MASCULINITY IN MAGAZINE ADVERTISEMENTS:
IS IT IN THE EYE OF THE BEHOLDER?

by
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A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Masculine roles in the media are constantly changing and those evolving roles had not been observed in a decade. This research was conducted to investigate levels of masculinity in the print medium among a variety of target audiences. Its goal was to decipher how portrayals of masculinity changed based on the magazine’s target audience, and several coding factors were used to determine that information. To prepare, a review of advertising and gender, psychological and communication theories, the changing nature of masculinity, feminine impact, target audience participation and an array of relevant past research was conducted.

Over the course of this content analysis, 315 advertisements from nine magazines over three years were examined to distinguish changes in masculine roles based on the magazine’s target audience. While few significant correlations were found, the results pertaining to raw data have proved to be a significant addition to the body of knowledge on the portrayal of male roles, especially in comparison to past research’s results that were displayed in raw data without significance testing. Results show some findings consistent with past research, and some new developments as well. Overall, it was found that masculine portrayals are inconsistent among target audiences. Therefore, theoretically men and women are creating differing constructs of the masculine man, which could result in male-to-female relational conflict.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

$x^2$  
Chi square: Statistical test used with categorical data to test whether an obtained distribution of scores differs reliably from what would be expected by chance

$p$  
Pearson’s chi square test probability value

$df$  
Degrees of freedom: number of values free to vary after certain restrictions have been placed on the data

$N$  
Size of cell or group

$M$  
Number of coding decisions on which multiple coders agree

SPSS  
Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, a computer program used for statistical analysis

PASW  
Predictive Analytics SoftWare, re-branded SPSS

$<$  
Less than

$>$  
Greater than

$=$  
Equal to

$\%$  
Percentage
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Introduction

The goal of this thesis is to examine the depictions of masculinity in magazines with predominantly male audiences, predominantly female audiences and a combined male and female audience to see how portrayals change based on the target audience. The study will look critically at three male magazines (*Esquire, Field & Stream* and *Sports Illustrated*), three female magazines (*Ladies Home Journal, People* and *Woman’s Day*) and three general interest magazines (*Readers Digest, Time* and *The New Yorker*). Masculinity is often overlooked in terms of importance when it comes to research because it is considered such an obvious trait (Kilmartin, 2007). This research is necessary within our field of advertising because the magazines we read present information and values of masculinity and men’s relationships with women. It is necessary to analyze and assess possible effects of exposure the media have on our target audiences. Also, media images have been credited with defining the male in North American society. Exposure may determine men and women’s definitions and beliefs regarding masculinity and male identity. Our symbolic images are socially constructed, thus reflect the values of society (Kervin, 1990). Lastly, the last advertisements coded for the sole purpose of defining masculine roles, excluding studies of sex in advertising, were from 1997. Our industry is in dire need of updated information on the portrayal of masculinity in print media.

Before beginning research of masculine roles, it is imperative to understand masculinity. In the simplest of terms, masculine is defined and shaped by what it cannot be — feminine. Masculinity denies narcissism (the pleasure in one’s appearance), exhibitionism (the pleasure in being looked at), intimate male friendships and verbal intimacy with female friends, to name a few. Masculinity is an idealization, not an actuality. A “real man” is precarious, always under threat and struggling. Therefore, the male experience must always fall short, with idealized
masculinity just out of reach (MacKinnon, 2003). The continual search for optimal masculinity is known as exigence, the male attitude of demanding the best and achieving perfection (Craig, 1992).

However, there is a conflict between theory and practice. The theoretical masculine man is free of any feminine traits, including weakness, passivity and subordination. However, in actuality the tactics to remain masculine have changed as cultural norms change, with the addition of traits such as vulnerability and sensitivity, which are typical feminine traits (MacKinnon, 2003). Craig (1992) reinforces this concept of changing masculine standards with his definition of masculinity, “The meaning of masculinity is not predetermined or hidden. It is in society because it is of society. It can be altered, shaped and molded. Ours to do what we will” (p. 153).

A content analysis will be used to examine the selected magazines to determine how contemporary advertisers define or portray masculinity to different readerships. Chapter Two includes a literature review of past research on masculinity and its role in advertising and research questions that will be addressed by this study’s research. Chapter Three describes the methodology used to address the research questions as well as the selection process of advertisements to be coded. In Chapter Four, advertisements are analyzed and research results are presented. Finally, Chapter Five will conclude the research by addressing the cultural and theoretical significances of the studied masculine images, as well as offering opportunities for further research.
**Literature Review**

For the purpose of this study, literature from the areas of mass communication, communication studies and psychology were reviewed. This literature review is a historical overview of how masculinity has been represented and perceived in both advertising and society. First, the literature on advertising and gender will be discussed, followed by a discussion on relative psychological and communication theories. Next, I will discuss the changing nature of masculinity in recent years, as well as the importance of man’s relation to the female and the impact the target audience has on shaping masculine characters. Finally, past research on advertising and the male role will be discussed, followed by research questions for the current study.

**Advertising and Gender**

Advertisements plant images in our minds, images of a good life, and they present a product that will facilitate the transition to the good life. Since advertising generally promotes goods to be extensions of ourselves, we socially construct those goods to define what is considered “masculine” and “feminine” (Craig, 1992). Gornick (1979) explains the significance of the portrayal of men and women in advertisements by stating that, “Advertisements depict for us not necessarily how we actually behave as men and women but how we think men and women behave. This depiction serves the social purpose of convincing us that this is how men and women are, or want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other” (p. vii). Goffman (1979) describes the jobs of advertisers and society as the same; “Both must transform otherwise opaque goings-on into easily readable form” (p. 27).

The terms male and female refer to biological makeup; it is not sex, but gender that refers to behaviors and traits that have a social and cultural basis. Masculine and feminine are roles in
relation to gender. Like those roles, gender is an on-going process, changing as society changes. It is a meaning system that describes, defines and categorizes individuals (Kervin, 1990). Gender roles in advertising are defined by the characterization of the individual in the ad and his or her setting relative to the product and other characters (Leigh et al, 1987). According to Rohlinger (2002), “The masculine gender role model emphasizes power, whether in the boardroom, bedroom or on the playing field. Within this context, the masculine role is not defined through beauty and fashion, but through the power of choice. Products are juxtaposed with images of power, which suggests that the product is an extension of the owner” (p. 61).

Rohlinger (2002) has also categorized the male role in advertisements into nine categories: the hero, the outdoorsman, the family man/nurturer, the breadwinner, the man at work, the consumer, the urban man, the quiescent man and the erotic man. The hero would be considered a celebrity in sports, business, politics or military service. The outdoorsman is seen conquering nature or animals or gaining control over a seemingly wild environment. The family man is an active participant with children, depicted as a father, family member or coach. On the other hand, the breadwinner is portrayed as directing children or his family, but not participating in familial events. The man at work is engaged in his profession or area of expertise. The consumer is the average man, using the advertised product. He either needs the product or is a satisfied customer; in each circumstance, there is a direct relationship between the model and the product. The urban man enjoys luxuries and offerings of big city lifestyle; he takes pleasure in fashion and is shown in restaurants, bars, theaters, and social engagements. The quiescent man is engaged in light recreational activity, tourism or completely inactive. Finally, the erotic man is purely a body on display. He is either by himself or with other models. There are sexual
overtones and the physique is highlighted (Rohlinger, 2002). These male roles in advertising are quite similar to how we label men in society as well.

C. Wright Mills (Horowitz, 1963) stated, “The mass media has become the lens of mankind through which men see; the medium by which they interpret and report what they see. It is the semi-organized source of their very identities” (p. 406). Based on this assumption, the man develops a role-identity, the view of how he perceives himself to be and how he acts in a given social position (Vigorito and Curry, 1998). It’s because of this perceived role that men aspire to be hegemonic models of masculinity.

Masculine hegemony refers to the culturally dominant form of masculinity that is constructed in relation to femininity and subordinate masculinities, such as homosexuality. Hegemonic masculinity is formed from the people’s common sense and influenced by media sources such as television, film, advertising and sports. The perception should not be approached as something static and unchanging. In an ever-changing social structure, a social definition of masculinity is constantly being negotiated (MacKinnon, 2003).

Fracher and Kimmell (1995) noted that, “For men, the notion of masculinity, the cultural definition of manhood, serves as the primary building block of sexuality. It is through our understanding of masculinity that we construct a sexuality, and it is through our sexualities that we confirm the successful construction of our gender identity. Gender informs sexuality; sexuality confirms gender” (p. 367). Sexuality is one area where masculinity is enacted, so it serves as a powerful expression of masculinity.
Theory

Symbolic interaction theory.

According to Herbert Blumer (1969), who coined the term “symbolic interactionism,” the perspective rests on three premises, the first being that “human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings they ascribe to those things,” (p. 2) be those things physical objects, other human beings, ideals or institutions. Secondly, “the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others and the society” (p. 2). However, no meaning is ever fixed, which leads to Blumer’s third premise, that “these meanings are handled in, and modified through an interpretive process used by the person dealing with the things he/she encounters” (p. 2). Our interpretation of symbolic meaning is constantly up for reinterpretation. Whether it is a friend’s revised opinion or a change in media portrayal, both have the ability to alter a symbolic meaning.

