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Cover Guys: Masculinity, Sexuality, and Representations of Men's Bodies in Popular Magazines for Men

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COVER GUYS: MASCULINITY, SEXUALITY, AND REPRESENTATIONS OF MEN'S BODIES IN POPULAR MAGAZINES FOR MEN

by

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COVER GUYS: MASCULINITY, SEXUALITY, AND REPRESENTATIONS OF MEN'S BODIES IN POPULAR MAGAZINES FOR MEN

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Scant research puts magazines into conversation with sociological theories of masculinity or sexuality. Yet, magazines have long projected idealized images of masculinities, the male body, and men's sexuality. In this dissertation, I examine representations of men in popular magazines, highlighting the multifaceted ways magazines have marketed masculinity and the sexualization of men.

Using an explanatory sequential mixed method content analysis, I analyze 38 years (1980–2018; N=2,750) of magazine covers from *GQ* (*n*=516), *Men's Health* (*n*=277), and *Sports Illustrated* (*n*=1,671). Each cover was coded using a standardized coding form developed for this dissertation. The coding scheme was tested using agreement and alpha intercoder reliability statistics. Additionally, I used multi-phase quantitative and qualitative methodologies to identify underlying constructs and change over time among men on the covers. Exploratory factor analyses identify two underlying constructs around men's aesthetic characteristics and sexualization. Using multinomial logistic regression, I identify how these factors change over time. In additional analyses, I calculated the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index and predict the sexualization of men's bodies over time. In exploratory analyses, I used qualitative, thematic analyses to explore the relationship between cover text and corresponding images. I contextualize

findings with popular culture to illustrate how magazines influence or are influenced by social change.

Representations of men and masculinity differ across magazines. *GQ* portrays a kind of man who accounts for their interest in fashion, have "style," and be "cool." *Men's Health* primarily portrays young, white muscular men who show off their bodies, and are accompanied by text preying on their insecurities. *Sports Illustrated*, alternatively, portrays a diverse set of men with "winning" masculinities and referred to using violent rhetoric.

This dissertation offers a window into how the marketing of American manhood has been siloed into particular categories. My findings demonstrate how these magazines perpetuate controlling images of masculinity that prioritize some groups over others and inform research on gender, sexuality, race, and the body.

DEDICATION

To my mom, Gran, and DJ.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Contemporary discourse surrounding masculinity has reached a fever pitch. Increasingly, phrases like "toxic masculinity" have entered the lexicon as men's status and privilege have come under scrutiny (Salter 2019). Movie stars, politicians, and advertisements are also speaking out about masculinity. Jonah Hill, star of "bromance" movies, is now critical of the "bro" culture he helped profligate (Hosking 2019). Former President of the United States Barack Obama has spoken out about the meaning of manhood in America today (Ruiz-Grossman 500). Even Gillette brand shaving razors have used satire to point out men's roles in the #MeToo movement and toxic masculinity (Stanley-Becker 2019). These examples highlight a cultural shift in discussions of gender as well as the deeply value-laden and contested characteristics of masculinity in the United States.

Masculinity has a clear relationship to men or maleness, but is a collection of behaviors and characteristics attributed (though not exclusive) to men (Halberstam 1998). "Toxic masculinity" suggests there is something wrong or harmful about certain versions of masculinity and is a way to critique masculinity and indicate that it (and to some extent men themselves) is in crisis. The "crisis of masculinity" or the idea that masculinity has a "crisis tendency" are phrases that scholars and commentators have used to describe men's and others' anxieties about masculinity (Benwell 2003; Connell 2005; Faludi 1999; Robinson 2000). Anxieties over and changes to modern ideas about masculinity have brought about feature stories in magazines like *GQ* and *Vogue*. In the October 2019 issue of *GQ*, singer Pharrell was featured on the cover wearing a yellow quilted cape-dress with text boasting a new kind of masculinity. Inside, articles expanded how this new

masculinity is inclusive of women and trans folks (Welch 2019). A year later, the November 2020 issue of *Vogue* featured Harry Styles in a dress with ruffles and ruching as the first man to appear on the cover of the magazine (Bowles 2020). Following a long history of gender bending musicians like David Bowie and Motley Crüe (Schippers 2002), Pharrell and Styles carry the conversation into the 21st century.

Scholars of masculinity have disagreed about the role of men and masculinity—particularly when it comes to heterosexual white men—in social configurations of power and privilege (Christofidou 2021; Robinson 2000; Yang 2020). Masculine toxicity is made even more complicated by ongoing deconstructions of the relationship between biological sex and social gender (Westbrok and Schilt 2014). Critiques calling masculinity "toxic" invite reflection and (hopefully) progressive social change especially around the deterioration of white hetero-masculine dominance (Robinson 2000; Yang 2020).

The idea that masculinity can (and does) change speaks to the active process of its creation. Contributing to the ways West and Zimmerman (1987) described the "doing" of gender, we constantly create and recreate performances of gender to confront and adapt to broader social changes. The social maintenance of masculinity stems from its relation to other groups starting with women and other men, but intersecting with an abundance of other social identities like sexuality, race/ethnicity, class, age, geography, ability, and so on (Carrigan, Connell, and Lee 1985; Christofidou 2021; Collins 2004; Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Kazyak 2012; Pascoe 2011; Schippers 2007). Given these constant comparisons, it is no wonder crises occur. For example, at the turn of the century and again in the mid-20th century United States, religious middle-class

mostly white men turned to the gym in a "body panic" in part to compensate for lost status as women gained their own status in the workplace (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Putney 2001). In this example of a masculine "crisis," men focused on fitness and improving their bodies as ways of preserving strength, maintaining control, and to symbolize domination (Pope et al. 2000). The expansion of opportunities for competitive women's athletics with the passing of Title IX in 1972 also prompted rethinking of the masculine sphere of sports as women pursued their own wins (Messner 1988). In more recent crises, the #MeToo movement has caused men to reevaluate their treatment of women as women survivors of sexual assault speak out (Saguy and Rees 2021; Sumerau 2020). Such conversations demand cultural shifts in the deeply value-laden and contested characteristics of masculinities.

Masculine crises are not just in relation to women, however—they are homosocial, too (Bird 1996; Britton 1990). That is, men are in competition with each other in a race to be the best, to shore up status and domination (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Competing masculinities are everywhere: the status of the jock over the nerd (e.g., Pascoe 2011), heterosexuality as the default over same-sex desires (e.g., Silva 2019), the prestige of being a doctor rather than a nurse (e.g., Williams 1995), and so on. The hierarchy created by pitting masculine characteristics against each other contributes to men's anxieties over dominating others. The end result is contaminating, resulting in behaviors that perpetuate precariously balanced, multiple, intersecting inequalities (Schippers 2007; Vandello and Bosson 2013).

The logic of crises assumes change as a response—whether progressive or regressive. In the context of masculinity, change occurs in the name of adaptation, the

goal of which is to maintain patriarchal power (particularly in the hands of white heterosexual men). This dissertation examines magazines for men as both a reflection and source of this change in relation to broader social inequalities.[1] As recent theories of masculinity note, even when men try to claim they are less homophobic or less sexist, the men with racial, class, and/or sexual privilege still maintain a dominant position within the greater social order (Bridges 2014; Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018). The idea of a masculine crisis suggests the inevitability of change to avoid further catastrophe. What, if any, are the ways have men done this? If any change has occurred, what was the timeline? Have some men changed more than others? These are the questions that drive this dissertation.

To answer these questions, I use the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* from 1980 to 2018 as data (N=2,750) to analyze using a mixed methods content analysis approach. Magazines like these offer a "window" into representations of men in popular culture (Waling et al. 2018). These three magazines are the most popular magazines marketed to men in fashion, lifestyle, health/fitness, and sports magazine genres. With each of these magazines comes a rich cultural history of representations of masculinity over time in which there are measurable changes. Thus, the overarching research question for this dissertation becomes: to what extent and how have representations of men's bodies on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* magazine covers changed over time?

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[1] I use "magazines for men" rather than "men's magazines" to avoid conflation with pornographic publications.

I also explore changes in men's sexualization. While the sexualization of women in popular media has been well established (American Psychological Association 2007; Bordo 2004; Kilbourne 1999), what does this sexualization look like for men? How does it affect one group of men (i.e., white men) over others (i.e., Black men)? How has the sexualization of men influenced perceptions of masculinity over time? And, in consideration of magazines like *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*, which advertise to an audience of men, the question also becomes: how do representations of masculinity and sexuality for men differ across and within the three titles?

Questions like these also bring to the fore the concept of the "inverted male gaze." The male gaze is a concept from film and media studies that describes when women's bodies become passive objects of desire, especially for men (Mulvey 1975). The male gaze becomes "inverted" when men become the object of desire for women and some men (Patterson and Elliott 2002; Rohlinger 2002). Gender scholar Susan Bordo (1999) and journalist Susan Faludi (1999) contend men's bodies have increasingly become sexualized over time in advertisements, but this has not been widely empirically evaluated using sociological theories of masculinity (Waling et al. 2018). I contribute to this area of research by determining whether certain representations of men and masculinity hold fast or change over time. I thus put to test the theoretical underpinning behind the idea that masculinities and representations of men are in a constant state of flux.

In the next sections, I provide an overview of the theory and literature that drives this dissertation. I expand on relevant literature in each findings chapter.

Multiple Masculinities

R. W. Connell's theory of gender relations is a foundational theoretical frame in the study of gender and social inequalities (Connell 1987). Connell's formulation of the "gender order" underpins how gender intersects with other social characteristics in ways that reinforce social inequalities. Dominating the reproduction of these inequalities are masculinities. Elaborating upon Connell's initial conceptualization, the multiple masculinities approach developed to describe how masculinity is imbued with power and arranged hierarchically around a model "hegemonic" masculinity (Carrigan et al. 1985; Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Pascoe 2003; Schippers 2007; Yang 2020). Hegemonic masculinity is the "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell 2005:77). The relational aspect—comparing men to other men and men to women—is key to Connell's theory of gender relations and establishes a gender hierarchy that (re)enforces social inequalities.

Essential to keeping hegemonic masculinity in power is the relegation of certain characteristics of others as lesser. Hegemonic masculinity sits at the top of this hierarchy of gender and masculinities where it dominates others through "cultural consent, discursive centrality, institutionalization, and the marginalization or delegitimization of alternatives" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:846). Among other categorizations of masculinity that buttress hegemonic masculinity, two such alternatives are "subordinate" or "marginalized" masculinities (Connell 1987, 2005). Whereas subordinate masculinities are related to the stereotype of the effeminate gay man, marginalized masculinities refer

to stereotypes of men of color (Connell 2005). Neither pose a threat to hegemonic masculinities nor the gender order because they lack the social power and value to do so (Connell 2005; Schippers 2007). Together, subordinate and marginalized masculinities authorize hegemonic masculinity and highlight the roles of sexuality and race play within the gender order.

In their rethinking of the term "hegemonic masculinity" and its theoretical contribution, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) note there are not multiple niches of masculinity at the top of the hierarchy. Rather, there are more localized and overlapping masculinities situated beneath an aspirational ideal (Yang 2020). For example, categorically organizing men solely as jocks does not acknowledge the nuance of men's emotions or varied interests in activities deemed gay or feminine (Orenstein 2020; Pascoe 2003, 2011). Likewise, even those at the bottom of the masculine hierarchy still attempt to claim some masculine status by associating themselves with characteristics of masculinity deemed valuable (Bridges 2014; Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018; Haltom 2020; Messner 1989; Oselin and Barber 2019; Pascoe 2003; Sumerau 2012; Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers, and De Leeuw 2010). In a similar vein, men with privilege try to reconfigure contemporary iterations of hegemonic masculinity by appearing progressive or feminist by "discursively distancing" themselves from problematic characteristics of masculinity (e.g., sexism and homophobia) (Bridges 2014; Pfaffendorf 2017). Both of these processes "hybridize" masculinity in a way that keeps hegemonic masculinity as an ideal (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018; Demetriou 2001).

Importantly though, hegemonic masculinity is imaginary and highly ambitious; there are few—if any—*real* men who capture the qualities required of this kind of

idealized masculinity (Connell 1987, 2005). To this point, there is a reason so many romanticized images of the perfect man are fictitious from Hercules to the Marlboro cowboy, Brawny paper towel man or Mr. Clean, Batman or Superman. Like these imagined characters, magazines help men project their fantasies of masculinity despite that men on the covers of magazines rarely represent the diversity of men as a population (Barry 2014; Connell 2005; Kolbe and Albanese 1996; Stevenson, Jackson, and Brooks 2003).

Though the average man may not meet the standards of hegemonic masculinity (no matter the version to which they subscribe), white and heterosexual men in particular still benefit from the advantages of simply being men via the "patriarchal dividend" (Yang 2020). In this way, their masculinity is complicit in movements toward a more egalitarian organizations of masculinities. Hegemonic masculinities are promulgated by forms of media like magazines which passively promote the image of idealized men, but through "cultural changes in the condition of patriarchy" the meaning behind the subjects of these images also change (Yang 2020:320).

Pressures to become this ideal man demonstrate the "precariousness" of masculinity and encourage ideas that men are constantly in "crisis" (Benwell 2003; Connell 2005; Faludi 1999; Robinson 2000; Vandello and Bosson 2013). Anxieties around masculinity showcase the power imbued within masculinity and how it is both "hard won and easily lost" (Vandello and Bosson 2013). In this way, masculinity's crisis tendencies become clear as men work toward a hegemonic ideal to keep control and avoid criticism. Journalist Peggy Orenstein (2020) explored this balance in her book *Boys & Sex*. In talking to boys and young men around the U.S., Orenstein found boys

struggling between wanting to express their emotions and projecting a masculine image. The boys in Orenstein's work battled the pressures of becoming men in a sexist, misogynistic, and homophobic world. Their reflections and introspection speak not only to precarity or crises, but also how cultural shifts can affect change. That the boys internalized feminist mindsets around sexual consent, for example, show how new ideas can help restructure stubborn formulations of masculinity.

Another example is men's pursuance of physically fit bodies. The ideal male body is one that is physically fit, muscled, and fits the description of an "Adonis" (Pope et al. 2000). The fit physicality affords men a certain social value or what Bridges (2009) called "gender capital" that opens doors to masculine power. Pursuing such a body and media projections that these bodies are ideal generate ongoing and often harmful insecurities (Alexander 2003; Michaels, Parent, and Moradi 2013; Petrie et al. 1996; Pope et al. 2000; Tiggemann, Martins, and Kirkbride 2007; Waling 2017). The promotion of ideal bodies even starts at young ages with toys like action figures. In their initial release in the 1960s, the action figures had proportional bodies, but throughout the 1990s their plastic muscles grew to ridiculously exaggerated sizes (Pope et al. 2000). Increasing muscularity in these toys has altered boys' perceptions of what their bodies should look like. That is, when asked to compare older, less muscular action figures to the newer hypermuscular versions, boys prefer the latter (Baghurst et al. 2007). Action figures nicely demonstrate the ranking of cultural ideals of masculinity, the speed at which ideals change, and the consequences of change.

In a medical context, the precarity of masculinity also becomes clear as men from across social categories avoid primary care physicians, medical specialists, and

psychiatric professionals (see Addis and Mahalik 2003 for review). The perception is that men who seek medical attention are weak and thus cannot align themselves with the 'tough as nails' image prescribed by the hegemonic ideal. The consequences of this ideology are negative health outcomes (Courtenay 2000). As the multiple masculinities approach outlines, however, some men may seek medical attention in certain instances but not in others—help seeking depends on the level of risk to men's masculine credibility. As Addis and Mahalik (2003) argue, the answer to this problem balances on whether it is possible to change men or change clinical approaches to treating men. Indeed, health problems are a form of "crisis" through which intervention may be necessary and an instance in which men risk a loss of status.

While it is easy to problematize masculinity as controlling, harmful, or "toxic" such a framing ignores the "progressive potential" of hegemonic masculinity (Yang 2020). While scholars often define hegemonic masculinity by its negative aspects (i.e., violence, domination), Yang (2020) suggests that within hegemonic masculinity there exists control with consent which could bring about social change concerning masculinities. In other words, hegemonic masculinity is less about predisposed characteristics like whiteness, tight abs, or heterosexuality, but rather a tool of domination (Yang 2020). Regardless, while the organization of masculinity into multiple categories is complicated and masculine competition continues, men's needy relationship with patriarchal privilege remains foregrounded.

Men's Controlling Images: Embodiment, Performances, and Interactions

Hegemonic masculinity constitutes certain stereotypes or "controlling images" of men, masculinity, and manhood using popular ideas about what men should look like and

how they should behave. Projecting controlled images of men help with the maintenance of patriarchal control over women and other men; in other words, change is inevitable as culture shifts and those in control reevaluate how to maintain it (Yang 2020). In this section, I introduce the concept of "controlling images," particularly in application to Black men. In another example, I elaborate on the male gaze and the sexualization of men's bodies. Finally, the idea that expressing emotion is not masculine but rather feminine or "gay" prohibits men from being able to display a variety of feelings (Glick et al. 2007), a harmful mechanism of social control. Together, these ideas about how men embody and perform masculinity or interact in manly ways contribute to a controlling image of men situated in the context of multiple, competing masculinities.

Marketing and advertisers support the complexities of masculinity through depictions of men, masculinity, men's sexuality, and men's bodies. In other words, various forms of media like, but not limited to, magazines contribute to the controlling image of American masculinity. The concept of "controlling images" was developed by Patricia Hill Collins who expressed the implications of quelling black feminist thought. Controlling images "within U.S. culture [are] racist and sexist ideologies [that] permeate the social structure to such a degree that they become hegemonic, namely, seen as natural, normal and inevitable" (Collins 2015:7). These ideologies are attached to harmful stereotypes of Black women as mammies, jezebels, hypersexualized, prostitutes, and welfare "queens." Controlling images also contributes to the categorization of Black men as angry, rapists, criminals, and athletes (Collins 2015; Wingfield 2007, 2010). Framing Black men in these ways make white, middle-class masculinity appear "more legitimate" by comparison as a way of authorizing hegemonic masculinities (Connell

2005; Yang 2020:320). Controlling images, therefore, is a useful concept to interrogate the role of race at the intersections of masculinity and sexuality (at the very least) in popular forms of media like magazines.

As part of larger social systems, controlling images promote harmful stereotypes "designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life" (Collins 2015:77). The Black male athlete is particularly subject to essentialist stereotypes around being naturally gifted and physically strong (for review, see Davis and Harris 1998). Indeed, media framing of sports is unidimensional, relying heavily on racial stereotypes that pit white men as foils to Black men (Van Sterkenburg et al. 2010). Van Sterkenburg et al. (2010) describe a rhetoric of mind-body dualism surrounding media depictions of Black athletes wherein their bodies are considered naturally athletic, but lack the intellectual qualities associated with white athletes. Together, these racial stereotypes form a status quo by privileging white athletes (much less coaches or team owners) against Black athletes.

Different forms of media have a hand in promoting these racial dynamics, especially in sports journalism. Taking a "color blind" approach to sports reporting allows journalists to fain ignorance to racial politics. The color blind strategy communicates it is just "the way things are" when it comes to racial inequalities in sports and does not interrogate the consequences of ignoring race particularly to viewers (Walker 2004:51–52). Lacking diversity in the subjects of images or the topics of articles encourages "hegemonic whiteness;" that is, just as there is an ideal masculinity, limited portrayals of race encourage the domination of whiteness (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Edwards 1997; Gill 2007; Hughey 2010). Despite media portrayals, Black men are

continually encouraged to pursue sports as means to gain higher education or professional athletic careers, a trajectory limited by institutional barriers at every turn (Messner 1989). Funneling Black men into sports in this way is not illogical given how social framing of Black success is contained to sports while at the same time Black men's achievements in other social spheres are discredited (Sabo and Jansen 1998).

The dominating image of athletes differs by sport, too. While many sports are white-centered, the exceptions are notable especially in the cases of basketball, football, and track and field where Black athletes outnumber white (Coakley 2015). Other than white players, professional baseball is now the realm of Latinos and Afro-Latinos (especially Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans), for example (Burgos 2007). This became evident particularly during the decade-long MLB steroids scandal where stars like Sammy Sosa, Rafael Palmeiro, or José Conseco demonstrated how Latinos "have become woven into the fabric of the game" as they testified about steroid-use before Congress in 2005 (Burgos 2007:262). Collectively, dominating images—and the stereotypes they encourage—limit cultural expression, representation, and understanding of the variety in Black men's lives by making them "Others," a process that presents whiteness as a legitimate form of domination (Collins 2015). While controlling images has been central in discussions of racial stereotypes, the idea can be expanded to other stereotypical representations, too.

The (Inverted) Male Gaze and Eroticizing Men

Images, however, must have viewers to exert their control. While the subjects of an image convey particular messages, how observers internalize those messages also have consequences. Outlined in what media scholars call the "gaze," the cultural effects

of common images become clear. The male gaze has most often been used to describe the production of images that sexualizes and objectifies women by men and for men (Mulvey 1975). In an alternative view, the gaze can be inverted; the same-sex male gaze is one in which men become sexualized or objectified by men viewers who are often, but not always, gay men (Patterson and Elliott 2002). Psychological studies using the movement of participant's eyes as literal measures of the gaze have found that the arms, chests, and stomachs of men with ideal body types are the parts viewers objectify (Bernard et al. 2018).

The sexualization of men can occur in a variety of settings, however. While magazines or advertisements are commonly cited sources of the inverted male gaze (Waling et al. 2018), sports environments are also sexualized spaces. In sports, men's bodies symbolically represent machines, weapons to assail and dominate opponents, and applauded as the epitome of masculinity (Bridges and Pascoe 2018; Connell 2005; Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Matthews 2016; Messner 1990; Messner and Sabo 1990). The weaponized body is not an asexual one either. In images of sporting bodies, they are eroticized as idealized forms and posed aesthetically like artistic objects (Farquhar and Wasylkiw 2007; Plummer 1999; Pronger 1992).

Given the high importance of sports to the enactment of men and masculinity, men use certain strategies to downplay the homoeroticism of sports by using homophobic discourse and objectifying women (Messner 2001; Pascoe 2011; Pronger 1992). Pronger (1992), for example, describes the concealment of the homoeroticism in sport as a "paradox" or a strategy men use to preserve their status and patriarchal benefits. Indeed, the dissonance men practice to conceal the irony of same-sex voyeurism in sports, media,

and advertisements is well established (see Patterson and Elliott 2002 for review). Despite reports that men have become increasingly sexualized, men continue to enact evasive maneuvers to evade the sexualization of men in advertisements or sports. This strategy works as a feedback loop reinforcing a controlling image of men and legitimizing men's power over their construction of masculinity.

Men's Emotions

In a final example, I use men's emotions—or lack thereof—to demonstrate the role men have in constructing their ideal image. While some facial expressions may be universally recognizable (Ekman 1989), men's ability or willingness to express them remains controversial. The controversy stems from gender relations; that is, men are advised to express their feelings with women in the name of openness, yet avoid emotional intimacy with other men lest they be marked gay (despite private desires for said intimacy with other men) (Connell 2005; Orenstein 2020). In other words, emotion and its expression are the realm of women, femininity, and gay men—not *real* men—and thus pose a masculinity threat (Glick et al. 2007; Hochschild 2012; Plummer 1999; Sumerau 2012). This ideology has negative effects on men's health (Courtenay 2000), much less men's interpersonal relationships.

Plummer (1999) suggests men's emotions can be divided into those that evoke strength and those that demonstrate weakness where the latter is subject to scrutiny. Anger and happiness, for example, are not necessary to restrain because they indicate strength, whereas sadness should be expressed with caution (Orenstein 2020; Plummer 1999). Emotions are also raced, wherein "feeling rules" at work differ for racial minority groups compared to those of their white counterparts (Hochschild 2012; Kang 2010;

Wingfield 2007, 2010). While Asian men are stereotyped as passive and acquiescent (Espiritu 2007; Han 2015), Black men in particular are stereotyped as angry and violent (Collins 2015). In response, Black men developed what Majors and Billson (1993) called "cool pose" embodied though lacking emotional expression to demonstrated an aloofness to the racial discrimination Black men experience. More recent formulations of masculinity for men across races and ethnicities reframe expression of feelings as a kind of strength and control, however, further mixing messages about emotions and masculinity (Eisen and Yamashita 2019; Ezzell 2012; Pfaffendorf 2017; Sumerau 2012).

Magazines are opportunities for men to escape from interpersonal emotional encounters and instead imagine themselves in other settings, especially those related to risk and adventure (Jackson, Stevenson, and Brooks 2001). Imaginary adventures do not lend themselves to a variety of emotions or emotionally expressive male characters, however. Even some writing in magazines has a way of describing men's bodies as machines, further extending the idea that men's aspiration should be aimed toward becoming too mechanical for emotional expression (Jackson et al. 2001; see also Messner 1990).

In sum, the social construction and maintenance of masculinity involves a complicated array of projects, the goal of which is sustaining power. Though a one true characterization fails to capture every conceptualization of masculinity, the running theme is domination (Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Yang 2020). Indeed, though multiple masculinities exist simultaneously, some valorized more than others, it takes power to climb to the top of the masculine hierarchy (Yang 2020). In efforts to sustain the control necessary to achieve such dividends, men use certain

strategies to bolster their power make "hybrid masculinities" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018). From these efforts, new and seemingly progressive masculinities are born, but upon further observation, they continue to prioritize an unequal gender order. Hybrid forms of masculinity showcase the elasticity of masculinity and the many, often contradictory, kinds of masculinity that can coexist. Men try to tame the many and varying projections of masculinity through controlling images. Though first theorized as ways of marginalizing the Black experience, the concept of controlling images can expand to accommodate the ruling images of masculinity on American magazine covers. From these covers an image takes shape, revealing much about masculinity and the kinds of men who hold cultural value in America.

Organization of the Dissertation

In subsequent chapters, I outline my methodological approach, locate this study and magazines within relevant historical context, present results across three empirical chapters, and conclude with a discussion. In Chapter 2, I elaborate on my approaches to producing this mixed methods study, data collection, sampling, code book development, coding, intercoder reliability, and other components to the data and analysis of the dissertation. To set up subsequent empirical chapters, in Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the magazines themselves and outline a brief history of men's interests in a variety of topics related to bodily aesthetics. I then offer three empirical chapters.

Chapter 4 is an exploration of how a variety of aesthetic characteristics of men on the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* have changed over time. I use regression models to test the extent to which change has occurred and illustrate any changes using figures to show the proportion of change on the covers since 1980. I situate

this chapter within Patricia Hill Collins' (2004) concept of "controlling images" which helps describe stereotypes that sustain a social hierarchy powered by domination. Next, Chapter 5 is a study of the sexualization of men on the covers of these magazines. In this chapter, I construct the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index to gain a sense of what characteristics structure men's sexualization. Finally, in Chapter 7, I use qualitative approaches to study the relationship between the cover lines (text on the covers) and the subjects of the images. I trace the frequency of themes and analyze the messages the covers communicate. I conclude the dissertation by suggesting magazines are cultural objects that help reflect the myriad ways of being men and show changing responses to masculine crises. Ultimately, this dissertation shows how representations of men in popular forms of media like magazines are harmful to everyone as part of broader structural inequalities.

CHAPTER 2. DATA AND METHODS

In this study, I take an explanatory sequential mixed methods content analysis approach which involves both quantitative and qualitative elements (Neuendorf 2017). I first coded for particular characteristics of individuals on the magazine covers and analyze them using quantitative methodologies. Using qualitative methods, I then thematically coded memos written based on the relationships between the text on the covers called "cover lines" and the subjects of the images. Though methodological approaches to content analysis vary across studies and disciplines (Lacy et al. 2015), I primarily follow guidelines set forth by Neuendorf (2017) who has produced the dominant guide for content analysis best practices.

I use both convergent and sequential approaches to mixed methods design in this study. Convergent designs are those in which researchers collect both qualitative and quantitative data for the purpose of later comparison (Creswell 2015). Sequential designs are those in which quantitative findings help lead to a qualitative sample and analysis (Creswell 2015). This dissertation is also explanatory, meaning I use quantitative methods to explore a little-understood problem and then use qualitative methods to help contextualize findings (Creswell 2015). I collected both quantitative (i.e., coding of particular variables in cover images) and qualitative data (i.e., coding of cover lines and their relationship to the image). Integrating both numeric coding (quantitative) of variables and also descriptive coding (qualitative) allows for a richer description of the data through a process called "triangulation" (Denzin 1978). Triangulation offers the benefit of two or more different ways to approach the same research problem and bolsters the validity of findings (Bryman 1988; Gray and Densten 1998).

The analytical approach I use in subsequent analyses depends on the focal research question for each chapter. For example, research questions concerning the sexualization of men over time emphasize the need for quantitative data points and led me to develop the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index. From this MPoS Index, I analyzed a subset of magazine covers using qualitative methods. In this chapter, I focus on the quantitative coding methods, including the data collection and sampling procedures before operationalizing variables, discuss coder training, results from intercoder reliability statistics, and conclude with an exploratory factor analysis that helps organize subsequent chapters. I provide a preview of the qualitative methods I use in Chapter 6 at the end of this chapter.

Data Collection

The data for this study consisted of 2,750 magazine covers from *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* as the top magazines targeted toward men readers in lifestyles, health and fitness, and sports genres according to 2015 reports by Cision and made available by Statista (Cision N.D., N.D.b). I provide the demographic profiles of each magazine and their readership in Table 2.1. *GQ* is now the third most popular magazine for men with a total audience of 5 million (Cision N.D.; Men's Health 2021). (*Maxim* is the second most popular magazine for men, but is excluded from analysis because it primarily showcases women and is more aligned with pornography.) The average *GQ* reader is 38.7, single, and has a median household income of about $91,000 a year (Men's Health 2021). *Men's Health* is the most popular magazine for men overall and among men's fitness magazines with a total audience of over 10.8 (Men's Health 2021). The average *Men's Health* reader is 45, married, and has a median household

Table 2.1. Demographic Profiles of *Men's Health*, *GQ*, and *Sports Illustrated* Readers

	GQ	*Men's Health*	*Sports Illustrated*
Men Readers	74.3%	82.5%	77%
Median Age	37.8	43.6	37
18-34	43.9%	31.4%	—
35+	56.1%	68.6%	—
18-49	77.8%	65.3%	—
25-49	61.1%	54.5%	—
25-54	68.2%	64.0%	—
Marital Status			
Married	35.9%	52.9%	—
Single	64.1%	47.1%	—
Median Household Income	$78,073	$84,637	$60,913
$50,000+	69.8%	73.9%	—
$60,000+	62.5%	67.3%	—
$75,000+	51.7%	56.3%	—
$100,000+	38.0%	40.0%	—
Median Individual Income	$40,705	$49,003	—
$40,000+	41.6%	45.5%	—
$50,000+	31.7%	36.5%	—
$60,000+	24.4%	28.6%	—
Total Audience (in millions)	6.0	13.4	17.0

References: (Cision N.D., N.D.b; Echo Media n.d.; Men's Health 2021)

income of over $91,000 a year (Men's Health 2021). The most popular set of sports magazines is *Athlon Sports*, a conglomerate of magazines that produces reviews partitioned into specific to certain sports (e.g., baseball, racing, football, etc.) and sports conferences (e.g., Big 12, Big 10, Pac 12, etc.) (Cision N.D.). Rather than analyze these groups of magazines, I use the second most popular sports magazine, *Sports Illustrated*, which boasts 17.0 million readers each week (SI.com). The average *Sports Illustrated* reader is 37 years old with an average income of almost $61,000 according to Echo Media (n.d.).

For *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated*, I started data collection for magazines published in 1980. I chose 1980 because it is crossroads of sociohistorical events. For example, it was a relatively calm postwar time period, the gender ratio of jobs was changing, the tech bubble had not yet burst, and the HIV/AIDS crisis was about to start. *Men's Health* did not publish its first issue until 1986 so this was the first year in which I collected covers for that magazine. Data collection ended with issues published through the end of 2018, the last full year before this study began.

Covers from these magazines make up the primary unit of analysis. All covers of these three magazines between 1980 and 2018 make up the initial sample prior to eliminating covers due to exclusion criteria. The covers of magazines are useful cultural indicators of change because they are seen more broadly as representations of the content of magazines and are widely available as units of study (Frederick, Fessler, and Haselton 2005; Hatton and Trautner 2011). Though covers differ from advertisements, editorial articles, or other magazine content, they nevertheless capture the essence of the magazine and contain similar items (i.e., images and text). Due to this overlap, I refer to prior research on advertisements and magazine studies to support the coding scheme described below.

Most cover images were downloaded from two digital archives. Both *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated* have online archives of their covers that made downloading these

images convenient. For *Men's Health* no archive existed at the time of data collection.[2] To circumvent the lack of archive for *Men's Health*, I instead primarily used www.coverbrowser.com, a website with a collection going back to early issues. *Men's Health* has consistently released the same number of issues in a given year (monthly); through a process of elimination I was able determine missing issues. To fill gaps in the data set, I used e-merchant websites like eBay that show clear images of the magazines for sale to supplement missing months. At times, discrepancies occurred between cover images because subscriber issues and newsstand issues differed or the titles released multiple covers for wider reach or for collectors (Johnson 2002). When this occurred, I determined which version to use by the quality of the image (e.g., some covers were obstructed due to mailing labels) and a preference for newsstand versions of the covers because newsstand covers serve to bring in new readers by telling them more of what is inside the magazine (Husni 2009:NP). Newsstand covers differ from subscriber covers because "the subscriber knows what to expect [from the magazine], the cover tells him what is new" (Husni 2009:NP). *Men's Health* was particularly notorious for producing different newsstand and subscriber covers.

The research team (myself and a research assistant) downloaded magazines as image files. The files were titled using a specific labeling process: name of the magazine, month of publication, and issue number. In the case of *Sports Illustrated*, I also included

[2] There is evidence to suggest one once existed and has been since taken down perhaps due to criticisms that *Men's Health* editor David Zinczenko (2000–2012) repeatedly used the same cover lines and relied heavily on the same template over several years (Cook 2009; Quigley 2009).

date of publication in the file name because the magazine is published bi-monthly. In total, I collected 526 covers from *GQ*, 277 covers from *Men's Health*, and 1,957 covers from *Sports Illustrated*.

Once downloaded and labeled, I then created 21 replicate folders containing a random sample of covers from each magazine to form the basis of my sample. I chose 21 replicates so that the 2,750 covers would fit evenly across replicate sets. I used a random number generator in Microsoft Excel to assign covers to each of these replicates.[3] I then randomly assigned the covers into a replicate folder, cross checking each folder to make sure no cover was repeated and all covers were accounted for. Replicate folders contained between 108 and 158 covers across the three magazine titles. Replicate folders were stored in a Google Drive specific to this study.

Developing the Codebook

Developing a codebook is an iterative process involving multiple rounds of revision. The codebook for the current study began with a survey of literature on magazines and advertisements using content analytic methodologies. For example, Waling (2018) and colleagues provide an extensive review of literature on representations of men and masculinity in the field of magazine studies. Hatton and Trautner (2011) also provide much background and coding examples in their content analysis of men's and women's differential objectification in *Rolling Stone*. In addition, I

[3] I used the RAND BETWEEN equation in Microsoft Excel rather than the RAND equation which resulted in a different number of covers in each replicate folder.

used an early example of a content analyses of gendered interactions in magazine advertisements by social theorist Erving Goffman (1976).

Using this literature as a baseline, I constructed the first version of the codebook. I used Google Forms which allows users to submit coding responses in a survey-style questionnaire which, upon submission, are then organized into spreadsheets. To develop the coding form and codebook prior to coder training, I conducted five cognitive interviews with graduate student colleagues with a variety of substantive interests. Participants in these informal cognitive interviews also had growing expertise in questionnaire design and provided feedback develop the layout of the coding form in such a way that it was tailored to this project, addressed research questions, and used language that would guide coders based on the operationalization of each observation they were coding. In these cognitive interviews, I presented a subset of images that were not part of the final data set as participants went through the coding form reading aloud each prompt and response option, offered feedback on clarity of wording, and talked through how they would code each item on the coding form. This process greatly improved the coding form. I provide the final coding form and codebook in Appendix 2.U.

Coder Training

Through the University of Nebraska–Lincoln Undergraduate Sociology Teaching and Research Students program, I hired a coder, Alek Duncan, to help with the coding process and to allow for the calculation of reliability statistics. Alek sat for a three-hour training session during which I presented definitions and operationalizations for each of the variables and their categories on the coding form. Alek was allowed to ask questions

throughout the presentation for clarification. The coder training session also involved a coding practice round to allow the coder to familiarize themselves with the coding form and variety of images. Again, I used images not included in the analytical data set for these practice coding sessions. The research questions for the project were not made apparent to the coder (Neuendorf 2017). After calculating the first set of reliability statistics (discussed in detail below), it became clear a coder retraining was necessary. In this retraining session, we further conceptualized several definitions or inclusion criteria for several variables. I discuss this honing process in my descriptions of each variable when applicable in the next section.

Coded Variables

The unit of analysis is the cover of each magazine of which there were 2,750. There were some inclusion and exclusion criteria that delineated the final analytical sample, however. Covers must have depicted images of one or more men. Covers in which only women, only animals, mascots, cartoons, text, crowds, or inanimate objects were excluded from analysis. Collages of past covers were not analyzed, but "tribute" covers from that past were coded (Deford 2006). In this section, I outline the organization of the coding form and the conceptualization of each variable and response options. In the conceptualization sections, I also elaborate on how those variables changed throughout the coding process due to coder retraining and coder realignment efforts.

Section 1 of the coding form asked for basic information for the magazine cover: file name, replicate number, coder name, magazine name, year, issue month, issue number. Afterwards, there were check-all-that-apply questions for exclusion criteria to determine if the cover qualified for further coding and subsequent analyses.

Section 2 of the coding form asked if there are three or fewer people on the cover, the actual number of people on the cover, the perceived gender of up to three people on the cover, the gendered appearance of up to three people on the cover, the type of image, and setting.

Number of People. Initially, the number of people on the cover could be determined by anyone in the image who was not directly facing the back. In our second conceptualization, we discussed who is the subject(s) of the image. In sports settings, for instance, the number of people can be difficult to determine. On a football field or basketball court there are often multiple figures in the image competing for the ball and sports-goers in the background. When this occurred, we carefully considered who and how many players were in the foreground of the image, often determined by who is focus. We could also use context clues. At times, the individual most clearly visible on the cover is also the subject of the text headers on the cover. Other times, even when a few people are in focus, the team is the subject of the text. In these instances, we discussed how to determine when there were three or more people in the image (and thus did not qualify for further coding or analyses). The final decision was that nobody in the audience, even if clearly visible, would be coded. Likewise, when a referee or umpire is in the background, but two athletes are fighting over the possession of a ball, for example, the umpire does not qualify for coding.

Order of People. In the original conception, the order of people who would become Person 1, Person 2, or Person 3 was determined by scanning the image starting in the upper left corner and "reading" across the image from left to right in lines. The first body part would then become Person 1 even if it was someone's arm reaching across the

image. Often, this approach as not intuitive. Thus, we decided to scan the image starting on the left-hand side at the binding seam of the cover. Using this strategy and moving from left to right, the first face closest to the binding becomes Person 1, the person on their left becomes Person 2, and the person furthest from the binding becomes Person 3.

Background/Setting. In our original coding, we found that some backgrounds or settings of images could fit into multiple captions or that certain captions did not quite fit what we were seeing in the image. For example, at times models were depicted in front of large or repeated text or in front of a backdrop that was clearly edited into the image. In response, I expanded the "solid background" coding option to include various backgrounds. I also expanded the "indoors" coding option to better capture a range of indoor settings beyond the bathroom, kitchen, or bedroom.

Section 2 also asks coders to type the cover lines and select from 20 thematic categories using check-all options organized by general themes (13) gender and sexuality themes (7). The relationship between the text and the image can be revealing. For example, various forms of media refer to athlete's bodies using military or weaponry language—this is especially true of Black athletes (Messner 1990). The result of this rhetoric encourages harmful, essentialist stereotypes concerning Black men's athletic abilities (Collins 2004; Davis and Harris 1998). In addition, text can be an important indicator of implied or explicit sexual content to readers (Hatton and Trautner 2011; Johnson 2007). The purpose of these coding categories was to capture early on the themes of cover lines; they were meant to be a first pass at qualitative coding the text on the covers.

The general cover line themes included a variety of topics. *Sports* was coded for any mention of sports or references sports teams. *Race, ethnicity, or nationality* was coded for any mention of these subjects including references to specific countries. *Religion* was coded for any explicit reference to actual religions or cover lines using religious metaphors or language (e.g., prayer or references to God/s). *Age and aging* were coded when cover lines specifically referenced individuals' ages, aging or specific age categories (e.g., kids). *Parenting or parenthood* was coded in references to fathers/mothers or taking care of children. *Work, employment, or the workplace* were coded when cover lines references the workplace, changing or losing jobs, or mentions of workplace roles (e.g., being a boss or manager). *Alcohol* was coded when cover lines referenced beer, wine, spirits, or alcoholism. *Military, war, or weapon language* included literal references to military groups and military roles (e.g., soldiers, the Army, Navy, Marines, etc.), mentions of war (e.g., the war in Iraq), weapon language (e.g., blasting, bullets, bombs), power (e.g., overpowering someone), and other references to violence. This category included metaphors, innuendos, and insinuations toward the military or weapon language. *Physical fitness* was coded in reference to specific workouts, fitness events, or the gym. *Weight and weight loss* was coded for any mention of weight control strategies or body size. *Fashion or clothes* was coded to any mention of clothing, the fashion industry, accessories, or ways of dressing. *Grooming, trimming, or shaving of hair or trimming nails* was coded for any mention of these. *General health, medicine, or nutrition* was coded at any mention of these categories including references to health care professionals, specific illnesses, or treatments.

I then included a specific sub-section for cover lines that mention gender or sexuality in any way. *Advice on manhood or masculinity* was coded in references to being "men, "maleness," or "manhood." *Love, marriage, dating, divorce, or relationships* was coded in reference to any of these. *Explicit non-heterosexuality* included references to LGBTQ people or topics commonly associated with LGBTQ people (e.g., drag or HIV). *Sexual health* was coded for references to condom use, vasectomies, prostates, STIs, etc. *Sexual innuendos or metaphors* was coded when jokes or wordplay were used in cover lines in reference to sex (e.g., "getting lucky"). *Reference to women other than dating/relationships* was coded when moms, sisters, female friends, female athletes, or female authors were mentioned on the covers. Finally, *explicit reference to sex or sexuality* was coded in reference to actual sexual acts, identities, or behaviors.

Sections 3–5 asked the same questions about Person 1, Person 2, and Person 3. Each of these sections begins with the question: "Is there at least one/a second/a third person on the cover?" These yes or no questions were required at the beginning of these sections. Each of these "person" sections then ask about the use of arms/hand, pose, body angle, extent of nudity, style of dress, exposure of the chest/genitals/buttocks, gaze direction, facial expression, mouth position, facial hair, chest/stomach hair visibility, hair length, age, and race/ethnicity. I conceptualized each of these variables and the response options on the coding form using a variety of literatures.

Use of arms/hands. The use of one's arms and hands can read as intimate or even sexually suggestive (Hatton and Trautner 2011; Reichert et al. 1999; Reichert and Carpenter 2004; Soley and Kurzbard 1986). I included all uses of arms and hands in a 6-point select-all array of options: 0. Arms or hands not visible; 1. Touching nobody or

nothing with arms/hands; 2. Touching, holding, pushing, or throwing an object; 3. Touching themselves (e.g., hands on their own body, in pockets); 4. Touching someone else; and 5. Being touched by someone or something else (e.g., hug).

Pose. Pose has long been established as a form of sexual embodiment going back to Goffman's (1976) overview of magazines and has since been revisited (Hatton and Trautner 2011; Johnson 2007; Krassas, Blauwkamp, and Wesselink 2003). Pose was coded across three options and an "other" category with the option to write-in a response. Response options included: 0. A casual pose such as arms, crossed, relaxed, resting, or holding sports equipment; 1. A sports action such as throwing, running, tackling, working out, or swimming; and 2. Casual action (walking, getting into a car, celebrating, waving, kneeling, etc.). The first version of the pose variable included options to code for the sensual nature of the pose. These options conflated the intent of the pose with the actual positioning of the body. I removed any mention of intimacy or sensuality from the Pose caption.

Intimate, Sensual, Erotic, or Explicit. Initially, I wrote binary (yes or no) questions in the coding form to determine whether or not the pose was intimate, sensual, erotic, or explicit. The operationalization of these variables was unclear and underdeveloped resulting in low coder agreement. My coder, Alek, and I agreed, however, there was something interesting about the idea of intimacy so I kept this question in the revision of the coding form and eliminated sensual, erotic, and explicit questions. Intimacy has different meanings across contexts. For men, in particular, being intimate with a woman is very different than when they are "intimate" with a man. Hugging and caressing a woman is a different action than putting an arm around a

teammate—both can be intimate, but in different ways especially because of social ascriptions to masculinity and expectations of men's social interactions. Intimacy can also happen independently with one's self. In the end, however, intimate operated in the same ways as the sensual, erotic, and explicit questions—that is, they were poorly operationalized and underdeveloped; thus, I do not use any of these variables in subsequent analyses,

Body Angle. Body angle or position is often associated with inferiority or superiority as it relates to gender and sexuality (Goffman 1976; Hatton and Trautner 2011; Waling et al. 2018). For example, a kneeling or sitting position is much more passive or submissive than standing with one's arms crossed and feet spread apart in a more dominating stance. Body angle was measured across three options: 0. Sports action (e.g., throwing, running, tackling, working out, or swimming); 1. The shoulders and hips are square to the front; 2. The body is posed at an angle to one side or another (e.g., twisting at the waist).

Extent of Nudity. The extent of men's nudity in magazines depends on the type of magazine and time period (Bordo 1999; Hatton and Trautner 2011; Krassas et al. 2003; Reichert et al. 1999). For nudity, I used a 6-point quasi-ordinal scale: 0. Completely covered with long sleeves and plants (e.g., a suit); 1. Exposed arms (e.g., t-shirts) and covered legs (e.g., pants); 2. Shoulders uncovered (e.g., jerseys or sleeveless shirts), low necklines (e.g., V-necks or partially unbuttoned shirt); legs uncovered up to the knee; 3. Short shorts (e.g., mid-thigh, running shorts) or skirts (e.g., cheer skirt), exposed midriffs (e.g.,. half football jerseys or pulling up one's shirt) and open, unbuttoned shirts; 4. Shirtless in shorts or pants; highly revealing and/or skin-tight clothing (e.g., wet shirts,

fully-body swimsuits); 5. Completely shirtless, in underwear, Speedo, swimsuit or a towel; and 6. No clothing at all whether implied by the framing of the image (e.g., cut of around the hips) or actually nude). I also included an "other" category with a write-in option.

Type of dress, attire, clothing. The type of dress, attire, or clothing was included to see how men's bodies have been presented in clothing over time. Men's clothing styles are closely tied to race, class, gender, and sexuality (Barry 2018; Casanova 2015). There were seven response options for this variable: 0. Sport uniform of any kind; 1. Suit, tuxedo, evening/prom dress or formal wear; 2. Semi-formal or business attire (e.g., blazer, collared shirt, blouse, skirt, dress); 3. Casual attire (e.g., t-shirt/sweater and jeans or if in pants/jeans and shirtless); 4. Workout clothes (e.g., even if shirtless in athletes shorts/pants); 5. Casual swimsuit (e.g., not a sport swimsuit); and 6. No clothes depicted. I also included an "other" category with a write-in option.

Chest, genitals, and buttocks. Though rarer than women, the focal point of advertisements is often sexualized body parts, even for men (Hatton and Trautner 2011; Rohlinger 2002). Each of these body parts (chest, genital region, and buttocks) had similar response options: The chest/genitals/buttocks are not visible in the image because they are cut off by the framing of the images (or, in the case of the buttocks, the individual is facing the camera). The chest/genitals/buttocks are completely covered with no outline. The chest/genitals/buttocks are covered, but the outline is visible. The chest and buttocks could also have been completely exposed. In coder retraining, we made no changes to the variables themselves, but talked through when the chest/genitals/butt were

present in the image. These body parts could be cut off by the framing of the image or by being covered by another body part or text.

Gaze Direction. Eye gaze has been tied to power differentials between men and women and can also be sexualized (Farquhar and Wasylkiw 2007; Goffman 1976; Hatton and Trautner 2011; Krassas et al. 2003; Rohlinger 2002; Sullivan et al. 2017). As Rohlinger (2002:67) notes, the "erotic male… rarely smiles, and his eyes are often focused on something other than the surrounding models or audience." Eye gaze was determined using four response options: 0. No eyes depicted or eyes closed; 1. Looking at someone or something within the image; 2. Gaze is cast off camera, sideways, as if looking at someone or something; or 3. Looking head-on to the camera.

Facial Expressions. In his early work, Goffman (1976) coded emotion and found gendered differences. Collins (2004) and Wingfield (2010) have also identified stereotypes around Black men's emotional expression. In this list of coding assignments, I provided some basic human emotions (Ekman 1989), and those that appeared frequently from a preliminary observation of the covers: 0. No facial expression; 1. Happiness, excitement, pleasantness, or joy; 2. Sadness; 3. Anger; 4. Disgust; 5. Lust, sexual interest, "come hither" look; or 6. Concentration, focus, "in-the-game." I also included an "other" category with a write-in option. Early on in coding, we noticed some discrepancies between the overall facial expression (including the eyes) and the position of the mouth. At times, someone could be smiling slightly, but they showed no emotion in the eyes—this was confusing. To alleviate confusion, we discussed that the facial expression category was designed to represent the overall "feel" or intention of the facial expression. I thus added "pleasant" to the list of descriptors alongside happiness, excitement, or joy.

