Haute Couture, Baggy Jeans, and L'homme Virile:
Hegemonic Masculinity in French and U.S. Men's Magazine Advertisements

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On my honor,
I have neither given nor received
unauthorized aid on this thesis

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February 2016

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ABSTRACT

Media both produces and responds to social constructions and norms of gender, race, class, and sexuality. This thesis asked the questions: How do portrayals of masculinity in men's magazine advertisements vary between France and the United States? Do those advertisements reflect the displays of masculinity seen on the street? Using 13 variables to operationalize U.S. hegemonic masculinity, magazine advertisements were coded from five U.S. and five French men's magazines. In addition, qualitative observation was conducted in Boston, MA and Lyon, France. The variables of "direct eye gaze" and "stoic expression" were recognized representations of masculinity across both countries. However, the most prominent variables in the United States showed men as athletic and outdoorsy, while French advertisements focused on clothing, particularly business suits and high fashion. The street observations confirmed these findings. Knowing the expectations of masculinity in different countries is critical to understanding how that masculinity interacts with femininity and subordinated masculinities.

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In early 2016, Mattel announced that Barbie is getting a makeover; she is going to be sold in multiple sizes and races (Abrams 2016). Despite the excitement over the progress for female body image, I found myself asking: what about G.I. Joe? Issues with images of women have become frequent discussions in the media. Yet, the movement for female empowerment cannot be separated from issues regarding hegemonic masculinity. The overly muscular, white, male, gun-carrying action figure known as G.I. Joe is a popular representation of masculinity in the United States. Even though Barbie can now have larger thighs and wear flats, could U.S. society ever imagine a slightly chubby G.I. Joe? Our heroes, like G.I. Joe, cannot be the skinny, wimpy kid in math class. G.I. Joe is the ultimate image of the hegemonic man. When images like that are provided for boys, they receive a message of how to look as a man and less muscular men are seen as failures. Advertisements often use widespread social norms, such as the stereotypical man, to sell products. Since so many men cannot live up to hegemonic standards, it is easy to make them feel inadequate and then sell a product as a solution.

My interest in masculinity broadened when a group of colleagues travelling in France observed that men there seemed to display masculinity, and even sexuality, differently from the men in the United States. There was not an obvious difference between heterosexual and homosexual men, that is according to U.S. standards. If French men do look different from American men, are the advertisements selling a different portrayal of masculinity? Do France and the U.S. have different interpretations of masculinity? What are the common depictions of men in each country? Masculinities are neither static nor uniform, and perhaps they differ even across two fairly similar Western countries. This thesis will contribute to the scholarship on masculinities in advertising and cross-national research with an ultimate goal of uncovering the expectations, portrayals, and culture of masculinity in France and the United States.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Gender Performance

Even before Goffman (1977), there was a distinction between sex and gender in academic work; sex was thought of as biological and gender as achieved (de Beauvoir 1952). Further, men and women were, and still are, separated into two distinct socially constructed gender categories. Yet these categories of gender are not as essential or basic as they are perceived: "gender itself is constituted through interaction" (West and Zimmerman 1987:129). Gender is an accomplishment that we reinforce in everyday interactions and for most people it is heavily routinized and rarely conscious. The field of interaction provides a space for the production of difference (Goffman 1977). Our displayed masculinity or femininity is conveyed very briefly, but becomes a basic characterization of who we are and how we express ourselves (Goffman 1979). As humans we have "a capacity to learn to provide and to read depictions of masculinity and femininity and a willingness to adhere to a schedule for presenting these pictures" (Goffman 1979:8). Gender is neither a daily choice nor a costume, but rather it shapes our interactions (Butler 1993). Goffman (1979) argues that ultimately there is no gender identity, just our society's agreed upon social cues for communicating our desired portrayal of gender. In each interaction, in return for displaying our gender, we categorize other people. Gender is not performed alone; it is with or for other people (Butler 2004). Ideals of femininity and masculinity are constantly reproduced as opposites and supported by both genders (Goffman 1979).

Building upon Goffman, West and Zimmerman (1987) wrote about the daily interactions that make up our gender display, the way that we "do gender." Doing gender is unavoidable and our recurrent behaviors are used to put us into discrete and recognizable categories of man or woman, masculine or feminine. However, doing gender is not about living up to masculine or

feminine norms, but "it is to engage in behavior *at the risk of gender assessment*" (West and Zimmerman 1987:136, author's original emphasis). When one is not properly gendered, "it is their very humanness that comes into question" (Butler 1993:xvii). Our society heavily values clear gender-identity; it is a substantial source of self-identification. We judge ourselves by our gender identity, which for men are the ideals of masculinity (Goffman 1979).

Masculinities

There are many different approaches to the concept of masculinity, and there are multiple definitions. In *Masculinities,* Connell (2005) discusses a few different ways of thinking about the term. Often the term assumes that one's behavior is the result of one's personality and dominant characteristics; this often involves violent, dominant, athletic, and (hetero)sexual behavior (Connell 2005). A second and newer viewpoint is semiotic, describing masculinity as the opposite of femininity (Connell 2005). It is the active in comparison to female passivity. A third interpretation of masculinity relates to media studies and advertising, and is most relevant for this paper. It is "normative" masculinity; the way society prescribes how men ought to be (Connell 2005). This definition allows for the idea that "different men approach the standards to different degrees," yet few men actually fit the exact "blueprint" (Connell 2005:70). Normative masculinity is closely related to hegemonic masculinity.

This idea of hegemony stems from Antonio Gramsci's (1971) analysis of class relations and "refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life" (Connell 2005:77). Hegemony is not static; it reflects the contemporary accepted dominant position. Hegemony involves a persuasion of the population in a way that appears natural, which makes media a useful outlet (Donaldson 2013). "'Hegemonic masculinity' is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to

women. The interplay between different forms of masculinity is an important part of how a patriarchal social order works" (Connell 1987:183). This construct of hegemony is unique to masculinity; there is no form of femininity that is hegemonic in the same way that the dominant form of masculinity is hegemonic among men. While there is "emphasized femininity," an extreme display of feminine attributes, it primarily plays into the role of the subordination of women to men and is less easily defined in terms of social expectations and behavior (Connell 1987). The dominance of hegemonic masculinity is unmatched in its level of control and prominence. The image of the hegemonic man in the United States is a white, middle or upper class, heterosexual, cis man. He is educated, strong (shown by his toned physique), and sexual. This description does not allow variation within each class, race, age, ability, sexuality, and so on, but represents the dominant form of masculinity for all men.

