The Construction of Gender in Contemporary Magazine Advertisements

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"Life itself is a dramatically enacted thing"

Erving Goffman

Abstract

The advertising industry has historically legitimatized differences between the sexes by portraying gender norms in both idealized and stereotypical ways. With the media providing insight into acceptable social norms, and with greater visibility of diverse forms of gender expression emerging today, the study sought to explore whether the mass media is welcoming of contemporary understandings of gender that differ from the anticipated behaviours stemming from the gender binary system. Through the examination of traditional gender stereotypes in contemporary print advertising, the study analyzed how advertisements portray gender in 2017, how advertising helps society understand contemporary gender norms, and if the depictions of gender differ between representations found in American and Canadian magazines. The study utilized the theoretical underpinnings of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's theory of social constructionism and Albert Bandura's social learning theory as a way to examine dominant gender norms and how they are perpetuated in society by processes of socialization and reinforcement. Both theories were also used to study the role the media plays in reinforcing or destigmatizing traditional gender norms. Through a content analysis that drew inspiration from the coding framework from Erving Goffman's (1979) historically acclaimed research on gender and advertising, as well as several modernized coding categories, the study examined 133 print advertisements found within the summer editions of two Canadian magazine publications, *FASHION* and *Sharp*, and two American magazine publications, *Cosmopolitan* and *GQ*. Notably, the study revealed that with greater trends of metrosexuality and effeminacy in men, stereotypes associated with traditional masculinity are being reduced at greater degrees in advertising than feminine stereotypes. Furthermore, the findings revealed that Canadian advertisements were more likely to be progressive in their representation of gender by including gender diverse individuals in their advertisements more often than American publications. The implications of the study reveal that traditional gender norms and stereotypes may be relaxing and advertising may be becoming more tolerant of gender diversity, but stigmas are not disappearing entirely. It can be anticipated that with greater understanding and educative efforts, the visibility of gender diverse individuals in advertisements will become more commonplace.

Key words: advertising, gender stereotypes, content analysis, social constructionism, social learning theory

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Chapter I: Introduction

Although difficult to discuss its complexity entirely, gender can be understood as a social process that organizes human beings by two categories: masculinity and femininity. Simply put, gender can be understood as the socially constructed behaviour that society expects and considers most appropriate for men and women based off biological characteristics (Killermann, 2013). Although the sexes maintain nearly the same DNA (98.5% the same), society has hypernormalized and extended differences between genders by assigning sex-specific characteristics based on their genetic makeup.

Although key terms will be explained in greater detail throughout the study, several operational definitions of important concepts will be introduced now. First, as previously stated, sex most simply can be understood as the physical anatomy someone has based on what is most commonly understood to be ‘female’ or ‘male’ (Killermann, 2013). As Killermann (2013) states, the sex we label someone with rarely has anything to do with anything beyond the external evaluation of the genitalia presented at birth. Next, as previously stated, gender is the socially constructed behaviour that society expects and considers most appropriate for men (masculine) and women (feminine) based off biological characteristics (Killermann, 2013). Those who are assigned the biological sex of a male at birth are expected to behave in a masculine manner, whereas those assigned the biological sex of a female are expected to behave femininely.

Next, although there exists a lack of formal definitions of the terms, masculinity and femininity are assumed to be opposite constructs with meanings that can change depending on the time period and culture (Auster & Ohm, 2000; Paechter, 2006). As Stets and Burke (2000) argue, femininity and masculinity are rooted in the social rather

than the biological. More specifically, it is societal members that "decide what being male or female means (e.g., dominant or passive, brave or emotional), and males will generally respond by defining themselves as masculine while females will generally define themselves as feminine" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p. 1).

However, because definitions of masculinity and femininity are socially constructed assignments, it is possible for one to be biologically female but express herself as more masculine or a male to see and feel comfortable expressing himself as more feminine (Stets & Burke, 2000). However, as will be discussed in this study, there are differences between gender identity and gender expression. In short, gender identity can be most simply understood as the internal perception of one's own gender and how they choose to label themselves as male or female (Killermann, 2013). As Stets and Burke (2000) discuss, a gender identity consists of "all the meanings that are applied to oneself on the basis of one's gender identification. In turn, these self-meanings are a source of motivation for gender-related behaviour" (p. 2). Contrastingly, gender expression is the external display of gender, which may involve a combination of how one chooses to dress, their demeanor and how they carry themselves, how they talk, how they grow their hair, and their social behaviour (Killermann, 2013). Often times, humans will be motivated to behave and express their gender in ways that align with prevailing gender stereotypes associated with their biological sex. Finally, in short, stereotypes are simplistic generalizations about a group of people that are taught to society through reinforcement and social interactions (Killermann, 2013). More specifically, gender stereotypes are closely linked to traditional social roles and power inequalities between

men and women (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Often times, stereotypes can be communicated in society through the socializing powers of the mass media.

During one of my visits to *Buzzfeed*, a social news and witty entertainment website, I came across an article titled "27 Gendered Products That Prove Masculinity is Incredibly Fragile". The article, written by Luke Bailey, ridiculed the fragility of men, and the way consumer goods designed for men were being advertised to the public. For example, despite the products, particularly cosmetics, containing the same ingredients as women's, "Grenade Bath Blasters" and "Dude Wipes" were being marketed to men who arguably felt uncomfortable indulging in grooming behaviour. I became flabbergasted that some men believed their masculinity would be safeguarded if they bought beauty enhancement products that were designed specifically 'for men'. Without the social processes of assigning products a gender, they are meaningless commodities with uses that could be enjoyed by all people. Regardless of the fact that the male beauty industry is a multi-billion dollar business empire, masculinity apparently appears to be in such a state of crisis and in need of protection that many products remain segmented out of fear of emasculating men who choose to indulge in stereotypically feminine behaviour. Similar to Bailey, feminist scholar Laurie Penny (2014) asserts that the fragility of masculinity is not the crisis that should be of concern, instead the construction of gender, which is the personal qualities that are traditionally associated with men and women, is in itself the crisis. If gender is derivative from one's biological makeup, then efforts should not continually be made to preserve and protect categories of its difference. I would argue that the consumer and advertising industry must therefore refrain from designing products designed specifically for men as it only reinforces constructed differences

between the sexes. Rather than limiting human beings to personal qualities stemming from categorical differences and gender socialization, each person should be free to indulge in behaviour that they deem fitting for themselves without facing prejudice.

The socializing agents that previously dominated, such as the church and family, were arguably replaced in the 20th century by the socializing powers and commercial messages of the mass media. Through continuous exposure, individuals may unknowingly become prone to internalize the norms depicted in advertisements and later incorporate them into their understanding of their own identity (Bansal & Dayal, 2015).

Advertising can be understood as persuasive communication sponsored by an identifiable entity for the purpose of influencing the cognitions, attitudes, and purchasing behaviours of individuals (Bansal & Dayal, 2015). With its ability to dictate trends, it has been suggested that the advertising industry is the most malevolent and influential institution of socialization in modern society and a significant medium for social learning (Duffy, 1994: 5; Döring et al., 2016; Jhally, 2014; Leiss et al., 2005).

Exposure to advertisements is an unpreventable part of contemporary life. As research indicates, individuals are exposed to thousands of advertisements and commercial messages each day (Bansal & Dayal, 2015; Berger, 2004). Although humans may not be consciously aware of advertising's messages, the unconscious mind has some influence on much of human behaviour, even though people may be unaware that it is doing so (Berger, 2004). Despite the contestation that advertising directly impacts the way consumers think, it can, through segmentation strategies, encourage consumers to identify with depictions of appropriate and dominant social norms.

Market segmentation is the business process of identifying groups, or segments, of potential consumers who may be similar to one another in terms of their wants and needs and could potentially respond to marketing initiatives in the same way (Wedel & Kamakura, 2012). A form of segmentation commonly used to reach and socialize targeted audiences is to often validate differences between genders. In short, gender is used as a segmentation strategy as it meets several requirements for successful implementation, including the fact that it is usually identifiable, gender segments are measurable and responsive to marketing mix elements, and gender segments are large and profitable (Wolin, 2003; Mager & Helgson, 2011). However, despite the simplistic division between genders, men and women are diverse in many aspects. Yet in a busy consumer society where marketers must compete for market share and audience attention, advertising simplifies depictions of gender in order to more effectively reach targeted demographics. However, according to Kacen (2000), Western society is now living in a post-modernist time period whereby the historically stereotypical and simplified notions of gender identity are no longer credible.

Following the feminist movements of the 1960s, postmodernism emerged and was used by cultural theorists to characterize newly formed societies in which the deconstruction of norms became dominant. In a postmodernist society, the rules that govern the gender binary can be abandoned in favour of more fluid and less rigid guidelines. The expected behavioural differences between men and women, which have traditionally been derived from the gender binary system, can be limiting to those who do not adhere to the expected behaviour that society contends to align with biological sex. In postmodern times, the behavioural expectations of masculinity and femininity are being

deconstructed and reconstructed, which encourages humans to express themselves in more diverse and unique ways (Kacen, 2000). Therefore, as a shaper of social roles, advertising can do much to represent this deconstruction and choose to represent gender in ways that accurately reflect changes to the binary system.

With the mass media being understood as a powerful socializing institution, the present study seeks to investigate the ways that modern advertisements empower people to transcend the constraints that have been placed on them by socially constructed gender norms. More specifically, through the theoretical lenses of social constructionism and the social learning theory, this study will examine the way gender is portrayed and communicated in magazine advertisements through a content analysis inspired by the coding framework from Erving Goffman's (1979) historically acclaimed research on gender and advertising. Specifically, the study will examine the prevalence of gender stereotypes in print advertisements in magazines.

Given that it has been widely understood that media influence how society perceives gender norms, that magazine advertisements exert a form of cultural leadership in defining gender ideals, and that gender norms in society itself are becoming intertwined (Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Kacen, 2000; Schubert, 2012), the study of advertisements is worth examining to see if the deconstruction of traditional gender norms and stereotypes are being depicted in modern commercial arenas.

Therefore, the central research questions of the present research will be:

1. How do contemporary print advertisements portray gender?

2. How does the depiction of gender in magazine advertisements help us in understanding contemporary gender norms?

3. How do depictions of gender in Canadian magazines differ from the depictions found in American magazines?

The study will begin with a literature review discussing the way in which gender can be understood today. Following the literature review, the theoretical lenses of the study will be introduced. Next, the primary research method, a content analysis of magazine advertisements, will be discussed and justified. Finally, and before concluding with some final thoughts and recommendations for future research, the results and analysis of my research study will be presented.

Chapter II: Literature Review

To investigate and decode modern constructions of gender, several critical concepts will be presented. First, the distinction between sex and gender must clearly be defined, as these concepts will act as the foundation for the present study. Next, the biological argument pertaining to the binary system of gender must be discussed, as it will be contested. Finally, and before concluding with a historical discussion of advertising and gender, contemporary understandings of gender in Western civilization today will be examined. This discussion will touch on several important topics including the impacts of socialization on the formation of a gender identity, gender expression, and non-conformity and gender fluidity. These topics have been selected as they highlight the instability of gender norms and the way gender is being socially constructed today.

Sex versus Gender

Biological sex is used to categorize the physical anatomy one is born with, while gender is the socially constructed behaviour that society considers most appropriate for men and women based off biological characteristics (Killermann, 2013). For example,

characteristics of a male sex include testicles, penis, XY karyotype, and a deeper voice. Contrastingly, the characteristics of a female biological sex include ovaries, vagina, uterus, XX karyotype, breasts and a high pitch voice.

The anticipated behavioural differences between the sexes are believed to be a natural expression of the distinctness of male and female biological characteristics. The World Health Organization has defined sex as the biological characteristics that define men and women, while gender refers primarily to the "socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women" (What do we mean by "sex" and gender"?", 2016). However, by associating stereotypical characteristics to a specific gender, humans may begin internalizing particular assumptions as biological and natural rather than being socially derived. To assume that males or females think, learn, and behave in certain ways simply as a result of being born biologically male or female is problematic. In fact, gender stereotypes and the social pressures to perform in certain gendered ways can act forcefully against an individuals' biology (Migdalek, 2014). In short, a stereotype is a simplistic generalization about a group of people that is taught to society through reinforcement and social interactions (Killermann, 2013). For example, men and women have historically been labeled with both prescriptive and descriptive stereotypes. Descriptive beliefs are how society thinks a man or woman typically acts, while prescriptive beliefs are how society thinks a man or woman *should* act (Schwanke, 2013).

