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The Impact of the Gay and Feminist Liberation Movements on the Objectification of the Male Body in Popular Magazines that target a Male Audience

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Abstract

My study analyzes the change in the portrayal of the male body in the public sphere. I examine whether this change is related to the appearance of the gay and feminist liberation movements in 1960s that reintroduced the gay subculture into the mainstream political and social realm. Furthermore, I explore the influence of these movements on the commercialization and objectification of the male body that are used as marketing tools to attract homosexual and metrosexual customers. I analyzed a random sample of 600 advertisements that contained a representation of the male body covering the time span from 1930 to 1990 from 60 different editions of the GQ magazine that were evenly distributed across each decade. The data demonstrate that, while there have been some constant trends in the portrayal of the male body such as: the type of environment in which the male model is positioned and his maturity level; significant changes were observed in physical posture and the extent of nudity. Thus, this study shows that although the male body and the portrayal of masculinity are being constantly reshaped in the public sphere, some remnants of their traditional discourse remain impervious to this liberalization of the society.

Researchers have found that one of the most important forces in shaping, strengthening, and activating stereotypes have been the mass media (Andersen & DiDomenico 1992). "We continuously immerse ourselves in television, radio, films, newspapers, magazines, and recorded music, but rarely pause to consider the implications of these ongoing media activities" (Kielwasser and Wolf 1991:8). An average person is exposed to over fifteen hundred advertisements each day, twenty five percent of which are appearance related (Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn 2004). As with other forms of media, advertisements help shape the way we perceive our bodies and influence our emotions and self-confidence on conscious and sub-conscious levels. It has long been thought that these intrusive images (Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn 2004) affected only women's perceptions of their bodies as "girls and women are typically acculturated to internalize an observer's perspective as a primary view of their physical self" (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997:173). While this phenomenon has been well researched, a similar

more recent phenomenon of the idealized male body that affects the portrayal of masculinity and the way men perceive their body has been neglected by the academic community.

The omnipresence of various types of media makes them a perfect avenue for advertising and commercialization of different products and ideas. In the 1980s in the United States, more households had television sets than had refrigerators or indoor plumbing (National Institute of Mental Health 1983:23 in Kielwasser and Wolf 1991:9), while a greater percentage of the U.S. Gross National Product came from activities involving the creation and exchange of information than from manufacturing products (Berger 1988:319 in Kielwasser and Wolf 1991:9). Therefore, it is not surprising that the media and especially print magazines and journals have a profound influence on the way we perceive and perform gender.

This study explores the relationship between the social context and appearance of the male body in the public sphere. I go back to the beginning of the century in order to conduct a historical analysis of the influence that gay and feminist movements had on the commercialization and objectification of the male body. Thus, my first goal is to conduct a quantitative analysis that will determine whether there is a correlation between the appearance of the liberation movements and the qualities of the portrayal of the male body in the public sphere via advertisements in popular magazines.

The second goal of my research is to go beyond the frequency of portrayal, and to provide a deeper understanding of the male body found in these advertisements. In this section, I examine whether the transformation of the male body from an "alpha male" category to the "androgynous body" that has been proposed by some social theories (Bordo 1999) can be applied

to my research. In other words, I analyze the relationship between the change of the ideal male body image and the introduction of the new gay customer groups. This transition is observed in the frame of the "double approach" theory (Bordo 1999) that helps us understand how advertisers eliminate the gap between different domains of masculinity that used to be perceived as mutually opposed (i.e. homosexual and heterosexual). These marketing techniques enable companies to attract all customers without labeling their product as gay or "straight". Thus, the capitalist nature of advertising bridges the social gap between the different customer groups by using models and by positioning these models in different environments and situations that can be connected to both homosexual and heterosexual life styles. Therefore, by using a historical analysis, I explore the influence of the gay Stonewall movement and other gender equality movements on the introduction and transformation of the male body in popular magazines that target the male audience such as the Gentlemen's Quarterly.

I chose to focus my study on the Gentlemen's Quarterly because it is a rare magazine that targets a specific population of the male audience and that has constantly been published since 1930. Thus, unlike many similar magazines that started being published after the movements of the 1960s, the GQ contains the portrayals of the male body before and after the movements providing data for a comparative analysis. However, I am aware that trends and changes I observed are biased as the GQ has historically targeted the wealthy. Since this class has traditionally been, and somewhat still is, racially and ethnically homogeneous, my analysis fails to take into account numerous ethnic and racial markers that might have had a significant impact on the change in the portrayal of the male body. Thus, instead of treating the "male audience" as a unified group I recognize the heterogeneity of its character and focus my study on one specific

subgroup. Therefore, my study offers a model that could be used to explore similar changes in the portrayal of the male body of ethnic and racial minorities. However, conducting a historical and comparative analysis of these changes would be somewhat challenging as the "ethnic body" is largely absent from the print media before the 1960s.

I organized my data into three main sections each of which was composed of numerous categories that explored different aspect of the male body. The "overall-visibility" category provided me with a quantitative measure of the presence and the change in the presence of the male body in the advertisements. In the "visual presentation" section I observed the physical characteristics of the model(s) using categories such as: the level of nudity, the posture, clothes and others. The last part of my analysis focused on the "relational aspect" in which I analyzed the relationship between different models, models and the environment or setting in which they were positioned, and models and their own bodies.

My data show that the image of the male body and portrayal of masculinity in the public sphere have experienced some significant changes. The increased levels of nudity and the shift in the power balance between the male and female models reflect the process of liberalization and reduced prevalence of traditional gender behavior. By using Goffman's theory of the touch I show that there is an observable trend of objectification and sexualization of the male body, as the male models are presented as "sexual prey" of their female counterparts. Thus, the roles of a seducer and the seduced become inverted as the act of seducing and caressing is exercised upon, rather than by the male mode. On the other hand, some remnants of the traditional discourse remain impervious to this liberalization of the society. Male models tend to be portrayed in a natural rather than indoor setting emphasizing the more traditional view of a "rough" man who

refuses to be incorporated into the civilized world. Furthermore, although the male body has become objectified, male models have maintained a certain level of control that enabled them to be objectified under their own set of rules.

Literature review

The crucial question is how do the mass media influence our ideas and how do they reflect and recreate the social and political events that shape our public sphere? Researchers have claimed that "the Adonis complex of attractiveness" has spread to the male population increasing the body dissatisfaction index three times since 1973 (Rohlinger 2002). This male body dissatisfaction index is even more pronounced amongst the gay population as gay men are more prone to fall into different categories of self objectification theory when compared to straight men (Kirkbride, Martins, and Tiggermann 2007). However, many of the different categories that researchers use when discussing the change in the portrayal of male beauty and masculinity should be treated as heuristic tools that can provide a general sense of the transformation, but that also fail to account for the diversity found in real life. Thus, unlike many other researchers, I avoid using broad and general categories such as "metrosexual" and "effeminate male" as their definitions and perceptions experienced significant transformation during the time span I observed.

Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn (2004) gathered the data from five different magazines (dating back to the 1970s) in order to give a quantitative analysis of the appearance of the male body. Their main goal was to identify the shift in the definition of sexuality defined as "a learned set of

behaviors accompanied by cognitive interpretations of these behaviors" (Rohlinger 2002:2) and to examine how this changing definition can be related to the image of the male body in their targeted magazines. As the male body is a tool that men manipulate in order to achieve their gender identity, the appearance of the advertisements that manipulate the male body instead of men themselves must have a profound impact on the social definition of sexuality and gender. Their systematic approach to the changing ideal of the male body supports the argument that "the male exposure has become the purpose on its own rather than just an accidental occurrence" (Bordo 1999:170). This "purposeful objectification" of the male body can give us an important insight in the changing structure of our society. The researchers found that "the proportion of underdressed women changed little over the last 40 years, whereas the proportion of underdressed men has increased dramatically, especially since the early 1980s" (Borewiecki, Cohane, Olivardia, and Pope 2001).

However, this general trend that Bordo and other researchers observed after the 1960s cannot be understood without being positioned in a more general time frame of the century. Majority of the previous studies collected their data after the liberation movements not paying attention to the portrayal of the male body that has existed in the print media since the beginning of the century. By doing so, they conclude that there has been a constant trend in the increase in the levels of nudity and objectification of the male body after the 1960s. Instead of understanding this phenomenon as something new that may have appeared simultaneous to the liberation movements, my study examines whether it is a logical continuation of the trend that was started at the beginning of the century and was interrupted by two world wars, the great Depression, the Prohibition and McCarthy's traditional political platform. Furthermore, by observing these

phenomena in the context of each decade, I examine whether a linear, regressing or a more complex path of their occurrence can be established.

