

**THE BEST A MAN CAN GET?**

**An analysis of the representation of men within group situations in the advertising copy of Men's Health and FHM from December 2006 through May 2007.**

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## **Abstract**

This study examines the production of masculinity in the advertisements of South Africa's two most popular men's lifestyle magazines, *FHM* and *Men's Health*. I specifically focus on advertisements, as I argue that they play a crucial role in the re-production of prominent discursive formations. Informed by a poststructuralist framework this study adopts Foucault's notions of discourse, power and the constitution of the subject. Gender is conceived of within power relations, with a hierarchical relationship between masculinities and femininities. The gendered subject is also viewed as being constantly in process and being constructed performatively through material forms of practice. Focusing on group representations to establish gender hierarchies, I argue that these representations of people are performative acts, hailing the subjects who view them and producing reality through discourse.

Hegemonic masculinity, which is argued to be prominent in advertising, is located at the highest point in the gender hierarchy. However, there is not one universal hegemonic masculinity, for it can vary across three discrete political contexts: the local, which is constructed in the immediate face-to-face interactions of families, organisations and social structures; the regional, which is constructed at the level of culture or the nation state; and the global, which is constructed in supra-national locations. In the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health* there is interplay between the latter two as global and regional brands both advertise in these magazines. To investigate the portrayal of masculinities in these publications, this study first undertakes a content analysis to survey the "general landscape" of representation in the advertisements and then performs a critical discourse analysis to uncover "thick description" of the production of masculinity.

The content analysis, finds that the advertisements in the sample validate both white and heterosexual forms of masculinity. The sample is comprised mostly of white males, white females and black males, generally proposing forms of hegemonic masculinity, emphasised femininity and complicit masculinity respectively. The representation of white males and black males is different both in terms of the frequency of representations and in the types of representations. I argued that a certain tension inhabits the resulting representations, which try to be inclusive of a multi-racial South Africa, yet do so within a clearly hierarchical structure. An in-depth analysis of eight texts, informed by Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis and Kress & van Leeuwen's framework for visual analysis,

finds similar results to the content analysis while providing insight into how various discourses produced the representations, particularly within non-narrative advertisements.

**Declaration**

I, Rob Scott, hereby declare that this research thesis is my own original work, that all reference sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted to any University in order to obtain an academic qualification.

**Rob Scott****6 January 2014**

## **Acknowledgments**

To my friends and family, thank you for all your support and assistance. I look forward to making it up to you all.

To my supervisor, Proff. Jeanne Prinsloo: Thank you for never giving up on me. You were not my first supervisor on this thesis having to pick up from where someone else left off. Thank you for your unending patience, as I was far from an ideal candidate. I could not have completed this without your guidance, insight and support.

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## Chapter 1: An Introduction to the Study

### 1.0 Introduction

*You're looking sharp  
You're looking good  
You've come so far  
And we know how to make the most of who you are  
Father to son it's what we've always done  
Gillette the best a man can get*

*On so many faces it's plain to see  
We give you all we have to give  
For all a man can be  
Where the racers run you're the champion  
Gillette the best a man can get  
Gillette the best a man can get (Jake Holmes<sup>1</sup>, Gillette the Best a Man Can Get)*

Every morning I shower. I use a body wash, shampoo and moisturiser that have “for men” printed on their label. I apply foam to my face and use a razor by Gillette to shave the softened facial hair. “For men” is not printed on either of these but I have known the brand’s slogan “Gillette – the Best a Man Can Get” since I was a small child thanks to a catchy song featured in a 1980s television commercial<sup>2</sup>. The 60-second commercial races through images of men that are more than just product shots and models. It represents men at various stages of their life from work to play, early images of boys spending time with their fathers, to images of men succeeding at work and on the sports field, enjoying the company of their same-sex friends as well as forming romantic connections with women. The advertisement presents representations to typify what it is to be a man and it does this to sell razors. But it does more than just this. It disseminates these representations and it does this across national boundaries. This commercial provided a template for various versions around the world, from the United States to South Africa<sup>3</sup>, essentially disseminating the same constructions of masculinity alongside other international and local media representations in the larger media landscape. These representations are performative acts that form part of the repertoire that people utilise in negotiating their gendered identities in an on going process of gender performance (Butler, 1990; 1993).

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<sup>1</sup> See Hodgkinson (2007: 129 – 154) for more information about Holmes and his jingle writing.

<sup>2</sup> This commercial can be viewed on YouTube (*Gillette The best a Man can get ... 1989, 2009*).

<sup>3</sup> A French version of this commercial is available on YouTube (*Gillette, La perfection au Masculin, 2010*).

Linked to the notion of gender as performative, an understanding addressed in chapter 2, throughout this study represented bodies are referred to as *performatives* consistent with the constructionist recognition of representation as an act (Hall, 1997). If gendered acts performativity constitute the subject (Butler, 1993), gendered representations do so as well. Just as the announcement that “it’s a boy” is a performative act, gendered representations within advertisements are performative acts assigning a sex and gender to a body. Thus, the represented bodies in the sample are not referred to as people, subjects or performers. This study aims to explore the representations of these gendered performatives and account for the types of masculinities that are reified from their existence within the context of South Africa.

### **1.1 The Scope of the Study**

This study examines the production of masculinity in the advertisements of South Africa’s two most popular men’s lifestyle magazines, *FHM* and *Men’s Health* between December 2006 and May 2007<sup>4</sup>. I specifically focus on advertisements, as I argue in chapter two that they play a crucial role in the re-production of prominent discursive formations. I also focus on group representations to examine how these masculinities are produced in relation to other subject positions and to establish discursive hierarchies. Hegemonic masculinity, which is argued to be prominent in advertising (Schroeder & Zwick, 2004), is located at the highest point in the gender hierarchy. However, there is not one universal hegemonic masculinity, for it can vary across three discrete political contexts: the local, which is constructed in the immediate face-to-face interactions of families, organisations and social structures; the regional, which is constructed at the level of culture or the nation state; and the global, which is constructed in supra-national locations (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men’s Health* there is interplay between the latter two as global and regional brands both advertise in these magazines. To investigate the portrayal of masculinities in these publications, this study first undertakes a content analysis to survey the “general landscape” of representation in the advertisements and then performs a critical discourse analysis to uncover “thick description” of the production of masculinity.

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<sup>4</sup> The sample of this study is situated in a particular historical context (2006-2007). While this is some time before the date of publication it is still relevant as a benchmark for where we are now and also as a launch point for future research. Specifically this study is laid out to be easily replicated and could be combined with the analysis of other time periods to form a larger study showing the development and transformation of discursive processes over time.

## 1.2 The Significance of the Study

Gender relations in South Africa are complex. Historically the racial and interventionist nature of the state profoundly shaped gender relations and gave this imbalance of power legal standing (Morrell, 2001). In addition the state divided black from white, allocating black men “servile, labouring conditions or to positions of unemployment” (Morrell, 2001: 26), thus it has been argued racial identity played a central part in the performance of masculinity by men in South Africa (Epstein, 1998). Before 1994 there was little focus on gender equality and institutionalised racism, as part of the political structure under Apartheid, granted power to white men. After the first democratic elections an emphasis was placed on equality for all citizens of South Africa. However, in practice the position of women is still a major concern. While political power is now largely in the hands of black men, corporate business tends to remain the domain of white men and representations of a desirable white masculinity continue to pervade popular media images (Morrell, 2001). Thus in terms of Connell & Messerschmidt’s (2005) political contexts in which gender is negotiated, this study argues that, allowing for difference, there is a regional black hegemonic masculinity which has political dominance across the greater geographical region of South Africa, and this in turn tends to be largely superseded by a dominating supra-national white hegemonic masculinity.

This study explores this relationship in the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men’s Health*, which are both international brands with a prominently white audience and contain a variety of advertisements that are produced locally, for both local and international brands, as well as outside of the South African market for international brands. In addition to exploring this potential tension between different levels of hegemonic masculinity, this study also examines the constructed relationships between masculinities and femininities within the texts; it interrogates these relationships in relation to different social contexts, namely within familial, fraternal, intimate and professional relationships. In doing so this research hopes to help fill a lacunae in South African research on the representation of gender, which has predominantly focused on the representations of femininity (MMP, 1999); masculinity in relation to femininity (Prinsloo, 2003); or a specific role or type of masculinity (Prinsloo, 2006; Ngobeni, 2006). The shortcomings of this kind of research are that representations of masculinity are often normalised and used to assess the

representations of femininity, as opposed to giving a historically, socially and culturally contextualised understanding of the representations of masculinity.

### **1.3 Masculinity in South Africa**

In South Africa men have held gender power in both private and political spheres. The country's history also produced masculinities that were defensive and prone to violence (Cock, 2001; Morrell, 2001; Swart, 2001; Xaba, 2001). According to Morrell (2001) white men enjoyed an uneven distribution of power but were also defensive in relation to challenges to their dominance from women, blacks, and other men. Whereas for black men the lack of political power was emasculating and meant that getting and retaining respect was often a violent process. Following Apartheid men and women, at least in terms of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996), were deemed equal. This has arguably led to many male citizens becoming "unsettled and unsure of their place in the new order" (Morrell, 2001: 21). These feelings of anxiety can be found in a range of South African masculinities (Swart, 2001; Xaba, 2001; Ratele, 2002). There is still, however, much concern over the inferior and subordinate position of women relative to men. In addition, high levels of poverty and rising expectations have fostered the growth of violent masculinities (Field, 2001; Hemson, 2001; Wardrop, 2001; Wood and Jewkes, 2001; Xaba, 2001).

Gender is a key factor of this violence with men committing the majority of violent acts and also being the majority of victims of violence. According to Redpath et al. (2008) controlling and violent behaviours towards women, as well as violent behaviours towards men, are normalised by constructions of masculinity in South Africa. The second most common cause of premature mortality for men and the seventh for women was homicide and almost all men are killed by other men. Morrell compares the South African situation to that of post-World War 2 Germany:

Many of its men have been involved in military actions. Women are more involved and influential in the economy and public life than before. The state is trying to stabilise and unite a country, it is engaged in nation building, and its male citizens are unsettled and unsure of their place in the new order. (2001: 21)

Morrell proposes that the responses of men to changes in South Africa can be grouped into three categories: reactive or defensive; accommodating; and responsive or progressive (2001: 26). Reactive or defensive responses often invoke the language of crisis and can be seen in objections from white supremacists, movements looking for the restoration of male

authority, increasing incidents of rape and misogyny; and in violent homophobia (Carton, 2001; Swart, 2001; Wood and Jewkes, 2001). Accommodating responses on the other hand may not view all the changes to South Africa's political landscape positively but their objections are neutered, they may still cling to older traditional ways but they are exploring new ways of being (Hemson, 2001; Ratele, 2001; Wardrop, 2001). Responsive and progressive responses seek to promote further equality among, race, gender and sexuality while at the same time challenging violent masculinities (Louw, 2001; Madala, 1995; Reddy, 1998; van der Meide, 1998; de Villiers, 1998). According to Morrell many of these responses are influenced by the "egalitarian world of transnational agencies (like the United Nations) which emphasise human rights and gender equality" (2001: 25).

In a diverse society such as South Africa, the question of which discourse, if any, is hegemonic is a complex one. Morrell (1998) identifies them historically as follows:

The operation of different hegemonic (dominant) masculinities operating for black men in rural and urban situations – and for white men – Afrikaans and English – in the past points to the complexity of the larger context in which masculinities can begin to be understood in South Africa. (1998: 8)

Under Apartheid there was clearly a hegemonic white masculinity, which is argued to continue to exert influence via media images and business institutions where it remains embedded (Morrell, 2001). Thus in terms of the political contexts in which gender is negotiated there are many smaller regional hegemonic masculinities which are competing for dominance over the greater geographical region of South Africa, and this is superseded by a dominating supra-national white hegemonic masculinity. Thus, perhaps it is no surprise that Morrell claims that other masculinities have adopted elements of white masculinity such as an emphasis on achievement and appearance, both features of commoditised society (2001: 25). However, many urban and rural black masculinities, which were oppositional during apartheid, are ascending and constructing themselves in contradistinction to prevalent international masculinities (Morrell, 2001). Research shows that the ruling black masculinity in South Africa has as some of its constituent components: assertive heterosexuality; control of economic decisions within, and outside, the home; political authority; cultural ascendancy; support for male promiscuity (Ratele, 2006); and a common commitment to violence and patriarchy (Morrell, 2001). Since this study will primarily be focusing on the representation of masculinity in the social contexts of familial,

fraternal, intimate and professional relationships, a brief contextualisation of South African masculinity in these contexts will be provided by summarising relevant points made by Redpath et al. (2008).

They argue that in South Africa the primary arena for the gender socialization of children is the (heterosexual) family. The behaviour of parents within the family provides the models for gender specific roles via treating boys and girls differently as well as through different social pressures within the family placed upon boys and girls. Current familial gender norms tend to support men's power but also exclude men from emotional roles in families and emphasise their positioning as providers. There is also a fairly pervasive absence of fathers in households due to migrant work, divorce and family abandonment, but when fathers do live with their children it does confer social value on the children; however, men's involvement is not necessarily positive. There are high levels of domestic abuse on both spouses and children while time-use studies have shown that men spend a tenth of the time women do performing childcare for children under seven.

Socially, particular expressions of masculinity are argued to result in dangerous lifestyle choices that shorten the life expectancy of men with many involved in exaggerated forms of masculinity, or hyper masculinity, such as gang membership. However, at a less extreme level alcohol, physicality and aggression serve as symbolic markers of gender difference or a means of expressing masculinity. Men are more habitual and heavier drinkers, with a correspondingly lower life expectancy, than women. This runs parallel with a tendency for South African constructions of masculinity to encourage taking risks, which may include breaking the law.

Intimate relationships in South Africa are largely constructed, for both males and females, around the notions of sex as a necessity and sexual desirability. There is a widely held social expectation that men who want sex should be able to persuade their partner to agree, and may use a range of tactics, including trickery and physical force. Moreover, domestic violence is highly prevalent and half of all women killed are in an intimate relationship with their killer. Many constructions of masculinity are predicated on having multiple partners and controlling women including by determining the timing and circumstances of sex. In addition, it is argued, such constructions of masculinity propose active health-seeking to be a sign of weakness, and being diagnosed with AIDS as a sign of

emasculatation. These factors are recognised as one of the fundamental forces driving the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Professionally the government has issued major pieces of legislation with the goal of eliminating discrimination along the basis of race, gender, age and sexual orientation, such as The Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998) and the Skills Development Act (Act 97 of 1998) (Moleke, 2003). However, although unemployment is rising for the coloured and white race groups, it falls disproportionately on the black population, the youth and women (Statistics South Africa, 2013b). Statistics South Africa (2013a) had the following findings in their analysis of gender data from the 2011 census regarding employment. Males earn more than their female counter parts while white males earn nearly four times more per an hour than black males on average. Employed women from all groups are likely to spend more time doing unpaid housework and caring for others than their employed male equivalents with black females spending the most time and white females the least. Managerial occupations are more prone among men than women suggesting that men are more likely to be decision makers in their jobs. White males still enjoy an absolute advantage with high-level occupational jobs, particularly in management positions (Moleke, 2003). In relation to this, the return females get from education is much lower than males, even though education attainment is statistically better for females (Altman, 2003) as females in managerial positions are more likely to have tertiary education than men suggesting that women require greater qualifications to advance. In addition, people are taking far longer to join the work force with a majority of the unemployed under 30 years old (Statistics South Africa, 2013a; Altman, 2003).

#### **1.4 Advertising as an Institution**

While there is an abundance of critical theory dealing with advertising (see Chapter 2), institutional research of the advertising industry has been limited (Nixon, 2003). Placing the sole emphasis on the textual end-product, or advertising's broad social impact, loses site of the flow of power-knowledge within the institution and between agencies and their clients (Cronin, 2004). Institutional studies tend to reveal that the business and creative sides of the advertising industry are constantly in tension (Cronin, 2004; Nixon, 2003). In one of the rare institutional studies, it was found that in advertising firms in the UK, while women had a strong presence in the business side of advertising, they were poorly represented on the

creative side, which is dominated by men from middle class backgrounds and "laddish" forms of masculinity, which tend to objectify women and have a culture of excessive drinking (Nixon 2003).

As the focus of this study is on advertisements, a brief overview of the structuring of the production process of advertising is presented for contextual purposes. Traditionally advertising agencies were full service agencies offering three primary services namely: creative, account management and media planning (Cronin, 2004). While the creative teams produce the advertisements, account managers are responsible for acquiring clients as well as acting as the link between the client and the agency. Media planners take responsibility for the placement of advertisements across various media and geographical locations. They develop the strategy for a campaign and make decisions about media considered best suited to reach the target audience, it is the media planner who will decide that magazines like *Men's Health* and *FHM* are best suited to reach a client's target audience. However, outside of the larger full service agencies are smaller specialised ones that focus on a single part of the process, such as creative and media agencies, or a specific sector such as interactive agencies which may provide all the services of a full service agency but only for digital media. An advertisement could be, and often is, the product of a number of different authors working at different points in the process. For example in Chapter 5 an advertisement for Adidas is analysed that is part of an international campaign, with the client's headquarters in Germany, a creative agency based in Holland, a London-based photographer and the decision to place the advertisement in the South African edition of *FHM* made by a South African media planner. Thus, many advertisements are the result of co-operations across several countries, creating a global production.

Thus, even though a nation's advertising will have certain region specific values and features it needs to be understood in the context of an ongoing process of globalization. For Giddens (1990) globalization is an intensification of worldwide social relations that link separate localities, with spacial proximity becoming less of a factor in the impact events will have shaping global regions. Hobsbawm (2007) views it as a historical phase that coincides with the global expansion of capitalism, while Mann (2013) defines globalization as an extension of ideological, economic, military and political relations across the world, which just so happen to have been dominated by ideologies such as liberalism, socialism and capitalism since 1945. Haque (2011) argues that globalization has major implications for

cultural products, including advertising. The process of marketing products is now more than ever a balancing and negotiation of strategies, for marketers and multi-national advertisers, between international standardised advertising emphasising a universal brand or an emphasis on idiosyncratic local values and market conditions. This accords with the position that hegemonic masculinity is constructed within the global, regional and local contexts (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). It is within the context of globalization that masculinity is constructed in the texts of the South African advertising industry.

### **1.5 Advertising in South Africa**

While South Africa's history as a British colony has resulted in a large British cultural influence there has been an increasing American influence on the country's culture, particularly in the birth of the local advertising industry as described by Campbell (1998). The advertising industry blossomed in America in the 1920s and became entrenched in corporate culture as a standardised part of American business practice. When American corporations began to enter South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s they brought this culture with them and thus required a local advertising industry that could operate in a similar way. As these American companies grew so too did the search for new customers, giving rise to a professional advertising industry. More and more local agencies began to emerge all faithfully following American tactics, striving to endow particular commodities with discourses of distinction, leisure, youth or sex appeal.

Apartheid both directly and indirectly influenced advertising in South Africa. At the legislative level the government regulated advertising making advertisers comply with existing legislation that imposed white domination. Advertisers also utilised the philosophies of Apartheid to appeal to white South African audiences<sup>5</sup> (Campbell, 1998).

With the fall of Apartheid, the advertising industry reassessed its position and roll in the 'New South Africa' forming a self regulating body, The Advertising Standards Authority of South Africa (ASA). Those within the three parts of the advertising industry – the advertisers; the advertising agencies; and the media, voluntarily accept ASA's advertising code. The code has provisions against depicting support of gender-based violence, unreasonable gender stereotyping or negative gender portrayal (Redpath et al., 2008). If an advertisement

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<sup>5</sup> For example General Motors associated the company with the "civilised labour" policy and declared in their advertisements that their cars were made with "100 per cent White Labour" (Campbell, 1998).

receives complaints ASA has the power to withdraw it in its objectionable form. Here is the extract on gender from the code, (section II, clause 3.5):

Gender stereotyping or negative gender portrayal shall not be permitted in advertising, unless in the opinion of the ASA, such stereotyping or portrayal is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom. (ASA, 2008)

As can be seen from this entry the code is vague and thus depends on the 'common-sense' opinions of those in a position to judge, and the frequency of complaints that are sent in, as an advert that receives thousands of complaints is likely to be reviewed more cautiously than an advert that receives one. In practice the code has not always been applied as envisioned. An anti-rape advertisement featuring South African born actress, Charlize Theron, was withdrawn after men complained about the negative stereotyping of men (Redpath et al., 2008: 17). This ban was later lifted after an appeal but demonstrates that ASA works within a patriarchal discourse and, thus, its decisions are more likely to be informed by a masculine or conventionally gendered perspective.

### **1.6 Men's Magazines**

As argued earlier globalization has implications for all cultural products and that includes men's lifestyle magazines. Over the last few decades there has been an increase in the publication of men's lifestyle magazines (Boni, 2002). Previously men's magazine titles were limited to soft pornography and special interest titles focused on traditionally male leisure pursuits (Jackson et al., 2001). In the 1980s a range of men's lifestyle magazines were launched. In America *GQ* was launched in 1985 and *Men's Health* followed in 1986 as did the launch of *Arena* in the United Kingdom (UK). In 1988 a UK version of *GQ* was launched. The UK's men's magazine market expanded in 1994 with the release of *FHM* and *Loaded* followed by *Men's Health* and *Maxim* in 1995 (Jackson et al., 2001). These magazines have become an important site for the articulation of masculinity in Western society (Benwell, 2003). It has been argued that the surge in men's magazines is an effect of the instability of masculine discourses due to the feminist movement (Rutherford, 2003), and is indicative of men's changing gender relations and performances (Boni, 2002). Men's magazines are a sight of emerging masculinity as they shape "very self-consciously upon issues of men's identity, the body, and discourse" (Benwell, 2001:19). These magazines form part of a power/knowledge regime in which "certain people, practices, ideas and ways of living are

normalised and others are rendered deviant" (Gill, 2003: 35). At the economic level men's magazines employ a business model that earns most of their income through advertisers which is supplemented by subscriptions and magazine purchases. For this reason men's magazine's tend to negotiate a tension between drawing in readers and pleasing advertisers (Stevenson et al., 2000; 2003). Thus, they usually target consumers with higher disposable income and many of the lifestyles they embrace in the pages of the magazine are based around consumption. Thus men's magazines can be seen as an attempt to stabilise particular, generally consumerist and therefore classed, forms of masculinity (Benwell, 2001).

International expansion is a key strategy for many magazine publishers to maximise profits from their most successful brands (Doyle, 2006). Arguably, two of the most successful at doing this are *Men's Health* and *FHM*<sup>6</sup> (Doyle, 2006). *Men's Health* bills itself as the number one source for information for and about men and targets active, successful and professional men (*Men's Health*, n.d.). It cites itself as a tool men can use to make their lives better physically, mentally and emotionally. It has been argued that it is a site that embodies traditional masculinity, which involves a large number of negative health behaviours, such as excessive alcohol consumption and risky behaviour (Stibbe, 2004). The masculinity depicted in *Men's Health* is described as constructed as that of a bodybuilder, meat eater, beer drinker and sexual champion. In contradistinction to *FHM* and other early men's magazines the masculine body is a major focus of *Men's Health*, offering programs and tips to achieve the large lean muscular look which is prominently featured in its iconic black and white covers usually featuring unknown male models (Stibbe, 2004).

*FHM* is referred to as a "lads"<sup>7</sup> magazine and primarily targets young men. Its editorial strategy is built around the slogan "sexy, funny, useful", (Doyle, 2006). It is characterised by the humorous tone it uses to deliver its features and advice articles about lifestyles, grooming and gadgets. However, its most recognisable feature is its prominent use of sexual images of women, including the cover image, which often features a celebrity in a sexual and provocative image. In contrast to *Men's Health*, the appearance of the *FHM* man is largely invisible and there are no clear images in the magazine of what this masculinity should

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<sup>6</sup> *Men's Health* is published in 40 international editions in 47 countries (*Men's Health*, n.d.) while *FHM* has expanded into 30 editions (Doyle, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> "Lads" refers to young men who engage in rowdy macho behaviour.

embody. Both magazines can be seen as "How to guides" for being a man and the act of reading either can be viewed as a performative act (re)constructing either's particular forms of masculinity. While the literature discussed refers largely to industrialised countries of the north this trend towards men's magazines is evident in South Africa too.

### 1.7 South African Men's Magazines

The genesis of men's lifestyle magazines began in South Africa in 1994 when *Big Blue*, a water sports magazine, broadened its focus to include articles dealing with sex, fashion, beer and photographs of women in bikinis (Spira, 2003). This was followed by a name change and *Big Blue* became *Directions*, South Africa's first men's lifestyle magazine.

In 1997 Touchline Media launched a South African version of the US-based *Men's Health*. The publication was successful in attracting advertisers and its circulation grew in a generally depressed media market (Spira, 2003). This encouraged the launch of more male orientated magazines and in 1999 *FHM* launched. While the male magazine sector has continued to grow, many smaller publications have closed due to the high saturation of publications and the small potential audience. In contrast, the circulations of *Men's Health* and *FHM*, as the two most popular monthly men's magazines in South Africa, continue to grow (SAARF, 2007). Both magazines have grown rapidly since their launch; the *Men's Health* readership has grown by 67% since 2000 while *FHM* has overtaken *Men's Health* as the top selling men's magazine<sup>8</sup>.

This study sets out to examine the construction and representation of masculinity in advertisements in *Men's Health* and *FHM*. Both magazines have a well-educated and affluent readership with the majority placed in LSM groups 8-10 (*FHM* 67%, *Men's Health* 71%). Appendix 1 displays *Men's Health*'s 2007 readership data and Appendix 2 displays *FHM*'s. *FHM* has a higher readership of 744 000 compared to *Men's Health*'s 731 000. Both magazines have primarily male audiences (*FHM* 68%, *Men's Health* 73%). *Men's Health*'s audience is older with an average age of 32 compared to *FHM*'s of 28. More singles read *FHM* (63%) than *Men's Health* (47%). In terms of content *Men's Health* is more diverse topically focusing on sex, relationships, health, fitness, business and nutrition. *FHM* on the

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<sup>8</sup> For the period when the studies sample was generated (2006-2007). Current SAARF (2013) has *FHM*'s and *Men's Health*'s readerships at 726,000 and 982,000 respectively.

other hand only has sex as a regular topic and has many Q&A format interviews, which are mostly with women and feature provocative photos.

### **1.8 Structure of the Study**

While this is primarily a text based study it is necessary not to merely focus on the symbolic content of media messages and ignore the complex array of social conditions, which underlie the production and circulation of these texts as mediated communication is always a contextualised social phenomena, which involves the production, transmission, and reception of symbolic forms (Thompson, 1995). Johnson (1983) identifies four moments in the circuit of culture: production, texts, readings, and lived culture. Connected to this there are three main models of research: production-based studies (institutional), text-based studies (textual), and studies of lived culture (reception). Different theoretical approaches to the media tend to focus on different parts of the circuit. Du Gay et al. (1997) have split the circuit into five major cultural processes: Representation, Identity, Production, Consumption and Regulation. This chapter has provided the socio-cultural context and detail pertaining to the industry, and therefore production. It has outlined the historical and social context of masculinity, advertising and men's magazines in South Africa. This will assist in accounting for the processes of identity, production, consumption and regulation.

Chapter two maps out the theoretical framework for the study. It initially deals with theories of representation and theories of the media and argues for a constructionist understanding of representation. Following this some of the key principles that have developed within structuralism and poststructuralism are discussed. These wider theoretical understandings are then focused on the more specific theoretical concerns of this study, namely gender and advertising. Chapter three provides a discussion of the methodological considerations that underpin this study. It discusses quantitative and qualitative methods while arguing for a methodology that is a hybrid of the two. The discussion then focuses on the particular methods utilised being content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Chapter four and five discuss the findings of the content analysis and critical discourse analysis respectively. Finally, chapter 6 concludes the study, by summing up the findings of the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis while outlining the links between the two.

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review**

### **2.0 Introduction**

In this chapter theories of representation and their relation to the media are presented in order to provide the theoretical approach that informs this study. While three approaches to representation have been identified, namely the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist (Hall, 1997), this thesis approaches representation from a constructionist position. However, within the approach itself there is much debate and contestation, which is exemplified in the break between structuralism and post-structuralism. This chapter outlines the developments within the constructionist approach and considers how this applies to issues of media representation. It establishes the central concepts of poststructuralism, specifically discourse, power, the subject and the text.

The discussion then turns to mapping aspects of gender theory and advertising. In relation to gender theory this chapter focuses on the theory of performativity (Butler, 1990; 1993) and the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2002). The discussion of advertising examines various theories that help to construct a discursive theory of objects and subjects within advertising.

### **2.1 Theories of Representation**

Representation is one of the key processes in the 'cultural circuit' (du Gay et al., 1997), as it connects meaning and language to culture (Hall, 1997: 15). Hall provides the following common-sense usage of the term: "Representation means using language to say something meaningful about or represent, the world meaningfully, to other people" (1997: 15). Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is exchanged and produced between members of a culture and it involves the use of language, signs and images, which stand for or represent things. Theories of representation ask: "Where does meaning come from?" (Hall, 1997: 24).

The three different theories of representation provide different answers to explain how language is used to represent the world. In the reflective approach meaning lies in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to 'reflect' true meaning as it already exists in the world. In the intentional approach it is the speaker, or the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. Thus, words mean what the author intends them to mean. In the constructionist

approach meaning is constructed in and through language. Meaning is not inherent but is produced through signifying practices - “a practice that produces meaning, that *makes things mean*” (Hall, 1997: 24).

There are two related systems of representation, mental representation (or concepts) and language. The first system allows us to construct conceptual maps that organise, arrange and classify our concepts, while the second “depends on constructing a set of correspondence between our conceptual map and a set of signs, arranged or organised into various languages which stand for or represent these concepts” (Hall, 1997: 19). Representation is the process linking these two systems together. Thus, the study of representation is an amalgamation of the study of language and mental phenomena.

## **2.2 Structuralism**

Structuralism is a theoretical movement that looks to discover the underlying structures that produce meaning. The work of structuralists varies greatly but is unified by Saussure's (1983) key insight that language has no intrinsic meaning. Thus, language does not reflect a given social reality but constitutes social reality for us (Weedon, 1987). The concept of the sign is central to the synchronic approach (the study of the static system) to language (Saussure, 1983). Meaning in life is found through the interpretation of signs (Saussure, 1983). Peirce claimed that the “universe is perfused with signs, if not composed exclusively of signs” (cited in Berger, 2004: 9).

The sign is theorised as constituted of two component parts: the signifier and the signified (Saussure, 1983). The relationship between the signifier, whether a sound, an object or an image, and the signified is an arbitrary one and the result of cultural agreement or convention. The relationship is not permanently fixed and can change over time. Although we can speak of the signifier and the signified as separate entities they exist only as component parts of the sign. Both are required to produce meaning but meaning is not the result of an essential correspondence between the signifier and the signified but rather the result of difference and relationship. Language does not work by expressing a natural meaning but rather by making a distinction within a system of difference and relationships. Hence, the words 'dog' and 'cog' are almost identical but have different meanings because of the different letters used at the start. In order to produce meaning the signifiers must be arranged in a system of differences, as it is the differences between signifiers that signify.

Thus, it is through language that the notion of difference acquires meaning for the subject as language differentiates and gives meaning to signs (Weedon, 1987).

In viewing language as a system it can be divided into the *langue* and the *parole* (Saussure, 1983). *Langue* refers to the system of language, the rules and conventions that make the individual utterances of language possible. These individual utterances or acts of language are referred to as the *parole*. The *parole* is dependent on the *langue* or structure, however, it is only through the performance or the *parole* that the *langue* is made manifest. Thus, the homogeneity of the structure makes the heterogeneity of the performance possible. The *parole* is the surface of language and has an infinite number of possibilities making scientific analysis impossible. It was believed that the *langue*, however, due to its closed nature, could be studied with the law-like precision of science. It is the preference for studying language at the levels of its 'deep structure' that renders this model structuralist (Hall, 1997: 33).

Language works through relations of combination and association (Saussure, 1983). For example, a simple sentence such as 'I saw a dodo today.' is meaningful through the accumulation of its different parts: 'I/saw/a/dodo/today'. The meaning is only complete once the final word is spoken or inscribed. This process works along the syntagmatic axis of language and is where meaning is accumulated. Other parts can be added to a sentence to extend its meaningfulness" 'I saw a dodo today at the brothel'. The paradigmatic axis of language is a plane of association; and by substituting certain parts of the sentence the meaning can change. For example 'dodo' could be replaced by 'politician' to change the meaning of the sentence. Thus, along the paradigmatic axis the sentence is constructed through a number of choices. Therefore meaning is always produced through a process of selection (paradigmatic axis) and combination (syntagmatic axis), hence, choices are always made when representing anything and these choices produce reality<sup>9</sup>.

Structuralists argue that language does not reflect an already existing reality. The function of language is to organise and construct our access to reality, thus, different languages in effect construct different mappings of reality. The meanings made possible by language are thus the result of the interplay of a network of relationships between

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<sup>9</sup> Goffman's (1979) argument that women and children share similar positions in society based on his analysis of advertisements can be explained semiologically via the paradigmatic axis. In the relevant advertisements Goffman (1979) describes, the meaning remains the same if a woman or child is substituted for the other with the exception of sexual situations.

combination and selection, similarity and difference. Thus, meaning cannot be accounted for by reference to an extra linguistic reality.

The original concept of the sign posits a duality between the world of signification, or representation, and that of 'reality' (Bennett 1982b). This duality is located in Saussure's distinction between the sign and the referent, which implies that the latter in some way governs and is superior to the former. Thus, the world of signs has an ethereal existence, proving to be merely a vehicle for meaning (Bennett, 1982b), which consequently means that these concepts although fundamental to constructionist approaches to representation are not exclusive to it and can be understood through a reflective or intentional approach to representation.

Within the realm of the social sciences, theories of ideology, informed by Marxist understandings, challenged this seemingly neutral concept of language. Barthes (1972; 1979a) uses Saussure's linguistic model to analyse French cultural myths. Barthes uses the word myth to reflect upon elements of culture that present themselves as natural and timeless but are in fact, "an expression of a historically specific ideological vision of the world" (Barthes, 1972: 11). However, the object that myth works through does not cease to be that object, it is both itself and the medium through which ideology circulates. Barthes (1972: 109-159) outlines a semiological model to explain this duality. The signifier and signified combine to form a sign, this is a first-order system. Myth acts within already existent signs turning them into a new signified or concept. Hence, myth "is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it: it is a second order semiological system. That which is a sign... in the first system, becomes a mere signifier in the second" (Barthes, 1972: 114). Thus, myth is a metalanguage, a second order language that acts on a first-order language to generate its meaning. This distinction is made clearer with the use of the terms: denotation and connotation. Denotation refers to the first order meaning produced whereas connotation refers to the second order meaning produced (Barthes, 1967).

Structuralism has also influenced how the concepts of ideology and the subject are viewed. The subject becomes unstable and contingent while ideology is viewed as material and concrete. Ideology is viewed as an objective component of the material world and not a product of an abstract such as consciousness because ideology has a determinate reality. It exists objectively as "a distinctive organisation of sound patterns (speech, music) or as a codified coordination of light rays (print, visual images)" (Bennett, 1982a: 50-51). Further,

ideological forms constitute the 'area' where the social production of consciousness is organised and carried out – consciousness is the product of ideology. Thus, since language is the home of all ideology and it pre-exists the subject, language is argued to produce consciousness “by defining the linguistic terms within which their thought is structured” and it does this as a set of material signs disseminated through concrete mediations such as the media (Bennett, 1982a: 51).