The most common stereotypical categorical differences for men and women are the classifications between communal and agentic traits. Communal traits are associated with women and softness and include affection, sensitivity, helpfulness, and gentleness,

while agentic traits are associated with men and dominance and include assertion, independence, aggression, and control (Schwanke, 2013). However, these perceived gender differences arguably restrict behaviours and limit authentic forms of gender expression. By perpetuating assumptions about a group of people based solely off their biological sex, stereotypes can lead to the formation of prejudice and discriminatory attitudes, oppression, and internalized oppression, which challenges those who wish to express themselves in ways that differ from anticipated male and female behaviour (Killermann, 2013). By conforming to societal expectations of gender behaviour and adhering to the divisions between categories of appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour, one may avoid social ostracism and judgment from peer groups. These categories of difference are thought to stem from childhood socialization and historical presumptions of appropriate gender roles and norms, such as men being the breadwinners and women the caregivers (Phelan & Rudman, 2010).

Like social norms, gender norms are informal rules that social structures impose on society and pressure humans to conform to (Connell, 2009; Killermann, 2013). A social structure that often perpetuates so-called ‘appropriate’ gender norms is the mass media. The mass media, particularly the advertising industry, is considered a powerful socializing agent with the ability to persuade its audiences of ideal masculine and feminine behaviour (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Gornick, 1979). Rather than being biologically derived, it is arguably powerful social structures, like the mass media, and human practices that dictate the ways in which gender should be expressed. While studying modifications to gender norms and the ways in which advertising is representing changes, my study will refute the biological perspective, and instead consider gender as

the socially produced assumptions, conventions and stereotypes concerning the appropriate and normal behaviour for men and women (Tripp, 2000).

Biological Perspective of Gender

Rather than gender being derived by social factors, the biological perspective contends that there are two biological sexes; male and female, meaning that there are two genders, masculine and feminine. Therefore, whom you are and how you are expected to behave is determined by the anatomy and physiology of the human body (Foss et al., 2013). According to adherents of this perspective, the biological sex someone is assigned at birth is also assumed to be the moment in which one determines their gender identity. For them, gender is not culturally or socially constructed, but rather a biological expression of identity following birth.

For adherents to the biological perspective, gender is assumed to be an extension of human's animal desires and inborn biological and psychological differences (Schmitt et al., 2016; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Contrastingly, for those who believe gender cannot be simplified by science, the relationships between biological and social processes of gender are complex and cannot be explained solely by ones biological characteristics. Although human beings are born with 'sex characteristics', which stem from biology, the way in which humans make meaning of those characteristics is sociological. There are differences between the sexes that can be ascribed to humans by biology including ones anatomy, hormones, and physiology. However, gender and sex should be understood as independent notions, in which one does not command or govern the other.

The way in which advertisers choose to depict gender is not biological but profoundly socially and culturally determined (Jhally, 2009). Despite men and women

being more similar than different genetically, cognitively, physically, and psychologically (Hyde, 2005; Prime et al., 2009; Schmitt et al., 2016), sociostructural powers, such as the mass media, downplay similarities and choose to highlight differences between the sexes. Human beings then perpetuate these stereotypical ideologies of 'natural differences' between the sexes and create social arrangements between them and transmit that to new generations (Connell, 2009). For example, there often appears to be a lack of fit and incongruity between the biological traits associated with those who are considered good leaders, such as agency and assertiveness, and the psychological qualities seen as highly descriptive for women, such as being caring and yielding (Vial et al., 2016). This form of hegemonic masculinity that depicts men as naturally dominant and powerful is not a natural feature of men but instead a product of historical, economic, political, and social conditions that have consistently portrayed men as powerful beings (Mumby, 2012). This hyperextension and assumption of gender differences has consistently allowed men to be dominance-driven, resulting in the vindication of the patriarchal system and continuous oppression of women. However, despite Western society, and the media more broadly, perpetuating biological differences and adhering to a strict male-female dichotomy; in contemporary times, more diverse understandings of gender have begun to emerge.

Contemporary Understandings of Gender: Challenging the Gender Binary

Despite its complexity, gender has historically been organized according to a male-female binary system. Gender binarism is the belief that there are only two genders, male and female, and that a person must express himself or herself as either masculine or feminine (Killermann, 2013). The binary gender system, which has dictated appropriate

roles and norms for men and women for more than a century, has been considered by many to be both natural and inevitable (Foss et al., 2013).

Despite the pervasiveness of the gender binary, more people have emerged who maintain a gender that is "neither male nor female and may identify as both male and female at one time, as different genders at different times, as no gender at all, or dispute the very idea of only two genders" (Richards et al., 2016, p: 95). The simplified assumptions of the gender binary tend to ignore the complexity of gender identity, gender expression and the different experiences one has with socialization. In fact, I would argue that gender identity and the way it can be expressed is as flexible and diverse as it is individualized. Despite efforts made by culture to socialize and construct humans in ways that adhere to the expected behaviour of their biological sex, meaning is never fixed and constructions of gender are never singularly coherent (Tripp, 2000). Therefore, "being a man or women, then, is not a predetermined state", but rather a condition actively under construction (Connell, 2009, p. 5). To expand on this argument, the following section will be divided into three short parts. First I will discuss the process of socialization and its impact on forming a gender identity. Next, gender expression, and the multitude of ways it can be communicated, will be analyzed. Finally, gender fluidity and the emergence of more diverse understandings of modern gender norms will be examined.

Socialization and Gender Identity

Being a man or a woman, and forming a gender identity and expressing it, is culturally and socially derived and above all a matter of personal experience (Butler, 1988; Connell, 2009). Gender identity can most simply be understood as the internal perception of one's own gender and how they choose to label themselves (Killermann, 2013). Various agencies of socialization, notably the family, school, peer groups and the

mass media, educate young children on appropriate gender behaviour and encourage them to form their gender identity by adhering to the norms and roles that are stereotypically assumed to align with their biological sex (Connell, 2009; Stockard, 2006). In contrast to the biological perspective of gender, social role theorists argue that differences between men and women are the result of gender socialization that act on the androgynously-gendered blank slated minds of young boys and girls (Schmitt, 2016). It is often through processes of socialization that human beings become aware of the clean division between binary classifications of masculine and feminine behaviour and the norms society labels as appropriate behaviour for boys and girls . Long before children understand workings of the world, they realize that there are two sexes and that they are one of them (Foss et al., 2013). In other words, people are born into one of two sex categories and later become a gender – feminine or masculine – based on the way one is socialized and influenced by social institutions (Foss et al., 2013).

Gender norms can be defined as the set of social and cultural rules for men and women, which dictate what is appropriate masculine and feminine behaviour (Ryle, 2015). While most norms are only informally reinforced through processes of unconscious socialization, human beings often feel pressured to conform to such norms, as they often fear social ostracism and judgment if they indulge in unconventional behaviour (Killermann, 2013). Through processes of socialization, one internalizes, often through societal approval or disapproval, how to form their identity and behave (Bandura, 1977). Human beings come to know what behaviour is considered appropriate for their biological sex through society sex-typing and labeling behaviours as either masculine or feminine (Ryle, 2015). In short, behaviour is sex typed when it is more expected and

perceived as appropriate when performed by one sex but less expected and perceived as inappropriate when performed by the other sex (Ryle, 2015). Therefore, gender socialization works by rewarding humans for adhering to appropriate gender norms and choosing to indulge in sex-typed behaviour that aligns with their biological sex. As Butler (1988) asserts, gender is what is performed, "under constraint, daily and incessantly, with anxiety and pleasure … performing one's gender wrong initiates a set of punishments both obvious and indirect, and performing it well provides reassurance" (p. 531).

Gender development and the formation of an identity can be complex and multidimensional (Stockard, 2006). Each person has a different experience of socialization and may come to know and understand gender norms and roles differently depending on their upbringing and social and cultural surroundings. For example, with the population of the world succeeding seven billion people, the assumption that gender, and the ways in which it can be expressed, can be reduced to two neatly divided categories of difference is arguably flawed. Furthermore, there has been interest by researchers in studying socialization and the role it plays in influencing the shifts, transitions, various formulas of gender identity, the violations of expected norms, and the multiple ways gender can be expressed (Connell, 2009).

Gender Expression

In contrast to gender identity, which is the way someone feels and identifies themselves internally, gender expression is the external display of gender, which may involve a combination of how one chooses to dress, their demeanor and how they carry themselves, how they talk, how they grow their hair, and their social behaviour (Killermann, 2013). However, if one does not express their gender in ways that follow the conventionalized and expected behaviours that are believed to align with their

biological sex, their gender identity, sexuality, and even biological sex may be questioned (Kacen, 2000; Killermann, 2013). Therefore, despite the potential for a person to express their gendered self in a multitude of diverse ways, humans are often "compelled to live in a world in which gender constitute univocal signifiers, in which gender is stabilized, polarized, rendered discrete and intractable. In effect, gender is made to comply" with dominant and idealized constructs of anticipated gender norms (Butler, 1988: 528). The burden to conform to the ideals of gender appropriate behaviour can be limiting and harmful to those who wish to communicate their identity in unorthodox and more progressive ways. For many, the gender binary reduces humans to polar opposites, which results in those who do not adhere to this division being labeled abnormal (Foss et al., 2013). In fact, according to several scholars (Butler, 1988; Connell, 2009; Foss et al., 2013; Killermann, 2013; Richards et al., 2016), many become depressed and anxiety ridden as they feel pressured to conform to the gender norms that are expected from their biological sex despite potentially not identifying with such classifications.

Several scholars have argued that the depictions of human beings in advertisements can contribute to what society considers acceptable behaviour for men and women (Berger, 2004; Kacen, 2000; Klassen et al., 1993; Schroeder & Swick, 2004; Zotos & Tisichla, 2014). Despite the different ways a person can understand gender, advertisements have historically validated a dichotomous system, which has often limited the ways gender can be expressed. However, in modern society, gender non-conforming and gender variant individuals have begun to emerge, resulting in the dichotomous understanding of gender being challenged. Although various titles exist for non-conforming individuals, put simply, one who identifies as gender variant is someone who

either by nature or by choice chooses to reject the gender-based behavioural expectations of society (Killermann, 2013). Rather than follow a traditional path of gender socialization, gender variant individuals resist notions that they must express themselves within the constraints of the gender binary.

Gender should not be limited to a binary schema, but instead treated as a diverse spectrum with a multitude of ways it can be experienced and expressed. As Kacen (2000) argues, a system that is less binary must be developed, as gender is undergoing a transformation and the once traditional and appropriate gender norms are becoming undependable. Therefore, with these modern fluctuations, and because advertisements tend to reflect the cultural shifts and dominant views within society, my study will seek to analyze how gender is expressed in modern advertisements and the ways in which progressive and fluid depictions of gender are being represented.

Non-Conformity and Fluidity

Similar to gender variants, gender fluidity can be best described as a gender identity that inhabits characteristics that stereotypically belong to both men and women (Killermann, 2013). A person who identifies as gender fluid often abandons the binary system of gender as they may feel like a mix of the two traditional genders, or feel more stereotypically feminine some days, and more masculine other days (Killermann, 2013). Those who are gender fluid often play with the binary system of gender and challenge the conventional perceptions of how men and women should and can express themselves.

Although the binary gender matrix is still prevalent in the Western world, humans are not completely governed and controlled by it (Foss et al., 2013). Gender non-conformists and gender-fluid individuals challenge the gender-binary by presenting themselves in ways that they deem more reflective of their authentic selves. For example,

androgynous and metrosexual forms of gender expression have become more visible in today's social and cultural spheres (Ervin, 2011; Peitsch, 2006; Penny, 2014; Prakash et al., 2010; Richards et al., 2016). In short, androgyny is a form of gender expression that welcomes elements of both masculinity and femininity, while metro-sexuality is reserved for heterosexual men, who do not adhere to hyper-masculine expectations. Instead, metrosexuals challenge gender norms and may often appear more physically feminine, and indulge in stereotypically feminine behaviour such as spending time and energy on their physical appearance (Killermann, 2013).