Mouth. Mouths can be used in sexually suggestive ways (Hatton and Trautner 2011). Important to consider is the position of the mouth such as smiling rather than the intent such as yelling or talking. With regard to these response options, *position* rather than intent was important. There were seven options for mouth position: 0. No smile, neutral mouth; 1. Talking or yelling; 2. Puckered; 3. Eating or chewing; 4. "Soft" smile with few or no teeth showing (i.e., corners of mouth upturned in a grin); 5. Wide smile with teeth showing; 6. Mouth poised as if concentrating or focusing (e.g., open or moving, but not smiling, tongue out); or 9. Mouth hidden, obscured, not showing. I also included an "other" category with a write-in option after coder retraining.

Facial Hair. Facial hair has long been connected to masculinity, virility, and even sexuality (Hennen 2008a; Levine 1998; Luciano 2001; Oldstone-Moore 2015). I created nine categories to capture the variety of facial hair styles: 0. None, clean-shaven; 1. Stubble; 2. Short beard; 3. Medium or long beard; 4. Mustache only; 5. Goatee or "soul patch"; 6. Long side burns or mutton chops; 7. Combination of facial hair styles; or 8. Obscured by helmet or chin strap). I also included an "other" category with a write-in option. In coder training and retraining sessions for facial hair, we determined that we would code the intent of the facial hair and which facial hair style was most prominent. For instance, if someone has an obvious mustache, but also has not shaved in a few days, they may also have a bit of stubble. Only the mustache would be recorded. In the case where there was a mustache and longer facial hair on the cheeks or jaw to suggest a beard but the mustache was somewhat longer, there was an option that both could be coded. Multiple facial hair styles could also be coded when sideburns were long and men also had mustaches.

Body Hair. Like facial hair, body hair, particularly on the chest and torso, have connections to masculinity and sexuality (Boroughs, Cafri, and Thompson 2005; Hall 2015; Hennen 2008a; Immergut 2010; Martins, Tiggemann, and Churchett 2008). To capture the varieties of body hair styles over time, I created eight response options: 0. Chest and stomach are completely covered; 1. Shaven or no chest or stomach hair visible (when shirtless or open shirt); 2. Some chest hair visible around the collar (with shirt on); 3. Some stomach hair visible around the navel or top of pants (with shirt on); 4. Both chest hair and stomach hair visible (with shirt on); 5. Chest hair present around pecs or nipples (when shirtless or open shirt); 6. Stomach hair present around navel or top of pants (when shirtless or open shirt); or 7. Both chest hair and stomach hair present (when shirtless or open shirt).

Hair Length. Over time, hair length—particularly men's hair lengths—have been linked to masculinity and sexuality (Barber 2016; Luciano 2001; Pope et al. 2000; Synnott 1987). I coded for six categories of hair styles: 0. Bald (completely); 1. Balding; 2. Short (e.g., top of ear or shorter including tight braids or cornrows, cropped, buzz cuts, or flat tops); 3. Medium (e.g., between chin length and top of ear including loose braids/dreads); 4. Long (e.g., touches shoulders or longer, man bun, ponytail, loose braids/dreads); 5. Obstructed (e.g., hair is covered by hat or helmet, image is cut off). I also included an "other" category with a write-in option.

Age. Coding age was individually determined by coders. Age ranges were organized into categories that represent stages across the life course: 0. Infant, toddler, or pre-teen (up to about age 12); 1. Teenager; 2. Young Adult (late teens through 20s); 3. Adult (31 through 40s); 4. Older Adult (50s through 60s); 5. Seniors (70 or older). I also

included an obstructed and cannot determine category when helmets obstructed faces, for example. My coder and I disagreed significantly on the ages of individuals on the covers. We discussed some strategies in coder retraining, but ultimately, age is simply difficult to determine and is highly subjective. One such strategy we discussed was to use the context clues of the image. For example, if the cover of *Sports Illustrated* is primarily about college football or the NCAA, the athletes will be of college age. Professional athletes like those in the NBA or NFL are harder to determine given that they could high school graduates or older men.

Race/Ethnicity. Sexuality and race/ethnicity have a complicated, but important relationship especially given their intersecting power dynamics (Collins 2004; Han 2015; Jackson 2006; Shaw and Tan 2014). Coding race/ethnicity was individually determined by coders and was subjective, reflecting the individual biases of the coder; by coding race in this way it is impossible to know the self-identified race people on the covers of these magazines (Pascoe and Diefendorf 2019; Regan 2021). Races or ethnicities included: assigned a numeric code: 0. White or Caucasian; 1. Black or African American; 2. Asian; 3. Alaska Native, Polynesian, or Native American; 4. Middle Eastern or South Asian (Indian); 5. Hispanic or Latino; or 8. Unsure. I also included an "other" category with a write-in option.

Studies using content analytical strategies have noted the difficulty of determining race of individuals (Pascoe and Diefendorf 2019; Regan 2021). We experienced these difficulties as well. Our coding thus reflects the subjective observations of the coders based on skin color rather than the self-identification of these individuals (Pascoe and Diefendorf 2019). In our first reliability check, Alek was liberal in coding race/ethnicity,

often selecting multiple races at the slightest hint of characteristics that indicated a person of color, for example. In preparation for the second intercoder reliability check (Replicate 7), we discussed that we would draw on phenotype when coding race from the cover images. While perceived phenotype would not be the appropriate way to determine race or ethnicity if we were interviewing individuals themselves, for this study, we are using the lens of the average person who glances at the cover on the newsstand. For people who are famously a specific race/ethnicity (e.g., Jennifer Lopez [Latinx]) or are famously mixed-race (i.e., Tiger Woods), we were sure to apply this "average Joe" rule because not all newsstand browsers will be privy to this information. Following (Regan 2021), the ways we coded race were based on our own racial socialization as white individuals and racial bias toward whites in photography (Lewis 2019).

Agreement and Intercoder Reliability Statistics

Intercoder reliability statistics validate coding schemes (Neuendorf 2017). Following Neuendorf (2017), I report reliability statistics for each variable within and across four coder checkpoints in Table 2.2., Table 2.3, Table 2.4, and Table 2.5. (See Appendix Tables 2.A-2.P for the reliability statistics at each check point). I assessed both coder agreement and calculated reliability statistics for each variable to demonstrate validity (Neuendorf 2017). I calculated the simple percent agreement for each variable which is a measure of whether each pair of coded values matches or does not match (Neuendorf 2017). Also called "crude agreement" (Neuendorf 2017), simple percent agreement is the rate of the total number of agreements divided by the total number of cases:

$$PA_o = A/n.$$

PA_o is the observed proportion of agreed upon coded values; A is the number of agreements between coders; and *n* is the total coded cases for the test (Neuendorf 2017). The statistic ranges from no agreement (.00) to perfect agreement (1.00). I also present agreement as a percentage in Table 2.2., Table 2.3, Table 2.4, and Table 2.5. The goal is to reach at least at least 70% agreement. Coder agreement, however, does not take into consideration chance agreement (Neuendorf 2017; Riffe, Lacy, and Fico 2013).

To account for chance agreement, I also calculated Krippendorff's (2018) alpha (α) for all variables to measure intercoder reliability, the most widely used reliability coefficient (Neuendorf 2017). Krippendorff's (2018) alpha takes into consideration chance agreement, the magnitudes of unmatched coded values, and whether the variable is nominal, ordinal, interval, or ratio (Neuendorf 2017). The formula is represented as:

$$\alpha = 1 - \frac{D}{D_E}$$

D_o represents observed agreement and D_E represents expected disagreement. Krippendorff (2018) suggests use of .80 as an acceptable level of reliability and to use caution in stating conclusions for statistics between .667 and .80.

I calculated agreement and reliability statistics at four points throughout the coding process. Together, my coder and I both coded Replicate sets 1, 7, 16, and 21. To calculate intercoder reliability statistics I used an open source online program called ReCal. ReCal is "reliability calculation for the masses" and is made available by Dr. Deen Freelon (www.dfreelon.org). Variables in the original Google spreadsheets were in string format. In order to upload data into ReCal, I made each variable and response numeric in Excel by using the find and replace function. For each variable, I assigned numeric values starting with 1. If "other" was selected, I assigned the value "888." If

there was no answer such as when there was no second or third person in the image, I assigned the value "999." In order to compare codes for each cover image, I alternated columns between my form responses and those of my coder.

Once I assigned values to all outcomes and organized the data, I uploaded the output into ReCal in segments mirroring the organization of the coding form. For example, the first page (Section 1) of the coding form requires coders to enter the file name, the replicate being coded, coder name, magazine name, year/month/day of publication, and inclusion criteria before moving on to the next page. I thus have a record of each magazine cover and whether or not it was coded. I then uploaded the output from Section 2 of the coding form (General Cover Questions), Section 3 (Person 1), Section 4 (Person 2), and Section 5 (Person 3) when applicable. In some replicate sets, there was not a second or third person on the cover; this was especially the case with *GQ* and *Men's Health*. I used the output from ReCal to create intercoder reliability statistics for each intercoder reliability check.

Table 2.2. Final General Variables Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	All Magazines (*n*=558)	*GQ* (*n*=558)	*Men's Health* (*n*=558)	*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=558)
Variable	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Year	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)
Month	99.60 (1)	100.00 (1)	96.90 (.97)	100.00 (1)
Day of the Month	99.80 (1)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	99.80 (1)
< 3 on the Cover	97.80 (.89)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	97.00 (.89)
# of People	93.70 (.87)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	91.30 (.85)
Image Type	93.00 (.85)	97.8 (.95)	95.40 (.65)	91.50 (.84)
Setting	89.01 (.85)	92.40 (.83)	96.90 (.94)	87.00 (.80)

"Final" Refers to the combined reliability tests from Times 1–4.
U = Undefined

Table 2.3. Final Person 1 Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 1			
	All Magazines (*n*=501)	*GQ* (*n*=92)	*Men's Health* (*n*=65)	*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=344)
	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)
First Person*	97.85 (.89)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	97.00 (.89)
Perceived Gender*	97.13 (.91)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	95.63 (.77)
Gendered Appearance*	96.42 (.84)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	94.46 (.32)
Use of Arms & Hands	73.85 (.67)	80.43 (.72)	83.08 (.77)	70.35 (.61)
Pose	85.23 (.75)	91.30 (.69)	86.15 (.42)	83.43 (.73)
Body Angle	80.84 (.72)	86.96 (.71)	80.00 (.64)	79.36 (.67)
Nudity	81.44 (.76)	83.70 (.71)	81.54 (.75)	80.81 (.75)
Type of Dress	84.63 (.77)	71.74 (.61)	87.69 (.80)	87.50 (.66)
Chest/Breast	85.03 (.72)	85.87 (.75)	84.62 (.77)	84.88 (.68)
Genitals	83.83 (.72)	85.87 (.72)	80.00 (.62)	84.01 (.70)
Buttocks	90.02 (.52)	94.57 (.53)	92.31 (-.03)	88.37 (.54)
Gaze Direction	88.02 (.81)	94.57 (.69)	93.85 (.78)	85.17 (.77)
Facial Expression	76.25 (.68)	70.65 (.50)	75.38 (.61)	77.91 (.69)
Mouth	77.84 (.72)	81.52 (.74)	67.69 (.55)	78.78 (.73)
Facial Hair	79.84 (.71)	84.78 (.74)	78.46 (.62)	78.78 (.71)
Chest/Stomach Hair	91.42 (.73)	90.22 (.76)	87.69 (.76)	92.44 (.66)
Hair	80.04 (.72)	83.70 (.73)	73.85 (.56)	80.23 (.72)
Age	69.86 (.50)	76.09 (.60)	63.08 (.24)	69.48 (.50)
Race/Ethnicity	87.82 (.78)	92.39 (.82)	93.85 (.69)	85.47 (.75)

* Full reliability sample (*n*=558).
"Final" refers to the combined reliability tests from Times 1–4.
U = Undefined

Table 2.4. Final Person 2 Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 2			
	All Magazines (*n*=124)	*GQ* (*n*=7)	*Men's Health* (*n*=1)	*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=116)
	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)
Second Person *	95.52 (.86)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	93.80 (.84)
Perceived Gender *	94.44 (.88)	98.91 (.93)	100.00 (1)	91.55 (.81)
Gendered Appearance *	94.44 (.88)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	91.25 (.80)
Use of Arms & Hands	58.84 (.50)	57.14 (.54)	0.00 (U)	57.14 (.50)
Pose	73.39 (.58)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (.53)
Body Angle	70.97 (.53)	57.14 (.26)	100.00 (U)	57.14 (.52)
Nudity	68.55 (.60)	85.71 (.82)	100.00 (U)	85.71 (.59)
Type of Dress	75.81 (.39)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (.20)
Chest/Breast	74.19 (.46)	85.71 (.61)	100.00 (U)	85.71 (.44)
Genitals	68.55 (.51)	71.43 (.54)	100.00 (U)	71.43 (.50)
Buttocks	75.81 (.30)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (.29)
Gaze Direction	64.52 (.49)	85.71 (0)	100.00 (U)	85.71 (.45)
Facial Expression	64.52 (.52)	85.71 (.61)	100.00 (U)	85.71 (.49)
Mouth	65.32 (.57)	71.43 (.57)	100.00 (U)	71.43 (.55)
Facial Hair	67.74 (.57)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (.55)
Chest/Stomach Hair	75.00 (.25)	71.43 (.57)	100.00 (U)	71.43 (.19)
Hair	72.58 (.63)	85.71 (.71)	100.00 (U)	85.71 (.61)
Age	62.10 (.43)	71.43 (.41)	100.00 (U)	71.43 (.41)
Race/Ethnicity	74.19 (.58)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (.55)

* Full reliability sample (*n*=558).
"Final" refers to the combined reliability tests from Times 1–4.
U = Undefined

Table 2.5. Final Person 3 Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 3			
	All Magazines (*n*=32)	*GQ* (*n*=4)	*Men's Health* (*n*=1)	*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=27)
	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)
Third Person **	97.67 (.73)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	96.80 (.67)
Perceived Gender *	96.59 (.88)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	94.46 (.62)
Gendered Appearance *	96.42 (.87)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	94.17 (.59)
Use of Arms & Hands	46.88 (.38)	75.00 (.72)	0.00 (U)	44.44 (.33)
Pose	50.00 (.30)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	40.64 (.16)
Body Angle	50.00 (.32)	75.00 (.63)	100.00 (U)	44.44 (.22)
Nudity	43.75 (.32)	75.00 (.67)	100.00 (U)	37.04 (.22)
Type of Dress	56.25 (.23)	75.00 (.67)	100.00 (U)	51.85 (-.06)
Chest/Breast	50.00 (.20)	75.00 (.67)	100.00 (U)	44.44 (.11)
Genitals	46.88 (.21)	75.00 (.53)	0.00 (U)	44.44 (.20)
Buttocks	56.25 (.06)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	48.15 (-.08)
Gaze Direction	53.13 (.37)	75.00 (.46)	100.00 (U)	48.15 (.29)
Facial Expression	56.25 (.45)	75.00 (.46)	100.00 (U)	51.85 (.39)
Mouth	56.25 (.48)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	48.15 (.36)
Facial Hair	46.88 (.33)	75.00 (.59)	0.00 (U)	44.44 (.30)
Chest/Stomach Hair	50.00 (-.03)	75.00 (.53)	100.00 (U)	44.44 (-.16)
Hair	56.25 (.46)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	48.15 (.35)
Age	40.63 (.15)	75.00 (.53)	100.00 (U)	33.33 (.06)
Race/Ethnicity	53.13 (.30)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	44.44 (.16)

* Full reliability sample (*n*=558).
"Final" refers to the combined reliability tests from Times 1–4.
U = Undefined

Table 2.2, Table 2.3, Table 2.4, and Table 2.5 show the final reliability statistics made by combining the reliability statistics from each of the four checkpoints. Overall, most variables met the 70% coder agreement criteria and fell within the minimal (.667-.80) Krippendorff's alpha range for acceptable reliability. A number of explanations can help justify any low agreement or alpha statistics. For example, the buttocks variable has high agreement, but a low alpha statistic. That is, very few individuals on the covers of these magazines show their buttocks because they are most often facing the camera rather than away from it. In another example, race/ethnicity and age are difficult to determine

based on coders' social locations and experience (Pascoe and Diefendorf 2019; Regan 2021). Some faces were also obscured on covers by helmets or mouth guards making it difficult to determine these categories; this was particularly the case on *Sports Illustrated* covers. Agreement and alpha statistics also decline for the second and third individual on the covers. Though improved with further training, low agreement and alpha statistics occurred early on either because coders disagreed about the number of individuals on the cover or we disagreed about the order of individuals (which one was Person 1, Person 2, or Person 3). The covers of *Sports Illustrate*d where athletes were fighting for ownership of the football or basketball made the number and order of individuals especially difficult (discussed in more detail below). Regardless, there were fewer magazines with two or three people thus contributing to a lower frequency of responses.

Poor agreement and reliability statistics may have been caused by a number of other factors like coder fatigue, coder drift, weak initial training, or lack of practice. Each of these is a threat to reliability. Coder fatigue, for example, is brought on by long-term coding sessions and coder drift may occur as coders move away from the strategies from the initial training session and independently evaluate codes (Neuendorf 2017). While I coded the replicate sets consecutively, my co-coder did not. I conducted a second coder training after the first replicate set. Thereafter, they waited so we would be coding the same replicate at the same time. Thus, some coder drift may have occurred because of the time in between replicate sets and coder fatigue may have occurred (particularly on my part) because of the sheer number of covers (n=2,750).

Early in the coding of the data set, reliability statistics indicated coder disagreement which required updating the codebook, the coding form, and more coder

retraining. After the coder training, my coder and I separately coded the first replicate (Replicate 1) as a pilot (Neuendorf 2017). I then calculated reliability statistics in the steps described above as a foundational step. The first set of reliability statistics were not sufficient which required further training and codebook development (Neuendorf 2017). That is, both percent agreement and alpha statistics were too low to suggest reliability. After a second coder training session, we both coded Replicate 7.

In this second coder training session, I emphasized using the point of view of an average person looking at these magazine covers while in line at the grocery store or at a newsstand. From the perspective of "the average person," I wanted to know what was implied by the image or text. In one example, for an athlete depicted throwing a ball under a bright sky it can be inferred they are in a sport setting. In another example, if someone is shirtless, depicted only from the shoulders up in a pool with the rest of their body is submerged or cut out of the image, the implication is that viewers only see their skin and body. For a number of variables, we further clarified or defined elements of the codebook. In Time 3 and Time 4, there were no alarmingly low reliability statistics that required further codebook development.

Data Cleaning

After all coding was complete, I focused on data cleaning in three phases. Phase one and phase two involved working with the data from each of the 21 replicates as Excel spreadsheets. In phase three, I added each replicate to Stata, the statistical analysis software, to combine all replicates into a full data set. I describe each of these phases in more detail below.

In the first phase, my research assistant checked all replicate sets for spelling errors in entries that involved open-ended responses. As I finished coding each replicate set, I sent them to Alek as a spreadsheet who read and corrected errors. This process included the file name of each magazine, coder name, year, month, issue number, and cover line text. Upon completion, Alek sent the spreadsheets back to me at which time they were considered final. This process overlapped with dual coding and lasted from November 2019 until March 2020.

The two subsequent phases involved recoding redefined variables from earlier stages, resolving intercoder disagreements, coding missing data points, and adjusting syntax. The timeline for this was March and April 2020. In each replicate spreadsheet, I assigned variable names to each column to make them consistent throughout the 21 replicates. For variables involving 'select all that apply' options (i.e., inclusion criteria, header codes, arm position, race), selections were listed as a string in one column separated by commas. For example, the original variable may have been "Sports or sports team reference.; Fashion or clothes (e.g., "Where to get a suit this season")." After inserting the semicolon and using the Text to Columns function, "Sports or sports team reference." and "Fashion or clothes (e.g., "Where to get a suit this season")" became individual columns of data. I preserved the original column containing all options in each of these cases. In the end, each Replicate spreadsheet contained 140 columns of data (A-EJ).

Replicates 1–7 required the most editing and corrections. Due to low Krippendorf's alpha statistics after the second intercoder reliability check (Replicate 7), I made changes to the several variables described above. Because of the adjustments, I

went back into Replicates 1–7 to line-by-line recode the adjusted variables. For example, I made sure the number of codable people and order of people were correct based on the redefinitions. I also made sure to select the appropriate option for exposure or chest/genitals/butt, facial expression, mouth position, age, and race given the updated codebook definitions. As the master coder, I also worked to resolve any intercoder disagreements in this process by selecting the option that best suits each cover according to the final codebook.

Across all 21 spreadsheets, I took several tactics to resolve issues. I scanned each column for missing data. I then went back to the cover in question to code missing responses. Missing responses were most common when variables did not require coders to select an option before moving on to the next variable or page of the coding form. For each cover, I also double-checked and coded all line headers to confirm I captured all themes. This involved reading all 2,750 of the cover's header text again within each spreadsheet. Finally, I made sure any related codes were accurate and aligned. For example, the number of covers that qualified for coding should match the number of covers with people on them and if I indicated there were two people, there should be data for these two people.

The third phase involved uploading replicates into Stata and combining them into a full data set. To make a full data set, I used the "append" function to stack replicates on top of each other. All data was uploaded as string variables. Once in Stata, I conducted further cleaning while preparing the full data set for analysis (e.g., combining and labeling variables). This cleaning process involved once again making sure related variables matched (i.e., the number of covers that qualified for coding should match the

number of covers with people on them). At times, the open-ended questions involved in the "Text to Column" process caused problems. That is, not all of them split into their individual columns correctly. When this occurred, I corrected them in the original full data set in Stata.

During this third phase, I also recoded and labeled all variables to prepare a final data set for analysis. This process also involved reshaping the data from "wide" to "long" in order to answer my second and third research questions which involve the individuals on the covers rather than the covers themselves. Put another way, reshaping the data means that rows went from describing each individual magazine cover (wide) to rows describing each individual person on the magazine cover (long).

In the end, I have several analytical data sets. The initial data set (n=2,750) contains the all covers organized like the coding sheets with general information about the covers (title, year, month, day, setting, etc.) and characteristics of individuals on the covers as Persons 1–3 (gender, age, race, arm position, pose, etc.). The second data set, created by reshaping the data, is organized by individuals' characteristics rather than by magazine; there are 3,242 individuals across the covers of *GQ* (n=480), *Men's Health* (n=281), and *Sports Illustrated* (n=2,256).

Table 2.6. Rotated Factor Loadings

	Factor Loading
Factor 1: Men's Aesthetic Composition Elements (MACE)	
Gaze Direction	-0.83
Mouth Position	0.76
Facial Expression	0.77
Body Angle	-0.69
Pose	0.68
Facial Hair Style	0.42
Hair Length	0.35
Factor 2: Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS)	
Style of Dress	0.42
Chest Exposure	0.76
Body Hair Visibility	0.67
Extent of Nudity	0.63

n=3,017

Exploratory Factor Analyses

To set up analyses in subsequent chapters, I begin by using exploratory factor analysis to evaluate whether variables measure similar underlying constructs (Kim and Mueller 1978; Spector 1992). I estimated the correlation (*corr*) between all possible variables coded for each man on the covers of each magazine: gendered appearance, pose, extent of nudity, type of dress, chest exposure, genitals exposure, gaze direction, body hair visibility, hair length, age, race, mouth position, facial hair styles, facial expression, use of arms/hands, butt exposure, and body angle. The Bartlett test of sphericity determined that variables were intercorrelated (χ^2=14,415.92, $p \leq .001$, *df*=136) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure was ideal (0.84). After estimating the factor analysis (*factor*), eigenvalues determined two factors (Factor 1, eigenvalues= 3.54 and Factor 2, eigenvalues=1.75, explained 96% of the total variance). All other eigenvalues were less than one and therefore did not meet the eigenvalue criterion (Kim and Mueller 1978; Spector 1992). I then rotated the factor loadings using the *rotate* command in Stata (orthogonal is the default rotation format). Rotating helps to interpret

factors and their factor loadings by estimating factor loadings for the variables that contribute more to each factor (Kim and Mueller 1978). I included all factor loadings ≥ .35 in analyses (Kim and Mueller 1978; Spector 1992). Table 2.6 shows the results of these tests.

Items in Factor 1 included gaze direction, facial expression, mouth position, pose, facial hair style, and hair length. Factor 1 is thematically organized around aesthetic and compositional elements of the men on the covers. Given the underlying theme of these variables, I refer to it as the Men's Aesthetic Composition Elements (MACE) factor. I provide description of and analyze variables that make up this factor in Chapter 4.

Items in Factor 2 included style of dress, chest exposure, body hair visibility, and extent of nudity. The collection of variables in Factor 2 make up the Men's Prevalence of Skin factor because each, in turn, refers to the exposure of men's skin in some way. Type of dress could have been included in Factor 1 (factor loading=-0.48) or Factor 2 (factor loading=0.42). I determined type of dress was a better fit given the theme of Factor 2. Items that did not load on either factor included genitals exposure, butt exposure, use of arms/hands, or gendered appearance; I thus exclude these variables from the dependent variables. Age and race also did not load onto a factor. However, I include both age and race in analyzes to the changes in these demographic characteristics on covers over time (see Chapter 4). I focus on Factor 2 in Chapter 5 to elaborate upon the sexualization men across the three magazines. In Chapter 6, I used the MPoS categories and race to produce a sample for qualitative analyses.

Butt Exposure and Genitals Exposure did not load onto either of these factors and because of low cell sizes, I do not discuss them in-text. Appendix Figures 2.S and 2.AT

shows proportion of change over time, Appendix Table 2.Q shows bivariate analyses, and Appendix Table 2.R shows regression analyses for change over time.

Qualitative Methods

The qualitative elements of this dissertation took several forms. First, I took initial steps to the qualitative element of this dissertation on the coding form. For each magazine cover, I typed all cover lines into the coding form and determined if the text fit into one or more of 20 broad thematic categories. These 20 categories (described in more detail above) were developed deductively based on early observations of the data set and existing literature (e.g., Hatton and Trautner 2011). On the coding form, these thematic categories were organized into two groups: (1) general themes and (2) gender and sexuality themes. The general theme group included references to sports, race/ethnicity, religion, age or aging, work, alcohol, the military or weaponry, fitness, weight gain or loss, fashion, grooming, and health. The gender and sexuality group included references to masculinity or manhood, love, LGBTQ people or culture, sexual health, sexual innuendos, women (including women authors of articles), and sex acts. I did not code the titles of the magazines because this would mean selecting "health" or "sports" for every *Men's Health* or *Sports Illustrated* cover. For each cover, thematic categories were not mutually exclusive. For example, I selected "sports" whether a *Sports Illustrated* cover mentioned one sport or three and I coded for both health and age in "Health: A young man's greatest fear" (*GQ*, June 1991).

In this first coding phase, I coded for both manifest and latent content. Manifest content is obvious and straightforward whereas latent content is more subtle (Neuendorf 2017:31). Coding for latent constructs is particularly useful in mixed methods studies

because it allows for the discovery of new dimensions to the content beyond manifest observations (Gray and Densten 1998; Neuendorf 2017). The latent material included metaphors, historical references, and inferences. For example, all of the following cover lines were coded as "military or weaponry," whether an explicit reference or latent: "Steph Curry Rules the Winning Style of the NBA's Chillest Warrior" (*GQ*, May 2017), "428 Tactics to Win Any Battle!" (*Men's Health*, March 2018), and "The Great 8 Kills off the Capitals' Great Wait" (*Sports Illustrated*, June 18, 2018). Whereas warriors and winning battles are clear references to the military and war, "killing off" the Capitals is more abstract. Regardless, the use of this language demonstrates the association between men, the military, and using mechanistic language to describe men (especially athletes) (Messner 1990). Examples from the religion theme also demonstrate manifest and latent constructs. For instance, for religion, "Religion A Man's Guide" (*Men's Health*, December 2015) is a much more manifest reference to religion than "Boston's Cain & Abel by John Sedgwick" (*GQ*, May 1992) which only those with knowledge of the story of Cain and Abel from the book of Genesis would recognize.

In Chapter 6, I report results from this coding process in figures to show the most frequently mentioned themes across each magazine. To demonstrate the manifest codes, I created word clouds that show the most frequently used words for each magazine. I then discuss the implications of the most and least mentioned topics, contextualized by theories of masculinity.

In a second complimentary set of qualitative analyses, I sampled covers from four groups created by crossing the MPoS Index created in Chapter 5 and the two largest racial categories, White and Black (see Chapter 4). In total, I sampled 215 covers (*GQ*,

n=72; *Men's Health*, *n*=63; *Sports Illustrated n*=80). (See Chapter 6 for a list of the sampled covers). From this subset of covers, I wrote detailed memos to begin the coding process. "Memoing" helps to make "conceptual leaps from raw data to those abstractions that explain research phenomena" (Birks, Chapman, and Francis 2008:68). Memos included such details as the appearance of the individuals on the covers and the featured individual's relationship to the cover lines. To contextualize the covers and cover text, I examined news, popular culture, and current events happening at the time of the cover's release. I then uploaded the memos to Atlas.ti, a qualitative coding software. The coding process occurred both inductively and deductively, but focused using existing gender and sexuality literature as guides. I began with the previously developed codes from the coding form which then evolved into deeper, more detailed sub-codes. I provide details, examples, and results from this coding process in Chapter 6.

Internal Validity

My mixed method or triangulation approach is a "powerful strategy for increasing the credibility or internal validity" of any study (Denzin 1978; Merriam and Tisdell 2017:245). By developing this chapter (much less the dissertation as a whole) using mixed methods, I am able to counter "concern" that my findings are the "artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's blinders" (Patton 2015:674). Chapter 6 in particular should be read as exploratory because in it I expand upon the gaps left by quantitative analyses.

I must also acknowledge my reflexivity as the sole coder of the cover lines and memos. As a white middle-class man and educated individual, the ways that I read both text and images vary based on my social position (and research questions). For example,

while coding memos I developed one code related to humor, innuendo, or word play. Humor is subjective and based on one's sociocultural purview (Chapman 1983). Thus, phrases like "Fore Play: Shave Five Strokes Off your Golf Game" (*GQ*, April 1996) which is a play on sexual foreplay or "50 Shades of Whey" (*Men's Health*, December 2012) which is a reference to the *50 Shades of Gray* book and movie series may be lost on some. My approach is what Potter and Levine-Donnserstein (1999) call "projective content" because this coding relied on my interpretation and existing knowledge of the content as the coder. To manage any subjectivity while coding, I systematically returned to the list of themes, extending it using existing literature and examples from the covers.

In sum, the qualitative methods help explain and further explore quantitative findings. From a mixed method perspective, the integration of the two methods is key to analyzing change over time and describing the relationship between the cover images and cover text. Together, both sets of analyses help paint a picture of representations of men, masculinity, and sexuality on these popular magazines. In the next chapter, I contextualize this study within a historical overview of the magazine industry, men's aesthetic interests, and bodily exposure.

CHAPTER 3. MAGAZINES AND MEN'S AESTHETIC INTERESTS, A BRIEF *HIS*TORY

With this chapter, I provide a brief historical overview of the ebb and flow of the magazine industry in America, with special attention paid to the men's magazines I use for this study's sample. *GQ*, *Men's Health*, *Sports Illustrated*, and others like them, helped birth an outlet and economy around men's fashion, fitness, and sports interests over the course of the twentieth century (Osgerby 2001). Additionally, they helped promulgate idealized images of men and masculinity. I review the background behind the popularity of men's fitness, paying close attention to how the exposure of men's bodies (especially white men's bodies) encourages the relationship between a fit aesthetic and masculine man. I also cover the popularity and gendered meanings behind styles of dress, hair lengths, facial hair, and body hair.

Why Use Magazines as Data?

Change and adaptation has always been a part of the world of magazine publishing as magazines "remain fixtures of the media landscape" (Waling et al. 2018:10). Continuing their legacy today, magazines benefit from and contribute to existing culture by featuring stars from the latest movies or hit television series (Jackson et al. 2001; Sumner 2010). To this end, magazines are useful data sources because they are both "cultural text" and "cultural phenomenon" (Edwards 2003). That is, magazines are part of, influence, and reflect culture (Benwell 2003).

The popularity of magazines in America and around the world grew exponentially during the 20th century, calling for the magazine industry to adapt to changing trends and preferences (Edwards 2003; Sumner 2010). Expanding interests and leisure time led more

magazine titles to meet increasing demand helping the magazine industry transition away from objects of literature to profitable business endeavors (Sumner 2010). As evidence of this transition, Sumner (2010) reports a 509% increase in the number of magazine titles—from 3,500 in 1900 to 17,815 in 2000. Early on, magazines adapted and beat competition from the automobile and radio when, in the 1920s and 1930s, cultural trends indicated these pastimes would become more popular than reading magazines (Sumner 2010). Neither the 1940s Golden Age of movies nor the growth of television in the 1950s affected magazine readership (Sumner 2010). Instead, magazines once again tailored themselves to fit modern interests. In the 1940s and 1950s, general interest magazines were closing up shop in favor of more niche hobby, special-interest, and special-audience publications (Sumner 2010). The resilience of the magazine industry is further evidenced by its survival after the closing of popular titles like *Life* and *Colliers* in the 1960s and challenges to print in the 1990s with the introduction of the Internet (Sumner 2010).

Studies using magazines as data sources have found clear connections between cultural change and magazines (Benwell 2003; Edwards 2003; Krauss 2014; Regan 2021; Scott 1985; Scott and Franklin 1972; Waling et al. 2018). At the same time as the sexual and gender revolution in the mid-20th century, magazines like *Playboy* (est. 1953), *Penthouse* (est. 1965), and *Hustler* (est. 1972) were established to both respond to and cultivate growing curiosities around sex and sexuality (Krauss 2014; Sumner 2010). The influence of these magazines depicting nude and sexualized women can be found in general-audience lifestyle publications too. Scott and Franklin (1972) found an increase in sexual references (e.g., abortion, homosexuality, masturbation, sex, etc.) in *Reader's Digest, McCall's*, *Life*, *Look, Saturday Evening Post, Time,* and *Newsweek.* They find an

82% increase between 1950 and 1960, and 111% increase between 1950 and 1970 (Scott and Franklin 1972). The trend continued exponentially into 1980 in an update to the original study (Scott 1985). To keep up, even *Playboy* has become more explicit since early issues (Bogaert, Turkovich, and Hafer 1993; Regan 2021). Together, this scholarship reflects the expansion of sexual content manifested not just in niche, pornographic-leaning publications like *Playboy*, but in general-interest outlets, too. I use these examples to establish a tie between magazines as cultural texts with reflexive relationships with cultural phenomena (Benwell 2003; Edwards 2003).

Data for the current research come from a selection of magazine covers. Magazines, and magazine covers in particular (McCracken 1993), offer a "window" to "broader cultural representations, discourses and practices of gender and sexuality" (Waling et al. 2018:2). Covers themselves are the face of magazines and are considered the most important part of the publication because they serve two key functions: (1) project the personality and the voice of the magazine and (2) sell issues (Jackson et al. 2001; Spiker 2015:377). Indeed, *GQ* fashion director, Jim Moore, refers to covers as "posters" for magazine titles (Nelson 2019). Even in the digital age as the importance of physical newsstands decline, editor of *New York* magazine, Adam Moss notes how covers are the "brand statements," the "voice" of the publication, and can be distributed widely on social media as advertisement for the magazine (Husni 2018). Studying magazine covers is of sociological interest because "the choice of who or what to feature on the cover is not only an editorial one but also can be studied as a social indicator of where any individual or group in society is today in terms of importance and value" (Christ and Johnson 1985; Johnson 2002, 2007:53). Thus, to analyze magazines for men is to study

subjects important and valuable to men—or at least topics about which the magazines want men know.

Over time, covers have become increasingly important to selling magazines. As the market expanded throughout the 20th century, magazines titles saw the need to differentiate themselves from the competition and the design of covers is the first step in doing so (Jackson et al. 2001). It is exactly this collaborative and design element that makes magazine covers difficult—if not unattractive—to study (Johnson 2002; Sumner 2002). Teams of editors come together to decide what does or does not make it onto the cover of any given magazine with the marketing of the publication in mind (Johnson 2002; Nelson 2019; Spiker 2015; Sumner 2002). From covers, potential browsers—or perhaps more importantly buyers and subscribers—are "sold" the magazine's content: articles, ads, current events, advice, gossip, and so on through combinations of images and words (Jackson et al. 2001). In short, magazine covers can be analyzed either as "cultural objects" that reflect society and its changes, or "marketing tools" to sell the publication and the items advertised in its pages (Sumner 2002). In the current study, I take the former approach while acknowledging a marriage between the two approaches.

In particular, I am interested in how cultural objects like magazine covers enforce and reinforce social inequalities at the intersections of gender, sexuality, race, and the body for men. Magazines for men are representations of masculinity and also "are a site within and around meanings of masculinity circulate and are negotiated or contested (Benwell 2003:8). To this end, Benwell (2003) suggests magazines for men are cultural mediators that show 'real-life' masculinity, but also illustrate the performance of

masculinity. In other words, magazines establish and maintain certain images of and standards for men.

Studies addressing representations of men's gender, sexualization, or bodies in magazines are limited despite an existing body of work that addresses women's sexualization in magazines over time, a handful of which compare women to men (Hatton and Trautner 2011; Krassas et al. 2003; Reichert et al. 1999; Reichert and Carpenter 2004; Soley and Kurzbard 1986). In their systematic review, Waling and colleagues (2018) discuss studies using magazines as data to examine the sexualization of men's bodies measured by sexually suggestive positions of the body, exposing a certain amount of skin, or analyzing the text that accompanies these images. This literature, however, does not often analyze change over great lengths of time or contain large sample sizes (2–5-year period is a common sampling timeframe). Even fewer studies concern themselves with how gender and masculinities theory can help interpret the sexualization of men's bodies (Waling et al. 2018). Furthermore, magazine studies, particularly those focused on men, rarely use U.S. publications and instead use U.K. magazines publications (Benwell 2003; Jackson et al. 2001).

In the current study, I selected *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* for their prolonged high circulation rates over time. These three titles also reflect how cultural interests have partitioned to allow for different genres of masculinity, too. Magazines like *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* respectively offer a range of idealized images from fashion, fitness, and sports that communicate different (yet overlapping) versions of manhood. The availability of these magazines also offers a way to analyze how cultural

ideals have changed over time and what strategies the magazines have used to promulgate them.

About *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sport's Illustrated*

GQ has had a varied history. *GQ*, a shortened colloquialism for *Gentleman's Quarterly*, began in the mid-1920s. In response to the tastes of a growing middle class, David Archibald Smart and Williams Hobart Weintraub brought together their respective expertise in publishing advertising brochures and clothing to form *The Man of Today* in 1926 (Osgerby 2001). *The Man of Today* was a free catalogue for high-class clothing store customers. Because of the success of the catalogue, by 1928 the name of the publication changed to *Gentleman's Quarterly*, printed 180,000 copies, and was being shipped to over 200 men's clothing stores (Osgerby 2001). Though the impending Great Depression threatened to break this new publication and its success, Smart and Weintraub were resourceful. The entrepreneurs teamed up with the catalogue's editor, Arnold Gingrich, to transform the publication into what would actually become *Esquire* in 1933. The *Gentleman's Quarterly* title was revived in the 1950s alongside the new popularity of men's consumerism and leisure culture prompted by publications like *Playboy* within an expanding market for men's attention (and money) (Osgerby 2001).

The 1980s were the beginning of *GQ* as we know it today. Shortly after Condé Nast acquired *GQ*, Jim Moore came on in 1980 first as a fashion director and later as creative director (Sumner 2010). Moore is noted as having transformed the publication from the "fine, if fledgling, magazine throughout the 1960s and 1980s, contented to speak to the silent majority of flannel wearers" (Nelson 2019:14). Lovingly referred to as "Jim Fucking Moore," he is lauded as an artistic visionary having been with *GQ* for over 40

years—"If *GQ* is, as it's been dubbed 'the men's fashion Bible,' then Jim is Fashion Jesus (Nelson 2019:15). When Art Cooper was hired as editor in chief in 1983, his goal was to increase the presence of celebrities in *GQ* (Moore 2019). While at the time of Cooper's hiring, *GQ* was already synonymous with hypermasculinity and hyper-sensuality (Moore 2019:28); now, *GQ* represents the epitome of the fashionable man. The *GQ* man is a dressed up and glossy version of manhood that tells men how they should be; he is at the same time aspirational and superficial (Crewe 2003; Stevenson et al. 2003). *GQ* thus embodies a kind of masculinity worth emulating.

In 1986, the original publisher of *Men's Health*, Rodale Inc., was curious to find if there was interest among men for a magazine about their health. To test this interest, *Prevention* magazine released a supplementary first edition of *Men's Health* (Daniels 2013). The issue was a success and, in 1988, *Men's Health* was officially born. The magazine would go on to be the nation's bestselling men's magazine—a title it currently holds—tripling its circulation throughout the 1990s with over two millions copies sold (Daniels 2013; Sumner 2010).

This first cover was different from the *Men's Health* readers see now. Uniquely, two individuals appeared shirtless on the cover of this first *Men's Health* (October 1968), model Francis Bouley and his son, Matthew (Daniels 2013). This image of a toned, shirtless man holding his shy, naked infant son is certainly not the picture of *Men's Health* today that features ripped, muscular men. Nevertheless, other features of the magazine like the subjects of its articles have remained somewhat consistent. While some cover lines have not aged well (e.g., "The Great Condom test of 1986"), others might appear in any current issue (e.g., "The Healthy Man's Guide to Beer," "The 5 Best Foods

for Men," "Blast Your High Blood Pressure without Drugs," or "3 Flabby Guys Shape Up"). Even as the magazine has grown to include multiple sibling publications in the U.K. and several Asian counties, the message of *Men's Health* has remained consistent since this first issue in 1986: men need advice and the magazine has the expert authority to provide it (Jackson et al. 2001; Stevenson et al. 2003).

The goal of a magazine like *Men's Health* is to encourage men to be more open about themselves, their feelings, friendships with other men, fashion, or health often relying on humor to distance men from the embarrassment of seeking self-improvement (Jackson, Brooks, and Stevenson 1999; Jackson et al. 2001; Stevenson et al. 2003). Such emphasis on self-improvement can be harmful, however. Especially compared to other magazines I analyze, *Men's Health* plays with the idea that fat bodies are a threat to the self and to society because body maintenance is "an obligation to the public good and requirement for good citizenry" (Dworkin and Wachs 2009:35). Messages like these contribute to unhealthy obsessions with body size and muscularity (Pope et al. 2000; see Waling et al. 2018 for a review). Likewise, *Men's Health* operates under the Foucauldian assumption that men's bodies require discipline, especially as a reflection of capitalism wherein men's work and productivity is not tied to their bodies (Jackson et al. 2001). Cultural objects like *Men's Health* play off this alienation. To alleviate these stressors, men seek the workouts advertised in *Men's Health* and imbue value in the proposed results—and presumed evidence of these results demonstrated by cover models—to exert control over their bodies (Jackson et al. 2001). Put differently, a workout using one's body offers rewards the workplace cannot.

Sports Illustrated was launched in 1954. The publication debuted a few years after a Time Inc. readership survey in Columbus, Ohio revealed that, while women were reading *Time* magazine, men were not; instead, men were reading the sports section of the newspaper (Sumner 2010). The growing middle class of the post-war 1950s lead to increasing leisure time because of shorter work weeks and more holidays (MacCambridge 1997). With this extra time on their hands, men followed new professional sports franchises popping up around the country, but at the time, there was no publication covering the growing sports genre (MacCambridge 1997; Sumner 2010).

As Time Inc. discovered, there was a gap in the market in need of filling. Time Inc. publisher Henry Luce saw opportunity and, given his success with existing publications (i.e., *Time*, *Fortune*, and *Life*), the company had money to spare having not started a new title in some time (Sumner 2010). Aimed at an "educated audience," this new publication was a "weekly newsmagazine that would both report and critically examine the sports business, its celebrities, participants, and fans" (Sumner 2010:120–21). Thus, S*ports Illustrated* was born.

Competition, it turned out, was tough. Though market research indicated interest, the magazine lost millions of dollars in its first decade without turning a profit until 1964 (Sumner 2010). The eventual success of the magazine is attributed to André LeGuerre, a Frenchman who came on as editor in 1960. LeGuerre honed the focus of the magazine from all things sports (from duck hunting to yachting to bull fighting) to only major sports (i.e., football, baseball, basketball, and hockey) (Sumner 2010). *Sports Illustrated* is also synonymous with its famous (and controversial) "Swimsuit Issue" which LeGuerre first published on January 20, 1964 to make up for the winter lull in the sports

season (Davis 1997; Deford 1989). The cover featured German model Babette March posing in ocean waves in a beach in a two-piece, square-cute white bikini. She is gazing off to the left off the image with long mascaraed eyelashes characteristic of the 1960s, a short haircut, smiling, and with her hand up to her nose. Together, LeGuerre's editorial strategy, the popularity of televised sports, and affordability of air travel for sports teams helped the struggling magazine in the 1970s (Sumner 2010). By 2000, *Sports Illustrated* had established itself as a "national institution" (Sumner 2010:123).

Changing Characteristics of Men: Fashion, Hair, and Bodily Displays

While magazines are outlets for observing cultural phenomenon, they also reflect cultural change (Benwell 2003; Edwards 2003). Any cultural change that has occurred has been influence by the ebb and flow of trends and preferences. Men's attention to these trends and preferences say a lot about masculine appearances and aesthetics. Fashion, grooming, and trends in men's bodily displays are a few such cultural subjects that aid the performance of masculinity. In this section, I touch on each of these topics in turn paying close attention to how they have changed historically and how they control perceptions of manliness and masculinity.

Men's Fashion, A History in Brief

Just within the 20th century, men's fashion trends have no doubt changed, particularly in consideration of ever-expanding consumer markets (Casanova 2015; English 2013; Entwistle 2000). Supporting these markets are varying ways of dressing that differ based on race/ethnicity, class or income, commitment to masculinity, workplace culture or uniform requirements, sexual identity, and even geographic location (Casanova 2015). The way one dresses communicates professionalism, division between

public and private domains, and also status (Casanova 2015; Pascoe 2011). From the businessman's suit to the mechanic's jumpsuit, the ways men adorn themselves display their social position (Ocampo 2012; Pascoe 2011; Pfeffer 2014; Rupp and Taylor 2015; Scheibling and Lafrance 2019). Thus, the diverse ways men dress themselves are part of an intersecting hierarchy involving multiple social positions.

After World War II, the culture of men's fashion was influenced by white-collar work and the necessity of the suit. In particular, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, a best-selling fiction book by Sloan Wilson (1955), narrates the idea that white-collar men of the 1950s had established routine in their clothing choices via the title outfit (Barber 2016; Casanova 2015). The drab, grey flannel suit of image of 1950s businessman would soon be challenged by the colorful "peacock revolution" of the 1960s as middle-class men expressed themselves through colorful patterns allowing them to stand out rather than fit in (Kutulas 2012). The 1970s, however, were known as the "anti-fashion" era for the chaos that prevailed as fashion was pulled in conflicting directions (English 2013; Steele 1997). Without direction, punk and androgynous fashion were in the 1970s and 1980s, led by glam rockers like David Bowie and bands like Depeche Mode (English 2013; Faludi 1999; Steele 1997).

In the 1960s, and heightening in the 1980s, gay fashion designers, photographers, and artists were prominent influencers of men's fashion writ large (Bordo 1999). In a style popularly worn by singer Freddie Mercury and members of the Village People, the 1970s brought on the denim-clad style of the gay "clones" who took on the uniforms of working class and motorcycle men in white t-shirts and leather jackets (Cole 2000; Levine 1998). The goal of this style was to demonstrate a commitment to widely

accepted masculine aesthetics and to separate from stereotypes of effeminate gay men or drag queens. Fashion and the fashion industry remains a haven for gay men who receive many of the industry's accolades despite ongoing gender and sexual politics (Stokes 2015).

By the 1980s, looser-fitting suits were common thanks to designer Giorgio Armani's influence and the appearance of hip-hop fashion recognizable by the "very wide-crotched and lowhung pants [sic]" popular among African American street-dancers (English 2013:86). Branding also became an important way to distinguish one label from another as illustrated by the importance of the name Calvin Klein in the waistband of the underwear, for instance. From the 1980s onward, the relationship between fashion and music had also been firmly established and reached new levels upon entering the new millennium (i.e., the 2000s) (English 2013).

Men's styles in the 1990s and 2000s paralleled futuristic clothing in science fiction films (e.g., *Star Wars*, *Back to the Future*, *Predator*, *RoboCop*, *Godzilla*, *The Matrix*, etc.) and casual streetwear thanks to the everyday settings of "chick flicks" of the time (e.g., *Sleepless in Seattle*, *Almost Famous*, or *Bridget Jones' Diary*, etc.) (English 2013:76). The relationship between sports and fashion also became evident via collaborations (referred to colloquially as "collabs") (English 2013:89). To match the loose-fitting, hip-hop-style of popular athletes such as Michael Jordan in the early 1990s, for example, companies like Tommy Hilfiger and Nike released baggier clothes through sporty clothing lines like Air Jordan worn on professional and neighborhood basketball courts alike (Marston 2017). Other designers quickly followed suit, putting an end to the short tight fitting shorts previously worn by athletes (Marston 2017). Collabs with

celebrities from a variety of industries would go on define 1990s and 2000s fashion (English 2013).

The 1990s and 2000s also birthed the "metrosexual man." Metrosexual is a term coined by British cultural commentator Mark Simpson in an article published by *Salon* to describe a new class of men who balance masculinity/femininity and heterosexuality/homosexuality because of the care they take in their appearance (Oldstone-Moore 2015; Simpson 2002). The term grew from journalist's need to describe "the growing body of consciousness of class-privileged men who not only take their bodies as objects but who are brand loyal and forge masculine identities with particular clothes, beauty products, and body services" (Barber 2016:39). (For more on metrosexual men see Coad 2008 or Hall 2015). Professional soccer star David Beckham became the posterchild for metrosexual men and paved the way for Hollywood stars like Brad Pitt and George Clooney to don the label as their fashion tastes and standards of grooming gained attention (Oldstone-Moore 2015).

