

THE METROSEXUAL MAN AND THE STRONG BLACK FATHER:
INVESTIGATING THE ROLE MASCULINITY PLAYS IN DEFINING SOCIAL
RELATIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE MEN

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department

of Sociology

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the

Master's Degree

By

Kristin M. Richie

August 2016

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ABSTRACT

I conducted a quantitative content analysis of men in the advertisements of two different lifestyle magazines, *Esquire* and *Ebony*, from 2006 to 2013, in order to explore how masculinity is a socially constructed concept, and more specifically, how race affects depictions of masculinity and men's bodies in magazine advertisements. My findings reveal that boundaries between racial in and out-group males are maintained not only through depictions of the body, but also through depictions of role performances. However, although both magazines marginalize out-group males, I argue that *Ebony* marginalizes out-group males to a greater extent than *Esquire* does. I attribute the difference in the extent of marginalization to the different versions of masculinity the advertisements are appealing to, i.e., the metrosexual man versus the strong, black father. This highlights the role masculinity plays in the construction of social relations between groups of men, and it is a phenomenon that future research should explore.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members Dr. Kwan (chair), Dr. Lee, and Dr. Olson for giving their time and energy to this project. Without their invaluable critiques and insights, my project would not be as successful as it is. I would also like to thank the sociology department at the University of Houston for granting me the Graduate Student Research Grant. This money allowed me to hire a secondary coder to ensure the reliability of my research project, and as a result, the possibility to publish my research. I would like to give a final thanks to my classmates, friends, and family members who have supported me with their time and words of encouragement throughout my career as a graduate student.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The popular media is a cultural, as well as a social institution. It is a site for both the dissemination and reinforcement of hegemonic ideologies (Fiske 1987). As part of the popular media, advertising is a particularly powerful force for the instillation of hegemonic ideals. Idealized depictions and relations of and between men, women, and children are overwhelmingly created and selected by advertisers and presented to consumers (Goffman 1979). With the rise of niche marketing, this process has only intensified. Consequently, advertising plays an influential part in the socialization of hegemonic ideals in relation to gender roles, as well as hegemonic ideals in relation to body norms (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982; Rook 1985; Simpson 1999; Solomon 1983; Wolf 1991). For example, in media targeting predominately white audiences, advertising has been credited with instilling, among other things, aesthetic values in regard to both female and male bodies (Chasin 2000; Elias 2002; Simpson 1999; Wolf 1991). These aesthetic values include characteristics such as skin, hair, and eye color, as well as face and body shape. Yet, how these aesthetic values are distributed among different groups of people reveals an interesting power dynamic at play within advertising. Advertising often reinforces and maintains social hierarchies between different groups of people, and in this particular case, between different groups of men. Previous research shows that the maintenance of symbolic boundaries between different groups of men is often done through depictions of the body, as well as masculinity (Connell 1995; Luyt 2012; Ricciardelli, Clow, and White 2010; Shilling 1993). Yet, this research mainly focuses on depictions of black and white men in media targeting predominately white audiences, and

reveals that depictions of white men are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of black men (Ferber 2007; Jackson 1994; Luyt 2012; Mann et al. 2006; Messineo 2006; Wiegman 1995).

In order to expand on the literature, I conducted a quantitative content analysis of depictions of black and white men in advertising targeting a predominately white audience, i.e., *Esquire*, and media targeting a predominately black audience, i.e., *Ebony*, from 2006 to 2013. My findings reveal that the maintenance of symbolic boundaries between different groups of men is often done through depictions of the body, reaffirming observations of past research (Connell 1995; Luyt 2012; Ricciardelli, Clow, and White 2010; Shilling 1993). In addition to the body, the allocation of roles is another way through which boundaries between different groups of men are maintained and reinforced. Furthermore, my findings suggest that the extent of marginalization of racial out-group males is also dependent on the version of masculinity the advertisements are appealing to. Although scholars have observed how advertising maintains distinctions between different groups of men, to a lesser extent have they observed how different constructions of hegemonic masculinity inform social relations between men. As a result, not only does advertising play an influential role in the socialization of hegemonic ideals in relation to gender and body norms, advertising also reinforces hegemonic ways of thinking about relations between different groups of people. Because my study is limited to advertising images however, I suggest that future research further explore this phenomenon by including depictions of men that are a part of the magazine's stories and editorials as well.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 The Social Construction of Bodies, Race, and Masculinity

In contrast to essentialism, social constructionism does not assume an individual's body, race, or their gender is a biological given (Connell 1995; Farganis 2004; Howson 2013; Omni and Winant 1986; Shilling 1993). Instead of a generator of social meanings, social constructionism emphasizes the body as a receptor of social meaning (Shilling 1993). For example, as society's ideas about religion and science change, so do society's view of the body, and thus gender and race. Therefore, views of the body are dependent on context, and change in tandem with changes in society.

In *American Anatomies*, Wiegman (1995) traces the development of science in western society. She traces how changes in western scientific thought affect the western world's vision of the body, and thus gender and race. During the Renaissance era, the reigning ideology was natural history. Natural history presumed God's divinity, and therefore science was predicated on finding similarities between species as evidence of God's existence (Wiegman 1995). As a result, the body, and thus race and gender, was seen as a product of environment, and not the locus of identity and difference (Wiegman 1995). Consequently, race was marked by attributes like shorn heads, identification tablets, branding, and tattooing as opposed to skin color (Wiegman 1995). Wiegman's (1995) analysis of the evolution of the meaning of race supports the more general idea that, rather than biologically determined, race is socially determined. Racial categories and meanings attached to race only make sense in light of their historical contexts and

specific social relations (Mann, Zatz, and Rodriguez 2006; Omni and Winant 1986; Wiegman 1995).

Yet, with the rise of Cartesian perspectivalism and an emphasis toward the biological sciences—botany, anatomy, medicine—mathematics, and the scientific method, western society’s view of the body dramatically changed (Wiegman 1995). These changes in thought began the creation of the binary system and the categorization and ranking of species, including humans. This prompted the classification of black and white culture as essentially different. Black culture became associated with savagery and instinct while white culture became associated with civilization and intelligence. It also prompted the classification of white men and women as essentially different. White men become associated with the mind and logic while white women became associated with the body and instinct. This is when the analogy between inferior races and women came to fruition. Rooted in ideologies formed centuries ago, essentialist ideas about the body, race, and gender continue well into the 21st century.

As a result of the long-standing association between masculinity and the mind, intellect, and logic, classical theories on masculinity did not account for the body, except in relation to sport. However, more recent social theorists, notably R.W. Connell (1995), have problematized these essentialist ideas about masculinity. Connell’s (1995) seminal work, *Masculinities*, has had considerable influence on how scholars currently view masculinity and the male body in the western world. Connell’s (1995) body-reflexive theory on the materiality of the body has brought the body back into theories of masculinity. This marks a departure from classical theories of masculinity. In Connell’s (1995) words, “men’s bodies play a central role in the construction, promotion, and

regulation of masculinities...masculine gender is a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving..." (1995:52). For example, in their study of female and male ratings of men's upper torsos, Thompson and Tantleff (1992) find that male figures with muscular chests are evaluated as more assertive, sexually attractive, athletic, confident, and popular, whereas male figures with non-muscular chests are evaluated as lonely and depressed. Therefore, in regard to men, the successful performance of masculinity is very much contingent upon their bodies.

Furthermore, in Connell's (1995) discussion of the social organization of masculinity, she discusses how masculinities are located within larger social structures. This phenomenon is referred to as "hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 1995). Connell's (1995) theory reveals the power structures at work within masculinity. In other words, hegemonic masculinity reproduces inequalities between men and different groups of men based on race, class, ethnicity, and body type, to name a few. For example, in her study of adolescent men in high school, Pascoe (2007) shows how the fag discourse is used to separate "manly" adolescent men from "unmanly" adolescent men. In this example, the fag discourse reproduces inequalities between groups of men who are able to accomplish a successful performance of masculinity from men who fail to accomplish a successful performance of masculinity; a successful performance that depends on race, gender, and body presentation.

In addition to having behavioral traits such as aggression and independence, particular physical traits are also associated with hegemonic masculinity. Typically, the hegemonic masculine body is defined as young, toned, white, muscular, clean-shaven, and athletic (Atkinson 2007; Gill 2009; Ricciardelli et al. 2010). However, it is important

to note that hegemonic masculinity is not a static category or a fixed character type; “[i]t is rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable” (Connell 1995:76). For example, in their study Canadian men’s lifestyle magazines, Ricciardelli et al. (2010) enumerate the body types associated with three distinct types of hegemonic masculinity. The distinct types of masculinity are muscularity, metrosexuality, and ladism. *Men’s Health*, a magazine whose primary focus is on training, diet, and nutrition promotes the muscularity version of hegemonic masculinity. It depicts models that are slightly more muscular than men in the magazines promoting metrosexuality or ladism. In contrast, magazines that promote metrosexuality or ladism—*GQ*, *Esquire*, *Details*, and *Maxim*—depict models that are less muscular. Over all, in regards to body ideals, the magazines depict the ideal masculine body as young, lean and toned (as opposed to hyper-muscular), clean-cut, and clean-shaven (Ricciardelli et al. 2010). As this example shows, hegemonic masculinity is not fixed; it can be manifested through different masculine forms. However, in regards to the body, there is some consistencies, such as the lean, toned, and slightly muscular, white body as the ideal. When embodied, whether by real men or models posing in the advertisements of magazines, this body ideal can also serve as a form of distinction where men who embody the ideal are presumed to be more masculine, and thus dominant over women and other groups of men (Ricciardelli et al. 2010).

Indeed, Connell (1995) discusses how female bodies as well as black male bodies are used as counter reference-points for hegemonic masculine bodies: “Race relations may also become an integral part of the dynamic between masculinities. In a white-supremacist context, black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender

construction” (Connell 1995: 80). Luyt’s (2012) analysis of the co-construction of race and gender in South African TV advertisements exemplifies the ways in which black men are used as counter-reference points for white men. In his study, Luyt (2012) finds that men are represented as significantly different depending upon their race. His main argument is that white men are presented as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity. They are depicted as occupying positions of greater social authority and gendered to a much greater extent, thereby acting as a normative standard against which the “appropriate” practice of masculinity is assessed (Luyt 2012). Therefore, race relations comprise a very important part of the conversation of masculinity and the male body, a discussion that is often left out of studies on the male body (Atkinson 2007; Bordo 1991; Ricciardelli et al. 2010; Rohlinger 2002).

2.2 White Male Bodies, Masculinity, and the Media

Except for men’s adventure magazines and films, as well as boxing/sports films, it was rare to see a white man semi-naked in popular culture in the early part of the 20th century (Dyer 1997). In these socially sanctioned contexts, a champion built body and a colonial setting set terms for looking at the white male body (Dyer 1997). Bordo’s (1999) discussion of the white male body corroborates the idea that it was rare to see the white male body in the media in the former part of the 20th century. However, during the second half of the 20th century, the white male body began to become increasingly present outside of these socially sanctioned contexts. For example, there was an increasing presence of the white male body in advertising, as well as in TV and popular films starting in the late 1970s and continuing into the 1980s and 1990s.

Scholars have cited different reasons for the increased visibility of not just the white male body, but also the white, *muscular* male body in advertising and film (Alexander 2003; Bordo 1999; Gill 2009; Rohlinger 2002). Alexander (2003) argues that the transition from a modern industrial society and culture based on production to a post-modern society and culture based more on the consumption of products, ideas, and knowledge has changed the way men see themselves and their bodies. On the other hand, Rohlinger (2002) and Bordo (1999) argue that the gay rights movement and gay culture challenged normative definitions of masculinity, thus creating new relationships between men and their bodies. Furthermore, scholars argue that shifts in the economy, along with the liberation movements of the 1960s and 1970s, have posed an existential threat to white men and their masculinities. This phenomenon is known as the “crisis of masculinity” (Alexander 2003; Atkinson 2007; Featherstone 2006, 2010; Gill 2009; Pope, Phillips, and Olivardia 2000). This existential crisis has caused men to turn to their bodies, the only site they perceive to have real control over (Alexander 2003; Atkinson 2007; Featherstone 2006, 2010; Gill 2009; Pope et. al 2000). In his study of western men’s usage of supplements, Atkinson (2007) argues that the expansion of supplement use from the domain of elite male athletes to the general male population is evidence of changes in masculinity. More so than in the past, white men are preoccupied with losing fat and building muscle—a bodily response, scholars argue, to the “crisis of masculinity” (Atkinson 2007; Pope et. al 2000). Moreover, empirical evidence suggests that these new body ideals are creating health problems amongst some groups of men in the form of body image disorders such as muscle dysmorphia (Pope et. al 2000).

Nevertheless, the increasing visibility of the white male body has garnered much research attention. Previous research on the white male body has captured the evolution of the ideal male body type where the muscular mesomorph has come to dominate representations of what “real” men look like today (Dyer 1997; Law and Labre 2002; Morrison and Halton 1999). The changes in depictions of men’s bodies can be evidenced in hyper-muscled action figures like G.I. Joe, models in *Playgirl* magazine, as well as models in magazine advertisements in general, particularly magazines targeting men (Alexander 2003; Gill 2009; Law and Labre 2002; Morrison and Halton 2009; Rohlinger 2002). A more recent study conducted by Law and Labre (2002) reveals that over a 30-year period, images of male torsos in *Sports Illustrated*, *GQ*, and *Rolling Stone* have become more lean and muscular. They argue that leanness combined with muscularity are body ideals that dominate representations of men bodies today.

Furthermore, Bordo (1999) argues that media displays of the white male body have effectively made the male body an object of eroticization, and consequently objectification, much like women’s bodies in the media. Incipient research on the male body in magazine advertisements cites the growing presence of the objectified and sexualized white, male body (Gill 2009; Rohlinger 2002). For example, analyzing five different mainstream magazines targeting men between the ages of 18 and 49 in the years 1987 and 1997, Rohlinger (2002) suggests that there is an increasing presence of the eroticized, yet sexually ambiguous male body in the advertisements of men’s magazines. Similarly, Gill (2009) discusses the prevalence of “six pack” advertising in magazines and the general media. “Six pack” advertising denotes the increased presence of the eroticized male body, where men are portrayed as sex objects versus sex agents in

advertising. Gill (2009) also discusses the racialized aspects of the increasing eroticization of male bodies. She notes that bodies that are coded as Latin, by darker skin tones and complexions, or black are regularly represented in a highly eroticized manner, “referencing long histories of sexual Othering and exoticism” (Gill 2009:145). Indeed, previous research on the portrayals of out-groups in the media reveals that individuals who are members of the racial out-group receive less positive evaluations than members of racial in-groups through, for example, portrayals of sexuality, as well as through portrayals of the body (Coltrane and Messineo 2000; Messineo 2006; Pettigrew and Mertons 1995; Ricciardelli et al. 2010).

With the increased visibility of the white male body, the content of magazines targeting men has gained much research attention (Atkinson 2007; Gill 2009; Ricciardelli et al. 2010; Rohlinger 2002). However, scholars focusing on the white male body in magazine advertisements have either sampled general issue magazines, health and fitness magazines, magazines whose readership is outside of the United States, or magazines whose consumer base is mainly white men. In other words, these studies focus primarily on displays of the white, male body in white media (Alexander 2003; Ricciardelli et al. 2010; Rohlinger 2002).

2.3 The Black Male Body, Masculinity, and the Media

While the connection between white masculinity and the body is a relatively new phenomenon (Connell 1995), black masculinity and black men have historically been reduced to their bodies, where women and black men have often been paired together in their inferiority (Dyer 1997; Wiegman 1995). In other words, a black male’s masculine identity is often predicated upon his genetic inferiority: the color of his skin, the size of

his genitals and muscles, as well as the size of his skull (Wiegman 1995). As a result of the popular belief in black men's inherent inferiority, black men have been infantilized, hypersexualized, and hyper-masculinized throughout the history of white popular media and news media (Gubar 2000; Mann, Zatz, and Rodriguez 2006; Wiegman 1995).

Classic examples of the infantilization of black men are seen in the period of American history preceding the emancipation era. Before the emancipation era, black men were seen in a radically different way. During this period, the prevailing image of black men was the Uncle Tom figure where black men were likened to children, as subjects that meant well, but needed to be taught how to be good (Gubar 2000; Wiegman 1995). The infantilization of black men in media targeting white audiences also includes depicting black men as friendly (smiling) and overweight/out of shape, and as compassionate and cooperative sidekicks to white heroes (Mann et al. 2006; Wiegman 1995). However, following the emancipation era and continuing into the 20th century, the image of the black male was transformed from childlike and submissive to violent, criminal, and sexually threatening.

Wiegman (1995) demonstrates how after the emancipation era, the prospect of black men voting evoked the possibility that white masculinity was under threat. During this time, it was assumed that with the privilege of voting came the privilege of black men being on an equal plane to white men. In order to mediate the threats posed by the enfranchisement of black men, white men began a vigorous political and sexual politics that was ultimately realized in the lynching and castration of black men (Wiegman 1995). For white men, castration symbolized the rejection of black phallic power as well as physical power. Furthermore it was during this time that the mythos of the black male

rapist began, which marked the beginning of the sexualization of the black male body as sexually deviant and aggressive: “Through the discourse of the black male rapist, racial difference is cast not simply as sexual, but as a heightened sexual perversity” (Wiegman 1995:84). The image of the black male as criminal and hypersexual continues to permeate media images of black men today (Collins 2005; Dyson 2004; Mann et al. 2006; Russell 2009). However, the black liberation movement, scholars argue, has allowed for the re-masculinization of the black male (Howson 2013; Neal 2005; Wiegman 1995). Yet, the re-masculinization of the black male has had some interesting affects on the way white culture views black men. A vision comprised of admiration and fear, as well as autonomy and containment, continues to play out in the arena of the popular media and news media (Ferber 2007; Mann et al. 2006).

Following the Civil Rights movements, the re-masculinization of black men combined with the global marketing forces of “inclusion” and “diversity” has had contradictory effects on media images of black men. Beginning with TV and film in the 1980s, American media began to answer more fully than ever before the critique of racial segregation (Wiegman 1995). Therefore, the 1980s saw an exponential increase in the number of African Americans featured in the media, and African Americans have since been a consistent presence in the media as athletes, entertainers, lawyers, public intellectuals, journalists, professors, entrepreneurs, authors, doctors, and artists (Russell 2009). Yet, academics and scholars have questioned the quality and meaning of these representations (Dufur 1997; Ferber 2007; Soar 2001; Wiegman 1995). Scholars repeatedly show how black men and masculinity are still reduced to their bodies in the popular media. Their success as athletes and entertainers is routinely attributed to their

bodies—their physical prowess and their strength—as opposed to their mind, intellect, and logic (Dufur 1997; Ferber 2007; Mann et al. 2006; Soar 2001). Moreover, in her chapter, “Bonds of (In)Difference”, Wiegman (1995) discusses the proliferation of interracial male bonding scenarios in 1980s and 1990s films and popular culture, including films such as *Nighthawks*, *Trading Places*, *Lethal Weapon* I and II, and *Magnum P.I.* to name a few. Wiegman (1995) argues that within these interracial male bonding scenarios, the black male is usually cast as a trusty sidekick or otherwise less-masculine character. This arrangement preserves the traditional racial order while still being able to claim loyalty to an integrationist narrative. In these scenarios, white males are able to reassert their authority in relation to the black male, as well as qualify and specify the boundaries of the new black masculine identity (Wiegman 1995).

However, at the same time that popular culture was recasting the image of the black man to appease a politics of “inclusion,” the news media continued to proliferate images of the black man as criminal and hyper-masculine (Russell 2009; Wiegman 1995). Scholarly sentiment (see Collins 2005; Leonard 2004; Russell 2009) reflects the dualism that after the Civil Rights movement, blacks have been viewed as both emblematic of success as well as deviance and fear. With the emergence of the crack epidemic and consequently the “war on drugs” in the 1980s and 1990s, the trope of the young, violent, and hyper-masculine black male gained currency in the news media, as well as popular culture (Mann et al. 2006). Young black men were repeatedly associated with violence, drug trafficking, and drug abuse in the news media, and the message sent was that poor black males continue to be a menace that must be contained (Mann et al. 2006). It is during this time that we see the proliferation of the young and hyper-masculine black

gangster/thug in the news media, as well as the commodification of this trope in popular culture. Instead of rejecting the criminal label and identity, black males, frustrated by perpetual poverty and oppression, embodied and embraced the identity as a form of rebellion against white hegemony and social norms (White 2011). White (2011) argues that the commodification and consumption of this particular trope by young white men and women only perpetuates the association between black male bodies and criminality, violence, hyper-sexuality, and hyper-masculinity. For young white men and women, the black male body represents a masculinity that is desired; it is a masculinity that represents rebelliousness, aggression, and sexual liberation—a deviant alternative to Victorian culture and mores that has restricted white, male sexuality and masculinity (White 2011).