Essentially, the symbolic interaction theory states that people act based on symbolic meanings they find within a given situation. Subsequently, we form relationships by interacting with those symbols (Gardner, 2006). The symbolic interactionist perspective asserts that shared meanings are constructed through interaction. The way an individual acts towards anything is based on the meaning he or she gives to it, meanings which are continually modified with social interaction. The key negotiator in interaction is identity, one’s perceived social standing in reference to others. Individuals use others and the media to maintain and validate existing identities (Vigorito and Curry, 1998).

While social interactionism does not make predictions about behavior and despite its abstract nature, it does provide a common understanding of symbols that surround us as a society. The importance of symbols is especially significant within advertising, where everything
is symbolic. The family around the Thanksgiving Butterball turkey is symbolizing the traditional family; Nike’s athletes are designed to symbolize all athletes; and the men portrayed in advertisements, be it for a Gucci watch or dental insurance, symbolize what men should be.

**Theories of muscular ideal.**

Because of society’s correlation between masculinity and muscularity, several theories have been developed to explain the muscular ideal. James Gray and Rebecca Ginsberg place emphasis on the evolutionary theory and various cultural theories (Gary & Ginsberg, 2007).

The evolutionary theory of masculinity suggests that masculinity’s drive is tied to biological and evolutionary factors. Gray and Ginsberg (2007) state that, “According to this theory, muscularity has genetically programmed appeal. In particular, a broad chest in men and a general muscular appearance in both men and women indicate robustness and durability” (p. 17). Even though muscularity was not correlated with health and longevity, greater muscle development in men served as an indicator of strength and the ability to protect and produce goods. Also, appearing more powerfully built may have been associated with having greater reproductive value (Gary & Ginsberg, 2007).

There are also several cultural theories to explain the masculine ideal, with crisis in masculinity and media being the most prominent. The crisis in masculinity theory looks at the paradox that despite the need for muscular strength in men decreasing, the cultural emphasis on muscularity is increasing. Gary and Ginsberg (2007) state that, “Women’s rise in power has created a crisis in masculinity. In particular, in cultures in which the traditional male role as bread-winner and protector has declined and in which machine has replaced muscle, the pursuit of muscularity has become one of the few ways left for men to exhibit
their masculine selves” (p. 19). Thus, men have developed muscles not for their usefulness, but for their representation of masculinity.

According to the media theory, the media’s focus on the muscular ideal plays a powerful role in increased muscularity among men. The theory also states that the media send an unequivocal message that there is one preferred body type depending on the person’s gender (thin for women, muscular for men) (Gary & Ginsberg, 2007).

**The New Man**

The “new man” continues the tradition of change when it comes to the definition of masculinity. The oldest version of the masculine man was serious, uptight, stoic, brawny and ignored family responsibility (Craig, 1992). However, with the 19th century came a crisis in masculinity. The Industrial Revolution bruised the male ego because the body was no longer needed for hard labor. The brawn that once defined the workingman diminished, and those males that were dependent upon muscles to define their male role were left in crisis. Because men and women were not divided by occupational industries anymore, a substitute for former strenuous pursuits needed to be found in order to maintain a masculine, rugged image (Luciano, 2007). This led to the emergence of the strong man era of the late 1800s to the 1920s. This era brought about a transition in priority when it came to muscle development. Previously, a man’s masculinity was based on the strength that resulted from the muscles, but now aesthetics were moving to the forefront (Dutton, 1989). In the 1940s and 50s the masculine ideal then transitioned to the playboy, where men just want to have fun, and they should. There was another transition with the hippie movement in the mid-1960s when men were told to make love and not war, and if it felt good, then to do it (Craig, 1992). This transition marked the beginnings of the “new man.” Typically, he was portrayed as mid-20s to early 40s,
white, heterosexual with a female partner with feminist ideals. The new masculine man embodied an anti-sexism attitude, so he could then form non-oppressive relationships with women, children and other men and still be considered masculine (MacKinnon 2003). The 1990s marked the emergence of the “new man;” a man who had a right to be self-expressive and self-indulgent and to love and be loved. The movement has taken men’s liberation into account, where it is acceptable to invest emotionally in relationships. The new man may be artistic or intimate and still considered masculine, as long he has inner strength, because it is still inner strength that determines one’s masculinity (Craig, 1992).

The study of the progression of masculinity is less structured than the progression of femininity because, as a trait, masculinity was deemed so natural, biologically given, and predictable that it never underwent the examination that femininity did (MacKinnon, 2003). As the new man’s portrayal in the media progresses, men are becoming more unapologetically objectified. As MacKinnon (2003) states, “Perhaps it is not that women have gained a measure of equality in access to social and economic power. Perhaps, rather, men have joined women in some measure—in powerlessness” (p. 99).

The Erotic Man

The 1990s ushered in a new wave of men in advertising. Close friends with the “new man,” was the erotic man. This man lived in a culture feminized by consumerism, with men occupying roles once portrayed by women where he is objectified ridiculously and erotically (MacKinnon, 2003). The increase of sexualized men in advertising in recent years could be described in terms of the economy. In a postindustrial society, advertisers will seek out new target markets. Therefore, the sexualized male is used to appeal to the liberated woman as well as the new male. The appeal to a new generation of consumers allows women to spend their own
money on what they are attracted to and legitimizes male freedom and beauty to the new male consumer (Rohlinger, 2002).

The male body is highly significant when defining masculinity. As Mackinnon (2003) puts it, “The male body takes a crucial role in masculinity. Because the body is so obviously there, and it is yet so obviously physical, the suggestion that if it is a male, its masculinity is natural” (p. 5). However, Mackinnon (2003) goes on to suggest that “‘Hypermasculinity’ (the exaggerated display of what are culturally taken to be macho traits)…exposes, rather than allays, anxiety about masculinity…The more he resorts to his body as proof of his virility, the more he ‘unmans’ himself, in effect admitting that his only asset is his body—the traditional position of female stars” (p. 5).

This highly visible change in the male portrayal continues in today’s norms of advertising with growing numbers of images of male bodies. They express an idealized and eroticized aesthetic, and images are coded in such a way that it is permissible for them to be looked at and desired by both sexes. The look of the erotic man is one that embodies the cultural contradiction of what the “new man” is meant to be: superbly masculine with inner feminine traits. Most typically he is white, but not necessarily Anglo. The erotic male tends to be more “Latin,” meaning darker hair and olive skin. African Americans are more likely to be associated with sports and Asian men are often considered as having an asexual nature, which doesn’t bode well with the new hybrid man. The erotic male is also young, muscular, slim, clean-shaven with a strong jaw, but has large lips and eyes with soft-looking clear skin. It is this mix that allows these men to manage the cultural contradiction of what a man is meant to be: strong and powerful while gentle and tender (Gill 2007). Rohlinger (2002) goes on in detail on the typical positioning of the erotic male:
The erotic male is placed on display, either by himself or with other models. More specifically, the erotic male has sexual overtones because the model is positioned in a sexual manner or his crotch area or penis, which is illustrated symbolically, rather than actually shown, becomes the focal point of the image. In these advertisements, the man’s body and physical appearance are highlighted and may be used as a display area for product or logos. The erotic male is almost always posed or “caught” in a personal moment; he rarely smiles, and his eyes are often focused on something other than the surrounding models or audience. Because the man’s body is emphasized in the image, the setting is typically plain, blurred or otherwise unclear. (p. 67)

**Men and the Presence of the Feminine in Advertising**

The most basic definition of masculinity is the absence of femininity. However, with the popularity of the “new man,” femininity has somehow become accepted as a trait of masculinity. It is important in advertising to portray the female presence in such a way that the male figure is not robbed of his masculinity. Unlike a person, a magazine advertisement is a two-dimensional figure, defined only by the image and the copy. In a male-centric advertisement (one meant for a male audience), if a man is shown with his wife, they are more likely to be depicted comfortably dressed and less likely promoting status goods. The man maintains the power by not allowing the woman to possess it. If a man is shown with a pregnant woman, they will most likely be promoting insurance or airbags, essentially, any product that portrays the man as protector. Finally, if a man is shown with a beautiful, young woman, she is portrayed as a provocative lover devoted to the man, the prize you receive when you use the product or service advertised. Male-centric ads promise female attention upon purchase just as female-centric ads promised male attention in the past (Craig, 1992).
In fashion advertisements, which by nature tend to lean towards the feminine in industry genres, men are portrayed in a dominant stance, not smiling or touching others. They may gaze full-face at the viewer or the product advertised, but rarely at another person in the scene. The avoidance of intimacy has left his masculinity intact despite the category of advertising (MacKinnon, 2003).