Ideology then has an active role in shaping the subject and, thus, this has placed great importance on questions of representation in the media. Althusser's (1971) ideas have been influential in theorising ideology. He contends that it is at the level of ideology that the reproduction of the capitalist system of production is secured. The family, school, church and the media are among his 'ideological state apparatuses', which through material signifying practices disseminate ideology. Thus, ideology is a concrete social process. In this sense representation is a process that actively constructs cognitive worlds rather than passively reflecting or distorting a pre-existing reality. For this reason Bennett argues that the analysis of representation must shift from the relationship between the sign and the 'real' to the relationship between signs and the play of signification within a structured field of ideological relationships (1982b: 308). Thus, within a constructionist approach to representation, reality is the result of how things are signified.

Structuralism, thus moves away from focusing on individuals, and hence authors as well (Allen, 2003: 74). The notion of the author is tied up with the “privileged moment of individualization in the history of ideas, knowledge, literature, philosophy, and the sciences” (Foucault, 1984a: 101 - 118). The author is an organising principle for texts and Foucault (1984a) prefers to use the term: author-function. The author function also assists in the controlling of meaning – limiting the proliferation of significations. Thus, media authors/producers may be unaware that the frameworks and classifications they are drawing on reproduce the dominant ideologies of society.

### **2.3 Poststructuralism and the Radical Historicizing of the Sign**

In poststructuralism the emphasis shifts from cultural and linguistic structures to a fluid notion of the discursive constitution of subjects located in historical, social and cultural contexts (Jackson & Scott, 2002). The move from structuralism to poststructuralism is most

clearly seen in the deconstruction of the sign (Derrida, 1981: 278-293), where the effect of representation becomes a temporary retrospective fixing of meaning (Weedon, 1987: 25).

The idea of structure, which has a crucial role in structuralism as well as all systems of thought in the philosophical tradition, depends on the notion of the centre (Derrida, 1981: 278-279). The notion of the centre comes from the idea that the “play of meaning” has an end-point. Thus, the centre establishes the play of meaning but is not involved in it itself. The centre is paradoxically within the structure and outside it (Derrida, 1981: 279). The centre acts as a transcendental signified, in that it does not partake in the structure (play of meanings) but is its foundation. However, when we look for such centres, or transcendental signifieds we find that they are always somewhere else” (Derrida, 1981: 279). This means that the centre is not only outside the structure but also has its meaning elsewhere (Derrida, 1981: 279).

The centre for structuralism is the notion of the sign, with the signifier and signified acting as two separate but stable systems. Since meaning is in a constant state of flux and contestation, attempts to fix meaning require a silencing or a negation of different meanings through binary opposition (O'Donohoe, 1997). But, in a rigorous search for weak points in a binary opposition the otherness, which it conceals, becomes visible and it is possible to see how meaning is constructed (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006). Hence, the “endless play” of signifiers is a constant interplay between absence and presence (Storey, 1997: 91). In this sense meaning is never complete or contained but contingent and postponed (O'Donohoe, 1997). Meaning is never fully controlled because signs always contain traces of previous uses, contexts and other associations (Storey, 1997). Spivak states:

Such is the strange “being” of the sign: half of it always “not there” and the other half always “not that”. The structure of the sign is determined by the trace or track of that other which is forever absent. This other is of course never to be found in its full being. As even such empirical events as answering a child’s question or consulting the dictionary proclaim, one sign leads to another and so on indefinitely. (1976: xvii)

Derrida (1991) uses the word *différance* to describe the divided nature of the sign: *différance*, meaning 'to defer' and 'to differ' and thus refers to a configuration of spatial and temporal difference together (Kamuf cited in Derrida, 1991: 59). While some may argue that this completely derailed the structuralist approach, Hall claims that this critique was constructive to the structuralist thesis as it radically historicised the work of ideology (a

critique that Vološinov, 1973 had made years earlier) making it truly useful for analysing culture (1982: 73).

### **2.3.1 Discourse**

In poststructuralism the relationship between language, history and ideology is re-examined. The discussion will now turn to poststructuralist understandings of discourse, power, the subject and the text to illustrate these shifts, beginning with discourse. A common understanding of discourse is as a set of statements with a common coherence (Mills, 2003: 54). Rose claims that discourses are articulated through all kinds of visual and verbal images and texts, and also through the practices that those languages permit (Rose, 2001: 136). While Hodge and Kress define discourse as a social process by which meaning is constructed and exchanged (1988: 6). This thesis draws heavily on Foucault's understanding of discourse.

Foucault's notion of discourse is more expansive than the common linguistic meaning and in his definition power is central.

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (Foucault, 1990: 100-101)

Knowledge is produced through discourse and our current ideas, institutions and behaviour patterns are made up of discursive regimes that define and produce the objects of our knowledge (Foucault, 1990). Knowledge is always a form of power and knowledge linked to power has the ability to make itself 'true' (Foucault, 1980). Foucault states that just as "it is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (1980: 52). There is accordingly no absolute truth, but only regimes of truth sustained by discursive formations. Thus, knowledge production cannot give access to truth as it can only ever produce specific knowledge, with particular implications (Weedon, 1987). Therefore, knowledge is historically and culturally specific. Hence, the media as an institution serves as a discursive regime that variously articulates the prevailing discourses.

In poststructuralist approaches ideology and discourse tend to merge because 'truth' is not separate from ideology. It speaks rather of different forms of discourse with their own

institutional locations, conditions of production, regularities and degrees of power within the social formation (Weedon, 1987: 177). Within a discursive regime not all discourses will carry equal power; some will account for and justify the status quo while others will “challenge existing practices from within or will contest the very basis of current organization and the selective interests which it represents” (Weedon, 1987: 35). Thus, discourses should not be viewed as wholly cohesive structures as they always contain conflicting sets of statements.

Mills (2002, 64-65) illustrates this using the discursive regime of masculinity as an example. Within the discourse of masculinity there are other discourses such as those of machismo (right-wing understandings of male virility, strength and confidence) and the more liberal understanding of the “New Man” (with a focus on a softer male who is more nurturing and caring). Even though these discourses are at odds with each other and compete for dominance within the discourse of masculinity they both are similar in that they reify the understanding of men and women as two fundamentally different and distinct gender categories. Thus, there is constant struggle within discursive regimes over which discourses will be heard and which will be silenced through power.

### **2.3.2 Power**

Alternative to the conception of power as a hierarchical top-down concept poststructuralism proposes it as a productive circulating system that flows through all social processes (Foucault, 1990). As a consequence,

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or as something which only functions in the form of a chain... Power is employed and exercised through a net like organization... Individuals are the vehicles of power, not its points of application. (Foucault 1980: 98)

Power is not viewed as something that is merely oppressive but rather as something that is always productive:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. (Foucault, 1979: 194)

Power is thus conceived of as producing 'reality' (Foucault, 1979), and according to the constructionist view representation produces 'reality' (Hall, 1995). Thus, representation and power are intricately entwined. Importantly, power also produces the subject.

### **2.3.3 The Subject**

In poststructuralist theories the subject is a product of discourse, and is thus no longer the source and origin of human action and thought, but rather a site where the presence of discourse is felt (Allen, 2003: 105). Subjectivity is precarious, contradictory and in process, "constantly being reconstituted in discourse each time we think or speak" (Weedon, 1987: 33). Some theories attribute the construction of the subject through discourse strictly in a linguistic sense (Lacan, 2002) while others broaden the understanding to include non-linguistic elements (Foucault, 1990; Butler, 1990). Lacan (2002) asserts that the unconscious is structured like a language. Discourse structures our existence as a series of historical and cultural interpretations of what it is to be human, which we live and become by choosing and inhabiting the embedded subject positions where discourse becomes both subjective and material (Jackson and Scott, 2002).

In adopting a subject position a number of discourses are made available to us. However, at any particular historical moment there is a finite number of discourses in circulation, which are in competition for meaning, and it is through this conflict between discourses which "creates the possibility of new ways of thinking and new forms of subjectivity" (Weedon, 1987: 139). These subject positions constitute the fiction we have of ourselves as a unified subject, which rests on the fact that we construct the idea of a unified self from external discourses, from Otherness (Allen, 2003). Society radically intensifies this gap in our adult lives by offering us a host of discourses upon which to constitute our fiction of self (Allen, 2003: 110; Barthes, 1979b). Through discourse we enter the order of culture. Discourse allows the subject to communicate with others but it also intensifies a feeling of 'lack'. It is in and through discourse that the subject becomes a subject: subject in, subject of, and ultimately subject to discourse (Allen, 2003). However, subjectivity is a result of discourse; it is not a pre-given essence of existence. The symbolic order pre-exists us and at the same time belongs to others. Thus, our sense of being a unique subject is fragile. Hence, discourse "enables us to think of ourselves as subjects: without [discourse] we would have no sense of self, and yet within [discourse] our sense of self is always slipping away – fragile

and threatening to fragment” (Storey, 1997: 95). Thus, the subject undergoes an ontological journey in pursuit of a fixed signified always forever becoming another signifier – the 'incessant sliding of the signified under the signifier' (Lacan, 2002: 154). Desire is thus the impossibility of closing the gap between self and other or that which we 'lack'. In poststructuralist understandings, the subject is never complete but constantly in flux.

#### **2.3.4 The Text**

Another key development in poststructuralism relates to the role of the reader (or receiver) – a focus almost completely ignored by intentional and reflective approaches to representation. A different understanding of the relationship between the reader, text and meaning is argued. First, while a work/text can be viewed as a static visible object the text is only fully realised “in activity, in a production” (Barthes, 1988b: 57). Hodge and Kress (1988) view texts as concrete material objects produced in discourse and through this production the values of a culture can be reproduced or changed. The word text is taken from the Latin word *tegere*, which means ‘to weave’, thus emphasising the intertextual nature of the text. The text is made up of discourses and traces of other texts and due to this the text “has an overwhelming amount of potential meaning” (Allen, 2003: 83). “All meanings have implications for existing social relations, contesting them, reaffirming them or leaving them intact” (Weedon, 1987: 138). An author might produce the text’s structure but, as Barthes states, “the unity of a text is not in its origin but in its destination” (1986b: 5).

Readers make sense of texts as subjects of multiple discourses and in circumstances not of their own making. Hall’s (1980) model of encoding/decoding is frequently referenced to explain the proliferation and reception of texts. A text is 'encoded' with a specific ideological reading (the 'preferred reading'), which is governed by a number of discursive positions. The receiver then 'decodes' the message and can produce one of three readings: the dominant reading where the discursive positions of the encoder and decoder align; a negotiated reading where some discursive positions align but others do not; and an oppositional reading where there is an outright clash of discursive positions and the message is completely rejected. With these key poststructuralist principles in mind this discussion will now turn its attention specifically towards theoretical understandings of gender and advertising.

## 2.4 Gender

An overview of different theoretical accounts of gender by Connell (2002) identifies them according to three categories: the body as machine; the two realms; and the body as canvas. The body as machine distinction refers to sociobiological accounts of gender, which view differences between men and women as essential, and the result of biological differences such as the XX/XY chromosome distinction. The two realms approach challenged this (Connell, 2002).

The foundation for the two realms and early social constructionist thought is often attributed to de Beauvoir who claims, “one is not born, but rather becomes a woman” (cited in Butler, 1986: 35). Accordingly bodily differences between men and women are considered unimportant as these differences are only given meaning within a wider social context (Butler, 1986). ‘Sex’ and ‘gender’ were the terms used to identify the distinction (Oakley, 1972 cited in Jackson & Scott, 2002), sex being defined as the anatomical and physiological characteristics, which biology uses to signify maleness and femaleness, and ‘gender’ as socially constructed masculinity and femininity. Masculinity and femininity are understood as social, cultural and psychological constructs acquired through the process of becoming a man or a woman. Thus, gender is a social characteristic and not a direct product of biological sex. These ideas gave rise to conceptualising the ‘sex/gender system’. Consequently it is proposed that every society has a sex/gender system – “a set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention” (Rubin, 1975: 165 cited in Jackson & Scott, 2006: 9). Importantly, this formulation recognises the hierarchical relationship between the two genders and argues that gender is historically and culturally variable rather than being fixed by nature.

This distinction between ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ addresses the constructedness of gender but does not address other socially contingent conditions such as race and sexuality. Thus, black feminists (hooks, 2000; Carby, 2000) and queer theorists (Ingraham, 2002) argue that men and women are not single coherent groups and that gender inequalities intersect with other social divisions, distinctions and hierarchies such as class, race and sexuality. In addition the sex/gender theory did not challenge the view of ‘sex’ as ‘natural’. Critiques coming from various fields including ethnomethodology (West & Zimmerman, 2002); materialist feminism (Delphy, 2002); and poststructuralism (Butler, 1990; 1993) proposed new formulations that challenge the category of sex.

### **2.4.1 Poststructuralism and Gender**

Poststructuralist accounts of gender are inspired by the theories of subjectivity discussed earlier. The subject is referred to instead of the individual to “avoid the liberal conception of individuals as unconstructed creative essences” (Wickham, 1986: 155 cited in Mills, 2003: 82), as the individual is considered to be an effect of power rather than an essence (Foucault, 1980). Foucault argues that, “it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals” (1980: 98). The body is seen as a site where a number of discourses are enacted and constructed (Foucault, 1990). Thus, the body is a site where power is both enacted and resisted (Foucault, 1990). Discursive processes constitute subjects and the body can be viewed as a surface where political events and decisions can inscribe material effects upon the subject (Foucault, 1980; 1984b; 1990). Hence, bodies are historically and culturally specific entities. For Foucault (1980; 1990) bio-power or governmentality act upon the body as the means by which constantly changing and contested power relations shape particular subject positions. Thus, as the subject is formed through a negotiated interaction with power, it is possible to be primarily constituted within a counter-discourse, where those who are ostracised accept and revel in these subject positions. Foucault suggests “there are ways of subversively using these positions which have been mapped out for us by others” (Mills, 2003: 93).

Butler’s comprehensive conceptualisation of gender is valuable for this study, in particular three aspects, namely the collapse of the sex/gender distinction, performance and performativity. To Butler (1990; 1993) gender and other significant social categories (such as race, sexuality and ethnicity) are discursive practices which (re)produce the effects they name. Butler builds on de Beauvoir, claiming that “if one is not born, but rather becomes a woman, it follows that woman itself is a term in process... a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end.” (1990: 33). Thus, gender is a process (as is subjectivity on the whole); it is something that we 'do' rather than something that we 'are'. Hence, gender is done or performed. It is a discursive subject position that is the “effect of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffused points of origin” (Butler, 1990: viii-ix). Thus, the subject is seen as an effect rather than a cause.

If gender is a construct, it is not inevitably connected to sex, thus the sex/gender distinction is unstable as gender is a “free-floating artifice” (Butler, 1990: 6). Butler argues that gender and sex are one and the same and the two realms model's (Butler refers to it as the heterosexual matrix) notion of gender merely reified the notion of two 'scientific' biological sexes. As histories of science and sexuality have shown that our current views of sex did not develop without contestation (Gauntlett, 2002: 138), sex is not a universally fixed norm. Thus, the binary nature of sex is a construction, which dictates how we should view bodies (Gauntlett, 2002). Therefore, bodies “cannot be said to have a signifiable existence prior to the mark of their gender” (Butler, 1990: 8). The terms 'man' and 'woman' should not be considered as nouns (Butler, 1990: 24) but rather as adjectives. Hence, gender and sex cannot be differentiated, thus bodies become sexed and gendered through an on-going process or performance (Butler, 1990).

However, Butler's (1990) notion of performance is different from the standard version and she uses the term interchangeably with performativity, which she (1993) later adopts as the sole term for her concept. The difference between performance and performativity is that a performance presupposes a pre-existing subject, whereas performativity contests the notion of a subject (Salih, 2002: 63). Butler argues that “gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to pre-exist the deed” (1990: 25). Thus, gender is an act that brings into being that which it names. Gendered subject positions are constructed and constituted through language, which means that there are no gendered subject positions that precede language as identity is a signifying practice and subjects are the effects of discourse rather than the cause of them (Butler, 1990: 145). Hence the subject does not perform gender acts but rather gender acts performatively constitute the subject.

Butler (1993) utilises a synthesis of Althusser's (1971: 127 – 186) interpellation, Austin's (1962 cited in Salih, 2002) speech act theory and Derrida's (1991: 80 – 111) critique of this, to generate a theory of performativity. Althusser (1971) uses the term interpellation to describe the 'hailing' of a person into her/his ideological position by an authority figure<sup>10</sup>. Austin distinguishes between two types of utterances: constative utterances or perlocutionary acts, which perform what is being said<sup>11</sup>. Austin claims that performative

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<sup>10</sup> Althusser (1971: 174) gives the example of a policeman calling a man on the street (hailing him). If the man turns round he is recognizing the hail and constitutes himself as the subject the policeman was calling.

<sup>11</sup> An example of a constative utterance would be, “I went swimming”. An example of a performative act would be a priest announcing, “I now pronounce you man and wife” at a wedding ceremony.

utterances are successful only if they remain within the constraints of authorial intention and context (Salih, 2002). Derrida (1991) responds to this and asserts that this is a feature of all linguistic signs that are valuable to appropriation, reiteration and recitation. He calls this “the essential iterability of [the] sign” which cannot be enclosed or contained by any context, convention or authorial intention (1991: 93). According to Derrida (1991) performative utterances generate their authority from their iterability as signs and their continued use over time and place, which also exposes them to displacement. Thus, Derrida (1991: 101- 103) claims that all signs can be reiterated in ways that do not conform to their author's original intentions and the possibility of failure is constitutive of the sign.

Bodies are never merely described but they are always constituted in the act of description (Salih, 2002: 88-89). Thus, when a child is born and someone declares, “It's a girl/boy” it is a performative act assigning a sex and a gender to a body that can have no existence outside of discourse. Thus, the statement is an interpellation that initiates the process of 'gendering' the child, a process that is based on perceived and imposed 'natural' differences between men and women (Salih, 2002). “It's a girl/boy” is a performative utterance that compels the child to cite both sexual and gendered norms in order to qualify for subjecthood within the heterosexual matrix that 'hails' her/him. However, these acts do not only place a series of discursive subject positions on the subjects but they also locate them in associated regimes of power/knowledge (Whitehead, 2002). Since gendered and sexual differences are performatively installed by and in discourse it is possible for identity to be formed on an alternative set of discursively constituted attributes (Butler, 1993). Through the citation of gender performatives in different contexts (such as drag) the citationality and the intrinsic failure of all gender performances is revealed (Butler, 1993).

Butler's framework's most useful contribution is the notion of discursive subject positions in the formation of subjects. Gender and sex are both discourses that work in tandem to reify each other. Discourses are not set in stone, as there is nothing fixed or predetermined about them, they are constantly being made and remade. Butler claims that this reconstitution is not in debate; the question is “not whether to repeat but how to repeat” (Butler, 1990: 148).

### 2.4.2 Hegemonic Masculinity

Butler's framework for social transformation, however, does not explicitly address social structures and does not provide an explanation for the hierarchical nature of gender (Jackson & Scott, 2002). Since gender is social and change and variability are always possible, continuities also require social explanation (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 10). The hierarchical characteristic of gender is one such continuity, which has persisted despite changes in the meanings of masculinity and femininity. Jackson & Scott (2002) argue that gender hierarchy coexists with a wide variety of gender beliefs and thus gender denotes not just differences between women and men but a hierarchical relationship between them. Therefore, "if gender is understood to be social, this hierarchical relationship needs to be explained as a product of social arrangements" (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 10). Connell's framework of social embodiment complements Butler's theory of performativity with her extensive focus on the hierarchical relationship of gender.

Like Butler, Connell (2002) views bodies as both agents in and objects of social practice. She shifts the focus from 'reproductive differences' to the multiplicity of bodily differences. However, this wide array of bodies is interconnected through social practices. The materiality of bodies matters: "they are not signs or positions in discourse" (Connell, 2002: 48), yet we can only interpret them and give them meaning through available social discourses. Connell envisions a series of circuits, which link bodily processes and social structures, which occur historically and change over time, "they add up to the historical process in which society is embodied, and bodies are drawn into history" (Connell, 2002: 47). From this Connell draws similar conclusions to Butler, in that gender cannot be fixed nor exactly reproduced as gender is relational rather than categorical.

Masculinities/femininities are argued to present a range of discursive subject positions to men/women (Butler, 1990; 1993; Wetherell & Edley, 1999; Whitehead, 2002; Jefferson, 1994). Thus, for subjects rendered male the discourses at their disposal are most likely to validate masculine ways of being (Whitehead, 2002: 208). Such discourses propose a hierarchy of masculinities and femininities (Connell, 1994) that are not simply a matter of masculinity dominating over femininity, but further hierarchical processes exist within the two groups. Femininities are dominated by emphasised femininity<sup>12</sup>, while masculinities are

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<sup>12</sup> Originally called hegemonic femininity but later renamed to reflect the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in the gender order.

dominated by hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). These discourses are not 'normal' in the statistical sense, as only a minority of men and women, if any at all, may embody them. However, they are normative as all other gender discourses are positioned in relation to them. Gender discourses have a mutual interdependence, as patterns of masculinity and femininity are defined in contradistinction to each other. In addition, the practices of both genders are central to the construction of the other and each is constituted to a significant degree by their interaction with the other (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

For Connell hegemonic masculinity is the masculinity that dominates the others and creates binding prescriptions of masculinity as well as images of what a culture expects from a 'real man' (Morrell, 2001: 7). This domination is not necessarily violent but usually ideological, explain Connell & Messerschmidt:

Men who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity. It was in relation to this group, and to compliance among heterosexual women, that the concept of hegemony was most powerful. Hegemony did not mean violence, although it could be supported by force; it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasions. (2005: 832)

In various ways hegemonic masculinity expresses itself symbolically, through exemplars of masculinity (e.g. sports stars), widespread ideals, fantasies and desires, and provides models for living everyday life as well as for dealing with relations with women. Hegemonic masculinity is not a self-reproducing form; sustaining it requires the policing of men and the complete exclusion of women at times from sites of power defined as masculine. Additionally, there can be a struggle for hegemony and new masculinities can displace older forms of masculinity. As masculinities and femininities are socially and historically situated through rival understandings of each other, they are always in a state of flux. Connell (1995) refers to three non-hegemonic categories of masculinity: subordinate, complicit and marginalised. These three sub-categories all have different perceptions of what being a man is from the hegemonic view and for this reason there is constant contestation for the position of the hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity can incorporate elements of other masculinities while still excluding these masculinities to maintain its hegemony (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Similarly, Barthes pays great attention to the act of assimilation by bourgeois culture, where

competing discourses are assimilated and in effect blunted as a political tool (Allen, 2003). An example of this would be the refusal of some feminists to wear bras as a symbolic form of protest against patriarchy. However, this practice has been assimilated into dominant male culture as a sexual or erotic act, hence undermining the original symbolic meaning and mutating it into a subordinate one in which women “go braless” to arouse men. Thus, hegemonic masculinity can assimilate elements from other masculinities and femininities and at the same time resignify what these elements mean to maintain its hegemony. However, it is important not to think of hegemonic masculinity as a unilateral power structure that can be personified, but rather in terms of Foucault’s concept of power as “myriad, multiple and dispersed” (Salih, 2002: 82).

Gender is, therefore, not a category but a relationship that is historically, politically and socially contingent. No gender representations in the media then are gender neutral as they either confirm or challenge the dominant discursive regimes through the ways they construct images of masculinity and femininity (Weedon, 1987). Media texts articulate various gendered discourses through their sets of representations and performances (Gauntlett, 2002). Some media forms such as the tabloid press focus on sensational and radical discourses in order to draw attention to what is 'unnatural', beyond the consensus or 'the other' (Weedon, 1987), while others such as advertising offer a social 'ideal' which 'hyperritualises' the dominant discourses of society (Goffman, 1979).

## **2.5. Advertising**

Advertisements constitute an integral part of modern capitalist society, but are usually taken for granted because they are so pervasive (Dyer, 1982). However, Dyer argues that many people, including advertisers claim, “they are one of the most important influences in our lives” (1982: 1). Jhally argues that advertising is the most influential institution of socialization in modern society, as

it structures mass media content; it seems to play a key role in the construction of gender identity; it impacts upon the relation of children and parents in terms of the mediation and creation of needs; it dominates strategy in political campaigns; recently it has emerged as a powerful voice in the arena of public policy issues concerning energy and regulation; it controls some of our most popular music; and it has itself in recent years become a favourite topic of everyday conversation. (1990: 1)

Dyer warns that although advertisements may sometimes be silly or entertaining we should not lose sight of their economic and ideological function (1982: 2). Williams (1993) argues that advertising is the most important device to organise and ensure the market for modern capitalism. Advertising's impact on society, he argues, exceeds its immediate commercial context; it is the major source of finance for much of the mass media and it is implicated in social and political values. Dyer argues that over the years advertising has become less concerned with the communication of essential information about goods and services, and more involved in the manipulation of social values and attitudes. Thus she argues that advertising fulfils a function traditionally met by art or religion (1982: 2).

Some critics of advertising (Leymore, 1975; Williams, 1993) suggest that it operates in the same way as myth in primitive societies, providing people with simple tales and explanations in which values and ideals are conveyed through which people can make sense of the world. Leymore (1975) argues that advertising reinforces accepted modes of behaviour and acts as an anxiety-reducing mechanism to resolve contradictions in society. Similarly Williams calls advertising 'the magic system,... a highly organised and professional system of magical inducements and satisfactions functionally very similar to magical systems in simpler societies but rather strangely co-existent with highly developed scientific technology' (1993: 337).

### **2.5.1 What is Advertising?**

A simple definition of advertising is that it "means 'drawing attention to something', or notifying or informing somebody of something" (Dyer, 1982: 2). According to Dyer (1982) word of mouth is the simplest form of advertising and thus it can be argued that advertising is somewhat a 'natural' phenomenon in human society in much the same way as music.

Advertising is commonly defined as a genre that refers to a product, a misconception in Cook's (2001) view for this description neglects non-product advertisements, such as public service advertisements. Thus, he argues that advertising should rather be viewed as a genre that advocates behavioural change (2001: 231), to incorporate both non-product and product advertisements.

Jhally claims that advertising is a discourse through and about objects and, thus, is a discourse that concerns the "seemingly universal relationship... between people and objects" (1990: 1). According to Jhally (1990) the relationship between people and objects is

a defining component of human existence. All societies are based upon the use of nature by humans, as we are only able to survive by the 'appropriation' of the material elements that surround us. Thus, the relationship between people and objects is described as one of 'objectification' in which we objectify ourselves and our lives in the materiality of the concrete world by continually taking what exists outside of us and, through activity, making it part of our daily existence. Jhally (1990) claims that objectification is the basis of a distinctive human experience – the mediation of human need through objects. Sartre states that "the crucial discovery of dialectical investigation is that man is 'mediated' by things to the same extent as things are 'mediated' by man" (1976: 79 cited in Jhally, 1990: 2). Thus, Jhally (1990) claims that, while objects need people in the sense that their meaning is dependent on human mediation, it is equally true that people need things and that there is overwhelming historical and anthropological evidence of this necessary intimate interaction with objects. Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton remark that, "Man is not only *homo sapiens* or *homo ludens*, he is also *homofaber*, the maker and user of objects, his self to a large extent a reflection of things with which he interacts" (1981: 1). Thus, advertising, as a discourse concerning objects, addresses a fundamental aspect of human behaviour, one that "should be the starting point for an analysis of advertising's social role" (Jhally, 1990: 2).

Drawing on these ideas, advertising can be defined as a discourse through and about not only objects in the concrete sense but also in their abstract sense as objectives. Thus, advertising is a discourse that notifies, informs or draws attention to objects and/or objectives.

### **2.5.2 Objects and Advertising**

Earlier the subject was discussed as an unstable category in constant flux that is constituted through discourse and the repetition of material forms of practice. Objects can be viewed in similar terms: just as there is no inherent 'essence' of the subject there is no inherent 'essence' of objects. Anthropologists have long insisted that objects instead derive their use, form and pattern of circulation from social judgment (Appadurai, 1986; Sahlins, 1976; Miller, 1995). Sahlins (1976) points out that utility is always framed within a cultural context and that even our interaction with the most mundane and 'ordinary' of objects is mediated within a symbolic field. Similarly Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton propose that ...

[e]ven the use of things for utilitarian purposes operates within the symbolic province of culture. The most 'utilitarian' objects in the home, such as running water, toilets, electric appliances, and the like, were all introduced into general use no more than 150 years ago by advances in Western technology – all considered luxuries when introduced. Thus it is extremely difficult to disentangle the use-related function from the symbolic meanings in even the most practical objects. (1981: 21)

Utility is not opposed to meaning-making processes, but is itself symbolically defined and constructed across all traceable societies. Thus, it is argued that objects both construct and are constructed by human activity and meaning-making – objects are constituted through discourse. They can be signified, re-signified and aligned with various discursive regimes. For instance condoms are appropriated and aligned with masculine discourses while bras are appropriated and aligned with feminine discourses. However, both of these objects can be re-signified by children as water balloons and water balloon launchers. Socially and historically dependent discourses regulate how these objects are appropriated. Jhally states that "symbolic processes are always played out in contexts of power" (1990: 9) and that goods are both communicators of social ideas and power as well as satisfiers of human needs.

Advertising is fused with symbolic manufacturing (Wernick, 1991) and is one of the systems through which various discourses are associated with objects and objectives. Advertising's ability to signify and resignify<sup>13</sup> objects/objectives is one of its key features that has made it of interest to critical theorists. Adorno (1991) sees advertising as a device, which replaces a product's origin of production with a symbolic story.

Thus advertising builds signification upon signification utilizing discourses to stabilise meanings with objects. Barthes work on myth (1972; 1979a), the image (1977a) and advertising (1977b) provides helpful insights. Firstly, the meaning of the image is affected by the context of the publication or situation where it appears. Here readership or reader expectation attribute to the formation of meaning. Secondly, the accompanying linguistic text affects the meaning of the image. Barthes (1977b) envisions two ways in which this can happen: through a process of relay where "text...and image stand in a complementary relationship...and the unity of the message is realised at [the] level of the story, the anecdote, the diegesis" (Barthes, 1977b: 41); or through anchorage where "the text *directs*

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<sup>13</sup> An example of an object resignifying its utility is Listerine, which was originally created and sold as an industrial strength floor cleaner, it was successfully resignified as a mouthwash through the aid of marketing and advertising (Trout, 2000).

the reader through the signifieds of the image...remote-control[ing] him towards a meaning chosen in advance" (Barthes, 1977b: 39-40). Due to the polysemic nature of the image the absence of linguistic text makes the meaning difficult to pin down, thus the linguistic message has two functions. It helps the reader to identify the denotative meaning and it limits the potential connotations of the image. In addition it assists the reader in believing that the connotative meaning is present at the level of denotation. Barthes points out that this move from connotation to denotation is made possible from the social knowledge, which is always both historical and cultural, that the reader possesses (1977a: 28-29; 1977b: 46). Thus, for Barthes (1977b) the meaning of an image is dependent upon the cultural and historical understandings of its producers and its audience. Advertisements make use of signs "drawn from a cultural code" (Barthes, 1977b: 46) for their signified meanings and, through relay or anchorage with ideology and the linguistic text, uses these to create an argument in favour of the product.

However, it is not only the effects of advertising on objects that have interested critics but also the role it plays in constituting the subject. As a "privileged form of discourse" (Leiss *et al.* 1990) in modern society, advertising has taken on a role traditionally performed by institutions like the church, state and general community. Alternatively advertising is described as producing 'fancy needs' in consumers that transcend basic needs and ensure that consumption patterns fall in line with capitalist commodity production (Ewen, 1976:33-5). Wernick (1991) argues that advertising is an ideological process that unites objects, or commodities, with various subject positions. Wernick states:

The commodity they project as the object of desire is simultaneously presented as a cultural symbol charged with social significance; and the ego they seek to engage as the subject of desire is induced to adopt the socio-cultural identity attributed to those who already use the product. (1991: 31)

Thus, advertising not only signifies and appropriates the object/objective it endorses but it also interpellates the subject.

Williamson (1978) positions advertising in a symbiotic relationship with products, which bares similarities to Althusser's (1971) concept of 'hailing'. For Williamson (1978) advertisements connect people and objects in order to gain the necessary 'meaning' to be able to sell. Products prior to advertising have no meaning and for this reason need to be signified in advertising within a pre-existing referent system. Through this products capture

meaning from the associated signifiers and in turn become additional signifiers for the signified. For example Castle Lager has run many campaigns, which use significations of friendship and in turn Castle Lager has become a signifier for friendship. This is an ideological process that must be completed by the audience. They are the ones that make the final connection and link the product to new signifieds. This is the first of four simultaneous stages that Williamson (1978: 41) terms the 'vicious circle' of meaning exchange between advertisements and subjects. By completing the link between product and attribute the subject enters the second phase where they become the signified and takes on meaning from the product. For this to be successful the subject must already recognise himself or herself as the subject being represented. Thus, in the second stage adverts 'hail' the subject as specific individuals. In the third stage the subject recognises this 'hailing' and in the final stage the subject constitutes herself as this particular subject. McFall adds that ...

this works particularly well in English through the perfect ambiguity of the pronoun 'you' that permits diverse individuals to be addressed as one imaginary unified subject (2004: 20).

Ultimately for Williamson (1978) adverts act ideologically to reproduce subjects suited to the demands of a capitalist economy. Advertisements arguably sell goods then not on the basis of 'intrinsic' values but of socially constructed values (Dyer, 1982).

A different conception of products prior to signification is offered by Goldman who views products as commodity-signs that carry meaning from previous advertising and from the advertising system in general (1992 cited in McFall, 2004). Thus, objects and subjects are constituted by discourse and advertising is one of the systems through which various discourses are associated with objects and objectives.

It is important to remember that there is a dialectic relationship between the media (including advertising) and society, and thus media texts are both socially shaped and socially shaping (Fairclough, 1995) as a consequence of their discursive work (Foucault, 1981). Sinclair (1987 cited in Kang, 1997) views advertising as a signifying practice that gives ideas, attitudes and values cultural form. Thus, for an audience to properly "decode" the message, advertisers tend to "encode" the advertisement consistent with prevailing discourses and gendered performances drawn from the social knowledge of the audience (Hall, 1980; Kang, 1997; Gauntlett, 2002).

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the developments of the constructionist approach through structuralist and poststructuralist theories. In being framed within a poststructuralist framework this thesis has adopted Foucault's (1990) notions of discourse and power, knowledge/power and the subject. Subjects are produced through discourse and the media as a discursive regime disseminates prevailing discourses for subjects to position themselves in relation to.

In discussing gender the notion of the subject as being an unstable category formed through language was expanded upon in accord with Foucault's (1990) notion of power as productive. Gender is a form of power as it produces both men and women within a hierarchical relationship, with a particular hegemonic masculinity ruling over in various contextual regions.

This chapter has also considered advertising as a discourse through and about objects/objectives and given the importance for these as symbolic signifiers of meaning and identity, advertising is argued to be an important medium for study. Informed by this set of understandings the next chapter presents the methods used to examine the construction and representation of masculinity in advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM*.