Celebrity "metro men" were well-supported by the fashion industry who, at the same time in the early 2000s, were showing more in menswear on the runways than ever before and smartly teamed up with stars to invite new interest in what men wear (English 2013). Athletes, especially Black athletes, were also a part of this group. NBA athletes have been billed as "dandies" for their interest in fashion, a response to stifling league dress codes and limited image of Black male athletes (McDonald and Toglia 2010; Moralde 2019). The metrosexual man effectively normalized men's interest in fashion from all social strata, but it was not just men's clothes that have changed in the last century.

Men's Hair and Grooming

Alongside men's interest in keeping abreast of fashion trends, the market for grooming products for men boomed in the 20th century resulting in expanding aesthetic criterion for men (Barber 2016). Hair, for example, has long been a status symbol among men from the wigs of 18th century American elites to the coiffed styles of modern businessmen (Barber 2016; Synnott 1987). Hair, however, is never just hair. Hair lengths and styles demand change over time in order to keep up with sociocultural trends whether one one's head, chin, chest, or groin (Synnott 1987). For men, the meaning behind the hair on their bodies communicates their commitment to masculinity and place in society.

In his "sociology of hair" Synnott (1987:382) proposes a theory of opposites wherein "opposite sexes have opposite hair;" "head hair and body hair are opposites;" and "opposite ideologies have opposite hair." In other words, men have short hair while women have long hair; men have body hair while women do not; and straight men are hairy while gay men are hairless. In this organization, Connell's (Connell 1987) theory of gender relations and power becomes apparent and it is easy to imagine Synnott's (1987) theory of opposites holding true throughout the 20th century.

Men's hair styles remained relatively unchanged from the turn of the 20th century until the 1940s and 1950s. To appear "tidy" for work, men would visit barbershops to closely crop their hair (Kanter 1977; Synnott 1987). Like fashion, men in the 1960s and 1970s rejected the stiff ideals of their parents, choosing instead to grow out their hair and beards (Barber 2016; Synnott 1987). White men of the time grew out their hair to Jesus-like lengths while Black men shaped the circumference of their afros (Barber 2016). The hair-based counterculture of the period was especially threatening to conservatives who

aligned debates over longer hair with sexuality and protest of the Vietnam War (Barber 2016).

In the late 1970s, white and Black men stepped into hair salons seeking hair coloring and even permed their hair following trends sported by athletes as models of manliness (Luciano 2001). To support men's new interests, previously gender-segregated advertising and hair salons needed to adapt to their growing client base of men (Barber 2016). One way the industry shifted was to adjust the language of aesthetics. Whereas "beauty" was associated with women's attempts to enhance their looks, "grooming" was introduced to suggest men care about their cleanliness and acceptable appearance in a way unrelated to women's vanity (Barber 2016; Black 2004).

By the 1980s, Rogaine was on the market and introduced new anxieties over hair loss for men as a supposed cure for men's baldness, an unwanted sign of aging and unattractiveness (Pope et al. 2000; Synnott 1987).. Originally formulated as a blood pressure medication, an unintended side effect was hair growth (Luciano 2001). While not great at re-growing thick or luscious locks, the hope that Rogaine might work on a fraction of men was enough for them to try (Luciano 2001). In the same vein, hair transplants became popular procedures among stars like Frank Sinatra and at-home hair dyes like "Just for Men" appeared on the market (Luciano 2001; Pope et al. 2000; Synnott 1987). The 1990s took men's grooming to new heights as the expanding market played with men's new-found insecurities and advertisers used fit male models to exacerbate men's aesthetic anxieties (Alexander 2003; Barber 2016; Bordo 1999; Dworkin and Wachs 2009).

In the early 2000s, the metrosexual man made his mark on men's hair care and grooming. Oldstone-Moore (2015) denotes yet another underwear ad as the fulcrum for men's interest grooming in the new millennium. The ad became subject of interest when soccer star David Beckham was displayed in Giorgio Armani underwear above a San Francisco Macy's department store (Oldstone-Moore 2015). The billboard, unfurled in June 2008, featured Beckham's coiffed hair, stubbled face, tattooed arms, bulging groin, and smooth skin from the neck down; from the neck down there was with little hair to be found on his body (Oldstone-Moore 2015). Beckham was the quintessential metrosexual and it appeared he was comfortable not only shaping his facial hair, but removing his body hair, too.

Facial Hair

David Beckham's styled facial follicles are part of a long history of masculine facial hair politics. In his history of facial hair, Oldstone-Moore (2015) endorses Alexander the Great as the man who made the clean-shaven face a marker of masculinity, strength, and domination. Shirking the bearded norm among Greeks of the time, Alexander the Great made a statement by presenting his imperial image on coins and other objects as a beardless youth in an image akin to the ancient gods' eternal beauty. In other historical moments, men in power and with religious influence would also shaved their faces.

After the turn of the 20th century, facial hair styles changed little with men preferring closely-shaved styles. Men's preference for clean-shaven faces leading up to the 1930s were attributed to the invention of the Gillette safety razor in 1904, health trends alerting non-shavers to illness-causing microbes in facial hair, businesses enlisting

uniformity codes for employees, and women's negative opinions toward facial hair (Oldstone-Moore 2015). Facial hair had not disappeared completely, however. Movie stars like Clark Gable rebelliously sported a mustache, but the clean-shaven man was still the ideal in the early 1900s (Oldstone-Moore 2015). The mustache regained some popularity during WWII among military servicemen, but otherwise men were cleanly shaven throughout the 1950s (Synnott 1987).

The "hippie" movement of the 1960s and 1970s changed men's facial hair styles and brought about a counterculture not only in terms of longer hair on men's heads, but on their faces, too. To distance themselves from their clean-shaven fathers, men grew out their mustaches and beards (Synnott 1987). The hippies were not the only countercultural men to use facial hair as a symbol of difference, however. Gay men in the 1970s and 1980s wore facial hair, especially mustaches, to signal masculinity and distance themselves from stereotypes of the effeminate gay man (Hennen 2008a; Levine 1998; Oldstone-Moore 2015).

Facial hair preferences also varied among athletes in the 1970s. Oldstone-Moore (2015) cites *New York Times* article that reported on how few hockey or baseball players had facial hair, compared to the mustachioed and bearded basketball and football players (Werthheim 1972). A year later that would change. Markusen (1998 as cited by Oldstone-Moore 2015) recounts how, upon Oakland A's player Reggie Jackson's arrival at training camp in 1972, he was sporting a mustache and was swiftly told to shave it. Jackson refused. Rather than allow Jackson his ego or uniqueness among his team members, club owner Charlie Finley told other players to grow out their mustaches, too. Finley's strategy backfired, however, as the whole team eventually followed Jackson's

lead each growing a mustache. The stunt became a marketing ploy as Finley declared that any man with a mustache could enter the Father's Day game for free. The new trend coupled facial hair to sports in a way that would popularize facial hair on other big names like Joe Namath (football) and Wilt Chamberlain (basketball) (Oldstone-Moore 2015). By the 1980s though, the smooth shave was popular again (Oldstone-Moore 2015).

Cultural acceptance of the metrosexual man in the 1990s and 2000s invited men to play with their facial hair styles leading not only to variety, but tied to distinct cultural phenomenon (Oldstone-Moore 2015). The "lumbersexual" aesthetic, for example, lauded flannel-wearing and bearded lumberjacks. "Movember" (a combination of mustache and November) began as a way to raise awareness for men's health issues. Even the popularity of the bearded men in reality television show contributed to the trend via programs like *Duck Dynasty* (2012–2017). Competitions also cropped up where men would grow their facial hair to extravagant lengths or style it in fantastic ways (Oldstone-Moore 2015). Over time, the variety of men's facial hair styles have come to represent different kinds of men. It is not just facial hair that has shaped up, however.

Depilation or "Manscaping"

Interest in depilation, or the removal of one's body hair, coincided with the rise in the exposure of men's bodies since the 1980s (Hall 2015). Coinciding with Beckham's rise in popularity, the significance of manscaping entered the cultural landscape with airing of the first iteration of *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* which ran from 2003 until 2007 (Immergut 2010). The reality TV show's cast member Kyan Douglas often taught "straight guy" guests how to tame the hair down there. Though gay men have noted the unnecessariness of hair removal especially in some subcommunities (i.e., among bears

and cubs) (Filiault and Drummond 2013; Hennen 2008b), one study found both gay and heterosexual men remove their body hair at similar rates and for the sake of appearances (Martins et al. 2008). That manscaping become mainstream among heterosexual men is a testament influence of gay male culture (Immergut 2010).

Classical art has also contributed to perception of body hair. Depictions of the nude body in classical art are deplete of body hair to show off sensuality (more often in the case of women) or to demonstrate youthfulness and vigor (in the case of men) (Berger 1972; Oldstone-Moore 2015). In aspiring to reach the level of ideal perfection of these images, one should be hairless (Immergut 2010; Luciano 2001). Exemplars of this ideology are bodybuilders whose hairless, hyper muscular bodies are built up to mirror those of Greek myth and who can be found posing as ancient Olympians (Oldstone-Moore 2015).

Contrasting the Greek/Roman approach to body hair, being covered in hair is analogous with uncivilized animals. Thus, to distance humankind—much less *mankind*—from the sasquatch, apes, bears, or even "Wookies" of *Star Wars* fame, the manliest of men shave or trim their body hair (Hall 2015; Immergut 2010; Oldstone-Moore 2015). Indeed, critics of body hair associate it with bad hygiene, odors, the grotesque, and lack of control (Immergut 2010). While some remove body hair for hygienic purposes, others are concerned with appearance, especially with regard to what their sexual partners think (Hall 2015; Immergut 2010; Martins et al. 2008; McCreary et al. 2007). To this point, the hirsute aesthetic of gay "bears" and other gay subcultures celebrate body hair even in abundance (Hennen 2008a). Nevertheless, another reason many men claim to remove their body hair is for issues of visibility, the goal of which is to make body parts appear

bigger from their muscles to their penis (Boroughs and Thompson 2014; Hall 2015; Klein 2007; McCreary et al. 2007; Oldstone-Moore 2015). Indeed, removal of hair leaves less to the imagination and further exposes the men's skin.

Men's Bodies on Display

A number of magazines throughout the 20th century featured nearly-naked men under the guise of fitness. Just before the turn of the 20th century, men entered a fitness craze that would eventually bring Arnold Schwarzenegger into the zeitgeist and influence contemporary depictions of men. The craze was paired with industrialization, women's advancement in the workplace, changing ideas about masculinity, and even religious attempts to align the body and soul (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Griffith 2004; Reich 2010). Ultimately, new media attention to men's physical interests was a form of self-improvement for some and a sexual outlet for others (though not mutually exclusive).

As the 19th century came to a close, Prussian bodybuilder Eugen Sandow (1867–1925) wowed audiences with his strongman act and, shortly after, Bernarr MacFadden (1868–1955) began publishing *Physical Culture* (est. 1899) in the U.S. (Chapman and Grubisic 2009; Klein 1993). The two were household names in the developing physical fitness industry. Particularly after WWII, magazine like *Physical Culture* were part of a burgeoning ethos created as a response to increasingly sedentary work environments and a reduction of physical labor at home thanks to improving technologies (Alexander, Meem, and Gibson 2018; Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Reich 2010). Physical culture magazines promoted fitness as ways of pursuing manliness through diet, exercise, and weightlifting (Krauss 2014). The magazines, however, also showcased scantily clad men like "The World's Most Perfectly Developed Man" Italian strongman Charles Atlas

(1892–1972) were at the same time guides for prospective bodybuilders and (perhaps initially unintentional) homoerotic productions (Reich 2010).

Difference from physical culture magazines were physique magazines. Physique magazines, primarily published between the 1940s and1960s, built off of the popularity and cultural acceptance of *Physical Culture* (Calder 2016; Krauss 2014). Though magazines like *Physique Pictorial* (etc. 1951) and *Tomorrow's Man* (est. 1952) contained some articles on health and fitness, these physique magazines more often celebrated the beauty of the male form by showing virtually naked men in swimsuits and "posing pouches" that obscured their genitals just enough to avoid post office obscenity policies (Krauss 2014). The magazines never explicitly noted they were marketing to clientele of gay men, but their discrete packaging and mail order services had a captive audience (Krauss 2014). Because these physique magazines were marketed as fitness or bodybuilding publications, they flew under the radar of strict censorship laws not only in the U.S., but around the world, too (Calder 2016; Krauss 2014).

Physique magazines held a variety of purposes in men's lives. The magazines allowed men with same-sex desires from urban to rural landscapes to feel like part of a broader community and lessened feelings of isolation (Krauss 2014). They offered gay men outlets for their sexual attractions at a time when being "out" was dangerous, particularly in the wake of McCarthyism and conservative ideas about men's and women's gender roles in the post-war era (D'Emilio 1983). In the U.S., physique magazines also built a culture of both community among gay men and were foils to the calls for political action in publications produced by early gay rights groups like The Mattachine Society (D'Emilio 1983; Krauss 2014). Altogether, as Krauss (2014:8)

describes, “American manhood became younger and more aesthetically attractive and sexually ambiguous after the war.” Publications like *Physique Pictorial* and *Tomorrow’s Man* showed gay men ways of being conventionally masculine.

Throughout the 20th century, especially in the post-World War era, ways of being men became more complicated as men were faced with new challenges. Using what Dworkin and Wachs (2009) call a “body panic” to adjust, some men focused on their bodies outside of the office. Men turned to the gym where the results of their labor could be physically manifested because “…no matter what crowning achievements women accomplish, they will never, ever, be able to bench-press 350 pounds” (Pope et al. 2000:23–24). The relevance of muscularity in the cultural moment of the 1980s and 1990s is further evident in the appearance of men’s health and fitness magazines. Magazines like *Exercise for Men Only* (est. 1986), *Men’s Fitness* (est. 1987), and *Men’s Health* (est. 1986) coached ways to sustain both their manhood and their bodies. Magazines and advertisements showed a new reality, painting men as both consumers and marketable objects (Barber 2016; Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Osgerby 2001).

Changing aesthetics of American manhood marginalized certain groups, however. The men who appeared in physique magazines were not particularly diverse; they could only push the status quo of the time so far. Thus, very few models of color or models with disabilities appeared within their pages (Krauss 2014; Morgan 1996). Eventually, physique magazines gave way to more pornographic-oriented publications like *Playgirl* (est. 1973) (Krauss 2014). Regardless, both physical culture magazines and physique magazines left a legacy within the magazine and advertising industry. The image of

muscular male models posed at angles to show off their physiques remains and has influenced widely circulated publications like *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*.

Discussion and Conclusion

Men and their aesthetics have continually adapted to cultural fluctuation. At times throughout American history, men's interests turned toward (re)taking power from women or other men. For instance, the relic of white men's concern over their physiques at the turn of the 20th century is apparent in the fitness culture of the 1980s (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Jackson et al. 2001). In other instances, men's adaptations were as surface-level as hair lengths or facial hair styles which communicated differences between fathers and sons, gay men and straight men, (Hennen 2008a; Levine 1998; Oldstone-Moore 2015; Regan 2021). Of course, these two categories are not mutually exclusive. Navigating embodiments of gender expressions of masculinity in these ways tellingly illustrate the precarity of masculinity (Vandello and Bosson 2013). That men have continually adapted to various challenges to their masculinity—especially white hegemonic masculinity—speaks to the importance power and privilege play in its construction. In subsequent chapters, I empirically evaluate how and to what extent aesthetic characteristics of men have changed over time (Chapter 4), evaluate the sexualization of men (Chapter 5), and also explore the strategies *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* use to communicate multiple masculinities (Chapter 6).

CHAPTER 4. MULTIPLE MAGAZINE MASCULINITIES: THE CHANGING AESTHETIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MEN ON MAGAZINE COVERS OVER TIME

Multiple competing masculinities contribute to a gender hierarchy that reinforces social inequalities (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Pascoe 2003). The conceptualization of masculinities as multiple sanctions a more fluid and intersectional arrangement that challenges the idea of a singular kind of masculinity, but also remains intertwined with power and privilege (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018). Gender scholars have long maintained that gender is relational, wherein the social power of masculinity is conditional on the devaluation of femininity (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Such organization of the gender order situates masculinity at the top of a hierarchy with repercussions for women whose gender is a disadvantage and for men who fail to uphold strict standards of masculinity.

Masculinities depend on ranking to keep hegemonic forms at the top and subordinate forms at the bottom (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Persistent threat in the race to the top encourages constant crisis tendencies for masculinity which necessitate ongoing reformulations over time (Benwell 2003; Connell 2005; Faludi 1999; Glick et al. 2007; Robinson 2000). Magazines for men help uphold this masculine competition by demonstrating the highest valued characteristics of men and masculinity. Magazines' longevity over time shows how representations of men change in response to perceived threats and resulting crises.

In this chapter, I am guided by the question: to what extent and how have representations of men's bodies on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sport Illustrated* covers

changed over time? I specifically focus on how aesthetic representations (i.e., pose, body angle, gaze direction, mouth position, facial expression, hair length, and facial hair) of men have changed. In answer to this question, I take a quantitative content analytical approach in my analysis of men on the covers of *GQ* (*n*=481), *Men's Health* (*n*=282), and *Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,254) from the 1980s until 2018 (N=3,017). [4] To test difference across magazines, I use Pearson's chi-square and Fisher exact tests. In multinomial regression analyses, I analyze the extent to which characteristics of men have changed by year. Results contribute to and develop the idea that controlling images communicate how multiple idealized masculinities and change to keep up with sociocultural ebb and flow (Collins 2004).

Masculinity, Magazines, and Controlling Images

Over time, masculinities have not only multiplied, but have become ever more complicated (Carrigan et al. 1985; Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Because gender is constructed in a relational way, advances for women in society necessarily disrupted masculinity for men (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; England 2010; Schippers 2007). In the mid 20th century, the gender revolution, sexual revolution, and second wave feminist ideologies directed men to search for their place in an ever-changing social landscape that demanded gender equality (Luciano 2001; Messner, Greenberg, and Peretz 2015). Declining physical labor for men after WWII and women's entrance into the workplace, for example, denoted a shift in men's control, particularly as

[4] Analyses of *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated* begin in 1980. The first issue of *Men's Health* was not published until 1986.

women become stronger and less reliant on men (Connell 1987; Dworkin and Wachs 2009; England 2010). In other words, manhood and masculinity was in crisis.

Since the turn of the 19th century, magazines have been resources for men not only as sources of entertainment during leisure time, but also for men who perceived their dominance was being challenged by women, other men, or society writ large (Benwell 2003; Edwards 1997; Osgerby 2001; Sumner 2010). While early physique magazines showed men how to become more physically fit (Chapman and Grubisic 2009; Klein 1993; Krauss 2014), modern magazines like *Men's Health* provide advice to calm men's anxieties around sex, fitness, and health (Jackson et al. 1999, 2001; Stevenson et al. 2003). Likewise, *GQ* is an outlet for fashionable and lifestyle-minded men (Nelson 2019; Osgerby 2001; Sumner 2010). *Sports Illustrated* then is a resource for sports fanatics having been established to fill a need for a one-stop review of all-things sports (MacCambridge 1997; Sumner 2010). Magazines also play a different role for men—they contribute to a social imagination of what men are supposed to look like and behave. Put differently, they help construct controlling images.

Controlling images of men illustrate what the multiple, competing masculinities look like and set cultural standards for men. Controlling images comes from Patricia Hill Collins (2015) who expressed the implications of quelling Black feminist thought via controlling images. Controlling images "within U.S. culture [are] racist and sexist ideologies [that] permeate the social structure to such a degree that they become hegemonic, namely, seen as natural, normal and inevitable" (Collins 2015:7). Ideologies attached to controlling images are harmful stereotypes of Black women as mammies, jezebels, hypersexualized, prostitutes, and welfare "queens." Yet, controlling images also

contribute to the categorization of Black men as angry, rapists, criminals, and athletes (Collins 2015; Wingfield 2007, 2010). As a product of controlling images, for example, Black male athletes are subject to essentialist stereotypes around being naturally gifted and physically strong (for review, see Davis and Harris 1998). As a concept, controlling images applies to the current study because regulating images of masculinity involves the marginalization of one masculinity over another and at the intersection of race (among other social categories) (Connell 1987, 2005).

In another example, forms of media like film and television show men's emotions—or lack thereof. In war movies from the 1940s through the 1980s men watch their fellow soldiers die and are scripted to grieve without emotion (Donald 2001). In his assessment of advertisements in the 1970s, Goffman (1976) found men in the images much more reserved than women, who were more expressive. Interestingly, however, men and women perceive emotion differently by respectively looking at the mouth or the eyes as indicators of expressions of feelings (Sullivan et al. 2017). Sullivan et al.'s (2017) findings are evidence that eye gaze holds meaning in images. In other words, when individuals in images look out at the view they maintain their subjecthood in an image; when individuals look away, they lose subjecthood (Berger 1972; Farquhar and Wasylkiw 2007). What does subjectivity mean for men and masculinity?

In their analyses of *Sports Illustrated* between 1975 and 2005, Farquhar and Wasylkiw (2007) find a decrease in direct eye contact with the camera over time, especially in the 1980s and 1990. However, Farquhar and Wasylkiw's (2007) analyses, do not take into account that eye gaze is tied to power differentials between men and women, and can also be sexualized for both (Goffman 1976; Hatton and Trautner 2011;

Krassas et al. 2003; Rohlinger 2002). As Rohlinger (2002:67) notes, the "erotic male… rarely smiles, and his eyes are often focused on something other than the surrounding models or audience." Rohlinger's (2002) description aligns with Goffman's (1976) "licensed withdrawal," a positioning of the body as lesser in images and one in which women are commonly captured. In considering when men are depicted in licensed withdrawal, the importance of measuring emotion, eye gaze, and positioning of the body become relevant to the study of dominating representations of men.

Changing Representations and Aesthetics of Men in Media and Advertising

The competitive organization of masculinities necessitates that men keep up with sociocultural trends to maintain patriarchal power. In response, controlling images of men must also change. How characteristics of men and masculinity are depicted in different forms of media help distinguish which characteristics of manhood hold value and when they fall out of favor. In this section, I elaborate on how representations of men in the media have changed—or not—over time particularly in relation to representations of Black men in media, men's aesthetics, and grooming trends.

The sole use of similar-looking white people on the cover of a magazine communicates the normality of whiteness for the publication (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Edwards 1997; Gill 2007). Any lack of inclusion is harmful and exclusionary particularly when "hegemonic whiteness" prevails, thus preventing those who are not white from imagining themselves on the cover (Hughey 2010). Indeed, studies analyzing the diversity of race, body types, age, gender identities, and sexual identities in media or advertisements have identified the lack of diversity considering these characteristics (Barry 2014; Barry and Phillips 2016; Clarke, Bennett, and Liu 2014; Dworkin and

Wachs 2009; Edwards 1997; Gill 2007; Plous and Neptune 1997). To this end, poor diversity contributes to a controlling image of men and representations of masculinity.

Sports Illustrated is one magazine where the coverage of Black athletes has been consistently disproportionate to that of white athletes (for review, see Davis and Harris 1998). In the wake of the Civil Right Movement, the 1970s and 1980s lead to more self-critical review of sports journalism with regard to racial and ethnic stereotypes. Despite this reflection, much sports coverage remains "color-blind"—that is, sports journalists ignore mention of race/ethnicity (Bucher 1957; Coakley 2015; Hughey and Goss 2015). The strategy of not "seeing" race allows publications like *Sports Illustrated* to claim ignorance about racial politics in sports (Coakley 2015).

Men's Aesthetics: Styles of Dress, Hair, and Grooming

One of the most prominent ways we present ourselves is through styling the body using clothing, haircuts, and grooming. Each are foundational to "doing" gender and establishing group differences (West and Fenstermaker 1995; West and Zimmerman 1987). Gender accessories and aesthetics communicate identities, signal ways of interacting, and symbolize gendered power dynamics (Casanova 2015; Lucal 1999; Pascoe 2011). Collectively, aesthetic symbols have changed over time and in ways that differ based on class or income, race/ethnicity, commitment to masculinity, workplace culture or uniform requirements, sexual identity, and geographic location (Barber 2016; Casanova 2015).

Hair lengths, men's hair, and the hair care industry have long been tied to gender expression (Barber 2016; Synnott 1987). Between men and women, hair is a defining characteristic that marks masculine men from feminine women (Synnott 1987). The

length of men's hair can communicate political ideologies and highlight their commitment to the workplace (Barber 2016; Casanova 2015; Kanter 1977). As an industry, hair care products and salons have developed language particular to men to cater to men's insecurities by calling it "grooming" and hiring women to bolster men's feelings of desirability (Barber 2016).

Hair or hair removal on the body also has masculine connotations. The ability to grow facial hair at all is a signal of manhood and adulthood, but views on whether a clean-shaven face or a bearded one is masculine has shifted historically (Oldstone-Moore 2015; Synnott 1987). Shaven and unshaven faces have become signs of socioeconomic status: whereas businessmen and professionals are clean-shaven, the working man wears facial hair (Luciano 2001; Synnott 1987).

In sum, cultural change surrounding men's aesthetics encourages the complicated construction of multiple masculinities related to who is "in," what is "out," and who has value. Paired with dominating images of men, magazines encourage further study on this topic to further divulge the variety messages magazines are sending to men through their cover images. In this chapter, I specifically focus on aesthetic characteristics (I turn to sexual characteristics in the following chapter). Limited scholarship has evaluated magazines for men using masculinities scholarship as a framework to study representations of men (Waling et al. 2018). To address this shortcoming, I work to answer the question, what do representations of men's bodies on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, *and Sports Illustrated* magazines covers tell us about how representations of men's aesthetic characteristics and masculinity have changed over time?

Data and Methods

Data for this chapter were made up of covers from *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* (N=2,750). Across the three magazines, there were 3,242 individuals coded (*GQ*, *n*=570; *Men's Health*, *n*=285; *Sports Illustrated*, *n*=2,387). Of these individuals, 3,017 were men (*GQ*, *n*=480; *Men's Health*, *n*=281; *Sports Illustrated*, *n*=2,256). Although there were 219 women coded (*GQ*, *n*=90; *Men's Health*, *n*=3; *Sports Illustrated*, *n*=126), I do not include women in the current analyses. Across the three magazines the gender of 6 people could not be determined (*GQ*, *n*=0; *Men's Health*, *n*=1; *Sports Illustrated*, *n*=5). I start by reporting the univariate frequency distribution of coded variables of the covers overall and for each magazine.

Bivariate Analyses

In bivariate analyses, I evaluate whether there are statistically significant differences across the magazines in representations of men focusing on aesthetic characteristics. To test for significant differences across the magazines, I estimated Fisher exact tests or Pearson chi-square tests. I used Fisher exact tests when expected cell sizes were less than five. When men from all three magazines were included, Fisher exact tests would not converge. I used Pearson chi-square tests when this issue occurred or when expected cell sizes were greater than five. I examined whether pairs of magazines differ from each other (that is, I compare *GQ* to *Men's Health*, *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*) to capture whether the characteristics of interest differ statistically across the magazines. [5]

[5] Each of these comparisons are respectively noted by a, b, and c superscripts in descriptive and bivariate statistics tables (Table 4.1 and Table 4.3).

Regression Analyses

Next, I examined how these representations of men change over time by estimating multinomial logistic regression models with variables that describe the aesthetic characteristics of men on the covers as the dependent variables and year (continuous) as the independent variable. For regression models, I did not include categories with cell sizes ≤10 to help with model stabilization; this strategy yields a slightly different number of men as the case base for the regression models. I examine whether there was a linear trend with time. Regression results are presented as odds ratios (Tables 4.2 and 4.4). To help with interpretation across variables, I plot figures to illustrate change where the time domain (year) is on the x-axis. I provide additional tables and figures in appendices.

Independent Variable

Year was a continuous variable for the year of publication for each magazine issue within the sampling window. All analyses over time for *Men's Health* began in 1986 when the first issue was published; analyses begin in 1980 for *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated*. Analyses for all three magazines were conducted through 2018.

Dependent Variables

I organize dependent variables into two groups: Demographic Characteristics (Tables 4.1 and 5.2) and Aesthetic Characteristics (Tables 4.3 and 4.4).

Demographic Characteristics [6,7] included Age and Race/Ethnicity.

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[6] See Chapter 2 for an extended discussion of how variables were operationalized based on existing literature and theory.

[7] Gendered Appearance was originally coded, but are not discussed in-text because of low variation over time. Appendix Figure 4.A1 in shows change over time. The gendered appearance of men on covers across

Age was coded as teen or younger (*n*=20), young adult (reference category, *n*=1,749), adult (*n*=883), older adult/senior (*n*=119), or obstructed (*n*=246). Because of small sample sizes, in the regression models for *GQ* teen or younger (*n*=1) and obstructed (*n*=1) are omitted from the dependent variable; for *Men's Health* teen or younger (*n*=0), older adult/senior (*n*=1), and obstructed (*n*=1) are omitted from the models.

Race/Ethnicity was coded White (reference category, *n*=1,592), Black (*n*=1,268), Latino (*n*=71), Asian (*n*=18), mixed/other (*n*=15), or obscured (*n*=53). Because of small sample sizes in certain categories, the Latino (*GQ*, *n*=7; *Men's Health*, *n*=2), Asian (*GQ*, *n*=2; *Men's Health*, *n*=1), mixed/other (*GQ*, *n*=5; *Men's Health*, *n*=4), and obstructed (*GQ*, *n*=1; *Men's Health*, *n*=1) categories cannot be examined separately for *GQ* or *Men's Health*. Only the mixed/other (*n*=6) category failed to meet the minimum sample size requirements in *Sports Illustrated*.

Men's Aesthetic Characteristics [8] included Pose, Body Angle, Gaze Direction, Mouth Position, Facial Expression, Hair Length, Facial Hair.

Pose was coded as casual (*n*=1,321, reference category), sports (*n*=1,453), or other (*n*=243).

Body Angle was coded as sports (*n*=1,461, reference category), front-facing (*n*=752), or side-back facing (*n*=804).

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the three magazine titles were consistently gender conforming between 1980 and 2018. Such low variation has implications in terms of representation wherein gender nonconforming readers do not see themselves on the covers of these magazines and, likewise, gender conforming readers are not exposed to differently embodied gender expressions (see Martin and Gnoth 2009).

[8] Use of Arms & Hands was originally coded but are not included in these analyses because of the complexity involved in interpreting how men used their arms/hands without considering whether others were in the image with them. Appendix Table 4.A1 shows bivariate analyses, Appendix Figure 4.A2 depicts over time, and Appendix Table 4.A2 shows regression analyses for change over time.

Gaze Direction was coded as no eyes shown or eyes closed (*n*=350), looking at something in the image (*n*=1,341), looking off camera (*n*=82), or looking head on (*n*=1,244, reference category). No eyes shown or eyes closed did not occur in *GQ* (*n*=0) and was rarely coded in *Men's Health* (*n*=8); men looking off camera in GQ were also rare (*n*=10); these categories failed to meet sample size requirements and therefore are not included in regression models.

Mouth Position was coded as no smile (*n*=466), grin (*n*=359), wide smile (*n*=618, reference category), concentration (*n*=1,074), or obscured/other (*n*=500). Concentration was omitted from the over-time regression analyses for *GQ* (*n*=4) and obscured/other in *Men's Health* (*n*=10).

Facial Expression was coded as no expression (*n*=346), happy (*n*=927, reference category), angry (*n*=75), lust (*n*=145), concentration/focus (*n*=1,169), or obstructed/other (*n*=355). Small sample sizes for certain categories led to their omission from over-time regression models for angry (*GQ*, *n*=4; *Men's Health*, *n*=3), concentration (*GQ*, *n*=8), and lust (*Sports Illustrated*, *n*=8).

Hair Length was coded as short (*n*=1,279, reference category), medium/long (*n*=377), balding/other (*n*=221), or obstructed (*n*=1,140). Obstructed was omitted from *GQ* (*n*=6) over-time regression models due to sample size requirements.

Facial Hair was coded as none or clean-shaven (*n*=1,289, reference category), stubble/short beard (*n*=417), medium/long beard (*n*=93), mustache (*n*=182), or other/obstructed (*n*=1,036). Medium/long beard (*n*=7) and mustache (*n*=3) are omitted for *Men's Health* over-time regression models.

Demographic and Aesthetic Characteristics of Cover Men

First, I examine demographic characteristics of the men on the magazine covers, including race, and age. I report results from bivariate analyses in Table 4.1 and regression analyses in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1. Descriptive and Bivariate Results of the Demographic Characteristics of Men Across and Within Magazine Covers

	GQ (*n*=480)		*Men's Health* (*n*=281)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,256)		Total (*n*=3,017)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Age								
Teen or Younger	1	0.21	0	0.99	19	0.84	20	0.66
Young Adult	211	43.96	151	53.74	1,387	61.48	1,749	57.97
Adult	226	47.08	128	45.55	529	23.45	883	29.27
Older Adult/Senior	41	8.54	1	0.36	77	3.41	119	3.94
Obstructed	1	0.21	1	0.36	244	10.82	246	8.15
[a] Fisher Exact: 0.000; [b] χ^2=176.97, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [c] χ^2=87.88, $p \leq .001$, df=4								
Race/Ethnicity								
White	370	77.08	250	88.97	972	43.09	1,592	52.77
Black	95	19.79	23	8.19	1,150	50.98	1,268	42.03
Latino	7	1.46	2	0.71	62	2.75	71	2.35
Asian	2	0.42	1	0.36	15	0.66	18	0.60
Mixed/Other	5	1.04	4	1.42	6	0.27	15	0.50
Obscured	1	0.21	1	0.36	51	2.26	53	1.76
[a] Fisher Exact: 0.000; [b] χ^2=225.57, $p \leq .001$, df=5; [c] χ^2=195.55, $p \leq .001$, df=5								

Pearson's Chi-Square or Fisher Exact tests were performed comparing [a] *GQ* to *Men's Health*, [b] *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and [c] *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

Table 4.2. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) Predicting Men's Demographic Characteristics on Covers by Time

	IRR		IRR		IRR	IRR	IRR
	Age (Versus Young Adult)						
	Teen or Younger		Adult		Older Adult/ Sr.	Obstructed	
GQ (*n*=478)							
Year (1980–2018)	n/a		1.01		1.02	n/a	
Men's Health (*n*=279)							
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		1.03		n/a	n/a	
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)							
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		.99	*	.98	.99	
	Race/Ethnicity (Versus White)						
	Black		Latino		Asian	Mixed/Other	Obscured
GQ (*n*=465)							
Year (1980–2018)	1.05	***	n/a		n/a	n/a	n/a
Men's Health (*n*=273)							
Year (1986–2018)	1.08	*	n/a		n/a	n/a	n/a
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,251)							
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		1.04	**	1.03	n/a	1.02

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

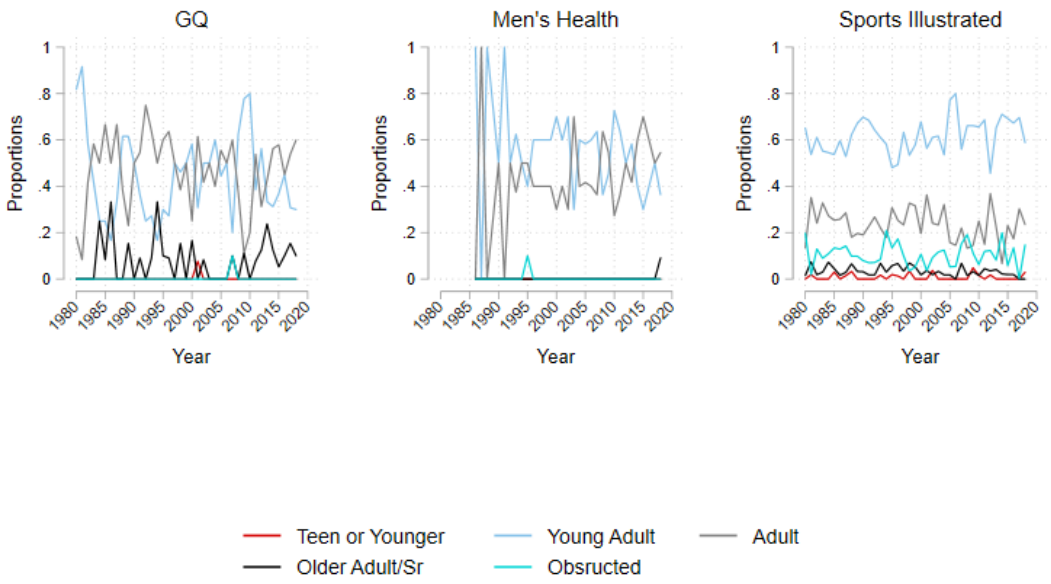

Figure 4.1. Proportion of Age Categories for Men on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, *Sports Illustrated* Over Time

Age. The majority of men on the covers of the magazines were young adults (58%) and about a third were adult men (29.27%). In context, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019a), 25.76% of males in the U.S. are teens or younger, 14.27% are young adults, 26.12% are adults, and 33.81% are older adults or seniors. The modal age category on the covers were young adults in *Men's Health* (53.74%) and *Sports Illustrated* (61.45%). The modal category for *GQ* was adults (47.08%). Across all magazines, teenagers or younger very rarely appeared (0.66%) though *Sports Illustrated* (*n*=19) had more than the other magazines. *GQ* (8.54%) had the highest proportion of older adult or senior men across the magazines and *Men's Health* had the lowest (0.36%). In *Sports Illustrated* over 11% of athletes' ages were obstructed, typically because of helmets or other gear covering their faces. Across these magazines, the men on the covers are mostly young adults or adults, about 40% of the U.S. population and the target audience of these magazines. Bivariate analyses indicated a statistically significant

difference in the age of the men on covers across magazines for *GQ* compared to *Men's Health* (Fisher Exact: 0.000), *Men's Health* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=176.97, $p \leq .001$, df=4), and *GQ* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=87.88, $p \leq .001$, df=4). Change over time is shown in Figure 4.1.

In regression models, there is no statistically significant change in the distribution of the ages of men on the covers of *GQ* or *Men's Health* over time. Young adults (aged late teens to 20s) or adults (aged 30s to 40s) appeared most often on the covers in these two magazines across the years starting in the 1980s through 2018. In *Sports Illustrated*, there was a very slight decrease in the representation of adult men (OR=0.99, $p \leq .05$) compared to young adult men on the covers between 1980 and 2018. No other age categories statistically changed over time.

Race. Overall, the majority of men across the magazines were White (52.77%) or Black (42.03%). Less than 3% of men across the covers were Latino, less than 2% of men's race was obscured, and less than 1% of men across the covers were Asian (0.60%) or Mixed/Other (0.50%). For context, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019b) 76.82% of men in the U.S. are White, 13% are Black or African American, 5.76% are Asian, 1.30% American Indian or Alaska Native, 0.25% Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, and 2.80% are two or more races. The racial patterns within each magazine vary, however. Figure 4.2 shows the proportion of men coded into each of the race categories on the covers of *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated* between 1980 and 2018. There is a statistically significant difference in race across magazines when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (Fisher exact=0.000), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=176.97, $p \leq .001$, df=4;), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=87.88, $p \leq .001$, df=4).

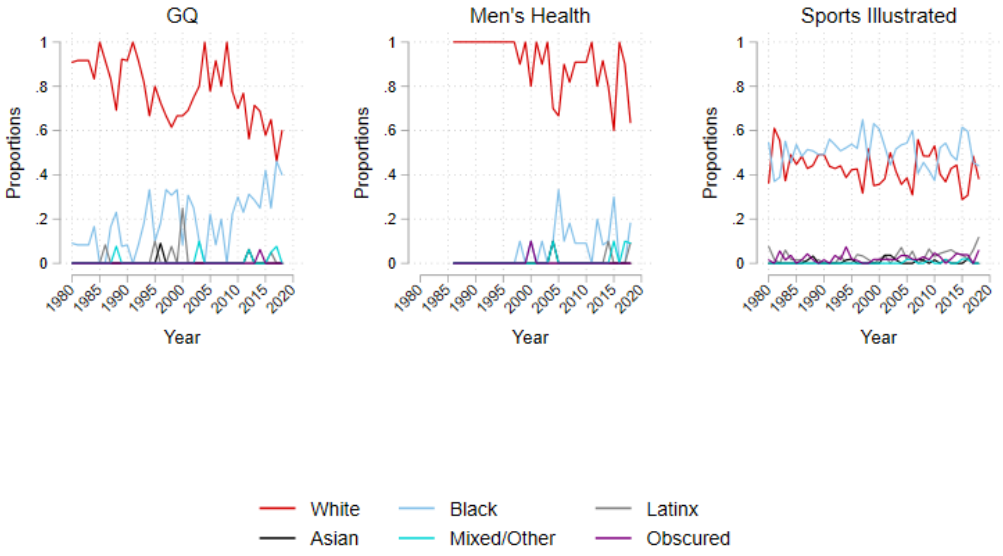

Figure 4.2. Proportion of Race Categories for Men on GQ, Men's Health, Sports Illustrated Over Time

In *GQ*, White men were the majority of men represented on the covers (77.08%) followed by about a fifth of the men on covers being Black men (19.79%). By 2016, there was an equal proportion of Black and White men on the covers of *GQ* (see Figure 4.2). On *GQ* covers, 1.46% of the men were Latino and 1.04% were mixed/other race. All other racial categories were represented by less than 1% of men. Interestingly, men on the covers of *GQ* best represent the racial distribution of men in the U.S. population.

On *Men's Health* covers, 89% of men were white compared to only 8.19% of men being Black. Men in all other race categories made up less than 1.5%. Though white men remained the dominant group represented on the covers of *Men's Health* over time (Figure 4.2), by the mid-2000s the increase in representation of Black men became apparent. The first Black man in *Men's Health* appeared on the 1998 cover wearing only a towel, smiling coyly with his arms hugging himself to show off his muscular chest and biceps. When men of color appeared on subsequent covers over the years, they were

often famous (Jamie Foxx, Usher, and The Rock were each featured several times) or part of special issues featuring firefighters or military servicemen. In general, after 1998, Black men rarely made up more than 10% of men on the covers of *Men's Health*, reaching 30% of men on covers only twice in 2005 and 2015.

In *Sports Illustrated*, more than half of men on the covers are Black men (50.93%) and white men make up just less than half (43.09%). About 3% of men were Latino and the race of 2% of men on *Sports Illustrated* was obstructed. Unlike the other two magazines, there are only a few instances (in the early 1980s and mid-2000s) where the proportion of White men across the covers was greater than the proportion of Black men. Though men of other races were rarely shown, there is an upward trend in the proportion of Latino men on the covers leading up to 2018. This slight upward trend coincides with the success of the largely Latino Houston Astros baseball team. On a cover released in March 2016, the Astros were predicted to win the World Series and later did so in 2017; in that year, the team was featured in the November issue noting the team's "wild ride" to the championship.

Regression results show that, compared to White men, the proportion of Black men on the covers of *GQ* increased (OR=1.05, $p \leq .001$) over time. In other words, Black men were 1.05 times more likely as each additional year passed to appear on the covers of *GQ* between 1980 and 2018 compared to White men. In *Men's Health*, there is also a statistically significant increase in the representation of Black men (OR=1.04, $p \leq .01$). No other race categories were statistically significant on *Men's Heath* between 1986 and 2018. In *Sports Illustrated*, regression results only show the relative representation of

Latino men has increased over time (OR=1.04, $p \leq .01$) for each additional year between 1980 and 2018 compared to White men.

Demographics Results Section Summary

In summary, men on the covers were commonly young adults or adults, age groups that align with the age brackets of the magazines' readership (see Chapter 2 for more about readership demographics). *GQ* cover models were slightly older than the other magazines, however. Racial patterns of men in each magazine are genre-specific. The majority of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* were Black men, contributing to the image of the Black male as a natural athlete (Collins 2015; Davis and Harris 1998; Van Sterkenburg et al. 2010). Omitting or limiting Black men's representation in magazines like in *GQ* and *Men's Health* harmfully casts Black men as "others," thus controlling the image of which men are fashionable or fit, respectively (Collins 2015). Further analysis (i.e., qualitative) is necessary to determine the extent to which these images positively or negatively represent Black male athletes and cover lines mention race in text accompanying these images. There was also a statistically significant increase in the proportion of Latino men on *Sports Illustrated* over time which aligns with the successes of certain baseball teams, a sport increasingly associated with Latino men (Burgos 2007). Though soccer is also a popular sport among Latino men, *Sports Illustrated* has rarely reported on the sport because the magazine has historically focused reporting on popular American sports like football, baseball, and basketball (Sumner 2010). Both *GQ* and *Men's Health* had statistically significant increases in Black men on covers over time, perhaps signaling increased attention to racial diversity of men on their covers.

Men's Aesthetic Characteristics Results

Men's aesthetic characteristics included pose, body angle, gaze direction, mouth position, facial expression, hair length, and facial hair (Table 4.3). Regression analyses are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3. Descriptive and Bivariate Results of Men's Aesthetic Characteristics Across and Within Magazine Covers

	GQ (*n*=480)		*Men's Health* (*n*=281)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,256)		Total (*n*=3,017)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Pose								
Casual	434	90.42	238	84.70	649	28.77	1,321	43.79
Sports	16	3.33	23	8.19	1,414	62.68	1,453	48.16
Other	30	6.25	20	7.12	193	8.55	243	8.05
[a] χ^2=9.00, $p \leq .01$, df=2; [b] χ^2=355.18, $p \leq .001$, df=2; [c] χ^2=649.28, $p \leq .001$, df=2								
Body Angle								
Sports	16	3.33	20	7.12	1,425	63.16	1,461	48.43
Front	281	58.54	91	32.38	380	16.84	752	24.93
Side/Back	183	38.13	170	60.50	451	19.99	804	26.65
[a] χ^2=50.14, $p \leq .001$, df=2; [b] χ^2=609.63, $p \leq .001$, df=2; [c] χ^2=330.10 $p \leq .001$, df=2								
Gaze Direction								
No Eyes/Closed	0	0.00	8	2.85	342	15.16	350	11.60
Looking in Image	13	2.71	13	4.63	1,315	58.29	1,341	44.45
Off Camera	10	2.08	12	4.27	60	2.66	82	2.72
Head On	457	95.21	248	88.26	539	23.89	1,244	41.23
[a] χ^2=19.43, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [b] χ^2=500.91, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [c] χ^2=878.15, $p \leq .001$, df=3								
Mouth Position								
No Smile	124	25.83	77	27.40	265	11.75	466	15.45
Grin	172	35.83	75	26.69	112	4.96	359	11.90
Wide Smile	166	34.58	101	35.94	351	15.56	618	20.48
Concentration	4	0.83	18	6.41	1052	46.63	1,074	35.60
Obscured/Other	14	2.92	10	3.56	476	21.10	500	16.57
[a] χ^2=24.09, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [b] χ^2=782.53, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [c] χ^2=399.72, $p \leq .001$, df=4								
Facial Expression								
No Expression	62	12.92	48	17.08	236	10.46	346	11.47
Happy	286	59.58	150	53.38	491	21.76	927	30.73
Angry	4	0.83	6	2.14	65	2.88	75	2.49
Lust	91	18.96	46	16.37	8	0.35	145	4.81
Concentration/Focus	8	1.67	20	7.12	1,141	50.58	1,169	38.75
Obstructed/Other	29	6.04	11	3.91	315	13.96	355	11.77
[a] χ^2=22.10, $p \leq .001$, df=5; [b] χ^2=533.02, $p \leq .001$, df=5; [c] χ^2=831.88, $p \leq .001$, df=5								
Hair Length								
Balding/Other	31	6.46	17	6.05	173	7.67	221	7.33
Short	329	68.54	214	76.16	736	32.62	1,279	42.39
Medium/Long	114	23.75	37	13.17	226	10.02	377	12.50
Obstructed	6	1.25	13	4.63	1,121	49.69	1,140	37.79
[a] χ^2=19.58, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [b] χ^2=243.25, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [c] χ^2=417.47, $p \leq .001$, df=3								
Facial Hair								
None, Clean-Shaven	292	60.83	184	65.48	813	36.04	1,289	42.72
Stubble/Short Beard	106	22.08	73	25.98	238	10.55	417	13.82
Medium/Long Beard	22	4.58	6	2.14	65	2.88	93	3.08

Mustache	21	4.38	3	1.07	158	7.00	182	6.03
Other/Obstructed	39	8.13	15	5.34	982	43.53	1,036	34.34

[a] χ^2=12.73, $p \leq .05$, df=4; [b] χ^2=210.75, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [c] χ^2=242.85, $p \leq .001$, df=4

Pearson's Chi-Square Tests were performed comparing [a] *GQ* to *Men's Health*, [b] *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and [c] *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

Table 4.4. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) Predicting Men's Aesthetic Characteristics on Covers by Time

	IRR		IRR		IRR		IRR		IRR	
	Pose (Versus Casual)									
	Sports		Other							
GQ (*n*=480)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.05	*	1.09	***						
Men's Health (*n*=281)										
Year (1986–2018)	.92	**	.93	*						
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,256)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.00	***	1.00							
	Body Angle (Versus Front-Facing)									
	Sports		Side/Back-Facing							
GQ (*n*=481)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.04		.96	***						
Men's Health (*n*=282)										
Year (1986–2018)	.94	**	1.00							
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)										
Year (1986–2018)	.97	***	.97	***						
	Gaze Direction (Versus Head On)									
	No Eyes/Closed		Looking in Image		Off Camera					
GQ (*n*=470)										
Year (1980–2018)	n/a		1.10	**	n/a					
Men's Health (*n*=273)										
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		.94		1.07					
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,256)										
Year (1980–2018)	.97	***	.97	***	1.01					
	Mouth Position (Versus Wide Smile)									
	No Smile		Grin		Concentra-tion		Obscured/ Other			
GQ (*n*=476)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.02		1.00		n/a		1.05	*		
Men's Health (*n*=282)										
Year (1986–2018)	1.11	***	1.03		.98		n/a			
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,256)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.03	***	1.04	***	.99		1.01	*		
	Facial Expression (Versus Happy)									
	No Expression		Angry		Lustful		Concentrate		Other/ Obstructed	
GQ (*n*=468)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		n/a		1.03	**	n/a		1.02	
Men's Health (*n*=271)										
Year (1986–2018)	1.08	***	n/a		1.07	**	.99		1.15	**
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,248)										
Year (1980–2018)	1.02	**	.99		n/a		.98	***	.99	

	Hair Length (Versus Short)					
	Medium or Long		Balding or Other		Obstructed	
GQ (*n*=474)						
Year (1980–2018)	.97	***	.99		n/a	
Men's Health (*n*=281)						
Year (1986–2018)	.97		.94		.98	
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,256)						
Year (1980–2018)	.96	***	1.00		1.01	**

	Facial Hair (Versus None/Cleanshaven)							
	Stubble/ Short Beard		Medium/ Long Beard		Mustache		Other/ Obstructed	
GQ (*n*=480)								
Year (1980–2018)	1.11	***	1.08	***	1.00		1.08	***
Men's Health (*n*=272)								
Year (1986–2018)	1.13	***	n/a		n/a		1.15	***
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,255)								
Year (1980–2018)	1.06	***	1.08	***	.95	***	1.03	***

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

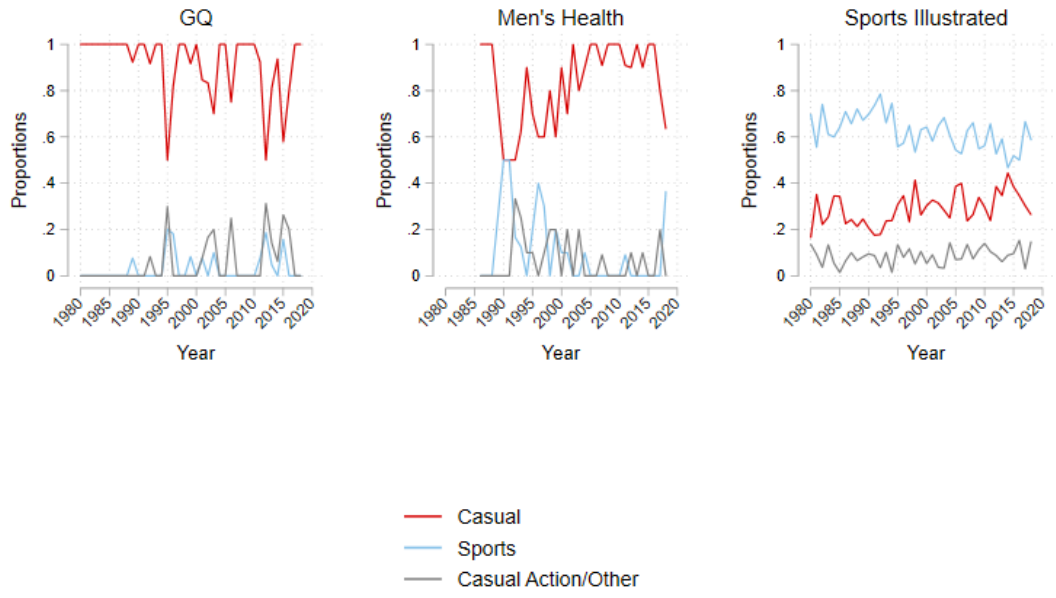

Figure 4.3. Proportion of Men's Poses over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

Pose. Across the three magazines, men were nearly equally likely to be in either a sports pose (48.16%) or casually posed (43.79%), but differences between the magazines were clear. There was a statistically significant difference in poses for *GQ* compared to *Men's Health* (χ^2=9.00, $p \leq .01$, df=2), *Men's Health* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=355.18, $p \leq .001$, df=2), and *GQ* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=649.28, $p \leq .001$, df=2). Figure 4.3 shows the change in the proportion of the pose categories for each magazine over time.