The masculinization of feminine products is another challenge to advertisers. With the rise of male grooming products, such as moisturizer, hair product and fragrances, the advertiser must legitimize them, somehow. When it comes to fragrances, they should have masculine sounding names (like, Brut, Old Spice, Chrome, Fahrenheit, Swiss Army and Axe to name a few). The scents could be anything but flowers, because a flower’s one purpose is to attract fertilization—the anti-masculine. A common strategy in the layout is to focus on the muscular male body because that is the symbol of sex and power. Relatively, the same rules apply for men’s cosmetics such as skin supplies and grooming gear. The packaging of all feminine male products should stay away from pastels and instead use rich golds, browns and blacks. Men have less resistance to purchase female products, but the traditional goal remains the same: to have good sex and lots of it, and advertisements will often reflect that sentiment (Craig, 1992).

The Audience

Advertisements are created to reach a particular audience. Within the audience, each person’s social position works to determine his or her connection with the advertisement (Kervin, 1990), and so it is natural that advertisements are gendered to some degree. In 1986, Harris and Stobart examined sex-role stereotyping in British television advertisements, paying special attention to the time of day when stereotyping was intensified. It was found that in the daytime, female characters took a more dominant role, offering more rational arguments with
their male counterparts offering solely opinions. This pattern was reversed in the evening hours (Harris & Stobart, 1986). This pattern shows that gender of authority figures changed based on demographic trends of the viewing audience.

Grohmann has proved that spokespeople in advertising shape masculine and feminine brand personality perceptions, but more importantly for this study, Grohmann (2009) found that, “Gender dimensions of brand personality influence affective, attitudinal and behavioral consumer responses positively when they are congruent with consumers’ sex role identity and thus enable consumers to express an important dimension of their self-concept” (p. 116). One can then deduce that in order to reach a target audience, the advertising characters must reflect the traits of the target audience, be those characters male or female.

**Previous Advertising Research**

With few exceptions, past sex roles research in the area of mass media has concentrated on the female role, with male roles illustrated by default; males were considered the converse of the portrayed female stereotype. The first major sex role study was conducted by the National Organization for Women in 1972. Within advertising, there is a high degree of stereotyped presentation of gender and the results of the study reflected that. The portrayal of men and women in advertisements were blatant sexual stereotypes, especially with products targeted specifically at men or women (Craig, 1992).

In 1975, McArthur and Resko found that 70 percent of males in television commercials were portrayed as authority figures and the remaining 30 percent were product users. In contrast, only 14 percent of females were considered authority figures with the remaining 86 percent portraying product users (McArthur and Resko, 1975). This study was expanded upon in 1990 when Brownlow and Zebrowitz investigated the connection between gender and credibility in
television commercials. They found that while women were portrayed as less expert than men, they were considered more trustworthy regardless of attractiveness, age or expression. Males were more often portrayed as experts but less trustworthy than female characters. This corresponds with the sex stereotype that men are more logical and objective, but not necessarily reliable (Brownlow and Zebrowitz, 1990).

Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) conducted a study on male sex roles in magazine advertisements from the years 1959 to 1979. At the time, a large number of articles had been researched on the sex roles portrayed by women, but very few had even mentioned the roles of men. Because males had been virtually ignored thus far the purpose of their study was to examine male sex roles in advertising during the previous two decades. Previous research had shown that women were cast in stereotyped roles, relationships and situations. However, at the time of the study women were featured in more non-stereotypical authoritative roles. Despite women and men being shown as more equal, there was still an increase in the number of decorative depictions of women in the previous decade. This may be due to the fact that past research measured sexual stereotypes in terms of occupational and nonworking roles. This was a limited analysis that ignored important qualitative indicators of sexism (Skelly and Lundstrom, 1981). Butler-Paisley and Paisley-Butler designed a consciousness scale that would better measure degrees of sexism. The scale was originally used to analyze the portrayal of women in national magazines, but Pingree et al. suggested this scale may also prove useful to the analysis of male roles (Pingree et al., 1976).

The consciousness scale consists of five levels with Level I being most sexist and Level V being least sexist. Level I is considered a decorative role. Men are portrayed as one-dimensional sexual objects or decorations (Skelly and Lundstrom, 1981). Level II images are
traditional images that show men in their stereotypical masculine roles such as authority figures, sportsmen or businessmen. Level III imagery portrays men in non-stereotypical roles such as child-care givers or domestic work. Level IV ads acknowledge that the sexes are fully equal and a distinction is made between the two. Finally, Level V images are non-stereotypic in which men and women are depicted as complete individuals (Skelly and Lundstrom, 1981). Since this study it has been suggested by Pritchard (2001) that Level IV and Level V combine to create a new Level IV, because there is only a slight difference between the two levels and it has proved difficult to find any ad to qualify for Level V.

For Skelly and Lundstrom’s (1981) research three categories of magazines were selected (general interest, men and women) and three magazines from each category that would achieve a diversity of audience appeal were selected. For general interest, Reader’s Digest, Time and The New Yorker were chosen. The men’s magazines selected were Esquire, Field & Stream and Sports Illustrated. Finally, the women’s magazines selected were Cosmopolitan, House Beautiful and Redbook. The nine publications were analyzed for the month of November in 1959, 1969 and 1979. In the case of weekly magazines, the first issue of the month was used. A total of 660 ads were examined. The ads were selected if they contained a man, but children, teenagers and illustrations were excluded. Each ad was then assigned a level of consciousness based on the scale. This was the only factor addressed. They expected women’s magazines to be more aware of sexism and have fewer sexist advertisements. In men’s magazines they were expecting to see more traditional masculine roles, and in general interest magazines, results were expected to fall somewhere between the two.

The results showed that across all magazines, men in a decorative role increased from 21.9 percent in 1959 to 42.8 percent in 1979. Conversely, the percent of Level II portrayals
(stereotypical masculine roles) decreased from 78.1 percent in 1959 to 53.7 percent in 1979. No Level III or IV ads appeared in 1959. In 1969 only a few Level III ads appeared and it was not until 1979 that any Level IV ads were found. No Level V ads were found in the course of the study. Results were also configured for each category of magazine. Within men’s magazines there was a slight increase of Level I advertisements from 1959 to 1979 (22.5 percent to 31.1 percent) and a slight decrease of Level II advertisements (77.5 percent to 66.2 percent). General interest magazines followed the same pattern. It was women’s magazines where male roles changed the most. Level I ads increased from 12.5 percent in 1959 to 55 percent in 1979 and Level II ads decreased from 87.5 percent in 1959 to 40 percent in 1979. This change in male roles may be the result of women achieving sexual equality and advertisers using that newfound equality to portray men in decorative roles to appeal to women just as women were used as appeals to men. Despite a slight decrease, men’s magazines still contained the highest percentage of ads depicting men in typically masculine activities, which was consistent with the conservative editorial policies of male-oriented media. Advertisements featuring men appear to be moving toward a decrease in sex role stereotyping, but the process is slow. Of all the ads examined, only two percent were Level III or IV. Finally, Skelly and Lundstrom suggest that the adoption of nonsexist advertising would spread more quickly by research demonstrating its effectiveness.

Kolbe and Albanese (1997) constructed a content analysis of the functions of the sole male role in magazine advertisements. Their specific objective was to ascertain how men appearing alone in the visual are incorporated into the advertisements. The study looks solely at ads from men’s magazines in order to assess the function of men in ads directed towards men. At the time of the study few other male image studies had been done and the two most prominent,
Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) and Wolheter and Lammers (1980), were narrow in scope, looking only at either sexism in male roles or working and non-working roles for men in magazine advertisements. Kolbe and Albanese suggested a need for a systematic evaluation of male images, fully examining the depiction of the male character. The interest of the researchers is divided among three dimensions. The first involves the interpretable situations in which the male is presented, which will focus on occupation or role of the portrayed male. The second addresses the functions of the male within the advertisement, the purpose he serves in the ad. The final dimension assesses how the man’s image relates to the ad execution (Kolbe & Albanese, 1997).

The advertising sample came from six popular men’s magazines: Business Week, Esquire, GQ, Playboy, Rolling Stone and Sports Illustrated. The magazines were also chosen because each reaches various audiences and each has a different editorial profile. A copy of every issue from each magazine from 1993 was obtained to create the sampling universe. Only ads with a sole male that appeared without another human were selected. Sole males could appear with animals or objects, but there could only be one human [No coding variables were listed with research] (Kolbe & Albanese, 1997).

Addressing the first dimension of the study, the researchers did find that ads within this study showed prototypical roles such as the athlete, cowboy and outdoorsman. In regards to these roles the researchers question the value and appropriateness of the messages sent by role portrayals in ads intended for male audiences. The second dimension—the function of the male—was addressed when it was discovered that there was a general absence of men having physical contact with the advertised product. In most cases, though, their physical qualities were somehow related to the product and they were not merely exploited as a decoration. The third dimension addresses the male’s importance to the ad’s execution. The male’s importance was
determined by the linkage between the ad’s headline and the sole male, and in the largest percent of ads in all six magazines, the headline and the male were related in a non-humorous manner. Also, most background settings were described as nondescript, putting even more emphasis on the product or man in the ad, thus increasing his importance to ad execution (Kolbe & Albanese, 1997).

At the end of the research process, Kolbe and Albanese addressed future research possibilities such as the inclusion of the male/female interaction as well as the inclusion of general interest and women’s magazines. They conducted this research as a starting point for future research, a source of comparison data, and hoped this would be a catalyst to further research of male roles in advertising (Kolbe & Albanese, 1997).