Though this position may be evolving, the most important aspect of hegemonic masculinity is that it is heterosexual and the most significant form of dominance and subordination is that of heterosexuality over homosexuality (Connell 1987; Connell 2005; Sibalis 2007; Donaldson 2013). Homosexuality is associated with femininity; "gayness, in patriarchal ideology, is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity" (Connell 2005:78). Another aspect of hegemonic masculinity that must be mentioned is the factor of complicity. The corporate and state elites who hold the most power do not necessarily embody the public images of hegemonic masculinity, but they still benefit from the subordination of others. Ultimately, people are motivated by complicity to support the ideas that sustain the current systems of power (Connell 1987; Donaldson 2013; Vokey, Tefft, and Tysiaczny 2013). Hegemonic masculinity is the cultural manifestation of this dominance and that is what images of masculinity represent. Despite the fact that most men do not live up to

hegemonic ideals, they benefit from the patriarchal system and the overall subordination of women (Connell 2005).

An extreme form of masculinity, which varies slightly from hegemonic masculinity, is hyper-masculinity. It is an exaggerated form of what it means to be a man. The ideas that hyper-masculinity spreads are that heterosexual intercourse is a form of power for men, violence is manly and an acceptable way to express dominance and control, danger and risk are exciting, and anger is one of the only legitimate male emotions since it does not show weakness (Vokey et al. 2013). Though this research will focus on hegemonic masculinity, hyper-masculinity may also be examined if present.

In the daily presentation of masculinity, men (and women) must read the context of each social interaction. Since gender is constructed through these interactions, the perceived expectations of each circumstance are important to the presentation of their masculinity (West and Zimmerman 1987; Johnston and Morrison 2007). Proper gender display in each interaction can determine occupational and relationship success, and even affect one's safety (Johnston and Morrison 2007). Not conforming to gendered expectations can result in physical harm and social sanctions from those who wish to police these gender norms and who rely on the display of specific characteristics of masculinity to make sense of themselves as gendered people. Thus, being able to adapt and assume multiple masculine identities is crucial (Johnston and Morrison 2007). In public spaces, body build and clothing choices are the quickest ways to display the degree to which one conforms to hegemonic masculinity (West and Zimmerman 1987; Johnston and Morrison 2007). Though men may not regularly present perfect hegemonic masculinity, the hegemonic construct offers a reference for proper performance that is crucial for daily interactions.

Masculinities in Advertising

Media and advertising have a strong influence in our culture, yet it often goes unnoticed. Ideas and values are constantly being pushed on us, changing the way we perceive the world (Garst and Bodenhausen 1997; Kilbourne 1999). They are particularly concerning because "most of us become numb to these images, just as we become numb to the daily litany in the news of women being raped, battered, and killed" (Kilbourne 1999:277). Gender has been a popular topic in media studies for a while, yet the conversation has only been directed towards images of men in the past two decades (Kilbourne 1999). The way women are portrayed is troubling and many researchers have exposed these subliminal messages of insecurity, weakness, and lack of sexual agency, along with their harmful influences (Kilbourne 1999).

Media is inescapable. Media outlets, advertisements in particular, are in a position to both produce and respond to social constructions and norms of gender, race, class, and sexuality. Media cannot be separated as just one problematic industry; these social constructions are deeply embedded in everyday life and cultural values. Advertising is not alone in perpetuating images of active men and passive women. Advertisements use widespread social norms to sell products. What is particularly problematic about advertisements is that they do not necessarily depict men as they really are, but use socially desirable depictions of masculinity to enhance the product, such as cologne being worn by an extremely attractive, muscular man in a business suit surrounded by women (Vokey et al. 2013). Their goal is to make the viewer feel inadequate so as to sell solutions (Vigorito and Curry 1998; Kilbourne 1999; Alexander 2003; Vokey et al. 2013). So while advertisements can portray a distorted and exaggerated interpretation of gender behaviors in real life, their stereotyping can also offer observations regarding gender patterns prevalent in our society (Goffman 1979).

Images of masculine gender displays are extremely common in advertisements, yet have received less research attention than overly feminized images, which have been widely accepted as influencing viewers (Alexander 2003). Male violence in particular seems to be at the base of masculinity concerns since it is often encouraged as the way to be manly (Katz 1995; Kilbourne 1999; Vokey et al. 2013). Advertisements encourage men to be "forceful and dominant" (Kilbourne 1999:272). Over and over again, women have been sexualized and subordinated in images, ranging from semi-suggestive clothing to what appears to be depictions of gang rape or domestic violence (Kilbourne 1999).

More recently, images of sexualized men have also appeared, yet not quite in the same way. It has become more acceptable for readers to objectify men, but men never lose the element of control. Referring to an advertisement with two women looking at a shirtless man, Kilbourne (1999) observed, "He is the one in control. His body is powerful, not passive" (279). Through direct eye gaze, distance from others, and a powerful stance, images of men portray their sexuality as dominant and active rather than as an object for others' consumption. Violence has become attractive and is marketed to both men and women as ideal. Advertisements contain frequent images of men who are considered sexy because they display an aggressive "attitude" (Katz 1995). Men's magazines are also full of products to help men develop muscular physiques. Violence likely receives the most attention in research because of the effect it has on others. When the idea that violence is desirable is portrayed constantly, both women and all of the subordinated masculinities discussed in hegemonic masculinity are put at risk to be on the receiving end of the violence. Just as gender is formed through interaction, the visual representations act as instruments of masculine gender socialization, as a daily interaction the viewer has with the images (Alexander 2003).

Ultimately, hegemonic masculinity is made public in the media. Yet it exists as more than just an act of publicity. A focus on media images must also be balanced with an examination of everyday performance of gender (Connell 1987). Hegemonic masculinity is no doubt constructed in the media, but it has a real influence as it is embraced and re-enacted in daily life.