Men on the covers of *GQ* (90%) were almost exclusively casually posed. Issues of *GQ* from 1995 provide examples of the different poses. Captioned with "Can Grant Hill Save Sports?" the April 1995 pictures Hill in a sport pose midair, passing a basketball between his legs while wearing a tan suit. In the March 1995 issue, grey-suited George Clooney is casually posed sitting on the floor with crossed legs propped up by his arms as

"ER's Smoother Operator." Comparatively, in June 1995, Tom Hanks is "Tom Triumphant" having recently won the Oscar for *Forest Gump* (1994) and celebrating the release of *Apollo 13* this month. He appears to march through the waves on a beach in a sweater and cargo shorts in what was labeled a casual action.

Men on the covers of *Men's Health* were predominately casually posed (84.70%) and in sports poses (working out or exercising) only 8.19% of the time. As the magazine increased the number of issues it released in the early 1990s (there were only two issues 1986–1989), sports poses declined in favor of more casual poses (See Figure 4.3). Again, 1995 is a good example of poses. A man stands casually in a pool smirking at the camera wearing only his swim trunks and goggles around his neck in the January/February issue. The November 1995 issue promotes "The Perfect Pushup" by showing just that—a shirtless man in his early-30s holding a pushup position looking head-on into the camera as an example of a sport pose. Only one man in this year was coded as posed in a casual action/other way when in June 1995 an unnamed man in is late-30s or early-40s is shown on what appears to be a surf board or kayak wearing a lifejacket. He looks back at the camera in a candid shot. After 2000, these sport or casual action poses decline in favor of casual poses. Given that *Men's Health* is a magazine focused one health *and* fitness, the decline of covers with men actively working out and replacement with images of men showing off the results of their fitness instead (e.g., abs and arms) is interesting.

The majority of the men in *Sports Illustrated* were in sports poses (62.68%) and casually posed just over a quarter of the time (28.79%). Over time (Figure 4.3), *Sports Illustrated* has depicted fewer men actively playing sports than posed casually. *Sports*

Illustrated favors photos of men in-action overall, but has increasingly depicted men in casual poses over time.

Regression analyses indicate change over time in how men were posed for each magazine (Figure 4.3). In *GQ*, the relative odds that a man on the covers of *GQ* were in a sport pose like that of Grant Hill increased (OR=1.05, $p \leq .05$) each additional year after 1980. The odds of men in an "other" pose in *GQ* like that of Tom Hanks also increased (OR=1.09, $p \leq .001$) compared to a casual pose for each additional year between 1980 and 2018. The rate at which men on the covers of *Men's Health* were depicted in a sports pose (OR=0.92, $p \leq .01$) or in another pose (OR=0.93, $p \leq .05$) decreased over time, compared to those in a casual pose between 1986 and 2018. That is, casual poses like the man in the pool increased over this time period relative to the other types of poses. Between 1980 and 2018, the proportion of men in sports poses on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* stayed the same compared to a casual pose (OR=1.00, $p \leq .001$). Interestingly, whereas, men on *GQ* were increasingly posed in-motion in sports poses over time, men on the covers of *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* were more likely to be casually posed over time.

Body Angle. The modal body angle of the men on the covers was a sports pose (48.43%) where the direction of their bodies was twisted and/or in-motion; a quarter of men were angled facing the front (24.93%) or face the side/back (26.65%). Men in each of the three magazines were posed in magazine-specific ways. In *GQ*, the majority of men were posed facing the front (58.54%) with their shoulders and hips facing the camera. Otherwise, the men were angled facing the side/back (38.13%); rarely were men on *GQ* covers in-action at sports angles (3.33%). Figure 4.4 shows that more men were

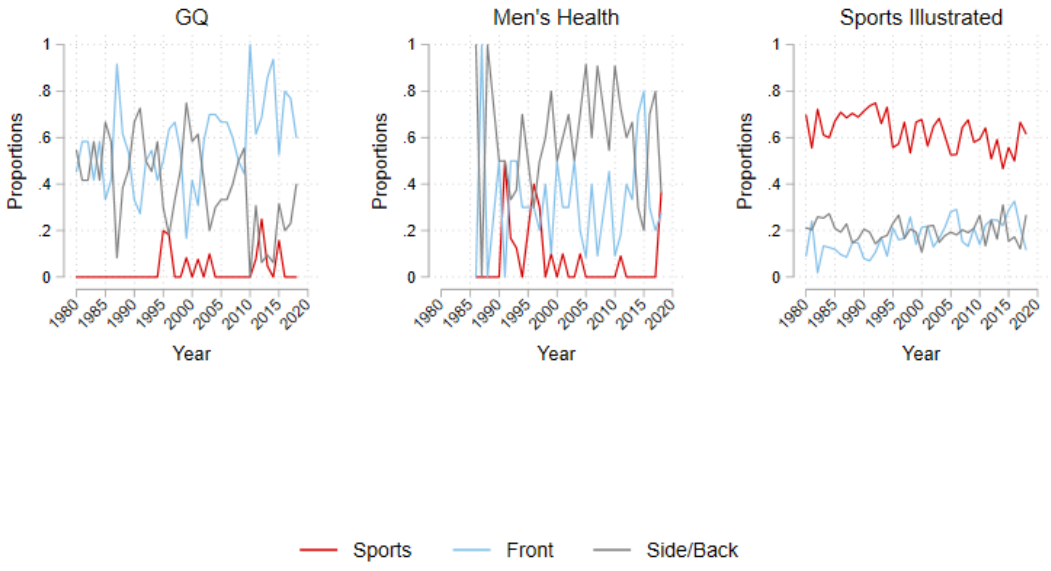

Figure 4.4. Proportion of Men's Body Angles over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

front-facing, especially after 2000. In contrast, men on the covers of *Men's Health* were primarily angled to the side or back (60.50%) and about a third were angled facing the front (32.38%). Only 7.12% of men were angled in a sporting way. Like *GQ*, men on *Men's Health* were rarely depicted at these sports at angles after 2000. *Sports Illustrated* differed from the other two magazines—the majority of men were at sports angles (60.50%). About a fifth of men were facing the side/back (19.99%) or the front (16.84%). There was a statistically significant difference between all magazines when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=50.14, $p \leq .001$, df=2), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=609.63, $p \leq .001$, df=2), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=330.10 $p \leq .001$, df=2). Figure 4.4 shows the change in the proportion of the body angle categories for each magazine over time for each magazine.

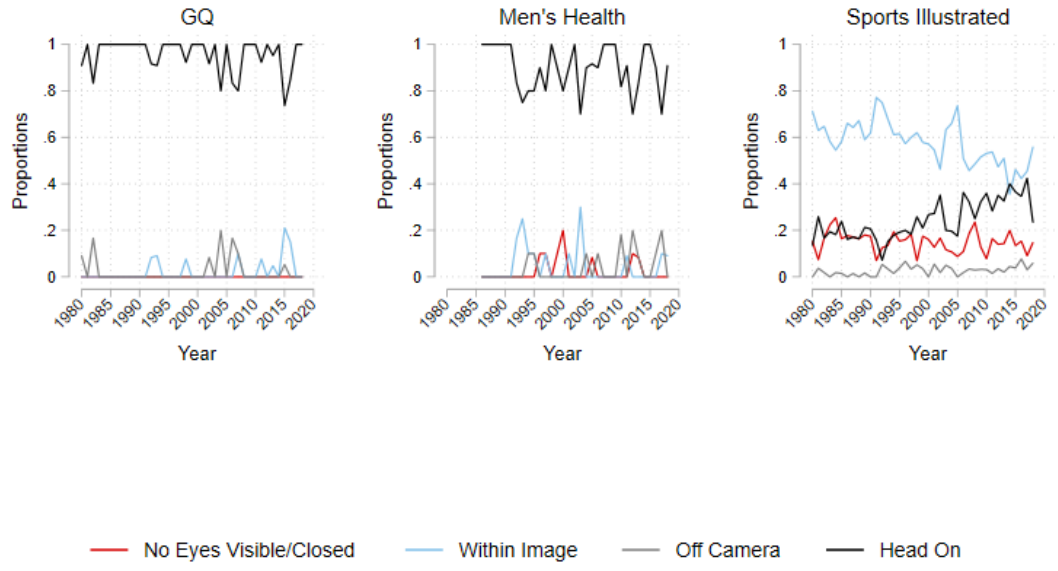

Figure 4.5. Proportion of Men's Gaze Directions over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

Regression analyses show statistically significant changes over time for body angle categories in each magazine. In *GQ*, for each year after 1980, the odds that men were facing the back or side (OR=0.96, $p \leq .01$) decreased compared to facing the front. For each year after 1986, the odds that men on the covers of *Men's Health* were depicted in sports angles declined (OR=0.94, $p \leq .01$) compared to front-facing. Meanwhile, in *Sports Illustrated*, compared to facing the front, the odds that men were depicted at either a sports angle (OR=0.97, $p \leq .001$) or facing the side/back (OR=0.97, $p \leq .001$) declined between 1980 and 2018. In other words, men on all covers were statistically more likely to be facing the front with their shoulders square to the camera between 1980 and 2018.

Gaze Direction. Across the magazines, gaze directions fall into two main categories in which the men were looking at something within the image (44.45%) or looking head on into the camera (41.23%). Chi-square analyses showed a statistically significant difference in gaze when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* ($\chi^2=19.43$, $p \leq .001$,

df=3), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=500.91, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=878.15, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3). Figure 4.5 shows the proportion of change over time for gaze direction categories for each magazine.

Men in *GQ* almost exclusively look into the camera (95.21%) rather than looking at something within the image (2.71%) or looking at something off camera (2.08%). Men on *Men's Health* covers predominately look straight into the camera (88.26%). Less than 5% of men on *Men's Health* were looking at something within the image (4.63%), looking at something off camera (4.27%), or whose eyes were not showing in the image or were closed (2.85%). Men in *Sports Illustrated* look into the camera less than a quarter of the time (23.89%). Instead, these men are focused on something within the image (58.29%) (i.e., another athlete, ball being thrown, catching a ball, etc.). When no eyes were showing or were closed (15.16%), this was commonly because of helmets or action shots in which football players were being tackled, for instance. Rarely were men on *Sports Illustrated* covers looking at something off camera (2.66%).

Regression analyses show change over time in men's gaze directions within each magazine. For each additional year between 1980 and 2018, the odds that men on the covers of *GQ* were looking at something within the cover image increased (OR=1.10, $p \leq .01$) compared to looking head on at the camera. There were no statistically significant changes in the relative proportions of gaze direction categories for men on the covers of *Men's Health* between 1986 and 2018. In *Sports Illustrated*, the odds that men had their eyes closed or not showing or be looking at something in the cover images each declined (OR=0.97 for both categories, $p \leq .001$) compared to looking head on at the camera over time.

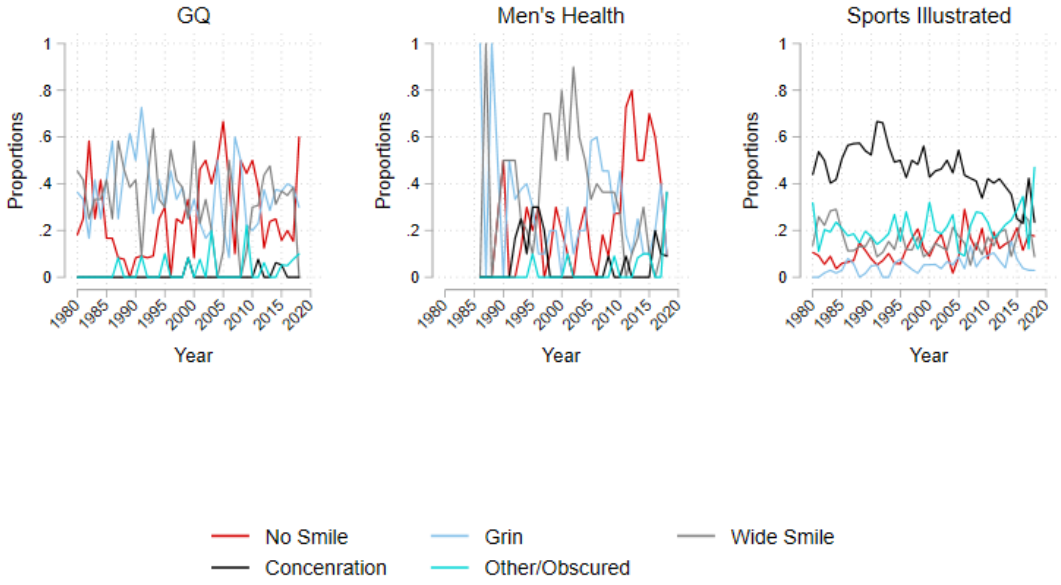

Figure 4.6. Proportion of Men's Mouth Position over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

Mouth Position. Men's mouths on the magazine covers were frequently in a concentrative position (35.60%) or smiling widely (20.48%). A concentrative mouth position was often one where men's lips were pursed as if thinking or when the men were focusing on the game where their mouths were hanging open. Michael Jordan was known for playing basketball with his tongue hanging out, for example (Eagle 2013). Across magazines, about 12% of men were grinning and 15.45% were not smiling. Grins included closed-mouth smiles or smirks. Pearson's Chi-square tests indicate a statistically significant difference in mouth positions when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=24.09, $p \leq .001$, df=4), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=782.53, $p \leq .001$, df=4), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=399.72, $p \leq .001$, df=4). The proportion of men's mouth positions in each magazine between 1980 and 2018 are shown in Figure 4.6.

Over one-third of the men on the covers of *GQ* were grinning (35.83%) or smiling widely (34.58%), followed by one quarter who were not smiling at all (25.83%). In *Men's Health*, men were most often smiling widely (35.94%), with just over one-quarter grinning (26.69%) or not smiling (27.40%). Interestingly, later changes in men's mouth positions coincide with editorial turnover. For example, when Bill Phillips began his editorship in 2012, more men had no smiles, a trend that continued under Matt Bean when he took over as editor in 2016. The modal category for men in *Sports Illustrated*, however, was concentrating (46.63%). About a fifth of the time (21.10%), men's mouths on *Sports Illustrated* were obstructed or positioned in another way. Otherwise, they were smiling widely (15.56%) or not smiling at all (11.75%).

Regression analyses show how men's mouth positions shifted over time. The odds that men's mouths on the covers of *GQ* were obscured or in another position increased (OR=1.05, $p \leq .05$) compared to widely smiling for each additional year between 1980 and 2018. No other categories showed a statistically significant change over time in *GQ*. For each additional year between 1986 and 2018 in *Men's Health*, men who were not smiling became more prevalent (OR=1.11, $p \leq .001$) than men who were smiling widely. Over time, there was an increase in the odds of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* not smiling (OR=1.03, $p \leq .001$) but rather grinning (OR=1.04, $p \leq .001$) than smiling widely for every additional year between 1980 and 2018. Men's mouths were also slightly more obscured or in another position (OR=1.01, $p \leq .05$) over time. Across all magazines, men with wide smiles are on the decline.

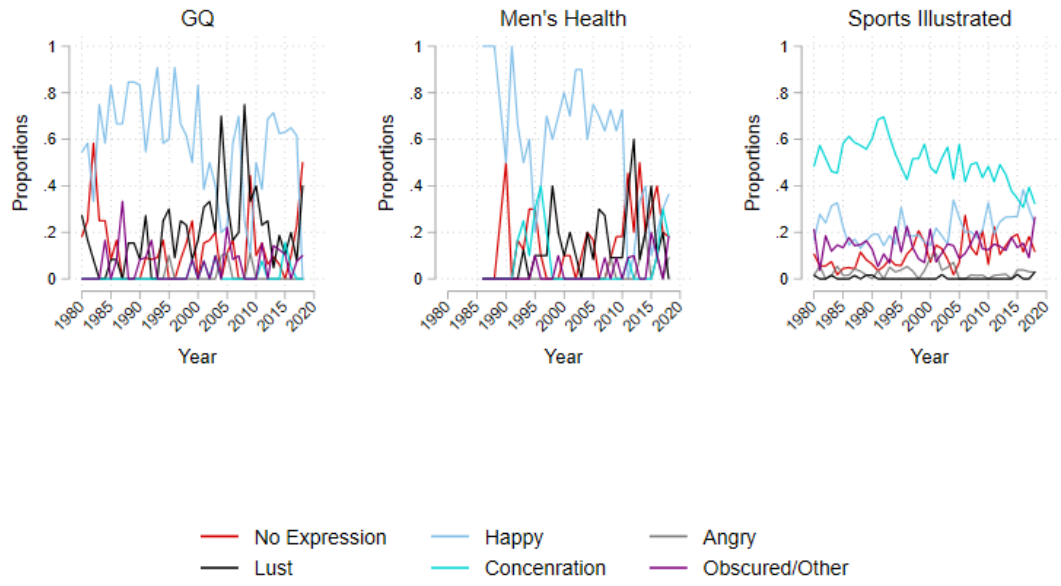

Figure 4.7. Proportion of Men's Facial Expressions over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*

Facial Expressions. Across the magazines, men were depicted most often concentrating or focused (38.75%) or happy (30.73%). On occasion, they had no facial expression (11.47%) or their faces were obstructed (11.77%). Rarely did they express lust (4.81%) or anger (2.49%). The most common facial expression among men on *GQ* was happy (59.58%) followed by lustful (18.96%). The spikes in these more sexual facial expressions align with the editorship of Jim Nelson (2003–2018) (See Figure 4.7). In *Men's Health*, men commonly expressed happiness (53.38%), but are also equally non-expressive (17.08%) or lustful (16.37%). The relative increase of the non-expressive and lustful categories over time aligns with an editorial turnover as Bill Philips (2012–2016) became editor and put an end to predominately happy facial expressions on the cover of *Men's Health* (See Figure 4.7). In *Sports Illustrated*, the men had concentrated or focused facial expressions about half of the time (50.58%), were happy in a fifth of the covers

(21.76%), or had no facial expression (10.46%). Pearson's Chi-square results show a statistical difference in facial expressions when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=22.10, $p \leq .001$, *df*=5), *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=533.02, $p \leq .001$, *df*=5), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=831.88, $p \leq .001$, *df*=5). The proportions in each of the categories of men's facial expressions over time are shown in Figure 4.7.

Regression results show some change over time within each magazine. Compared to appearing happy, the proportion of men on the covers of *GQ* with a lustful facial expression increased (OR=1.03, $p \leq .01$) between 1980 and 2018. Between 1986 and 2018, the proportion of men on the covers of *Men's Health* increased for having no facial expression (OR=1.08, $p \leq .001$) or a lustful facial expression (OR=1.07, $p \leq .01$) compared to happy. Men on *Men's Health* also had more obstructed/other facial expressions over time (OR=1.15, $p \leq .001$). Compared to appearing happy, men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* increasingly had no expression after 1980 (OR=1.02, $p \leq .01$), but the proportion of men with a concentrative or focused facial expression decreased (OR=0.98, $p \leq .001$).

Hair Length. In total, men's hair length was most often short (42.39%; cropped above the ears) or obstructed in some way (37.79%), though about one-eighth of the men had medium-length or long hair (12.50%; longer than the ears). There are statistically significant differences in hair lengths when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=19.58, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=243.25, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=417.47, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3). Figure 4.8 shows the proportion of men's hair length categories over time for each magazine.

Figure 4.8. Proportion of Men's Hair Length over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

Men on *GQ* most often had medium-length or short hair (68.54%), but about a quarter of *GQ* men had medium-length or long hair (23.75%). Few men were balding or had another hair length (6.46%) and even fewer men's hair was obstructed (1.25%). The pattern in *Men's Health* is similar with mostly short hair (76.16%) and a few men had medium to long hair (13.17%). Rarely were men balding with had another hair length (6.05%) and even fewer men's hair was obstructed (4.63%). Hair in *Sports Illustrated* was mostly obstructed (49.69%); when visible, however, men's hair was short (32.62%). Ten percent of men had medium or long hair. The proportion of bald or balding men was similar to other magazines (7.67%). The proportion of men with medium or long hair on *Sports Illustrated* decreased drastically throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, a trend shared with *GQ* (but not *Men's Health*). Curiously, in both *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated*, there was a spike in the representation of bald or balding men in the mid-1990s even after products like Rogaine prompted men to address their hair loss (Luciano 2001).

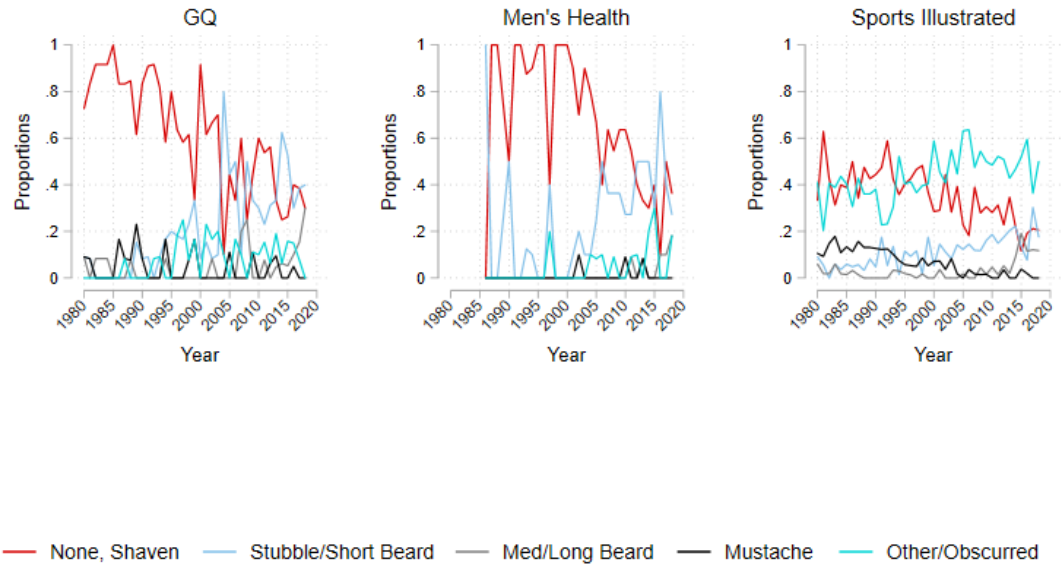

Figure 4.9. Proportion of Men's Facial Hair Styles over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

Regression analyses show some statistically significant change over time in each magazine. Between 1980 and 2018, men on the covers of *GQ* became less likely (OR=.97, $p \leq .001$) to have medium or long hair compared to short hair. There is no statistical difference in men's hair lengths on the covers of *Men's Health* over time. Men on *Men's Health* covers consistently have short, cropped hair. In *Sports Illustrated*, men were less likely to have medium or long hair on the covers over time (OR=0.96, $p \leq .001$) compared to short hair and slightly more likely for their hair to be obstructed (OR=1.01, $p \leq .01$).

Facial Hair. Though often obstructed (34.34%), men were otherwise clean-shaven when their facial hair was showing (42.72%). When the men did have facial hair, it was in the form of stubble or a short beard (13.82%). Pearson's Chi-square analyses show a statistically significant difference in facial hair styles across all magazines when

GQ was compared to *Men's Health* (χ^2=12.73, $p \leq .05$, df=4), *Men's Health* was compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=210.75, $p \leq .001$, df=4), and *GQ* was compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=242.85, $p \leq .001$, df=4). Figure 4.9 shows the proportion of men's facial hair styles over time for each magazine.

In *GQ*, 61% of men were clean-shaven and 22% had stubble or short beards. Like hair lengths, men on the covers of *GQ* had a variety of facial hair styles. After 2000, the styles became much more varied as the proportion of men with stubble or short beards became popular. Men on *Men's Health* were mostly clean-shaven (65.48%), but a quarter (25.98%) kept their facial hair short when they did have it on covers. Like *GQ*, men on *Men's Health* where clean-shaven until the mid-2000s when stubble or short beards became trendy and eventually took over as the most popular style, peaking in the late 2010s. Obstruction of facial hair on *Sports Illustrated* was most common (43.53%), but otherwise, follows the same patterns as *GQ* and *Men's Health*. The exception was the higher frequency of mustaches (7%).

Regression analyses indicate statistically significant change over time in each magazine. Compared to not having any facial hair, men on the covers of *GQ* increasingly had stubble or a short beard (OR=1.11, $p \leq .001$), a medium or long beard (OR=1.08, $p \leq .001$), or obstructed or other facial hair style (OR=1.08 $p \leq .001$) for every additional year between 1980 and 2018. Over time, men on the covers of *Men's Health* were increasingly more likely (OR=1.13, $p \leq .001$) to have stubble or a short beard compared to being cleanshaven. They also increasingly had another facial hairstyle or their facial hair was obscured for every additional year 1980 and 2018 (OR=1.15, $p \leq .001$). Compared to being clean-shaven, the men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* were more likely to have

all other facial hairstyles between 1980 and 2018 ($p \leq .001$) except for mustaches (OR=0.95, $p \leq .001$) which declined. Like in the other magazines, the proportion of clean-shaven men decreased while the proportion of men with stubble or short beards increased. There is a clear decline in the proportion of men with mustaches since the early 1980s.

Men's Aesthetic Characteristics Results Section Summary

Like any aesthetic trend, there has been some change as one fad replaces another. The ways men were posed in *GQ* became more varied, favoring men in motion or in other positions rather than casually posed. The opposite was true of *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* where more men were casually posed over time. Together, men on these covers demonstrate change in the genre-specific depictions of men. By this, I mean that rather than fashionably reclining on the covers of *GQ*, men were in motion. Likewise, on *Men's Health* covers, demonstrating how to do a pushup became less important than showing the results of those pushups. Similarly, *Sports Illustrated* has slowly moved away from showing men in play in favor of casual poses.

Body angle and the positioning of the body can be important to showing it off whether in a portrait-like setting, angled to better flex muscles, or demonstrate sporting prowess. Over time, both *GQ* and *Men's Health* favored displaying men's bodies square to the camera where both their hips and shoulders faced forward. Linked to the poses described above, psychologists describe these "power poses" as evolutionary displays of male dominance, even claiming they increase testosterone and cortisol levels (though widely contested) (Carney, Cuddy, and Yap 2010; Credé and Phillips 2017). In *Men's Health*, men's bodies were consistently turned to the side as sporting angles decreased

over time. Given the commitment of *Men's Health* to fitness, side-angled bodies better show the musculature of the torso, imitating classical art and images of mythological heroes (Oldstone-Moore 2015).

Men's eye gaze differed in each magazine. As Farquhar and Wasylkiw (2007) note, eye gaze is an indicator of subjectivity. Models in *GQ* lose subjectivity by increasingly looking at something within the image whereas men in in *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* maintain it by looking through the camera lens at potential readers. Despite losing subjectivity, by looking away from the camera and gazing at something else, men withdraw from the viewer's gaze becoming more alluring and perhaps even erotic (Berger 1972; Goffman 1976; Rohlinger 2002). As an advertising ploy, looking through the camera invites readers into the image, connecting them to the material. Psychological studies on attention and perception have long held that, when looking at an image, the human eye is drawn to the eyes in images first before observing other elements of the image (Gervais, Holland, and Dodd 2013; Henderson et al. 2003; Morton and Johnson n.d.). Eye-tracking literature also suggests that humans immediately follow the direction of a person's gaze in images as if they are arrows (Friesen and Kingstone 1998; Hommel et al. 2001). Thus, having men on the covers of *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* look out from the covers draws in readers at newsstands or leads them to look at other products or people (i.e., women) in the images (see also Berger 1972).

Together, mouth position and facial expression indicate men's emotions on the covers over time. Men in *GQ* were most often widely smiling, indicating happiness, but these men were also more likely to have had a lustful facial expression over time. In *Men's Health*, wide smiles become less common over time while no smile or

obscured/other increase. Men's facial expressions on *Men's Health* became less expressive, yet also more lustful. An increase in lustful facial expressions relative to happy expressions indicates the increasing sexualization of men over time. Looking at Figure 4.7, lustful facial expressions have increased since 2000 in *GQ* and since 2010 in *Men's Health*. Men's increasingly lustful facial expressions on *GQ* and *Men's Health* covers over time speaks to the allure of the metrosexual man who shows off his body and how this sexual appeal sells.

Meanwhile, having no smile or no expression is a marker of stoicism and lack of emotion—a characteristic expected of men, especially those attempting to show physical strength (Donald 2001; Goffman 1976; Orenstein 2020; Underwood 2018; Underwood and Olson 2019). On *Sports Illustrated* covers, men with wide smiles decreased over time in favor of other mouth positions (except concentrating). Like in *Men's Health*, the lack of expression of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* communicates a stoic, contemplative persona of fit, "healthy" men and male athletes. Collectively, men's mouth positions or facial expressions as measures of emotions demonstrate the delicate balance men manage between appearing as happily smiling, sexually lustful, and yet also inexpressively masculine (Orenstein 2020).

Short hair on men remains the standard over time, but the covers indicate some change particularly exiting the 1980s. Longer hair was considered a threat to masculinity and sexuality though the popularity of men perming and coloring their hair increased starting in the 1970s (Barber 2016; Luciano 2001; Synnott 1987). In light of these trends coming out of the 1970s and the nature of the magazine, *GQ* had the highest proportion of men with medium or long hair which declined significantly after the 1980s. The

pattern was similar in *Sports Illustrated*. *Men's Health* had the highest proportion of short hair, a trend that remained unchanged over time and promotes a certain image of fit men with cropped, militaristic hair styles harkening back to mid-century wartime (Synnott 1987). There was also no statistically significant change in representations of bald or balding men which highlights the unchanging opinion that losing one's hair is a sign of weakness, aging, and unattractiveness (Pope et al. 2000; Synnott 1987).

Like hair, facial hair is linked to masculinity and class (Luciano 2001; Oldstone-Moore 2015). While most men were cleanshaven across all magazines, men with stubble or short beards has increased over time in all magazines. Medium or long beards also increased over time in *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated*. The only facial hair style to decline was the mustache which was prominent more so in *Sports Illustrated* than the other magazines. Despite Reggie Jackson's efforts in the 1970s, the mustache did not have long-term permanence among athletes (Oldstone-Moore 2015). The decline may also be linked to gay men's appropriation of the mustache as a sign of masculinity (Hennen 2008a; Levine 1998). More recently, there has been variety in men's facial hair styles as the culture surrounding facial hair changed and became less rigid toward clean shaves (Oldstone-Moore 2015). The change or stagnation of these aesthetic characteristics illustrate fluctuation in how men were presented on the covers and point to changes in the meanings associated with men's aesthetics.

Discussion and Conclusion

While images of "hegemonic" masculinity persist, magazines like *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* make apparent multiple—and competing—masculinities (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Pascoe 2003, 2011; Schippers

2007). Each in their own way, these three magazines construct controlling images of men. Men on the covers of magazines represent "aspirational" masculinities related to fashion and class in the case of *GQ*, health and fitness in *Men's Health*, and athletic prowess in *Sports Illustrated* (Crewe 2003; Stevenson et al. 2003). As controlling images, these magazines contribute to categorical masculine expressions available to men particular to certain genres of manhood. To this end, localized displays of men like those on the covers of these three magazines contributes to the idea of overlapping, competing, and plural masculinities (Yang 2020).

Results also suggest changing representations of men over time (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Despite their improvement over time, *GQ* and *Men's Health*, for example, have consistently excluded Black men since the 1980s, thus marginalizing Black readers and limiting other readers' exposure to Black men. Problems arise when men use these magazines as viewfinders to ways of being men that lack exposure to diverse embodiments of masculinity (Kolbe and Albanese 1996; Stevenson et al. 2003). Meanwhile, Black and White men were consistently and nearly equally represented on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* showing both races may share the athlete spotlight. Further analysis is necessary to determine any qualitative differences between the ways Black and White men are displayed on *Sports Illustrated* covers. Latino men's increasing representation since 1980 also helps demonstrate increasing diversity over time. Including some men and excluding others is a process that only serves to pit one kind of masculinity against another, thus contributing to an unevenly stacked hierarchy of masculinities.

GQ, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* are also indicators of change in how men groom themselves (i.e., hair length and facial hair styles), ways of being photographed (i.e., poses, body angles, and gaze directions), and men's emotionality (i.e., mouth positions and facial expressions). Conservative responses to men's hair length and facial hair styles in the 1960s would suggest younger generations threaten older men's presumably established masculine status quo (Barber 2016). Across magazines, short hair prevailed over time indicating a reminiscence for early 20th century short hair styles and upholding Synnott's (1987) theory of oppositions. Meanwhile, across all magazines, men's facial hair styles have become much more varied compared to having none or being clean-shaven. Beards or stubble of any length increased significantly though mustaches are no longer popular. Though perhaps not at Jesus-like lengths, beards and stubble signal manhood and are perhaps supported by popular culture and advances in trimming technologies (Oldstone-Moore 2015; Synnott 1987).

Compositional elements of men's aesthetics in images have changed, too. While men on the covers of *GQ* were increasingly posed in sports actions or in other ways, their counterparts on *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* were increasingly posed casually. Men on all covers were also increasingly posed facing the front. Casually posing facing the front allows men to exert their physical dominance in a kind of "power pose" that allows men to fulfil their masculine *modus operandi* to dominate space or appear active with their bodies (Carney et al. 2010; Credé and Phillips 2017; Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Pope et al. 2000). In the case of *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated*, men were also increasingly making eye contact with the camera in attempt to maintain their subjectivity—and thus also their dominance—in the image (Farquhar and Wasylkiw

2007). Further analysis is needed understand if, when men in *GQ* were looking at something in an image, they were gazing at a woman to emphasize her—and thus also her body—to literally show the male gaze (Mulvey 1975; Patterson and Elliott 2002).

Men's emotional displays across the magazines also exhibit change over time. Across all three magazines, there has been a decrease in men smiling widely and happy facial expressions. In lieu of happiness, men have increasingly become less expressive by merely grinning (smirking or smiling without showing teeth), showing no expression at all, or lustfully wooing the camera. To some extent, the decline in smiling, happy men points to an increased variety of men's emotions where previously men's emotion were reserved in advertisements (Goffman 1976). On the other hand, the increase in men's lack of smiles and expression in *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* over time holds true the expectation that men be stoic and mechanistic (Donald 2001; Jackson et al. 2001; Messner 1990). Meanwhile, men's more lustful facial expressions in *GQ* and *Men's Health* since the 1980s point to a pattern of eroticism.

Conclusion

While this quantitative content analysis shows change over time in some characteristics of masculinity within each magazine, it is also limited by categorical assumptions of manhood. That is, the titles of the magazines delineate the types of men who appear on the covers whether they be politicians in expensive suits in the case of *GQ*, models with bulking arms in *Men's Health*, or the latest basketball success story in *Sports Illustrated*. There is more to the theoretical application of multiple masculinities than slotting men into particular categories (i.e., fashionable lifestyles, health-nut, or sports fan) (Messner 2011; Orenstein 2020; Pascoe 2003, 2011). Missing from this

quantitative analysis are the nuanced ways men are depicted in the covers in relation to other people and in the context of the cover lines. In addition, a more nuanced analysis of the relationship between sexualizing variables is pertinent. Further qualitative analysis is necessary to better understand different these iterations of masculinity and relative sexualization of men. I address these shortcomings in following chapters.

CHAPTER 5. SEXUALIZING MEN: CREATING THE MEN'S PREVALENCE OF SKIN (MPOS) INDEX

The extent to which men have been sexualized in American culture has not been widely empirically analyzed using magazines as data (Waling et al. 2018). Theorization about the sexualization of men comes from journalists like Susan Faludi (1999) or gender scholar Susan Bordo (1999). A handful of studies compare the sexualization of women compared to men (Hatton and Trautner 2011; Krassas et al. 2003; Reichert et al. 1999; Reichert and Carpenter 2004; Soley and Kurzbard 1986), but far fewer studies focus solely on men (see Waling et al. 2018 for a review). Existing literature is further limited by sample size and rarely focuses on U.S. publications. I add to this body of work by exploring the extent to which men's bodies have become exposed over a period of 38 years and focusing on covers of U.S. magazines *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*.

In this chapter, I am guided by several questions. First, what do representations of men's bodies on the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* tell us about how men's masculinity, sexuality, and bodily display? Second, how have these representations over time? Third, do these representations differ by race? To answer these questions, I conduct a series of analyses building on Chapter 4. I continue my quantitative content analytical approach by using results from factor analyses (see Chapter 2) to explore how these variables speak to the sexualization of men on the covers of these magazines. I then test differences across magazines using Pearson's chi-square and Fisher exact tests. In another step, I conducted multinomial regression analyses to analyze the extent to which the sexualization of men has changed by year. I then create a four-category Men's

Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index to better understand the extent to which men have bared their skin over time as a measure of their sexualization. I again use multinomial logistic regression models to analyze change in men's prevalence of skin between 1980 and 2018. I then explore how these categories of skin exposure differ by race within each magazine. I find each magazine displays men's bodies in their own ways. While *GQ* men stay covered up, *Men's Health* men show off their bodies; *Sports Illustrated* men fall somewhere in between. Together, these findings suggest audience perception matters. That is, sexualization is in the eye of the beholder rather than measured by the exposure of skin.

The Hunter Becomes the Hunted: Men's Sexualization

The subject of sexualization is one commonly associated with women and girls rather than men and boys—and rightly so. In 2007, the American Psychological Association published a report on the sexualization of girls that outlines four domains through which sexualization occurs (American Psychological Association 2007:1):

1. A person's value comes only from his or her sexual appeal or behavior, to the exclusion of other characteristics;
2. A person is held to a standard that equates physical attractiveness (narrowly defined) with being sexy;
3. A person is sexually objectified—that is, made into a thing for others' sexual use, rather than seen as a person with the capacity for independent action and decision making; and/or
4. Sexuality is inappropriately imposed on a person.

While each may apply in turn to the sexualization of men on the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sport Illustrated*, the second domain is pertinent because, as the saying goes, "sex sells." To the extent that sex sells magazines calls into question exactly *how* men are

sexualized on the covers of magazines, especially magazines with focal audiences of (presumably heterosexual) men.

For women, sexualization occurs when they are subjects of the "male gaze," a term referring to depictions of women and women's bodies as passive subjects of desire in advertisements and other forms of media by (and for) men (Mulvey 1975). A plethora of scholarship has evaluated how women have become increasingly sexualized in forms of media from print to film and beyond (American Psychological Association 2007; Fredrickson and Roberts 1997; Kilbourne 1999; Ward 2016). Images of *Playboy* centerfold models, for example, have become increasingly sexually explicit since the magazine's debut in the 1950s, showing more and more of women's exposed bodies posed in sexually suggestive ways (Bogaert et al. 1993; Regan 2021; Thompson 2000). By the twenty-first century, the dominating image of women across various media formats is one that is sexualized. Indeed, the sexualization of women is now so dominant that Paul (2007) suggests American culture has become "pornified."

In magazines for men, however, the male gaze is "inverted" (Patterson and Elliott 2002). As Rohlinger (2002:70) writes, "the erotic male is increasingly becoming the depiction that dominates mainstream conceptions of masculinity." Thanks in part to advertising campaigns like those from Calvin Klein, men are now cast as objects available for women *and* men's pleasure. To use Faludi's (1999:528) words: "the hunter became the hunted." Men feel and appear "sexy" when they are dressed up, physically fit, and muscled, and become particularly sexualized when those muscles are on display sans shirt (Barlett, Vowels, and Saucier 2008; Ricciardelli, Clow, and White 2010; Smolak, Murnen, and Myers 2014). While some men may feel sexy when on display, when

inversion occurs to the extent Rohlinger (2002) describes, it is unsettling to men, particularly given the politics surrounding same-sex intimacy and same-sex desire (Eck 2003; Faludi 1999; Patterson and Elliott 2002). Marketing strategies of magazines for men must balance advertising men's lifestyles or products, writing on topics of interest to men, isolating male customers based on sexual desires, and printing images of men's exposed bodies (Faludi 1999).

The perceived success of striking this balance may depend on the viewer. Rohlinger (2002:71), for example, suggests many depictions of men's bodies are "devoid of a specific sexual context… a blank canvas on which the viewer can project meaning." Images may also be what scholars call "gay vague" (Anderson 2005; Dworkin and Wachs 2009), containing subcultural references only those "in the know" (i.e., gay men) would comprehend (Dworkin and Wachs 2009:56). Early physical culture or physique magazines popular between the 1940s and into the 1960s fall into this category as publications that showcased the nearly-naked, sculpted bodies of body builders (Chapman and Grubisic 2009; Krauss 2014; Morgan 1996). The magazines were published under the guise of fitness literature, but it was no secret the magazines were favorited by gay men, too. In the case of sport magazines with more general audiences like *Sports Illustrated*, whether and to what extent men's bodies in sports are sexualized perhaps depends on the context and setting in which they are presented (Eck 2003; Pronger 1992). Regardless of sexual perceptions, men's bodies are now under scrutiny in popular media by way of the inverted male gaze (Mulvey 1975; Patterson and Elliott 2002).

Skin Sells Best: Exposing Men's Bodies

Multiple scholars note how men have been depicted in media and advertisements have indeed become more sexualized over time (Bordo 1999; Jackson 1994; Kilbourne 1999; Reichert and Carpenter 2004; Rohlinger 2002; Soley and Reid 1988). Researchers often cite men's underwear campaigns like that of Calvin Klein as the fulcrum event for men's sexual objectification (Bordo 1999; Faludi 1999). The Calvin Klein brand's first sultry underwear ad featured the toned and tanned body of 1982 Olympian pole vaulter Tomás Hintnaus photographed lounging on a roof in white briefs. Before this, the company was lauded for its "unpretentious, clean-cut and charismatic" 1960s styles worn by conservative "high-profile" women like Jacqueline (Kennedy) Onassis, Liv Ullmann, Susan Brinkley, Lauren Hutton, and Nancy Reagan (English 2013:80). By the 1980s, the brand began to capitalize on the sexual taboos of the time (English 2013). To promote a new style of blue jeans, Calvin Klein profited off the sexuality of a young Brooke Shields in the "Nothing comes between me and my Calvin's" campaign. The suggestiveness of the ad copy and tight fit of the jeans, matched with Shields' "girl next door" sexual appeal, vaulted the brand image into a new era (English 2013). The buttoned-up image of Calvin Klein in the 1960s compared to the nearly-naked image of the 1980s exemplifies changing tastes and changing times for women and for men in the late 20th century.

Calvin Klein's first underwear campaign (and those that followed) were about selling two things: (1) the Calvin Klein branding on the waistband of the underwear and (2) the model's flesh (Ferrier 2016). Ads like these helped normalize that "the idea that underwear was more than underwear" (Ferrier 2016:NP); this new marketing approach gave status to showing off one's underwear and along with it one's body. The Calvin

Klein campaign's display of men's (under)garments changed the industry standard for displaying men's bodies. Advertising using men's exposed and sexualized bodies "not only endorsed a new era in male fashion (in both heterosexual and homosexual terms), but more significantly acknowledged that the 1970s health and fitness craze had culminated in the celebration of a well-developed muscular body image of young men in the 1980s" (English 2013:81). Borrowing from physique magazines of the post-war era, the 1970s and 1980s created a status for the image of the semi-nude male body in mainstream American culture where before it had none.

Though at lesser rates than women, men have increasingly been represented with less clothing over time, especially since the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s (Bordo 1999; Jackson 1994; Kilbourne 1999; Reichert and Carpenter 2004; Rohlinger 2002; Soley and Reid 1988). As Thompson (2000), who studied imagery of men's bodily exposure between 1964 and 1994, puts it: "skin sells best." Between 1964 and 1984, men and women became increasingly nude in general interest magazines (*Time* and *Newsweek*) and men's magazines (*Esquire* and *Playboy*), but not women's magazines (*Redbook* and *Cosmopolitan*) (Soley and Kurzbard 1986; Soley and Reid 1988). Reichert and Carpenter (2004) describe similar findings in their analysis of magazines between 1983 and 2003. Between 1987 and 1997, Rohlinger (2002) finds that the erotic male, defined by physical (i.e., muscular) and sexual appeal, was the most prominently displayed image of masculinity across five popular men's magazines (*Sports Illustrated*, *Men's Health*, *Popular Mechanics*, *GQ*, and *Business Week*).

But, who are these men becoming exposed? We can look to racial differences to help answer such a question. Dominating images of Black men are complicated,

particularly when it comes to sexuality. Although the stereotype that Black men are hypersexual exists (Collins 2004), Black men are left out of physique pictorial magazines known for exotifying ideal male bodies (Krauss 2014; Morgan 1996). Magazine studies often focus on White men (Dworkin and Wachs 2009). Thus, any racial differences become important to explore.

With more skin exposure comes increasing changes of body hair visibility. Hair or hair removal on the body has both masculine and sexual connotations. Over time, men have maximized their body hair from the neck down to separate themselves from women, prepubescent boys, and to show virility (Immergut 2010; Synnott 1987). In other cultural moments, men shaving completely, or at the very least trimming their body hair, has become a popular form of grooming (Boroughs et al. 2005; Martins et al. 2008). To some, the presence or absence of body hair is part of their sexual attraction (Hennen 2008a; Wright 1997). Managing body hair or "manscaping" is standard practice among men for a variety of reasons, yet because body hair removal remains associated with feminine vanity, men disassociate their own reasons for hair removal from women's reasons for hair removal (Hall 2015; Immergut 2010; McCreary et al. 2007). This collection of research highlights how the appearance of the sexual male body is synonymous with culturally desirable masculine bodies (Rohlinger 2002).

With growing visibility and acceptance of sexual identities, behaviors, and desires since the sexual revolution of the 1960s, it stands to reason that, alongside women's sexualization, men might also become sexualized. If gender is relational, scholars should be able to account for similar shifts in images among women *and* men (Schippers 2007). As such, alongside images of women, images of men have also may become sexualized,

a subject without great empirical support to date (Waling et al. 2018). On the other hand, because men have long been the gazers rather than the subjects of the gaze, it seems just as likely that (heterosexual) men would be uncomfortable gazing upon representations of themselves—and also avoid them (Eck 2003). Thus, if men have become the subjects of the inverted male gaze and have become increasingly sexualized over time (Bordo 1999; Faludi 1999; Rohlinger 2002), the ongoing popularity of magazines for men—especially those seemingly targeted at heterosexual men—is ironic. To this end, the questions remain, what do representations of men's bodies on the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* tell us about men's masculinity, sexuality, and bodily display? And, have these characteristics changed over time?