Recent literature on black male identity and masculinity has begun to look at alternative black masculine identities presented in TV, film, and music. This is a practice that Neal (2013) refers to as making “illegible identities legible.” Neal (2013) defines “illegible” black masculinities as black masculinities that are not believable because they do not fit in the hegemonic image of black identity, namely, the “Strong Black Man.” The “Strong Black Man” Neal (2005) argues is the product of 400 years of lived experiences by black men in the United States. This image relies upon the idea of the black male patriarch as the sole stability of the black family—an illusion that is particularly dependent on the belief that black women and their bodies are the root cause of domestic irregularity. Examples of the alternative black masculine identities Neal (2013) refers to are black men who are feminists, who identify as homosexual, or who embrace a cosmopolitan identity (an identity that is formed outside of the “hood”), to name a few (Neal 2005). Yet, it is important to note that the alternative masculinities presented in TV

and film are usually manifest in script or text form, while the black characters' demeanor and physical appearance are still represented in stereotypical forms, for example, big and bald, clad in leather, and carrying a gun (Neal 2013; Williams 2008). In his analysis of the camera shots and angles in the TV series, *The Wire*, a show known for presenting alternative views of black masculinity and sexuality, Williams (2008) argues that more often than not, the black male-thug is homo-eroticized by strategic filming tactics. This includes the use of tactics like shot/reverse-shots of black characters gazing at each other, as well as camera angles that are fluid and flow over the black males body as if to invite a gaze, particularly a white gaze (Williams 2008). Williams (2008) marks this as an eroticization of the hood, and in effect, the black male body, bringing to light the familiar connection between black masculinity and the body.

Nevertheless, most of the literature on representations of black men in advertising focuses on black men in the white media (Dufur 1997; Ferber 2007; Jackson 1994; Luyt 2012; Soar 2001), and how the white media has constructed black men (for exceptions see Dyson 2004; Messineo 2006). This risks homogenizing the black community and is misleading because it does not take into account the differential power structures at work within the black community, specifically divisions based on class (Dyson 2004; Mann et al. 2006). In her narrative of growing up on Sugar Hill, Laura Fishman (1998), exposes class divisions within the black community. She remembers how her black female elders recounted the same tropes the media replays about the nature of black men and their bodies, particularly poor and working class black men,

As stated by Fishman (1998):

Portions of these grim messages were extended to black men's violence, especially that of the "violent" black lower-class male.

I was told that all black men were inherently aggressive and violent. They, like white men, could rape, plunder, assault, and murder our souls. Poor black men with Negroid features were particularly inclined to this behavior. I therefore acquired a deep-seated fear of the “savage” nature of black men who could not control their pent-up aggressiveness, hatred, and sexual urges. Believing them to be inherently criminal, my black female elders considered poor black men as the “other”—that is, not like us well-educated, hardworking, and conventionally oriented blacks who lived on Sugar Hill. (P. 197)

Fishman’s (1998) story reveals the class divisions within the black community. Her story reveals the ways in which black members of the middle and upper class reproduce stereotypical ideas about young, poor and working class black men. These associations legitimize the relationship between poor black men and criminality, hyper-sexuality, and hyper-masculinity. Her story also reveals how poor and working class black male bodies serve as a reference group for the black middle class in much the same way that black male bodies serve as a reference group for hegemonic white male bodies (Connell 1995; Mann et al. 2006). Indeed, the “Strong Black Man” articulated earlier rests on the assumption that black men who are young and poor, or working class, are criminal, violent, and hypersexual and in need of serious revision. A majority of the black community are convinced by the hostile portrayals of these young black men in the media (Dyson 2004; 2005). As a result, missing from the literature on black representation is how advertisements in black popular media and news media portray different groups of black men by class and by age. Additionally, few studies examine how the black popular media portrays members of racial out-groups, for example, white or Latino men. Previous research on the portrayal of members of the racial out-group suggest that positive evaluations of white men, for example, might not be portrayed as frequently as positive

evaluations of black men—the racial in-group (Coltrane and Messineo 2000; Messineo 2006; Pettigrew and Mertons 1995).

In light of the current literature on the body, masculinity, race, and the media, I specifically ask:

RQ1: How do depictions of men vary according to magazine type, i.e., magazines geared toward a white audience versus magazines geared toward a black audience?

In light of the theoretical and empirical findings in the current literature, which states that black men are “Othered” in media targeting predominately white audiences (Ferber 2007; Gill 2009; Jackson 1994; Luyt 2012; Mann et al. 2006; Messineo 2006; Wiegman 1995), I predict:

H1a: In magazines geared toward a white audience, depictions of white men are more likely than depictions of black men to exhibit hegemonic masculinity.

Based on empirical findings in the current literature, which states that out-group males are “Othered” in the media, as well as current theories on hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995; Messineo 2006), I predict:

H1b: In magazines geared toward a black audience, depictions of black men are more likely than depictions of white men to exhibit hegemonic masculinity.

RQ2: What is the relationship between the men in the magazine advertisements and the product advertised?

In light of the literature that shows that black men/masculinity is associated with the body, whereas white men/masculinity are associated with the mind, intellect, and logic in the media, particularly advertising (Connell 1995; Dufur 1997; Soar 2001; Leonard 2004; Rome 2006; Wiegman 1995), I predict:

H2a: In magazines geared toward a white audience, black men are more likely than white men to be associated with products that emphasize physicality and the body.

H2b: In magazines geared toward a white audience, white men are more likely than black men to be associated with products that emphasize the mind, intellect, and logic.

Hegemonic masculinity is based on the assumption that, at any given time, one form of masculinity is culturally exalted, while others are marginalized, where the marginalization of masculinities is often based on race. Furthermore, previous literature on racial out-groups in the media reveals that individuals who are members of the racial out-group receive less positive evaluations than members of the racial in-group in advertising (Coltrane and Messineo 2000; Messineo 2006; Pettigrew and Merton 1995). Consequently, just as black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction in media targeting predominately white audiences, white masculinities can also play symbolic roles for black gender construction in media targeting a predominately black audience. Therefore, race relations are an integral part of the dynamic between masculinities in advertising. Based on current theories and empirical findings in the current literature, which reveals that race relations inform constructions of masculinity where positive evaluations are withheld from racial out-groups, I predict:

H2c: In magazines geared toward a black audience, white men will be associated with products that reinforce their marginal status as racial out-group males.

H2d: In magazines geared toward a black audience, black men will be associated with products that reinforce their dominant status as racial in-group males.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

3.1 Advertisements in Lifestyle Magazines

In order to address my research questions, I conducted a quantitative content analysis of the advertisement images in two different American lifestyle magazines, *Esquire* and *Ebony*, between 2006 and 2013. I chose to analyze advertisements because past research on advertisements indicates that advertisements rarely deviate from gender and racial norms. Thus, advertisements are a legitimate source for analyzing the reproduction of social hierarchies between different groups of men. Moreover, I chose to look at the advertisement's imagery, as opposed to its text, because past research shows that differences between different groups of men are often reinforced through depictions in comparison to text (Ricciardelli et al. 2010). Additionally, by examining advertising, I can compare my findings against findings in the current literature, which allows for the testing of current theories and hypotheses, and the exploration into new questions and theories.

For the purposes of this paper, I define "lifestyle magazine" as magazines concerned with lifestyle concepts such as health and fitness, tourism, leisure, fashion, decorating, and culture (Ricciardelli et. al 2010). I chose lifestyle magazines because the topics covered in these magazines, topics like health and fashion, are centered on the body. In health and fashion and other lifestyle choices, the presentation of the body is of central importance. Therefore, I assume that the advertisements in lifestyle magazines will have a higher proportion of men's bodies on display than general issue magazines. Thus, the advertisements in lifestyle magazines are suitable for studying contemporary depictions of the male body.

Esquire is a lifestyle magazine whose consumer base is predominately men, while *Ebony* is a lifestyle magazine whose consumer base is *both* men and women. I chose to compare *Esquire* and *Ebony* because their age demographics are similar. *Esquire* and *Ebony* target men who have a median age of 40 and 38. Additionally, I chose *Ebony* because, to date, it is the only black lifestyle magazine whose consumer base includes black men.

3.2 Magazine Demographics

Esquire: Founded in 1933 in the United States, *Esquire* publishes monthly and has a total circulation of 721,000 making it *GQ*'s chief competitor (Lindsay 2004; O'Leary 2010). *Esquire* has been described as a metrosexual magazine whose consumer base is a slightly older demographic than other magazines targeting a similar demographic, for example *GQ* (Lindsay 2004; Ricciardelli et al. 2010). The median age of *Esquire*'s consumer base is 40 years old, slightly older than other lifestyle magazines targeting men like *GQ* and *Maxim*, with a median average income of \$53,338.00 (Mega Media Marketing: Demographics 2015; Lindsay 2004; O'Leary 2010).

Ebony: Founded in 1945 by John H. Johnson and published by the Johnson Publishing Company, *Ebony* is a lifestyle magazine with a predominately black, middle class consumer base (Leslie 1995). It has been a part of black middle class culture since 1945, and has had a major influence on black middle class Americans' values, as well as norms (Terry 2010). It is a monthly lifestyle magazine whose target audience is both black men and women. As of 2013, *Ebony*'s total circulation is 1,235,865, making it the most popular lifestyle magazine for African Americans (Alliance for Audited Media

2013). The median age of *Ebony*'s consumer base is 38, and the average median income is \$39,031.00 (Mega Media Marketing: Demographics 2015).

The magazine demographics are summarized below:

Table 1. Lifestyle Magazine Demographics¹.

<i>Magazine Title</i>	<i>Publishing Frequency</i>	<i>Circulation Numbers</i>	<i>Median Income</i>	<i>Ratio of Male to Female Readers per Copy</i>	<i>Median Age</i>
<i>Esquire</i>	Monthly	721,000	\$53,338.00	2.87:1.53	40
<i>Ebony</i>	Monthly	1, 235,865	\$39,031.00	2.32:3.84	38

The chosen lifestyle magazines are some of the most widely circulated magazines predominately targeting white and black men. Also, each magazine publishes monthly and their general readership is an adult male, middle class population.

3.3 Sampling Technique

My study's population is images of men in *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements from 2006 to 2013. I chose this time range because I originally wanted to capture any changes in depictions of black men in *Ebony*'s advertisements that could be accounted for by the election of President Obama. As a result, I chose the year 2006 because it preceded his election, and I chose 2013 because it marked the end of his first presidential term.

However, because observing changes in depictions of men pre- and post-Obama did not contribute to the discussion on how black men in *Esquire* and white men in *Ebony* are

¹ I retrieved this information from the consumer report website, which can be found here:

<http://www.megamediamarketing.com/demographics.html>. I also cited Alliance for Audited Media (2013), Terry (2010), Leslie (1995), Lindsay (2004), and O'Leary (2010) to support the information found on the socio-economic statuses of *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s target audience.

marginalized, I omitted this research question from the study. Additionally, I wanted a relatively large time frame because a cursory look at the advertisements revealed that there are a large number of repeat advertisements in magazines that are published within one and two years of each other. Therefore, by selecting a bigger time range, I had hoped to obtain a more diverse sample of advertisements for my study.

In order to obtain a representative sample of the population, I used a multistage sampling technique. The first stage consisted of a simple random sample of the magazine issues by drawing numbers out of a cup. Both magazines publish monthly, therefore I randomly sampled six issues for each year yielding 48 issues over the course of eight years for each magazine. Since the number of out-group males for each magazine is very low, the second stage consisted of a purposive sampling technique where I selected all images of out-group males, as long as they fit my inclusion criteria, first, which I will discuss in the next section. Then, because of the wide variation in the number of advertisements between *Esquire* and *Ebony*, the third stage consisted of a stratified sampling technique. The stratified sampling technique was employed to avoid oversampling of any one magazine, and thus to ensure a representative sample for each magazine. For *Esquire*, I selected every 9th advertisement, and for *Ebony* I selected every 13th advertisement. Therefore, the final sample consists of 519 advertisements with a total of 753 individual models.

3.4 Coding

I developed a coding scheme deductively and inductively. I developed my coding scheme from existing empirical work and theory that explores masculinity and men's bodies, and the changes that have developed over time in advertising, TV, and film. This

method facilitates comparison against existing findings and also allows exploration into new questions that pertain to the particular study (Luyt 2012). Moreover, I added additional codes to the coding scheme based off the data.

For my product variable, I created the categories “automotive and related,” “domestic goods,” “finance,” “electronic retail,” “food,” “personal care,” and “leisure/entertainment,” verbatim, from Luyt’s (2012) study. However, I created the “medical,” “clothing/cologne/accessory brands,” “employment,” “travel,” and “sex industry” categories myself, and it was largely based off the data. For my headshot variable, I developed this variable and its categories, verbatim, from Hatton and Trautner’s (2011) study. For my age variable, I developed these categories from Luyt’s (2012) study. However, I created the “middle adulthood category” (36 to 46 years of age) myself. For my skin tone and hair tone variables, I developed these variables and categories, verbatim, from Baumann’s (2008) study. For my hair length, face shape, and facial hair variables, I created these variables and categories myself. For body weight, I developed this variable from Hildebrandt, Langenbucher, and Schlundt (2004) and Law and Labre’s (2002) study, and I created its categories based off these studies. For muscularity, I also developed this variable from Hildebrandt, Langenbucher, and Schlundt (2004) and Law Labre’s (2002) study, as well as from Aubrey and Frisbey’s study (2011), and I created its categories based off these studies. For body type, I developed this variable from Morrison and Halton’s (2009) study, and I created its categories based off this study. For my dress and tattoo variables, I created these variables and categories myself.

For my independence variable, I developed this variable from Goffman (1979) and Luyt's study (2012), and I created its categories based off these studies, as well as the data. For height, space, and location, I developed these variables from Goffman's (1979) study, and I created their categories myself. For my touch behavior variable, I created the variable and its categories, verbatim, from Goffman (1979) and Saraceno and Tambling's (2013) study. For my setting variable, I created the categories "inside of home," "outside of home," "at work," "in nature/wilderness," "vacation," "at the bar/out on the town," and "at school," verbatim, from Luyt's (2012) study. For the categories "in bed," blank background," "background is blurred," and "background is an abstract art design," I created these based off the data. For my task variable, I created the categories "hero," "urban man," "family man/nurturer," "breadwinner," "man at work," "erotic male," "consumer," and "quiescent man," verbatim, from Rohlinger's (2002) study. However, I created the "model" category myself, which was based off the data. For my hyper-masculinity variables, I created these variables, verbatim, from Vokey, Lea, Tefft, and Tysiaczny's (2013) study.

For my body exposure variable, I developed this variable and its categories from Aubrey and Frisbey (2011) and Hatton and Trautner's (2011) study. For model gaze, I developed this variable and its categories from Goffman (1979) and Rohlinger's (2002) study. For camera distance and skin texture, I created these two variables and their categories myself. Finally, for facial expression, I developed this variable from Goffman (1979) and Hatton and Trautner's (2011) study, and I created the categories "lips open/slightly parted," "object/hand in mouth," "broad-toothed smile," "actively singing/talking," and "passive, but wide open mouth," verbatim from Hatton and

Trautner's (2011) study. However, I created the "simple close lips smile" and "lips closed in a straight line" categories based off the data.

A fellow graduate student and I coded features of the advertisement as well as features of the primary visual model(s) within each advertisement. The inclusion and exclusion criterion for each advertisement can be found in Appendix A and is as follows. The coders will include ads that (1) are at least one-third of a page, (2) are at least one image of an adult man, (3) depict men as well as ads that depict men with women, and (4) are in black and white, as well as color. The coder will exclude ads that (1) do not contain any people, (2) are announcements for conferences, (3) are advertisements for TV shows and movies, (4) depict only females, (5) do not show significant body parts, for example, an ad that only depicts a model's hands or feet, or an ad that features blurry images of models in the background, (6) are less than one-third of a page, (7) show men as shadows, statues, animated images and other "unreal" portrayals of men are to be excluded, and (8) are editorials such as special promotional sections and fashion layouts. I excluded advertisements for TV shows and movie/movie releases because I wanted to focus on advertisements for tangible products and services. Also the models featured in advertisements for tangible products and services are people that the readers can immediately identify with or form some kind of personal connection with in comparison to advertisements for TV shows and movies. Additionally, if one ad extended over several pages, it was regarded as one, single ad. Also, if the same model was depicted several times in the same advertisement, but in different ways, whether it was through appearance, body position or activity, each depiction was regarded as a different figure. Furthermore, debate exists as to whether repeat advertisements should be included in

studies (Gerbner and Gross 1976; Luyt 2012). Cultivation theory (Gerbner and Gross 1976) argues for the inclusion of repeated ads on the basis that repeated ads accurately exemplifies cultural “cultivation” via repetitive images. As such, I included repeat advertisements in the study.

Each coder was given a codebook and a coding sheet. The codebook consists of the following sections. These sections are intended to assess basic features of the advertisements as well as different aspects of hegemonic masculinity. Below I discuss the theoretical relevance of each section. Please see Appendix B for the entire codebook.

- A. *Magazine and Advertisement Demographics*. These variables include magazine type, publication year of magazine, and product advertised.
- B. *Physical Appearance/Body Adornment*. Hegemonic masculinity privileges a particular kind of male body, *a muscular, white male body* (emphasis added) (Howson 2013:66). Additionally, a hegemonic masculine body is described as one, which is lean, muscular, powerful, free from blemish yet rugged, and sexually attractive (Atkinson 2007). Furthermore, the “ideal” man is defined as, “young, usually white, particularly muscular, strong jawed, clean shaven, healthy, sporty, successful, virile, and ultimately sexy” (Vandenbosch and Eggermont 2013: 285). These variables include age, race, face shape, hair length and facial hair, body weight, muscularity, body type, dress, jewelry, and the presence of wrinkles and tattoos.
- C. *Social Position/Status*. Hegemonic masculinity emphasizes independence, authority, un-emotionality, heterosexuality, and emphasizes the importance for men to have active and engaging lifestyles outside of the home (Connell 1995;

Kimmel 2012; Luyt 2012). Hegemonic masculinity exists in relation to emphasized femininity such that femininity can only be defined in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Femininity is defined as anything that is not masculine where feminization refers to making an individual or thing more characteristic of or associated with femininity (Connell 1995). It also refers to emasculation which is defined as making a man appear less, weaker, or less effective, and/or depriving a man of his male identity or role. These variables include independence, height, location, space, touch behavior, setting, and task.

- D. *Hyper-masculinity*. Defined as an exaggeration of hegemonic masculine behaviors, or as (1) violence as manly, (2) toughness as emotional self-control, and (3) danger as exciting (Vokey et. al., 2013). These variables include the presence of weapons, and the extent of physical violence, verbal violence, sexual violence, toughness, stoicism, anger, drugs, gambling, riskiness, and danger.
- E. *Sexual objectification*. Sexual objectification is defined as, “the experience of being treated as a body (or collection of body parts) valued predominantly for its use to (or consumption by) others” (Frederickson and Roberts 1997). Furthermore, “sexualization” is described by the APA as evaluating individuals based on their sexual appeal or sexual behavior, equating standards of appearance to being sexually attractive, sexually objectifying a person, and/or inappropriately imposing sexuality on individuals (Gill 2009). I will measure sexual objectification by body exposure, gaze, camera distance, skin texture, and facial expression (Aubrey and Frisbey 2011; Goffman 1979; Hatton and Trautner 2011).

3.5 Data Collection

In order to ensure the integrity and reliability of my project, I hired a secondary coder. The secondary coder was a fellow young, white male graduate student in the sociology department. By hiring a male secondary coder, my goal was to reduce any partiality on my part as a heterosexual, female researcher studying male bodies. Coder training took place over a four-week period. During the first week of training, I introduced the coder to the project and walked him through the codebook. I explained each variable to him, and discussed how to make the appropriate selection based on the operational definitions given. The following three weeks of training consisted of practice sessions and independent coding tests. Practice sessions consisted of open coding where the coder and I coded images together. This allowed for us to address any ambiguities in the coding scheme early on, and subsequent revisions were made in the codebook. After a week of practice sessions, we then began to conduct independent coding tests on a subsample I randomly selected. After each test, I calculated a simple percent agreement rating for each variable. The variables that had a low percent agreement, i.e., below .7, were subsequently assessed and discussed between the secondary coder and I in order to resolve the discrepancies in agreement. After the discussions, the codebook was revised for clarity, and to reflect the changes we agreed upon. This process was repeated until each variable had a percent agreement of at least .9. The subsample used for the practice sessions and independent coding tests was not included in the final analysis.