French Culture

France is considered a masculine country, compared to Denmark or Sweden for example, as determined by the masculinity cultural values score (Paek, Nelson, and Vilela 2011). This comments only on the large differential in gender roles and more stereotypical occupation-related depictions of gender in the media, not necessarily on the country's interpretation of masculinity. Apart from such quantitatively calculated scores, France has had centuries of male dominance. Though more women are now in the work force than previous decades, the majority of prominent figures are still men, especially in the French State (Reader 2001; Gouvernement 2016). The era of masculine dominance is far from over (Reader 2001). This is reflected in French advertisements. Female nudity is extremely prevalent, as well as the use of people as sexual objects (Damamme-Gilbert 1998). Beginning in the 1980s, there was a deliberate attempt to change gender portrayals in the media to show women in powerful positions, as well as images of domestic and caring fathers. However, many of these depictions came across as a playful acknowledgement of changing gender roles rather than genuine attempts at social equality (Damamme-Gilbert 1998). Stereotypical gender roles, along with the division of labor, are still present and problematic in French advertising. It is important to note that French gender roles and the expectations of men and women in France may be different than in the United States, as well as in the displays of U.S. hegemonic masculinity that will be examined in this study.

While there are still social repercussions for being homosexual in France, "trendy heterosexual men in France have begun taking gays as the standard-bearers and exemplars of modern masculinity" (Sibalis 2007:184). The metrosexual is an urban, heterosexual man who dresses fashionably, uses cosmetics, minimizes body hair, and may even wear jewelry (Sibalis 2007). Metrosexuals assume a level of femininity as part of their lifestyle while still disassociating with homosexuality (Sibalis 2007). While this display may be associated with femininity or homosexuality in the United States, it has been popularized in modern French culture. Homosexual men in France are distinguished more by a feminine voice, posture, or body language rather than dress, which may be used as an identifier in the United States (Sibalis 2007).

In general, the French take great pride in their appearance as dressing well reflects class and taste. The everyday fashion of modern France has derived from high-society fashion, for which France is renowned (Dauncey 1998). The French dress to show off, creating a fashion spectacle on the street, sometimes referred to as a "public display of fashion art" (Taylor 2001:72). Being well dressed and groomed is of daily concern, particularly in cities. The exceptions to the fashion spectacle are in the countryside, which is less formal, and for some young people who desire to imitate the relaxed American look by slouching or wearing less-fitted jeans (Dauncey 1998; Taylor 2001).

Previous Research

There have been a few different approaches to the study of masculinity in magazines. Some research has looked at cover stories and men's advice articles, looking past the images to the topics magazines believe interest men and can thus be used to generate insecurity for profit (Alexander 2003). Alexander (2003) found muscles, fashion sense, and an appearance of wealth

to be at the center of masculinity constructions. Another study focused on four aspects of hyper-masculinity, specifically violence, aggressive heterosexuality, the presence of danger, and stoic or angry expressions among different magazine readership demographics (Vokey et al. 2013). They found that 56 percent of advertisements depicted at least one hyper-masculine characteristic. Additionally, research into magazine audience has been conducted, examining whether portrayals of men vary among men and women's magazines. While the images of men tend to vary with the age, race, and class of the audience (Vigorito and Curry 1998; Vokey et al. 2013), the gender of the audience did not always result in different depictions (Medalia 2005). If there was a difference between men and women's magazines, it was in terms of gender role, where men appeared more nurturing in women's magazines yet were seen in more occupational roles in men's magazines (Vigorito and Curry 1998). Thus, men and women were given different expectations of male behavior.

Although Goffman's study in 1979 centered on the presentation of the body, most studies since have focused on the role of the male figure rather than on the display of the body. Other research has concentrated outside of the United States with a focus on cross-cultural differences. Since it is difficult to keep variables consistent across nations, these studies tend to focus solely on the gender and occupation of the primary figure in television advertising (Paek et al. 2011). Although one other study looked at body display in advertising between two different countries, the focus was on female figures (Medalia 2005). Regardless, in cross-national research, country is found to be a significant variable (Medalia 2005; Paek et al. 2011), showing that gender roles and expectations do vary among countries. Since large social factors, such as gender constructions, tend to change both over time and across nations, it is an important subject to continue to study.

To add to the current literature and further the discussion of gender display and portrayals of masculinity, this paper will offer a comparison between France and the United States by looking at advertisements of men from men's magazines. By adding public observation to the content analysis of magazine advertisements, this study intends to comment on the similarities, or lack thereof, of public images with everyday gender performance. This thesis asks the questions: How do portrayals of masculinity in magazine advertisements vary between France and the United States? Do these advertisements reflect the displays of masculinity seen on the street? Answering these questions will help provide insight into the expectations of masculinity in different countries, which could relate to gendered social issues such as sexual assault.

METHODS

The coding scheme for this research was adapted from a few prominent studies on gender display in advertising. Goffman (1979) laid the foundation of gendered coding in advertisements with a primary focus on images of women. I used his categories as a reference for depictions of masculinity largely by reversing his focus and by updating some categories to reflect more recent research. His category of "relative size," for example, was used to code for a woman who was smaller than or positioned below a man. It has been reversed here to focus on the man being taller or positioned above others. However, his category of function ranking, describing the man as performing the leading role, was deemed no longer prevalent (Medalia 2005), so it was not used in this study. His category of "the ritualization of subordination" was adapted to be "the ritualization of domination," relating to male body language. A man holding his body or head erect shows superiority and shamelessness. This category has also been expanded to include physical domination or support of another person.

Further, I developed a category from Alexander (2003) called "face-off masculinity," grouping direct eye gaze and a stoic expression, which describes men who appear to be daring the viewer to question his powerful presentation. This category was created in response to Goffman's (1979) variable of female smiling and his category of licensed withdrawal. Showing emotion, particularly effeminate or weak emotions such as sadness or fear, is not considered masculine (Goffman 1979; Vokey et al. 2013). Developed from other research on hegemonic masculinity, there are variables for overt heterosexual sexuality (Medalia 2005; Vokey et al. 2013), muscular men, body revealing clothing (Alexander 2003; Medalia 2005), portrayals of outdoor activity and getting dirty, and business attire, which gives the appearance of financial success (Alexander 2003). Ultimately, there were a total of thirteen variables across six categories. Table 1 shows the masculinity categories and variables used for coding.

Table 1. Coding Categories and Variables

Categories	Variables
Relative Size	1. Male Taller
Class	1. Business Attire
Ritualization of Domination	1. Body Erect 2. Physical Domination 3. Physical Support
Face-off Masculinity	1. Direct Eye Gaze 2. Stoic Expression
Sexuality	1. Overt Heterosexuality 2. Suggested Heterosexuality 3. Body Revealing Clothing
Athleticism/Physique	1. Muscular 2. Athletic 3. Dirty/Outdoors

I also coded the age of the male figures as young (but over 18), middle aged, and old, and I coded race as white, black, Hispanic or Southern European, Asian, and unknown. Unknown was

used when the man was either completely covered by clothing or was simply an outline. All variables were coded as yes=1 and no=0 (see Appendix for sample coding sheet).