Vigorito and Curry (1998) examined the male role in popular magazines. They approached this study because most research on gender depiction had focused on femininity while masculinity was merely illustrated by default. This was a subject of importance because advertisements suggest that the images carry significant messages about cultural norms. Following these advertisements serves a social value because advertising is a fundamental aspect of the material culture of capitalism. They designed this study to contribute to a better understanding of the possible influence of gender depictions on individuals by specifying how the variables of class, age, sex and marital status of the target audience are related to the gender portrayals in the studied media (Vigorito and Curry, 1998).

A cross section of 83 popular magazines from the summer of 1992 comprised the research sample. While the specific magazines analyzed were never listed in the study, from discussion sections one can assume that Forbes, Inc., Field & Stream, Cosmopolitan, Glamour and Working Mother were included. Coding variables included race (white, black, Hispanic,
Asian and other), sex (male, female and infant) and role (sport/fitness, model/consumer, occupational, child, native, parent, spouse/partner, outdoor recreation, domestic chores/hobbies and other). Results show that men of all races are most often shown in occupational roles and conversely, women are portrayed as a model or consumer as often as men are portrayed occupationally. Such a large difference does not exist in any other role category studied. The percentage of male readers is most highly correlated with the percentage of males pictured in an occupational role. Conversely, the percentage of male readers is most negatively correlated with images of men in parent or spouse/partner roles. Men also have a negative correlation with magazines that picture males in a parent or spouse/partner role. This suggests that the sex of the target audience is the single factor influencing whether a male will be pictured in a nurturing role (Vigorito and Curry, 1998).

The researchers found that images of men in magazines with a majority of male readers contrast sharply with the images of men in women’s magazines where men are seen as nurturers and men at work or male dominance is rare. The images of men in women’s magazines did not conform to the typical definitions of masculinity. With women being exposed to this sort of masculine gender conception, the possibility of dissimilar expectations of the male role between the two sexes is particularly high (Vigorito and Curry, 1998).

Rohlinger (2002) examined the sexualized depictions of masculinity in advertising to study the depictions of masculinity in popular magazines focusing on the erotic male. For Rohlinger this research brought up many questions such as, “How prominent are images of the erotic male compared to other more traditional depictions of masculinity? What are the social implications of media that sexualize men for men? How do men and women read these images? Can a discussion of the erotic male provide bridges between feminist theory, queer theory and
men’s studies?” (p. 66). Not all questions could be addressed with this paper but Rohlinger would examine the implications of the objectification of the male body. At the time, the current literature was only examining one or two advertisements rather than a systematic analysis of male images (Rohlinger, 2002).

Research began by selecting five popular magazines with an 18-49 year-old male audience. *Sports Illustrated, Men’s Health, Popular Mechanics, GQ* and *Business Week* were selected. Advertisements from 1987 and 1997 would be analyzed. Samples from the October and May editions that met the size requirements [not listed] and contained human models were coded. Coding variables included the depictions of masculinity (hero, outdoorsman, urban man, family man/nurturer, breadwinner, man at work, erotic male, consumer and quiescent man [as discussed previously]) the sexuality of the male (heterosexual, homosexual, ambiguous or unknown), and finally touch and gaze behavior of the male model (Rohlinger, 2002).

The coded ads revealed that of the nine depictions of masculinity, the four most prominent were the erotic male, the hero, the man at work and the consumer. The erotic male and man at work stayed relatively consistent in their percentages from 1987 to 1997. The hero percentage increased from 14.6 percent to 21.8 percent and the consumer decreased from 16.1 percent to 10.5 percent. The erotic male accounted for the largest percentage of male depictions (36.9 percent), so the rest of the results were calculated in reference to the erotic male. The largest sexuality type of the erotic male was “unknown” with 69.1 percent. Heterosexuals accounted for 23.8 percent and male models were never depicted in a homosexual relationship. When sexuality types were compared over time in each magazine, all images of erotic males with an unknown sexuality increased except for in *Business Week*. Within the gaze category, self, audience, unknown and no gaze were most often associated with an unknown sexuality
type. Model gaze was most often associated with a heterosexual sexuality type. Similarly, with the touch category, self, unknown and no touch were most often associated with the unknown sexuality type and touch with female was most often associated with the heterosexual sexuality type (Rohlinger, 2002).

Rohlinger suggests that the bodies in advertisements represent an ideal that individuals seek to achieve, and thus create the foundation for a masochistic relationship with one’s own body. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that men spent $88 million on liposuction, facelifts, nose-reshaping and eyelid surgery, and that number increased to $130 million in 1997 (Rohlinger, 2002). Rohlinger stated that, “Although the results of this study do not conclusively link male objectification to bodily dissatisfaction among men, they do illustrate that the erotic male is increasingly becoming the depiction that dominates mainstream conceptions of masculinity. The erotic male was the most prominent image of masculinity in the sample overall and in both 1987 and 1997” (p. 70). In conclusion, the research surmised that there is no doubt that the male body is being objectified, but it is being done so to appeal to multiple audiences. The figure presented is sexual, but lacking sexual content as not to offend heterosexual, homosexual or ambiguous viewers. He is merely a blank canvas of sexuality (Rohlinger, 2002).

Sex in advertising is somewhat relevant to the current research of male roles in advertisements created for various audiences because of the rising erotic male in advertising. Reichert and Carpenter (2003) updated a former Reichert study in 1998 that compared levels of sex in advertising in 1983 to 1993. This installment would include advertisements from 2003 to update the study. They were questioning whether there was a variation in the nature of sexually explicit images of men and women in magazines from 1983 and 1993 to 2003 and if that explicit image changed based on the target audience of the magazine in 1983 and 1993 to 2003.
All full page or larger ads from six popular consumer magazines made up the sampling frame. Magazines were chosen based on circulation and concentration of the audience. General interest magazines were Newsweek and Time; Men’s magazines were Esquire and Playboy; Women’s magazines were Cosmopolitan and Redbook. March, July and November editions were coded for the year and the first issue of the month was used if the magazine was a weekly publication. Only ads with discernable adults were selected. Body parts and sketches were not included in the sample. The content variables included category of dress (demure, suggestive, partially-clad and nude) and physical contact (no contact, simple contact, intimate contact and very intimate contact) (Reichert and Carpenter, 2003).

The results showed there was a significant increase in the explicitness of female dress, male dress and physical contact since the 1983 data. However, the 2003 levels remained consistent with the 1993 levels except for female dress, which did increase in sexual explicitness. When looking at the results in reference to the target audience, general interest magazines had the smallest occurrence of sexual explicitness. Findings show there was no significant relationship between year and women’s dress or men’s dress in Time and Newsweek. There was, however, an overall increase in physical contact. With women’s magazines all variables were more sexually explicit from 1983 to 1993 but no significant difference was found from 1993 to 2003. The same pattern appeared for contact, with the exception of a rise in no contact and a decrease of very intimate contact. Therefore, overall there has been an increase in sexual explicitness in women’s magazines but the majority of the change happened between 1983 and 1993. The same sort of pattern existed for men’s magazines. There was little change from 1993 to 2003 in sexual explicitness except with the dress of female characters that increased from 19
percent being suggestively dressed in 1993 to 50 percent being suggestively dressed in 2003 (Reichert and Carpenter, 2003).

In relation to the current study, it appears that as of 2003 the erotic male was not as prominent a portrayal as it once was in the Rohlinger (2002) study. Looking at all magazines studied, 79 percent were considered demurely dressed (Reichert and Carpenter, 2003). One portion of the current research will see if that percentage has diminished in the last five years.

Despite masculinity being defined in stereotypes, it is our job the job of advertisers to find a new way to approach the male portrayal. In this industry, one does not want to alienate a target market or appear behind the times in regards to social issues. Therefore, in recent years male and female stereotypes in advertising have been less glaring, unless portraying the ironic (Gauntlett, 2002). The reason behind those common stereotypes is because masculinity has not been a prevalent study of research. Macnamara (2006) puts it best when he states that, “While females have been obscured from our vision by being too much in the background, males have been obscured by being too much in the foreground…While males should recognize what females have endured for years, this shouldn’t discount what men have to share about their experiences” (p. 17). Past studies of gender have established the framework that feminism is the only valid approach through which to study gender, thus limiting the studies of male representations. An example of a study of the male role within the confines of a feminist framework would be Courtney and Whipple’s study of general interest magazine advertisements in 1983. They found that men were more likely to be pictured as working out of the home and purchasing expensive goods and services, while women were most likely to promote domestic products (Courtney & Whipple, 1983).
The stereotypical portrayal of the dominant male and the nurturing female are the prevalent leaders in the analysis of media gender roles. To reiterate, most previous research has focused on the female gender role and masculinity has not been addressed thoroughly. Katz (1995) acknowledges that, “There is a glaring absence of a thorough body of research into the power of cultural images of masculinity. But this is not surprising. It is in fact consistent with the lack of attention paid to other dominant groups. Discussions about racial representation in media, for example, tend to focus on African Americans, Asians, or Hispanics, and not on Anglo Whites” (p. 133).