Data and Methods

Data for this chapter is the same as Chapter 5 and is made up of men on the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*. There were 3,107 men displayed across the 2,750 covers (*GQ*, *n*=480; *Men's Health*, *n*=281; *Sports Illustrated*, *n*=2,256). I continue analyses in this chapter using variables from Factor 2 as determined by the factor analysis reported in Chapter 3. From these variables, I report univariate frequency distributions (Table 5.2) and use multinomial logistic regression with sexualized variables as dependent variables in models and year (continuous) as the independent variable (Table 5.3). To get at the extent to which men have been sexualized on the covers of these magazines, I created an additive index called the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index.[9] I provide frequency distributions for the MPoS Index (Table 5.4)

[9] I refer to these composite measures as an index rather than a scale because an index is "a more general construction (usually additive) of multiple items" compared to a scale which is designed to measure items along a continuum with varying intensity (Babbie 2013; Neuendorf 2017:164, n18)

and estimate regression models to analyze change over time (Table 5.5). In a final set of analyses, I place the MPoS Index into racial contexts by observing how the different categories differ by White and Black men, the two largest racial categories of men across the magazines.

Regression Analyses: Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Factor Variables

Next, I estimated a series of multinomial logistic regression models following the same procedures outlined in Chapter 5 whereby I did not include categories with categories with cell sizes ≤10. Regression results are reported as odds ratios (Table 5.2). I also plot figures to show change over time with year on the x-axis.

Independent Variable

The independent variable for over time regression analyses was year (continuous).

Dependent Variables

Men's Prevalence of Skin variables included Extent of Nudity, Style of Dress, Chest Exposure, or Body Hair Visibility.

Extent of Nudity included covered (*n*=1,024), exposed arms/shoulders (*n*=1,511, reference category), exposed legs (above thigh) (*n*=159), shirtless (*n*=204), or other/obstructed (*n*=119). Because of small sample sizes in certain categories, the exposed legs (*GQ*, *n*=2 and *Men's Health*, *n*=9) and other/obstructed (*Men's Health*, *n*=10) categories were omitted in over-time regression models.

Style of Dress was coded as sport uniform (*n*=1,973), business/formalwear (*n*=473), casual (*n*=339, reference category), workout/swimsuit (*n*=135), or other/obstructed (*n*=97). Workout/Swimsuit (*n*=9) was omitted in over-time regression models for *GQ* and sports uniforms (*n*=6) was omitted for *Men's Health*.

Table 5.1. Rotated Factor Loadings and Internal-Consistency Reliability Test Statistics (Cronbach's Alpha)

	Factor Loading	Item-Rest Correlations	α
Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS)			
Style of Dress	0.42	0.74	0.69
Chest Exposure	0.76	0.77	0.56
Body Hair Visibility	0.67	0.69	0.63
Extent of Nudity	0.63	0.77	0.61
Overall Test Scale			0.69

N=3,017

Chest Exposure was coded as not visible (*n*=543), covered (*n*=2,088, reference category), visible through clothing/exposed (*n*=156), or shirtless (*n*=230). Not visible was omitted for *Men's Health* (*n*=2) over-time regression models.

Body Hair Visibility was coded as covered/none visible (*n*=2,666, reference category), uncovered but none visible (*n*=243), or any body hair visible (*n*=108).

Constructing the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index

Next, I assessed the internal consistency reliability of items in Factor 2 using Cronbach's *alpha* (α).[10] Cronbach's *alpha* is an internal-consistency reliability test that indicates extent to which a set of indicators reflect a common latent construct (Neuendorf 2017; Spector 1992). In these analyses, I include item-test and item-rest correlations to examine the effect of including or excluding each item. Internal-consistency reliability test statistics for each factor are shown in Table 5.1. In this table, I provide item-rest correlations which show the correlation between each item alongside a summative scale

[10] I also conducted internal consistency reliability tests for variables from Factor 1 in Appendix Table 5.A. The internal-consistency reliability test statistics indicate an acceptable test scale for Factor 1 was acceptable (α=0.81).

with all other items; this test is best used to show how this item "fits" with the others and provides a scale based on this fit. The *alpha* statistic provided in this table is a measure of the effect on the *alpha* statistic if each item is excluded. According to Nunnally (1978), an acceptable alpha statistic is .70. The internal-consistency reliability test statistics indicate an acceptable test scale (α=0.69).

In a third step, I create an additive index specifically focusing on Factor 2 or the MPoS factor to address the research question driving this chapter related to sexualization. To create the additive index, I assigned items in each variable of the MPoS either a 0 for 1, where 0 refers to no skin showing at all and 1 refers to at least some skin showing. For Style of Dress, workout/swimsuit and sports uniforms received a 1. For Chest Exposure, visible through clothing and shirtless received a 1. Body hair visibility received a 1. For Extent of Nudity, exposed arms/shoulders, exposed legs (above the thigh), and shirtless received a 1. These variables were then added together to create the MPoS Index. The additive index produced 5 categories ranging from 0 to 4. Using these categories, I then created an ordinal index with four levels of skin prevalence by collapsing categories 3 and 4. The four categories are "No Skin Showing," "Very Little Skin Showing," "Some Skin Showing," and "Quite a Bit of Skin Showing." Bivariate results are available in Table 5.4. To help with interpretation across variables, I plot figures to illustrate change with time on the x-axis in the results section.

Regression Analyses: Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index

To demonstrate change in these categories over time, I estimated multinomial logistic regressions for each magazine with year as the independent variable and the four

categories of the MPoS Index as dependent variables. Regression results are interpreted as odds ratios are shown in Table 5.3.

Independent Variable: Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index Categories

Again, I used year (continuous) as the dependent variable for MPoS index regression analyses.

Dependent Variables: Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index Categories

MPoS additive index is made up of four categories for regression analyses: no skin showing (reference category, n=542), very little skin showing (n=745), some skin showing (n=1,495), and quite a bit of skin showing (n=235).

Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Factor Variables Results

I first present the trends for variables included in the *Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Factor*: extent of nudity, type of dress, chest exposure, and body hair visibility. I report results from bivariate in Table 5.2 and regression analyses in Table 5.3.

Extent of Nudity. The extent of nudity for men across all magazines consisted of exposed arms and shoulders (e.g., tank top or short sleeves) half of the time (50.08%). A third of (33.94%) the men were completely covered (e.g., suits). Less frequently, men were depicted shirtless (6.76%) or with exposed legs above the thigh (5.27%) (e.g., tank top and runner's shorts). There were statistically significant differences in the extent of nudity when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=366.66, $p \leq .001$, df=4), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=466.61, $p \leq .001$, df=4), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=318.45, $p \leq .001$, df=4). Figure 5.10 plots the proportion of men in each skin exposure category over time for each magazine.

Table 5.2. Descriptive and Bivariate Results for Men's Sexualizing Characteristics

	GQ (*n*=480)		*Men's Health* (*n*=281)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,256)		Total (*n*=3,017)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Extent of Nudity								
Covered	374	77.92	32	11.39	618	27.39	1024	33.94
Exposed Arms/Shoulders	67	13.96	137	48.75	1307	57.93	1511	50.08
Exposed Legs (above Thigh)	2	0.42	7	2.49	150	6.65	159	5.27
Shirtless	11	2.29	95	33.81	98	4.34	204	6.76
Other/Obstructed	26	5.42	10	3.56	83	3.68	119	3.94
[a] χ^2=366.66, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [b] χ^2=466.61, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [c] χ^2=318.45, $p \leq .001$, df=4								
Type of Dress								
Sport Uniform	16	3.33	6	2.14	1951	86.48	1973	65.40
Business/Formalwear	318	66.25	12	4.27	143	6.34	473	15.68
Casual	118	24.58	142	50.53	79	3.50	339	11.24
Workout/Swimsuit	9	1.88	102	36.30	24	1.06	135	4.47
Other/Obstructed	19	3.96	19	6.76	59	2.62	97	3.22
[a] χ^2=341.60, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [b] χ^2=1500, $p \leq .001$, df=4; [c] χ^2=1500, $p \leq .001$, df=4								
Chest Exposure								
Not Visible	92	19.17	3	1.07	448	19.86	543	18.00
Covered	335	69.79	110	39.15	1643	72.83	2088	69.21
Visible through Clothing/Exposed	39	8.13	73	25.98	44	1.95	156	5.17
Shirtless	14	2.92	95	33.81	121	5.36	230	7.62
[a] χ^2=232.87, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [b] χ^2=54.96, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [c] χ^2=638.81, $p \leq .001$, df=3								
Body Hair Visibility								
Covered, None Visible	421	87.71	151	53.74	2094	92.82	2,666	88.37
Uncovered, but None Visible	25	5.21	110	39.15	108	4.79	243	8.05
Body Hair Visible	34	7.08	20	7.12	54	2.39	108	3.58
[a] χ^2=141.90, $p \leq .001$, df=2; [b] χ^2=28.15, $p \leq .001$, df=2; [c] χ^2=403.18, $p \leq .001$, df=2								

Pearson's Chi-Square Tests were performed comparing [a] *GQ* to *Men's Health*, [b] *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and [c] *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

Table 5.3. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) for Men's Sexualizing Characteristics

	IRR		IRR		IRR		IRR	
	Extent of Nudity (Versus Arms/Shoulders)							
	Covered		Exposed Legs		Shirtless		Other/ Obstructed	
GQ (*n*=479)								
Year (1980–2018)	.94	***	n/a		.96		.92	***
Men's Health (*n*=273)								
Year (1986–2018)	.93	*	n/a		.94	***	n/a	
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)								
Year (1980–2018)	.97	***	.86	***	.92	***	.97	**
	Type of Dress (Versus Casual)							
	Sport Uniform		Business/ Formalwear		Workout/ Swimsuit		Other/ Obstructed	
GQ (*n*=472)								
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		.99		n/a		.98	
Men's Health (*n*=274)								
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		.97		.86	***	.86	***
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)								
Year (1980–2018)	.99		.98		1.02		.96	*
	Chest Exposure (Versus Covered)							
	Not Visible		Visible through Clothing/Exposed		Shirtless			
GQ (*n*=481)								
Year (1980–2018)	.92	***	1.04	*	1.02			
Men's Health (*n*=280)								
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		1.06	***	.97			
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)								
Year (1980–2018)	.99		1.02		.94	***		
	Body Hair (Versus Covered)							
	None Visible		Visible					
GQ (*n*=481)								
Year (1980–2018)	1.08	***	1.03					
Men's Health (*n*=282)								
Year (1986–2018)	.95	**	.98					
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)								
Year (1980–2018)	.96	***	.96	**				

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

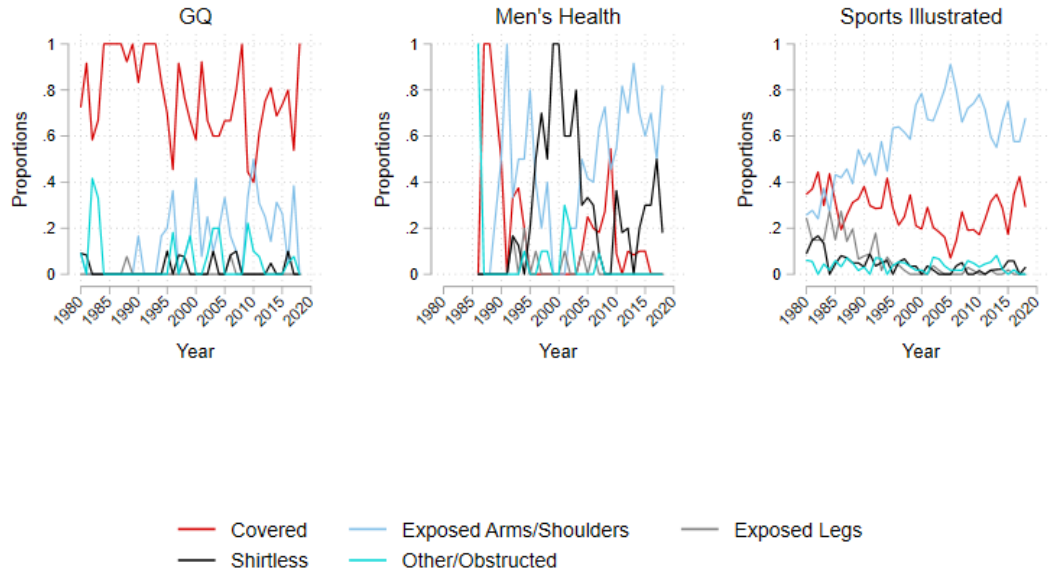

Figure 5.1. Proportion of Men's Nudity over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

In *GQ*, the cover models were completely covered a majority of the time (77.92%). Occasionally, their arms/shoulders were exposed (13.96%). Rarely were men on the cover of *GQ* depicted shirtless (2.29%) or exposed their thighs (0.42%). Issues published in 2010 nicely demonstrate these categories and is the only time the proportion of covered men (40%) was lower than the proportion of men with exposed arms or shoulders (45%) (See Figure 5.8). In one example, *Twilight* actor Taylor Lautner shows off his arms in a low-cut, tight-fitting grey t-shirt on the July 2010 cover. Other men showed off their arms with rolled up sleeves to their elbows to show off their forearms. The men who are covered wore full suits. Meanwhile, in atypical style for *GQ*, Johnny Depp appears shirtless, smoking, and drinking from a tumbler in the February 2010 issue. In *Men's Health*, men's arms/shoulders were most often exposed (48.75%) or they were shirtless (33.81%). Occasionally, the men were completely covered (11.39%). In *Sports*

Illustrated, most men exposed their arms/shoulders (57.93%) or were completely covered (27.39%).

Regression results reveal several ways men's extent of nudity has changed since the 1980s. Compared to exposed arms and shoulders, men on the covers of *GQ* were less likely to be completely covered (OR=0.94, $p \leq .001$) or other/obstructed (OR=0.92, $p \leq .001$) between 1980 and 2018. In other words, men on the cover of *GQ* increasingly show their arms over time in lieu of being completely covered in suits. Men on the covers of *Men's Health* were less likely to be completely covered (OR=0.94, $p \leq .05$), less likely to be shirtless (OR=0.94, $p \leq .001$), and less likely to be other/obstructed (OR=0.86, $p \leq .01$) compared to exposed arms and shoulders for every additional year between 1986 and 2018. Put differently, *Men's Health* cover models are more likely to show their arms or shoulders than any other category over time. There is an interesting relationship between arm/shoulder exposure, shirtless men, and the changing editors of *Men's Health* since 1986. Throughout the 1990s, men with exposed arms and shoulders declined under the editorships of Mike Lafavore (1988–1999). Under Greg Gutfeld's (1999–2000) editorship, 100% of men on covers of *Men's Health* were completely shirtless. David Zinczenko's (2000–2012) editorial style appears to have had an influence because men's arms and shoulders became increasingly common. After Zinczenko left in 2012, shirtless men increased again during Bill Phillips's (2012–2016) term as editor. More recently, there was again a downward trend in shirtless men and increase in the exposure of only arms/shoulders with Matt Bean (2016–2018) as editor (Richard Dorment took over as editor in 2018).

Compared to exposed arms and shoulders, the rate at which men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* were completely covered (OR=0.97, $p \leq .001$), have exposed legs (above thigh) (OR=0.86, $p \leq .001$), were shirtless (OR=0.92, $p \leq .001$) or categorized as other/obstructed (OR=0.97, $p \leq .01$) declined between 1980 and 2018. The decline in exposed legs above the thigh occurred alongside the growing influence of hip-hop and Michael Jordan's preference for a baggier style of shorts that extend to the knee or further (Marston 2017). By the mid-1990s, shorter shorts that exposed men's legs above the knee had all but disappeared.

Style of Dress. Across magazines, sports uniforms were most prominent (65.40%). Business or formalwear (15.68%) and casual attire (11.24%) were less common by comparison. Workout clothing (4.47%) or swimsuits and other/obstructed (3.22%) styles of dress made up less than 5% of styles. Each magazine can be characterized by the style of dress, however. In *GQ*, most men were in business or formalwear (66.25%) or a quarter of the time were dressed casually (24.58%). Men on *Men's Health* were dressed casually on half of the covers (50.53%) and in workout or swimsuit attire on over a third of the covers (36.30%). Men on *Sports Illustrated* covers were almost exclusively wearing sports uniforms (86.48%); only rarely were men depicted in business or formalwear (6.34%) or casualwear (3.50%). Pearson's Chi-square results show a statistically significant difference in types of dress when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=341.60, $p \leq .001$, df=4), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=1,500, $p \leq .001$, df=4), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=1,500, $p \leq .001$, df=4). Figure 5.2 shows the proportion in each category over time within each magazine.

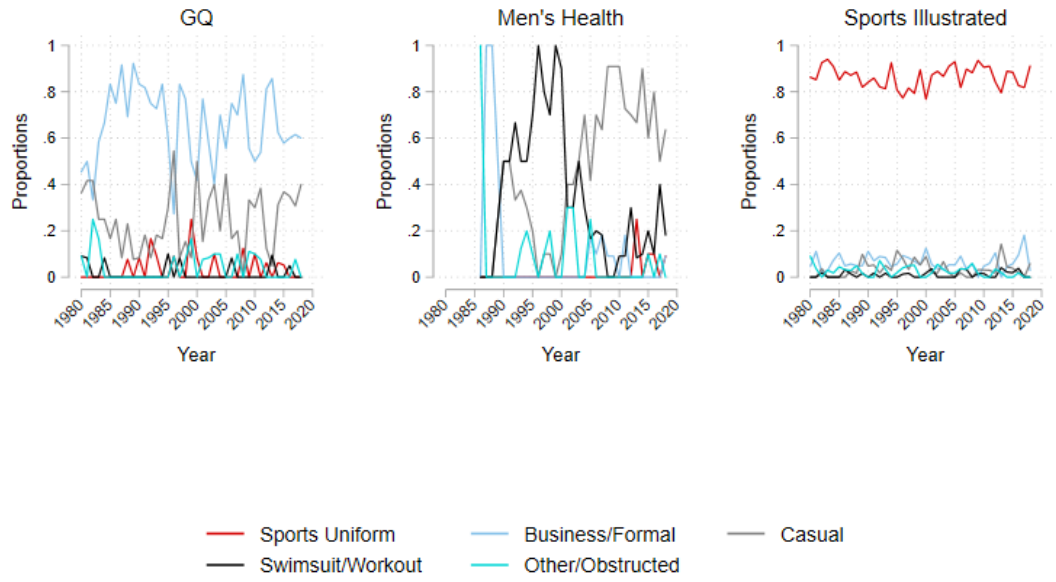

Figure 5.2. Proportion of Men's Styles of Dress over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

Regression analyses show no statistically significant difference in style of dress for men on the covers of *GQ* between 1980 and 2018. Men on the covers of *GQ* were consistently wearing business attire or formalwear. Between 1986 and 2018, the proportion of men on the covers of *Men's Health* in workout attire or swimsuit (OR=0.86, $p \leq .001$), or categorized as other/obstructed declined (OR=0.86, $p \leq .001$) compared to those in casual attire. A stark shift in the proportion of men wearing swimsuits/workout gear replaced casual wear occurred in 2000 when *Men's Health* hired a new editor, David Zinczenko. After Zinczenko left in 2012, the trend started to reverse again under the two subsequent editors. Men in *Sports Illustrated* were almost exclusively shown in their sports uniforms. Compared to casual attire, the proportion of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* whose outfits were categorized as other/obstructed declined (OR= 0.96, $p \leq .05$) between 1980 and 2018.

Chest Exposure. In total across the magazine covers, men's chests were predominately covered (69.21%). Rarely were the men's chests visible through their clothing or exposed (5.17%) or shirtless (7.62%). When chests were not visible (18%) this was because they were cut out of the cropping of the image. In *GQ*, men's chests were largely covered (69.79%), though on occasion their chests were visible through their clothing or exposed in some way (8.13%). Covers from 2003 are good examples of these categories. In July 2003, Eric Bana bursts through a brick wall in a sheer black button-down shirt exposing his chest past his sternum. Similarly, in October 2003 Dwayne "The Rock" Johnson leans against a wall with his shirt completely unbuttoned showing off his chest, abs, and top of his underwear. Two covers released in November 2003 are cropped as headshots showing Adrien Brody and Colin Farrell only down to their necks. Otherwise, the chests of men on the covers for this year are completely covered.

On the covers of *Men's Health*, men's chests were almost always visible in the frame of the image with the exception of two covers (1.07%), with the modal category being that the chests were covered (39.15%). Among the three magazines, however, *Men's Health* depicted the most men with their chests visible through their clothing or exposed (25.98%) or completely shirtless (33.81%). Put differently, men's chests on *Men's Health* were almost always visible in the image, even if covered.

About 73% men's chests on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* were covered, though on about 20% of covers their chests were not in the frame. Rarely were the men shirtless (5.37%) in *Sports Illustrated*. Comparing all magazines show a statistically difference in chest exposure when comparing *GQ* to *Men's Health* (χ^2=232.87, $p \leq .001$, df=3), *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=54.96, $p \leq .001$, df=3), and *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

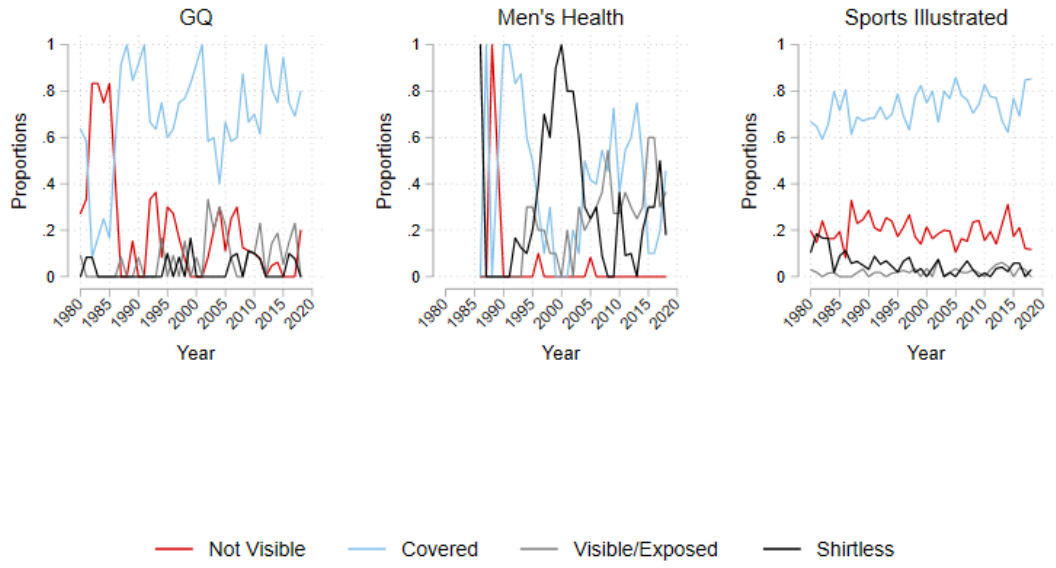

Figure 5.3. Proportion of Men's Chest Exposure over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

(χ^2=638.81, $p \leq .001$, df=3). Trends showing the extent to which men's chests were exposed in the magazines are shown in Figure 5.3.

Regression analyses support change over time between 1980 and 2018 in the representation of exposure of men's chests. Compared to completely covered chests, the proportion of covers of *GQ* where men's chests were not visible in the framing of the image declined over time (.92, $p \leq .001$), but increased to be visible through clothing or otherwise exposed (1.04, $p \leq .05$) between 1980 and 2018. In other words, men's chests on *GQ* were increasingly in the image (rather than not visible due to the framing) and also exposed or visible in some way compared to being completely covered. In *Men's Health*, the proportion of men on the covers whose chests were visible through clothing or exposed compared to completely covered increased (1.06, $p \leq .01$) between 1986 and 2018. Especially throughout the end of the 1990s, the proportion of men with covered

chests declined significantly. The proportion of men whose chests were visible or exposed increased dramatically in 2000 in line with David Zinczenko taking over as editor when 100% of covers were shirtless men. The prevalence of shirtless men on *Sports Illustrated* declined (.94, $p \leq .001$) between 1980 and 2018 compared to completely covered.

Body hair. Across all magazines, body hair was rarely visible because men's bodies were fully clothed (88.37%). When men's bodies were exposed in some way (e.g., unbuttoned or no shirt), they still did not often have body hair (8.05%). Body hair was only visible among 3.58% of men across all the covers. Body hair was rarely visible, yet occurred with equal frequency in GQ (7.07%) and *Men's Health* (7.14%). When body hair was showing, in *GQ* issues from 1981 for example, it was in the form of chest hair at the top of men's shirts or, in one case, on the stomach of a man in swimming briefs.

In *Men's Health,* just over half of men were fully clothed and thus no body hair was visible (53.90%). When their chests or torsos were visible, no body hair was visible in 39.01% of covers. A majority of men (92.81%) were clothed with no body hair visible in *Sports Illustrated*. When their chests or torsos were visible, body hair was not often visible (4.79%). Body hair was only visible on men in 2.40% of Sports Illustrated covers. Pearson's chi-square tests show a statistically significant difference in body hair visibility for *GQ* compared to *Men's Health* (χ^2=141.90, $p \leq .001$, df=2), *Men's Health* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=28.15, $p \leq .001$, df=2), and *GQ* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=403.18, $p \leq .001$, df=2). The proportions of the categories of men's body hair exposure over time are shown in Figure 5.4.

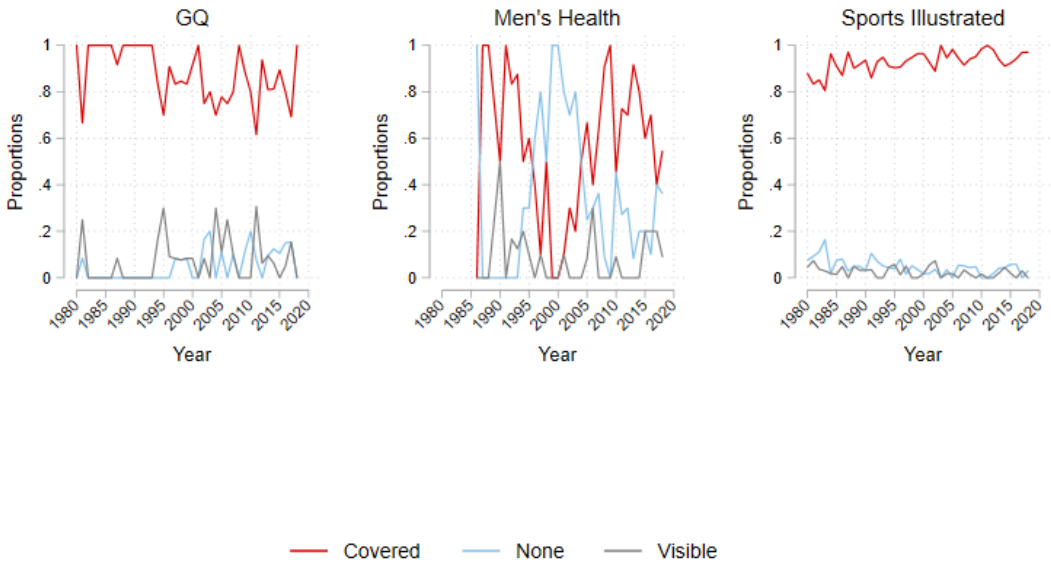

Figure 5.4. Proportion of Men's Body Hair Visibility over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*

Regression results show visible body hair did not change over time, except in *Sports Illustrated* where visible body hair decreased. Compared to men who were completely covered, the proportion of men on the covers of *GQ* increased (OR=1.08, $p \leq$ .001) over time in having some part of their torso uncovered, but not having any body hair, between 1980 and 2018. When their torsos were uncovered, the proportion of men on the covers of *Men's Health* with any body hair decreased (OR=0.95, $p \leq .01$) compared to men who were completely covered between 1986 and 2018. In other words, men on the covers of *GQ* and *Men's Health* rarely had body hair showing even when their torsos were exposed in any way—they either did not have any body hair or shaved it. When their torsos were showing, like in the case of *Men's Health*, cover models were hairless. Men on *Sports Illustrated* covers showed body hair, but it decreased in frequency over time between 1980 and 2018 (OR=0.96, $p \leq .01$) compared to being

covered. Over this time period, the proportion of men who were uncovered with no body hair visible (OR=0.96, $p \leq .001$) decreased relative to covered.

MPoS Factor Variables Results Section Summary.

Depending on the magazine, men's bodies have become increasingly on display and sexualized to an extent. In *GQ*, casually dressed men showed off their arms or shoulders and their chests were visible yet had no body hair visible. Men on *Men's Health* and *Sports Illustrated* also showed off their arms or shoulders and chests more over time. Even when shirtless or with exposed chests, men were not depicted with body hair. In many ways, the magazines stayed true to their audiences. *GQ* marketed sharp-dressed in a variety of styles, *Men's Health* put men's arms and hairless torsos on display, and *Sports Illustrated* showed men's bodies in action without sexualizing them.

The extent to which men's bodies have been put on display in a sexual way is complicated given these limited measures and particular ways of displaying men's bodies. Across the cover titles since the 1980s, however, men are showing off their arms and shoulders more and displaying their chests whether bare or through tight clothing. If these are the body parts men show off as indicators of sexual objectivity, then *GQ* and *Men's Health* are successfully objectifying men. In support of this point, eye-tracking studies analyzing objectification and "the gaze" find that the arms and chest are areas both men and women look at longest after the face and eyes especially if the image is erotic (Bernard et al. 2018; Dixson et al. 2014; Lykins, Meana, and Kambe 2006; Lykins, Meana, and Strauss 2008; Nummenmaa et al. 2012). If the chest and arms are visible either because the man in the image is shirtless or because his shirt is tight, this plays on

stereotypes of ideal male bodies. Furthermore, my findings suggest some change over time in *GQ* and *Men's Health* that accommodate the sexual objectification of men

The sexual displays of men's bodies have changed. The decline in body hair visibility, for example, suggests the continued popularity of "manscaping" or depilation as a form of grooming despite associations with femininity or homosexuality (Boroughs et al. 2005; Hall 2015; Immergut 2010; Martins et al. 2008; McCreary et al. 2007). Display of sexual imagery is not always the cover man's choice, however—styling and final versions of these covers go through many editorial phases and pass through many hands. Regardless, the product released to the public sells a certain image of manhood in line with the story of American masculinity the magazine wants to convey to subscribers and the casual grocery store browser.

Men's Prevalence of Skin Index Results

In this section, I present the trends in the *MPoS* additive index categories. I report descriptive statistics in Table 5.4, results regression analyses in Table 5.5 and show change over time in Figure 5.5.

Table 5.4. Descriptive and Bivariate Results for Categories in the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index

	GQ (*n*=480)		*Men's Health* (*n*=281)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,257)		Total (*n*=3,017)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
No Skin	356	74.17	27	9.61	159	7.05	542	17.96
Very Little Skin	71	14.79	72	25.62	602	26.68	745	24.69
Some Skin	41	8.54	93	33.10	1,361	60.33	1,495	49.55
Quite a Bit of Skin	12	2.50	89	31.67	124	5.94	235	7.79

[a] χ^2=322.18, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [b] χ^2=222.92, $p \leq .001$, df=3; [c] χ^2=1,200, $p \leq .001$, df=3
Pearson's Chi-Square Tests were performed comparing [a] *GQ* to *Men's Health*, [b] *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and [c] *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

Table 5.5. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) for Categories in the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index

	IRR		IRR		IRR	
	Prevalence of Skin Showing (vs. No Skin Showing)					
	Very Little Skin		Some Skin		Quite a Bit of Skin	
GQ (*n*=480)						
Year (1980–2018)	1.06	***	1.07	***	1.00	
Men's Health (*n*=281)						
Year (1986–2018)	1.07	*	1.07	*	1.00	
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,256)						
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		1.02	*	.97	**

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Across all magazines, the modal man showed some skin (49.55%) followed by very little skin showing (24.69%). Less than 8% of men showed quite a bit of skin. Men in *GQ* had the highest proportion of no skin showing (74.17%) than any other magazine. Otherwise, 15% of men showed very little skin, 9% showed some skin, and 2.5% of men were showed quite a bit of skin. A third of men on *Men's Health* covers showed some skin (33.10%) and a third showed quite a bit of skin (33.10%). A quarter of men on the covers of *Men's Health* showed very little skin (25.62%). Less than 10% of men had no skin showing (9.61%). Most men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* most often showed

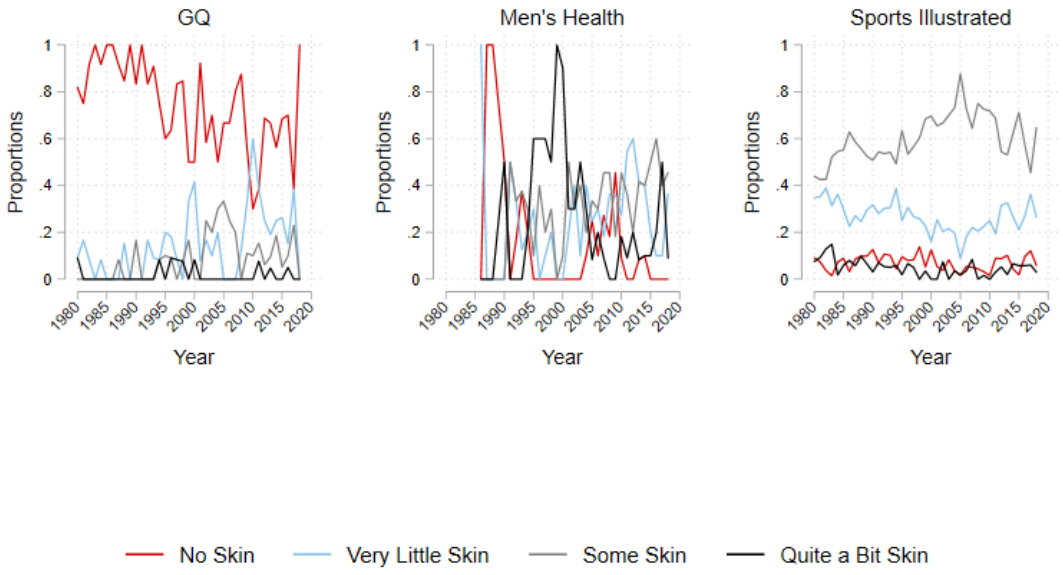

Figure 5.5. Proportions of Skin Showing (MPoS) Index over Time in *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated*

some skin (60.33%) and a quarter showed very little (26.68%). About 6% showed quite a bit of skin and 7% of men on *Sports Illustrated* covers showed no skin at all. Pearson's chi-square tests show a statistical difference in bare skin prevalence for *GQ* compared to *Men's Health* (χ^2=332.18, $p \leq .001$, *df*=4), *Men's Health* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=222.92, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3), and *GQ* compared to *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=1,200, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3). To summarize, men on the covers of *Men's Health* were the least covered whereas men on the covers of *GQ* were predominately covered. Men on *Sports Illustrated* fell somewhere in the middle of the MPoS index. The proportions of the categories of men's prevalence of skin showing over time are shown in Figure 5.5.

Regression results for *GQ* (OR=1.06, $p \leq .001$) and *Men's Health* (OR=1.07, $p \leq .05$) show men with very little skin showing increased between 1980 and 2018 compared to no skin showing. Men in all three magazines increasingly showed some skin between

the 1980s and 2018 compared to no skin showing (*GQ*, OR=1.07, $p \leq .001$; *Men's Health*, OR=1.07, $p \leq .001$; *Sports Illustrated*, OR=1.02, $p \leq .05$). Men showing quite a bit of skin (OR=.97, $p \leq .01$) decreased in *Sports Illustrated* between 1980 and 2018 compared to no skin showing. Men showing quite a bit of skin in *GQ* and *Men's Health* did not significantly change over time.

MPoS Index Categories Results Section Summary

In sum, men across all three magazines showed at least some skin over time. That *Men's Health* has the highest proportion of men showing quite a bit of skin speaks to the nature of a magazine featuring men's bodies under the presumption these bodies are "healthy" examples of fit bodies. They also reflect the history of physique magazines published as fitness literature, but are questionably erotic depending on the audience (Chapman and Grubisic 2009; Eck 2003; Krauss 2014; Morgan 1996; Pronger 1992). *GQ* men have increasingly shown some skin, especially since the 2000s (see Figure 5.5), perhaps in response to popular acceptance of men showing off their bodies and growing prevalence of the metrosexual man (Coad 2008; Hall 2015; Pompper 2010; Simpson 2002). *Sports Illustrated* covers increasingly had men with some skin showing, but also decreasingly showed quite a bit of skin. These changes over time may be tied to the high proportion of Black men on the covers, baggier styles of uniforms, and athletes' increased attention to style especially since the 1990s (English 2013; Marston 2017; McDonald and Toglia 2010; Moralde 2019).

Table 5.6. Descriptive and Bivariate Results for Categories in the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index by Race

	GQ (*n*=370)		*Men's Health* (*n*=250)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=972)		Total (*n*=1,592)	
White Men	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
No Skin (1)	282	76.22	22	8.80	84	8.64	388	24.37
Very Little Skin (2)	49	13.24	65	26.00	351	36.11	465	29.21
Some Skin (3)	30	8.11	82	32.40	504	51.85	616	38.69
Quite a Bit of Skin (4)	9	2.43	81	32.40	3.40	3.40	123	7.73
	Mean: 1.37		Mean: 2.89		Mean: 2.50		Mean: 2.30	
	GQ (*n*=95)		*Men's Health* (*n*=23)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=1,150)		Total (*n*=1,268)	
Black Men	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
No Skin (1)	63	66.32	4	17.39	69	6.00	136	10.73
Very Little Skin (2)	19	20.00	5	21.74	194	16.87	218	17.19
Some Skin (3)	10	10.53	7	30.43	794	69.04	811	63.96
Quite a Bit of Skin (4)	3	3.16	7	30.43	93	8.09	103	8.12
	Mean: 1.51		Mean: 2.74		Mean: 2.79		Mean: 2.69	

[a] χ^2=4.03, p = 0.259, df=3; [b] χ^2=1.84, p = 0.606, df=3; [c] χ^2=126.02, $p \leq .001$, df=3

Pearson's Chi-Square Tests were performed comparing [a] Black and White men in *GQ*, [b] Black and White men in *Men's Health*, and [c] Black and White men in *Sports Illustrated*

Table 5.7. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) for Categories in the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index by Race

	IRR		IRR		IRR	
	White Men's Prevalence of Skin Showing (vs. No Skin Showing)					
	Very Little Skin		Some Skin		Quite a Bit of Skin	
GQ (*n*=361)						
Year (1980–2018)	1.05	***	1.07	***	n/a	
Men's Health (*n*=250)						
Year (1986–2018)	1.09	*	1.09	**	1.01	
Sports Illustrated (*n*=972)						
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		1.01		.99	
	Black Men's Prevalence of Skin Showing (vs. No Skin Showing)					
GQ (*n*=82)						
Year (1980–2018)	1.06	*	n/a		n/a	
Men's Health						
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		n/a		n/a	
Sports Illustrated (*n*=1,150)						
Year (1980–2018)	1.00		1.03	*	.97	*

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

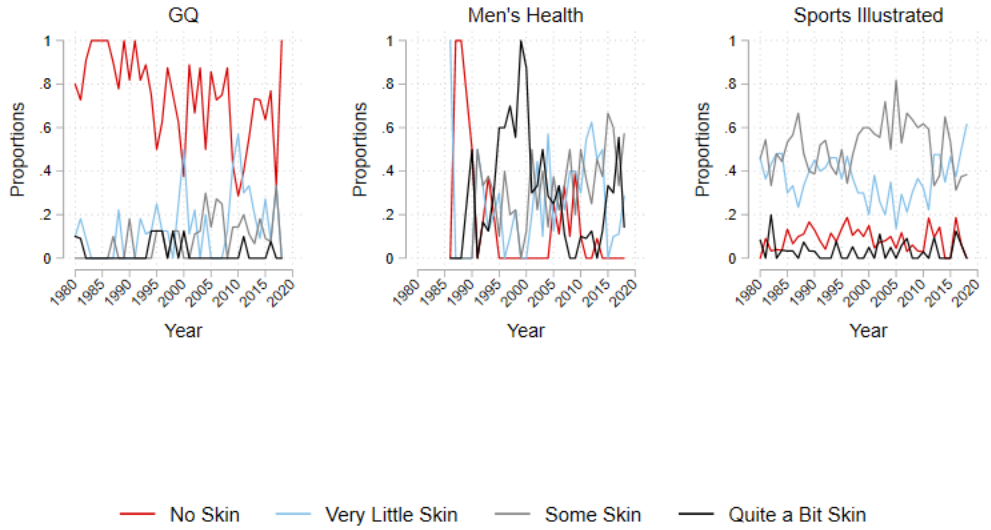

Figure 5.6. Proportions of Skin Showing (MPoS) Index over Time of White Men in *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*

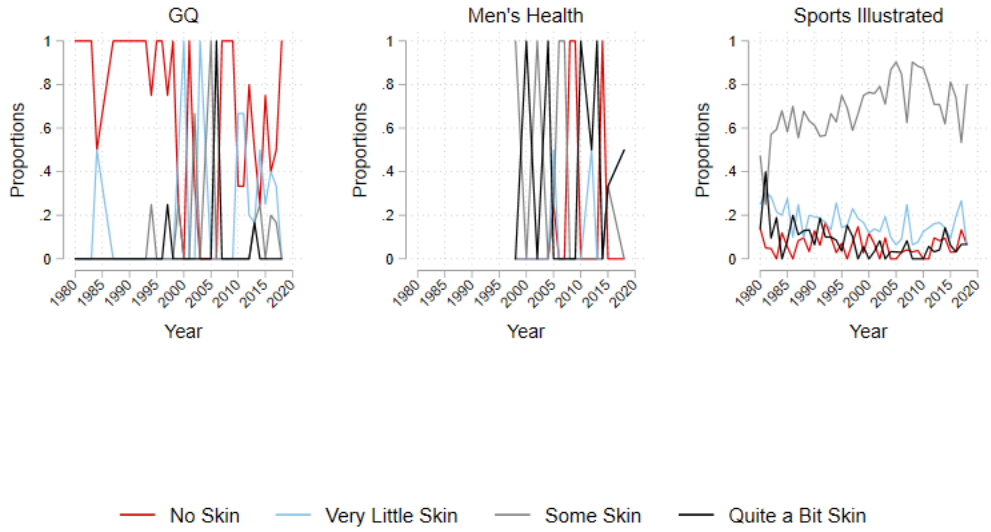

Figure 5.7. Proportions of Skin Showing (MPoS) Index over Time of Black Men *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*

Men's Prevalence of Skin Index by Race

In a final set of analyses, I turn to an analysis of how each of the MPoS Index categories differed for White men and Black men. I also provide the mean of the index

for both Black and White men. Descriptive and bivariate results are shown in Table 5.6, regression results in Table 5.7, and the proportions of the categories of men's prevalence of skin showing over time by race are shown in Figures 5.6 and 5.7.

Across all magazines, twice as many White men were showing no skin (24.37%) and very little skin (29.21%) than Black men. Conversely, about twice as many Black men (63.96%) than White men (38.69%) were showing some skin. There were about equal rates of Black men (7.73%) and White men (8.12%) showing quite a bit of skin across magazine covers. About 14% or White and Black men were showing when looking at the two skin exposure categories together. On average, White men (mean = 1.37) were closer to the very little skin category while Black men (mean = 1.51) were closer to the some skin category.

There were no statistically significant differences in MPoS categories among White or Black men on the covers of *GQ* χ^2=4.03, p = 0.259, df=3) or *Men's Health* (χ^2=1.84, p = 0.606, df=3). In *Sports Illustrated*, however, slightly more White men (8.64%) than Black men (6.00%) were showing no skin. More than twice as many White men (36.11%) were showing very little skin than Black men (16.87%) on *Sports Illustrated* covers. Fewer White men were showing some skin (51.85%) than Black men (69.04%) and fewer White men (3.40%) were showing quite a bit of skin than Black men (8.06%), too. In other words, Black men were showing much more skin in *Sports Illustrated* than white men. The average of the index reflects this with White men (mean = 2.50) falling between the very little and some skin categories while Black men (mean = 2.79) were closer to showing some skin. There were statistically significant differences in

White and Black men exposing their skin on *Sports Illustrated* (χ^2=126.02, $p \leq .001$, *df*=3).

While there were too few men in some categories to estimate some models, regression results show that White men (OR=1.05, $p \leq .001$) and Black men (OR=1.06, $p \leq .05$) showing very little skin increased between the 1980s and 2018 compared to no skin showing in *GQ*. White men (OR=1.07, $p \leq .001$) showing some skin also increased over time compared to no skin showing in *GQ*. In *Men's Health*, there were more White men (OR=1.09, $p \leq .05$) showing very little skin (OR=1.09, $p \leq .01$) and some skin between the 1980s and 2018 compared to showing no skin. There were no statistically significant changes in White men's skin exposure in *Sports Illustrated* over time. More Black men were showing some skin (OR=1.03, $p \leq .05$) while fewer were showing quite a bit of skin (OR=.97, $p \leq .05$) over time compared to no skin showing at all. Overall, analyses of the MPoS Index by race show White men reveal their bodies to a lesser extent than Black men whose skin is on display.

Discussion and Conclusion

The creation of the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) index and regression analyses indicate the extent to which men are showing more or less skin on magazine covers over time. If Calvin Klein ads in the 1980s and 1990s were as influential as Bordo (1999) and Faludi (1999) have alluded, one would expect some change in representations of men's prevalence of skin exposure. Based on factor analyses (see Chapter 2), I find variables related to the style of dress, chest exposure, body hair visibility, and extent of nudity on the covers of *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* work to form the MPoS index. Each in their own way, these variables speak to the extent men on the covers of

these magazines have—or have not—become sexualized by indicating the range men's skin exposure.

Each magazine captures different levels of skin exposure and sexualization of men. Regression models analyzing categories within the MPoS shows fewer men across all magazines were completely covered over time. Across magazines, Figure 5.1 shows the mid-1990s, not long after "Marky" Mark Wahlberg appeared in his Calvin's, were a time when men's skin was increasingly on display—a pattern that held through 2018. Men appearing with less or tighter clothing is also apparent. Drawing on findings from the previous chapter, completely covered men declined on magazine covers on *GQ*, and men in *Men's Health* were depicted less in their swimsuits or workout gear and more so in casual clothes (i.e., t-shirts and jeans). Fewer men in workout gear on *Men's Health* corresponds with the decline of men in active poses too (see Chapter 5) pointing to a shift in showing men actively participating in exercises and instead showing off the results of advertised workouts. Finally, that men's chests were increasingly exposed in *GQ* and *Men's Health* yet were hairless speaks to the influence of the metrosexual, the grooming industry, and perhaps even gay men on shows like *Queer Eye* (Barber 2016; Coad 2008; Hall 2015; Immergut 2010).

While the MPoS helps provide a clearer picture of men's sexualization, *Sports Illustrated* remains an anomaly in some ways. Men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* are not selling themselves to an imaginary customer (whether male or female), but rather promoting their sport, often while depicted actively playing it. In terms of men showing skin, I found men on *Sports Illustrated* some skin showing more than the other magazines (See Figure 5.5). Because so many men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* were depicted

in their sport uniforms, their skin exposure may not be purposefully styled to invite sexual interest but instead is more practical to stay cool while playing, for instance. Thus, if sporting events can be described as "covert" and "homoerotic" as Pronger (1992:caption to Fig. 18) suggests in his reference to bodybuilding competitions, the sexualization of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* cannot be easily captured by quantitative coding strategies. Instead, *Sports Illustrated* covers may be opportunities for gay men to "project meaning," and for heterosexual men to fantasize athletic success (Kolbe and Albanese 1996; Rohlinger 2002:71; Stevenson et al. 2003).

Conclusion

My findings related to the exposure of men's bodies contribute to a complicated conversation around sexual intent, sexual interpretation, and even race. On the one hand, fitness magazines like those that appeared in the 1940s featuring nearly-naked white men contributed to the balance magazines like *Men's Health* now strike regarding health/fitness tips and questionably erotic imagery of shirtless men. On the other hand, the exposure of men's bodies in mainstream publications like the three I analyzed take different angles depending on their genre. Whereas White and Black men on *Men's Health* covers show off their bodies by removing their shirts, men on the covers of *GQ* may be sexualized with their clothes *on* demonstrating the variety of ways magazines sexualize men (Barlett et al. 2008; Ricciardelli et al. 2010; Smolak et al. 2014). In the case of *Sports Illustrated*, exposing skin may be more about the practicalities of actively being able to move, perform, and be comfortable as athletes. To this end, the extent to which athletes on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* may be considered "sexual' depends on the viewer, their attractions, and interpretation of men's skin exposure. In the next

chapter, I explore the relationship between images on the covers and the cover text paying careful attention to the racial differences I introduced in this chapter.

CHAPTER 6. MANIFESTING MASCULINITIES: HYBRID MASCULINITY IN *GQ, MEN'S HEALTH,* AND *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*

It is easy to misconstrue "hegemonic masculinity" to mean there is a singular masculine ideal when actually multiple, overlapping ways of "doing" masculinity exist (Connell 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Pascoe 2003; West and Zimmerman 1987). Connell (2005:77) defines hegemonic masculinity as a "gender practice that embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy" and guarantees the dominance of men. Indeed, there is not one "accepted answer" to this problem. The multiple masculinities framework suggests men pull from different and valued characteristics of masculinity in order to construct an identity that is masculine both to the individual and to others (Pascoe 2003). That is, men create a "hybrid masculinity" through which they align themselves with model men, distance themselves from stigmatizing components of gender (i.e., femininity), and fortify symbolic boundaries using defensive strategies (Arxer 2011; Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018). These approaches to constructing masculinity help men—especially white, heterosexual men—maintain power and are evidence of broader, ongoing crises of masculinity.