To eliminate some subjectivity and ensure accuracy, the coding scheme was tested with another sociologist and modified until codes were agreed upon. The second coder was given sample images to code and any discrepancies between coders was discussed and clarified. Further, the second coder was consulted whenever the primary coder was unsure about an image. Once the coding process was complete, all codes were transcribed electronically and entered into Stata.

VARIABLES

Relative Size

Male taller. "Male taller/positioned above" was used to code men comparatively taller if pictured next to another person, particularly a woman, as seen in Figure 1 from *Men's Journal*. Men were also positioned above others, such as by being put on top of a ladder.

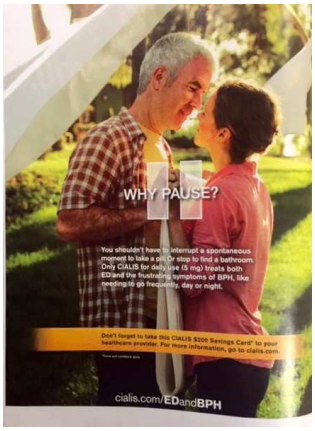


Figure 1: Male Taller

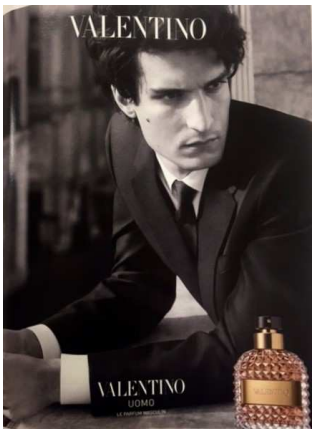


Figure 2: Business Suit

Class

Business attire/suit. This category represents social class as part of the hegemonic man and was a continuous theme in advertisements that had nothing to do with a work environment or formal social events. The business suit represents success and a level of wealth. Figure 2, from *GQ France,* shows an example of how the business suit was used in an advertisement.

Ritualization of Domination

Figure 3: Body Erect

Body erect/open posture. One of three variables within the category of "ritualization of domination," "body erect" displays men in an open standing position. This variable was used in opposition to the head and body cant commonly found in advertisements of women (Goffman 1979; Medalia 2005). The hegemonic man can stand tall without shame. Figure 3, from *Lui,* is an example of a man standing completely erect.

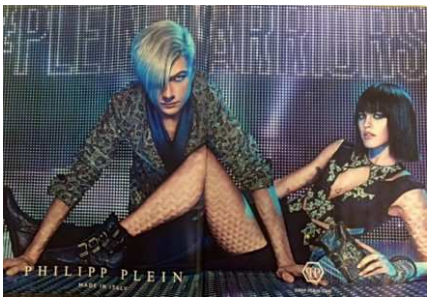
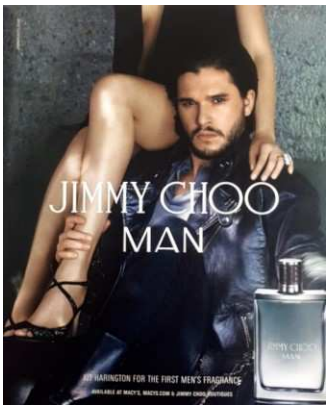


Figure 4: Physical Dominance

Physical domination. This is the most aggressive way for a hegemonic man to demonstrate his power. For a man to be physically dominant, he must appear in complete control and be overpowering the other person, usually a woman, with either his body or another object. This variable includes any act of violence used against someone else, in response to the research on hyper-masculinity. There was only one example of physical dominance among all ten magazines, which is shown in Figure 4, an advertisement from *Lui*.

Physical support. The last variable in the category of domination expresses men's strength. It is less aggressive than "physical domination" and was counted when men acted as a support for another person whereas it appears that the man is all that is keeping them from falling. This varied from men holding a child to a woman leaning against a man. Figure 5, from *GQ France,* is an example as the woman appears to be unstable and the man pictured (also in a suit) is catching her or holding her up.

Figure 5: Physical Support



Face-off Masculinity

Direct eye gaze. Direct eye gaze occurs when a man stares directly at the camera as if looking at the viewer. This was often combined with "stoic expression" for the full effect of "face-off masculinity," such as seen in Figures 6, from *Maxim,* and 7, from *L'Officiel Hommes*.

Figure 6: Direct Eye Gaze and Stoic Expression

Stoic expression. "Stoic expression" was coded when a man appeared stern or particularly emotionless. A key distinction was made between what appeared to be a relaxed face, possibly with a slightly parted lip that is not particularly stoic, and an expression that seemed almost challenging, thus was determined to be stoic.

Figure 7: Direct Eye Gaze and Stoic Expression

Sexuality

Overt heterosexuality. A key aspect of hegemonic masculinity is that the man can both be seen as attractive by the opposite sex and enjoy heterosexual intimacy; he is straight. Overt heterosexuality occurred when a man was engaged in explicit sexual behavior, often a kiss, with someone of the opposite sex, as seen in Figures 8, from *GQ France,* and 9, from *Maxim*. Figure 9 is a more sexualized image than Figure 8, though both can be considered overt heterosexuality.

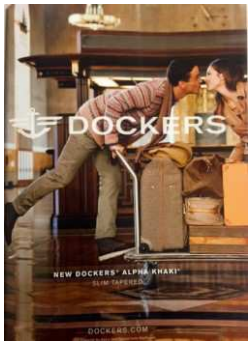


Figure 8: Overt Heterosexuality

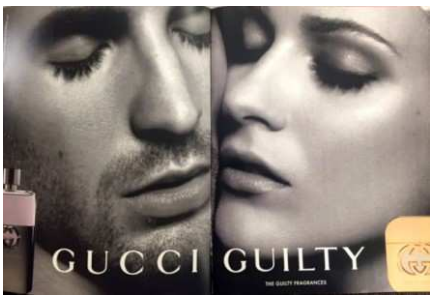


Figure 9: Overt Heterosexuality

Suggested heterosexuality. Varying only slightly from overt heterosexuality, suggested heterosexuality is the implication that the man is heterosexual and is appealing to women, but the man is not directly engaging in a sexual act. Figure 10, from *GQ France,* shows an example where the man was using direct eye gaze (and was in a business suit), while the woman lusts after him, assumedly because of his cologne.

