THE CULTURAL EVOLUTION OF MASCULINE BODY IMAGE:
AN INTERDISCIPLINARY ANALYSIS OF MALE BODY IMAGE REGULATION WITHIN MEN'S LIFESTYLE MAGAZINES

by

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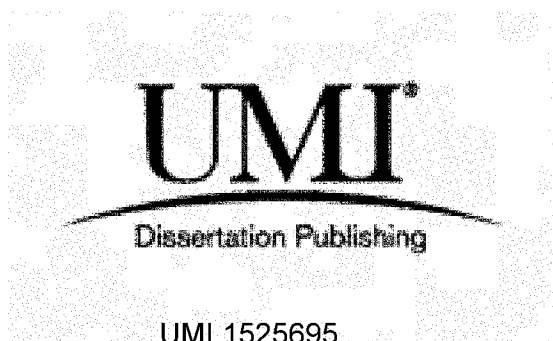UMI

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the production and promotion of certain male body images, demonstrating a means by which gender image regulations may be identified in print media. Drawing on the intersection of cultural studies, gender theory, sociology, and biology, this work inquires into mimetic series and their exchanges in such men's magazines as *Gentleman's Quarterly* UK and North America editions, *Men's Health* UK and North America editions, *Attitude*, and *Out* for 2002-2011 period. The choice of magazines allows for inclusion of both heterosexual and queer perspectives and respective audiences, and thus for a more comprehensive and balanced collection of quantitative mimetic data from which to derive constructed gender regulations. Multicultural sampling of both magazine and advertisement content is instrumental in observing some of the globalizing influences on the masculine media, which affect and reflect the greater masculine body image culture, and modify both individual and collective masculine gender performance.

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ART = Artificial Hair Colours, such as Green, Pink, Blue, etc...

B = Bald or Partially Bald

BD = Blond-haired

BE = Beard

BL= Black-haired

C= Clothed

CH = Chin Beard

G = Goatee

H = Half-clothed

HH = Half-clothed Hair visible

L = Long-haired

MU = Moustache

NU = Nude.

NUH = Nude Hair visible

R = Red-haired

S = Short-haired

SH = Shadowed

SN = Shaven

W = White-haired

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to analyze the evolutionary trends in male body images found within men's lifestyle magazines. Critical to this study is the understanding that these images have been socially constructed specifically to sell a product, lifestyle or idea. The desire to provide an audience with these images, which have been designed for their consumption, is what makes these images of interest. In concert, these images represent rules which help guide people in their decisions as to what men should look like. Magazines are particularly useful tools as they represent static contact points where people can have their views challenged or supported by the dominant paradigm which the magazine has chosen to reify during a particular issue. The choices of individual magazines and the men's lifestyle magazine industry in general will reify certain traits, and these traits can be observed over time as statistical trends. The trends which this study will focus on are those related to male body image; specifically, hair and muscularity.

The relevance of this project stems from its connections to biology, sociology and philosophy. Tying these diverse fields together are evolution and gender. In this case evolution is not just a biological process whereby genes are selected for over time but also a process by which ideas are refined based on their ability to survive by remaining in contemporary use. Similar to genes, ideas must compete against each other for the limited resources needed to maintain a population or face extinction. Like the wind, natural selection is an invisible force, observable only by its effects on other things. Gender construction allows us to observe the evolutionary connection between material constructions such as hair, muscularity, magazines and advertisements, as well as symbolic constructions such as consumerism, images, persuasion, identity performance and regulation. By taking an interdisciplinary approach to the observation of gendered body image, we can explain more holistically the process of masculine body image production.

The theoretical basis for using men's lifestyle magazines as a gauge of masculine body image evolution comes from the works of Judith Butler, Herbert Mead, Jean Baudrillard, and Richard Dawkins. In combination the work of these four theorists will allow us to begin navigating the course between the body image on the page and the body image in the mind.

Butler's contribution centres on the idea that gender is not a fixed state intrinsic to individuals, but is, instead, a continuous performative gesture (Butler 183-193). Gender in this case is not an effect of our sex but a separate category distantly inspired but not automatically consistent with biological sex. By turning gender from a noun to a verb, performative gender allows for a greater understanding of the malleability of gender identity and by association the malleability inherent in the gendered construction of body image. The capacity for active change allows gender to evolve on both the collective and individual levels.

