

An Analysis of Hyper-Masculinity in Magazine Advertisements

by

Megan Lea Vokey, B.A. (Honours)

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

The University of Manitoba

In partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

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Of

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Tables.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
I: Introduction.....	1
II: Conceptualizing Hyper-masculinity.....	7
Biological Essentialism (Biological Determinism).....	10
Gender Role (Sex Role) Socialization.....	12
Social Constructionism.....	13
III: Hyper-Masculinity and Violence Against Women.....	20
Hyper-Masculinity and Violence Against Women: Research Methods.....	25
IV: Hyper-Masculinity and the Mass Media.....	37
Mass Media Theory.....	37
Analyses of Television.....	39
Analyses of Advertising.....	44
V: Summary and Critique.....	51
Proposed Research and Hypotheses.....	53
VI: Method.....	55
Sample.....	55
Measurement and Coding Instrument.....	59
Procedure.....	60
VII: Results	62

Data Preparation.....	62
Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity by Magazine.....	64
Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity by Target Group.....	64
Regressions of Age, Education, and Household Income on Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity Overall.....	71
Multiple Regression of Age, Education, and Household Income on Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity Overall.....	71
Multiple Regressions of Age, Education, and Household Income on Proportion of Individual Hyper-masculinity traits.....	76
VIII: Discussion.....	81
Societal Implications	86
Limitations and Future Directions.....	88
Conclusion.....	90
Literature Cited.....	92
Appendices.....	98

Abstract

Hyper-masculinity is an extreme form of masculine gender ideology that is comprised of four traits, namely, (a) calloused attitudes toward women, (b) violence as manly, (c) danger as exciting, and (d) toughness as emotional self-control (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). This form of masculinity is of concern because it is associated with violence against women (Murnen, Wright & Kaluzny, 2002). Young men and men with low social/economic power are most vulnerable to hyper-masculinity (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Young men are vulnerable because adolescence and young adulthood are developmental periods when peer group support for hyper-masculine behaviours is high. Low SES men are vulnerable because (a) ways in which higher SES men exercise power are not available to them and (b) fear-inducing experiences such as witnessing crime are more likely to be experienced in low-income communities (Beale Spencer et al., 2003). From the latter perspective, hyper-masculine behaviours such as acting tough and fighting may be a way of coping with fear by low-income men. Advertising is believed to play a role in constructing hyper-masculine ideology (Kilbourne, 2001) but very little research has examined this claim. The current study analyzed the content of images in men's magazine advertisements for portrayals of hyper-masculinity. The sample of magazines was based on readership demographic information. Two issues of eight magazines targeting men differentiated by age, education, and household income published in November 2007 and April 2008 were analyzed. Advertisements containing images of men were coded for hyper-masculine traits using a coding instrument based on the Hypermasculinity Inventory (Mosher and Sirkin, 1984). This study addressed the following research questions: (a) what proportion of the advertisements display hyper-

masculinity and (b) is hyper-masculinity inversely related to readership demographics of age, education, and household income? It was hypothesized that advertisements targeted at younger men, less educated men, and less affluent men would exhibit more hyper-masculine traits than advertisements targeted at men who were older, more educated, and/or more affluent. Data analysis proceeded in two steps. In the first step, the proportion of the advertisement that depicted hyper-masculinity overall, as well as the proportion of advertisements that depicted each of the hyper-masculinity traits individually, were calculated. In the second step, regression analyses were conducted to determine the relationship of age, education, and income to hyper-masculine traits, both overall and individually. It was found that, overall, 56% of advertisements in the sample (N = 527) depicted at least one hyper-masculine trait. The hypotheses were supported by the multiple regression results. Age, education, and household income each were significant predictors of hyper-masculinity in the advertisements. Of the three predictors, age accounted for most of the variance in hyper-masculinity. The societal implications of the findings are discussed.

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List of Tables

1. Hyper-Masculinity Characteristics and Descriptions	8
2. Men's Magazines Selected for Analysis by Target Audience Group.....	58
3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity.....	63
4. Means, Standard Deviations, and Proportion of HM by Magazine.....	65
5. Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity by Age of Target Audience.....	68
6. Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity by Education Level of the Target Audience	69
7. Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity by Household Income of the Target Audience.....	70
8. Univariate Regressions of Age, Education, and Household Income on the Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity.....	72
9. Bivariate and Part Correlations between Predictor Variables (Age, Education, and Household Income) and Hyper-masculinity Traits.....	74
10. Cumulative Percent of Variance in Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-masculinity Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression	75

11. Cumulative Percent of Variance in Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Violence as Manly Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression	77
12. Cumulative Percent of Variance in Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Toughness as Emotional Self-Control Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression.....	78
13. Cumulative Percent of Variance in Proportion of Advertisements Calloused Attitudes Toward Women Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression.....	79
14. Cumulative Percent of Variance in Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Danger as Exciting Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression	80

List of Figures

1. An Ecological Framework of Factors Related to Violence Against Women..... 23

An Analysis of Hyper-Masculinity in Magazine Advertisements

Genderads.com is a website created by gender educator Dr. S. Lukas displaying advertisements that depict misogyny (hatred of women) and violence. Lukas (2002) argues that these images show that advertisements do more than sell products, they also present specific values, attitudes, and beliefs about men and women. For example, in an advertisement for sunglasses, a tough and impassive-looking man appears to be choking a woman. His fist is clenched around her neck and she appears to be gasping. In an advertisement for jeans, three aggressive-looking men appear to be attacking a woman in an alley. One man is pulling her up into the air by seat of her jeans, while the second man grabs her by the leg and the third man pulls her arm. Her arms are flailing and her hair covers her face. Close, critical examination of these advertisements is disturbing. Why are advertisements that depict men as violent and tough, particularly towards women, being used to sell products, and what do these advertisements teach about masculine gender ideology?

Ideology refers to the set of social values, ideas, and beliefs that people in a society collectively use to make sense of the world (Mosher and Tomkins, 1988; O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2005). Masculinity refers to social and cultural roles, personality traits, and behaviours, such as aggression and dominance, which are deemed acceptable for men in Western society (Mosher and Tomkins, 1988). Gender as a cultural construct is differentiated from sex, which refers to biological differences between men and women (O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2005). When masculine ideology becomes over-

valued by a man, hyper-masculinity may result (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984; Mosher & Tomkins, 1988; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Hyper-masculinity (HM) consists of an exaggerated expression of masculine gender ideology (Mosher and Sirkin, 1984). Characteristics central to HM include toughness, strong disdain for 'inferior' feminine traits and affects, calloused attitudes towards women and sex, violence and aggression, lack of emotional expression other than anger, and danger and sensation seeking (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988).

Although any man may take on hyper-masculine gender ideology, it is most likely to be enacted during adolescence and/or young adulthood, which are developmental periods during which identity development occurs and when peer group support of HM behaviours is believed to be high (Beale Spencer, Fegley, Harpalani, & Seaton, 2004; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). It is also put forward that boys/men with low social/economic power, such as working class boys/men, are at a greater risk of developing HM than men from higher socio-economic backgrounds (Pyke, 1996). It is argued that fear-inducing experiences such as witnessing and/or being a victim of crime are more likely to be experienced in lower income communities, putting these boys and men at risk of HM (Donaldson, 1993; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). From this perspective, behaviours such as acting tough and fighting are the only acceptable reactions to fear because the rules of masculinity do not permit expression of pain and vulnerability.

Violence against women has been defined as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion, or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private, including sexual, physical, and psychological

acts” (United Nations, 1995 p. 114). Ethnographic research (e.g., Sanday, 1981), anonymous self-report surveys (e.g., Al-Adam, Raffaelli, O’Leary, 2003), and laboratory experiments (e.g., Parrot and Zeichner, 2003) have linked HM to men’s violence against women. For example, in regards to self-report surveys, significant positive correlations ranging from .43 to .74 between HM and violence against women have been found, representing a moderately strong relationship (e.g., Suarez-Al-Adam, Raffaelli, & O’Leary, 2002; Hamberger, 1996; Lackie & DeMan, 1997; Smeaton & Byrne, 1987). In regards to laboratory experiments, men who scored high on a self-report survey measuring hyper-masculinity were (a) significantly more likely than men who scored low on the survey to report that they had been physically violent towards a partner in the past, and (b) were significantly more likely to perform various indicators of physical aggression (involving shocking a bogus female opponent) during a laboratory experiment (Parrot & Zeichner, 2003). Of course, each study has methodological limitations (e.g., laboratory methods may have limited external validity) and research gaps remain (e.g., more research is needed with samples that may be generalized to populations other than White, middle class, college men). However, the research to date linking HM with violence against women provides justification for investigating the etiological factors of this form of masculinity (Mosher & Zaitchik, 1993; Parrott & Zeichner, 2003).

The mass media has been argued to play a crucial role in constructing and transmitting gender ideology, thereby influencing gender attitudes, values, and beliefs (Lukas, 2002; Mosher & Tomkins, 1988). Advertising, in particular, is speculated to use hyper-masculine representations to sell products to men (Kilbourne, 2001). According to Kervin (1990), advertisements are constructed by the media producers’ use of social

knowledge, including ideals and values about masculinity. Advertisements do not necessarily represent men as they really are, but instead use socially desirable versions of masculinity to infuse those characteristics into the product being sold (Kervin, 1990). Advertisers may pair culturally ideal masculine representations, such as powerful, hyper-muscular, and tough male models with the products in order to enhance the appeal of what is being sold (Katz, 1995). The message sent by the advertisement is that, by buying the product, masculinity can be enhanced, making one feel and appear to others as more strong, tough, and powerful (Katz, 1995). Because there is great societal pressure for men to live up to the cultural ideal of masculinity, men may be persuaded to buy the product if they feel insecure about not living up to the proscribed standard of masculinity. Less innocently, these representations may be very influential on audiences' beliefs about gender because of how advertising-saturated life in our society has become (Kilbourne, 2001; O'Shaugnessey & Stadler, 2005). For example, it is estimated that, on average, adults encounters approximately 1500 advertisements every day (Kilbourne, 1992) and children see 360,000 ads by the time they turn 18 (Harris, 1989).

Although it is theorized that hyper-masculinity is highly prevalent in the media, insufficient empirical evidence has been gathered to support or dismiss this claim (Garst & Bodenhausen, 1997; Scharrer, 2005). The limited evidence gathered so far has suggested that HM is predominant in at least some forms of media, such as television content aimed at men (Sharrer, 2001; Soulliere, 2006). In regards to advertising, only qualitative analyses have been conducted. The results of these analyses do suggest that HM themes are present in magazine advertising (Katz, 1995; White & Gillet, 1994). Katz (1995) provides a descriptive analysis of how masculinity is encoded as naturally violent

in mainstream magazine advertising. In general, violence is encoded as a biological fact of being a man and as socially rewarded. Other themes related to HM, including toughness as ideal and dominance over women as natural, were also found. Katz concluded that advertisers often exploit men's feelings of not living up to the masculine ideal of being strong, tough, and violent by providing them with products and services to enhance these qualities. White and Gillet (1994) performed an analysis of advertisements in issues of *Flex*, a magazine that is aimed at young, working class men. They were interested in how masculinity was constructed specifically for this social demographic of men, who may be at-risk of experiencing a sense of powerless and insecurity about their masculinity as a result of their less advantaged social position. They found that, in general, the advertisements in *Flex* positioned the readers as powerless and weak, and as not living up to the dominant masculine ideal of toughness and aggression. The products and services in the advertisements were promised to readers as solutions to their masculine shortcomings.

The above analyses have provided valuable information regarding the construction of themes related to hyper-masculinity in magazine advertising. However, a number of research gaps and questions remain to be answered. First, what is the prevalence of HM images in magazine advertising? Past qualitative research (Katz, 1995; White & Gillet, 1994) has found that HM themes are present in advertising. However, how widespread are HM representations in advertising? Moreover, the proportion of magazine advertisements depicting HM has not been examined. Quantitative analyses would compliment the past descriptive findings for a more complete picture of the extent of HM in magazine advertising.

The second research gap concerns the possibility that the proportion of HM in magazine advertising may vary by audience demographics. That is, masculine representations in advertising may differ depending on the age and social class of the intended audience. Past analyses that investigated the depiction of men in traditional masculine occupations (e.g., business) vs. non-traditional occupations (e.g., child-care giver) in magazine advertisements found that masculinity was depicted differentially according to audience demographic characteristics such as sex, age, and social class (Skelly & Lundstrom, 1981, Vigorito & Curry, 1998). For example, men are portrayed in traditional occupational roles more often in men's magazine advertisements than in women's (Vigorito & Curry, 1998). Although HM was not the focus of these studies, the results suggest that analyses of masculinity in the media are most meaningful and informative when it is clearly articulated which audiences are being targeted (Vigorito & Curry, 1998). Given that HM has been suggested to be most prevalent among young and/or lower income men, it may be valuable to compare the proportion of HM in magazine advertisements aimed at these hypothesized at-risk groups of men with the proportion of HM in advertisements intended for other audiences, such as wealthier and/or older men. This information would illuminate the prevalence of HM in magazine advertising, as well as which audiences are being targeted by such depictions.

In the following literature review, (a) hyper-masculinity will be conceptualized in detail, (b) the literature examining the relationship between HM and violence against women will be summarized, and (c) the literature examining the depiction of HM in the mass media will be summarized. The review concludes with a critique of the literature to

date, followed by a more specific discussion of the research questions to be examined in the present study.

Conceptualizing Hyper-Masculinity

Hyper-masculinity refers to the gender-based ideology of what it means to be a man, when carried out in an exaggerated way (Mosher and Sirkin, 1984; Mosher and Tomkins, 1988; Zaitchik and Mosher, 1993). As can be seen in Table 1, HM is comprised of a cluster of characteristics, namely, (a) calloused (insensitive) attitudes toward sex and women, the attitude that intercourse with women is a source of male power and female submission, and that sex is acceptable without empathic concern for the female's subjective experience; (b) violence as manly, the attitude that violent aggression is an acceptable expression of masculine power and dominance; (c) danger as exciting, the attitude that survival in dangerous situations is manly; and (d) toughness as emotional self-control, the belief that anger is the only legitimate male emotion, and that expression of emotions, particularly 'feminine' emotions such as sensitivity and empathy, are a sign of weakness (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). HM is theorized to be a function of different times and reference groups (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Times may be specific situational opportunities when HM behaviour is likely to unfold. HM behaviour is believed to occur especially during times of conflict or stress. Anger, violence, and aggressiveness are believed to be the primary way hyper-masculine men

Table 1.

Hyper-Masculinity Characteristics and Descriptions

Hyper-Masculinity Characteristics	Description
1. Violence as Manly	the attitude that violent aggression is an acceptable expression of masculine power and dominance;
2. Calloused Attitudes Towards Women/Sex	the attitude that intercourse with women is a source of male power and female submission, and that sex is acceptable without empathic concern for the female's subjective experience;
3. Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	the belief that anger is the only legitimate male emotion, and that expression of emotions, particularly 'feminine' emotions such as sensitivity and empathy, are a sign of weakness
4. Danger As Exciting	the attitude that survival in dangerous situations is manly

solve conflict and deal with emotionally threatening situations. In particular, times when masculinity is 'challenged' by others are believed to be particularly threatening situations for HM men. Challenges to masculinity may be made by male adversaries (e.g., picking a fight) or by female adversaries (e.g., turning down a romantic invitation).