**Conclusion**

Based on the literature reviewed, gender role portrayals are dynamic. As discussed, masculine study has been overlooked due to its constant presence in the foreground and research interest in representations of femininity. The perceptions of masculinity are varied and distinctive, and various perceptions should not be ignored or disregarded. Advertising is a media outlet that is constantly changing and adapting to society, therefore it will provide the best set of data to examine media trends in portrayals of masculinity.

**Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to examine the varying frequencies of masculinities roles based on a magazine’s target audience. Therefore, the following research questions have been developed:

RQ1: How do masculine portrayals change based on a magazine’s target audience or editorial content?
RQ2:  Has the presence of the erotic male increased, decreased or remained consistent in magazines directed at different audiences compared to past studies (e.g. Rohlinger [2002] and Reichert & Carpenter [2003])?

RQ3:  How have levels of sexism in advertisements changed in general interest, men and women’s magazines since the Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) data?

RQ4:  When males are portrayed in female magazines, will they conform to subtle feminine positioning traits? In male magazines, will they conform to subtle masculine positioning traits?

RQ5:  Will masculine portrayals vary based on products advertised or thematic content regardless of the magazine’s target audience?
Method

Magazine Selection

For this study, a content analysis was chosen as the method of research. The set up of this research will loosely reflect Skelly and Lundstrom’s (1981) research method, using the same magazines, with few exceptions, and the inclusion of its one content variable, the consciousness scale. The units of analysis will be advertisements collected from three popular general interest magazines (Readers Digest, Time and The New Yorker), three popular monthly men’s magazines (Esquire, Field & Stream and Sports Illustrated) and three popular monthly women’s magazines (Ladies Home Journal, People and Woman’s Day). The women’s magazines changed from the original study because of content reformats or decrease in popularity. The new selections were based on the top circulated women’s magazines according to the Magazine Publishers of America and further narrowed down to women’s magazines with the highest female readership, found in each magazine’s online media kit. Table 1 displays each magazine’s circulation data as well as its distribution of male and female readers.
Table 1

Selected Magazines’ Circulation Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Magazine</th>
<th>Total Pd Circulation</th>
<th>Men (000)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Women (000)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Readers Digest</td>
<td>37,839,000</td>
<td>14,687</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>23,151</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>20,749,000</td>
<td>10,582</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>10,167</td>
<td>49.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Yorker</td>
<td>1,043,931</td>
<td>2,082</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>1,910</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esquire</td>
<td>656,000</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>28.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field &amp; Stream</td>
<td>9,601,000</td>
<td>8,047</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>1,554</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Illustrated</td>
<td>3,150,000</td>
<td>2,425</td>
<td>77.0</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ladies Home Journal</td>
<td>3,800,000</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>3,534</td>
<td>93.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>3,735,000</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>3,212</td>
<td>86.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman’s Day</td>
<td>4,200,000</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>4,158</td>
<td>99.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data was obtained from each magazine’s online media kit or the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

Advertisement Selection

In order to have a comprehensive collection of contemporary ads, editions of the nine magazines from January 2007 to July 2009 will be considered. Like Reichert and Carpenter’s (2003) study, March, July and November editions will be used to collect advertisements. In the case of weekly magazines, the first edition of the month will be used. The researcher will go through each eligible magazine, decide upon the advertisements that would qualify for the study and make note of the page and product being advertised and copies will be made for coders’ future use. Ads may be half page, full page or double truck and full color or black and white. Only ads with single, male characters will be selected. Women may be present but there can only be one male character. Because gaze and facial expression will be important factors, only males
with faces showing will be considered. Only the visual elements will be observed. Copy will not be taken into account. The sampling universe will come from the periodicals collection of the Tuscaloosa Public Library, Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

**Coding Sheet**

A coding sheet (APPENDIX A) has been developed to address the concerns of the research questions for this study, and its corresponding answer sheet is found in APPENDIX B. Its content is influenced by past research that encompassed some but not all of the aspects of this study, such as Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976), Rohlinger (2002), Skelly and Lundstrom (1981), Vigorito and Curry (1998) and Klassen, Jasper and Schwartz (1993).

The questionnaire begins by addressing the demographics of the man in the ad, such as his estimated age and race. The distinction is also made if the ad comes from a general interest, men or women’s magazine. Next come the factors to determine masculinity. The thematic content of the advertisement is noted; the coders may select from marriage/family roles, personal health, beauty/fashion, political/social awareness, career development, romance/sex, other and undeterminable. Operational definitions for all ambiguous terms within the coding sheet are found in APPENDIX C. Next, the male role is defined. The choices are divided into working and non-working categories. Working selections include high-level business, professional, sports/entertainment, military, public service, blue collar and other. Non-working selections include familial, recreational, romantic, decorative and other. The assumed masculine depiction is the next item to be addressed. The selections come from Rohlinger’s 2002 study: hero, outdoorsman, family man/nurturer, breadwinner, men at work, consumer, urban man, quiescent man, erotic man and undeterminable.
Visual cues of masculinity.

The next four factors refer to Goffman’s (1979) benchmark study of subtle visual cues that determine masculine and feminine roles. They address the issues of touch, gaze, clothing and expression. His analysis found that self-touch is more reserved for females, and males are less likely to touch themselves or others in order to retain a level of detachment. In regards to gaze, Goffman found that males typically gaze at the audience, while females are more likely to engage in mental drift or focus on another character in the advertisement. The manner of dress of the male addresses the ever-growing number of males in a decorative or erotic role. Finally, the expression is significant in that males are more likely to be portrayed as neutral or negative in expression while women more often have a positive expression (Goffman, 1979).

Female Presence.

The next set of questions is only addressed if a female character is present. The pose is defined as traditional (man is powering over woman), reverse-sex (woman is powering over man), equality (the two sexes share power equally) or undeterminable. The next two questions again refer to Goffman’s study on gender in advertisements: relative size and positioning. The relative size refers to poses in which the social weight or authoritativeness of one person is expressed by his or her greater height or girth relative to other characters. The positioning refers to the arrangement of the male and female characters. When characters are arranged one in front of the other, the individual in front is often considered the “shield,” a stereotypical male protective role, and when the characters are pictured side by side, the two are considered equals (Goffman, 1979).
Product category and sexism scale.

Next, the coder will establish the type of product being sold. It will allow the researcher to see how different product categories depict masculinity. The product types come from a bank of product categories including technologies of the body and bodily transformation, adornment and display of body, electronics, entertainment, home care and family products, automotive and machinery, knowledge systems, sexual and alcohol and tobacco products. Lastly, the coder will refer back to the Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) research and determine the level of sexism using the scale of consciousness. For this particular study, the original last two levels have been combined into one comprehensive Level IV, as mentioned in earlier text. It is important to note that the consciousness scale is categorical, rather than interval. This is not a scale in the sense that it determines the relative value of each observed portrayal, but instead is a guide to discriminate among portrayals.

Relation to research questions.

All of these factors have been selected to address the research questions presented in the previous chapter. RQ1 will be addressed by referring to the “Masculine Depiction” factor in reference to both the magazine genre and specific magazine factor. RQ2 will also be observed by the “Masculine Depiction” factor as well as through body placement factors such as touch, gaze, clothing and expression. RQ3 will refer to the last factor from the coding sheet, the consciousness scale and the different levels of sexism. RQ4 will look to the positioning traits, such as touch, gaze, clothing, and expression as well as refer to the bank of questions that deal with whether a woman is present and her pose, size and positioning within that context. Finally RQ5 will utilize the findings from the thematic factor and compare the themes with working and non-working roles as well as product type.
Coder Training and Reliability

Two former undergraduate students in communications were selected to code the advertisements for this research. To begin coder training, the researcher selected nine advertisements from the designated magazines from January 2006, which reflected various themes and portrayals of masculinity. The January 2006 ads were used because those are least likely to also appear in the campaigns for the advertisements being coded for the current study. To reiterate, the ads studied in the initial coder training will not appear in the analyzed sample. The nine ads were examined by the researcher and two coders; for each ad, the researcher walked the coders through the coding sheet and discussed how to make the appropriate selection based on the operational definitions provided. After the intensive training, a pilot study was conducted to test intercoder reliability. Reliability is crucial for a content analysis. If the analysis is to be objective, all measures and procedures must be reliable. Reliability will be determined by Holsti’s formula \(2M/N_1+N_2\), where \(M\) is the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agree and \(N_1\) and \(N_2\) are the total number of coding decisions made by the first and second coder respectively (Wimmer, 2006, p. 167). For this study, the researcher requires a minimum 90 percent reliability. In the test for reliability the researcher selected three ads from each magazine to be studied, again from the January 2006 editions, but not including any ads selected for the training process. While background information, such as “magazine type” and “specific magazine” are included in the coding sheet, they will not be factored into the reliability percentage because each coder will be aware of where each ad comes from. Those factors are included in the coding sheet only for ease in inputting data. After the first two factors are disregarded, there are seventeen factors to be addressed by each coder for each ad. Because they are looking at nine advertisements there are a total of 153 coding decisions to be made by each
coder. After comparing the results of the coders’ interpretation of each ad, they agreed on 145 of the 153 coding decisions. Therefore, \( \frac{2(145)}{153+153} = .9477 \). The intercoder reliability for this study is 95 percent, which met the requirement for 90+, so the coding could begin.

