications. Similarly, "advertisers were also becoming aware of how, particularly in urban areas, the consumption habits and fashion tastes of gay men were being imitated by straight men, particularly in clothing designs that emphasized a highly eroticized masculinity" (Fejes, 2002: 198). This meant that gay men were moving into mainstream advertising and arguably having an impact as trend setters. While these developments are potentially positive, reaching the gay market remained highly problematic into the 1980's. In the early 1980's there were still no real publications explicitly targeting gays and lesbians. The few publications that did target these groups, for example, the '*Advocate*' and various local gay newspapers and magazines, did not have a lot of funding or the high publication quality required by major and large-scale advertisers, particularly fashion ads. At the time the use of photos of nude or semi-nude young men and ads for pornography and sexual services were too explicitly sexual for most mainstream advertisers. Additionally, many advertisers were still highly reluctant to have their products closely associated with the gay market. Consequently, some fashion designers and advertisers, such as Levi- Strauss and Calvin Klein, got around these problems by utilizing the 'gay window' advertising approach. Essentially, this meant the construction of ads with homosexual subtexts quite obvious to the gay and lesbian audiences but more subtle, even

unnoticed by the 'straight' audiences and then placing these ads in mainstream magazines (Horsely, 2002).

During the late 1980's and early 1990's part of the process of attracting national advertisers meant that gay and lesbian periodicals had to change their formats and editorials focus as well as upgrade their production quality. For some publications these changes not only helped attract advertisers, they also helped double revenues. In fact, the '*Advocate*' and other publications re-designed themselves as new magazines with a focus on national events of interest to the gay community and cultural and feature stories about art and entertainment (Fejes.2002). Essentially, in an effort to attract national advertisers, particularly fashion advertising, various gay publications began printing on high-quality glossy paper, emphasizing lifestyle and general interest content (i.e., fashion, travel, current events, etc) to market to gay, lesbian, and mainstream markets. With the explicit sexual material toned down, and market-survey data surfacing, by the mid-1990's, most advertisers had begun to overcome their reluctance to advertise in gay and lesbian publications. In addition to various mainstream designers, various companies, such as General Motors and Johnson and Johnson began to advertise in gay publications. More recently, even mainstream companies for various household products have begun to place ads in gay and lesbian publications and various matters of other gay media. While much is changing in terms of how advertisers view the potential of the gay and lesbian markets, lesbians continue to some extent to be left out of consumer culture. For a moment in the early 1990's it appeared that a 'lesbian chic' was achieving mainstream popularity as a key market category. "Yet that moment quickly passed as the advertisers decided that lesbians were not an attractive, identifiable market niche and moreover, could be reached through ads aimed at women generally" (Fejes, 2002:201).

We have seen that reaching the gay and lesbian markets is difficult, particularly due to problems constructing adequate and informative market profiles. Similarly, efforts to construct market information and profiles on gays and lesbians are fraught with methodological problems. For example, the actual construction and sample size determine how representative the results are of the populations under investigation. Many of the samples for such studies obtain their respondents from subscription lists of gay periodical and direct-mail lists. Thus, the samples are often skewed. In addition to these problems there are also conceptual problems involved in the construction of market surveys. One important setback is the ability to define gay and lesbian identities and the particular dimensions used to categorize them. Many studies focus on dimensions such as desire, sexual behavior, or overall identity. However, other studies rely on self-identification. The major problem with self-identification is the fear of reprisal if one 'comes out' as a gay or lesbian, consequently many men and women are hesitant to self-disclose their sexual orientation for fear of threats to self and others around them, as well as loss of employment. This is possible because it is only those with great personal and professional success self-disclose that much of the existing market research references the stereotypes of the upscale economically secure of gay male. Finally, there is much theoretical and conceptual ambiguity around the labels 'gay' and 'lesbian'. Indeed, many attach to the terms 'gay' or 'homosexual', while others use 'queer' and its associated discourses to describe their identities and lifestyles (Dunphy, 2000). The problem here is that these labels do not accurately adequately reflect the diverse communities encompassed within the categories gay and lesbian. Applying such labels ignore bisexual, transsexual and trans-gendered identities.

Despite all of the methodological, theoretical and conceptual difficulties plaguing efforts to construct market research on gays and lesbians, such studies persist with varying

degrees and levels of success. In the processes advertisers and market researchers also play a central role in helping to construct, reinforce and perpetuate a gay and lesbian identity (Dotson, 1999; Fejes, 2002; Horsely, 2002; Kates, 1999; Mistry, 2002; Walters, 2001). For some the fact that gay and lesbian markets are being more aggressively courted by consumer culture and advertisers marks progress toward addressing and redressing the invisibility and marginality of gays and lesbians. In fact, rather than being portrayed as sexual deviants and perverts, or as child molesters on the fringe of society, they can now be portrayed as healthy, productive and positive members of society. According to Fejes (2002) although marketing companies may not be explicitly political, they do fit quite well with efforts to construct and present a very positive and mainstream image of gay and lesbian identities. Similarly, the various media and advertising campaigns strive to construct and perpetuate those positive identities as a route to political equality and power. What is somewhat less clear are the explicit political benefits of such marketing attention. Indeed, being highly valued by marketers means little politically speaking unless there is an accompanying political movement to press for political rights and equality (Walters, 2001). In other words, growing media and advertising attention directed towards gays and lesbians since the late 1980's the 1990's to the present are still doing little on their own to quell stereotypes and provide those groups with equal rights in various societal structures and institutions, such as the military, marriage laws, and in the legal world generally.

There is some concern that marketing studies and growing media presence/attention may actually adversely affect gays and lesbians politically. Lacking consistent and comprehensive demographic information, such studies have become part of the political and often inadequate discourses on these communities. In the many debates about the political and legal status of lesbians and gays that form part of the modern culture wars, the information

provided by many marketing studies is often used as objective description of the gay and lesbian communities. This all becomes problematic because the affluent images of gays and lesbians reinforced and/or created by consumer market research also help reinforce the stereotype that these lifestyles are choices made by affluent men and women. This picture also plays into the hands of various right wing conservatives who argue that gays and lesbians are not the subjects of discrimination, but are instead a privileged minority who lead charmed lives.

In addition to the political consequences of marketing to the gay and lesbian communities and using gay and lesbian imagery means that the everyday lives of these communities experience both positive and negative feedback. Some could even argue that such targeted advertising and marketing strategies should be seen as validation and legitimating their lifestyles and as consumers. For many lesbians and gay males their consumption practices are often acts with political overtones in the sense that many of them are keenly aware of those companies that advertise in gay and lesbian focused publications and that have or at least espouse affirmative policies and benefits. In many cases these communities remain loyal to these companies when they often informally or formally boycott companies and ad firms that espouse or support more actively practice anti-homosexual and homophobic rhetoric.

Arguably, media images and consumption practices play a significant role in the constructing and reinforcing definitions of the gay and lesbian communities and what it means to be a member of these communities and self identify as gay, lesbian or even bisexual. Indeed, young adults and adolescents with primarily same-sex desires often have little positive role models or assistance in understanding, defining and coming out as gay or lesbian. Important to this study is the notion that men who are thinking of becoming a parent and

happen to be gay have few positive role models to help guide them in their understanding of themselves as a man, as gay and as a father. Often, instead of depicting homosexuality as natural, normal and healthy, it is depicted in the advertising world as either pathological or as 'chic', 'stylish' and something that can be bought, sold and created in an idealized image if one has the economic resources. Rarely does the advertising accurately depict the turmoil that youth go through in understanding, negotiating and fostering their gay or lesbian identities. Similarly, we rarely get a glimpse of the personal, social, political, professional and sexual struggles that many gay and lesbian people encounter daily.

In previous sections I have traced some of the more popular theoretical and empirical debates around gender representations in advertising, with particular attention to images of men and masculinity. The following sections examines the social and media discourses about masculinity and fatherhood, which is the focus of this research. The purposes of these discussions are two-fold: first, to lay the groundwork for understanding fatherhood. Second, to provide a context and a framework for this dissertation, which deals with mediated images of masculinity and fatherhood

## **7.0: The Paradoxes of Manhood: Masculinity, Fatherhood and Shifting Social Science Discourses**

According to the so-called 'traditional view' it is man's duty to serve his family by being the breadwinner and protector, whereas a woman's duty is to be a good wife and mother (Nancy Chodorow and Susan Contrailo, cited in Scott Coltrane, 1996)

Fathers parent less than mothers. Both within and outside of marriage they nurture their children (and step children) and children in general far less than mothers do. Not only do fathers parent less, but they abandon their children to a remarkable extent, again far exceeding such conduct by women (Nancy E. Dowd, 2000)

Men are fathers but do not necessarily assume the responsibility of fatherhood (Barbara Hobson, 2002)

The above quotations are reflective of the position that many scholars continue to adopt when engaging in both theoretical and empirical work on fatherhood and its links with critical constructions, expressions and experiences of masculinity. While popular images and ideals of the absentee, patriarchal breadwinner certainly retain cultural significance, holding a central place in the history of fatherhood it by no means fully and accurately captures the complexity of the subject. In fact, if one looks at the historical evolution of fatherhood and associated discourses within North America alone it becomes apparent that fatherhood (how we define it, theorize it, write about it, as well as how men define and experience it) has or not remained static.. Moreover, even within a given historical time period and society, all men did not, nor could they adhere to ideals for fatherhood in circulation at a given time. This is particularly important within the context of masculinity more generally, since at any given time there was a dominant or hegemonic model of masculinity in circulation which only some men could adopt and practice. As such, at any given historical moment there was a dominant preferred or a

expected model of fatherhood in circulation to which only some men could approximate. It is based on such complexity, diversity and richness that theoretical and conceptual debates centered on fatherhood and masculinity become a focal point for much social science, professional and social science groups and individuals (Doucet, 2005; 2006; 2007; Hobson, 2002; John & Shelton, 2007).

Fatherhood is rapidly becoming a prime topic for various social service agencies, practitioners, government and policy agencies and academics. While they differ in approach, agenda and desired outcome, individually and collectively these groups and institutions are grappling with definitional issues, rights versus responsibilities, shifting legal terrain, and how to discuss fatherhood broadly. Over time, various social and cultural transformations have occurred that change the ways in which fatherhood is viewed and in how men respond to revised expectations of them in this role (Henwood & Proctor, 2003). Finally, over the last several years, there has been a renewed interest in cultural representations of fatherhood and fathering in various genres of the mass media, especially in terms of how these images help to construct and reinforce ideals and expectations for fatherhood and masculinity (and the relationship between them).

The main goal of this chapter is not to discuss all of the transitions in fatherhood scholarship by decades nor is it to address all of the developments in this area. Rather, the purpose of this chapter is three-fold. First, I seek to trace many of the key theoretical debates occurring over the last several years in the fatherhood literature, both within feminism and critical studies on masculinity. Second, this chapter examines some of the ways in which this theoretical work informs and is informed by current work on cultural and media representations, ideals and expectations for both masculinity and fatherhood. Third, this

chapter is put forth as a guide or context for analysis of the data contained in its empirical case study. As such, this chapter will not provide a decade by decade review and discussion of fatherhood and family literature. Rather the point here is to illustrate and illuminate many of the core theoretical and conceptual advancements made in the area over time. In this pursuit, my work draws heavily on that of Doucet (2005, 2006) and owes a great debt to her concise, thorough and beautifully articulated and integrated review of recent theoretical articulations in the area of gender, feminism, critical men's studies and fatherhood. In this way, I make no apologies for what is included or excluded since the aim here was to engage the discussion at the level of theory as a way to make sense of my empirical data later on.

As we shall see there is growing recognition among some academics that all men are not, nor have they been detached, distant, and unemotive patriarchs. With this there is a move to recognize that some men have been and many currently are attentive, caring, and nurturing fathers (Henwood & Proctor, 2003). Many men are, and have always been intimately and actively involved in the daily domestic and family maintenance (Coltrane, 1996; 2004; Marsigilo, 1997, Plack, 1997). Related to this, recently there have been sustained efforts to rethink fatherhood, caring and nurturing behaviors completely. Doucet's work engages fatherhood and masculinity theory thoroughly and eloquently, and seeking to redefine men's caring and nurturing behaviors (Doucet, 2004; 2006). Acknowledging the long theoretical and empirical history of fatherhood literature, this work seeks to frame it differently. It questions assumptions in the traditional literature and looks at all of those men who stay at home, who are single dads and what this means for masculinity and how we, as well as men, understand fatherhood and fathering.

This particular research approaches fatherhood in a similar fashion as it addresses masculinity. As such, we cannot point to one universalized model of fatherhood or fathering. While there may be a dominant model or ideal of fatherhood in circulation at a given period, some men do not and cannot or choose not to accept and practice the ideal. Just as men understand and experience masculinity differently, so do men understand and experience and practice fathering in different ways, in different contexts. Thus, while we can point to general models of fatherhood and fathering practices in a given historical period, it is also the case that many conflicting and contradictory models are in operation simultaneously. Some men manfully incorporate fatherhood into hegemonic forms of masculinity thereby resisting calls for increased involvement rather than challenging hegemony. Doucet (2006) reflects further on this stating that fathering and care giving can be complete since some men can agree with the idea of increased father involvement yet retain a more traditional approach. Finally, there are those men who resist and/or challenge hegemonic masculinity through both advocating and practicing equality in parenting and the gendered division of domestic and household labor. I find this model particularly useful and informative since it follows from my own theoretical commitments around the diversity and plurality of masculinity, the performative view in gender and sexuality. This model offers much in the way of opening up fatherhood and its intersections with masculinity so that beyond and models of fatherhood and gender, we can recognize a context of diversity in practice and experience.

## **7.1 Early Equality and Recognition Struggles: Feminism, Fatherhood, and the Division of Household and Child Care Responsibilities**

A great deal of the early work on parenting and the gendered division of household and childcare has relied on dichotomous notions of masculinity and femininity whereby opposing images of men and women, masculine and feminine. From this perspective men and women are essentialized and their roles and identities are highly oppositional in the sense that women nurture and care for the domestic realm while men by virtue of being men, do not (Coltrane, 1997, 2004; Marsigilo, 1997; Pleck, 1997). Within this model of gender and fathering there is an intense connection to a more traditional, 'patriarchal' notion of masculinity and fatherhood that positions men's role firmly in the realm of financial support of family rather than questioning these assertions and reconceptualize fatherhood. Subsumed under this body of early gender and fatherhood literature, we see the 'good-provider' and my instrumental model of fatherhood (Eggebeen, 2002).

Early on much of the discourse on fatherhood and the division of household and childcare responsibilities took place within a feminist framework, albeit not exclusively. In particular, coupled with a recognition that men largely were not (or were seen not to be) fully and equally involved actively in domestic duties, feminists variously lobbied for increased recognition that these activities were both valuable and socially and economically necessary. With this came a move to recognize that unpaid, domestic activities were work, and therefore should be valued as important and necessary work (Luxton, 1980). Accordingly, men specifically, but society generally was urged to respect and reward these roles and

responsibilities accordingly, a struggle present in contemporary feminism with diverse theoretical, practical and political agendas and commitments.

Within the broader scope of discussions and debate in this area have been groups of men and women pitted against each other around issues of men's rights versus their responsibilities. Specifically, growing out of a long history of theoretical discourses on gender differences, various fathers' rights groups have sprung up periodically throughout history. While diverse in their mandates and ideologies, these groups are not necessarily advocating equality. In other words, most father's rights groups do not espouse equality of the sexes and a need of men to rethink masculinity by way of parenting behaviors and practices. Rather, at issue in many such groups are efforts to reinstate and/or reinforce gender differences in men's and women's parenting roles, relationships and practices (Gavans, 2002). While these groups were calling for changes, much less increases or equality in men, parenting roles and relationships, they were highly committed to the necessity of men's rights to their children (Bynon, 2002). Then, while not particularly progressive in their approaches to gender and domestic childcare, father's rights groups were committed to men's right to play a role (albeit very limited and traditional or different than women's) in the lives of their children.

In a similar essentialist or gender diverse vein are those groups both feminists and non-feminists who advocate legal, economic and parental equality and rights for women. In particular, relying loosely on a gender difference framework, some advocate these differences as grounds for women's presumed superiority in parenting. Logically, because women are superior, they are the natural choice as the primary care givers of children. Obviously this position has, and continued to have political and legal implications, particularly in custody cases. It also has implications for gender, especially masculinity politics, and generally.

Although this position follows on the theme of gender differences in parenting policies and practices, it directly contradicts father's rights which link such differences with men's central role in children's lives. One important qualification must be made here: much of this work is not rooted in essential, biological differences between the sexes. Rather, men (and women) working with this framework are careful to limit their reliance on gender differences to those related to parenting only to nurturing, care, child maintenance and so forth ( Beasley, 2005).

Much of this early work relied on gender difference frameworks, characteristic of a lot of the early family and gender theory and research. While it clearly adds an important theoretical empirical and conceptual dynamic to the literature and is worth reviewing here, it is only a part of the rich literature. Building on, and moving past gender, a different lens is a body of literature focused on gender equality, associated more closely with early liberal feminist principles. At its core this body of work is a commitment to overcome difference in favor of equality in gender generally, and in parenting specifically. Moreover, in its advocacy of gender equality at the level of roles and relationships, as well as structurally and institutionally, much more would change in men and women's domestic and parental roles and relationships. Reflecting on this, Doucet maintains that “. . . the underlying argument is that if gender relations were altered at the level of social structure (i.e., in the social institutions of the family, workplace, state politics, the courts, and the media) a more gender-free world would eventually lead to gender-free parenting” (2006:23).

While far from the theoretical articulation around gender and masculinity/male parenting currently in circulation, the equality framework does not move away from an assertion of gender and sexual difference. Rooted in a recognition of equality for women in social, economic, political, and sexual life, these frameworks focus on fostering the real and

discursive space for an equal division of domestic-household and parenting roles and responsibilities. These frameworks were particularly evident throughout much of the 1980s and addressed the level and degree to which gender roles, relationships and particularly parenting was equally divided in households in reality or whether such equality was more an ideological or theoretical abstraction. Rather than seeing men and women as different, and as inherently suited to different roles and responsibilities, particularly in terms of the house and child care, equality frameworks advocate equal sharing. Similarly, these frameworks advocate and variously work towards full and equal integration of women in society, particularly as such equality would ultimately foster men's enhanced familial involvement. Finally, in relation to parenting, this framework views men and women as essentially interchangeable, or rather, that they can and should parent with equal success and plausibility (Coltrane, 1996; 2004).

A potential issue within gender equality frameworks is that some men's groups, and in particular 'father's rights' advocates saw this as an opportunity to reinstate efforts to secure custody and/or increased parental access. While scholars are careful not to go as far as suggesting they exploit the equality discourses, they clearly adopt and them to advance their particular claims to men's rights in their children's lives. Let's be clear that even within this equality framework there is considerable variation in both theory and practice. In its varied forms and manifestations, the equality framework has and to some extent, continues to influence theory and praxis related to gender issues generally and fatherhood specifically.

For a moment I want to discuss Doucet's work (2006) on gender and fatherhood, specifically in relation to the gender difference and equality frameworks. She raises important theoretical and analytical questions around an integration or lack thereof, between discourses of difference and equality. Specifically, how do we retain and build on a recognition of their real,

and potential interdependence in discussions of both parenting and domestic work? Moving beyond a strict or more dichotomous conceptualization of difference, it might be more useful to show how diversity and social differences influence gender roles, relationships and fatherhood. In other words, it is not the essentialist and inherent differences between the sexes that inform how men parent or do not. Instead, there is a need to turn theoretical, conceptual and practical attention to how racial, ethnic, class and sexuality both produce differences in how men define experience and practice parenting, and in how these differences inform gender roles and relationships. With a few notable exceptions these issues have received only marginal attention in most gender and fatherhood theory and research (Doucet, 2005; 2006). Beyond discussions of difference and then more generalized moves for equality, differences based on social and ascribed characteristics really do inform and ultimately influence how we approach and perform gender generally and parenting/domestic work specifically. In short, difference matters.

It should be pointed out that efforts to move beyond questions of equality in discussions of gender, domestic work and parenting are in no way meant to downplay feminist struggles nor are they looking to position the debate as funded and the battles as war. Rather, it is important to rethink and reposition the notion of difference through discussions of gender, domestic work, and fatherhood in recognition of diversity within masculinity but also in terms of how men can and do parent and care for their children. A unique and interesting more recent focus within this theoretical and analytical view deals with this notion of difference and equality. Specifically, while it is clear from early feminist work that women have not benefitted equally from the familial and domestic division of labor, professionally or socially, this is a rather limited focus on difference. As such, more recent articulations of this

framework recognize that certain groups of men have not participated equally or fully in domestic and family due to cultural expectations, class restrictions and so forth. How can we go about ensuring that men from all social groups and racial, ethnic sexual, categories are 'able' to fully and equally participate in family and domesticity. Related to this, how do we reconcile structural, social and institutional barriers with social difference into a discourse and practice of equality ? Furthermore, should we even seek such reconciliations or is it more beneficial to retain a commitment to both difference and equality ?

Intersecting the above debates are questions around the cost of equality, both in terms of who gets included and excluded in this equation. While we ideally want to integrate men into all of these discourses of equality, parenting, and domestic work, what will it cost women? In other words, will women once again be disadvantaged and their important domestic and parenting roles and responsibilities be lost or overshadowed? Related to this, which categories of men will be included or excluded in this difference/equality discourse? What about gay men or men whose cultural and/or religious practices preclude full and equal participation?

Once again, there is a long complex history both within and outside of feminism, of advocating for equality in gender roles and relationships, particularly in the domestic and child care realms. More recently questions are posed in relationship to what their equality looks like and in whose interest it operates (Doucet, 2006). Beyond a recognition of its centrality is a key theoretical, analytical and practical tool itself by feminists and various other groups to reform women's social, economic and political positions, it leaves out marginalized groups of men and women. Hence, if the goal of equality is pursued can it be so for all men and women or is it really more an ideological issue since equality is ultimately an ideal that not all men and

women are really able, or willing to engage the discourse of equality, much less pursue it in their daily practice.

Finally, we might well have to completely re-think and reorganize the concept of equality, caring, nurture, to progress with discussions of masculinity. Thus, if we are to introduce men into a fully equitable discussion of parenting, it follows that we might well require different ways to deal with it theoretically, conceptually and analytically. I wish to avoid the resumption of stereotypes and gender conventions, it remains true that introducing men and discourses of masculinity and fully and equally into parenting discourses means placing them into a female dominated domain. To varying degrees and “. . . Whether paid or unpaid, care giving is undeniable a female-dominated profession that builds on what are considered traditionally feminine practices and identities” (Doucet, 2006:28). How do we develop and articulate a discourse of men’s full and equal participation in this world? Can we retain a conventional discourses and merely fit men and masculinity into it? Similarly, how can we define and elaborate a paternal narrative whereby men are able to negotiate the space for their voice as full and equal parents, define and redefine a male narrative and resist appearing anomalous. Restated, can men have full and equal access to child care and nurturing without constant comparison and evaluation based on maternal narratives and appearing at odds with masculinity and popular male narratives? (Doucet, 2006; Gottschall, 2007). Reflecting further on this, Doucet (2006) provides a highly forward thinking position on the problematic of engaging men in a discourse of full equality, stating that “adopting such a stance, with room for theoretical or empirical surprises, indeed offered innovative ways of describing and theorizing men’s nurturing practices and ultimately male ways of thinking about emotional responsibility (2006:28).