Once all the discrepancies in agreement and ambiguities were resolved and the subsequent changes were made to the codebook, I assigned images to the secondary coder. It took approximately three weeks for the secondary coder to complete the coding

process. Once the process was completed, I also coded the images in order to get a final inter-coder reliability rate. Together, we double coded 5 percent of the sample or 50 advertisements total. To get the final inter-coder reliability rate, a simple percent agreement was calculated for each variable, and then averaged together for a final inter-coder reliability average. To ensure the reliability of the project, I required an average percent agreement of at least .7 (Neuendorf 2002). The final inter-coder reliability average emerged as .9, thus ensuring the reliability of the project. The variables that had a percent agreement below .9 were dress (.88), space (.86), model touch (.86), muscularity (.8), setting (.76), and task (.88). Upon examination, the discrepancies in agreement for these variables were minor, and thus should not seriously affect the reliability of the project.

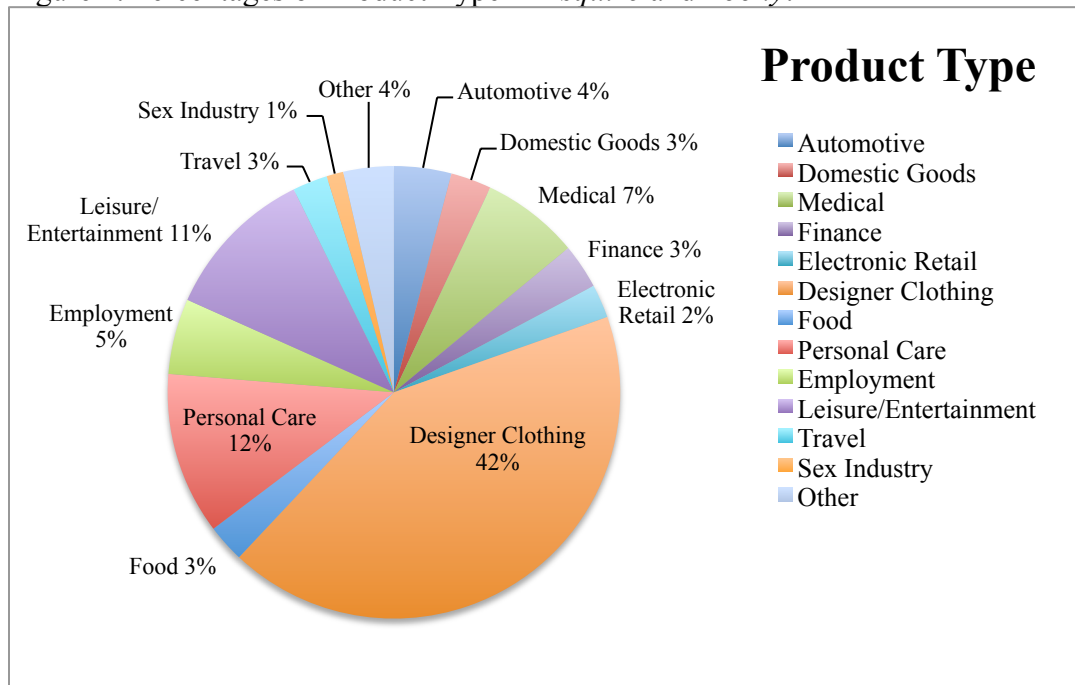
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

For the 521 advertisements included in the sample, there are a total of 753 individual models. On occasion, more than one model is depicted in the advertisements, and I therefore treated each model, as long as they fit my inclusion criteria, as a separate case. With a total of 40 variables, my variables are broken down into five major groups. Variables that assess the (1) features of the advertisement, (2) the model's physical appearance and body adornment, (3) social position/status, (4) level of violent/dangerous behavior, and (5) the extent of sexual objectification. The last four groups are intended to measure different aspects of hegemonic masculinity.

Esquire makes up a larger portion (57 percent) of the sample than *Ebony* (43 percent) ($N=429$ for *Esquire* and $N=324$ for *Ebony*). The majority of the men are depicted in advertisements geared toward selling clothing brands, accessory brands, and cologne

brands. The prevalence of these advertisements is due to their high over-representation in *Esquire* magazine. Followed by this type of advertising are advertisements geared toward personal care products, leisure and entertainment products, medical products, and advertisements geared toward employment (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Percentages of Product Type in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.



Physical Appearance and Body Adornment

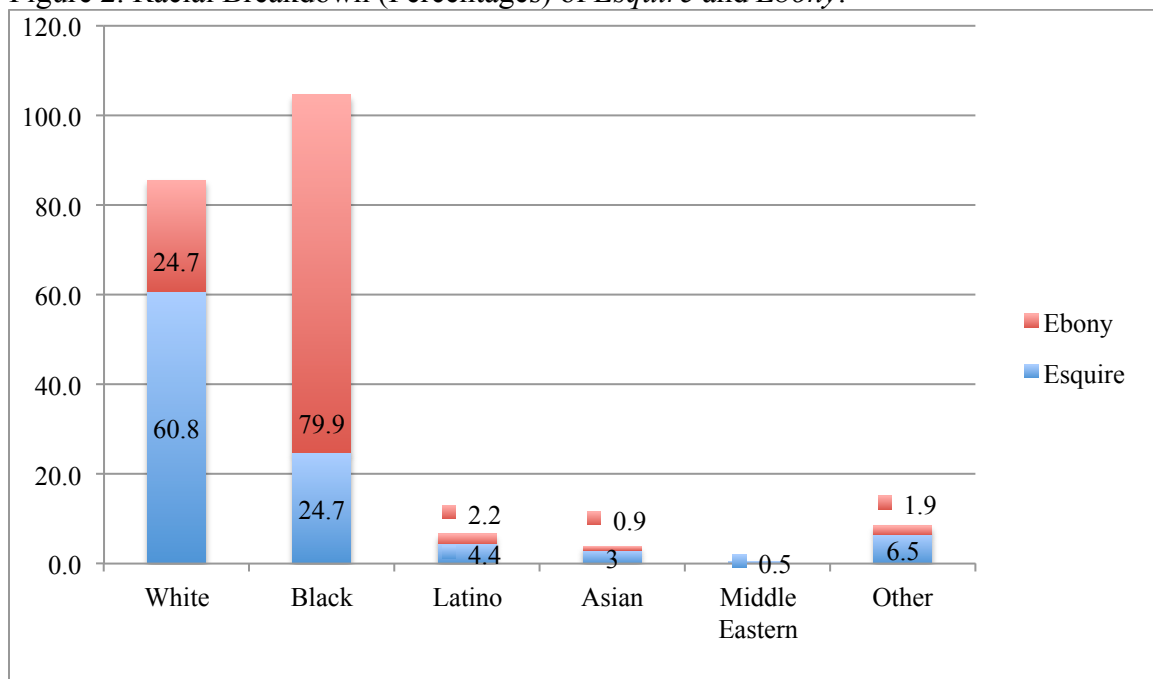
The variables analyzed in this group are age, race, hair length, face shape, facial hair, wrinkles, body weight, muscularity, body type, dress, and tattoos. I used descriptive statistics to analyze these variables. Additionally, I recoded the response categories for face shape, facial hair, and muscularity. For face shape and facial hair, I recoded the categories in order to make them dichotomous. I dichotomized these variables because hegemonic masculinity privileges defined jawlines and a clean-shaven face. Therefore, by recoding these variables I was attempting to explore the significance of this binary in the advertisements in order to make a stronger case for the version of masculinity the

advertisements are exhibiting.

For face shape, I relabeled the response category “strong, square jawline” as “defined jawline” and it retained its numerical category of 0. I then combined “combination square, rounded jawline” and “rounded, soft jawline into one category” (represented by one) and renamed it “undefined jawline,” and I recoded “not discernable” as missing data. For facial hair, the category “clean-shaven” retained its label and category of 0. I then combined “five O’clock shadow,” “moustache/partial beard,” and “full beard” into a single category (represented by one) and relabeled it “facial hair,” and I recoded “not discernable” as missing data. For muscularity, I combined “toned/somewhat muscular” and “muscular,” and relabeled this category “muscular” and it is represented by 1. The response categories “not muscular” and “very muscular” retained their labels, but I recoded the numerical category for “very muscular” to two. I also recoded “not discernable” as missing data.

Among the 753 individual men, the majority of the men are depicted as young adults (20-35 years of age) at 43.6 percent. In decreasing proportion, the “young adulthood” category is followed by “middle adulthood” (36-46 years of age) at 39.4 percent, “mature adulthood” (47-64 years of age) at 12.9 percent, and the “elderly” category (65 years or older) at 3.9 percent. Black men make up the majority of the sample, which is followed closely by white men, then Latino men, Asian, other/unknown, and Middle Eastern. The large proportion of black men in my sample is due to their high over-representation in *Ebony* (e.g., Figure 2 below).

Figure 2. Racial Breakdown (Percentages) of *Esquire* and *Ebony*.



Furthermore, a majority of the advertisements depict men as having short hair, defined jawlines, and a clean-shaven face. For the body variables—weight, muscularity, and body type—this data is based on men where their body weight, muscularity, and body type are discernable. As a result, the majority of the men are depicted as having an average body weight. For muscularity, a little over half of all men have a muscularity that is not discernable (52.3 percent). However, when muscularity is discernable, a majority of the men are depicted as having some form of muscle definition, either toned or muscular, but not hyper-muscular. Subsequently, the majority of the men are depicted as having a mesomorphic body type (compact and toned/muscular) as opposed to an ectomorphic (long and lanky) or an endomorphic body type (round and soft, with a high proportion of fat tissue). Moreover, a majority of the advertisements depict men wearing casual dress. Semi-formal/business dress, business casual, not applicable, and ultra-casual dress follows casual dress in decreasing proportion. Lastly, for tattoos, 98 percent of men

are depicted without tattoos. The data is summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Modal Categories and Percentages (in Parenthesis) of Physical Appearance and Body Adornment Variables for *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Variables	Modal Categories
<i>Physical Appearance:</i>	
Social Age	Young Adulthood (43.6%) N=753
Hair Length	Short (77.4%) N=753
Face Shape	Defined Jawline (69.2%) N=662
Facial Hair	Clean-Shaven (54.6%) N=735
Wrinkles	No Wrinkles (91.2%) N=753
Body Weight	Average (91.7%) N=726
Muscularity	Muscular (70.5%) N=359
Body Type	Mesomorphic (91%) N=714
Dress	Casual (36.7%) N=753
Tattoos	None (98%) N=753

Social Position and Status

The variables analyzed in this group are independence, height, touch behavior, setting, and task. I used descriptive statistics to analyze these variables as well.

Additionally, I recoded the response categories for independence, touch behavior, and setting in order to make them dichotomous. Hegemonic masculinity privileges independent men who have active and engaged lifestyles outside of the home. Therefore, by recoding these variables I was attempting to explore the significance of this binary in the advertisements in order to make a stronger case for the version of masculinity the advertisements are exhibiting. Additionally, previous studies examining masculinity in advertising employ similar dichotomies (Goffman 1979; Luyt 2012).

For independence, the “alone” category retained its label and its numerical category. I then combined “one other adult male,” “one other adult female,” “adult males and females,” “with child or children,” “with adult and children,” “2 or more adult males,” and “2 or more adult females” into a single category (represented by one) and relabeled it “not alone.” For touch behavior, the response categories “passive touch” and “utilitarian touch” retained their numerical categories and their labels. I then recoded “simple touch,” “intimate touch,” “very intimate,” and “depicting sex” as missing data. For setting, I combined “inside of home” and “outside of home” into a single category (represented by 0), and I labeled this new category “in or around the home.” I then combined “at work,” “in nature/wilderness,” “vacation,” “at the bar/out on the town,” “restaurants/shopping,” and “at school” into a single category (represented by one) and I labeled it “away from home.” Finally, I recoded “in bed,” “blank background/backdrop,” “blurred background,” “abstract art design” as missing data.

A slightly higher proportion of men are depicted by their selves, i.e., alone, in the advertisements. However, being depicted alongside others, i.e., “not alone,” rivals the “alone” category at 49.7 percent. In analyzing the “not alone” category, men are

frequently depicted alongside other men (25.4 percent). Because a higher percentage of the advertisements depict men as alone, the highest proportion for the height variable is in the “not applicable” category. However, when men are pictured alongside others, they are depicted as about the same height (57.2 percent) or taller (33.3 percent) as opposed to being depicted as shorter (9.5 percent).

When engaging in touch behavior, the advertisements depict men as engaging in utilitarian touch (93.1 percent) as opposed to passive touch. Finally, the advertisements depict men in settings away from home as opposed to in or around the home. And, when performing a task, the advertisements depict men as performing the “consumer” role (see Table 3 below). The hero, model, erotic male, and quiescent man role follow the consumer role in decreasing proportion.

Table 3. Modal Categories and Percentages (in Parenthesis) of Social Position/Status Variables for *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

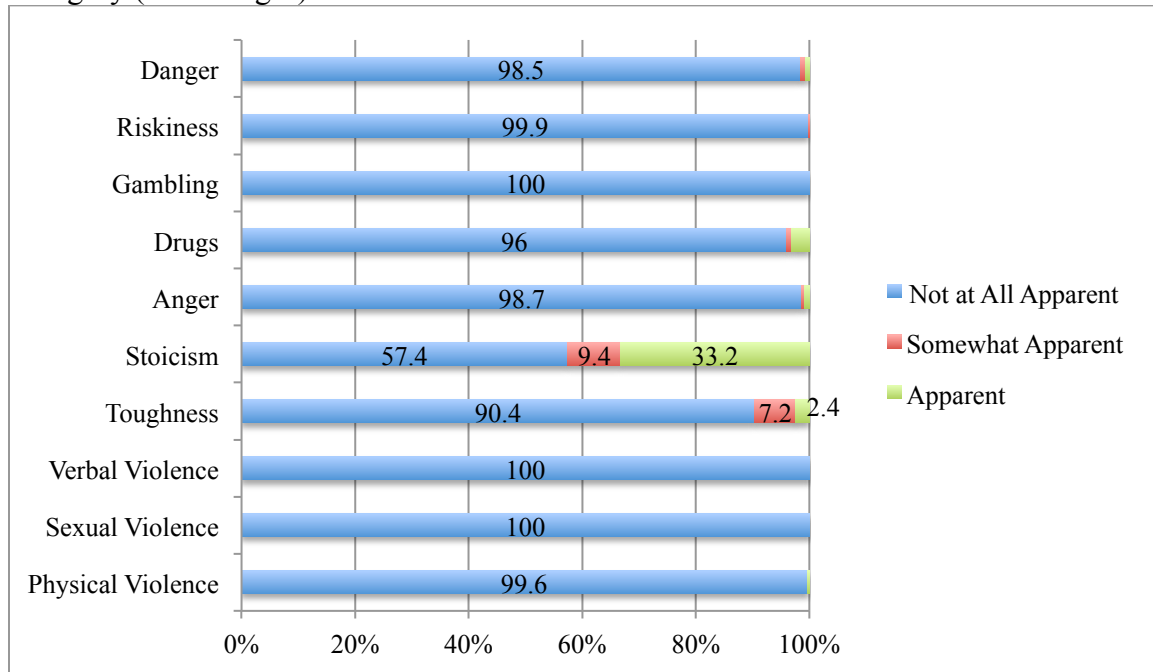
Variables	Modal Categories
<i>Social Position/Status:</i>	
Independence	Alone (50.3%) <i>N</i> =753
Height	Same Height (57.2%) <i>N</i> =369
Touch	Utilitarian (93.1%) <i>N</i> =318
Setting	Away from Home (70.5%) <i>N</i> =285
Task	Consumer (35.9%) <i>N</i> =753

Danger/Violence

This group is composed of eleven variables. It includes the weapons variable, and the variables that measure the extent of physical, verbal, and sexual violence, as well as toughness, stoicism, anger, drugs, gambling, riskiness, and danger in a given setting. All eleven variables have their highest frequencies in the “not at all apparent” category indicating that the presence of violent or dangerous behavior is very low. Three of these variables—verbal violence, sexual violence, and gambling—emerged as “not at all apparent” 100 percent of the time in the advertisements. Furthermore, I compiled 10 of these variables (excluding the “weapons” variable) into a hyper-masculinity index. The purpose of the index is to measure the extent of hyper-masculine behavior in the advertisements for *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

To compile the hyper-masculinity index, I recoded the variable’s response categories as follows. The “not at all apparent” and “somewhat apparent” response categories retained their original labels and numerical categories. However, I combined the “apparent” and “very apparent” response categories into a single category (represented by two) and labeled it “apparent.” As a result, the possible range of the index is from 0 to 20. However, the highest score on the index is nine. On a scale of 0 to nine, the average score is one, with the majority of the rankings (52.5 percent) falling in the 0 category. It is apparent that stoicism and toughness are the variables that are carrying most of the weight in the hyper-masculinity index (see Figure 3 below). Stoicism and toughness are mild forms of hyper-masculine behavior when compared to physical, verbal, and sexual violence, for example. As a result, the men depicted in the *Esquire* and *Ebony*’s advertisements exhibit mild forms of hyper-masculine behavior.

Figure 3. Variables in the Hyper-masculinity Index: Breakdown of Each Response Category (Percentages).



Sexual Objectification

The four variables I analyzed in this group are body exposure, model's gaze, camera distance, and facial expression. I used descriptive statistics to analyze these variables. Additionally, for body exposure, I recoded the response categories in order to make it a dichotomous variable. Previous research on the male body reveals that men's bodies are more likely to be exposed, and thus eroticized and sexualized today (Bordo 1999; Gill 2009). Therefore, by dichotomizing this variable I was attempting to explore this phenomenon. Subsequently, I relabeled the response category "body not exposed" as "no exposure" and I recoded its numerical value to 0. I then combined "shirt/pants unbuttoned," "whole upper body exposed," "back exposed," "back and top of buttocks exposed," and "whole body exposed" into a single category (represented by one), and labeled it "body exposed."

The majority of men in the advertisements are depicted as fully clothed where their bodies are not exposed in any kind of way. This is an interesting finding because it suggests that the presence of the semi-naked male body is not as prevalent in advertising as previous research might suggest (Bordo 1999). Moreover, the advertisements are most likely to depict men as looking straight at the camera, i.e., holding steady eye contact, and the most frequent camera angle that is used in the advertisements is a distant camera angle, i.e., a full-length or almost full-length body shot. Finally, for facial expression, 36 percent of men are depicted as having a stoic facial expression, i.e., lips closed in a straight line, followed by broad-toothed smile (24.3 percent), and simple closed lips smile (20.1 percent). The data is summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Modal Categories and Percentages (in Parenthesis) of Sexual Objectification Variables for *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Variables	Modal Categories
<i>Sexual Objectification:</i>	
Body Exposure	Not Exposed (85.8%) <i>N</i> =753
Gaze	At Camera (44.6%) <i>N</i> =753
Camera Distance	Distant (71.7%) <i>N</i> =753
Facial Expression	Lips Closed in Straight Line (36%) <i>N</i> =753

RQ1: Do depictions of masculinity vary by magazine type, i.e., Esquire and Ebony?

Hegemonic masculinity, rather than being a fixed character type, is dependent on context. As a result, my first research question assumes that the type of masculinity

exhibited in *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements will vary. However, the extent to which they vary is the crux of what I am exploring in RQ1.

In order to explore RQ1, I conducted a series of chi-square tests to explore the differences in the variables for *Esquire* and *Ebony*. I required a p value of .05 or less in order for the data to be considered statistically significant. Moreover, the analyses in the following sections are based off of the recoded variables mentioned in the previous section, plus the additional recode of the race variable. Since my analysis is of black and white men, I recoded the race variable to make it dichotomous in order to reflect this. As such, the response categories for "white" and "African American" retained their original numerical categories and labels, and all other response categories were treated as missing data. In addition to the recoded variables, I also analyzed the original variables when necessary. I will address the variables by the groups outlined earlier.

Physical appearance and body adornment. For this group of variables, only one variable emerged as *not* significantly different based on magazine type, which is the tattoos variable. Therefore, both *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements depict men without tattoos. However, a majority of the variables emerged as significantly different according to the chi-square tests. These variables are age, race, hair length, facial hair, face shape, body weight, muscularity, body type, and dress.

As a result, 60.8 percent of the men depicted in *Esquire*'s advertisements are white [$\chi^2 (1, N = 675) = 205.53, p < .001$] and who are younger, i.e., in the young adulthood category (20-35 years of age), while *Ebony*'s advertisements feature men who are black (79.9 percent) and older, i.e., in the middle adulthood category (36-46 years of age), and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (3, N = 751) = 54.99, p < .001$] (see Table 6 below).