## **Chapter 3: Research Methodology**

### **3.0 Introduction**

Informed by poststructuralism this explorative text-based study seeks to examine the representation of men within group situations in the advertisements of South African men's magazines. The focus of this study is to uncover the dominant discourses used to construct masculinity. This chapter begins with the presentation of the study's research question. The subsequent section of the chapter discusses quantitative and qualitative research methodologies and argues for a combined approach. A discussion of content analysis (CA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) as research methods is then presented, along with an outline of the analytical strategies used for both strands of research.

### **3.1 The research question**

The research question motivating this study is: how do the advertisements of South African men's magazines construct masculinities in group situations? To investigate this question, this study will critically analyse the discourses used to construct a hierarchical system of gendered performatives. I have chosen to focus my analysis on two magazines – *FHM* and *Men's Health*. These magazines were chosen because they are South Africa's two most popular men's magazines. As discussed in Chapter Two, this study is informed by the arguments that masculinities are constituted through on-going discursive practices, constantly being made and remade (Butler, 1990, 1993) and that there are a multiplicity of gender discourses engaged in a struggle for hierarchy (Connell, 2002). It has also been argued that advertising is a particularly influential signifying practice and one that is constructed to appeal to a mass audience. Therefore, this analysis seeks to consider the dominant groups and situations that men are represented in and analyse the more intricate workings of discourses of masculinity and power.

### **3.2 Methodological Considerations**

Quantitative and qualitative methodologies, the two major paradigms of research methodology (Bryman, 1988), are grounded in different epistemological beliefs of what constitutes knowledge (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). The quantitative research tradition tends to imitate the methodologies of the natural sciences (Bryman, 1988). Thus, it is described as positivist in that the researcher tries to verify or falsify a hypothesis, and empirical, in that it

believes 'reality' can be determined through the collection and rational argument of facts. Positivists also aim to develop generalisations, hence quantitative research tends to generalise the results to a greater population, and the replicability of research (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). Quantitative research is best suited to illuminate structural regularities in social life (Bryman, 1998: 132; 158 cited in Strelitz, 2002). Some of the techniques used for data collection include social surveys, structured observations and CA (Deacon *et al.*, 1999).

In contrast to positivism the qualitative research tradition stresses the need to understand social behaviour and representation in its social context (Strelitz, 2002). Instead of focusing on relations of cause and effect, the interpretive tradition is concerned with exploring how meaning is constructed and circulated through cultural practices within specific socio-historical contexts (Bryman, 1988). This commitment to contextual understanding enables qualitative research to produce "thick descriptions" detailing how people negotiate and contest systems of meaning (Deacon *et al.* 1999: 7). Some of the techniques for data collection associated with this method include unstructured interviews, participant observation, ethnography and textual analysis (Deacon *et al.*, 1999).

The division between these two approaches has been so prominent that Curran (1976 cited in Deacon *et al.*, 1999) referred to it as "academic apartheid". However, many view these barriers between the two methods as self-defeating and argue for mixing the two methods for analytical enrichment (Deacon, *et al.*, 1999; Strelitz, 2002). Not only do the two techniques have different strengths and weaknesses but the strengths of one arguably tend to be the weaknesses of the other (Strelitz, 2002). Integrating the two approaches can present a general picture, with quantitative research as a means of establishing the structural elements of social life and qualitative research the processual (Bryman, 1988). It is with these considerations in mind that this study argues for a methodology that combines the two techniques. For this study, the quantitative analysis was useful in establishing the dominant groups and situations that men are represented in while the more intricate workings of discourses of masculinity and power were uncovered with qualitative analysis. In the section below, I begin by explaining the use of CA as a research technique and then outline the specific procedure for content data collection and analysis employed in this study. This is followed by an explanation of CDA and an outline of the process utilised in this study.

### 3.3 Content Analysis

CA has been widely used as a research tool in media studies because it is a method for the systematic analysis of a body of media texts (Hansen *et al.*, 1998; Deacon *et al.*, 1999) and has been noted for its usefulness in undertaking gender research (Neuendorf, 2011). It was developed with empiricist scientific ambitions in mind to provide value free and objective insights (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). The method ensures a degree of reliability in the establishment of a pattern of media representation, while at the same time providing a guard against developing patterns that are guided by pre-existing prejudices and assumptions (Deacon *et al.*, 1999: 133), thus allowing for more reliable inferences to be made. Since CA allows for the quantification of textual and thematic elements across a large number of texts, it is a useful tool in establishing maps of significance and drawing out prominent patterns in the representations of gender (Hansen *et al.*, 1998).

CA as a research tool for the analysis of gender images in advertising has been popular in recent years (Neuendorf, 2011). Studying United States magazine advertisements from 1950 through 2000, Mager and Helgeson (2011) found that while objective role portrayals were trending towards equality, women were still subordinate to men in more subtle aspects of the advertisements. Looking at studies that utilised CA in South Africa, Furnham & Spencer-Bowdage (2006) found central characters in television advertisements to have a greater degree of sex-role stereotyping in South Africa than in Britain. Similarly, Luyt (2012) found that white men are represented as exemplars of hegemonic masculinity whilst black men are marginalised. Taking this discussion into account, CA can be argued to provide a useful method for this study's exploration of the representation of masculinity in the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM*. However, before undertaking the CA it is necessary to be aware of its limitations.

While CA enables the researcher to uncover trends, patterns and absences over large collections of texts, it can only support, qualify or refute initial questions (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). It tends to skate over varied and complex processes of meaning-making within texts (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). Therefore, it is not appropriate for drawing deep understandings from textual and discursive forms (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). It has been criticised for its quantitative nature, its fragmentations of textual wholes and its positivist notion of objectivity (Hansen *et al.*, 1998). However, there is value in the method especially when it is enriched by the theoretical framework of more qualitative methods (such as semiotics, discourse analysis

and qualitative CA<sup>14</sup>) as it brings to these a “methodological rigour, prescriptions for use, and systematicity rarely found in many of the more qualitative approaches” (Hansen *et al.*, 1998: 91). As mentioned previously, this study compliments the CA with a qualitative research method.

CA as a systematic method has clear steps to inform the research process. While these differ slightly in scholarly descriptions, they essentially propose a similar process. Informed by Hansen *et al.* (1998) this study follows an approach that includes the following six steps:

- 1) definition of the research problem
- 2) selection of media and sample
- 3) defining analytical categories
- 4) constructing a coding schedule
- 5) piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability
- 6) data-preparation and analysis (Hansen *et al.*, 1998: 98)

### **3.3.1 Research Question**

Beginning with the first stage, the research problem needs to be explicitly defined before the research methods are chosen or media sampled (Hansen *et al.*, 1998). The research question of this study, “How do the advertisements of South African men’s magazines construct masculinities in group situations?”, was defined and discussed in section 3.1, and informs the questions posed around masculinity.

### **3.3.2 Selection of Media and Sample**

Although CA is used to analyse large numbers of texts it is seldom used to analyse every single text in a specific area, thus a sampling strategy is required (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). In this process three phases must be defined: the population; the sampling period; and the sampling unit. The first phase involves the total range of media content the researcher wants to make inferences about (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). The population for this study is limited to advertisements in men’s life style magazines in South Africa with a circulation over 700,000. This high circulation number ensures a sample of men’s lifestyle magazines with high penetration in the South African market. *Men’s Health* and *FHM* were the two that met this criterion.

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<sup>14</sup> Qualitative content analysis is mostly inductive and is used to identify important themes and topics within a purposively selected body of texts (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009).

The next phase involves the identification of a sampling period. It was important to ensure that a relevant time span was chosen to reflect the key aspects of the study and to construct a credible and reasonably representative sample. Selecting a period that is too short or that is unusual will distort the findings of the study (for example, the month of a major sporting event is likely to have a large amount of event sponsors using specialised advertisements). The sample selected for this study spans the six-month period from December 2006 to May 2007. While I recognised that the month of December (where more emphasis may be placed on family and relationship gift giving due to Christmas) and February (where more emphasis may be placed on romance and couples due to Valentines Day) could be considered unusual, the length of the sampling period is deemed long enough to offset any irregularities and the sample as a whole is considered reasonably representative of the typical advertising content of these publications, where there are seasonal and calendar-driven shifts in focus.

The final sampling task involves the selection of the sampling unit or the identification of the specific content to be counted. This phase also involves the 'unit of analysis'; in media research this may be an individual word or an image that has a performative of a certain gender (Hansen *et al.*, 1998: 105). In this study the primary unit of analysis are all advertisements that feature at least one man and another individual in the text. It is unnecessary for the people to be portrayed as interacting with each other. This form of sampling enables for an analysis of the discursive implications of a range of representations. It allows for inclusions such as when one male subject is depicted in a large photo in the centre of the page and a much smaller photo of another person is included in a less prominent place on the page. Since advertisements are a product of design decisions, which are purposeful and therefore have discursive implications, these representations have relevance for the discourses they articulate.

### **3.3.3 Analytical Categories, the Coding Schedule and the Coding Manual**

This section is concerned with the construction of the coding schedule (Appendixes 3-6) and the coding manual (Appendix 7) and the process of defining the analytical categories. These three processes were developed simultaneously during the research phase. When constructing the coding schedule (Appendix 3) ease of use, and the formatting and collection of data were the primary considerations. The coding schedule designed for this study utilised

“yes or no” checkboxes where applicable or a space to record a pre-determined code. To ensure consistency in the coding process a coding manual was developed, which consists of category names, definitions and the corresponding pre-determined codes to write in on the coding schedule (Weber, 1990). The coding manual not only acted as a quick reference tool to help maintain consistency in the coding process but also would be useful for replicating the research process if necessary. Certain advertisements in the sample contain more than one scene, whether as a sequence or arbitrarily related. To address this, while each coding schedule has space for one scene, additional scene sheets (Appendix 4) were used as required. Similarly there are also additional relationship (see Appendix 5 and item 9 in the coding manual) and additional performative (Appendix 6 and items 1-4 in the coding manual) sheets as certain advertisements had more relationships and performatives than would fit into the pre-designed slots. Additional sheets were stapled together with their primary coding sheet to ensure that the data did not get separated.

The most challenging part of the CA was defining the dimensions or characteristics that should be analysed (Hansen *et al.*, 1998). It was an important and necessary process to count only aspects that were relevant to the research topic. At the same time, due to the tedious and time consuming nature of cataloguing, categories were confined to those that could be quantified to yield useful results (Hansen *et al.*, 1998). Additionally, some variables are easier to identify and count than others. For example, determining the gender of a performative is not as challenging as determining if an image is utilising a metonymy. CA thus does not work reliably when the coder is required to ‘read between the lines’ to get at the latent structures of meaning (van Zoonen, 1994: 69). Thus, analytical categories were chosen that were simple to determine with minimal interpretation and more difficult symbolic criteria were left for the qualitative analysis. Consistent with the research focus on how men are represented, the CA categories relate to where men are represented, whom they are represented with, the nature of these relationships, and the activities they engage in. To this end, particular categories were identified for the analysis of the sample, which can be seen in detail in the coding manual (Appendix 7).

The coding manual includes the basic analytical categories of gender, race, age and class, which established what kinds of performatives were being represented and whom they were being represented with. To enable an analysis of the representations and the power relations at play, the categories of space, area, location, activity, demand, advertised

product, relationship and power relations (Goffman, 1979; Connel, 2002) were included. These choices will now be presented in more detail.

The category of gender (item 1 in the coding manual) allows for the 4 variables of male, female, other and indeterminate. Decisions were made on the basis of masculine and feminine signifiers, such as clothing and visible physical traits (facial hair, breasts).

The four primary racial categories in South Africa of black, white, coloured and Indian (Morrell, 2001) were used as racial indicators (item 2 in the coding manual). While recognising race as socially rather than biologically constructed, these racial categories are widely used by South Africans, and not just at the statistical level. They continue to operate discursively at the personal level as powerful subject positions and continue to be used in official documentation to this day. These racial categories are also used by *Men's Health* to describe the demographics of their readership (see Chapter 1). The category of other allows for the possibility of races that do not neatly fit these apartheid inspired demographics.

The age ranges chosen to indicate the analytical category of age were 0–15, 16–24, 25–34, 35–49 and 50+ (item 3 in the coding manual). As Schudson (1986) points out, the people in advertising are “abstract” people and inhabit a demographic category rather than an exact age.

Class was determined with reference to the living standard measure (LSM) groupings devised by the South African Advertising Research Foundation (SAARF), which they describe as follows:

The SAARF LSM is a unique means of segmenting the South African market. It cuts across race and other outmoded techniques of categorising people, and instead groups people according to their living standards using criteria such as degree of urbanisation and ownership of cars and major appliances. (SAARF, 2008)

LSM is designed to indicate class on criteria other than just income and a full summary of these can be seen in appendix 8. What is helpful about the LSM groups is that each group has a breakdown of common signifiers that are associated with it, such as the possession of certain consumer products, e.g. cars, washing machines, etc. There are 10 LSM groups but for this study they were grouped into three categories (essentially working class, middle class and upper class) and were determined by signifiers that connoted the various LSM groupings (item 4 in the coding manual). Correlating LSM groups with the standard class groups assisted the study in defining the class category with a commonly used basis, which

also happens to be utilised by the publications in the sample. This provided for a more complex analysis once all the data was collected. While most advertisements (as expected) represented a middle-to-upper class consumer lifestyle some advertisements in the sample did include images of working class people<sup>15</sup>. Even if a group is not expected to yield high counts it is important to include it because its absence may be statistically significant. The LSM groupings used were LSM 1-4, LSM 5-7 and LSM 8-10.

Three separate categories were used to determine places where the subjects were represented, namely space, area and location (items 5-7 in the coding manual). Each of these sub-categories has implications for gender performance. If the gender order recognises that males tend to dominate public spaces then females are relegated to the private, the two spaces have become differentiated along the masculine/feminine divide (Jackson & Scott, 2002). Whether a performative was in a private or public space (item 5 in the coding manual) was counted to determine if there was a gendered divide in these patterns and if there was further divisions among the genders when looking at race, age and class.

The area category established a broad scope of where the performatives were being represented. The three categories used were inside, outside and studio (item 6 in the coding manual). The studio category is there to distinguish between more narrative advertisements that try and emulate a 'real' setting and more abstract settings. While similar to the space category this category focuses on the setting (inside/outside) instead of the nature of the setting (public/private). It was of interest to establish whom men were represented with in certain areas (for example, they were represented outside with other men more in competitive sport).

The location category was used to narrow the location of the subject to more specific zones. Item 7 in the coding manual lists all 14 location settings such as restaurant or shop. If gender is understood as performative (Butler, 1990; 1993), the location can be seen as the stage. Identifying the location was therefore key to analysing the meaning of an advertisement. Consider how the meaning of two masculine subjects in suits, with their top buttons undone and their ties off, hugging will have different connotations if the location is changed from an intimate candle lit bedroom, to a crowded party with a bride in the scene.

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<sup>15</sup> For example a Shell advertisement portrays a large group of male petrol attendants.

Since gender is linked to performance it is necessary to identify if the activities engaged in by males are gendered (Butler, 1990, 1993) and, additionally to identify with whom they engage with while partaking in these activities. Item 8 in the coding manual lists the 19 analytical categories for activity that were used.

Item 9 in the coding manual determines if the performative is demanding the gaze of the audience. If a performative demands the gaze of the audience they are looking straight at the camera (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Related to this, item 10 is a checkbox to determine if the performative demanding the gaze is smiling. Previous studies have found that men are less likely than women to demand the gaze of the viewer (Goffman, 1976) and if so they are less likely to smile as these representations risk being perceived as homoerotic suggestions as they are being feminised as objects of the gaze (Berger, 1972). The purpose of this category was to determine what kind of subjects gaze directly at the audience and in what manner they did so.

The product category provides an overview of the products that are targeting the readership of *Men's Health* and *FHM* and when combined with the other data provides an understanding of how they are trying to hail (Butler, 1993) the masculine subjects who read both publications. This category is also important because certain product types will favour certain types of gendered representations. For example, diaper advertisements are likely to portray caring family men while deodorant advertisements may produce representations of men as seducers or objects of feminine desire. Item 8 in the coding manual lists the 15 product categories selected.

It is in relationships that the system of difference that constructs expectations of masculine and feminine roles is established. In order to establish the nature of the relationship between each masculine subject and the other subjects in the advertisement the relationship categories of familial, fraternal, intimate, professional and none were chosen (item 9 in the coding manual). There was not necessarily just one relationship definition applicable for any given text. There were texts with more than one relationship type within the same advertisement, for example a social gathering may have a male subject interacting with a spouse or partner (intimate relationship) as well as a friend (fraternal relationship).

While power relations are difficult to narrow down into analytical categories for CA, it was important to make some provisions to count these if only to help further expand the

survey of the advertisements in the sample, since the discourse of gender is intricately entwined with power. For this reason Goffman's (1976) five functions have been chosen to assist with this aspect. One could argue against including Goffman's (1976) functions in the CA of this study for several reasons. Firstly, the study relates to a drastically different historical (the 1970s) and cultural (western) context. Secondly, the study was not originally intended as a CA and employed a purposive sample. Thirdly, these analytical categories only raise issues concerning the relationships between men and women. In response to this it can be argued that the use of Goffman's (1976) study is relevant to this study as, in response to the first and second points, since Goffman's (1976) original study there have been a number of studies (see Kang, 1997; Bell & Milic, 2002) that have utilised his functions for CA and discovered similar results. In addition the fact that these functions are related to western discourses of gender power does not hinder their value for this study as firstly it provides a frame of reference with other studies and it will reveal to what extent the advertisements in the sample reflect western, global and modern discourses of masculinity. Discourses that differ from these will be made visible and explored. Finally, Goffman (1976) originally suggested that these functions exceeded being merely gender relations showing that they also applied to race and minority groups. Here Goffman's (1976) five functions will be used as indicators of power relations.

In employing them the functions are grouped in a manner similar to Kang (1997) with one major difference. Kang's sample included advertisements displaying individual subjects and multiple subjects, thus certain functions were not applicable in every advertisement as they rely on two or more people being present. Since every advertisement in this study will feature at least two subjects each function will have a corresponding positive (yes) or negative (no) value. The values for each function are as follows (this table is item 13 in the coding manual):

**Table 3.1 Goffman's Gender Functions Definitions**

Category	Qualifying Criteria	Description	Scoring:
Relative size	(positioned smaller or lower, relative to others)	Social authority is echoed through relative size, especially height.	Both the highest and the lowest subject will be recorded
Feminine touch	(constantly touching themselves or objects in non-utilitarian means)	This is child-like fidgeting where the subject uses their fingers and hands to trace the outline of an object, cradle it or touch ones self. It is important to distinguish this from the utilitarian manipulations or holding of objects.	All applicable subjects will be recorded.
Function ranking	(occupational)	Dominant subject performs the executive role. This hierarchy of function is pictured either within an occupational frame or outside of occupational specializations.	All applicable dominant subjects and subordinate subjects will be recorded.
Ritualization of subordination	(proclivity for lying down at inappropriate times)	Lowering oneself physically is seen as a sign of deference. Canting postures can be read as an acceptance of subordination and submissiveness.	All applicable subjects will be recorded.
Licensed withdrawal	(never quite part of the scene, via far-off gazes)	Subject is depicted in a social scene but removed from it. This includes turning one's gaze away or conducting a telephone conversation in a group.	All applicable subjects will be recorded.

After creating the initial coding schedule/manual, both were piloted on a small collection of advertisements from the sample to tease out inconsistencies and inadequacies in the process (Deacon et al. 1999; Hansen et al. 1998). The schedule and manual were then refined to increase reliability before beginning the final coding process.

### 3.3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

Once the coding process was complete the final step in the CA was to organise all the data and analyse it. To assist in the process of analysing trends, patterns and frequencies the computer software Microsoft Excel was utilised. However, before this could occur all the hard data had to be input into spreadsheets<sup>16</sup>. Spreadsheets were used to gather basic

<sup>16</sup> A spreadsheet is a computerised simulation of paper accounting worksheets for the organization and analysis of data in tabular form.

numbers and frequencies from the data (e.g. the total number of males). For more complex patterns pivot tables were used to sort through multiple combinations of data. Following this the theoretical framework was used to analyse the results and draw inferences (Hansen *et al.*, 1998). These findings are discussed in the Chapter 4.

### **3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Following the CA stage of research, eight texts considered significant in relation to its finding were selected for qualitative textual analysis to investigate more closely the power dimensions and the dominant masculine discourses and how these work together to construct the meanings of masculinity. However, as these meanings are embedded within the text the qualitative method of CDA informed this stage of the research.

CDA has been described both as a research approach and method (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). The term CDA was coined by critical linguists in the first instance but has become used beyond the confines of linguistics, particularly discursive psychology (Billig, 1997) and media studies (Thetela, 2001). The central tenants of CDA are that it is a critical approach to taken for granted knowledge, it is historical and culturally specific, and provides a link between social process, social action and knowledge (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Phillips and Jorgenson (2002) warn that since CDA is both an approach and a method it cannot be used as a method of analysis detached from its theoretical and methodological foundations, and thus must be used in a framework with similar philosophical, theoretical and methodological considerations.

CDA stems from a critical theory of language, which sees language as a form of social practice, a view that is compatible with poststructuralism (Janks, 1997). All social relations are positioned within specific historical contexts where various social relations struggle for power (Janks, 1997). CDA seeks to understand how these competing discourses contest relations of power. Working within a poststructuralist framework this study will utilise Foucault's (1981) understanding of discourse, as discussed in chapter 2, in its approach to CDA.

This study utilises a method of CDA, which is informed by systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1994; Eggins, 2004), critical linguistics (Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1992), visual analysis (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Berger, 1972; Berger, 1991; Eco, 1977), and Fairclough's (1995; 1989) framework for analysing media discourse.

Fairclough (1995) developed a critical model for the analysis of media discourses. He calls this model critical because it acknowledges that our social practices and, in particular, our use of language is bound by “causes and effects”, which we are not always necessarily aware of, and in doing so attempts to reveal these and the underlying power relations behind them (1995: 54). Fairclough states that “connections between the use of language and the exercise of power are often not clear to people”, yet under close examination they appear to be vitally important to the workings of power (1995, 54). The implication of viewing language as a social practice is that “language is a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectical relationship with other facets of the social” (Fairclough, 1995: 54). In other words, language is socially shaped but also socially constitutive (or shaping). CDA recognises both these aspects in that it explores the tensions between both these sides of language use.

Fairclough’s model consists of three interrelated processes of analysis, which in turn are tied to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. These dimensions are:

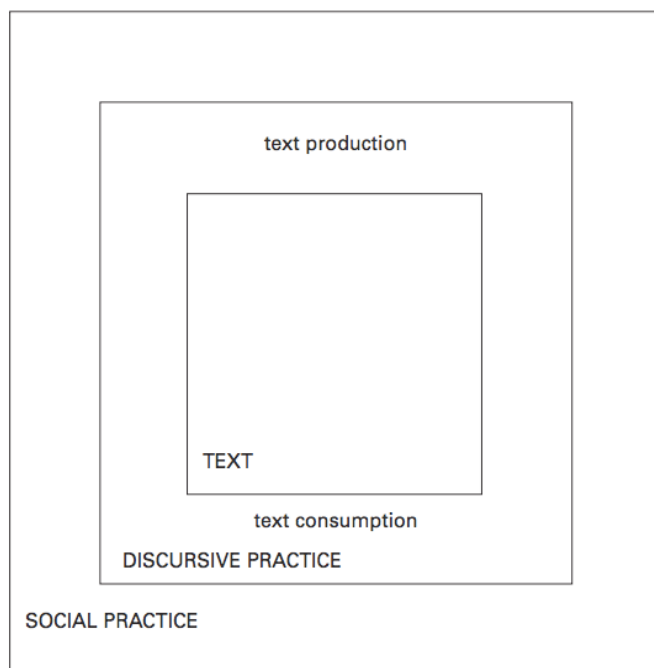
- 1) the object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts);
- 2) the processes by which the object is produced and received (writing/speaking/designing and reading/ listening/viewing) by human subjects;
- 3) the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes. (Janks, 1997: 329)

Each dimension requires a different kind of analysis (Janks, 1997):

- 1) text analysis (description);
- 2) processing analysis (interpretation);
- 3) social analysis (explanation).

As all three of these processes, which are discussed below, are inter-connected, it is not important which process is chosen as a point of entry, as long as this interconnectedness is acknowledged in the analysis (see figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1 Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA (1992: 73)**



It is due to this interconnectedness that Fairclough's model of analysis "finds interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained" (Janks, 1997: 329).

### **3.4.1 Description and Text Analysis**

When unpacking a text it is important to remember that reading meaning directly off the verbal and visual signs is not possible (Janks, 1997:332). Thus, the textual analysis is informed by systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1994; Eggins, 2004), which splits communication into three simultaneous metafunctions; the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The ideational metafunction gives meaning to our experiences and defines relationships between processes and participants within the text. The interpersonal metafunction accounts for the social interaction of a text with the reader or audience, for example whether the subject of a photograph is making contact with the viewer or not. The textual metafunction refers to the unity and coherence within a text, for example a textbook may use the colour red for headings and the colour purple to indicate an important point. The textual metafunction also refers to unity and coherence that a text has externally with its context of production and reception, for example a brand may use the same actor in

different advertisements to unify them as part of the same campaign. A single process/element in a text can simultaneously communicate on all three levels.

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) in constructing their methodology for visual analysis were influenced by systemic functional linguistics. Thus, it can be argued that systemic functional linguistics provides a unified approach to both the verbal elements of a text and the visual, while providing a means of deep analysis that will allow for the interpretation of the discursive workings of the text which would not necessarily be easily visible at the surface level (Eggins, 2004; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). However, the texts selected for the CDA were almost entirely visual, many were simply an image and a logo. Thus, although a process was developed for the analysis of the verbal signs, utilizing the method outline by Fairclough (1989; 1992; 1995) it is not utilised in the study. The visual analysis utilised a method based off of the work of Kress & van Leeuwen (2006).

Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) adopt Halliday's (1994) notion of metafunctions and apply them to visual communication, focusing on how ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings are realised in visual modes. The following list was created from their work and shows the elements and their related metafunctions that were utilised for visual analysis:

1. Narrative Processes – ideational metafunction
2. Conceptual Patterns – ideational metafunction
3. The Position of the Viewer – interpersonal metafunction
4. Modality – interpersonal metafunction
5. Composition – textual metafunction
6. Colour – ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction

In static images narrative processes occur when a participant is connected to another by a vector, thus, presenting "unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:45-78). Conceptual patterns (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:79-107) on the other hand represent participants in terms of their class, structure or meaning. The position of the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:114-153) relates to elements such as perspective, angle and framing and helps dictate the relationship between the viewer and the represented participants. Modality (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:154-174) deals with the strength of a visual in relation to reality, for example photographs have a higher modality than cartoons and, thus, appear more real. Composition (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:175-214) is part of the textual metafunction and in Western

visual discourse has a particular hierarchy in terms of placement on the horizontal and vertical axis. Colour (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:225-238) can simultaneously be used to achieve all three metafunctions and thus a full colour analysis will look at how colour is used to represent ideational (a pink blanket to signify a female baby), interpersonal (black and yellow to signify caution or danger) and textual (A red heading to highlight the start of each section) meanings.

Since the relationship between a text and social structures is an indirect mediated one it is not possible to directly assume from texts their direct impact on society (Fairclough, 1989). Texts are mediated by the discourses they are a part of; they are produced and interpreted.

### **3.4.2 Interpretation and Processing Analysis**

Interpretation occurs at the textual level and with the factors that have led to the text's production at the contextual level. The level of interpretation in CDA addresses issues of the text's production, distribution and consumption. Fairclough (1989) splits this into two contexts; the situational context, which views the text in light of social orders; and the intertextual context, which locates the text in a wider realm looking at other texts it draws from, its contemporaries and potentially texts that it has influenced or been referenced by. This focus is known as processing analysis.

Fairclough provides the following guidelines in the interpretation of a specific text:

1. Context: What interpretation(s) are participants giving to the situational and intertextual contexts?
2. Discourse type(s)<sup>17</sup>: What discourse type(s) are being drawn upon (hence what rules, systems or principles of phonology, grammar, sentence cohesion, vocabulary, semantics and pragmatics; and what schemata, frames and scripts)? (1989: 162)

The level of interpretation makes explicit the dependence of discourse practice on the normalised practices found within the discursive regime, however it is only when combined with the level of explanation that the relations of domination and power within the discursive regime are revealed as a site of social struggle (Fairclough, 1989).

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<sup>17</sup> Fairclough's (1989) use of discourse type is similar to genre (see chapter 2). In chapter 5 the CDA focuses on advertisements in the fashion genre of advertising.

### **3.4.3 Explanation and Social Analysis**

Explanation is a matter of seeing a discourse as part of processes of social struggle, within a matrix of relations of power. This level of analysis locates discourse as part of social struggles and the effects of these struggles on structures; it also shows the power relationships that determine discourses (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough (1989) distinguishes three levels of social organization that the social effects and determinants of discourse should be investigated; the societal level, the institutional level, and the situational level. Thus, social analysis (Fairclough, 1989: 86-96) focuses on the immediate situation that resulted in the production of the text. It looks at situational, institutional and societal discursive conditions that place the text in a wider contextual setting. The social analysis explains the order of discourse that constitutes the context of the text and what affect the text has in terms of either reproducing or transforming these discourses. This is achieved through, firstly, exploring the relationship between discursive practice and the order of discourse. (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). The second aim is to contextualise the discursive practice by establishing the kinds of institutional and economic conditions it is subject to (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). Phillips & Jorgensen provide the following questions to use as guidelines for social analysis:

1. Does the discursive practice reproduce the order of discourse and thus contribute to the maintenance of the status quo in the social practice?
2. Has the order of discourse been transformed, thereby contributing to social change?
3. What are the ideological, political and social consequences of the discursive practice?
4. Does the discursive practice conceal and strengthen unequal power relations in society, or does it challenge power positions by representing reality and social relations in a new way? (2002: 87)

### **3.4.4 CDA Workflow**

While the process above has been presented in a linear fashion CDA is not performed in such an organised fixed process. As all the processes are embedded in each other and overlap as there is no single point of entry or procedure to follow. In this study the dimension of social analysis has been addressed in chapters 1 and 2, which presented the broad social and historical context particularly in relation to gender. I also considered advertising as a genre, important aspects of the dimension of discursive practices

(Fairclough's middle box.) In addition to this the findings of the CA in chapter 4 further enhanced these understandings and were used as the basis for text selection.

### **3.5 Text Selection**

The selection of the texts for CDA was based on the findings of the CA. One of the primary findings of the CA is that white males are represented far more than black males and additionally the data suggests that the difference between the two groups might relate to a white hegemonic masculinity and a black complicit masculinity. Consequently texts that featured both white and black males were selected. Furthermore, it was possible to distinguish between two broad categories of text, narrative, where participants are represented in an unfolding event or situation<sup>18</sup>, and conceptual where participants are represented in relation to each other based on their class, structure or meaning<sup>19</sup>. It was decided that the narrative texts would all feature fraternal relationships as these were the second most popular relationship type in the sample, after professional, and are less expected to have hierarchical structures, compared to professional relationships where there are supervisors and subordinates, thus making fraternal relationships a site where the effects of structural power are more subtle and surreptitious. Finally, it was decided to limit the texts chosen to the fashion genre as many of the clothing and cosmetic advertisements fell into this category making up a significant portion of the sample. Taking these points into consideration the qualifying advertisements were gathered and four narrative and four analytical texts were chosen subjectively.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the deployment of the combined methodology of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to produce both rich data and thick description and the combination of CA and CDA as appropriate methods to achieve it. Chapter 4 presents the findings of the CA and chapter 5 those of the CDA.

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<sup>18</sup> The intent of a narrative advertisement is to present a scene which is part of or tells a story. For example an image of people engaged in a game of cricket or a couple walking along a beach.

<sup>19</sup> The intent of a conceptual advertisement is to present the participants as a direct source of information – they are not engaged in an explicit activity and have no apparent relationship with other participants. For example a group of people posing to display their particular outfits.

## **Chapter 4: The Quantitative Analysis**

### **4.0. Introduction**

This study employs a combined methodology of quantitative and qualitative techniques to investigate the ways in which meanings of masculinity are constructed within group situations in the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health*. This chapter constitutes the quantitative phase of the research process and involves the content analysis (CA) of the advertisements that meet the sampling criteria outlined in Chapter 3.

The CA surveys the landscape of masculinities in group situations and establishes the dominant groups and situations that men are represented in, whether these are familial, fraternal, intimate, professional or other social relationships in the private and public spheres. This quantitative analysis forms the basis for identifying the typical-case scenarios of masculinities representations in these advertisements for the critical discourse analysis discussed in Chapter 5.

This chapter consists of three main sections. In the first section, the main findings of the study, which relate specifically to the representation of masculinities, are systematically addressed. This section consists of two parts, the first presenting an overview of the sample, while the second part considers the groups and situations that men are represented in. The second section focuses on the representation of masculinity and hegemonic masculinity as constructed in the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health*. This is consistent with the intentions of the study to deepen knowledge of how the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health* frame their readers' understandings of masculinity. The final section concludes this chapter with an overview of traits of hegemonic masculinity as revealed in the content analysis.

### **4.1. Main Findings of the Content Analysis**

This analysis of the representation of masculinities within group situations acknowledges that meaning is the result of difference and is therefore relational (Saussure, 1983), and that any form of masculinity needs to be considered in relation to other masculinities and femininities. The CA begins by presenting a basic demographic (gender, race, age, class) breakdown of all the performatives in the advertisements in the study and then focuses on the specific types of relationships, in which the masculine performatives are represented.

#### 4.1.1. The Demographic Representation of the Sample

The sample of *Men's Health* and *FHM* between December 2006 and May 2007 contained 117 advertisements that featured at least one man and one other individual, thereby yielding 511 performatives consisting of 332 males (65%), 175 females (35.2%) and 4 (0.8%) of indeterminate sex. In contrast to population statistics where females are generally equal or outnumber males slightly, the first observation has to be that as more males than females are represented the majority of interactions between people in the sample will occur among men.

Table 4.1 shows the sample in terms of race<sup>20</sup>. Although each primary South African race group is represented in the sample, it is a dominantly white population (73.6%) and one that is in stark contrast to the actual demographics of South Africa's multi-racial population as well as the readership of both magazines. The largest racial group in South Africa, black, accounts for only 16% of the sample.

**Table 4.1: Performatives by Race**

Race	Performatives	%
Black	82	16.05%
White	376	73.58%
Coloured	20	03.91%
Indian	26	05.09%
Other	7	01.37%
<b>Total</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>100%</b>

The age range is indicated in Table 4.2 with performatives ranging from 16-49 making up 93.3% of the sample. These numbers fall firmly in line with the age demographics of the readerships of the magazines with *FHM* having 78% of its readership between the ages of 16-34, and *Men's Health* having 56% of its readership between the ages of 25-49.

**Table 4.2: Performatives by Age**

Age Range	Performatives	%
0-15	16	3.13%
16-24	85	16.63%
25-34	282	55.19%
35-49	111	21.72%
50+	14	2.74%
Indeterminate	3	0.59%
<b>Total</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>100%</b>

<sup>20</sup> For an explanation of the racial terminology used see Chapter 3.