Hyper-masculinity is also theorized to be a function of developmental periods (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Adolescence and young adulthood, roughly comprising the developmental periods between age 12 and 35 (Erikson, 1968) are believed to be stages during the life cycle when hyper-masculinity is most likely to be enacted (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). One reason for this is because a major developmental challenge of adolescence is identity formation, a "process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of culture" (Erikson, 1968, p. 22). Social structures, such as gender, ethnicity, and class all play a significant role in how individuals integrate beliefs about self to develop a self-identity (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). The gender intensification hypothesis is defined as the belief that developmentally there is an acceleration of gender-differentiated socialization, roughly occurring at the beginning of the adolescent period (Hill & Lynch, 1983). According to the gender intensification hypothesis, during adolescence gender differences between the sexes become more exaggerated, as adolescent girls and boys identify more strongly with the feminine and masculine stereotype than they did in childhood. It is theorized that one reason this happens is because greater conformity occurs during adolescence to societal expectations. As well, sanctions occur for gender

appropriate behaviour, activities, and traits by parents, teachers, peers, and the media (Hill and Lynch, 1983).

The adolescent and young adult peer group, in particular, often celebrates and reinforces hyper-masculine ideology (Mosher and Tomkins, 1988). During adolescence, masculine norms of “being tough” and related traits such as aggression become heightened (Mills, 2001). During this time, the social price of not conforming is very high and boys who do not conform to this standard are often excluded, physically and verbally bullied, or labelled with terms implying ‘inferior’ status of a homosexual or a girl, such as ‘sissy’ or ‘fag’ (Katz, 2001). Violent behaviour by young men, particularly in schools, is often the only solution to end unwanted teasing and harassment. Boys that are able to demonstrate that they are prepared to engage in, or at least condone, violent behaviour in certain circumstances (e.g., harassing girls) are usually able to avoid being the recipient of unwelcome harassment (Mills, 2001).

Three major frameworks of gender have been used to conceptualize masculinity, namely biological determinism, gender role socialization, and social constructionism. The main points of each perspective will now be summarized.

Biological Essentialism (Biological Determinism)

One of the earliest frameworks used to conceptualize masculinity was biological essentialism (Brannon, 1998; Cosgrove, 2000). From this perspective, biology is responsible for gender differences in socially proscribed traits, behaviours, and roles. Most early studies about gender were ‘individual difference studies’, which attempted to document the numerous differences in attitudes, traits, and behaviours between men and

women, such as helping behaviour, political attitudes, sexual behaviours, and academic achievement (Brannon, 1998).

A number of meta-analyses have since quantitatively summarized the results of this literature, each of which has generally found that most often gender as a predictor variable accounts for very little of the total variance of individual differences in traits and behaviours (Hyde, 2005). Meta-analysis is a statistical procedure that allows researchers to combine the results of multiple studies of a variable of interest in order to determine the overall size of the effect. The size of the effect is represented by d , the mean of one group subtracted from the mean of the other, divided by the pooled standard deviation (Brannon, 1998). In general, gender has been found to account for only 1-2% of the total variance in individual differences for most psychological traits and behaviours (Brannon, 1998; Hyde, 2005). For example, despite the commonly held belief in our society that girls/women are naturally better communicators, with stronger verbal ability than men, the results of a meta-analysis of 165 studies, testing nearly 1.5 million people, found that gender differences in verbal ability represented only about 1% of the total variance (Hyde & Linn, 1988). This result means that, on average, women score higher than men, but the size of the difference is tiny. This is just one example of gender differences not being empirically confirmed. It is largely accepted that biological differences between the sexes are insufficient to account for the large differences in observed gender roles (Brannon, 1998; Cosgrove, 2000).

An important criticism of biological essentialism is that it naturalizes patriarchy (Brannon, 1998; Cosgrove, 2000). Patriarchy is defined as a social structure (system of social relations) in which the father or a male figure is the leader, family descent is

determined through the male line, and masculine power and authority dominate social, political, and economic institutions, thereby oppressing women (Brannon, 2000; O'Shaunnesay and Stadler, 2005). Oppression has been described as the systemic, institutionalized, and socially sanctioned mistreatment of one group of people in a society by the dominant group, who act as agents of society as a whole (Gonzalez Yuen, 2007). Oppression based on gender (sexist oppression or sexism) includes three inter-related aspects: (a) prejudice, which entail negative (as well as apparently 'positive') attitudes toward women and girls, such as misogyny or chivalry; (b) stereotypes, which are the ascription of traits to girls and women that render them as best suited to restricted, less powerful, or disliked roles than men, such as homemaker or sex object; and (c) discrimination, which is patronizing behaviour by boys/men toward girls/women that asserts male superiority, such as violence (Young, 1992, as cited in Yoder, 1998, p. 148). Therefore, biological essentialism does not only naturalize gender differences, it also naturalizes gender inequality.

Gender Role (Sex Role) Socialization.

Gender role socialization theory was the second framework to become widespread for researching masculinity (Courtenay, 2000; Kryzanowski & Stewin, 1985). According to this framework, boys and girls learn to be masculine and feminine in a way similar to how all behaviours, values, and attitudes are learned, namely through the differential social expectations imposed on them by family, peers, and societal institutions (Kryzanowski and Stewin, 1985). Gender roles are defined as those behaviours, values, and personality characteristics expected of girls/women and boys/men, which act as a model or script for behaviour (Brannon, 1998; Cosgrove, 2000; Kryzanowski & Stewin,

1985). Gender roles are differentiated from gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are defined as *beliefs and attitudes* about the psychological traits, characteristics, and activities for men or women (Brannon, 1998; Seifert & Hoffnung, 1997; see Appendix A). These concepts are not the same, but they tend to be related. When people associate a pattern of behaviour with either women or men they may overlook the individual variations and exceptions in themselves and others. In other words, gender roles can become gender stereotypes (Brannon, 1998).

Gender role socialization theory has been criticized for focusing on gender 'roles' as if they were fixed and mutually exclusive compartments (Connell, 1998; Courtenay, 2000; Cosgrove 2000; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Focusing exclusively on gender roles fails to account for the vast differences in gender displayed, both within and between, groups of men and women (Brannon, 1998; Cosgrove, 1998). For example, in a typical classroom, each boy will express his masculinity in a somewhat unique way.

Social Constructionism

The third framework for conceptualizing masculinity is social constructionism (Cosgrove, 2000; Courtenay, 2000; Owen, 1992). The social constructionist framework begins with the premise that language does not simply describe reality, but plays a role in creating ideas about human societies (Cosgrove, 2000; O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2006; Owen, 1992). All societies have different ways of organizing the world, including different rituals, customs, values, and beliefs (ideology) that societal members use to make sense of the world. Essentially, societies construct the world and construct reality (O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2006). Systems of communication, particularly those that reach large audiences like the mass media, are crucial in constructing and transmitting

gender ideology (Cosgrove, 2000; O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2006). Over time, this socially constructed reality tends to become normalized through the habitual, repetitive organization of society according to this constructed structure. As this occurs, it becomes 'taken for granted' by those within the society as just the way things are. People tend to forget that reality has been constructed or that it could be organized differently (O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2006).

Hegemonic Masculinity. The issue of power is central to social constructionist view of masculinity (Jhally, 2006). The term hegemonic masculinity is used within social constructionism to describe the culturally-idealized form of masculinity within patriarchal, Western society (Connell 1998; Courtenay, 2000, Donaldson, 1993). Hegemonic masculinity refers to how gender inequality is made to seem natural and normal because this benefits upper class White men, through their institutional control of valuable resources (e.g., money, political power)(Connell, 1998; Courtenay 2000; Donaldson, 1993; Ridgeway & Correll, 2000). Hegemonic masculinity derives from hegemony theory (Gramsci, 1971), which begins with the observation that power is unequally distributed in society between dominant, powerful groups, (the elite, comprised of mostly White, upper class, heterosexual men) and subordinate, less powerful groups (non-White, non-male, non-heterosexual, and non-upper class). This theory describes how the power of the dominant group is partly maintained and reproduced by the widespread circulation of ideas and beliefs that benefit the dominant group, called hegemonic (dominant) ideology. These ideas and beliefs are circulated repeatedly through language and texts of social institutions, particularly the mass media. This happens because institutions, such as the media, are owned and controlled almost

exclusively by the dominant groups of society. Hegemony theory holds that subordinate groups internalize the values and beliefs of the dominant group, accepting their less powerful status in society (Prillettensky & Nelson, 2005). Internalization involves accepting the set of norms established by influential groups of people, which starts with learning what are the norms, then learning the arguments for why those norms should be valued, why they make sense, until finally those values become their own (Wallis & Poulton, 2001).

Hierarchy of Masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is about not only power and dominance over women, but is also related to other systems of inequality such as class, race, and sexual orientation (Donaldson, 1993; Pyke, 1996). Power, dominance and control may be the ideal for all men, but the options available for men to express culturally-idealized masculinity depends upon their position in other social structures and their relative access to power and resources based upon these positions. That is, there exists a hierarchy of masculinities (Connell & Messmidschmidt, 2004; Courtney, 2000; Pyke, 1996). The main difference in hierarchally-positioned masculinities is in the modes of interpersonal power available for men to use when exercising their masculinity (Pyke, 1996). Upper class men have access to financial and political power, whereas lower class men are restricted to other forms of interpersonal power, such as physical strength and aggression, in constructing their masculinity. For example, toughness is an aspect of hegemonic masculinity, but how toughness is enacted will be influenced by a number of factors including a man's age, ethnicity, social class, and sexual orientation. Depending upon these factors a man may, for example, use a gun, his fists, or the relentless pursuit of financial strength to construct this particular aspect of masculinity (Courtenay, 2000).

A main function of the different interpersonal modes of power entailed by the hierarchy of masculinities is to naturalize the dominance of elite men over other men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2004; Donaldson, 1993). The capitalist economic system (i.e., an economic system in which the means of production are privately owned and controlled, characterized by competition and profit-motive) is dependent upon a division of labour. In this division, some men perform less valued, less powerful (e.g., blue collar) jobs and others perform more valued, more powerful (e.g., white collar and entrepreneurial) jobs. One of the taken-for-granted beliefs upon which our capitalist economic system rests is that some (i.e., upper class) men who have access to greater power and resources deserve to have more than others, whereas lower class men are somehow less deserving (Pyke, 1996). This belief is largely based upon the stereotype that upper class men, in comparison to lower class men, have higher intelligence, are more productive, and are morally superior. This belief naturalizes upper class men as better suited to more valued and powerful jobs, such as business, management, and politics. In contrast, lower class men are better suited to, and more deserving of, less valued, physically taxing, and even life threatening jobs, usually involving manual labour (Courtenay, 2000; Pyke, 1996). When a lower class man constructs his masculinity using forms of interpersonal power available to him (e.g., displaying physical power by picking a fight at a bar, or ritualistically putting down women), this behaviour affirms the stereotype of 'natural superiority' of upper class men (Donaldson, 1993). For example, observers who witness working class men behaving this way in a bar may see this as confirmation of the stereotype that working-class men are more violent and aggressive than upper class men, and deserving of lower-status, physically demanding jobs.

The above belief largely overlooks the ways in which, under capitalism, lower class individuals get stuck in their social position due to a lack of access to power and resources. For example, a college education costs a great deal and many intelligent, hard-working young people do not have the financial resources to go to college. Even when educational and/or athletic scholarships are available, often life situations that more advantaged young people never have to worry about, (e.g., having to work to support one's parents and extended family) often fall upon these young people's shoulders, depriving them of the luxury of having the necessary time to focus on studies. The economic cycle thereby repeats itself. Lower class individuals largely remain in the lower class and upper class individuals largely remain in the upper class. The hegemonic options available for working class men to express their masculinity serve to cover up or distract attention from the power advantages of upper class men that have been built into the very institutions they control.

That certain men dominate others, as well as the self-perpetuating nature of class structure, is relevant to the conceptualization of hyper-masculinity. In part, HM may be a response to constraints of the patriarchal, capitalist system in which power remains an aspect of ideal masculinity, and yet many men experience powerlessness. For this reason, it is argued that men with low social/economic power, such as working class men, are at-risk of developing HM (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). There are two ways in which social status may interact with masculine ideology to lead to HM. First, it may function to bolster self-esteem and self-worth (Donaldson, 1993; Pyke, 1996). From this perspective, working class men may feel that their masculine identity is compromised, as they do not have access to the same amount of power and resources (e.g., money, opportunities,

respect) as upper class men. For example, through a process of self-comparison to their middle and upper class managers, labourers may experience low self-esteem and self-worth. To bolster their sense of self and cope with feelings of worthlessness, these men may reconstruct their beliefs about ideal masculinity, valuing physical power, aggression, and tolerance of discomfort as 'true' masculinity, while simultaneously devaluing the economic power of upper class men (Donaldson, 1993; Pyke, 1996).

Second, hyper-masculinity may be a coping response to fear-inducing social circumstances that lower class men are at greater risk of experiencing (Pyke, 1996). From this perspective, low social and economic power is a risk factor for the experience of fear. For example, in some low-income communities, high crime (e.g., arson, drug-dealing), urban deterioration, (e.g., broken windows, which are markers of crime), and being a witness and/or victim of violence are 'normal' aspects of life (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). It is hypothesized that living in these environments increases the likelihood of experiencing fear, as well as other negative emotions such as shame and anxiety. For boys and men in such environments, cultural rules for masculinity that limit the expression of vulnerability (especially fear, anxiety, and sadness), or for displaying behaviours such as crying or talking about one's feelings, limit the ways in which they are able to cope. Due to this, "distress is transformed into anger, fear is transformed into excitement, shame is transformed into manly pride, and contempt is developed for femininity and 'feminine traits' such as fear, distress, and compassion" (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993, p. 231). As Beale Spencer et al. (2004, p. 234) explain, "dominant masculinity in America is already problematic as it robs boys of emotional health by discouraging the display of vulnerability. Many boys adopt a presentation of self that is

confident and stable when internally they may not be so. Exaggerated expression of stereotypic gendered displays of power, and suppression of signs of vulnerability, is a coping response for dealing with environmental stressors and the fear of the high risk contexts.”

Importantly, not all lower class men will take on hyper-masculine attitudes and behaviours, and not all upper class men are immune (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological model of development stresses the person-context interactional nature of problematic development, and helps to explain why some young and/or disadvantaged men take on HM traits and behaviours, whereas others do not (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). According to this model, it is not the presence of any one factor that leads to HM, but rather a combination of environmental factors, interacting with the individual, that leads to HM development. These factors operate at the level of (a) the individual (e.g., developmental periods and processes, such as adolescence and identity development); (b) the family (e.g., parental rejection, harsh discipline, parental role modelling of violence and/or HM behaviour), (c) the school (e.g., bullying, peer rejection, peer support for HM); (d) the community (e.g., violence, poverty), and (e) the culture, (e.g., masculine norms, media images glorifying HM) (Beale Spencer et al., 2004; Mosher & Tomkins, 1988; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Thus, hyper-masculinity is best viewed as an exacerbation of normal developmental challenges (e.g., masculine identity development), resulting from a number of factors that inhibit the individual’s ability to successfully cope with these challenges, and which are influenced by larger socio-political processes, such as sexism (Beale Spencer et al., 2004).

In conclusion, much of what has been written regarding hyper-masculinity, such as what are its risk factors and at-risk groups, is theoretical (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993; Beale-Spencer et al., 2004). Both quantitative and qualitative investigations examining the differential experience of HM among hypothesized at-risk populations (e.g. lower class men) would be valuable, as well as research testing hypothesized risk factors (e.g., challenges to masculinity). One area that has begun to be examined empirically is the relationship between hyper-masculinity and violence against women (e.g., Mosher & Sirkin, 1984, Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). In the next section, the literature linking HM to violence against women will be summarized.