Table 6. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Age in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	AGE				Total
	Young Adulthood	Middle Adulthood	Mature Adulthood	Elderly	
<i>Esquire</i>	54.8% (234)	34.2% (146)	8.7% (37)	2.3% (10)	100% (427)
<i>Ebony</i>	29% (94)	46.6% (151)	18.5% (60)	5.9% (19)	100% (324)
Total	43.7% (328)	39.5% (297)	12.9% (97)	3.9% (29)	751

Chi Square 54.99
p < .001

Because *Ebony's* advertisements feature men who are older, 11.7 percent of the men in *Ebony's* advertisements are depicted as having wrinkles while only 6.5 percent of *Esquire's* men do, and the difference is significant [$X^2(1, N = 753) = 6.25, p < .05$].

Moreover, *Esquire's* advertisements depict men with clean-shaven faces, while *Ebony's* advertisements depict men with facial hair, and the difference is significant [$X^2(1, N = 744) = 5.34, p < .001$]. The greater presence of men who have facial hair in *Ebony's* advertisements also reflects the idea that the men presented in its advertisements are older, and thus conform to a more traditional version of hegemonic masculinity (see Table 7 below).

Table 7. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Facial Hair in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

FACIAL HAIR			
Magazine Type	Clean-Shaven	Facial Hair	Total
<i>Esquire</i>	56.4% (238)	43.6% (184)	100% (422)
<i>Ebony</i>	46.5% (150)	53.5% (172)	100% (322)
Total	52.2% (388)	47.8% (356)	744
Chi Square p < .001	5.34		

For hair length, although both *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements frequently depict men as having short hair, *Ebony*'s advertisements also depict men as having a bald or a shaved head, as well as a hat or a head covering, and the difference is significant [X^2 (4, $N = 753$) = 52.76, $p < .001$] (see Table 8 below).

Table 8. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Hair Length in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

HAIR LENGTH						
Magazine Type	Short	Medium	Long	Bald	Hat/Head Cover	Total
<i>Esquire</i>	85.8% (367)	4.2% (18)	.9% (4)	4.2% (18)	5.1% (22)	100% (429)
<i>Ebony</i>	66.7% (216)	2.2% (7)	3.1% (10)	12.7% (41)	15.4% (50)	100% (324)
Total	77.4% (583)	3.3% (25)	1.9% (14)	7.8% (59)	9.6% (72)	753
Chi Square p < .001	52.76					

While both *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements feature men with defined jawlines, 45.3

percent of the men in *Ebony*'s advertisements are featured with undefined jawlines while 20.3 percent of men in *Esquire*'s advertisements are depict with undefined jawlines, and the difference is significant [$X^2 (1, N = 662) = 47.32, p < .001$], (see Table 9 below).

Table 9. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Face Shape in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	FACE SHAPE		Total
	Not Defined	Defined	
<i>Esquire</i>	20.3% (78)	79.7% (306)	100% (384)
<i>Ebony</i>	45.3% (126)	54.7% (152)	100% (278)
Total	30.8% (204)	69.2% (458)	662

Chi Square 47.32
p < .001

Furthermore, for the body variables—body weight, muscularity, and body type—these results are based on men in the advertisements where their weight, muscularity, and body type is discernable. Therefore, both magazines feature men with an average body weight; however, 15.9 percent of men in *Ebony* are depicted as over-weight while 2.4 percent to men in *Esquire* are depicted as over-weight, and the difference is significant [$X^2 (2, N = 726) = 43.69, p < .001$] (see Table 10 below).

Table 10. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Body Weight in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	BODY WEIGHT			Total
	Underweight	Average	Over-weight	
<i>Esquire</i>	.2% (1)	97.4% (406)	2.4% (10)	100% (417)
<i>Ebony</i>	0% (0)	84.1% (260)	15.9% (49)	100% (309)
Total	.1% (1)	91.7% (666)	8.1% (59)	726
Chi Square	43.69			
p < .001				

For muscularity, both magazines depict men with muscle definition—either toned or muscular, but not hyper-muscular. However, 31.6 percent of men in *Ebony* are depicted as *not* muscular compared to *Esquire*'s 12.3 percent, and the difference is significant [X^2 (2, $N = 359$) = 22.58, $p < .001$] (see Table 11 below).

Table 11. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Muscularity in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	MUSCULARITY			Total
	Not Muscular	Muscular	Very Muscular	
<i>Esquire</i>	12.3% (25)	79.9% (163)	7.8% (16)	100% (204)
<i>Ebony</i>	31.6% (49)	58.1% (90)	10.3% (16)	100% (155)
Total	20.6% (74)	70.5% (253)	8.9% (32)	359
Chi Square	22.58			
p < .001				

In terms of body type, both *Esquire* and *Ebony* feature men with mesomorphic body types; however, 15.6 percent of men in *Ebony* are depicted as having endomorphic body

types compared to *Esquire's* 3.4 percent, and the difference is significant [X^2 (2, $N = 714$) = 32.91, $p < .001$] (see Table 12 below).

Table 12. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Body Type in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	BODY TYPE			Total
	Ectomorphic	Mesomorphic	Endomorphic	
<i>Esquire</i>	.2% (1)	96.3% (392)	3.4% (14)	100% (407)
<i>Ebony</i>	.3% (1)	84% (258)	15.6% (48)	100% (307)
Total	.3% (2.0)	91% (650)	8.7% (62)	714
Chi Square $p < .001$	32.91			

Finally, in terms of dress, both magazines most frequently depict casually dressed men (35.4 percent and 38.3 percent for *Esquire* and *Ebony* respectively). However, 14.8 percent of men in *Ebony's* advertisements are depicted as wearing ultra-casual dress, while 4.9 percent of men in *Esquire's* advertisements are. Also, 14.5 percent of men in *Ebony's* advertisements are depicted as wearing a uniform, while 2.6 percent of men in *Esquire's* are. On the other hand, 17.7 percent of men in *Esquire's* advertisements are depicted wearing business-casual dress, while 5.9 percent of *Ebony's* men are, and these differences are significant [X^2 (8, $N = 753$) = 94.59, $p < .001$].

Social position and status. In this group, variables that are *not* significantly different based on magazine type are location and touch. Men in *Esquire* and *Ebony's* advertisements are either centrally located or located in the forefront of the image. And, when men are shown as touching an object, they are depicted as engaged in utilitarian touch as opposed to passive touch. However, the trend, though not significant, is for

Esquire's advertisements to depict men engaging in passive touch at a higher rate than *Ebony*'s (3.7 percent and 1.9 percent for *Esquire* and *Ebony* respectively).

The variables that are different according to the chi-square tests are independence, height, setting, and task. While *Esquire*'s advertisements frequently depict men by themselves, *Ebony* frequently depicts men with people, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (1, N = 753) = 48.03, p < .001$] (see Table 13 below). Additionally, 6.5 percent of men in *Ebony*'s advertisements are depicted with children, while 2.1 percent of *Esquire*'s men are, and 5.6 percent of men in *Ebony*'s advertisements are depicted in family settings, while 0 percent of *Esquire*'s men are, and these differences are significant [$\chi^2 (7, N = 753) = 123.63, p < .001$].

Table 13. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Independence in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	INDEPENDENCE		
	Alone	Not Alone	Total
<i>Esquire</i>	61.3% (263)	38.7% (166)	100% (429)
<i>Ebony</i>	35.8% (116)	64.2% (208)	100% (324)
Total	50.3% (379)	49.7% (374)	753
Chi Square	48.03		
p < .001			

While both magazines feature men that are either taller or about the same height when pictured besides others, *Ebony* also features men who are shorter when pictured beside others, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (1, N = 369) = 9.36, p < .01$] (see Table 14 below).

Table 14. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Height in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	HEIGHT			Total
	Taller	Same Height	Shorter	
<i>Esquire</i>	24.4% (40)	71.3% (117)	4.3% (7)	100% (164)
<i>Ebony</i>	40.5% (83)	45.9% (94)	13.7% (28)	100% (205)
Total	33.3% (123)	57.2% (211)	9.5% (35)	369

Chi Square 9.36
p < .01

Moreover, while both magazines' advertisements depict men in settings away from home, *Ebony* also depicts men in settings in or around the home, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (1, N = 285) = 5.36, p < .05$] (see Table 15 below).

Table 15. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Setting in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

Magazine Type	SETTING		Total
	In/Around Home	Away from Home	
<i>Esquire</i>	22.4% (28)	77.6% (97)	100% (125)
<i>Ebony</i>	35% (56)	65% (104)	100% (160)
Total	29.5% (84)	70.5% (201)	285

Chi Square 5.36
p < .05

Lastly, 32.6 of men in *Esquire*'s advertisements are depicted as performing the model role while 4.3 percent of *Ebony*'s men are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (10, N = 753) = 183.45, p < .001$]. On the other hand, 38.8 percent of *Ebony*'s advertisements

depict men performing the consumer role, whereas 30.3 percent of *Esquire's* advertisements do. Additionally, 9 percent of *Ebony's* advertisements depict men performing the family man/nurturer role, whereas 1.6 percent of *Esquire's* advertisements depict men performing this role, and the difference is significant [$X^2(10, N = 753) = 183.45, p < .001$]. And, while it is not significant, 6.8 percent of *Esquire's* advertisements depict men performing the erotic male role, while 3.1 percent of *Ebony's* advertisements do. These findings provide strong evidence for the idea that *Esquire* and *Ebony's* advertisements are appealing to different versions of hegemonic masculinity (RQ1).

Violence/Danger. As I mentioned earlier, I created an index for this group of variables. To gauge the differences in hyper-masculinity by magazine, I conducted a t-test, as well as a linear regression analysis. For the t-test, the difference between *Esquire* and *Ebony's* mean score on the hyper-masculinity index emerged as significant ($p < .001$). To support this finding, I conducted a regression analysis in addition to the t-test. The regression analysis emerged as significant as well ($p < .001$). The regression analysis reveals that as a unit increases by one, where 0 represents *Esquire* and 1 represents *Ebony*, the value of hyper-masculinity decreases by .832 units. Combined, these two tests confirm that men in *Esquire's* advertisements are more likely to exhibit hyper-masculine behaviors than men in *Ebony's* advertisements. Particularly, men in *Esquire's* advertisements appear stoic [$X^2(3, N = 753) = 87.45, p < .001$], tough [$X^2(3, N = 753) = 15.99, p < .01$], and, to a lesser extent, are depicted in dangerous settings [$X^2(2, N = 753) = 8.43, p < .05$], and the differences are significant. The t-test and regression analysis results are provided in Table 16 and 17 below.

Table 16. Mean Difference *t* Value Based on T-test of Hyper-masculinity Index by Magazine Type (Percentages of Score).

Indexed Variable	<i>Esquire's</i> Mean Score	<i>Ebony's</i> Mean Score	Mean Difference <i>t</i> Value
Hyper-masculinity	2.13 N=429	.61 N=324	.000

Notes: scores are based on the hyper-masculinity index with a scale of 0 to 9, where 0 to 6 represent a low score and 7 to 9 represent a moderate score on the scale.

Table 17. OLS Coefficient from the Linear Regression of Hyper-masculinity Index on Magazine Type.

Variable	Constant	Coefficient	<i>t</i> Value
Hyper-masculinity Index	1.357	-.832	.000

Notes: *Esquire* = 0; *Ebony* = 1.

Sexual Objectification. In this group, the variable that is *not* significantly different based on magazine type is camera distance. The most frequently used camera angle in the advertisements for both magazines is a distant camera angle rather than a close-up or extremely close-up angle.

The variables that emerged as different according to the chi-square tests are body exposure, gaze, and facial expression. Although both *Esquire* and *Ebony's* advertisements frequently depict fully clothed men, *Esquire's* advertisements also depict men with exposed bodies, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2(1, N = 753) = 45.62, p < .001$] (see Table 18 below).

Table 18. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Magazine Type by Body Exposure in *Esquire* and *Ebony*.

BODY EXPOSURE			
Magazine Type	Not Exposed	Exposed	Total
<i>Esquire</i>	78.3% (336)	21.7% (93)	100% (429)
<i>Ebony</i>	95.7% (310)	4.3% (14)	100% (324)
Total	85.8% (646)	14.2% (107)	753
Chi Square	45.62		
p < .001			

Particularly, 4.9 percent of men in *Esquire*'s advertisements are depicted men with loose or unbuttoned shirts with parts of their chest exposed, while .9 percent of men in *Ebony* are depicted this way. Additionally, 13.3 percent of men in *Esquire*'s advertisements are depicted as semi-naked with their upper bodies fully exposed, while .3 percent of *Ebony*'s men are depicted this way, and these differences are significant [$X^2(5, N = 753) = 56.81, p < .001$]. In terms of gaze, while both *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements depict men as maintaining eye contact with the camera, 27 percent of men in *Esquire*'s advertisements are depicted as looking off into the distance, while 15.4 percent of men in *Ebony* are looking off into the distance. Additionally, 13.6 percent of men in *Ebony* and 4.7 percent of men in *Esquire* are depicted as looking at another person, and these differences are significant [$X^2(7, N = 753) = 43.79, p < .001$]. The prevalence of the model role in *Esquire*'s advertisements is primarily why men in *Esquire* are more likely to be looking off into the distance. Additionally, the high likelihood for *Ebony*'s

advertisements to depict men alongside others is primarily why men in *Ebony* are more likely to be looking at another person.

Lastly, while 50.6 percent of the men in *Esquire's* advertisements are depicted as having a stoic facial expression, i.e., lips closed in a straight line, 70.9 percent of men in *Ebony's* advertisements are depicted as smiling, either a simple closed lips smile or a broad-toothed smile, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2(4, N = 687) = 119.6, p < .001$]. This finding reflects the earlier finding that men in *Esquire* are more likely to exhibit hyper-masculine behavior than men in *Ebony*. It also reflects differences in the types of tasks the men in *Esquire* and *Ebony* are depicted as performing. For example, men performing the model role are depicted as having a stoic facial expression, while men performing the consumer role are depicted as having a smiling facial expression indicating a satisfied customer position.

The data compiled above for RQ1 is necessary in order to explore my subsequent hypotheses. The chi-square analyses enable me to assess and locate the version of masculinity the advertisements in *Esquire* and *Ebony* are exhibiting. From this data, I am now able to explore H1a and H1b. Both hypotheses are meant to explore how race impacts depictions of masculinity in the advertisements of *Esquire* and *Ebony*. Therefore, I hypothesize that in *Esquire*, depictions of white men are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of black men (H1a). Conversely, I hypothesize that in *Ebony*, depictions of black men are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of white men (H1b).

Esquire

In order to explore H1a, which predicts that depictions of white men in *Esquire's* advertisements are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of black men, I conducted a series of chi-square tests for these group of variables: physical appearance, social position/status, and sexual objectification. Additionally, I conducted multivariate analyses of race and face shape, body weight, and body type when controlling for age in order to rule out the possibility that age might be explaining more of the variability in these three variables than race. Moreover, to explore the effect of race on depictions of danger/violence in *Esquire's* advertisements, I conducted a t-test of race by the hyper-masculinity index. To support the findings from the t-test, I also conducted a linear regression analysis of the hyper-masculinity index on race.

Physical appearance and body adornment. In this group, the variables that are *not* significantly different depending on race are age, facial hair, wrinkles, muscularity, and tattoos. *Esquire's* advertisements depict both white and black men as men who are young adults age 20-35, have a smooth, clean-shaven and wrinkle-free face, and, when discernable, have a body with muscle definition without tattoos. Conversely, based on the chi-square analysis, the variables that are significantly different depending on race are hair length, dress, face shape, body weight and body type.

For hair length, while black and white men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., short hair, 16 percent of black men are depicted as wearing a hat or some kind of head covering whereas 1.5 percent of white men are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2(3, N = 367) = 29.49, p < .001$]. Furthermore, while black and white men have their greatest proportions in the same category for dress, i.e., casual dress, 6.6

percent of black men are depicted as wearing some kind of uniform, while 1.5 percent of white men are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (8, N = 367) = 19.09, p < .05$].

For face shape, while black and white men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., a defined jawline, 26.5 percent of black men are depicted as having a jawline that is undefined, while 14.2 percent of white men are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (1, N = 323) = 6.55, p < .05$] (see Table 19 below).

Table 19. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Face Shape in *Esquire*.

Race	FACE SHAPE		Total
	Not Defined	Defined	
White	14.2% (34)	85.8% (206)	100% (240)
Black	26.5% (22)	73.5% (61)	100% (83)
Total	17.3% (56)	82.7% (267)	323
Chi Square p < .05	6.55		

For body weight, while black and white men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., average body weight, 7.1 percent of black men are depicted as over-weight, while .4 percent of white men are depicted as over-weight, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (2, N = 358) = 14.99, p < .01$] (see Table 20 below).

Table 20. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Body Weight in *Esquire*.

BODY WEIGHT				
Race	Underweight	Average	Over-weight	Total
White	.4% (1)	99.2% (257)	.4% (1)	100% (259)
Black	0% (0)	92.9% (92)	7.1% (7)	100% (99)
Total	.3% (1)	97.5% (349)	2.2% (8)	358
Chi Square	14.99			
p < .01				

Consequently, 11 percent of black male bodies in *Esquire's* advertisements are depicted as endomorphic, while .4 percent of white male bodies are depicted as endomorphic, and the difference is significant [$X^2(2, N = 354) = 24.98, p < .001$] (see Table 21 below).

Table 21. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Face Shape in *Esquire*.

BODY TYPE				
Race	Ectomorphic	Mesomorphic	Endomorphic	Total
White	.4% (1)	99.2% (252)	.4% (1)	100% (254)
Black	0% (0)	89% (89)	11% (11)	100% (100)
Total	.3% (1)	96.3% (341)	3.4% (12)	354
Chi Square	24.98			
p < .001				

Additionally, for face shape, body weight, and body type, I wanted to rule out the possibility that age has a stronger effect on these three variables than race. In order to explore this possibility, I conducted multivariate analyses where I controlled for age. Since hegemonic masculinity privileges men who are young, I wanted to eliminate the

possibility that the relationship between race and these three variables is a spurious relationship when controlling for age. An additional reason for why I controlled for age is because *Esquire* targets an audience that is slightly older relative to other lifestyle magazines targeting men, for example, *GQ*, *Maxim*, and *Men's Health* (Ricciardelli et al. 2010). Consequently, I wanted to eliminate the possibility that the relationship between race and face shape, body weight, and body type is only a statistical outcome based on their respective relationship with age. If the relationship between race and these three variables is only a statistical outcome based on their respective relationship with age, then it considerably weakens my argument that differences between black and white men are reinforced through depictions of the body in *Esquire* and *Ebony's* advertisements.

When controlling for age, the relationship between race and face shape weakens for the young adulthood age category, but strengthens for both the middle and mature adulthood age categories, and does not change for the elderly age category. Therefore, age has an interactional effect on the relationship between race and face shape. It is apparent that men who are depicted as older have an undefined jawline. Yet, complicating matters, race still plays a role in depictions of men's face shape. Particularly, for the middle adulthood category, age strengthens the relationship between race and face shape, and the difference between black and white men is significant [$\chi^2(1, N = 322) = 6.89, p < .01$]. Consequently, 26.1 percent of black men who are classified as middle adults are depicted as having an undefined jawline compared to 6.9 percent of white men in the same age category, thus providing support for H1a. However, support for H1a is mitigated by the data that shows that there is no difference in the face shapes

of black and white men who are young adults. The data is summarized in Table 22 below.

Table 22. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Face shape in *Esquire*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Face Shape	.020	.325
Age*Face Shape		
Young Adulthood	.011	
Middle Adulthood	.063**	
Mature Adulthood	.106	
Elderly	.020	

^aGoodman and Kruskal Tau measure of association.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

For body weight, when controlling for age, the relationship between race and body weight slightly weakens for the “young adult” and “middle adult” age categories. However, it strengthens for the “mature adult” age category, and is significant [$X^2(1, N = 357) = 3.41, p < .01$]. Therefore, similar to face shape, age has an interactional effect on the relationship between race and body weight. Black men who are depicted as mature adults are depicted as over-weight while white men who are depicted as mature adults are not (0 percent and 42.9 percent for white and black men respectively), thus providing support for H1a. Mitigating support for H1a, however, the relationship between race and body weight weakens for the “young adult” and “middle adult” age categories, and the difference between depictions of white and black men’s body weights is not significant; both groups of men are depicted as having average body weights. The data is summarized in Table 23 below.

Table 23. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Body Weight in *Esquire*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Body Weight	.034	.036
Age*Body Weight		
Young Adulthood	.012	
Middle Adulthood	.027	
Mature Adulthood	.354**	
Elderly	.	