Despite the attachment to the binary system of gender, research suggests that the majority of human beings typically combine both masculine and feminine characteristics rather than being all of one or all the other (Connell, 2009). Therefore, in postmodern life, gender and the ways it can be expressed, have begun to be modified, resulting in many of the former behavioural expectations for men and women being discarded. Discussions of reasoning for this transformation have focused on external social and cultural pressures such as technological innovations, urban life, mass communications, secularism, and modernization (Connell, 2009). Furthermore, unlike other social norms, gender norms, and the stereotypical meanings attached to them, are never stable, and fluctuate depending on the time period and culture one is immersed in (Connell, 2009; Killermann, 2013; Tripp, 2000). Today, many men and women are finding the binary system of gender outdated, illusionary and socially limiting. For example, many men have expressed their resentment for the stereotypical assumptions associated with their biological sex as the expected behaviour stemming from traditional stereotypes restricts how they can express themselves, dampens their emotions, and limits them to clichéd and

socially confined roles (Ervin, 2011; Gentry & Harrison, 2010). Similarly, with changes in women's' socioeconomic agency, the popularity of modern feminism, and popular culture granting them more power, women have become increasingly resentful towards sexist and binary depictions of women in advertising and instead prefer to see realistic, diverse, and egalitarian images of both sexes (Leiss et al., 2005; Saad, 2004). Furthermore, as popular culture continues to be colonized with diverse and unorthodox human representations, which give power to those who do not adhere to the gender binary, the divisiveness of the gender binary system becomes more flexible and unstable.

However, the ability to freely express oneself often exists in tension with the restrictions of the binary system of gender (Foss et al., 2013). Those who do not adhere to stereotypes and expected gender behaviour might be labeled gender-deviants and have historically been penalized for their rebellion (Connell, 2009). Gender deviants are those who willingly or unwillingly act in discordance with traditional norms and stereotypes and enjoy challenging gender polarity (Connell, 2009; Vial et al., 2016). Rather than abide by the stereotypes that often limit their behaviour, gender-deviants are less concerned with their normalcy and instead contend that there are diverse ways of expressing gender. However, despite differences between the genders weakening, many continue to worry about their normality in terms of their biological sex, their gender behaviour, the direction of their desires and attractions, and many other gender related-aspects of their lives (Butler, 1988; Ryle, 2015).

Advertising and Gender

As a socializing agent that often utilizes gender as a segmentation strategy, advertising can impact a person's perspective, attitudes, and beliefs as it not only sells a

product or a brand in its imagery, but a way of understanding the world (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Klassen et al., 1993; Wolin, 2003). Therefore, in both blatant and subtle ways, the advertising industry can vindicate which gender norms are most appropriate.

Aside from its role in socializing viewers, advertising functions under the commercialized constraints of capitalist structures that have the primary intention of making money and maintaining market share. The job of the advertiser is to understand the social world and their audiences so that the messages they deliver can resonate with information that the listener already possesses (Jhally, 2009). Therefore, despite changes in the social world, creative developers will often resort to stereotypical depictions of men and women in hopes that such portrayals will render recognition, identification, and acceptance among targeted audiences. However, these stereotypical depictions nullify efforts made by postmodernists to eliminate the binary system, and counteractively convince society that there are certain ways men and women should want to be, or should be, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to each other (Goffman, 1979).

Similar to gender expression, which is the external display used to communicate a gender identity, the gender binary and relationships between the genders are maintained in social contexts by gender displays, which can be most simply understood as conventionalized portrayals of the culturally and socially established correlations of sex (Jhally, 2009). It is from these conventionalized assumptions that men and women are wired to behave in particular ways and that advertising borrows from. The primary problem that emerges in the use of conventionalized assumptions about men and women in advertisements is that the continuous utilization of stereotypical images begins to create a distorted sense of what it means to be a male and female. In modern studies of

marketing, students learn that the most efficient way to sell commodities is to allow consumers to direct producers on how their needs and desires can be met, rather than the reverse (Leiss et al., 2009). Therefore, because men and women would both like more realistic and diverse depictions that challenge traditional stereotypes associated with their sex (Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Leiss et al., 2005; Saad, 2004), the present study will investigate the ways that modern advertisements empower people to transcend the constraints that have been placed on them by socially constructed gender norms.

Advertising continues to be a medium that reflects trends in society and where social, cultural, and economic changes are constantly mediated (Grau & Zotos, 2016; Kacen 2000; Klassen et al., 2003; Leiss et al., 2005). Therefore, with advertising playing both a reflecting and shaping role that draws on everyday life experiences and with modifications being made to gender norms, the investigation of the way in which advertising is reflective of these changes provide a rich area to research.

The next section will begin with introducing the different geographic lenses at play in this study, that being the United States and Canada, and the perspectives each country has on gender diversity. This will be followed by discussing the theoretical framework, the research questions, methodology and research tools of my study.

Geographical Perspectives: Canada versus The United States

Despite being in close proximity with America and maintaining much of the same lifestyles and values, Canada can arguably be considered more socially liberal and accepting of diversity today. For example, when current Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau was elected in 2015, he stated his commitment to promoting inclusivity among all people, regardless of gender, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and more.

Throughout his time as Prime Minister, Trudeau has celebrated differences within the Canadian population, and asserted that diversity is Canada's strength ("Diversity is Canada's Strength", 2015). This comes at the same time when the President of the United States, Donald Trump, is continuously confronted for his lack of support for minorities and alleged endorsement of white supremacy in America (Giroux, 2017; Nicholas & Bender, 2017).

In terms of gender equality, gender identity and sexuality, Canada also has several contrasting political, economical, and cultural differences. For example, Canada legalized same-sex marriage and the protection of same-sex couples in 2005, whereas the United States did not do the same until 2015 (Bravin, 2015). Despite its legalization, Trump's administration has continually revoked and challenged LGBTQ+ rights in the United States. For example, earlier this year Trump's administration attempted to introduce an executive order that would allow anti-LGBTQ+ discrimination and dismissals in the workplace based on one's gender and sexual identity (Viswanatha, 2017). In contrast, in May 2016, the government of Canada introduced legislation to help ensure that transgender, and other gender-diverse individuals, can live according to their own gender identity and gender expression. The legislation celebrates gender diversity and asserts that all Canadians should feel safe to be themselves and that Canada would protect diverse forms of gender expression from discrimination, hate propaganda and hate crimes under the Canadian Human Rights Act (Mas, 2016). This research also comes at a time where Trudeau walked for the second time in the annual Toronto Pride Parade during Pride Month (June), which is dedicated to taking a powerful stance against discrimination and violence towards LGBTQ+ individuals. By uniting and empowering

people with diverse sexual orientations, gender identities and gender expressions, the Pride Toronto festival has become the largest Pride celebration in North America ("About Us – Pride Toronto", 2017). In contrast, during the same month, the Trump administration remained silent and chose to ignore and avoid the celebrations of Pride month (Reinhard, 2017). Furthermore, upon entering Parliament, Trudeau introduced the world to the first ever gender-balanced cabinet with equal gender representatives. Not only was the cabinet gender-balanced and progressive, but also it reflected and mirrored the existing diversities of Canada ("Diversity is Canada's Strength", 2015).

Social contexts and political climates are pivotal in understanding the reasons for prevailing stereotypes about gender norms and behaviours. Trudeau's political climate provides hope of a more inclusive Canada. One in which all people, regardless of their differences, can live in harmony together. Contrastingly, Trump's America seems to be promoting divisiveness and building walls to protect people from difference. Although the actions of political leaders cannot speak for all the people they represent, their policies, opinions, and they way they choose to communicate them, impacts the rhetoric in society. The opinions of political leaders, and the way they choose to govern their country, which includes the legislation that they choose to introduce and/or pass, can have an effect on how a person in that society views, understands, and tolerates diversity.

Furthermore, in relation to advertising regulations and the mass media, Canada and the United States also differ significantly. In fact, out of all the countries in the world Canada is believed to have the most detailed and effective codes of conduct on gender portrayals and are critical of the usage of gender stereotypes (Gallagher, 2001; Shaver & An, 2014; Zhou & Chen, 1997). With members of the board representing some of the

leading advertising agencies, Advertising Standards of Canada (ASC), a non-profit self regulated board, encourages ethical advertising practices while promoting the Canadian Code of Advertising Standards to media professionals in Canada. In addition to ASC, advertising in Canada is highly regulated by the Competition Bureau of Canada, which takes on the role of a media watchdog, flags criminal and civil offences, and regulates advertising through the Federal Competition Act (Shaver & An, 2014). In short, the Federal Competition Act works to prevent misleading advertising practices in Canada.

Furthermore, the ASC not only provides detailed guidelines for specific subjects, like appropriate gender portrayals in the marketplace, but also takes interest in collaborating closely with interest groups that may raise concerns with how advertisers choose to conduct themselves and depict their products (Shaver & An, 2014). Canada's rigorous guidelines to address issues of stereotyping and multiculturalism set its advertising regulation apart from the United States (Shaver & An, 2014). For example, the Gender Portrayal Guidelines, implemented by the ASC emphasize the importance of diversity and state in in its guidelines that "advertising should describe both women and men in the full spectrum of diversity and as equally competent in a variety of activities, both inside and outside the home" while not attempting to perpetuate images of certain stereotypical roles ("Gender Portrayal Guidelines", 2017). In contrast, in the United States, the world's largest advertising market, state and local guidelines and the federal government regulate advertising practices (Shaver & An, 2014). However, the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution prohibits the creation of governmental laws that encroach on the freedom of speech, which means that any laws pertaining to the regulation of advertising and commercial speech must be consistent with principals of the

First Amendment (Shaver & An, 2014). Federal agencies such as the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) have some authority to regulate types of advertising, but because of the importance placed on the First Amendment, the regulation of advertising in the United States continues to be focused primarily on truth and accuracy rather than more subtle taste and decency issues such as the portrayal of gender ("Advertising and Marketing", 2017; Shaver & An, 2014).

In addition to studying the advertisements found in popular American magazines, I will also seek to analyze depictions of gender in advertisements found in Canadian magazine publications. This timely and novel examination will seek to discover if there are differences in the ways gender is depicted in Canada in comparison to the United States today. It can be anticipated that the regulations placed on diversity and the accuracy of gender portrayals through the ASC may impact the way gender diversity is depicted in Canadian modern lifestyle magazines.

I will now move on to discuss social constructionism and social learning theory, which will be the theoretical frameworks utilized in my research study.

Theoretical Frameworks

Social Constructionism

In *The Social Construction of Reality,* Berger and Luckmann popularized the modern concept and ideological framework of social constructionism (Burr, 2015; Knoblauch & Wilke, 2016). Berger and Luckmann argue that the reality of the social world, which many believe to be derived naturally and objectively, is actually constructed in the minds of people and perpetuated and reinforced in society through rituals of socialization and communication (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For Berger and

Luckmann, the way society functions cannot be derived from the laws of nature. Instead, social order exists only as a product of human activity and agreed upon definitions (Foss et al., 2013). Therefore, as Berger and Luckmann assert, all acceptable human behaviour and activity is subject to processes of habitualization and is sustained only through repetitive social practices. For example, according to social constructionists, one's identity is formed and crystalized by socialization and is maintained, modified, and reshaped by the continuous reinforcement of anticipated and agreed upon social practices and relations (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). According to Berger and Luckmann, the social processes involved in both the formation and maintenance of identity is determined by powerful social structures. A powerful social structure where humans derive definitions of reality and ideas of identity formation is the media.

For social constructionists, one must consider that humans are not born with an understanding of their identity or what it means to be male or female, but rather learn about their identity and the differences between gender characteristics through social interactions (Kyriakidou 2015; Ryle, 2015). By continually assigning distinct characteristics to a specific gender, humans have a greater chance of internalizing particular assumptions and behaviours as biological and natural. However, gender consists of the capacity to construct oneself to be masculine or feminine by adhering to the dominant cultural conventions of gender, which is often presented through idealized depictions in the mass media (Goffman, 1979). According to social constructionists, because social phenomena are sustained through repetitive social practices, those who do not conform to the expected customs of socialization may be ridiculed for their resistance to society's collective agreement on how one should form their identity.

Social Learning Theory

Founded by psychologist Albert Bandura, social learning theory states that a person learns to be who they are through observing others and modeling their behaviour (Bandura, 1977). As Bandura asserts, modeled behaviour is regulated to a large extent by the anticipated consequences or feedback that one will receive from their peers. From observing others, one becomes aware of which behaviours are most appropriate to enact, which, when implemented, will enable one to function in society successfully (Bandura, 1977). In short, humans observe what other people do, consider the rewards or consequences, imitate the behaviour for themselves, and then actively evaluate how their environment received their behaviour. This form of socialization and reward system can apply to the study of gender normative behaviours.