Figure 10: Suggested Heterosexuality

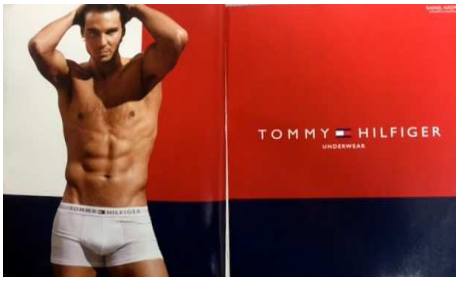


Figure 11: Body Revealing Clothing

Body revealing clothing. The last of the "sexuality" category, this variable was counted when a man appeared in any level of undress from being shirtless to an underwear advertisement. The latter is presented in Figure 11, an advertisement from *Maxim*.

Athleticism/Physique

Muscular. This variable shows physical strength in any man with clearly defined muscles. This was often combined with "body revealing clothing" as that made it easier to see the muscles. Both variables are seen in Figure 12 from *GQ U.S.*

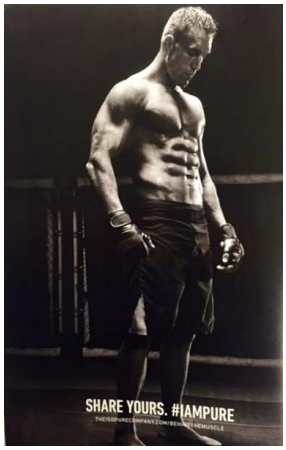


Figure 12: Muscular

Athletic. An important part of U.S. hegemonic masculinity, "athletic" shows that the man is fit and able. This variable was counted when a man was shown playing a sport, running, hiking, and so on. Figure 13, from *Sports Illustrated,* shows men that are both athletic and outdoors.

Figure 13: Athletic and Outdoors

Dirty/outdoors. This is the last variable in the "athleticism/physique" category. This variable was coded whenever a man was pictured in an outdoor setting. It ranged in images from playing on the beach to snowboarding to having dirty hands and/or clothes.

SAMPLE

Magazines

The advertisements were taken from American and French magazines targeted towards male audiences. Men's magazines were specifically chosen to show the depictions and expectations of hegemonic masculinity that is sold to men. A total of ten magazines were used, five from each country. The issues used were those sold during January 2016. Both full and half page advertisements featuring a man appearing over the age of eighteen were included in the analysis. Only the images, not the text accompanying them, were coded. The number of qualifying male portrayals per magazine varied between 7 and 58, yielding a total of 194 depictions of men. In other words, the unit of analysis was each man pictured in an advertisement.

The French magazines were chosen based on suggestions from both male French magazine readers and prominence in French newsstands in an attempt to use the most popular men's magazines. They were collected in January 2016 at newsstands in Lyon, France. The American magazines were collected from U.S. newsstands in Boston, MA with the researcher's

knowledge of popular men's magazines. The magazines chosen from each country included the categories of sports, female nudity, and titles that included the word "men" or "man." Specifically, the U.S. magazines chosen were *Sports Illustrated* (sports)*, Maxim* (female nudity)*, Men's Health, Men's Journal,* and *GQ* (U.S. version)*.* The French magazines were *L'Equipe* (sports)*, Lui* (female nudity)*, Monsieur, L'Officiel Hommes,* and *GQ* (French version)*.*

Everyday Life

Men's clothing, activity, and social interactions were observed in three different settings within each country. The French observation was completed during January 2016 in Lyon, France. Lyon was chosen as a second-tier city in France since it is the second largest city and third in population. It is also less popular with tourists than Paris or Marseille (Reader 2001). The settings chosen were a public park (Parc de la Tête d'Or), a shopping area (Place Bellecour, including the shopping district), and a train station (Gare de Lyon Part-Dieu).

To reflect the choice of French city, Boston was chosen in the United States as a second-tier city. This research was also completed during January 2016. Settings similar to those in Lyon were used in Boston: a park (Boston Common), a public square and shopping area (Harvard Square), and a few Boston/Cambridge metro stations.

DATA AND ANALYSIS

Magazine Advertisements

The results of the data analysis show that while French magazines use some of the same characteristics to represent masculinity, there are other aspects of the images that cannot be quantified by these features of U.S. hegemonic masculinity. It is first important to see the frequency with which each variable appears. Figures 14 and 15 offer a visual representation of the data by country using percentages. Race has been included to show that across both countries

hegemonic masculinity is still most commonly depicted through images of white men, even though the U.S. advertisements showed slightly more racial diversity.

It should first be noted that the most common variables amongst U.S. and French advertisements were not the same. “Stoic expression,” “direct eye gaze,” “business attire,” and “body erect” were the four most common variables in the French magazines and all had similar frequencies. Conversely, “dirty/outdoors” and “athletic” were the most frequent portrayals of masculinity in U.S. magazines, with “stoic expression,” “direct eye gaze,” and “body erect” all tied for third.