^aGoodman and Kruskal Tau measure of association.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Finally, the multivariate analysis for body type reveals that age acts as an interactional variable in the relationship between race and body type. When controlling for age, age considerably strengthens the relationship between race and body type for the “mature adult” age category, and the difference between black and white men is statistically significant [$X^2(1, N = 353) = 11.84, p < .01$]. Furthermore, for the “middle adult” category, age slightly weakens the relationship, however the difference between white and black men’s body types is still significant [$X^2(1, N = 353) = 6.87, p < .01$]. Therefore, as the men age, black men are depicted as having endomorphic body types while white men are not depicted as having endomorphic body types. This is particularly true for the “mature adulthood” age category (0 percent and 6.9 percent for white and black men respectively), and for the “middle adulthood” age category (0 percent and 60 percent for white and black men respectively), thus providing support for H1a. Mitigating support for H1a, however, is the relationship between race and body type for the “young adult” age category. The relationship between race and body type diminishes for the “young adult” age category, and there is not a significant difference in depictions of body types for white and black men. In other words, both black and white men who are young

adults are depicted as having mesomorphic body types. The data is summarized below in Table 24.

Table 24. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Body Type in *Esquire*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Body Type	.062	.067
Age*Body Type		
Young Adulthood	.013	
Middle Adulthood	.054**	
Mature Adulthood	.474***	
Elderly	.	

^aGoodman and Kruskal Tau measure of association.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (two-tailed tests).

Social position and status. For this group of variables, the majority of the variables in this category are *not* significantly different based on race. These variables are independence, height, location, touch, and setting. Therefore, the majority of men in *Esquire's* advertisements are depicted as alone, and when they are depicted alongside others, they are either taller or about the same height, where there are no differences based on race. Additionally, both groups of men are either located in the forefront of the image or are centrally located in the image as opposed to the background of the image. For touch, the advertisements depict both groups of men as engaging in utilitarian touch as opposed to passive touch. Finally, for setting, both groups of men are depicted in settings away from home.

Conversely, the variable that emerged as significantly different is task. In *Esquire's* advertisements, while 42.1 percent of white men are depicted as performing the model role, 14.2 percent of black men are, and the difference is significant [$X^2(9, N = 367) = 48.70, p < .001$]. On the other hand, 46.2 percent of black men are depicted as performing the consumer role, while 23.4 percent of white men are, and the difference is significant

$[X^2(9, N = 367) = 48.70, p < .001]$. Additionally, 9.2 percent of white men and 1.9 percent of black men are associated with the erotic male role, and the difference is significant $[X^2(9, N = 367) = 48.70, p < .001]$. These two particular findings provide strong support for H1a.

Danger/Violence. As I mention earlier, the variables in this category are compiled into a hyper-masculinity index. I demonstrate in independent samples t-tests and regression analyses that the men in *Esquire's* advertisements are significantly more likely to exhibit hyper-masculine behaviors, particularly men in *Esquire* are more likely to appear stoic, tough, and depicted in dangerous settings, than men in *Ebony's* advertisements. However, in this section I will explore if race has an effect on depictions of hyper-masculinity in *Esquire's* advertisements. To assess this difference, I conducted a t-test and a regression analysis of hyper-masculinity on race. The results for the t-test reveal that while white men are depicted as more hyper-masculine than black men the difference is not significant (see Table 25 below). Moreover, the results for the regression analysis reveal no significant difference either, and support the t-test finding (see Table 26 below). These findings are not in favor of H1a.

Table 25. Mean Values and *t* Value based on an Independent Samples T-test of Race by Hyper-masculinity Index in *Esquire* Magazine.

Indexed Variable	White Mean Score	Black Mean Score	Mean Difference <i>t</i> value
Hyper-masculinity	1.37 N=261	1.24 N=106	.420

Notes: scores are based on the hyper-masculinity index with a scale of 0 to 9, where 0 to 6 represent a low score and 7 to 9 represent a moderate score on the scale.

Table 26. OLS Coefficient from the Linear Regression of Hyper-masculinity on Race in *Esquire* Magazine.

Indexed Variable	Constant	Coefficient	t Value
Hyper-masculinity	1.372	-.136	.349

Notes: White = 0; Black = 1.

Sexual Objectification. In this group, the variables that are *not* significantly different based on race are gaze and camera distance. Therefore, both groups of men are depicted as looking straight at the camera. Additionally, the camera angle is a distant camera angle for both white and black men. On the other hand, the variables that are significantly different depending on race are body exposure and facial expression.

For body exposure, while black and white men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., body not exposed, 28.7 percent of white male bodies are exposed, while 5.7 percent of black male bodies are exposed, and the difference is significant [χ^2 (1, $N = 367$) = 23.34, $p < .001$] (see Table 27 below).

Table 27. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Body Exposure in *Esquire*.

Race	BODY EXPOSURE		Total
	Not Exposed	Exposed	
White	71.3% (186)	28.7% (75)	100% (261)
Black	94.3% (100)	5.7% (6)	100% (106)
Total	77.9% (286)	22.1% (81)	367
Chi Square	23.34		
p < .001			

Furthermore, 18 percent of white men are depicted as semi-naked where their whole upper body is exposed, i.e., chest, arms, and abdomen, while 3.8 percent of black men

are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (5, N = 367) = 32.44, p < .001$]. Additionally, 4.6 percent of white male bodies are depicted as fully exposed, while 0 percent of black male bodies are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (5, N = 367) = 32.44, p < .001$]. These findings provide further support for H1a.

For facial expression, 52.5 percent of white men are depicted as having a stoic facial expression, and 34 percent of black men are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (5, N = 367) = 19.66, p < .01$]. However, 41.5 percent of black men are depicted as smiling (either simple closed lips or broad-toothed smile), whereas 23.4 percent of white men are, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (5, N = 367) = 19.66, p < .01$].

Ebony

In order to explore H1b, which predicts that depictions of black men in *Ebony's* advertisements are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of white men, I conducted a series of chi-square tests for each group of variables with additional post-hoc analyses when necessary: physical appearance, social position/status, and sexual objectification. Similar to *Esquire*, I also conducted multivariate analyses of race and face shape, body weight, muscularity, and body type when controlling for age in order to rule out the possibility that age might be explaining more of the variability in these three variables than race. Finally, to explore the effect of race on depictions of danger/violence in *Ebony's* advertisements, I conducted a t-test of race by the hyper-masculinity index. To support the findings from the t-test, I also conducted a linear regression analysis of the hyper-masculinity index on race.

Physical appearance and body adornment. In this group of variables, the variables that are *not* significantly different depending on race are wrinkles and tattoos. *Ebony's*

advertisements depict both black and white men as free of wrinkles and tattoos.

Conversely, the variables that are significantly different based on the chi-square analyses are age, hair length, face shape, facial hair, body weight, muscularity, body type, and dress.

While the advertisements depict both groups of men as in their middle adulthood, ages 36-46, 33.6 percent of black men and 8.2 percent of white men are depicted as young adults, and the difference is significant [$X^2(3, N = 308) = 19.87, p < .001$]. Conversely, 36.7 percent of white men and 15.1 percent of black men are depicted as mature adults, ages 47-64 (see Table 28 below).

Table 28. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Age in *Ebony*.

Race	AGE				Total
	Young Adulthood	Middle Adulthood	Mature Adulthood	Elderly	
White	8.2% (4)	46.9% (23)	36.7% (18)	8.2% (4)	100% (49)
Black	33.6% (87)	45.6% (118)	15.1% (39)	5.8% (15)	100% (259)
Total	91% (29.5)	45.8% (141)	18.5% (57)	6.2% (19)	308
Chi Square	19.87				
p < .001					

Furthermore, for hair length, while the greatest proportion for both groups of men is the same, i.e., short hair, 15.8 percent of black men and 0 percent of white men are depicted as bald, and the difference is significant, [$X^2(4, N = 308) = 17.16, p < .01$]. However, when the category bald is included in the “short hair” category, the significant difference the chi-square captured disappears [$X^2(3, N = 308) = 5.08, p = .166$], where 78.4 percent of black men and 91.8 percent of white men are depicted as having short hair [$X^2(3, N =$

308) = 5.08, $p = .166$]. For facial hair, 54.7 percent of black men are depicted as having facial hair while only 12.5 percent of white men are, and the difference is significant [$X^2(1, N = 306) = 28.81, p < .001$] (see Table 29 below). Particularly, 46.3 percent of black men are depicted as having either a moustache or a groomed beard, while 0 percent of white men are depicted as having a moustache or a partial beard.

Table 29. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Facial Hair in *Ebony*.

Race	FACIAL HAIR		Total
	Clean-Shaven	Facial Hair	
White	87.5% (42)	12.5% (6)	100% (48)
Black	45.3% (117)	54.7% (141)	100% (258)
Total	52.2% (159)	48% (147)	306

Chi Square 28.81
p < .001

Furthermore, black men are depicted as having a defined jawline, while white men are depicted as having an undefined jawline, and the difference is significant [$X^2(1, N = 265) = 16.94, p < .001$] (see Table 30 below).

Table 30. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Face Shape in *Ebony*.

Race	FACE SHAPE		Total
	Not Defined	Defined	
White	75% (27)	25% (9)	100% (36)
Black	38.4% (88)	61.6% (141)	100% (229)
Total	43.4% (115)	56.6% (150)	265

Chi Square 16.94
p < .001

For body weight, while both groups of men have their greatest proportion in the same category, i.e., average body weight, 32.6 percent of white men and 13.8 percent of black men are depicted as having an over-weight body type, and the difference is significant [$X^2 (1, N = 293) = 9.89, p < .01$] (see Table 31 below).

Table 31. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Body Weight in *Ebony*.

Race	BODY WEIGHT		Total
	Average	Over- weight	
White	67.4% (31)	32.6% (15)	100% (46)
Black	86.2% (213)	13.8% (34)	100% (247)
Total	83.3% (244)	16.7% (49)	293

Chi Square 9.89
p < .01

Consequently, 65.9 percent black male bodies are depicted as having muscle definition, while 23.1 percent of white male bodies are depicted as having muscle definition, and the difference is significant [$X^2(2, N = 149) = 31.74, p < .001$]. Thus, 76.9 percent of white male bodies are depicted as not having any muscle definition compared to 21.1 percent of black male bodies, and the difference is significant [$X^2(2, N = 149) = 31.74, p < .001$] (see Table 32 below).

Table 32. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Muscularity in *Ebony*.

Race	MUSCULARITY			Total
	Not Muscular	Muscular	Very Muscular	
White	76.9% (20)	23.1% (6)	0% (0)	100% (26)
Black	21.1% (26)	65.9% (81)	13% (16)	100% (123)
Total	30.9% (46)	58.4% (87)	20.7% (16)	149

Chi Square 31.74
p < .001

Further supporting these findings, for body type, while both groups of men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., a mesomorphic body type, 2.2 percent of white men are depicted as having an ectomorphic body type, while 0 percent of black men are, and the difference is significant [$X^2(2, N = 291) = 16.04, p < .001$]. Also, 32.6 percent of white men and 13.5 percent of black men are depicted as having endomorphic body types, and the difference is significant [$X^2(2, N = 291) = 16.04, p < .001$] (see Table 33 below).

Table 33. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Body Type in *Ebony*.

BODY TYPE				
Race	Ectomorphic	Mesomorphic	Endomorphic	Total
White	2.2% (1)	65.2% (30)	32.6% (15)	100% (46)
Black	0% (0)	86.5% (212)	13.5% (33)	100% (245)
Total	.3% (1)	83.2% (242)	16.5% (48)	291
Chi Square	16.04			
p < .001				

Finally, for dress, while both groups of men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., casual dress, 17.4 percent of black men are depicted in semi-formal/business dress, while 4.1 percent of white men are. Additionally, 8.5 percent of black men are depicted in sports/exercise wear while 0 percent of white men are, and these differences are significant [$\chi^2 (7, N = 308) = 19.03, p < .01$]. Moreover, 26.5 percent of white men and 12.7 percent of black men are depicted as wearing ultra-casual dress, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (7, N = 308) = 19.03, p < .01$]. Thus far, the differences in dress, facial hair and body weight, type, and muscularity provide strong support for H1b.

Additionally, for face shape, body weight, muscularity, and body type, I wanted to rule out the possibility that another variable, like age, could be having an effect on the relationship between race and these four body variables. Because men depicted in *Ebony's* advertisements are slightly older relative to *Esquire*, I wanted to eliminate the possibility that the relationship between race and face shape, body weight, muscularity, and body type is only a statistical outcome based on their respective relationship with

age. If the relationship between race and these four variables is only a statistical outcome based on their respective relationship with age, then it considerably weakens my argument that differences between black and white men are reinforced through depictions of the body in *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements. In order to explore this possibility, I conducted multivariate analyses of each of these variables when controlling for age. The results are as follows.

When controlling for age, the relationship between race and face shape weakens for the young, middle, and mature adulthood age categories. As a result, age has a greater effect on face shape than race, where age explains 46.8 percent of the variability in face shape, and race only explains 15.7 percent of the variability in face shape. Additionally, the relationship between age and face shape is significant [$X^2(3, N = 278) = 87.53, p < .001$]. The data is summarized below in Table 33.

Table 33. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Face Shape in *Ebony*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Face Shape	.157	.468***
Age*Face Shape		
Young Adulthood	.000	
Middle Adulthood	.083**	
Mature Adulthood	.000	
Elderly	.	

^aLambda measure of association.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Controlling for age when exploring the relationship between race and body weight reveals that age has an interactional effect on this relationship. For the “young adulthood” and “mature adulthood” categories, the relationship between race and body weight diminishes when controlling for age. However, for the “middle adulthood” category, age strengthens the relationship between race and body type, and this relationship is

statistically significant [$X^2(1, N = 293) = 6.09, p < .05$]. Therefore, 21.7 percent of white men in this age category are depicted as having over-weight body types when compared to 6 percent of black men in this age category. This is a particularly interesting finding because middle adulthood is the predominant age of the target audience. Finally, age considerably strengthens the relationship between race and body type for the “elderly” category. However, the difference between white and black men in this category is not significant. The data is summarized below in Table 34.

Table 34. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Body Weight in *Ebony*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Body Weight	.034	.286
Age*Body Weight		
Young Adulthood	.001	
Middle Adulthood	.043**	
Mature Adulthood	.000	
Elderly	.111	

^aGoodman and Kruskal Tau measure of association.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Similar to body weight, controlling for age when exploring the relationship between race and muscularity strengthens the relationship between race and muscularity for the “middle adulthood” category, and the relationship is significant [$X^2(2, N = 149) = 19.24, p < .001$]. Therefore, 72.7 percent of white men who are classified as middle adults are depicted as not muscular when compared to 12.5 percent of black men who are classified as middle adults. On the other hand, for the young adulthood and mature adulthood categories, age considerably weakens the relationship between race and muscularity. The data is summarized below in Table 35.

Table 35. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Muscularity in *Ebony*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Muscularity	.226	.571
Age*Muscularity		
Young Adulthood	.000	
Middle Adulthood	.294***	
Mature Adulthood	.000	

^aGoodman and Kruskal Tau measure of association.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

Finally, for body type, age acts as an interactional variable where it weakens some relationships and strengthens others. For the “young adulthood” and “mature adulthood” categories, age weakens the relationship between race and body type. Conversely, similar to body weight and muscularity, age strengthens the relationship between race and body type for the “middle adulthood” category, and the relationship is significant [$X^2(2, N = 291) = 10.72, p < .01$]. Therefore, 21.7 percent of white men who are classified as in their middle adulthood are depicted as having an endomorphic body type when compared to 6.3 percent of black men who are classified as middle adults. Furthermore, controlling for age strengthens the relationship between race and body type for the “elderly” category, but the relationship is not significant. The data is summarized below in Table 36.

Table 36. Multivariate Analysis of Age as an Interactional Variable in the Relationship between Race and Body Type in *Ebony*.

Variable	Race Effect ^a	Age Effect ^a
Body Type	.039	.261
Age*Body Type		
Young Adulthood	.001	
Middle Adulthood	.052**	
Mature Adulthood	.001	
Elderly	.067	

^aGoodman and Kruskal Tau measure of association.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests).

To summarize, for the “middle adulthood” category, age strengthens the relationship between race and body weight, muscularity, and body type. This is particularly significant because the predominant age of the target audience is men who are in this age category. Thus, for white men to be depicted as not as muscular or as fit as black men strongly supports H1b, i.e., that black men are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than white men in *Ebony*’s advertisements.

Social position and status. For this group the variables that are *not* significantly different depending on race are location, touch behavior, and setting. Therefore, both black and white men are depicted in the forefront or centrally located in the advertisement’s image, and the difference is not significant. Additionally, when engaging in touch behavior, both groups of men are depicted as engaging in utilitarian touch behavior, and the difference is not significant. Lastly, both groups of men are most likely to be depicted in settings away from home as opposed to in or around the home where the difference is not significant. On the other hand, the variables that are significantly different depending on race are independence, height, and task.

While the advertisements are most likely to depict both groups of men alongside others, 38.6 percent of black men and 22.4 percent of white men are depicted as by themselves, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2 (1, N = 308) = 4.67, p < .05$] (see Table 37 below).

Table 37. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Independence in *Ebony*.

INDEPENDENCE			
Race	Alone	Not Alone	Total
White	22.4% (11)	77.6% (38)	100% (49)
Black	38.6% (100)	61.4% (159)	100% (259)
Total	36% (111)	64% (197)	308

Chi Square 4.67
p < .05

Additionally, both groups of men are depicted with children or in family settings, where the difference is not significant. For height, because 50 percent of white men are depicted as taller or about the same height, 50 percent of white men are also depicted as shorter when pictured with others. As a result, 50 percent white men and 5.8 percent of black men are depicted as shorter than others, and the difference is significant [X^2 (2, $N = 194$) = 48.31, $p < .001$] (see Table 38 below).

Table 38. Percentages and Frequencies (in Parenthesis) of the Chi-Square Analysis of Race by Height in *Ebony*.

HEIGHT				
Race	Taller	Same Height	Shorter	Total
White	23.7% (9)	26.3% (10)	50% (19)	100% (38)
Black	46.8% (73)	47.4% (74)	5.8% (9)	100% (156)
Total	42.3% (82)	43.3% (84)	14.4% (28)	194

Chi Square 48.31
p < .001

Finally, 44.8 percent of black men and 34.7 percent of white men are depicted as performing the consumer role, the category with the greatest proportion, and the difference is significant [$X^2 (9, N = 308) = 89.84, p < .001$]. Conversely, 42.9 percent of white men and 3.1 percent of black men are depicted as performing the quiescent man role, and the difference is significant [$X^2 (9, N = 308) = 89.84, p < .001$]. Additionally, 5.4 percent of black men are associated with the model role, while 0 percent of white men are, and 3.9 percent of black men are associated with the erotic male role, while 0 percent of white men are. Thus far, the findings in relation to independence, height, and task provide strong support for H1b. However, the findings in relation to location, touch, and setting mitigate the support for H1b.

Danger/Violence. Again, the variables in this group are compiled into a hyper-masculinity index. I demonstrated in independent samples t-tests and regression analyses that the men in *Esquire's* advertisements are significantly more likely to exhibit hyper-masculine behavior. However, in this section we will explore what effect race has on depictions of hyper-masculinity in *Ebony's* advertisements. To assess this difference, I conducted a t-test and a regression analysis of hyper-masculinity on race. The t-test reveals that the mean difference between black and white men's hyper-masculinity score is significant ($p < .001$ [see Table 39 below]). To support this finding, I conducted a regression analysis in addition to the t-test. The regression analysis also emerged as significant ($p < .001$). The regression analysis reveals that as the unit increases by one, where 0 represents white men and 1 represents black men, the value of hyper-masculinity increases by .493 units (see Table 40 below). Combined, these two tests reveal that black men in *Ebony's* advertisements are significantly more likely to exhibit hyper-masculine

behavior than white men. Particularly, black men are significantly more likely to be depicted as stoic than white men [$\chi^2(3, N = 308) = 12.55, p < .01$].

Table 39. Mean Values and t Value based on an Independent samples T-test of Race by Hyper-masculinity Index in *Ebony* Magazine.

Indexed Variable	White Mean Score	Black Mean Score	Mean Difference t value
Hyper-masculinity	.10 $N=261$.59 $N=106$.000

Notes: scores are based on the hyper-masculinity index with a scale of 0 to 9, where 0 to 6 represent a low score and 7 to 9 represent a moderate score on the scale.

Table 40. OLS Coefficient from the Linear Regression of Hyper-masculinity on Race in *Ebony* Magazine.

Variable	Constant	Coefficient	t Value
Hyper-masculinity	.102	.493	.001

Notes: White = 0; Black = 1.

Sexual Objectification. For this group of variables, the variables that are *not* significantly different depending on race are body exposure and gaze. As a result, both groups of men in *Ebony's* advertisements are most likely to be depicted as fully clothed as opposed to semi-naked or naked. Moreover, both groups of men are most likely to be depicted as looking straight at the camera. Conversely, variables that are significantly different depending on race are camera distance and facial expression.