Sexuality and Media

The mass media have the power to bring to the public eye the hidden aspects of a culture or even a whole subculture that was forced into hiding by oppressive social norms. However, this "public exposure" usually involves a certain level of reinvention and commercialization of aspects of the culture or subculture that is being presented. Thus, this "mirror effect" (M. Mead 1960), which seeks to recreate different parts of a culture in order to please the external viewers and make profit by selling it to them, can be observed in the mass media that seek to re-institute the gay subculture into the mainstream culture and to gain a significant profit by doing so. However, it took television more than ten years after the liberation movements to start introducing the "queer" into the American homes. "The late 1980s have been marked by press references to a current frenzy in the film industry to engage homosexual issues and themes, intensifying public concerns over the implications of gay and lesbian media portrayals" (Weis 1986:4 in Kielwasser and Wolf:10). Films such as "The Boston Strangler" (1968) and "A Bigger Splash" (1974) were some of the first to introduce the mainstream audience to the gay culture and lifestyle. Today we witness the explosion of shows and movies that treat exclusively gay themes and many broadcasting companies have invested significant resources in exploiting this lucrative field.

On the other hand, the penetration of the "queer" into the print media has had a very different path. While TV programs provided us with a relative absence of the gay domain until

the mid 1970s, the "queer in print" has been present since the beginning of the century. Most of the references from the beginning of the century focus on the "degenerative and effeminate nature" of the gay subculture. "These men act effeminately; most of them are painted and powdered; they are called Princess this and Lady So and So and the Duchess of Marlboro, and get up and sing as women, and dance; ape the female characters; call each other sisters and take people out for immoral purposes. I have had these propositions made to me, and made repeatedly" (interview with Dick Addison in Chauncey 1994:33). However, there are some examples of print media from the beginning of the century that sought to address the issues gay people were facing in a more systematic and objective manner. "Broom" and "The Masses" magazines published in the bohemian East Village in New York City catered specifically to the gay clientele.

The importance of advertisements in the print media becomes significant as many advertisers at the beginning of the century used the preconceived notions of the gay culture and homosexuals as flamboyant and promiscuous to reinforce the masculinity of the person who was buying their products. Sailors and soldiers were warned that by buying a certain product they would become so irresistible that they would attract "women and even ladies" (Gentlemen's Quarterly, August 1938) where "ladies" was referring to effeminate gay people. Homosexuals were portrayed in a humoristic and derogatory way that transformed them into a funny rather than dangerous element of the society. Paradoxically, the "ridiculing of the queer" decreased the level of threat that this unconventional life style posed to the traditional norms and values, and made it more visible and even more acceptable to the mainstream culture. Gay performers were

invited to perform in straight clubs, while drag queens and drag shows became a form of entertainment for the white elite (Chauncey 1991).

Furthermore, the importance of analyzing the advertisements in the male oriented magazines comes from the idiosyncratic character of their targeted audience. The men that these advertisements target have traditionally been young, educated, wealthy, and usually live in urban areas. Therefore, they are the least likely to adhere to and purchase a product whose advertisement depicts traditional gender norms (Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn 2004:10). This relaxation of gender norms in public advertizing has been influenced equally by the profit-driven logic of the consumerist culture and the social movements that introduced the new customer groups (gay and women). Thus, advertisements are a particularly good channel for studying values and changing ideals (i.e. the male beauty ideal), as advertisers often position their product in relations to cultural symbols and values (Rohlinger 2002) and "give people what they already want" (Agliata and Tantleff-Dunn 2004:10).

In my research, I examine how the print media adapted to the new cultural values that were implemented by the liberalization movements by observing how the portrayal of masculinity changed after the social movements of the 1960s. However, unlike many other studies that assume that these social movements introduced alternative versions of masculinity and homosexuality to the public sphere, I see the 1960s phenomenon as a re-emergence of the alternative homosexual sub-culture that had already existed in the public realm at the beginning of the century. Thus, rather than perceiving the events of the1960s as the starting point, I incorporate these events in a logical historical sequence that takes into account socio-political context when discussing the visibility or invisibility of the gay subculture. Furthermore, unlike

many other studies that examine the social reforms of the gay and feminist movements that directly influenced the lives of homosexuals, I examine their side effects that changed the socially accepted perception of the male beauty that were adapted and internalized by the society as a whole.

Disappearance and Reappearance of the Gay Culture: from 1900 to 1969

During the first three decades of the twentieth century a vibrant and exuberant gay culture existed in many underground clubs and private saunas in New York City and other metropolitan areas. This subculture was sometimes made public via carnivals held in the Harlem and the Village and even by the performances of popular and well-known drag queens in many mainstream clubs and restaurants. This public glimpse demonstrates that despite its description as degenerative and unacceptable in the academic discourse, the gay subculture was tolerated when kept underground or used in entertaining purposes. However, "The anti gay reaction gained force in the early to mid-thirties as it became part of a more general reaction to the cultural experimentation of the Prohibition years and to the disruption of gender arrangements by the Depression. As the onset of the Depression dashed the confidence of the 1920s, gay men and lesbians began to seem less amusing than dangerous. A powerful campaign to render gay men and lesbians invisible [and] to exclude them from the public sphere quickly gained momentum" (Chauncey 1994:331).

The relative absence of the gay culture from 1930 to 1960 cannot be understood as a disappearance of the gay networks and resources as the gay people continued to nurture their

alternative life styles despite the reactionary crackdown. It is logical to postulate that in the face of this public oppression the gay subculture would condense creating a secure enclave in which the level of activities and connections would be maintained at the same or even higher level. While the prosecution of homosexuals was reaching its peak in the early 1950s during the McCarthy era, many social civil movements, anti-war movements and women's liberation movements started taking place. "Many homosexuals who were later to [publicly] identify as gay played active roles in civil rights, the anti-war movement, and women's liberation before they took up the cause of gay rights" (Cruikshank 1992:9). Thus, the increased public oppression of the 1950s that reinforced the bonds between the members of the gay underground, along with the experience in protesting that many of them had gained, started creating networks of support that would evolve into a social movement. Empowered by numerous social movements that provided basis for a radical new concept of politics, homosexuals started rejecting the definition of their identity established by the medical discourse and sought to fight the repressive measurements.

The police raid of the gay bar Stonewall in New York's Greenwich Village in late June 1969 was followed by the street riots that marked the beginning of the modern gay liberation movement (Dufour 1995:143). After Stonewall many groups that adapted the new radical gay ideology, such as New York's Gay Liberation Front, formed. However, the lack of communication between these groups and the difference in the level of radicalism they adopted transformed many of them into short-lived social cliques rather than well defined movements. The mainstream change in the character of the gay movement was visible after the 1960s as "this new radicalism was tempered by the conservative reaction that developed during the 1970s and into the 1980s. During these two decades the gay and lesbian movement abandoned the emphasis

on liberation of society, i.e. its revolutionary goals, and developed an approach focusing on more specific and concrete attempts to change law and policy" (Dufour 1995:144).

This renewed visibility of the gay subculture was soon reflected in the mass media. Movies dealing with "queer issues" started portraying real life obstacles that these people encountered in their everyday life. Rather than portraying "queers" as the exotic and funny "other", for the first time homosexuals were depicted as being "one of us". On the other hand, while the print media did not directly portray homosexuals, it provided different versions of masculinity and metrosexuality that differed significantly from the traditional portrayals. These new representations of the male body show a significant change in the power relation that exists between genders and the process of objectification that transforms the male body into an object of lust and desire.

Data Sources and Coding

In order to test this hypothesis and better understand the transformation in the portrayal of the male body, many researchers developed a system of descriptive theoretical categories instead of just observing quantitative trends. Rohlinger (2002) developed a coding system for her qualitative analysis of the change of the male body found in the magazines such as: Sports Illustrated, Popular Mechanics, Men's Health, and the GQ. She used the "theory of the touch" (Goffman 1979) that states that men are presented as "instrumental subject in advertisements [while] women engage in passive touch behavior that positions them as ornamental objects in advertisements" (Rohlinger 2002:9) This logic of men as being active (actors/subjects) and

women as being passive (objects) is not surprising as it has been an essential part of the "western worldview" through the history. This "male action mode" implies that "men are judged by their accomplishments and not physical appearance" (Bordo 2004:174). However, Goffman goes even further by introducing "the gaze" or an eye contact that is established between the subject (who is looking the advertisement) and the object (the model that is being looked at). This power relation that exists between the viewer and the "viewee" is unidirectional as long as the "viewee" is a female model. That is to say, that the power of the gaze was historically positioned in the hands of men who were economically emancipated and perceived as the most important customer group.