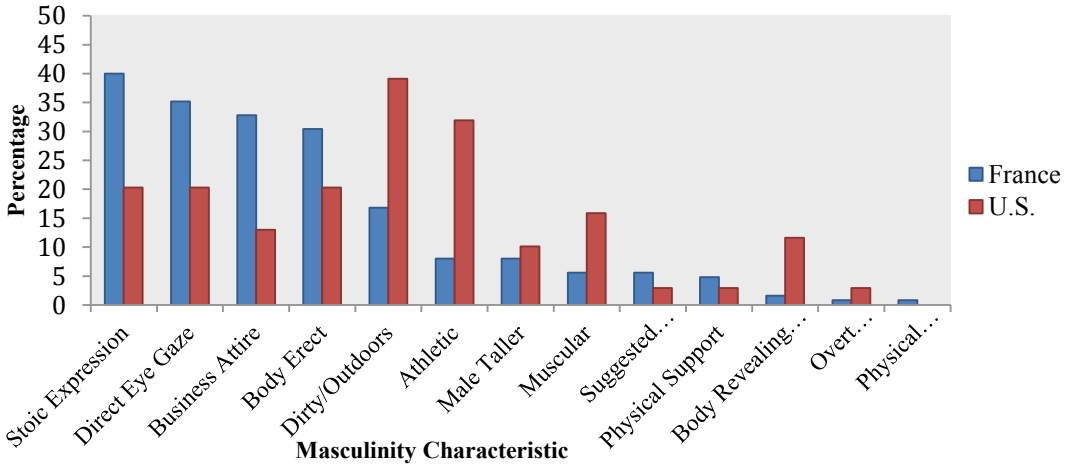


Figure 14: Percentage of Variables in French and U.S. Magazine Advertisements

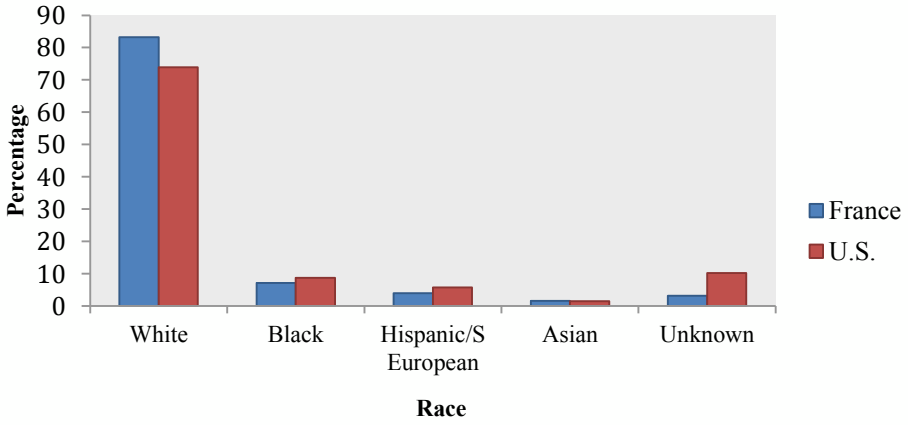


Figure 15: Percentage of Races in French and U.S. Magazine Advertisements

Although the least common variables for each country also varied, "physical support," "overt sexuality," and "physical domination" were in the bottom four for both countries. Tables 2 and 3 break these frequencies down further by illustrating the percentage and number of male images that displayed the masculine attributes within each magazine. As the magazines all produced different numbers of advertisements, the percentages most accurately show the variation.

Table 2. Percentage(n)s of Variables in Advertisements in French Men's Magazines

Variable	*Lui* n=29	*L'Equipe* n=7	*L'Officiel Hommes* n=12	*Monsieur* n=19	*GQ France* n=58
Stoic Expression	62.1 (18)	-	25.0 (3)	47.4 (9)	34.5 (20)
Direct Eye Gaze	41.4 (12)	-	50.0 (6)	31.6 (6)	34.5 (20)
Business Attire	27.6 (8)	-	25.0 (3)	47.4 (9)	36.2 (21)
Body Erect	37.9 (11)	14.3 (1)	33.3 (4)	42.1 (8)	24.1 (14)
Dirty/Outdoors	20.7 (6)	28.6 (2)	8.3 (1)	5.3 (1)	20.7 (12)
Athletic	3.4 (1)	71.4 (5)	-	5.3 (1)	6.9 (4)
Male Taller	6.9 (2)	-	16.7 (2)	5.3 (1)	8.6 (5)
Muscular	3.4 (1)	14.3 (1)	-	5.3 (1)	6.9 (4)
Suggested Sexuality	6.9 (2)	-	-	-	8.6 (5)
Physical Support	10.3 (3)	-	-	-	5.2 (3)
Body Revealed	3.4 (1)	-	-	-	1.7 (1)
Physical Domination	3.4 (1)	-	-	-	-
Overt Sexuality	-	-	-	-	1.7 (1)
White	79.3 (23)	42.9 (3)	91.7 (11)	89.5 (17)	87.9 (51)
Black	10.3 (3)	14.3 (1)	-	-	8.6 (5)
Hispanic/S European	10.3 (3)	-	-	10.5 (2)	-
Asian	-	-	8.3 (1)	-	1.7 (1)
Unknown	-	42.9 (3)	-	-	-

Unsurprisingly, *L'Equipe*, as the sports magazine, had the highest percentage of "athletic" and "dirty/outdoors" in French magazines. For U.S. magazines, *Maxim* and *GQ* had the highest percentages of "stoic expression" and "direct eye gaze." Otherwise the most common variables for each magazine were the most common overall among their respective countries.

Table 3. Percentage(n)s of Variables in Advertisements in U.S. Men's Magazines

Variable	*Maxim* n=18	*Sports Illustrated* n=9	*Men's Journal* n=7	*Men's Health* n=25	*GQ U.S.* n=10
Dirty/Outdoors	22.2 (4)	66.7 (6)	71.4 (5)	36.0 (9)	30.0 (3)
Athletic	11.1 (2)	33.3 (3)	42.9 (3)	40.0 (10)	40.0 (4)
Stoic Expression	38.9 (7)	-	28.6 (2)	8.0 (2)	30.0 (3)
Direct Eye Gaze	27.8 (5)	-	14.3 (1)	16.0 (4)	40.0 (4)
Body Erect	22.2 (4)	-	14.3 (1)	20.0 (5)	30.0 (3)
Muscular	22.2 (4)	-	14.3 (1)	16.0 (4)	20.0 (2)
Business Attire	11.1 (2)	11.1 (1)	14.3 (1)	8.0 (2)	30.0 (3)
Body Revealed	16.7 (3)	-	14.3 (1)	8.0 (2)	20.0 (2)
Male Taller	5.6 (1)	-	28.6 (2)	12.0 (3)	10.0 (1)
Overt Sexuality	5.6 (1)	-	-	4.0 (1)	-
Suggested Sexuality	5.6 (1)	-	14.3 (1)	-	-
Physical Support	-	-	-	8.0 (2)	-
Physical Domination	-	-	-	-	-
White	77.8 (14)	55.6 (5)	42.9 (3)	76.0 (19)	100.0 (10)
Black	5.6 (1)	-	42.9 (3)	8.0 (2)	-
Hispanic/S European	16.7 (3)	11.1 (1)	-	-	-
Asian	-	11.1 (1)	-	-	-
Unknown	-	22.2 (2)	14.3 (1)	16.0 (4)	-

To answer the first research question, how do portrayals of masculinity in magazine advertisements vary between France and the U.S., chi square tests were run. The results have been organized by strength of correlation in Table 4.

The variable "athletic" showed a strong correlation with country, appearing in 31.9 percent of the images of men in U.S. magazines as opposed to 8.0 percent in French magazines. "Dirty/outdoors" had a moderately strong correlation, more prevalent in the U.S. magazines, appearing in 39.1 percent of the images (16.8% in French). "Business attire," "body revealing clothing," and "stoic expression" all had moderate correlations with country with only "body revealing clothing" appearing more often in U.S. advertisements.