Hyper-Masculinity and Violence Against Women

Violence against women is a widespread social problem, and is recognized to be a public health priority, both in North America and elsewhere in the world (El-Mouelhy, 2004; Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2007). Multiple forms of violence against women exist, including sexual, physical, and psychological (Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2004; Heise, 1998; United Nations, 1995). The definitions of the major forms of violence against women occurring in North America are found in Appendix B. Although there are many forms, intimate partners (e.g., boyfriends, husbands) are the most common perpetrators (Johnson, 2006; Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2000). American women are more likely to be killed, assaulted, raped, or injured by a current or past male partner than anyone else (Stewart & Robinson, 1996)

In Canada, several national, anonymous, representative, telephone-based victim surveys, such as the Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS; Statistics Canada, 1993), funded by the federal Department of Health and Statistics Canada's General Social

Survey (GSS, 1999; 2004) have measured violence against women. These surveys have found that women reported spousal assault during the past five years at rates of 12% in 1993, 8% in 1999, and 7% in 2004 (Johnson, 2006). This represents a statistically significant decline in spousal assaults since 1993, representing approximately 653,000 women in 2004 and 690,000 in 1999. The decline in prevalence is plausibly due to improved social interventions (e.g., shelters and advocacy) and increased use of services by abused women. Despite the decline, Johnson reports that many women experience severe forms of violence in their relationships. For example, in 2004, 39% of women who reported spousal assault, were sexually assaulted, beaten, choked, or assaulted with a gun or a knife.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to review the literature on the prevalence and consequences of each form of gendered violence. However, there are a few important points to make as they relate to hyper-masculinity. First, it should be noted that, although any woman can become a victim of gendered violence, it occurs disproportionately to women during adolescence and young adulthood. For example, national surveys of college students in the United States indicate that 20-25% of college women have been victims of rape (Cole, 2006; Travis & Compton, 2001). Cole (2006) concluded that this makes rape the most common violent crime on college campuses. This is noteworthy, considering that this age span is the also the developmental period over which HM is believed to be most prevalent in males.

Second, a number of reviews of violence against women have concluded that, not only is it widespread, it is significantly related to broad range of negative consequences, both psychological (e.g., depression, anxiety, addictions, eating disorders) and physical

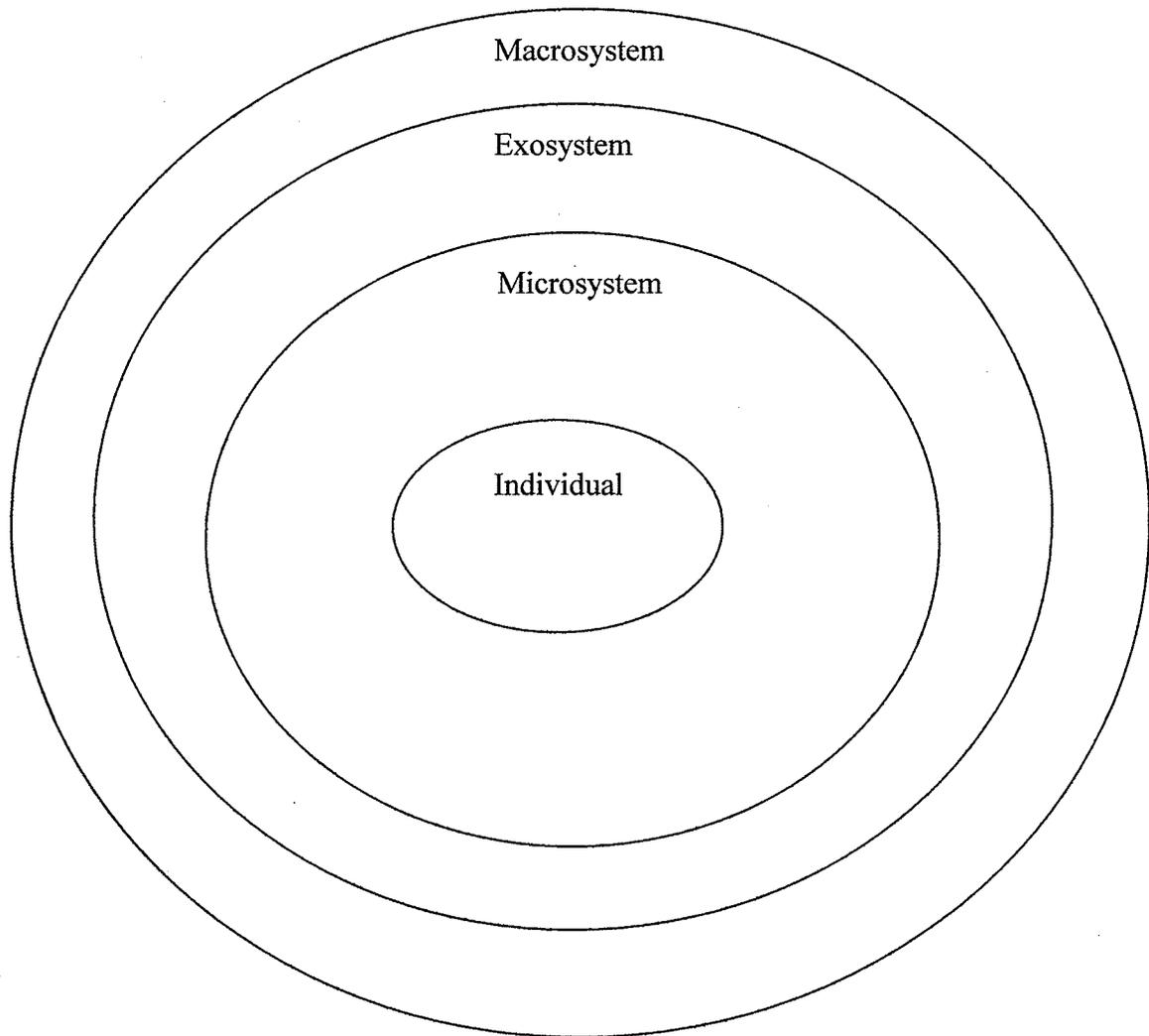
(e.g., injuries, stress-induced chronic health problems) (see Campbell & Soeken, 1999; El-Mouelhy, 2004; Lobmann, Greve, Wetzels & Bosold, 2003; Mechanic, 2004; Wasco, 2003 for reviews). Although this research is largely correlational in nature, the costs that can plausibly be associated with violence against women contribute to an urgent need to better understand the etiology, including hyper-masculinity. In turn, better understanding of etiology could contribute to targeting and preventing violence (Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2004).

Increasingly, an ecological framework based on Bronfenbrenner's discussed earlier, is used to understand the interplay of individual, situational, and socio-cultural factors in the etiology of gendered violence (Heise, 1998). As is demonstrated in Figure 1, this framework is best visualized as four concentric circles representing four ecological levels. The inner-most circle is the individual, and represents the personal history, as well as psychological and/or biological factors unique to the person. The second circle is the microsystem, and represents immediate situational contexts where the violence may take place, such as the family. The third circle is the exosystem, and represents formal and informal institutions and social structures that embed the microsystem, such as work, community, and media. The fourth an outermost circle is the macrosystem representing cultural norms, values, and beliefs (ideology) that permeate the society at large.

This framework is helpful for understanding gendered violence for a number of reasons (Heise, 1998). First, it is able to integrate etiological findings that are empirically related to violence against women. As shown in Figure 1, empirically supported risk factors at the individual level related to violence against women include witnessing/experiencing family violence as a child and having an absent or rejecting

Figure 1.

An Ecological Framework of Factors Related to Violence Against Women (Based on Heise, 1998)



Individual Factors: e.g., Witnessing/being a victim of family violence as a child

Microsystem Factors: e.g., Male dominance in the family,

Exosystem Factors: e.g., Low socio-economic status

Macrosystem Factors: e.g., Masculinity linked to dominance and aggression

father. At the microsystem level, risk factors include male dominance in the family, male control of wealth in the family, and marital conflict. At the exosystem level, low socio-economic status is a risk factor. At the macrosystem level, risk factors include rigid gender roles, masculinity linked to dominance and aggression, and acceptance of interpersonal violence. According to this framework, there is not one factor that 'causes' violence, but instead, a number of factors, from multiple system levels, combine to increase the likelihood that a particular man in a particular setting will be violent. The more factors present, the greater the likelihood of violence. Differential exposure to such factors helps explain why some individual men are violent towards women, whereas other men are not, as well as why some cultures have higher rates of gendered violence than others (Centre for Health and Gender Equity, 2001; Heise, 1998). It should be noted that the factors in this framework are not definitive, as the significance of some critical factors may not yet be examined, and some of the factors may prove to be correlates, and not true causal factors (Heise, 1998).

Hyper-masculine ideology is a risk factor at the macrosystem level (Baron & Strauss, 1987; Heise, 1998; O'Neil & Harway, 1997). Cultural values and beliefs such as HM ideology exert influence by filtering through and permeating the lower layers (the individual, microsystem, and exosystem) of the social ecology. For example, masculine ideology at the macro level influences the exosystem (e.g., the organization of power in the community, how gender is depicted in the mass media), the microsystem (e.g., male dominance in the family), as well as the gendered behaviour of individual men and women. In this way, although macro level factors do not directly influence the individual, 'causing' violence, they do indirectly exert incredible influence (Heise, 1998).

Hyper-Masculinity and Violence Against Women: Research Methods

The research examining the link between violence against women and HM has used three methodologies, namely (a) cross cultural studies, (b) anonymous self-report surveys, and (c) laboratory paradigm studies. These findings will now be summarized.

Cross-Cultural Studies

Sanday (1981, 2003) coined the concepts “rape-free” and “rape-prone” societies based upon her cross-cultural research of 95 band and tribal societies, in which she was a participant observer for over a decade. Based upon this research, Sanday concluded that 47% of the societies could be classified as rape-free and 18% as rape-prone. Rape-free societies are defined as societies in which the act of rape is either infrequent or does not occur, and in which sexual violence is socially disapproved of and punished severely. Rape-prone societies are defined as ones in which incidence of rape is high, rape is excused as a ceremonial expression of masculinity, or rape is an act men are allowed to use to punish or threaten women.

Sanday (1981, 2003) concluded that rape-prone societies could be distinguished by masculine ideals related to dominance, power, and aggression. In comparison, rape-free societies could be distinguished by masculinity that did not equate having sex with women with power. In the latter societies, there was no notion of sex as a way of “gaining a notch on ones belt” and it was in no way related to proving ones masculine power (‘being a stud’). Sanday also concluded that rape-prone behaviour is associated with environmental insecurity. She observed that, during unstable conditions (e.g., drought), females are often turned into objects to be controlled by men as they struggle to gain control of the environment. She believed that sexual violence in rape prone societies

is a way in which men gain a sense of superiority when it is being otherwise challenged. Sanday's definition of rape-prone societies is congruent with the HM construct, as well as with the theory that masculine ideology interacts with environmental stressors to result in violence and aggression (Baron and Strauss, 1992; Heise, 1998). As discussed earlier, boys/men in working class neighbourhoods may be particularly at-risk of developing hyper-masculine ideology, possibly as the result of fear and stress (Beale-Spencer et al., 2004; Pyke, 1996).

There are both strengths and limitations of the ethnographic research method. A major strength of ethnographic research is depth (Myers, 1999). Researchers observe individuals within their broader contexts for an extended period of time. Myers explains that such research is valuable in that it enables the researcher to examine taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs, and values of the people being observed. Additionally, because the researcher observes over a long time, they are able to identify longitudinal patterns (Kazdin, 2003). A limitation of ethnography is that it cannot directly demonstrate causal relationships despite being able to generate hypotheses about the sequences of events. One way of supporting the validity of observations is to observe multiple cultures/contexts and find consistency (Myers, 1999). Sanday's (1981, 2003) research meets this requirement, as she observed sexually violent practices and masculine ideology in over 95 societies. This strengthens her claims because she observed the same co-occurrence of a masculine ideology of dominance and rape-prone culture regardless of the society.

Self-Report Surveys

A second method that has been used to measure the relationship between hyper-masculinity and violence against women is anonymous self-report surveys. Seven studies published between 1986 and 2003 (Hamberger, Hogben, McGowen, & Dawson, 1996; Lackie & DeMan, 1997; Smeaton & Byrne, 1987; Malamuth, 1986; Murnen, 1988; Mosher & Anderson, 1986; Suarez-El Adam et al., 2002), identified violence against women as a correlate of HM by having participants respond anonymously to self-report measures of HM and violence against women. The results of these surveys will be discussed together as a whole as they are very similar in terms of participants, setting, measures used, and findings. These surveys have mostly been conducted with male, middle-class, Caucasian undergraduate university students, age 18 to 24. These participants took part in the studies in order to obtain credit for a university course. One exception is Suarez-Al-Adam et al. (2002) who surveyed perceptions of partner hyper-masculinity and experience of partner violence among mostly poor, Hispanic women attending a health promotion program at a community health centre in the United States.

In each of these studies, the Hypermasculinity Inventory (HMI) was used as a self-report indicator of hyper-masculinity. This inventory was created to measure the relationship between HM and problematic behaviours, including violence against women (Scharrer, 2001; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). The HMI consisted originally of 30-forced choice items, 10 items for each of the three dimensions of HM, namely (a) violence as manly, (b) calloused attitudes towards women, and (c) danger as exciting. The range of possible scores is from 0 to 30. Higher scores on the HMI indicate greater acceptance of HM ideology. The HMI has a mean of 11.0 and a standard deviation of 6.8. It has been

found to have good reliability; the individual scales have alpha coefficients of .79, .71, and .79 respectively, and the full-scale alpha is .89 (Mosher and Sirkin, 1984). This inventory was refined by Hall in 1992, who added a fourth dimension, toughness as self-control over emotions, to measure hyper-masculine men's attempt to master emotions by inhibiting "feminine" emotions such as fear, distress, and compassion by being tough, emotionless, and overly relying on the expression anger (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993).

In the seven surveys referred to above, four measures of violence against women have been used. The Sexual Experiences Survey (SES; Koss & Gidycz, 1985) is a 10-item scale on which male respondents indicate with a yes/no format the frequency with which they have perpetrated varying degrees of sexual aggression, from forced kissing to forced intercourse and oral sex, at any time in the past. A total score (0 to 10) is computed by summing the frequencies across all behaviours. The second measure is the Likelihood to Rape Scale (LRS; Malamuth, 1981). This is a one-item measure to which respondents rate the likelihood that they would rape a woman if they were guaranteed that no one would ever find out and they would never be punished for it. They respond on a five-point scale from 1 (not at all likely) to 5 (very likely). The Psychological Maltreatment of Women Inventory (PMWI; Tolman, 1989) is a measure of partner psychological abuse used by Suarez-Al-Adam et al. (2002). This measure has two subscales, one (23 items) that assesses verbal attacks and demeaning behaviours and one (26 items) that assesses isolation from resources, (e.g., isolation from friends and family) and demanding subservience, (e.g., forced obedience). Respondents indicate how often they have engaged in each of the acts on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (very frequently). A total score is computed by averaging responses to the individual items. Higher scores

indicate greater use of psychological violence in the past. Lastly, the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Strauss 1979), designed to measure 15 physically coercive behaviours directed toward the respondent by their partner, (e.g., throwing something, pulling hair, slapping, beating up), was used by Suarez-Al-Adam (2002). Respondents indicate how often each of the acts occurred in the past on a 7-point scale (0 = never to 6 = more than 20 times). An overall score for past physical violence is computed by averaging the across the 15 items. Higher scores are indicative of greater occurrence of past physical violence.

In general, the results of these surveys have consistently found a moderate, positive correlation (.43 to .74) between measures of HM and measures of violence against women. Recently, Kaluzny, Murnen, & Wright (2002) used meta-analysis to quantitatively summarize the results of the six surveys that had been published in Psychinfo, ERIC, and Publine databases prior to 2001. The results of the meta-analysis confirmed that there is moderate, positive correlation between violence against women and HM. The statistical significance of the effect size was examined with a z score. It was found that the HMI studies had a total effect size of $d = .610$ and it was statistically significant ($z = 7.92, p < .01$). Two measures of violence against women, the Likelihood to Rape Scale (LRS; Malamuth, 1981) and the Sexual Experiences Survey (SES; Koss & Gidycz, 1985) were used to measure violence against women in these studies. The effect was homogenous across both violence measures ($\chi^2 = .769, p > .05$). Homogeneity means that a uniform effect was found across each survey, regardless of the measure used. The results of these self-report surveys affirm Sanday's (1981; 2007)

ethnographic findings suggesting a relationship between hyper-masculine ideology and gendered violence.