It is at this point that the recent literature on fatherhood becomes complex and potentially explosive. What I mean by this is that there is a danger that in being attentive to equality in child care, women's unequal and centrally important contributions will be invisible or their importance be minimize. This is quite contradictory since, on the one hand, some feminists and others have spent considerable time and resources advocating for recognition and value to be placed on a woman's domestic and nurturing roles, while simultaneously encouraging greater male responsibility. At the same time, these efforts must be balanced with a concern about retaining the value, esteem and recognition of integral history of such roles and responsibilities for women. Can we have it both ways, meaning, can we turn caring and nurturing on its head, prying apart the presumed connections between parenthood, caring, nurturing and femininity without denying the centrality of women to these roles and relationships? This is a central problem running throughout even contemporary fatherhood. In this struggle, is there potential for women, and in some ways men to lose ground?

Recent work on gender and fatherhood makes the argument that there is, in fact, a way to balance both commitments while simultaneously producing coherent discourses on both fatherhood and masculinity. Consequently, much of this work suggests that we adopt a position by which we can retain a commitment to valuing women's domestic and parental roles and relationships while encouraging and valuing men's participation in these roles and relationships. Part of this means getting outside of our ideological association between femininity in nurturing/caring and masculinity in work, instrumentality and separation from roles and relationships traditionally associated with femininity. Contemporary scholars argues for recognizing and valuing women and their central role in children's lives, while simultaneously valuing men's role in nurturing children in different yet important ways. This

view on gender and parenting moves beyond tensions around masculinity and fatherhood to recognizing diversity in models of male parenting and in how men perform both their gender and roles as parents.

Picking up on issues of diversity, recent scholarship on fatherhood and masculinity does not wish to completely downplay the role of diversity in parenting and in caring/nurturing behaviors. Accordingly, it is not that men do not or cannot care for and nurture children. Rather, it is that men and women perform these roles in different ways, with different expectations and commitments and that both men and society more generally interprets this male caring behavior differently. Part of the recent move to recognize and encourage men's central role in families essentially means that we need to rethink and redefine how we currently define and respond to men's paid labor. In other words, there is a greater need for the labor force to both recognize and encourage men's enhanced familial and parental roles through flexible scheduling, longer and paid paternity leaves for men and so forth. Similarly, societies must significantly change deeply rooted gender ideologies around masculinity and femininity which discourage men's greater involvement with parenting and emotional investment in families. Finally, through changing gender ideologies we need to retain and foster greater status and value for women in their roles as wives and mothers. Hence, while encouraging greater male involvement in child care and nurturing we must be careful to ensure that we do not devalue women's contribution to the home and family. Taken together, a useful framework for looking at fatherhood and caring recognizes that men and women come to the family and domestic realm with different expectations, commitments and practices and we must be careful not to prioritize one model of caring and nurturing over another.

There is an entire body of literature on gender and family that deals directly with the notion of diversity in both parenting styles and domestic responsibilities (Collins, 1991; Mandell, 2001). Generally, this literature looks at how there are important differences between men and women in how they approach and 'do' the work of parenting and domestic duties, but there are also important differences in these duties within genders. Therefore, a comprehensive discourse on parenting generally, and fatherhood specifically, must address diversity between men and women, and between men in terms of how they approach, perform and experience their roles as husbands, parents and domestic workers. This is particularly important given the increasing recognition that various aspects of our identities, such as sexuality, race, ethnicity, social class operate together and separately to help shape and guide our identities and experiences as social beings generally, and as parents specifically. While extremely popular within feminist and critical masculinity theory and research, this approach has only recently found its way into discourses on fatherhood (Doucet, 2006). Related to this focus on diversity is the expanding literature on gay and lesbian parenting, particularly in light of recent struggles to have the right to marry, have children and retain legal rights as such. In short, despite a generalized resistance on the part of diverse groups to open up their family life to theory and research, we now have a much more multi-disciplinary, multi-cultural and diversified body of family and fatherhood literature.

The above literature suggests that it is important to both recognize and celebrate diversity both between and within genders in terms of caring and nurturing behaviors associated with parenting. Hence, if we recognize the central role of diversity in this area we are able to expose the entire history of fatherhood and family to re-evaluation and commit current work to recognition of diversity, multiplicity and even contradiction. In short, this

body of fatherhood literature recognizes that difference matters. In terms of everyday practices of fathering, different groups of men as well as men within any given social class, culture, or particular will basically come to understand their familial in particular roles differently as a product of where they are located in society.

Another body of literature that relates to gender and ultimately parenting builds on the work on masculinity, particularly work by Connell (1995, 2000, 2005) and others. This research is particularly useful in addressing not only gender and associated practices, but also domestic work and fatherhood. Generally speaking, this work insist that gender is shaped and reshaped within the context of social structures. Additionally, gender structures social practices, and is structured by them. This is particularly useful in the sense that it enables certain practices and behaviors. Take fatherhood and fathering, for example. While men have been virtually free to do almost anything they wanted by their gender, their sheer 'maleness', their gender has also structured or placed certain other limitations on what they were 'allowed' to do. For example, for a long time men were not celebrated for being emotionally available, actively involved husbands and fathers although this is culturally and historically specific. Similarly, because men were men, they worked to support, while women worked to 'nurture' and 'care'. Our major social structures continue to some extent to be structured in such ways that these gender expectations are reinforced.

Related to the above body of work is that which looks at how men and women participate in, or have agency in constructing and negotiating their identities. While I disarmed this notion on relations to the chapter on masculinity, it is useful to reinforce some of its key ideas here in relation to fatherhood and the division of domestic work. Throughout history, men and women have had a sense of themselves as gendered subjects, whether explicitly or

implicitly, even if they did not identify themselves according to such academic discourses. This idea has been applied to the division of domestic labor by Coltrane (1996, 2000, 2004) and others. Quite simply, the argument is made that women and men continue to do different household and parenting tasks because it affirms their sense of gender roles and relationships. Men or much current fatherhood work is divided on this debate, with some suggesting that while men and women may parent differently one model is not to be prioritized over the other (Gottschall, 2007). We must leave room for diversity within genders in terms of parenting and not to reproduce a fatherhood narrative that is neither exclusively white, middle-class, or heterosexual.

Another modern body of theoretical and empirical work on fatherhood draws on the broadly defined area of contemporary critical gender work, particularly that of Bob Connell (2000, 2002, 2005, 2007). This literature encompasses critical discussions of masculinity in relation to caring and domestic work, as well as introducing the notion that masculinity in general and fatherhood specifically are highly embodied moving beyond outdated notions of masculinity and the body in terms of working-class and other associations between men, physicality and strength. It reflects on the place and role of the male body in the domestic duties and caring for children. Accordingly, gender is socially constructed and both helps to guide or structure social practices and occurs and is produced and reproduced in the interactions between man and woman within social structures (Connell, 2000). This has particular implications for work on masculinity and fatherhood, particularly since we have very strong, deeply rooted ideas about gender roles and relationships which both influence and help to structure who we 'perform' our gender. Gender and our ideas about it are so strong that changing some of our gendered practices, particularly around parenting is difficult. A theme

running throughout this entire dissertation focuses on the performance of gender and our agency. This is precisely why work focusing on men and women's agency in both gender constructions and performance and in child care and domestic labor is useful. Work in this area argues that traditionally male and female gender ideals and relationships have been integrally and intimately tied up with difference as a way to construct and affirm a sense of themselves as men and women related to parenting and child care. Men and women have a long history of "... performing different tasks because such practices affirm and reproduce gendered selves, thus producing a gendered interaction order" (Doucet, 2006:33). For more on this, see Coltrane, (1995, 2000). Hence, while men and women are active in constructing and performing their genders, they do so within confines or restrictions. It is these confines that have continued to structure the activities men and women do within the family and the home.

While men and women might agree with and even aspire to full gender equality and parenting roles, we have deep-rooted ideals and expectations around gendered social expectations and norms. Collectively and individually, men and women have had to continually struggle with these gender norms and ideals, whether individual men are committed to equality or not. In other words, while we have agency to construct and 'perform' our gender, we do so within not only structural constraints, but also in the face of firmly rooted ideologies about what is appropriate gender performance. This notion of constraints placed on our gender performances runs through the work of much modern fatherhood scholarship (for example, Coltrane, 1995, 2000; Doucet, 2006; Gottschall, 2007). What remains at stake in this area is the degree to which these gender ideologies are shifting and whether there is a loosening of the boundaries or restrictions once placed on both men and women, and particularly on men's roles as parents. Related to this, how deeply do ideologies of gender and gender role

expectations resonate with men and women? Do the ideologies and expectations of the particular period and cultural context guide and shape what men do in the home and in their parental role, or do the ideologies about what they 'should do' restrain the reality of what men actually do?

This notion of the tensions between ideologies, traditional conceptions of gender roles and relations and men's efforts to change is particularly timely in terms of my own work. I address the level and degree of change in cultural representations ideals and expectations for masculinity and fatherhood. Are changes therein keeping pace with and reflecting societal change, or vice-versa? What impact do cultural representations potentially have on men's performance of their gender and parenting roles and relationships? More recent fatherhood literature has engaged these and related debates in the effort to tell different narratives about gender and parenting than previous bodies of work.

Related to the tensions discussed above, much literature relates to gender, fatherhood, domestic labor and 'time'. While relatively recent in its current manifestations, people like Meg Luxton (1980, 1997, 2001) have looked at time in relation to domestic labor and child care. In this context, the focus for masculinity becomes centered around the particular understandings and investment that both men and women play in their roles and in their domestic responsibilities. Linked with previous discussions, how do men come to define themselves with or through their domestic and parenting roles, regardless of how significant in the face of images and ideals that may or may not encourage such roles for men, such as media depictions that counter such involvement and commitment? Related to this, is it possible for men to attach great meaning and significance to domestic and child care roles in a culture that overtly or often subconsciously de-values it, whether through mediated images or public

discourse? In short, we have to seriously ask, whether we value men's roles as fathers and encourage them? If we do, is it in theory or in practice in our institutions, structures and ideologies?

Another more recent theoretical and conceptual theme running throughout the literature on domestic work generally, and fatherhood specifically, is the notion of responsibility. At stake here is addressing, or rather de-constructing, and in some ways reconstructing this notion of responsibilities by way of men and fathering. As such, there has been a real effort to burst open the idea of responsibility as it pertains to what we think and study about fatherhood. We know that women have been virtually responsible for various scheduling, organizing, and planning responsibility while simultaneously having to carry out the daily care and maintenance of family and household. This becomes important and in conceptualizing both responsibility and fatherhood ( Doucet,2000, 2006). So if we open up the notion of responsibility to include a variety of roles and tasks both within and outside the household then men too are certainly taking responsibility. Discourses on the gendered division of domestic labor have long thrown around the notion of responsibility and that women are largely responsible for most of the work. While women certainly have been disproportionately the ones who do the majority of domestic work and child care. What about the other key responsibilities men assume that seem to get left out of our conceptualizations of responsibility, such as the sheer guidance and spending time that men do with children? There is also the element of all the things that men help to teach children, the part they play in socializing children to be social beings and to be responsible citizens and so forth, all the while spending time with children.

Related to the above discussions on fatherhood and responsibility are issues of feelings

of responsibility in their roles as parents. What is particularly useful in the above body of literature is that it moves beyond narrowly defined conceptions of responsibility typically associated with work on gender and the division of household labor. In fact, more contemporary work in this area is grounded in critical gender, particularly masculinity work and in how men and women come to view and define themselves and their contributions in the domestic realm. This body of work is both empirical and theoretical in orientation and focuses on how individuals define their level of involvement and responsibility for domestic and child care duties. What is particularly unique in this work is that it actually moves beyond reducing gender to discrete subject positions and viewing men and women as positioned dichotomously vis a vis household and child care responsibilities. As such, work in this area actually accounts for how men and women interact on a daily basis producing, reproducing and 'performing' gendered identities, particularly around who takes 'responsibility' for which tasks in the home. If men and women perform distinctly different roles and tasks, it is not merely passed down upon them like some pre-ordained role destiny. Instead, both women and men participate in constructing and performing their genders and roles and relations and they do so interactionally.

This lens on gender and on fatherhood is also useful since it moves away from this universalized notion that all men and women understand and perform their gender roles and relations similarly in relation to parenting and domestic labor. It also opens up the possibility for more interactional process, negotiations and meanings in terms of who does what tasks and how each party understands that task and their role in the family. Much of the contemporary work on gender, domestic labor, and parenting, particularly fatherhood literature recognizes external structural and occupational barriers to reaching complete and easy gender equality

within the family (Mandell, 2001). Although changing somewhat, western culture retains elements of a gendered division of labor in society, reinforced by deeply entrenched gender ideologies. Whether in practice or theory, we retain a notion of exactly what women and men can and cannot do, both in terms of domestic tasks and parenting, and in the paid labor force. We have considerable work to do in order to undo a history of gender ideologies that continue to invade our practices today, even if only implicitly and slightly. Evidence of residual gender ideologies is often argued to be most explicit in various media images of gender (Gauntlett, 2002).

At the risk of falling into a purely feminist discussion of domestic work and parenthood, it is important to restate the particularly important contributions to work in this area made by critical masculinity scholars. Rooted in their conception of plural masculinities they position quite nicely with the previously discussed work in this chapter looking at differences, meaning, and understanding as part of gender roles and relationships within the family. Additionally, critical masculinity work is useful to discussions of fatherhood since much of it argues that masculinities are produced and reproduced in social relations and in relation to social institutions. This is particularly instructive given that masculinity may be structured by but also have agency in this process. In other words, men are not completely determined by social relations and institutions. Because men are a diverse group, some men inevitably resist efforts to structure and shape them and constrain their capacity to take a more active role in the home.

Contemporary critical masculinity theory is also useful to work on fatherhood in its belief that there is nothing biologically pre-determined about masculinity. Hence, women can and do display characteristics and habits associated with masculinity and men are able to

display feminine traits. If we are able to open masculinity and femininity up like this we are better able to deconstruct these gender dichotomies about masculinity and femininity, male and female tasks within the home and family. We are now better able to imagine men in roles such as caring for children, or engaged in domestic labor. Related to this shift in thinking, is the opening up of the practical and discursive space for men to reconsider their roles and relationships (Gottschall, 2007).

Recent work on fatherhood has adapted Antonio Gramsci's notions of 'hegemony' in relation to masculinity' and broader discussions of gender roles and relations within the home and family. In this discussion is found the theoretical and analytical space to re-image masculinity through caring and nurturing connected to our discussions on plural masculinities and the fluid handling of gender identity. Hegemony allows us to see the much of the traditional gender binaries have been rooted in the notion that the only 'real' masculinity is one that defines itself in opposition to femininity and homosexuality. Consequently, while most men have benefitted from hegemony historically there have always been different masculinities at play in society at any given historical moment. While this recognition may exist more in the academic world, everyday men who live these diverse subject positions also father in ways that variously and arguably reinforce hegemony and at times directly contradict it.

Doucet (2006) and others elaborate on this point, arguing that some men's fatherhood practices get incorporated into hegemonic masculinity rather than directly challenging it, while at other times, some men are able to resist hegemonic ideals and participate fully and actively in all aspects of domestic life and care giving. In the case of all of those men who remain at home as house-husbands and full-time care givers although one must keep in mind that in many ways even some of these men retain links to hegemony so the role change does not

always denote change in ideologies and practices. This all becomes further complicated by the fact that while some men do express a commitment to gender equality and a desire to participate more fully at home and with child care, it is more in theory than in practice. They pay 'lip service' to the ideologies of equality but fail to follow through in their everyday practices. While markedly different, Ralph Laressa (1981) looked at changes in family and fatherhood in which he posed similar questions around changes in the conduct. The questioned how much the proposed changes in fatherhood reflected theory, ideology and what men (and women) said men did rather than what they actually did. At stake currently is the manner in which even many of those men who express a desire to challenge 'hegemonic masculinity' through an expressed commitment to gender equality in the home often fail to follow through in their actual conduct, a situation Doucet (2006) terms fathering and care giving and being complicit. This is a particularly important contribution to modern fatherhood literature both in its appeal to critical work on masculinity, especially Connell's framework, and in its links with the reality of many men's lives. It reflects the diversity of men's experiences and the sheer magnitude and influence that masculinity and the ideologies and expectations we have around it have on real men.

The final area of contemporary fatherhood of interest to this thesis are the links between masculinity, fatherhood and the body. With a growth in interest around the body within academia, sociologists and others have come to look at gender and parenting as highly embodied or sets of embodied roles, relationships and practices. This lens on gender and parenting is grounded in both a theoretical orientation to the human body as well as one that accounts for real 'physiological' bodies. As with women, every aspect of men's daily lives are highly and inescapably embodied, they both have and are bodies (Gottschall, 1999). We do not

have to go very far to see widespread academic interest in the male body, particularly in relationship to advertising and various other media genres (Bordo, 1999; Dotson, 1999; Dutton, 1995; Edwards, 2006; Gottschall, 1999, 2006; Gill, 2006). As I pointed out in Chapter 6 of this research, a large part of the focus on men's general interest and lifestyle magazines has also come to deal with issues of embodiment and masculinity (Edwards, 2006; Gill, 2006, 2007).

While masculinity is inescapably embodied there has been a surprising lacuna of knowledge around embodiment and fatherhood, men's caring and their use of their bodies, particularly in interacting and engaging in activities with their children. For me, fatherhood and masculinity and care are embodied in many core respects, which are not separable. First, it is the sense that men have bodies, an in-escapable fact of existence. Second, the everyday activities involved in parenting and caring for children are highly embodied practices. Men use their bodies to interact with and care for their children. Third, the body and its functions or non-functioning have implications for how men come to view and define themselves in relationship to their self-identity and conceptualization of themselves as men and in how their ability to perform the embodied practices of fathering and caring. Men are enhanced or constrained in their caring roles through their bodies which are able or disabled. Fourth, men have embodied narratives and understand their gender identity, roles and relationships as at least, partially embodied. Men and women negotiate the social world in various ways which are largely and unavoidably embodied. To demonstrate the embodied nature of fatherhood and caring we need only look to discussions of aging or becoming disabled. Both of these occurrences change both the way we view our bodies and ourselves as embodied subjects as well as how we parent through the use of bodies to accomplish goals and tasks. Essentially, we are then forced to reconceptualize and rethink our bodies.

As I point out at various parts throughout this dissertation, the body is highly symbolic in the sense that it exists in representation. Similarly, we produce, reproduce, and attach meanings to our bodies through various practices such as body art, fashion, and piercing. I also point out how various media representations have an impact on how we come to view, define and experience our bodies. While all of this is an inescapable reality, our bodies also consists of real, fleshy, lived bodies that we experience intimately and live with/in daily. Thus, beyond discourse, representation and the symbolic we experience or sense of ourselves as highly embodied, and we do so in the everyday roles, relationships and practices involved in performing our gender and parenting.

An extremely telling and useful addition to the connection between bodies, gender and fatherhood arises in Doucet's (2006) work on the body and space. Drawing on the work of Goffman, Doucet illustrated how men and women negotiate certain social spaces through the use of bodies, and they do so in acceptable and unacceptable ways. According to the judgements of others, at the outset, this would all seem overly theoretical and obtuse. However, Doucet draws an easily understandable link between bodies and their movement into spaces deemed unacceptable. Similarly, she talks about how people in social, public spaces label, evaluate, and categorize bodies. She draws a clear link between men as embodied subjects moving into social or public spaces defined as female or as the world of women and reactions therein. In particular, the case of men physically moving into spaces with children considered women's spaces (i.e., parenting groups). She talks about her husband's experience and "... his feelings like an abnormal embodied agent disrupting complex, maternal worlds" (Bell & Rubbens, cited in Doucet, 2006:41).

The point to be made above is that bodies are central, both in terms of the daily activities of gender and parenting and in terms of the associated spaces that we enter everyday in our roles and relationships. Bodies are involved in the daily practices of fatherhood and associated activities whether engaged in play and recreational of child care. Bodies are also intensely important in terms of our interactions and our movement through public spaces, particularly those considered out of sync with 'traditional' concept of male or masculine spaces. Another important sense in which bodies and space matter is in terms of roles, relationships and activities men are deemed appropriately positioned to occupy. There are many examples of such activities and spaces for which men in their role as fathers and embodied subjects are at risk of being viewed as out of sync, for example, men with daughters at stores purchasing feminine products such as bras or underwear. Similarly, Doucet (2006) extends the discussion to look at the skepticism and surveillance of men that occurs when a man not only remains at home full-time, but, if he hosts an all-girl sleep over. Somehow, he is disrupting popular conceptualizations of appropriate male activities, spaces, and embodied practices. All of this modern theoretical work on gender roles, relationships, and caring open up great possibilities for theoretical and empirical work in these areas as well as for re-defining gender roles and relationships.

The final two chapters represent the findings of the critical case study in this research. Drawing on the previous seven chapters of theoretical literature on gender, advertising, visual culture, and fatherhood. These next two chapters analyze and interpret the data from my investigation into cultural representations and ideals for masculinity and fatherhood as portrayed in magazine advertising images over a fifty-year period.

## 8.0 Chapter Eight: Gender and Advertising: Masculinity in the Visual Images of Advertising

... [This is a call] for more research and particularly more qualitative research that actually listens to men not only as the primary makers of masculinity but as its principal consumers (Edwards, 2006).

Magazines are a major part of the media landscape that form an inescapable element of our social world. Aimed at audiences from young male and female children to adolescents, teens and adults, magazines have been variously criticized by academics, activists and media industries alike for providing extremely circumscribed images and ideals for gender. Magazines are nevertheless enormously popular and appeal to vast audiences, despite technological innovations found in radio, film, television and the internet. Few of us could argue that we have never read a magazine of some type, whether it is a general interest, lifestyle celebrity gossip or new publication. “Indeed, both the ‘magazing’ of newspapers and the increasing tendency of businesses of all kinds- from supermarkets to mortgage lenders – to produce their own magazines is testimony to the popularity of the form” (Gill, 2007).

This chapter is concerned with representations of gender, specifically masculinity in magazine advertising images. Drawing on data compiled from 1960-2000 in *Esquire*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Maclean*, and *Today's Parent*, this chapter looks at how fatherhood and masculinity are portrayed in ad imagery. As such, this discussion focuses on how representations of both masculinity and fatherhood help to construct and inform ideals and expectations for male identities. This chapter looks at the role of ad images in helping to guide and shape men's gender performances.

Grounded in decades of feminist, media studies and critical masculinity theory and research, this thesis draws a link between the existing literature on gender, media and identity and the findings of the critical case study contained here. This urgent need to theoretically and empirically address media constructions and representations of masculinity and of fatherhood continues to inform all aspects of this and other work. Frequently singled out for particular attention by researchers, amongst other concerns is the extent to which media representations help to reproduce (and thereby reinforce as normal) cultural configurations of femininity and masculinity as being naturally determined by sexual difference. This kind of essentialist language and imagery typically works to privilege 'masculine' discourses about the world (deemed objective, rational and unitary) over and above 'feminine' ones (held to be subjective, irrational, and fragmented) in ideological terms (Beynon, 2002: ix).

This chapter further extends a critical understanding of the cultural politics of masculinity, making explicit interventions into current epistemological debates in the area. This discussion explicitly centers on the tensions between media discourses on 'manhood' rooted in conceptions of physiological differences and those of masculinity as complex and often contradictory sets of cultural constructions and media images. At stake here is the imperative that we examine masculinity as it is inflected in culturally specific ways so as to better account for how it is shaped, reshaped and informed by class, ethnicity, race, sexuality, the body, and so forth. In a focus on masculinity as represented in media there is an implication that it is flexible, fluid, and thereby performative, and that various media images and representations provide men with guidelines or instructions for how to negotiated and perform masculinity.