> Gender is, thus, a construction that regularly conceals its genesis; the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions is obscured by the credibility of those productions – and punishments that attend not agreeing to believe in them; the construction "compels" our belief in its necessity and naturalness. (Butler 190)

By her own admission, Butler's work is inspired by Simone De Beauvoir (Butler 189-190, xxix-xxx), but Butler's key accomplishment is to take De Beauvoir's concept of gender dichotomy and post-modernize it to better link gender with sexual identity construction, while providing a greater diversity of options than the binary for the decision of which sexes and genders to play. Butler's destabilization of the masculine-feminine binary gender concept opens the way for a much more fluid spectrum of gender, which better acknowledges the social and personal construction of both sex and gender. Her exploration of the act of drag demonstrates how the use of gender can be flexible, whilst at the same time destabilizing the very binary that drag mimics. A drag queen is most definitely feminine whilst at the same time remaining a male. The capacity for males to mimic

women demonstrates that gender itself does not exist beyond the level of action (Butler 186-189).

For this study the most important part of this destabilization is the idea that the categories of

maleness and masculinity are no longer intrinsically linked allowing the identity found within the

male body to be constructed out of ideas drawn from a greater variety of genders than before. In

short, the post-modern world has presented those in male bodies, with new options regarding how to

envision and present those bodies.

Butler also makes use of the ideas which Foucault laid out in *The History of Sexuality*, wherein

Foucault makes the point that sex is a flexible description of an object not an object itself (124).

This discursive approach to the subject of sex further demystifies sex revealing its ephemeral and

permeable construction. To continue the explanation of how magazine images influence this

construction, we turn to the work of Herbert Mead. To begin, Mead provides a working definition of

meaning in terms of human behaviours, specifically human gestures. The static images in

magazines act as paused gestures, continuing to provide meaning, but no longer changing in

physical content:

> Meaning arises and lies within the field of the relation between the gesture of a given human
>
> organism and the subsequent behaviour of this organism as indicated to another human
>
> organism by that gesture. If that gesture does so indicate to another organism the subsequent
>
> (or resultant) behaviour of the given organism, then it has meaning. In other words, the
>
> relationship between a given stimulus – as a gesture – and the later phases of the social act
>
> of which it is an early (if not the initial) phase constitutes the field within which meaning
>
> originates and exists. (Mead 75-76)

> In his groundbreaking work, *The Mind, the Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social

Behaviorist, Mead lays out the groundwork for the theoretical paradigm known as Symbolic

Interactionism. This paradigm revolves around the ability to interact with significant symbols to

obtain meaning, even when those symbols are only loose representations of more concrete concepts

(Mead 75-82). One of the meanings composed of symbols is gender. As we see in Butler's work, the concept of gender is performative, not intrinsic, and thus requires the use of significant symbols to generate a gender (Butler 175-193). These significant symbols are gestural in nature as they perform the action of generating a gender.

This use of significant symbols also allows the projection of internal gender concepts, such as a masculine self image, into the external environment and to have their existence reified by other symbols, such as static advertisements, or symbol makers, such as cohorts. It is through the use of symbols that individual gender ideas as well as larger collective ideas are communicated (Mead 68-75). The images in magazines, as well as the rest of the content, are composed of significant symbols with the creation of the magazine acting as the initial gesture made static for later interpretation by others through the gesture of observation.

Although these symbols must traverse the physical environment, their meaning exists only within the minds of their observers whose reification is the source of the symbol's nature and power. A fine example of this can be found in the work of French artist, René Magritte. In his work, *The Treachery of Images*, Magritte presents the audience with an image of a pipe under which is written, "Ceci n'est pas une pipe." This is not a pipe. In the same vein, the images of men which will be studied are not biological men, yet they can be identified with as though they were. These arrangements of pigment and paper hold such power because they are symbols of men. These symbols of men are more than just stand-ins for the real thing, they are constructed messages which humans interact with differently than they would with a biological man (Sturken and Cartwright 15). To understand the relationship between symbolically inscribed objects, such as magazines, and people, we turn to Baudrillard.