This simplistic power relationship was severely disturbed by the introduction of the male body as the object of the gaze. While Bordo's qualitative analysis that distinguishes between "leaner" and "rock" models corresponds to Goffman's ideals of passivity and activity, her theory is revolutionary as she applies these categories to the male body. A "leaner" is a model with a reclined body, whose (feminized) body is leaning against something and who is reclining his view away from the audience. On the other hand, the "rock" category is a more traditional presentation of masculinity. It uses the "sturdy oak" approach and presents the model with a "face off" posture. This model is still objectified, but he is being so under his own terms.

Bordo, however, introduces a twist to her theory by opposing Goffman and claiming that the "leaner's" behavior, although passive, has an element of "activeness" as the model invites the audience to look at him, but, at the same time, does not control this interaction. It is interesting to notice that the nudity that characterizes the idealized body is actively involved in this power

relation. It is exactly this nudity that attracts the audience and gives the model "the power to attract" (active characteristic), while being transformed into an object of someone's desire.

While these theoretical models and categories are very useful to explain general trends and binary opposites (i.e. leaner vs. sturdy oak) they tend to overlook everything in between. "Leaner" and "sturdy oak" make sense in theoretical debates; however, their identification and analysis in a specific magazine present an insurmountable obstacle for any researcher. The myriad of shapes, relations, and positions used to present the human body renders the organizational simplicity of researchers' classification systems inadequate. The main problem with constructing a theoretical model that would provide a better understanding of the portrayal of the male body is the nature of advertising. Advertisements have to attract the attention of a potential buyer by offering original and hitherto unseen representation of the product. Thus, any rigidly set theoretical system with well defined categories will have difficulties trying to account for the variety and creativity of many advertisements that constantly seek to surprise, shock, and persuade at the same time.

The qualitative research that has been done so far concluded that the gender boundaries are not the only ones that are being erased and recreated in this process of "commercialization of the male body". Sexuality and sexual orientation also play an important role in this definition of the male beauty (Bordo 1999). In her research Rohlinger (2002) goes as far as trying to deduce the sexuality/the portrayal of sexuality that the model in a specific advertisement tries to put forward. Her research suggests that although no explicit "gayness/gay behavior" was found in any advertisements they researched, the frequency of the "ambiguous category" (one of the categories they used in their "sexuality" coding scheme) was statistically important. She

concluded that the "erotic images" found in the advertisements are designed to appeal to the liberated women as well as the "new male (metrosexual) customer" and the gay customer. This claim is supported by the findings in other studies that conclude that the proportion of underdressed men in the advertisements in women's magazines has increased dramatically (Borewiecki et al. 2001).

However the categories such as "macho man" and "metrosexual" that Rohlinger uses to discuss the change in the portrayal of masculinity and sexuality are not impervious to the socio-historical context as their definitions change over time. The definition and portrayal of a "macho man" in the1930s differs substantially from the one from the 1980s or 1990s. Thus, if we are to conduct a historical study that covers the time period from the beginning of the century, then the categories that do not stay constant cannot be used. Furthermore, by classifying each model portrayed in the advertisement into a distinct category, the interplay of different domains of masculinities and sexualities that exist between models is not accounted for. For example the choice of having two models with a "face off" and "leaner" posture while, at the same time, reversing the masculinity trend and portraying the "leaner" as more masculine conveys a specific message about the product that is difficult to account for with any of the existing models.

Therefore, in the discussion of the qualitative characteristics of advertisements, my study uses a pre-set coding system composed of constant categories that account for a random sample rather than just for the extreme cases used in the theoretical debate. By eliminating any ambiguous categories, I seek to analyze the data that cover a wide span of time from the beginning of the century until the1990s in order to conduct a detailed analysis that would reveal the logic behind the general trends.

Data

Considering the time period from the1930s to the 1990s, I seek to quantify the appearance and explain the change in the portrayal of the male body in the Gentleman's Quarterly magazine. The GQ is one of the rare examples of a magazine that targets a specific section of the male audience and that covers a wide span of time with its first edition being published in 1930. Ten different editions of the GQ magazine for each decade, one summer (August or July) and one winter (November or December) issue for each consecutive year of the decade were chosen. The reasoning for choosing these editions was summer and Christmas sales that are advertised at this time and that increase the number of products being advertised. The exceptions to this rule were the 1930s and the 1940s that were considered as one decade from which ten advertisements were coded. This was due to the small number of editions available for this period.

For each edition I chose ten advertisements at random and coded them using the scheme discussed below.[1] The advertisements that were randomly chosen but were not coded include the advertisements were the quality of the image of the male body was so poor that it could not be coded (N=2), the advertisements that contained a pencil drawn silhouette of the male body (N=6), and advertisements that contained a group of people (more than 10) without a clear distinction between the front and back plane (N=2).[2] In these cases, additional random selection was made.

Data on the appearance of the gay movements and gay issues in the academic sphere

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[1] I used the random digit tool in Microsoft Excel to create a random group of thirty numbers. The range of the numbers equaled the number of pages in the magazine. Each random number represented the page of the magazine. If there were no advertisements containing male body on that page the next number was used. Thirty numbers were always enough to find ten advertisements that had the male body. If there were multiple advertisements on one page (N=9) I coded the largest advertisement.

[2] Due to the nature of advertising and printing at the beginning of the century that avoided using expensive photographs most of these rejected advertisements were found in 1930/40's' editions.

were collected using two different online databases (JSTOR and Anthropological Retrospective). While both of these databases contain editions of numerous journals that cover many different topics, only those journals categorized in the human science section with a first edition dating back to the 1930/40s and a continuous publication since then were considered.[3]

On the other hand, I used the New York Times Index to measure this same appearance in the public sphere. The data collected by using the New York Times Index were supported by quantitative data gathered from three secondary sources: "Gay Decades" (Rutledge 1992), "Gay/Lesbian Almanac" (Katz 1983), and "The Gay and Lesbian Movement" (Ridinger 1996). While the "The Gay and Lesbian Movement" was used in the quantitative analysis since it was the only secondary source found that provided quantitative data from 1930 to 1990. "Gay/Lesbian Almanac" and "Gay Decade's" with their coverage from 1930-50 and 1970-90 respectively were used to support the qualitative analysis. Since the descriptors that were used to describe the gay domain have changed over time, I used six different descriptors that were constant.[4] Although, I am aware that these descriptors cover just a fragment of the gay related

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[3] Journals that were included in the search are : American Anthropologist 1888-2000; Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington 1879-1883; American Antiquity 1935-2004; Anthropological Quarterly 1953-2004; Primitive Man 1928-1952; American Journal of Economics and Sociology 1941-2002; American Sociological Review 1936-2005; The Public Opinion Quarterly 1937-2002;Social Psychology Quarterly 1979-2005;Social Psychology 1978; Sociometry 1937-1977.

[4] The descriptors that were used: homosex* - search for all articles that contain the descriptor and the word that stem from it; lesbia*- searched for all articles that contain the descriptor and the words that stem from it; (gay* sex* homosex*)- search for articles that contain the descriptors and words that stem from them and return only those articles in which these words are in vicinity to each other; sex* orientation- search for the descriptors and the words that stem from them   (sex* homosex* deviance)- search for the articles that contain the descriptors the words that stem from them and return only those articles in which these words are in vicinity to each other; fags fairies twinks- search for the articles that contain the descriptors and return only those in which the descriptors are in the vicinity of each other.

subjects and topics, in order to gain consistent data only descriptors that have been in constant usage and have had the same meaning over the time could be used.

Coding

In order to obtain the data on qualitative representations, I used the coding system that combines a certain mixture of coding schemes developed by other authors. However, one of the biggest challenges in coding an advertisement is the nature of advertising. Advertisements have to attract the attention of the reader by innovative and original presentation of the product. Thus, many coding systems that are used as academic heuristics establish general trends by contrasting two or more idealized categories. As a result, these schemes provide poor criteria for coding randomly selected advertisements whose innovative nature constantly eludes any rigidly set categorization. For example, Bordo's qualitative analysis distinguishes between "leaners" and "rocks" that correspond to the ideals of passivity and activity.