According to social learning theory, gender, and the social statuses that are assigned based on physical sex, can be understood as being carefully constructed by the processes of teaching, learning, emulation, and reinforcement (Lorber, 1994). Through agreed upon understandings of constructed gender norms, humans, although not obliged, often feel compelled to act in accordance with what society at large deems appropriate for their gender. For example, boys who enjoy playing with dolls may be aware that their social environments will not endorse such behaviour. Therefore, attempts will be made to socialize them to adjust their behaviour in order to avoid social ostracism for indulging in such activities. Similar to social constructionists, social learning theorists contend that gender socialization is so powerful that humans do not think to question their behavioural decisions, as they believe it is naturally derived (Burr, 2015; Foss et al., 2013; Lorber, 1994). When behaviour is rewarded, such as boys choosing to play with toy cars over

dolls, it will likely be reproduced and transferred to others over time, while behaviour that is deemed unorthodox, such as boys playing with dolls, will ultimately be discouraged. Therefore, authentic forms of self-expression may be at risk of being suppressed if such expressions do not align with the modeled gender behaviour that has traditionally been rewarded by society

Research demonstrates that the media is an influential source of social learning and that both children and adults can acquire attitudes, emotional responses, and new styles of conduct through its depictions of human behaviour (Bandura, 1977). Historically, through the socializing powers of the mass media, more traditional depictions of human behaviour have been reinforced and encouraged, while deviant depictions have been excluded. However, biological sex and gender expression do not always align in ways predicted by a typical story of gender socialization (Ryle, 2015). With more feelings of apprehension with the gender binary, many are now looking to the media for more progressive models to endorse their 'deviant' behaviour.

Advertising's Power

Practitioners have been debating the power of advertising and its relationship to gender for decades. As previously stated, it has been suggested that the media have immense effects on how society perceives and understands gender (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971; Goffman, 1979; Lindner, 2004; Schubert, 2012). However, if advertisers utilize traditional depictions of the sexes, the existing diversity of gender and the multiple ways it can be expressed can be dangerously ignored.

Despite debate, some scholars argue that the depictions of traditional gender norms and stereotypes are decreasing in advertising and instead more diverse and equal

reflections of the sexes are emerging (Berkery et al., 2013; Ford et al., 1998; Furnham & Thomson, 1999; Kacen, 2000; Mager & Helgeson, 2011; Wolin, 2003). For example, in her synthesis of three decades of gender-related advertising research, Wolin (2003) suggests that gender stereotypes are decreasing in advertisements and instead more realistic depictions of the sexes are increasing. Similarly, while studying the portrayals of women and men in magazine advertisements over a 50-year period, Mager & Helgeson (2010) found a consistent trend toward gender equality in the area of role portrayals and overall decrease in the use of gender stereotypes in advertising for the period of 1970-2002. As Mager & Helgeson (2010) argue, "as popular culture has granted more power to woman and has moved them into the public sphere by associating them with a variety of occupations, advertising has correspondingly depicted them this way (p. 241). Therefore, some research suggests that changes in the portrayals of gender in the mass media are consistent with the changes in prevailing social and cultural trends, such as the emerging force of modern feminism (Kacen, 2000; Leiss et al., 2005; Mager & Helgeson, 2010).

Contrastingly, others assert that despite changes in how gender roles and norms can be understood, traditional depictions of gender continue to pervade Western advertisements (Eisend 2010; Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988; Vranica, 2003). For example, in their study of men in advertising, Gentry and Harrison (2010) found that despite women being shown less stereotypically, portrayals of men still relied on traditional masculine stereotypes. Despite trends in modern feminism, men today are faced with confusion of what it means to be masculine. While social change is taking place and challenging stigmas attached to traditional masculinity, advertising was found to continue propagating stereotypical roles and norms for men to adhere to (Gentry

& Harrison, 2010). Similarly, Vranica (2003) argues that despite advertising and the movement towards gender equality often being intertwined, the hypersexualization of woman and use of sexual stereotypes still persist in modern advertising.

Although there have been studies on the prevalence of gender stereotypes in advertising, there appears to be a need for more research that discusses exclusively the differences between gender portrayals in American and Canadian magazines. Although cross-cultural studies have been conducted on depictions of gender in advertising (An & Kim, 2007; Frith et al., 2005; Matthes et al., 2016; Milner & Collins, 2000; Paek et al., 2011; Tan et al., 2013; Wiles et al., 1995), they rarely include discussions of the depictions of gender roles and norms found in Canadian advertising.

In fact, only a few notable Canadian studies exist on this subject matter. Furthermore, there exists very little Canadian research on gender portrayals in Canadian advertising exclusively (DeYoung & Crane, 1992; Pasold, 1976; Ricciardelli et al., 2010; Zhou & Chen, 1997). For example, most recently, Canadian researchers Ricciardelli et al., (2010), investigated the existence of hegemonic masculinity in men's lifestyle magazines in Canada. Based on a content analysis, the researchers concluded that different lifestyle magazines represent different forms of masculinity. Although Ricciardelli et al., (2010) studied the depiction of gender in print magazines, their study focused solely on hegemonic masculinity, which excludes discussions of how femininity may be constructed in Canadian advertisements. Furthermore, in contrast to my research, Ricciardelli et al., (2010) simply analyzed men's magazines that were sold in Canada.

Similar to my research study, Kindra (1982) compared advertisements published in American and Canadian magazines to see how women were being portrayed and

concluded that portrayals of women continue to be limited by traditional stereotypes. Kindra argued that although there appears to be a decline in the portrayal of women in traditional roles, the images of women remain narrow and limited (Kindra, 1982). Zhou & Chen (1997), sought to expand on Kindra's (1982) study and evaluate the progression of how gender was being depicted in Canadian advertisements in 1990. They concluded that despite men being portrayed more favourably, women were being more accurately portrayed than previously before. Notably, they conclude that women's socioeconomic status and power can be improved through more accurate and diverse representations in the media (Zhou & Chen, 1997).

The rationale for the present study is to expand on the discussion of contemporary gender norms and investigate whether today's depictions of men and women are reflective of the shifts to the historically dichotomous understandings of gender. This leads me to my three research questions.

Research Questions

1. How do contemporary print advertisements portray gender?
2. How does the depiction of gender in magazine advertisements help us in understanding contemporary gender norms?
3. How do depictions of gender in print magazines differ between American and Canadian publications?

Chapter IV: Methodology

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the content analysis research method. This will be followed by a more specific discussion of the strengths, weaknesses, and rationale for selecting a quantitative content analysis as the primary research method of

my study. Finally, I will discuss my sample selection, research tools, and present the basis of my coding framework that will be used to analyze magazine advertisements.

Quantitative Content Analysis

Through a content analysis, my study will analyze the way gender is portrayed in advertisements by comparing it to gender stereotypes. Unlike previously conducted content analyses' of gender in advertising, my study will offer a contemporary Canadian perspective on gender diversity and the portrayal of gender in the mass media. This contemporary examination will be extended by a comparative investigation between American and Canadian magazine publications to analyze whether disparity exists in the depictions of gender between the two nations.

A content analysis can be best described as a careful and systematic examination of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings (Berg & Lune, 2012). More specifically, a quantitative content analysis is the examination of symbols of communication that have been assigned a numerical value according to valid measurement rules in order to draw inferences about patterns and themes in the social world (Riff et al., 2014). While quantitative analysis of printed material can be traced back to the 18th century (Krippendorff, 2004), this methodology became popularized in the mid-twentieth century when political scientists became concerned with the effects of propaganda and, the impacts of the mass media.

In fact, Harold Lasswell, one of the most influential figures in communication research, popularized and developed the systematic study of media messages (Neuendorf, 2002). Among Lasswell's contributions to the field of communication research, a notable discovery was his development of content analysis as a quantitative technique and systematic method to study patterns in the mass media (Janowitz, 1968; Neuendorf,

2002). In short, it was Lasswell who sought to bring order to the analysis of content by imposing the organization of categories and developing quantitative indicators (Janowitz, 1968).

Although quantification is not a defining feature of content analysis, and qualitative measures have proven to be successful as well, theorists such as Bernard Berelson and Lasswell call for quantitative readings of data as it can combat tendencies to read material selectively and subjectively (Krippendorff, 2004). However, proponents of quantitative content analysis have been criticized for missing the multiple interpretations of a text and restricting analysis to numerical counting exercises. Meanwhile qualitative content analysis proponents have been condemned for being unsystematic and subjective in their interpretations (Berg & Lune, 2012; Krippendorff, 2004; Riff et al., 2014). Despite its differences, many scholars contend that stationing quantitative and qualitative content analysis as polar opposites is a mistaken dichotomy as both have strengths that can be utilized the same time (Berg & Lune, 2012; Krippendorff; 2004). I will be studying advertisements numerically using predetermined coding categories as I feel this is an efficient and organized way to identify and study the frequency and prevalence of gender stereotypes and modern gender norms.

Additionally, there are several advantages to utilizing a quantitative content analysis as the primary research method. A quantitative content analysis of advertisements will prove to be useful as it is a systematic and categorizing approach that effectively explores information unobtrusively to determine communication trends as well as their frequency (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). A content analysis of advertisements guided by systematic coding categories and associated

variables will also provide a frozen frame that will allow a more detailed visual examination of gender portrayals in 2017 and the cultural perspectives from which the images stem from. Furthermore, a content analysis can provide empirical starting points for generating new research related to the effects of specific communications (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991). More specifically, studying media documents numerically, such as advertisements, is often considered relevant for audiences' dominant views, themes, and narratives of the world and can condense large amounts of data to yield clear conclusions (Altheide & Schneider, 2013). Therefore, put together, a quantitative content analysis of magazine advertisements will prove to be beneficial, as it will provide a means to systematically track the prevalence of stereotypes and the dominant patterns of gender norms that may be reflective of trends in society today.

Sample Selection

To study how gender is portrayed in advertising, the advertisements in two American and two Canadian magazines will be used as the primary unit of analysis. The selected publications are two women's magazines, *Cosmopolitan* (US) and *FASHION* (CDN), and two men's magazines, *GQ* (US) and *Sharp* (CDN). These magazines have been selected due to their social relevance, popularity, high circulation figures, and written content. In short, *GQ*, one of leading fashion and lifestyle brands, is one of the highest circulated men's magazines in the Western world with over 7 million magazine readers ('GQ 2017 Media Kit', 2017). *Cosmopolitan*, the world's largest young women's media brand is the leading women's magazine with an audience of 17.1 million adults across multiple platforms ('Cosmopolitan Media Kit', 2017). Next, *FASHION*, which is described as Canada's top fashion media source, has over 1.4 million monthly Canadian readers (2016 Media Kit: FASHION, 2016). Finally, *Sharp*, which has been described as

Canada's leading magazine for men, has a readership of over 840 thousand in Canada (Sharp Magazine: 2017 Media Kit, 2017). In short, in addition to their social relevance and high circulation figures, these lifestyle magazines have been selected as they focus on a variety of topics including fitness, health, sex, beauty, and style, and thus will provide the opportunity to study a multitude of advertisements depicting men, women and their relationship to each other in different social contexts.

Research Tools

Often considered one of the most renowned and influential practitioners of social science (Fine & Manning, 2003; Suibhne, 2011; Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2014; Smith & Fine, 2006; Treviño, 2003), Erving Goffman continues to influence the way sociologists study the social world, including gender relations, and the behavioural functioning of human beings (Bell & Milic, 2002; Brandt & Tatsis, 2009; Brouwer et al., 2012; Döring & Pöschl, 2006; Döring et al., 2016; Farmer, 2014; Lewin & Reeves, 2011; Smith & Sanderson, 2015). For example, most recently, Döring et al., (2016) were inspired by Goffman's work on gender and advertising and chose to utilize Goffman's categories of gender display to study the prevalence of gender stereotypes in selfies found on social media. Similarly, Mager and Helgeson (2010) chose to utilize Goffman's acclaimed cultural positioning framework to evaluate the portrayals of men and women in magazines over a 50-year time period.

Despite Goffman's work in a multitude of different subjects, one of his most notable areas of research continues to be his examination of the socially constructed differences between the sexes. In one of his most acclaimed and revolutionary research studies, *Gender Advertisements* (1979), Goffman studied the way men and women were portrayed in print advertisements and the social implications that such depictions had on

society's understanding of appropriate roles for men and women. Goffman chose advertising as his primary unit of analysis as he speculated that it was the most valuable source to uncover what the social world defined as appropriate behaviour. Goffman sought to study the subtle depictions and portrayals of gendered behaviour in over 500 print advertisements through his categories of gender-display. Goffman's categories remain timeless as they focus on the subtle and less obvious details of the depiction of gender such as the use of hands, facial expressions, body positing, and relative sizes of men and women. Goffman's subtle level of analysis provides a strategic way of prying into the contemporary understanding of gender and appropriate gender roles and norms that provide rich interpretations beyond a first glance (Belknap & Leonard, 1991). It is through Goffman's categories that advertising has traditionally constructed men in dominant positions, while reinforcing sexist attitudes towards women. With its ability to measure both subtle and overlooked depictions of gender, Goffman's coding strategy and six categories of gender display remains relevant as the subtle messages that exist in advertisements often dictate what roles and norms are most appropriate.