A weakness of the above surveys is that they have been conducted predominantly on Caucasian, young adult, middle class university students. Therefore, generalization is limited to this population. Understanding the relationship between HM and violence against women among this population is important because violence against women is common among university-aged students. However, it is important to also examine the relationship between hyper-masculinity and gendered violence among high school students, as well as among men from social classes other than middle class. Both stage of development and social class are believed to be correlates of HM and violence against women (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). It would be worthwhile to examine this relationship scientifically to substantiate this claim.

Strengths and Limitations of Self-Report Surveys. One of the strengths of self-report is that it can be used to measure topics, such as violence against women, that are relatively difficult to examine overtly due to the sensitive nature of the phenomena (Kazdin, 2005). Violence against women is under-reported. For example, national, epidemiological surveys have found that between 78% and 95% of women who reported that they had been raped never contacted the police, and 22% to 50% of women never told anyone (Carr & Van Deusen, 2004; Cole, 2006; Koss et al., 2003; Stewart & Robinson, 1996). Investigative methods such as interviewing men convicted of violence towards women may not yield accurate data since most violence against women is not reported, and most men who have been violent towards women are not involved with the criminal justice system (Carlson, Worden, Van Ryn, & Bachman, 2000). Therefore,

anonymous self-report is an appropriate method for assessing correlates of violence against women.

Nonetheless, there are also a number of limitations of using self-report surveys. First, survey responses are influenced by how violence is defined in the questions (Center for Health and Gender Equity, 1999). Self-report surveys yield more accurate results when respondents are asked about specific acts instead about 'violence' or 'assaults' more generally because this minimizes different interpretations of what constitutes violent behaviour (Johnson, 2006). Fortunately, the measures used to assess violence in the surveys (e.g., SES; Koss & Gidycz, 1985) did ask respondents about specific behavioural indicators of violence according to this standard, strengthening the validity of the findings.

A second limitation of self-report is that the accuracy of responses is always questionable (Kazdin, 2003). The truthfulness of responses is likely influenced by a number of factors, including lapses of memory, carelessness and, additionally, social desirability influences. Social desirability bias, the tendency for people to present themselves in a manner that is viewed favourably by others, is a particularly important issue in measuring sensitive issues like violence against women (Aquilino, Wright, & Supple, 2000). When a topic is threatening or sensitive, social desirability may lead to distorted reporting on the survey (e.g., not admitting to past violence) (Schaeffer, 2000). Social desirability is mediated by how the survey is administered and completed. Respondents are more likely to respond honestly when they are provided increased privacy, such as with at-home surveys. Even when a survey is anonymous, the mere presence of other people present, such as experimenters or other respondents, decreases

respondents honesty (Aquilino, Wright, & Supple, 2000). Since the majority of the surveys discussed above were administered to undergraduate university students for course credit (e.g., Byrne & Smeaton, 1987), presumably in a class-room setting, it is likely that some men may have not have responded honestly. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that the surveys are under-estimating past violent behaviour in men, at least to a certain extent.

In conclusion, self-report survey findings consistently have found a moderate, positive correlation between HM and violence against women. The findings from self-report surveys strengthen the argument that hyper-masculinity is a correlate of gendered violence.

Laboratory Paradigm Studies

One laboratory investigation has examined the relationship between hyper-masculinity and violence against women. Parrot and Zeichner (2003) examined HM and physical aggression toward women using the laboratory aggression paradigm method. In this method, participants are told that they are taking place in a computer-simulated competition against one other person. The participants are led to believe that the purpose of this competition is to measure the relationship between personality variables and reaction time. They are also told that the task is to push a keyboard button as quickly as possible after they see a light come on a computer screen. Participants are informed that they will do this 28 times, and, after each trial, they will be notified if they have won or lost the trial. Additionally, they are told that part of the competition involves being able to shock their opponent, or be shocked by their opponent when trials are lost, with a low voltage animal shocker attached to the index finger. They are informed that they will be

able to refrain from shocking at all, or they may choose between sending a low intensity shock (nearly imperceptible) or a more high intensity shock (e.g., comparable to a 'pinch').

In reality, the competition is bogus. The purpose of this deception for Parrot and Zeichner (2003) was to determine if men who score high on the Hypermasculinity Inventory would be more aggressive (e.g., shock) towards their female 'opponent' than men who score low on the HMI. In order to carry out the deception, the participants performed the 'competition' solo in a room with a computer. Prior to entering the room, participants met a female confederate whom they are led to believe is their opponent. In reality they are not competing against anyone. The participants 'won' and 'lost' half of the 28 trials in a predetermined random order. During the first 14 trials, they actually did receive a 'low threshold' shock after trials 'lost'. During the last 14 trials, they received a 'high threshold' shock. The purpose of this part of the deception for Parrot and Zeichner (2003) was to see if being 'provoked' with a low voltage vs. higher voltage shock would differentially influence the choice of aggressive behaviour (e.g., more likely to shock, shock for a longer duration of time) by the participants.

The participants were mostly Caucasian, undergraduate men who had previously completed a battery of questionnaires, including the HMI. From the sample, 59 men whose total scores on the HMI fell either within the upper ($HMI > 13$) and lower ($HMI < 5$) quartiles ($M = 9.40$; $SD = 5.7$) participated in the experimental portion of the study. The participants also completed the Conflict Tactics Scale-2 (CTS-2; Strauss et al., 1996), an expanded 78-item version of the original CTS designed to assess the prevalence of physical assault behaviour, (e.g., throwing something, beating up) as well as other

conflict reduction tactics used in past year to reduce conflict with partners. If respondents had engaged in any physically aggressive act, it was coded with a '1' and, if not, it was coded with a '0' to produce a prevalence-index for physical assault.

After the participants finished the experimental 'competition', they were asked about their perception of the experiment and their 'opponent' as a manipulation check. All participants appeared to be successfully deceived into believing that they had been in a competition, as indicated by their perception that the task had been a valid test of their reaction time. Participants also believed they had competed against a female opponent (e.g., offering comments such as, "she was fast" and "she was mean").

Results indicated that 69% of the men in the low HM group chose not to shock at all. In contrast, nearly all (97%) of the high HM men chose to shock. Results indicated that this difference was significant at $p < .01$. Parrot and Zeichner (2003) then tested for differences in physical aggression between the high and low HM groups of men following the low provocation (receiving a low intensity shock) trials versus the high provocation trials (receiving a high intensity shock). Parrot and Zeichner found that only the high HM men were significantly more aggressive (e.g., shock more often) following the high provocation trials than during the low provocation trials ($p < .05$).

Twenty-four low HM men and 23 high HM men reported they had been in an intimate relationship during the past year. Of those who had, 83% of the high HM group (19 of the 23 participants) reported to have engaged in at least one physically aggressive act toward a female intimate, compared to 46% of the low HM group (11 of the 24). Thus, the high HM men were more aggressive towards the female opponent in the lab

and also self-reported to be more physically aggressive toward female partners in the last year, thereby validating the laboratory method.

The results suggest that HM may be a risk factor for perpetuating violence against women. Additionally, Parrot and Zeichner (2003) argue that their finding that only high HM men responded with more aggression during the high provocation trials than during the low provocation trials supports the conceptualization that HM behaviour is provoked by situations that threaten masculine identity (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988). Parrot and Zeichner (2003) argue that the shocks administered by the female adversary were perceived as highly provocative and a challenge to these men's masculinity, which is why they displayed heightened aggression. However, the researchers did not directly measure level of perceived threat experienced by participants relative to provocation, which they acknowledge as a major limitation of the study. Adding a measure of perceived threat would clarify this relationship. Another limitation is that all participants were manipulated into believing that they were competing against a woman. As Parrot and Zeichner did not include a comparison group of male 'opponents,' it is difficult to tell if HM men are particularly aggressive toward women. Perhaps HM men are aggressive towards any 'opponent'. Another limitation of this study is that Parrot and Zeichner did not have a condition in which participants were not 'provoked' with a shock. Would the participants have shocked their 'opponent' if they themselves had not been shocked? Despite external validity being supported, (men who were aggressive in the lab also carrying out a violent act towards a dating partner), the artificiality of the laboratory setting, (e.g., factors such as knowing that one's behaviour is being monitored) may have

constrained the participants' behaviour. For example, men may not have been as aggressive in the lab as they are in real world.

In conclusion, a growing body of research using cross-cultural observations (Sanday, 1981), self-report surveys (e.g., Hamberger, 1996; Lackie & DeMan, 1997), and experimental laboratory methods (Parrot & Zeichner, 2003) has found a moderate, positive relationship between hyper-masculine ideology and gendered violence. The argument for the relationship between HM and violence against women is strengthened by the replication of this positive relationship via multiple research methods. A limitation is that there is not yet strong empirical support that hyper-masculinity is causally related to gendered violence. Although it seems intuitive that beliefs, values, and attitudes supportive of such violence precede violent behaviour, the opposite may also be argued. For example, hypothetically, a young man who does not highly espouse HM ideology may still partake in a violent act towards a woman while under the influence of HM peer pressure and intoxication. If the man's violence is reinforced (e.g., praise from friends, increased status within peer-group), then hyper-masculine ideology may become more accepted by him. Longitudinal surveys would be beneficial to examine the temporal relationship between HM and violence against women. Surveys anonymously measuring HM and violence against women could include open-ended questions, in which men are asked explain their motivations/reasons for their past violence. Responses could then be examined to identify temporal relationships between HM themes and violence (e.g., "I hit her because it is my right to keep her in line").

Given the very harmful consequences associated with hyper-masculinity, it is arguably valuable to analyze social institutions for their role in the production of HM

(Murnen et al., 2002; Soulliere 2005). The mass media are believed to be one of the institutions responsible for constructing masculinities and masculine ideals (Kilbourne, 2001). Hyper-masculinity is argued to be idealized in the media (Scharrer, 2001). However, analyses of the portrayal of masculinity, particularly HM, have been relatively rare (Scharrer, 2001), representing a research gap that needs to be filled (Garst and Bodenhausen 1997; Katz, 1995; Scharrer, 2001). In the next section, the literature of HM media analyses will be summarized.

Hyper-Masculinity and the Mass Media

Mass Media Theory

The mass media are human communication systems that generally aim to reach large audiences (O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2005). Overwhelmingly, the media are for-profit entities, privately owned by major corporations (Jhally, 2006; O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2005). Social constructionism and hegemony theory are central to analyzing media's representation of masculine gender ideology. According to hegemony theory, the elite of society use cultural institutions to do ideological work through presenting dominant ideology while limiting the expression of non-dominant ideological viewpoints (Gramsci, 1971). Over time, through extensive, one-sided ideological exposure, the dominant ideology becomes taken-for-granted and seen as natural (O'Shaunnesey & Stadler, 2005). Because the elite of society maintain their power and influence through the economic system, the dominant ideological values present in the media and the values supportive of the economic system of the society will almost always coincide (Jhally, 2005).

Advertising is arguably the most important aspect of the entire media system (Jhally, 2005). Advertising is a tool used by corporations to finance the media system (Jhally, 1999). Media such as magazines do not receive the majority of their income through sales. Advertising is reported to support 60% of the electronic media and nearly all of the print media system (Kilbourne, 2001). How does advertising do ideological work? A principle ideological value/belief needed to sustain the consumer-capitalist system is that happiness and/or satisfaction is best achieved through the market place and the consumption of consumer goods (Jhally, 1999). From this perspective, advertising is best viewed as a tool used by corporations and the upper class to shape the dominant beliefs of society, particularly the belief that happiness is obtained through the consumption of products and that one will be valued differentially depending upon what one owns, buys, and consumes (Kilbourne, 2001). Many advertisers use gender representations as central components of their strategy to get attention and persuade people in this manner (Jhally, 1999). Advertisers use ideal gender representations to enhance the desirability of what is being sold (Katz, 1995). Therefore, it is likely that HM characteristics, such as toughness and aggression, would be found in advertisements, as these characteristics are accepted by many men, particularly young and/or lower class men, as being natural and/or ideal (Beale-Spencer et al., 2004). Brod (1987) has suggested a more specific theory for why men would be represented as aggressive, powerful, and dominant. Brod emphasises the structural dichotomy of the economic system, in which some men perform highly valued, powerful jobs, whereas most men perform less valued, less powerful jobs. He suggests that many of the latter group of men (particularly blue-collar workers) will experience a sense of internal powerlessness and

insecurity about their masculinity. Brod theorizes that this sense of powerlessness is beneficial to the capitalist economic system. According to him, feeling powerlessness propels many men towards the consumer sources of masculine identity validation offered through advertisements. From this perspective, advertisements aimed at men often exploit men's general sense of powerlessness to sell products, by representing the product with a tough, violent, powerful man and by offering the product as a solution to their current experience of powerlessness. Since advertisers aim to sell their product to well-defined markets, it could be expected that masculine representations would vary according to male target audience characteristics (Kervin, 1990). Therefore, hyper-masculine gender ideology may be represented in advertising aimed at men believed to be highly susceptible of this ideology, such as working class men and young men (Spencer Beale et al., 2004).

Analyses of masculinity in television and advertisements will now be summarized.

Analyses of Television

Soulliere (2006) conducted a qualitative content analysis of hegemonic masculinity in World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE). According to Soulliere, WWE is a "pseudo-sport" that is a combination of staged wrestling and a soap opera. WWE is reported to have a predominantly young, male audience. Her research questions were: (a) what are the messages pertaining to masculinity and manhood revealed by professional televised wrestling shows and (b) how are proof and assertion of manhood accomplished by the men in these shows? Her sample included 118 episodes from two WWE televised programs and monthly pay-per-view events. Each of the episodes was translated into

written transcripts. All transcribed data that clearly pertained to being a man were selected and thematically coded. For example, in one of the episodes, one wrestler says, "Are you man enough?" to another wrestler who responds, "Man enough? I am not the one running around stuffing things down my pants in order to win matches." The thematic message Soulliere (2006) identified about manhood in this example was that 'real men do not cheat'. The technique of constant comparison was then used to ensure that the data fit appropriate theme categories and that the theme categories encompassed all the data. Constant comparison is a technique in which the researcher collects and analyzes initial data, then develops tentative conclusions about categories of themes, and then collects and analyzes additional data that is tested against the original data and conclusions. This process of collecting, analyzing, writing, re-assessing, and re-writing is repeated until the entire sample has been examined. In order to establish a theme category (a category encompassing a message about manhood), several examples of the message were required to have been found in the sample. Messages that were coded but were not supported by many examples were discarded. For example, Soulliere did not find multiple messages about the theme 'real men do not cheat,' in the sample, so it was discarded. The technique of constant comparison was also done for answering the question about how men prove and assert their manhood to others.

In order to minimize the subjectivity of the analysis, two volunteers, self-identified as WWE watchers, were given the transcripts from one episode of each television program. They were also given instructions to identify what they perceived to be major messages pertaining to manhood present in the episodes. The volunteers were not told what messages had been identified by Soulliere (2006). The messages identified

by the volunteers were then compared to those coded by the researcher to assess baseline reliability. The volunteers identified eight of the ten messages coded by Soulliere, which she states gave her confidence in her interpretation of the data. In total, six messages about manhood were identified as prominent in the WWE programs: (a) men are aggressive and violent; (b) men settle things physically; (c) men confront their adversaries and problems; (d) men take responsibility for their actions; (e) men are not whiners ('men don't cry'); and (f) men are winners. For example, violence as manly was demonstrated when one wrestler said, "You hit me in the head with that pipe last night" to which another wrestler replied, "That was just me being a man." The themes of real men as aggressive and violent, settling things physically, not being whiners (emotional restraint), and being winners (e.g., in competitions) is consistent with hyper-masculinity themes. Proof and assertion of manhood were effectively accomplished by demonstrating characteristics of aggression, physical competition, success, and questioning the manhood of others.