The researcher selected the ads for this study and provided photocopies for each coder. Each copied ad displayed from which magazine the ad had come, along with edition and page number. The bank of ads was simply split between the two coders.

Once the data has been compiled, with inter-coder reliability accounted for, the analytic phase began. PASW (formerly SPSS) was used to examine the frequency with which different variables occurred in the sample and cross tabs were also run to calculate the chi-square \( (x^2) \) test and the corresponding probability value \( (p) \) that would identify significant associations among the variables. Significant differences are defined as those meeting or exceeding a \( x^2 \) with a \( p \) value of \( \leq .05 \).
Results

Over the course of this study, 315 advertisements from nine magazines over three years were examined to distinguish changes in masculine roles based on the magazine’s target audience. Five research questions were developed and a coding sheet was created that would address each query. The data were entered into PASW to run crosstabs to obtain frequencies and Pearson’s chi-square significance test was run. Pearson’s is the most common chi-square significance test and is used to test the hypothesis of no association of columns and rows in tabular data. A chi-square probability of .05 or less is justification for rejecting the null hypothesis that the row variable is unrelated, and is only randomly related, to the column variable (Wimmer, 2006). The test will be used to compare themes, masculine depictions and race against all other coding factors in order to find significant correlations in order to further address the proposed research questions. Although few significant correlations were found, the results pertaining to raw data have proved to be a significant addition to the body of knowledge on the portrayal of male roles, especially in comparison to past research’s results that were displayed in raw data without significance testing.

The first research question simply asks how masculine portrayals change based on the target audience. To answer the researcher ran frequencies crossing the type of magazine and the masculine depictions coding factors. While there was not a significant correlation between the factors, there was a definite concentration within some masculine depictions as displayed in Table 2 ($x^2 = 6.3, p < .000, df = 16$). Men’s magazines accounted for the most men portrayed as heroes, outdoorsmen, urban men and erotic men. Women’s magazines most often portrayed men as family men or nurturers and quiescent men. Finally, general interest magazines had the highest concentrations of men as consumers.
### Table 2

*Distribution of Masculine Depictions among Magazine Genre*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Hero</th>
<th>Outdoors</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Consumer</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Quiescent</th>
<th>Erotic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The second research question asks if the presence of the erotic male has increased, decreased or remained consistent with the findings of past studies such as Rohlinger (2002) and Reichert and Carpenter (2003). Rohlinger’s study looked at only male magazines, and the erotic male accounted for 36.9 percent of masculine depictions. In regards to only the male magazines of the current study, only 20.3 percent of masculine portrayals were erotic. However, this answer may be skewed based on the fact that the Rohlinger study used a different universe of magazines. On the other hand, if we consider each universe of male magazines as a general selection, then the results truly reflect a decrease in erotic male images. The Reichert and Carpenter (2004) study stated that as of 2003 overall within their selection of general interest, men and women’s magazines, 79 percent of males were considered “demurely dressed.” Therefore we can infer that 21 percent were considered suggestively dressed. There was a drastic change with the current research. Overall, only 9.7 percent of men were considered to be erotic males and only 12.5 percent were less than fully clothed or nude. This universe of advertisements suggest that overall, the erotic male has been put on the proverbial backburner.
RQ3 references a previous study similar to the one at hand asking how levels of sexism in advertisements have changed in general interest, men and women’s magazines since the Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) data. As a reminder, Skelly and Lundstrom found that the results showed that across all magazines, men in a decorative role increased from 21.9 percent in 1959 to 42.8 percent in 1979. Conversely, the percent of Level II portrayals (stereotypical masculine roles) decreased from 78.1 percent in 1959 to 53.7 percent in 1979. No Level III or IV ads appeared in 1959. In 1969 only a few Level III ads appeared and it was not until 1979 that any Level IV ads were found. No Level V ads were found in the course of the study. In a later study, Level IV and Level V were combined and the current study reflects that change.

The present research found that overall the male decorative role has actually decreased back down to near the 1959 data at 26.1 percent. However, when males were represented as decorative, 94.4 percent were found in men’s magazines. Level II results kept in line with past findings as it continued to decrease; the percentage dropped to 13.8. The presence of Level III ads remained stagnant representing only 2.2 percent. However, the real jump was made with Level IV ads. Few were found in 1979 and thirty years later, 57.9 percent of relevant ads were Level IV in the consciousness scale. Refer to Table 3 on the following page for extended data.
Within solely men’s magazines, the trend continues from the previous study. Level I advertisements increased at a steady rate from 31.1 percent in 1979 to 50 percent. There was a drastic decline in Level II advertisements since 1979. Percents went from 66.2 to a new 22.1 percent. Eighty-seven percent of women’s magazine ads and 94.1 percent of general interest advertisements were Level IV. Levels I - III decreased drastically since the Skelly and Lundstrom study (1981). Table 4 \((x^2 = 8.3, p < .000, df = 8)\) reflects how the ads of each level break up among the three magazine types.
**Table 4**

*Distribution of Sexism Scale by Magazine Genre*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Level I</th>
<th></th>
<th>Level II</th>
<th></th>
<th>Level III</th>
<th></th>
<th>Level IV</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RQ4 addressed the quandary of whether males portrayed in female magazines would conform to subtle feminine positioning traits and whether males in male magazines would conform to subtle masculine positioning traits. To address this question, the researcher will refer to the coding variables of touch, gaze, expression, pose, size and positioning. It was found that there is a significant correlation between type of magazine and touch. The association of magazine genre and degrees of touch resulting in a p value of .103 and 10 df. If there was touch with a female, 48.7 percent would be found in women’s magazines, and touch with a female does constitute as a feminine trait. According to Goffman (1979), men are more likely to exhibit no touch as to imply detachment. So in this case, men are conforming to feminine traits in women’s magazines. However, if there was touch with self or touch with a product/pet/child, men’s magazines accounted for 55.7 percent and 44.3 percent, respectively. As mentioned, touch with others or self-touch is considered a feminine trait, thus negating subtle masculine cues in men’s magazines. However, when there was no touch, the majority was found in men’s magazines with 39.3 percent. Refer to Table 5 ($x^2 = 1.6$, $p < .103$, df = 10) for more detailed information in regards to touch findings.
Table 5

Distribution of Degree of Touch among Magazine Genres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>55.7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was also a near significant correlation between the type of magazine and gaze with p of .044 and 10 df. It is most typical of males to gaze at an unknown audience, and when the gaze was directed at the audience the majority came from men’s magazines with 45.7 percent. When there was no gaze, 57.1 percent came from men’s magazines. However, when there was self-gaze or a mental drift (both considered feminine traits), men’s magazines provided the majority with 100 percent and 44.4 percent, respectively. On the other hand, 50 percent of all the gazing at another model happened in women’s magazines, therefore conforming to feminine traits in women’s magazines. Refer to Table 6 ($x^2 = 1.9$, p < .044, df = 10) for more detailed information in regards to gaze findings.
Table 6

*Distribution of Gaze among Magazine Genre*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Model</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Audience</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Drift</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A significant difference was found with magazine genre in relation to expression. A positive expression is considered more feminine and a neutral or negative expression is considered more masculine. When a male’s expression was positive, 42.9 percent were found in women’s magazines, and when a male’s expression was neutral, 61.3 percent were found in men’s magazines. Therefore, in this scenario the portrayed males conformed to each of the target audience’s subtle traits. More detailed findings related to expression are found in Table 7 ($x^2 = 4.3$, $p < .000$, df = 8).

Table 7

*Distribution of Expression among Magazine Genres*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>61.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, when men were pictured with females, a significant difference was found with magazine genre in relation to pose, size and positioning. If there was a traditional pose, 73.1 percent were found in men’s magazines, but if the pose was equal, 57.3 percent were found in women’s magazines. Refer to Table 8 ($x^2 = 4.7, p < .000, df = 8$) for further details. If a male appeared shorter than a woman, 66.7 percent of those cases were found in women’s magazines. Also, if the male and female were pictured as the same height, 48 percent were found in women’s magazines. The percentages of men appearing taller than women were nearly equal between the two genres. Refer to Table 9 ($x^2 = 2.8, p < .000, df = 8$) for further findings. Finally, if the man was pictured in front of a woman (a stereotypical positioning, acting as a shield or protector), 57.1 percent were found in men’s magazines. If the man was behind a woman (thus reversing the protector role), 72.2 percent were found in women’s magazines, and if the man was pictured next to the woman (a display of equality), 50 percent were found in women’s magazines. Refer to Table 10 ($x^2 = 3.5, p < .000, df = 8$) for more data. Again, the male portrayals have conformed to the positioning traits of each magazine genre’s target audience.