For camera distance, while both groups of men have their greatest proportions in the same category, i.e., distant, 27.8 percent of black men and 8.2 percent of white men are shot from a close-up camera angle, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2(2, N = 308) = 9.69, p < .01$]. Similarly, while both groups of men have their greatest proportions in the same category for facial expression, i.e., smiling, 27.9 percent of black men and 5 percent of white men depicted as having a stoic facial expression, and the difference is significant [$\chi^2(5, N = 308) = 47.17, p < .001$]. This finding reflects and supports the finding

presented earlier, that black men are more likely to be depicted as stoic than white men, and thus more hyper-masculine and in support of H1b.

RQ2: What is the relationship between the men in the advertisements and the products advertised in Esquire and Ebony?

The purpose of my second research is to explore how race affects the relationship between the men and the products advertised in *Esquire* and *Ebony*. To examine this question, I first used descriptive statistics to examine the distribution of product types for *Esquire* and *Ebony*. Then, for each magazine, I conducted a chi-square analysis of race by product type with a post-hoc analysis in order to accurately locate which variables are contributing to the test's statistical significance. I required a threshold of 1.96 in order for the cells to be considered as contributing to the tests statistical significance.

Esquire

For *Esquire*, the most common advertisements, by far, are advertisements geared toward designer clothing, cologne, and accessory brands; brands names like Gucci, Dolce & Gabanna, Tommy Hilfiger, Ralph Lauren, Bally, Tag Heuer, and the like. Followed by clothing/retail brand advertisements are advertisements geared toward leisure and entertainment. Finally, the third and fourth most common types of advertisements are advertisements geared toward personal care products and advertisements for miscellaneous products. The data is summarized below in Table 41.

Table 41. Percentage of Advertisements Geared toward Types of Products in *Esquire*.

Product	Percentage
Automotive and Related	1.2%
Domestic Goods	0.2%
Medical	0.7%
Finance	0.5%
Electronic Retail	2.8%
Clothing/Accessory Retail	70.6%
Food	0.7%
Personal Care	10.0%
Leisure/Entertainment	11.0%
Travel	0.9%
Other	1.4%

I then conducted a chi-square analysis of race by product type in order to answer H2a and H2b. I hypothesize in H2a that black men are more likely to be associated with products that emphasize physicality and the body. In H2b I hypothesize that white men are more likely than black men to be associated with products that emphasize the mind, intellect, and logic. The chi-square test emerged as significant [$X^2(9, N = 367) = 59.38, p < .001$]. According to the post-hoc analysis, clothing/accessory brands, medical, and leisure/entertainment are the categories contributing the most to the statistical significance.

For the clothing/accessory brand category, while both groups of men have their greatest proportions in this category, 50 percent of black men are associated with this type of product as compared to 82 percent of white men. Conversely, black men are associated with advertisements geared toward medical products while white men are not. Additionally, 23.6 percent of black men are associated with products geared toward leisure and entertainment and 4.2 percent of white men are, thus providing support for H2a. The data is summarized below in Table 42.

Table 42. Percentages of Product type by Race in *Esquire*.

Product	White	Black
Automotive and Related	0.4%	2.8%
Domestic Goods	0.0%	0.9%
Medical	0.0%	2.8%
Electronic Retail	1.9%	3.8%
Clothing/Accessory Retail	82.0%	50%
Food	0.4%	1.9%
Personal Care	10.0%	10.4%
Leisure/Entertainment	4.2%	23.6%
Travel	0.4%	0.9%
Other	0.8%	2.8%

Notes: The percentages in bold indicate the categories contributing the most to the contingency table's statistical significance.

Ebony

For *Ebony*, the most common advertisements are advertisements geared toward medical products. Medical products are followed closely by advertisements for personal care products and advertisements geared toward employment. The fourth most common advertisement following employment are advertisements geared toward leisure and entertainment. The data is summarized below in Table 43.

Table 43. Percentage of Advertisements Geared toward Types of Products in *Ebony*.

Product	Percentage
Automotive and Related	8.0%
Domestic Goods	6.5%
Medical	15.4%
Finance	6.8%
Electronic Retail	1.9%
Clothing/Accessory Retail	4.9%
Food	5.2%
Personal Care	13.6%
Employment	12.7%
Leisure/Entertainment	11.1%
Travel	4.6%
Other	6.5%

I subsequently conducted a chi-square analysis of race by product type in order to answer H2c and H2d. In H2c, I hypothesize that in magazines geared toward a black audience, white men are more likely than black men to be associated with products that reinforce their marginal status as racial out-group males. Conversely, in H2d, I hypothesize that in magazines geared toward a black audience, black men will be associated with products that reinforce their dominant status as racial in-group males. According to the post-hoc analysis, the categories domestic goods, medical, finance, and personal care are the categories contributing the most to the statistical significance.

The most common advertisements black men are depicted in are advertisements for personal care products. As a result, black men are associated with advertisements geared towards personal care products while white men are not. Additionally, 8.8 percent of black men are associated with advertisements geared towards finance, while 0 percent of white men are, thus supporting H2d [$\chi^2(11, N = 299) = 94.14, p < .001$]. On the other hand, white men are most commonly depicted in advertisements for medical products. As

a result, 42.9% of white men are associated with advertisements geared toward medical products, while 11.6 percent of black men are. Additionally, 30.6 percent of white men are associated with advertisements geared toward domestic goods while 2.4 percent of black men are, thus supporting H2c [$\chi^2(11, N = 299) = 94.14, p < .001$] (The data is summarized below in Table 44).

Table 44. Percentages Product Type by Race in *Ebony*.

Product	White	Black
Automotive and Related	2.0%	10.0%
Domestic Goods	30.6%	2.4%
Medical	42.9%	11.6%
Finance	0.0%	8.8%
Electronic Retail	2.0%	2.0%
Clothing/Accessory Retail	0.0%	6.4%
Food	6.1%	5.6%
Personal Care	0.0%	16%
Employment	6.1%	12.0%
Leisure/Entertainment	4.1%	12.4%
Travel	2.0%	5.6%
Other	4.1%	7.2%

Notes: The percentages in bold indicate the categories contributing the most to the contingency table's statistical significance.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

As a whole, the men depicted in the advertisements rarely deviate from normative notions of hegemonic masculinity. Normative, hegemonic masculinity privileges young clean-shaven white men with muscular, athletic bodies (Atkinson 2007; Gill 2009; Ricciardelli et al. 2010). Reflective of this, the advertisements generally depict men as young adults aged 20 to 35 years, and, consequently, as not having any wrinkles. The advertisements also generally depict men as having short hair and a clean-shaven, defined jawline. When discernable, men's bodies are most likely to have some kind of muscle

definition, either toned or muscular, but not hyper-muscular. Additionally, men are generally depicted as having an average body weight, and subsequently a mesomorphic body type. These findings reaffirm previous research, which shows that the muscular mesomorph dominates representations of body ideals for male bodies today in the media (Dyer 1997; Law and Labre 2002; Morrison and Halton 1999). In regards to race however, black men make up the majority of the sample at 48.5%. However, rather than reflecting a deviation from the normative standard of whiteness, I argue that it is due to their relatively high over-representation in *Ebony's* advertisements.

Furthermore, the likelihood of fully clothed male bodies is greater than the likelihood of exposed male bodies in the advertisements. This is interesting because scholars of the male body show that with the beginning of the late 1970s, there has been a marked increase in the visibility of the male body in advertising (Bordo 1999; Davis 2002). However, the greater likelihood of fully clothed male bodies suggests that the trend toward greater visibility might be leveling off to some degree today. Furthermore, previous research shows that it was not until the latter part of the twentieth century that the semi-naked male body became visible outside of socially sanctioned contexts, i.e., boxing films and men's adventure magazines (Dyer 1997). However, my findings reveal that the male body is only visible in advertisements for products that are traditionally associated with the body, i.e., personal care products, designer clothes ads, and underwear ads. Therefore, rather than occurring outside of these socially sanctioned contexts, the case may be that the boundaries of the socially sanctioned contexts has only expanded rather than been broken as previous research might suggest.

Similar to body norms, the men's behavior in the advertisements only slightly deviate from normative, hegemonic masculinity. Normative hegemonic masculinity emphasizes independence, un-emotionality, aggression, and having an active and engaging lifestyle outside of the home (Connell 1995; Kimmel 2012; Luyt 2012). Indeed, the advertisements depict men alone as opposed to with people, emphasizing men's independence. What is more, when pictured with others, the advertisements are most likely to depict men alongside other men. Being depicted alongside other men reinforces the idea of camaraderie between men and reaffirms their dominant position relative to women by associating men with other men, as opposed to women or children (Connell 1995; Kimmel 2012; Ricciardelli et al. 2010).

Normative hegemonic masculinity also requires men to have active and engaging lifestyles outside of the home (Connell 1995; Kimmel 2012). Illustrative of this, the advertisements depict men playing instruments, commanding sailboats and other vehicles, throwing and moving objects, traveling, and typing on the computer, for example, as opposed to passively engaging with objects. The advertisements also frequently depict men in settings that are not associated with the home and domesticity. The advertisements are more likely to depict men in school and work settings, restaurant and bar settings, vacation settings, or neutral settings. Moreover, the advertisements frequently depict men as the consumer; as either the satisfied customer, or the average man who is using the product or desperately needs the product advertised. This finding resonates with Alexander's (2003) study, which shows that rather than based on an ideology of production, in post-modern society today masculinity is based on an ideology of consumption. She refers to this type of masculinity as "branded masculinity" where

men demonstrate their masculinity through consumption of the right products (Alexander 2003). Therefore, the prevalence of the consumer role reinforces the idea that masculinity is based more on an ideology of consumption rather than production today.

Finally, normative hegemonic masculinity requires men to show little emotion and to be aggressive (Bordo 1999; Connell 1995; Kimmel 2012). However, the advertisements are not very likely to depict men as engaging in overt aggressive, violent, or dangerous behavior; behavior traditionally considered core aspects of normative, hegemonic masculinity. On the other hand, the advertisements are more likely to depict men as engaging in mild forms of aggressive behavior. They frequently depict men as stoic, and to a lesser extent tough, and thus emotionally distant and cold. Additionally, the prevalence of the distant camera angle and stoic-straightforward gaze that is most often used in the advertisements further reflects the idea that men are emotionless, distant, and cold. This is consistent with Bordo's (1999) concept of "face-off masculinity" where men in advertisements are often depicted as staring coldly into the camera, daring "the observer to view them in any other way than how they present themselves..." (186). However, having a stoic facial expression is closely followed by either having a simple, casual smile or a broad-toothed smile mediating the effects of being depicted as stoic and emotionless. This provides further support for the idea that the type of masculinity presented is more likely to downplay aggressive, violent, and dangerous behavior.

To summarize, as a whole, the men presented in the advertisements reaffirm traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity in regards to both body and behavioral norms. These findings are in line with previous research, which shows that the advertising world is place where societal ideals about how men should act and look are

realized and reinforced (Goffman 1979; Luyt 2012; Morrison and Halton 2009; Ricciardelli et al. 2010; Rohlinger 2002).

5.1 The Metrosexual Man and the Strong, Black Father

The goal of the first research question (RQ1) is to explore if the masculinities exhibited in *Esquire* and *Ebony's* advertisements vary, and, if so, how they vary. The findings reveal that to a certain extent they do vary, but at the same time, there are core aspects of hegemonic masculinity that remain constant regardless of magazine type.

The first clue to the type of masculinity exhibited in *Esquire's* advertisements is the high prevalence of advertisements geared toward designer clothing, cologne, and accessory brands; 70.6% of the advertisements are made up of this advertising. These advertisements range from brand names like Gucci and Dolce and Gabbana to Tommy Hilfiger, Ralph Lauren, Giorgio Armani, and boutique designer brands like John Varvatos and David Yurman. To a lesser extent are advertisements for JC Penny's, Macy's, Sketchers, and the like. Consequently, the advertisements frequently depict men as wearing casual/ business-casual or semi-formal/business wear as opposed to ultra-casual wear, like skater or surfer-type outfits. Following this type of advertising is advertising for leisure/entertainment products and personal care products. Liquor products and e-cigarettes are some of the most common products advertised in the leisure/entertainment category. Additionally, products for shaving needs, muscle gain, and body odor are some of the most common products advertised in the personal care category. These findings support previous research, which shows that magazines like *Esquire*, *GQ*, *Details*, and the like are more likely to exhibit a metrosexual version of hegemonic masculinity (Ricciardelli et al. 2010). Metrosexuality places emphasis on

appearance, self-presentation, grooming, and status symbols that communicate material wealth like expensive designer clothing and the ability to engage in leisurely activities (Segal 1993; Simpson 1994).

Metrosexuality also privileges a young, toned, and polished male body (Ricciardelli 2010; Simpson 1994). This is evident in the findings as well. *Esquire's* advertisements are more likely to depict men who are younger, 20 to 35 years old, have clean-shaven faces (and bodies), defined facial features, and short hair. Additionally, when discernable, *Esquire's* advertisements depict men as having athletic bodies, i.e., a body that is average in weight and size, and has some kind of muscle definition, either toned or muscular, though not hyper-muscular. This supports previous research on the male body, which shows a movement away from hyper-muscularity and a movement toward the lean, muscular body ideal in media images of male bodies today (Law and Labre 2002; Ricciardelli et al. 2010). Also, the relatively high body exposure in *Esquire's* advertisements when compared to *Ebony's*, 21.7% and 4.3% for *Esquire* and *Ebony* respectively, emphasizes *Esquire's* investment in sexuality, which is also characteristic of metrosexuality (Simpson 1994). The higher prevalence of sexualized and objectified male bodies reflect the metrosexual man's desire to be seen as sexually desirable, and thus as a sex object. The metrosexual man is distinguished by his ability to take himself as sex object for his own narcissistic pleasure. This is evident in *Esquire's* advertisements where men are depicted as the erotic male at a higher rate, though it is not significant, than *Ebony's* advertisements. Moreover, Rohlinger (2002) suggests that with the success of the gay liberation movement in the 1970s, advertisers sought to target an allegedly lucrative, gay consumer base by using images of eroticized, yet sexually ambiguous male

bodies in the advertisements of men's magazines. Therefore, the prevalence of sexualized male bodies in *Esquire's* advertisements could be an attempt to target *Esquire's* gay consumer base.

The metrosexual version of hegemonic masculinity is also evident in the absence of advertisements depicting men in work settings or engaging in work activities. This is contrary to previous research, which suggests that magazines targeting an audience with a higher male readership are more likely to portray men in occupational roles and settings, than magazines with a higher female readership (Vigorito and Curry 1998). The absence of these kinds of advertisements suggests that men buy *Esquire* not to look for job opportunities, but to look for products to spend their disposable incomes on from jobs they already have. In other words, men buying *Esquire* are most likely to be men established in relatively well-paying jobs, or are men who at least *desire* to be wealthy and well established. Illustrative of this phenomenon, *Esquire's* advertisements are more likely to feature advertisements for designer brand clothing where men are dressed in fashionable clothing than *Ebony's* advertisements.

Moreover, the prevalence of the model status position suggests that while masculinity is based more on an ideology of consumption today (Alexander 2003), it has yet to relinquish its claim that men are producers as well. While this finding is in line with Alexander's (2003) study, that masculine identity is based on consumerism, it also adds nuance to her discussion of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is concerned with maintaining its dominant and superior position in all contexts, and being simultaneously depicted as consumers and producers, i.e., models, reflects this dynamic well.

While *Esquire*'s advertisements appear to be exhibiting a version of hegemonic masculinity that corresponds with more alternative notions of masculinity, i.e., the metrosexual man, the masculinity exhibited in *Ebony*'s advertisements corresponds, to a certain extent, with more traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity, i.e., the "Strong, Black Man" archetype outlined by Neal (2005). This version of masculinity privileges traditional hegemonic notions of masculinity where patriarchal ideals and practices in regards to gender and sexuality are upheld and reinforced (Neal 2005). The "Strong, Black Man" archetype privileges older, more mature groups of heterosexual men. And, reminiscent of traditional American-style patriarchy, it maintains oppressive relationships with women, children, and other groups of men (Neal 2005). Because black men are over-represented in *Ebony*, I argue that the "Strong, Black Man" archetype is the prevailing form of masculinity depicted in these advertisements.

This version of masculinity is evident in the dominant age range, facial hair, touch behavior, and the settings the men are depicted in throughout *Ebony*'s advertisements. Men depicted in *Ebony* are most likely to fall in the middle adulthood age range (36-46 years of age), which is older than the age range depicted in *Esquire*'s advertisements. However, it is interesting to note that the young adulthood category falls in second behind the middle adulthood category; perhaps evidence that *Ebony*'s advertisements are presenting a softer, more mild version of the "Strong, Black Man" archetype. Nevertheless, the "Strong, Black Man" archetype is also evident in the strong likelihood for the advertisements to depict men as having some kind of facial hair—either a five O'clock shadow, moustache/partial beard, or a full beard. Past research on facial hair and masculinity reveals that facial hair symbolizes a more traditional version of masculinity,

where men who have facial hair are more likely to be regarded as dominant, powerful, aggressive, assertive, and autonomous (Addison 1989; Hellstrom and Tekle 1994; Herrick, Mendez, and Pryor 2015; Oldstone-Moore 2011; Reed and Blunke 1990). Although *Ebony's* advertisements are more likely to depict men in settings in or around the home when compared to *Esquire*, *Ebony's* advertisements are still more likely to depict men in settings away from home as opposed to in or around the home. And, when in engaging in touch behavior, men are depicted as engaging in utilitarian touch as opposed to passive touch. All of these elements are reflective of traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity where men are required to have a mature demeanor, as well as active, engaging lifestyles outside of the home.

However, at the same time that the *Ebony's* advertisements contain elements of the “Strong, Black Man” archetype, there are also presentations of masculinity which suggest that a milder version of the “Strong, Black Man” archetype is presented in *Ebony*. The “Strong, Black Man” narrative depicted in *Ebony* is simultaneously interwoven with a narrative about men, who are not just fathers, but men who are nurturing fathers. This is reflected in the many images of men, both black and white, who are depicted as active participants with their children and their families. These images are in contrast to the “Strong, Black Man” archetype where fathers are most often regarded as breadwinners; as distant, disciplinary figures whose sole job is to provide for and lead the family. Further evidence of the softer, more fatherly version of the “Strong, Black Man” archetype is that *Ebony's* advertisements frequently depict men in or around the home, indicating a higher involvement in the family and domesticity.

Further indication that the masculinity presented in *Ebony* is a milder version of the “Strong, Black Man” archetype is that *Ebony*’s advertisements frequently depict men as the smiling consumer. Positioning men as the satisfied consumer is reflective of a more modern version of traditional hegemonic masculinity, i.e., “branded masculinity” (Alexander 2003). This is in slight contrast to *Esquire*’s advertisements, where men are most likely to be depicted as performing the model role. The differences in the performance of roles can be attributed to differences in the gender distribution of the readership. Perhaps men are more likely to be depicted as smiling consumers in magazines with a higher female readership, while in magazines with a higher male readership men are more likely to be depicted as the stoic models. Nevertheless, the milder version of the “Strong, Black Man” archetype, i.e., the strong, black father, presented in *Ebony*’s advertisements resonates with past research which shows that magazines with a higher female readership are more likely to depict men in nurturing parental or spousal roles than in magazines with a higher male readership (Vigorito and Curry 1998).

Unlike white masculinity where body norms are clearly defined, it is less clear for black masculinity. Much of the research on portrayals of black men and their bodies examines black men’s bodies in media predominately targeting a white audience (Dufur 1997; Ferber 2007; Gubar 1997; Jackson 1994; Luyt 2012; Mann et al. 2006; Messineo 2006; Soar 2001; Wiegman 1995). However, because the “Strong, Black Man” archetype incorporates many aspects of traditional hegemonic masculinity in terms of behavioral norms, I surmise that we should see similar patterns for body norms as well. Indeed, my findings reveal that the body norms depicted in *Ebony*’s advertisements are quite similar

to the body norms in *Esquire's* advertisements. Similar to *Esquire*, men in *Ebony* are frequently depicted as having strong, defined jawlines, bodies that are average in weight and size, and, when discernable, as having some kind of muscle definition, either toned or muscular, though not hyper-muscular. However, *Ebony's* advertisements are slightly more likely to depict non-muscular, over-weight, and endomorphic male bodies than *Esquire's* advertisements. The emergence of the “dad bod,” where men have bodies that are described as “soft and doughy” as opposed to lean and muscular, could be a reason for why there is a higher prevalence of non-muscular, endomorphic body types in *Ebony's* advertisements (Schiavocampo 2015). Recent commentary on the “dad bod” states that this body type is more prevalent among men who are fathers because of the time constraints “daddy duties” create for men; men who are fathers often have less time to exercise, but more time to snack (Sharpe 2015). Since *Ebony's* advertisements seems to be targeting men who are fathers or at least men who desire to be fathers, the “dad bod” could be plausible explanation for why men in *Ebony* are depicted as having non-muscular, endomorphic body types in comparison to men in *Esquire's* advertisements. Additionally, as previous research suggests, the lapse in muscular body ideals for men in *Ebony's* advertisements could also be attributed to its higher female readership (Frederick, Fessler, and Haselton 2005). However, as I will show later, there is another factor besides readership that is affecting depictions of men's bodies in *Ebony's* advertisements.