Although, Bordo's categories touch upon an implied trend of "metrosexualization" of the male body, when applied to random advertisements over the large span of time they lose some of their usefulness and applicability. Innovative poses in which models' bodies are constantly creating and recreating the message they are conveying cannot be simplified to an idealized opposition between the "rock" and the "leaner". Furthermore, femininity and masculinity that Bordo ascribes to her categories are social constructs whose meanings and representations change. Rather than imposing social trends onto my classification categories, I used descriptive

categories with more clearly delineated criteria for coding in order to obtain my quantitative data.[5]

Presence of the Male Body

This variable provided a quantitative measure of the overall visibility of the male body in the GQ magazine. The total number of advertisements in each edition was counted and separated into three different categories: advertisements containing only male model(s), advertisements that had male, female and children models, and advertisements that are a graphical/drawn representation of the male body. This category also measured the ethnicity of the male model (white, black and other) and the maturity level he was portraying (young/mature/old). The last subcategory coded the product that was advertised (clothes/perfumes/cigarettes/other). These categories provided data on the general presence of the male models in the magazine and of the trend of creating all-male advertisements.

However, due to the changing nature of the GQ that underwent the transition from a magazine that was primary concerned with discussing and promoting different trends related to men's fashion to a magazine that discusses many different social trends and happenings, the sample of products advertised was somewhat determined by the time period. In order to compensate for this bias, I also recorded the positioning of the advertisements inside the magazine. For the coding purposes the GQ was separated into the "main" and "back" section and special attention was dedicated to the different nature of the products being advertised in these

[5] The categories used: touch, gaze, setting, quantitative data (number of people in the advertisement), gender, ethnicity, age portrayed, object that is advertised.

sections. While the "main section" was mostly characterized by different clothes advertisements, the "back section" that was more hidden from the public eye and was less graphically appealing (black and white print) dedicated more space to beauty, cosmetic, body shaping, sexuality and underwear advertisements. This section was most used from the1940s to 1960s and the average number of pages for each decade was 17. After the mid 1960s there was a slow decline in the space dedicated to the back section and a less clear distinction between it and the rest of the magazine. "Dinning", "Cooking" and "Furniture" sections along with clothes catalogues completely replaced the "back section" by the beginning of 1980s.

Visual Presentation

This category sought to describe models' physical characteristics and was divided into five sub-categories. The nudity level subcategory coded all advertisements into four groups: no-nudity, some nudity, near-full nudity and implied nudity (model is in the process of taking his clothes off). The difference between "some-nudity" and "near-full-nudity" was the extent of the model's skin and muscles that were visible to the reader i.e. an advertisement containing a model with no shirt on or wearing a sleeveless top was classified as "some-nudity", whereas the advertisements containing models in Speedos /boxers/briefs were categorizes as "near-full-nudity". This category sought to explore the claims that "the proportion of underdressed women changed little over the last forty years, whereas the proportion of underdressed men has increased dramatically, since the early 1980s" (Borewiecki et al. 2001).

The "clothes-subcategory" coded the overall apparel of the models by categorizing it into suit, formal, casual and sports. This variable was analyzed together with the "age subcategory" that classified models into old, mature and young and "race subcategory" (white, black and other) in order to see if there is a correlation between ethnic stereotypes and the visual representation of the model. African Americans and other immigrant groups who are stereotyped as being more masculine are usually found "facing off" the viewer (Bordo 1999:54). Moreover, they are represented as being involved in a physical activity and on average have a higher nudity level that ties them back to their "macho nature". The "surrounding subcategory" classified the environment in which the model(s) was/were positioned into indoor, outdoor and nature, while the "action mode subcategory" classified the physical activity the model was involved in into no-activity, activity and implied-activity.[6]

Relational Aspect

This section analyzed the relationship between the models in the advertisements and between the model and reader. Furthermore, it explored the nature of model's exposure and the "type of man" he was portraying. The exposure was divided into two groups: snapshot (voyeuristic) and posing (intentional). While in the first case the model was presented as "caught in the moment" and he could or could not be aware that he is being photographed, in the second case the model is intentionally posing for the camera. The "type of man" the model was portraying was divided

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[6] Only intense physical activity (running, swimming...) was classified as the action mode. Walking was not coded as the action mode.

into man in suit (businessman, traveler, and lover), family man, Marlboro male (cowboy), and metrosexual man.

The touch category analyzed the physical touch between the models and objects found in the advertisements. This subcategory relates to the theory of touch (Goffman 1979) that states that men are presented as "instrumental subjects in advertisements [while] women engage in passive touch behavior that positions them as ornamental objects in advertisements " (Rohlinger 2002:9). I used categories: other-touch (the model is touching an object), relational-touch (the model is touching another model), self-touch (the model is touching himself) and no-touch. The last subcategory explored the "gaze" that existed between the models, models and objects found in the advertisements and models and the reader. The "gaze" represents the power relationship between the subject (reader who is looking) and the object (model that is being looked at). I analyzed how the introduction of male models affects the theory of the gaze that postulates that the power of gaze is the propriety of men. The categories used were face off (the model is looking back at the viewer), diverted (the model is not facing the viewer), and relational (the model is facing another model).

Results and Different Trends

Table 1.

The total number of advertisements and the percentage of advertisements containing the male body from the 1930 to the 1990

Decade	1930/40s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Total number of advertisements	516	612	805	1037	1472	1052
Percentage of advertisements containing a male model	48	53	51	60	69	60

Table 1 reports the overall visibility of the male body in the advertisements. The trend in the increase of the presence of the male body is visible from the percentage of the advertisements containing the male body when compared to the total number of advertisements for each decade. While there is a significant increase in the percentage of advertisements, the trend that remains constant is the quantitative prevalence of the advertisements that contain only male models to the advertisements that contain both male and other models. The "graphic advertisements" are found mostly in the 1930s/40s and 1950s that can be explained with the expense and difficulty of printing photographs. The largest percentage increase was observed from 1970 to 1980 and was followed by a decrease between 1980 and 1990. This demonstrates that there is a correlation between the appearance of the gay and feminist movement in 1969 and the increase in the presence of the male body in the advertisements. This correlation is discussed in more details later in the paper.

The most striking qualitative trend in the sample containing the male body was a relative lack of ethnic variation. The reason for this relative absence of ethnic markers could be the absence of any racial variation in the mainstream print media before the 1960s. However, a relatively scarce appearance of the ethnic models was observed even after the liberation movement.[7] The significant appearance of the ethnic models was noticed only in the 1990s; nevertheless, they still presented only 1.5 percent of the total number of models found in the advertisements. The nature of the GQ magazine plays a significant role in this ethnic monotony, as, even after the liberation movements, the magazine's targeted audience remained the white dominated wealthy class.

The data collected in the age category presented an interesting mélange of different social influences. From 1930 to 1960 mature, young, and old models were found in the advertisements. From 1960 to 1980 there was a decrease in the number of young and old models and the majority of models were classified in the mature category. Contrary to this trend, from the mid 1980s to the 1990s there was a literal disappearance of the old category while the number of "young models" increased. Although this study did not make a distinction between the real age of the model and the maturity level he was portraying, the trend of young models that were radiating a more mature look became obvious in the late 1980s and 1990s. While before the 1970s there was a correlation between the maturity level, age of model and clothes he was wearing (formal clothes and suits were usually worn by mature/old models), after the 1970s this distinction

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[7] 1930-1960; 4 black models were found in the advertisements, three of which were portraying servants.
1970; 3 black models were coded.
1980; 5 black and 1 Middle Eastern model were coded.
1990; 10 black models were coded.

becomes less clear. Despite the significant increase in the number of young male models, they continued portraying the image of a mature man and were usually dressed in suits and formal clothes. Due to the nature of the magazine around 86 percent of the total advertisements containing a male model were selling clothes and most of these clothes were categorized as suit or formal, rather than casual or sport's clothes.[8]

Thus, regardless of the decrease in the models' age, the level of "maturity" category remains fairly constant throughout the time span. This trend is related to the theory of objectification and sexualization of the male body (Bordo 1999), as the ideal of a young and virile body replaces the ideal of the "wise man" that is related to old age. After the 1970s there was not one case of a model that would be classified in the "old" age category, while in the decades before there were twenty seven examples. Therefore, while the male body is being objectified, the constant representation of the mature man gives a certain level of empowerment to these models that differentiates them from their female colleagues whose objectification is characterized by a "mental drift" and "passive touch behavior that positions them as ornamental objects in advertisements" (Rohlinger 2002:9).