The results may not be generalized to television programs aimed at other audiences. This is because it is likely that the media, aiming for a positive audience response, will represent masculinity in a way believed culturally accepted and idealized by viewers. Since young men are the main audience of WWE programs, it could be expected that messages about manhood would fit the 'ideal' masculinity that is the norm for this audience (e.g., tough, violent). It may be that messages about manhood would be different in, for example, a program aimed at an older audience.

Scharrer (2001) performed a content analysis of another area of popular television programming. Scharrer examined police and detective dramas from the 1970s through the

1990s for depictions of hyper-masculinity and antisocial behaviour. Scharrer's research questions were: (a) is hyper-masculinity among male characters associated with antisocial behaviour and (b) would this differ for 'bad' guys (criminals) versus 'good' guys (police/detectives)? The sample was comprised of 321 male characters appearing in police and detective shows in the television listings for a medium-sized United States market. Every episode of a police or detective drama offered during one week of broadcast or basic cable television was videotaped. Older syndicated programs were also in the programming, allowing comparison between older (1970s) and more recent (1990s) programs. The content was analyzed using a coding instrument created by Scharrer. This instrument was designed to measure three dimensions of hyper-masculinity, namely 'danger as exciting', 'calloused attitudes towards women and sex', and 'toughness as self-control' (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). These HM dimensions were operationally defined for the instrument on the basis of Mosher and Sirkin's (1984) Hypermasculinity Inventory (HMI) as well as the hyper-masculine construct described in the literature. For example, one of the items on the instrument designed to measure 'calloused attitudes towards women and sex' was "Are hurtful statements or actions against women performed by this character?" If the character did perform this behaviour, it was coded '1', whereas if the character did not perform the behaviour it was coded '0'. Scharrer (2001) did not code for the 'violence-as-manly' dimension of HM (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984) to avoid tautology with the violence ratings. The unit of analysis was one program. It was found that over half (54.2%) of the programs premiered after 1990, 31.2% in the 1980's, and 14.6% in the 1970s. There were 152 murders, 100 attempted murders, and 239 other crimes (drug dealing, kidnappings, organized crime) in total. The

mean number of acts of physical aggression per major male character per episode was 3.4 (SD 4.7) and the mean number of crimes was 1.5 (SD 1.2)

Pearson correlation and independent t-tests were used to test for an association between hyper-masculinity and violence or other criminal behaviour, and to determine if differences existed in depiction of HM characteristics and violent/criminal behaviours for 'good' and 'bad' guys. The results of the t-tests indicated a positive association between physical aggression, (aggressiveness, murders, attempted murders) and hyper-masculinity for both the 'good' and the 'bad' guys. Bad guys exhibited a correlation between both 'calloused attitudes' and 'danger as exciting' with physical aggression ($r = .34, p < .001$ and $r = .24, p < .001$, respectively). However, no relationship was found for the 'toughness as self-control over emotions' dimension of HM with physical aggression. Scharrer (2001) argued this was because the programs were "whodunit" programs, in which bad guys were purposely disguised as not being tough, so as to keep the crime a mystery.

Good guys exhibited a correlation between 'toughness as self-control over emotions' and 'danger as exciting' with physical aggression, ($r = .30, p < .001$ and $r = .30, p < .001$, respectively), but no relationship resulted for 'calloused attitude toward women' and physical aggression. T-tests indicated that the 'bad guys' were significantly more hyper-masculine than the good guys ($p < .05$). Analysis of variance showed that there were no trends in degree of HM in bad guys over 20+ years, but good guys have gotten less hyper-masculine over time for the 'toughness as self-control over emotions' and 'danger as exciting' dimensions of HM. Scharrer argued that this may be because the most common theme overall of the shows appeared to be good guys' motivation to

protect women. This was likely due to the 'good guys' being law enforcers and portrayed as motivated to protect female characters.

Scharrer's (2001) study is unique in that it is one of the few to specifically examine the depiction of hyper-masculine characteristics. Another advantage of this study was its historical perspective, measuring changes in the depiction of HM longitudinal. Rarely have changes in the depiction of masculinity been examined in media content over time.

Analyses of Advertising

White and Gillet (1994) qualitatively analyzed advertisements in Flex, a men's bodybuilding magazine, for ideological messages naturalizing physical power and muscularity as aspects of masculinity symbolizing male dominance. Advertisements in Flex were specifically analyzed because this magazine is aimed at young, working class men. White and Gillet state that the editors of Flex reported that 91% of readers are male, with a mean age of 23.4. According to hierarchy of masculinities theory, physical power, aggression, and muscularity are aspects of ideological masculine power and dominance available to working class men (Donaldson, 1993). The authors were interested in decoding how masculinity was constructed in advertisements aimed specifically at this young, working class audience to see if masculinity was idealized as powerful, aggressive, and dominant. To accomplish this, White and Gillet (1994) analyzed 916 advertisements displayed in Flex between October 1991 and September 1992. They first qualitatively analyzed the images and words for ideological themes about young, working class masculinity. They then quantified these themes by providing a percent for the number of advertisements in the sample depicting each of the themes. Three predominant

themes were found to be present in the advertisements: (a) positioning of the reader as if they lacked power and had no control in life (43.1%); (b) the promise of transformation of power and control over the reader's life situation through turning the reader's skinny, small, and feminine body into a large, muscular body (64.8%); and (c) representing the muscular body as a sign of dominant masculinity, that real men are muscular men (70.6%).

According to White and Gillet (1994), the above themes represent how advertisements in *Flex* and comparable magazines predominantly use and exaggerate the sense of powerlessness young, working class men may experience. The advertisements send the message that the readers are weak, powerless, and need the portrayed product to increase strength and muscularity. By buying the product, readers will ultimately gain control over their life and reconstruct their self-identity. Essentially, the product will turn them into men. This study supports the argument that aggression, power, and control are aspects of masculine ideology prevalent in advertisements aimed at young, working class men.

Katz (1995) wrote an essay based upon his critical examination of mainstream magazine advertisements for representations of violence as normal male behaviour. In this essay, Katz states that the magazines to which he is referring are from the early 1990s. Beyond this statement, the magazines on which his essay is based are not discussed. However, it can be inferred from Katz's discussion that he examined advertisements across a range of magazines targeting audiences that differ by social-demographic characteristics (e.g., aimed at different age groups). Katz states that, after examining the ads, he identified a number of themes that represent the ways in which

advertisers equate violence with normal masculine behaviour. Katz provides exemplars of advertisements that illustrate each of the themes he identified. However, the specific method that Katz used to deconstruct violent masculinity in the advertisements is not described.

Katz (1995) identified the following thematic categories as predominant ways that violent masculinity is represented in modern advertising. The first theme, 'men have attitude', combines flaunting authority and being a rebel as cool, natural, masculine behaviour. This theme sounds like the 'toughness as self-control' dimension of hyper-masculinity. Katz states that this theme was usually portrayed in advertisements aimed at young men. He argues that, although these advertisements do not necessarily contain violent acts, they encourage 'in your face behaviour' that often escalate into violence in real life. Another theme, 'violence as genetically programmed male behaviour,' entails the use of violent icons or heroes from pop history to demonstrate masculinity in advertisements. The ideological message is that men have always been brutal and aggressive, and that dominance over women is a natural, biologically-based part of human history. For example, an ad for a cruise depicts a woman on a modern-day ship being dragged under deck by pirates. The ad states that this cruise ship is a 'pleasure' cruise. Despite being depicted historically by pirates, the ideological message that men have always found it 'pleasurable' to be violent with women remains the same. Third, the theme of 'men as warriors,' aimed mostly at boys (in the case of toys), adolescents, and/or working class men, represents masculinity with military men or sports figures to promote the manliness of their products. Soldiers and sports players are marketed in advertisements, with the message that violence is cool, acceptable, and socially rewarded.

The fourth theme, 'muscularity as manly,' as found in beer, running shoes, and deodorant advertisements, sends the message that muscles, size, and power are traits that are valued by men. Katz (1995) argues that the muscular men are used to infuse feelings of aggression, dominance, and control with the product being sold.

Advertisements in general depict violent behaviour towards both men and women as natural, socially-rewarded, masculine behaviour. Katz (1995) argues that advertisers exploit men's feeling of not living up to masculine ideals, and of not being strong, tough, or violent enough by promising to provide them with a range of products that will enhance these qualities. Katz provides a rich, descriptive analysis of how violence is coded as masculine in advertising. One of the limitations of his essay is that Katz does not describe in depth the sample for his analysis, which makes his work difficult to replicate, or to compare to earlier or later research. It is also impossible to infer from Katz's analysis what proportion of the advertisements represent violent masculinity, or if non-hegemonic forms exist.

In general, only a few studies have examined masculine depictions in advertising. Moreover, analyses of masculinity in advertising that account for target audience characteristics have been largely not conducted (Vigorito & Curry, 1998). Yet, masculine ideology and masculine identity formation have a number of social-demographic influences, such as class (Pyke, 1996). Therefore, it may be informative to analyze how masculinity is represented differentially for different target audiences. Two studies that did not examine hyper-masculinity in particular, but hegemonic masculinity in general, have provided evidence that analyses of masculinity in advertising are most meaningful when audience demographics are taken into account (Skelly & Lunsdtrom, 1981;

Vigorito & Curry, 1998). First, Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) conducted a quantitative content analysis examining the 'masculine sex role' in advertising from 1959 to 1979. In this study, three categories of magazines, namely (a) general interest (Readers Digest, Time, New Yorker); (b) men's interest (Esquire, Field and Stream, Sports Illustrated); and (c) women's interest (Cosmopolitan, House Beautiful, Redbook) were analyzed. One issue from all nine publications were analyzed for the month of November of 1959, 1969, and 1979. These magazines contained 660 advertisements. The unit of analysis was every ad containing an adult man. Skelly and Lundstrom (1981) recorded the prevalence of men in traditional masculine roles, including businessmen, sportsmen, and authority figures. They found that advertisements generally depicted men in traditionally masculine roles. However, in the 1950's and 1960's more men in advertisements were portrayed in traditionally masculine roles than in the 1970s (78%, 70%, and 53% respectively). Skelly & Lundstrom found differences in the depiction of men in traditionally masculine roles for the three categories of magazines when they were analyzed separately. In 1979, men's magazines contained a higher percentage of advertisements depicting men in traditional roles (66%) than women's interest (40%) and general interest (57%) magazines. Although Skelly and Lundstrom did not calculate if this was a statistically significant difference in proportion, on the basis of their results, the authors recommend that analyses of masculinity in the media should take into account audience variables.

More recently, Vigorito and Curry (1998) examined the relationship between audience composition and role portrayals of men in magazine advertisements. Vigorito and Curry were interested in examining masculinity in magazine advertisements because very little research had been conducted in this area. In particular, these researchers asked

if masculinity was portrayed more in a hegemonic (e.g, business occupations) or non-hegemonic (e.g., child-caregiver) manner. Second, they wondered if hegemonic vs. non-hegemonic depictions of masculinity were influenced by target audience demographic variables. Vigorito and Curry examined a number of audience variables in relation to hegemonic depictions of masculinity. These included sex, socio-economic status (SES), age, and marital status of the target audience. Concerning SES, Hollingshead's (1957) Two Factor Index of Social Position (ISP) is a measure of socio-economic status based upon a combination of education and occupation. It divides socio-economic status into five classes. Adult male readers in (ISP) classes 1 and 2 (the highest classes) was used as an indicator of social class by Vigorito and Curry. The percentage of men who are single was used as an indicator of marital status, median age of audience was used as an indicator of age, and percent of the target audience that were men was used as an indicator of sex. The authors had two dependent variables. The first variable was the percentage of men depicted in occupational roles (taken to be an indicator of hegemonic masculinity). The second variable was percentage of men depicted in parent or partner roles (taken to be an indicator of a non-hegemonic masculinity).

The sample of magazines for analysis was chosen by Vigorito and Curry (1998) based upon data on magazine audience characteristics obtained from the Simmons Market Research Bureau Survey. Simmons Market Research Bureau is a marketing firm that provides an in-depth survey of audience characteristics for magazines in the United States, based upon a multi-stage, stratified, area probability design. The survey represents a probability sample of 22, 406 people, generalizable to adults age 18 and older living in households in the United States (Simmons, 1992; as cited in Vigorito & Curry, 1998,

p.140). Eighty-three magazines were chosen from the summer of 1992. The content of one issue of each magazine was analyzed. In total, 7935 men appearing in the advertisements were coded. A regression analysis was conducted to determine if audience composition variables were significantly related to portrayal of masculine roles (hegemonic vs. non-hegemonic) in magazines. Sex, social class, social status, percentage of adult readers who are single, and the median age of adult readers all loaded significantly and positively in the regression model. When examining the differences in portrayal of masculinity by target audience type, sex had the strongest influence (accounting for 39% of the variance), followed by social class, percentage of adult male readers who are single, and the median age of the adult male readers. Taken together, these variables explained 45% of the variance. Men were more likely to be portrayed in occupational roles in advertisements when the audience composition was mostly male, older, higher class, and married. This is most likely because it is this male target audience that would identify with traditional male role occupations, particularly business careers.

Based upon their findings, Vigorito and Curry (1998) argue that media analyses of masculinity must take into account audience demographics. The results indicate that advertisers use culturally accepted depictions of masculinity to sell to men from the target audience in question. Men were most likely to be portrayed in occupational roles in magazine advertisements targeting men of higher socio-economic standing. This has implications for studies examining hyper-masculinity in advertising. Hyper-masculine ideology is most highly accepted among young and/or lower class men (Beale Spencer et al., 2004; Pyke, 1996). Therefore, it is likely that HM depictions in advertising would appear most often in magazines aimed at these male target audiences.

I will now summarize and critique the literature reviewed in this paper.

Summary and Critique

Hyper-masculinity is a social construction in which violence, toughness, danger as thrilling, and callousness towards women are exaggeratedly expressed by men (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). This form of masculinity is believed to be most prevalent in adolescence and young adulthood, as well among boys and men with low social and economic power, and to be heightened by contextual factors such as when masculinity is challenged and/or when the peer group contains other HM men (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). Adolescence and young adulthood are believed to represent developmental periods when hyper-masculine behaviour is most likely to be enacted (Mosher & Tomkins, 1988). It is during these periods that gender identity development occurs most predominantly and male peer support for hyper-masculinity is believed to be highest (Beale Spencer et al., 2004; Mosher & Tomkins, 1988). There are two reasons why boys/men with low social power (e.g., lower class and working class) are thought to be more at-risk of developing HM than middle class and upper class boys/men (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). First, as financial power represents an aspect of idealized masculinity, working class men may feel that their masculinity is compromised in comparison to men of higher socio-economic standing and may experience low self-esteem as a result. From this perspective, hyper-masculine attitudes and behaviour are a way of bolstering self-esteem for these men (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). Second, HM may be a coping response to fear and distress experienced by working class boys/men. Working class families often live in neighbourhoods that are crime-filled and impoverished. These are factors that may lead to fear and shame by working class

boys/men. Since the rules of masculinity deny men the expression of vulnerability, the only acceptable options these men have to cope may be anger, toughness, and aggression (Beale Spencer et al., 2004; Pyke, 1996).

The etiology of hyper-masculinity is of concern because a growing body of research, including ethnographic research (Sanday, 1981; 1996), self-report surveys (e.g., Suarez Al-Adam et al., 2002), and laboratory experiments (Parrott & Zeichner, 2003) provide evidence that a moderate, positive relationship exists between HM and violence against women. Although gaps in the literature exist (e.g., causal evidence, research with minority groups), this research supports future investigations of the masculine ideological premises of social institutions such as in the mass media (Murnen et al., 2002; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1998). It is speculated that hyper-masculine media images may be particularly widespread in advertising (Kilbourne, 2001). These images are argued to play a role in the acceptance of HM by individual men (Jhally, 2005; Katz, 1995). However, insufficient research has been conducted in this area. Qualitative analyses of hyper-masculine themes (e.g., violence) provide preliminary evidence that they are widely present in magazine advertising (Katz, 1995; White & Gillet, 1994). However, quantitative analyses have not yet empirically measured the prevalence of HM in advertising. The degree to which HM depictions dominate magazine advertisements at the exclusion of other portrayals of masculinity remains unknown.