Extending the work of feminists, critical masculinities and media scholars this chapter investigates representations of masculinity within a historical and comparative context and with the commitment that, “Because advertising is a site of meaning constructions that draws from social beliefs and ideas, including current definitions of gender, . . . historical analysis of advertisements will provide a circumscribed look at shifts within the definitions of masculinity . . . over the last half century” (Kervin, 1990: 52).

This chapter draws its analytical categories from all preceding theoretical discussions contained in this thesis. In particular, this case study addresses the level and extent to which advertising helps to construct, reinforce and disseminate unrealistic ideals and expectations for male bodies and appearance (Bordo, 1999; Dotson, 1999; Dutton, 1995; Gill, 2006, 2007; Gottschall, 1999; Nixon, 1996; Rohlinger, 2002). The goal here was to empirically test the assertion that male bodies are being increasingly and obviously sexualized, objectified and eroticized in contemporary advertizing images, particularly in ways that open these bodies up to the female (and gay male) gaze. This is a core aspect of this research because it speaks to shifts in the representational practices for depicting masculinity and it ties in with notions of embodied masculinity (and embodied fatherhood).

## **8.1 Masculinity and Cultural Representation: Men in the Images of Advertising (Results)**

A significant component of any coherent research addressing shifts in cultural representations of masculinity involves looking at the demographic profile of the men depicted, particularly since it is reflective of how a particular culture defines manhood in a given context and historical moment (Edwards, 2007). Additionally, demographics are important in terms of what a particular culture defines as acceptable in terms of gender performance. In keeping with

this, the case study included in this thesis looked at the demographic characteristics of men as portrayed in ads over time and between magazine type, both to get a general sense of ideals and expectations for masculinity and to address differences therein. The initial expectation for findings in this area were that there would be a slow, yet consistent effort on the part of advertisers in all magazines to construct and present a diverse images of masculinity. Between 1960 and 2000 we would see a slow and steady increase in the presence of gay, older, racial and ethnically diverse masculinities with differing bodies and appearances. Similarly, the expectation was that advertising images contained within this case study would move beyond older homoerotic imagery to fully and explicitly incorporate gay men in their ads. Inclusion of demographics and the expectations therein seemed reasonable given the large sample of ads taken the diversity of magazines types and the fact that both Canadian and American publications were included. On the last point, both Canada and the United States are highly multi-cultural so it seemed reasonable to assume this would be reflected in their cultural and media imagery.

## **8.2 Models of Manhood in Advertising: Demographic Profiles of Masculinity in Ad Images**

Much of the analysis that follows was written against the backdrop of intense social changes in gender roles and relationships, particularly in terms of the growth and popularity of critical masculinity theory and research. Similarly, this case study took shape within the context of rapid theoretical and analytical shifts in the approaches used to address and make sense of cultural and media representations of gender, gender roles and relationships. Throughout history masculinity has been examined uncritically in various contest, roles and relationships, from education, families, workplaces and so forth. This has been especially

problematic in reference to media images and representations since we have been largely unaware of, or uncritical of what we were seeing when looking at mediated masculinities (Edwards, 2007). As alluded to in previous sections of this research, one area of paucity in research and theory on mediated masculinities has been in relation to the gaze and who can look at whom and in what context, and with what consequences. Men are currently 'appearing' in a vast array of media formats, in varied locations and contexts and engaged in a wider array of activities, roles and relationships (Gill, 2006, 2007). The question of interest here is: if men are currently at the center of the gaze within various media, what do they look like? Analysis here takes for granted that men are more prevalent in ad images and moves to explore in greater detail what advertising defines as representative of manhood.

Related to the demographic profile of men in advertising, this research was especially interested in addressing whether there was a sustained shift in ads towards incorporating images of older men, racial and ethnic categories, masculinities, and a range of male sexual identities. Keeping in mind all gaps in the literature due to magazine type and the unavailability of other issues for particular years, this thesis found a highly circumscribed image of masculinity over time and between magazine type. Data collection for this study draws from a historical period of rapid social changes, since the 1960's was a time in which the image industries proliferated and underwent significant changes. With its roots in the post second world war period, developments in celebrity and consumer culture advertising exploded within Canada and America. Accordingly, unlike the 1950's, the 1960's saw the rapid replacement of 'needs' with 'desires', whereby ones social position increasingly came to be linked with consumer goods and consumption came to define and indicate success. Consequently, self-image and self-identity increasingly became connected to social class and one's ability to buy lifestyles. This

said, we also see the rise of commodified masculinities available to those who could afford them (Beynon, 2002). These resources were both monetary and identity-based, since emphasis was said to increasingly be placed on a model of young, attractive and economically successful masculinity.

The 1960's and 1970's, as we have seen were also periods of intense social activism and reform, especially from feminists and around gender roles and relationships and the gay and lesbian movement. This category is especially important to this research in terms of looking at the demographic profile of men in ads across time and in relationship to discussions of fatherhood and the debates around the direction and degree of changes therein. At various times masculinity has been closely and directly defined by demographic characteristics such as age, sexuality and as a patriarchal ideal of manhood. With the feminist and gay and lesbian movements under way the 1960's and 1970's were periods in which patriarchal models of manhood began to give way to a more diverse masculinity (Beynon, 2002). Thus, women and various other groups were advocating for greater recognition and equality as struggles for new and alternative ways for men to perform their genders were firmly in place. A large part of the push for changes in masculinity focused around men's familial roles and relationships and the debates over men's real or imagined enhanced participation in domestic tasks and childcare . In addition, men's enhanced commercial and consumer roles masculinity was no longer assumed to be rooted in men's obvious connection to, and success in the professional world of work and familial support. Simultaneously, the gay and lesbian movement was pushing for the visibility, acceptance and recognition of diversity in terms of cultural representations and the presumed 'natural' connection between masculinity and 'heterosexuality' (Beynon, 2002; Edwards, 2007)

Another core demographic characteristic to consider in relation to masculinity during the 1960 and 1970s is the racial profiles of men at the time. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed efforts in North America to advocate for racial and ethnic equality and a recognition of diversity. This is also important to our research because it is reflective of change occurring at the time which are argued to have an impact on cultural constructions and representations of masculinity. In short, the argument is made that the many social, political, and economic and cultural changes underway throughout the 1960 and 1970s, particularly around what type of 'man' as socially valorized and visually present shifted. Masculinity was no longer tied into notions of rationality, wisdom, professional success and appearance. Similarly, no longer could the assumption of heterosexuality be made in relation to masculinity.

The question now becomes, are these findings reflected in the empirical case study findings from this time period undertaken here? Is there a consistent effort to expand the demographic profile of men contained in visual ads to keep pace with presumed societal changes? The easy answer to this question is both no and yes. What was found consistently across the 1960s and 1970s (and indeed into the present), was a propensity for all of the four magazines to depict younger men, between the ages of 20 - 40.

As we move through the 1980s to 2000, this move to depict younger men continues and in fact, actually intensifies for many of the magazines with the commercialization of masculinity intensifying, so does the visual imperative for male youth. In previous chapters I address the 'new man' present in both the 1980s and 1990ss, with the former being more a response to feminism and anti-sexism and the latter a more commodified, narcissistic and idealized. In both cases, this model of manhood was young, a finding confirmed in the findings of this study (See Table 1 for a complete analysis of ages by decade and magazine).

Taken together, the findings of this case study were in line with those arguing for an increasingly youthful image of masculinity. Whether a response to feminism from the 1960's, 1970's the commercialization of masculinity in the 1980s, 1990s and increasingly in 2000, youth was a fairly consistent ideal for men in advertising imagery.

Another central aspect of men's identities that permeate debates on masculinity, particularly in terms of media imagery, focuses on the racial characteristics of men present in advertising. Contextualizing within the history of near visibility in terms of representations of masculinity in visual media, particularly advertising culture, our research was premised on the assertion that between 1960 - 2000 there would be a slow, yet steady move in composite racial diversity into advertising imagery. This hypothesis was premised on our belief that images in advertising would change to reflect changes in Western culture in terms of racial and ethnic relations after all, increasingly we moved toward becoming a fully multi-cultural and multi-ethnic culture. Throughout the history of masculinity covered in this research, at stake in the literature has been hegemonic masculinity, its profile and efforts to deconstruct and move beyond it to recognize and theorize/research diverse masculinities. Since the 1960s, scholars have progressively grounded new theoretical and empirical insights and have moved towards recognition of diversity. The question of interest for this research was whether diversity in how we imagine and theorize masculinity is reflected in how we image men in popular media images of masculinity? If so, are these efforts consistent across time and between magazines analyzed? Looking at Table 2, we can clearly see that between 1960 – 2000, part of what it means to be masculine was youth and white ( see Beynon, 2002; Dyer, 1997).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, where there was an intensification of media images of men and a commercialization of masculinity, race remains invisible, complex at best. Despite

claims to the existence of the new more nurturing man of the 1970s and 1980s, and the 'new narcissistic' man on the 1990s, and objectified, sexualized man of late, he continues to be depicted in ad images according to a white, western-centric ideal (Bynon, 2006; Gill, 2006, 2007; Edwards, 2006).

The findings of this case study seem to point to a rather conventional and traditionally conservative or hegemonic visual image of masculinity, despite many of the political, economic and social changes occurring between 1960 – 2000 in North American society. Results have indicated very little impact on visual images in advertising. This is a finding consistent regardless of magazine type and proposed target audience or readership. What is clear is that most could agree that gay liberation has provided many important and notable victories for gays and lesbians in undermining prejudice and applying pressure for enhanced legal equality, developing a thriving commercial subculture and for achieving greater societal visibility. The relationship between sexuality and masculinity has been an uneasy one, and has at times been characterized by tension. While complex and contradictory, "the relationship between gay sexuality and masculinity appears, at first glance, quite simple: gay sexuality negates masculinity" (Edwards, 2006:79). In other words, if one was gay, he was logically not masculine because hegemonic masculinity meant by default that one was heterosexual. Hegemonic masculinity required and helped reinforce compulsory heterosexuality.

Despite the history of associating masculinity with heterosexuality, as my review of media work shows, the picture is somewhat less clear. Indeed, as previous chapters point out, the magazine industry, particularly between the 1970s to present, has a history of play with homoerotic imagery, and in some cases, explicitly gay imagery (Fejes, 2002; Mistry, 2002). Associated with this has been a recognition of the potential in the gay and lesbian consumer

market, coupled with efforts to tap it. The questions of interest for this thesis is the extent to which gay men and homosexual images appear in the ads examined here? Related to this, has there been an increasing visibility of such imagery between 1960 – 2000? The easy response to this question is that there is no obvious increase in the numbers of ads in the few magazines using explicitly or overtly gay imagery. If one looks at Table 3 (Depicted Sexual Orientation of Men in Ads), it becomes clear that the overwhelming majority of ads included in the study either left the sexuality of the men ambiguous, or depicted them in overtly heterosexual roles and relationships. This finding is consistent across decades and magazine studied.

During the 1980s, 1990s, and also 2000, there was an appreciable increase, particularly in Esquire, of homoerotic images. Specifically, there was a visible shift in representational practices for depicting the male body toward the use of the male body as erotica, objectified and sexual to be looked at, gazed upon, and desired by a female or gay male audience. Even though explicit references to and depictions of gay male sexuality were still not observed across ads in the period 1980 – 2000, there was an increase in the number of shirtless or semi-nude male bodies, displayed for visual pleasure and consumption in various contexts, often without the presence of women to define them as heterosexual. We will rejoin this discussion later, with reference to depictions of the male body and appearance. For now, it is sufficient to point out that as we move from the 1960 to 2000, there is a noticeable absence of incorporating diverse, specifically gay masculinities in most magazine ads under analysis.

Taken together, these findings suggest two things that may be occurring: first, the types of magazines analyzed and the persistence of ideologies surrounding heterosexuality; second, perhaps the reluctance to depict openly gay imagery simply reflects the fact that gay audience can find visual appeals to gay audiences in explicitly gay publications and get certain visually

desirable homoerotic images from 'mainstream' magazines. By contrast, the findings here explainable in similar terms: that there are simply no gay audiences for *Ladies Home Journal*, *Maclean's* and *Today's Parent*, and therefore, there is no imperative to incorporate such imagery in order to appeal to these markets?

Moving beyond the absence of openly homosexual male imagery in advertising, there is still the argument to be made despite all the clamor for equality and shifts in visual culture, masculinity and representational practices for depicting masculinity, do we not see greater numbers of gay imagery? Related to this, and a finding discussed later in greater detail, despite all the 'buzz' given to gay parenting, why are lesbian and gay men almost completely invisible in mainstream parenting publications, such as *Today's Parent*? Do they simply talk to their own 'subcultural' publications for affirmation of positive gay parental imagery? If so, what does this say about how the mainstream publishing and as worlds regard (or disregard) same-sex parenting?

### **8.3 Beyond Demographics: Imaging Masculinity in Advertising Imagery from 1960 – 2000**

A large part of this thesis, particularly the case study, was focused on exploring ideals and expectations for masculinity constructed and reinforced in ad visuals. Specifically, through looking at men's depicted roles and relationships with women and children, the depicted context, theme and setting of the ads and the particular products sold, we are able to get a sense of ideologies and expectations for masculinity at a particular historical moment. One important indicator of these ideals is men's depicted relationship to and children in the ads. Analysis here was three-pronged: whether men were actually shown in ad images,

whether there was a presence of men and children across all four publications, and what activities men and children were shown engaged in, as reflective of current ideologies around both masculinity generally and fatherhood, specifically.

In terms of the first question, the assumptions underpinning the analysis was that as we move from 1960 – 2000 there would be a growth in the sheer number of ads depicting men with children . A finding that would be consistent across magazine type and would intensify as we came closer to 2000. Related to this, it was assumed that we would see a comparable increase in the numbers of ads depicting men in the traditionally defined female caring roles. Men would be shown caring for sick kids, feeding, bathing, changing and reading to and preparing children for bed. There would be a sharp decline in images of men with children engaged in traditional forms of male parenting, such as sport, outdoor, and leisure activities.

#### **8.4 Masculinity, Advertising, and Imaging Children in Ads**

In response to the assumptions that there would be a greater visual presence of children with men in ads across magazine type and throughout the period under consideration, this case study was in direct contradiction. Looking at 1960 – 1980, all available magazines demonstrated an almost unanimous invisibility of children depicted with men. In fact, looking at Table 4 (Number of Kids Present With Men in Ads) between 1960 – 1980 almost 100% of ads failed to depict men together with children. If we look at the numbers for 1985 – 2000, something interesting is evident. Although, all other magazines are fairly consistent with their failure to depict men and children together in ad images. However, in 1985, *Today's Parent* is introduced into circulation and suddenly there is an explosion of advertising in that magazine showing men and children together. While this does not immediately strike one as odd, upon

clear inspection the initial question must be what does this all mean? Is it simply that it would be obvious that other magazines do not often, if ever depict men with children, after all, why would they if they are not parenting publications? While this is fair, does it then mean that it is only acceptable and responsible to depict and expect to see depictions of men with children in magazines that are geared towards a parental audience? If so, what can we say has really changed in terms of the real and imagined or imaged world of masculinity?

Moving beyond the sheer presence of children in ads with men, an additional and related question was: what is the gender of the children who are most often shown in ads with men? Although the majority of ads contain no children, looking at Table 5 we can see that between 1960 – 1970 when children were present with men, there was an almost even split between male and female children. This finding was consistent even in *Esquire*. In 1980, although children were still mostly absent in ads with men, when they were present, it tended to be female children. Beginning in 1985 with the introduction of *Today's Parent* there was a dramatic increase in the presence of children in ads with men: 33.3% of males and 66.7% of females in 1985, compared with 18.2% male and 45.5% females in 1990. Data for 1995 and 2000 for *Today's Parent* again show a shift in the gender composition of ads with 45.4% of ads in 1995 containing both female and male children and 18.2% containing only males. In 2000, 39.7% of ads in *Today's Parent* contained no children while 21.6% contained both genders and 18.1% depicted female children.

While the data for the above category may not appear surprising, they are in direct contradiction to the hypothesis of this research. The assumption underlying the inclusion of this category was that there would be a gradual, yet marked increase in the visibility of advertising depicting men together with children, while there was no specification around the

gender of the children, it was felt that advertising in these magazines, particularly *Today's Parent* would reflect men's greater parenting roles. Beyond value judgements around the content of these parenting images, the presumption was that ads would simply demonstrate an enhanced attempt to depict more men with children. What this suggests is that advertising, at least in the ads analyzed, do not reflect a growth in or emphasis on men's parental role. Most of these ads did not draw a visual link between masculinity and parenting. However, since only one of these magazines was focused specifically on parenting, perhaps that accounts for the large number of male children images. Perhaps the changes in visual representations of both masculinity and fatherhood that I proposed are limited to traditional spaces such as parenting magazines. That these publications are aimed at men and women who are parents are part of their gender performance and the other magazines encourage a different constructions or performance of gender roles and relations because they are aimed at a very different audience.

Two additional categories that provide partially clear messages about ideals and expectations for masculinity focus on the setting and thematic content of ads. Taken together, they are interesting in terms of cultural ideologies about what men's roles and relationships are or should be. Similarly, comparing theme and content allow us to see shifts in gender ideologies. Taken separately we are able to get a sense of how image makers, like advertisers, help to construct and reinforce particular ideals and expectations for masculinity. As we have shown in previous chapters gender roles in advertising, particularly in magazines, have been extremely stereotypical and slow to change. Although there are exceptions, much of the advertising between 1960 and the early 1980s positioned men in authority roles, and to depict them in public and professional/occupational roles, while women were housewives and

mothers or sexual and decorative objects. Gauntlett (2000) argues that during the 1970s and 1980s it became more common to see men in the home as well, in the role of husband and father. Similarly, while women were concerned with beauty, family, their home and pleasing men, men were more likely to be shown outside of this realm. Work was depicted as essential to men's lives, and relationships as not so central to men. Finally, modern advertising from this thesis (post 1980's to 2000) is highly contradictory according to literature showing the persistence of some of the older gender stereotypes. Some argue that men are increasingly shown in sexualized roles and that there is greater representation of diverse sexual orientations in ads (Gauntlett, 2002; Gill, 2007).

The results of this study in terms of the themes and settings of ads again seem to confirm traditional gender stereotypes and contradict the main hypothesis of this work. Results from Table 5 (Depicted Setting of Ads) demonstrate a significant tendency to depict men in setting that are 'undeterminable', meaning that the setting was literally undeterminable or there was no actual setting for the ad. From Table 5, it is clear that with exceptions, and mainly those magazines geared towards women and parenting, there was no discernable shift towards depicting men in domestic or household and family setting. This was fairly consistent over the entire fifty year period studied. Even for those publications depicting increases in men's family/domestic settings, it was during the 1980s, 1985, 1990 and then not again until 2000, and mainly in *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Today's Parent*. In 1980, 22% of all ads in *Ladies Home Journal* depicted men in family, household and domestic settings. Similarly, in 1985 33.3% of all ads depicted men in family, domestic and household settings and another 33.3% showed men at home, yet outdoors. In 1990 a full 36.4% of all ads in *Today's Parent* depicted men in family, domestic and household settings. However, for much of the 1990's there was a

return to depicting men mainly away from the home, in educational, occupational and outdoor settings or in settings deemed undeterminable. It was not until 2000 that there was any significant depictions of men in settings related to family, domesticity and childcare, and this was only in *Today's Parent* (40.5%).

The above findings are interesting on various levels. First the only real presence of images showing men in traditionally 'female' settings is in a magazine that arguably is geared towards family and domesticity, and most likely read by women. Second, this finding says much about gender roles and relationships, especially in terms of what we continue to consider 'men's' and 'women's work'. Finally, the fact that men are shown in non-traditional male settings like the house or domestic realm only in publications of that nature tells us much about who they see as primarily responsible for these roles.

If the settings of the ads in all available publications remain firmly rooted in gender stereotypes associated with masculinity and femininity, is the thematic content of the ads consistent with this? This question is important for two related reasons. First, the ad settings and themes are not always consistent in the messages and ideologies around gender roles and relationships they present. For instance, the ad images for products like jeans often focus on settings that are difficult to discern the actual product being sold. Similarly, the thematic content of these and other ads often focus on male and female bodies and sexualities to sell products. The second reason that ad theme and setting consistency is important to this study arises from the fact that both often tend to be highly gendered and provide the audience with cues about cultural ideals and expectations for gender and sexuality. In other words, the thematic content of an ad offers as much to discourses on masculinity (and femininity) as the particular setting that men and women are shown in. Finally, there can be tensions between

theme and setting in ads whereby contradictory messages about gender roles and relationships become evident (Gill, 2007).

In terms of thematic content the expectation for this case study was that between 1960-2000 there would be a gradual, yet consistent trend towards showing ads with men focused on themes related to caring roles and relationships traditionally associated with women and femininity (for example, cooking cleaning, caring for ill children, bathing and so forth). Related to this, ads would increasingly focus on themes related to male bodies such as grooming, appearance and health. Looking at Table 6 (Thematic Content of Ads) it is evident that taken together the findings in this category reflect a combination of change and traditional gender stereotypes. In terms of the initial expectations that there would be a gradual increase in thematic content associated with men's enhanced domestic and non-traditional; caring roles and relationships, the only substantial increase in this area was found in *Today's Parent*, which was not introduced until 1985. In 1985 three areas of thematic content were evident in the majority of advertising in this magazine (marriage, family and domesticity, outdoors, leisure and travel, and education, career finances and knowledge systems). For each of these thematic categories the numbers were evenly split 33.3% respectively. In 1990 only 18.2% of all ads in *Today's Parent* contained ads with thematic content relating to family and domesticity compared with 22.7 % in 1995 and 34.5% in 2000. Thematic content related to domesticity and family was limited mainly to magazines related directly to families, which probably is more reflective of the readership and target audience than it is of any significant changes in masculinity. In other words, there were no substantial efforts to depict men in ads with thematic content relating to domestic, caring and familial roles and relationships.

The second and related assumption that there would be a growth in the numbers of ads containing thematic content relating to male appearance, bodies and grooming (Table 6) does not support this claim. Indeed, again the majority of such thematic ad content was limited to *Esquire* magazine, a men's lifestyle and general interest publication. What is especially interesting about this is that between 1975-1980 there was a slight decrease in ads in *Esquire* that deal with themes relating to male bodies, appearance and grooming. Related to this, there was a rise in such thematic content after 1980. Between 1960-1985 themes relating to male bodies, appearance and grooming were relatively absent in all publications and completely invisible in others. Part of this finding again might reflect the magazine type and the target audience, since *Esquire* was launched as a men's magazine and has worked to define and refine ideals and expectations for men. Advertisements in *Ladies Home Journal* between 1960-1970 also contained a lot of ads with thematic content related to men's health, fitness and diet. Hence, one might ask whether at the time magazines aimed at men and those aimed at women were in agreement in relation to the emphasis on men's appearance and bodies. Related to this, it that between 1975-2000 the emphasis became less on combining male appearance/grooming and body with that related to health and fitness. Is that as we move towards 2000 ads are increasingly concerned with men's exterior appearance, fashion, grooming and less with promoting men's health and fitness.