Magazines like *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* project salient ideas about masculinity. These magazines control the images of men in ways that influence cultural perceptions and offer models of hybrid masculinities. Who gets represented and how in these magazines contributes to manifestations of masculinity in genre-specific ways that add to the multiple masculinities and hybrid masculinities frameworks. To this end, I find each magazine communicates men's performances of masculinity differently:

"cool" and "stylish" in the case of *GQ*, the embodiment of "healthy" and fit manhood in *Men's Health*, and showcasing winning men in *Sports Illustrated*.

In this chapter, I first analyze themes from the text on the covers or what the magazine industry refers to as "cover lines" from all magazines coded during the quantitative content analyses. In figures, I show the frequency distribution of 20 thematic categories of these cover lines and discuss the implications of the most and least mentioned themes. I also include word clouds of the cover lines that made up these themes to demonstrate how they were coded into these categories. Quantitative analyses, however, do not do enough to explain the relationship between cover text, cover images, and their relationships to representations of men. This chapter is exploratory, expanding upon findings from quantitative analyses.

In a second set of analyses using qualitative methods, I describe findings from a subset of covers to examine how text and images come together to convey messages about masculinity, sexuality, and race. This subset was created by sampling magazines using MPoS Index categories (see Chapter 5) and the largest two race categories, White and Black men (see Chapter 4). Findings from this chapter suggest the need for more in-depth exploration.

Magazines and Masculinity

Magazines and their covers have been a part of American culture since the turn of the 20th century, having survived the invention of the car, radio, and even the internet (Spiker 2015; Sumner 2010). The cultural significance of magazine covers can be seen in multiple domains, including artists made famous by their covers such as Norman Rockwell's contributions to the *Saturday Evening Post*, in enlarged reprints advertised

for sale by *Sports Illustrated*, and even entire websites devoted to the discussion of covers like coverjunkie.com (Spiker 2015). Indeed, magazines covers contribute to culture by recording history, celebrating life and death, and cultivating social memories ranging from fun to serious (Spiker 2015). Covers are not just about images, either. The text or "cover lines" sell the magazines, accounting for an estimated 90% of "buy factors" (Gonser 2003 as cited by Spiker 2015). Together, the images and text on the covers of magazines reflect culture (Benwell 2003).

Magazines play several roles as "windows" into men's lives (Waling et al. 2018). Magazines are sites where "meanings of masculinity circulate and are negotiated or contested," showing masculinity in both "real" and aspirational ways (Benwell 2003:8; Crewe 2003; Stevenson et al. 2003). For men, magazines are opportunities to fulfill desire in the case of *Playboy*, which offers opportunities to gaze upon women's bodies, often with little clothing (Bogaert et al. 1993; Hatton and Trautner 2011; Osgerby 2001; Regan 2021). Magazines also advertise ways of being men like in the case of U.K. magazine, *loaded*, that helped introduced "lad masculinity," a kind of masculinity centered around having fun and which emphasized class and generational divides (Benwell 2003). For particular groups of men, magazines are important sources of community, too. Subscribing to the physique pictorials depicting nearly-nude men that gained popularity in the 1950s, for example, were subversive ways that gay men, linked by their shared same-sex desires, could find visual stimulation (Calder 2016; Krauss 2014). Magazines are thus outlets for men's sexual expressions, whether overtly or covertly.

There are consequences to promoting masculinities through these cultural objects, however, particularly pertaining to representations of the body and race. Magazines that focus on physical fitness like *Flex*, *Men's Health*, *Men's Fitness*, and others, foreground the muscular male body as ways of embodying masculine power and emboldening gender difference through physical size (Dworkin and Wachs 2009; White and Gillett 1994). Championing men's physical size as a marker of masculinity in this way has harmful effects on viewers' body satisfaction (Arbour and Martin Ginis 2006; Baird and Grieve 2006; Pope et al. 2000). In addition, limited diversity—especially racial diversity—among models limits viewers' ability to identify with individuals on magazine covers and exoticizes the men of color who do appear (Barry 2014; Collins 2004; Krauss 2014; Morgan 1996).

Masculine Strategies: Accounting, Othering, and Winning

Magazines perpetually create images and messages surrounding men's bodies, manhood, and masculinity. Although these messages and images are never entirely new in theme or content, they can and do change over time. Whereas the masculinity these magazines promotes always remains just out of reach, men use certain strategies to project masculinity while protecting the "weaker" or non-masculine components of their selves. "Accounting" offers men opportunities to pursue interests deemed feminine or gay as long as there is some way for men to justify these interests (Wade and Ferree 2019). "Othering" distances men from those characteristics deemed contaminating and is a strategy often used to establish differences between White and Black men in particular (Collins 2004; Schippers 2007). Finally, "winning" encourages the idea that masculinity is wrapped up in success, power, and the domination of others (Messner 1990). Through

the domination of others, men may keep their access to masculine privilege, but must continue fighting to do so. Accounting, othering, and winning are ways that men construct hybrid masculinity by adapting masculinity to fit their social locations and lifestyles to preserve patriarchal power. Magazine covers communicate how to enlist these protective strategies.

By "accounting," individuals feel the need to explain their reasons for breaking gendered rules in ways that excuse the behavior (Wade and Ferree 2019). Men account for their "eyebrow-raising" behaviors in many ways. For example, in their study of grooming product advertisements in *Esquire* magazine, Scheibling and Lafrance (2019) find that men's consumption of these products illustrates a certain "crisis." That is, these ads depict "soft" men next to "hard" language as ways of accounting for their interests in taking care of their bodies in ways attributed to women and gay men. The crisis stems from how these ads encourage new ways of being men via the enhancement or reparation of their bodies with new grooming technologies (Scheibling and Lafrance 2019).

Like grooming products, clothes are a way of fashioning a desirable identity that is recognizably masculine (Barry and Martin 2015; Scheibling and Lafrance 2019:234). Put differently, clothes offer ways of "doing" gender that communicate one's identity to others (Lucal 1999; West and Zimmerman 1987). Clothes and the fashion industry are contaminating (especially for white heterosexual men), however, because of their association with women and gay men (Barry and Phillips 2016; Schippers 2007; Stokes 2015). For many men, fashion thus becomes an off-limits "f-word" akin to "faggot" (Casanova 2015; Pascoe 2011). How then to market fashion trends to men? Call it "style" instead. Whereas fashion is fleeting, likened to imitation, and "antithetical to good taste,"

the *stylish* gentleman is more in tune to the superior tastes of the upper class (Gronow 1993:89). Pivoting away from "fashion" and instead using "style" creates a more comfortable space in which to construct masculinity that "discursively distances" men away from women and gay men (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018).

The examples above demonstrate how men account for their interests not only in the latest aesthetic trends, but also the most up-to-date ways of "doing" masculinity. These are also examples of how men, particularly white heterosexual men, construct hybrid masculinities. The *Esquire* ads Scheibling and Lafrance (2019) analyzed strategically borrow from the femininity of women's grooming ads to soften those for men to help viewers imagine their freshly shaved faces using masculinist "hard" language, for example. Likewise, preferencing "style" over "fashion" distances men from the contaminating elements of fashion. From these strategies, men interested in looking their best and being in-line with the latest trends can observe the current projection of masculinity without stigma. In both examples, white heterosexual men get what they want: they contribute to a hybrid kind of masculinity that appears new, but from which they still benefit as subscribers to masculine hegemony.

Meanwhile, men who do not contribute to the "currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy" are socially marginalized or "othered" (Connell 2005:77). "Othering" is a social process that sustains prejudice through the undesirable objectification of another person or group, often through negative essentialist stereotypes (Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe 2010). Black men are marginalized within conceptualizations of masculinity because of existing social barriers to conform to white standards of gender and sexuality (Collins 2004; Connell 2005; Majors and Billson 1993; Snorton 2014;

Strings 2019). In response to this marginalizing and othering process, Black men developed "cool pose" to show their aloofness to the racial discrimination they faced in society (Majors and Billson 1993). Majors and Billson (1993:4) define cool pose as "a ritualized form of masculinity that entails behaviors, scripts, physical posturing, impression management, and carefully crafted performances that deliver a single, critical message: pride, strength, and control." Black athletes, in particular, are "cool" "with their stylish dunking of the basketball, spontaneous dancing in the end zone, and high-fives handshakes" (Majors and Billson 1993:4). With this cool status, however, comes the essentialist stereotype that Black men are biologically predisposed to be athletes (Collins 2004; for review, see Davis and Harris 1998). Using hybrid masculinities, the marginalization or "othering" of Black men is way of "fortifying" racial boundaries (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018).

The competitive aspects of sports align with those of masculinity where winning, achievement, and success are foundational (Connell 1990; Messner 1990). Sports are yet another opportunity for men to fortify differences between themselves and others through domination of opponents, allowing them to both learn about and prove their masculinity, starting at young ages (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Matthews 2016; Messner 1990, 1992, 2002; Pronger 1992; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). Whether in the language sports journalists use to describe athlete's bodies as weapons or the actual violence that occurs in sports (Messner 1990, 2002), the sporting environment is rife with men overpowering their rivals.

Historical racial divides in sports also help fortify difference. Sociological studies have acknowledged the intersection of race and sports since the 1960s noting the ongoing

racial politics when it comes to Black bodies in athletics (for review, see Carrington 2013; Collins 2004). Harmful racial ideologies that stereotype Black men as more physical than intellectual, lacking in restraint, or having a predilection for violence all come together in sporting environments (Collins 2004:152; Davis and Harris 1998). In today's entertainment-driven climate in particular, Black bodies are spectacles put to work for other's pleasure (Collins 2004). In this way, sport spectators become "overseers," a term used to describe individuals charged with managing the labor of enslaved Africans (Snorton 2014). Especially in the case of popular sports now dominated by Black players, the racial implications of mostly White coaches, mentors, and spectators "overseeing" players becomes clear (Coakley 2015; Collins 2004). To use Collins' (2004:153) words, "relegating Black men to the work of the body" like in the case of sports "was designed to keep them poor and powerless" thus limiting Black men because of their racialized bodies. Thus, the perspective of the spectator, even when only considering images rather than live play, becomes important to consider. In the case of magazines like *Sports Illustrated*, how Black men are depicted and talked about on covers become ways readers consume Black bodies without acknowledging their personhood—a form of "othering."

Strategies like accounting, winning, and othering work together to help men—especially white men—appear to answer the call of hegemonic masculinity. Accounting for breaking gendered rules aid in the development of hybrid masculinities. Likewise, men's strategy of othering works to buttress the differences between themselves and others whose social value is subordinate or marginalized within the greater social schema. Sports and the competitive violence they promote are evidence of the extent men

go to dominate others and create divides between types of men. Altogether, these strategies help men manifest hybrid masculinities that on the surface may appear new and fresh, but ultimately reinforce an unequal gender order (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018).

As Scheibling and Lafrance (2019) demonstrate, magazines and advertisements communicate ways of being men through complicated messages. In this chapter, I take their approach a step further by analyzing how three magazine titles showcase masculinity, and the different competitive they promote. I begin with a thematic analysis of the text on the covers of the magazines as the rhetoric the magazines share with readers. I then analyze the relationships between the individuals on the cover, the text, and how they help construct hybrid masculinities.

Data and Methods

I conducted a series of analyses for this chapter using two data sets. First, I coded all cover lines in tandem with the quantitative coding process using the coding form described in Chapter 2. Frequency distributions of these themes are shown in Table 6.1. I provide each of the code names, their descriptions, and examples for each magazine in Table 6.2 and Table 6.3. Data for cover line analyses comes from covers with at least one man on them and excluding covers with women (n=2,464).

Table 6.1. General Cover Line Descriptive Statistics by Magazine

	GQ (*n*=1,900)		*Men's Health* (*n*=970)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,044)	
General	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Age/Aging	46	2.42	40	3.22	80	3.52
Alcohol	57	3.00	27	2.17	4	.18
Fashion	469	24.68	86	6.92	9	.40
Fitness	90	4.74	255	20.53	4	.18
Grooming	58	3.05	35	2.82	2	.09
Health	43	2.26	199	16.02	47	2.07
Military/Weapons	95	5.00	30	2.42	172	7.56
Parenting	39	2.05	7	.56	18	.79
Race/Ethnicity	89	4.68	6	.48	56	2.46
Religion	77	4.05	1	.08	45	1.98
Sport	184	9.68	51	4.11	1,567	68.91
Weight Loss/Gain	39	2.05	202	16.26	17	.75
Work	83	4.37	31	2.50	23	1.01
Gender and Sexuality						
LGBTQ	22	1.16	0	.00	5	.22
Love & Relationships	98	5.16	57	4.59	22	.97
Manhood	71	3.74	37	2.98	3	.13
References to Women	145	7.63	5	.40	181	7.96
Sex Acts/Behaviors	73	3.84	111	8.94	3	.13
Sexual Health	15	.79	12	.97	1	.04
Sexual Innuendo	107	5.63	50	4.03	15	.66

Sample is made up of magazines with a least one man. (N=2,464; *GQ*, *n*=515; *Men's Health*, *n*=277; *Sports Illustrated*, *n*=1,672). Categories are not mutually exclusive.

Table 6.2. General Cover Line Themes, Descriptions, and Examples

Theme & Description	*GQ Example **	*Men's Health Example **	*Sports Illustrated Example **
Age and aging. Specific references individuals' ages, aging, or specific age categories	"Don't call him young Tim Hutton by T. Gertler" (February 1985)	"Stay young, grow rich. Ace your next 10 years!" (August 2011)	"Bill Shoemaker wins the derby at 54" (May 12, 1986)
Alcohol. References beer, wine, spirits, or alcoholism.	"How to navigate the tricky worlds of art, wine, travel, social media & (gulp) adultery" (October 2013)	"Great cheap beers" (October 2013)	"I was killing myself. My life as an alcoholic by Mickey Mantle" (April 18, 1994)
Fashion or clothes. Any mention of clothing, the fashion industry, accessories, or ways of dressing.	"Fresh options for revising your wardrobe" (April 1980)	"Win! $5,000 worth of new clothes" (March 2000)	"Fashionable 50" (July 16, 2018)
General health, medicine, or nutrition. Any mention of these categories including references to health care professionals, specific illnesses, or treatments.	"Health: A young man's greatest fear" (June 1991)	"#1 hidden health risk in your car" (September 2014)	"Johnny Unitas can no longer use his right hand. Like so many former NFL players, he is doomed to a life of pain and disability" (May 7, 2001)
Grooming, trimming, or shaving of hair or nails. Any mention of these.	"The sure cure for baldness is only 36 pages away" (January 2015)	"Hair care" (April 1990)	"Look who's back! Muhammad Ali (with mustache" (April 14, 1980)
Military, war, or weapon language. Literal references to military groups, military roles, mentions of war, weapon language, power, and other references to violence.	"The secret plan to invade Iran" (May 2005)	"Vitamins that fight fat" (May 1998)	"Still a warrior: Sugar Ray returns to the ring at age 40" (March 3, 1997)
Parenting or parenthood. References to fathers/mothers or taking care of children.	"My Father, My Hero by Sen. John McCain" (August 1999)	"My Dad, The Duke by Ethan Wayne" (June 2016)	"The Son: What Kobe learned for Jellybean by Chris Ballard" (May 14, 2012)
Physical fitness. References to specific workouts, fitness events, or the gym.	"The fitness guide to having better sex" (May 2016)	"Change your body. Change your life. How King Kong's Adrien Brody packed on box office brawn" (April 2005)	"The NFL's toughest workouts. Five players share their plan" (August, 2005)
Race, ethnicity, or nationality. Any mention of these subjects including references to specific countries.	"That American spirit!" (August 1980)	"Strength secrets of America's top trainers!" (September 2005)	"Exposed! A torrid start has finally put Montreal superstar Vladimir Guerrero in the spotlight" (May 1, 2000)

Religion. Any specific reference to actual religions or uses of religious metaphors or language.	"Boston's Cain & Abel by John Sedgwick" (May 1992)	"Religion A Man's Guide" (December 2015)	"The gospel according to Ray Lewis God's Linebacker by S.L. Price" (November 13, 2006)
Sports or sports team reference. Any mention of sports or references sports teams.	"Roger Federer sports legend (and extremely stylish man)" (April 2017)	"Inside the NFL muscle camps" (October 2008)	"Randall Cunningham and the Eagles smash the Cowboys" (October 12, 1992)
Weight and weight loss. Any mention of weight control strategies or body size.	"A man's guide to dropping the last (and hardest) ten pounds" (January 2011)	"Incinerate belly fat" (April 2010)	"The caddy and the fat man by Pete Dexter" (September 15, 2002)
Work, employment, or the workplace. References the workplace, changing or losing jobs, or mentions of workplace roles	"What to wear when you're on the clock" (February 2006)	"Personal Power. Get More! At Work, At Play, After Hours" (March-April 1993)	"Michael Jordan eyes his next career" (August 14, 1989)
* Examples were randomly selected.			

Table 6.3. Sex and Gender Cover Line Categories

Theme *Description*	*GQ* *Example **	*Men's Health* *Example **	*Sports Illustrated* *Example **
Advice on manhood or masculinity. References to being "men," "maleness," or "manhood."	"Feel like a new man. 10 easy ways to upgrade your style for $50" (April 2011)	"How do you rate sex, money, muscle? Our annual state-of-man report" (June 2000)	"The big man" (June 17, 2002)
Explicit non-heterosexuality. References to LGBTQ people or topics commonly associated with LGBTQ people.	"RuPaul as a man" (June 1997)	—	"America is ready for Michael Sam. 'If I was walking down the street and someone asked me if I was gay, I would have told them I was gay. I wasn't afraid.'" (February 17, 2014)
Explicit reference to sex and sexuality. References to actual sexual acts, identities, or behaviors	"Oval office sex" (October 1987)	"The art of sex. 25 ways to perfect your style" (April 1990)	"Sex, religion and the NFL. The curious case of Curtis Enis" (August 24, 1998)
Love, marriage, dating, divorce, or relationships. References to any of these.	"What today's woman expects from men" (November 1982)	"Love longer. Secrets of Super Potency" (September-October 1992)	"Why America's whipping boy deserves your unconditional love by S. L. Price" (December 2, 2013)
Reference to women (other than dating/relationships). References moms, sisters, female friends, female athletes, or female authors	"Special Delivery. The girls of the budding reefer economy" (March 2017)	"Female boss decoder. How to think like she does" (September 2009)	"Madame Ram gets her man. L.A. owner Georgia Frontiere and quarterback Bert Jones" (May 10, 1982)
Sexual health. References to condom use vasectomies, prostates, testosterone, STIs, etc.	"Jim Nelson The AIDS Deniers" (September 2001)	"Protect your prostate" (May 2017)	"Ten Years After. In the decade since his stunning HIV announcement, Magic Johnson has defied all expectations" (August 30, 2001)
Sexual innuendos or metaphors. Innuendos, metaphors, jokes, or wordplay in reference to sex.	"What do women want? (More?)" (September 1995)	"Understand her secret signals" (March 2006)	"Giambi gets his freak on by Lee Jenkins" (March 2, 2009)

* Examples were randomly selected.

As I described in Chapter 2, I coded for both manifest and latent language in the cover lines. To show the manifest codes, I provide word clouds created in Atlas.ti from all cover lines from each magazine in a series of figures. In these figures, the darker the color, the more often the word was used on the cover. For clarity and to highlight the most used words, I limit common English words (e.g., "the," "a," "and," etc.) using an existing list within Atlas.ti. I also set the minimum frequency of word use for all three magazines (minimum frequency for *GQ* and *Men's Health* was 25 and 40 for *Sports Illustrated*).

In a second set of analyses, I return to the data set from which I constructed the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) index (see Chapter 5). This data set is at the individual level where each man on the cover was coded (n=3,017). I sampled covers for qualitative analyses from each of the four MPoS categories and within the two largest racial categories, White men and Black men. From these eight groups (four MPoS categories by two racial/ethnic categories), I randomly selected up to ten covers. In some cases, there were fewer than ten covers in a category. For example, I sampled all Black men in *Men's Health* (n=26). In one instance, the same cover was randomly selected for the Some Skin (MPoS 2) category for both a white man and a Black man. In the November 2011 issue of *GQ*, musicians Eminem, Keith Richards, and Lil Wayne appear on a cover lauding them as "gods of rock." I did not re-select a cover to take its place. Similarly, *GQ* releases multiple covers in a given month. For example, in September 2013 *GQ* released several covers with different football players, but the same cover text. One cover featured player Robert Griffin III (known as RG3) and the other featured Colin Kaepernick. In another example from July 2015, *GQ* released covers featuring rapper Jay-Z (with wife, Beyoncé)

and another with Kanye West. The cover lines were the same in both sets of covers, but because the subjects of the image differed, I considered this data because the tone of the cover changes with the featured individual (even if the text is the same). In other words, I left all covers in this subset whether cover lines repeated or not. Table 6.4, Table 6.5, and Table 6.6 list the covers I qualitatively coded for each magazine by MPoS category and race. In total, I sampled 215 covers (*GQ*, *n*=72; *Men's Health*, *n*=63; *Sports Illustrated* *n*=80).

Table 6.4. *GQ* Covers Sampled for Qualitative Analysis by MPoS Category and Men's Race

	MPoS 1: Very Little Skin	*MPoS 2: Some Skin*	*MPoS 3: Fair Amount of Skin*	*MPoS 4: Quite a Bit of Skin*
White Men (*n*=39)	February, 1981	May 1980	May 1990	Summer 1980
	October, 1985	April 1992	July 1996	June 1981
	September, 1985	November 1999	December 1998	October 1994
	May, 1987	March 2000	July 1999	August 1995
	July, 1989	June 2001	August 2002	June 1996
	February, 1990	February 2002	June 2005	February 1998
	June 1990	November 2011	July 2006	July 2000
	March 1998	October 2011	February 2007	June 2011
	September 2001	November 2013	May 2007	February 2016
	January 2007	November 2014	June 2014	
	(*n*=282, 4% of total sample)	(*n*=49, 20% of total sample)	(*n*=30, 33% of total sample)	(*n*=9, 100% of total sample)
Black Men (*n*=33)	August 1982	February 1999	November 1994	February 1997
	November 1984	November 2000	September 1999	November 2006
	March 1987	March 2010	November 2002	September 2013
	January 1994	September 2010	October 2002	
	April 1996	November 2011	December 2005	
	January 1998	July 2013	February 2005	
	November 1998	April 2014	September 2013	
	October 2015	July 2015	August 2014	
	February 2017	July 2015	May 2016	
	May 2018	November 2017	July 2017	
	(*n*=63, 16% of total sample)	(*n*=19, 53% of total sample)	(*n*=10, 100% of total sample)	(*n*=3, 100% of total sample)

Sampled maximum of 10 covers from each category (n=72).

Table 6.5. *Men's Health* Covers Sampled for Qualitative Analysis by MPoS Category and Men's Race

	MPoS 1: Very Little Skin	*MPoS 2: Some Skin*	*MPoS 3: Fair Amount of Skin*	*MPoS 4: Quite a Bit of Skin*
White Men (*n*=40)	October 1990 December 1993 September 1993 May 1994 March 2005 November 2005 May 2007 December 2008 August 2009 September 2013	May-June 1992 November 1998 Jan.-Feb.2001 April 2002 March 2004 October 2006 June 2007 September 2010 December 2011 May 2013	Nov.-Dec. 1992 September 1996 June 1998 September 2001 December 2005 March 2007 October 2007 September 2008 July-August 2010 May 2015	July 1995 November 1995 June 1999 March 1999 June 2000 July 2000 September 2000 July 2003 April 2011 Jan.-Feb. 2017
	(n=22, 46% of total sample)	(*n*=65, 15% of total sample)	(*n*=82, 12% of total sample)	(*n*=81, 12% of total sample)
Black Men (*n*=23)	Fall Fashion Guide 2005 November 2008 October 2009 October 2014	April 2005 May 2005 November 2012 March 2015 May 2018	May 1998 October 2002 June 2005 April 2006 November 2007 September 2007 December 2015	October 2000 October 2004 April 2010 December 2012 November 2013 Jan.-Feb 2015 October 2018
	(*n*=4, 100% of total sample)	(*n*=5, 100% of total sample)	(*n*=7, 100% sampled)	(*n*=7, 100% of total sample)

*Sampled maximum of 10 covers from each category (*n*=63)

Table 6.6. *Sports Illustrated* Covers Sampled for Qualitative Analysis by MPoS Category and Men's Race

	MPoS 1: Very Little Skin	*MPoS 2: Some Skin*	*MPoS 3: Fair Amount of Skin*	*MPoS 4: Quite a Bit of Skin*
White Men (*n*=40)	December 22, 1986	January 31, 1983	September 5, 1984	August 2, 1982
	February 16, 1987	July 4, 1983	May 13, 1991	March 8, 1982
	March 23, 1987	April 2, 1984	November 25, 1991	November 22, 1982
	May 27, 1996	January 20, 1986	December 7, 1992	April 24, 1989
	January 27, 1997	April 23, 1990	January 24, 1994	September 17, 1990
	December 14, 1998	August 3, 1992	May 8, 1995	July 11, 1994
	July 27, 1998	August 19, 1996	December 30, 1996	October 24, 1994
	September 18, 2000	May 13, 1996	August 28, 2006	July 14, 1997
	February 6, 2012	July 21, 1997	August 30, 2010	September 11, 2000
	January 28, 2013	April 19, 2010	July 4, 2011	August 6, 2012
	(*n*=84, 12% of total sample)	(*n*=351, 3% of total sample)	(*n*=504, 2% of total sample)	(*n*=33, 30% of total sample)
Black Men (*n*=40)	March 25, 1985	August 4, 1980	September 6, 1982	June 1, 1981
	April 25, 1988	August 16, 1982	April 9, 1984	November 16, 1981
	February 25, 1991	May 4, 1992	March 26, 1990	September 14, 1981
	June 28, 1993	February 3, 1997	February 27, 1995	September 28, 1981
	June 27, 1994	December 28, 1998	September 30, 2002	June 27, 1983
	June 30, 1997	January 13, 2003	March 7, 2005	November 13, 1989
	November 10, 1997	January 27, 2003	February 13, 2006	November 23, 1992
	July 13, 1998	February 4, 2013	May 16, 2011	September 20, 1993
	December 18, 2000	August 24, 2015	December 14, 2015	November 18, 1996
	December 15, 2003	November 20, 2017	February 12, 2018	April 14, 2014
	(*n*=69, 14% of total sample)	(*n*=194, 5% of total sample)	(*n*=794, 1% of total sample)	(*n*=93, 11% of total sample)

Sampled maximum of 10 covers from each category (*n*=80).

The qualitative coding of this subset of covers occurred in two phases: a memo phase and a thematic coding phase.[11] In the memo phase, I wrote detailed memos about who was on the cover, their appearance, and the cover lines printed on the cover. For news, current events, and celebrities, I researched what was happening at the time of the cover's release. For example, in *GQ*, actors on the covers were often featured to promote a new film or celebrate an Oscar win. Using a deductive approach, I paid special attention to how the covers relate to masculine strategies for communicating hybrid masculinities, particularly at the intersections of sexuality and race.

In the next step, I uploaded these memos to Atlas.ti, a qualitative coding software. Using these memos as data, I thematically coded them, paying special attention to themes related to the communication of manhood, masculinity, and sexuality. The development of codes occurred both inductively and deductively. I started coding using the cover line themes from the quantitative coding form. As the qualitative coding process progressed, however, other codes or sub-codes emerged. For example, in *Men's Health*, the code for "health" and "fitness" were too broad to capture the nuance of some cover lines so I created a code for specific health issues (i.e., heart problems, diabetes, or other illnesses) and a code for "fast fitness" when covers mentioned getting fit within certain timelines (e.g., "Amazing 7-Day Plan! Get back in shape" from August 2009). Expansion of these codes using qualitative coding were necessary to build on the quantitative analyses and elaborate on the meaning behind both the image and text on the covers.

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[11] No double-coding occurred in this qualitative phase. That is, I conducted all qualitative coding independently without an assistant or reliability checks.

Given the size of the larger population of covers and the subset of covers I analyze here, I am not able to claim I have reached saturation, nor was it the aim of this exploratory chapter. The point of saturation is to collect enough data such that no new codes emerge during analysis (Merriam and Tisdell 2017). Because my data set is so large and varies so widely between the three magazine titles, I cannot claim saturation—there are simply too many varieties of topics these magazines cover. I can, however, claim that I capture the larger themes of the magazines thanks to the quantitative coding process and that I have begun to explore their nuance through qualitative analyses. In this way, quantitative and qualitative approaches work together where one (qualitative) offsets the limitations of the other (quantitative) through the triangulation process (Denzin 1978). Future and further in-depth analyses within each magazine would provide more support for the claims I make in the results I present below.

In the results below, I start by discussing patterns from the initial quantitative coding of cover lines. In figures, I show the proportion of cover line categories for each magazine and demonstrate high frequency codes using word clouds. I then describe results from coded memos.

Communicating Masculinity through Cover Lines

Cover lines build a narrative for each magazine title. The cover line categories that appear most often define the personality of the magazine (Gonser 2003 as cited by Spiker 2015). For reference, I provide two tables above, one with the general cover line categories (Table 6.2) and another with the sex and gender categories (Table 6.3). Each table shows the descriptions of the themes and examples of the cover lines for each magazine to show how some examples were more explicit while others are more implicit.

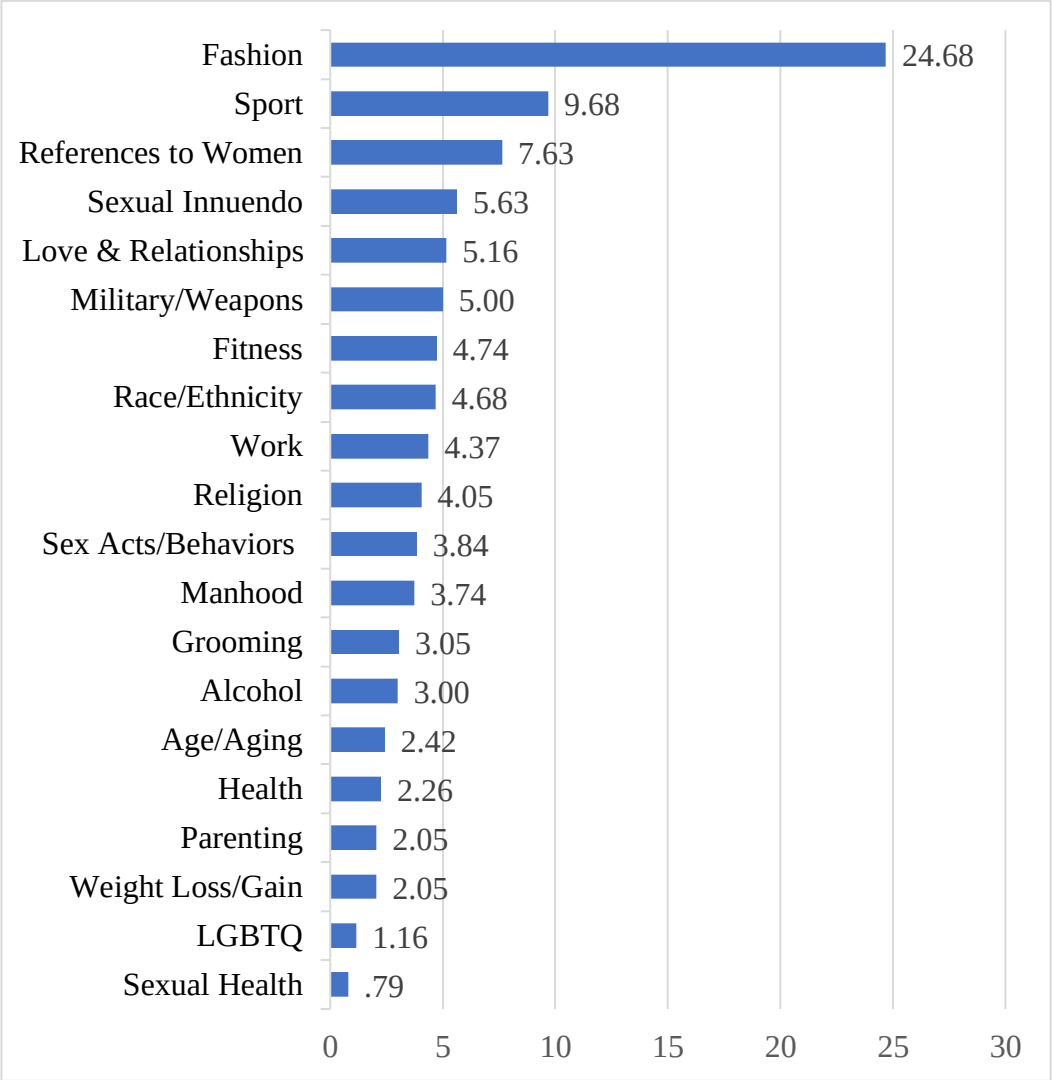

Figure 6.1. Proportions Cover Line Categories across All *GQ* Covers

In figures, I show the proportion of combined cover line groups for each magazine. I then discuss the top and bottom three categories to illustrate the topics *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* deem of interest—or not—to their readers.

The proportion of cover line themes for *GQ* are shown in Figure 6.1. Across all cover line categories in *GQ*, fashion (24.68%) and sports (9.68%) are the highest occurring categories followed by references to women (7.63%). Several categories were coded on about 2% or fewer covers: sexual health (.79%), LGBTQ (1.16%), parenting

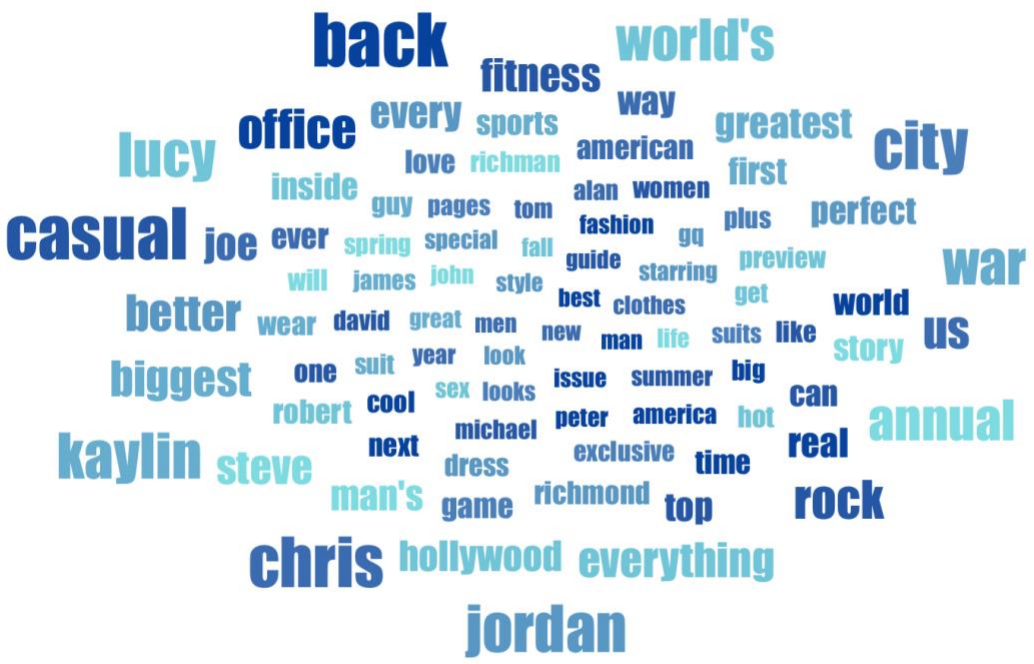

Figure 6.2. Word Cloud for Cover Lines Categories Across All *GQ* Covers

(2.05%), weight loss/gain (2.05%), health (general) (2.26%), and age/aging (2.42%). I also provide a word cloud of words used 25 times or more in Figure 6.2 to demonstrate the commonality of specific words that helped form these codes. The word cloud reveals how words like "dress," "fashion" "casual," "clothes," "style," "wear," and "suit(s)" contributed to the fashion theme. In support of the sport theme, "game" was mentioned frequently on the covers as well as the names of a few popular athletes. Mentions of "women" and author Lucy Kaylyn provide evidence of references to women (other than those in romantic relationships).

Stemming from its roots as a clothing catalogue (Nelson 2019; Sumner 2010), *GQ* has maintained its reputation as the go-to magazine for men's fashion and style. By also acknowledging sports and women, *GQ* "accounts" for any stigmatizing effects of fashion's association with women and gay men (Wade and Ferree 2019). Using athletes

on the covers and reporting on sports invites particular readers in and keeps them interested when they may otherwise look past magazines like *GQ*. *GQ* covers referencing sports often use sports stars or recent big wins to bring attention to the magazine. For example, a March 1987 cover featured a suited NBA star Magic Johnson noting his "charmed life," a cover from September 2013 boasts how "It's a whole new game! RG3 & Colin Kaepernick lead the charge on our biggest ever NFL kickoff" (RG3 is the nickname of Robert Griffin III who then played for the Washington Redskins), and more recently NBA star James Harden poses in a floral outfit next to the cover line "Wild style" (April 2018). Together, these stars and associated text keep *GQ* culturally relevant to a wide audience of readers like those interested in sports.

References to women (other than romantic relationships) like moms, sisters, female friends, female athletes, or female authors was the third highest category of cover lines. Women were mentioned as subjects in current events from the arrest of punk rock all-women band Pussy Riot after their protest of Vladimir Putin in Russia (November 2012) to *GQ*'s "obsession" with how Lindsay Lohan was "torching" the tabloids (December 2006). Even Georgia O'Keefe was the subject of one cover line and associated article about she as an artist (March 1981). Women authors of *GQ* articles were also coded. For example, Lucy Kaylin, Gerri Hirshey, and Johanna Schneller were frequent contributors. Though without explicit reference to sex or specific, some of the cover lines hinted at sexuality through innuendo like in the case of "Kathy Ireland and Cindy Crawford Revealed" that appeared on the cover of *GQ* in January 1990. Given their status as models, Ireland and Crawford were often depicted in "revealing" ways. Both Ireland (February 7, 1989; March 9, 1992; and February 14, 1994) and Crawford

(February 15, 1988) appeared on the *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issue, for example. Cover lines like this serve to entice readers to flip to the article to see just how revealed the two women were. While the magazine is dominated by references to fashion—men's fashion, that is—women help get readers' attention, especially the attention of heterosexual men. Thus, to feature stories about beautiful and sexy women on *GQ* covers is a kind of accounting because they help hide and justify men's interest in a magazine attuned to fashion trends, an interest marred by its connection to women and gay men.

GQ also very rarely mentions sexual health, LGBTQ topics, or parenting in its cover lines either because the style of the magazine does not fit within the *GQ* brand writ large or to maintain a meaningful distance from these "unmanly" subjects—both may be true. Little reference to sexual health topics further disassociates men from health-related help-seeking behaviors and keeps *GQ* siloed in the fashion and lifestyle genre of magazines (Addis and Mahalik 2003). In other words, *GQ* leaves discussions of health to other magazines like *Men's Health* to stay "on brand." The association between fashion and gay men perhaps explains so few references to LGBTQ topics (Casanova 2015; Stokes 2015). The result of leaving out LGBTQ subjects is twofold, however. On the one hand, it isolates a potential audience of readers. On the other hand, it sets up *GQ* as a magazine purely for heterosexual men. In addition, little reference to parenting preserves the topic for "women's interests" only. In a magazine targeted at audiences of men, ignoring approaches to parenting fuels stereotypes of men's ignorance around children and status as the secondary parent (Wall and Arnold 2007). Together, both popular and infrequent subjects manifest a particular kind of *GQ* masculinity in which fashionable

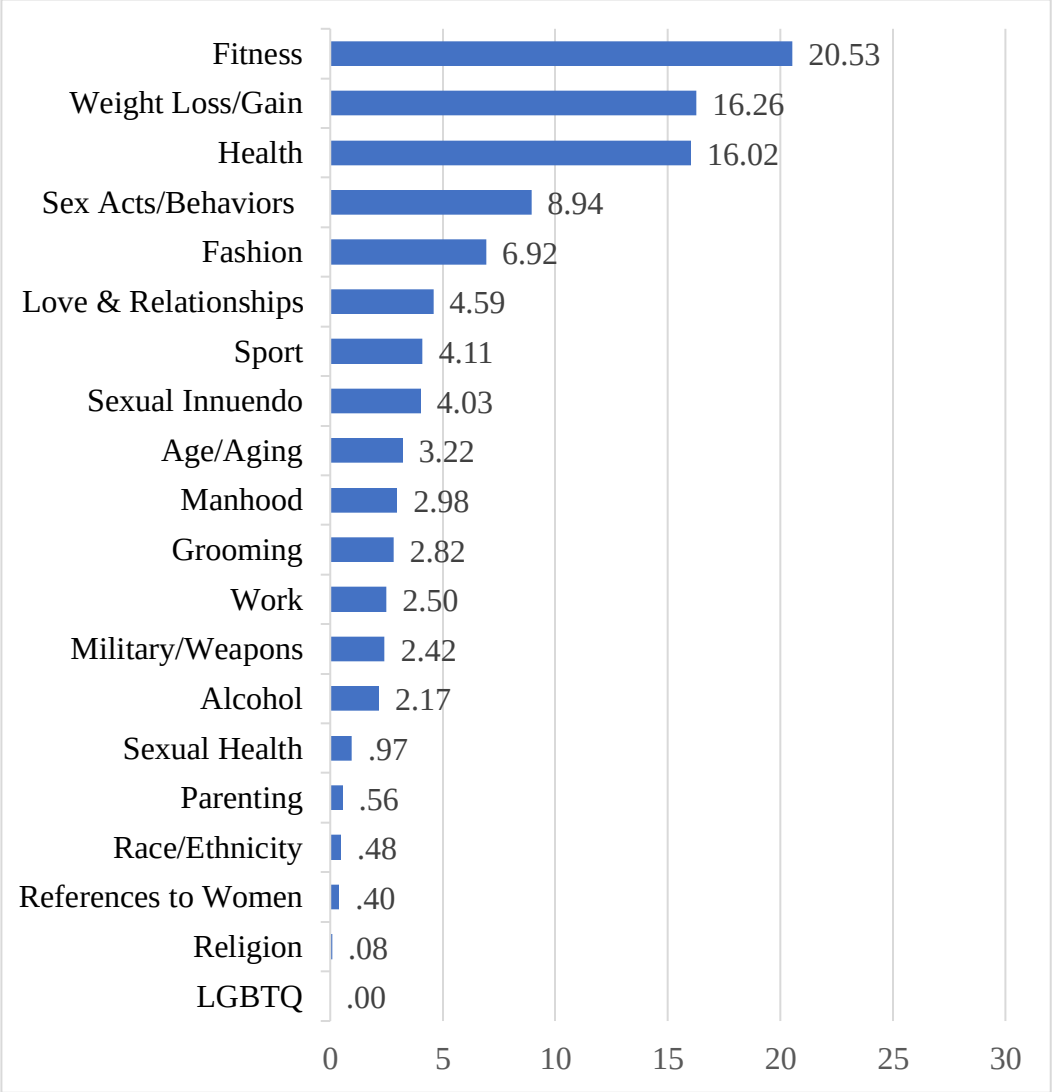

Figure 6.3. Proportions of Cover Line Categories across All *Men's Health* Covers

men are also exposed to articles about sports and women, but potentially ignorant to sexual health, LGBTQ topics, and parenting.

The proportion of cover line themes for *Men's Health* are shown in Figure 6.3. Across all categories in *Men's Health*, fitness (20.53%), weight (16.26%), and health (16.02%) are the highest occurring codes. Meanwhile, several categories appeared on less than 1% of *Men's Health* covers: mentions of LGBTQ people or culture (0.00%), religion (0.08%), references to women (0.40%), race/ethnicity (0.48%), parenting (0.56%), and sexual health (0.97%). I also provide a word cloud of words used 25 times or more in

Figure 6.4. Word Cloud for Cover Lines Categories Across All *Men's Health* Covers

Figure 6.4 to demonstrate the commonality of specific words that helped form these codes. Words that refer to the fitness theme included "results," "flat," "strong," "workout," "muscle," "fit," and others. The weight theme was evidenced by words like "shape," "flat," "gut, and "strip." The health theme was driven by words like "health" and "nutrition." These categories were also not mutually exclusive and overlapped.

Men's Health was consistently "on brand" with fitness, weight, and health as top categories. Together, these categories indicate the place of *Men's Health* among magazines for men focused on their bodies. The near-equal frequency of these three themes paints a picture of available avenues to maintaining good health and also perpetuates the idea that a healthy man should be in excellent physical shape, particularly given the title of the magazine. The high frequencies of these cover line categories justify a particular controlling image of men and men's health.

The magazine does not reference LGBTQ topics at all and very rarely mentions religion or women (other than family or sexual partners). Religion was not a popular topic on any of the magazine titles. References to women (other than family or relationships) does not expand the definition of health to include healthy relationships with women. As a magazine marketed as a resource for health, fitness, and weight-management, *Men's Health* misses an opportunity to target certain audiences and address specific issues related to men's health. For example, the magazine does not refer to the physical and psychological consequences of pressures to conform to the fit body standards it promotes (Arbour and Martin Ginis 2006; Baird and Grieve 2006; Barlett et al. 2008; Boni 2002; Brown and Graham 2008; Diedrichs and Lee 2010; Dworkin and Wachs 2009; Halliwell, Dittmar, and Orsborn 2007; Pope et al. 2000). Gay men in particular are notably concerned with their bodies and body image (Alvarez 2008; Doyle and Engeln 2014, 2014; Drummond 2005; Duncan 2010). Though gay men may be readers of the magazine given their interests in their (or other men's) physiques, their experience or interests go unacknowledged in *Men's Health*. *Men's Health* could simultaneously address topics related to gay men's health and fitness and still be within the bounds of their brand. Though one could argue *Men's Health* remains neutral when it comes to sexuality, covers notably mention heterosexual sex couplings and how to "get the girl" (i.e., "The sex of your dreams (& hers)!" August 2009). Indeed, the fourth highest category of cover lines were related to heterosexual sex. Without acknowledging their gay or bisexual male audiences, the magazine both isolates a population of readers and reinforces heteronormative structures.

While non-heterosexual men may benefit from the general tips *Men's Health* provides, the focus on heterosexual sexual encounters is limiting. On covers containing at least one man, *Men's Health* also very rarely mentions women other than family or sexual partners. By comparison, many of the women in this category on *GQ* or *Sports Illustrated* covers were women authors of articles, athletes, or stars. While *Men's Health* is a magazine with a specific audience of men, the magazine's primary focus concerning women is one targeted at dating and having sex with them rather than highlighting any other role women have in men's lives.

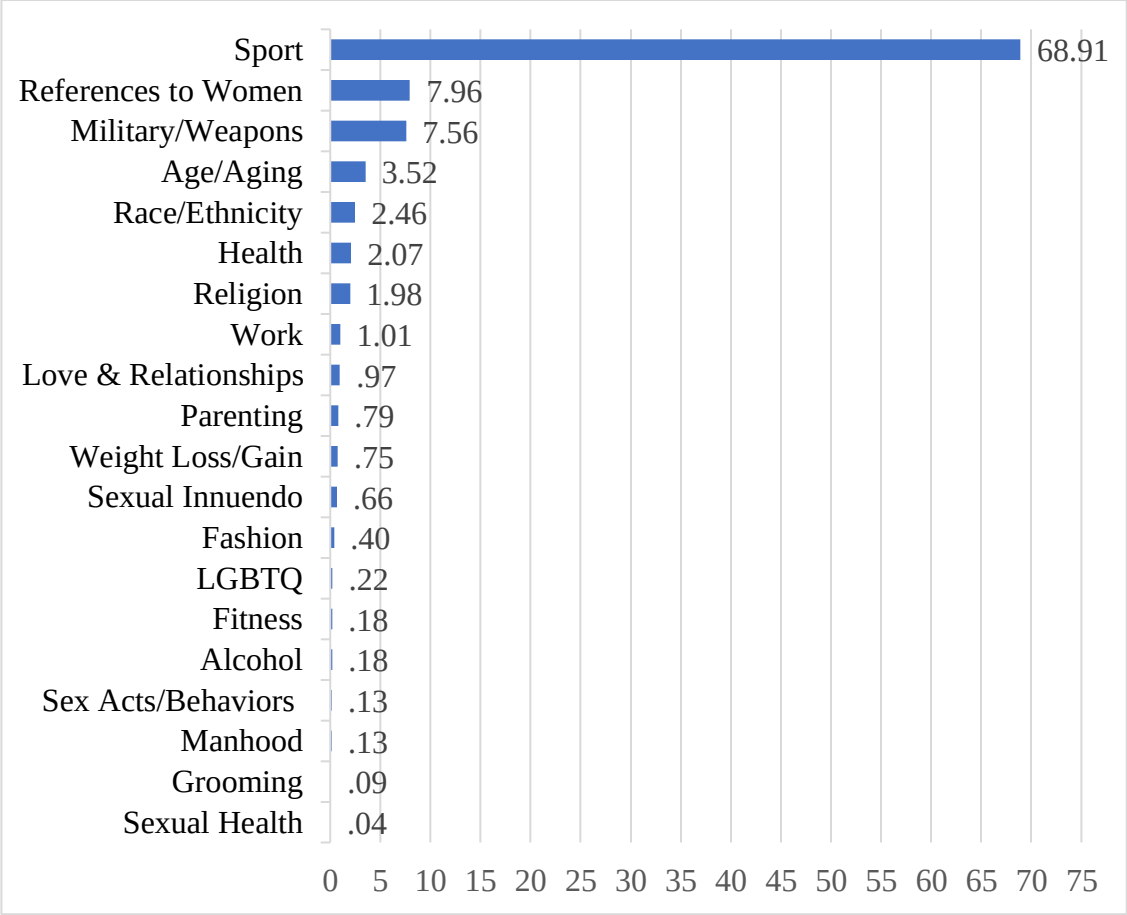

Figure 6.5. Proportions of Cover Line Categories across All *Sports Illustrated* Covers

The proportion of cover line themes for *Sports Illustrated* are shown in Figure 6.5. Altogether, the top cover line categories on *Sports Illustrated* covers were on the topics of sports (68.91%), the military or weapons (7.56%), or references to women (7.96%). Several cover lines were mentioned on 1% or fewer *Sports Illustrated* covers: alcohol (0.18%), fashion (0.40%), alcohol (0.18%), grooming (0.09%), LGBTQ (0.22%), love (0.97%), manhood (0.13%), parenting (0.97%), sex acts/behaviors (0.13%), sexual health (0.04%), sexual innuendo (0.66%), weight loss/grain (0.75%), and work (1.01%). I also provide a word cloud of words used 40 times or more in Figure 6.6 to demonstrate the commonality of specific words that helped form these codes. The sports theme was made up of references to specific sporting events (e.g., “games,” “championship,”

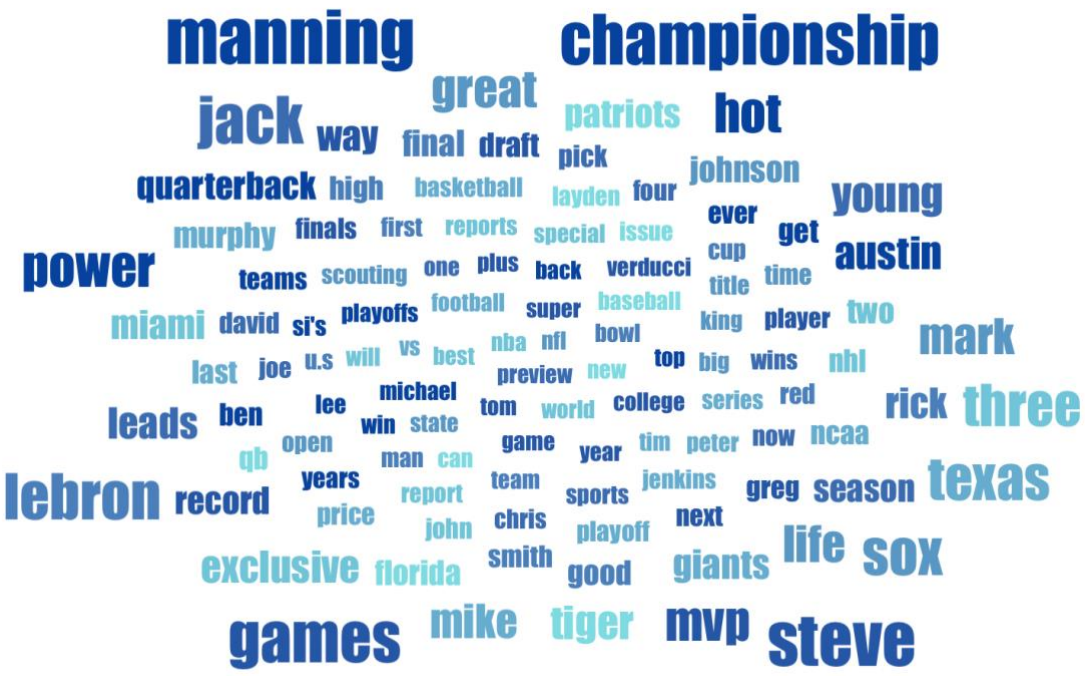

Figure 6.6. Word Cloud for Cover Lines Categories Across All *Sports Illustrated* Covers

"playoffs"), positions on teams (e.g., "quarterback"), teams (e.g., "Texas," "Miami," "Giants," etc.) or individuals (e.g., "Manning," "Lebron," "Tiger"). Military or weapon language was more latent or abstract and references to women mixed.