Finally, *Ebony's* advertisements are not as likely as *Esquire's* advertisements to depict exposed male bodies. As a result, *Ebony's* advertisements do not sexualize and objectify men's bodies as frequently as *Esquire's* advertisements. Therefore, *Esquire*

advertisements depict a more sexualized version of hegemonic masculinity. In this sense, *Ebony's* depictions of masculinity are more traditional. As I showed earlier, *Ebony's* advertisements are more likely to depict men as active participants with their children and their families. Therefore, the low prevalence of sexualized black male bodies combined with the high prevalence of depictions of black men as family men in *Ebony's* advertisements reinforces Thompson's (2009) notion of the "politics of respectability." The "politics of respectability" is a strategy carried out by black middle class men and women in order to counter negative images of black masculinity, femininity, and sexuality in the media (Thompson 2009). The "politics of respectability" involves policing black community members, as well as images put forth by the black community, for example media images, to ensure that they are in line with mainstream values and culture (Thompson 2009). So, rather than challenging the mainstream for its failure to accept difference, it involves conforming to hegemonic ideals in regard to gender and sexuality. For example, the media, particularly the news media, often depicts black men as poor, criminal, and hypersexual individuals who cannot or will not support and provide for their children and families (Russell 2009). Therefore, the low prevalence of sexualized black male bodies combined with the positive images of black men as nurturing fathers can be interpreted as a way for the black community to counter these negative images, and demonstrate their acceptance and compliance with mainstream values around black male sexuality and fatherhood.

The variations of hegemonic masculinity depicted in *Esquire* and *Ebony* reaffirm Connell's (1995) argument that hegemonic masculinity is fluid and dependent on context. However, there are certain elements that, regardless of context, remain constant. For

example, men are consistently depicted as physically fit, muscular individuals with strong facial features and short hair. They are also consistently depicted as engaging and active individuals whose proper place is outside of the home. Consequently, the different archetypes—metrosexuality and the strong, black father—are simply hosts for hegemonic masculinity to express itself (Ricciardelli et al. 2010). As a result, hegemonic masculinity's ability to assert itself no matter the form reveals the malleability and thus the power of hegemonic masculinity.

5.2 The Metrosexual Man's Relationship with Out-group Males

With my first hypothesis (H1a), I predict that depictions of white men are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of black men in the advertisements of media targeting a predominately white audience, i.e., *Esquire*. Previous research on depictions of white and black men in media targeting a white audience, as well as research on out-group males in advertising, strongly support this prediction (Ferber 2007; Gill 2009; Jackson 1994; Luyt 2012; Mann et al. 2006; Messineo 2006; Wiegman 1995). However, my findings only provide partial support for H1a.

The metrosexual man is distinguished by his preoccupation with appearance and self-presentation, as well as a preoccupation with obtaining and maintaining positions of status (Segal 1993; Simpson 1994). On the other hand, MacKinnon (1992) argues that the metrosexual man is distinguished by his attempt to form relationships with women, children, and other men that are not as oppressive as the relationships formed by a man who conforms to more traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity. The apparent contradiction between relinquishment and maintenance of positions of power and status expressed by metrosexuality is reflected in the findings.

Esquire's advertisements depict both groups of men as independent, engaged men who have active lifestyles outside of the home. For example, the advertisements depict both black and white men as alone, emphasizing their independence and autonomy, as engaging in purposeful touch behavior, and in settings that are associated with activities outside of the home. The symbolic authority that both groups of men enjoy is also reflected in their relatively high positions of status where both groups of men are positioned in the center stage of the advertising image, and as either taller or the same height when depicted alongside others. Furthermore, both groups of men are shown as engaging in mild forms of hyper-masculine behavior, where white men are only slightly more likely to be depicted as stoic and tough, though the difference is not significant. This finding affirms research done by Messineo (2006) where she finds that in media targeting predominately white audiences, black males are not portrayed as more aggressive than white males, and the trend, though not significant, is for white males to be portrayed as more aggressive. It is also in contrast to past research, which shows that in media targeting white audiences black men are frequently depicted as aggressive, violent, deviant and rebellious (Mann et al. 2006; Russell 2009; Wiegman 1995).

Additionally, *Esquire's* advertisements depict both groups of men as conforming to hegemonic notions of the body, particularly for the young adult age category. Both black and white men in this age category are depicted as strong-jawed, clean-shaven men who have athletic bodies with muscle definition, though not hyper-muscular. This finding in regard to muscularity is particularly informative because scholars of the male body argue that today muscles are the ultimate indicator of masculinity, where the muscular mesomorph dominates representations of what "real" men look like today (Dyer 1997;

Morrison and Halton 1999; Pronger 2002). Therefore, the fact that there is not a significant difference in muscularity is one of the more significant findings that is not in support of H1a.

However, at the same time that there is a level of parity in depictions of white and black men, white men maintain their claim to positions of power. Particularly for the middle adult and mature adult age categories, black male bodies are depicted as overweight and out of shape in comparison to white male bodies of the same age. As a result, black men are more likely to have undefined jawlines when compared to white men for these age categories. Therefore, through depictions of the body, the advertisements are essentially reinforcing differences between black and white men for this age group. These findings are particularly informative because the median age of *Esquire's* target audience is 40 years old, which falls in the middle adulthood age category. As a result, the differences are reinforced specifically for these age groups, which is problematic because it affirms the idea that white men are superior to black men. However, mitigating support for H1a is the fact that there are no differences in the body weights, body types, and face shapes for black and white men who are younger.

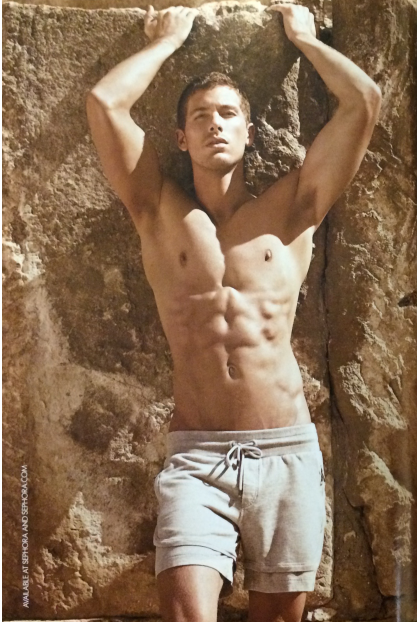
Furthermore, black men are marginalized by their status as friendly consumers. Previously I proposed that, although today masculinity is based more on an ideology of consumption (Alexander 2003), it has not totally abandoned its ideology based on production either, which is reflected in the prevalence of the model role in *Esquire's* advertisements. However, an interesting, but familiar, power dynamic emerges when analyzing the different tasks white and black men perform in the advertisements. While white men most commonly perform the model role, i.e., the producer role, black men

most commonly perform the consumer role. Because the role of the producer is a more powerful role in relation to the role of consumer, this reinforces existing hegemonic notions about race relations and racial hierarchies. While white men's position as superior is reinforced by their performance of the stoic "model," black men's position as inferior is reinforced by their performance of the friendly consumer.

Black men are also marginalized by the absence of their status as sex object. I established previously that men's bodies in *Esquire's* advertisements are more exposed, and thus sexualized and objectified, than men's bodies in *Ebony's* advertisements. However, when looking exclusively at *Esquire*, the analysis reveals that white male bodies are more likely to be depicted as semi-naked or naked, and thus exposed, than black male bodies. Conversely, black men are more likely to be depicted as fully clothed than white men. This is an interesting finding because previous research reveals that in the lexicon of advertising, being sexualized and objectified, and thus depicted as the sex object, is a socially desirable position (Alexander 1999; Messineo 2006). Therefore, by not exposing black men's bodies, the status of sex object is being withheld from black men in *Esquire's* advertisements. Further supporting this claim, *Esquire's* advertisements are significantly more likely to depict white men performing the role of the erotic male than black men (e.g., Figure 4 below). Consequently, black male bodies are coded as not as sexually desirable or worthy of someone's sexual desire as white male bodies are essentially marginalizing black male sexuality. Combined, these findings support previous research, which reveals that sexuality has historically been a means through which white men have subordinated and marginalized black men, and thus provide strong support for H1a. (Collins 2005; Dyson 2004; Mann et al. 2006; Russell 2009; Wiegman

1995). Therefore, while it is characteristic of the white metrosexual male to form relationships with other groups of men that are not as oppressive, he still maintains some level of oppression in order to maintain his dominant position in society.

Figure 4. Erotic Male Role.



Notes: Retrieved from the April (2009) Issue in *Esquire*.

5.3 The Strong, Black Father's Relationship with Out-group Males

Research shows that black audiences prefer advertisements that feature black models and actors (David, Glenda, Johnson, Ross 2002; Mastro and Stern 2003; Qualls, Williams, and Grier 1995). True to this research, black men make up a huge majority of the advertisements in *Ebony*, 84.1 percent respectively. Theoretical insights on the mechanisms of hegemonic masculinity and empirical findings on out-group males in advertising provide support for the prediction that in media targeting black audiences, depictions of black men will more likely exhibit hegemonic masculinity than depictions of other groups of men, including white men (Connell 1995). In H1b, I specifically predict that depictions of black men will more likely exhibit hegemonic masculinity than

depictions of white men, and the majority of my findings provide substantial support for this prediction.

However, similar to *Esquire*, there are instances where *Ebony's* advertisements do not depict black men as having more symbolic authority than white men. For example, the advertisements depict both groups of men as engaging in active, utilitarian touch. Both black and white men are also depicted as maintaining eye contact with the camera, and are shot from a distance. Additionally, the advertisements depict both groups of men in settings that are not associated with the home and domesticity. Moreover, I established that the advertisements depict a version of the “Strong, Black Man” that embraces the nurturing side of fatherhood. And, the advertisements depict both black and white men as nurturing fathers (e.g., Figure 5 below).

Figure 5. Strong Black, Father Archetype.



Notes: Retrieved from the October (2010) Issue in *Ebony*.

Furthermore, *Ebony's* advertisements depict both groups of men as having short hair and as in their middle adulthood. Finally, black male bodies are not more or less exposed than white male bodies; the advertisements most often depict both groups' bodies as fully

clothed. As a result, *Ebony's* advertisements simultaneously depict both groups of men as nurturing fathers, and as active, authoritative men engaged in lifestyles outside of the home. The minimal differences observed in these instances, I argue, are due to hegemonic masculinity's, and thus men's desire to maintain their dominant positions relative to women. If, on the other hand, the advertising images were to depict men as engaging in passive touch, or to depict men in domestic settings at a higher rate than their alternatives, this would seriously undermine men's claim to authoritative positions as a group. Therefore, as a distinguished social group, men attempt to obtain and sustain their dominant positions in society, which is reflected in these findings.

However, it is also characteristic of men who conform to more traditional notions of hegemonic masculinity to maintain dominant positions not only over women, but also over other groups of men, particularly men who are a part of the out-group (Connell 1995). Research reveals that maintaining dominance over out-group males is often done through depictions of the body (Ricciardelli et al. 2010). Illustrative of this research, *Ebony's* advertisements are significantly more likely to depict white male bodies as overweight, non-muscular, and endomorphic when compared to black male bodies (e.g., Figure 6 below). This is particularly true for the middle adulthood age category, which is not only the predominant age of the men depicted in the advertisements, but it is also the predominant age of *Ebony's* target audience. As a result, these images are potentially very influential in the reinforcement of differences between black and white men.

Figure 6. Out-of-Shape White Male.



Notes: Retrieved from the September (2011) Issue in *Ebony*.

Furthermore, I established earlier that *Ebony's* advertisements appeal to a masculinity that favors men with facial hair. However, the advertisements frequently depict white men as having clean-shaven faces, thus undermining white men's claim to hegemonic masculinity. Nevertheless, for white men to be depicted as not as muscular or as fit as black men seriously undermines white men's claims to symbolic authority in *Ebony's* advertisements.

Further support for H1b is found in depictions of social position and status. I previously established that *Ebony's* advertisements are more likely to depict men with people than depict them by their selves in comparison to *Esquire's* advertisements. At the same time, however, the advertisements are significantly more likely to depict black men as by their selves. So while black men are depicted alongside others, they are also very likely to be depicted by their selves, thus preserving black men's status positions as independent and autonomous individuals relative to white men. What is more, the advertisements are significantly more likely to depict white men as shorter when depicted alongside others. This is in contrast to black men, who are more likely to be depicted as

either the same height or taller. Additionally, through depictions of dress, *Ebony's* advertisements depict black men as having higher socio-economic statuses than white men. Black men are more likely to be depicted in semi-formal/business wear, while white men are more likely to be depicted in ultra-casual wear.

Furthermore, while the advertisements frequently depict black men as active consumers, white men are most often depicted as inactive. And, though it is not significant, *Ebony's* advertisements are more likely to depict black men as performing the erotic male role and the model role, i.e., the producer role, in comparison to white men. Consequently, black men are significantly more likely to appear stoic than white men. Together, *Ebony's* advertisements reflect and reinforce black men's dominant status positions relative to white men. Black men are more likely to be depicted as independent, autonomous individuals occupying higher positions of status, and thus as dominating hegemonic depictions of masculinity in comparison to white men. In other words, the symbolic authority enjoyed by white men in *Ebony's* advertisements is considerably constrained and limited.

In comparison to *Esquire's* advertisements, it is apparent that *Ebony's* advertisements are slightly more likely to favor in-group males, where black men are more likely to exhibit hegemonic masculinity than white men, and to a greater extent. For example, both magazines use body weight and type as a means to establish and maintain boundaries between in and out-group males, however *Ebony* also uses muscularity whereas *Esquire* does not. Perhaps this is a reflection of the different versions of hegemonic masculinity that the advertisements are appealing to. I established earlier that *Ebony's* advertisements are appealing to a version of hegemonic masculinity that conforms to more traditional

notions of masculinity, i.e., the “Strong, Black Man” archetype. On the other hand, *Esquire*’s advertisements are appealing to a version of hegemonic masculinity that conforms to more alternative notions of hegemonic masculinity, i.e., metrosexuality. While *Esquire* does have instances where its advertisements marginalize out-group males, i.e., black men, I argue that it is not as extensive as *Ebony*’s marginalization.

An analysis of my second set of hypotheses provides further support for the idea that *Ebony*’s advertisements are more likely to favor in-group males in comparison to *Esquire*’s advertisements. My second set of hypotheses predict that in magazines with a predominately white audience, white men will be associated with products that emphasize the mind and intellect (H2b), while black men will be associated with products that emphasize the body and physicality (H2a). In *Esquire*, however, products that emphasize the mind and intellect are very minimal. *Esquire* is most likely to advertise for products that are traditionally associated with the body, products like designer clothing/cologne/accessories, personal care products, and leisure entertainment products. Therefore, white men’s relatively high representation in designer brand advertisements does not support H2b. However, black men’s relatively high representation in advertisements for leisure and entertainment provide some support for H2a. Yet, if we take into consideration that *Esquire* appeals to the metrosexual version of hegemonic masculinity, being associated with products for leisure and entertainment might be considered a socially desirable position and thus, not in support of H2b. With that being said, however, black men’s underrepresentation in designer brand advertisements might be an instance of marginalization. On the other hand, *Ebony* is significantly more likely to advertise for financial products, for example insurance, as well as for employment

opportunities. And, while *Ebony* is more likely to advertise for financial products, black men are significantly more likely to be associated with these advertisements, thus providing support for H2d. Conversely, white men are significantly more likely to be associated with advertisements for domestic goods, providing support for H2c. These findings reflect a power dynamic where white men are associated with domesticity and black men are associated with finances, and thus the provider role. This essentially reinforces black men's superiority in relation to white men. Therefore, in *Esquire's* advertisements the marginalization of black men is occurring on a smaller scale, whereas for *Ebony's* advertisements, the marginalization of white men is occurring on a relatively larger scale.

The differences in the extent of marginalization for out-group males can be explained by the different versions of masculinity the magazines are appealing to. However, to date, there are not many studies that examine how different versions of hegemonic masculinity affect relations between different groups of men, particularly in advertising. There is also the possibility that the gender ratio of the readership is affecting depictions of relations between men. Perhaps magazines with a higher female readership are more likely to depict more unequal gender relations between different groups of men while magazines with a higher male readership are more likely to depict more equal gender relations between different groups of men. These are phenomenon that needs to be explored.

CHAPTER 6: LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

While my study reveals some interesting findings in relation to depictions of men, advertisements only tell half the story. Past research reveals that not only do advertisements conform to gender norms, but they have also been known to maintain

social hierarchies (Goffman 1979; Luyt 2012; Messineo 2006; Morrison and Halton 2009; Ricciardelli et al. 2010; Rohlinger 2002). Consequently, it is probable that the unequal relations observed between black and white men are a function of advertising norms. Therefore, in order to obtain a more accurate, and thus more generalizable picture of the gender and racial relations between different groups of men in *Esquire* and *Ebony*, future research should include images of men that are used in the stories and editorials, as well. I also limited my study to advertising imagery. As such, future research would do well to include the advertisement's text to explore if the text reinforces differences between different groups of men, as well.

Furthermore, my findings are only generalizable to advertisements in lifestyle magazines. As a result future studies should look at other kinds of magazines, like general issue magazines, to examine if its advertisements present more or less equal relations between groups of men. Also, since magazines have seen an overall decline in their paper subscriptions with the arrival of TV and the Internet, TV or Internet advertisements are arguably more relevant today. Yet, other types of magazines have seen an increase in their readership, magazines like celebrity magazines, sports magazines, and shelter magazines (Biagi 2007). Consequently, the advertisements in these magazines might prove to be a good resource for studying depictions of men's bodies and masculinity.

My study is also limited to the analysis of black and white men, and to the exclusion of other groups of men. Future studies would do well to include Latino, Asian, and Middle Eastern men in their analysis. Yet, if this study is reflective of the general trend, this might prove to be very difficult since these groups of men make up such a small

percentage of men in advertising imagery. However, researchers can resolve this issue by examining advertisements in TV channels that cater to specific racial and ethnic groups, for example BET and Univision.

Additionally, just as advertising only tells part of the story, quantitative analysis only tells part of the story as well. Qualitative data provide depth and meaning to quantitative data, and including qualitative data in my study would result in a clearer picture of the power relations between different groups of men. Also, my study only provides preliminary insights into body norms for black men. As a result, there is a need for research that examines black male bodies in media targeting a predominately black audience.

My findings also reveal that racial out-group males are over-represented in medical advertisements. Upon examination, however, the medical advertisements in *Ebony* magazine were generally advertisements for diseases that are prevalent in the black community, for example, diabetes. Additionally, medical advertisements are more prevalent in *Ebony* than in *Esquire* (.7 percent and 15.4 percent for *Esquire* and *Ebony*, respectively). The difference in the prevalence of advertisements for medical products could be attributed to the gender distribution of *Ebony's* readership. Because more women read *Ebony* than men, this difference might be reflecting gender norms in regards to femininity and caretaking. However, more in-depth research needs to be done on this topic. As such, future research needs to explore both the significance of out-group males in medical advertisements, as well as how the gender composition affects the prevalence of advertisements for medical products in magazines.

Because of the limited amount of content analysis studies that examine social relations between different groups of men, more research needs to be conducted on the topic. To date, many studies focus on how external gender relations, i.e., men versus women, influence depictions of men as a group in advertising. For example, how a higher male or female readership influences depictions of men as a group. However, future research needs to examine how internal gender relations, i.e., men versus men, influences depictions of men in advertising. Particularly, research needs to examine how different forms of hegemonic masculinity influence depictions, and thus social relations, between different groups of men in advertising, as well as other media. This requires recognizing that masculinity is not monolithic phenomenon, but a rather a process that varies, and thus gives different meanings to social relations between different groups of men.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Past research on displays of gender in advertising reveal that, more often than not, advertisements conform to normative displays of gender. Illustrative of this, as a group, the men depicted in *Esquire* and *Ebony's* advertisements rarely deviate from normative displays of gender. The advertisements depict men as young, fit, and muscular, with strong, clean-shaven jawlines. The advertisements also depict men as independent, unemotional, and as having active and engaging lifestyles outside of the home. And, although past research shows an increased visibility of the male body in advertising, my findings reveal that the visibility might be leveling off to some degree today, where the male body is still only visible in contexts deemed appropriate; contexts such as advertisements for personal care products and clothing brands.