Finding around thematic content arising out of this case study was that, with few exceptions, many of the ads between 1960-2000 focused on themes related to men's outdoor, recreational and leisure activities, particularly from 1970 and onward. This is interesting given the emphasis also placed on men's bodies, appearance and grooming and this more leisure and recreational based lifestyle. For many of the others a connection is drawn between male

bodies/appearance, their health and a lifestyle of leisure. This is quite a departure from the more traditional assumptions made about the natural connections between masculinity and work. Table 6 clearly demonstrates an increase in thematic content in ads relating to men appearance, bodies, health and grooming between 1960-2000. Similarly, there was also an increase in themes relating to men's leisure, recreation and lifestyle and much less on men's occupations, finances and so forth.

Findings thus far indicate a significant shift away from cultural ideals and expectations for masculinity, work and success. What are men shown most often doing in ads? What types of work roles are they shown performing? Literature indicates that during the 1960's and 1970's men have been shown in roles relating to work, while women were shown in family and domestic roles. However, when women were shown in work roles they were often those stereotypically associated with female occupations, such as nursing, teaching and so forth (Gauntlett, 2002). Conversely, men were more likely to be shown in professional contexts, work and in roles related to sports, leisure and outdoors (Beynon, 2002). During the 1980's to present much of the literature points to an increase in men shown outside of professional and occupational roles and relationships and increasingly in roles as sexual, erotic and objectified objects (Dotson, 1999; Gill, 2006, 2007; Gottschall, 1999). The expectation for this study was threefold. First, there would be a slow and steady decline across magazine type containing ads depicting men in occupational and professional roles. Second, there would be a corresponding increase in ads showing men in the domestic realm, with children and in traditionally feminine caring roles and relationships. Finally, men's occupational roles and relationships would increasingly take a secondary place to images of men performing in stereotypically feminine roles and relationships (for example; cooking, cleaning, caring for ill children, reading with

kids, bathing children). However, Table 7 (Occupation of men in ads) clearly and almost universally demonstrates an invisibility or indeterminability of men's professional and occupational roles and relationships in ads. Indeed, between 1960-2000 and across all available magazine men's specific occupations were left invisible or vague in almost 100% of the cases. If we look at this in relation to the previous categories for analysis we can already see a sustained shift in advertising away from connecting masculinity with the worlds of work, professional and educational roles and relations and towards a more sustained emphasis on their appearance, bodies, health and lifestyles. This is a finding reinforced by the almost universal invisibility of children across time and between magazine types. Thus, visual connections drawn between masculinity and work and between men and their parental and familial roles and relationships is not clearly evident in the majority of the magazines and ads analyzed in this case study. Instead, thus far the connection being made remains one between men's exterior and their lifestyle as symbols or markers of masculinity and manhood. Part of this connection between masculinity, lifestyles and appearance/bodies requires that men must look good, enjoy life and do so free of family responsibilities, a theme evident in the 'New Lad' discourses of the 1990's men's magazines (Benwell, 2003; Beynon, 2002; Jackson, Stevenson and Brooks, 2001).

Moving beyond the roles, settings and thematic content of ads, an additional category of interest here was the particular product type being advertised. Specifically, are men being shown promoting products traditionally and typically associated with masculinity (such as, alcohol, automotive products, tobacco, finances and knowledge systems) or are they advertising traditionally feminine products (such as household cleaners, child care products, diapers, fashion and grooming products)? The assumption underpinning analysis in this

category was that the products advertised, and any shifts therein, reflect cultural and ideological expectations and ideals for masculinity, at least as conceived within the visual worlds of advertising. The presumption here was that there would be a gradual shift in the types of products that men are shown advertising as we move towards 2000 to reflect men's greater participation in the domestic realm and in child care. Related to this, there would be a greater frequency of ads showing men advertising products related to their bodies, appearance and grooming. This expectation was also mediated by a recognition that the findings there could be influenced greater by the target audience of the magazine and by magazine type.

From Table 8 (Product Advertised) between 1960 – 1995, products related to the male body were fairly prevalent in all available magazines, except *Macleans*. This is a rather contradictory finding given that early on the expectation was that men would be shown advertising products traditionally associated with masculinity (such as alcohol, tobacco) and less those associated with femininity (such as grooming, fashion)., Even within *Esquire* during this time period, the expectation was that men's bodies and appearance would be less of a focus, particularly since this message is associated with laddism (Jackson, Stevenson & Brooks, 2001). In other words, demonstrating a blurring of what it means to be masculine, while retaining a deep connection with heterosexual masculinity. The other surprising finding to emerge between 1960 - 1975 was the large numbers of ads in *Ladies Home Journal* showing products associated with technologies of the body, especially for men. This seems contradictory to the content of such a magazine, particularly in terms of its target audience (women, wives, and mothers) and its supposed content, domestic, family, and parenting issues (Gill, 2007). Most of the ads across all available publications between 1960 to 1975 tended not to show men advertising products related to family/home and domesticity.

Beginning in 1980- 1990 the findings for this category shift again. Looking at Table 8, we can see that while many ads across the available magazines continued to contain ads for products related to appearance and the body, there is a significant number of ads for traditionally masculine products, such as alcohol, tobacco, and knowledge systems. With few exceptions, most from *Ladies Home Journal* and *Today's Parent*, men in ads of 1980 - 1990 were not shown advertising for products related to family, the home, domesticity or child care. While this study looked at a range of magazine types, the period between 1980 to 1990 was a time of great emphasis on men's appearance (Gill, 2007; Edward, 2006) and on their role as consumer, particularly in reference to the highly discussed 'new man'. Between 1980 and 1990, Table 8 shows that products related to men's bodies and appearance were quite prevalent, particularly in *Esquire*. Similarly, the vast majority of ads containing men promoting products related to the family and domesticity appeared in *Ladies Home Journal* and *Today's Parent*. This suggests that a large part of the argued changes in men's roles within advertising around their bodies/appearance and their depicted family roles and relationships might be limited to the particular magazine type and target audience. This seems particularly possible given that in some of the publications, men are often still shown advertising things like alcohol, tobacco, knowledge systems and so forth.

Finally between 1990 and 2000, Table 8 again points to an increase in the number of ads showing men with products related to the body and appearance. This is a finding consistent even in *Ladies Home Journal* and to a lesser extent in *Today's Parent*. While there are a few cases where men are still found advertising those products typically associated with masculinity, there is a significant and persistent focus on men's bodies, their appearance, and also their physiques. For example, if we look at the numbers for 1990, a full 88.9% of all ads

contained men with products related to the body, compared with 44.4% in *Ladies Home Journal* and 23.1% in *Macleans*. With few exceptions, the number remains fairly high for 1995 - 2000. In terms of looking at shifts in men's depicted family roles and relations via product type, between 1990 - 2000 there is no substantial growth in ads depicting men with household, domestic and child care or parenting products, except in some of the parenting and women's magazines.

Taken together, the numbers for this category reflect two core things about cultural representations of masculinity between 1960 and 2000. First, with exceptions, there was no substantial increase in men's depicted familial/domestic roles and relationships outside of publications geared specifically to these audiences. Related to this, some magazines continue to show men promoting traditionally masculine products. Second, again with few exceptions, one of the more prevalent findings was that ads from the entire fifty year period placed emphasis on male body, appearance, health, and fitness, particularly in *Esquire* aimed at men and *Ladies Home Journal*, aimed at women. With few exceptions the emphasis on men's appearance and bodies was evident in the types of products advertised and increases as we progress towards 2000.

Thus far the majority of categories examined have not completely supported the visual shifts in masculinity and men's family and domestic roles and relationships. Rather the data supports a fairly substantial focus on men's physical and aesthetic appearance. The data are also clear in the fact that the particular magazine type and supposed target audience play a role in the general content of advertising. Thus, the findings for each category have to be contextualized with the existing literature but also with reference to magazine types.

So far the focus has been mainly on the presence or absence of children in ads with men, the themes and settings of the ads and the product type. Another important category, and one which addresses visual and ideological shifts in masculinity and fatherhood deals with the activities men are shown engaged in. Similarly, whether men are shown engaging in activities typically dubbed 'feminine' and associated with the maternal world (for example, meal preparation, cleaning, laundry, dish washing and child care). Conversely, men are depicted engaging in activities traditionally associated with hegemonic masculinity (such as yard work, automotive repair, home maintenance, and so forth). The expectation for this research was that images of men in advertising across all four publications and between 1960-2000 would demonstrate a slow and steady increase in images of men in roles and relationships traditionally associated with women (like childcare, meal preparation, house cleaning and so forth). Despite their enhanced social and occupational roles it is argued that women retain primary responsibility for the majority of the domestic and child care duties (Tyyska, 2007). This said, current work on advertising argues that as we move from the 1970's towards 2000 women's bodies, sexualities and appearance have become a core element of representational practices for depicting femininity (Gill, 2007). Women have always had to balance their family responsibilities with maintaining an attractive appearance for husbands (Martin, 1997). In short, female bodies have always been central elements of femininity and female identities.

By sharp contrast, men in advertising have traditionally been depicted a strong, instrumental and quite separate from the maternal spaces and from domestic duties (Tyyska, 2007). Men were typically defined through their occupations and their role a breadwinner and not because they kept a good house and cared for children. Similarly, prior to the 1980's men looked at women and women appeared and men were generally not defined through, or by their

bodies and appearance and consumer/lifestyle choices (Gill, 2006, 2007). The results of this case study are especially revealing in their contradiction of the initial research hypothesis. Table 9 (Domestic duties of men in ads) clearly demonstrates that men do not perform domestic duties, at least in the visual worlds of advertising. This is a finding that was consistent both between magazine type and across the fifty year period analyzed. What types of duties are men typically shown engaging in within advertising visuals? Do these depicted duties vary according to magazine type and by year of publication? Taken together the data for this cases study demonstrate that in nearly 100% of ads across time and between magazine type, men were shown in activities that were disassociated entirely from the domestic realm and from duties traditionally associated with femininity (child care, cleaning, cooking and so forth). In most of the ads it was made clear that although men maybe less closely tied to the world of paid labor, this does not mean they have merely moved into the domestic realm and begun caring for children and for the home as women have traditionally done. Indeed, in most cases men were actually shown engaged in leisure, recreational and outdoor activities, with other men with women and/or with children. Consequently, if men's depicted duties are changing within advertising away from work and professional roles it is in the direction of a more leisure-based and recreational model of masculinity. This is an ideal of manhood talked about in relation to advertising at various historical moments (Jhally, 2006).

This research has clearly illustrated a tension in cultural representations of masculinity between remnants of traditional gender stereotypes (i.e., men do not take responsibility for child care and maintenance) and a more leisure, lifestyle image of manhood, where men have time and presumably care about keeping up their appearance, grooming and enjoying life. In most cases these leisure and recreational images contain men alone or with other men.

However, when women and children are pictured with men the question one must then ask is: what is the depicted relationships between men and women and between men and children when they are shown together in advertising? Both the gender composition of advertising and the depicted relationships between the men, women and children therein provide great insights into gender roles and relationships, as ideologies and expectations for masculinity. This category was also included since a large part of the case study addresses issues around ideals and expectations for men in relationships with children as depicted in advertising imagery.

This study was premised on the assertion that men would be shown more frequently with children and in relationships in which men are caring for children in ways traditionally associated with women. From Table 10 (Activities of men with children) it is clear that when children are present with men in ads they are not usually (nor obviously) in activities associated with the domestic realm. Additionally, data from this case study does not support substantial growths in images depicting men in stereotypically 'feminine' caring roles (such as bathing children, feeding them, caring for ill children). For both of the aforementioned categories there was an almost universal invisibility of ads between 1960-2000 and between all available publications depicting men together with children engaging in domestic and child care activities. In Table 10 it is evident that two situations arise in relation to ads in this case study. First, as indicated previously, children do not typically appear in ads with men. Second, when shown with men in ads, their particular activity tends to be unclear or even undeterminable.

What is interesting about the above category is that much of the existing empirical literature on gender and advertising, especially masculinity, has traditionally argued that men and children are most often shown together in ads engaging in leisure, sport, recreational and various outdoor activities (Craig, 1992; Gill, 2006). Related to this, when children are shown

with men and in such activities, it tends to be male children, while women appear most often with female children (Gill, 2007; Stern 2003). Even though this is arguably said to be changing ever so slightly, findings from this research did not support claims to such changes. When contextualized in terms of magazine target audience and readership of magazines there are no obvious shifts in whether men are shown with children in activities related to the domestic realm or traditionally female caring activities.

Consistent with the literature a core component of much empirical work on media and gender addresses issues related to the depicted roles and relationships between men and women in ads as reflective of gender ideologies (Beynon, 2002; Craig, 1992; Gill, 2007; Stern, 2003). This category is both theoretically and analytically important for several related reasons. First, it provides insights into the gender composition and gender roles and relations of ads. Additionally, it allows us to investigate trends and changes therein. Second, such emphasis allows for discussions around how the image industries view gender roles and relationships. Similarly, ads can be taken as a reflection of socio-cultural ideologies and expectations around masculinity and femininity. Finally, looking at the relationship between men and women in ads provides insights into whether significant changes are occurring in terms of domestic, parental and the sexual division of labor are evident in ad imagery.

Looking at Table 11 (Relationships Between Men and Women in Ads) demonstrates few substantial changes in men's depicted marital status over time and between magazine type. The only appreciable number of ads depicting men as husbands first appears in 1980 in *Ladies Home Journal* with 24.1% of ads showing men as husbands . Then in 1985, 33.3% of all ads in *Today's Parent* show men in the role of husband, compared with 27.3.% in *Today's Parent* in 1990, 22.4% in 2000 and 29.8% in *Ladies Home Journal* in 2000. Table 11 demonstrates

clearly that with few exceptions, men's primary role and relationship with women in the visual worlds of advertising is not that of a husband. However, men have not tended to be shown in romantic or sexual relations with women in ads, as some literature suggests. Rather, data for this category demonstrates two types of male-female relationships, one of female invisibility, or one where man and woman are shown engaged in non-marital, non-sexual relationships. With few exceptions, these male-female relationships were consistent both between 1960 and 2000 and across all four magazines. Finally, given *Esquire*'s status as a men's magazine, it was surprising that there were not more images of men and women as sexual and/or romantic partners.

Men are generally not shown in relationships with women that reflect their status as husbands or sexual and romantic partners and not with children. From the data in the study, men were typically shown alone in most ads, or with other men engaged in sports, leisure, and various other recreational situations. There was no substantial increase between magazines over the study period in men's depicted family roles, relationships and activities. What was striking here is that there were not greater numbers of ads showing men in romantic and sexual relationships in ads. If men are often shown in marital relationships, it seemed logical to assume that they would be shown in the more traditional role associated with sexual conquest of women, particularly since overtly homosexual men were absent in the majority of ads.

So if men are generally not shown in familial relationships with women in ads, what sort of relationships are men shown in when children are present? The presumption guiding this analysis here was that men would increasingly be shown as fathers and in care giving positions. Additionally, these findings would be consistent across magazine type, as a reflection of societal changes in masculinity and in fatherhood. However, Table 12

(Relationship Between Men and Children) reflects the invisibility of children. When children were present, with men in ads, the depicted relationship between them tended to be largely undeterminable. Hence, in many ads it was largely unclear as to whether these men were the child's father, grandparent, or other relations.

Taken together with the depicted relationship with women most of the ads in the magazines analyze for this study really do not reflect significant changes in how they depict men's roles and relationships. In particular, men are not generally shown with women and children, so substantial shifts in masculinity towards having greater family and domestic responsibilities were absent. Similarly, upon review, much of the data for the categories included any substantial changes toward men's caring and domestic roles tended to be most prevalent in *Today's Parent* and *Ladies Home Journal*. Hence, it is not surprising that we find some changes when the target audience of these magazines is considered.

## **8.5 Embodied Masculinity in Advertising**

In previous sections of this dissertation we have discussed the dramatic increase in images of men in advertising, particularly in terms of images of men's bodies. There were also lengthy discussions of shifts in representational practices for depicting male bodies toward an idealized, objectified and sexualized male body (Gill, 2006; 2007). This discussion is particularly relevant to the case study here for several related reasons. First, issues related to the body, and specifically to men's bodies are a hot topic within sociology and fatherhood theory and research. Related to this masculinity and fatherhood are inescapably embodied, as discussed in previous chapters. Second, this research was interested in looking at what types of male bodies were evident in advertising and whether there have been changes in the image of male bodies shown, both over time and by magazine type.

I came to this research with two general and related assumptions. First, that there would be a greater visual presence of men in ads engaged in child care and domestic roles, relationships and activities. Second, that there would be an increase in physically and aesthetically idealized and 'perfected' male bodies. Restated, there would be a clear link between masculinity and an idealized male body. These findings would be consistent across magazine type and would become increasingly prevalent as we moved through the years. Two central categories of analysis aimed at excavating ideals for masculinity and male bodies were the specific body type of men in the ads and their clothing style

In terms of both the existing literature and the research hypothesis for this study, advertising is said to promote and depict an idealized and physically/aesthetically perfect male body (Edwards, 2007; Gill, 2006, 2007). Related to this, depictions of male bodies tend to be very definite and rigid in their expectations for body shape, size and type. However, Table 13 (Body Type of Men in Ads) does not provide support for these assertions. Indeed, within the period of study, and across publications, the male body was undeterminable. In fact, in many cases male bodies were only partially shown, or when present were covered up, fully clothed, or otherwise depicted in ways that made it difficult to determine body type, which was surprising for *Esquire* and *Today's Parent*. The numbers do not support such claims for the time frame of this study.

Another core category that offers much insight into both ideals and expectations for male bodies in advertising imagery is the clothing style worn by men. In terms of the literature previously discussed, men have not always been worried about or interested in fashion, aesthetics, or appearance, and these have not typically been markers of masculinity. However, different models of masculinity in terms of appearance and fashion are prevalent throughout

history, particularly in advertising (Beynon, 2002). To say that men have never been interested in fashion is inaccurate, particularly in the 1980s with the 'new man' and currently the 'metrosexual'. However, generally speaking, heterosexual masculinity has not concerned itself with fashion and appearance unless it was professional and work attire, sport or leisure clothes (Beynon, 2002). In part, the professional and work attire is reflective of what men actually did for much of their lives (i.e., work to support family).

The findings in Table 14 (Clothing Style Worn by Men) demonstrate the persistence of two clothing styles associated with masculinity, the professional and casual attire. Upon closer inspection, the data demonstrate that between 1960 and 1975, men tended to be depicted in professional attire in more than half of ads across all available magazines. Similarly, when not depicted in professional attire, men tended to be shown in casual clothing (yet still visually representative of having money due to their brand name). Casual clothing in this study denote things like sweaters, jeans, shorts and so forth. These numbers both suggest a retention of men's professional success in their high end quality, yet also reflect a move away from explicit depictions of men dressed in, and engaged with the professional world as we move between 1960-2000.

Looking at Table 14 during the 1970's and slowly intensifying as we move toward 2000 we also see men less and less in clothing that demonstrates their particular occupations. Coupled shifts away from depicting men in professional and occupational roles and settings, men's dress increasingly suggests either a lacking to connection to these worlds or a lifestyle that is tied to work but affords them sufficient money to enjoy life. Particularly in *Ladies Home Journal* and *Today's Parent* men have, and continue to be depicted in mainly casual attire, possibly reflective of social, economic and political changes brought about by women's

increasing public work roles and in response to decreases in men's connections to the worlds of work and their enhanced leisure and consumer roles and relationship (Beynon, 2002; Edwards, 2007). Some of the literature argues that as we move out of the later 1970's and into the 1980's and 1990's there was less emphasis on men's occupational roles and successes and more on the expanded role as consumers for a much more expansive array of products and services, especially grooming products and fashion (Wernick, 1987). Similarly, there was an increasing visual emphasis on men's body and appearance (Gill, 2006; 2007). All three of these changes (shifts in men's work roles, consumer behavior and choices and growing emphasis on appearance and body) perhaps worked together to produce and reinforce the changes in visual representations of masculinity throughout the entire fifty years addressed in this study. This is particularly the case given that much of this analysis deals with decades in which much change was said to be occurring in both the image industries, like advertising and with gender roles and relationships more broadly.

As previously discussed many of the ads across magazine type and between 1960-2000 showed men in these leisure, recreational and outdoor contexts and dressed in very high end (expensive name brand) labels in both professional and casual clothing. So what is happening? If men do not work, as the ads suggest, where does the money for these lifestyles and fashion choices come from? Do these men have money sufficient to allow them the opportunity to enjoy the best life has to offer? Additionally, do many of these image suggest a return to the more image conscious, narcissistic model of masculinity said to exist in the 1980's? Related to all of these questions, is it that men's occupational success is so deeply and firmly entrenched as part of our cultural ideals for masculinity that the visual world does not need to reinforce them and therefore has the visual space to play with other images and ideals for masculinity

(namely a leisure and appearance based ideal) without fears of sacrificing older, and more traditional markers of masculinity, such as work and monetary success). Finally, if women are absent from these ads, as I have continually suggested, is it the cases that men simply do not have to work, or to work as hard. It is the case that men have women out working and are therefore free to play, concentrate on the self and cultivate their bodies and appearance without fears of losing their connection to masculinity? In other words, where are women? Is appearance, body and lifestyle currently intimately linked with, and reflective of socioeconomic status?

In terms of arguments for the increasing objectification of male appearance and bodies in advertising one must ask: are we also using male bodies and appearance mark out particular lifestyles and identities for men? Perhaps masculinity has just become sufficiently separated from occupational and professional success to allow a model of masculinity based in lifestyle, consumer and appearance tastes (Edwards, 2007).

We currently have the metrosexual, who represents a new ideal or model of masculinity (Dotson, 1999; Bynon, 2002; Gauntlett, 2001; Gottschall, 1999). Whether he is a media creation or is a real performance of modern manhood is not really the issue. What is important to note is that he symbolizes much that was reputed by hegemonic masculinity as being the opposite of masculine and associated with homosexuality (i.e., good grooming, idealized and muscular physique and attention to fashion, lifestyle and consumer choices). In terms of the clothing styles, body types and such arising in the ads analyzed here we see a gradual movement toward the above model of masculinity. As previously stated, even in those ads showing men dressed in professional attire, image, grooming and style were more central visual elements than the man's profession. Whether in a suit, other professional attire or casual

dress, images of men over the 50 year period and between magazines increasingly presents a style and lifestyle-based masculinity, marking success through his appearance, lifestyle, and consumer tastes. While there might be no less emphasis placed on the connections between masculinity and success, it might now be assumed rather than visually obvious.

These additional categories discussed earlier that speak to ideals for masculinity and male appearance are age, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Although previously addressed in relation to masculinity generally, it is instructive to note that taken together (and outside of specific other categories) ads between 1960 and 2000 in all available publications are extremely clear in ideals for male appearance: men are Caucasian, able-bodied, young (between 20 - 40 years) or have the appearance of youth when older. Rarely were there ads with older men, particularly with Caucasian men. These are findings fairly consistent between magazine type and across the time period under study. Not only is our ideal man increasingly white and youthful, he also is now and more fashion conscious, concerned with his grooming and aesthetics and appearance. Thus, rather than there being diversity and variety in depiction of masculinity, we are actually moving increasingly towards a more generic, rigid and stylized model (Gill, 2006; 2007).

Contextualized with all other categories studied, while we might have seen a slow and steady shift away from overt depictions of traditional hegemonic (and patriarchal) images of masculinity, it has not been in the direction set out at the beginning of this research (i.e., slow, yet sustained shifts toward images of masculinity that incorporates men in an array of familial, parental and domestic roles and relationships traditionally associated with women). There have not been any efforts to represent diverse masculinity, rather the image of men might included a

more stiff appearance and consumerist ideal but taken in their entirety, magazines in this study also demonstrated an increasingly homogeneous ideal of masculinity.