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[8] Other categories in which products were classifies are: perfumes (5.2%), cigarettes (3.8%), alcohol (3%), cars (0.2%), watches/jewelery (0.8%), beauty and other (0.9%)

Table 2.

Number of ads portraying men in different envirnoments

Men only*   Men and others**
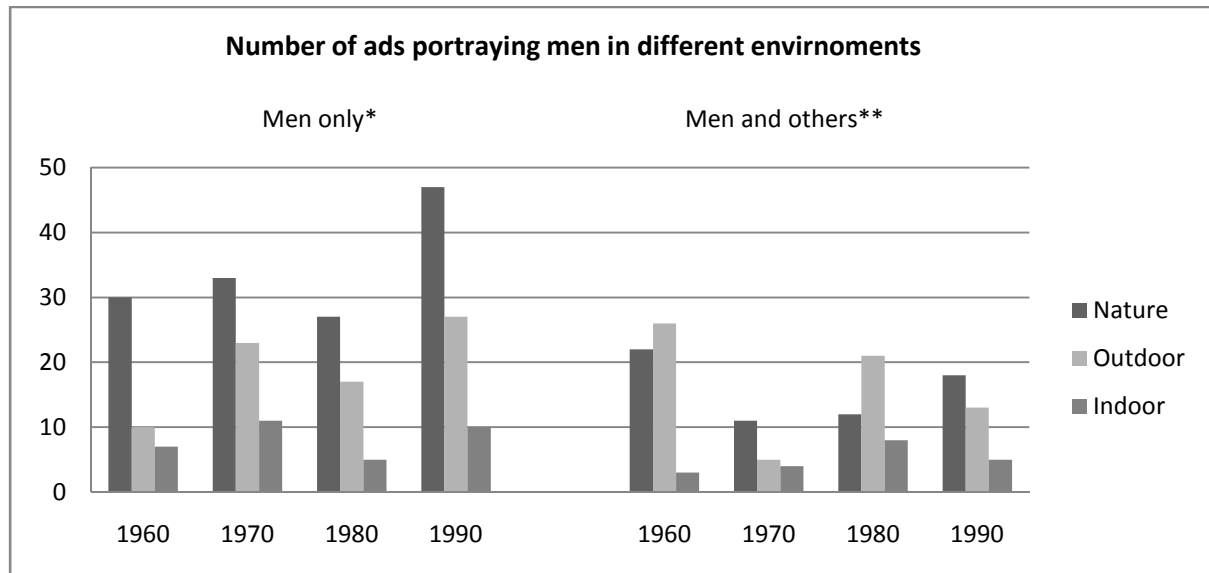
advertisements with only one or more male model/s
advertisements including male and other models

Another category that was analyzed was the surrounding in which the model was placed. This category was applied only to the editions from 1955 onwards. The reason for this was the prevalence of drawn advertisements in the 1930s and the 1940s that did not usually include any kind of background. The predominant category with an average of 27.4 percent when compared to all advertisements having a male model was the advertisements that contained only male model(s) that were situated in nature. These advertisements positioned the male model(s) in a setting surrounded by nature/wildlife with no visible (or very remote) traces of civilization/urbanism.[9] This category was followed by only male advertisements with the models

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[9] Some of the examples: desert, isolated island, icebergs, forest…

situated outdoors. The models in this category were found outside of an enclosed area/building, but were still positioned in an urban setting.[10]

The data demonstrate that the models were rarely portrayed in an indoor setting. This indicates that the association between the male and nature is still very strong. Despite the movement from the "sturdy oak" to the "androgynous body" (Bordo 1999, Rohlinger 2002), the advertisers continue creating the image of the "man of nature" who is characterized by his physical strength and natural crudeness and who avoids being fully integrated into the civilization ("sissified").

Although the transition from the macho man to metrosexual is not as clear as many researchers present it in their writings, the environment in which the model is placed demonstrates the remnants of traditional gender construction that seems impervious to the liberalization of the social norms. This advertising technique enables the advertisers to develop a "double market strategy" (Bordo 1999) that helps them make their product appealing to both traditional and metrosexual customer groups. The level of metrosexuality or femininity the model is portraying is counterbalanced with the nature in which he is positioned that reminds us of his "innate natural masculinity".

Comparing the two sets of data in *table 2*, it becomes clear that the advertisements portraying only male models were more frequently put in the nature category. On the other hand, the advertisements that contained both male and female models were mostly classified in the outdoor category. One possible explanation for this difference is that male models have to be

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[10] Some of the examples: walking down the road, shopping, going to work…

seen in a relation with nature in order to regain their masculinity that was endangered by their

purposeful exposure and objectification. Contrarily, the men who are portrayed with female

models can use the female model to reinforce the gender distinction and reinvent their masculine

traits.

However, this conclusion should not be understood as a confirmation of Goffman's

simplistic power relations discussed before. In many advertisements it is exactly the female

model that seems to be in control- she is the subject who is objectifying the male model with her

touch, gaze or some other technique. Nevertheless, by putting the two models together and

reinforcing the gender difference between the two, the advertisements are successfully

completing two different tasks. They are redefining traditional norms that used to shape our

notions of different genders and creating a new more complex distinction between the two. This

more complex distinction enables advertisements to appeal both to the traditional men and more

metrosexual customers as they present their images of masculinity as mutually compatible rather

than mutually exclusive.

Table3.

Logistic regression analysis of advertisements portraying man touching someone or something by setting and year

	Model 1	Model 2
In natural setting	-.409[+]	-.879[+]
	(.240)	(.463)
Year	-.025[*]	-.036[*]
(1960=0)	(.010)	(.014)
Year* in natural setting	---	.024
	---	(.020)
Constant	1.357	1.580
Model Chi-square	8.555[*]	1.417

Note: Model Chi-square is improvement over previous model (or intercept-only for Model 1)
[+]*p<.10   *p<.05*
N= 338

In order to determine whether the likelihood of touch changes over time and whether it depends on the setting in which the model is portrayed, I conducted a logistic regression analysis. The comparison of the "touch" and "nature" category yields some interesting and surprising results. The logistic regression analysis shows that the frequency of the "touch" category has decreased over time supporting the argument that the male body is becoming more objectified. By being deprived of the ability to touch that is related to the capacity to create and transform, male models lose their "active character". Similarly to the female body, the male body becomes an ornament that is incorporated into the composition of the advertisement, rather than an agent that shapes, deforms, and controls it. A more detailed analysis of the touch category shows that, while the overall frequency of the touch has decreased, the frequency of the subcategory "self touch" has increased. Thus, the male models are more often found in numerous innovative poses that require them to touch one or different parts of their body. While some of these touches

combined with different levels of nudity amplify the sex-charged atmosphere found in some advertisements, many of them contribute to the creation of an androgynous body with more feminine curves. Hence, the power of touch becomes internalized as men are using the touch to objectify their own body.

The logistic regression analysis also shows that the male models portrayed in a natural setting are less likely to be involved in the process of touching. Since both the "touch" and "nature" category invoke a more traditional representation of masculinity, it is surprising that the two categories are not positively correlated. The ability to touch appeals to the traditional male identity that gives a man the power to create and that forms a strict dichotomy between the active male and passive female (Rohlinger 2002:9). On the other hand, positioning a male model in a natural setting establishes a traditional connection between a "natural man" who is still in touch with his primitive roots, who escapes civilization and refuses to be "tamed" by social norms and expectations. One of the reasons for the negative correlation between the two is the fact that the models portrayed in a natural setting are more likely to be portrayed alone. However, the "touch category" encompasses also a subcategory "other touch" that measures the frequency of touch exercised upon an object or animal. Thus, regardless of the absence of other models, it is still surprising that the models did not engage in other forms of touching.