The first category of Goffman's gender display, the **'Relative Size'**, or 'social weight' category, is utilized as a way to measure gender difference in terms of height and social position. As Goffman argues, one way in which power and authority is expressed in social situations is through relative size, especially height (Goffman, 1979). When pictured together, men are often displayed asserting their dominance and strength over woman by being depicted taller and taking up more space.

Next, the **'Feminine Touch'** category analyzes how women, more than men, "are pictured using their fingers and their hands to trace the outlines of an object, or their own

bodies which often conveys a sense of vulnerability or that one's body is a delicate and precious thing (Goffman, 1979). This can be distinguished from men's utilitarian touching, which involves touching that firmly grasps, manipulates, or holds objects to signify agency and authority (Goffman, 1979).

Next, **Function Ranking** is conveyed when one person, traditionally a man, is depicted in the executive and directing role, while the other person, usually a woman, is assisting them (Goffman, 1979). Men seem to be consistently pictured in power and instructing other men or women often through direct contact, more so than the reverse (Goffman, 1979). In my study, an instructing position will be understood as embodying a level of expertise and taking the initiative in teaching others how to do something, while an executive position will be understood as a person overseeing others or being visibly depicted as an authoritative figure within the advertisement.

Next, **'The Family'** category analyzes the depiction of families in print advertisements. Goffman found that fathers who are depicted in advertising often act as the 'protector' and may be photographed being distant to their family, or only being in contact with their son, while mothers remain close to the daughter (Goffman, 1979).

The '**The Ritualization of Subordination'** category, measures positions and poses that imply inferiority, which includes the bowing or lowering oneself physically. In contrast, holding the body erect and the head high is often a mark of superiority and confidence (Paul & Sheets, 2012). Goffman established that there is a consistent tendency of advertisers to locate women "in lower positions in adverts than men in order to symbolize the men's higher social place and the subordination of women" (Döring et al., 2016: 956). As Goffman contends, women more so than men have historically been

portrayed laying down, often on floors or beds as way to mark their inferiority to men, subordination to their surroundings, and weakness or sexual availability (Goffman, 1979). In contrast to men, who have traditionally been depicted as authoritarian and in control of themselves and their surroundings with their body erect, women have been depicted with their body canted or contorted, which includes the bending of the body, knee or head. Women have been found to more commonly contort their body in advertisements in a childlike or submissive guise, often using the entire body as a playful device or indulging in a sort of body clowning (Goffman, 1979: 50). The distortion of the human body, such as head and body bending, can be seen as an acceptance of subordination and submissiveness to their surroundings (Goffman, 1979).

Lastly, the **'Licensed Withdrawal'** category exists when a person, traditionally a woman, seems to be physically or psychologically removed from the situation, thus leaving the impression that they are dependent on others (Paul & Sheets, 2012). Women more so than men withdraw themselves from social situations in advertisements by first withdrawing their gaze from the camera or closing their eyes and second by depictions that suggest loss of control over emotions such sporting an expansive smiles or hiding behind objects and people and/or sucking or biting fingers (Döring et al., 2016). These categories continually depict how society at large expects men to be dominant and women are expected to be vulnerable and in need of guidance and protection.

Goffman's categories of gender display will be used as the base for the coding criteria as scholars continue to assert that it remains the most practical conceptual framework to evaluate the depiction of gender in advertisements and the existence of stereotypes (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Hovland et al., 2005; Kang, 1997; Lindner, 2004;

Mager & Helgeson, 2010; Nam et al., 2011). However, just as other researchers have added or extended some of Goffman's categories, (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Bell & Milic, 2002; Hovland et al., 2005; Kang, 1997; McLaughlin & Goulet, 1999; Paul & Sheets, 2012), I too will be extending Goffman's work and adding independently developed categories that reflect the modernization of gender norms while at the same time still examining traditional gender stereotypes.

In addition to Goffman's categories, several original categories will be utilized. First, Kang's (1997) 'Body Display' category will be extended to study the depiction of gender and its relationship to body image. The 'Body Display' category, denotes that in advertising, women in comparison to men often wear bodily revealing clothing or show nudity (Kang, 1997). In short, women in advertisements are often depicted wearing hardly any, or no clothes at all, which can be associated with the historical sexualization of women (Döring et al., 2016). However, in contrast to Kang's research, my study will also apply the category to men to study the level of objectification and sexualization the male body may experience today. Additionally, this category will seek to analyze depictions of diverse and stereotypical body types and the prevalence of women being presented as traditionally frail and thin, also called ectomorphic, and men as hyper-muscular, also called mesomorphic (Agliata & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004; Elliot & Elliot, 2005). Arguably these categories contribute to the historical assumption of women's passivity (weakness), and men's dominance (strength).

Next, I have added three novel categories that reflect more modern understandings of gender roles and norms. These categories are titled 'Diverse Expression', 'Femvertising', and 'Metrosexual Representation'. The category of 'Diverse

Expression' focuses on depictions of non-binary or androgyny and will attempt to uncover alternative forms of gender expression that mixes both masculine and feminine characteristics and challenges normative expectations of appropriate gender norms and behaviour. This analysis will allow me to evaluate the prevalence of diverse gender depictions and whether contemporary advertisements value forms of gender expression that were once considered deviant. During the coding process, I will be looking for variables that stand out as atypical and challenge preconceived expectations of normative gender expression, identity, and behaviour. For example, if the model's sex is unknown, male models wearing visible makeup, male or female models wearing clothing designed for the opposite sex, transgender or gender fluid individuals, or a model that simply appears both stereotypically masculine and feminine at the same time.

With rises in feminist consciousness and women's purchasing power, advertisers have begun to adapt to the trends of modern day feminism and have changed the ways they have traditionally portrayed women (Kapoor & Munjal, 2017). With women becoming more resentful towards stereotypical depictions of other women in advertisements (Eisend, 2010; Leiss et al., 2005; Saad, 2004), there has emerged a new trend in the marketing world called 'femvertising'. In short, femvertising is used to describe contemporary advertisements that question and challenge traditional female stereotypes (Åkestam, et al., 2017; Kapoor & Munjal, 2017). To challenge historical stereotypes can be considered a major change in the way brands advertise and a novel practice in marketing as it focuses on challenging stereotypes that have most likely been created by advertisers themselves (Åkestam, et al., 2017). In addition to breaking stereotypes around the role of women in society (Kapoor & Munjal, 2017), implementing

practices of femvertising has been shown to reduce female resentment towards advertisements and enhance brand value (Åkestam, et al., 2017; Bartel Sheehan; 2013).

Some examples of femvertising include *Dove's Real Beauty Campaign*, which sought to represent women more authentically by including diverse body shapes in their advertisements in hopes of redefining feminine beauty, or *Always' #LikeAGirl* campaign, which discusses the meaning of the phrase 'like a girl' and challenges stereotypes that prevent girls from enrolling in sports or activities previously dominated by men. In short, this category will be used to study the modern depictions of women in advertising and how traditional feminine stereotypes are being challenged. Furthermore, this novel examination will be implemented to contribute to the early developments of research on the existence of femvertising practices in modern day print advertisements.

Lastly, similar to the category of 'Femvertising', the category of 'Metrosexual Representation' will be implemented to study the visibility of new forms of masculinities that challenge the normative assumptions that have usually been associated with masculine behaviour. In modern times, the growing importance assigned to freedoms of individual self-expression has led to many men questioning traditional masculine norms (Kaplan et al., 2016). It has been asserted that men's lifestyle magazines have been pioneers in opening up new spaces for different representations of men, while others argue that there continues to be an allegiance to hegemonic forms of masculinity (Hall & Gough, 2011). However, aside from the diverse ways masculinity can be expressed, a well-dressed, less muscular, pampered, pretty and stylish man still tends to arouse questions in viewers concerning sexuality and the legitimacy of masculinity (Edwards, 2003). However, some believe that because of changes in cultural trends, young men

have become socialized to consider metrosexual behaviours normal (Gentry & Harrison, 2010). Therefore, with today's socio-cultural shifts, this category will seek to study diversity in the representation of masculinity by examining the presence of effeminate men, and whether or not men's presence in realms once considered feminine (i.e. beauty products, appearance, fashion-conscious) are being endorsed by today's magazines.

Using a non-probability sampling technique, each advertisement was coded independently based on a single selection criterion. Within the four magazines that were used as the primary unit of analysis, only advertisements that contained depictions of adult men and women were used for the study. Any advertisements that were animated or contained animated subjects, contained children as the primary subjects, or displayed only the commercial goods or services being advertised, were excluded from the coding process. As the study seeks to investigate the ways that modern advertisements empower people to transcend the constraints that have been placed on them by socially constructed gender norms and stereotypes, only advertisements using human subjects were selected.

Data was collected using the predetermined coding framework that was inspired by Goffman's study on gender and advertising. One hundred and thirty-three advertisements were analyzed using the non-probability random sampling technique. Fifty-nine of the advertisements were analyzed from Canadian magazine publications while 74 were taken from American publications. Sixty of the 133 advertisements analyzed included depictions of men, while 73 were of women. Unlike Goffman, who implemented a purposive sampling technique and only included advertisements that fit his predetermined gender display categories, all advertisements depicting humans were examined randomly and included in the analysis. Ten coding categories, which totaled 25

measurable variables, were used to analyze the prevalence of gender stereotypes and the way gender is being portrayed in advertisements today. While following the coding framework and selection criterion, each qualifying ad was analyzed using the predetermined coding framework and was assigned a numerical value of a 0 (NA), 1 (yes), or 2 (No) to communicate a response. As each advertisement was coded, responses were recoreded in a separate Microsoft Excel sheet. Table 1 and Table 2 displays the coding categories that were followed when analyzing each advertisement.

As a way to enhance the reliability of the findings and the initial coding scheme, the categories were tested through a pilot study. As Neuendorf (2002) recommends, piloting is an essential way to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the coding framework and the coders' ability to apply the scheme. The first pilot study was conducted by applying the coding framework in a content analysis of advertisements found within a randomly selected lifestyle magazine. This pretest helped to clarify and adjust the coding categories and provided me with a familiarity of how the coding process would work. Next, as a strategy to address questions of reliability, an external coder was invited to code 10 of the same advertisements as the primary researcher using the reworked coding scheme. Once completed, the inter-coder reliability was calculated using Krippendorff's alpha statistic test. The two coders were found to be in agreement 91.9% of the time, with sufficient inter-coder reliability (alpha = .87). According to Krippendorff, inter-coder reliability scores above 80 percent are considered sufficient (Krippendorff, 2004).

Categories	Variables	Coding Scheme
Relative Size	1. Women taller than men 2. Women taking up more space than men	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Feminine Touch	3. Woman touching herself 4. Woman cradling or caressing object(s) 5. Woman firmly grasping object(s)	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Function Ranking	6. Female as the instructor 7. Female serving other person 8. Female in executive role	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
The Family	9. Nuclear Family photographed 10. Men pictured with sons 11. Women pictured with daughters 12. Women pictured as protectors of the family	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Female lowering 14. Bashful knee bend in women 15. Female laying on the floor/furniture 16. Body canting (head and/or body)	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/ eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting) 18. Hiding behind objects/person (woman) 19. Covering mouth/face with hand (woman) 20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile).	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Body Display	21. Women wearing bodily revealing clothing or nude 22. Women presented with ectomorphic body type	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	Yes = 1, No= 2 'NA' for variable = 0
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish.	Yes = 1, No= 2 'NA' for variable = 0

Table 1: *Coding Scheme for Portrayals of Women*

Categories	Variables	Coding Scheme
Relative Size	1. Male taller than woman 2. Male taking up more space than woman	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Feminine Touch	3. Man touching himself 4. Man cradling or caressing object(s) 5. Man firmly grasping object(s)	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Function Ranking	6. Male as the instructor 7. Male serving other person 8. Male in executive role	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
The Family	9. Nuclear Family photographed 10. Men pictured with sons 11. Women pictured with daughters 12. Men pictured as protectors of the family	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Male lowering himself physically 14. Bashful knee bend in men 15. Male laying on the floor/furniture 16. Body canting (head and/or body)	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/ eye gaze aversion (man) 18. Hiding behind objects/person (man) 19. Covering mouth/face with hand (woman) 20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile).	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Body Display	21. Man wearing bodily revealing clothing 22. Man presented with mesamorphic body type	Yes = 1, No = 2 Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodying elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity characteristics), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish.	Yes = 1, No = 2 'NA' for variables = 0

Table 2: *Coding Scheme for Portrayals of Men*

The next section of my research study will begin with a presentation of the results from the coding process. This will be followed by a discussion of the findings.