The final chapter brings the thesis together moving from the data findings in the preceding chapter, summarizing in broader terms what general conclusions and assumptions can be drawn from the data findings. Together, Chapter 9 draws out clear and solid conclusions, limitations of the study and avenues for future research.

## Chapter 9.0 Drawing it all Together

This research has looked at cultural representations of both masculinity and fatherhood as constructed in and reinforced by the visual ad images in *Esquire*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Maclean's* and *Today's Parent* between 1960-2000. The specific goal of this work was to address shifting ideals and expectations for both masculinity and fatherhood as conceived within, and reinforced by the image industries of advertising. Specifically of interest here was an investigation of whether and to what extent advertising images have shifted to incorporate a broader, more diverse range of images of masculinity and of fatherhood, particularly in terms of showing men engaged in roles and activities typically associated with women and reflective of men's greater participation in traditionally non-male forms of caring. The assumption running throughout the design and analysis was that there would be a slow and steady movement within ads, across time and magazine type to incorporate a broader range of masculine imagery, particularly around men's participation in non-traditional forms of caring for children. Related to this, it was presumed that there would be a growth in images of the objectified, eroticized and sexualized male body and appearance in all magazines and over time.

From the various preceding theoretical chapters on gender, sexuality, identity and the media, along with data from this critical case study several important themes emerged related to representations of both masculinity and fatherhood in the image industries of advertising, both confirming and contradicting the initial research hypothesis.

Taken together this case study demonstrates shifts in images of masculinity but not in the direction of men's greater participation in non-traditional forms of male caring and parenting. As such, there is no sustained increase in the visual presence of ads depicting men

in the domestic realm or involved in the daily care and maintenance of children (such as feeding, bathing, reading to them). In fact, the model of masculinity increasingly put forth in the ads across time and between magazine type was one associated with a vagueness or invisibility of familial ties and responsibilities. In the world of advertising men in this study are free to engage in leisure and recreation without the burden of family and childcare responsibilities. Related to this, while it is not clear in advertisements what, if any type of work men do, they obviously have the resources to engage in a certain type of lifestyle and to make certain consumer choices. Increasingly, the men in this case study were depicted in terms of a separation of masculinity from family and work and a stronger association between masculinity and consumption, attention to lifestyles and consumer tastes. In other words, the models of masculinity up for visual consumption in these ads is one of little responsibility, rooted in the 'good things' in life and focused around self, self development and self enhancement (some might even say self development) all in conjunction with consumerism and buying into a particular lifestyle. Free from work and from family men are able to concentrate on being the best they can be, and presumably they have sufficient money to buy right necessary products and build the associated lifestyle.

The appearance and associated demographic characteristics of men in these ads is also particularly telling of the cultural ideals and expectation we hold for masculinity. While this case study did not find overwhelming support for the assertion that male bodies would be increasingly objectified, it did find definite standards around how ads view male appearance. Together, the vast majority of ads across time and between magazine moved towards a very homogeneous, stylized and image conscious and consumerist based masculinity. Arguably, men in this research were typically young, at least fit, Caucasian, able-bodied, well-dressed and

well-groomed. Even though most were not posed stripped down, bearing perfectly defined six-packs and abs, men in most of the ads analyzed here made a visual connection between masculinity and the fact that fitness, grooming and appearance were central elements of manhood. This is a finding consistent with much of the contemporary work on media, gender and identity (Gill, 2006, 2007; Gottschall, 1999; Edwards, 2006). Thus, masculinity in visual culture seems to be sufficiently flexible to incorporate diverse leisure and lifestyle concerns, yet the ideal of male appearance remains highly rigid even if it changes from decade to decade. In short, men in most of the ads analyzed here were not fathers and husbands, rather they were carefree, youthful white men who seemingly had sufficient money and few ties to be able to enjoy life and foster their self image and self identities. Increasingly masculinity in these ads was associated with leisure, consumerism and lifestyle choices and tastes, not with hard work, family and a commitment to sexual and gender equality.

## **9.1 Key Contributions of this Dissertation**

The particularly central contribution made by this research rests in its successful integration of a range of theoretical and empirical issues related to gender, sexuality and the media with data from a case study of ads in a range of magazines and over a lengthy historical time period. In undertaking this project the work here interrogates and address previous assumptions coming out of the literature with reference to real examples. While not entirely unique in this regard, this study is among the first to focus directly and specifically on masculinity and on fatherhood together and separately. This work is also unique in its theoretical framework, applying elements of Queer theory and the notion of gender as performative to a sustained and critical analysis of masculinity and fatherhood in advertising.

Concretely, this research offers a substantial and unique contribution in terms of its exploration of the complex, and often contradictory nature of media representations of masculinity. Drawing together key works from feminism, media studies, sexuality, and critical masculinities theory and research, this work opens masculinity up to a vast array of new conceptual, analytical and theoretical questions and possibilities. It helps provide the discursive space for questioning all aspects masculinity in relation to the shifting media landscape and the changing tides of academic work therein. Despite the particular findings, this work explored masculinity and male subjectivities are conceived by, and reinforced in ad images and how this is all anchored in time and is often a product of socio-cultural and historical circumstances. Through the comparative and historical elements of this study I was able to draw together decades of theoretical and empirical work in the area with the data in the case study into a coherent and focused analysis.

Another key contribution of this work is that it not only addresses and covers a broad range of topics and issues, it also provides future researchers with the framework to replicate and/or extend this research into other areas. It provides a survey of the social, cultural and theoretical issues which surround and inform our understandings of masculinity, sexuality and the media in particular times and contexts. Simultaneously, this research covers topics of interest to scholars from an array of disciplines, and addresses issues covered even within the rise and popularity of men's general interest and lifestyle magazines (including the 'New Man' and the 'New Lad' ). Finally, this work picks up on and elaborates discussions of marginalized masculinities, performance, fashion, queer theory, representation and the body, all in new and relevant ways that related to and inform discussions of masculinity generally, and fatherhood specifically.

## 9.2 Research Limitations

As with any research of this nature this study had some obvious and not so obvious shortcomings. First, for some decades there were issues of magazines missing, leaving gaps in some of the data. This had an impact on the data and analysis for some years since I could not tell with surety that the findings for these years would reaffirm or contradict my work. Perhaps it was in these years that I might find interesting contradictions. In short, I could say little about magazine ad images for these years.. Second, while the data set was diverse, inclusion of additional men's magazines, even men's general interest and lifestyle magazines might have offered an interest dynamic to the data and findings. Third, it might have proven useful to include greater details on the specific readership of the magazines given that it might have offered insights behind some of the findings. Without this information any discussion of the findings in terms of the readership of magazines is purely speculation on the part of the researcher. Forth, I did not really address niche marketing in my analysis and it was only touched on in some of the work on advertising and magazine history more generally. Greater attention to these issues, especially the political economic aspects of the question, would have proven insightful relative to my data and findings. Finally, this study was limited in its efforts to remain true to the tradition of balancing content analysis equally between quantitative and qualitative approaches to research and analysis. In some academic circles there is a movement away from using quantitative content analysis and SPSS and towards a more qualitative approach. This limitation also speaks to an avenue for future and additional research.

### 9.3 Avenues for Additional and Future Research

Although unclear as to whether the findings would appear differently, a potential avenue for additional research in the area could be a more semiotic analysis of ads that combines a visual and textual analysis. In other words, researchers could combine a visual analysis of ads with a textual one to look at what the image and text tell us about masculinity and fatherhood and if these messages are consistent.

Another area for future work might focus on a more qualitative content analysis as indicated in the previous section of this chapter, in other words, trying to explore other methods of data analysis outside of SPSS. In particular there are several problems with my chosen method and I am sure upon reading this work many could launch into a scathing critique of the data analysis and presentation here. Related to the methodological alternatives and shortcomings, another area of research might look at the same study using a different (or even multiple) media formats. In this way, researchers might want to simply replicate this study and employ it as it stands or revise it to suit their method and theoretical position.

The last suggestion for additional and future research focuses on both theory and research and the links therein. Whether in terms of theory or research, two core foci for future work could pick up on the connections between fatherhood and the body, and fathering as embodied practices. In addition, future work could literally pick up on this notion of fatherhood, embodiment and space. The idea that men's bodies literally inhabit spaces, often considered 'maternal' spaces and are reacted to based on this. Although Andrea Doucet (2006) incorporates this into her theoretical framework for looking at the question, do men mother? Her work provides the potential for great theoretical and analytical work in many

areas of media, gender and identity. It is my intention to continue the above discussion in my own future research on masculinity and fatherhood.

# Appendix A: Code Book

## *Advertising Images of Masculinity and Fatherhood*

### **Section I: General Demographic Characteristics**

1. Age of man or men in ads:

- A. youth (<20)
- B. young adult (20-40)
- C. middle age (40-55)
- D. older adult (55+)
- E. other/mixed ages
- F. indeterminable

2. Approximate depicted ethnicity of man or men in ads:

- A. Caucasian
- B. non-Caucasian
- C. indeterminable/mixed

3. Approximate target audience of magazine and price range:

- A. expensive
- B. middle range
- C. inexpensive

4. Approximate depicted sexual orientation of man or men in ad—as illustrated through subtle and/or blatant visual cues in the ad (for example; body contact, situation, homoerotic tones).

- A. Homosexual
- B. heterosexual
- C. indeterminable

5. Number of children present in ad:

- A. 0
- B. 1-2
- C. 2-5
- D. 5+
- E. other (groups, animals with kids)

6. Gender of child or children depicted in ads with man or men:

- A. male
- B. female
- C. both male and female
- D. no kids present
- E. undeterminable (for ads where gender of child or children are difficult to discern from the visual images)

7. Ages of child or children depicted in ads with man or men:

- A. infant (0-2 years)
- B. toddler (2-4 years)
- C. youth (5-12)
- D. teen (13-19)
- E. adult (20+)
- F. other (mixed ages)
- G. undeterminable

## **Section 2: Imaging Masculinity –Setting of Advertisement**

8. Setting of advertisement:

- A. inside home/domestic sphere
- B. outside/away from home–yard, porch, garage, etc.
- C. away from home–work, education, outdoors, wilderness, travel, etc.
- D. other–mixed settings, hospital, religious, etc.
- E. undeterminable

9. Thematic content of advertisement:

- A. beauty/fashion/grooming
- B. health/fitness/diet/exercises
- C. education/career/finances/knowledge
- D. romance/sex/relationships
- E. marriage/family/domestic
- F. outdoors/leisure/recreation/travel
- G. other (medical and all categories not covered by above)
- H. indeterminable

10. Approximate depicted occupation of man or men in advertisement:

- A. domestic/family (cooking, cleaning, childcare, etc.)
- B. executive (business, administration, CEO types)
- C. professional specialities (nurse, doctor, professor, lawyer, pilot, police, athlete, etc.)

- D. sales (real estate, insurance, etc.)
- E. service-related jobs (childcare, maid, customer service, cashier, custodians, bus drivers)
- F. other (student, religious, mixed professions, etc.)
- G. undeterminable

11. Product being advertised:

- A. technologies of the body (fitness, health, diet, hygiene, grooming, fashion, etc)
- B. automobiles and related accessories, products, and services
- C. parenting/childcare (baby food, diapers, and all products and services related to children, child care and parenting)
- D. knowledge systems (finances/banking, insurance, employment, real estate, legal, education, etc.
- E. alcohol/tobacco/drugs
- F. computers/electronics/office equipment, TV, stereos, etc.
- G. home/domestic products (all products and services related to internal/external household production and maintenance)
- H. Sexuality/sexual aides/contraceptives (condoms, diaphragms, sexual toys, information related to sex & sexuality, birth, birth control, manuals, sexually transmitted diseases, etc)
- I. other (leisure, travel, sport, all products unrelated to above categories)
- J. undeterminable

12. Body type of man or men in advertisement:

- A. endomorphic (heavy, round, plump)
- B. mesomorphic (sturdy, muscular)
- C. ectomorphic (lean, swimmer type)
- D. undeterminable (no body, or partial body shown; body covered or shadowed)

13. Clothing style worn by man or men in advertisement (reflective of mens presumed social, familial and or occupational roles:

- A. street attire (youth urban/hip-hop)
- B. sports attire (sport uniforms and related attire)
- C. professional attire (suits, slacks, dress pants, tie, briefcase, etc.)
- D. trade/semi-professional/service attire (custodian, nurse, doctor, customer service, military/naval, police, construction worker, etc.)
- E. casual attire (shorts, t-shirt, tank-top, jeans, etc.)
- F. other (undergarments, outerwear, swim wear, costume, semi-nude, nude, mixed attire, etc.)
- G. undeterminable

### **Section 3: Imaging Fatherhood in Advertisement**

14. Depicted domestic and/or household activities of man or men in advertisement:

- A. meal preparation/baking, Barbequing
- B. dishwashing/after-meal clean-up
- C. house cleaning/home maintenance
- D. laundry/ironing
- E. shopping
- F. home/yard maintenance or clean-up
- G. auto repair/maintenance/cleaning
- H. other activity, or no domestic activity or mixed
- I. undeterminable

15. Activities or man or men with child or children in advertisement:

- A. Child care/parenting (changing diapers, dressing, feeding, caring for ill kids, etc)
- B. teaching/instructing (homework, reading all other activities related to education)
- C. meal preparation
- D. leisure, play/sport/recreation
- E. other/mixed/no kids present
- F. undeterminable

16. Family/gender composition depicted in advertisement:

- A. man or men depicted with women
- B. man or men depicted with child or children
- C. man or men depicted alone or with other man or men
- D. man or men depicted with women and child or children
- E. other
- F. undeterminable

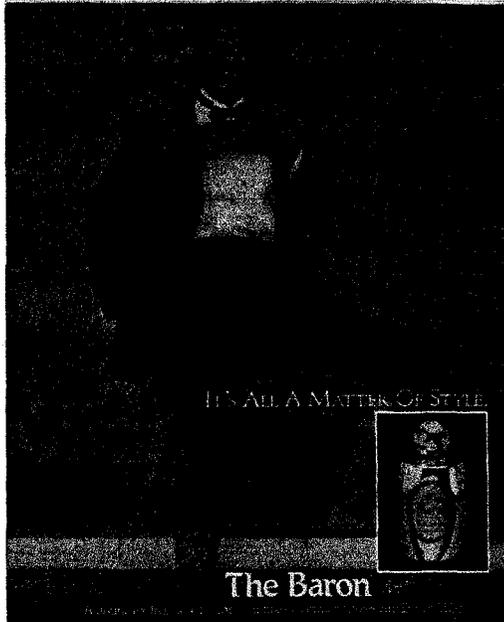
17. Approximate depicted relationship between man or men and woman or women in advertisements:

- A. romantic/sexual partner
- B. husband (signaled by setting, activities, presence or wedding jewelry/attire, etc)
- C. other (doctor, co-worker, teacher, instructor, customer service representative, etc.)
- D. undeterminable, or no women present

19. Approximate depicted relationship between man or men and child or children in advertisement:

- A. care-giver or father
- B. grandfather
- C. relative of other type
- D. other (doctor, teacher, etc) , or no kids present
- E. undeterminable

## Appendix B: Semiotic Analysis of Esquire Advertisement: “The Baron Cologne” (1985)



What initially strikes one when looking at this ad is that it confirms many of the findings arising from my data analysis, most notably the shift towards a concern with male appearance and the products related to this. Generally the data from my case study confirmed several major trends in how advertisers depict masculinity visually. First, many men tend to be young, non-married and often shown in romantic relationships, alone or with other men. Second, men (in many ads like this one) are shown without obvious familial and domestic ties, particularly childcare roles and responsibilities. Finally, this ad (like many others included in my case study) offer visual evidence for the finding that men in ads are typically shown in settings and themes that leave their occupational role vague or overtly invisible. However, like many ads examined, this one makes it clear that he obviously has a job because he and the lady with him are both well dressed and obviously able to afford a nice night out. Taken together, and based only on the visual cues provided, we can assume that the man in this ad is employed, although we are not clear in what capacity. Related to this, the man in this ad appears to have a more up-scale lifestyle, and is not afraid to show it; meaning he does not appear to be in need of money nor does he seem to be someone who spends his day engaged in manual labor.

A more in-depth examination of this sample in reference to my codebook is quite revealing of the larger findings arising out of this thesis. Visually the man in this ad confirms many of the findings related to the demographic profile of many of the men found in the ads examined. This man is Caucasian, and appears to be a younger man, no older than his late 30's or 40's. Indeed, in most of the ads across all of the magazines examined, men were typically young, Caucasian and clearly not ethnically diverse. Since all that I had to rely on in my analysis was the visual cues given it was fairly obvious that most of these men were Caucasian. In terms of their age, I looked for things like greying hair, wrinkles, and other obvious cues that would indicate the age of these men. As we can see in this sample there is nothing visually obvious that would lead the viewer to believe that this man is older. Indeed, this man's facial appearance suggests that if he is an older man then what advertisers must be telling men is that it's okay to be older as long as you do not look older. While *Esquire* is a magazine aimed specifically at men, this is still very telling of how male appearance is conceived. Similarly, the man in this ad was not strikingly different from most of the other men in other ads across all of the magazines studied.

This ad is also extremely illustrative of how the visual world of advertising seeks to depict masculinity and what being masculine means in this world, beginning with the caption in the ads: "It's all a matter of style". This demonstrates a clear link between masculinity and appearance, especially if you consider the way that he is dressed, how well he is groomed and the fact that he is shown advertising a male grooming product. This ad, like many I examined for the case study demonstrates a clear visual shift away from depicting men in settings, roles and with themes related to and promoting their status as worker, breadwinner and as relatively

unconcerned with their appearance. This ads, like many others, promotes an acceptability for men to be concerned with themselves, and to take care of their appearance. Thus, masculinity is not visually connected to work but to men's roles as consumers of products that are not traditionally associated with what we have long taken to be reflective of masculinity.

This ad also confirms the finding in my case study about mens' familial roles and relationships, or rather lack thereof. When deciding how to code for mens' relationship status, the only available resources were the visual cues in the ads coupled with the existing literature. Some of the more obvious things I considered were the presence and absence of children with men; whether men were shown with women and in an obviously domestic and martial relationship; and if the men had outward symbols of a marital relationship (like a wedding band). Like the man in this ad, most of the men in the ads were not shown in a domestic or familial setting and very few wore wedding bands or any other markers of marital commitment. I recognize that the presence or absence of wedding bands is shaky ground, since many men do not wear them however I needed some overt visual cues to make decisions about men's roles and relationships. Taken together, the absence of children, family and domestic settings and themes and wedding bands all evident in the sample ad here helped to conclude that marriage and family were not a priority of men as depicted in the visual world of magazine advertising. Finally, it is visually obvious that the man in this ad (and in many others) has financial resources, yet rather than focus on how he attained this there is much more emphasis on what he can do with it – namely enjoy himself and others, and use it to enhance his appearance, his style, his self-presentation.

This ad was fairly representative of most ads in the other magazines in other key respects. The vast majority of the ads examined showed men alone, with other men or with

beautiful women partying, relaxing, travelling or engaged in various recreational and leisure activities. However, the heterosexuality of these men was maintained quite clearly. As with the sample ad here most men were clothed and there was almost universally no bodily contact between same sex (man-on-man) unless in the context of recreational, sport and various leisure activities. Similarly, like the sample ad here, many of the ads examined included women in the ads with men to displace any questions in relation to the heterosexuality of the men. Another interesting point to arise out of this ad and many others is that for a long time men's attention to fashion, grooming placed their sexuality into question. However, the sheer volume of ads across time and magazine suggest that this is no longer a consideration. Similarly, even if it was, heterosexuality can be maintained by 'throwing in' a women to off-set questions of his sexuality. Even in ads where men were shown together to display fashion, or grooming products, homosexuality was never a thought because these men were always engaged in 'acceptable' activities like, fishing, partying, traveling, campaign, or just relaxing and not in activities or contexts that could lead one to make visual connections between the men and homosexuality.

In my findings I discussed the notion that far from affirming men's familial or occupational roles and relationships. most advertisements drew a visual connection between masculinity, consumption (especially of appearance related products) and a leisure lifestyle. This sample ad epitomizes this visual discourse of a consumptive, appearance- and leisure-based ideal of masculinity. While his real life may include many things, even work, family, etc., all that we see is an image of man that is highly stylistic, image conscious and care-free. In other words, there is nothing visually obvious that suggests this man would have any responsibilities beyond the moment. Seemingly, success in connection to masculinity is no less

important but we can now assume that he is financially/occupationally successful. However, men now must be aware that their success is also measured and judged based on their appearance as well as their bankbook. If we return to the caption in the sample ad it is clear that men can still be and do whatever they want, that has not changed. What has changed is that masculinity is synonymous with style and appearance, consumption and leisure, because as this ad clearly tells men, it is all a matter of style.