Table 4. Percentage(n)s and Strength of Correlation (Cramer's V) Between Masculinity Characteristics and Nation

Variable	U.S. n=69	France n=125	V
Athletic	31.9 (22)	8.0 (10)	.3081***
Dirty/Outdoors	39.1 (27)	16.8 (21)	.2477***
Body Revealing Clothing	11.6 (8)	1.6 (2)	.2164**
Business Attire/Suit	13.0 (9)	32.8 (41)	.2162**
Stoic Expression	20.3 (14)	40.0 (50)	.2007**
Muscular	15.9 (11)	5.6 (7)	.1706*
Direct Eye Gaze	20.3 (14)	35.2 (44)	.1559*
Body Erect	20.3 (14)	30.4 (38)	n.s.
Overt Heterosexuality	2.9 (2)	0.8 (1)	n.s.
Suggested Heterosexuality	2.9 (2)	5.6 (7)	n.s.
Physical Support	2.9 (2)	4.8 (6)	n.s.
Male Taller	10.1 (7)	8.0 (10)	n.s.
Physical Domination	-	0.8 (1)	n.s.
White	73.9 (51)	83.2 (104)	n.s.
Black	8.7 (6)	7.2 (9)	n.s.
Hispanic/S European	5.8 (4)	4.0 (5)	n.s.
Asian	1.5 (1)	1.6 (2)	n.s.
Unknown	10.2 (7)	3.2 (4)	n.s.

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Unsurprisingly, the majority of advertisements in both countries used young, white men. Of the men in U.S. advertisements, 18.9 percent were non-white, compared to 12.8 percent of men in French advertisements. In terms of age, 55.1 percent of U.S. male images were categorized as young, compared to 60.8 percent of the French men. Middle-aged men were slightly less common (34.8% U.S; 36.8% France) and old men were rare (4.4% U.S; 1.6% France).

In addition, "stoic expression" and "direct eye gaze" had a strong correlation with nation with a Cramer's V of .404 (p = .000). Similarly "athletic" and "dirty/outdoors" (V = 0.357, p = .000) and "muscular" and "body revealing clothing" (V = 0.649, p = .000) showed strong correlations with nation.

Since this study examined the prominence of masculinity stereotyping, it should also be noted that 7.25 percent (n=5) of the men in U.S. advertisements did not conform to any of the masculinity variables. Doubling that, 14.40 percent (n=18) of the French men did not fit into the variables. Thus more images of men in U.S. advertisements incorporated U.S. hegemonic stereotypes than images of men in French advertisements, though both represented a fairly small minority of all the depictions of men.

Street Observations

The results of the observation indicated very different displays of masculinity between the two countries. Men in Lyon often wore fitted pants, dress shoes, and pea coats. They carried leather handbags, were clean cut, and wore scarves, sometimes along with a beret or other thin hat. Dark colors were most common among men's clothing. Jeans were mostly seen in more casual settings such as the train station, where there was a greater mix of social classes. Younger men occasionally wore looser clothing such as sweatshirts or baggy jeans. These men differed from the norm. At the park, most men watched their children play, while mothers tended to be more involved. If walking with a woman, the men were consistently taller and usually held the arm or hand of the woman. Lyon had little racial diversity, especially in the park, where as few as two non-white men were observed over the course of an hour.

The clothing style of the men in Boston was blatantly different. Most men wore jeans or khakis, not very fitted, and wore thick winter jackets and winter hats that covered their ears. It should initially be noted that while these observations were taken at the same time of year, it was much colder in Boston, which affected the level of dress needed to keep warm. Flannel and baseball hats were also common attire and scarves, only occasionally worn, tended to be thin and of a dark color. Men's shoes were often either sneakers or boots. At the park men were seen

interacting with their children, usually ice skating or playing a sport. The attire of the youth did not appear greatly different than that of the older men, though there was more variety in pants worn, broadening to include sweatpants and athletic pants, frequently added to a baggy sweatshirt. Near Harvard Square, many young men wore backpacks, presumably because they were students. There were not many other bags carried by men, with the exception of the occasional briefcase by men in business attire. Just as in Lyon, the metro exhibited a greater variety of social class with a mix of workmen, businessmen, and homeless men. Though more racially diverse than Lyon, the park in Boston had the fewest non-white men. Overall, the men in Boston were less formally dressed, had more facial hair, and though more active with their children in the park, were less consistently fit or thin, likely a larger issue with U.S. society.

DISCUSSION

Masculinity between France and the United States varies in many ways. It appears that advertising in both countries portrays men with erect posture, direct eye gaze, and a stoic expression. Unlike previous research that found women portrayed in crumpled positions with averted eye gaze (Goffman 1979; Medalia 2005), men show little emotion, stand tall, and face the viewer. Consequently, "face-off masculinity" was an important category in this research. Additionally, the U.S. advertisements revealed more concern with athleticism, muscular physique, and outdoor activity. This was confirmed in the Boston observation, where men appeared more active in the park and more readily getting dirty.

Display of social class seemed to be a bigger issue in French than U.S. advertisements. This was also observed in France. "Business attire," chosen as a variable to represent class, was especially common in French advertisements. If absent, the alternative was often French high fashion. In Lyon, men seemed aware of their appearance and dressed very well. This observation

reflects the research that the French take pride in their appearance and dress well to show class and taste, which is likely related to the influence of high fashion (Dauncey 1998; Taylor 2001). In opposition to the French attire, most men in the United States were dressed down, seemingly regardless of class, making it difficult to determine.

There were elements of French masculinity that could not be captured by the variables chosen for this study. Since these variables were based on U.S. hegemonic masculinity, this study could only compare French magazine advertisements to that type of masculinity. However, there were some images of men in French magazines that cannot go ignored as they represent a stark difference between the cultures. Images of French high fashion in particular tend to blur heterosexuality and homosexuality, as it would be depicted in the United States.

The French advertisement depicted in Figure 4 is noteworthy in a few ways. The clothing, which appears to be a sparkly robe of some sort, would not be seen in a U.S. magazine. Further, the man's haircut and petite frame does not comply with U.S. masculinity standards.

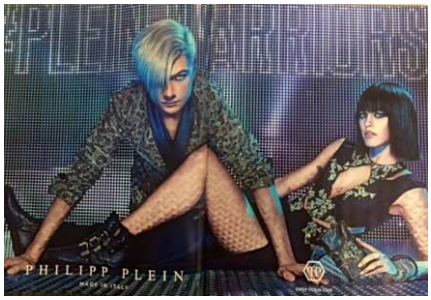


Figure 4

Yet, the man is still positioned above the woman in a dominating form and is making eye contact as if challenging the camera, a good example of "face-off masculinity."