To determine class the living standard measure (LSM) groupings were utilised (see Appendix 8), which provides a list of signifiers, which allow for class to be determined from an image. The great majority of performatives in the sample fall within the LSM 8-10 range at 92.4%, as illustrated in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3: Performatives by Class**

LSM Class	Performatives	%
1-4	18	03.52%
5-7	21	04.11%
8-10	472	92.37%
<b>Total</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>100%</b>

As advertising tends to be aspirational in nature it is not surprising that the majority fall into the higher LSM category. Since class is skewed so heavily a further breakdown of class by race is presented to include race and gender below. The Indian and Other<sup>21</sup> race groups had no performatives in the 1-7 LSM groups while 4% of the white race group was represented in these groups. Relative to their representation in the sample the coloured and black race group had rather significant percentages in LSM groups 1-7 with 25% and 23.2% respectively. In terms of gender, the percentage of females at 8.6% in LSMs 1-7 is slightly higher than for males at 7.2%. Thus, in the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health* it is unlikely that men will be represented with or as performatives in LSM groups 1-7. In terms of gender, performatives in LSM 1-7 are only slightly more likely to be female than male. Black or coloured performatives have the highest probability of being below LSM group 8. The most important point around class, however, is how it is represented as an almost purely homogenous category, since everyone is in the upper class the population is essentially a classless society comprised of only the affluent. This is clearly no coincidence as this is the exact audience that the magazines are aiming for. Thus in the pages of these two men's magazines capitalist discourses of an upwardly mobile wealthy masculine elite are reified while other classes are silenced. To be an *FHM* or *Men's Health* man it is important to be financially well off.

Thus, based on this data that includes age, race and gender (Table 4.4), the most frequent representations in the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM* are white men between 25 and 34 in LSM groups 8–10. Thus, the sample is primarily made up of white

<sup>21</sup> Those that did not fit the other 4 categories.

males 16-49 (44%), white females 16-34 (21.8%) and black males 25-34 (11%). Collectively these demographic groups make up 76.8% of the sample.

**Table 4.4: Performatives by Gender, Race and Age**

Demographic	Count	%	Demographic	Count	%
0-15 Female Black	0	0	0-15 Male Black	0	0
0-15 Female Coloured	0	0	0-15 Male Coloured	0	0
0-15 Female Indian	2	0.39%	0-15 Male Indian	4	0.78%
0-15 Female Other	0	0	0-15 Male Other	0	0
0-15 Female White	4	0.78%	0-15 Male White	6	1.17%
16-24 Female Black	2	0.39%	16-24 Male Black	4	0.78%
16-24 Female Coloured	1	0.20%	16-24 Male Coloured	1	0.20%
16-24 Female Indian	2	0.39%	16-24 Male Indian	0	0
16-24 Female Other	0	0	16-24 Male Other	0	0
16-24 Female White	33	6.46%	16-24 Male White	42	8.22%
25-34 Female Black	14	2.74%	25-34 Male Black	56	10.96%
25-34 Female Coloured	2	0.39%	25-34 Male Coloured	7	1.37%
25-34 Female Indian	4	0.78%	25-34 Male Indian	0	0
25-34 Female Other	2	0.39%	25-34 Male Other	4	0.78%
25-34 Female White	78	15.26%	25-34 Male White	114	22.31%
35-49 Female Black	0	0	35-49 Male Black	5	0.98%
35-49 Female Coloured	1	0.20%	35-49 Male Coloured	4	0.78%
35-49 Female Indian	4	0.78%	35-49 Male Indian	8	1.57%
35-49 Female Other	0	0	35-49 Male Other	0	0
35-49 Female White	20	3.91%	35-49 Male White	69	13.50%
50+ Female Black	0	0	50+ Male Black	1	0.20%
50+ Female Coloured	4	0.78%	50+ Male Coloured	0	0
50+ Female Indian	2	0.39%	50+ Male Indian	0	0
50+ Female Other	0	0	50+ Male Other	0	0
50+ Female White	0	0	50+ Male White	7	1.37%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>35.2%</b>		<b>332</b>	<b>65%</b>
Indeterminate	4	0.8%			

It is important also to note the absences. While white males are represented in every age demographic, this is not the case for other race and gender groupings. In terms of age demographics, white females are almost as prevalent as white males but fail to be represented at all in the 50+ age group. Due to the demographics of the magazine the more senior performatives were seldom the focus of advertisements, however, it is telling that elder males are still present and have purpose. While they are not involved in any professional representations they are represented as teachers. This connects to the gender constructions that prevail, of elder men being wise and elder women ceasing to have sexual allure, while still being nurturing. An adult man can still learn from elder men but he no longer requires nurturing from mother figures, so elder females are absent to prevent the adult male being portrayed as a “mother’s boy”. This is consistent with research that found

that representations of older women are scarce in advertising and tend to depict women as younger supportive counterparts to men and as sexually desirable rewards for certain products (Ganahl, 2003).

Interestingly, Indian males are not represented at all in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups, but are confined to the 0-15 and 35-49 age groups. On further examination, many of these representations were of Indian males in a more traditional or colonial India. In fact only two Indian males were represented in contemporary South Africa and these representations were in a professional setting. One could speculate about discourses and stereotypes around Indian males but I propose that this absence is more to do with the dichotomy between political power being with black males and economic power being with white males in South Africa, resulting in advertisers having a preference for males in these race groups. In terms of advertising Indian males are not “South African” enough for the mostly white advertisements of *FHM* and *Men’s Health*.

Black females in the sample are only present in the 16-34 range and are the least proportionate with their male counterparts of all the race groups.

To sum up, white males are the most represented demographic in every age range and make up nearly half of the entire sample (46.58%). The small number of performatives represented in groups other than white males, white females and black males, makes it analytically inappropriate to make generalisations based on the data of the sample. Thus, in terms of the less frequently represented groupings their absences or low level of representation are merely noted.

#### **4.1.2. Representing Relationships**

The category of relationships presents a large and significant category on the coding schedule. It identifies the types of relationship<sup>22</sup> represented and identifies whom the performatives have these relationships with. Importantly, 60% of the 1532 relationships in the sample were in the ‘no relationship’ category, as in a large number of advertisements, rather than actively participating in the scene, performatives were simply posing or serving as extras intended to make a scene more authentic, for example a passer-by in an image where the central focus is a couple dining on a restaurant patio. Their exclusion reduced the number of relationships in the sample to 645 (see Table 4.5). These are referred to as

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<sup>22</sup> Familial, fraternal, intimate, professional, or none

narrative relationships as they provide us with additional information that informs us of how the performatives are positioned in relation to each other. The term narrative is chosen in light of Kress & van Leeuwen's (2006) concept of narrative processes (see Chapter 3), as it is through narrative processes in the text that most of the relationships were identified. While it was more common for advertisements to depict the representatives outside of relationships, 89 of the 117 advertisements in the sample (76.07%) displayed at least one narrative relationship and these are the consequent focus of this section. This section examines familial, fraternal, intimate and professional relationships more closely to determine underlying tendencies and hierarchy within different group scenarios.

**Table 4.5: Relationships by Gender**

Relationship	Total Ads	% of Sample	Female	Indet.	Male	Total
R1 Familial	10	8.6%	11.5%	0	8.2%	62
R2 Fraternal	27	23.1%	23.3%	20%	19.9%	138
R3 Intimate	42	35.9%	7.8%	0	6.1%	44
R4 Professional	21	18%	57.9%	80%	65.8%	401
<b>Total</b>	<b>NA</b>		<b>43.6%</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>645</b>

Over 30% of the advertisements featured relationships in the intimate category (35.9%), followed by the fraternal (23.1%), professional (18%) and the familial category (8.6%). In terms of the number of performatives by gender represented in different relationships, males were represented most frequently in professional relationships (65.8%) followed by fraternal (19.9%), familial (8.2%) and intimate (6.1%) relationships. Females were also represented most frequently in professional relationships, but less so than males. Since fraternal, familial and intimate relationship types occur primarily in the domestic sphere and professional relationships tend in the public domain. This tends to endorse the idea of women in the private sphere while men pursue careers in the public sphere.

#### **4.1.2.1 Familial Relationships**

Familial relationships were relatively uncommon in the sample, and made up 9.25% of narrative relationships with 37 performatives depicted in such relationships in 10 advertisements (8.55%). Table 4.6 indicates the wide range of size in families depicted.

**Table 4.6: Size of Familial Groups**

Size of Group	Count	%
2 performatives	5	50%
3 performatives	1	10%
4 performatives	1	10%
6 performatives	1	10%
7 performatives	2	20%
<b>TOTAL</b>	10	100%

While a full half of the familial groups consisted of only two performatives, two instances of the same advertisement had a familial unit of seven and this skewed the average up to 3.7. Family units were most often represented with a father or mother figure with a child, rather than depicting both parents and child.

Familial relationships were mostly isolated as show in Table 4.7 with 70% of the advertisements with familial representations portrayed them with no other performatives in the text.

**Table 4.7: Relationship Combinations in Advertisements with Familial Relationships**

Relationship Combinations	Count
Just Familial	7
Familial + None <sup>23</sup>	2
Familial + Intimate + None <sup>24</sup>	1

However, just because most of these representations were isolated does not mean they were mostly in private spaces, as Table 4.8 below shows that over two-thirds of familial relationships were in public spaces. In addition to this the representations in private spaces were at places like a private wine farm (this text appeared twice) or outside by the pool/garden. There were no representations of traditional scenes of family dinners, tucking children in to bed or day-to-day childcare. The focus seems to be on quality time away from the confines of the home environment, again possibly to not exclude non-nuclear families but also showing masculine performatives as providers of a lifestyle that includes middle class activities inspired by consumer culture. This includes vacations, evident in the frequent depiction of resorts and hotels as locations.

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<sup>23</sup> Other performatives were present in the text but they had no relationship with the performatives in the familial relationship.

<sup>24</sup> In the text there were at least two performatives in a familial relationship, at least two performatives in an intimate relationship and at least two performatives in who had no apparent relationship.

**Table 4.8: Familial Relationships by Place**

			Female	Male	TOTAL
Private	Inside	Food Service Industry	0	4	4
	<b>Inside Total</b>		0	4	4
	Outside	Pool/Garden	1	1	2
	<b>Outside Total</b>		1	1	2
	Studio	Studio	4	2	6
	<b>Studio Total</b>		4	2	6
<b>Private Total</b>			5	7	12
Public	Outside	Resort/Hotel	8	6	14
		Wilderness	0	5	5
	<b>Outside Total</b>		8	11	19
	Studio	Studio	4	2	6
	<b>Studio Total</b>		4	2	6
<b>Public Total</b>			12	13	25
<b>Total</b>			17	20	37

The locations also suggest that adult males have a strong masculine control over the elements (as seen in the male only location of the wilderness<sup>25</sup>) and complex skills (as seen with a grandfather teaching his grandson how to prepare wine on a wine estate). In these example an older male frequently is in some way teaching a younger male. This is evident in the distribution of function rank<sup>26</sup> and activities in these advertisements as displayed in Table 4.9 and 4.10 below.

**Table 4.9: Function Rank in Familial Relationships**

Gender	Age	Dominant	Subordinate
Female	0-15	0	1
	35-49	1	0
<b>Female Total</b>		1	1
Male	0-15	0	2
	25-34	0	2
	35-49	1	0
	50+	2	0
<b>Male Total</b>		3	4
<b>TOTAL</b>		4	5

<sup>25</sup> A natural environment that has not been significantly modified by human activity. The writings of naturalists like Henry David Thoreau and Jack London romanticised the notion of man living in a more natural state away from industrialised society.

<sup>26</sup> The performatives are engaged in an activity that involves a hierarchy of function. For example a parent teaching their child to play soccer or a speaker giving a lecture to a room full of students. When function rank occurs some performatives will fulfil the executive or dominant role (e.g. the parent or the speaker) and some will fulfil the subordinate (e.g. the child or the class).

**Table 4.10: Activity by Gender in Familial Relationships**

Activity	Female	Male	TOTAL
Pose	7	5	12
Low Activity	0	2	2
Walking	2	0	2
Inactive	8	6	14
Play	0	3	3
Prep. Food	0	4	4
<b>TOTAL</b>	17	20	37

Older males with younger males were represented as preparing food (or in these specific cases wine) and playing in the wilderness<sup>27</sup> accounting for a significant percentage of all familial advertisements (30%), thus, validating a presumed special bond between father and son. The dominant/subordinate relationship depicted between two females involved a mother helping her daughter walk by guiding her by the hand, that is in a nurturing capacity rather than transference of skills or knowledge. The remaining performatives were relatively passive in the activities they performed.

Moving to representations along demographic lines it is interesting that only Indian and white performatives are represented in familial groupings as Table 4.11 indicates.

**Table 4.11: Demographic Grouping of Performatives in Familial Relationships**

Race	Age	Female	Male	Total
Indian	0-15	2	4	6
	16-24	2	0	2
	35-49	2	2	4
	50+	2	0	2
<b>Indian Total</b>		8	6	14
White	0-15	3	5	8
	25-34	2	4	6
	35-49	4	3	7
	50+	0	2	2
<b>White Total</b>		9	14	23
<b>Total</b>		17	20	37

However, the representations of the Indian family comes from a single advertisement for Volkswagen (appearing twice in the sample), portrayed as a traditional pre-20<sup>th</sup> century Indian family on a magic carpet with a pet monkey. Since this representation is more about referencing a particular place and period than contemporary life the representation of

<sup>27</sup> An advertisement for off-road motorbikes by Honda features a white father spraying his two sons with a hose after a muddy bike ride. This advertisement presents a familial relationship that positions junior and senior bikes as part of the father/son bonding experience.

familial relationships in the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM* are arguably confined to white families.

Product types were included in the analysis to identify what particular types of products were targeting the readership of *Men's Health* and *FHM*. No particular product types prominently employed familial representations.

Certain observations can be made about the representations of masculinity in familial relationships based on this data. Firstly, familial relationships are not represented in nuclear family settings but rather depict a single parent with child/children. Secondly, a special relationship between fathers and sons is depicted that suggests preparing the sons for manhood. Thirdly, the father is portrayed in the conventional role of provider but is absent from day-to-day nurturing. The first observation suggests a change in the discursive regime as nuclear families are less the norm than in previous studies (Prinsloo, 2003) while the other two are consistent with prior research (e.g. Goffman, 1976). With this in mind the sample is too small to generalise any of these findings. More importantly, masculinity as represented in the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM* is mostly void of familial relationships (less than 10% of all texts in the sample), it is neither dependent nor depended on by family. In addition to this familial relationships are almost entirely white.

#### **4.1.2.2 Fraternal Relationships**

Fraternal relationships were identified as the second most common relationship type in most categories being featured in 27 separate advertisements. In total 104 performatives were involved in fraternal relationships, or just over one-fifth (20.35%) of the sample. The average group size was 3.85 and Table 4.12 below shows the most common group sizes. Fraternal groups ranged in size from 2-7 performatives with a small group of just two being the most common, however, almost half (48.14%) of the groups were in the 4-6 range. Table 4.13 below shows the most common relationship combinations.

**Table 4.12: Size of Fraternal Groups**

Size of Group	Count	%
2 performatives	10	37.04%
3 performatives	2	7.41%
4 performatives	4	14.81%
5 performatives	6	22.22%
6 performatives	3	11.11%
7 performatives	2	7.41%
<b>TOTAL</b>	27	100.00%

Most fraternal groups were represented in isolation<sup>28</sup> (51.85%) but a significant amount (25.93%) were shown with at least one intimate relationship indicating that it was common for a romantically involved couple to be represented with friends.

**Table 4.13: Relationship Combinations in Advertisements with Fraternal Relationships**

Relationship Combination	Count
Just Fraternal	14
Fraternal + Intimate	4
Familial + None	5
Fraternal + Intimate + None	3
Fraternal + Professional + None	1

Similar to the familial category this presents a very white world as Table 4.14 shows. Less than one percent of the performatives are coloured or Indian, while 10.58% are black and the majority (85.58%) are white.

**Table 4.14: Demographic Grouping of Performatives in Fraternal Relationships**

Race	Age	Female	Male	TOTAL
Black	16-24	1	3	4
	25-34	3	4	7
<b>Black Total</b>		4	7	11
Coloured	16-24	0	1	1
<b>Coloured Total</b>		0	1	1
Indian	25-34	1	0	1
<b>Indian Total</b>		1	0	1
White	0-15	1	0	1
	16-24	17	15	32
	25-34	15	24	40
	35-49	7	8	15
	50+	0	2	2
<b>White Total</b>		40	49	89
<b>TOTAL</b>		45	57	104

Slightly over half (54.81%) of the performatives are male, this close divide could demonstrate some level of equality between males and females, however, it is arguably that

<sup>28</sup> The advertisement only featured fraternal relationships.

fraternal groups featuring women serve to weaken homoerotic discourses that could occur from all male groups. This idea of females being included in fraternal groups to weaken homoerotic readings is more pronounced when power relations are looked at. For power relations Goffman's five gender functions were used to reveal patterns of hierarchy within the heterosexual matrix (see Chapter 3 for a full explanation). Table 4.15 below displays the results for licensed withdrawal<sup>29</sup>, ritual subordination<sup>30</sup> and feminine touch<sup>31</sup>.

**Table 4.15: Licensed Withdrawal, Ritual Subordination and Feminine Touch according to Fraternal Relationships**

Gender	Age	Licensed Withdrawal	Ritual Subordination	Feminine Touch	TOTAL
Female	16-24	3	5	5	13
	25-34	1	0	4	5
<b>Female Total</b>		4	5	9	18
Male	16-24	1	0	1	2
	25-34	1	0	0	1
<b>Male Total</b>		2	0	1	3
<b>TOTAL</b>		6	5	10	21

Interestingly, three males were engaged in one of Goffman's (1976) gender functions. The male exhibiting feminine touch was part of an Epson HD projector advertisement. In this advertisement five friends are hiding behind a couch looking startled as they watch a thrilling film on their HD projector. On the left hand side two white females are huddled close together while on the right hand side three white males are huddled close together. While two of the males have more neutral looks to express their fear the one on the left is very expressive and is also biting his finger. However, this advertisement is clearly being played as comedy and the exaggerated performance by the male in question arguably serves to present him as ludicrous or child-like, thus, preserving the competency of 'real' males (Goffman, 1976: 36).

Two of the males exhibited licensed withdrawal. The first of these was an ABSA/VISA Rugby World Cup promotion and presents a black male with three females shopping for dresses. He is looking off out of frame, frustrated and removed from the social scene. Similar

<sup>29</sup> Performative is depicted in a social scene but removed from it. This includes turning one's gaze away or conducting a telephone conversation in a group.

<sup>30</sup> Lowering oneself physically is seen as a sign of deference. Canting postures can be read as an acceptance of subordination and submissiveness.

<sup>31</sup> Child-like fidgeting where the performative uses their fingers and hands to trace the outline of an object, cradle it or touch ones self. It is important to distinguish this from the utilitarian manipulations or holding of objects.

to the Epsom advertisement this is played for comedy and also another exception Goffman (1976) notes is that males of lower social class or different race/ethnic groups are more often portrayed in these 'exceptions' to the rule scenarios. The final instance of licensed withdrawal is an advertisement for Southern Comfort. The top of the text features a checklist, which includes the items: ice; movie, pretzels, sleeping bags; wishful thinking. This text features two males and two females. One of the females is standing on the bed while the other female and one of the males look up at her. In the foreground the other male is lying on the bed staring out of frame and withdrawn from the scene. While this scenario is not played for comedy both females are cropped so that only their bodies are visible rendering them objectified, pairing this with the final note of the checklist at the top of the text, which says "wishful thinking", and the male's half smile as he stares into the distance suggests that he is thinking of possible sexual adventures. It is also arguably significant that the focal point of the social scene is a female's interaction and this is what he is choosing to ignore as he withdraws from the scene.

While all three of these scenarios are arguably exceptions to the intended gendered hierarchical implications of Goffman's (1976) functions, the statistical infrequency (3 out of 57 performatives or 5.26%) of males in these displays compared to the high frequency of females is what is significant. Eighteen of the 45 females (or 40%) are engaged in one of Goffman's (1976) gender displays, which means that close to half of the females in fraternal relationships are highly sexualised and shown as subordinate. Table 4.16 indicates the activities of performatives in fraternal relationships

**Table 4.16: Activity by Gender in Fraternal Relationships**

Activity	Female	Indeterminate	Male	TOTAL
Pose	8	0	4	12
Creative Arts	5	0	6	11
Low Activity	9	0	7	16
Talking	7	0	8	15
Listening	1	0	1	2
Physical Activity (competitive)	0	0	10	10
Physical Activity (non-competitive)	4	2	8	14
Shopping	3	0	0	3
Operating Motor Vehicle	0	0	1	1
Walking	1	0	1	2
Inactive	7	0	11	18
<b>TOTAL</b>	45	2	57	104

Competitive physical activities and operating a motor vehicle are the only two activities that are exclusively male, both activities being stereotypical of traditional masculinity exhibiting force, power and control. While there was only one occurrence of driving a motor vehicle, competitive physical activity was the second most common activity for men in fraternal relationships. Another notable statistic is that twice the number of women were posing and there was a trend (particularly in fashion advertisements) for men to be engaged in a scene while a woman/women would 'strike' a pose and demand the gaze of the audience (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Women demanding the gaze of the audience is a frequent convention in advertising, with men far less likely to look at the viewer for looking signals activity, being looked at, passivity (Dyer, 1982). A good example of this in particular is a Guess advertisement<sup>32</sup> by a pool, with five friends (three female, two male). The two males and one of the females sit at the edge of the pool engaged in conversation with each other while the other two females are standing and staring provocatively at the viewer (or camera). The majority of activities (62.5%) for performatives in the fraternal category were of a relatively low intensity such as talking or being inactive, indicating that the main undertaking of fraternal relationships is to relax or "chill". When these low intensity activities (collective posing, low activity, talking, listening, walking and inactivity) were considered along gender lines, females (73.33%) were represented more frequently than males (56.14%). Masculine performatives are more likely to be seen in fraternal relationships with women who are not involved in more physically engaging activities. Moreover, only 8.89% of the female performatives were depicted as engaged in physical activity while nearly a third (31.58%) of males were. This more relaxed lifestyle approach is further evident in the locations in which fraternal relationships occur.

Most fraternal relationships are represented in the public (72.12%) and outside spaces (68.27%) (see Table 4.17). Interestingly, the most common location is on a road or a pavement (36.54%). This echoes the low intensity activities previously mentioned, with people gathering essentially in transit and socializing. This trend is probably due to the younger age (81.73% are 16-34) of performatives in fraternal relationship as well as the large number of fashion advertisements utilising discourses of "coolness" and "rebellion". Fashion advertisements are unpacked in the next chapter. Two other common locations include a house or the wilderness. While the gender divide between performatives in a house are

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<sup>32</sup> An analysis of this text is presented in the next chapter.

almost even, the wilderness, similarly to familial relationships, is still mostly occupied by masculine performatives, although some women are present. Thus the domestic domain contains mixed gender gatherings while heading into the great outdoors becomes a space for masculine bonding and kinship.

**Table 4.17: Fraternal Relationships by Place**

Spaces	Area	Location	Female	Male	TOTAL
Private	Inside	Studio	0	2	2
		House	6	7	13
	<b>Inside Total</b>		6	9	15
	Outside	Pool/Garden	3	2	5
		<b>Outside Total</b>	3	2	5
	Studio	Studio	6	3	9
	<b>Studio Total</b>		6	3	9
<b>Private Total</b>			15	14	29
Public	Inside	Sport Facility	2	2	5
		Shop	3	1	4
	<b>Inside Total</b>		5	3	9
	Outside	Ocean/Beach	0	2	2
		Sport Facility	1	3	4
		Road/Pavement	17	21	38
		Public Rec. Area	3	2	5
		Wilderness	2	9	12
		Food Service Industry	2	3	5
	<b>Outside Total</b>		25	40	66
<b>Public Total</b>			30	43	75
<b>TOTAL</b>			45	57	104

As previously mentioned fraternal relationships were most common in the clothing product category, Table 4.18 presents the rest.

**Table 4.18: Advertisements with Fraternal Relationships**

Product	Advertisements	Female	Male	TOTAL
Clothing	9	11	16	28
Banking	4	6	4	10
Vehicle	3	9	9	18
Food & Beverages	3	2	9	11
Alcohol	2	4	7	11
Electronics	2	5	4	9
Home Appliances	1	3	2	5
Services	1	3	2	5
Sporting	1	2	2	5
Travel	1	0	2	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	27	45	57	104

Interestingly, while several performatives were involved in either competitive or non-competitive physical activity, there was only one advertisement in the sporting product

category, indicating that advertisers assumed the popularity of physical activity and competition in their representations.

To sum up there are two prominent scenarios for the fraternal relationships of masculine performatives. First, physical activity (usually competitive) accounts for nearly a third of masculine fraternal activity, and this occurs almost solely among men for few females are depicted as engaged in physical activity. Second, nearly three-quarters of females and just over half of men are depicted in scenarios of relaxation without a specific purpose. A significant amount of the females are highly sexualised, indicating that these friendships may be precursors to greater intimacy.

#### 4.1.2.3 Intimate Relationships

Due to the nature of intimate relationships, that is primarily a close connection between two people, the number of performatives in intimate relationships ranks lowest, yet they are the most frequent of the four narrative relationships with a total of 42 different advertisements featuring at least one intimate relationship. Eighty-seven performatives (35.9%) were portrayed in intimate relationships. Table 4.19 shows the size of intimate groups.

**Table 4.19: Size of Intimate Groups**

Size of Group	Count	%
2 performatives	40	95.24%
3 performatives	1	2.38%
4 performatives	1	2.38%
<b>TOTAL</b>	42	100.00%

All but two cases depicted two people in a heterosexual relationship. Of the exceptions, one included two separate couples in the same advertisement. The second depicts a fantasy scenario where a scrawny man has exercised at the gym and is able to enter a relationship with two sexually desirable women.

Table 4.20 indicates that two-thirds (66.67%) of the sample of intimate relationships presents the couples alone while 16.67% depicts intimate relationships in the presence of fraternal relationships.

**Table 4.20: Relationship Combinations in Advertisements with Intimate Relationships**

Relationship Combinations	Count
Just Intimate	28
Intimate + None	5
Intimate + Fraternal	4
Intimate + Professional	1
Intimate + Fraternal + None	3
Intimate + Familial + None	1

At 88.51% this is the most predominantly white of all the relationship categories. Table 4.21 below shows the racial demographic breakdown of performatives in intimate relationships. It is notable that the performatives in intimate relationships are younger, mostly in the 25-34 age range (64.37%) with a considerable weighting in the 16-24 age range (28.74%), meaning that 93.11% of all performatives in intimate relationships are below 35. Mixed-race relationships were rare with only six (6.9%) in the sample and only one of these did not include a white performative.

**Table 4.21: Demographic Grouping of Performatives in Intimate Relationships**

Race	Age	Female	Male	TOTAL
Black	16-24	1	0	1
	25-34	2	3	5
<b>Black Total</b>		3	3	6
Coloured	25-34	1	2	3
<b>Coloured Total</b>		1	2	3
Other	25-34	1	0	1
<b>Other Total</b>		1	0	1
White	16-24	13	11	24
	25-34	23	24	47
	35-49	3	3	6
<b>White Total</b>		39	38	77
<b>TOTAL</b>		44	43	87

Tables 4.22 and 4.23 are concerned with intimate relationships according to relative size and power relations respectively.

**Table 4.22: Relative Size According to Intimate Relationships**

Gender	High	Low
Female	4	29
Male	25	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	29	32 <sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Couples in group situations tended to be sitting and thus were depicted physically lower than some of the other characters accounting for the uneven distribution between high and low performatives in the table.

**Table 4.23: Licensed Withdrawal, Ritual Subordination and Feminine Touch within Fraternal Relationships**

Gender	Age	Licensed Withdrawal	Ritual Subordination	Feminine Touch	TOTAL
Female	16-24	0	2	6	8
	25-34	1	0	7	8
<b>Female Total</b>		1	2	13	16
Male	25-34	1	0	0	1
<b>Male Total</b>		1	0	0	1
<b>TOTAL</b>		2	2	13	17

Almost two-thirds (65.91%) of females were positioned as the lowest performative in the scenes, thereby ensuring that males have a greater physical presence in most instances. Over a third of the females (36.36%) display at least one of Goffman's (1976) gender functions, which either indicate sexual desirability, child-like detachment or both, while only one masculine occurrence of licensed withdrawal was recorded<sup>34</sup>.

In addition, performatives in intimate relationships did not partake in a wide range of activities (see Table 4.24.). Almost two-thirds (62.07%) of the performatives were caressing, which is not surprising given the nature of intimate relationships. Another 22.98% were posing while representations of sexual intercourse were uncommon (4.6%).

**Table 4.24: Activity by Gender in Intimate Relationships**

Activity	Female	Male	TOTAL
Pose	11	9	20
Talking	1	1	2
Caress	27	27	54
Shopping	1	0	1
Sex	2	2	4
Operating Motor Vehicle	0	1	1
Walking	1	1	2
Inactive	1	2	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	44	43	87

Intimate relationships took place generally in private spaces (60.92%) (Table 4.25.) The most common locations included a house (22.99%) or studio<sup>35</sup> sets (28.74%). The private nature of these locations is consistent with discourses of romance and passion, even in many of the public locations passers-by were out of focus, thus generating a private cocoon around the lovers.

<sup>34</sup> This was in the ABSA/VISA advertisement mentioned in the fraternal category. The construction of the advertisement ('Charge to your credit card to win') implies it is he who is paying for the dress and that he is in a relationship with one of the female performatives in the advertisement.

<sup>35</sup> Couples were removed from the original location they were photographed in and 'photoshopped' onto abstract backgrounds.

**Table 4.25: Intimate Relationships by Place**

Space	Area	Location	Female	Male	TOTAL
Private	Inside	Studio	2	2	4
		Resort/Hotel	1	1	2
		House	10	10	20
	<b>Inside Total</b>		13	13	26
	Outside	Pool/Garden	2	2	4
		Field/Park	1	1	2
	<b>Outside Total</b>		3	3	6
	Studio	Studio	11	10	21
<b>Studio Total</b>		11	10	21	
<b>Private Total</b>			27	26	53
Public	Inside	Shop	1	1	2
		<b>Inside Total</b>		1	1
	Outside	Ocean/Beach	1	1	2
		Road/Pavement	6	6	12
		House	2	2	4
		Wilderness	1	1	2
	Field/Park	6	6	12	
<b>Outside Total</b>		16	16	32	
<b>Public Total</b>			17	17	34
<b>TOTAL</b>			44	43	87

Exactly half of the advertisements featuring intimate relationships were for cosmetics (mostly colognes) and featured 48.28% of the performatives. Such products have few objective sellable points and advertisements tend to focus on creating an emotional response and making the product signify desirability. Table 4.26 lists the products linked to advertisements that featured intimate relationships.

**Table 4.26: Advertisements with Intimate Relationships**

Product	Advertisements	Female	Male	Performatives
Cosmetics	21	21	21	42
Clothing	6	6	6	12
Vehicle	5	5	5	10
Electronics	3	3	3	6
Home Appliances	2	3	3	6
Banking	2	3	2	5
Travel	1	1	1	2
Industrial Products	1	1	1	2
Entertainment	1	1	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	42	44	43	87

To sum up, males in intimate relationships are mostly young and white. They have a greater physical presence than their female partners but are still often portrayed as sexually desirable.

#### 4.1.2.4 Professional Relationships

Most of the narrative relationships in the sample were professional, however, this is deceiving. On average advertisements that featured professional relationships had larger groups of performatives than the other categories with an average group size of close to six performatives (5.71) per a text. Thus with only 21 advertisements professional relationships had the most performatives in the sample (120 - 23.48%). Table 4.27 below shows that most professional advertisements only had that type of relationship present.

**Table 4.27: Relationship Combinations in Advertisements with Professional Relationships**

Relationship Combinations	Count
Just Professional	16
Professional + None	3
Professional + Intimate	1
Professional + Fraternal + None	1

The size of professional groups varied, ranging from 2 to 18, table 4.28 below presents this. The size most frequently represented was six, followed by two this reflects that there was either a larger group to reflect more of an office or team environment or that there was a client customer relationship between two people.

**Table 4.28: Size of Professional Groups**

Size of Group	Count	%
2 performatives	4	19.05%
3 performatives	2	9.52%
4 performatives	3	14.29%
5 performatives	1	4.76%
6 performatives	5	23.81%
7 performatives	3	14.29%
10 performatives	2	9.52%
18 performatives	1	4.76%
<b>TOTAL</b>	21	100.00%

Table 4.29 below indicates that the professional world represented is very much a 'boys club'.

**Table 4.29: Demographic Grouping of Performatives in Professional Relationships**

Race	Age	Female	Indeterminate	Male	TOTAL
Black	25-34	5	0	24	29
	35-49	0	0	4	4
<b>Black Total</b>		5	0	28	33
Coloured	25-34	1	0	4	5
	35-49	0	0	2	2
	50+	4	0	0	4
<b>Coloured Total</b>		5	0	6	11
Indian	25-34	3	0	0	3
	35-49	0	0	2	2
<b>Indian Total</b>		3	0	2	5
Other	25-34	0	0	2	2
<b>Other Total</b>		0	0	2	2
White	16-24	0	0	4	4
	25-34	20	0	27	47
	35-49	2	0	14	16
	Indeterminate	0	2	0	2
<b>White Total</b>		22	2	45	69
<b>TOTAL</b>		35	2	83	120

Women make up only 29.17% of all performatives involved in professional relationships. The Familial, fraternal and intimate relationship groups were far closer to a 50/50 split (in the 43-50% range), however, this group is the most racially diverse with less than three-fifths (57.5%) being white. While this might appear equitable this is contradicted when class is taken into account.

All the other relationship types exclusively featured performatives in classes 8-10; however, professional relationships have 18 LSM 1-4 performatives and 21 LSM 5-7 performatives resulting in 32.5% of performatives represented in professional relationships being below LSM 8-10 (Table 4.30). Over two-fifths (42.86%) of the females (compared to 28.92% of males) in professional relationships were identified as below LSM 8-10, indicating lower status and wages. Similarly, 57.58% of black performatives and 45.45% of coloured performatives in the professional relationships category were classified as below LSM 8-10. In addition, after the pose activity unskilled work was also the second most frequently represented activity (tied for first among females with pose) for performatives in professional relationships. Table 4.31 shows the other activities.

**Table 4.30: Class by Gender and Race in Professional Relationships**

Gender	Race	1-4	5-7	TOTAL
Female	Black	0	3	3
	Coloured	4	1	5
	White	0	7	7
<b>Female Total</b>		4	11	15
Male	Black	14	2	16
	White	0	8	8
<b>Male Total</b>		14	10	24
<b>TOTAL</b>		18	21	39

**Table 4.31: Activity by Gender in Professional Relationships**

Activity	Female	Indeterminate	Male	TOTAL
Pose	11	0	25	36
Work (skilled)	2	0	14	16
Creative Arts	2	0	2	4
Talking	4	0	1	5
Listening	3	0	3	6
Physical Activity (competitive)	0	0	11	11
Physical Activity (non-competitive)	1	0	2	3
Caress	1	0	1	2
Operating Motor Vehicle	0	0	2	2
Walking	0	0	1	1
Inactive	0	0	2	2
Play	0	2	1	3
Work (unskilled)	11	0	18	29
<b>TOTAL</b>	35	2	83	120

Skilled work is the third most frequent activity and hardly any females are represented. The high number of performatives posing indicates that many of the advertisements utilising professional relationships were not attempting to portray a narrative scene but rather grouping a bunch of different demographics together to be an inclusive face of a brand. For example an Edgars advertisement represented a multi-racial mixed gender display of businesspeople to advertise its line of suits<sup>36</sup>. Surprisingly, a frequently represented activity was competitive physical activities; probably attributable to the large number of professional athletes in the advertisements. This is indicative of Connell & Messerschmidt's (2005) political contexts of masculinity, with professional athletes being exemplars of regional hegemonic masculinity. On a related note many international professional athletes (e.g. David Beckham and Andre Agassi) were also used in the advertisements, providing a global hegemonic masculinity, however, when they were portrayed they often were not competing in their respective sports but were used as models. Often there was no indication

<sup>36</sup> A critical discourse of this advertisement is presented in Chapter 5.

who these athletes were or that they were even athletes with the advertisers clearly assuming that the athletes themselves were strong enough signifiers for their brand. As mentioned above Pose was the most frequently represented activity (30%) and the studio location was the most frequent location, as table 4.32 shows.