# Appendix C: Data Tables

Table 1: Ages of Men in Ads

Year of publication			Age of men in ads						Total	
			young	young adult	middle	older adult	otherwise defined	indefinable		
1965	magazine name	Esquire	Count	107	47	6	27	23	212	
		% within magazine name		58.0%	22.2%	2.8%	12.7%	10.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	3	20	10	1	7		40	
		% within magazine name		58.0%	28.0%	2.5%	17.0%		100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		98	57	23	48	88	282	
		% within magazine name		35.1%	20.2%	8.2%	16.0%	20.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count	4	220	114	30	79	81	594		
Total	% within magazine name		7%	42.3%	21.3%	5.0%	14.0%	18.2%	100.0%	
1970	magazine name	Esquire	Count	77	28	3	18	9	134	
		% within magazine name		57.0%	21.0%	2.2%	11.9%	6.7%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		18	30	1	2	3	42	
		% within magazine name		38.1%	47.0%	2.4%	4.6%	7.1%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		20	30	13	21	30	104	
		% within magazine name		19.2%	28.0%	12.0%	20.0%	18.2%	100.0%	
Total	Count		113	78	17	39	32	260		
Total	% within magazine name		40.4%	28.2%	8.1%	13.9%	11.4%	100.0%		
1975	magazine name	Esquire	Count	30	34		13	8	144	
		% within magazine name		62.0%	38.4%		8.0%	2.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		21	8	1	1	2	31	
		% within magazine name		67.7%	18.4%	3.2%	3.2%	6.9%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		32	18	2	7	20	81	
		% within magazine name		2.9%	38.0%	22.2%	2.0%	8.0%	24.7%	100.0%
Total	Count		82	52	3	21	28	208		
Total	% within magazine name		8%	55.0%	24.2%	1.2%	6.7%	8.8%	100.0%	
1977	magazine name	Esquire	Count	2	87	33	8	1	131	
		% within magazine name		1.3%	58.1%	24.2%	3.2%	4.8%	8%	100.0%
	MacLearns	Count		1	40	40	4	11	94	
		% within magazine name		1.2%	47.0%	18.0%	4.0%	14.3%	13.7%	100.0%
Total	Count		3	127	60	9	12	230		
Total	% within magazine name		1.3%	53.1%	25.0%	3.0%	7.5%	8.0%	100.0%	
1980	magazine name	Esquire	Count		80	15	1	3	2	71
		% within magazine name		70.0%	21.1%	1.0%	3.3%	2.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		27	21	1	3	2	54	
		% within magazine name		60.0%	38.0%	1.0%	5.0%	5.7%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		35	30	8	22	48	144	
		% within magazine name		24.0%	20.0%	8.0%	15.3%	34.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count		112	68	10	28	50	268		
Total	% within magazine name		41.8%	24.9%	3.7%	10.0%	18.7%	100.0%		
1985	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		1	1			1	8
		% within magazine name		38.0%	38.0%				38.0%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count		178	14	1	8	17	218	
		% within magazine name		61.7%	6.4%	0%	3.1%	7.8%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		10	3			6	24	
		% within magazine name		62.0%	12.0%			26.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		1	21	34	4	17	32	88	
	% within magazine name		1.1%	23.0%	27.0%	4.0%	18.1%	24.7%	100.0%	
Total	Count		1	215	42	8	20	48	304	
Total	% within magazine name		3%	64.0%	12.0%	1.0%	7.0%	13.0%	100.0%	
1988	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		9	2			11	
		% within magazine name		81.0%	18.2%				100.0%	
	Esquire	Count		184	21	4	8	27	244	
		% within magazine name		73.0%	8.0%	1.0%	3.3%	11.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		8	1			1	9	
		% within magazine name		68.0%	11.1%				100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		11	7	1	4	1	22		
	% within magazine name		34.0%	21.0%	3.7%	12.0%	38.1%	100.0%		
Total	Count		212	31	5	12	38	298		
Total	% within magazine name		71.0%	10.0%	1.7%	4.1%	12.2%	100.0%		
1995	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		20	2			22	
		% within magazine name		80.0%	8.1%				100.0%	
	Esquire	Count		191	7	3	3	15	219	
		% within magazine name		87.2%	3.2%	1.0%	1.0%	6.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		17	4	2	1	1	25	
		% within magazine name		68.0%	16.0%	8.0%	4.0%	4.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		31	6	7	7	18	69		
	% within magazine name		47.0%	9.1%	10.0%	10.0%	22.7%	100.0%		
Total	Count		209	19	12	11	31	352		
Total	% within magazine name		78.0%	5.7%	3.0%	3.0%	8.0%	100.0%		
2000	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		83	15			98	
		% within magazine name		1.7%	88.3%	12.0%			8.2%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		2	38	10	8	1	47	
		% within magazine name		4.3%	68.0%	21.0%	12.0%	2.1%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count			40	18	3	7	68	
		% within magazine name			51.1%	18.2%	3.7%	8.0%	17.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		4	166	41	11	7	221		
Total	% within magazine name		1.9%	88.1%	18.2%	4.4%	2.8%	8.9%	100.0%	

Table 2: Race of Men in Ads

year of publication	magazine name	magazine name	Count	ethnicity or race in ad			Total
				caucasian	non-caucasian	indeterminable or mixed	
1980	magazine name	Esquire	Count	150	2	15	212
			% within magazine name	92.0%	9%	7.1%	100.0%
		Ladies' Home Journal	Count	34	5	1	40
		% within magazine name	85.0%	12.5%	2.5%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	340	4	28	282	
		% within magazine name	88.3%	1.4%	10.3%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	478	11	43	534	
		% within magazine name	89.5%	2.1%	8.4%	100.0%	
1985	magazine name	Esquire	Count	128	6	8	134
			% within magazine name	86.6%		4.8%	100.0%
		Ladies' Home Journal	Count	39	2	1	42
		% within magazine name	92.3%	4.8%	2.4%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	80	2	8	104	
		% within magazine name	92.3%	1.9%	5.8%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	263	4	13	280	
		% within magazine name	94.3%	1.4%	4.8%	100.0%	
1990	magazine name	Esquire	Count	137	4	3	144
			% within magazine name	95.1%	2.8%	2.1%	100.0%
		Ladies' Home Journal	Count	29	1	1	31
		% within magazine name	93.5%	3.2%	3.2%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	72	3	6	81	
		% within magazine name	88.8%	3.7%	7.4%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	238	8	10	256	
		% within magazine name	93.0%	3.1%	3.9%	100.0%	
1995	magazine name	Esquire	Count	157	4		165
			% within magazine name	97.4%	2.6%		100.0%
		MacLeans	Count	61	2	1	64
		% within magazine name	95.4%	2.4%	1.2%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	232	6	1	239	
		% within magazine name	97.1%	2.6%	.4%	100.0%	
1998	magazine name	Esquire	Count	69		2	71
			% within magazine name	97.2%		2.8%	100.0%
		Ladies' Home Journal	Count	48	3	5	54
		% within magazine name	89.2%	5.6%	9.8%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	69	1	54	144	
		% within magazine name	61.8%	.7%	37.8%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	204	4	61	269	
		% within magazine name	75.8%	1.5%	22.7%	100.0%	
1999	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count	2		1	3
			% within magazine name	66.7%		33.3%	100.0%
		Esquire	Count	208	4	8	216
		% within magazine name	94.0%	1.8%	4.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	19		5	24	
		% within magazine name	79.2%		20.8%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	69	1	29	99	
		% within magazine name	68.3%	1.1%	32.6%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	288	5	44	337	
		% within magazine name	85.5%	1.5%	13.2%	100.0%	
2000	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count	11			11
			% within magazine name	100.0%			100.0%
		Esquire	Count	222	11	11	244
		% within magazine name	91.0%	4.5%	4.5%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	9			9	
		% within magazine name	100.0%			100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	18	1	13	32	
		% within magazine name	86.3%	3.1%	40.6%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	280	12	24	316	
		% within magazine name	87.8%	4.1%	8.1%	100.0%	
2005	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count	22			22
			% within magazine name	100.0%			100.0%
		Esquire	Count	207	2	10	219
		% within magazine name	94.5%	.9%	4.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	24	1		25	
		% within magazine name	68.0%	4.0%		100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	30	9	27	66	
		% within magazine name	45.8%	13.6%	40.8%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	283	12	37	332	
		% within magazine name	85.2%	3.6%	11.1%	100.0%	
2008	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count	103	10	3	116
			% within magazine name	88.8%	8.6%	2.6%	100.0%
		Ladies' Home Journal	Count	42	3	2	47
		% within magazine name	86.4%	6.4%	4.3%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	88	8	24	120	
		% within magazine name	63.8%	6.1%	27.3%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	201	21	29	251	
		% within magazine name	80.1%	8.4%	11.6%	100.0%	

Table 3: Depicted Sexual Orientation of Men in Ads

year of publication				sexual orientation of men in ad			Total
				homosexual	heterosexual	Indeterminate	
1980	magazine name	Esquire	Count	1	10	190	212
		% within magazine name		.0%	7.5%	82.0%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			18	24	40
		% within magazine name			40.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	MacLaren	Count			102	190	282
% within magazine name				86.2%	83.6%	100.0%	
Total	Count		1	134	389	534	
% within magazine name		.2%	25.1%	74.7%	100.0%		
1985	magazine name	Esquire	Count		11	123	134
		% within magazine name			8.2%	81.8%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			7	35	42
		% within magazine name			16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	MacLaren	Count			39	73	104
% within magazine name				29.8%	70.2%	100.0%	
Total	Count			49	231	280	
% within magazine name			17.9%	82.9%	100.0%		
1970	magazine name	Esquire	Count		30	144	144
		% within magazine name			20.8%	78.2%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			3	28	31
		% within magazine name			9.7%	80.3%	100.0%
	MacLaren	Count		1	22	57	61
% within magazine name			1.2%	28.4%	70.4%	100.0%	
Total	Count		1	55	199	259	
% within magazine name		.4%	21.8%	77.7%	100.0%		
1975	magazine name	Esquire	Count		29	127	156
		% within magazine name			18.1%	81.9%	100.0%
	MacLaren	Count		1	19	64	64
		% within magazine name		1.2%	22.6%	78.2%	100.0%
	Total	Count		1	47	181	229
% within magazine name		.4%	19.7%	78.9%	100.0%		
1980	magazine name	Esquire	Count		3	68	71
		% within magazine name			4.3%	95.8%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			20	34	54
		% within magazine name			37.0%	83.0%	100.0%
	MacLaren	Count			19	125	144
% within magazine name				13.2%	88.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count			42	227	269	
% within magazine name			15.6%	84.4%	100.0%		
1985	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		1	2	3
		% within magazine name			33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count			15	209	219
		% within magazine name			6.9%	89.1%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			3	21	24
% within magazine name				12.5%	67.5%	100.0%	
MacLaren	Count			18	74	98	
	% within magazine name			16.8%	83.1%	100.0%	
Total	Count			34	290	324	
% within magazine name			10.2%	89.8%	100.0%		
1990	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		3	8	11
		% within magazine name			27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count			18	228	244
		% within magazine name			7.6%	92.2%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			8	3	9
% within magazine name				88.7%	33.3%	100.0%	
MacLaren	Count			1	31	32	
	% within magazine name			3.1%	96.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count			29	267	296	
% within magazine name			9.8%	90.2%	100.0%		
1995	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		8	18	22
		% within magazine name			27.3%	72.7%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count			20	199	219
		% within magazine name			9.1%	89.9%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			10	15	25
% within magazine name				40.0%	80.0%	100.0%	
MacLaren	Count			3	63	66	
	% within magazine name			4.5%	95.5%	100.0%	
Total	Count			39	283	322	
% within magazine name			11.7%	88.3%	100.0%		
2000	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		1	78	119
		% within magazine name		.9%	31.8%	87.2%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		2	18	26	47
		% within magazine name		4.9%	40.4%	85.3%	100.0%
	MacLaren	Count			3	64	68
% within magazine name			1.1%	3.4%	95.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count		4	99	189	251	
% within magazine name		1.8%	23.8%	74.9%	100.0%		

Table 4 Number of Kids Present with Men in Ads

year of publication	magazine name	magazine name	Count	% within magazine name	number of kids present in ad						Total
					0	0	1 to 2	2 to 5	5+	other	
1980	Esquire	Count	303			9			1		212
		% within magazine name	88.9%		3.0%				.9%		100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	25		15						40
		% within magazine name	82.9%		37.9%						100.0%
	MacLears	Count	218		91	3				2	282
		% within magazine name	78.0%		21.0%	1.1%				.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	444		84	3			1	2	534	
% within magazine name		88.1%		15.7%	.8%			.2%	.4%	100.0%	
1985	Esquire	Count	132		2						134
		% within magazine name	88.9%		1.5%						100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	34		5				1	2	42
		% within magazine name	81.0%		11.9%				2.4%	4.8%	100.0%
	MacLears	Count	92		11	1					104
		% within magazine name	88.9%		10.6%	1.0%					100.0%
Total	Count	258		18	1			1	2	280	
% within magazine name		82.1%		6.4%	.4%			.4%	.7%	100.0%	
1990	Esquire	Count	138		3	2			1		144
		% within magazine name	85.9%		2.1%	1.4%			.7%		100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	28		2				1		31
		% within magazine name	88.9%		6.8%				3.2%		100.0%
	MacLears	Count	73		5	1			1	1	81
		% within magazine name	90.1%		6.3%	1.2%			1.2%	1.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	239		10	3			3	1	256	
% within magazine name		89.4%		3.8%	1.2%			1.2%	.4%	100.0%	
1995	Esquire	Count	147		7						154
		% within magazine name	94.8%		4.5%	.9%					100.0%
	MacLears	Count	78		2	2				2	84
		% within magazine name	82.9%		2.4%	2.4%				2.4%	100.0%
	Total	Count	225		9	2				2	238
	% within magazine name		94.1%		3.8%	1.3%				.8%	100.0%
1998	Esquire	Count	89		3						71
		% within magazine name	88.9%		4.2%						100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	49		4	1					54
		% within magazine name	88.7%		7.4%	1.9%					100.0%
	MacLears	Count	139		5						144
		% within magazine name	89.9%		3.5%						100.0%
Total	Count	277		12	1					290	
% within magazine name		95.2%		4.8%	.4%					100.0%	
1999	Today's Parent	Count	3								3
		% within magazine name			100.0%						100.0%
	Esquire	Count	217		1						218
		% within magazine name	88.9%		.8%						100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	32		1	1					34
		% within magazine name	81.7%		4.2%	4.2%					100.0%
MacLears	Count	82		5	3					90	
	% within magazine name	88.1%		5.6%	3.3%					100.0%	
Total	Count	321		10	3					334	
% within magazine name		88.1%		3.0%	.9%					100.0%	
2000	Today's Parent	Count	11								11
		% within magazine name			100.0%						100.0%
	Esquire	Count	389		12						344
		% within magazine name	95.1%		4.9%						100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	9								9
		% within magazine name	100.0%								100.0%
MacLears	Count	32								32	
	% within magazine name	100.0%								100.0%	
Total	Count	275		23						298	
% within magazine name		82.2%		7.6%						100.0%	
2005	Today's Parent	Count	4		14	1			3		22
		% within magazine name	18.2%		88.6%	4.9%			13.8%		100.0%
	Esquire	Count	218								218
		% within magazine name	100.0%								100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	24		1						25
		% within magazine name	88.0%		4.0%						100.0%
MacLears	Count	60		8						68	
	% within magazine name	88.0%		8.1%						100.0%	
Total	Count	307		21	1			3		332	
% within magazine name		82.8%		6.3%	.3%			.9%		100.0%	
2010	Today's Parent	Count	45		68	4			1		118
		% within magazine name	38.8%		88.0%	3.4%			.8%		100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	28		13	2			3		47
		% within magazine name	81.7%		27.7%	4.3%			6.4%		100.0%
	MacLears	Count	80		6					2	88
		% within magazine name	1.7%		88.9%	5.7%			2.3%		100.0%
Total	Count	154		84	6			3	3	247	
% within magazine name		4%		34.8%	2.4%			1.2%	1.2%	100.0%	

Table 5: Depicted Setting of Ads

Year of publication	Magazine name	Setting	Count	Setting of advertisement					Total
				inside home/room setting	outside way from home-year abroad	away from home-work educational setting	other-related hospital, religious, etc.	unrelated table	
1960	Esquire	Count	12	9	71		120	212	
		% within magazine name	5.7%	4.2%	33.6%		55.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	14	3	5	3	15	40	
		% within magazine name	34.0%	7.3%	12.5%	7.0%	37.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	54	20	111	2	85	262		
	% within magazine name	19.7%	7.1%	39.4%	.7%	33.7%	100.0%		
Total	Count	80	32	187	5	230	534		
	% within magazine name	15.0%	6.0%	35.0%	.9%	43.1%	100.0%		
1965	Esquire	Count	4	4	43		51	104	
		% within magazine name	3.6%	3.0%	32.1%		81.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	2	1	17	2	20	42	
		% within magazine name	4.8%	2.4%	40.0%	4.8%	47.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	14	7	48	1	65	194		
	% within magazine name	13.6%	6.7%	44.2%	1.0%	34.0%	100.0%		
Total	Count	20	12	108	3	138	280		
	% within magazine name	7.1%	4.3%	37.0%	1.1%	48.0%	100.0%		
1970	Esquire	Count	6	7	33		46	144	
		% within magazine name	4.3%	4.9%	22.8%		38.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	5	2	7		17	31	
		% within magazine name	15.2%	6.0%	22.0%		54.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	11	3	47		61	122		
	% within magazine name	13.0%	3.7%	56.0%		26.7%	100.0%		
Total	Count	22	12	87		121	289		
	% within magazine name	8.0%	4.7%	34.0%		52.7%	100.0%		
1975	Esquire	Count	10	11	60		74	188	
		% within magazine name	6.8%	7.1%	38.7%		47.7%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count	11	10	42	1	64	124	
		% within magazine name	13.7%	11.3%	50.0%	1.3%	28.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count	21	21	102	1	138	289		
	% within magazine name	8.8%	8.8%	42.7%	.4%	39.0%	100.0%		
1980	Esquire	Count	4	4	40		48	116	
		% within magazine name	5.8%	5.0%	53.3%		32.4%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	22	18	3	3	46	84	
		% within magazine name	22.2%	28.0%	5.0%	5.0%	42.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	10	11	57	3	81	144		
	% within magazine name	6.8%	7.6%	48.0%	2.1%	35.0%	100.0%		
Total	Count	36	33	100	6	175	289		
	% within magazine name	8.7%	8.0%	45.7%	2.2%	39.0%	100.0%		
1985	Today's Parent	Count	4	4			1	9	
		% within magazine name	33.3%	33.3%			8.3%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	10	8	59		77	154	
		% within magazine name	4.0%	2.0%	27.1%		66.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	2	7	13		22	44	
		% within magazine name	8.2%	4.2%	54.2%		33.0%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count	18	10	39	3	70	139	
		% within magazine name	16.8%	11.2%	48.0%	3.0%	24.7%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	34	30	111	3	177	354	
		% within magazine name	3.4%	3.0%	32.2%	.9%	52.1%	100.0%	
	1990	Today's Parent	Count	4	2	2		8	16
			% within magazine name	20.0%	10.0%	10.0%		27.0%	100.0%
Esquire		Count	4	4	85		93	194	
		% within magazine name	1.0%	1.0%	20.0%		57.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	1	1	8		10	20		
	% within magazine name	3.1%	3.1%	25.0%		15.0%	100.0%		
Total	Count	9	7	107	2	126	249		
	% within magazine name	3.0%	2.4%	38.1%	.7%	57.0%	100.0%		
1995	Today's Parent	Count	4	4	2		10	20	
		% within magazine name	19.2%	18.2%	9.1%		54.0%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	6	4	58		68	136	
		% within magazine name	2.7%	1.8%	25.0%		68.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	2	7	9		18	36	
		% within magazine name	6.0%	6.0%	28.0%		38.0%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count	3	2	24	0	29	58	
		% within magazine name	4.5%	3.0%	35.4%	0.0%	47.0%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	15	17	93	2	127	254	
		% within magazine name	4.8%	5.0%	27.4%	1.0%	68.0%	100.0%	
	2000	Today's Parent	Count	7	7	34		48	96
			% within magazine name	40.0%	40.0%	29.0%		24.0%	100.0%
Ladies Home Journal		Count	4	7	22		33	66	
		% within magazine name	6.0%	14.0%	48.0%		38.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	8	3	28	7	46	92		
	% within magazine name	8.1%	3.4%	38.0%	8.0%	48.0%	100.0%		
Total	Count	19	17	84	7	127	254		
	% within magazine name	21.5%	6.8%	33.0%	2.8%	35.1%	100.0%		

**Table 6: Thematic Content of Ads**

year of publication	magazine name	Count	thematic content of advertisement									Total
			beauty/fas hion/groom ing	health/fit ness/diet/ex ercise	education /career/in fances/wo wledge	romance/rel ation ships	marriage/f amily/dom estic	outdoors/le isure/recre ation/trav el	other	indefin able		
1960	Esquire	Count	112	2	16	4	2	55	18	3	212	
		% within magazine name	52.8%	.9%	7.5%	1.9%	.9%	25.9%	8.6%	1.4%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	4	17	5		4	3	5	1	40	
		% within magazine name	10.0%	42.5%	12.5%		10.0%	7.5%	15.0%	2.5%	100.0%	
1965	Esquire	Count	76		7	2	3	36	10		134	
		% within magazine name	56.7%		5.2%	1.5%	2.2%	26.8%	7.5%		100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	12	9	7		1	5	7	1	42	
		% within magazine name	28.6%	21.4%	16.7%		2.4%	11.9%	16.7%	2.4%	100.0%	
1970	Esquire	Count	70	16	8	4	4	38	9		144	
		% within magazine name	48.6%	11.1%	5.6%	2.8%	2.8%	22.9%	6.3%		100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	8	9	5		4	4	5		31	
		% within magazine name	25.8%	28.0%	16.1%		12.5%	12.5%	16.1%		100.0%	
1975	Esquire	Count	46	1	5	12	2	66	14	9	155	
		% within magazine name	29.7%	.6%	3.2%	7.7%	1.3%	42.6%	9.0%	5.8%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	7	1	12		8	52	2	2	84	
		% within magazine name	8.3%	1.2%	14.3%		9.5%	61.9%	2.4%	2.4%	100.0%	
1980	Esquire	Count	15		7	1		33	2	13	71	
		% within magazine name	21.1%		9.9%	1.4%		46.5%	2.8%	18.3%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	5	8	4	1	3	18	13	2	54	
		% within magazine name	9.3%	14.8%	7.4%	1.9%	5.0%	33.3%	24.1%	3.7%	100.0%	
1985	Esquire	Count	8	4	33	9	4	66	15	5	144	
		% within magazine name	5.6%	2.8%	22.9%	6.3%	2.8%	46.8%	10.4%	3.5%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	28	12	44	11	7	117	30	20	269	
		% within magazine name	10.4%	4.5%	16.4%	4.1%	2.8%	43.5%	11.2%	7.4%	100.0%	
1990	Today's Parent	Count			1		2		2		3	
		% within magazine name			33.3%		33.3%		33.3%		100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	110	14	5	5	3	71	9	1	218	
		% within magazine name	50.5%	6.4%	2.3%	2.3%	1.4%	32.6%	4.1%	.5%	100.0%	
1995	Esquire	Count	173	8	8	8		42	9	4	244	
		% within magazine name	70.9%	3.3%	3.3%	3.3%		17.2%	3.7%	1.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	3	1	1			4			9	
		% within magazine name	33.3%	11.1%	11.1%			44.4%			100.0%	
2000	Today's Parent	Count	4	3	5	6	40	45	11	2	116	
		% within magazine name	3.4%	2.6%	4.3%	5.2%	34.5%	38.8%	9.5%	1.7%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	11	8	1		5	12	9	1	47	
		% within magazine name	23.4%	17.0%	2.1%		10.6%	25.5%	19.1%	2.1%	100.0%	
2005	Esquire	Count	144	9	17	17		43	2	4	219	
		% within magazine name	65.6%	4.1%	7.8%	7.8%		19.6%	.9%	1.8%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	13	1	4	1		6			25	
		% within magazine name	52.0%	4.0%	16.0%	4.0%		24.0%			100.0%	
2010	Esquire	Count	28	10	11		2	11	3	3	66	
		% within magazine name	39.4%	15.2%	16.7%		3.0%	16.7%	4.5%	4.5%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	184	20	15	20	7	74	5	7	332	
		% within magazine name	55.4%	6.0%	4.5%	6.0%	2.1%	22.3%	1.5%	2.1%	100.0%	
2015	Esquire	Count	11	8	1		5	12	9	1	47	
		% within magazine name	23.4%	17.0%	2.1%		10.6%	25.5%	19.1%	2.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	28	11	32		1	9	7		68	
		% within magazine name	31.8%	12.5%	36.4%		1.1%	10.2%	8.0%		100.0%	
2020	Esquire	Count	43	22	38	6	46	66	27	3	251	
		% within magazine name	17.1%	8.8%	15.1%	2.4%	18.3%	26.3%	10.8%	1.2%	100.0%	