Thanks to mass information and communications systems which promote models, there is now not only a well-established circulation of objects as such but also a 'psychological' circulation which constitutes a radical watershed between our industrial age and the pre-

industrial age of the transcendent distinctiveness of period 'style'. (Baudrillard 149)

In his work, *The System of Objects*, Jean Baudrillard outlines three key concepts which prove helpful here. The first of these is the ability of the consumer to personally invest attention into objects and therefore become psychologically entangled with objects such as images (128). The images and their viewers become entangled through the interaction of observation. Although it appears as though the object itself, in this case the image, is communicating with the viewer, the truth is that the viewer is communicating with him or herself, using the image as a medium for self reflection. Granted this reflection is guided, specifically, by the hands of the image manufacturers and by society in general, it still remains an act of self reflection (Baudrillard 126-127). The image does not speak, but instead provokes the viewer into an internal discourse, the topic of which is highly influenced by the perceived content of the image itself. The hope is that the image will act as a model thus provoking the viewers into becoming a series based on the image; however, the image itself is a series for which humans act as models (Baudrillard 164-166). The images are images of people; therefore, they will always be a series based on the human model. In concert these images act as models by which humans might serialize themselves. Humans look to these images for information about how men should appear. No one image is the model; instead, the model is composed of numerous images, each one a part of a series. Humans use this composite model as a basis for enacting various meaningful gestures which compose the masculine gender performance series (164-166). In this way the viewer and the image are cyclically entangled, each effecting the other and provoking change over time.

> Just like the production process, the object traverses every shade in the social spectrum. Such transitions are experienced in everyday life in terms of possibility and in terms of frustration: the model is internalized by those who are involved with serial objects, while the series is intimated, negated, transcended and lived in a contradictory manner by those who have to do with models. The socially immanent tendency whereby the series hews ever more narrowly to

the model, while the model is continually being diffused into the series, has set up a perpetual

dynamic which is in fact the very ideology of our society. (Baudrillard 149-150)

This concept of models and series is the second major point of this work that draws on

Baudrillard's ideas. Models act as the theoretical basis for the concrete series. The original work of

art from which prints are made is an example of a model and a series; in this case, the original work

is the model with the prints being the series mass produced based on the model (Baudrillard 147-

150). This modelling assists in the construction of masculinity from men's magazines in a similar

fashion. Men observe a series of images presented by the men's magazine. In combination these

images become a model which the men can use to changes their own self conceived body image.

While each man will absorb these images differently, there will be a number of men who observe

and act on them. These men adjust their body images in response to the images that they see,

becoming a series, which can combine into a model which influences the series for the magazine

model. Therefore men's body images and the men's magazine images act as both models and series

for each other in a cycle of replication and reification (Baudrillard 164-167). The art of advertising

embodies this cycle and is of particular interest to this study. As Baudrillard contends,

> A clear distinction must be drawn in connecting with advertising's dual status as discourse
>
> on the object and as an object in its own right. It is as a useless, unnecessary discourse that it
>
> comes to be consumable as a cultural object. What achieves autonomy and fulfilment
>
> through advertising is thus the whole system that I have been describing at the level of
>
> objects: the entire apparatus of personalization and imposed differentiation; of proliferation
>
> of the inessential and subordination of technical requirements to the requirements of
>
> production and consumption; of dysfunctionality and secondary functionality. Since its
>
> function is almost entirely secondary, and since both image and discourse play largely
>
> allegorical roles in it, advertising supplies us with the ideal object and casts a particularly
>
> revealing light upon the system of objects. And since, like all heavily connoted system, it is

self-referential, we may safely rely on advertising to tell us what it is that we consume through objects. (179-180)

The third Baudrillardian concept strategically utilized in this thesis is that advertisements act as self-referential systems which interact with the public to sell not only the product being advertised but also the overarching concept of advertisements in general. What an ad really sells is the belief in advertisements. In this way advertisements have become less powerful in the imperative, but more powerful in the indicative, as people acknowledge the content of ads less often than in times past, but are more likely to accept the ubiquitous nature of modern advertising (Baudrillard 178-180).