The negative correlation between these two categories demonstrates that most advertisements avoid creating a "hyper-masculine image" perceived as inappropriate for the larger audience. Furthermore, with the increase of the beauty products for men and different fashion brands the image of a "crude man" becomes less consistent with the consumerist nature of the potential clients and socially accepted ideals of beauty. It is interesting to notice that most

male models in a natural setting advertise different fashion (usually high fashion) brands rather than some other products more related to the nature or outdoor activities. The notable exception to this rule is the "Marlboro man" who provides a constant category of ultimate macho man against which the process of "metrosexualization" can be measured.

The encroachment of the metrosexual man into a natural setting is an obvious sign of the shift in the advertising industry as many advertisements portray metrosexual and macho men together crossing the boundary between the two dimensions that used to be perceived as mutually exclusive. Furthermore, when these male models are introduced to a female model the bond between the two is reinforced by their distance (physical or emotional) from or by their mutual objectification of the female model. The only example that constantly eludes this rule is the "Marlboro man" who is constantly portrayed in the "macho mode" (cowboy clothes, nature, rugged face) with no direct link to the other domain of masculinity. It is interesting that, while other tobacco companies were more than eager to "metrosexualize" their models in order to sell their product to the new customer group, Marlboro remains intransient with its portrayal of the traditional long-lost cowboy virility.

Relational Aspects

Chart 1.

Comparaison between the gaze and posture
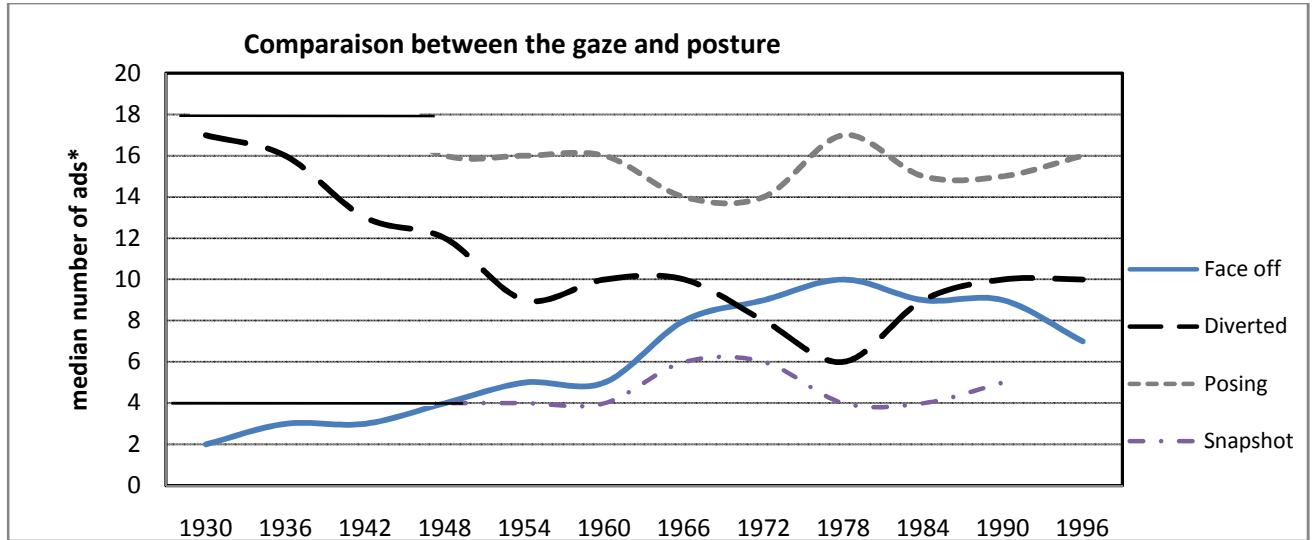
*The median number of advertisements is based on the three year moving average

When observing the composition of the advertisements the first trend that emerged was a relatively constant trend of the prevalence of the advertisements in which models are posing to those in which they are "caught in the moment" (snapshot).[11] The difference between the two is that the "snapshot" technique makes the advertisements more interesting and spontaneous and the models appear to be "more human". That is to say that instead of an intrusive image of a model who is explicitly trying to sell us something, we are presented with models involved in everyday chores to which most readers can connect. This connection between the model and

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[11] The data for these two categories goes back to 1955 since most of the drawn advertisements encountered prior to that period could not be classified in these categories as it was impossible to deduct whether the drawing/sketch was posing or was being caught in the moment.

reader diminishes the commercial nature of advertising in order to establish a more personal connection that will incite the reader to buy the product.

However, the omnipresent prevalence of the models who are posing indicates that the advertising industry has put more hope in shocking and surprising people with intrusive images, rather than into establishing the "personal connection" with the customers. The median percentage of "posing advertisements" per a year was 60 percent, while the median for the "snapshot advertisements" was only 15 percent.[12] This is a logical outcome as the consumerist nature that advertisements promote is in a direct contrast with any kind of personal affection for the bought item. The item is to be bought, used and then discarded. Preferably this should happen in the shortest time period possible.

The "gaze" that characterizes the relationship between the model and the reader mirrors the power relationship between the genders that exists in the society. The power relation between the viewer and the "viewee" is unidirectional as long as the "viewee" is a female model. The power of gaze was historically positioned in the hands of men who were economically emancipated and who were perceived as the most important customer group (Goffman 1979). With the introduction of the male model as the "viewee", this power relation becomes more complex. Most of the models that are caught in the moment have a diverted gaze and do not face the viewer. On the other hand, models who are posing create an intrusive image that states that, although the model is being objectified, he is being done so under his own rules (Bordo 1999:170).

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[12] The percentage is calculated from the advertisements containing the male body and not from the total number of advertisements. The 25 percent that is not accounted for with these two categories belong to other categories such as: no gaze (the model is turning his back to the viewer…) and N/A

However, once again, the data do not support some broad arguments made by other authors. While there has been a significant increase in the median number of "face off" advertisements and the decrease in the median of "diverted gaze" advertisements, the prevalence of "posing advertisements" to "snapshot advertisements" remains constant. Following Bordo's argument that establishes the link between the models that are posing and the face off gaze, since the "model is being objectified under his own rules" (Bordo 1999:172), the reversal of the gaze category should have caused a significant change in the number of "posing" and "snapshot advertisements". Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that the distinction between the "face off" and "diverted gaze" advertisements was much more pronounced before the mid 1960s. While before 1966 the "diverted gaze advertisements" were used three times more often than the "face off" ones, after this period there is no significant difference in the usage of the two. This phenomenon can be attributed to the liberation movements that sought to eliminate the traditional portrayals of masculinity.

Another trend that the data showed was the correlation between the "face off" gaze and the advertisements that contained some level of nudity. It is possible to claim that the "face off" gaze was used to counterbalance the process of objectification. Although the model's body is being treated as an object, he is not only aware, but also proud of it. His sexuality is acted by him, rather than imposed on him. Thus, regardless of his objectification, the male model preserves his authority and instrumental ability.

This instrumental ability is also observed in the type of "touch" in which the model is involved. In 75 percent of advertisements with only one model, the model was involved in touching an object. On the other hand, in 72 percent of advertisements that included multiple

models a human to human touch was observed. It is interesting to notice that in 69 percent of the advertisements that contained both male and female models the touch was initiated by and performed on the male model. Thus, the male model becomes objectified and sexualized as he is presented as an object of desire of the female model. The roles of the seducer and the seduced are inverted as the act of seducing and caressing is exercised upon, rather than by the male model.

Chart 2.