Table 7: Occupation of Men in Ads

Year of publication	Magazine name	Magazine	Count	Occupation of men in ad							Total
				domestic/entry	executive	profession or specialists	sales	service-related	other	unknown	
1960	Esquire	Count	3	19	7	1	3	1	178	212	
		% within magazine name	1.4%	8.0%	3.3%	.5%	1.4%	.5%	84.9%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	1	1	2		4	8	38	40	
		% within magazine name	2.9%	2.9%	5.0%		10.0%	18.0%	85.0%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		22	19	5	18	7	211	262	
		% within magazine name		7.9%	6.7%	1.9%	6.4%	2.6%	74.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count	4	42	28	6	25	14	415	534		
	% within magazine name	.7%	7.9%	5.2%	1.1%	4.7%	2.8%	77.7%	100.0%		
1965	Esquire	Count		8	2		1	3	120	134	
		% within magazine name		6.0%	1.5%		.7%	2.2%	89.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		1	5		4	7	25	42	
		% within magazine name		2.4%	11.9%		9.5%	16.7%	59.5%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		10	3		7	8	78	104	
		% within magazine name		9.6%	2.9%		6.7%	7.7%	73.1%	100.0%	
Total	Count		19	10		12	18	221	280		
	% within magazine name		6.8%	3.6%		4.3%	6.4%	79.9%	100.0%		
1970	Esquire	Count	1	5	2		3	7	120	144	
		% within magazine name	.7%	3.5%	1.4%		2.1%	4.9%	87.5%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count					1	8	21	31	
		% within magazine name					3.2%	26.0%	97.7%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		7	1	8	2	2	81	91	
		% within magazine name		8.9%	1.2%	7.4%	2.6%	4.9%	76.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count	1	12	3	8	8	20	208	289		
	% within magazine name	.4%	4.7%	1.2%	2.9%	2.9%	7.8%	81.9%	100.0%		
1975	Esquire	Count			12		2	1	140	165	
		% within magazine name			7.7%		1.3%	.6%	89.9%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		4		4	2	2	72	84	
		% within magazine name		4.8%		4.8%	2.4%	2.4%	86.7%	100.0%	
	Total	Count		4	12	4	4	3	212	289	
		% within magazine name		1.7%	5.0%	1.7%	1.7%	1.3%	88.7%	100.0%	
1980	Esquire	Count		2	5	1	4		80	91	
		% within magazine name		2.8%	7.0%	1.4%	5.0%		88.7%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		2			1	8	48	64	
		% within magazine name		3.7%			1.6%	11.1%	83.6%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		16	2	3	17	10	88	144	
		% within magazine name		11.1%	1.4%	2.1%	11.8%	8.0%	84.6%	100.0%	
Total	Count		20	7	4	22	19	187	289		
	% within magazine name		7.4%	2.8%	1.5%	8.2%	7.1%	78.2%	100.0%		
1985	Today's Parent	Count			1				2	3	
		% within magazine name			28.3%					88.7%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count		5	3		1	2	207	218	
		% within magazine name		2.9%	1.6%		.9%	.9%	89.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count							24	24	
		% within magazine name							100.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	1	9	2	2	9	30	89	114		
	% within magazine name	1.1%	10.1%	2.2%	2.2%	10.7%	33.7%	40.4%	100.0%		
Total	Count	1	14	6	2	10	32	289	334		
	% within magazine name	.9%	4.3%	1.8%	.6%	3.0%	8.6%	80.9%	100.0%		
1990	Today's Parent	Count			2				9	11	
		% within magazine name			18.2%					81.8%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count	4	3	1		1		283	294	
		% within magazine name	1.0%	2.0%	.5%		.5%		85.9%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count							9	9	
		% within magazine name							100.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count	1	6	3		2	1	19	32		
	% within magazine name	3.1%	18.8%	8.4%		6.9%	3.1%	59.7%	100.0%		
Total	Count	5	11	6		3	1	279	299		
	% within magazine name	1.7%	3.7%	2.0%		1.0%	.3%	81.3%	100.0%		
1995	Today's Parent	Count						1	21	22	
		% within magazine name							4.6%	85.9%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count				1			210	210	
		% within magazine name				.5%			89.5%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		1	1	2		1	20	26	
		% within magazine name		4.0%	4.0%	8.0%		4.0%	30.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		8	3	1		21	39	69		
	% within magazine name		12.1%	4.5%	1.5%		31.8%	38.0%	100.0%		
Total	Count		9	4	4		23	382	399		
	% within magazine name		2.7%	1.3%	1.2%		6.0%	88.8%	100.0%		
2000	Today's Parent	Count			2		3	1	110	116	
		% within magazine name			1.7%		2.6%	.9%	84.9%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		2		1		4	40	47	
		% within magazine name		4.9%		2.1%		8.9%	88.1%	100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count		11	6		2	11	58	88	
		% within magazine name		12.9%	6.9%		2.3%	12.6%	88.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count		13	8	1	5	16	208	251		
	% within magazine name		5.2%	3.2%	.4%	2.0%	6.4%	82.8%	100.0%		

**Table 8: Product Being Advertised**

year of publication	magazine name	Count	% within magazine name	product being advertised										Total
				technologies of the body	automobiles and accessories	parenting/childcare	knowledge systems	alcohol/drug/tobacco	computers/electronics	home/door products	sex/sexually related	other	undeterminable	
1960	Esquire	Count	160	75.5%	3	1	6	21	10	3		7	1	212
		% within magazine name												
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	20	50.0%					1	14			2	40
		% within magazine name												
MacLeans	Count	14	39	5.0%	13.8%	7%	23.4%	25.5%	7%	3.2%		76	262	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	194	42	36.3%	7.9%	8%	14.0%	17.4%	2.4%	4.9%		85	534	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1965	Esquire	Count	105	78.4%	7		1	13	1	3		3	134	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	23	54.8%			5	2	2	2			8	42
		% within magazine name												
MacLeans	Count	4	6	3.8%	5.9%		32.7%	33.7%	1.0%	1.0%		23	104	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	132	13	47.1%	4.8%		14.3%	17.9%	1.4%	2.1%		34	280	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1970	Esquire	Count	92	63.9%	4		4	28	5	3		6	144	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	15	48.4%	2		2	2	3	5			2	31
		% within magazine name												
MacLeans	Count	4	4.9%	5		16	28	4	3			21	81	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	111	11	43.4%	4.3%		8.8%	22.7%	4.7%	4.2%		29	256	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1975	Esquire	Count	54	34.8%	6		5	86	4	1		17	155	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
	MacLeans	Count	10	11.9%	6		8	39	2	7			12	84
		% within magazine name												
Total	Count	64	12	28.8%	5.0%		13	107	8	8		29	239	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1980	Esquire	Count	20	28.2%	2		5	40	2			2	71	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	13	24.1%	1	1.9%	1	2	18	4	11		8	54
		% within magazine name												
MacLeans	Count	11	7.8%	16	11.1%	12	60	5	4			38	144	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	44	19	16.4%	7.1%	1	18	116	11	15		44	269	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1985	Today's Parent	Count	1	33.3%			2						3	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
	Esquire	Count	181	73.9%	2		6	33	9	6		1	218	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
Ladies' Home Journal	Count	5	20.8%			18	18	2	2			1	24	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
MacLeans	Count	7	7.9%	4	1.1%	16	31	16	8			6	89	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	173	6	51.8%	1.8%	2	24	60	25	16	1	7	334	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1990	Today's Parent	Count	5	45.5%			1		3	1		1	11	
		% within magazine name												100.0%
	Esquire	Count	217	86.9%			5	7	7	2			5	244
		% within magazine name												
Ladies' Home Journal	Count	4	44.4%				4		1				9	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
MacLeans	Count	8	26.1%	3	9.4%	8	2	3	1			6	32	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	230	3	77.7%	1.0%	5	14	13	5			13	298	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1995	Today's Parent	Count	4	18.2%	5	22.7%	4	2	2			4	1	22
		% within magazine name												
	Esquire	Count	192	87.7%	2	3%	1	11				11	1	219
		% within magazine name												
Ladies' Home Journal	Count	18	64.0%			2	3		4				25	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
1995	MacLeans	Count	33	50.0%	1	1.5%	6	7	7	5		6	1	66
		% within magazine name												
	Total	Count	245	8	73.8%	2.4%	12	21	9	9	11		3	322
		% within magazine name												
2000	Today's Parent	Count	22	19.9%	6	5.2%	21	21	8	23	4	10	1	116
		% within magazine name												
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	24	51.1%			4	2	1	7	2	7		47
		% within magazine name												
MacLeans	Count	36	40.9%	4	4.5%	1	21	17	1	1	7		88	
	% within magazine name													100.0%
Total	Count	82	10	32.7%	4.0%	22	46	2	28	31	7	24	1	251
	% within magazine name													100.0%

Table 9: Domestic Duty of Men in Ads

year of publication			domestic duties of men in ad							other-not domestic activity	
			meal preparation	dishwashing	house cleaning	laundry	shopping	yard maintenance	auto maintenance		
1985	magazine name	Esquire	Count	1		2		2			27
		% within magazine name		.8%		.8%		.8%			87.8%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	1								28
	% within magazine name		2.8%								97.8%
	MacLaren	Count	2	1				1	7	13	15
% within magazine name		7%	.4%				.4%	2.8%	8.9%	5.9%	
Total	Count	4	1	2			3	7	18	261	
% within magazine name		.7%	.2%	.4%			.8%	1.3%	2.8%	48.8%	
1986	magazine name	Esquire	Count				1	1			132
		% within magazine name					.7%	.7%			88.8%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count								42	
	% within magazine name									100.0%	
	MacLaren	Count								1	1
% within magazine name									1.0%	1.0%	
Total	Count					1	1		1	175	
% within magazine name						.4%	.4%		.4%	82.8%	
1987	magazine name	Esquire	Count					1			142
		% within magazine name						.7%			88.8%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count								31	
	% within magazine name									100.0%	
	MacLaren	Count							1		1
% within magazine name								1.3%		1.3%	
Total	Count						1	1		173	
% within magazine name							.4%	.4%		87.8%	
1988	magazine name	Esquire	Count	1				5		1	148
		% within magazine name		.8%			3.2%		.8%		85.8%
	MacLaren	Count					1			1	
	% within magazine name						1.3%			1.3%	
Total	Count	1				6			1	149	
% within magazine name		.4%				2.8%			.4%	81.8%	
1989	magazine name	Esquire	Count								71
		% within magazine name									100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count								1	30
	% within magazine name									1.8%	6.1%
	MacLaren	Count								1	142
% within magazine name									.7%	88.8%	
Total	Count								1	209	
% within magazine name									.4%	88.8%	
1990	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count								3
		% within magazine name									100.0%
	Esquire	Count					1			217	
	% within magazine name						.5%			88.8%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count								24	
% within magazine name									100.0%		
MacLaren	Count	7	2					1		77	
% within magazine name		7.8%	2.2%					1.1%		88.8%	
Total	Count	7	2			1		1		221	
% within magazine name		2.1%	.6%			.3%		.3%		88.1%	
1991	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count	1							16
		% within magazine name		8.1%							88.8%
	Esquire	Count					2			238	
	% within magazine name						.8%			97.8%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count							1		8
% within magazine name								11.1%		88.8%	
MacLaren	Count			1						21	
% within magazine name				3.1%						88.8%	
Total	Count	1		1		2		1		267	
% within magazine name		.3%		.3%		.7%		.3%		87.8%	
1992	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count								22
		% within magazine name									100.0%
	Esquire	Count					1			218	
	% within magazine name						.3%			88.8%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count								1	24
% within magazine name									4.0%	88.8%	
1993	magazine name	MacLaren	Count	1							81
		% within magazine name		1.5%							1.5%
	Total	Count	1							2	225
% within magazine name		.3%							.3%	87.8%	
2000	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count	1		2	1				88
		% within magazine name		.8%		1.7%	.8%				88.8%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count	2		1				1		41
	% within magazine name		4.3%		2.1%				2.1%	2.1%	87.2%
	MacLaren	Count					1			3	81
% within magazine name						1.1%			3.4%	88.8%	
Total	Count	3		3	2			1	4	188	
% within magazine name		1.2%		1.2%	.8%			.4%	1.6%	74.8%	

Table 10: Activities of Men with Children

year of publication	magazine name	Count	activities of men with children					Total
			child care/parenting	teaching/instructing	meal preparation	leisure/athletic	other/other no kids present	
1960	Esquire	Count	1		3	5	200	212
		% within magazine name	.5%		1.4%	2.4%	95.8%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count				25	30	40
		% within magazine name				25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
MacLearns	Count		3	3	28	17	282	
	% within magazine name		1.1%	1.1%	12.8%	6.0%	78.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	1	3	6	51	230	294	
	% within magazine name	.3%	.9%	1.1%	8.6%	48.0%	41.8%	100.0%
1965	Esquire	Count				1	132	134
		% within magazine name				.7%	99.3%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		1		2	39	42
		% within magazine name		2.4%		4.8%	92.8%	100.0%
MacLearns	Count		1		2		101	
	% within magazine name		1.0%		1.9%		97.1%	100.0%
Total	Count		2		5	171	180	
	% within magazine name		.7%		1.6%	91.1%	98.4%	100.0%
1970	Esquire	Count			3	5	136	144
		% within magazine name			2.1%	3.9%	98.0%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count				1	30	31
		% within magazine name				3.2%	96.8%	100.0%
Total	Count			1	4	166	171	
	% within magazine name			1.2%	4.8%	93.9%	100.0%	
1975	Esquire	Count				3	148	151
		% within magazine name				3.2%	96.8%	100.0%
	MacLearns	Count					1	34
		% within magazine name					1.2%	98.8%
Total	Count				3	149	155	
	% within magazine name				2.1%	91.1%	98.8%	100.0%
1980	Esquire	Count				2	69	71
		% within magazine name				2.8%	97.2%	100.0%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		2		1	51	54
		% within magazine name		3.7%		1.9%	94.4%	100.0%
MacLearns	Count			1	4	137	144	
	% within magazine name			.7%	2.8%	96.1%	1.4%	100.0%
Total	Count		2	1	7	257	268	
	% within magazine name		.7%	.4%	2.6%	96.3%	.7%	100.0%
1985	Today's Parent	Count				1	1	3
		% within magazine name				33.3%	33.3%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count				2	216	218
		% within magazine name				.9%	99.1%	100.0%
Ladies' Home Journal	Count				1	28	29	
	% within magazine name				4.2%	95.8%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		3	3	2	81	89	
	% within magazine name		3.4%	3.4%	2.2%	91.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count		4	3	6	320	334	
	% within magazine name		1.2%	.9%	1.8%	96.0%	.7%	100.0%
1990	Today's Parent	Count			1		2	11
		% within magazine name			8.1%		72.7%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count				1	231	234
		% within magazine name				.4%	94.7%	100.0%
Total	Count				1	233	234	
	% within magazine name				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
1995	Today's Parent	Count					2	32
		% within magazine name					100.0%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count					217	219
		% within magazine name					99.1%	100.0%
Ladies' Home Journal	Count					26	26	
	% within magazine name					100.0%	100.0%	
MacLearns	Count				5	80	85	
	% within magazine name				7.6%	92.4%	1.9%	100.0%
Total	Count				5	267	272	
	% within magazine name				1.8%	92.8%	.3%	100.0%
2000	Today's Parent	Count		4	1	61	48	116
		% within magazine name		1.7%	3.4%	23.4%	37.1%	4.3%
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		3	1	11	32	47
		% within magazine name		6.4%	2.1%	23.4%	68.1%	100.0%
MacLearns	Count		3	1	2	81	88	
	% within magazine name		3.4%	1.1%	2.3%	92.0%	1.1%	100.0%
Total	Count		2	10	3	74	89	
	% within magazine name		.8%	4.0%	1.2%	28.9%	62.2%	2.4%

Table 11: Relationship Between Men and Women in Ads

year of publication	magazine name	magazine name	Count	relationship between men and women				Total
				romantic couple	husband	other	undetermin- able, or no woman present	
1980	Esquire	Count	8	6	154	44	212	
		% within magazine name	3.9%	2.8%	72.0%	20.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	3	10	20	7	40	
		% within magazine name	7.8%	25.0%	50.0%	17.8%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	14	61	14	189	282	
% within magazine name		5.0%	21.9%	5.0%	68.9%	100.0%		
Total	Count	25	77	188	244	534		
% within magazine name		4.7%	14.4%	35.2%	45.7%	100.0%		
1985	Esquire	Count	10	1	108	17	134	
		% within magazine name	7.6%	.7%	79.1%	12.7%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	4	5	24	8	42	
		% within magazine name	8.9%	11.9%	57.1%	21.9%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	7	19	9	73	104	
% within magazine name		6.7%	18.4%	7.7%	70.2%	100.0%		
Total	Count	21	22	138	99	280		
% within magazine name		7.8%	7.8%	48.9%	35.9%	100.0%		
1970	Esquire	Count	23	8	88	27	144	
	% within magazine name		16.0%	6.0%	60.7%	18.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	1	3	21	8	31	
% within magazine name		2.3%	8.7%	67.7%	19.4%	100.0%		
1975	MacLeans	Count	15	10	2	54	81	
	% within magazine name		18.8%	12.9%	2.6%	65.7%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	39	21	109	67	239	
% within magazine name		15.2%	8.2%	42.0%	34.0%	100.0%		
1975	Esquire	Count	17	9	100	29	158	
		% within magazine name	11.0%	5.8%	64.0%	18.7%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	10	10	1	84	94	
		% within magazine name	11.9%	11.9%	1.2%	76.2%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	27	19	109	89	239	
% within magazine name		11.3%	7.9%	41.8%	38.9%	100.0%		
1980	Esquire	Count	3	1	51	16	71	
		% within magazine name	4.2%	1.4%	71.9%	22.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	6	13	21	14	54	
		% within magazine name	11.1%	24.1%	38.9%	25.9%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	14	10	61	38	144	
% within magazine name		9.7%	6.9%	42.9%	27.1%	100.0%		
Total	Count	23	24	138	89	289		
% within magazine name		8.9%	8.9%	48.9%	25.7%	100.0%		
1985	Today's Parent	Count	1	1	1	2	3	
		% within magazine name		33.3%		66.7%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	11	3	170	54	218	
		% within magazine name	5.0%	1.4%	78.0%	15.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	3	3	5	16	24	
% within magazine name			12.5%	20.0%	68.7%	100.0%		
MacLeans	Count	8	8	62	10	89		
	% within magazine name	10.1%	9.9%	69.7%	11.2%	100.0%		
Total	Count	20	15	237	82	334		
% within magazine name		6.0%	4.5%	71.0%	18.0%	100.0%		
1980	Today's Parent	Count	3	3	3	8	11	
	% within magazine name		27.3%		27.3%	72.7%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	45	2	194	29	244	
% within magazine name		7.6%	.4%	78.0%	11.9%	100.0%		
1980	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	8			3	9	
		% within magazine name	66.7%			33.3%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	1		28	3	32	
		% within magazine name	3.1%		87.5%	9.4%	100.0%	
Total	Count	28	5	222	43	298		
% within magazine name		9.4%	1.7%	75.0%	14.9%	100.0%		
1985	Today's Parent	Count	3	3	1	15	22	
		% within magazine name	13.0%	13.0%	4.0%	60.0%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	18	2	188	13	219	
		% within magazine name	8.2%	.9%	84.9%	3.9%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	7	2	16	16	25	
% within magazine name		28.0%	8.0%	64.0%	84.0%	100.0%		
MacLeans	Count	5	4	62	5	68		
	% within magazine name	7.6%	6.1%	78.0%	7.6%	100.0%		
Total	Count	33	11	239	49	332		
% within magazine name		9.9%	3.3%	72.0%	14.9%	100.0%		
2005	Today's Parent	Count	10	20	12	68	110	
		% within magazine name	8.6%	22.4%	10.9%	38.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	7	14	1	25	47	
		% within magazine name	14.8%	29.8%	2.1%	53.2%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	1	7	78	4	89	
% within magazine name		1.1%	8.0%	88.4%	4.9%	100.0%		
Total	Count	18	47	89	97	251		
% within magazine name		7.2%	18.7%	35.5%	38.6%	100.0%		

Table 12: Relationship Between Men and Children in Ads

year of publication	magazine name	Count	% within magazine name	relationship between men and child					Total
				care-giver or father	grandfather or	relative of other type	other, or no info present	unknown/na	
1960	Esquire	Count		5			252	5	212
		% within magazine name		2.4%			95.3%	2.4%	100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		8	1		25	5	40
		% within magazine name		22.0%	2.5%		62.5%	12.0%	100.0%
	MacLearns	Count		49	2	3	70	216	262
% within magazine name			17.4%	.7%	1.1%	3.0%	77.3%	100.0%	
Total	Count		63	3	3	237	236	594	
	% within magazine name		11.8%	.8%	.8%	44.6%	42.7%	100.0%	
1965	Esquire	Count				2	130	2	134
		% within magazine name				1.0%	67.0%	1.0%	100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		5			35	1	42
		% within magazine name		11.9%			85.7%	2.4%	100.0%
	MacLearns	Count		11			2	61	74
% within magazine name			10.6%			1.9%	67.5%	100.0%	
Total	Count		16		2	168	64	250	
	% within magazine name		5.7%		.7%	68.0%	33.6%	100.0%	
1970	Esquire	Count		4	2		136	2	144
	% within magazine name		2.8%	1.4%		94.6%	1.4%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		2			28	1	31
1975	MacLearns	Count		5			76	1	81
	% within magazine name		6.2%			89.0%	10.0%	100.0%	
	Total	Count		11	2		164	79	256
	% within magazine name		4.3%	.8%		64.1%	30.9%	100.0%	
1975	Esquire	Count		8	1		147	1	156
		% within magazine name		5.0%	.5%		94.6%	.9%	100.0%
	MacLearns	Count		5			70	1	76
		% within magazine name		6.6%			94.0%	1.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count		11	1		147	2	256
	% within magazine name		4.8%	.4%		61.9%	33.8%	100.0%	
1980	Esquire	Count		2			66	1	71
		% within magazine name		2.8%			96.0%	1.4%	100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		5			48	1	54
		% within magazine name		9.3%			89.0%	1.0%	100.0%
	MacLearns	Count		4	1		134	5	144
% within magazine name			2.8%	.7%		93.1%	3.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count		11	1		250	7	268	
	% within magazine name		4.1%	.4%		82.9%	2.6%	100.0%	
1985	Today's Parent	Count		3					3
		% within magazine name		100.0%					100.0%
	Esquire	Count		2			216		218
		% within magazine name		.8%			98.1%		100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		1			23		24
% within magazine name			4.2%			95.8%		100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		2	1		83	3	88	
	% within magazine name		2.2%	1.1%		93.0%	3.4%	100.0%	
Total	Count		8	1		322	3	334	
	% within magazine name		2.4%	.3%		88.4%	.9%	100.0%	
1985	Today's Parent	Count		8			2		11
	% within magazine name		81.0%			16.7%		100.0%	
	Esquire	Count		11			269		284
1990	Ladies Home Journal	Count					5		5
	% within magazine name					100.0%		100.0%	
	MacLearns	Count					31	1	32
Total	Count					36	1	38	
	% within magazine name					94.7%	3.1%	100.0%	
1995	Today's Parent	Count		15			4	3	22
		% within magazine name		88.2%			18.2%	13.6%	100.0%
	Esquire	Count				1	216		217
		% within magazine name				.5%	98.5%		100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count					25		25
% within magazine name						100.0%		100.0%	
MacLearns	Count		3	2	1	88	2	96	
	% within magazine name		4.5%	3.0%	1.0%	97.0%	3.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count		18	2	2	308	5	327	
	% within magazine name		5.4%	.6%	.6%	91.9%	1.9%	100.0%	
2000	Today's Parent	Count		82	4		48	7	141
		% within magazine name		83.4%	3.4%		37.1%	6.6%	100.0%
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		9	8		30		47
		% within magazine name		19.1%	17.0%		63.0%		100.0%
	MacLearns	Count		1	1	1	88	2	93
% within magazine name			1.1%	1.1%	1.1%	94.7%	2.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count		72	13	1	166	9	251	
	% within magazine name		28.7%	5.2%	.4%	62.3%	3.6%	100.0%	