Sports Illustrated clearly articulates its sports focus through cover lines, at times using military and weaponry language to do so (Matthews 2016; Messner 1990). References to the military or use of violent metaphors maintain men's connection with the masculine power and pride that comes with dominating others, especially in competitive environments. The language *Sports Illustrated* commonly used were metaphors for or allusions to military, weapon, power, and violence. In an issue released in on March 23, 2015, "Frank the Tank" stands in front of a military tank to introduce University of Wisconsin basketball player Frank Kaminsky who, at seven feet tall, had "the Big Ten champs ready to roll." In other instances, players "battle" (March 23, 2015),

go to “war” with (August 19, 2002), or “attack” (September 25, 1995) their opponents. The frequency of these cover lines communicates the importance of violence and masculine domination over others. Such rhetoric is particularly harmful for Black athletes whose bodies are already subject to essentialist stereotypes about the “naturalness” of their abilities and the use of their bodies as forms of entertainment (Collins 2004; Davis and Harris 1998; Messner 1990; Strings 2019).

Casual references to women (other than family or relationships) was the third most coded category, yet makes up only 8% of cover lines. This finding supports prior scholarship focused on lacking representation of women and women’s sports in televised sports coverage (Cooky, Messner, and Musto 2015; Musto, Cooky, and Messner 2017). Indeed, limited references to women among covers with at least one man secures sports as what Matthews (2016) has called a “male preserve” despite women’s advancement in sports and society writ large.

The subjects *Sports Illustrated* avoids, however, are also illustrative. Sexual health, grooming, sex, and manhood are rarely mentioned on the covers of the magazine. Magic Johnson’s HIV status (August 20, 2011) and the occasional sex scandal notwithstanding, little-to-no mention of sexual health or sex is perhaps within the bounds of the magazine. The same could be said about grooming as *Sports Illustrated* is not a magazine about men’s appearances or aesthetic trends. Given the sports-oriented purview, *Sports Illustrated* is not likely to address these issues as an outlet committed to promoting sports. With the number of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated*, the limited discussion of manhood is interesting given the sociocultural association between sports, men, and masculinity (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Matthews

2016; Messner 1990, 1992, 2002; Pronger 1992; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). Sports have long been sites in which masculinity is taught to boys by adults and where children reconstruct gender (Messner 1992, 2000), therefore acknowledging how sports cultivate manhood seems key.

Together, these three magazines construct a narrative of men and masculinity that indicates American men should be fashionable, healthy and fit, or up-to-date on the latest in sports news. Simultaneously, the magazines also indicate who and what has value when it comes to men and masculinity (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Except when women were subjects of sexual desire, women and LGBTQ people have no place in headlines of these magazines further encouraging sexism, misogyny, and homophobia through their omission. While cover lines say a lot about men's interests or the subjects the magazines perceive men's interests to be, cover lines are only a part of the collective message of magazine covers. In the next sections, I turn to a more in-depth qualitative analysis of how each of the magazines market men by capturing the relationship between cover lines and cover images.

The Full Package: Connecting Cover Lines and Images

The relationship between the cover lines and the individuals on the covers say more about the branding of the magazine and the relevance of the magazines to men's lives, particularly strategies for creating a competitive masculinity. The "full package" of the magazine cover—both images and text—communicate ways of being men not just to male readers, but to society writ large. Cover lines and images celebrate the success of a musician's latest hit, the muscular transformation of a movie star for their latest role, or a recent upset in a championship game. In other words, cover lines and cover images come

together to form the full package of the magazine, the implications of which have deeper meaning for how they connect to readers (Spiker 2015). In this section, I elaborate on this connection by discussing themes from the subset of covers I qualitatively coded in-depth. I find that, in turn, each magazine speaks to a different component of men's lives that collectively contribute to the development of hybrid masculinity, often in raced ways.

Marketing Men in GQ

GQ's reputation as a fashion and lifestyle magazine is multifaceted. *GQ* strategically "accounts" for the prominent discussion of clothes (Wade and Ferree 2019). Accounting is an explanation for breaking gendered rules in a way that excuses the behavior. In the 72 covers that I qualitatively coded, *GQ* accounts for marketing the latest fashion trends by combining them with subjects widely recognized as masculine—fashion with a masculine twist. In other ways, *GQ* sidesteps mentioning fashion by name because, as Casanova (2015) finds, fashion is another "f-word." Instead, covers suggest how to be "cool" or use words like "style" in referring to men's dress. I also group this subset by covers that feature white men (n=39) and black men (n=33) within each MPoS category. Finally, though the magazine has increasingly featured Black men on the covers (see Chapter 4), I also find Black men appear in tandem with white men in ways that symbolically diminishes their presence. *GQ* thus manifests a kind of masculinity that is both excusatory in its justification for selling men clothes and also racially exclusive in its display of Black men.

Temperature Check: It's Cool Style, not Fashion

Across covers, *GQ* diversifies how to talk about fashion using references to being "cool" and using "style" in place of "fashion." *GQ* uses "cool" as a play on words in

reference to temperature, but also status and emotions. In the same subset of *GQ* covers, almost twice as many covers in thus subsample use "cool" when White men (*n*=9) were on the covers than when Black men (*n*=4) were on the covers. *GQ* mentions style (*n*=31) three times more often than when referencing fashion (*n*=11) in this subsample. There are no differences by race.[12] Rather than look "fashionable," *GQ* uses coolness and style to suggest ways for men to update their wardrobes without sacrificing manhood or (hetero)sexuality.

In one set of covers, being "cool" is both a status symbol, way of dressing, and temperature-related play on words. At times, "cool" cover lines are broad. For example, "Cool Summer Style: Light Suits Easy Sportswear" or "Summer's Coolest Clothes: Suits, Shirts, Sportswear" accompany covers featuring late-night TV host David Letterman (June 1990) and professional baseball player Ken Griffey, Jr. (April 1996), respectively. These examples highlight a dual meaning that refers to staying cool in summer and looking cool while doing it.

In other instances, the double—or rather triple—meaning refers to fashion, men's emotions, and temperature; this was the case especially with white men. In a June 2005 cover featuring a rugged-looking Brad Pitt, a cover line advertises "The Summer Style Survival Guide How to Dress for Warm Weather Without Losing Your Cool." In context, Pitt had just split with actress Jennifer Anniston (amongst rumors of a budding romance with Angelina Jolie). A story about how Pitt "moves on" accompanies his image. The

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[12] *GQ* uses the word "fashion" on 6 covers with Black men and 5 covers white men; *GQ* uses the word "style" on 16 covers with Black men and 15 covers white men.

juxtaposition between the breakup and "losing your cool" implies men's emotional volatility when it comes to relationships. Other examples of pairing men's emotional states with ways of dressing include, "Cooling Off: A Man's Guide to Looking and Feeling Great this Summer" (July 2006) and "Summer Break! The Clothes (& Bathing Suits) You Need to Keep Your Cool" (June 2011). In a final example, *GQ* uses language from recovery programs like Alcoholics Anonymous to suggest ways to "Keep your cool this winter, a 12-step style program." Though the play on words concerns how can improve their style, the cover line implies a much deeper meaning behind men's comportment. Using cool in this way suggests men are naturally hot-headed and need something—in this case, fashion—to help stay calm and look cool.

GQ also uses coolness as an aspirational excuse to be someone else, upgrade their status, or stay up-to-date. A cover from July 2017 featuring actor Mahershala Ali nicely illustrates this point with the cover line and list, "We Give You the Perfect Excuse to: Dress Cooler Travel Lighter Look Better in a Swimsuit Live Healthier Grill Smarter Drink Oftener." Excusing men's interests in dressing nicely also came in the form of aspiring to like someone else, especially if they are famous. In two covers, actor Leonardo DiCaprio and professional baseball player Derek Jeter are those stars. Borrowing from ZZ Top's song "Sharp Dressed Man," an October 2011 cover shows DiCaprio sporting a white t-shirt and black pea coat next to the cover line, "What the sharp-dressed man will be wearing this fall a.k.a. how to look as cool as this guy." Similarly, though the cover from February 1998 features a shirtless Ben Affleck, a cover line highlights "28 Pages of Cool Clothes: Italian Dressing Dandy Derek Jeter." Though Black men on the covers of *GQ* are described as "cool," the term was not exclusive to

them (Majors and Billson 1993). In fact, covers with mostly White men also contained the word "cool." Together, these covers encourage ways for mostly White men to improve or keep their "cool" by dressing themselves in ways that will help improve their status by looking dressing like someone else.

Style over Fashion and Black Men Standing Out

Like coolness, *GQ* also uses "style" as a way of repackaging fashion for men. As Edwards (2003) suggests, "style" is about men's lifestyles; thus using "style" in place of fashion or clothes implies the practicality of aligning men's fashion choices with their lifestyle activities (see also Gronow 1993). Using "style" over words like "fashion" further distances men from the stigma of this "f-word" and its feminine connotations (Casanova 2015). "Style" was also typically paired with other masculine subjects like coolness (see examples above).

In addition, men's style comes with a challenge—be the best—and the idea that men deserve the best. References to men's style on the covers of *GQ* came as a part of a "best of" list. On the April 2014 "Third Annual Style Bible" cover, Pharrell Williams accompanies the line "Everything a Man Needs to Know to Look His Best." Likewise, rapper 50 Cent poses next to "The best in gadgets, style, and design" (December 2005). In a twist on the theme, Sean Connery dons a white tuxedo to exemplify "Cutting-Edge Style" (July 1989). Combining style with being the best plays on the competitive fragility and competitiveness of masculinity.

Famous men show off their style across multiple *GQ* covers. Black musicians like The Weeknd, Chance the Rapper, Bobby Brown, Jay Z, Pharrell Williams, Kanye West, 50 Cent, and Drake were all described as "stylish" or were listed as some of the "Most

Stylish Men Alive." References to the style of these men most often come with feature stories. Canadian singer Abel Makkonen Tesfaye who uses the professional moniker "The Weeknd" smiles next to the cover line: "Sound + Style: A Celebration of Music and Fashion Starring The Weeknd and Chance the Rapper" (February 2017). Basketball star James Harden poses in a floral getup with the cover line, "The New Era of Wild Style Starring James Harden and Other Men Who Wear It Well" (May 2018). In two separate covers both released in July 2015, Jay-Z and Kanye West are lauded as "The Most Stylish Men Alive."

White men were similarly featured in "stylish" ways. In issues from Summer 1980 and February 1981, two unnamed models pose next two the cover lines "Seaworthy styles with 14 pages of swimwear" and "Action! Winning athletic clothes for shaping up in style." The former is wearing black swim briefs and wet white tank top clinging to his fit body like the female model hugging him. The cover line aligns with the image of the two models in their swimsuits (though it is rather unclear if the list of swimwear the cover line boasts are for men or women). The latter is wearing a golf shirt and jacket, a disconnect between the athletic clothes advertised. In other instances, Tom Cruise and Harrison Ford pose behind the words "364 pages of stars, style and sin" (March 2000), a suited Alec Baldwin sultrily looks into the camera next to "Weekend Style" (February 1990), and a quirky Ben Stiller poses with "The Big Style Issue" (September 2001), shortly after the release of the comedy film *Zoolander* (2001) about models and the fashion industry.

Through *GQ*'s designs and strategy for releasing issues, Black men also stand out in ways that perpetuate their difference. Nine (27%) covers sampled with Black men

tokenize them in one of two ways. First, covers with groups of men only show one Black man. For example, in their annual "Men of the Year" issue, a trio of men appear, only one of whom is Black. This pattern occurred on covers in three different years (November 1999, 2000, and 2002). In a second strategy, *GQ* released three separate covers, each featuring a different star. For example, in April 2014, the three covers: one with white actor Liam Neeson, another with white actor Kit Harrington, and a third with Black singer Pharrell Williams. A similar scenario occurred in December 20015 when one cover featured rapper 50 Cent, another with actor Vince Vaughn and a third showcasing *GQ*'s first woman of the year, Jennifer Anniston. Thus, when *GQ* released multiple covers in a given month (often three), each featuring a different person, there was consistently only one Black man on the list. Using Black men as tools to diversify men on the covers of *GQ* perpetuates unnecessary and (perhaps unconscious) racial bias.

Hurry up and Weight: Making Healthy Men in Men's Health

As a magazine, *Men's Health* is driven by cover lines advising ways men can improve their health. The ways *Men's Health* uses cover lines related to health is racialized. While the small number of Black men on the covers of *Men's Health* (every cover with a Black man [*n*=23] on it is included in this analysis) make racial comparisons challenging, there are some delineations by race.

Men's Health addresses a variety of issues like fatigue, food bugs, heart health, flu, headaches, cholesterol, preventing injuries during workouts, seeking pain relief, vitamins and nutrition, and avoiding doctors. Only 11 covers mention these specific ailments in the subset of covers. More often across 30 covers, however, the cover lines about health are much more general, noting ways to improve one's "health" or generally

live “healthier,” often as part of a long list of article topics within the issue. For example, former President Barack Obama’s November 2008 issue invites readers to find out more about the “1,785 best ever health, fitness, sex, style, & nutrition tips!” The next time Obama appeared on the cover in October 2009, he was accompanied by “How can we make sure all of us have the option of healthier lives?” and another list “2,791 cool new fitness, health, nutrition & style secrets!” There were no clear differences by the race of men on the covers when it came to generic or specific mentions to health.

Mental health was acknowledged with similar generality, noting ways for men to improve their “mind/body connection” (September 2007). On several covers, mental health was framed as a form of control either in the context of a workout or relating mental health to sports in some way. For instance, Matthew McConaughey penned an article on “The perfect mind/body workout” (March 2005), another article suggested ways for men to “Stay on top! Take control of your body, your mind, your life!” (December 2008), and the football star tells readers how to “Focus! How Tom Brady wins the mental game” (September 2013). When particular mental health concerns did appear, they were on the topic of “stress” rather than depression, anxiety, or other common mental health issues. Cover lines about stress emphasized ways to “escape” (December 1993), “blow off” (May 1994), “strip away” (December 2008), or “get stress off your back” (May 1998). A few cover lines acknowledging stress address masculinity directly: “25 quick fixes for stressed-out guys” (October 2002), “Stay Focused How to Blow Off the 10 Worst Male Stressors” (May 1994), and “Secrets of the male brain focus on your anger, tame your stress, sharpen your thinking, find your keys” (December 2011). Though stress was mentioned somewhat infrequently across covers in the subset,

stress was mentioned on more covers with White men (*n*=9) than Black men (*n*=5). Collectively, *Men's Health* cover lines frame even generic mentions of mental health in masculine ways, yet when it comes to stress, escaping it appears to be a way of assuaging the pressures of masculinity—especially for White men.

Men's Health uses fitness and weight gain/loss as gateways to healthy lives and bodies. The fitness cover lines were particularly characterized by ways to "get fit fast" (December 1993). Speed definitely drives this theme: "Burn fat faster" (September 1993), "Workout secrets for faster results" (May 1994), "Muscle by Russell Build Big Arms Fast" (October 2014), and others. With the advice of these articles, readers could also plan their fitness journey over a matter of days through an "Amazing 7-day plan!" (August 2009), "Unleash your abs in just 2 weeks!" (June 2005) "Abs! (No, really) Your 4-Week hardcore plan" (October 2018). Men could also make improvements and see results in minutes via the "The 15-minute home workout" (April 2010), Kevin Hart's best practice to "Blast your biceps. The 50-rep, 5-minute no-joke plan" (March 2015), or the "more muscle, less hassle" approach to becoming "stronger in 15 minutes a day" (March 2007). Get fit quick schemes like these play on readers' insecurities over their bodies.

Fitness advice overlapped with weight control and in ways that play with men's insecurities over the size and shape of their bodies. One clear example comes from the January-February 2017 issue where the then *Men's Health* fitness director BJ Gaddour was pictured running on the beach showing off his toned and tan body next to the cover line: "Lose fat fast How this guy did it and you can too!" To the left of his six-pack abs is a smaller picture of Gaddour in which he is heavier; a large red "Whoa!" punctuates the

difference between the two images. The tone of this cover is echoed on others from previous years where men were advised how to go from “Fat to flat Drop 20 lbs. the easy way” (September 2000), “Build a beach body,” (June 1999), and “Eat fat, get thin” (October 2000). Notes on thinness were especially targeted toward men’s stomachs or “bellies” wherein men were encouraged to reflect on whether or not they need to “Strip away belly fat!” (September 2010), “Incinerate belly fat” (April 2010), seek out a “A firm flat belly” (July 1995), or eat “15 flat-belly power foods” (November 2008) so that their “gut’s a goner!” thanks to “the comfort-food diet” (April 2002). Each of these examples, tied to the ripped bodies of men depicted on these covers, evokes self-reflection concerning body—and belly—size.

Let’s Talk about (Heterosexual) Sex, Baby

After health, fitness, and weight control, the next most popular cover lines in Men’s Health were about sex acts and behaviors, especially those for heterosexual men. Even before the movie starring Mel Gibson was released (2000), covers boasted advice on “what women want” (June 1998) and “what women love about you” (September 1996). Through exploring “sexy women” through “scientific exploration” (June 2007), men could discover the secrets to the mysteries of the fairer sex: “Date any woman, the simple secret” (March 2015), “Make her want you” (May 1998), “Sexual signals recoded” (December 1993), and “Sex secrets! 25 ways to drive her wild” (March 2004). Covers even explained “Why men take mistresses” (October 1990). There no clear differences by race, however, two covers with Black men cover lines provide guidance on “Cooking for romance. How to satisfy her hunger” (September 2007) and “How to

feed a naked woman" (October 2000). None of the covers with White men in the subset connect women and food in this way.

Getting and understanding women was only part of the equation. Once men had access to sex, *Men's Health* then provided advice on how to improve it, particularly in the context of fitness and nutrition. Covers boasted "The better-sex diet plan. Feed your body what it craves" (October 2002) and "Natural sex boosters" (November 1998). Then advice on how to "last longer in bed" (November 1995) and "Double your sexual endurance" (September 1996). Sex was also part of longer lists of topics the issues covered. For example, an issue from October 1990 lists sex along with ten other drugs to help men's cholesterol, heart, life, and attitude. Cover lines like these treat women as sexual objects and men as sexually ignorant. They also isolate readers whose sexual interests may not include women.

Bringing Sexy Black

Table 6.3 reveals that when Black men appear on the covers of *Men's Health*, they are shown with more skin exposed. That is, from the "Very Little Skin" showing category where men were typically fully covered to the "Quite a Bit of Skin" showing category where men were often shirtless, there are incrementally more Black men. Though there were only 23 Black men on the covers of *Men's Health*, their bodies are put on display (Collins 2004). Comparing issues in the "Very Little Skin" and "Quite a Bit of Skin" categories illustrates the stark contrast in the ways *Men's Health* displays Black men. There were four issues in the "Very Little Skin" category. Two of these issues from November 2008 and October 2009 featured then President Barack Obama. On each of the covers Obama wore a suit, however, in the November 2008 issue he has removed his

jacket and rolled up his sleeves. In another issue, rapper Andre 3000 poses in a white cable-knit sweater, wide-leg pants, and two-tone wingtip shoes (Fall Fashion Guide 2005). Finally, in October 2014, NFL player Russell Wilson poses with a football, yelling at the camera and wearing a t-shirt. The framing of the image make it appear as if he is fully covered. By comparison, the seven issues in the "Quite a Bit of Skin" showing category tell a different story about Black men and their bodies. On five of these issues, the men are completely shirtless to show off their abs and pecs. In the other two, Jamie Foxx and Usher are wearing form-fitting tank tops that show off their muscular arms and show off their bulging pecs and abs.

Accompanying these Black men were also an increasing number of references to fitness. Within the subsample, there were 32 total mentions of fitness on magazine covers with Black men and 71 with White men. Whereas there were 7 (22%) mentions of fitness among the Black men in the "Very Little Skin" category in which men were fully clothed, there were 14 (44%) mentions of fitness with the Black men in the "Quite a Bit of Skin" category. In between, there were 2 (6%) mentions of fitness in the "Some Skin" showing category and 9 (28%) in the "Fair Amount of Skin" showing category. The same cannot be said about White men; mentions of fitness across MPoS for White men categories remained consistent after the "Very Little Skin" category with 12 (17%) references to fitness: 20 (28%) "Some Skin," 18 (25%) "Fair Amount of Skin," and 21 (30%) in "Quite a Bit of Skin." The connection between increasingly exposed Black men's bodies and fitness thus becomes clear—when Black men show off more skin, *Men's Health* takes the initiative to provide fitness tips.

Wins and Losses in Sports Illustrated

With the relationship between masculinity and sports long established, maintenance becomes the key focus (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Matthews 2016; Messner 1990, 1992, 2002; Schrock and Schwalbe 2009). Not only does the number of men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* reveal how sports are a "male preserve" (Matthews 2016), the stories about these men on the covers also encourage the idea that men must persevere in sports to keep their place. In other words, to use Vandello and Bosson's (2013) language, masculinity is precarious, particularly in the context of sports: it is hard won, yet easily lost. Thus, the many of the messages on *Sports Illustrated* were related to winning. From the winning streak of Georgetown University in the NCAA championship in March 1985 to Ryan Lochte's gold medal winning swim in the 400 IM at the 2012 Summer Olympics, sports as featured on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* are about who can win.

Winning coincides with being the best. *Sports Illustrated* was particularly keen on celebrating the best of the best with awards for Sportsman of the Year (now "Sportsperson" of the Year), reporting MVPs, or the best young recruits. Cover lines about being the best note how the Cardinals "rule" as an "unkillable, unstoppable force" (August 24, 2015), hint at the next "hot young QBs" (January 13, 2003), or labeling tennis star Pete Sampras as "Pistol Pete: Wimbledon King" (July 11, 1994). Among cover lines addressing being the best, 63% (n=24) of them were on covers with Black men in a celebration of their (or at least their team's) success.

These cover line examples also further demonstrate the use militaristic, weaponizing, or violent language on the covers (i.e., "Pistol Pete" and "unkillable,

unstoppable force"). Other examples include describing baseball's Reggie Jackson as being "on a rampage" (August 4, 1980), labeling quarterback Matthew Stafford's throwing arm a "cannon" (November 20, 2017), and the "carnage" in the NFL as multiple players became injured (December 7, 1992). In this subset of covers, I found no differences in use of militaristic language by the race of the men; in fact, there were equal uses on covers with Black and White men.

The Spectacle of Sport

More men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* lacked subjectivity than were active subjects of the images. That is, of 100 the men on the covers in this subset, 73% of them were not looking at the camera or posed for the images. Rather, they were in-play, often focused on their games or matches. The June 27, 1983 cover shows Roberto Duran and Davey Moore in a boxing match with the cover story: "Redemption for Roberto: Erasing the shame of no mas, Roberto Duran mauls Davey Moore." (Notice use of "maul.") Neither are captured looking at the camera as Duran punches his opponent in the jaw with a strong right arm and Moore expresses the pain of the punch. Likewise, in January 24, 1994 a cover features Kansas City Chief player, Joe Montana, rearing back his arm to throw the football as Oiler Lamar Lathon runs toward him. In other examples, athletes may not be in-play, but are otherwise not engaged with the viewer. On the June 28, 1993 cover, for example, Michael Jordan and his teammate are shown celebrating their third NBA championship. As they celebrate in what appears to be a hallway in a candid photo, Jordan is holding the newly won trophy with a big smile, while his teammate appears to be talking or yelling; neither are looking at the camera. Depicting the athletes in this way

encourages the spectacle of sport by disengaging them from the viewer and instead encouraging the viewer to gaze upon the athletes as objects.

Collectively, these depictions of athletes work together to communicate the dominance and spectacle of men in sports. With so many mentions of winning and being the best, why would *Sports Illustrated* report on anything but sports wins? While perhaps important to sports fans, the athletes themselves are more than the sum of their wins. Perhaps stories about their lives leading up to the win, their training regimen, or articles about what the athletes do in their free time would humanize these individuals beyond their athletic abilities. Additionally, showcasing the men in-action fortifies the physicality of sports as the domination of one individual or one team over another, necessary elements of masculinity.

Discussion and Conclusion

GQ, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* individually showcase different manifestations of masculinity. Given the popularity of these titles over time, it is clear men subscribe to the ways the magazines encourage multiple, competing, and precarious masculinities. Each in their own way, these magazine titles highlight different elements of masculinity that bring to the fore the variety of ways American men—especially white men—benefit from the subordination of women, the marginalization of men of color, and the domination of others.

GQ brands men and masculinity within the confines of their lifestyles. In order to market the magazine to men, *GQ* walks a fine line between promoting the newest fashion trends—the most commonly mentioned theme among cover lines—and maintaining an aesthetic widely perceived as masculine to readers. In this process, *GQ* accounts for

talking about clothes by qualifying them as "cool" and emphasizing men's "style" rather than fashion. Though "staying cool" can refer to regulating one's bodily temperature, *GQ* often uses double (if not triple) meaning on covers. *GQ* also uses "cool" to refer to keeping white men's emotions in check and maintaining their status as enviable figures. *GQ* uses style as a way of virtue signaling style over the stigmatizing effects of fashion (Barry and Martin 2015; Casanova 2015). *GQ* further emphasizes Black men's difference by tokenizing them; that is, frequently slotting Black men into a list of white men to demonstrate diversity. Altogether, *GQ* shows the precarity of masculinity, especially related to how to advertise topics deemed inappropriate for men's consumption (i.e., fashion). *GQ*'s way of communicating is not just gendered, however; it is also raced in the way the magazine differently showcases individuals.

Men's Health, in turn, preys on the physicality of masculinity through its foci on health, fitness, weight, and even sex. While the title of the magazine suggests a central focus on "health," more often than not the covers refer to health in general terms rather than address specific health issues. Mental health is also limited to "mind/body connections" and is written with masculinist language about control. Control of the mind and body appear important to *Men's Health*, but at the same time, the broader category of mental health is reduced only to controlling stress. Control is perhaps a symptom of masculinity that causes the stress in the first place. In further efforts to exert control, men use "fast fitness" to quickly attempt to transform their bodies into the muscular ideal exhibited on the covers of the magazine. During these transformations, men can also practice the advice the covers provide for seeking and improving their sex lives—but only if they are attracted to women. An in-depth look at how *Men's Health* talks about

health reveals racial variation in ways that "other" Black men from White men in marginalizing ways. The covers of *Men's Health* reveal Black men's skin in efforts to show off their fit bodies. As a magazine, *Men's Health* preys on the precarity of the physical manifestations of masculinity. To address issues of saturation, a more systematic exploration of the full sample of white men way reveal the extent of disparity between Black and White men.

Sports Illustrated demonstrates the efforts men put forth to exert control in the context of sports. Winning and being the best is everything and dominating one's opponent is the way to achieve these goals. The ways *Sports Illustrated* reports on these wins perpetuates violence not only within sports, but among men more generally. In addition, *Sports Illustrated* depicts athletes in ways that strip them of their identities in order to uphold the spectacle of sport. In the set of covers that I examined, *Sports Illustrated* does not showcase hybrid masculinity. To this end, that my analyses of *Sports Illustrated* did not clearly reveal more nuance speaks to the limitations of sampling for this qualitative analysis. Combined with my finding that there have been more Black men on the covers of *Sports Illustrated* than White men over time (see Chapter 4) and the widely documented evidence of racial tensions within sports suggest a major magazine like *Sports Illustrated* would either address it head-on or in more latent ways. Lack of clear findings in this chapter perhaps suggests an example of color-blind racism in which the magazines is ignoring the problem and therefore it does not exist. To this end, a form of othering does occur or, in hybrid masculinity terms, *Sports Illustrated* discursively distances sport as a "male preserve" from racial politics. Particularly in the wake of Colin Kaepernick's activism and continued conversations around racially offensive mascots,

sampling within the magazine perhaps obscured my findings. To address issues of saturation, further exploration is needed to determine whether *Sports Illustrated* truly is color blind and the messages this sends to its readers.

While individual men may use hybrid masculinity as a strategy to maintain their patriarchal power, they have to learn it from somewhere. Indeed, magazines show how "meanings of masculinity circulate and are negotiated or contested" (Benwell 2003:8). With the analyses I provide in this chapter, I provide examples of how multiple masculinities circulate and some of the sources for creating a hybrid masculinity. While all three magazines are guides for men *GQ* and *Men's Health* provide examples of ways men may account for the gendered or the shortcoming of their bodies. They also demonstrate how Black men are marginalized or "othered" in ways that prioritize images and messages to White men. *Sports Illustrated* remains unique in its intent to showcase sports and the winningest men among them thus aligning it closely with the hegemonic sporting masculinity. Within the parameters of the current study, however, the implications for hybrid masculinity and race are unclear. Regardless, within the larger social schema, these magazines fuel men's power and privilege by influencing cultural perceptions of masculinity.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I show shifts in representations of masculinity and men's bodies on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* magazine covers between 1980 and 2018. I use a sequential mixed methods design starting with quantitative coding of 2,750 covers followed by qualitative analyses. In particular, I illustrate how the image of American masculinity is constructed in each of these magazines in ways that portray multiple forms of ideal manhood (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Pascoe 2003). While some characteristics of men change, others stay the same, yet the images these covers project and the strategies they use to do so help construct hybrid masculinities (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018). The differences between the magazines are clear. Each in their own ways, *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* covers show overlapping, competing, and plural masculinities.

In Chapter 1, I introduce the research question that drove this dissertation: to what extent and how have representations of men's bodies on *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* magazine covers changed over time? With this question, I introduce and build upon existing theories of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is a well-established framework for thinking about gendered hierarchies in society—among them, masculinity rules by encouraging unachievable characteristics through which all men are compared and women are subordinate (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). To sustain this power, men and masculinity must change by adapting to ever-evolving social circumstances. The strategies men use to maintain this powerful position create "crises" of masculinity that involve complex messages about the "toxicity" of masculinity and what makes a "real" man. Such strategies include strategic borrowing, discursive

distancing, fortifying boundaries, the result of which is the construction of a "hybrid" masculinity (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018). Hybrid masculinities appear new and to challenge masculine hegemony, but ultimately work to reinforce it. I suggest that magazines for men help construct the reality of masculinity—including the suggestion of how to construct a hybrid masculinity—through controlling images.

In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the mixed method content design I used, including the development of the codebook, and the quantitative and qualitative methods I used to analyze the data I collected. In this chapter, I conduct factor analyses to help set up later empirical chapters. I find that the characteristics of men on the covers of these magazines fall into two categories: aesthetic and sexual.

Chapter 3 is a historical overview to help contextualize the popularity of magazines. I provide the historical and circumstances around how *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* came to be and their continued cultural significance. I also discuss the background of the cultural meanings behind men's embodiments of masculinity. In particular, I focus on men's aesthetic adaptation to cultural fluctuation as evidence of men's continued missions for dominance in society.

Chapter 4 explores how aesthetic and demographic characteristics of men have changed over time. The characteristics I analyze in this chapter provide a timeline of how masculinity has been embodied by men for almost 40 years. Aesthetic characteristics included pose, body angle, gaze direction, mouth position, hair length, and facial hair. The demographic characteristics I analyzed were age and race. Collectively, my analyses make apparent multiple and competing masculinities that create controlling images of men.

The images these magazines construct become standards to which men compare themselves, but the masculine ideal is a moving target over these years. That is, I find many representations and characteristics of men change over time. While the presence of Black men on the covers of *GQ* and *Men's Health* was lacking early on, I find there has been a significant increase in the proportion of Black men on the covers of the two magazines compared to White men over time. In *Sports Illustrated*, there were more Black than White men and there was a significant increase in the proportion of Latino men over time. This increasing representation has implications for growing conversations around race and media visibility among fashion models and athletes (Barry 2014; Carrington 2013). Men's grooming trends, ways of being photographed, and emotions have also changed. Over time, short haircuts have been the standard in ways that equate manhood with close-cropped haircuts and associating long hair (no matter who it is on) with radicalism, femininity, or both. Technological advances in shaving devices have ushered in more variety in men's facial hair styles that signal manhood. Through their poses and gaze direction, men assert their dominance in images by positioning their bodies square with the framing of the image and looking into the camera. Emotionally, fewer men expressed happiness on the covers by smiling. Instead, more men were stoic or, surprisingly, appeared to look lustfully at the camera. Changes—or not—in these aesthetic characteristics over time illustrate help paint particular images of individuals that are consistently and culturally identifiable as men.

In Chapter 5, I analyzed changes over time in the variables found from factor analyses to be related to men's skin exposure. I then created the Men's Prevalence of Skin (MPoS) Index. Using the MPoS Index, I also conducted a series of regression

analyses predicting changes in skin exposure over time across all men on each of the covers and by race (Black and White men). I find men on the covers of *GQ* and *Men's Health*—especially White men—have increasingly shown only a little skin over time in a buttoned-up style of dressing compared to being completely covered. Bordo (1999) and Faludi (1999), however, have conjectured that men's bodies have become increasingly on display over time, particularly since Calvin Klein underwear ads changed ways of sexualizing men. I find men's skin has been increasingly on display in *GQ* and *Men's Health*, evidence of increasing cultural pressures to show off men's bodies. *Sports Illustrated*, however, follows a different pattern because of the intent of the magazine as a sports news outlet. Men in *Sports Illustrated* increasingly showed "some skin" but decreasingly showed "quite a bit of skin" over time compared to "no skin showing." Because men on *Sports Illustrated* covers were frequently in-action on the court or field and not posed to show off their bodies, any sexualization of men that occurs is perhaps in the eye of the beholder. In comparison, on *GQ* and *Men's Health* covers, the intent of the magazine is showcasing ways to adorn the body or make it physically fit and thus bodily exposure is to be expected. Results by race further complicate the sexualization of men's bodies. I find that, over time, White men reveal their bodies much less than they expose it. Because so few Black men appear on the covers of these magazines, MPoS categories among men of color are difficult to predict. Of the 23 Black men on *Men's Health*, however, more of them were showing skin than not. These findings have implications for the sexualized controlling images of Black men who are already commonly stereotyped as hypersexual and whose bodies are read as exotic compared to the buttoned up image of white men (Casanova 2015; Collins 2004).

In Chapter 6, I explore the relationship between the cover text and the subjects of the images using qualitative methods. The most mentioned themes of cover lines communicate particular kinds of messages. In *GQ*, fashion, sports, and references to women (other than romantic relationships) help construct the *GQ*-man whose attention to fashion is accounted for by the juxtaposition of the topic to sports and women—heteromasculine domains of interest. *Men's Health*'s most mentioned cover lines includes those related to physical fitness, weight loss/gain, and, of course, health. The collective message of *Men's Health* is one for maintaining good health and endorses the idea that a healthy man should be in excellent physical shape, particularly given the title of the magazine. Likewise, *Sports Illustrated* most often refers to sports on its covers followed by references to women (other than romantic relationships), and uses references to the military and weapons to describe the athletes on the covers. Though they make up only a fraction of cover lines, that women are referred to so frequently was surprisingly given their marginalization in sports media. The use of militaristic and weaponizing language on these covers works to encourage stereotypes about how men are stoic and mechanistic; this language is particularly harmful for men of color are already typecast as "natural" athletes.

From a subset of in-depth analyses of covers sampled by MPoS category and race, I find the covers communicate different strategies for promoting the construction of hybrid masculinities, the goal of which is to adapt to cultural change for the purpose of maintaining masculine privileges. Across magazine covers, I find evidence of accounting, othering, and winning that tactfully communicate ways of being men that both encourage hybrid masculinities or promotes problematic features of hegemonic masculinities. I find

GQ frames messages about men's fashion in terms of "style" and being "cool" in ways that take syphon away the contamination of fashion for men. I also find that the embodiment of a "healthy" man is one who is also fit, advocating a narrowly defined image of healthy men in *Men's Health*. And, in *Sports Illustrated* I find winning is a masculine must, indicating a dichotomous relationship between winning and losing masculinity in sporting contexts. Together, the messages these magazines communicate form a complex array of characteristics that both bolster multiple kinds of masculinity and encourage ongoing personal development. Put differently, these magazines tell men they are never enough—they are never wearing the right clothes, have the best bodies, or as successful as athletes—the consequences of which encourage crises of masculinity as men aspire to become the ideals presented on the covers of magazines for men.

Contributions to Sociology of Gender and Sexuality

With this dissertation, I offer three contributions to the sociology of gender and sexuality. First, I extend sociological understanding of how different forms of media, in this case magazines, communicate ways of being masculine. I advance scholarship on masculinity by showing how magazines culturally represent masculine appearances, bodies, behaviors, interactions, and interests. In addition, I apply the contemporary theory of hybrid masculinity to magazines to elaborate on the strategies available to men to keep their place at the top of the gender hierarchy (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 2018; Scheibling and Lafrance 2019). Hybrid masculinities are a response to, and critique of, the problematic elements of hegemonic masculinities by which men use co-optation, adaptation, and fortification to maintain patriarchal control. I evaluated magazines to observe and measure the evolution of these hybrid masculine strategies over four

decades. Indeed, aligned with Connell's initial framing (Connell 1987, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Yang 2020), change is an inevitable part of the process through which masculinity maintains domination. The longevity of magazines and their continued cultural relevance help demonstrate masculine change as forms of propaganda introducing men to the latest and most highly valued embodiments of masculinity.

Second, I respond to calls from Waling and colleagues (2018) to study magazines for men from a feminist standpoint. The presentation and exposure of women and women's bodies have long been the subject of theorization (e.g., objectification theory and the male gaze), but scholarship has been less attentive to the presentation and exposure of men and men's bodies. Addressing this call, my dissertation assesses how the presentation of men in these three magazines perpetuates the subordination of women and femininity, and marginalize certain racial groups (i.e., men of color). Given the scarcity of scholarship using a critical feminist lens to analyze inequalities around representation within highly visible cultural objects, this dissertation works to answer some these questions and provides a framework for future research.

Finally, I explore what "sexiness" looks for men and how men have been sexualized (Waling et al. 2018). While scholars like Bordo (1999) and journalists like Faludi (1999) have theorized on trends related to the exposure of men's bodies over time, a limited amount of research has been able to empirically test this exposure. Therefore, I contribute this literature by constructing an index to measure exposure in men's bodies. In creating the Men's Prevalence of Skin Index, I am able to measure how much men's bodies are exposed on magazine covers. Using a mixed methods approach, I employ qualitative analyses to more deeply explain the different ways that men are sexualized on

these covers. Thus, I am able to provide quantitative and qualitative evidence supporting Bordo and Faludi's claims. The codebook and index I created can be used in further research to explore men's skin exposure in other contexts like other magazines and other forms of media. In sum, I provide data on when, how, which, and to what extent men have been sexualized on the covers of these popular magazines for men. The data and analyses I present in this dissertation, however, are only the starting point for ongoing analyses and contributions to the study of gender and sexuality.

Broadly, I provide new data and unique contributions to multiple literatures. The data I collected is the first of its kind and one of the largest data sets of magazines among like-magazine studies. In addition, extant research often analyzes a limited range of years of magazine covers; I analyze 38 years of covers in the case of *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated*, and 32 years of covers for *Men's Health*. Findings from this dissertation are also of interest across social science and humanities disciplines among those interested in gender, sexuality, the body, history, race, and other topics.

Limitations & Future Research

Like any study, this dissertation was not without its limitations of which there are three of note. First, while I did analyze differences between Black and White men in Chapter 5, I did not include interaction terms in over-time regression models or control for demographic characteristics or other characteristics of the magazines. Applying these strategies in future research will contribute to a more intersectional set of insights. Second, upon reflection, I would code the top and bottom halves of bodies differently following Regan (2021). Regan studied the extent of explicit nudity in *Playboy* over time coding for models' nudity on the top (above the waist) and the bottom (below the waist)

of their bodies. Regan's strategy offers more flexibility in coding skin exposure in images. In coding for this dissertation, either the framing of images cut off individuals (e.g., head shots) or men's skin was more exposed on top (e.g., tank top) than on bottom (e.g., pants). Third, in future work, I will provide a more in-depth qualitative analysis of the covers to better support findings from Chapter 6. In that chapter, I created a subset of ten covers from each of the four MPoS categories among Black men and White men. While analyses of this subset of covers produced meaningful outcomes for each magazine, further support would bolster the claims I make. That is, deeper analyses using a larger sample would test and expand upon the observations I make in that chapter making a stronger explanatory case rather than just exploratory. In their current state, my qualitative findings should be considered exploratory.

Conclusion

The suggestion that men and masculinity are constantly in a state of "crises" or "toxic" contribute to the confusing and complex messages men receive about how to be men. While perhaps not quite as extreme as Harry Styles or Pharrell wearing their dresses on the covers of *Vogue* or *GQ* (Bowles 2020; Welch 2019), my analyses show there have been shifts in men's embodiment of masculinity over time. Some of these changes have even been progressive. For example, both *Men's Health* and *GQ* have increasingly shown Black men on their covers, contributing to the diversity of men on display. In other ways, they have been regressive—more Black men on the covers of *Men's Health* show off their skin than not, thus contributing to the controlling image that Black men are hypersexual (Collins 2004). Each in their own way, these magazines contribute to cultural perceptions of men and masculinity.

Findings from this dissertation show the many facets of masculinity. While on the surface these three magazines have reputations as the messengers for men's fashion, fitness, and sports journalism, I find they are much more than that. *GQ*, *Men's Health*, and *Sports Illustrated* communicate ways of being men in both problematic and meaningful ways. Studying the diversity of masculinities as I have done is key to understanding social change (Yang 2020). In an interview, R. W. Connell commented that it is important to consider the "ongoing functional ways of being a man" that communicate there is more to masculinity than violence (Magaraggia and Connell 2012:117). While magazines like *Sports Illustrated* promulgate the relationship between masculinity, sports, and violence, it also showcases the successes of Black men which allows them to become role models for readers. *GQ* often mentions way more than just fashion on its covers, calling into question its status at the go-to fashion magazine for men. Likewise, the good intent of *Men's Health* is to promote healthy lifestyles, despite getting caught up in get-fit-quick strategies.