Percentage of touch category in the ads that contain the male body*
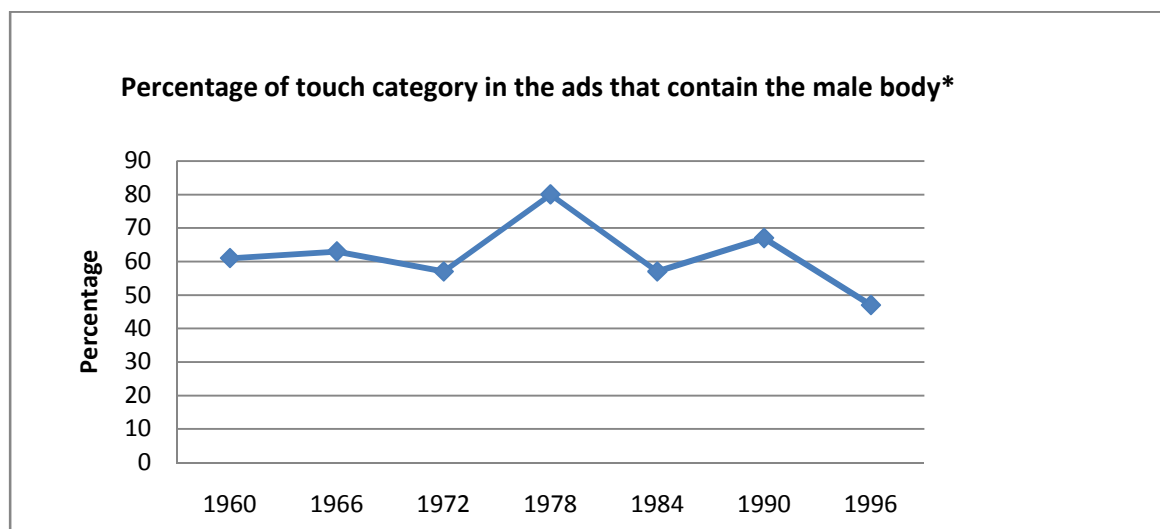
*Percentage numbers are three year moving averages

However, chart 2 confirms the overall trend of decrease in the frequency of touch category found in the logistic regression analysis. This decrease demonstrates that the traditional distinction between an active male, who is the agent who incites the action, and passive female, who is the object upon which the action is exercised, has slowly been eroded. The 1970s increase

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in the frequency can be explained as a traditional backslash that appeared after the liberation movements and that sought to reestablish a traditional portrayal of masculinity by introducing the image of a "rugged" mature man. This conclusion is supported by the previous observation that the 1970s was characterized by the disappearance of the "young" and "old" and by the predominance of the "mature" category of models.[13]Thus, male models are slowly loosing the instrumental power of touch that used to separate them from the female models. Furthermore, the increase in the frequency of "self-touch" subcategory demonstrates that the power of touch is now used by the male models on their own bodies. On the other hand, the decrease in the frequency of "human-touch" subcategory[14] shows that the ability to project this power on other models (male or female) has been lost. In other words the male models have lost the power to objectify the other, but they have internalized the power of self-objectification. Therefore, although they are being objectified, they are being so under their own conditions and rules (Bordo 1999).

Liberation Movements and the Portrayal of the Male Body

The data used to measure the visibility of the gay movements and gay subjects in the public and academic sphere indicate that the biggest increase in the visibility of the gay movements and issues happened between the 1940s and the 1950s followed by the transition from the 1950s to

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[13] "Age category" was composed of three different subcategories: young, mature and old. Rather than measuring the real age of the male model this category measured the age that the model was portraying with his acting.

[14] "Human touch" category was used to simplify the analysis and is composed of subcategories; f2f (female to female touch), m2m(male to male touch), f2m (female touching male), m2f (male touching female), B(male/female model touching a baby), M(many different types of touch).

the 1960s (the data shows a 470 and 450 percent increase for the given periods). Thus, the results suggest that the biggest increase in the discussion of the gay issues in the public and academic sphere happened before and during the homophobia that characterized the McCarthy era rather than during the liberation movements. It is logical to conclude that most of this discourse would be based on homophobic presumption that sought to condemn the gay culture rather than objectively discuss any issues that the homosexuals were facing.[15] Moreover, the creation of social movements towards the end of the 1960s shifted the focus to a more informal discourse in the form of pamphlets and speeches that would not necessarily fund its way to the mainstream mass media that held under the conservative grip.

This increase in the discourse before the liberation movements, clearly demonstrates that the gay phenomenon, although condemned, was widely discussed in both academic and public spheres. The social oppression that forced gay people to protest via informal means (anonymous letters/books/articles) and the stigma and taboo that transformed their culture in the "forbidden fruit" were too much of the temptation not to be discussed. The revitalization of the civil life after the Second World War in the mid 1940s and the social movements that marked the 1960s also played a significant role in this reintroduction of the gay discourse.

On the other hand, the relative small percentage increase of the visibility in the public sphere in the 1970s is compensated for with a significant increase (around 200 percent) in the articles found in the academic realm. This demonstrates that the visibility of the gay movements in the public sphere reversed the homophobic views that were promulgated by the media.

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[15] For each decade from 1940 to 1960 twenty articles were chosen at random and coded into three categories: defensive, neutral, homophobic/offensive. From the total of 60 articles 57 had elements of homophobia, 2 were neutral and 1 was defensive.

Furthermore, the nature of the data indicates that the issues that homosexuals were facing were finally started being understood as a part of larger battle for the social change rather than as wishful demands of an "outcast and degenerate minority".

However, this tendency of the homosexual movement to balance between the assimilation and the demands for the recognition of the differences of its members caused the dissipation of the movement. This disequilibrium between the revolutionary branch of the movement that "never thought of itself as a civil right movement, but as a revolutionary struggle to free the homosexuality in everyone" (Dufrour 1995:144), and the moderate branch that wanted to focus on more "specific and concrete attempts to change law and policies" (Durfrour 1995:145) is still present.

Another trend that is most lively discussed in the academic literature when considering the male body is its objectification and sexualization. This trend is almost always related to the nudity level found in the advertisements. The data demonstrate a steep increase in the levels of complete and some nudity from five cases in the 1930s to twenty six cases in the 1970s, followed by a gradual decrease to 11 cases in the 1990s. However, the most notable examples of nudity are found in the 'back section' rather than in the main body of the magazine (*Table 4*).

Table 4.

Presentation of the percentage of nudity of the male body found in the main and back section from 1930 to 1990
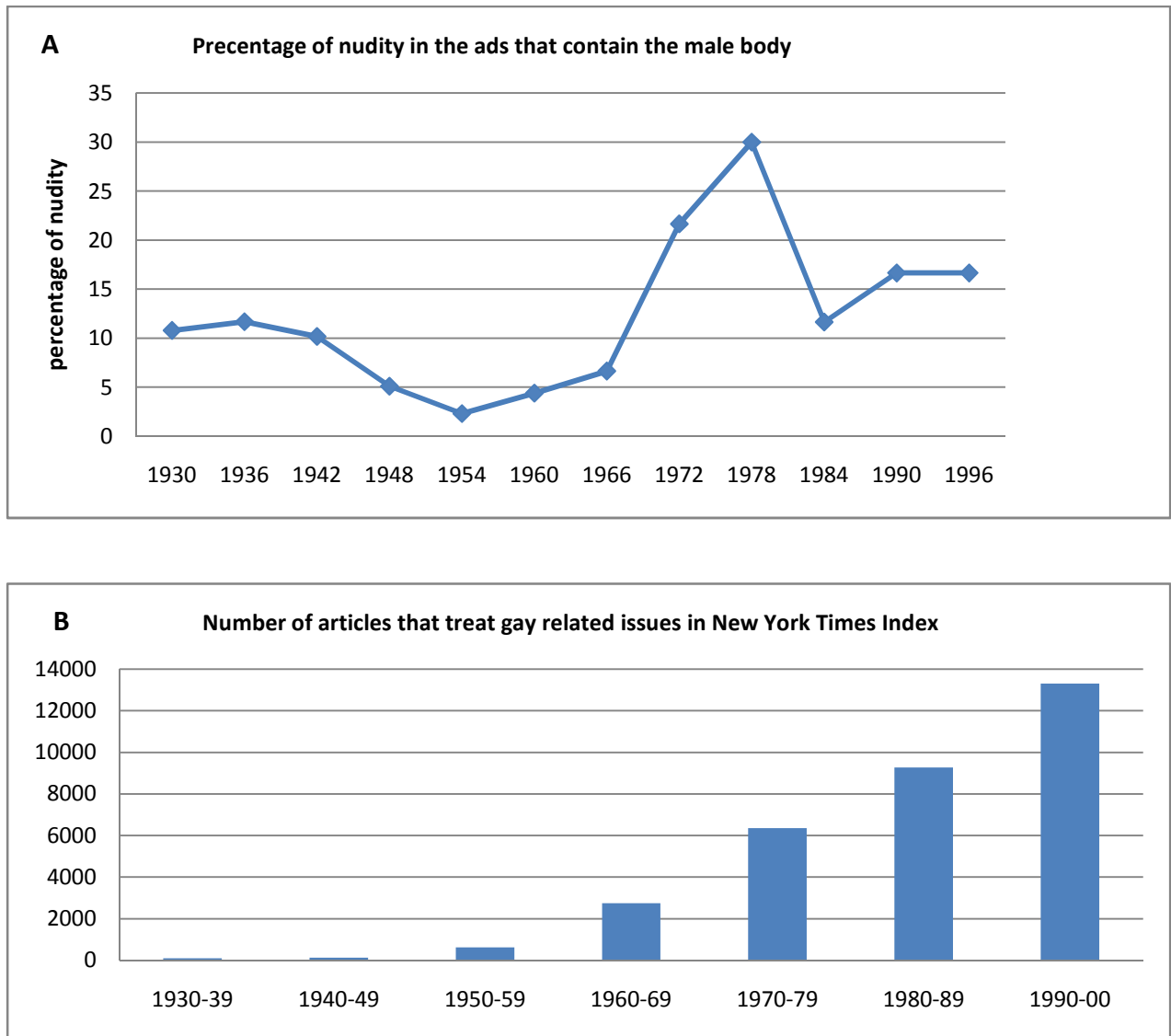
Decade	1930/40s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
% of nudity containing advertisements in the MS*	0.67	0.66	0.9	2.6	1.22	1.33
% of nudity containing advertisements in the BS**	n/a	n/a	4.96	19.35	14.51	n/a