Table 8

*Distribution of Poses among Magazine Genres*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Traditional</th>
<th></th>
<th>Reverse-sex</th>
<th></th>
<th>Equal</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9

_distribution of Size among Magazine Genres_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Man appears taller</th>
<th></th>
<th>Man same</th>
<th></th>
<th>Man appears shorter</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10

_distribution of Positioning among Magazine Genres_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Man in front</th>
<th></th>
<th>Man behind</th>
<th></th>
<th>Man next to</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72.2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final research question refers to whether masculine portrayals will vary based on the products advertised or the thematic content regardless of the target audience. Little significant data were found between the product advertised and masculine portrayals. There were concentrations of products sold among the magazine genres, and that concentration can be seen in Table 11 below.
Table 11

Concentration of Product Categories among Magazine Genres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product Category</th>
<th>Men’s</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Women’s</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>General</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing/fashion/footwear</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>54.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal hygiene</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle sales</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance (home, auto, life)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care plans/medications</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data did show that there was a significant difference in that masculine portrayals do vary based on the thematic content of the advertisement. When heroes were portrayed, 43.5 percent came from a beauty or fashion themed advertisement and 39.1 percent came from a romance or sex theme. Outdoorsmen were portrayed in a romance or sex theme 68.4 percent of the time. Naturally, the family man or nurturer was found in a marriage themed ad 86.7 percent of all occurrences. The man at work was most often found in a romance or sex themed ad at 34.8 percent, and the consumer was most often portrayed in a health themed advertisement at 52.6 percent. Beauty or fashion themed ads accounted for 88.2 percent of urban men and 80.8 percent of erotic men. Finally, marriage was the dominant theme of the quiescent man representing 45.2 percent of all occurrences. See Table 12 ($x^2 = 4.04, p < .000, df = 48$) for further details.
Table 12

*Distributions of Themes among Masculine Depictions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Hero n</th>
<th>Hero %</th>
<th>Outdoors n</th>
<th>Outdoors %</th>
<th>Family n</th>
<th>Family %</th>
<th>Work n</th>
<th>Work %</th>
<th>Consumer n</th>
<th>Consumer %</th>
<th>Urban n</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
<th>Quiescent n</th>
<th>Quiescent %</th>
<th>Erotic n</th>
<th>Erotic %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty/Fashion</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>80.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political/Social</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career</td>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While, race was not a factor within the research questions, there were significant findings when race was compared against theme and magazine genre. To begin, Caucasian accounted for 84.1 percent of all racial representation. African American accounted for 11.7 percent, Hispanic and Asian only accounted for 1.9 and 1.3 percent respectively. Men’s magazines had the greatest percentage of Caucasian, African American and Hispanic and the lowest percentage of Asian portrayals. On the other hand, women’s magazines had the lowest percentage of African American characters. General interest magazines hosted the lowest percentage of Hispanic and the highest percentage of Asian portrayals. Table 13 ($\chi^2 = 1.34$, $p < .204$, $df = 10$) displays breakdown of race among magazine genres more fully.
Table 13

Distribution of Race Among Magazine Genres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Undeterminable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men’s</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When examining the distribution of race among thematic content, we notice that there is in fact a large percentage of data that has fallen into the “other” category. After consulting with coders, it was found that, largely, this percentage of ads was solely consumer driven and lacked any real thematic content. For example, one advertisement for AT&T displayed a male character speaking with an AT&T representative about a cell phone. Since this situation does not conform to any of the thematic choices, and was purely a representation of the consumer, it had to be marked as “other.” If we disregard the “other” category for the moment, we can see that Caucasians and African Americans are, more or less, equally distributed among marriage, health and beauty themes. Within each racial category, there were no extreme concentrations among any thematic category. Refer to Table 14 ($x^2 = 1.85$, $p < .950$, df = 30) for more extensive details.
Table 14

**Distribution of Race among Thematic Content**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Caucasian</th>
<th>African American</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Undeterminable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political/Social</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Discussion

This research was conducted to investigate levels of masculinity in the print medium among a variety of target audiences. Its goal was to decipher how portrayals of masculinity changed based on the magazine’s target audience, and several coding factors were used to determine that information.

As stated in the theory section of this research, symbolic interactionism provides a framework to understand human problems. Partly, we understand who men should be by how they are symbolically represented in the media, and if only the universe of advertisements studied is in question, that understanding can be conflicted among target audiences. Symbolic interactionism can also influence an individual’s magazine choice, in that he or she may select a magazine that matches the individual’s perceived sense of self. Similarly, symbolic interactionism could impact magazine editors and publishers as they consider a potential reader’s self image. To be economically viable, publishers may present palatable images. This in turn may drive advertising content to reflect the imagery noted in the editorial content.

In this particular framework of study, when dealing with male targets, men were most often portrayed as heroes, outdoorsmen, urban men or erotic men. This concentration relates that this selection of advertisements is driving men to be strong and tough or suave and sexually appealing. However, the men portrayed in women’s magazines were most often seen as family men or nurturers and quiescent men, which is a completely different mindset. The female target audience of this selection of advertisements thus has a perception of men that is greatly skewed from the male perception, hence, the potential conflict. This finding reinforces the results from the Vigorito and Curry (1998) study, which similarly found that men were most often portrayed in working roles in men’s magazines and nurturing roles in women’s magazines. Ten years later,
and women are still walking away from their magazines with a perception of how real men should be, nurturing and family-oriented, and men are walking away from their magazines with more traditional identities enforced.

There is a reason why men are considered Martians and women are considered Venusians, and that reason lies somewhere between expectation and confrontation. Women grow to expect certain traits from men, and if we take the symbolic interaction theory and the Gary and Ginsberg (2007) cultural theory of masculine ideal into account, those traits and symbols of masculinity are, in part, defined by the media, with advertisements playing a significant role. If we imagined a world in which our only representation of men and women was defined by the magazines we read, it is possible that a young girl may learn from her mother’s Woman’s Day that men are meant to adore their partners, nurture their children and appreciate a relaxed atmosphere with their families. However, a young boy may have learned from his father’s Sports Illustrated that men are to be daring heroes, stoic and distant with the ones they love. If that boy and girl were to grow up and form a relationship with each other, they are coming into that relationship with preconceived expectations. When one party’s expectations are not met confrontation is inevitable. The woman can’t understand why the man can’t be the man he is supposed to be—the family man in Woman’s Day, and the man can’t understand why the woman does not realize he is the man he is supposed to be—the stoic man in Sports Illustrated. It is the non-congruent messages of this selection of advertisements from the assigned time period that could have caused this misunderstanding and miscommunication. If men and women are to understand each other more completely, it would require this specified bank of advertisements to display integrated messages. Obviously in the real world, we are exposed to far more representations of men and women than in the magazines we read. Male portrayals can be
observed everywhere, from situation comedies, to newscasters, to presidential candidates. However, we cannot ignore the bank of advertisements in questions and the potential they have to help develop social constructs.

Unlike Vigorito and Curry (1998), this research looked to general interest magazines for data as well, and the general interest category served its purpose of being conflict free. In an effort to not offend any reader, it has acted as a neutral party. Its males were predominantly displayed as consumers and displayed both subtle masculine and feminine positioning traits. One of the theories of muscular ideal states that the media is a responsible party for defining the masculine ideal; however, as the research shows, the masculine ideal changes as the target audience changes. This unparalleled display of masculinity has potential to cause conflict among men and women and their understanding of the other gender. Also, as new media become more fragmented and more specific to a target audience, there is little overlap of images that both men and women are exposed to. This continued separation could only feed the conflict mentioned previously. If men and women were exposed to all varying images of men, then those images would have less effect on defining masculinity.

A finding that the research had not expected to discover was lack of racial diversity among character portrayals. Caucasian men dominated the analyzed ads. Previous literature has stated that, typically, the erotic man is white, but in this study white men dominated each masculine depiction. This fact should influence the advertising creators to diversify racial portrayals as to not overlook or disregard minorities of the target audience. This skew could very well be based on the selection of magazines. The inclusion of minority-centric magazines would have resulted in larger racial diversity. However, the magazine choices were based on the
previous Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) research, and they were originally selected for their mass appeal, and one indicator for “mass appeal” should be a presentation of racial diversity.

One significant finding of the study was the overall increase of equality between men and women within the sampling universe. As a reminder, the Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) study found that from 1959 to 1979, across all magazine genres, there was an increase in male decorative roles (Level I), a decrease in stereotypical masculine roles (Level II), and an increase in Level III and Level IV ads because there were none found in 1959 for comparison. The current study showed a change in the trend in relation to the decorative male. Instead of continuing to increase over the years, the percentage decreased drastically to 26.1 percent. This decrease demonstrates the male’s evolution in print representation. The male was objectified in 1979 and this trend continued until at least 1997 when the erotic male was found to be most prominent representation in the Rohlinger (2002) study. However, in the last ten years the perception has turned. In the Reichert and Carpenter (2004) study, we saw that as of 2003 men were portrayed as primarily demure, and the current study has shown a vast decrease in erotic male characters. Whether males have been represented as nurturing fathers or rugged outdoorsmen, they have at least been playing a real role, and not merely objectified. This is a positive turn of trend for advertisers. In a way, they are showing respect to the target audience by showing more than a pretty face. If we examine the advertisements of this study, it is possible to imagine that advertisers could be realizing that its target is too smart to be coerced into buying a product from only an erotic figure. Research needs to be conducted to find if this same trend is occurring with female portrayals, but it is safe to say that certain advertising has at least made an attempt to start portraying real people.
While men’s magazines accounted for most cases of tradition or stereotypical male-to-female relationships, there were just as many traditional as equal portrayals within the genre. This shows that while even when trying to retain power, a lack of equality among men and women is not socially acceptable, and the portrayal of men reflects that sentiment. In fact, maintaining that balance between power retention and social acceptance may be the cause for the presence of so many traditionally female traits in male magazines. Could it be that in order to retain a certain number of traditionally dominant poses over women, male characters must in turn resort to self-gazing, mental drifting or self-touching? In short, the masculine depiction is a delicate balancing act, one that is in need of constant attention and monitoring.