These mixed messages men receive about how to be men from magazines form a paradox from which men are tasked with deciding who they want to be. The agency men have in this process, however, is up for debate as men have been found to internalize messages from the media (Waling 2017). Thus, it is up to the media to widely circulate progressive images to encourage "honourable [sic], respectable and valuable" ways to be men (Magaraggia and Connell 2012:117). Regardless, this dissertation set out to study whether and how representations of men, masculinity, and sexuality have changed over time. They no doubt have and will continue to change—hopefully in promising ways.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 2.A. All Magazines, General Variables, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4
Variable	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Year	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)
Month	99.20 (.99)	98.50 (.98)	99.30 (.99)	99.40 (.99)
Day of the Month	100.00 (1)	99.30 (.99)	95.60 (.95)	99.40 (.99)
< 3 on the Cover	96.09 (.82)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (.88)	98.10 (.92)
# of People	92.97 (.85)	95.80 (.90)	91.20 (.81)	92.20 (.92)
Image Type**	92.04 (.75)	95.80 (.89)	96.60 (.91)	91.40 (.75)
Setting**	84.07 (.75)	95.80 (.85)	88.80 (.83)	93.60 (.90)

*Time 1, *n* = 128; Time 2, *n* = 135; Time 3, *n* = 137; Time 4, *n* = 159
**Time 1, *n* = 113; T2, *n* = 120; T3 n = 116; T4 *n* = 140
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.B. All Magazines, Person 1, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 1			
	Time 1 (*n* = 112)	Time 2 (*n* = 136)	Time 3 (*n* = 116)	Time 4 (*n* = 140)
Variable	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)	% (*α*)
First Person *	97.32 (-.01)	97.10 (.85)	100 (1)	98.60 (0)
Perceived Gender *	97.39 (.82)	99.20 (.94)	99.10 (.96)	99.30 (.96)
Gendered Appearance *	95.65 (.27)	99.20 (.80)	99.10 (.80)	97.10 (.32)
Use of Arms & Hands	79.46 (.71)	76.50 (.71)	73.00 (.68)	81.40 (.77)
Pose	87.50 (.78)	88.20 (.82)	90.40 (.84)	84.30 (.73)
Intimate	92.86 (.34)	90.40 (.70)	93.00 (-.03)	92.10 (.23)
Body Angle	80.36 (.68)	85.30 (.80)	84.30 (.77)	78.60 (.68)
Nudity	78.57 (.70)	82.00 (.78)	83.50 (.78)	83.60 (.79)
Type of Dress	90.18 (.80)	86.00 (.80)	90.40 (.86)	79.30 (.72)
Chest/Breast	86.61 (.60)	82.40 (.74)	87.00 (.73)	88.60 (79)
Genitals	70.54 (.46)	83.80 (.72)	87.80 (.76)	87.10 (.75)
Buttocks	94.64 (.71)	91.00 (.77)	92.20 (.28)	90.00 (.43)
Gaze Direction	91.07 (.82)	89.00 (.84)	87.80 (.80)	90.70 (84)
Facial Expression	78.57 (.68)	79.40 (.74)	80.90 (.74)	73.60 (.62)
Mouth	77.68 (.68)	84.60 (.81)	76.50 (.71)	80.00 (.75)
Facial Hair	81.25 (.73)	83.10 (.77)	80.90 (.72)	82.10 (.74)
Chest/Stomach Hair	92.86 (.66)	91.90 (.80)	93.00 (.76)	93.60 (.84)
Hair	84.82 (.77)	82.40 (.77)	80.90 (.73)	80.00 (.71)
Age	74.11 (.49)	71.30 (.58)	69.60 (.47)	72.90 (.56)
Race/Ethnicity	83.04 (.68)	89.70 (.84)	91.30 (.84)	91.40 (.84)

*Time 1, *n* = 128; Time 2, *n* = 135; Time 3, *n* = 137; Time 4, *n* = 159
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.C. All Magazines, Person 2, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 2			
	Time 1 (n = 20)	Time 2 (n = 30)	Time 3 (n = 16)	Time 4 (n = 30)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Second Person	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	93.30 (-.02)
Perceived Gender	76.00 (.17)	96.70 (.92)	93.80 (.64)	98.60 (.96)
Gendered Appearance	76.00 (-.08)	94.20 (.85)	93.80 (.00)	98.60 (.96)
Use of Arms & Hands	60.00 (.35)	90.00 (.85)	68.80 (.62)	63.30 (.58)
Pose	95.00 (.52)	83.30 (.74)	93.80 (.88)	86.70 (.78)
Intimate	90.00 (1)	90.00 (.67)	87.50 (-.03)	76.70 (.34)
Body Angle	95.00 (U)	96.70 (.95)	100.00 (1)	66.70 (.46)
Nudity	85.00 (.89)	83.30 (.78)	87.50 (.84)	86.70 (.83)
Type of Dress	90.00 (.77)	96.70 (.88)	100.00 (1)	90.00 (.78)
Chest/Breast	100.00 (.32)	100 (1)	75.00 (.33)	90.00 (.73)
Genitals	80.00 (1)	93.30 (.87)	100.00 (1)	80.00 (.69)
Buttocks	95.00 (.61)	100 (1)	100.00 (1)	86.70 (-.03)
Gaze Direction	80.00 (.65)	80.00 (.63)	93.80 (.90)	80.00 (.69)
Facial Expression	85.00 (.66)	83.30 (.76)	87.50 (.83)	70.00 (.57)
Mouth	95.00 (.75)	86.70 (.79)	81.30 (.76)	70.00 (.64)
Facial Hair	85.00 (.92)	83.30 (.77)	93.80 (.91)	83.30 (.76)
Chest/Stomach Hair	85.00 (.80)	93.30 (.75)	93.80 (.64)	90.00 (.63)
Hair	80.00 (.36)	83.30 (.75)	100 (1)	90.00 (.86)
Age	80.00 (.74)	70.00 (.52)	81.30 (.68)	83.30 (.73)
Race/Ethnicity	85.00 (.61)	100 (1.00)	93.80 (.87)	86.70 (.76)

*Time 1, n = 128; Time 2, n = 135; Time 3, n = 137; Time 4, n = 159
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.D. All Magazines, Person 3, Intercoder Agreement & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 3			
	Time 1 (n = 2)	Time 2 (n = 5)	Time 3 (n = 2)	Time 4 (n = 9)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Third Person	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	88.90 (0)
Perceived Gender	100.00 (U)	98.30 (.87)	100.00 (1)	98.60 (.96)
Gendered Appearance	100.00 (U)	99.20 (.91)	100.00 (U)	95.70 (.72)
Use of Arms & Hands	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	55.60 (.48)
Pose	100.00 (U)	60.00 (-0.06)	100.00 (U)	0.00 (-.21)
Intimate	50.00 (.00)	100.00 (U)	0.00 (-0.5)	55.60 (.06)
Body Angle	100.00 (U)	80.00 (0)	100.00 (U)	66.70 (.50)
Nudity	100.00 (1)	40.00 (.18)	50.00 (0)	88.90 (.85)
Type of Dress	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	50.00 (0.4)	88.90 (.82)
Chest/Breast	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (0.4)	66.70 (.28)
Genitals	100.00 (1)	80.00 (.47)	50.00 (0.00)	55.60 (.22)
Buttocks	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	77.80 (.42)
Gaze Direction	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	66.70 (.45)
Facial Expression	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (0.4)	88.90 (.76)
Mouth	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (0.4)	88.90 (.86)
Facial Hair	100.00 (1)	80.00 (.69)	100.00 (1)	66.70 (.46)
Chest/Stomach Hair	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	50.00 (0.4)	66.70 (-.13)
Hair	100.00 (1)	80.00 (.76)	100.00 (1)	88.90 (.86)
Age	50.00 (0.00)	60.00 (-0.13)	0.00 (-0.5)	77.80 (.61)
Race/Ethnicity	50.00 (40)	100 (1)	100.00 (1)	88.90 (.78)

*Time 1, n = 128; Time 2, n = 135; Time 3, n = 137; Time 4, n = 159

U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.E. *GQ*, General Variables, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4
*Variable**	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Year	100.00 (1)	94.70 (.95)	100.00 (1)	97.10 (0)
Month	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	97.10 (.97)
Day of the Month	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (.50)
< 3 on the Cover	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (0)
# of People	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	97.10 (.88)
Image Type	100.00 (1)	94.70 (.88)	100.00 (1)	94.10 (.84)
Setting	81.25 (.73)	89.50 (.80)	91.70 (.75)	97.10 (.91)

Time 1, *n* = 16; Time 2, *n* = 19; Time 3, *n* = 16; Time 4, *n* = 34
U = Undefined

Appendix, Table 2.F. *GQ*, Person 1*, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 1			
	Time 1 (n = 16)	Time 2 (n = 19)	Time 3 (n = 16)	Time 4 (n = 34)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
First Person	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	97.10 (0)
Perceived Gender	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (.87)
Gendered Appearance	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (0)
Use of Arms & Hands	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	66.70 (.52)	83.60 (.79)
Pose	93.75 (.89)	78.90 (.69)	95.80 (.78)	82.40 (.77)
Intimate	81.25 (.62)	89.50 (.68)	91.70 (0.02)	91.20 (.71)
Body Angle	81.25 (.31)	84.20 (.64)	87.50 (.60)	79.40 (.62)
Nudity	87.50 (.68)	84.20 (.71)	91.70 (.75)	79.40 (.65)
Type of Dress	68.75 (.51)	73.70 (.64)	83.30 (.71)	58.80 (.46)
Chest/Breast	81.25 (.75)	68.40 (.57)	83.30 (.55)	88.20 (.77)
Genitals	87.50 (.81)	68.40 (.56)	87.50 (.73)	85.30 (.71)
Buttocks	81.25 (.64)	73.70 (.53)	100.00 (U)	88.20 (.28)
Gaze Direction	87.50 (.63)	94.70 (0)	100.00 (U)	91.20 (.70)
Facial Expression	87.50 (.55)	89.50 (.48)	70.80 (.49)	64.70 (.41)
Mouth	62.50 (.43)	78.90 (.65)	83.30 (.76)	79.40 (71)
Facial Hair	75.00 (.66)	78.90 (.71)	83.30 (.74)	70.60 (.53)
Chest/Stomach Hair	100 (1.00)	89.50 (.79)	91.70 (.63)	88.20 (.75)
Hair	81.25 (.67)	84.20 (.64)	79.20 (.54)	79.40 (.69)
Age	87.50 (.81)	84.20 (.78)	70.80 (.54)	85.30 (.75)
Race/Ethnicity	87.50 (78)	52.60 (.13)	91.70 (.83)	91.20 (.77)

*Time 1, n = 16; Time 2, n = 19; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 34
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.G. *GQ*, Person 2, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 2			
	Time 1 (n = 0)	Time 2 (n = 2)	Time 3 (n = 1)	Time 4 (n = 5)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Second Person	–	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (0)
Perceived Gender	–	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (.89)
Gendered Appearance	–	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	97.10 (.89)
Use of Arms & Hands	–	50.00 (.40)	0.00 (U)	60.00 (.55)
Pose	–	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (.61)
Intimate	–	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	40.00 (-.29)
Body Angle	–	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	40.00 (.04)
Nudity	–	50.00 (.40)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (.71)
Type of Dress	–	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (.74)
Chest/Breast	–	100.00 (1)	0.00 (U)	80.00 (0)
Genitals	–	100.00(1)	100.00 (U)	40.00 (.13)
Buttocks	–	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (0)
Gaze Direction	–	50.00 (0)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (.47)
Facial Expression	–	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	60.00 (-.06)
Mouth	–	50.00 (0)	0.00 (U)	80.00 (.73)
Facial Hair	–	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (0)
Chest/Stomach Hair	–	0 (-0.2)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (.61)
Hair	–	50.00 (0)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (.47)
Age	–	50.00 (0)	0.00 (U)	80.00 (.69)
Race/Ethnicity	–	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	80.00 (0)

*Time 1, n = 16; Time 2, n = 19; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 34
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.H. *GQ*. Person 3, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 3			
	Time 1 (n = 0)	Time 2 (n = 0)	Time 3 (n = 1)	Time 4 (n = 4)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
First Person	–	–	–	–
Second Person	–	–	–	–
Third Person	–	–	100.00 (U)	75.00 (0)
Perceived Gender	–	–	100.00 (U)	97.10 (.87)
Gendered Appearance	–	–	100.00 (U)	94.10 (.76)
Use of Arms & Hands	–	–	100.00 (U)	50.00 (.42)
Pose	–	–	100.00 (U)	0.00 (-.17)
Intimate	–	–	0.00 (0)	25.00 (-.40)
Body Angle	–	–	100.00 (U)	50.00 (.18)
Nudity	–	–	0.00 (0)	75.00 (.59)
Type of Dress	–	–	0.00 (0)	75.00 (.70)
Chest/Breast	–	–	0.00 (0)	75.00 (.53)
Genitals	–	–	0.00 (0)	50.00 (.13)
Buttocks	–	–	100.00 (U)	75.00 (.59)
Gaze Direction	–	–	100.00 (U)	50.00 (.33)
Facial Expression	–	–	0.00 (0)	75.00 (0)
Mouth	–	–	100.00 (U)	75.00 (.67)
Facial Hair	–	–	100.00 (U)	50.00 (.33)
Chest/Stomach Hair	–	–	100.00 (U)	50.00 (-.17)
Hair	–	–	100.00 (U)	75.00 (.67)
Age	–	–	0.00 (0)	75.00 (.67)
Race/Ethnicity	–	–	100.00 (U)	75.00 (.53)

* Time 1, n = 16; Time 2, n = 19; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 34
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.I. *Men's Health*, General Variables, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Year	100.00 (1)	94.70 (.95)	100.00 (1)	95.70 (.95)
Month	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	93.80 (.93)	95.70 (.95)
Day of the Month	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	95.70 (.49)
< 3 on the Cover	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	95.70 (0)
# of People	100.00 (U)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	95.70 (.67)
Image Type	100.00 (1)	94.70 (.88)	100.00 (1)	95.70 (0)
Setting	81.25 (.73)	89.50 (.80)	100.00 (1)	95.70 (.92)

*Time 1, n = 12; Time 2, n = 15; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 23
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.J. *Men's Health,* Person 1, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 1			
	Time 1 (n = 12)	Time 2 (n = 15)	Time 3 (n = 16)	Time 4 (n = 23)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
First Person	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	93.80 (0)	95.70 (0)
Perceived Gender	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	95.70 (.66)
Gendered Appearance	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	95.70 (0)
Use of Arms & Hands	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	87.50 (.84)	87.00 (.81)
Pose	93.75 (.89)	78.90 (.69)	81.30 (.60)	78.30 (.21)
Intimate	81.25 (.62)	89.50 (.68)	87.50 (-.02)	95.70 (0)
Body Angle	81.25 (.31)	84.20 (.64)	68.80 (.52)	87.00 (.76)
Nudity	87.50 (.68)	84.20 (.71)	75.00 (.65)	78.30 (.72)
Type of Dress	68.75 (.51)	73.70 (.64)	81.30 (.72)	78.30 (.71)
Chest/Breast	81.25 (.75)	68.40 (.57)	75.00 (.54)	82.60 (.74)
Genitals	87.50 (.81)	68.40 (.56)	75.00 (.55)	82.60 (.74)
Buttocks	81.25 (.64)	73.70 (.53)	87.50 (-.02)	82.60 (-.07)
Gaze Direction	87.50 (.63)	94.70 (0)	87.50 (.68)	87.00 (.66)
Facial Expression	87.50 (.55)	89.50 (.48)	75.00 (.64)	69.60 (.53)
Mouth	62.50 (.43)	78.90 (.65)	62.50 (.51)	69.60 (.58)
Facial Hair	75.00 (.66)	78.90 (.71)	75.00 (.55)	78.30 (.55)
Chest/Stomach Hair	100 (1.00)	89.50 (.79)	75.00 (.46)	91.30 (.83)
Hair	81.25 (.67)	84.20 (.64)	75.00 (.47)	78.30 (.62)
Age	87.50 (.81)	84.20 (.78)	62.50 (.26)	52.20 (.17)
Race/Ethnicity	87.50 (78)	52.60 (.13)	93.80 (.73)	91.30 (.47)

*Time 1, n = 12; Time 2, n = 15; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 23
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.K. *Men's Health*, Person 2, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 2			
	Time 1 (n = 0)	Time 2 (n = 2)	Time 3 (n = 0)	Time 4 (n = 2)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Second Person	–	100.00 (U)	–	50.00 (0)
Perceived Gender	–	100.00 (1)	–	95.70 (.74)
Gendered Appearance	–	100.00 (1)	–	95.70 (.74)
Use of Arms & Hands	–	50.00 (.40)	–	0.00 (0)
Pose	–	100.00 (1)	–	50.00 (0)
Intimate	–	100.00 (U)	–	50.00 (0)
Body Angle	–	100.00 (U)	–	50.00 (0)
Nudity	–	50.00 (.40)	–	50.00 (0)
Type of Dress	–	100.00 (1)	–	50.00 (0)
Chest/Breast	–	100.00 (1)	–	50.00 (0)
Genitals	–	100.00(1)	–	50.00 (0)
Buttocks	–	100.00 (U)	–	50.00 (0)
Gaze Direction	–	50.00 (0)	–	50.00 (.40)
Facial Expression	–	100.00 (U)	–	50.00 (0)
Mouth	–	50.00 (0)	–	50.00 (0)
Facial Hair	–	100.00 (U)	–	50.00 (0)
Chest/Stomach Hair	–	0 (-0.2)	–	50.00 (0)
Hair	–	50.00 (0)	–	50.00 (.40)
Age	–	50.00 (0)	–	50.00 (.40)
Race/Ethnicity	–	100.00 (1)	–	50.00 (0)

*Time 1, n = 12; Time 2, n = 15; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 23
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.L. *Men's Health*, Person 3 Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 3			
	Time 1 (n = 0)	Time 2 (n = 0)	Time 3 (n = 0)	Time 4 (n = 2)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Third Person	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Perceived Gender	–	–	–	95.70 (.74)
Gendered Appearance	–	–	–	95.70 (.74)
Use of Arms & Hands	–	–	–	0.00 (0)
Pose	–	–	–	0.00 (-.20)
Intimate	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Body Angle	–	–	–	50.00 (.40)
Nudity	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Type of Dress	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Chest/Breast	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Genitals	–	–	–	0.00 (-.50)
Buttocks	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Gaze Direction	–	–	–	50.00 (.40)
Facial Expression	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Mouth	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Facial Hair	–	–	–	50.00 (-.20)
Chest/Stomach Hair	–	–	–	50.00 (0)
Hair	–	–	–	50.00 (.40)
Age	–	–	–	50.00 (.40)
Race/Ethnicity	–	–	–	50.00 (0)

* Time 1, n = 12; Time 2, n = 15; Time 3, n = 16; Time 4, n = 23
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.M. *Sports Illustrated* General Variables, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3	Time 4
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Year	100 (U)	100 (U)	100 (U)	98.10 (.98)
Month	100 (1)	100 (1)	100 (1)	99.00 (.98)
Day of the Month	100 (1)	100 (1)	100 (1)	99.00 (.99)
< 3 on the Cover	100 (1)	100 (1)	100 (U)	98.80 (0)
# of People (T3, *n* = 76)	100 (U)	97.00 (.87)	89.50 (.73)	95.30 (.89)
Image Type (T3, *n* = 76)	91.46 (.80)	94.10 (.90)	94.70 (.86)	87.10 (.68)
Setting (T3, n = 76)	92.68 (.79)	95.40 (.89)	85.50 (.73)	89.40 (.81)

* Time 1, *n* = 100; Time 2, *n* = 101, Time 3, *n* = 97; Time 4, *n* = 104
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.N. *Sports Illustrated*, Person 1, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 1			
	Time 1 (n = 82)	Time 2 (n = 87)	Time 3 (n = 76)	Time 4 (n = 85)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
First Person	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	97.60 (-.01)
Perceived Gender	98.78 (.88)	98.90 (.88)	99.10 (.96)	98.80 (.94)
Gendered Appearance	96.34 (-.01)	98.90 (.80)	99.10 (.80)	95.30 (.32)
Use of Arms & Hands	76.83 (.66)	74.40 (.67)	73.00 (.67)	77.60 (.71)
Pose	87.80 (.77)	89.50 (.83)	90.40 (.84)	81.20 (.70)
Intimate	95.12 (.31)	93.00 (.37)	93.00 (-.03)	91.8 (.19)
Body Angle	81.71 (.68)	86.00 (.78)	84.30 (.77)	74.10 (.59)
Nudity	78.05 (.69)	86.00 (.81)	83.50 (.78)	84.70 (.81)
Type of Dress	92.68 (.68)	88.40 (.72)	90.40 (.86)	85.90 (.67)
Chest/Breast	85.37 (.38)	87.20 (.75)	87.00 (.72)	88.20 (.76)
Genitals	70.73 (.47)	86.00 (.67)	87.80 (.76)	90.60 (.81)
Buttocks	95.12 (.80)	91.90 (.73)	92.20 (.28)	90.60 (.52)
Gaze Direction	90.24 (.80)	89.50 (.85)	87.80 (.80)	89.40 (.83)
Facial Expression	81.71 (.71)	81.40 (.75)	80.90 (.74)	76.50 (.66)
Mouth	79.27 (.68)	90.70 (.87)	76.50 (.71)	81.20 (.76)
Facial Hair	76.83 (.69)	84.90 (.78)	80.90 (.72)	85.90 (.80)
Chest/Stomach Hair	96.34 (.61)	96.50 (.76)	93.00 (.76)	94.10 (.77)
Hair	90.24 (.85)	82.60 (.74)	80.90 (.73)	78.80 (.70)
Age	71.95 (.45)	75.60 (.63)	69.60 (.47)	71.80 (.53)
Race/Ethnicity	81.71 (.68)	90.70 (.84)	91.30 (.84)	89.40 (81)

Time 1, n = 100; Time 2, n = 101, Time 3, n = 97; Time 4, n = 85
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.O. *Sports Illustrated*, Person 2, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 2			
	Time 1 (n = 18)	Time 2 (n = 29)	Time 3 (n = 16)	Time 4 (n = 23)
Variable *	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Second Person	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	93.80 (0)	95.70 (0)
Perceived Gender	92.68 (.82)	95.40 (.90)	93.80 (.65)	97.60 (.94)
Gendered Appearance	93.90 (.85)	92.00 (.82)	93.80 (0)	97.60 (.94)
Use of Arms & Hands	66.67 (.60)	69.00 (.61)	68.80 (.62)	65.20 (.59)
Pose	94.44 (.88)	82.80 (.71)	93.80 (.88)	87.00 (.75)
Intimate	88.89 (-.03)	89.70 (.52)	87.50 (-.03)	82.60 (.25)
Body Angle	94.44 (.89)	89.70 (.80)	100.00 (1)	69.60 (.46)
Nudity	83.33 (.76)	89.70 (.87)	87.50 (.84)	87.00 (.83)
Type of Dress	88.89 (.31)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	91.30 (.69)
Chest/Breast	100.00 (1)	89.70 (.82)	75.00 (.33)	91.30 (.80)
Genitals	77.78 (.56)	86.20 (.66)	100.00 (1)	87.00 (.79)
Buttocks	94.44 (.65)	86.20 (.70)	100.00 (1)	87.00 (-.03)
Gaze Direction	77.78 (.64)	86.20 (.80)	93.80 (.9)	78.30 (.67)
Facial Expression	83.33 (.75)	89.70 (.85)	81.30 (.75)	69.60 (.55)
Mouth	94.44 (.92)	89.70 (.82)	81.30 (.76)	69.60 (.62)
Facial Hair	83.33 (.78)	79.30 (.71)	93.80 (.91)	82.60 (.77)
Chest/Stomach Hair	83.33 (.35)	96.60 (.84)	93.80 (.64)	91.30 (.63)
Hair	77.78 (.70)	82.80 (.75)	100.00 (1)	91.30 (.87)
Age	77.78 (.56)	86.20 (.79)	81.30 (.68)	82.60 (.69)
Race/Ethnicity	83.33 (.70)	89.70 (.82)	93.80 (.87)	87.00 (.75)

* Time 1, n = 100; Time 2, n = 101, Time 3, n = 97; Time 4, n = 23

U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.P. *Sports Illustrated*, Person 3, Intercoder Agreement (%) & Krippendorff's Intercoder Reliability (α) Statistics

	Person 3			
	Time 1 (n = 2)	Time 2 (n = 5)	Time 3 (n = 2)	Time 4 (n = 6)
	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)	% (α)
Third Person	100 (U)	100 (U)	100.00 (U)	93.30 (0)
Perceived Gender	95.12 (.58)	97.70 (.84)	100.00 (1)	97.60 (.84)
Gendered Appearance	96.34 (.56)	97.70 (.84)	100.00 (U)	94.10 (.62)
Use of Arms & Hands	100 (U)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (.33)
Pose	100 (U)	60.00 (-.06)	100.00 (U)	0.00 (-.22)
Intimate	100 (U)	100.00 (U)	0.00 (-0.5)	66.70 (-.10)
Body Angle	100 (U)	80.00 (0)	100.00 (U)	66.70 (.53)
Nudity	100 (U)	40.00 (.18)	50.00 (0)	83.30 (.69)
Type of Dress	100 (1)	100.00 (U)	50.00 (0.4)	83.30 (0)
Chest/Breast	100 (1)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (0.4)	50.00 (0)
Genitals	100 (U)	80.00 (.47)	50.00 (0.00)	50.00 (.22)
Buttocks	100 (1)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (U)	66.70 (0)
Gaze Direction	100 (U)	100.00 (U)	100.00 (U)	66.70 (.46)
Facial Expression	100 (1)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (0.4)	83030 (.80)
Mouth	100 (1)	100.00 (1)	50.00 (0.4)	83.30 (.79)
Facial Hair	100 (1)	80.00 (.69)	100.00 (1)	66.70 (.33)
Chest/Stomach Hair	100 (1)	100.00 (U)	50.00 (0.4)	66.70 (-0.2)
Hair	100 (U)	80.00 (.76)	100.00 (1)	83.30 (.78)
Age	100 (1)	60.00 (-.13)	0.00 (-0.5)	66.70 (.25)
Race/Ethnicity	50.00 (0)	100.00 (1)	100.00 (1)	83.30 (.67)

Time 1, n = 100; Time 2, n = 101, Time 3, n = 97; Time 4, n = 104
U = Undefined

Appendix Table 2.Q. Descriptive and Bivariate Results of Variables Not Included In-Text

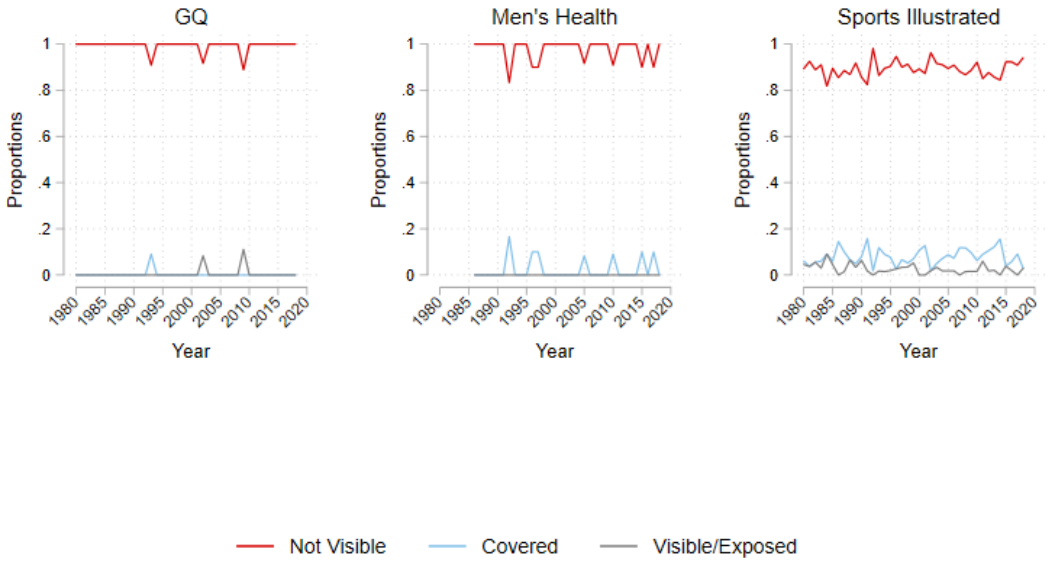
	GQ (*n*=480)		*Men's Health* (*n*=281)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,256)		Total (*n*=3,017)	
Butt Exposure								
Not Visible	477	99.38	274	97.51	2016	89.36	2767	91.71
Covered	1	0.21	7	2.49	179	7.93	187	6.20
Visible through Clothing/ Exposed	2	0.42	0	0.00	61	2.70	63	2.09
[a] Fisher Exact: 0.003; χ^2=49.42, $p \leq .001$, *df*=2; [c] χ^2=19.67, $p \leq .001$, *df*=2								
Genitals Exposure								
Not Visible	279	58.00	114	40.43	1132	50.22	1525	50.55
Covered	196	40.75	166	58.87	1007	44.68	1369	45.38
Visible through Clothing/Exposed	6	1.25	2	0.71	115	5.10	123	4.08
[a] χ^2=23.54, $p \leq .001$, *df*=2; [b] χ^2=19.36, $p \leq .001$, *df*=2; [c] χ^2=26.29, $p \leq .001$, *df*=2								

Pearson's Chi-Square Tests were performed comparing [a] *GQ* to *Men's Health*, [b] *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and [c] *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

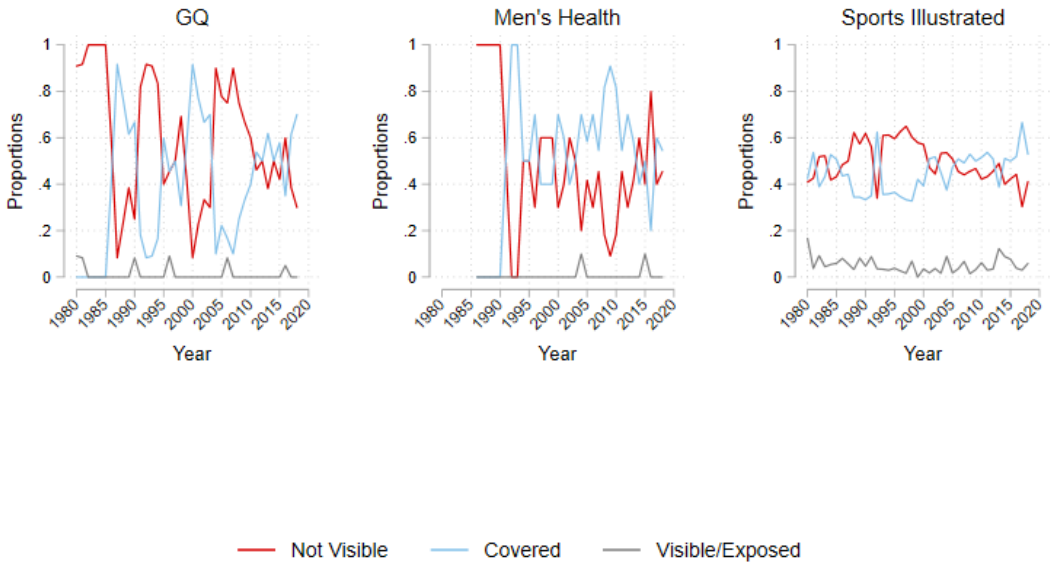
Appendix Table 2.R. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) for Variables Not Included In-Text

	IRR		IRR		IRR	IRR	IRR
	Butt Exposure (Versus Covered)						
	Not Visible		Visible through Clothing/ Exposed				
GQ							
Year (1980–2018)	n/a		n/a				
Men's Health							
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		n/a				
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,254)							
Year (1980–2018)	.99		.97	*			
	Genitals Exposure (Versus Covered)						
	Not Visible		Visible through Clothing/Exposed				
GQ (*n*=475)							
Year (1980–2018)	.96	***	n/a				
Men's Health (*n*=280)							
Year (1986–2018)	1.00		n/a				
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,257)							
Year (1980–2018)	.99	**	.98	*			

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$



Appendix Figure 2.S. Proportion of Men's Butt Exposure over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*



Appendix Figure 2.T. Proportion of Men's Genitals Exposure over Time on *GQ* and *Sports Illustrated*

Appendix 2. U.

CODEBOOK

General Instructions

- Select the option that best describes the images using the Google Form and this codebook document.
- In many instances, I provide examples in the response options in the coding form to guide you.
- You may use context clues on the cover (i.e., the cover text), but do not "Google' for further information.
- Every cover in the set must be coded using the coding form.
- While coding, think hard about perception—what are "readers" or "viewers" supposed to perceive about the image?
- For each replicate set, you will receive a new coding form and replicate file.

Other Instructions

- Be careful when selecting options because you can't unselect the radio buttons
- Careful when switching from one magazine to the next
- Complete one before you move on or take a break. Don't leave in the middle of one.

Coding Form Outline

- Part 1: Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria
- Part 2: General Questions
- Part 3: Person 1
- Part 4: Person 2
- Part 5: Person 3

Section 1: Coder Information, Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

File Name (required)

- Copy and paste the entire file name into the text box (if you are able).
- No need to include ".jpg" or ".png"

Replicate Number (required)

- Select the replicate number (R1–R21) from the drop-down menu.
- You will only code one replicate set at a time.
- Be careful that your selection does not change as you move down the page.

Coder Name (required)

- Type your name in the box provided.

Magazine (required)

- Select the name of the magazine cover you are coding.
    - *GQ*
    - *Men's Health*
    - *Sports Illustrated*
- Note: The title of the magazine cover you are coding should also match the file name.

Year (required)

- Type the year the magazine was released.
- Cross-check with text if year is listed on the cover.
- Note: The year of the magazine cover you are coding should also match the file name.

Month (required)

- Select the month the magazine was released.
    - January
    - February
    - March
    - April
    - May
    - June
    - July
    - August
    - September
    - October
    - November
    - December
    - Other
        - Use this option if the issue is the January-February, May-June, "summer," or "winter" issue, for example.
    - Not sure
        - Use this option if you are unsure or the month is unclear.
- Cross-check with text on the cover if visible.
- Note: The month the magazine cover you are coding was issued should also match the file name.

Day of the Month (required)

- Type the day of the month the magazine was released if available. If unavailable, type "NA."
    - Note: *Sports Illustrated* releases issues bi-monthly. *GQ* and *Men's Health* will not have a day of the month so use "NA."
- Cross-check with text on the cover if visible.
- Be careful that your selection does not change as you move down the page.
- Do not enter the number immediately following the file name.
- Note: The day of the month the magazine cover you are coding was issued should also match the file name.

Does the cover contain any of the following? (required)

- Select all the options that apply.
    - Only animal(s).
        - Select this option if only animals (i.e., not humans) appear on the cover. If an animal appears with a human(s), code the human only and do not select this option.
    - Only a mascot(s).
        - Select this option if only a mascot(s) appears on the cover. A mascot is defined as an individual in a costume often associated

with a sports team or other marketing brand. If a mascot(s) appears with a human(s), code the human only and do not select this option.

- Only a cartoon(s), drawing(s), or artistic rendering.
  - Select this option if the cover you are coding is a cartoon, drawing, or artistic rendering. Human individuals may be altered or depicted in cartoonistic ways, but otherwise appear human; in this case, select this option. If a cartoon appears with a human(s), code the human only and do not select this option.
- Only text.
  - Select this option if the cover you are coding consists solely of text.
- Four or more people (e.g., bands, crowds, or audiences).
  - Select this option if the cover you are coding consists of four or more people. These may include images of bands, crowds, or audiences. These images mat also include images of basketball or football players fighting for possession of the ball.
  - To determine the number of people, consider how many people are central to the image, in focus, and in the foreground.
  - Do include anyone who may be facing away from the camera, too.
- Only an inanimate object(s).
  - Select this option if the cover you are coding covers with inanimate objects only. For example, a *Sports Illustrated* cover may have only an image of a helmet.
- Only collage of pictures.
  - Select this option if the cover you are coding contains only a collage of pictures. A collage is a collection of images that often overlap. For example, a *Sports Illustrated* cover may have a collage of the page 50 years of covers they have published or a collage of players' pictures.
- None of these.
  - Select this option if none of the above options apply.

- Some of these categories may overlap. A cover may have a cartoon inanimate object, four or more mascots, and so on.
- Move on to the next sections and keep coding the rest of the cover ONLY if you select "None of these." Otherwise, select "No" on the first question of each of the subsequent sections and submit the form.

Section 2: General Cover Questions

Are there three or fewer people on the cover? (Required)

- Select "Yes" or "No."
  - Yes
    - Select "yes" if you have determined there are three or fewer people central to the image.
  - No
    - Otherwise, select "no" and continue to the next section.

Number of people on the cover.

- Select the best options for 1-3 people.

Which of the following best describes the gendered appearance of Person 1/Person 2/Person 3? (This question repeats for Person 1, Person 2, and Person 3).

- When determining which individual is Person 1, Person 2, or Person 3 use these rules:
    - Person 1 is the first person on the left
    - Person 2 is the second from left
    - Person 3 is the third person from left (or far right)
    - Use the individuals' eyes (or heads in instances where individuals may be facing away from the camera) to help with this ordering.
- Select the best option:
    - Gender conforming (for example, appears male, dressed or intended to be read as a man—including if nude).
    - Gender nonconforming (for example, appears male, dressed or intended to be read as a woman—including if nude).
    - Androgynous or agender (cannot be clearly read as a man or a woman—including if nude).
    - There's only 1 person in the image. / There are only 1 or 2 people in the image.
        - Use these options for Persons 2 and 3 when there is only one codable person on the cover.

What is the perceived gender of Person 1/Person 2/Person 3? (This question repeats for Person 1, Person 2, and Person 3).

- Follow—and be consistent with—the rules above to determine the ordering of persons.
- Select the best option:
    - Man
    - Woman
    - Other:
        - There is a write-in option (text box) for this response.
    - There's only 1 person in the image. / There are only 1 or 2 people in the image.
        - Use these options for Persons 2 and 3 when there is only one codable person on the cover.

Type of Image.

- Select the best option:
    - Portrait or headshot (from head to about shoulders).
    - Body shot (from about the head to at least the waist, including full body and feet).
    - Multiple people with both headshots and body shots.
        - Select this option if some individuals are cut off by the framing of the image, for example.

Text Headers.

- Type all the text you see on the cover except for the magazine's name, year, month, and page numbers. Type the text starting from the top left and moving across the image as if reading it.
- Each cover line will have its own entry. If text is unclear or obscured in any way, write "some text unreadable."
- There are 10 opportunities to enter text followed by another text box for the remaining text. In the catch-all text box, separate entries using a semi-colon (;).

Text Content: General Topics.

- Select all that apply.
    - Sports or sports team reference.
        - Any mention of sports or references sports teams.
    - Race, ethnicity, or nationality (e.g., "The best Puerto Rican athletes in history.")
        - Any mention of these subjects including references to specific countries.
    - Religion (e.g., "Mohamed Ali talks about being Muslim in America.")
        - Any explicit reference to actual religions or cover lines using religious metaphors or language (e.g., prayer or references to God/s).
    - Age and aging (e.g., "Stop aging in its tracks.").
        - Specific references individuals' ages, aging or specific age categories (e.g., kids).
    - Parenting or parenthood (e.g., "What becoming a father taught me.")
        - References to fathers/mothers or taking care of children.
    - Work, employment, or the workplace (e.g., Get along with everyone at work-stop the gossip.)
        - References the workplace, changing or losing jobs, or mentions of workplace roles (e.g., being a boss or manager).
    - Alcohol (e.g., Real man's guide to wine and spirits.")
        - References beer, wine, spirits, or alcoholism.
    - Military, war, or weapon language (e.g., "Fight back against fat!")
        - Literal references to military groups military roles (e.g., soldiers, the Army, Navy, Marines, etc.), mentions of war (e.g., the war in Iraq), weapon language (e.g., blasting, bullets, bombs), power (e.g., overpowering someone), and other references to violence.
        - Includes metaphors, innuendos, and insinuations toward the military or weapon language.
    - Physical fitness (e.g., "Best 20-minute ab workouts.")
        - References to specific workouts, fitness events, or the gym.
    - Weight and weight loss ("Get rid of 10 lbs. of fat fast!")
        - Any mention of weight control strategies or body size.
    - Fashion or clothes (e.g., "Where to get a suit this season.")
        - Any mention of clothing, the fashion industry, accessories, or ways of dressing.
    - Grooming, trimming, or shaving of hair or nails (e.g., 10 ways to prevent balding.")

        - Any mention of these.
    - General health, medicine, or nutrition (e.g., One pill to improve your health.)
        - Any mention of these categories including references to health care professionals, specific illnesses, or treatments.
- These options are not mutually exclusive. That is, multiple cover lines may fall into the same category.

Text Content: Sex and Gender Topics.

- Select all that apply.
    - Advice on manhood or masculinity (e.g., "Be the best man you can be in 2019").
        - References to being "men, "maleness," or "manhood."
    - Love, marriage, dating, divorce, or relationships (e.g., "Is monogamy natural?").
        - References to any of these.
    - Explicit non-heterosexuality (e.g., bisexuality, gay, queerness, etc.).
        - References to LGBTQ people or topics commonly associated with LGBTQ people (e.g., drag or HIV).
    - Sexual health (e.g., condom use, vasectomies, STIs, colon cancer).
        - References to condom use vasectomies, prostates, STIs, etc.
    - Sexual innuendos or metaphors (e.g., "Kid Rock Gets Lucky").
        - Innuendos, metaphors, jokes, or wordplay in reference to sex (e.g., "getting lucky").
    - Reference to women other than dating/relationships (e.g., mom, sister, female friends).
        - References moms, sisters, female friends, female athletes, or female authors
    - Explicit reference to sex or sexuality (e.g., "She Puts the Sex in XXX," "Have the best sex of your life!").
        - References to actual sexual acts, identities, or behaviors

Setting

- Select the best option:
    - Solid background, graphics or text effects, no setting depicted
    - Sport-related settings such as a stadium, pool, court, pitch, locker room, etc. (even if blurred).
    - Outdoor setting, beach, or pool (for recreation, not sports).
    - Inside (living room, kitchen, office, bathroom, etc.).
    - Combination of settings.
    - Other
        - There is a write-in option (text box) for this response.

You have concluded Section 2. In the next Section, you will code Person 1.

Note: Instructions and variables for Section 3, Section 4, and Section 5 are the same except for the first question.

Section 3. Person 1

- You will code Person 1 here. Select the option that best describes the image. Code the first person on the left.
- After you complete this Section, if there is only one person on the cover click through to Section 5 to submit the form.
- If there are two or more Persons, move on to Section 4.

Is there at least one person on the cover? (If no, click through to Section 5 to submit the form.) (Required)

- Select "Yes" or "No."

Section 4. Person 2

- You will begin coding Person 2 here. Code the second person from the left.
- After you complete this section, if there are only two people on the cover click through to Section 5 to submit the form.
- If there are three people, you will move on to Section 5 to code Person 3.

Is there a second person on the cover? (If no, click through to Section 5 to submit the form.) (Required)

- Select "Yes" or "No."

Section 5: Person 3

- You will begin coding Person 3 here. Code the third person from the left.
- After you complete this Section, submit the form.

Is there a third person on the cover? (If no, scroll down to submit this form now.) (Required)

- Select "Yes" or "No."

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Use of arms and hands*

- Check all that apply.
    - Arms or hands not visible.
        - Not visible either because they have been cut off by the framing of the image, they are behind the individual's back, or another situation.
    - Touching nobody or nothing with arms/hands.
        - Their hands can be a in a fist and still not touching anything
    - Touching, holding, pushing, or throwing an object.
        - Includes any sports equipment like balls, racquets, gloves, etc.
    - Touching themselves (e.g., hands on their own body, in pockets).
    - Touching someone else.
    - Being touched by someone or something else (e.g., hug).

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Pose*

- Select the best option:

    - A casual pose such as arms crossed, relaxed, resting, or holding sports equipment.
    - A sports action such as throwing, running, tackling, working out, or swimming.
    - Casual action (walking, getting into a car, celebrating, waiving, kneeling, etc.)
    - Other
        - Could be a celebratory pose

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Would you say the pose is sensual in any way (e.g., models are hugging each other or leaning against one another)?*

- Note: This variable was not included after the second round of intercoder reliability statistics.
- Select the best option:
    - Yes
    - No

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Would you say the pose is erotic in any way (e.g., models are hugging each other or leaning against one another)?*

- Note: This variable was not included after the second round of intercoder reliability statistics.
- Select the best option:
    - Yes
    - No

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Is there an explicit sex act implied by the pose (e.g., demonstrating fellatio, masturbation, penetration, etc.)?*

- Note: This variable was not included after the second round of intercoder reliability statistics.
- Select the best option:
    - Yes
    - No

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Would you say the pose is intimate in any way (e.g., models are hugging each other or leaning against one another)?*

- Select the best option:
    - Yes
    - No

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Which of the following best describes the body angle of Person 1/Person 2/Person 3?*

- Select the best option:
    - Sports action (e.g., throwing, running, tackling, working out, or swimming).
    - The shoulders and hips are square to the front.
    - The body is posed at an angle to one side or other (e.g., twisting at the waist).

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Nudity*

- Select the best option:
    - Completely covered with long sleeves and pants (e.g., a suit).
    - Exposed arms (e.g., t-shirts) and covered legs (e.g., pants).

    - Shoulders uncovered (e.g., jerseys or sleeveless shirts), low necklines (e.g., V-necks or partially unbuttoned shirt), legs uncovered up to knee (e.g., shorts).
    - Short shorts (e.g., mid-thigh, running shorts) or skirts (e.g., cheer skirt), exposed midriffs (e.g., half football jerseys or pulling up one's shirt) and open, unbuttoned shirts.
    - Shirtless in shorts or pants; highly revealing and/or skin-tight clothing (e.g., wet shirts, full-body swimsuits).
    - Completely shirtless, in underwear, Speedo, swimsuit, or a towel.
    - No clothing at all whether implied by the framing of the image (e.g., cut off around the hips) or actually nude.
    - Other

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Type of Dress, Attire, Clothing*

- Select the best option:
    - Sport uniform of any kind.
    - Suit, tuxedo, evening/prom dress or formal wear.
    - Semi-formal or business attire (e.g., blazer, collared shirt, blouse, skirt, dress).
    - Casual attire (e.g., t-shirt/sweater and jeans or if in pants/jeans and shirtless).
    - Workout clothes (e.g., even if shirtless in athletic shorts/pants).
    - Casual swimsuit (e.g., not a sport swimsuit).
    - No clothes depicted.
    - Other

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Chest/Breast*

- Select the best option:
    - The chest is not visible in the image (i.e., cut off by frame).
    - The chest is completely covered by clothing (e.g., no or very slight outline of the chest visible, nipples not visible at all).
    - Chest is covered but visible through skin tight or wet clothing (e.g., outline of the chest or nipples clearly visible).
    - Exposed (e.g., low cut, open shirt below the sternum, hands covering chest).
    - Completely topless or shirtless.

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Genitals*

- Select the best option:
    - The genitals or groin are not visible in the image (i.e., cut off by frame).
    - The genitals or groin is completely covered (i.e., no outline visible).
    - The genitals or groin are covered, but a bulge is visible (i.e., athletic cup).
    - The genitals or groin are covered, but visible through skin tight or wet clothing (i.e., outline of penis or vulva visible through clothing).

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Buttocks*

- Select the best option:
    - Butt is not visible in the image (e.g., cut off by frame or because person is facing front).
    - Butt is completely covered by regular, loose, or baggy clothing.

    - The butt is covered but visible through skin tight or wet clothing or crack is visible (e.g., outline of cheeks or crack).
    - Major exposure (completely naked).

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Gaze direction*

- Select the best option:
    - No eyes shown or eyes closed.
    - Looking at someone or something within the setting of the image (e.g., another player in a game).
    - Gaze is cast off camera in a pose, sideways, as if looking at someone or something.
    - Looking head-on at the camera.

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Facial Expression*

- Consider the best overall expression or emotion expressed on the face
- Select the best option:
    - No facial expression. The person has a neutral, "resting" expression on their face.
    - Happiness, excitement, pleasantness, or joy.
    - Sadness (e.g., downward gaze and furrowed eyebrows).
    - Anger (e.g., eyebrows lowered and together, eyes wide and staring hard, lips pressed and rolled inward).
    - Disgust (e.g., upturned lip).
    - Lust, sexual interest, "come hither" (e.g., looking through eyebrows, soft eyes, puckered or open mouth).
    - Concentration, focus, "in-the-game" (e.g., mouth slightly open, eyes focused, eyebrows lowered).
    - Other
        - Cannot see their face

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Mouth*

- Select the best option:
    - No smile, neutral mouth.
    - Talking or yelling.
    - Puckered.
    - Eating or chewing.
    - “Soft” smile with few or no teeth showing (i.e., corners of mouth upturned).
        - Grin
    - Wide smile, toothy grin where teeth are showing.
    - Mouth poised as if concentrating or focused (e.g., open or moving, but not smiling, tongue out).
    - Mouth hidden, obscured, or not showing.
    - Other
        - Cannot see their face

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Facial Hair*

- Select the best option:
    - None, clean shaven.
    - Stubble (e.g., unshaven, five-o-clock shadow).

        - Short beard.
        - Medium or long beard.
        - Mustache only.
        - Goatee or "soul patch".
            - Could be just on or around chin (e.g., soul patch) or around chin and upper lip.
        - Long side burns or mutton chops.
        - Combination of the above.
        - Obscured (e.g., covered by helmet shin strap)
            - Use if you can't see their whole face.
        - Other
    - Careful between stubble and short beard:
        - Stubble can be anywhere, not just beard pattern
        - Stubble tends to be on the neck
        - Stubble is shorter than a beard

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Chest/Stomach Hair*

- Select the best option:
    - Chest and stomach are completely covered (e.g., by clothes).
    - Shaven or no chest or stomach hair visible (when shirtless or open shirt).
    - Some chest hair visible around collar (with shirt on).
    - Some stomach hair visible around navel or top of pants (with shirt on).
    - Both chest hair and stomach hair visible (with shirt on).
    - Chest hair present around pecs or nipples (when shirtless or open shirt).
    - Stomach hair present around navel or top of pants (when shirtless or open shirt) (e.g., "happy trail").
    - Both chest hair and stomach hair present (when shirtless or open shirt).

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Hair*

- Select the best option:
    - Bald (completely).
    - Balding (e.g., some hair, evidence of male pattern baldness).
    - Short (e.g., top of ear or shorter, tight braids or cornrows, cropped, buzz cut, flattop).
    - Medium (e.g., between chin length and top of ear including loose braids/dreads).
    - Long (e.g., touches shoulders or longer, man bun, ponytail, loose braids/dreads).
        - Even if coming out the back of a hat or helmet.
    - Obstructed (e.g., hair is covered by hat or helmet, or the image is cut off).
    - Other

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Age*

- Select the best option:
    - Infant, Toddler, or Pre-teen ("Tween" up to about age 12).
    - Teenager.
    - Young adult (late teens-20s).
    - Adult (30s-40s).
    - Older Adult (50s-60s).

    - Senior (70s+).
    - Obstructed, cannot determine.
    - Other

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Race/ethnicity* (Check all that apply)

- Select the best option:
    - White or Caucasian
    - Black or African American
    - Asian
    - Alaska Native, Polynesian, Native American
    - Middle Eastern or South Asian (Indian)
    - Hispanic or Latino
    - Unsure
    - Other
- Use context clues like the individuals' name or cover lines if needed

Person 1/Person 2/Person 3: *Note anything that stood out to you or was unclear on this cover using the box below*.

You have complete coding this cover!
Please submit the form now.

Appendix Table 4.A. Descriptive and Bivariate Results of Variables Not Included In-Text

	GQ (*n*=480)		*Men's Health* (*n*=281)		*Sports Illustrated* (*n*=2,256)		Total (*n*=3,017)	
Gendered Appearance								
Conforming	480	100.00	279	99.29	2,246	99.56	3,005	99.60
Nonconforming	0	0.00	1	.36	2	.09	3	0.10
Androgynous	0	0.00	1	.36	8	.35	9	0.30
Fisher Exact: [a] 0.136; [b] 0.345; [c] 0.568								
Use of Arms & Hands								
Not Visible	145	30.21	7	2.49	198	8.78	350	11.60
Touching Nothing	44	9.17	61	21.71	446	19.77	551	18.26
Holding Something Only	41	8.54	61	21.71	992	43.97	1094	36.26
Touching Self Only	194	40.42	125	44.48	160	7.09	479	15.88
Touching/Being Touched	7	1.46	2	0.71	118	5.23	127	4.21
Multi-Touch	49	10.21	25	8.90	342	15.16	416	13.79
[a] χ^2=113.15, $p \leq .001$, df=5; [b] χ^2=371.08, $p \leq .001$, df=5; [c] χ^2=660.27, $p \leq .001$, df=5								

Pearson's Chi-Square Tests were performed comparing [a] *GQ* to *Men's Health*, [b] *Men's Health* to *Sports Illustrated*, and [c] *GQ* to *Sports Illustrated*

Appendix Table 4.B. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results (Odds Ratios) for Variables Not Included In-Text

	IRR		IRR		IRR		IRR	IRR	
	Use of Arms/Hands (Versus Touching Self Only)								
	Not Visible		Touching Nothing		Holding Only		Touching Someone Only	Multi-Touch	
GQ (*n*=473)									
Year (1980–2018)	.96	***	1.01		1.03		n/a	1.01	
Men's Health (*n*=272)									
Year (1986–2018)	n/a		.97		.89	***	n/a	.85	***
Sports Illustrated (*n*=2,256)									
Year (1980–2018)	.97	**	.98	**	.97	***	.99	.96	***

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Appendix Figure 4.C. Proportion of Men's Gendered Appearance over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*

Appendix Figure 4.D. Proportion of Men's Use of Arms and Hands over Time on *GQ*, *Men's Health,* and *Sports Illustrated*

Appendix Table 5.A. Rotated Factor Loadings and Internal-Consistency Reliability Test Statistics (Cronbach's *Alpha*) (*n*=3,017)

	Factor Loading	Item-Rest Correlations	α
Factor 1: Men's Aesthetic Composition Elements (MACE)			
Gaze Direction	-0.83	0.82	0.76
Mouth Position	0.76	0.79	0.76
Facial Expression	0.77	0.82	0.76
Body Angle	-0.69	0.71	0.78
Pose	0.68	0.65	0.80
Facial Hair Style	0.42	0.66	0.82
Hair Length	0.35	0.53	0.81
Overall Test Scale			0.81