Figure 16, from *Lui,* represents another interesting presentation of a man. While the eye contact and stoic expression remain, the tight turtleneck would be unusual in a U.S. magazine. In addition, the man appears to be lying down (not a typical erect body position, but one more often

used for women) and is clutching a leather bag, almost leaning on it as if for support. The bag itself is unlikely to be sold to U.S. men, and the display of the man is even less likely to be sold as typical masculinity.

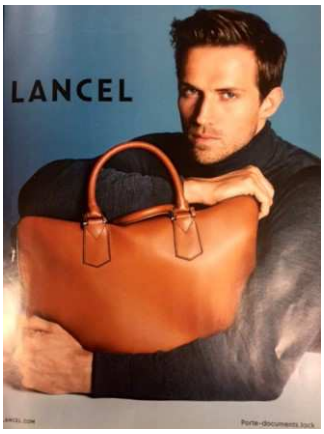


Figure 16

While there are many more examples in the five French magazines analyzed for this study, these two images represent an important difference between U.S. and French masculinity. As exemplified in the tables and graph, "direct eye gaze" and "stoic expression" cross between the two countries as recognized representations of masculinity, yet they appear in different ways. The facial expressions seen in the two figures above are different from images in U.S. magazines because of the images' contexts.

One last image to consider is Figure 17, from *GQ France*. This advertisement ignores every factor of masculinity used in this study, as a few other images did, but to such an extreme that the person shown is not even obviously male. An androgynous image such as this one is extremely remarkable when compared to U.S. images. As Goffman (1979) and West and Zimmerman (1987) discussed, gender is created and conveyed through interaction and becomes an important piece of identity as well as an object up for assessment by others.

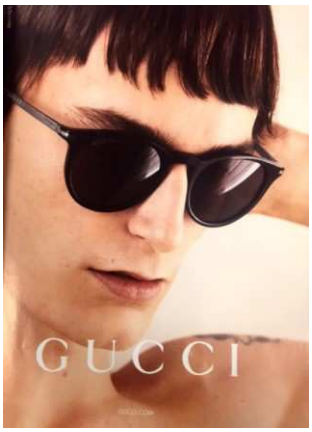


Figure 17

Not only does this image not fit into U.S. standards of hegemonic masculinity, it displays gender in a way that could be construed as risky since it is not easily categorized and does not reproduce norms of femininity or masculinity as clearly as would be expected by U.S. society.

The forms of masculinity displayed in France and the United States are not the same. Some elements of masculinity seem to carry across cultures, those that make a man look strong and powerful (a direct eye gaze, a stoic expression, and an erect body position). These attributes were not easily identified in the street observation, since men were dynamic and not posed. Additionally, overall, physical dominance and overt sexuality did not appear to be very common in either culture. Otherwise, the two countries have very different understandings and displays of masculinity. In regards to my second research question, my results indicated that the advertisements generally reflected the displays of masculinity seen on the street in each country. Men on the street of Lyon were similar to the French advertisements, despite not all being dressed in business suits. The fashion and use of handbags were comparable. Similarly, men in Boston reflected the U.S. advertisements. Though not exaggeratedly muscular, the men appeared active and more casually dressed than in France or the French magazines. Therefore, the advertisements truly reflect that the products are being sold to different audiences.

Understanding masculinity through the portrayals in advertisements helps us begin to understand masculinity as a cultural phenomenon. Advertising acts as "a major socializing agent within our culture that influences the development of masculine ideals and norms" (Vokey et al. 2013:573). Advertisements can help maintain and reinforce stereotypes of men and influence how men see themselves. This study showed that the depictions of masculinity used in magazines are not completely fictional or exaggerated. Those images are reflected on the street and vice versa. Furthermore, advertisements are not the same regardless of location; they depict cultural expectations. The images analyzed for this research provide glimpses into the daily expectations of masculinity men and women experience in different countries. Knowing that masculinity is not uniform internationally opens questions about why it is different and how it relates to gendered social issues within each country, such as domestic violence and sexual assault.

Being aware of the expectations of hegemonic masculinity is critical to understanding how that masculinity interacts with femininity and subordinated masculinities. The culture around masculinity is important because it is intertwined into sports, sexual assault, sexual intimacy, domestic violence, workplace dynamics, and more. Correlations between country, masculinity, and sexual assault rates, for example, are thus of interest. When hegemonic masculinity is repeatedly depicted as desirable, men internalize those dominant masculine ideals, as seen to a certain extent in the street observation. Therefore, prevention programs should target hegemonic advertising (Vokey et al. 2013). This study only begins to show the variation in masculinities around the world. More research into these differences and the related social repercussions is essential.

Future Research

Though this study began to answer some of the questions surrounding portrayals of masculinity in magazine advertisements, there is still much more to learn. Further research into the comparison between France and the United States would be extremely beneficial. A study on French femininity is warranted since ideas of masculinity seem to be so different from the United States. Perhaps French women are more feminized than U.S. women as well. Additionally, cross-national research on the topic of hegemonic masculinity should be continued with more countries to see the variation among portrayals of masculinity. Research done on hegemonic masculinity in other countries would broaden the current understanding of masculinity and add to the U.S. perspective provided in this study. To further understand portrayals of masculinity, research should be done within advertisement agencies, regarding the choices behind masculine imagery. Finally, since most research thus far has examined these portrayals of masculinity through content analysis, surveys and interviews should be conducted to investigate a greater variety of perspectives and to help researchers understand how men and women perceive advertisement images and social expectations of gender performance.

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APPENDIX

Date:			# of Ads:																			
Monsieur			Man #																			
Category	V #	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Relative Size	1	Male Taller/ Positioned Above																				
Class	2	Business Attire/Suit																				
Ritualization of Domination	3	Body Erect/Open Posture																				
	4	Physical Domination																				
	5	Physical Support																				
Face-off Masculinity	6	Direct Eye Gaze																				
	7	Stoic Expression																				
Sexuality	8	Overt Heterosexuality																				
	9	Suggested Heterosexuality																				
	10	Body Revealing Clothing																				
Athleticism/ Physique	11	Muscular																				
	12	Athletic																				
	13	Dirty/Outdoors																				
Age	14	Young																				
		Middle-aged																				
		Old																				
Race	15	White																				
		Black																				
		Asian																				
		Hispanic/Southern European																				
		Unknown																				