**Limitations**

Despite the substantial data this study has provided, there are limitations that could lead to future research projects. Firstly, only advertisements with single male characters were considered. By eliminating all ads with multiple men, male-to-male relational aspects could not be considered or studied. Also, if women were positioned with the men, their expressions and body language were not acknowledged. While that information was not pertinent to this specific study, it may be beneficial to future research focusing on the portrayal of male-to-female relationships. This study also only utilized magazines as a media outlet. Other media, including other magazines with more diverse demographics, television ads, specific media outlets (such as television sitcoms), may present a very different presentation of masculinity. Because this study is a content analysis, it is difficult to have a strong theoretical base, and few analytical tests can be run. It lacks the ability to make claims about the content’s effect on its target audience. Therefore, any allusion to possible effects on target audiences is purely speculative. If surveys
could be incorporated to include consumer response to masculine portrayals, a more comprehensive set of data with a theoretical base could be obtained.

The selection of magazines for this study was based on a previous content analysis, and while the magazines selected did represent men’s, women’s and general interest magazines, there were definitely different target audiences within each genre based on psychographics. Perhaps a future study looking at audiences with the same psychographics instead of merely demographics would be beneficial to the current body of knowledge. Also, in regards to future study, an in-depth look into those responsible for imagery in ads, such as art directors, could address how their personal feelings with masculine and feminine roles affect their content decisions.
References


APPENDIX A

Coding Sheet

1. Background Details

1-A Type of magazine
   1. Men’s
   2. Women’s
   3. General Interest

1-B Specific magazine
   1. Esquire
   2. Field & Stream
   3. Sports Illustrated
   4. Ladies Home Journal
   5. People
   6. Woman’s Day
   7. Readers Digest
   8. Time
   9. The New Yorker

1-C Estimated Age
   1. Youth (>18)
   2. Young adult (19-35)
   3. Middle age (36-50)
   4. Older adult (51+)

1-D Race
   1. Caucasian
   2. African American
   3. Hispanic
   4. Asian
   5. Other

2. Determining Masculinity

2-A Thematic content
   1. Marriage/Family roles
   2. Personal health
   3. Beauty/Fashion
   4. Political/Social awareness
   5. Career Development
   6. Romance/Sex
   7. Other
2-B Male Role
1. Working
   a. High level business
   b. Professional
   c. Sports/Entertainment
   d. Military
   e. Public service
   f. Blue collar
   g. Other
   h. NA

2. Non-working
   a. Familial
   b. Recreational
   c. Romantic
   d. Decorative
   e. Other
   f. NA

2-C Masculine Depiction
1. Hero
2. Outdoorsman
3. Family man/Nurturer
4. Breadwinner
5. Man at work
6. Consumer
7. Urban man
8. Quiescent man
9. Erotic man
10. Other

2-D Touch
1. Touch with female
2. Touch with more than one female
3. Touch with self
4. Touch with other (child/pet)
5. Touch with product
6. No touch
2-E Gaze
1. Self-gaze
2. Gaze at another model
3. Gaze at unknown audience
4. Mental drift
5. No gaze
6. Other

2-F Clothing/Covering
1. Fully clothed
2. Less than fully clothed but not nude
3. Nude
4. Other

2-G Expression
1. Clearly positive
2. Neutral
3. Clearly negative
4. Other

3. If pictured with a woman

1-E Presence of female(s)
1. Yes-Single
2. Yes-Multiple
3. No

3-A Pose
1. Traditional
2. Reverse-sex
3. Equality
4. Other
5. NA

3-B Relative size
1. Man appears taller than woman
2. Man appears same size as woman
3. Man appears shorter than woman
4. Other
5. NA
3. C Positioning
   1. Man in front of woman
   2. Man behind woman
   3. Man next to woman
   4. Other
   5. NA

4. Product Category
   1. Sports and equipment
   2. Dietary supplements
   3. Bodybuilding equipment/ supplements/programs
   4. Instructional media (dietary/exercise magazines)
   5. Clothing/fashion/footwear
   6. Cosmetics
   7. Personal hygiene (fragrances, soap, toothpaste, breath mints)
   8. Hair care products (shampoo, hair spray, gel, mousse)
   9. Skin care products (creams, moisturizers)
   10. Computers
   11. Television
   12. Cell phones
   13. Stereos
   14. Video games/machinery
   15. Credit card
   16. Movies
   17. Books
   18. Magazines
   19. Games
   20. Toys
   21. Cleaning products
   22. Food
   23. Home appliances
   24. Furniture
   25. Child rearing products, publications/knowledge systems
   26. Vehicle sales
   27. Auto parts/repair
   28. Tools
   29. Tires
   30. Business
   31. Travel
   32. Insurance (home, auto, life)
   33. Health care plans/medications
   34. Condoms
   35. ED medication
   36. Male enhancement drugs
   37. Female birth control
   38. Beer
39. Wine
40. Spirits
41. Cigarettes
42. Smokeless tobacco products
43. Cigars
44. Other
45. NA

5. Consciousness Scale

5-A Level of sexism
   1. Level I (Decorative)
   2. Level II (Traditional Role)
   3. Level III (Non-traditional role)
   4. Level IV (Sexes as equals)
   5. Undeterminable
   6. Other
## APPENDIX B

### Coding Sheet Answer Form

| AD # | 1A | 1B | 1C | 1D | 2A | 2B1 | 2B2 | 2C | 2D | 2E | 2F | 2G | 2H | 3A | 3B | 3C | 3D | 4 | 5 |
|------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|      |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|      |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|      |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|      |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
|      |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
APPENDIX C

Operational Definitions

**Marriage/Family**: Advertisement contains themes of marriage, love or childcare.

**Family roles**: Advertisement depicts family taking part in activities such as cooking, cleaning, home decorating or budgeting.

**Personal health**: Advertisements contain themes of diet, exercise or supplements.

**Beauty/Fashion**: Advertisements contain themes of cosmetics, skin products, grooming products, clothing, apparel or accessories.

**Political/Social Awareness**: Advertisements contain themes of social programs, issues and legislative actions.

**Career development**: Advertisements contain themes of job searching, career advice, education advice or management styles.

**Romance/Sex**: Advertisements contain themes of dating, mate selection or sexual prowess.

**High-level business**: Include the portrayals of careers such as executives, officers, directors and top-level managements.

**Professional**: Include the portrayals of careers such as doctors, lawyers, nurses, professors or CPAs.

**Sports/Entertainment**: Includes professional athletes, musicians, actors or any other publicly known figure.

**Public service**: Includes the portrayals of careers such as fireman, policeman, city worker, educators, child care but excluding military workers.

**Blue collar**: Includes the portrayals of careers such as construction worker, trucker, repairman or mechanic.

**Familial**: Characters are pictured in family setting, either in the home, accompanied by children or participating in family functions.

**Recreational**: Characters are pictured taking part in leisure activities in or outside of the home. This could include playing video games, hiking or playing baseball. Essentially, it includes any activity that one could take pleasure in.

**Romantic**: Characters are pictured with partner with obvious romantic theme. This could be depicted through embrace, kiss, intense gaze, etc…
Decorative: Character offers nothing more to the scene than his body. There is no interaction in the scene that would suggest the character is anything more than a model.

Hero: This male character would be considered a celebrity in sports, business, politics or military service.

Outdoorsman: This male character is seen conquering nature or animals or gaining control over a seemingly wild environment.

Family man/Nurturer: This male character is an active participant with children, depicted as a father, family member or coach.

Breadwinner: This male character is portrayed as directing children or his family, but not participating in familial events.

Man at work: This male character is engaged in his profession or area of expertise.

Consumer: This male character is the average man, using the advertised product.

Urban man: This male character enjoys luxuries and offerings of big city lifestyle; he takes pleasure in fashion and is shown in restaurants, bars, theaters, and social engagements.

Quiescent man: This male character is engaged in light recreational activity, tourism or completely inactive.

Erotic man: This male character is purely a body on display. He is either by himself or with other models. There are sexual overtones and the physique is highlighted.

Traditional: Positioning in which a man is playing an executive role over the woman where he dominates over her and physically distant, and the woman is positioned in a relatively lowered status.

Reverse-sex: Reversed positioning than the traditional role. The woman is dominant over the man and he is occupying a relatively lower status than the woman.

Equality: Positioning a man and a woman that neither confirm or conflict with stereotypical understanding.

*Terms “Hero” through “Erotic man” were obtained via (Rohlinger, 2002).