* main section,
**back section

This demonstrates that while the nudity of the male body was present, it was mostly found in the back section rather than the main body. A clearly defined back section is present in the editions dating from the1950s, 60s, 70s and 80s, while before and after that period the section is not present or is presented as multiple different columns, editorials and advertisement (wine and dinning, restaurants, buying catalogs...). The importance of the back section in the 1970s and the 1980s with the average of 16.93 percent of the total advertisements in the back section that portrayed some level of nudity clearly indicates a shift from the more conservative nature of this same section found in the 1950s and the 1960s when the average was 4.7 percent. This steep increase in the back section was followed by a more moderate increase in the main section of the magazine. The biggest percentage of nudity 2.6 percent was found in the 1970s, while the 1980s and the 1990s were characterized by a decline of the nudity level to less than 1.5percent.

Chart 3.

A   **Precentage of nudity in the ads that contain the male body**

B   **Number of articles that treat gay related issues in New York Times Index**

*4.b) *Percentage numbers are three year moving averages*

The data indicates that the 1970s were characterized by the highest increase in the nudity level

that can be linked to the social movements of the 1970s and specially the gay liberation

movement whose foundation was the notion of sexual freedom and "nudification" of the human

body However, while the number or articles related to the liberation movements has increased steadily throughout the century, the level of nudity is depicted as a non-linear trend. Thus, the data clearly opposes researches who claim that the increase in nudity has been a constant trend for the past forty years (Borewiecki et al. 2001).

The curve demonstrates that the decrease in the level of nudity can be observed after the mid 1930s that coincides with the preparation for the Second World War that revived the traditional social norms based on patriotism. This is also the time of Prohibition when many puritanical societies that sought to eliminate the "corrupt elements of the society" such as homosexuals, lesbians, prostitutes and immigrants gained their influence (Chauncey 2001). However, the biggest drop in the portrayal of the male nudity can be observed between the 1940s and the 1950s. This period corresponds to the era of McCarthyism in the US, when the anti-communist turmoil characterized all the domains of political and social life. Thus, any deviation from norms or traditions could be regarded as suspicious and even communist. While today the association between communism and nudity appears ridiculous, it is important to realize that McCarthyism classified communism as everything that was aberrant and different. Hence, the correlation between the communism, nudity and homosexual culture whose main characteristics were perceived to be nudity and promiscuity presented a serious threat for anyone with alternative life style. Moreover, the decrease in the portrayal of male nudity in the magazines clearly indicates that the press was not impervious to this influence.

The slow reinstitution of the male nudity into the print media from the mid 1950s to the mid 1960s indicates the continuation of the trend that was started at the beginning of the century. Thus, it becomes clear that the "nudification" and "objectification" of the male body were not

invented simultaneously to the liberation movements as some researchers claim. The two existed far before, and the moment that the social pressure was alleviated, the trend reappeared. Table 3 also indicates that the reintroduction of the gay culture into the mainstream society by the liberation movements caused a significant rise of interest for these hitherto deviant and aberrant social groups. This explosion of interest and visibility supported by civil claims made by other movements enabled the gay population to take an active role in social and political scene.

Therefore, the gay liberation movement can be examined from three different perspectives: as a sexual freedom movement, as a political movement and as a movement of ideas (Cruikshank 1992:7). At the beginning of the gay liberation movement the accent was heavily put on the sexual liberation and recreation of sexual categories and norms. "For gay liberation there was no "normal" or "perverse" sexuality, only a world of sexual possibilities ranged against a repressive order of marriage , oedipal families , and compulsory sexuality" (Barry Adams 1987 in Dufour 1995:144).

However, after the euphoria that characterized the social movements of the 1960s and the 1970s a decrease and leveling of the portrayal of male nudity can be observed. The conservative backlash that the liberation movements caused along with the shift in their character from revolutionary to reformist took its toll on the portrayal of the male body. The trend of the portrayal of nudity was reestablished in 1990 and seems to have a constant trajectory. This is due to the firm grip that the gay subculture obtained in the mainstream society demonstrating that homosexuals are not perceived anymore as funny and degenerative element, but rather as equal fellow citizens. This claim is supported by the constant level of nudity that can be related to the objectification of the male body. Although the exponential increase in the levels of nudity that

characterizes the 1960s and the 1970s is not present anymore, the constant trend that is established clearly demonstrates an increased level of objectification when compared to the 1930s trend. This increased objectification can be related to the more firm and visible presence of the gay subculture in 1990s.

On the other hand, the visibility of the "queer" in the print has had a linear trajectory. Unlike the portrayal of nudity, the presence of the gay subjects in the print media has not been significantly impacted by the liberation movements. On the contrary, the time of the biggest gay suppression and lowest levels of the nudity portrayal happens at the same time as the biggest increase in the discussion of the gay issues in the print media (470 percentage point increase from 1940 to 1950 followed by the 450 percentage point increase from 1950 to 1960). However, it is important to realize that this study measured the overall visibility of gay subjects; thus encompassing defensive, objective and offensive articles. It is logical to conclude that the biggest increase of the discussion of the gay subjects from 1940 to 1960 happened in the offensive sector in the form of numerous articles and debates that attacked and ridiculed homosexuals.

Conclusion

When observing the connection between the liberation movements, overall visibility of the gay subculture and the levels of nudity, it is important to understand a larger historical context while, at the same time, paying attention to the micro-context of each decade. The correlation that exists between these phenomena is complex and cannot be deduced to a simple linear trajectory. Therefore, the purpose of my analysis was to show the nuances that many other

researchers overlooked in order to establish a general trend that supports their theoretical framework.

The data demonstrate that the social movements had a significant influence on the portrayal of the male body in print media. "The gaze" and "the touch" categories experienced a significant change in order to incorporate the new power relations and gender equilibrium of the social sphere. However, some other categories remained impervious to social change and kept their character reflecting the traditional social discourse of gender and sexuality.

While many researchers claim that there is an explicit transition from the "alpha male" to a more "feminized" and "metrosexual" male figure, the data collected shows that this transition is not as preeminent as first thought. The advertising industry is trying to remain a fragile balance between the newly formed metrosexual/gay and the traditional male customer. In order to gain profit from both groups, the advertisers are using the "double approach strategy" that combines new metrosexual traits and the traditional signifiers of masculinity.

However, this marketing technique is also positively related to the commercialization of social participation. That is to say that a movement that sought to introduced social and political rights for a specific oppressed minority group, becomes commercialized via advertisements found in the mass media. Political participation whose goal was to eliminate the existing social inequality is replaced by consumerist habits. In other words, the advertising branch has given clothes', cigarettes', and many other brands the power to infiltrate into ta social movement and convince its participants that buying that particular brand is in itself an act of declaring one's agreement with and belonging to a specific social movement (Rohlinger 2002). Thus, political

participation has become as commercialized as any other part of our society, while the group whose social status it sought to improve has become just another commercial target.

Therefore, it is important to understand advertisements as more than just a way of extracting money from the customers. They can also be seen as cultural markers that reflect and reshape the social and cultural norms, ideas, and ideals. On the other hand, the element of surprise and shock that constitutes the foundation of any good marketing campaign enables advertisers to play with the "forbidden fruit" and to bring into the domain of acceptable, things, people, and groups that used to be ostracized and marginalized.