Chapter V: Results

Before presenting the results, several caveats must be noted. First, during the coding process, when the variable being measured was unsuccessfully located, it was assigned a 'NA' (not available) response. Next, when men and women were pictured together in the same advertisement, the portrayal of the male and female model and their relationship to each other was analyzed independently. Next, if the advertisement being analyzed contained a model that had an ambiguous biological sex, further research was conducted to determine their sex. Next, if there existed duplicates of advertisements between the magazines, it was only coded once. Lastly, the results will be presented by discussing each category and its variables independently. In the concluding paragraph the results from the analysis of Canadian and American magazines will be presented.

Similar to previously conducted studies, (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Kang, 1997; Lindner, 2004; Nam et al., 2011), category one, Relative Size, which measures gender difference in terms of height and social position, was found infrequently. This is because men and women were rarely pictured together in the advertisements being analyzed. However, when men and women were seen in the same advertisement, men 100% of the time were both taller and taking up more space than women.

In category two, Feminine Touch, which is a form of touch that communicates a sense of vulnerability or that one's body is a delicate and precious thing, women were seen touching themselves in 45% of the advertisements being analyzed. Furthermore, when photographed holding objects, women were found 75% of the time to be cradling

or caressing the objects being advertised and 15% of the time utilizing a utilitarian grasp to hold objects. In comparison, men were found to be using the feminine touch in 35% of the advertisements being analyzed. Furthermore, when photographed holding objects, men were found to be cradling or caressing them 45% of the time, while firmly and confidently grasping objects in 55% of the advertisements.

Category three, Function Ranking, which seeks to uncover the depiction of human beings in either executive or assisting roles, was found infrequently. Similar to category one, men and women were often photographed alone. However, when applicable, women were depicted in instructing roles 25% of the time. Furthermore, when photographed with other people, it was discovered that women were depicted as being inferior or serving others 71% of the time and photographed in an executive or authoritative role in 22% of the advertisements. Contrastingly, men were depicted in instructing roles 50% of the time and never (0%) found to be depicted in a position that would render the interpretation of being inferior or serving the needs of another person. Correspondingly, when applicable, men were depicted in an executive or authoritative role 89% of the time.

Category four, The Family, which analyzes the depiction of gender roles and its relationship to portrayals of families in print advertisements, was found 0% of the time. There were no advertisements that depicted a family in any of the four magazines.

In category five, The Ritualization of Subordination, women were depicted lowering themselves physically, either in subordination to other people or individually, 14% of the time. Furthermore, when the knees were visible, women were found to be indulging in the bashful knee bend 66% of the time, lying on the floor or on furniture 4% of the time and having their head and/or body canted 42% of the time. Similar to women,

men were depicted lowering themselves physically, either in subordination to other people or individually, 12% of the time. Furthermore, when visible, men were seen indulging in the bashful knee bend pose 44% of the time, laying on the floor or furniture 7% of the time and depicted with their head and/or body canted 40% of the time.

In Category six, Licensed Withdrawal, women were found to be mentally or physically drifting from the depicted scene by averting their head or eyes 30% of the time and hiding themselves behind objects or people in 12% of the advertisements analyzed. Women were found to be covering their mouth or their face with their hand in 14% of the advertisements and photographed with expansive and dramatic emotions 32% of the time. Contrastingly, men were found to be mentally or physically drifting from the depicted scenes found in the advertisements by adverting their head or eyes 48% of the time. However, in 0% of the advertisements analyzed men were found to be hiding behind objects or people, 2% of the time covering their face or mouth with their hands and exhibiting expansive and dramatic emotions in 7% of advertisements.

In category seven, Body Display, women were seen in body revealing clothing or nude 29% of the time and depicted with the ectomorphic body type 90% of the time. Contrastingly, men were presented in bodily revealing clothing or nude 8% of the time and depicted with the mesomorphic body type in 36% of the advertisements coded.

In category eight, Diverse Expression, which sought to uncover the prevalence of alternative and more progressive forms of gender expression, women were seen 11% of the time indulging in alternative forms of gender expression. Similarly, 12% of men were seen indulging in alternative forms of gender expression. Most often, women (89%) and men (88%) were depicted conforming to gender normative behaviour.

In category nine, Femvertising, 3% of the advertisements analyzed outwardly challenged female stereotypes.

Lastly, in category ten, Metrosexual Representation, 53% of advertisements depicting men contained visible elements of metrosexuality.

Finally, the results will now be divided based on geographical location. This division will allow me to establish if the depictions of gender in print magazines differ between American and Canadian advertisements. Although difficult to comprehend, the analysis in the next chapter will offer clarity on the emerging patterns and themes.

First, category one, Relative Size, in 100% of American and Canadian advertisements photographing men and women beside together, men were pictured both taller and taking up more space.

In category two, The Feminine Touch, Canadian magazine advertisements depicted women touching themselves 41% of the time, while in American advertisements 48% of the time. Furthermore, in Canadian magazines, when women were photographed with objects, the model was found caressing or cradling it 90% of the time, while in American advertising 64% of the time. Contrastingly, men in Canadian magazine advertisements were found touching themselves 20% of the time, while in American 50% of the time. Men were also seen, when applicable, to be caressing or cradling objects 29% of the time in Canadian magazines, and 54% of the time in American magazines.

In category three, Function Ranking, when applicable, women in Canadian magazines were found to be instructing others 50% of the time, while in American magazines 17% of the time. However, it should be noted that this variable was not found often as most models were photographed individually. Furthermore, in Canadian

magazines, women were never found to be directly serving other people, while in American magazines 34% of the time. Next, in Canadian magazines women were found 33% of the time in an executive role while 17% of the time in American magazines. Contrastingly, when applicable, men were seen to be instructing others 40% of the time in Canadian advertisements and 60% of the time in American advertisements. Men in both Canadian and American magazines were never (0%) found to be directly serving other people. Lastly, although men were also most often photographed on their own, they were depicted in an executive and dominant role 75% of the time in Canadian magazines, and 100% of the time in American magazine advertisements.

In category five, The Ritualization of Subordination, women were found to be lowering themselves physically 10% of the time in Canadian magazines and 16% of the time in American magazines. Next, when visible, women were seen 71% of the time utilizing a bashful knee bend in Canadian magazines and 63% in American magazines. Next, women were found to be depicted laying on floors or furniture 3% of the time in Canadian advertisements and 5% in American advertisements. Finally, women were seen with their bodies canted or distorted 52% of the time in Canadian magazines and 36% of the time in American magazines. Contrastingly, men were found to be lowering themselves physically 3% of the time in Canadian magazines and 20% of the time in American magazines. Next, when visible, men were seen 43% of the time utilizing a bashful knee bend in Canadian magazines and 45% in American magazines. Next, men were found to be depicted laying on floors or furniture 6% of the time in both Canadian and American magazine advertisements. Similarly, in both American and Canadian magazine advertisements, men were seen to have their body canted 40% of the time.

In category six, Licensed Withdrawal, women were found to be averting their gaze 24% of the time in Canadian advertisements and 34% of the time in American advertisements. Women were also found to be hiding behind objects or other people 3% of the time in Canadian advertisements and 14% of the time in American advertisements. Furthermore, women were found to be covering their mouth or face with their hand 21% of the time in Canadian advertisements, and 14% of the time in American magazines. Lastly, women were seen with expansive and overdramatic emotions 24% of the time in Canadian advertisements, and 36% of the time in American advertisements. Contrastingly, men were depicted averting their gaze 50% of the time in Canadian advertisements and 47% of the time in American advertisements. Men were also never found hiding behind any objects or persons in either American or Canadian magazine advertisements. However, men were seen covering their mouth or face with their hand in 3% of Canadian magazine advertisements and 0% of American magazine advertisements. Lastly, men were never (0%) seen with expansive emotions in Canadian magazine advertisements, but 13% of the time in American advertisements.

In category seven, Body Display, women were found to be wearing revealing clothing or photographed nude in 31% of Canadian advertisements, and 27% of the time in American advertisements. Women were also depicted 100% of the time in Canadian advertisements with the ectomorphic body type, and 77% of the time in American advertisements. Contrastingly, men were depicted wearing revealing clothing or photographed nude in 17% of Canadian advertisements, and 0% in American magazines. Lastly, men were depicted 27% of the time with a mesomorphic body type in Canadian advertisements and 43% of the time in American advertisements.

In category eight, Diverse Expression, advertisements depicting gender diversity and/or women indulging in unconventional forms of gender expression were seen in 28% of advertisements in Canadian magazines and 0% of the time in American magazines. Advertisements depicting men in unconventional forms of gender expression were seen in 20% of advertisements in Canadian magazines, and 3% in American advertisements.

In category nine, Femvertising, there existed 0% of advertisements in Canadian magazines that embodied elements of femvertising, while 5% of advertisements in the United States had traces of femvertising techniques.

In category ten, Metrosexual Representation, 67% of Canadian advertisements of men represented new forms of masculinity that challenge the normative assumptions that have traditionally been associated with masculine behaviour, while in American advertisements representations of metrosexuality could be seen 40% of the time.

The next section will begin by synthesizing and discussing the findings from the content analysis. From this discussion, several conceivable answers to my research questions will be presented and justified. This discussion will be followed by the limitations of my research study, suggestions for future research, and the conclusion.

Chapter VI: Discussion and Key Findings

Similar to previously conducted studies (Berkery et al., 2013; Mager & Helgeson, 2011; Wolin, 2003), my results show that gender norms and stereotypes for both men and women are moderately diminishing. Furthermore, the previously dominant and expected gender norms that pervaded the West prior to modernization and the feminist movements were seen challenged on several different occasions. However, men and, particularly, women also continue to be depicted in ways that reproduce and align with the stereotypes

proposed by Goffman. My analysis would therefore render the interpretation that the division between gender norms and stereotypes may be relaxing and advertising may be becoming more tolerant of gender diversity, but stigmas are not disappearing entirely. The following section will begin by providing a synthesized overview of the notable findings in my research that led to this assertion. Before concluding, I will use the notable findings to propose answers to the study's three research questions.

Although Goffman's categories of Relative Size and Function Ranking were found infrequently, when discovered, women were more often stationed in inferior roles. However, this finding is questionable as similar to previously conducted studies (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Lindner, 2004), men and women were often photographed on their own rather than with other people. This finding could be reflective of women's confidence and autonomy that is seen in the social world today.

However, regardless of their supposed independence, women more than men continue to be portrayed touching themselves as if to convey to audiences that their body is a delicate and a precious thing in need of protection (Goffman, 1979). Similarly, when pictured holding or touching objects in advertising, women continue to be found lightly caressing or cradling objects more so than men, as opposed to confidently exuding their authority to utilize a utilitarian touch. Contrastingly, men continue to be depicted exerting their alleged strength in firmly grasping objects, ultimately conveying their authority.

However, a novel finding reveals that men were often found to be indulging in self-touch, which is a realm that has stereotypically been reserved for women. This change may be reflective of the diminishing pressures men face to exude a hypermasculine persona, one that has previously dictated the way men have been

encouraged to carry themselves. This finding reveals that in addition to women feeling sensitive, vulnerable, or in need of self-protection (Goffman, 1979), men too are experiencing feelings of vulnerability today. However, despite the greater levels of women's autonomy and men's self-touching, my content analysis revealed that, when photographed together, women continue to be stereotyped and depicted more often as smaller and inferior to men. Therefore, regardless of men engaging in more feminine touch poses, they continue to be stereotyped as the more dominant sex faced with pressures to exude control and mastery over others, particularly women. However, by being depicted touching themselves in ways that were once reserved for women, the pressure and expectations for men to be dominant over others may be alleviating.

Similar to previously conducted studies (Belknap & Leonard, 1991; Hovland et al., 2005; Kang, 1997; Lindner, 2004; Magner & Helgeson, 2011), the Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal categories were relevant during my analysis. However, in contrast to results from the previous studies that witnessed greater consistencies with Goffman's findings that women are individually depicted in more submissive and less active positions than men (Kang, 1997; Magner & Helgeson, 2011), my analysis revealed diverging conclusions. First, although men were less frequently found to be lowering themselves physically, women were also infrequently depicted in positions that would render interpretations of subordination. Similar to the expected portrayal of men that Goffman proposed, women were most often depicted with their body erect, head high and sitting up right, which is traditionally utilized to communicate a level of confidence or superiority. Unlike Goffman and previous studies that asserted men were infrequently pictured in realms of subordination, the rate of occurrence of men

indulging in subordinate poses seems to be an increasing trend. This is a direct contrast to Magner and Helgeson (2010), who argued that trends in advertising would continue to normalize and increase their amount of depictions of women in subordinate roles.