Studies examining images of men in traditional vs. non-traditional occupational roles in magazine advertisements have shown that depictions of masculinity appear to vary by intended audience demographics (Skelly, 1981; Vigorito & Curry, 1998). Sex, age, and class of the intended audience all play a role in how masculinity is presented. In

general, it has been identified that masculine depictions presented by the mass media reinforce the socially accepted version of masculinity of the target audience, likely in the hopes of eliciting a positive audience response (Vigorito & Curry, 1998). This has important implications for analysis of HM ideology in advertising. If hyper-masculine ideology is most likely to be accepted by young and/or men with low interpersonal and economic power (Beale Spencer et al., 2004), such ideology may predominantly represent masculinity in advertisements aimed at this target audience more so than in advertisements aimed at older and wealthier men. Additionally, since hyper-masculinity is a composite of several dimensions, it is not necessarily presented in an all-or-none manner. Different patterns may exist in the ways in which HM is targeted at different segments of men. For example, perhaps 'violence as manly' representations are used predominantly in advertisements aimed at young men, whereas 'danger as exciting' representations are not.

The Research and Hypotheses

This literature review led to the following research questions: (a) what is the prevalence of hyper-masculine characteristics exhibited in magazine advertisements for men and (b) are demographic variables of the intended target audience related to depiction of hyper-masculinity? Specifically, the relationship of age, education, and income to hyper-masculinity was examined. To answer these research questions, a quantitative content analysis of magazine advertisements targeting male audiences that vary by age, level of education and household income was conducted. The depiction of each of the four hyper-masculine dimensions (i.e., danger as exciting, violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, and calloused attitudes towards sex and women)

(Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993) was assessed in each of the advertisements. It was hypothesized that age, education, and household income of the target audience would be significantly related to the depiction of HM in men's magazine advertisements.

Specifically, the following was hypothesized:

- 1) Age would be inversely related to hyper-masculinity, with advertisements in magazines aimed at younger men more likely to depict HM traits than advertisements aimed at older men.
- 2) Education would be inversely related to hyper-masculinity, with advertisements aimed at audiences that are less educated more likely to depict HM characteristics than advertisements targeting audiences that are more highly educated.
- 3) Household Income (HHI) would be inversely related to hyper-masculinity, with advertisements targeting audiences with lower incomes more likely to depict HM characteristics than advertisements aimed at audiences with higher incomes.

Assessing the prevalence of hyper-masculinity in magazine advertisements targeting male audiences that differ by age, education level, and income level would provide further information regarding how advertising content constructs HM, as well as to what specifically audiences are being exposed. This research sought to answer how advertising, may be contributing to violence against women by representing HM ideology.

Method

Sample

In order to create a sample of magazines that would capture a wide range of magazines varying by age, education level attained, and household income, first a list of hundreds of magazines provided by Mediamark Research and Intelligence (MRI, 2007) was examined. This list is provided for free to the general public from the Mediamark website. Mediamark Research and Intelligence is a research firm that provides consumer data to corporate marketers, including information about adult consumer magazine readership demographics. MRI is the industry-standard in market research. It is accredited by the Media Rating Council (MRC), a non-profit industry association promoting valid and reliable media research (MRI, 2007). This examined list represents magazines that subscribe to MRI and are included in Survey of the American Consumer, a representative, national survey that is conducted every year with a sample of 26,000 American consumers face-to-face in their homes (MRI, 2007). The magazine demographic information measured by this survey includes age, sex, occupation, household income, and educational achievement. According to MRI, the survey is the primary source of audience data for the United States consumer magazine industry.

Although Mediamark publishes a list of hundreds of magazines and some readership information (such as median age and household income) on its website, complete magazine readership information, including information about education, is only available with a paid subscription. To save money, this additional demographic information was obtained instead by contacting individual magazines selected from the MRI list. Magazines subscribe to MRI in order to use its data to attract advertisers (MRI, 2007). Magazines with audiences that were at least 70% male were identified from the

MRI magazine list. These magazines' websites were then examined to see if MRI education information regarding readers was cited there. If not, magazine representatives were contacted via the contact information provided on magazine websites. In total, twelve magazines were contacted and asked to provide MRI readership data. In order to ensure that a wide range of magazines by age, education, and household income could be considered for the sample, magazines that were not on the MRI list were also considered. This involved a first-hand examination of magazines sold at various bookstores in Winnipeg. In particular, four additional magazines that appeared to target men from lower and upper extremes for education and household income were identified and contacted (via contact information supplied by magazine websites) to see if they would provide readership demographic information. Disappointingly, none provided demographic information and, therefore, were not included in the sample.

Based upon the above search, eight magazines differentiated by reader median age, percent college attendance, and household income were included in the sample. These eight magazines were chosen because they represented magazines read by a wide range of target audiences in terms of age, education, and household income. The age range of the magazines sampled was from 22 to 50 years of age, the education range was from 26% to 94% college educated, and the yearly household income range was from \$53,000 to \$137,000. Because the magazines ranged greatly according to target audience characteristics, they were grouped according to age, education, and household income. More specifically, the magazines were divided into three comparison target age groups: (a) target audience age 20-29, (b) target audience age 30-39, and (c) target audience age 40-50. Three college-attendance groups were also created. These were: (a) less than 50%

of the readership have attended college, (b) 50-79% have attended college, and (c) 80% and over have attended college. Lastly, three household income (USD) groups were created. These were (a) median yearly household income of \$59,000 or less, (b) median household income of \$60,000- \$90,000, and (c) median household income above \$90,000. These eight magazines, and their corresponding target audience characteristics, are found in Table 2. A decision was made to sample magazines from the last full calendar year, which was 2007, to give a snapshot of present trends in depiction of masculinity in magazine advertising. Two issues of each magazine were chosen to ensure that an adequate sample of advertisements were compiled to make reliable statistical estimates and to permit generalization. All magazines examined were for the same two months, April 2008 and November 2007. These months are well-spaced apart in the year to ensure that the sample would not be influenced unduly by any advertising campaigns that may be over-represented at one time.

Unit of Analysis

The primary unit of analysis for this study was advertisements containing at least one image of a man. Although it was impossible to determine the exact age of the man in the advertisement, to be included the man needed to appear to be at least 18 years of age. The images of men could be both photographs or illustrations. Additionally, images that were symbolic (such as stick figures or cartoon characters) but that were clearly representative of men were included.

Table 2

Men's Magazines Selected for Analysis by Target Audience Group

<u>Title</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Household Income</u>	<u>College Attendance</u>
1. Playboy	30-39	<\$59,000	<50%
2. Field and Stream	40-50	< \$59,000	<50%
3. Game Informer	20-29	< \$59,000	50%-79%
4. Maxim	20-29	\$60,000-\$90,000	50%-79%
5. Esquire	40-50	\$60,000-\$90,000	50%-79%
6. Wired	30-39	\$60,000-\$90,000	>80%
7. Fortune	40-50	> \$91,000	>80%
8. Golf Digest	40-50	>\$91,000	>80%

Measurement and Coding Instrument

Coding of advertisements was conducted using an instrument (Appendix C) designed by the researcher to serve as a checklist for the four hyper-masculine traits, namely violence as manly, calloused attitudes towards women and sex, danger as exciting, and toughness as emotional self-control (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). The items on the checklist were based upon the conceptualization of each of the hyper-masculinity traits, as well as items from their Hypermasculinity Inventory (HMI), which measures hyper-masculine characteristics. Coders indicated if they agreed or disagreed (y/n) with each of the several statements on the checklist about how men's masculinity was displayed in the advertisement. For example, the coding instrument probed for the 'violence as manly' dimension with items such as, "Is a man engaged in/or condoning an act of physical violence (e.g., slapping, choking)?" Physical, emotional, and sexual acts of violence towards women were coded as 'calloused attitudes towards women and sex,' not 'violence as manly', as they would be if recorded using the HMI.

As noted previously, the four hyper-masculine characteristics are not mutually exclusive. Each advertisement could have none, one, or more HM traits. Each ad was coded for all hyper-masculine traits. Each trait was coded on a 3-point scale. If none of the items representative of an HM trait were depicted in the ad, that trait was coded '0'. If only one of the items representative of a trait was present (e.g., there was a physical act of violence), '1' was coded for that trait. However, if two or more of the items within a category were depicted (e.g., there was an act of physical violence and also an act of verbal violence) then a '2' was be coded for that trait. Few ads in the sample had more than two HM items present. Therefore, it was reasonable to group two or more items of a

category into one rating. If for some reason the coders were unable to determine if a trait was present in the ad, it was coded “3” for ambiguous. For example, an ambiguous ad was one in which it is difficult to tell, given an angle of a shot, if a man was ‘yelling’ or ‘laughing’ and other aspects of the ad (e.g., words) did not help to clarify. To determine which, if any, HM characteristics were present, the coders examined the entire advertisement and used all aspects, including both text and visual cues.

Procedure

Reliability. Coding was conducted by the researcher and a male graduate student. The procedure for obtaining inter-rater reliability of the HM ratings was based upon the guidelines formulated by Lombard, Snyder-Duch, and Bracken (2002) for content analysis research. Inter-rater reliability was first examined using a coder pre-test. For the pre-test, the two coders rated a small portion of advertisements. Specifically, one Game Informer, Esquire and Fortune magazine was chosen for the pre-test. These three magazines were chosen to represent different ages, incomes and levels of college attendance in the sample. The issues were from 2007, but not the months that were used in the analysis-proper. According to Lombard et al. (2002), the size of the sample used to establish inter-rater reliability in a pre-test should be at least 10% of the full sample. Thus, coding three magazines met this requirement. Both coders independently rated the advertisements in all three magazines. Inter-rater reliability was assessed using Cohen’s kappa statistic. Cohen’s kappa was used because using simple percent agreement to measure inter-coder reliability does not take into consideration agreement between coders based on chance (Lombard et al., 2002). In contrast, the former statistic yields a conservative estimate of reliability by taking coder agreement based on chance into

consideration (Dewey, 1983). Kappa was set at .80. There is not a specific cut-off for what constitutes acceptable reliability in content analysis (Weber, 1990), but a standard of at least $k = .80$ is generally considered to constitute good reliability. Reliability levels were calculated for each hyper-masculinity characteristic, not only for the instrument overall. Lombard et al. (2002) state that this should be the standard for evaluating the reliability of a coding instrument. Overall, 99 advertisements were coded in the pre-test. The coding instrument was found to be reliable (danger as exciting, Kappa = .91; toughness as emotional self-control, Kappa = .81; calloused attitudes towards women, Kappa = .89; and violence as manly, Kappa = .96). The coders re-examined together each advertisement that led to disagreement. The coders determined the source of ambiguity and discussed what led to the disagreement. After the pre-test, the analysis-proper commenced. Both coders rated all of the advertisements ($N = 527$). After the coding was complete, inter-rater agreement was again measured in the target magazine issues to ensure reliability. The Hyper-Masculinity Coding Questionnaire as a whole was found to be reliable ($k = .86$). Kappa was also calculated for each of the individual scales, namely violence against manly ($k = .94$), toughness as emotional self-control ($k = .82$), callousness towards women ($k = .88$), and danger as exciting ($k = .90$)

Neither coder perceived any ads as ambiguous. All disagreed-upon advertisements ($N = 65$) were re-examined by both coders and the possible source of disagreement was discussed to see if agreement could be reached. Agreement was reached for all of the ads in question.

Data analysis proceeded in two steps. In the first step, the proportion of the advertisement that depicted hyper-masculinity overall, as well as the proportion of

advertisements that depicted each of the hyper-masculinity traits individually, were calculated. In the second step, regression analyses were conducted to determine the relationship of age, education, and income to hyper-masculine traits, both overall and individually.

Results

Data Preparation

Data preparation included checking for data entry errors as well as checking data for violations of the assumptions of the statistical tests underlying regression. Skewness and kurtosis were examined for normality of the variables. It was determined that the data was positively skewed and, thus, violated the assumption of normality. However, multiple regression is regarded to be robust to deviations of the assumption of normality, particularly when the sample size is large (Green and Salkind, 2005).

Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity

Overall, 527 advertisements were coded for hyper-masculinity. The means, standard deviations, and proportion of advertisements depicting hyper-masculinity traits are depicted in Table 3. The proportions reported in the table represent the percentage of advertisements in the sample that depicted the four hyper-masculine traits (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, and danger as exciting) measured on a 0-2 scale, as well as any hyper-masculinity, measured on a 0-8 scale. A score of '8' represents an ad that contains each of the hyper-masculine traits, each coded with a '2' (meaning that two or more of the items on the coding questionnaire for each trait were checked, whereas a score of '1' means that one item only was checked for the trait). As can be seen from Table 3, 56% of the total sample

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity

<u>Hyper-Masculinity Trait</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev</u>	<u>Proportion</u>
Violence As Exciting	69	.22	.60	13% 1 = 4% 2 = 9%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	190	.50	.66	36% 1 = 27% 2 = 9%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	69	.17	.45	13% 1 = 10% 2 = 3%
Danger as Exciting	148	.35	.62	28% 1 = 20% 2 = 8%
Any Hyper-Masculinity Trait	296	1.2	1.54	56% 1 = 26% 2 = 14% 3 = 4% 4 = 5% 5 = 4% 6 = 1% 7 = 1% 8 = 1%

depicted at least one hyper-masculinity trait. Of the four individual hyper-masculinity traits measured, toughness as emotional self-control (36%) and danger as exciting (28%) were depicted more often than violence as manly (13%) and calloused attitudes towards women (13%).

Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity by Magazine

In addition to calculating the proportion of hyper-masculinity, overall and individually, depicted in the advertisements as a whole, the proportion of hyper-masculinity in each magazine was also calculated. The proportions, means, and standard deviation of hyper-masculinity overall are presented in Table 4. As can be seen from Table 4, certain magazines, such as Game Informer (94%) and Playboy (95%), appear to depict much more hyper-masculinity overall than others, such as Golf Digest (22%) and Fortune (20%).

The proportions of each of the hyper-masculinity traits (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, and danger as exciting) are also presented in Table 4. As is evident from Table 4, again some magazines (e.g., Game Informer and Playboy) depict individual hyper-masculine traits much more so than others, whereas some magazines (e.g., Golf Digest and Fortune) depict individual hyper-masculine traits less than others.

Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity by Target Group

To give a more detailed picture of the differential proportions of magazines containing hyper-masculine ads, the advertisements were divided into groups that differed by target reader age, education, and household income. More specifically, three

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Proportion of Hyper-Masculinity by Magazine

<u>Magazine</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev</u>	<u>Proportion</u>
1. Maxim (n = 62)			
Violence as Manly	.14	.50	8%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.45	.54	31%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.82	.77	60%
Danger as Exciting	.58	.71	45%
Any HM Trait	2.0	1.6	84%
2. Esquire (n = 75)			
Violence as Manly	.03	.16	3%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.14	.42	12%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.56	.57	52%
Danger as Exciting	.16	.43	13%
Any HM Trait	.90	.81	67%
3. Golf Digest (n = 92)			
Violence as Manly	.02	.20	1%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.03	.17	3%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.16	.42	14%
Danger as Exciting	.08	.30	7%
Any HM Trait	.30	.59	22%
4. Wired (n = 71)			
Violence as Manly	.10	.38	7%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.10	.34	9%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.28	.53	24%
Danger as Exciting	.40	.62	33%
Any HM Trait	.87	1.1	49%
5. Fortune (n = 57)			
Violence as Manly			0%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women			0%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.12	.33	12%
Danger as Exciting	.11	.36	9%

Any HM Trait	.23	.50	20%
6. Field and Stream (n =79)			
Violence as Manly	.19	.38	15%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.11	.32	12%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.20	.46	18%
Danger as Exciting	.29	.58	23%
Any HM Trait	.80	1.0	49%
7. Game Informer (n = 54)			
Violence as Manly	1.39	.88	74%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.11	.41	7%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	1.2	.74	80%
Danger as Exciting	.98	.75	68%
Any HM Trait	3.6	1.9	94%
8. Playboy (n = 37)			
Violence as Manly	.24	.59	17%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	.62	.68	52%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	.76	.72	60%
Danger as Exciting	.62	.72	54%
Any HM Trait	2.3	1.5	95%

target age groups were compared: (a) target audience age 20-29, (b) target audience age 30-39, and (c) target audience age 40-50. Three college-attendance groups were also compared. These were: (a) less than 50% of the readership have attended college, (b) 50-79% have attended college, and (c) 80% and over have attended college. Lastly, three household income groups were compared. These were (a) median yearly household income of \$59,000 or less, (b) median household income of \$60,000- \$90,000, and (c) median household income above \$90,000. The proportion of hyper-masculinity traits, both overall and individually, by age, education, and household income, respectively, are presented in Tables 5, 6, and 7.

As is evident from Table 5, the proportion of advertisements decreased steadily as the age of the target audience increased, for each hyper-masculinity trait and for hyper-masculinity overall. Similarly, as is displayed in Tables 6 and 7, the proportion of advertisements also decreased as education and affluence of the target audience increased. The vast majority of advertisements targeting young, less educated, and less affluent men depicted hyper-masculine traits, whereas only a minority of advertisements targeting older, well-educated and affluent men did so. For example, 89% of advertisements targeting men age 20-29 depicted hyper-masculinity overall, compared to 40% of advertisements targeting men age 40-50. Lastly, also evident from Tables 5, 6, and 7 is that (a) danger as exciting and (b) toughness as emotional self-control were the most highly depicted hyper-masculine traits, regardless of age, education or household income of the target audience.

Table 5

Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity by Age of the Target Audience

Hyper-Masculinity Trait	Age		
	20-29 (n = 116)	30-39 (n = 108)	40-50 (n = 303)
Violence as Manly	39% 1=34% 2=5%	10% 1= 5% 2= 5%	5% 1= 3% 2=2%
Toughness as Emotional Self-Control	69% 1= 40% 2= 29%	36% 1= 28% 2= 8%	24% 1= 22% 2= 2%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	20% 1=10% 2=10%	23% 1= 19% 2= 4%	7% 1= 6% 2=1%
Danger as Exciting	56% 1= 38% 2= 18%	38% 1= 29% 2= 9%	13% 1= 10% 2= 3%
Any Hyper-Masculinity Trait	89% 1=22% 2=20% 3=10% 4=16% 5=15% 6=4% 7=1% 8=1%	65% 1= 28% 2= 22% 3=6% 4=5% 5=4% 6=0% 7=0% 8=0%	40% 1= 28% 2=10% 3= 1% 4=1% 5= 0% 6=0% 7=0% 8=0%

Table 6

Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity by Education Level of the Target Audience

Hyper-Masculinity Trait	Education Level		
	<50% college (n = 91)	50%-79% college (n = 216)	80%+ college (n = 220)
Violence as Manly	51% 1=10% 2=41%	8% 1=4% 2=4%	3% 1=2% 2=1%
Toughness as Emotional Control	71% 1=43% 2=28%	42% 1=33% 2=9%	17% 1=15% 2=2%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	25% 1=19% 2=6%	17% 1=12% 2=5%	4% 1=3% 2=1%
Danger as Exciting	60% 1=41% 2=19%	26% 1=19% 2= 7%	15% 1=12% 2=3%
Any Hyper-Masculinity Trait	95% 1= 19% 2= 27% 3=5% 4=17% 5=19% 6=5% 7=2% 8=1%	65% 1=36% 2=16% 3=6% 4=4% 5=2% 6=0% 7=0% 8=1%	30% 1=20% 2=7% 3=2% 4=1% 5=1% 6=0% 7=0% 8=0%

Table 7

Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity by Household Income of the Target Audience

Hyper-Masculinity Trait	Household Income		
	<\$59,000 (n = 170)	\$60,000 - \$90,000 (n = 208)	>90,000 (n = 149)
Violence as Manly	34% 1=9% 2=25%	6% 1=3 2=3	1% 1=0% 2=1%
Toughness as Emotional Control	46% 1=30% 2=16%	45% 1=35% 2=10%	16% 1=12% 2=4%
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	19% 1=15% 2= 4%	16% 1=11% 2= 5%	2% 1=2% 2= 0%
Danger as Exciting	43% 1=29% 2=14%	29% 1=22% 2=7%	7% 1=6% 2=1%
Any Hyper-Masculinity Trait	77% 1=23% 2=21% 3=11% 4=5% 5=10% 6=4% 7=3% 8=2%	66% 1=36% 2=16% 3=8% 4=3% 5=3% 6=0% 7=0% 8=1%	21% 1=16% 2=4% 3=1% 4=0% 5=0% 6=0% 7=0% 8=0%

Regression of Age, Education, and Household Income on Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity Overall

Univariate regression analyses on the proportion of advertisements depicting any hyper-masculinity trait were conducted utilizing each of age, education, household income as predictor variables to determine the strength of the relationship between each of the predictor variables and overall hyper-masculinity. A specific hypothesis was not formulated for which independent variable would be most heavily weighted in accounting for HM, as there was no basis for a prediction in the literature. It was plausible that age would be weighted more heavily than the variables related to interpersonal and economic power. However, the opposite could have also been true. A comparison of the results of these regression analyses is presented in Table 8. As is evident from the table, all three variables were significant predictors of overall hyper-masculinity at $p < .001$. Age was the strongest predictor (R-squared = .38), accounting for 38% of the variance in the depiction of overall hyper-masculinity. In comparison, 24% and 23% of the variance was explained by education and household income, respectively.

Multiple Regression of Age, Education, and Household Income on Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity Overall

Next, a multiple regression analysis was conducted on hyper-masculinity overall with age, education, and household income as the predictor variables. Prior to conducting the multiple regression, the correlations between the predictor variables were examined. As would be expected, they were significantly correlated with each other ($p < .01$). Age

Table 8.

Univariate Regressions of Age, Education, and Household Income on the Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity

<u>Predictor</u>	<u>R-Squared</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Age	.38	323.32	1, 525	<.001
Education	.24	166.64	1, 525	<.001
Household Income	.23	152.74	1, 525	<.001

was moderately correlated with education ($r = .56$) and household income ($r = .69$), whereas education and household income were strongly correlated ($r = .83$). Bivariate correlations, as well as part correlations, representing the strength of association between the independent variables (age, education, and household income) and the dependent variables (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, and danger as exciting, and any hyper-masculinity traits) are presented in Table 9. Each of the part correlations in Table 9 are between one of the predictor variables (e.g., age) and one of the dependent variables (e.g., violence as manly), factoring out the influence of both of the other the independent variables (e.g., education and income). As expected, all correlations between the predictor variables (age, education and household income) and dependent variables (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, and danger as exciting, and any hyper-masculinity traits) are negative, ranging from small to moderate in strength of association. The bivariate and part correlations between the predictor variables and the dependent variables displayed in Table 9 show that age was more strongly associated with each of the dependent variables than was education or household income. Of the individual hyper-masculinity traits, violence as manly was most strongly associated with the predictor variables ($r = -.29$ to $r = -.47$), whereas calloused attitudes towards women was most weakly associated ($r = -.20$ to $r = -.21$).

The results of the multiple regression analysis utilizing age, education, and household income as the predictor variables and overall hyper-masculinity as the dependent variable are presented in Table 10. Age, education, and household income significantly predicted the proportion of advertisements depicting any hyper-masculinity

Table 9.

Bivariate and Part Correlations between Predictor Variables (Age, Education, and Household Income) and Hyper-Masculinity Traits

<u>Hyper-Masculine Trait</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Household Income</u>
	<u>Bivariate/Part</u>	<u>Bivariate/Part</u>	<u>Bivariate/Part</u>
Violence as Manly	-.47/-.38	-.30/-.27	-.29/-.23
Toughness as Emotional Self- Control	-.47/-.33	-.34/-.13	-.33/-.08
Calloused Attitudes Towards Women	-.22/-.10	-.20/-.06	-.21/-.02
Danger as Exciting	-.43/-.32	-.28/-.07	-.29/-.06
Any Hyper-Masculinity Trait	-.62/-.40	-.49/-.17	-.48/-.08

Note: All correlations between the independent variables (age, education and household income) and dependent variables (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women and danger as exciting) are significant at $p < .01$.

Table 10

Cumulative Percent of Variance in Proportion of Advertisements Depicting Hyper-Masculinity Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression

<u>Variables Entered</u>	<u>R square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Model 1	.38	320.98	1, 525	<.001
Age Only				
Model 2	.40	17.65	2, 524	<.001
Age and Education				
Model 3	.42	20.34	3, 523	<.001
Age, Education, and Household Income				

trait ($R\text{-squared} = .42$; $p < .001$), indicating that together these variables accounted for 42% of the variance in the depiction of overall hyper-masculinity. As is evident from examining the cumulative percent of the variance accounted for by the predictor variables displayed in Table 10, age alone accounted for the greatest proportion (38%) of the variance in overall hyper-masculinity.

Multiple Regression of Age, Education, and Household Income on Proportion of the Individual Hyper-Masculine Traits

After conducting the multiple regression analysis using proportion of hyper-masculinity overall as the predicted score, multiple regression equations were also computed predicting each of the hyper-masculine traits individually. The purpose of these analyses was to determine if the individual hyper-masculinity traits were differentially related to the target audience characteristics. The results of the multiple regression equations using age, education, and household income as the predictor variables on the individual hyper-masculinity traits (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, and danger as exciting) are presented in Tables 11 through 14, respectively.

As these tables show, age is more strongly related to the depiction of each of the individual hyper-masculine traits (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, and danger as exciting) than education and household income. For example, in Table 11, the regression equation predicting violence as manly as the outcome with age as the predictor explained 23% of the variance ($R\text{-squared} = .23$, $p < .001$). The addition of education and household income to the model explained only an additional 7% of the variance over and above age ($R\text{-squared} = .30$, $p < .001$).

Table 11

*Cumulative Percent of Variance in Violence as Manly Accounted for as Successive
Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression*

<u>Independent Variables in Model</u>	<u>R square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Model 1 Age only	.23	154.29	1, 525	<.001
Model 2 Age and Education	.25	13.04	2, 524	<.001
Model 3 Age, Education, and Household Income	.30	42.81	3, 523	<.001

Table 12

Cumulative Percent of Variance in Toughness as Emotional Self-Control Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression

<u>Variables Entered into Model</u>	<u>R square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Model 1	.22	144.27	1, 525	<.001
Age only				
Model 2	.23	6.64	2, 524	<.01
Age and Education				
Model 3	.24	7.12	3, 523	<.01
Age, Education, and Household Income				

Table 13

Cumulative Percent of Variance in Calloused Attitudes Towards Women Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression

<u>Variables Entered in Model</u>	<u>R square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Model 1 Age Only	.052	28.68	1, 525	<.001
Model 2 Age and Education	.062	5.50	2, 524	<.05
Model 3 Age, Education, and Household Income	.062	.253	3, 523	.615

Table 14

Cumulative Percent of Variance in Danger as Exciting Accounted for as Successive Predictor Variables are Entered into the Multiple Regression

<u>Variables Entered in Model</u>	<u>R square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>p-value</u>
Model 1	.18	111.11	1, 525	<.001
Age Only				
Model 2	.18	1.26	1, 524	.262
Age and Education				
Model 3	.18	2.13	3, 523	.145
Age, Education, and Household Income				

Education and household income were each significant predictors of the violence as manly and toughness as emotional self-control hyper-masculine traits (see Tables 11 and 12). However, as can be seen in Table 13 and Table 14, for calloused attitudes towards women and danger as exciting, education and/or household income did not significantly predict hyper-masculinity in advertising over and above the variance accounted for by age alone. Household income did not add predictive power of calloused attitudes towards women over and above age and education. Neither education or household income added predictive power of danger as exciting over and above age.

In conclusion, support of the three hypotheses was found. It was hypothesized that age, education, and household income of the target audience would be significantly related to the depiction of HM in men's magazine advertisements. Specifically, it was hypothesized that (a) age was inversely related to hyper-masculinity, with advertisements in magazines aimed at younger men more likely to depict HM traits than advertisements aimed at older men; (b) education was inversely related to hyper-masculinity, with advertisements aimed at audiences that are less educated more likely to depict HM characteristics than advertisements targeting audiences that are more highly educated; and (c) household income (HHI) was inversely related to hyper-masculinity, with advertisements targeting audiences with lower incomes more likely to depict HM characteristics than advertisements aimed at audiences with higher incomes.

Discussion

The results point to magazine advertising often depicting hyper-masculine ideology. Fifty-six percent of all advertisements analyzed contained one or more hyper-masculine traits. This finding confirms past qualitative research indicating hyper-

masculinity to be widespread in advertising aimed at men (e.g., Katz, 1995). Finding that hyper-masculinity was widespread in advertising indirectly supports past observations that hyper-masculine ideology may be accepted and/or idealized by many men (e.g., Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993) and that advertisers use this knowledge to sell products and services to men (e.g., Katz, 1995). This finding makes sense, given the profit-motive of advertising. It is likely that advertisers provide status quo masculine gender representations that reinforce accepted and/or idealized ideas and beliefs about masculinity (e.g., toughness and control over emotions) rather than provide alternative masculine representations (e.g., sensitivity, tenderness, cooperation) in an attempt to widely appeal to men.

The results also point to hyper-masculinity in advertising being systematically related to the age, household income, and education of the target audience. The vast majority of advertisements targeting younger, less affluent, and less educated audiences depicted hyper-masculinity. In comparison, only a minority of the advertisements targeting older, affluent, and well-educated men showed such depictions. It was expected that age, household income, and educational level would be inversely related to hyper-masculinity for two reasons. First, although any man may take on hyper-masculine gender ideology, it is most likely to be enacted during adolescence and/or young adulthood, which are developmental periods during which identity development occurs and when peer group support of HM behaviours is believed to be high (Donaldson, 1993; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Second, boys/men with low social and/or economic power may be at a greater risk of developing HM than men from higher socio-economic backgrounds (Pyke, 1996). It is argued that fear-inducing

experiences such as witnessing and/or being a victim of crime are more likely to be experienced in lower income communities (Donaldson, 1993; Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). From this perspective, behaviours such as acting tough and fighting are the only acceptable reactions to fear because the rules of masculinity do not permit expression of pain and vulnerability. The present results begin to support the theory that age and social/economic power are both inversely related to hyper-masculine ideology acceptance and/or idealization among men, and that advertisers use this knowledge when tailoring their ads for their intended audience. However, more research will be needed to substantiate this.

The results point to age being much more related to hyper-masculinity than in either education or household income. The age of the target audience alone accounted for most of the variance in hyper-masculinity depicted in the advertisements. This is a novel finding as the relationship between hyper-masculine depictions in advertising and age, education, and household income as target audience characteristics had not been examined previously. Why is age more related to hyper-masculinity than is household income and education? One reason may be that ideal gender representations are a more influential/profitable advertising strategy with young men because gender identity development mostly occurs when one is young (Erikson, 1968). Identity formation is a major developmental challenge occurring when one is young (Erikson, 1968). Ideas and beliefs about gender play a significant role in how men integrate beliefs about self to develop a self-identity (Beale Spencer et al., 2004). According to the gender intensification hypothesis, developmentally there is an acceleration of gender-differentiated socialization when people are young, roughly occurring at the beginning of

the adolescent period (Hill & Lynch, 1983). Additionally, young men may actively seek out sources of gender information, such as gender messages found in advertising, to learn how to display one's masculinity in order to fit in with peers, make friends, and/or be liked by girls. Therefore, young men, more so than other groups of men, may be most sensitive to, and influenced by, advertisers use of gender cues about ideal masculine models and messages. Young men would also be most likely to purchase products with the intent of boosting one's masculine image. For their part, advertisers may use masculine ideals in ads to specifically exploit this.