**Table 4.32: Professional Relationships by Location**

Sphere	Area	Location	Female	Indeterminate	Male	TOTAL
Private	Inside	Factory	0	0	12	12
		Office	1	0	3	4
	<b>Inside Total</b>		1	0	15	16
	Studio	Studio	17	2	30	49
	<b>Studio Total</b>		17	2	30	49
<b>Private Total</b>			18	2	45	65
Public	Inside	Sport Facility	1	0	1	2
		Resort/Hotel	11	0	7	18
		Public Re. Area	0	0	9	9
	<b>Inside Total</b>		12	0	17	29
	Outside	Sport Facility	0	0	4	4
		Service Area	0	0	14	14
		Road/Pavement	5	0	3	8
<b>Outside Total</b>		5	0	21	26	
<b>Public Total</b>			17	0	38	55
<b>TOTAL</b>			35	2	83	120

Very few subjects were represented in an office, advertisers rather opting to place professional performatives in abstract studio settings. Other common locations were ones where unskilled work occurred such as factories, service areas and hotels.

Table 4.33 shows the subordinate and dominant relationships constructed between performatives according to gender, race and age.

**Table 4.33: Function Rank in Professional Relationships**

Gender	Race	Age	Dominant	Subordinate	TOTAL
Female	Black	25-34	0	3	3
	<b>Black Total</b>		0	3	3
	Coloured	25-34	0	1	1
	<b>Coloured Total</b>		0	1	1
	White	25-34	0	10	10
	<b>White Total</b>		0	10	10
<b>Female Total</b>			0	14	14
Male	Black	25-34	1	15	16
		35-49	0	1	1
	<b>Black Total</b>		1	16	17
	Coloured	25-34	2	0	2
	<b>Coloured Total</b>		2	0	2
	White	25-34	3	2	5
<b>White Total</b>		3	2	5	
<b>Male Total</b>			6	18	24
<b>TOTAL</b>			6	32	38

Similar to the trends established in the analysis of class, black males and females are most frequently depicted as the subordinate performative. None of the dominant performatives are females. Since dominance in professional relationships signifies the status of the performative in a higher position (most likely a manager) it is noteworthy that all dominant males fit in the 25-34 age range and not the range of more senior staff (35-49 or 50+). The younger males are thus granted higher status.

Table 4.34 shows the products in the advertisements that chose to depict professional relationships. The product type most commonly depicted were vehicles, usually with depictions of the technical teams responsible for the creation of the vehicles, thereby aligning the products with the discourses of science and engineering. Entertainment was a close second (equal in terms of number of advertisements, but with slightly fewer performatives) often depicting the cast of a TV show relating to a particular profession<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> For example an advertisement for the local M-Net Drama series Snitch about a group of undercover South African police officers.

**Table 4.34: Advertisements with Professional Relationships**

Product	Advertisements	Female	Male	TOTAL
Vehicle	6	5	29	34
Entertainment	6	1	28	29
Electronics	4	7	7	14
Services	2	10	10	20
Clothing	1	0	1	3
Travel	1	11	7	18
Sporting	1	1	1	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	21	35	83	120

While in the previous relationship categories hierarchy was revealed through an absence of representation (for example, there were only white and Indian familial representations while there were no black or coloured representations present), what is significant in the constructions of professional relationships was the racial and gendered dimensions with black, coloured and female performatives likely to be represented in low paying jobs. In addition, females were also represented far less than in the other relationship categories. Also the data suggests that the dominant performatives were younger males (25-34), thus in the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM* the professional realm is constructed as a young white man's world.

#### 4.1.2.5 Summary

In the pages of *FHM* and *Men's Health* masculinity is represented as predominantly white, not just in a statistical sense but at a deeper level as well. By looking at the types of relationships masculine performatives are represented in it is clear that white masculinity incorporates a broad spectrum of representation - representations of white males occur at every life stage as children, parents, grandparents, friends, lovers and co-workers. While other races are present their representations are absent from certain life stages and are in less desirable or participatory positions. At a familial level there were few representations overall, however, of the advertisements that did utilise masculine representations they often represented masculinity through an older male passing on knowledge to a younger male(s). When representations depict groups of friends the groups include males mostly in mixed gender groups. In these, the females are more passive than the males and are highly sexualised; males in contrast are presented as more active and highly competitive amongst themselves. In intimate relationships males also have a greater physical presence than their partners. These relationships are also mostly between white performatives and completely

heterosexual. The professional realm presents largely as a “white boy’s club” and many of the females that do inhabit it are presented in subordinate positions and are never in charge.

#### **4.2. Conclusion**

The aim of the study is to investigate the ways in which masculinities are represented in the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men’s Health*. At first glance many of the representations in this sample seem unremarkable and perhaps even normative, or at least that is probably what the publishers might argue. However, this content analysis reveals particular discourses at work validating both white and heterosexual forms of masculinity. These representations of masculinity are highly constructed. I argue that present within the sample are a white hegemonic masculinity, a black complicit masculinity and a white emphasised femininity.

The white hegemonic masculinity in the sample was constructed as powerful, physical, rational and located in the public sphere with little focus on familial relationship. A few changes to the general understanding of hegemonic masculinity<sup>38</sup> exist where males were treated as sexually desirable when in intimate relationships. The emphasised white femininity in the sample was supportive of this focusing mainly on appearance and sexual desirability, complimentary to the symbolic masculine abandoning of family; emphasised femininity was presented as nurturing, which is one of its typical characteristics. At the same time there is a black subordinate masculinity, which enjoys little of the benefits of hegemonic masculinity but is complicit. Firstly, in support of this is that the sample is mostly comprised of white males. However, the difference in the masculinities constructed is more than a matter of frequency as when one looks at the data of narrative relationships it becomes clear that other race/gender identities are constructed very differently from white masculinity. Not only is white masculinity extensively represented but it also has a broader range of representations, which place it in more dominant roles. At the same time the black masculinities are arguably represented in certain advertisements as a subordinate masculinity (Connell, 1995). The best example of this is the comparison between black males 25-34 and white males 25-34, although there are far more white than black males 25-34 (114 vs. 56) the latter group still makes up a sizable percentage of the total sample (11%)

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<sup>38</sup> By its very nature hegemonic masculinity is constantly redefining itself to maintain its dominance, thus, this is to be expected.

and since both groups are in the same age range and the only difference is race one would expect similar representations across relationships. However, the groups are represented in very different relationships and, thus, implicitly different relations of social power. White males 25-34 were represented almost evenly in professional, intimate and fraternal relationships<sup>39</sup> while black males 25-35 were hardly represented in any narrative relationships outside of professional<sup>40</sup>. If the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health* were a play, white masculinity would be the star and black masculinity a supporting player.

There are certain points to be drawn from this. Firstly, there are several discursive strands at play in constructing the sets of masculinities in the sample. On one hand there is a discourse of racial inclusion or political correctness in that many images seem to validate a discourse of 'the rainbow nation', with many professional and fraternal relationships between black and white males. However, there appears to be tension and anxiety present within this discursive regime. Although these multi-racial relationships exist within the texts they do not seem to go much further than simply being inclusive of members of other racial groups. There are few attempts to represent them in richer more meaningful situations (for example the low number of black males in intimate relationships). Thus, I argue that the advertisements are politically correct but are superficial as they are trying to be representative by simple inclusion and not by representing performatives of different races with equal standing. Thus, while there is no evidence of the violent masculinities that the literature identifies (see Chapter 1) there is tension present in the representation of South African masculinity. This tension will be unpacked in the next chapter in the critical discourse analysis.

Another factor that impacts on the sample is the transnational nature of advertising. Within the sample were advertisements that feature international sports stars such as Andre Agassi and David Beckham. Thus there are also examples of a supra-national hegemonic white masculinity at play alongside the regional South African hegemonic white masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). International sports stars are more obvious examples of international campaigns. However, other brands may repurpose creative without adjusting it for local markets.

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<sup>39</sup> 23.7% professional, 21.1% intimate, 21.1% fraternal and 3.5% familial making 69.5% relationships narrative.

<sup>40</sup> 42.9% professional, 3.4% intimate, 7.1% fraternal and 0% familial making 53.4% of relationships narrative.

Based on the data of the CA, I argue, that gender within the sample is hierarchical and that there is a hegemonic white masculinity at both the regional and global levels present within the advertisements. This in itself would be an interesting avenue for research in the production moment of the 'Circuit of Culture' (Johnson, 1983) to assess how international brands and creative influence the advertisements and gender performances of local magazines. These ideas are developed further in the next chapter, which presents a critical discourse analysis of eight texts, which bear out the patterns established in the CA.

## **Chapter 5: The Qualitative Analysis**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter builds on the quantitative findings of the previous chapter, with an in-depth examination of eight texts utilising critical discourse analysis (Chapter 3). All eight texts selected fall into the fashion genre split evenly between narrative and analytical texts. The text selection process is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. The chapter describes the commonalities of the eight selected texts before presenting each individually.

### **5.2 Fashion Texts**

Although a rough distinction has been made in the selection of the texts between analytical and narrative texts most fashion advertisements (among other kinds) act as analytical texts at the meta-level. In fact, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) argue that all fashion pictures are analytical. An analytical process is a part-whole structure where a carrier (the whole) has a number of possessive attributes (the parts). In fashion texts the carrier is the model and the possessive attributes are the clothes<sup>41</sup>. Yet, Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) argue that although fashion pictures are analytical their main purpose is more interactional and emotive:

The interactional system of the gaze dominates: the gaze of represented participants directly addresses the viewers and so establishes an imaginary relation with them, while more schematic analytical pictures invite impersonal, detached scrutiny. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 89-90)

The texts chosen for analysis follow this pattern; they represent the performatives as part of the brand and use them to help connect the brand to the viewer at a personal level.

The common perspective employed in the selected texts reinforces this point. Each text is taken from a low vertical angle and frontal horizontal angle. The horizontal angle of an image determines the producer's, and thus the viewer's, involvement with an image, if it is frontal it indicates that the viewer is from the same world as the represented participants (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 133-140). The vertical angle determines the power relationship between the viewer and the represented participants; a low angle indicates the represented participants have power over the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 140-143). Since all of the texts selected for the critical discourse analysis are produced this way it is

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<sup>41</sup> In turn, one can argue that a fashion advertisement is a large unstructured analytical process with smaller analytical (or narrative) processes embedded within it. Each performative is a possessive attribute of the brand.

important to remember that all the performatives are presented as desirable, however, within these texts hierarchies still occur and will be unpacked.

### **5.2.1 Adidas Originals (Appendix 9)**

The text is an advertisement for the Adidas Originals collection that appeared in the April 2007 issue of *FHM*. Adidas is a global sports fashion brand and the Originals collection is described as follows:

The Originals Group is the authentic, iconic sportswear label for the street and its message is Celebrate Originality. (Adidas, n.d.)

It is a double page advertisement composed of one photograph filling the entire layout. The only other elements in the advertisement are the Adidas Originals logo placed in the lower right corner of the page and a website URL toward the bottom left.

The photograph is set in an almost empty room with floral wallpaper that appears old and peeling off the wall in some places. The grey carpeting on the floor is worn. The four performatives in the picture appear to be in their early twenties. The two white males are actively engaged in a game of croquet, one taking a shot and the other lying on the ground lining up a shot. A white female leans on a croquet mallet. Both she and a black female lean against the wall watching the white male taking his shot. The croquet game appears to be defying the laws of gravity as one of the croquet hoops, the centre peg and three of the balls are suspended on the far right wall. In total there are eight balls in the photograph in a variety of colours (red, green, blue and yellow). On the far left wall is a crooked picture of a floral arrangement hanging up with a yellow ball perching over the edge of the frame. Underneath this lies a knocked over plant pot with soil spilling out onto the floor.

Unlike films or novels the authors of advertisements are not widely publicised, instead the brand acts as the author-function to assist in controlling meaning. Investigating the origins of this advertisement, however, did reveal a wide array of producers all from different locations. This text is part of a large international campaign called Free Thinker consisting of 6 advertisements. The concept was developed by Dutch creative agency 180 Amsterdam and photographed by London-based photographer Naday Kander (Macleod, 2007). Each advertisement in the campaign advertises a different Adidas collection; this text focuses on a collection called Freizeit - the German word for free time or leisure, described as follows:

Freizeit is a range all about leisure, in a tongue-in-cheek way. The heroes in this execution use their Free Thinking power in order to defy gravity. They play croquet in an unconventional way. (Macleod, 2007)

Although the advertisement appears in a men's magazine the collection was designed for both male and female consumers and was placed in lifestyle magazines around the world (Macleod, 2007). As this was the case, it is reasonable to assume that the 'heroes' of the text are all the performatives, however, the textual analysis uncovers a number of interesting patterns that reveal a clear gender hierarchy.

As mentioned in Chapter 3 a text fulfils three meta-functions simultaneously (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Beginning with the ideational meta-function, which deals with how the objects within the text relate to each other, an analysis of the narrative processes<sup>42</sup> reveals that the performatives of different genders are involved in different processes. In the advertisement there are two unidirectional transactional action processes, this is when a vector connects an actor to a goal, the actor being the active participant and the goal being the passive participant in the process (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 63-66). Both white male performatives are engaged in action processes and both of them are actors, one of them is taking a shot while the other is lining a shot up - in both cases a croquet ball is the goal of the process.

In contrast, both female performatives are engaged in transactional reaction processes<sup>43</sup> (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 67-68). Both female reactors are looking at the same phenomenon, which is the male on the right taking his shot. There is a difference between the two female reactors and the male actor on the left. While the male on the left is essentially using his eyes to form a vector towards the ball, the ball is not a phenomenon he is reacting to, it is an object he intends to manipulate and he is preparing to do this. In addition the vector his eyes make with the ball is in tandem with a vector created by his mallet, which is pointing towards the croquet hoop he is aiming for. His mallet is what Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) refer to as a circumstance of means, a tool with which an action process is executed. Conversely, the female on the right also has a mallet but she is not using

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<sup>42</sup> A narrative process is when two participants are connected by a vector and are thus represented as doing something to or for each other.

<sup>43</sup> In a transactional reaction process the vector is formed by an eyeline from a reactor onto a phenomena; in a non-transactional reaction process the phenomena is not present and the audience is left to wonder what the reactor is looking at.

hers to form an action process, thus her mallet is a circumstance of accompaniment, as it has no vectorial relationship with other participants.

However, while she is not using her mallet what is significant is that she has one while the female on the left does not. Since the mallet is a required tool for croquet this indicates that she is part of the game while the other female is purely a spectator. This groups the three white performatives much closer together as all are part of the game. This exclusion of the black female is echoed in the ideational colour scheme of the performatives clothes. Colour can be used to denote classes of people or group unity (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 228-232). The tops that the three white performatives are wearing prominently feature pink and white stripes, unifying them further.

This hierarchy is reinforced through the textual meta-function, that is, how a text forms its internal coherence and textual unity. Saliency is the degree that an element draws attention to itself, perhaps through factors such as size or lighting (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 210). The most salient performative is the white male on the right as he takes up more space than the others, is just off the centre of the advertisement and a number of strong vectors direct the eyeline of viewers toward him (i.e. the glance of the females, the bent knee of the white female, the mallet of the other white male, and the wicket/peg attached to the wall).

Meanwhile the bodies of the two males form a frame<sup>44</sup> that encloses the females. Hence, in the text the females and males are portrayed as different. This framing device is interesting, firstly because it is softer<sup>45</sup> than a full frame, indicating a degree of similarity and belonging and also because it is the bodies of the males themselves which are cutting the females off from the rest of the scene.

Looking at the interpersonal meta-function - how the text relates the performatives to the participants we see that none of the performatives are looking directly at the audience which implies they are an offer. Here an offer implies that none of the represented participants are looking directly at the viewer and are thus depicted impersonally as items of information or objects of contemplation "as though they were specimens in a display case" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006:151). In this regard what is on offer differs according to gender.

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<sup>44</sup> Framing devices are used to signify unity (if they are in the same frame) or differentiation (if a frame separates them) among participants in a text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 203).

<sup>45</sup> Framing devices can differ in intensity, representing different social distances among participants (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 203).

The males are involved in action and their faces (an important aspect of human identification) are obscured or partially shown. To view them is to view their activities; what is significant then is what they do. The design of the advert proposes it is the males who "use their free thinking power in order to defy gravity". The females on the other hand are positioned with their faces in plain sight of the viewer; they are also not engaged with any tasks. To view the females is to view them as objects of contemplation.

The poses and body types of these gendered bodies are similarly significant. The two females are of a similar body type as are the two males who are larger than the females in height, but are slim, not muscular and wearing fairly loose fitting clothes. Although casually dressed the females wear tighter clothes thereby placing more emphasis on the female form. Their posture also exhibits certain gender specific sexualised traits. First, the white female exhibits what Goffman (1976) refers to as the feminine touch: she is lightly touching her croquet mallet with her fingers. Both females are bending their knees bashfully while the white female is also canting her head demonstrating ritualised subordination (Goffman, 1976). These poses are understood to be sexualised and suggest that the female is submissive, powerless and dependent (Jhally, 2009) whereas the males are active and in charge of their surroundings.

The text, I argue, presents a young supra-national hegemonic white masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), one that is at the same time relaxed and active. The males in this text are calm and in charge of their surroundings. They are complemented by an emphasised femininity that is sexualised and on display while there is a hierarchical relationship between the two genders.

### **5.2.2 Guess by Marciano (Appendix 10)**

This text, a single page advertisement for Guess by Marciano appeared in the December 2006 issue of *Men's Health*. Guess by Marciano is a spin off of the Guess brand and is described on the corporate website as follows:

In 2004, the company expanded with a new retail concept and contemporary collection called Marciano. The Marciano brand offers a fashion-forward collection designed for trend-setting women and men. (*Our Story*, n.d)

The text consists of a single photograph with one additional element, namely the "Guess by Marciano" logo in the bottom right corner. The text presents an outdoor scene with five

performatives, three females and two males, around a pool with banana trees in the background. Towards the centre back of the image stands a white female with a pink guitar. She faces the camera with her left leg stretched out, resting on a chair to allow her to balance the guitar on her thigh. In front of her is a white male on a deck chair with one of the white females sitting on his lap. They have their arms around each other and look at the other white male sitting on the ground alongside the pool. Both white males are wearing sunglasses. Standing to the right of the white male on the ground is another white female; she stands in the pool and looks straight at the camera pouting.

The text is part of an international campaign for the Guess by Marciano Spring 2006 line<sup>46</sup> that draws on 1960s Hollywood for its inspiration depicting a band touring California (Galasso, 2009a; Galasso, 2009b). The performatives in the text can be identified in two groups, the performatives that are offers and the performatives that are demands<sup>47</sup>. The two females on the right are engaged in non-transactional reaction processes; the phenomenon they are looking at is the viewer. In this way they demand the viewer's gaze and their seductive pouting suggests that they are demanding the gaze as objects of desire. In fact, they exhibit many of the concepts Goffman (1976) identifies as hyper ritualization, namely licensed withdrawal for they are both uninvolved with the rest of their group; the ritualization of subordination as the female on the right is canting and the other female is stretching and bending her leg; and the feminine touch, for the female with the guitar is lightly holding the guitar plectrum in between fingers while the female on the right is self touching. This reading is confirmed by the behind the scenes videos of the campaign (Galasso, 2009a; Galasso, 2009b) containing other posed photographs that extend these constructions of sexualised and provocative performances of femininity, for example, one of the female models lies provocatively on a bed, contorting and bending her legs; and two of the female models embrace each other intensely, pouting at the camera and licking their lips. Thus, they, and the females in the campaign in general, are highly sexualised. Guess co-founder and creative director Paul Marciano describes what he looks for in Guess Girls (note, not Guess Women):

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<sup>46</sup> A few behind the scenes videos of the campaign shoot are available online (Galasso, 2009a; Galasso, 2009b).

<sup>47</sup> A demand refers to the strategy of representing the participant's gaze as directed at the viewer, 'demanding' that the viewer enter into an imaginary relation with him or her (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 116-124).

Since the day we started Guess, the brand has always stood for young, sexy and adventurous, and it is these same qualities that I look for in the models that become Guess Girls. (Tran, 2012)

Guess has been criticised for their representation of women in this regard as passive, supportive and decorative (Jhally, 2009). Interestingly these two females are the most salient elements in the text. Their relative size is larger than the other performatives. The female with the guitar has centre position and the guitar and her leg form vectors pointing to the female on the right. However, they also are not connected to the rest of their group through any vectors. In this sense they are decorative and far more like the performatives in non-narrative advertisements. These sexualised demands act performatively in two ways, firstly they are a subject position that females can adopt to be seen as an object of desire for the male gaze. But, I argue more importantly, they also act to 'hail' the (male) viewer into adopting a position of sexual attraction, in effect enforcing a macho discourse of masculine behaviour that encourages men to stare at women they are sexually attracted to.

Moving then to considering the 'offers', these include the interactors<sup>48</sup>, specifically the white female and male on the chair that have their arms around each other. However, her position on his lap like a child serves to infantilise her. The male's arms also form a framing device, isolating her from the rest of the scene.

In addition they are both engaging in transactional reaction processes and the phenomena they are looking at is the other male. He seems to be engaging in a non-transactional reaction out of frame. The phenomena he is responding to is hidden from the viewer and is thus of interest, especially since two of the other performatives are looking at him. His smile and their smiles, however, indicate that the three are all engaged so he is not drifting out of the scene. When comparing the two groups, two interesting points arise. First, the two females posing are essentially isolated from each other and the scene as a whole. The other female is part of the conversation, however, she is there as part of a couple and in a childlike display sits on her partners lap like a little girl with her father. Implicitly she both needs to have a male partner to get access to the conversation and also needs 'adult' supervision. Second, the conversation revolves around the single male as the couple give

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<sup>48</sup> Interactors are participants in a transactional action process where the vector is emanating from and directed at both. This can be seen in a number of actions such as two performatives talking to each other, embracing each other, or involved in an activity like playing a game of catch (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 65-66).

him their full attention, suggesting a hierarchical preference for him – the ideal Guess man, free from attachment and, arguably considering the other two sexualised females in frame, sexually promiscuous.

It is noteworthy that only the males are wearing sunglasses, for sunglasses serve to mask the gaze and make it harder for a viewer to form a personal connection with the performative (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 251). Even though the group of three smiling are all offers to the viewer's gaze, the sunglasses shield the males, preventing the viewer from getting close. Marciano describes the Guess Guy (note again, not Guess Boy):

The Guess Guy has to have a masculine presence and project a strong personality as a counterpoint to the sensuality of the women in the campaigns. (Tran, 2012)

In this sense there is a conscious commitment by Guess to make sure that females and males are represented as binary oppositions in their advertisements. While the females are decorative, supportive, and passive, the males are utilitarian, dominating and active. In the behind the scenes video (Galasso, 2009b) the dialogue of the male models being interviewed echoes this. One of the models refers to their experience as “veterans”, a word more commonly used with soldiers of war and American professional sports<sup>49</sup>, two very masculine spaces while referring to the less masculine occupation of modelling. The same model, when asked about the weather states, “It's very western, just our type, we're cowboys.” The other male model expands on this: “It's very manly you know, every guy likes to be a badass...” These two models constitute themselves as veterans, cowboys and ‘badasses’ and seek to perform accordingly in the construction of the advertisement.

Guess, I therefore argue, also constructs a supra-national hegemonic white masculinity, one that, with a touch of nostalgia, harkens back to earlier discourses and constructs itself as tough and detached, surrounded by extremely infantilised and sexualised femininities.

### **5.2.3 Puma - French 77 (Appendix 11)**

The advertisement for Puma's French 77 collection appeared in the May 2007 issue of *Men's Health*. Puma is a global sports fashion brand and the French 77 collection, which targets both male and female consumers, is described as follows:

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<sup>49</sup> As seen on the NHL statistic page (*NHL.com – Stats*, n.d.) where players can be sorted between rookies and veterans.

Harking back to the decadent Seventies, Puma's French 77 collection is filled with colourful halter bikinis, track suits and tennis skirts that have us wishing for yesteryear. (*PUMA French 77 Collection*, 2007)

The single full-page advertisement features a minimalist image on a white background. Emerging from a giant white shoe in the lower portion of the text is a path of discs leading up to a group of about 9 people dancing, of which one black male, one white male and three white females from the group are discernible. Walking towards the group, on the path of discs, is a couple. The couple consists of a white male and female, holding hands. Only the back of the white female is visible to the viewer while the white male turns towards the viewer and smiles. In the lower right corner the French 77 and Puma logos are present along with the URL "puma.com".

The text was part of a global campaign that included 4 television spots<sup>50</sup>. Each spot features an abstract white background and focuses on the same couple and a parallel between their environment and their attire:

In "Stairs", a young man and woman vault a row of black discs that are revealed to be perforations in his Puma shoes. The woman zips up her yellow jacket zipper in "Zipper", converging her path with his as they walk. "Rain" sees the drawstrings from his Puma jacket quickly compact the tennis court they're on, and in "Cliff" a host of blue bars becomes a massive graphic EQ for the pair to jump onto and then walk away on into the proverbial sunset. (Fetterplace, 2007, April 5).

This text corresponds with the television commercial *Stairs*, created by the New York based agency Late Night & Weekends.

The text is essentially composed of two groups, the couple and the party. Starting with the party all the performatives are engaged in a non-transactional activity – dancing - they are actors but they have no goal. The party group are also extremely far away in an extremely long shot indicating that the viewer has far less of a personal relationship with them than the couple. However, the angle is low granting power to the represented participants, thus, proposing this as a desirable situation and reinforced by the unidirectional transactional action process the couple are engaged in - they are walking towards their goal the party.

The individuals in the party group function as circumstances of accompaniment (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), they each could be excluded without changing the meaning of the

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<sup>50</sup> *Stairs* (Puma – *Stairs*, n.d.), *Zipper* (Puma – *Zipper*, n.d.), *Rain* (Puma – *Tennis Rain*, n.d.) and *Cliff* (Puma – *Puma Audio*, n.d.).

text. Thus, the group is secondary to the couple. While the only black male in the text is ascribed a highly visible role in the group, since it is as an accompaniment, his removal would do little to change the meaning of the text making him unessential. As discussed earlier, all performatives in the eight texts are represented as desirable. However, since the black male is unessential in the text it can be argued that he is not enacting a strong version of masculine dominance but is still benefiting from it (see Chapter 2 and Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) and is, therefore, assuming a complicit masculinity. This casting becomes explicit in the behind the scenes video (*PUMA CAMPAIGN VIDEO SHOOT- Behind the scenes with Late Night, 2007, April 3*) and the four television commercials where the focus centres on the white couple, relegating the other actors in the campaign to glimpses in the background.

The couple hold hands signifying a “sexually potential, exclusive relationship” (Goffman 1976:56). This functions as a transactional action, with the white male as actor and the white female as goal; the positioning of their arms suggests that his hand is on top and thus he is leading her. Although a relatively gender symmetrical power sign, asymmetry can be noticed in the tendency for the male to hold the female hand – enabling him to decide, if and when, to let go and giving him the power to direct and guide the female (Goffman, 1976: 56), thereby also signifying protectiveness. This pattern of the male controlling the female’s movement is present in the four television commercials that constitute the campaign. In *Rain* the male puts his arm and coat around the female slowly, then runs out of frame shielding her from the rain. In *Cliff*, the male takes the female’s hand and they walk off in a slow controlled manner. In *Zipper* the female grabs the male’s hand and then does an excited spin as she settles under his arm after which they walk at a more controlled pace. In *Stairs* a similar thing happens but the female runs along in front of the male, skipping and spinning, for a longer amount of time before nestling underneath his arm. In both cases while the female leads for a short time she eventually retreats into a “shoulder hold” with the male, a more subordinate position accepting direction and constraint (Goffman, 1976). The distinct differences in the scenarios are interesting as they highlight key hegemonic gendered discourses, firstly, that masculinity (particularly white masculinity) is less expressive than femininity, secondly, and conversely, that femininity is infantilised with less emotional control, and, finally, that femininity is subordinate.

There is a stronger relationship between the brand and the male in the advertisement than between the brand and the female. This is established through the most salient object in the text, the large shoe at the bottom of the page. The salience of the shoe is increased through the vector created from the discs emerging from it. The couple walk along these towards the party, in this sense, the shoe marks the start of their journey that ends with the party. Thus, the shoe is not only the advertised product but serves as the vehicle for the couple to arrive at their desired location. The male and the shoe share a matching colour scheme, ideationally linking them, granting the male similar symbolic importance and positioning within the text.

The white male additionally engages in a non-transactional reaction process, which is simultaneously a demand of the audience. He is smiling, thereby inviting the audience into a relationship of social affinity with him (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 151). In contrast the white female faces away from the viewer, rendering her as just a body. She serves as a circumstance of means (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) as her value is more to tell us about the white male than herself. She could be replaced by a number of objects (e.g. a walking stick, a dog on a leash) and it would alter some information about the white male but the basic message of the text would remain. A complicit black masculinity that is on the fringes is incorporated into the scene. Again the emphasised femininity constructed entails objectification and infantilisation. In the world of Puma other race and gender identities are constructed as complementary to white hegemonic masculinity. In this advertisement, the form of masculinity is more playful than those of Guess and Adidas (The white male smiles at the viewer and in the companion Television spots he engages in aimless play with the white female). While it is younger and more boyish in this sense, it remains far more controlled and less expressive than its counter-point femininity that also functions as complementary. In line with the trend in the former analyses, the gendered discourses are at the supra-national level.

#### **5.2.4 Reebok Classics (Appendix 12)**

The advertisement for the Reebok Classic collection appeared in the December 2006 issue of *Men's Health*. Reebok is a global brand that originally started in the UK. In 2006 it became a subsidiary of Adidas (*Reebok History*, n.d.). The Reebok corporate site defines the brand as follows:

Reebok is an American-inspired, global brand that creates and markets sports and lifestyle products built upon a strong heritage and authenticity in sports, fitness and women's categories. The brand is committed to designing products and marketing programs that reflect creativity and the desire to constantly challenge the status quo. (*Reebok History*, n.d.)

The text contains seven participants, three white males, two white females and two black males all between 16 and 24. The single page advertisement consists largely of a single photograph. The scenario occurs on top of a rooftop parking lot with a city view in the background. On the top left of the text one of the black males sits on top of the parking lot barrier talking to one of the white females. The other four participants are gathered around a blue convertible Mini Cooper. The second white female is standing and leaning on the left side of the car looking towards the camera. The passenger side front door is open and one of the white males is sitting with a pizza box and licking one of his fingers. To the right of him is another white male reaching for a slice of pizza. Above both of them is the third white male who seems to be standing in the car on the driver's side looking towards them. On the far right of the text the second black male is leaning on the trunk of the car looking towards the pizza box. All of the performatives are wearing shades of red, white, blue, black or grey. In the bottom left corner there is an overlay of a grey wyvern<sup>51</sup> badge. To the right of this is the Reebok logo rendered with stitches to look like a badge sewn onto clothing. Alongside the logo is a Union Jack. The wyvern and union jack also appear on the clothing of some of the performatives. Underneath this is the word "Classic". Below this is the copy "Classics Range now available at Reebok Concept Stores and other leading retail outlets, while stocks last". Finally in the lower left corner of the page the copy reads "Mini Cooper courtesy of SMG Durban".

While no further information on the broader campaign this advertisement formed part of was accessed, the copy cited above as well as the city skyline indicates that the advertisement was shot in Durban and thus, unlike the other three narrative advertisements discussed, was produced locally in South Africa. The clothing of the entire group is in a common colour scheme (of red, grey, blue and white), thus employed ideationally to indicate inclusiveness and unity among the group.

There are three action processes in the advertisement. Two of these involve two of the white males engaging in a unidirectional transactional action process with the pizza box. The

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<sup>51</sup> In heraldry, a mythical being depicted as having two legs, a dragon's head, wings, and a long tail.

one sitting in the passenger seat is licking his finger presumably after finishing a slice of pizza. This is different from the infantilisation Goffman (1976) identifies when women put their fingers in their mouths like children indicating nervousness, uncertainty or shyness, for this is a utilitarian action – removing pizza grease from his finger. The white male sitting next to him forms a vector with his arm as he grabs a slice of pizza. Both actions point to a desire and impulse that the other performatives do not display. They are fulfilling a physiological<sup>52</sup> desire aggressively while the others show restraint and control.

That these are the major processes in the text is indicated in the following ways. Firstly, both the white male standing in the car and the black male standing by the trunk of the car are engaged in transactional reaction processes. They are reacting to the two other white males eating pizza. Elements of the textual meta-function reinforce this argument. The two males eating pizza combine as a single element to serve as the most salient part of the advertisement. Together they form the largest unit and they are positioned centrally in the image. In addition, the reactional vectors lead the gaze of viewers towards them as previously mentioned. At the same time the car acts as a soft framing device separating all the white males from the rest of the group. The two white males with the pizza also both wear prominently light grey shirts and they are surrounded by three performatives in mostly dark blue tops, the colour of the car. In this way the design of the text positions the white males as central with the white females and black males at the margins. By presenting them as “Centre” signifies that “the nucleus of the information to which all the other elements are in some sense subservient” (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006:196). By positioning the black males furthest from the centre, at the edges of the page, they are constituted as a less significant part of the text.

The final transaction process is a minor one. Towards the back of the picture are a black male and a white female talking to each other. In this bidirectional transactional action process, each participant is both actor and goal. In this way the white females and black males on the margins are similarly positioned in the framing of the text. As the black male is sitting on a wall, his higher positioning causes the female to look up to him. As previously mentioned this indicates an asymmetrical power relationship (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Goffman, 1979). In this text then emphasised femininity has a lower social status than complicit masculinity.

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<sup>52</sup> A basic need or characteristic required by an organism to live.

The white female leaning on the car is also engaged in a reaction process but in a non-transactional relationship with the viewer. She is also the only performative demanding the viewer's gaze. Like the two females in the Guess advertisement she is pouting, suggesting that a demand for the viewer's gaze as an object of desire. She serves as an accompaniment for she has no vectorial relationships with the other participants. In addition, she uses the car to support herself and exhibits Goffman's (1976) ritualization of subordination (she is canting her body) and feminine touch (she is leaning on the car, her hands are both open and lightly resting on her body and the car). Thus, her femininity is subordinate and delicate. It is significant that while the viewer has full access to the central female's gaze and can follow the gaze of the other white female and the black male on the left, the white male performatives and one of the black ones are wearing sunglasses which mask the gaze, making it harder for the viewer to form a personal connection (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 251). Again, the males (particularly the white males) are less emotionally available to the viewer.