My analysis found that in addition to women and men being depicted in upright positions, and at times both indulging in more subtle aspects of subordination, such as the 'bashful knee bend', men and women were seen to cant and bend their bodies rendering submission to their environment on almost equal levels. In fact, despite studies revealing that it is women who are usually shown in contexts that would suggest subordination and submission in advertisements (Goffman, 1979; Lindner, 2004; Magner & Helgeson, 2010), men were found to not only bend and contort their body, but to be depicted withdrawing from their environment at greater levels than women. To contrast Magner & Helgeson (2010) again, who suggested that there appears to be no trends or patterns for women or men in withdrawal poses, my study reveals that there is movement in women being depicted less frequently withdrawn and men depicted more withdrawn and submissive to their surroundings. My study reveals that despite men being more often depicted as serious than women, there are novel patterns that indicate trends in men being depicted more psychologically removed from their environment, thus leaving the impression that they too can be vulnerable and dependent on others for guidance.

In contrast to the preconceived notion and existing stereotypes that women are portrayed in more sexually explicit and provocative ways in magazine advertising and used as a visual element (Bartel-Sheehan, 2013; Kang, 1997; Lavine et al., 1999; Magner & Helgeson, 2010; O'Barr, 2006), my study revealed that, the majority of the time, women were not found to be wearing bodily revealing clothing or being depicted nude or

as a sex object. Although the stereotype of men being less likely to be sexually exploited or wearing bodily revealing clothing was endorsed, there appears to be a novel pattern for women's bodies to be less physically exposed. However, my study revealed that despite existing diversities in body shapes and sizes, women overwhelmingly continue to be depicted with the ectomorphic body type in advertising. This depiction continues to render the interpretation that it is normal for women to be frail and thin. Therefore, the stereotypically thin female body ideal that is often used to associate women with smallness, weakness, and passivity (Agliata & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004; Spitzer, et al., 1999; Volkwein, 1998) continues to be relevant in magazine advertisements today. However, despite men being traditionally presented with mesomorphic (strong, muscular, and hard) depictions of the human body, my study revealed that magazine advertisements today are now more often presenting men with more diverse body shapes and sizes. In fact, rather than advertisements depicting men with rippling biceps and abdominal muscles (Lindner, 2004; Patzer, 2008), my study found that men are being frequently depicted with a slim and slender body type. In summary, the diminishing frequency of women being pictured in bodily revealing clothing or as sex objects in advertisements may relate to the demand from women for more realistic portrayals and the desire to be valued more for their contribution to society, as opposed to what they can just offer physically.

However, the relationship between women, gender norms, and body diversity still has a significant way to go. In fact, in some instances, in the rare occasion that a woman with a diverse body type was found in an advertisement, the next advertisement was often for a beauty enhancement product containing a model with an ectomorphic body type. This may communicate to women that regardless that they maintain a diverse body or

appearance, efforts should be made to strive towards the media's definition of ideal feminine beauty. Finally, the results show that the expectation and stereotype for men to have a mesomorphic body type is diminishing. With most advertisements abandoning depictions of men with the mesomorphic body type, men today may not feel inclined to adhere to the stereotypical expectation that muscularity equates to masculinity.

Finally, despite attempts to uncover non-binary, androgynous, or alternative forms of gender expression, my analysis found that despite social and cultural shifts, most depictions of gender in print advertisements adhere to traditionally stereotypical forms of gender expression and behaviour. However, despite the majority of men and women conforming to norms associated with the socially constructed ideals of gender, several instances of gender expression imply a gradual shift towards more progressive depictions of gender in future advertisements. For example, in *FASHION* magazine, Giselle Lazzarato, more famously known as Gigi Gorgeous, a transgendered model and Internet personality, was featured on the cover. With greater levels of awareness and education available to people today, sexually and gender diverse individuals like Gorgeous, who were once considered deviant, may be more represented and visible in the mass media, which can destigmatize those who do not conform to normative behaviour or the traditional path of gender socialization. Other examples that were seen depicted in advertisements included men in makeup or high heels, women wearing men's clothes and accessories, or editorial ads dressing male and female models in the same clothing.

A novel finding in my analysis showed that in the advertisements depicting men, over half included some visible aspect of metrosexuality. Whether it was through men appearing stereotypically feminine, being well groomed, primped, and or stylish,

metrosexuality appears to be endorsed by the mass media and has become a newly formed and socially accepted schema of masculinity today. Therefore, there seems to be a correlation with the previously discussed changes in the way men are being depicted in advertising, such as adjustments in Goffman's Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal categories and the Body Display category, paired with greater degrees of metrosexual depictions. My analysis would render the interpretation that advertising is choosing to reflect more modern and contemporary men in advertisements.

I would suggest that the modern man today is one who is not afraid to be subordinate, vulnerable, slender or stereotypically effeminate and no longer has to defend their sexuality for expressing themselves in ways that were once reserved only for women. As social learning theorists contend, behaviour is regulated by the anticipated consequences or feedback that one will receive from their peers. Therefore, as effeminacy in men continues to be endorsed by the mass media, stereotypical behaviour that was once considered feminine may be seen as acceptable for men today. This finding therefore demonstrates how gender norms are socially constructed by society's agreed upon definition of acceptable gender normative behaviours. Therefore, with men being socialized that effeminacy is acceptable and with effeminate men being s endorsed and rewarded by the mass media instead of punished, more men may be becoming more comfortable expressing themselves in ways once considered acceptable only for women.

Similarly, although stereotypes proposed by Goffman are still relevant and exist in advertisements to some extent today, women too are seeing changes in the way they are being depicted. Women are now being portrayed more stereotypically similar to men, as more active, less withdrawn, and stationed less decoratively or as a sex object.

However, despite research indicating greater trends in femvertising and the apparent crusade of feminine stereotypes (Åkestam, et al., 2017; Kapoor & Munjal, 2017), my study found very little traces of its outward existence. In fact, in contrast to previous femvertising effort campaigns, such as the previously mentioned Dove Real Beauty Campaign that challenged the inaccuracy of female body standards, my analysis found that advertisers were reinforcing feminine stereotypes about body image for women. Unfortunately, there were very few instances of outwardly challenging and disproving feminine stereotypes. Instead, similar to Kang's (1997) assertion, most efforts to challenge feminine stereotypes were made at more subtle levels in the categories proposed by Goffman, such as the Licensed Withdrawal category.

In regards to the differences between Canadian and American advertising and its relationship to gender, several key findings should be noted. First, it should be recognized that the use of gender stereotypes for both men and women in American and Canadian magazine advertisements are relatively balanced. For example, the Feminine Touch, The Ritualization of Subordination, Licensed Withdrawal, and Body Display categories for women were essentially equivalent. However, in terms of gender diversity and alternative forms of expressing one's identity, the only cases were found in Canadian magazine publications. Contrastingly, for men, and the prevalence of gender stereotypes, there were greater differences found between American and Canadian publications. For example men in the United States were more likely to be depicted indulging in the Feminine Touch variables, such as self-touching and cradling objects than men in Canada. However, Canadian and American advertisements depicting men were similar in other cases such as The Ritualization of Subordination and Licensed Withdrawal

categories. However, despite the prevalence of less masculine stereotypes in American publications overall, men in American advertising were found to be almost twice as likely to be depicted with the mesomorphic body type. Furthermore, greater degrees of gender deviance and metrosexuality were also found in Canadian magazine advertisements. Therefore, despite stereotypes weakening to some degree at greater levels in American publications, American advertisements are overall more likely to abide by outwardly stereotypical standards of normative gender expression in comparison to Canadian advertisements. This finding may be reflective of the political climate in the United States today, which is one that presently values visible strength, dominance, and tradition. Therefore, although stereotypes at subtler, and perhaps less visible, levels are diminishing, outwardly noticeable stereotypes are still more often found in American magazine advertisements.

Therefore, in regards to the first research question, which sought to uncover how contemporary advertisements are portraying gender, my analysis would render the response that magazine advertisements still have a long way to go in helping audiences comprehend contemporary gender norms. Although stereotypes may be changing at more subtle levels, the visibility of gender-diverse individuals still remains limited.

Next, despite men and women demanding more realistic, progressive, and less rigid depictions, advertisers in both America and Canada (Canada considerably less), continue to abide by the gender binary and socially constructed gender norms. Therefore, by continuing to adhere to many aspects of the gender binary, modern print advertisements appear to be conservative in its educative efforts of contemporary gender norms. However, despite the slow progress being made in representing both gender non-

conforming men and women, advertisements have made improvements in the way they choose to depict the modern man. Given the socializing powers of advertising, by choosing to represent metrosexuality and effeminate males, men today may be socialized differently than in the past and subconsciously feel less inclined to adhere to traditional expectations of hypermasculinity. In this regard, advertisements have attempted to educate and demonstrate that men can be diverse in the way they represent themselves both physically and emotionally. Therefore, constructed gender norms, which are sustained through processes of socialization, habitualization and repetitive social practices, are being replaced to some degree by more modernized and progressive constructions (i.e. effeminate men).

Therefore, in short, the way gender is being portrayed in contemporary advertisements appears to be changing at a faster pace for men than it is for women. While portrayals of women appear to be stagnant or changing on more subtle grounds, men are being portrayed in more outwardly diverse and non-conforming ways. However, by continuing to endorse regressive depictions of gender, advertisers are neglecting the potential to educate the general public of gender diversity and to demonstrate that gender can be expressed in an infinite number of ways.

Finally, in reference to the differences between American and Canadian magazine advertisements, although similar to some degree in their use of gender stereotypes, advertisements in Canadian magazine publications are more likely to showcase gender diversity in their depictions of men and women than American advertisements. My analysis would render the interpretation that Canadian magazine advertisements value gender diversity in men and women more so than American advertisements and

demonstrate more accurately the different experiences people may have with gender socialization. As previously speculated, this interpretation may be the result of Canada's political and social climate, which can arguably be considered more progressive than the United States today. For example, while Trump's administration announced an executive order that would ban transgendered individuals from serving in the American military, Canada's top fashion magazine hosted a transgendered woman on their cover.

Chapter VII: Limitations and Recommendations

Before finishing with a brief conclusion, I would like to introduce the limitations of my study and make recommendations for future research. First, a primary limitation of my research study is that I analyzed advertisements in only four magazines from one time period (August 2017). I believe that more significant relationships and more reliable data could be yielded if a larger sample size was used. Another limitation of my study is that it offered no humanistic perspective. I would recommend that future researchers speak to human subjects to understand their perspectives on gender diversity in contemporary advertisements. For example, future researchers could interview Canadian and American individuals regarding diverse forms of gender expression, and then compare and contrast their responses to see if there are any differences in how they value gender diversity.

Lastly, with the emerging patterns I found in my analysis of greater degrees of metrosexuality and diminishing masculine stereotypes, I think it would be interesting to continue developing research to study reasons for the changing portrayals of men in ads.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

As a shaper of social norms with the opportunity to represent a multiplicity of perspectives, advertising can do much to affect the perception of gender norms by

choosing to represent gender in ways that accurately illustrate existing diversities (Bartel-Sheehan, 2013). However, as my study revealed, despite gender stereotypes changing to some degree, the representation of gender diverse individuals remained limited in the sample of magazine ads. Although it was found that Canadian advertisements were more progressive in representing gender diversity, work must still be done in ensuring that those who do not adhere to the gender binary are represented in today's media landscape. Although some may align with the gender binary and stereotypical gender norms, many do not. Those who do not comply with such a system should not be penalized for not conforming or be made to feel deviant for expressing their identity in unorthodox ways.

Promoting diversity and encountering difference respectfully with the willingness to learn can be an exciting foray that leads to new ways of thinking (Foss et al., 2013). However, the perplexity of gender often deters people from attempting to comprehend its diversity. Similarly, the complex realms and relationship between biological sex, gender identity, and sexual orientation and the belief that each are determined by the other remains a flawed assumption and can limit authentic forms of individual expression. Instead of perpetuating gender polarity, the construct of gender should be understood as a spectrum that is individualized with a multitude of ways in can be felt and expressed. Continuing to abide by such rigid categorizations and a system that has been built and sustained by the oppression of women is one that should be abandoned.