The conclusion that is pointed to by the results is that hyper-masculinity may not be depicted in an all-or-none manner in advertising aimed at men. That is, each of the hyper-masculinity traits (e.g., violence as manly) is differentially related to the target audience variables. Previous research had not examined hyper-masculine traits separately in advertising, so this is a novel finding that may be important to take into account for future studies. First of all, it was found that regardless of audience targeted, toughness as emotional self-control and danger as exciting were depicted more so than violence as manly and calloused attitudes towards women. This finding may be because masculine ideology valuing toughness as emotional self-control and danger as exciting are more accepted by men generally than overt violence and insensitivity towards women, and advertisers use the former hyper-masculine depictions more readily as part of their strategy to influence men. Conversely, it may be that using overt acts of violence and/or misogyny are not socially and/or politically acceptable, and advertisers are aware of this. For example, a number of media and advertising watchdog-type organizations now exist to patrol media content and bring attention to the public regarding such depictions in

advertising (e.g., Mediawatch). Despite this, the findings of the present study suggest that a sizeable proportion of ads do depict men as violent and as holding insensitive attitudes towards women, particularly when the audience is young and/or less educated and affluent.

The results begin to indirectly support that age, education, and household income are differentially related to each of the hyper-masculine dimensions. Of the four hyper-masculine traits (violence as manly, toughness as emotional self-control, calloused attitudes towards women, danger as exciting), the education and/or household income variables did not increase the power of prediction for calloused attitudes towards women and danger as exciting dimensions of hyper-masculinity over and above the predictive power of age alone. This suggests that, whereas toughness as emotional control and violence as manly are aspects of hyper-masculinity related to both age and social/economic power, calloused attitudes towards women and danger as exciting may be related to age only. The reason for this is unclear. However, it may have to do with developmental issues related to young adulthood. First, it would make sense that ideal masculinity related to obtaining sex and relationships with girls/women, in general, would be more often depicted in advertising aimed at young men. Forming intimate relationships with the opposite sex, and becoming comfortable with one's sexuality, are both major psychosocial developmental challenges of young people (Collins & Steinberg, 2006; Hubner, 2000). Because of this, images/messages about sexual and intimate relationships between men and women, in general, may be more likely to appear in ads targeting young men. If this were the case, images/messages that indicate men are

dominant over women, demean women, and/or treat women solely as sex objects may also be more likely to appear in ads targeting young men.

Second, in regards to cognitive development, youth are developing advanced cognitive skills, such as heightened reasoning ability and the use of logic and abstract thinking (Hubner, 2000). However, the immature nature of these skills is illustrated by many young people intentionally taking risks hazardous to their health, such as drinking and driving, having unprotected sex, and smoking, referred to as the ‘It Can’t Happen to Me Syndrome’ (Hubner, 2000). Again, advertisers may capitalize on this aspect of young people’s development, using this phenomenon to sell goods and services.

Societal Implications

It can be argued that advertisements containing images and messages that promote hyper-masculinity have important implications for society. Gender in general, and masculine attitudes and behaviour, in particular, is learned (e.g., Donaldson, 1993). Although the main goal of advertising may be to sell goods and services to consumers, advertising is also a major socializing agent within our culture that influences the development of masculine ideals and norms (Lukas, 2002). Repeated exposure to advertisements depicting hyper-masculinity as desirable, acceptable, and socially sanctioned may influence male viewers ideas about hyper-masculinity, and lead to internalization of hyper-masculine values. On one hand, advertising may reinforce pre-existing hyper-masculine beliefs formed via other of gender socialization agents (e.g., family, school). On the other hand, advertising may also play a contributing role in hyper-masculine gender development, particularly when the audience is young and actively attempting to establish their identity, beliefs, and values. The finding that hyper-

masculine gender images and messages are most widespread in advertisements targeting young male audiences indicates that advertising may play a strong role in perpetuating and reinforcing hyper-masculine development.

The likelihood that hyper-masculine depictions in advertising may perpetuate and reinforce masculine attitudes and behaviour is alarming given the associated consequences of hyper-masculinity. The potential consequences associated with hyper-masculine gender ideology are arguably huge, for both individuals and society. As discussed previously, considerable evidence exists that hyper-masculinity is related to violence against women (e.g., Mosher & Anderson, 1986; Sanday, 1996; Suarez-El Adam et al., 2002). Violence against women is both widespread and strongly associated with a multitude of negative consequences for women, both psychological (e.g., depression, anxiety, addictions, eating disorders) and physical (e.g., injuries, stress-induced chronic health problems) (e.g., El-Mouelhy, 2004; Mechanic, 2004; Wasco, 2003). Arguably, the negative consequences that are associated with violence against women contribute to an urgent need to better understand its etiology, including perhaps hyper-masculinity. In turn, better understanding of etiology could contribute to targeting and preventing violence (Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2004). The results of the present study indicate that hyper-masculine advertising, in its role as a socializing agent, and through its widespread influence, may be a risk factor for violence against women, and may be an important factor to target in prevention efforts. For example, Jackson Katz (1999) has argued that violence against women prevention should target men and should concentrate on educating men, while challenging their assumptions and beliefs about norms and values linking masculinity to violence and other harmful attitudes and

behaviours. Educational films such as *Tough Guise* (1999), put out by the Media Education Foundation, which critically examines the relationship between socially constructed masculinities, media, and violence, could possibly play a preventive role.

In addition to the huge costs of hyper-masculinity associated with violence against women, hyper-masculinity may also be associated with a number of other societal problems, including interpersonal violence, drug and alcohol abuse, dangerous driving, and accidents (e.g., Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Advertising promoting hyper-masculinity may also help create/foster attitudes and behaviour that, in addition to (a) sanctioning/fostering violence and discrimination among women, may also (b) sanction/foster violence and discrimination against other subordinate groups such as gay, transsexual, and bisexual men, and visible minorities, and (c) lead to dangerous and/or violent behaviour generally, thereby increasing injury, death, and medical costs, as well as accidents, which are the leading cause of injury and death among young men (Tefft, 2008). Additionally, hyper-masculinity may lead to increased rates of mental disorder among men, as well as decreased willingness of men to seek help (e.g., via mechanisms such as emotional suppression, problematic and stressful relationships, and inability to express vulnerability and ask for help) (e.g., Courtenay, 1999).

Limitations and Future Directions

There are limitations of the present study. One limitation is that advertisements targeting poor audiences were not included in the sample. Although magazines that appeared to target low-income audiences were contacted, demographic information was unavailable for these magazines so they were not included in the sample. Theoretically, poor men may be most at-risk of accepting hyper-masculine ideology and therefore

advertisements targeting this audience may be most hyper-masculine. The results would have been more informative if magazines targeting a lower income bracket group (e.g., household income lower than \$25,000) could have been included in the study.

Additionally, magazine advertisements targeting adolescents were not included in the sample. Theoretically, adolescence is a developmental period during which hyper-masculinity may be most likely to be accepted. The results of this study would have been more informative if magazines targeting audiences under the age of 18 had also been able to be located for the sample.

The results of this study point towards a number of future research directions. First, analyses of other forms of advertising content aimed at men (e.g., television commercials), as well as other forms of media content aimed at men (e.g., videogames, television, movies, the internet, the magazine content itself), should also be performed. This would provide more detailed information regarding the extent of hyper-masculine ideology in the media, as well as provide a more informed understanding of how often men are being exposed to such images.

As follow up to the present study, it would also be informative to examine if any specific brands, products, services, or companies in particular use hyper-masculine depictions in advertising campaigns. It may be that certain brands and/or products are more likely to be advertised in a hyper-masculine way than other brands or products. For example, specific companies/brands such as Abercrombie and Fitch have been under criticism for using sexist, violent, and pornographic advertisements to sell their products (Campaign for a Commercial Free Childhood, 2008).

Further research examining the relationship between media exposure to hyper-masculinity and acceptance of hyper-masculine ideology and behaviours is warranted. The next step in research could attempt to measure what relationship, if any, exists between exposure to hyper-masculine depictions and hyper-masculine attitudes and behaviours. Does a relationship between hyper-masculine media content and hyper-masculine attitudes and behaviours exist? Both correlational and experimental research could increase knowledge in this area. Research examining the correlation between hyper-masculinity and exposure to hyper-masculine media could be conducted. In addition, experimental studies that manipulate exposure to hyper-masculine media (e.g., advertisements, movies) and then examine this effect on viewers attitudes or behaviours (e.g., as measured by the hyper-masculinity inventory) would increase knowledge in this area regarding a possible causal influence of hyper-masculine media on viewers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, hyper-masculinity is an extreme form of masculine ideology that is related to harmful behaviour, including violence towards women (Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993). Advertising plays a major role in gender socialization (e.g., Kilbourne, 1998). Evidence suggests that hyper-masculinity is widespread in advertising content aimed at men. Since advertising is a socializing agent, this may have potentially harmful consequences. This is due to (a) the potential negative consequences associated with hyper-masculinity (e.g., violence against women, Zaitchik & Mosher, 1993) as well as because of (b) how advertising-saturated our society has become (Kilbourne, 2001). Evidence suggesting that young men and men with low social/economic power are targeted most often with hyper-masculine images is particularly alarming, as these groups

may be most at-risk of accepting hyper-masculine ideology (e.g., Ridgeway and Correl, 2004).

The widespread acceptance and idealization of hyper-masculinity in advertising, and in our culture as a whole, should be questioned. Currently, many young men are learning that being a man means being tough, dangerous, and violent. In advertising, and elsewhere in society, we need instead to teach boys and men how to be men in ways that don't involve hurting themselves or others. Currently, advertising may be contributing to violence against women and other problems by widely representing hyper-masculine ideology.

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Appendix A

Stereotypic Gender Roles

Examples of Male-Valued Traits

Aggressive
 Independent
 Unemotional
 Objective
 Dominant
 Not excitable in a Minor Crisis
 Competitive
 Logical
 Direct
 Feelings not Easily Hurt
 Never cries
 Acts as a Leader
 Self-confident
 Thinks men are superior to women
 Talks freely about sex with men

Examples of Female-Valued Traits

Does not use Harsh Language
 Talkative
 Gentle
 Religious
 Interested in own Appearance
 Quiet
 Expresses Tender Feelings

Note: Based on Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman and Broverman, 1968, p. 291; in Brannon, 1998; p. 173

Appendix B

Definitions of Forms of Violence Against Women

Physical Violence: physically aggressive acts such as kicking, biting, slapping, beating, and strangling

Psychological Violence (emotional violence, mental violence): acts such as preventing a women from seeing her friends and family, belittlement and humiliation, economic restrictions, violence or threats against cherished objects or other forms of controlling behaviours

Sexual Violence (sexual assault, sexual abuse, rape): includes forced sexual acts or intercourse through physical force, threats, intimidation, forced participation in degrading sexual acts, sexual acts in which consent was unable to be established (e.g., because of intoxication, 'date rape' drugs), and denial of the right to use contraceptives. Sexual violence can take place in any context, including by family members, but it most often occurs in intimate partner relationships (dates, husbands, boyfriends). Women can be sexually violated by one person or a by a group of men.

Intimate Partner Violence (battering, domestic violence, spousal abuse): any form, or combination of violence against women perpetrated by a husband, cohabitating partner, or boyfriend. Usually, intimate partner violence is not characterized by single episodes of violence but by repeated acts of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Battering is a process whereby one member in an intimate relationship experiences psychological vulnerability, loss of power and control, and entrapment as other partners exercise of power over them.

Note: Based upon Krantz & Garcia-Moreno, 2007

Appendix C

Hyper-Masculinity in Advertising Coding Instrument

Rater Identification: (Rater 1 or Rater 2 and initials): _____

Part A. Advertisement Identification Items

1. Magazine (e.g., Maxim) _____
2. Magazine Month (February or November) _____
3. Number of men in ad (1+) _____
4. Presence/absence of women in ad (y/n) _____
5. Product(s)/service(s) being advertised (e.g., jeans) _____
6. Company/Brand (e.g., Nike) _____

Part B. Examine the entire advertisement, using all visual and/or textual information provided. Then answer yes or no to each of the questions in the following sets. If 'yes' is answered to ANY of the questions in the set, then code for that question number (e.g., 1, Violence As Manly)

1.

- a) Does it appear that an act of physical violence is being carried out, is about to be carried out, or condoned? (e.g., slapping, choking, hitting, stomping?) y/n _____
- b) Does it appear that an act of verbal violence is being carried out, is about to be carried out, or condoned? (e.g., yelling, name calling?) y/n _____
- c) Does it appear that multiple acts of physical and or verbal violence are being carried out, are about to be carried out, or condoned?
- d) Are any weapons present/discussed and/or being used (e.g., fists, guns?) y/n _____
- e) Are multiple weapons present/discussed and/or being used (e.g., guns, bombs, fists)

If yes was answered for one of the questions, code for violence as manly (1)

If yes was answered for more than one of the questions, code for violence as manly (2)

Violence As Manly: _____

2.

- a) Does it appear that having/obtaining heterosexual intercourse is portrayed as an integral part of being a man (e.g., to be a 'stud')? Does it appear that using any means necessary to obtain sex is appropriate? y/n _____
- b) Does it appear that men are dominant and women are submissive, (e.g., portrayed as more important, or in a dominant position to women?) y/n _____

- c) Is a 'calloused relationship' between men and women displayed? (e.g., if a woman and a man are both present, does the relationship between them appear hostile, disrespectful, or antagonistic)
- d) Does it appear that an act/acts of physical violence against a woman is being carried out or condoned (e.g., slapping, choking?) y/n _____
- e) Does it appear that an act/acts of verbal violence against women is being carried out or condoned (e.g., yelling, name calling?) y/n _____
- f) Does it appear that an act/acts of sexual violence against women is being carried out or condoned (e.g., sexual assault?) y/n _____

If yes was answered for one of the questions code for calloused attitudes towards women (1)

If yes was answered for more than one of the questions, code for calloused attitudes towards women and sex (2)

Calloused Attitudes Towards Women and Sex: _____

3.

- a) Does it appear that a man/men is/are depicted as being rugged, rough, or hardy (e.g., tough cowboy or cop) y/n _____
- b) Does it appear that a message is sent that it is important for men to be in control and/or powerful? y/n _____
- c) Does it appear that a man/men is/are depicted as being stoic (e.g., showing no emotion, cold) y/n _____
- d) Does it appear that a man/men is/are depicted as being angry (e.g., scowling, glaring) y/n _____
- e) Does it appear that being muscular is important for men? _____

If yes was answered for one or more of the above questions, code for toughness as emotional self-control (3)

Toughness as Emotional Self-Control: _____

4.

- a) Does it appear that partaking in drugs, tobacco, and alcohol use/ activities is fun/exciting? y/n _____
- b) Does it appear that partaking in gambling/and or taking risks with money is exciting/fun y/n _____
- c) Does it appear that "partying"(e.g., attending wild, uninhibited parties) is fun/exciting? y/n _____
- d) Does it appear that fast, dangerous driving is fun/exciting? y/n _____
- e) Does it appear that adrenaline-junky or risky/dangerous sports are fun and exciting? y/n _____
- f) Is there an element of danger in the ad? (e.g., dark alley setting, war zone, explosives present) y/n _____

If yes was answered for one of the above questions, code for danger as exciting (1)
If yes was answered for more than one of the above questions code for danger as exciting
(2)

Danger as Exciting: _____