Finally, the symbolic processes at work are significant, for example, the pizza and the convertible car. Pizza is fast food that can be eaten with just your hands (no cutlery or plates required), is usually able to feed a group, and is also frequently associated with teenagers and adolescence in western discourses (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2012: 168). Cars, particularly convertibles, work symbolically as an American symbol for individuality and freedom (Hirschman, 2003). Although the climate of South Africa is well suited to convertible cars they are arguably not very practical or common, perhaps linked to the high crime rate. There is nothing uniquely South African about this text and it mostly utilises multi-national western discourses, meaning it could be reproduced in other territories without complicating interpretation significantly.

As this narrative text was produced in South Africa, unlike the others, one might anticipate a greater sensitivity to a multi-racial scenario. This is true to a degree – there are more black performatives in this text; one of them is interacting with another performative; and neither is relegated to an extreme long shot. However, the black masculinity is still produced differently from the white masculinity and is more similar to the white femininity in the text as a result of its similar positioning on the margins of the text and the lack of action processes. Thus, arguably this functions as a complicit black masculinity in contrast to the white hegemonic masculinity depicted as young, free, mobile and easy-going.

### 5.2.5 Queenspark (Appendix 13)

The advertisement for Queenspark appeared in the December 2006 issue of *Men's Health*. Queenspark is a South African clothing chain founded in the 1980s (Queenspark, n.d.). The single full-page advertisement features two male performatives, one white and one black. There is a brown bar taking up approximately one eighth of the height of the page at the bottom. The white male is in the foreground of this bar and the black male in the background. Above the bar is a coastal setting with large rocks behind the two performatives. On the left of the bottom bar is a picture of a Queenspark store credit card, under this are the words "Comfort & Style get credit at Queenspark". On the right of the page is the Queenspark logo with the website URL as well as information about the clothing that the two performatives are wearing.

No information about the production of the text or the campaign could be accessed. Possibly since Queenspark is a smaller national brand, it is unlikely that this advertisement was produced by a major creative agency.

There are certain interesting elements in this simple layout in regard to the representation of the two performatives. There seems to be an uneasy balance between accepting the equality of these two performatives and establishing a white hierarchy. In terms of equal representation, both men are granted a position of power over the viewer through the low angle framing and both performatives stare coldly out, demanding the gaze of the audience as an inferior relating to a superior (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Both men are posed upright with their hands in their pockets, a common masculine pose that signifies confidence and strength, as well as comfort and control of their environment (Jhally, 2009). As the setting of the text is a natural environment there is a further suggestion of their masculine control and comfort in nature.

On the other hand, the salience of the white male, compared to the black male, is quite striking. He is so much larger that he cannot be contained in the frame of the text with the top of his head, right arm and legs leaving the page. A close look at the centreline where the two performatives connect shows an unnatural depth perspective. Examining the fold of the white male's shirt reveals that it is overlapping the pants of the black male, however, higher up the black male is positioned in front of the white males left arm. The black males legs are behind the brown bar, which acts as a framing device separating the black male

from the white male and the viewer. It appears these two performatives were photographed separately and the designer used creative license in positioning the elements in defiance of general rules of perspective. Both males are wearing blue striped shirts but the stripes on the white males are thicker and a much darker blue which grant him prominence and thus increases his salience.

Finally, the layout is consistent with Kress & van Leeuwen's (2006) compositional concept of given and new. They propose that when elements are placed on the left of a layout they are presented as given, something that the viewer already knows, is familiar with and agrees to. When something is placed on the right it is new; it can be something, which is not yet known or not yet agreed upon. The "New" is therefore 'problematic', 'contestable', 'the information "at issue" ', while the "Given" is presented as commonsensical, self-evident" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 181). Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) also note that this kind of structuring is ideological and therefore can be accepted or rejected by a reader. The white male is placed on the left as given while the black male is placed on the right as new. The elements previously analysed reveal that this "new" is not necessarily an easily accepted one in the text.

This text is a good example of how two performatives who are represented almost identically in terms of two of the metafunctions (ideational and interpersonal) can still be produced within a hierarchical power structure through a single metafunction (textual). The text constructs a white and black masculinity that are almost equal but still positions white masculinity in a more prominent role. It was argued that this text was most likely constructed in South Africa and it does utilise discourses of political correctness and 'the rainbow nation' but at the same time empowering white hegemonic masculinity.

#### **5.2.6 Coty - My Life (Appendix 14)**

The "My Life" advertisement by Coty for a cologne spray appeared in the December 2006 issues of *FHM* and *Men's Health* and the January 2007 issue of *FHM*. As a global cosmetics company Coty produces and markets a range of products that include fragrances, colour cosmetics and body care (Coty in a Snapshot, n.d). The full single page advertisement is split into a grid of six cells of equal width, but the upper 3 cells take up around 75% of the height of the page. The upper three cells each contain a photograph of a different male performative in city locations. The cell on the far left features a white male standing with his

hands in his pockets looking to the left of the page at something out of frame. The middle features a black male walking towards the viewer, with his gaze focused directly at them. On the far right cell is a black male who is also standing with his hands in his pockets and he is gazing slightly to the left at the viewer. The lower left cell features a product shot of the cologne spray next to its packaging. The middle block is a dark blue square with the logo for My Life knocked out in white. The final square features a turquoise block with “Coty – Paris – New York” written in the same blue as the previous square. The photographs in the advertisement similarly have a blue tint. The layout forms a horizontal triptych, a convention discussed by Kress and Van Leeuwen:

The triptychs in modern magazines and newspaper layouts are generally polarized, with a ‘Given’ left, a ‘New’ right, and a centre which bridges the two and acts as ‘Mediator’ (2006: 198).

Language does not work by expressing a natural meaning but rather by making a distinction within a system of difference and relationships (Saussure, 1983). Thus, the white male acts as the ‘given’, the central black male as the ‘mediator’ and the black male on the far right as the ‘new’. The black male in the middle shares traits with both of the other performatives – his clothes are more casual than the other black males but they are both wearing blazers. While the two males on the right are black, the central black male and white male share similar clean cut styles while the black male on the right has wild long hair dreadlocks and facial hair. The male representing the ‘new’ offers a representation of a newer masculinity that is not white.

All three males engage in non-transactional reaction processes, however, at the interpersonal level the two black males are breaking the fourth wall and demanding the gaze of the viewer – and due to their cold expressions they are looking at the viewer as an inferior (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). The white male’s gaze is an offer, thus, evoking curiosity as to what he is looking at out of the frame on the left. In this sense the viewer is left to imagine what he is looking at, thus evoking a sense of empathy and identification with this performative (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 68). In layout design it is a common principle that the viewer will follow the eye line of a person or anything with an anthropomorphic face in an image, a practice supported by eye tracking tests (White, 2011). It is interesting then that his gaze leads the viewers out of the advertisement and away from the black males.

The black male in the centre is the most salient performative, as a consequence largely of his central position; in addition he is involved in the only action process in the text. It is a non-transactional process as there is no goal. However, from the perspective of the interpersonal meta-function, the actor is walking towards the audience. As the three males are depicted in entirely different photographs, this strong framing is indicative of individuality and differentiation (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006: 203). Yet the similar colour scheme throughout with a blue tint and desaturated colours seem to indicate more that the performatives are individuals rather than stressing significant differences between them. All of them represent the desired masculinity that the brand is trying to associate itself with. Both the white male on the left and the black male on the right have their hands in their pockets, which, as noted previously, is a recurring pose of western masculine discourses signifying confidence and strength.

The advertisement was produced in South Africa as part of a larger campaign that included a television commercial with the same three models. In it, the commercial cuts between the three models delivering a voice over as they walk around the city. Here is a transcript of the dialogue in the commercial (Black Male 1 denotes the central black male while Black Male 2 denotes the black male on the right):

White Male: Look, it's simple. There's a certain walk and a certain talk.

Black Male 1: It's about having an edge and ambitions.

White Male: It's about knowing what's best for me.

Black Male 2: In my work, in my future.

Black Male 1: Fulfilling my dreams.

Black Male 2: It's having that car.

White Male: And that girl.

Black Male 1: And those choices.

White Male: And these choices.

Black Male 2: It's my rules. My decisions.

White Male: And what gets me going? My charm.

Black Male 2: My freedom.

Black Male 1: My way.

Black Male 2: It's my life.

White Male: It's my Life.

Black Male 1: It's my life. (*Coty My Life.mpg*, 2011)

The dialogue constitutes masculinity within a capitalist consumer and patriarchal discourse that endorses ambition, success and possessing the object markers of such success – the car

and the 'girl'. The choice of 'girl' rather than 'woman', again suggests infantilisation (Goffman, 1976; Jhally, 2009).

Arguably, this text does not construct a white hegemonic masculinity, rather constructing a metropolitan consumerist hegemonic masculinity. The vertical triptych even suggests an acceptance of the transferral of hegemony from being white to a non-racial hegemony, with a progression from a white performative to a more African/black performative and a masculinity that is part of both worlds as the mediator. However, the white male's eyeline looking out of frame could arguably suggest some tension with this new discursive order, although it is more likely that this is to avoid homoerotic readings. This is further pronounced in the television commercial with the desire to possess "that girl", a line delivered by the white male possibly indicating reluctance to embrace black male sexuality. Although the crucial point is that while the hegemonic masculinity presented in this text is non-racial it is still heterosexual.

### **5.2.7 Daniel Hechter (Appendix 15)**

The advertisement for the Daniel Hechter collection appeared in the December 2006 issue of *FHM*. The South African fashion retailer Truworths has an exclusive carriage deal with the brand. Daniel Hechter is a global fashion brand, which is described on their corporate site as follows:

Fashion from Daniel Hechter conveys a lifestyle feeling, rendering the brand both authentic and appealing. (*Brand Daniel Hechter*, n.d.)

Most of the space in the double page advertisement is taken up by a single photograph of a black male leaning against a pillar looking out into the distance off the right side of the page. The man is cropped just below his chest. Overlaid on top of him on the left page is the copy "An invitation to view Daniel Hechter collection ETÉ<sup>53</sup> 2006". On the far right is a column, which is slightly smaller than half a single page. On the top of the column is a block of text and below this are two more blocks containing photographs. At the top of the block of text is the "Daniel Hechter Paris" logo and below this is the copy "Speak French without saying a word. Exclusive to Truworths". The first photograph on the right features the same black male in the background and a white male in the foreground. The black male is staring towards the viewer while the white male is staring out of frame. The photograph below this

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<sup>53</sup> ETÉ is French for summer.

features a white female sitting on a couch. Behind her is the same white male from the frame above with his arm around her. The white female is staring out of frame and the white male is staring at her. There is copy superimposed on each photograph listing the clothing the models are wearing along with the price. At the bottom right of the text is fine print listing the details of the collection and the pricing terms and conditions. It is unclear who produced the text but it is likely that the text was produced in South Africa. However, it is possible that the main layout was created by the international main brand creative agency and that a local creative team added the relevant local details such as price and location.

This text is essentially composed of three different scenes, each separated by strong framing. No narrative unfolds within the frames, as in sequential art; instead they appear to be three separate snapshots. The most salient of these is the isolated photograph of the black male, his relative size being approximately 75% of the total size of the text. He is engaged in a non-transactional reaction process looking out of the frame. He is an offer for the gaze of the viewer, an item of contemplation.

In the second frame the same black male is present this time behind the white male. Although the black male is the most salient performative in the text as a whole, in this frame he is smaller than the white male in the foreground. This instance of him is also the only demand in the text, as he looks at the viewer with some disdain, thus commanding their respect. Both men have relatively intimidating expressions in this picture where they are in the presence of another man, more so than they do in the other photographs. The white male is an offer looking out of the frame. His prominence due to his relative size and his positioning in the frame makes him more dominant with his eye-line taking the viewer out of the frame away from the black male.

In the third photograph the white male has his arm around the white female. He is an actor – the only actor in the text – and the white female is his goal. At the same time he is also the reactor in a transactional reaction process and the white female is the phenomena. The white female is engaged in a non-transactional reaction process, staring off at an undisclosed phenomenon. While at the interpersonal level the audience is more likely to find the female of interest and wonder what she is thinking, at an ideational level she is the object of the males gaze. His gaze is cold and also confident while she exhibits what Goffman (1976) described as licensed withdrawal, that is, being unaware of her immediate surroundings. Although both the male and the female are offers to the viewers gaze, the

male's reaction process and the positioning of his body make the female the most salient in the frame and thus the viewer and the male are both engaged at looking at the female.

Arguably, the most interesting aspect of the text is the composition, which if the large image of the black male is read as the top picture, forms a vertical triptych. A triptych can either form a simple symmetrical structure or a polarised structure, in a vertical triptych the polarised structure distinguishes between the 'ideal' element being at the top, the middle element being the mediator and the bottom element being the 'real' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 199). Thus, it can be argued that the solo black male representation is an 'ideal', the white male dominating over the complicit black male is the 'mediator' and the hegemonic white male protecting and gazing at the white emphasised female is 'reality'. The ideational colour scheme supports this as both the white and black male in the second frame share clothes that feature red, as does the white male in the third frame, linking these two frames closer together than the more salient image of the black male alone.

Similar to the Queenspark text the discursive practices in this one also suggest a white heterosexual hegemonic masculinity, although not as easily noticeable on the surface level of this text. Arguably this text went to great lengths to emphasise black masculinity and make it prominent in the text through the salience of the black male alone. However, this is still superficial and once again white male sexuality is presented juxtaposed to an impotent black masculinity. Arguably this text is a site for tension between black masculine political power in South Africa and local/international white masculine economic power. Although it embraces the former the text still reproduces the hegemony of the latter.

### **5.2.8 Edgars (Appendix 16)**

The final text is an advertisement for the Edgars Charter Club range that appeared in the May 2007 issue of *Men's Health*. Edgars is a southern African regional fashion retailer and their corporate site describes their brand as follows:

Edgars merchandise offering provides a dominant assortment of trendy and fashionable products that represents clear value in terms of both quality and price. We remain the leading national distributor of top global brands, supplemented by a value-for-money range of core merchandise, including sportswear and other commodity products relevant to our customer segment. (*Edcon: Edgars*, n.d. )

The double page advertisement is comprised largely of a single photograph with various elements overlaid. A white border of approximately 0.5cm surrounds the photograph. In

the top left corner is a red square (an Edgars branding element). Below the square is a black bar with the Charter Club logo. The headline "Tailored to Suit You" begins in the red square and extends beyond it. Next to the headline is a paragraph describing the clothing line with the following copy:

The key to a well-fitted suit lies in the quality of the fabric. Charter Club takes pride in making tailored suits from the finest fabrics. Blended yarns offer great stretch, shape retention and durability - indispensable qualities for a good fit. 100% wool offers all-season wear and superior draping. The finishing touches are found in details like French-sleeve cuffs, contrast piping and branded lining. Matching pure cotton shirts and silk ties in a variety of colours and designs is what the gentleman needs. Specially designed tops and shirts offer ladies a sophisticated look. You are now well suited for success.

A red band at the bottom of the photograph comprises roughly 7/8ths of the width of the page containing information about the collection as well as retail locations around the country in fine print. The final eighth of this bar, which is black, contains the Edgars logo. The photograph depicts a wallpapered room with wooden floors, and a chandelier hanging from the ceiling on the far right, connoting sophistication. The four performatives in the photograph are all wearing suits. On the far left a white male in a black suit sits on a brown leather couch. Next to him on the right is a black male in a tan suit standing close to the centre of the page. On the right-hand side of the centre crease is a white female in a tan suit. Slightly below her is a black female in a black suit with her left arm outstretched and resting on a grand piano.

All four performatives demand the gaze of the viewer with a similar neutral stare, thus, demanding that the viewer relate to the performatives as superiors. This is heightened by the full body medium shot. This indicates a close social proximity to the performative, but not close enough to have a personal relationship, like two people at the same party but on opposite ends of the room (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Thus, the viewer is not able to get too close to these performatives. This echoes professional business conventions dealing with colleagues where the relationships are not as personal as the bonds of family or friendship. Since all the performatives are portrayed similarly, it indicates a unity or 'sameness' between them. A similar result is achieved through the colour scheme, which links the performatives together, both the white male and black female who are on the edges of the image are in black suits, while the black male and white female are in beige suits in the centre of the image creating further unity among the performatives.

Looking at the information value of the composition the arrangement of the performatives along the horizontal axis has ideological consequences in terms of Kress & Van Leeuwen's (2006) notion of given and new. On the far left is the white male, whom is the agreed-upon point of departure for the business world, to the right it progresses to the black male, the white female and finally the black female as the 'newest' element. The black female is represented as the newest and most contestable element in the business world. This might suggest some resistance of a patriarchal nature that is simultaneously racially specific, in relation to white men's place in the public sphere. The shift here is to be inclusive - an attempt to align with feminist discourses that see women's place in the public sphere as equal to men, and to introduce racial equality. However, there is a degree of discursive tension as the black female is leaning on the grand piano, using it to support herself, this echoes Goffman's (1976) feminine touch, suggesting that she is not quite ready to stand on her own feet in the business world. As mentioned earlier there are symbolic processes at play with the leather couch, rich wood floors, grand piano and chandelier all suggesting sophistication. The grand piano acts as a symbolic attributive process for the black female. By leaning on the piano she is now the carrier of its discursive symbolism, arguably indicating that the producers of the text did not recognise the black female's representation as strong enough by herself in the constructed business 'reality' of the text. However, the textual colour scheme directly binds the black female to the Edgars brand, as she is the only participant dressed in red and black – the brand's colour scheme, thus she is the performative most closely associated with the brand.

The most salient performative in the text is the black male for he is the biggest participant in terms of relative size. Also the foot of the white male and the elbows of the two females form strong vectors leading the eye-line of the viewer towards him. In addition, the lighting forms a halo around him making him stand out more than the other performatives. These representations are consistent with the discourses of nationalism that proposes the 'New South Africa' which work to validate the shift change in racial relations and the current political power structure in the country, while still privileging hegemonic masculinity. Finally, a further racial difference is constructed by means of the ideational colour scheme in that the two black performatives have outfits of brighter colours or more expressive clothing than their white counterparts, signalling 'blackness' as more creative and expressive than the discourse of 'whiteness' in line with racial stereotypes.

Similar to the Coty text this one is discursively produced to embrace a more equal and unified South Africa, masculinity is still hegemonic but not only white, arguably this text favours the black masculinity it constructs more than the white. However, there is still a sense of uneasiness about black femininity, depicted as not completely belonging. However, perhaps a crucial difference between this text and the others is that it is only related to the professional or business realm, while the others were focused towards leisure.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This chapter gave a detailed presentation and analysis of eight texts. The qualitative critical discussion was informed by the findings of the quantitative content analysis (Chapter 4) and the literature review (Chapter 2) to ground and validate it. The eight cases largely reified the findings and trends of the content analysis pointing to a supra-national white hegemonic masculinity, a white emphasised femininity and a black complicit masculinity. Having presented a detailed analysis of the data, the next and final chapter attempts to bring together the findings of the study by way of concluding the thesis.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion to the Study**

### **6.0 Introduction**

This study has examined the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM* to identify how they contribute to the construction of masculinities in South Africa. Focusing on group representations to establish gender hierarchies, I argue that these representations of people are performative acts, hailing the subjects who view them and producing reality through discourse. Performative displays of gender are established in three political contexts: the local; the regional; and the global (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). To acknowledge this Chapter 1 presented the social and historical context of the study within a local and global context with a focus on masculinity, advertising as an institution, and men's magazines.

Chapter 2 presented the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. It discussed theories of representation and their relation to the media focusing on the constructionist approach, where meaning and reality are constructed through language, tracing its development through structuralism and poststructuralism. Informed by a poststructuralist framework this thesis has adopted Foucault's (1990) notions of discourse and power and the constitution of the subject. The framing moved to consider gender focusing primarily on poststructuralist gender theories, whereby gender is conceived of within power relations, with a hierarchical relationship between masculinities and femininities. The gendered subject is also viewed as being constantly in process and being constructed performatively through material forms of practice. In this chapter critical theory on advertising was also introduced and advertising was discussed as a discourse through and about objects/objectives with an important role in establishing symbolic signifiers for meaning and identity. Chapter 3 presented the research methods used in the study, developing a combined methodology of both quantitative and qualitative methods to produce both rich data and thick description through the combination of content analysis and critical discourse analysis. In Chapter 4 I discussed the results of the content analysis, which found that the advertisements in the sample validated both white and heterosexual forms of masculinity. The sample was comprised mostly of white males, white females and black males, generally proposing forms of hegemonic masculinity, emphasised femininity and complicit masculinity respectively. The representation of white males and black males was different both in terms of the frequency of representations and in the types of representations, with white males having a larger variety of representations and black males

mostly being limited to posed non-narrative situations and professional scenarios. It was argued that a certain tension inhabits the resulting representations, which try to be inclusive of a multi-racial South Africa, yet do so within a clearly hierarchical structure. In addition the chapter discussed the potential influence of global brands and the associated gender discourses on the representation of masculinities and its potential impact on this discursive tension.

These aspects were explored further in Chapter 5 where I conducted an in-depth analysis of eight texts using Fairclough's (1995) model of critical discourse analysis and Kress & van Leeuwen's (2006) framework for visual analysis based on systemic functional linguistics. All eight texts were fashion texts. However, half of them were depictions of fraternal scenarios while the other four were conceptual and seldom depicted the performatives within narrative relationships. Similar results to the content analysis were found while providing thicker description around how various discourses produced the representations, particularly within the non-narrative advertisements where discursive hierarchies are more deeply embedded and harder to unearth through content analysis. In addition, further insight into the discursive tension suspected in the content analysis and further evidence of global brands and advertisements became evident. In this final chapter I combine the findings of both the critical discourse analysis and the content analysis to discuss the key themes and findings of the research to conclude this study.

## **6.1 Primary Findings from the Study**

### **6.1.1 The Very Limited "Rainbow Nation"**

The sample displayed a very limited snapshot of South Africa's diverse population. Although there were many multi-racial advertisements this diversity hardly went beyond black and white<sup>54</sup>. Black males, white females and white males account for 85.91% of the sample and are the only groups to be represented in all (white males) or close to all of the age ranges (black males are absent from the 0-15 age range while white females are absent from the 50+ age range). The other racial groups were rarely represented and are interesting more due to their absence than their presence.

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<sup>54</sup> I am using South African demographic descriptors.

### **6.1.2 White Hegemonic Masculinity, White Emphasised Femininity and Black Complicit Masculinity**

Since the sample consists largely of white males, white females and black males and all groups have very different patterns of representation, I will now present a more linear summary of each based on age, to illustrate the world produced in the advertisements of *FHM* and *Men's Health*.

Young white males (0-15) are represented exclusively in familial relationships with their parents and brothers, particularly outdoors with other male family members. As they progress to early adulthood (16-24) they stop being represented with family and socialise with a group of mostly white but also ethnically diverse friends, begin to have intimate relationships with the opposite sex and enter the professional arena. When white males enter the 25-34 age range they become the most represented demographic group in the sample. Fraternal and intimate relationships, while still significant, fall away to a surge in professional relationships. The diversity of their fraternal and intimate relationships also disappears and they are involved almost exclusively in white relationships. Their professional life, however, is still diverse and this is the only aspect where they interact with a larger spectrum of South Africans, although many of these relationships are not as colleagues but as customers. When entering the 35-49 age range professional relationships peak, familial relationships rise, fraternal relationships dip and intimate relationships decline dramatically. Life becomes less diverse as even the professional relationships are now mostly with other white performatives. While it is in this age range that male performatives are represented most in familial relationships, it is without a partner present and they engage largely with their sons. As the subject reaches the 50+ age range professional and sexual relationships disappear, presumably these performatives are retired, asexual, and spend time with family (once again sons) and friends.

Young white females (0-15) are also represented exclusively in familial relationships. However, they are mostly in studio locations, indicating less 'authentic' representations of life than what white boys experience. As white females enter the 16-24 age range they also cease to have familial relationships and are mostly represented in fraternal and intimate relationships. Like white males their fraternal relationships are with different races but are only in intimate relationships with white males (some in the older 25-34 age range). They do not venture into professional relationships like white males of the same age and are highly

sexualised, smaller, effeminate and more submissive than their opposite gendered age group. As white females enter the 25-34 age range they have more professional relationships than white males and thus less fraternal, intimate and familial relationships. Compared to white males, they are more likely to be engaged in all relationships, other than familial ones, with other race groups. Although they are less involved in intimate relationships they are still highly sexualised when represented in such a relationship and a large number of white females 25-34 still continue to perform submissive gender displays. This changes when white females reach 35-49 when they are only in slightly fewer intimate relationships, but submissive and sexual gender displays are hardly present. They continue to be involved mostly in professional relationships but these have declined sharply. Familial and fraternal relationships rise sharply. Their family representations are mostly with young children and, like their fraternal and intimate relationships, are exclusively with white performatives. Professionally, they still work with a diverse mix of demographics (in contrast to white males in the same age range). White females also rapidly decline in relation to men as they age, in the 16-24 age range there are almost 25% less women than men, in the 25-34 age range this discrepancy increases to around 33%, while in the 35-49 age range this increases to over 66%. This gets even lower at 50+ when white females cease to be represented at all.

Young black males (0-15) are absent, for black males in the sample life begins in the 16-24 age range. Although small in number the black males in this age range are extremely popular with the highest ratio of fraternal relationships to performatives out of the three groups. Almost all their friends are white performatives and unlike white males they do not begin to have sexual or professional relationships at this point. As black males get older (25-34) there are two distinct types that are represented, the upper class black males who are largely friends or work with white performatives, and the lower class black males who mostly service white performatives. This latter group accounts for about a quarter of black males in this age range. They do begin to be represented in intimate relationships but it is more of an exception when this occurs. The private life of black males is virtually non-existent up to this point. When black males enter the 35-49 age range this is reversed and they are mostly in private spaces. However, they are a very small part of the sample and are mostly involved in studio set non-narrative style advertisements. The meaningful relationships they do have are only professional. The sole 50+ black male is part of a non-

narrative advertisement. Thus, it has to be argued, black males from 16-35 are nothing more than prominent supporting characters in the advertisements of *Men's Health* and *FHM*.

The above summary comes together from a number of different texts with different producers yet there is an underlying consistency among the representations produced. At the epicentre of this constructed world is the white male with white females and black males as supporting players. In a way both of them are objectified in that they are accessories to a white male lifestyle. White females serve two specific roles, namely as objects of sexual desire and as mothers. As they get older they become less relevant and disappear. White males are friends with black males when they are young and their colleagues or customers when they are older. What's most important is that black males do not threaten white hegemony: there are no violent or politically powerful black males present nor are black males sexually active. They are complicit and merely a part of the white males world.

### **6.1.3 Tension in South African Advertisements**

While the critical discourse analysis of the four narrative texts indicated that South African texts are more likely to prominently position black male performatives compared to internationally produced texts, the analysis of the four non-narrative texts supported the hypothesis from the content analysis that a discursive tension exists in relation to the representation of black masculinity. While there is an attempt to be politically correct and include black masculinity in the representations the content analysis found that these representations were usually non-narrative or professional representations. Black masculinity was excluded from familial representations and was also almost asexual with very few intimate relationships represented. In the discourse analysis this tension could be seen in non-narrative texts. Consider the Queenspark text where the salience of the white male was far greater than the black males due to his larger size, while in the Daniel Hechter text the black male had the largest salience but the three frames in the triptych gave white masculinity more prominence as the frames were placed lower and, thus closer to less idealistic and more real representations. In the Coty text the white male looks out of the frame away from the black males leading the viewers' eye-line away as well. Also, in the complimentary television commercial for this text it is the white male who delivers the line about getting "a girl", in a sense denying the black males' sexuality. In the Edgars

advertisement while the black male was represented as the most salient performative the black female was positioned leaning on a piano suggesting her need for symbolic support to fit into her representation as a professional.

#### **6.1.4 International vs. South African Advertisements**

In Chapter 4 it was noted that some of the advertisements in the sample featured international sports stars and that there is the potential that many of the advertisements could have been produced abroad. While it would have been difficult to validate this information without extensive research behind the scenes of the advertising industry, the critical discourse analysis did unearth three advertisements that were produced outside the country and were part of international campaigns. While it is too small a number to generalise it is interesting that deep analysis revealed that three of the eight selected texts were not produced in South Africa. Also of interest, but not generalizable, is that of the four narrative texts three were international and the lone South African narrative text constructed a more integrated group. The Guess advertisement featured only white performatives while the Puma text featured a lone black male in the background. It was established that he was a circumstance of accompaniment and his removal from the scene would hardly change the meaning as no other characters in the text had a vectorial relationship with him. Similarly in the Adidas text the black female did not share the common colour scheme of the three white performatives and also did not have a croquet mallet indicating she was less part of the game than the rest of them. Whereas the Reebok advertisement, which was produced in South Africa, placed the black performatives on the margins of the image it did unite them with the other performatives through a common colour scheme and one of the black performatives was engaged in a vectorial relationship, meaning that his removal from the scene would change the information on offer from the text. Further research would be required but this does point to a hypothesis that South African advertisements are more sensitive to multi-racial constructions than international advertisements.

#### **6.2 Prospects for Further Study**

The study can be viewed as a snapshot of the constructions within a particular set of men's magazines and an attempt to address the relative gap in work on masculinities in the media.

It suggests the need for more studies in relation to these representations, but also points to the importance of more institutional studies of the South African advertising industry. Currently there is very little research on the workings within the industry and it would be valuable to generate data on the effect globalization and branding have on the output of gender representations in South African advertisements as well as a better understanding of the processes and discourses at play when creative agencies create gendered texts for clients and how the relationship between the agency and the clients are negotiated.

In addition undertaking reception research could valuably compare how South Africans interpret and react to internationally and locally produced texts in their understandings of gender identity.

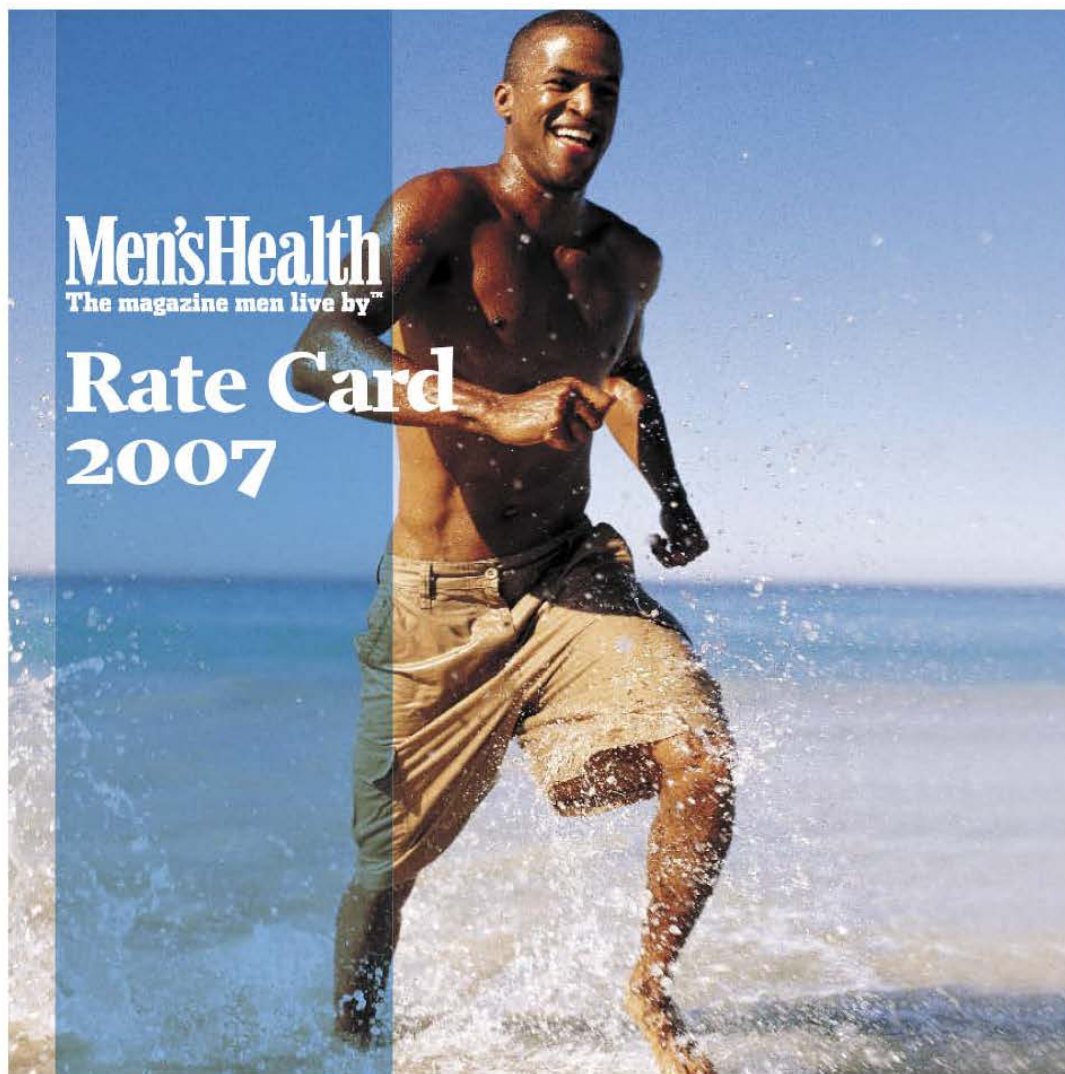
### 6.3 Final Thoughts

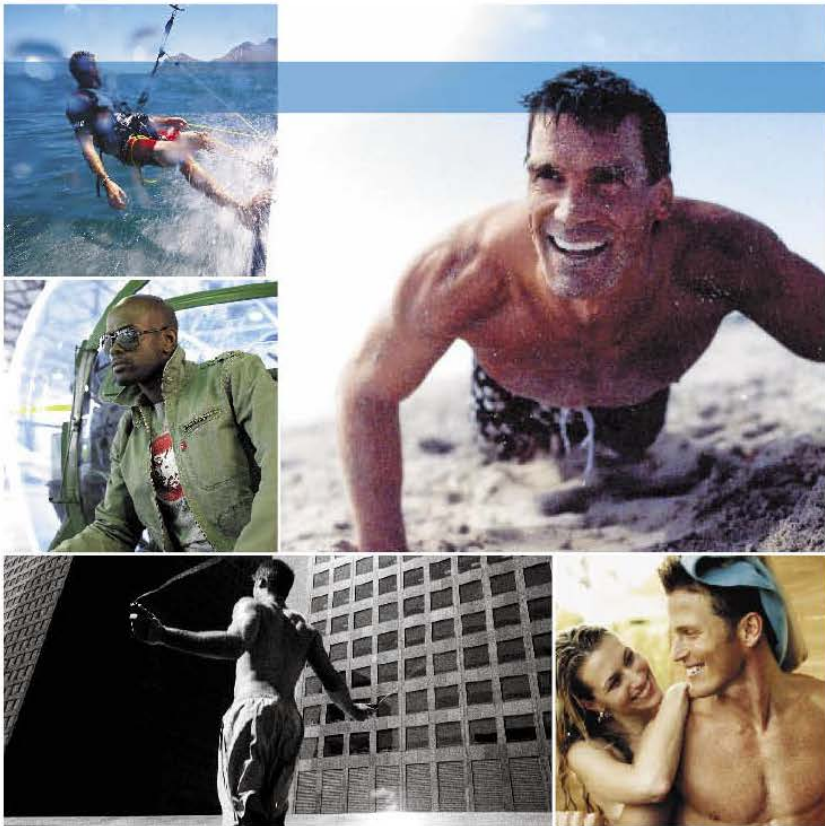
Men would be safer not fighting, would be healthier without competitive stress, would live longer without the cigarettes and booze, and would be better off in mutually respectful relations with women. (Connell, 2002: 143)

Perhaps more than any other medium hegemonic masculinity is embodied in advertising. While psychological research shows that people tend to incorporate both masculine and feminine characteristics in their identities (Connell, 2002:5), the performatives in advertising are distilled versions of their gender and subjectivity. While patriarchal masculinity may benefit men in general, as Connell argues in the above quote, subscribing to it is not necessarily beneficial to individual subjects. That being said advertising is not the only cultural institution disseminating gendered discourses in society and is part of a greater process. What is important to remember is that discourses are not set in stone, they are constantly being made and remade. As Butler notes, reconstitution is inevitable and the question is “not whether to repeat but how to repeat”. Thus, what is important is looking for changes and consistencies within systems of representation and accounting for these in socio-historical contexts. This brings me to conclude with a personal anecdote.