Gender should not define and dictate the life path of individuals, yet its categories and expectations plague most people from birth. In order to prevent social segmentation and division between the sexes, advertisers should place greater efforts on empowering people to transcend the constraints that have been placed on them by socially constructed

gender norms. Maintaining strict divisions between appropriate behaviour for the sexes will not lead to gender equality and inclusivity, it will only continue to perpetuate inaccurate differences and discrimination. By empowering people through the endorsement of gender diversity in the mass media, many people may stop worrying of their normality, and instead feel liberated to live truthfully and express themselves authentically without fear of judgment. Through this deconstruction and the endorsement of difference, life itself, and gender more broadly, may become less dramatically enacted.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Result Breakdown for Depictions of Women in Magazines

Category	Variable	Yes	No	NA	Total
Relative Size	1. Woman taller than man	0 (0%)	8 (11%)	65 (89%)	73 (100%)
	2. Woman taking up more space than man	0 (0%)	8 (11%)	65 (89%)	73 (100%)
Feminine Touch	3. Woman touching herself	33 (45%)	40 (55%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
	4. Woman cradling or caressing object(s)	18 (25%)	6 (8%)	49 (67%)	73 (100%)
	5. Woman firmly grasping object (s)	6 (8%)	18 (25%)	49 (67%)	73 (100%)
Function Ranking	6. Female as the instructor	2 (3%)	6 (8%)	65 (89%)	73 (100%)
	7. Female serving other person	2 (3%)	5 (7%)	66 (90%)	73 (100%)
	8. Female in executive role	2 (3%)	7 (9%)	64 (88%)	73 (100%)
The Family	9. Nuclear family photographed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)	73 (100%)
	10. Men pictured with sons	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)	73 (100%)
	11. Women pictured with daughters	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)	73 (100%)
	12. Woman pictured as protectors of the family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)	73 (100%)
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Female lowering	10 (14%)	63 (86%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
	14. Bashful knee bend in women	27 (37%)	14 (19%)	32 (44%)	73 (100%)
	15. Female laying on the floor/furniture	3 (4%)	70 (96%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
	16. Body canting (head and/or body)	31 (42%)	42 (58%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting)	22 (30%)	51 (70%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
	18. Hiding behind objects/person (woman)	9 (12%)	64 (88%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
	19. Covering mouth/face with hand (woman)	10 (14%)	63 (86%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
	20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile)	23 (32%)	50 (68%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
Body Display	21. Women wearing bodily	21	52	0 (0%)	73

	revealing clothing or nude	(29%)	(71%)		(100%)
	22. Woman presented with ectomorphic body type	63 (86%)	7 (10%)	3 (4%)	73 (100%)
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	8 (11%)	65 (89%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	2 (3%)	71 (97%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish, 'pretty'	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	73 (100%)	73 (100%)

Appendix B: Result Breakdown for Depictions of Men in Magazines

Category	Variable	Yes	No	NA	Total
Relative Size	1. Man taller than woman	8 (13%)	0 (0%)	52 (87%)	60 (100%)
	2. Man taking up more space than woman	8 (13%)	0 (0%)	52 (87%)	60 (100%)
Feminine Touch	3. Man touching himself	21 (35%)	39 (65%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
	4. Man cradling or caressing object(s)	9 (15%)	11 (18%)	40 (67%)	60 (100%)
	5. Man firmly grasping object (s)	11 (18%)	9 (15%)	40 (67%)	60 (100%)
Function Ranking	6. Male as the instructor	5 (8.5%)	5 (8.5%)	50 (83%)	60 (100%)
	7. Male serving other person	0 (0%)	10 (17%)	50 (83%)	60 (100%)
	8. Male in executive role	8 (13%)	1 (2%)	51 (85%)	60 (100%)
The Family	9. Nuclear family photographed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)	60 (100%)
	10. Men pictured with sons	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)	60 (100%)
	11. Women pictured with daughters	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)	60 (100%)
	12. Man pictured as protectors of the family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)	60 (100%)
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Male lowering	7 (12%)	53 (88%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
	14. Bashful knee bend in men	20 (33%)	25 (42%)	15 (25%)	60 (100%)
	15. Male laying on the floor/furniture	4 (7%)	56 (93%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)

	16. Body canting (head and/or body)	24 (40%)	36 (60%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting)	29 (48%)	31 (52%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
	18. Hiding behind objects/person (man)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
	19. Covering mouth/face with hand (man)	1 (2%)	59 (98%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
	20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile)	4 (7%)	56 (93%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Body Display	21. Men wearing bodily revealing clothing or nude	5 (8%)	55 (92%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
	22. Men presented with mesomorphic body type	21 (35%)	37 (62%)	2 (3%)	60 (100%)
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	7 (12%)	53 (88%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)	60 (100%)
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish, 'pretty'	32 (53%)	28 (47%)	0 (0%)	60 (100%)

Appendix C: Result Breakdown for Depictions of Women in Canadian Magazines

Category	Variable	Yes	No	NA	Total
Relative Size	1. Woman taller than man	0 (0%)	4 (14%)	25 (86%)	29 (100%)
	2. Woman taking up more space than man	0 (0%)	4 (14%)	25 (86%)	29 (100%)
Feminine Touch	3. Woman touching herself	12 (41%)	17 (59%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	4. Woman cradling or caressing object(s)	9 (31%)	1 (3%)	19 (66%)	29 (100%)
	5. Woman firmly grasping object (s)	1 (3%)	9 (31%)	19 (66%)	29 (100%)
Function Ranking	6. Female as the instructor	1 (3%)	1 (3%)	27 (93%)	29 (100%)
	7. Female serving other person	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	28 (97%)	29 (100%)
	8. Female in executive role	1 (3%)	2 (7%)	26 (90%)	29 (100%)
The Family	9. Nuclear family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29	29 (100%)

	photographed			(100%)	
	10. Men pictured with sons	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)	29 (100%)
	11. Women pictured with daughters	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)	29 (100%)
	12. Woman pictured as protectors of the family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)	29 (100%)
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Female lowering	3 (10%)	26 (90%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	14. Bashful knee bend in women	12 (41%)	5 (17%)	12 (41%)	29 (100%)
	15. Female laying on the floor/furniture	1 (3%)	28 (97%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	16. Body canting (head and/or body)	15 (52%)	14 (48%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting)	7 (24%)	22 (76%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	18. Hiding behind objects/person (woman)	3 (10%)	26 (90%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	19. Covering mouth/face with hand (woman)	6 (21%)	23 (79%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile)	7 (24%)	22 (76%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
Body Display	21. Women wearing bodily revealing clothing or nude	9 (31%)	20 (69%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
	22. Woman presented with ectomorphic body type	29 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	8 (28%)	21 (72%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	0 (0%)	29 (100%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish, ‘pretty’	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	29 (100%)	29 (100%)

Appendix D: Result Breakdown for Depictions of Men in Canadian Magazines

Category	Variable	Yes	No	NA	Total
Relative Size	1. Man taller than woman	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	26 (87%)	30 (100%)
	2. Man taking up more space than woman	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	26 (87%)	30 (100%)
Feminine Touch	3. Man touching himself	6 (20%)	24 (80%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	4. Man cradling or caressing object(s)	2 (6%)	5 (17%)	23 (77%)	30 (100%)
	5. Man firmly grasping object (s)	5 (17%)	2 (6%)	23 (77%)	30 (100%)
Function Ranking	6. Male as the instructor	2 (6%)	3 (10%)	25 (83%)	30 (100%)
	7. Male serving other person	0 (0%)	5 (17%)	25 (83%)	30 (100%)
	8. Male in executive role	3 (10%)	1 (3%)	26 (87%)	30 (100%)
The Family	9. Nuclear family photographed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
	10. Men pictured with sons	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
	11. Women pictured with daughters	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
	12. Man pictured as protectors of the family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Male lowering	1 (3%)	29 (97%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	14. Bashful knee bend in men	10 (33%)	13 (43%)	7 (23%)	30 (100%)
	15. Male laying on the floor/furniture	2 (6%)	28 (94%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	16. Body canting (head and/or body)	12 (40%)	18 (60%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting)	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	18. Hiding behind objects/person (man)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	19. Covering mouth/face with hand (man)	1 (3%)	29 (97%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	20. Expansive emotions (i.e.	0 (7%)	30	0 (0%)	30

	big smile)		(100%)		(100%)
Body Display	21. Men wearing bodily revealing clothing or nude	5 (17%)	25 (83%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	22. Men presented with mesomorphic body type	8 (27%)	20 (67%)	2 (7%)	30 (100%)
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	6 (20%)	24 (80%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish, 'pretty'	20 (67%)	10 (33%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)

Appendix E: Result Breakdown for Depictions of Women in American Magazines

Category	Variable	Yes	No	NA	Total
Relative Size	1. Woman taller than man	0 (0%)	4 (9%)	40 (91%)	44 (100%)
	2. Woman taking up more space than man	0 (0%)	4 (9%)	40 (91%)	44 (100%)
Feminine Touch	3. Woman touching herself	21 (48%)	23 (52%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	4. Woman cradling or caressing object(s)	9 (20%)	5 (12%)	30 (68%)	44 (100%)
	5. Woman firmly grasping object (s)	5 (12%)	9 (20%)	30 (68%)	44 (100%)
Function Ranking	6. Female as the instructor	1 (2%)	5 (12%)	38 (86%)	44 (100%)
	7. Female serving other person	2 (5%)	4 (9%)	38 (86%)	44 (100%)
	8. Female in executive role	1 (2%)	5 (12%)	38 (86%)	44 (100%)
The Family	9. Nuclear family photographed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)	44 (100%)
	10. Men pictured with sons	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)	44 (100%)
	11. Women pictured with daughters	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)	44 (100%)
	12. Woman pictured as protectors of the family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)	44 (100%)

The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Female lowering	7 (16%)	37 (84%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	14. Bashful knee bend in women	15 (34%)	9 (20%)	20 (45%)	44 (100%)
	15. Female laying on the floor/furniture	2 (5%)	42 (95%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	16. Body canting (head and/or body)	16 (36%)	28 (64%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting)	15 (34%)	29 (66%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	18. Hiding behind objects/person (woman)	6 (14%)	38 (86%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	19. Covering mouth/face with hand (woman)	4 (9%)	40 (91%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile)	16 (36%)	28 (64%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
Body Display	21. Women wearing bodily revealing clothing or nude	12 (27%)	32 (73%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
	22. Woman presented with ectomorphic body type	34 (77%)	7 (16%)	3 (7%)	44 (100%)
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	0 (11%)	44 (100%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female stereotypes	2 (5%)	42 (95%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish, 'pretty'	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (100%)	44 (100%)

Appendix F: Result Breakdown for Depictions of Men in American Magazines

Category	Variable	Yes	No	NA	Total
Relative Size	1. Man taller than woman	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	26 (87%)	30 (100%)
	2. Man taking up more space than woman	4 (13%)	0 (0%)	26 (87%)	30 (100%)
Feminine Touch	3. Man touching himself	15 (50%)	15 (50%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	4. Man cradling or caressing	7 (23%)	6 (20%)	17 (57%)	30

	object(s)				(100%)
	5. Man firmly grasping object (s)	6 (20%)	7 (23%)	17 (57%)	30 (100%)
Function Ranking	6. Male as the instructor	3 (10%)	2 (7%)	25 (83%)	30 (100%)
	7. Male serving other person	0 (0%)	5 (17%)	25 (83%)	30 (100%)
	8. Male in executive role	5 (17%)	0 (0%)	25 (83%)	30 (100%)
The Family	9. Nuclear family photographed	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
	10. Men pictured with sons	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
	11. Women pictured with daughters	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
	12. Man pictured as protectors of the family	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)
The Ritualization of Subordination	13. Male lowering	6 (20%)	24 (80%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	14. Bashful knee bend in men	10 (33%)	12 (40%)	8 (27%)	30 (100%)
	15. Male laying on the floor/furniture	2 (6%)	28 (94%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	16. Body canting (head and/or body)	12 (40%)	18 (60%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Licensed Withdrawal	17. Head/eye gaze aversion (mentally/physically drifting)	14 (47%)	16 (53%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	18. Hiding behind objects/person (man)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	19. Covering mouth/face with hand (man)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	20. Expansive emotions (i.e. big smile)	4 (13%)	26 (87%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Body Display	21. Men wearing bodily revealing clothing or nude	0 (17%)	30 (100%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
	22. Men presented with mesomorphic body type	13 (43%)	17 (57%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Diverse Expression	23. The model can be considered gender-deviant, or embodies elements of androgyny (both masculinity/femininity), and/or the sex of the model is questionable/uncertain	1 (3%)	29 (97%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
Femvertising	24. The advertisement challenges traditional female	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)	30 (100%)

	stereotypes				
Metrosexual Representation	25. The man depicted in the advertisement appears well groomed, primped and/or stylish, 'pretty'	12 (40%)	18 (60%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)