Connell's (1995) work on hegemonic masculinity emphasizes the varying and flexible nature of masculinity. This is to say that hegemonic masculinity is a socially constructed concept dependent on context. Indeed, as I have shown, *Esquire* and *Ebony*'s advertisements are constructing two different versions of hegemonic masculinity. While *Esquire*'s advertisements conform to a more alternative version of hegemonic masculinity, i.e., the metrosexuality, *Ebony*'s advertisements conform to a more traditional version of hegemonic masculinity, i.e., the strong, black father. Yet, at the same time, there are also core aspects of hegemonic masculinity that remain constant despite context. Both magazines depict men as autonomous and authoritative individuals engaged in active lifestyles outside of the home. This demonstrates hegemonic masculinity's, and thus men's ability to maintain their dominance and power relative to women. However, it is also characteristic of hegemonic masculinity to maintain power over other groups of men as well, particularly out-group males. My findings highlight the significant role the body plays in the maintenance of boundaries between men. For both *Esquire* and *Ebony* the body is consistently used as means through which differences between black and white men are reinforced. In other words, advertisements depict out-group males as over-weight and out of shape. In addition to the body, the different tasks black and white men are depicted as performing is also a means through which differences between black and white men are reinforced. Previous research on advertising suggests that these are considered more subtle forms of marginalization where positive evaluations are withheld from out-group males as opposed to more blatant forms of marginalization (Coltrane and Messineo 2000; Messineo 2006). Therefore, my study highlights the role advertising plays in the maintenance of social hierarchies. It is

apparent that advertising aimed at black audiences contains as many instances of marginalization as those aimed at white audiences. Therefore, in the lexicon of advertising, just as black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction, white masculinities also play symbolic roles for black gender construction. Finally, my study highlights the role advertising plays in the maintenance of hegemonic ways of seeing and interpreting the world, particularly when it comes to relations of power. It reinforces the notion that there is always one group that is more powerful than another group. In other words, advertising reinforces the idea that unequal power relations are a natural part of humanity and thus, the social world.

CHAPTER 8: APPENDICIES

Appendix A

Detailed instructions for inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Inclusion criteria:

- Full page, half page, and third of page advertisements.
- Advertisements that depict at least one adult man.
- Advertisements that depict both men and women.
- Color advertisements
- Black and white advertisements
- Advertisements that depict adult males with children.

Exclusion criteria:

- Advertisements without people.
- Advertisements for conferences and local/national events.
- Advertisements for TV show and movie releases.
- Editorials, such as special promotion sections and fashion layouts.
- Advertisements that depict only females.
- Advertisements that depict only children.
- Advertisements with 7 or more people grouped together.
- Advertisements that only depict insignificant body parts, for example hands, feet, arms, or legs.
- Advertisements that depict blurred images of adult males.
- Advertisements that depict “unreal” portrayals of men, for example shadows, statues, animated and illustrated images.
- Advertisements or pictures within the advertisement that are smaller than 2 square inches in size.

If there is more than one model in the advertisement, code the most prominent model/central model first. Then, if possible, code the additional model(s).

THINGS TO REMEMBER:

- **Familiarize yourself with all variable categories and remember to read through all options carefully before selecting final option.**
- **Pace yourself in order to avoid human errors.**
- **When in doubt, use pictures in Appendix C for reference**

Appendix B
Codebook

A. MAGAZINE AND ADVERTISEMENT DEMOGRAPHICS

Magazine: Indicate the magazine.

0. Esquire
1. Ebony

Month: Indicate the month in which the issue was published.

Year: Indicate the year in which the issue was published.

Product: Indicate product category.

0. Automotive and related.
1. Domestic Goods.
2. Medical.
3. Finance.
4. Electronic retail.
5. Clothing, cologne, and accessory brands.
6. Food (includes candy).
7. Personal care (includes body/beauty care, supplements, or health care).
8. Employment (includes military service, college/educational, etc).
9. Leisure/Entertainment (includes alcohol and cigarette advertisements).
10. Travel
11. Sex industry
12. Other

Image Color: Indicate if the image is in color.

0. No
1. Yes

B. PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND BODY ADORNMENT:

Headshot: Indicate the nature of the shot.

0. Headshot or profile shot only (i.e., only face and/or neck/shoulders in image).
1. Body shot (i.e., head,torso,legs/full body shot, or nearly).

Social Age: Indicate the chronological age of the model.

0. Young adulthood: 20-35 years of age.
1. Middle adulthood: 36-46 years of age.
2. Mature adulthood: 47-64 years of age.
3. Elderly: 65 years or older.
4. Unable to determine.

Race/Ethnicity: Indicate the model's race/ethnicity.

0. Caucasian
1. African American
2. Latino
3. Asian
4. Middle Eastern
5. Native American
6. Other

Skin Tone: Indicate the model's skin tone on a scale of **1-11**, with **1** being the lightest, **10** being the darkest, and **11** being not applicable. Refer to Appendix C for color skin tone gradation pallet for colored images, and refer to black and white gradation pallet for black and white images.

Hair Tone: Indicate model's hair tone on a scale of **1-12**, with **1** being the lightest, **10** being the darkest, **11** being gray, and **12** being not applicable if model is wearing a hat or other head piece covering the hair. Refer to Appendix C for color and hair tone gradation pallet for colored and black and white images.

Hair Length: Indicate model's length of hair.

0. Short: above ears (e.g. buzz cut or regular men's haircut).
1. Medium: below ears but above shoulders.
2. Long: past shoulder blades.
3. Bald: little to no hair.
4. Wearing a hat or head covering.

Face Shape: Indicate the model's face/jawline shape. Refer to Appendix C for examples of each.

0. Strong, square jawline.
1. Combination square and rounded jawline.
2. Rounded, soft jawline.
3. Not discernable.

Facial Hair: Indicate model's facial hair.

0. Clean-shaven or no facial hair.
1. Five O'clock shadow.
2. Moustache or partial beard (e.g. chin strap beard or circle beard).
3. Full beard.
4. Not discernable.

Wrinkles: Indicate if model is shown having facial wrinkles.

0. No
1. Yes

Body Weight: Indicate model's weight. Refer to Appendix C for reference.

0. Underweight
1. Average

2. Overweight
3. Not discernable

Muscularity: Indicate model's muscle size. Refer to Appendix C for reference.

0. Not muscular
1. Toned / Somewhat muscular
2. Muscular
3. Very Muscular/Hyper-muscular
4. Not discernable

Body Type: Indicate Model's overall body type.

0. Ectomorphic, i.e., thin.
1. Mesomorphic, i.e., well-proportioned, average build.
2. Endomorphic, i.e., fat, over-weight.
3. Not discernable.

Dress: If model is fully clothed, indicate the type of dress/outfit model is wearing. Reference Appendix C for further clarification of dress.

0. Black tie (e.g. tuxedo).
1. Semi-formal or business (e.g. matched, dark, solid, or pinstriped suits).
2. Business casual (e.g. navy blue blazer/sports jacket with khakis or light to medium gray slacks, i.e., suit does not need to be matched).
3. Casual (e.g. nice pair of dark jeans, khakis, and collared or polo shirt, plain t-shirt, loafers, sneakers, sandals).
4. Ultra-casual (e.g. jeans: can have rips, hoodies, t-shirts with slogans, khaki/Bermuda shorts, sandals, sneakers, baseball caps).
5. Sloppy (e.g. work jeans, extremely ripped jeans with holes, old t-shirts with or without slogans, old shoes, baseball caps, i.e., no effort).
6. Sports or exercise (e.g. jersey or basketball shorts, spandex shorts, sweats, t-shirt, tank top, sneakers).
7. Uniform (e.g. military, school uniform, occupational, etc.).
8. Not applicable.

Jewelry: Indicate if any jewelry/accessories are being worn.

0. Necklace or chain.
1. Bracelet
2. Watch
3. Earring(s)
4. Combination of necklace/chain, watch, or earring.
5. Other
6. None

Tattoos: Indicate if any tattoos are visible.

0. No
1. Yes

C. SOCIAL POSITION/STATUS:

Independence: Indicate if model is pictured alone or with people.

0. Alone
1. One other adult male.
2. One other adult female.
3. Combination adult male(s) and female(s).
4. With child or children.
5. Combination adult and children (i.e., a family-like setting).
6. 2 or more adult males.
7. 2 or more adult females.

Height: If model is pictured alongside 1 other model, then indicate if the height of the model relative to the other model. If there is a group of models, indicate height in relation to the majority/group.

0. Taller
1. About the same height
2. Shorter
3. Not applicable

Location: Indicate the model's location in the advertisement.

0. Model is in forefront of advertisement.
1. Model is centrally located in advertisement
2. Model is featured in the background of the advertisement (i.e., model's presence is minimized in the advertisement).

Space: Indicate the amount of space the model takes up in the image.

0. Model takes up most of image space.
1. Model takes up half of image space.
2. Model takes up a third or less of image space.

Model's Touch: Indicate if model is shown touching anything.

0. Passive touch: model is shown lightly touching himself, product, object, or another person.
1. Utilitarian touch: model is shown grasping, manipulating, or holding an object, product, himself, or another person.
2. Simple touch: a platonic touching of another person (e.g. teammate pat on back, holding of hands, hugging in a friendly manner).
3. Intimate touch: semi-sexualized touching of another person (e.g. caressing erogenous zones, holding in a desirous/possessive manner, feeding each other, kissing, hugging in a romantic manner).
4. Very intimate touch: intimate contact in a sexually suggestive way (e.g. disrobing a person, kissing around navel).
5. Depicting sex: people are in actual or implied sexual positions (e.g. straddling).
6. No touch behavior.

Touched: Indicate the kind of touch the model is receiving, if any.

0. Simple touch: a platonic touching of another person
1. Intimate touch: semi-sexualized touching of another person
2. Very intimate touch: intimate contact in a sexually suggestive way
3. Depicting sex: people are in actual or implied sexual positions
4. No touch behavior
5. Not applicable

Setting: Indicate the type of setting the model is pictured in.

0. Inside of home (e.g. kitchen, living room, dining room, bedroom).
1. Outside of home (e.g. backyard or front of house/front lawn).
2. At work or alluding to a work setting.
3. In nature or wilderness.
4. Vacation (e.g. beach or hotel/hotel room).
5. At the bar/Out on the town.
6. Restaurants/Shopping.
7. At school.
8. In bed (i.e., sexualized setting).
9. Blank background or blank backdrop.
10. Background is blurred/not discernable.
11. Background is an abstract art design.
12. Other

Task: Indicate the type of task the model is performing.

0. The hero: this status is the result of the man's celebrity in sports, business, politics, or military service.
1. The outdoorsman: man is depicted as conquering nature, animals, or a "wild" environment.
2. The urban man: the urban man enjoys the luxuries and offerings of the big city. He takes pleasure in fashion and is shown in or around bars, theatres and restaurants, or involved in other social engagements.
3. The family man/nurturer: man is depicted as an active participant with children as a father, family member, or coach.
4. The breadwinner: man is depicted as overseeing or directing children and/or his family. The man does not participate in familial activities, but serves as a leader from whom the rest of the family takes direction.
5. The man at work: man is depicted as engaged in his profession or area of expertise.
6. The erotic male: this man is placed on display by himself or with other models. The erotic male has sexual overtones because the model is positioned in a sexual manner, his crotch area/genitals, which is illustrated symbolically rather than actually shown, becomes the focal point of the image. The man's body and physical appearance are highlighted and may be used as a display area for products or logos. The erotic male is almost always posed or caught in a personal movement. He rarely smiles and his eyes are often focused on

something other than the surrounding models or audience. The setting is typically plain, blurred, or otherwise unclear.

7. The consumer: man is depicted as the average man who is either using the product being advertised, desperately needs to use the product, or is positioned as the satisfied customer of the product advertised.
8. The quiescent man: man is depicted as engaged in light recreational activities (e.g. playing video games), in tourism, or is completely inactive.
9. Model: this type of man is most likely pictured in advertisements for products related to fashion (clothing/jewelry/sunglasses/cologne). The model is almost always posed, shown as inactive, and/or with no facial expression. The model might also be caught in some form of personal movement, but it is clear that his sole job is characteristic of being the human form of a mannequin or a display for clothes/jewelry/sunglasses/cologne.
10. Other.

D. HYPER-MASCULINITY (VIOLENCE/DANGER):

Weapons: Indicate if any weapons are present and/or are being used (e.g. fists, guns, bombs).

0. No
1. Yes

Physical Violence: Indicate if it appears that an act of physical violence is being carried out, is about to be carried out, or condoned (e.g. slapping, choking, hitting, stomping).

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Verbal Violence: Indicate if it appears that an act of verbal violence is being carried out.

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Sexual Violence: Indicate if it appears that an act of sexual violence is being carried out.

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Toughness: Indicate if it appears that the man depicted is rugged, tough, or hardy (e.g. tough cowboy or tough cop).

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Stoicism: Indicate if it appears that the man is depicted as being stoic (e.g. showing no emotion or coldness).

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Anger: Indicate if it appears that the man is depicted as being angry (e.g. scowling or glaring).

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Drugs: Indicate if it appears that the man is depicted as enjoying drugs, tobacco, and alcohol.

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Gambling: Indicate if it appears that the man is depicted as enjoying gambling or taking risks with money.

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Riskiness: Indicate if it appears that the man is depicted as enjoying adrenaline junky or risky/dangerous behavior.

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.
2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

Danger: Indicate if it appears that there is an element of danger in the advertisement (e.g. dark alley setting, war zone, explosives present).

0. Not at all apparent.
1. Somewhat apparent.

2. Apparent.
3. Very apparent.

E. SEXUAL OBJECTIFICATION

Body Exposure: Indicate exposure of body parts through sexually revealing clothing or lack of clothing that is associated with sexual activity and/or the demarcation of the biological sex (e.g. chest, buttocks, abdomen, or pelvis).

0. Shirt or pants are unbuttoned and exposing body parts in a sexually provocative way.
1. Whole upper body is exposed, i.e., from pelvis to neck, or chest, abdomen, and pelvis are all visible.
2. Back exposed, i.e. all of back muscles are visible.
3. Back and top of the buttocks, i.e., back and top of the butt are exposed.
4. Whole body exposed, i.e., man is shown as only wearing underwear, or man is shown with only his genital area covered by an object or hand.
5. Body not exposed/model is fully clothed.

Model's Gaze: Indicate the direction of the model's eyes.

0. Model is shown looking straight at the camera.
1. Model is shown looking off into the distance.
2. Model is shown looking down.
3. Model is shown looking at his self/body.
4. Model is shown looking at another person.
5. Model is shown not directly facing camera.
6. Model's eyes are closed.
7. Other.

Gazed: Indicate if model is shown as being looked at or checked out by another person/model.

0. No
1. Yes
2. Not applicable

Camera Distance: Indicate the distance from the camera to the model.

0. Extremely close-up shot, i.e., camera shot of just the model's face, lips, chest, arms, abdomen, etc.
1. Close-up shot, i.e., camera shot of head and shoulders or neck, chest, and abdomen.
2. Distant shot, i.e., camera shot from waist (or below) to head or whole body is visible.

Skin Texture: Indicate the appearance of the model's skin texture as being wet, shiny, or oily, i.e., from physical exertion or lotion/oil.

0. Not at all wet.
1. Wet.

2. Very wet.

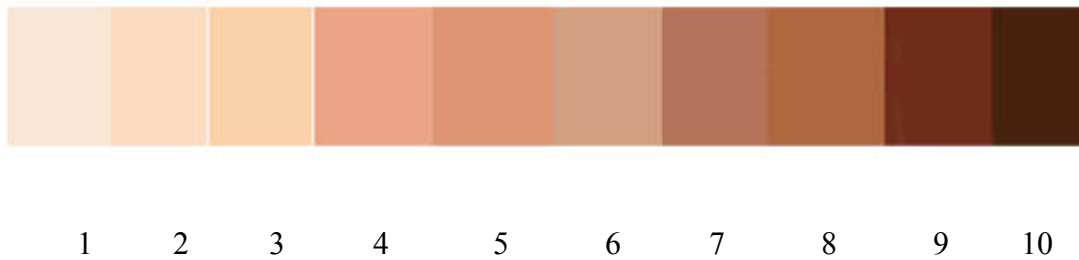
Facial Expression: Indicate model's facial expression.

0. Lips open or slightly parted, and not smiling.
1. Object or hand in mouth, i.e., sucking or biting a finger (excludes eating).
2. Simple closed lips or slightly parted lips smile.
3. Broad-toothed smile.
4. Lips closed in a straight line.
5. Actively singing or talking.
6. A passive but wide open mouth, i.e., not actively singing or yelling but, perhaps, posed for penetration.
7. Other.

Appendix C

Codebook Picture References

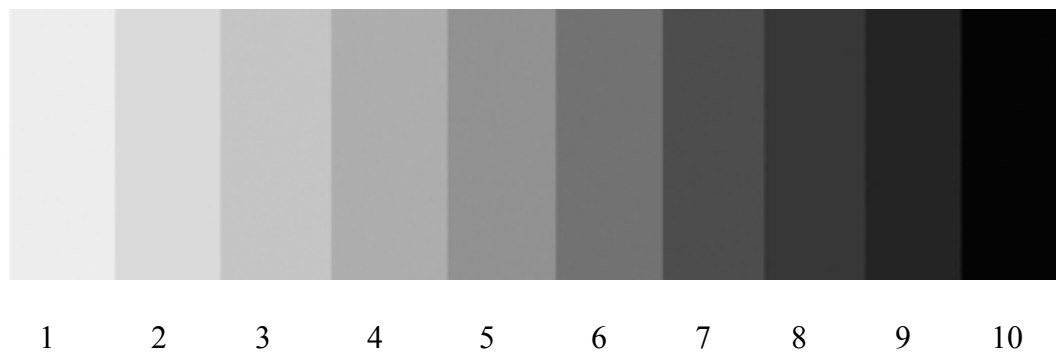
A. Skin Color Pallet for Color Images:



B. Hair Color Pallet for Color Images:



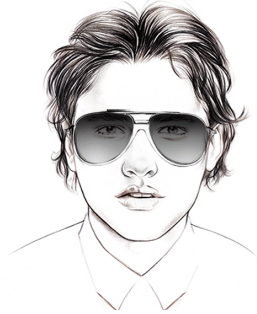
C. Skin and Hair Color Pallet for Black and White Images:



D. Face/jawline shape:



Strong, square



Combination

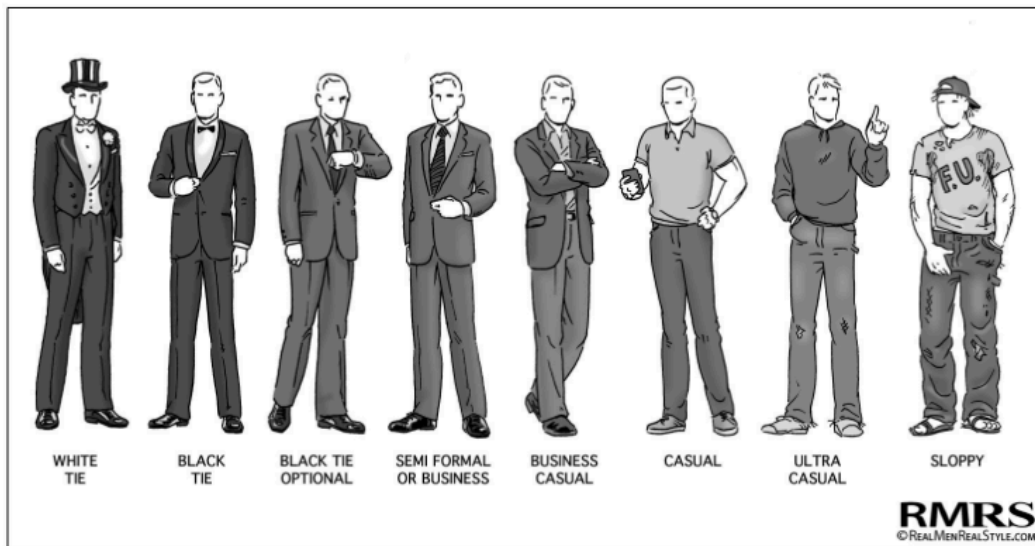


Rounded

E. Muscularity Types:



F. Dress



G. Body Weight Types:



Underweight



Average weight



Overweight

CHAPTER 9: REFERENCES

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