I’m sitting in a room in Toronto, Canada with a group of male friends playing cards. In an attempt to make interesting small talk, I mention that Led Zeppelin stole the song *Dazed and Confused* from Jake Holmes, an unknown songwriter, who also happened to write the Gillette jingle. “Hey, you know the guy who wrote the Gillette song...” Before I can continue I

am interrupted by a slightly off-pitch rendition of the opening word of the song by one of my acquaintances, "Gillette!" Who is then joined in chorus by the rest of the group, "the best a man can get". Five men of different ages, separated by borders in their youth, all have a memory of a 20-year-old jingle they have taken from a commercial to sell razors. I wonder what else they have taken from it?





## Editorial

**M**en's Health is a monthly magazine that inspires a balanced, active and purposeful life. It's committed to helping men gain control of their physical, mental and emotional lives by focusing on five core areas – health, fitness, sex, stress and nutrition.

The magazine not only explores these core topics, but offers actionable, well-researched advice that allows men to meet their daily challenges and live up to their potential in every aspect of their lives. But how it's delivered is equally important. The magazine speaks to men in a manner they can relate to: man-to-man, conversational, never condescending. The non-judgmental and irreverent tone makes the serious issues and investigative health reports accessible to men of all ages.

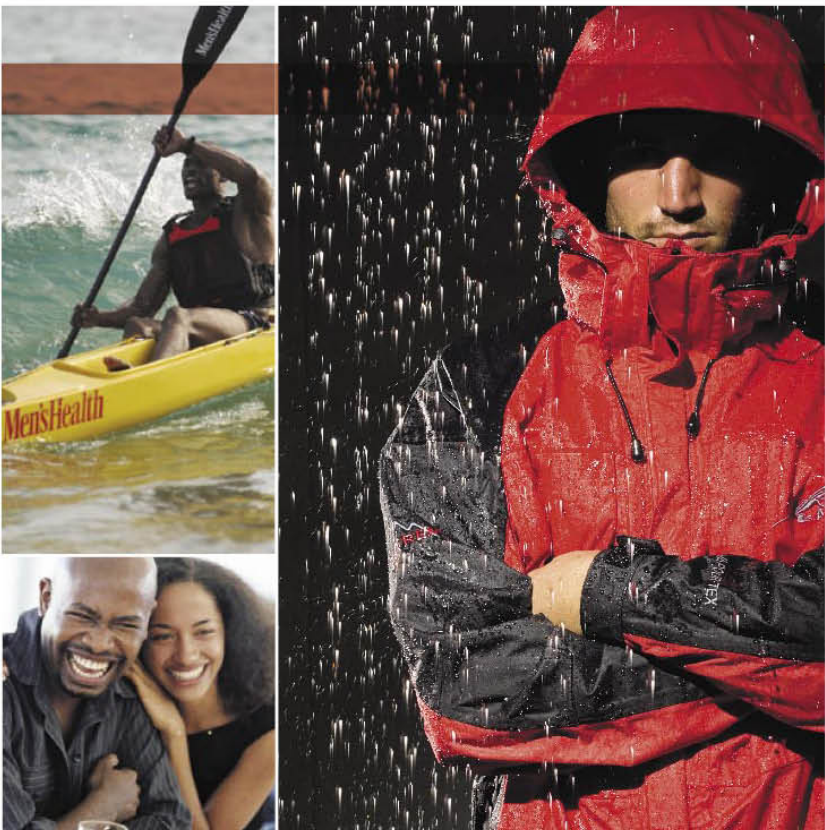
The clean, visually appealing layout of the magazine enhances a strong editorial line-up that brings "service" journalism to readers in an entertaining way. Additionally, the broad features base – including adventure, fatherhood, fashion, personal finance, relationships and fine food – keeps the magazine relevant to its loyal readership and ensures that Men's Health plays a pivotal role in their lives. The magazine has established itself as a trusted, reliable and vital source of information for today's modern man. In short, it is the magazine men live by.

### Editorial mix

Beyond the five editorial pillars, what else keeps readers coming back, month after month? All the extras – the unrivalled useful information from the best grooming advice to the most essential survival tips. The inimitable mix includes:

- > **Malegrams** The crucial upfront section of bite-sized information on a variety of topics.
- > **Style and grooming** The perfect balance of classic style, aspirational trends and solid advice on looking your best. Our twice-annual "Guide to Style" is the ultimate handbook on men's fashion and grooming.
- > **Useful Stuff** The hottest gear and gadgets for every adventure life can throw at you.
- > **Guy Food** Every guy needs a "dinner cheat" and our award-winning food pages will have your mouth watering with practical kitchen solutions.
- > **Adventure and MH Challenge** We dare you to step out of your comfort zone and show us how to get adventurous. We even pack the gear.
- > **Life's Little Lessons and Man to Man** Our writers live the "guy life", sharing their experiences, emotions, lessons and belly-laughs with the reader.





## Advertising

**D**ue to its relevance to today's educated, active men, *Men's Health* is the best male lifestyle magazine in the country.

- > Our Cost per Thousand (CPM) of R513 makes it one of the most cost-effective buys in the market.
- > With an AMPS 2006RA showing a total average issue readership of 731 000, you are guaranteed unbeatable value for money with a readership cost per thousand of R62.
- > *Men's Health's* readership has grown 67% since 2000.
- > The unique, relevant and consistent quality of the editorial provides the ideal environment for a variety of top brands.
- > Forty international editions are published, with 3.5 million copies sold monthly and a monthly readership of 16 million – making *Men's Health* the biggest selling male lifestyle magazine worldwide and a truly global brand.

### Reader profile

Because *Men's Health* has more readers than any of the other male titles, the magazine has a higher number of readers in most segments.

- > *Men's Health* has the most top-end readers, the most 25- to 34-year-old readers, and the most readers that go to gym regularly.

- > 56% are aged between 25 and 49 with an average age of 32.
- > 73% are male, 27% are female.
- > 78% have a personal income.
- > 49% fall into LSM 9 and 10.
- > 26% fall into LSM group 10.
- > 38% are white, 62% are BCL.
- > 38% are English-speaking, 28% Afrikaans-speaking.

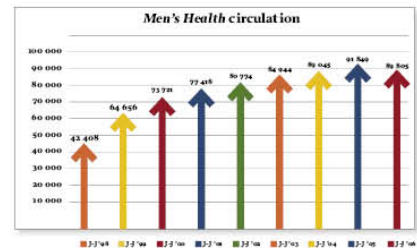
In short, our readers are well-educated, affluent, career- and goal-oriented men. The affluent readership represents discerning buyers with disposable income

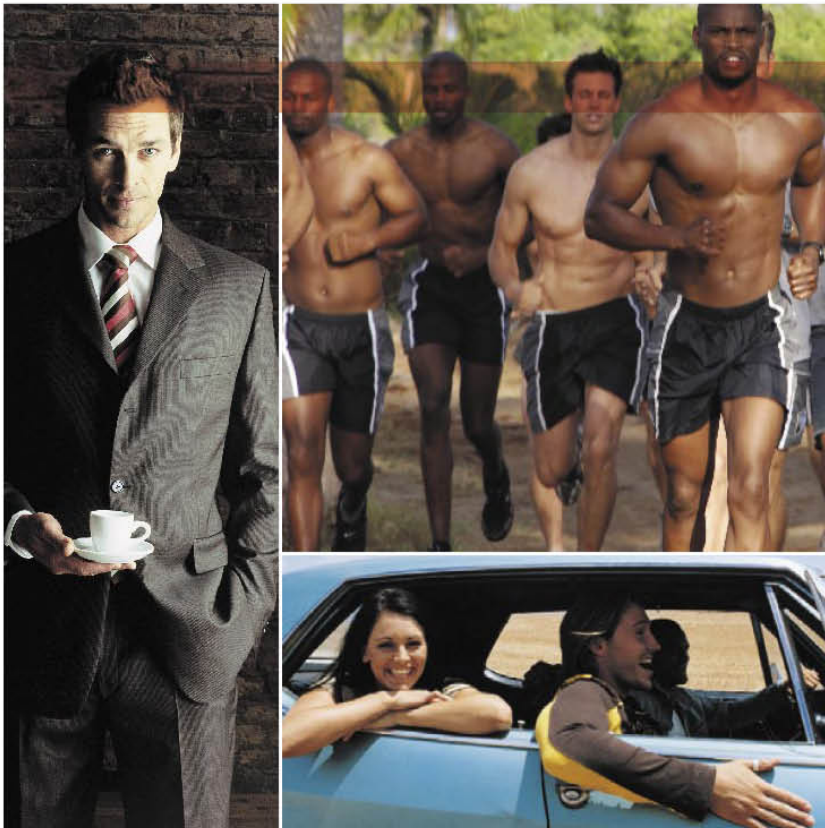
### Circulation

- > Current ABC (April-June '06) of 89 249 with a regular print order of 125 000.
- > Frequency: 12 issues per year.

### Subscriptions

- > We have a current loyal subscriber base of 24 097. A 27% subscription base is exceptionally high for the male market, and the magazine industry in general, especially in a time when the magazine market is so saturated. This is anticipated to continue to grow with consistent marketing of the magazine.





## Marketing

**M**en's Health's marketing strategy aims to attract today's most active, healthy and affluent male audience through various promotions, marketing events, sponsorships and supplements.

### Brand extensions

- > *Men's Health Living*, is an inspirational and practical stand-alone magazine that aims to provide the reader with guidance on all aspects surrounding their built environment.
- > The *Men's Health Buyer's Guide* is another essential brand extension that goes on sale mid-November with 100+ pages of the best gear, gadgets and gizmos money can buy.
- > In 2007 we officially launch our new monthly magazine *Best Life*. Aimed at men at the top of their game, *Best Life* will reach the most successful and influential market in history.
- > Details of these brilliant opportunities, including deadlines and costs will be forwarded to you as publication dates approach. You can also contact the marketing team with any special requests.

### Leadership programmes

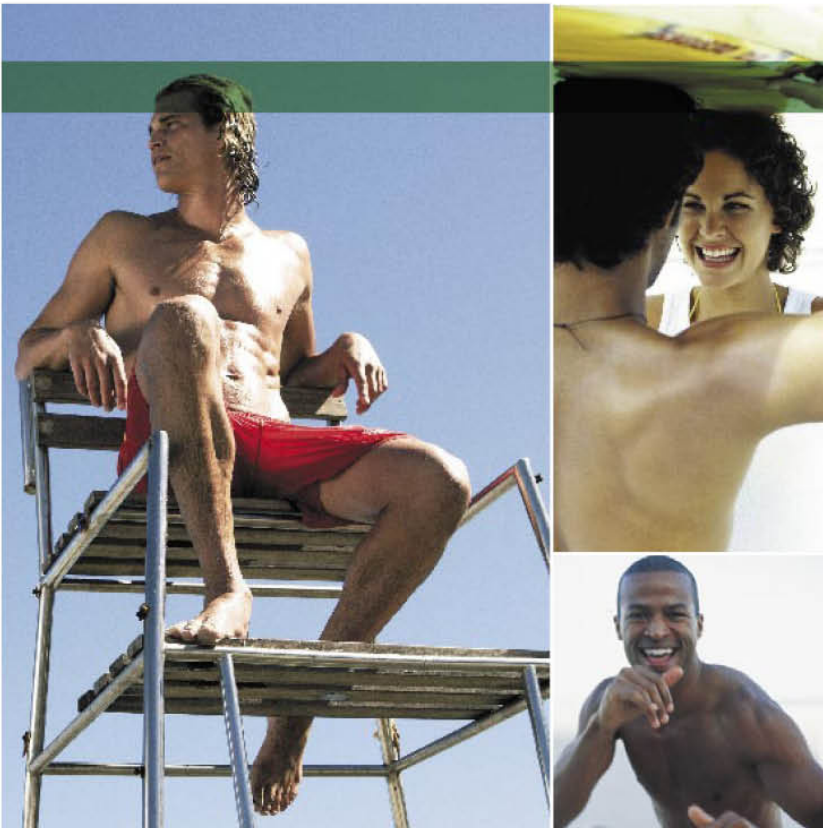
- > *Men's Health Best Man* The aim of *Men's Health Best Man* is to celebrate the achievements of men in South Africa. As the

- country's leading men's magazine, we come into contact with men who are overcoming challenges every day – in business, sport, arts and science. We think they deserve recognition.
- > *Men's Health Week* A special section in November, encouraging men to be proactive about their health. Great opportunities for advertisers of health, stress and nutritional products.
- > *Men's Health Look* *Men's Health Look* is a national search for male role model. He's a guy who balances feeling good with looking good; passion with compassion – a true reflection of the *Men's Health* man. A great opportunity for advertisers to reach their target market.
- > *Men's Health Style Challenge* The *Men's Health Style Challenge* is an ideal opportunity to profile the latest designers and trends in fashion, accessories and grooming and offers advertisers a unique platform to reach their markets.

### Sports sponsorships

- There are also opportunities for advertisers to co-sponsor events alongside *Men's Health*. *Men's Health* is very active in surf-skiing, trail-tri events, mountain biking and running races, canoeing events, longboarding and various adventure races that take place throughout the year. Please contact the marketing team if you are interested in any co-sponsorship opportunities.





## Supplements & Brand Extensions

### Supplement: Men's Health Buyer's Guide

> Sold separately – annual (one issue).

Tested, tortured, used and abused – our experts rate the best gear on the market so you don't have to. The *Men's Health Buyer's Guide* is the complete list of the best new products every guy needs to have more fun, right now. From fast shoes, tough tents, light bikes, hot boards and big boats to huge TVs and cool cameras, we promise more toys, tech and spec than you can handle. It's the best money you'll ever spend.

**Publishing date** November and December months

**Rates** FFPC R26 820 excl VAT

### Supplement: Guide to Style

> 72-page supplement free with main magazine.

Innovative stories and actionable tips for "getting the look" have established *Men's Health* as a credible voice in men's fashion.

We add inspiration, instruction and attainable style delivered in an informal "guy way", and deliver the *Men's Health* bi-annual *Guide to Style* supplement. This popular manual offers practical information on every aspect of style, from up-to-the-minute looks for the season to fashion guides for every occasion.

**Publishing date** April and October issues

**Rate** Same as main book

### Brand extension: Men's Health Living

> Sold separately – eight issues a year.

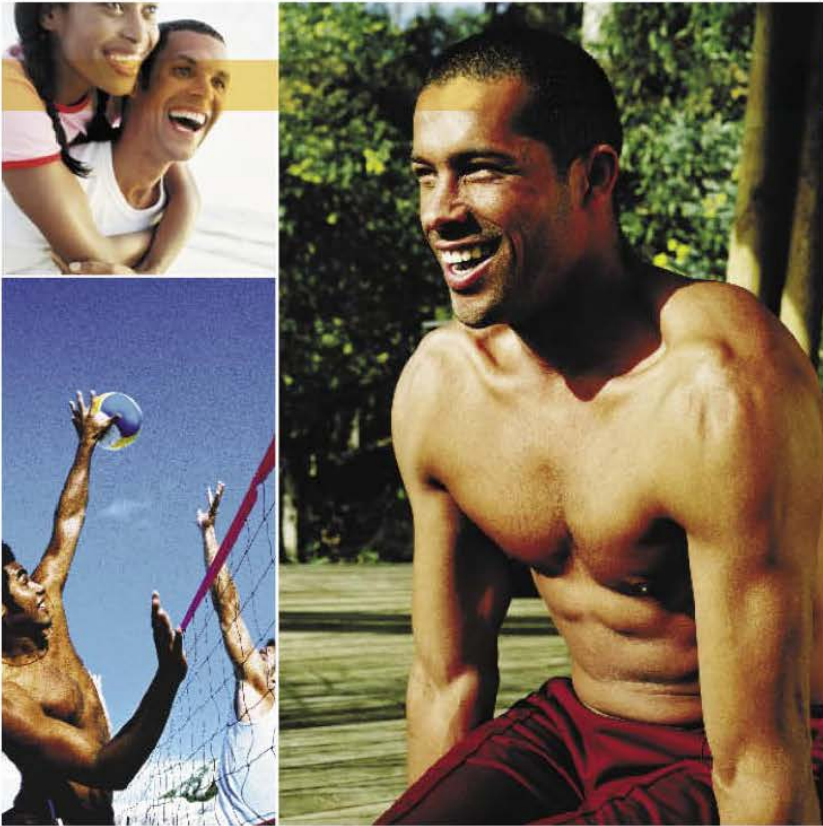
*Men's Health Living* is a decor magazine for men who care about their surroundings, the spaces they create and the homes they live in. It is the only decor magazine that speaks in a language guys can relate to, bridging the gap between shelter and life-style, providing practical, modern solutions.

### Brand extension: Best Life

> Sold separately – monthly.

*Best Life* is a celebration of a man at the top of his game and a trusted guide to living a life that matters – the best life. It's a practical guide to helping the reader balance family, work, fun and living with a sense of purpose. *Best Life* is about the most significant symbol of all – free time to pursue what really gives him pleasure. Engaging imagery, exceptional writing style and compelling service journalism offer the *Best Life* man all the emotional depth and decadence he deserves. Being older means being cooler, smarter, happier and better.





## Advertorials

**A**n exciting alternative to conventional print advertising, advertorials are an educational medium, put together in the unique *Men's Health* style.

### The benefits

- > **Credibility** Advertorials are compatible with the *Men's Health* editorial environment and carry the authority of the magazine.
- > **Encourages trial** Advertorials impart intrinsic information, with the intention of inducing trial.
- > **Individual communication** Advertorials allow advertisers the opportunity to chat to readers one-on-one.
- > **Value for money** Advertorial rates include all photography, model, design and production costs.
- > **Flexibility** Advertorials can be executed quickly and creatively.
- > **Interaction** Advertorials afford the opportunity to interact with readers through various creative and response-driven activities, creating a relationship between reader and product.

### The rules

- > No brand-specific fonts may be included.
- > Logos may be included. (Please supply as a Freehand

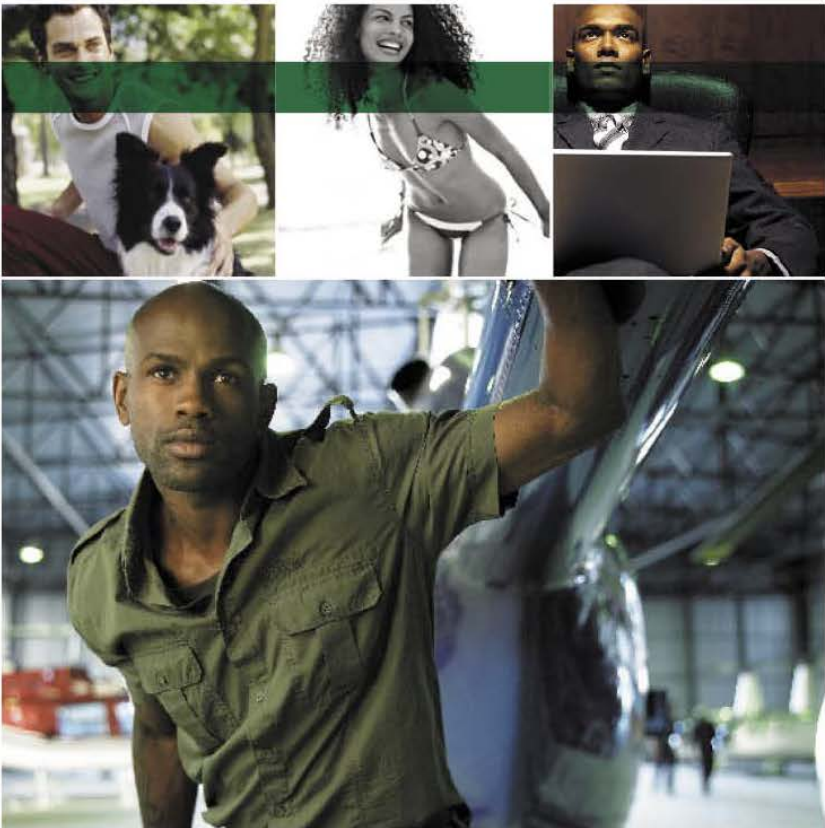
or Illustrator vector file)

- > No copy may be underlined, bolded or italicised.
- > Entire brand names may not be written in capitals.
- > Advertorial copy must conform to the *Men's Health* style – witty, irreverent and interesting. *Men's Health* reserves the right to change any copy that does not conform to this style.
- > Copy may not exceed 200 words for a single page and 500 words for a DPS.
- > Trademarks will not be included with the brand name. A credit may appear at the bottom of the page to notify readers that the brand is a trademark.
- > Please note: *Men's Health* reserves the right to refuse to print any supplied advertising material which mimics the *Men's Health* advertorial or editorial style.

### The cost

- DPS R\$4,800
- FPFC R4,800
- 4+ FPFC insertions R40,000
- > Rates exclude VAT and agency commission.
- > Rates include models, photography, styling, design, layout and repro.





## Online and Mobizine

**T**he Men's Health website, [www.menshealthsa.co.za](http://www.menshealthsa.co.za), puts tons of useful stuff at your fingertips, with various sections available to carry your advertising – a great way to promote your brand and align yourself with the Men's Health way of life. Explore a variety of exciting online opportunities, based on the following:

### Full sponsorship of a section of the site

Cost: R12 500 (excl VAT) per month

- > A rotational banner or permanent promo box on the home page of the website promoting your sponsored section.
- > A normal banner and promo box or skyscraper permanently displayed on every page in your section.
- > A full page on the website totally dedicated to the advertorial on your product with further pack shots and branding.
- > The opportunity to offer an online competition on the website, including extra branding in the "Win" section.

### Exclusive website and magazine bundle

Cost: R4 500 (excl VAT) per month

- > As above, but with tailored home page exposure and ¼ page in magazine. Limited to just four per month.

### Sponsorship of our monthly HTML newsletter, E-Grams

Cost: R4 500 (excl VAT) per month

- > Includes 468 x 60 banner or 60 word content box with image.

### Contact:

Tanja Lategan  
 Online advertising sales executive  
 Tel: (021) 408 3910  
 Fax: (021) 408 3808  
 E-mail: [tlategan@touchline.co.za](mailto:tlategan@touchline.co.za)

### Mobizine

Get mobile – advertise on the Men's Health Mobizine. Yes, Men's Health on your cellphone. It's a free, bite-sized magazine, delivered once a week, made specifically for your mobile phone!

### Advertising package includes

- > A strip in a half page promotion in the magazine.
- > Home and section page branding on our website, with advertorial page.
- > Ownership of the ad screens in the Mobizine.
- > Advertorial story in the Mobizine.
- > Three "calls to action" at the base of your advertorial story.

Cost per Mobizine package: R19 500 per month

### Contact:

Andrew Lanning  
 Tel: (021) 408 3520  
 Fax: (021) 408 3808  
 E-mail: [tank@touchline.co.za](mailto:tank@touchline.co.za)



## Rates and Advertising

Issue	Booking Deadline	Material Deadline	On-Sale Date
January	27 October	17 November	13 December
February	1 December	15 December	17 January
March	5 January	19 January	14 February
April	2 February	16 February	14 March
May	9 March	23 March	18 April
June	6 April	20 April	16 May
July	4 May	18 May	13 June
August	1 June	22 June	18 July
September	29 June	20 July	15 August
October	27 July	17 August	12 September
November	31 August	21 September	17 October
December	28 September	19 October	14 November
Jan 2008	26 October	23 November	19 December

### Rates Full Colour

Insertions	1-4	5-8	9+
DPS	R90 780	R85 880	R82 180
FPFC	R45 800	R43 650	R41 500
1/2	R38 380	R36 150	R34 350
1/3	R35 150	R33 170	R31 400
1/4	R29 800	R28 300	R27 400
1/4	R27 400	R25 650	R24 500

### Material Requirements (Digital material only, delivered to Touchline Media)

1. Process: Heatset Web Offset
2. Material: Print-optimised PDF with fonts embedded and all images at 240-300dpi
3. Material (only screen 150 acceptable) can be sent via Quickcut, WebSend or ISDN (0 21) 421 1546
4. Proof: Hi-res satin sherpa proof

(No liability is accepted for the result of material supplied without a satin sherpa proof)

### Material Sizes

Size	Bleed	Trim	Type
DPS	282 x 432	276 x 420	240 x 372
FPFC	282 x 216	276 x 210	240 x 186
1/2 V	282 x 111	276 x 105	240 x 93
1/2 H	144 x 216	138 x 210	120 x 186
1/3 V	282 x 76	276 x 70	240 x 62
1/3 H	98 x 216	92 x 210	80 x 186
1/4 H	75 x 216	69 x 210	59 x 186

### Special positions

- 1FC R111 000 (excl VAT)
- 2nd DPS R101 370 (excl VAT)
- 3rd DPS R97 000 (excl VAT)
- OBC R71 600 (excl VAT)

### Inserts

- Loose:
  - 1-4 pages = R570 per 1 000
  - 5-12 pages = R680 per 1 000
  - 12+ pages = R750 per 1 000
- Bound/stitched in:
  - 1-4 pages = R740 per 1 000
  - 5-12 pages = R800 per 1 000
  - 12+ pages = R860 per 1 000

### Print order

- 125 000 (TBC on booking)
- \* These rates include agency commission and exclude VAT.
- > Print orders may fluctuate.

- > Samples of all inserts are to be supplied prior to printing.

### Advertorials

- DPS R84 800
- FPFC R42 800
- 4+ FPFC insertions = R40 000
- > Rates exclude VAT and agency commission.
- > Rate includes models, photography, repro etc.

### Positioning and cancellations

- Guaranteed upfront positions carry a 15% loading. While every effort will be made to place ads within the most relevant editorial or "best possible" position, preference will be given to loyal advertisers who support the magazine throughout the year. To facilitate planning and magazine layout,

the cancellation deadline is the same as the booking deadline. After this date, no bookings can be cancelled and a 50% cancellation fee will be levied against all such cancellations after this date.

Note 1: Men's Health cannot accept any hard liquor advertising and reserves the right to turn away advertising of an overtly sexual nature.

Note 2: Where rates are negotiated based on an upfront commitment to a specified number of insertions, the agreed upon number of insertions must be placed in order to secure the discount. Should insertions be cancelled, resulting in fewer than the required number of insertions being placed, rates will be adjusted accordingly.

## Who to Call

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Associate publisher  
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### Advertising

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### Advertorials

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### Marketing

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Marketing manager  
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**Lisa Judson**  
Promotions manager  
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E-mail: ljudson@touchline.co.za

**Lee-Ann Solomon**  
Marketing co-ordinator  
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**Andrew Sneddon**, Publishing Director Touchline Media, Tel: (021) 408 3852, Fax: (021) 408 3808, Cell: 083 357 5230, E-mail: asneddon@touchline.co.za



**FHM**  
IT'S A GUY THING

**Rate Card**  
[www.fhm.co.za](http://www.fhm.co.za) **2007**  
*Effective from January 2007*

## Ad Rates, Specs and Deadlines 2007

### STANDARD FULL COLOUR RATES

Double Page Spread	R99 578
Full Page	R49 625
Half Page	R38 888
Third Page	R33 289
FHM Promotion Full Page*	R51 529

\* Excludes ad agency commission, but includes concept, design, copy, styling, models, photography and material.

### GUARANTEED SPECIAL POSITIONS

<b>Full Page</b>	
Outside Back Cover	R75 397
Inside Back Cover	R59 110
Inside Front Cover	R59 110
Left-Hand Page Opp FHM Contents	R59 110

<b>Double Page Spread</b>	
First DPS	R118 324
Second DPS	R111 254
Third DPS	R105 158

\* All guaranteed special positions subject to availability. Any special positions other than specified above are subject to a 25% premium.

All rates quoted exclude VAT, but include ad agency commission, except FHM Promotions.

### Material Specifications

Digital material only (positives not accepted)

- PDF Files (format: PDF/X-1a)
- Quickcut and Websend accepted
- On CD (delivery to FHM office)

Process: Web Offset  
Proof: Colour proof required with all digital material

**FHM Readership: 744 000** (Amps 2006A6)

**FHM Circulation: 98 793** (ABC October - December 2006)

### INSERTS

No. of Pages	Loose ('000)	Stitched ('000)
Single	R418	R517
4	R359	R682
6 - 8	R649	R814
12	R737	R957
16 - 20	R814	
24	R968	
24+	On Application	

\* Please confirm print orders for inserts and allow a 10% contingency.

Note: All Special Inserts are quoted separately and final insert quotes are subject to UCM approval prior to booking/acceptance.

### ADDITIONAL INSERT COST

Carrying Fee	R418
By Hand (Random)	R195
By Hand (Specific)	R242
Pasting On	R473
Bagging (Contribution)	R319
Bagging	R803

\* Please confirm print orders for inserts and allow a 10% contingency.

**FHM**  
IT'S A GUY THING

### TECHNICAL DATA

Size	Bleed (in mm)	Trim (in mm)	Type (in mm)
Double-page spread	446 x 306	440 x 300	416 x 273
Full page	226 x 306	220 x 300	196 x 273
<b>Vertical adverts in FHM Reporter (5 column section)</b>			
Third page vertical (2 columns)	92.8 x 308	86.8 x 300	74.8 x 276
Half page vertical (3 columns)	130.2 x 308	126.2 x 300	114.2 x 276
<b>Vertical adverts Main book (4 sections)</b>			
Half page vertical (2 columns)	113.5 x 306	106.5 x 300	94.5 x 273
<b>Horizontal adverts</b>			
Quarter page horizontal	226 x 82	220 x 75	196 x 60
Half page horizontal	226 x 156	220 x 150	196 x 135
Third page horizontal	226 x 106	220 x 100	196 x 85

\* Note: Fractional ads in FHM Reporter differ from normal. Please contact FHM's ad sales team for information.



## Appendix 2: FHM Rate Card 2007

### DEADLINES & ON SALE DATES

No.	Issue	On-Sale Date (Wednesday)	Ad Booking Deadline 5 weeks before on-sale	Material Deadline Deadline	Promotions Booking
86	February 2007	03 January 2007	22 November 2006	29 November 2006	29 November 2006
87	March 2007	31 January 2007	22 December 2006	03 January 2007	20 December 2006
88	April 2007	28 February 2007	24 January 2007	31 January 2007	17 January 2007
89	May 2007	28 March 2007	28 February 2007	28 February 2007	14 February 2007
90	June 2007	25 April 2007	20 March 2007	28 March 2007	14 March 2007
91	July 2007	23 May 2007	18 April 2007	25 April 2007	11 April 2007
92	August 2007	27 June 2007	23 May 2007	30 May 2007	17 May 2007
93	September 2007	25 July 2007	20 June 2007	27 June 2007	13 June 2007
94	October 2007	22 August 2007	18 July 2007	25 July 2007	11 July 2007
95	November 2007	26 September 2007	22 August 2007	29 August 2007	15 August 2007
96	December 2007	24 October 2007	19 September 2007	26 September 2007	12 September 2007
97	January 2008	21 November 2007	17 October 2007	24 October 2007	10 October 2007
98	February 2008	2 January 2008	28 November 2007	5 December 2007	21 November 2007
99	March 2008	30 January 2008	24 December 2007	4 January 2008	22 December 2007
100	April 2008	27 February 2008	23 January 2008	30 January 2008	19 January 2008
101	May 2008	26 March 2008	20 February 2008	27 February 2008	12 February 2008
102	June 2008	23 April 2008	18 March 2008	26 March 2008	11 March 2008
103	July 2008	21 May 2008	15 April 2008	22 April 2008	8 April 2008
104	August 2008	25 June 2008	21 May 2008	28 May 2008	15 May 2008
105	September 2008	23 July 2008	18 June 2008	25 June 2008	11 June 2007
106	October 2008	20 August 2008	16 July 2008	23 July 2008	9 July 2008
107	November 2008	24 September 2008	20 August 2008	27 August 2008	13 August 2008
108	December 2008	22 October 2008	17 September 2008	23 September 2008	10 September 2008

## FHM Mini-mags and Specials Calendar

### ISSUE: APRIL 2007

#### FHM Collections Autumn/Winter 2007

On-sale date: 28 February 2007

Ad deadline: 17 January 2007

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy perfect-bound magazine at least 80 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: JUNE 2007

#### Classic Girls of FHM 2007

On-sale date: 25 April 2007

Ad deadline: 20 March 2007

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy saddle-stitched magazine at least 32 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: JULY 2007

#### FHM 100 Sexiest Women in the World 2007

On-sale date: 23 May 2007

Ad deadline: 11 April 2007

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy saddle-stitched magazine at least 32 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: OCTOBER 2007

#### FHM Collections Spring/Summer 2007

On-sale date: 22 August 2007

Ad deadline: 11 July 2007

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy perfect-bound magazine at least 80 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: NOVEMBER 2007

#### FHM Lingerie Special 2007

On-sale date: 26 September 2007

Ad deadline: 15 August 2007

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy saddle-stitched magazine at least 32 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: JANUARY 2008

#### FHM Calendar 2008

On-sale date: 21 November 2007

Ad deadline: 17 October 2007

Format: Separately bound, high quality oversized saddle-stitched calendar 28 pages.

### ISSUE: APRIL 2008

#### FHM Collections Autumn/Winter 2008

On-sale date: 27 February 2008

Ad deadline: 23 January 2008

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy perfect-bound magazine at least 80 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: JULY 2008

#### FHM 100 Sexiest Women

in the World 2008

On-sale date: 21 May 2008

Ad deadline: 15 April 2008

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy saddle-stitched magazine at least 32 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: OCTOBER 2008

#### FHM Collections Spring/Summer 2008

On-sale date: 20 August 2008

Ad deadline: 15 July 2008

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy perfect-bound magazine at least 80 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

### ISSUE: NOVEMBER 2008

#### FHM Lingerie Special 2008

On-sale date: 24 September 2008

Ad deadline: 20 August 2008

Format: Separately bound, FHM size, glossy saddle-stitched magazine at least 32 pages plus 4-page UV cover.

[www.fhm.co.za](http://www.fhm.co.za)

\*Please confirm print orders and allow a 10% contingency. Contact your FHM sales executive for more information on extra FHM special features, including main book. Supplements may or may not be published.

DISCLAIMER NOTE: The onus is solely on the Client / Agency to ensure that the material is supplied in the correct format. (Details available from your FHM sales team.) Should a contact proof not be supplied, on or before the stipulated material deadline, UCM cannot be held responsible for colour matching or any content errors that may occur. All rates quoted exclude VAT, but include ad agency commission, except FHM Promotions. Rates may change without prior notice.

## Appendix 2: FHM Rate Card 2007

### FHM Profile

FHM's male readers boast one of the highest average household income of R12 932 (AMPS 2006A6) of all the magazines competing in the men's lifestyle category.