Table 13: Body Type of Men in Ads

year of publication	magazine name	magazine	Count	body type of men in ad				Total
				andromorphic	mesomorphic	ectomorphic	undetermined	
1980	Esquire	Count	5	3	9	185	212	
		% within magazine name	2.4%	1.4%	4.2%	82.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	1	1	1	38	40	
		% within magazine name		2.0%	2.0%	96.0%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	11	2	23	246	282	
% within magazine name		3.9%	.7%	8.2%	87.2%	100.0%		
Total	Count	16	6	33	479	534		
	% within magazine name	3.0%	1.1%	6.2%	89.7%	100.0%		
1985	Esquire	Count	1	3	14	118	134	
		% within magazine name	.7%	2.2%	10.4%	86.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count			1	41	42	
		% within magazine name			2.4%	97.6%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	2	1		101	104	
% within magazine name		1.9%	1.0%		97.1%	100.0%		
Total	Count	3	4	15	259	280		
	% within magazine name	1.1%	1.4%	5.4%	82.1%	100.0%		
1970	Esquire	Count	2	23	11	108	144	
		% within magazine name	1.4%	18.0%	7.6%	73.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		6		25	31	
		% within magazine name		18.4%		88.6%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count		1	1	75	81	
% within magazine name			1.2%	1.2%	97.6%	100.0%		
Total	Count	2	30	12	212	260		
	% within magazine name	.8%	11.7%	4.7%	82.9%	100.0%		
1975	Esquire	Count	4	8	21	135	168	
		% within magazine name	2.6%	3.2%	12.8%	81.4%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	2	2	3	79	84	
		% within magazine name		2.4%	3.6%	84.0%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	4	7	24	204	239	
% within magazine name		1.7%	2.9%	10.0%	85.4%	100.0%		
1980	Esquire	Count	1	10	18	84	113	
		% within magazine name		1.4%	22.8%	76.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		2		52	54	
		% within magazine name		3.7%		96.3%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	2	1	3	128	144	
% within magazine name		1.4%	.7%	5.6%	82.4%	100.0%		
Total	Count	2	2	20	204	230		
	% within magazine name	.7%	.7%	9.7%	88.9%	100.0%		
1985	Today's Parent	Count				3	3	
		% within magazine name				100.0%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count	1	21	12	184	218	
		% within magazine name	.5%	9.6%	5.5%	84.4%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count				34	34	
% within magazine name					100.0%	100.0%		
MacLeans	Count	2		2	85	89		
	% within magazine name	2.2%		2.2%	95.6%	100.0%		
Total	Count	3	21	14	288	324		
	% within magazine name	.9%	8.3%	4.2%	86.6%	100.0%		
1980	Today's Parent	Count			3	8	11	
		% within magazine name			27.3%	72.7%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count		1	11	232	244	
		% within magazine name		.4%	4.5%	95.1%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count				9	9	
% within magazine name					100.0%	100.0%		
MacLeans	Count	1	1		30	32		
	% within magazine name	3.1%	3.1%		89.8%	100.0%		
Total	Count	1	2	14	279	296		
	% within magazine name	.3%	.7%	4.7%	84.3%	100.0%		
1985	Today's Parent	Count				22	22	
		% within magazine name				100.0%	100.0%	
	Esquire	Count		17	21	181	219	
		% within magazine name		7.8%	9.6%	82.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count		1	1	23	25	
% within magazine name			4.0%	4.0%	92.0%	100.0%		
MacLeans	Count		3	5	58	66		
	% within magazine name		4.5%	7.8%	87.7%	100.0%		
Total	Count		21	27	294	342		
	% within magazine name		8.2%	8.1%	85.6%	100.0%		
2000	Today's Parent	Count	7	5	7	97	116	
		% within magazine name	6.0%	4.3%	6.0%	83.6%	100.0%	
	Ladies' Home Journal	Count	2	1	3	41	47	
		% within magazine name	4.3%	2.1%	6.4%	87.2%	100.0%	
	MacLeans	Count	2	4	3	79	88	
% within magazine name		2.3%	4.5%	3.4%	89.8%	100.0%		
Total	Count	11	10	13	217	251		
	% within magazine name	4.4%	4.0%	5.2%	86.5%	100.0%		

Table 14: Clothing Style Worn by Men in Ads

year of publication	magazine name	magazine name	Count	clothing style worn by men in ad							Total
				street	sports	profession al	tradesman service personnel	casual	other	undefined	
1980	magazine name	Esquire	Count		2	130	4	87	18	4	
		% within magazine name		.9%	81.3%	1.9%	28.9%	7.1%	1.9%	100	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		15	4	14	4	3			
		% within magazine name		37.5%	10.0%	35.0%	10.0%	7.5%	100		
Men's Wear	Count		8	188	20	48	7	45			
	% within magazine name		2.9%	88.0%	7.1%	18.3%	2.9%	8.9%	100		
Total	Count		10	391	28	117	28	22			
	% within magazine name		1.9%	82.0%	5.2%	21.0%	4.9%	4.1%	100		
1980	magazine name	Esquire	Count		4	70	3	14	1		
		% within magazine name		3.0%	85.7%	3.7%	28.6%	10.4%	7%	100	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		27	2	6	1	4			
		% within magazine name		68.3%	4.9%	18.0%	2.4%	8.6%	100		
Men's Wear	Count		2	71	7	18	8				
	% within magazine name		1.9%	88.3%	8.7%	14.4%	8.7%	100			
Total	Count		6	174	8	24	5				
	% within magazine name		2.1%	82.1%	3.2%	22.7%	8.6%	1.8%	100		
1970	magazine name	Esquire	Count		22	68	1	44	10		
		% within magazine name		18.3%	38.9%	.7%	28.0%	11.1%	3.9%	100	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		3	3	2	15	8			
		% within magazine name		8.7%	8.7%	5.8%	38.0%	25.8%	100		
Men's Wear	Count		1	41	3	27	9				
	% within magazine name		1.2%	80.8%	3.7%	33.3%	3.7%	7.4%	100.0%		
Total	Count		26	100	6	86	27	11			
	% within magazine name		10.2%	38.1%	2.3%	33.0%	10.9%	4.9%	100.0%		
1970	magazine name	Esquire	Count		16	49	2	72	9		
		% within magazine name		10.3%	31.0%	1.3%	46.0%	5.9%	4.6%	100.0%	
	Men's Wear	Count		3	28	4	48	8			
		% within magazine name		3.9%	31.0%	4.9%	47.8%	9.9%	3.9%	100.0%	
Total	Count		19	77	6	112	17	10			
	% within magazine name		7.9%	31.4%	2.5%	48.9%	7.1%	4.2%	100.0%		
1970	magazine name	Esquire	Count		9	15	2	42	2		
		% within magazine name		12.7%	21.1%	2.9%	59.2%	2.9%	1.4%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		1	10	1	24	7			
		% within magazine name		1.9%	3.7%	1.9%	44.0%	13.0%	1.9%	100.0%	
Men's Wear	Count		12	57	18	28	11				
	% within magazine name		8.0%	39.0%	13.2%	24.3%	7.6%	6.9%	100.0%		
Total	Count		1	34	22	101	20	11			
	% within magazine name		.4%	8.9%	8.2%	37.9%	7.4%	4.1%	100.0%		
1970	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		1		2				
		% within magazine name		29.3%		66.7%				100.0%	
	Esquire	Count		22	66	1	87	22	1		
		% within magazine name		10.1%	38.0%	.5%	38.0%	10.1%	.5%	100.0%	
Ladies Home Journal	Count		7	29	18	42	4	1			
	% within magazine name		7.9%	29.2%	11.2%	33.7%	2.2%	8.7%	100.0%		
Men's Wear	Count		7	34	16	80	2	6			
	% within magazine name		7.9%	29.2%	11.2%	33.7%	2.2%	8.7%	100.0%		
Total	Count		30	128	11	134	25	8			
	% within magazine name		9.8%	37.7%	3.3%	41.3%	7.9%	2.4%	100.0%		
1970	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		1	2	3	3			
		% within magazine name		9.1%	18.2%	46.9%	27.8%		100.0%		
	Esquire	Count		5	122	83	29	8			
		% within magazine name		2.0%	50.0%	34.8%	11.6%	2.0%	100.0%		
Ladies Home Journal	Count		2	2	5	3	1				
	% within magazine name		22.2%	22.2%	55.6%	22.2%		100.0%			
Men's Wear	Count		2	14	2	5	7	2			
	% within magazine name		8.9%	49.0%	8.9%	15.6%	21.9%	8.9%	100.0%		
Total	Count		8	140	2	98	41	7			
	% within magazine name		2.7%	47.3%	.7%	38.1%	13.8%	2.4%	100.0%		
1985	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		3	1	16	2			
		% within magazine name		13.0%	4.3%	72.7%	8.1%		100.0%		
	Esquire	Count		12	99	1	78	28	4		
		% within magazine name		5.9%	48.0%	.5%	36.9%	12.6%	1.8%	100.0%	
Ladies Home Journal	Count		1	5	1	10	1	1			
	% within magazine name		4.9%	20.0%	4.0%	64.0%	4.0%	4.0%	100.0%		
Men's Wear	Count		5	32	17	8	4				
	% within magazine name		7.0%	48.0%	25.0%	12.1%	6.1%	100.0%			
Total	Count		21	134	2	127	30	9			
	% within magazine name		6.3%	40.4%	.6%	38.3%	11.7%	2.7%	100.0%		
2000	magazine name	Today's Parent	Count		3	10	2	82	15		
		% within magazine name		8%	24.0%	8.0%	70.7%	12.0%	2.0%	100.0%	
	Ladies Home Journal	Count		1	6	2	31	8			
		% within magazine name		2.1%	18.0%	4.9%	65.0%	17.0%	100.0%		
Men's Wear	Count		4	33	4	28	13				
	% within magazine name		4.9%	37.8%	4.8%	38.8%	14.8%	100.0%			
Total	Count		1	8	8	139	36	11			
	% within magazine name		1.0%	8.8%	8.8%	88.8%	28.8%	11.0%	100.0%		

## Works Cited

- Alsop, R., Annette, Fitzsimons and Kathleen Lennon. (2002). *Theorizing Gender*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Amont, J. (1997). *The Image*, London: British Film Institute
- Amont, J. (1997). *The Image*, London: British Film Institute.
- Barthel, D. (1992). *When Men Put on Appearances: Advertising and the Social Construction of Masculinity*, In, S. Craig (ed.) *Men, Masculinity and the Media*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications
- Barthel, D. (1988). *Putting on Appearances: Gender and Advertising*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*, New York: Hall and Wang.
- Beasley, C. (2005). *Gender and Sexuality: Critical Theories*, Critical Thinkers, London: Sage.
- Benwell, B. (Eds.) (2003). *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Limited/The Sociological Review.
- Berg, B.L. (2001). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of Seeing*, New York: Viking Press.
- Beynon, J. (2002). *Masculinities and Culture: Issues in Cultural and Media Studies*, Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Bolino, M. (Eds.) (2003). *Fashion: Examining Popular Culture*, San Diego: Green Haven Press.
- Bordo, S. (1999). *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in the Public and in Private*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux
- Brennen, T. And Jay, M. (1996). *Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight*, New York: Routledge.
- Brumberg, J. J (1998). *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*, New York: Vintage Books.

- Brown, S. (2002). Are Magazines for young men likely to reinforce stereotypically 'macho' and sexist attitudes in their readers? [Wwww.theory.org](http://www.theory.org). UK.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity*, London: Routledge.
- Carey, J.W. (1992). *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*, New York: Routledge.
- Cavallaro, D. (1998). *Fashioning the Frame: boundaries, dress and body*: New York: Oxford University press.
- Christian, H. (1994). *The Making of Anti-Sexist Men*, London: Routledge
- Cohen, D. (1972). *Advertising*, New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Collins, P. (1991). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment*, New York: Routledge
- Coltrane, S. (1996). *Family Man: Fatherhood, Housework and Gender Equality*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Connell, R.W. (1993). *The Big Picture: Masculinities in Recent World History, Theory and Society*: 22, 597-623.
- Connell, R.W. (2000). *The Men and the Boys*, California: The University of California Press.
- Connell, R.W. (2002). *Gender: A Short Introduction*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Connell, R.W. (2005). *Masculinities*, Cambridge: Polity
- Consalvo, M. (2003). *The Monster Next Door: Media Constructions of Boys and Masculinity*, *Feminist Media Studies* Vol. 3 No. 1 (March)
- Craig, S. (ed.) (1992). *Men, Masculinity and the Media*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Croteau, D. And Hoynes, W. (2000). *Media Society: Industries, Images and Audiences*, London: Pine Forge Press.
- Danna, S.R. (Eds.) (1992). *Advertising and Popular Culture: Studies in Variety and Versatility*, Bowling Green, OH: Popular Press.
- Doucet, A. (2004). "It's almost like I have a job, but I don't get paid": Fathers at home reconfiguring work, care and masculinity, <http://www.findarticle.com>

- Doucet, A. (2006). *Do Men Mother? Fathering, Caring and Domestic Responsibility*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Duffy, M (1994). *Body of Evidence: Studying Women and Advertising*. In Luigi Manca and Alessandra Manca (ed), *Gender and Utopia in Advertising: A Critical Reader*, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Dunphy, R. (2000). *Sexual Politics: An Introduction*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dutton, K. (1995). *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Male Physical Development*, New York: Continuum.
- Dotson, EW (1999). *Behold the Man: The Selling of Male Beauty in Media and Culture*, New York,: Harrington Park Press.
- Dowd, N. (2000). *Redefining Fatherhood*, New York: New York University Press.
- Dyer, R. (1997). *White*, London: Routledge.
- Edwards, T. (1997). *Men in the Mirror: Men's Fashions, Masculinity and Consumer Society*, London: Cassell
- Edwards, T. (2000). *Sex, Booze and Fags: New Men, New Lads and the Masculinity of Men's Style Magazines*, Address to the Posting the Male Conference, John Morres University, Liverpool, August.
- Edwards, T. (2006). *Cultures of Masculinity*, London: Routledge, Taylor and Francis.
- Eggebeen, D.S. *American Fatherhood types: the good, the bad and the uninterested*, *Fathering*, 3,22, 2002
- Entwistle, J. (2000). *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Evans Braziel, J. And Le Besco, K. (2001). *Bodies out of Bounds: Fatness and Transgression*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ewen, S., (2001). *Captains of Consciousness : Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, United States: Basic Books.
- Farrell, W. (1975). *The Liberated Man*, New York: McGraw-Hill
- Fejes, F. (2000). *Making a Gay Masculinity*, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 17(1): 113-116, March.

- Fejes, F. (2002). Advertising and the Political Economy of Lesbian/Gay Identity, In. Meehan, E.R. and Riordan, E. (ed). Sex and Money: Feminism and Political Economy in the Media, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fejes, F. (2002). Advertising and the Political Economy of Lesbian/Gay Identity, [www.theory.org.uk](http://www.theory.org.uk)
- Fisk, J. (1989). Reading the Popular, Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Folkert, J., Lacey, S. And Davenport, L. (1998). The Media in Your Life: An Introduction to Mass Communication, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Forest, B. (1995). West Hollywood as Symbol: The Significance of Place in Constrictions of Gay Identity, Environment and Planning, Society and Space, Vol. 13, pages 133-157
- Foucault, M. (1986). The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality, Vol. 3., New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House.
- Foucault, M. (1990). The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, New York: Vintage Books.
- Fowles, J. (1996). Advertising and Popular Culture, Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.
- Franklin, S. Lury, C. And Jackie Stacey (Eds.). Off-Center: Feminism and Cultural Studies, London: Harper-Collins Academic.
- Gauntlett, D. (2002). Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction, London: Routledge.
- Gavan, A. (2002) The Fatherhood Responsibility Movement: The Centrality of Marriage, Work and Male Sexuality in Reconstructions of Masculinity and Fatherhood. In B. Hobson (ed). Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood (pp. 213-44), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gill, R. (2006). Body Talk: Men in the Media: <http://www.fathom.com/feature/122219>. Gill, R. (2007). Gender and the Media, Cambridge: Polity.
- Goffman, E. (1959). The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, New York: Doubleday.
- Goffman, E. (1976). Gender Advertisements, USA: Harper & Row
- Goldman, R. (1992). Reading Ads Socially, London: Routledge

- Gottschall, W. (1999). Reading the Male Body in Advertising: Re-Imaging Men, Masculinity and the Male Body in Contemporary Culture, unpublished Masters thesis, Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario.
- Gottschall, W. (2006). The Body Politic: Uncovering the Male Body in Modern Western Culture, (unpublished paper).
- Gottschall, W. (2007). Renegotiating Men's Parenting Narratives, (unpublished paper)
- Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the Prison Notebooks, New York: International Publishers.
- Hanke, R. (1992). Redesigning Men: Hegemonic Masculinity in Transition, Communication Theory.
- Hanke, R. (1998). Theorizing Masculinity with/in the Media, Communication Theory, 8 (2) 183-203, May
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who Needs Identity? In. S. Hall and P. Du Gay (Eds.). Questions of Identity, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S. (1997). Introduction. In. S. Hall (1997). Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Harms, J. And Kellner, D. (2001). Toward A Critical Theory of Advertising, <http://www.uta.edu/huma/illuminations/kell6.htm>.
- Hobson, B. (2003). Making Men into Fathers, Masculinity and the Social Politics of Fatherhood, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jackson, P, Stevenson, N., and Brooks, K. (2001). Making Sense of Men's Magazines, Cambridge: Polity.
- Jackson, W. (1995). Doing Social Research Methods, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Canada, Inc.
- Jay, M (1996). Vision in Context: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Sight, London: Routledge.
- Jhally, S. (2006). The Odes of Advertising: Fetishism and the Political Economy of Meaning in the Consumer Society, London: Routledge.
- Kates, S.M. (1999). Making the Ad Perfectly Queer: Marketing 'Normativity' to the Gay Men's Community? Journal of Advertising, Vol xxvii, No. 1, Spring.

- Keegan Gardiner, J. (Ed.) (2002). *Masculinity Studies and Feminist Theory: New Direction* New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kervin, D. (1990). Advertising Masculinity: The Representation of Males in Esquire Advertisements, *Journal of Communication Enquiry*, 14 (1. Winter).
- Kibby, M. (1998). *Representing Masculinity*,  
<http://www.newcastle.edu.au/departments/so/kibby.html>
- Kimmel, M.S. (2005). *The Gender of Desire: Essays on Male Sexuality*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Krippendorff, K. (1990). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Lacey, N. (1998). *Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies*, New York: St. Martin's Press.
- LaRossa, R. (1981) . *Fatherhood and Social Change*, *Family Relations*, 37, 451-457.
- LaRossa, R. (1997). *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Leiss, W, Kline, S and Jhally, S. (1997). *Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products and Images of Well-Being*, London: Routledge
- Luciano, L. (2001). *Looking Good: Male Body Image in Modern America*, New York: Hill and Wang.
- Luxton, M. (1980). *More than A Labor of Love: Generations of Women's Work in the House*
- MacInnes, J. (1998). *The End of Masculinity*, Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- MacNamara, J.R. (2006). *Media and Male Identity: The Making and Remaking of Men*, New York: Palgrave.
- Mandell, N. (2007). *Feminist Issues: Race, Class and Sexuality*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Toronto: Prentice-Hall.
- Marsiglio, W. (1997). *Procreative Man*, New York: New York University Press.
- Martin, M., and Knight, G. (1997). *Communication and Mass Media: Culture, Domination and Opposition*, Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Allyn and Bacon Co.

- Maxwell, R (2001). *Culture Works: The Political Economy of Culture*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press
- Mirzoeff, N. (1998). *The Visual Culture Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Mistry, R. (2002). *From Heath and Home to Queer Chic: A Critical Analysis of Progressive Depictions of Gender in Advertising*, [www.theory.org.uk](http://www.theory.org.uk)
- Mort, F. (1996). *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth Century Britain*, London: Routledge.
- Mosco, V. (1998). *The Political Economy of Communication*, London: Sage Publications.
- Murphy, P. E. (2004). *Feminism and Masculinities*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nardi, P.M. (Ed) (2000). *Gay Masculinities*, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage
- Neuman, L.W. (1994). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Nevendorf, K. A. (2002). *The Content Analysis Guidebook*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.
- Nixon, S. (1996). *Hard Looks: Masculinity, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption*, London: UCL Press.
- Nixon, S. (1997). *Exhibiting Masculinity*, In. S. Hall (Ed). *Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.
- Parker, R G. And Gagnon, J.H. (Eds.) (1995). *Conceiving Sexuality: Approaches to Sex Research in a Post Modern World*, New York: Routledge.
- Posner, J. (1990). *The Objectified Male: The 'New' Male Image in Advertising*, In. G. Nemiroff (ed.). *Women and Men: Interdisciplinary Readings on Gender*, Montreal: Fitzhenry.
- Price, J and Shildrick (Eds) (1999). *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader*, New York: Routledge
- Reichert, T and Lambiase, J (EDS) (2004). *Sex in Advertising: Perspectives on the Erotic Appeal*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers
- Rogoff, I. (1998). *Studying Visual Culture*, In, N. Mirzoeff (Ed). *The Visual Culture Reader*, New York: Routledge

- Rose, G. (2005). *Visual Methodologies*, London: Sage Publications.
- Rutledge, Sheilds, V., and Heinecken, D. (2002). *Measuring up: How Advertising Affects Self-Image*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Rutherford, P. (2000). *Endless Propaganda: The Advertising of Public Goods*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Scanlon J. (1995) *Inarticulate longings: The Ladies Home Journal, Gender and the promise of Consumer Culture*
- Schaefer, R. T. and Smith, E. (2004). *Sociology: First Canadian Edition*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson
- Schudson, M. (1984). *Advertising: The Uneasy Persuasion*, New York: Basic Books.
- Silverman, D. (1985). *Qualitative Methodology and Sociology: Describing the Social World*, England: Grower Publishing Company Limited.
- Simpson, M. (1994). *Male Impersonators: Men Performing Masculinity*, New York: Routledge
- Singer, B. (1995). *Communication in Canadian Society*, Toronto: Nelson Canada .
- Stecopoulos, H and Uebel, m. (EDS)(1997). *Race and the Subject of Masculinities*, Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stevenson, N. (1995). *Understanding Media Cultures: Social Theory and Mass Communication*, London: Sage Publications.
- Streitmatter, R. (2004). *Sex Sells: The Media's Journey from Repression to Obsession*, US: West View Press.
- Sturken, M. and Cartwright, L. (2001). *Practices of Looking: An Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tyyska, V. (2007). *Action and analysis: Readings in Sociology of Gender*, Torono: Thomson Nelson.
- Walker, J. A. and Chaplin, S. (1997). *Visual Culture: An Introduction*, New York: Manchester University Press.
- Walter, S. (2001). *All the Rage: The Story of Gay Visibility in America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weiss, G (1999). *Body Images: Embodiment as incorporeality*, New York: Routledge

- Weitz, (1998). *The Politics of Women's Bodies: Sexuality, Appearance and Behavior*, New York: Oxford University Press
- Wernick, A. (1987). *From Voyeur to Narcissist: Imaging Men in Contemporary Advertising*. In. Michael Kaufman (Eds.). *Beyond Patriarchy*.....
- Wernick, A. (1991). *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Whitehead, S.M. (2002). *Men and Masculinities*, Cambridge: Polity
- Williams, R. (1982). *Problems in Materialism and Culture*, London: Verso.
- VanZoonen, L. (1994). *Feminist Media Studies*, London: Sage Publications.
- Vigorito, R. (2001). *Marketing Masculinity: Gender Identity and Popular Magazines*, *Sex Roles*, 39 (1/2).