The mean age of FHM's readers is 28. FHM readers are well educated, affluent and therefore are premium prospects for advertising aimed at South African men.

FHM is the biggest men's lifestyle magazine in South Africa as measured in both readership and circulation. FHM has been the circulation leader by a large margin for a few years now, but as Amps readership information tends to lag circulation, FHM's leadership as the number-one men's lifestyle magazine is now also reflected in Amps.

No other men's lifestyle magazine can therefore claim that it is number one. Only FHM can!

### Advertising Contacts

#### Senior Advertising Manager:

Anastasia Meier 011 263 4943, ameier@fhmsa.co.za

#### Senior Advertising Executive:

Justin Hardman 011 263 4913, jhardman@fhmsa.co.za

#### Regional Advertising Manager (Cape):

Craig Wilson 021 406 2036, cwilson@fhmsa.co.za

#### Advertising Executive:

Jabu Vilakazi 011 322 0972, jvilakazi@fhmsa.co.za

#### Promotions Executive:

Tshego Ngcobo 011 322 0844, tngcobo@fhmsa.co.za

#### Advertising Assistant:

Jacqueline Mafenya 011 263 4979, jmafenya@ucm.co.za

### FHM fast facts

ABC Circulation: 96 361 (ABC Jan - Mar 2007)  
(Subs: 2 873, Newsstand sales: 93 488) (No bulk sales!)

FHM's total readership is 744 000 (AMPS 2006A6)

#### Demographics:

Age: 16 - 34 (78%) - Average age is 28

Education: Matric (43%), Post Matric (29%)

Gender: Male (68%), Female (32%)

Income: HH Income R8 000+ (63%)  
Average HH Income R12 932  
Average Personal Income R 7 002

Language: English (41%), Afrikaans (37%)

Lifestages: At Home Singles (39%)  
Starting Out Singles (18%)

LSMs: LSM 8 - 10 (67%)

Status: Single (63%)

Work: Full Time (45%)  
Student (29%)

### CONDITIONS

1. Acceptance of an order shall only occur once UPPERCASE MEDIA have duly considered and approved the order. No contractual obligations shall arise merely as a result of the completion of an order form.
2. The right is reserved to withhold publication of any advertisement and to cancel any advertisement order which has been accepted without stating any reasons therefor. No liability is accepted for losses arising from omissions, failure to publish, publication of wrong "copy", poor positioning or typographical or any other mistake or error. In case of such losses, the advertiser is not exempted from any contractual obligations.
3. Late receipt of proof, or non-receipt thereof by the applicant does not exempt him/her from any contractual obligations.
4. No advertisement orders containing the condition that write-up space will be dedicated to the advertiser, or any other conditions relating to positioning will be accepted.
5. The advertiser will furnish copy for processing before the closing date. No cancellations are accepted after booking deadline. Agency and Client will be liable for full payment of advertising booked if cancelled after booking deadline.
6. UPPERCASE MEDIA do not guarantee any results in respect of advertisements inserted in any of its magazines and/or supplements.
7. No cancellation of advertisements will be accepted after the fixed closing dates.
8. When new rates are announced, the previous rates will only apply to orders received before the announcement for a period of 60 days after the date of announcement. The advertiser may cancel his/her order on the date the new rate becomes effective, subject to at least 6 (six) weeks written notice being given.
9. UPPERCASE MEDIA reserve the right to increase the rates at any time.
10. The advertiser will be liable for all damages and costs that may arise from any action which may be instituted against UPPERCASE MEDIA as a result of the publication of an advertisement.
11. A certificate purported to be signed by a responsible official of UPPERCASE MEDIA will be prima facie proof of the amount plus interest due by the advertiser at any time.
12. All rates are strictly net. Accounts will be rendered monthly and are payable within 30 days from date of statement. Interest on arrears shall be payable at maximum rates as determined in ACT 73 of 1968.
13. In the event of any payment not being made by the Advertiser on or before the due date, the full balance outstanding will immediately become due, owing and payable.
14. The advertiser consents to the jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court, notwithstanding the possibility that any amount claimed could fall outside the jurisdiction of the Magistrate's Court, and further undertakes to pay all legal expenses incurred, including cost on an attorney-client scale, collection charges and tracing fees, in the recovering of all amounts due to UPPERCASE MEDIA.
15. The advertiser undertakes to notify UPPERCASE MEDIA in writing within 7 (seven) days of any change of address.
16. The advertiser undertakes, notwithstanding any sale of its business, and/or change of its members, to accept the liability of settling its debt to UPPERCASE MEDIA in full.
17. The advertiser warrants the authority of the signatory to this Agreement and warrants the correctness of the information in this application.
18. The street address as mentioned on the order form, has been chosen as domicilium citandi et executandi for any purpose, action or payment as far as the application is concerned.

**ucm**  
celebrity & entertainment

**FHM heat**  
IT'S A GUY THING celebrity news

**EVERY WEEKEND**  
**ZOO**  
WEEKEND

**DAILY**  
**ZOO**  
WEEKDAYS

**UCM FHM**  
DIGITAL MOBILE

FHM is created by UCM: Media brand owners of FHM, heat, ZOO Weekly/Weekdiks, UCM Digital and FHM Mobile

[www.ucm.co.za](http://www.ucm.co.za)

[www.fhm.co.za](http://www.fhm.co.za)

**Appendix 3: Coding Schedule**

**Ref No.** \_\_\_\_\_ **Magazine:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Month:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Product:** \_\_\_\_\_

**No. of Scenes:** \_\_\_\_\_

**No. of Performatives:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Scene 1:** Space: Private  Public   
 Area: Inside  Outside  Studio   
 Location \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. of additional Scene sheets \_\_\_\_\_

Ref No. \_\_\_\_\_

Relative Size: Yes  No  highest Performative \_\_\_\_ lowest Performative \_\_\_\_

Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____  Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____  Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____  Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____  Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
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No. of Additional Relationship Sheets \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. of Additional Performative Sheets \_\_\_\_\_

Codes: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Codes \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix 4: Additional Scene Sheet**

**Ref No.** \_\_\_\_\_ **Magazine:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Month:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Product:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Scene** \_\_\_\_: Space: Private  Public   
 Area: Inside  Outside  Studio   
 Location \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. of additional Scene sheets \_\_\_\_\_ **Ref No.** \_\_\_\_\_

Relative Size: Yes  No  highest Performative \_\_\_\_ lowest Performative \_\_\_\_

Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____  Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>  Relationship 1: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 2: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 3: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 4: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 5: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 6: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 7: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 8: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 9: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 10: Performative ____ Code ____ Relationship 11: Performative ____ Code ____	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 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No. of Additional Relationship Sheets \_\_\_\_\_ **Codes:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 No. of Additional Performative Sheets \_\_\_\_\_ **Codes:** \_\_\_\_\_



**Appendix 6: Additional Performative Sheet**

**Ref No.** \_\_\_\_\_ **Magazine:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Month:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Product:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Scene** \_\_\_\_:

Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____	Performative 1: Gender: M <input type="checkbox"/> F <input type="checkbox"/> O <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Race: B <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> C <input type="checkbox"/> I <input type="checkbox"/> Age: 0 - 15 <input type="checkbox"/> 16 - 24 <input type="checkbox"/> 25 - 34 <input type="checkbox"/> 35 - 49 <input type="checkbox"/> 50+ <input type="checkbox"/> Class: 1-4 <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7 <input type="checkbox"/> 8-10 <input type="checkbox"/> 4th Wall: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Smiling: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Activity: _____
Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Feminine touch: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Function ranking: -Dominant Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> -Subordinate: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Ritual. sub.: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Licensed withdrawal: Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>
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No. of Additional Relationship Sheets \_\_\_\_ Codes: \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 7: Coding Manual

### *Item 1: Gender Categories*

Category	Qualifying Criteria
Male	The performative displays prominently masculine signifiers in his clothing, body and styling.
Female	The performative displays prominently feminine signifiers in her clothing, body and styling.
Other	The performative displays a mix of gendered signifiers in his/her clothing, body and styling.
Indeterminate	The gender of the performative cannot be determined as there are no visible signifiers to indicate it.

### *Item 2: Race Categories*

Class	Qualifying Criteria
Black	The performative prominently displays signifiers socially constructed as black.
Coloured	The performative prominently displays signifiers socially constructed as coloured.
Indian	The performative prominently displays signifiers socially constructed as Indian.
Other	The performative does not prominently displays signifiers socially constructed as black, coloured, Indian or white.
White	The performative prominently displays signifiers socially constructed as white.

### *Item 3: Age Categories*

Class	Qualifying Criteria
0-15	The performative displays prominently 0-15 signifiers in their clothing, body and styling.
16-24	The performative displays prominently 16-24 signifiers in their clothing, body and styling.
25-34	The performative displays prominently 25-34 signifiers in their clothing, body and styling.
35-49	The performative displays prominently 35-49 signifiers in their clothing, body and styling.
50+	The performative displays prominently 50+ signifiers in their clothing, body and styling.

### *Item 4: Class Categories*

Class	Income Range
LSM 1 – 4 (working class)	R1003 – R1924 (see Appendix 8)
LSM 5 – 7 (middle class)	R2674 – R6880 (see Appendix 8)
LSM 8 – 10 (upper class)	R9304 - R19974 (see Appendix 8)

## Appendix 7: Coding Manual

### *Item 5: Space Definitions*

Category	Qualifying Criteria
Private Space	The subject(s) is/are represented at home or in secluded familial or fraternal situations.
Public Space	The subject(s) is/are represented in a public space such as at church or a business institutions, etc.

### *Item 6: Area Definitions*

Category	Qualifying Criteria
Studio	Studio shots in unidentified locations or artificially constructed areas. Includes images with abstract backgrounds or where the location cannot be identified as a 'real' world location.
Outside	Images that are outside of man made structures.
Inside	Images that are inside man made structures.

### *Item 7: Location (L) Definitions*

Category	Qualifying Criteria/ Location	Code
Ocean/Beach	Out at sea, on the beach or at a hotel resort close to the ocean/beach	L.1
Road/Pavement	Either a road, pavement or parking space/facility.	L.2
Public Recreational Area	A public recreational area such as cinemas, theatres, concert halls, sports arenas, stadiums, etc.	L.3
House	An interior room of a house	L.4
Office	An interior place of work without heavy machinery or mass assembly of physical products.	L.5
Wilderness	Location is away from human settlements and constructions. Mountains, forests, rivers, lakes, etc.	L.6
Pool/Garden	A private pool or garden.	L.7
Restaurant	Location is part of the food service industry. Sit in restaurants, food courts, fast food, food carts, bars etc.	L.8
Field/park	A public field or park	L.9
Sport facility	A sports facility such as a gym, public pool, golf course, tennis court etc.	L.10
Shop	A shop or shopping centre.	L.11
Factory	A place of work with heavy machinery or where the mass assembly of physical products occurs.	L.12
Service area	A place that provides a service. Petrol station, doctors office, hairdresser, dentist, etc..	L.13

**Item 8: Activity (A) Definitions**

Category	Qualifying Criteria	Code
Pose	Subject is partaking in an activity that is for the benefit of the camera, thus is detached from their depicted surroundings and is posed to accentuate the product(s) for the audience.	A.1
Caress	Subject(s) are engaged in romantic or intimate embrace such as holding each other, light kissing or cuddling.	A.2
Sex	Subject(s) are engaged in erotic behaviour such as heavy kissing and undressing.	A.3
Operating Motor Vehicle	Subject(s) are operating a motorised vehicle such as cars, motor bike, boats and planes.	A.4
Walking	Subject is walking.	A.5
Inactive	Subject is engaged in static activity and nothing else (ie not watching TV or reading, etc.) such as sitting, standing, lying and sleeping.	A.6
Play	Subject is involved in some form of play. Such as board games and horse play.	A.7
Preparing food	Subject is preparing food or drinks.	A.8
Work (unskilled Labour)	Subject is involved in unskilled work.	A.9
Work (skilled labour)	Subject is involved in skilled work.	A.10
Nurturing	Subject is nurturing or caring for another subject or animal.	A.11
Creative Arts	Subject in involved in a creative activity such as painting, performing or dancing.	A.12
Low Activity	Reading, listening to music, watching TV, standing, gardening	A.13
Talking	Subject is involved in a conversation or is lecturing/teaching, either in person or on the phone.	A. 14
Listening	Subject is listening to a conversation or lecture, etc.	A. 15
Physical Activity (Competitive)	Subject is involved in a structured competitive physical activity such as rugby, boxing, cricket, or racing.	A. 16
Physical Activity (non-competitive)	Subject is involved in a physical activity with out the goal of winning, such as exercise or yoga.	A. 17
Fighting (informal)	Subject is involved in an informal physical fight (not boxing or wrestling).	A. 18
Other	Any activity that does not fit into one of the already mentioned categories.	A. 19

**Item 9: Demand**

Result	Qualifying Criteria
Yes	The performative demands the gaze of the audience (i.e. they are looking straight at the camera).
No	The performative does no demand the gaze of the audience.

**Item 10: Smiling**

Result	Qualifying Criteria
Yes	The performative is smiling.
No	The performative is not smiling

**Item 11: Advertised Product (AP) Definitions**

Category	Qualifying Criteria	Code
Cleaning	Products used for the cleaning of non-living objects. Such as washing powder and dish washing liquid.	AP. 1
Food and Beverages	Products that are edible such as food and drink.	AP. 2
Cosmetic	Products for the cleaning of subjects and visual enhancement. Such as face creams, deodorant and shower gel.	AP. 3
Medicine	Prescription and non-prescription pharmaceuticals including vitamins and digestive aids.	AP. 4
Clothing	Products that are worn by subjects. Such as clothes and fashion accessories (watches, jewellery).	AP. 5
Home Appliances	Appliances that assist in household chores, such as washing machines and dish washers.	AP. 6
Vehicle	Products that provide transportation for subjects such as cars and bikes.	AP. 7
Travel	One time trip transportation and temporary accommodation such as airline and bus tickets, and hotels.	AP. 8
Alcohol	Beverages that contain alcohol.	AP. 9
Banking & Finance	Banking and financial services such as banks, investment brokers and insurance policies.	AP. 10
Services	Subscription or monthly services such as cell phones, internet, and pay-tv.	AP. 11
Industrial products	Construction and industrial equipment such as tools and large machinery.	AP. 12
Entertainment media	Entertainment media such as movies, magazines, television shows, theatre productions and live sporting events.	AP. 13
Electronics	Recreational electronic equipment such as TVs, DVD players and computers.	AP. 14
Sporting	Products relating to sport and physical activity such as sports equipment, supplements and gyms.	AP. 15

**Item 12: Relationship (R) Definitions**

Category	Qualifying Criteria	Code
Familial	The subject(s) is/are represented within family situations with his/their parent(s), sibling(s), spouse(s), child(ren) or sibling(s).	R.1
Fraternal	The subject(s) is/are represented with (a) friend(s).	R. 2
Sexual and Erotic	The subject(s) is/are represented with (a) partner(s) and is engaging in a sexual, erotic or romantic activity.	R. 3
Professional	The subject(s) is/are represented in a working environment with colleague(s) or client(s) of a higher, lower or equivalent rank.	R. 4
None	There is no relationship or no evidence of a relationship in the ad between the subjects.	R.5

**Item 13: Power Relation Definitions**

Category	Qualifying Criteria	Description	Scoring:
Relative size	(positioned smaller or lower, relative to others)	Social authority is echoed through relative size, especially height.	Both the highest and the lowest subject will be recorded
Feminine touch	(constantly touching themselves or objects in non-utilitarian means)	This is child like fidgeting where the subject uses their fingers and hands to trace the outline of an object, cradle it or touch ones self. It is important to distinguish this from the utilitarian manipulations or holding of objects.	All applicable subjects will be recorded.
Function ranking	(occupational)	Dominant subject performs the executive role. This hierarchy of function is pictured either within an occupational frame or outside of occupational specializations.	All applicable dominant subjects and subordinate subjects will be recorded.
Ritualization of subordination	(proclivity for lying down at inappropriate times)	Lowering oneself physically is seen as a sign of deference. Canting postures can be read as an acceptance of subordination and submissiveness.	All applicable subjects will be recorded.
Licensed withdrawal	(never quite part of the scene, via far-off gazes)	Subject is depicted in a social scene but removed from it. This includes turning one's gaze away or conducting a telephone conversation in a group.	All applicable subjects will be recorded.

## Appendix 8: LSM Groups

LSM Groups from <http://www.saarf.co.za/LSM/lsm-presentations.htm>:

### **LSM 1 (6.1%)**

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Female

16 - 24, 50+

Primary Completed

Rural

Traditional Hut

R1 003 per month

#### MEDIA

Radio a major channel of medium communication

- Commercial radio; mainly African Language Services (ALS)

#### GENERAL

Minimal access to services

Minimal ownership of durables, except radio sets

### **LSM 2 (12.2%)**

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Female

16 - 34

Primary Completed

Rural

House/Matchbox house

R1 210 per month

#### MEDIA

Radio: Commercial, mainly ALS

#### GENERAL

Water on plot

Minimal ownership of durables, except radio sets and stoves

## Appendix 8: LSM Groups

### LSM 3 (12.6%)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

16 - 24

Up to some high school

Rural

House/Matchbox house

R1 509 per month

#### MEDIA

Radio: commercial mainly ALS stations, Ukhozi FM, Umhlobo Wenene FM

TV: SABC 1

Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Electricity, water on plot

Minimal ownership of durables, except radio sets and stoves

Activities – lottery tickets

### LSM 4 (14.9%)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

16 - 49

Schooling up to some high school

R1 924 per month

#### MEDIA

Radio: commercial mainly ALS stations, Metro fm

TV: SABC 1,2, ETV

Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Electricity, water on plot, flush toilet

TV sets, hi-fi/radio set, electric hotplates, fridge

Activities - stokvel meeting,

lottery tickets, eat and buy take away food

## Appendix 8: LSM Groups

### LSM 5 (13.5%)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Male

16-49

Up to Matric, Urban

R2 674 per month

#### MEDIA

Radio: commercial mainly ALS stations, Metro fm

TV: SABC 1,2,3, e.tv

Daily/Weekly Newspapers, Magazines

Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Electricity, water, flush toilet

TV sets, hi-fi/radio set, stove, fridge

Activities: started exercising, painted interior of house, stokvel meeting, purchase take-away food, lottery tickets

### LSM 6 (14.4%)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Male

25-49

Matric and higher, Urban

R4 400 per month

#### MEDIA

Wide range of commercial/community radio

TV: SABC 1,2,3, e.tv

Daily/Weekly Newspapers, Magazines

Cinema & Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Electricity, hot running water, flush toilet

Ownership of a number of durables plus cell phone

Participated in a number of activities

## Appendix 8: LSM Groups

### **LSM 7 (7.8%)**

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

25+

Matric and higher, Urban

R6 880 per month

#### MEDIA

Wide range of commercial/community radio

TV: SABC 1,2,3, e.tv, M-Net

Daily/Weekly Newspapers, Magazines

Accessed internet 4 weeks

Cinema & Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Full access to services

Increased ownership of durables plus motor vehicle

Participation in all activities

### **LSM 8 (5.7%)**

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Female

35+

Matric and higher, Urban

R9 304 per month

#### MEDIA

Wide range of commercial/community radio

TV: SABC 1,2,3, e.tv, M-Net, DStv

Daily/Weekly Newspapers, Magazines

Accessed internet 4 weeks

Cinema & Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Full access to services

Full ownership of durables, incl. DVD, PC and satellite dish

Increased participation in activities

## Appendix 8: LSM Groups

### LSM 9 (6.7%)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Female, 35+

Matric and higher, Urban

R12 647 per month

#### MEDIA

Wide range of commercial/community radio

TV: SABC 2,3, e.tv, M-Net, DStv

Daily/Weekly Newspapers, Magazines

Accessed internet 4 weeks

Cinema & Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Full access to services

Full ownership of durables,

Incl. PC, DVD and satellite dish

Increased participation in activities, excluding stokvel meetings

### LSM 10 (6.0%)

#### DEMOGRAPHICS

Male, 35+

Matric and higher, Urban

R19 974 per month

#### MEDIA

Wide range of commercial/community radio

TV: SABC 2,3, e.tv, M-Net, DStv

Daily/Weekly Newspapers, Magazines

Accessed internet 4 weeks

Cinema & Outdoor

#### GENERAL

Full access to services

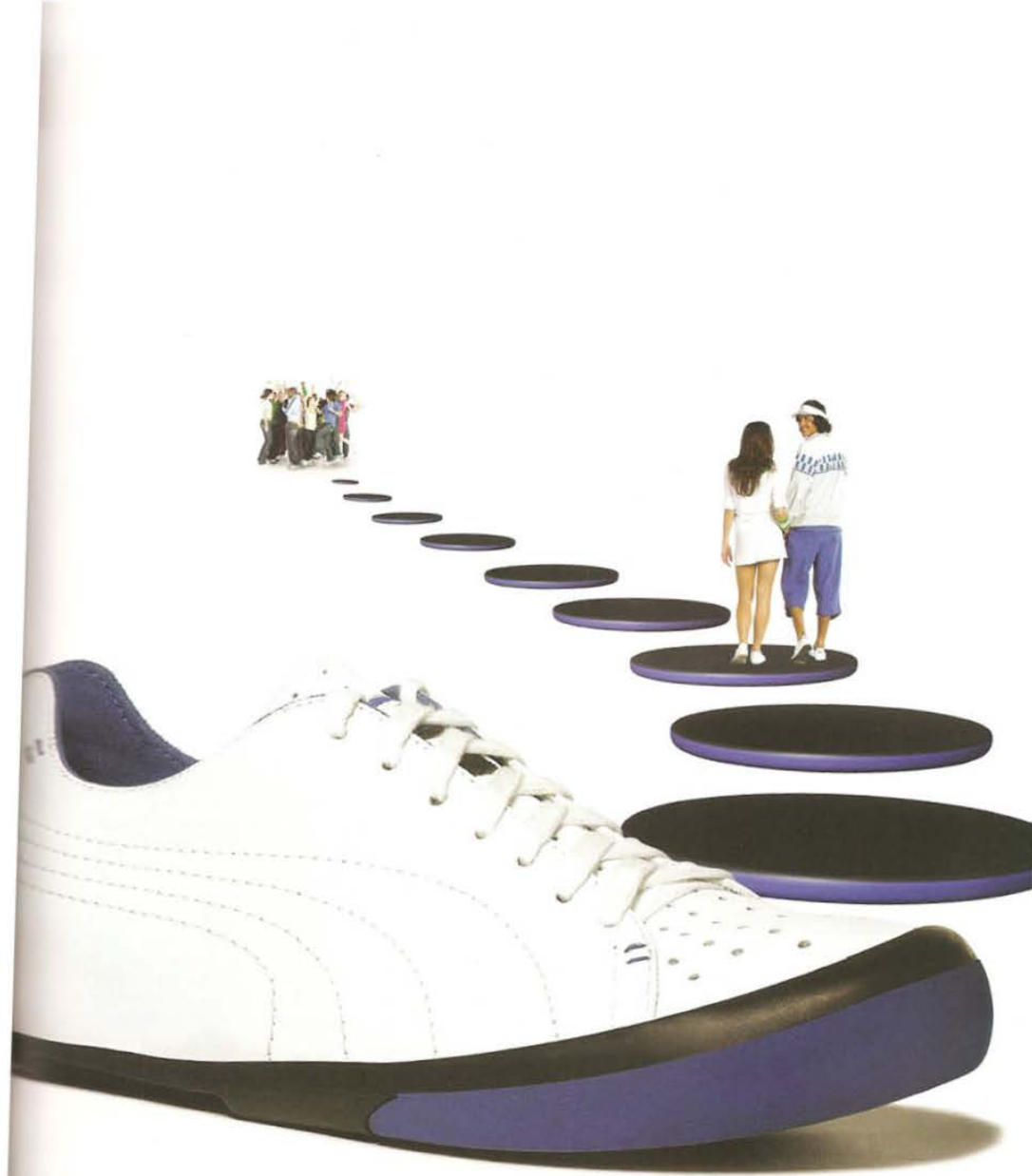
Full ownership of durables,

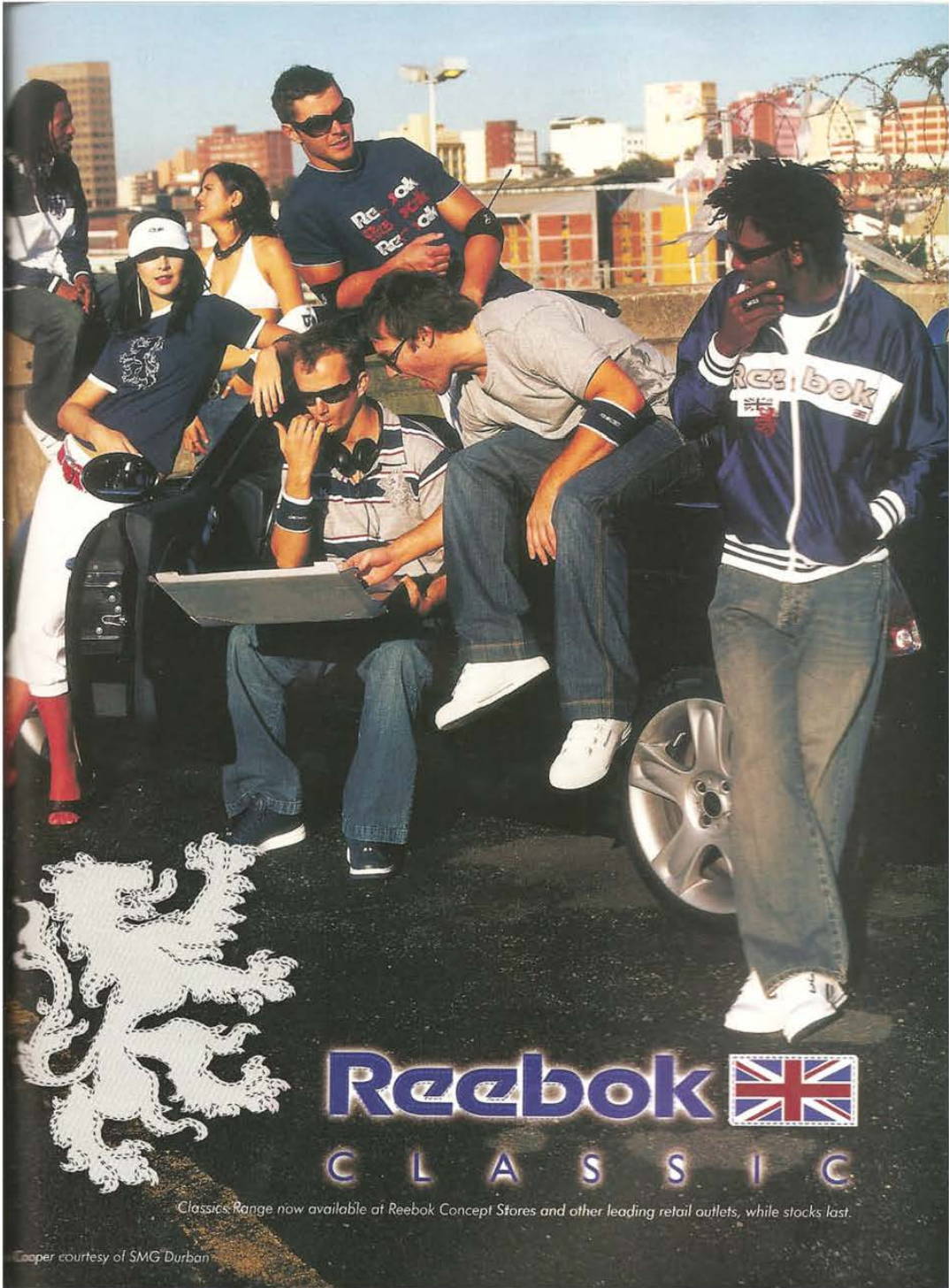
Incl. PC, DVD and satellite dish

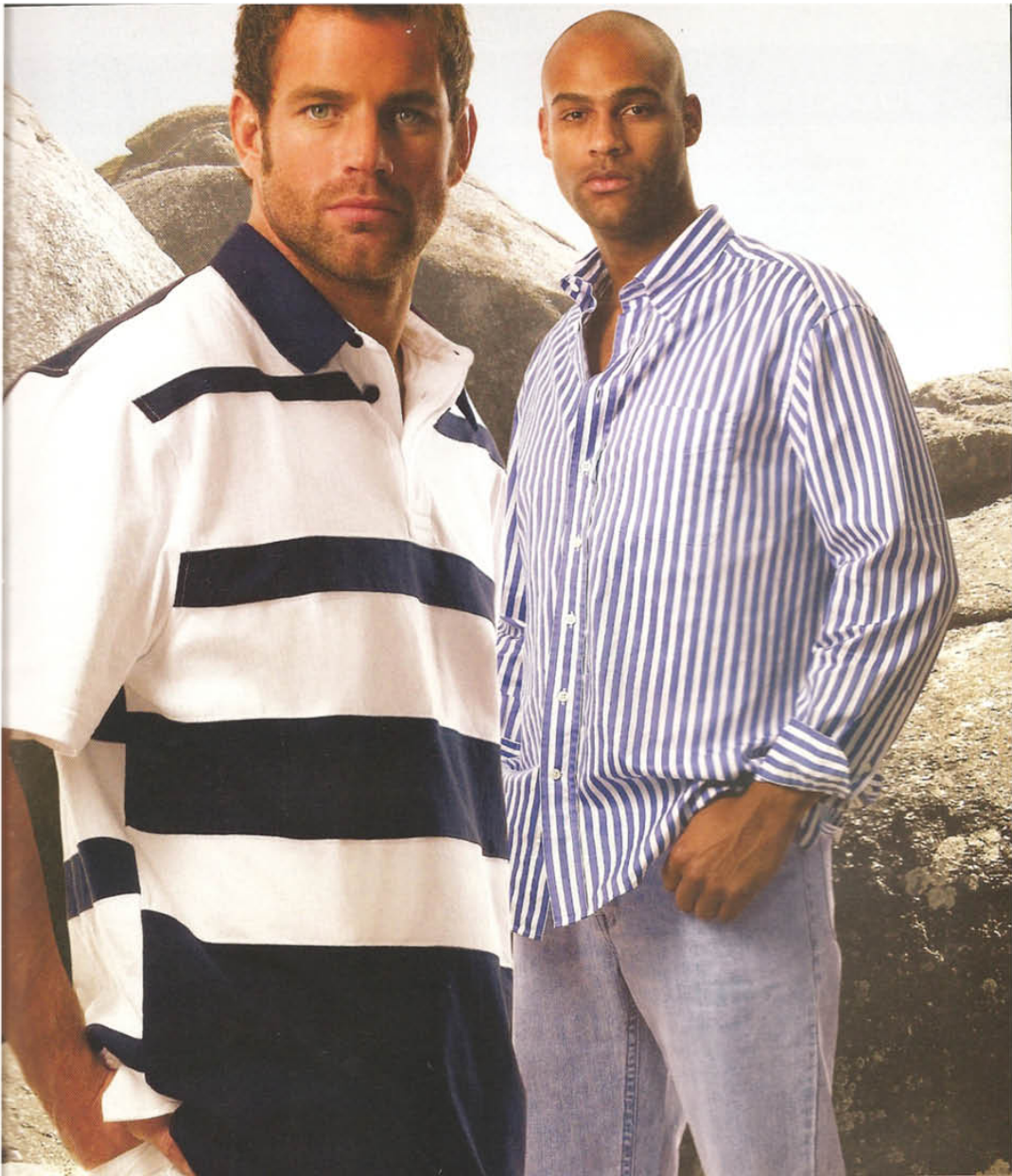
Increased participation in activities, excluding stokvel meetings







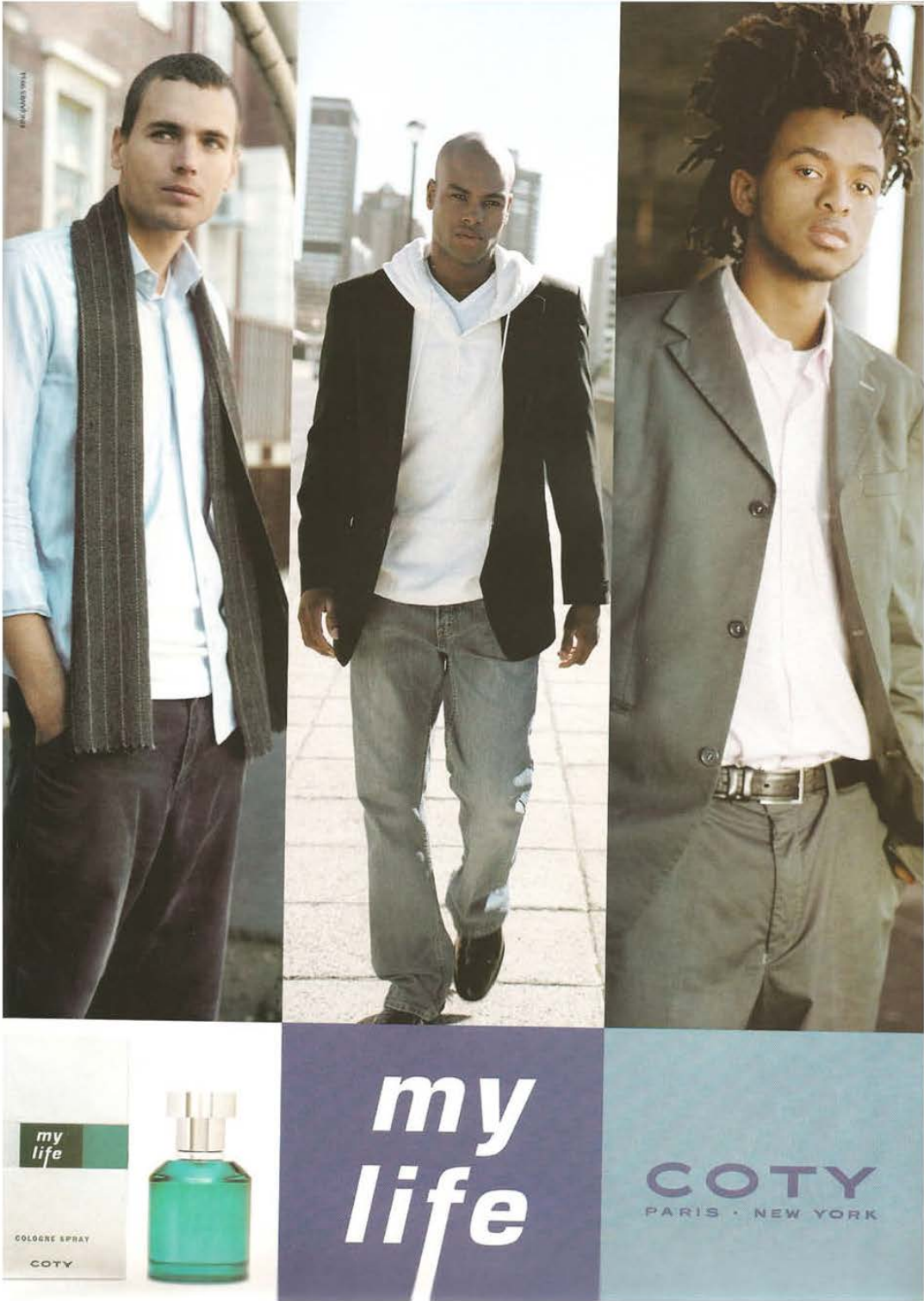




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