Whilst all of the previous authors acknowledge the ability of genders, symbols, and models to change over time, none quite captures the evolutionary force behind those changes. Richard Dawkins provides a solution to this problem. Dawkins is a well- known author of books on evolution and philosophy. Dawkins proposes two concepts which are useful to the understanding of genders/symbols/models, the first of which is his concept of memes. Memes were envisioned in his book *The Selfish Gene*. Dawkins explains the idea of evolution at the basic level of molecular replicators known as genes. He makes the case for replication being thought of in terms of rational behaviour. Life in this case is simply the container through which genes travel through time, changing as they evolve through host to host (Dawkins, *The Selfish* 1-11). Along the way Dawkins applies his understanding of evolution and replicators to culture. This time the replicators are called memes rather than genes (Dawkins, *The Selfish* 192). Memes represent the evolving building blocks of cultural construction. Dawkins shows that living beings with culture are involved in the meme's journey of replication and evolution.

Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperm or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by

leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation.

If a scientist hears, or reads about, a good idea, he passes it on to his colleagues and students.

He mentions it in his articles and his lectures. If the idea catches on, it can be said to

propagate itself, spreading from brain to brain. (Dawkins, *The Selfish* 189-190)

Dawkins' concept of memes and culture extends beyond human beings and into the rest of

the animal kingdom. One of the first examples he used to reify memes involved observation of the

transmission of songs amongst male saddleback song birds. The songs are not passed on genetically,

but instead they are part of a learned culture. The males draw the 3 or so songs they will use from a

mimetic pool of around 9 or so songs. Like genes, mutations occur in the songs as some of the birds

perform their song in a manner which differs from the original songs they learned from. A note here,

a change in timing there, is all it takes for a song to evolve. These and other examples provide

evidence that much like the gene pool the meme pool changes over time based on the mutations

triggered by variations in the replication memes (Dawkins, *The Selfish* 189-190).

When Dawkins turns his attentions to mimetic changes in human culture, he makes a case

for memes being influenced by the forces of natural selection, linking symbolic gestures, such as

gender performance, with evolutionary change. Thus, he states: "Fashions in dress and diet,

ceremonies and customs, art and architecture, engineering and technology, all evolve in historical

time in a way that looks like highly speeded up genetic evolution, but has really nothing to do with

genetic evolution" (Dawkins, The Selfish 190). He argues that as replicators memes behave in an

anthropomorphically selfish manner, much as genes do (Dawkins, *The Selfish* 193-194). Memes

must replicate to survive, so they compete with other memes for the limited resources of attention

(Dawkins, *The Selfish* 192). Memes replicate by being copied and transmitted from one host to

another. If a meme is poor at copying or transmitting itself, then eventually it may lose all cultural

footing and disappear from the meme pool into the pseudo-death of ignominy. In this respect the

memes are very similar to the series described by Baudrillard as both must replicate in order to

continue to exist; therefore, these concepts will be linked as mimetic series. Mimetic series respond to natural selection by entrenching themselves in as many minds and as much culture as possible, with those best adapted to the environment fairing the best overall.

Memes compete to replicate by taking up two important kinds of space; external and internal. They do this through the mental connection between neurology and culture. As socially dependent animals, humans have both a collective and individual mind. Memes can exist in either the collective or individual minds, but ideally exist in both. Culture covers the transmission of memes across and into the external environment and thus the collective mind, such as when the meme is spoken or sung, written or typed, downloaded, photographed, or expressed through other gestures (Dawkins, *The Selfish* 190). Any transmission of the internal thought process to the external environment will involve memes in some way, for it is mimetic symbols which allow communications to be comprehensible (Mead 117-125). Those memes which successfully transmit themselves to the external environment gain a spot in our collective memory for as long as we continue to reify them with our attentions.

The neurological transmission of memes covers the ability of memes to take up residence inside the individual tissues of the living body. A meme manages to take up this internal space by capturing the individual attention of a mind (Schwartz and Begley 333). The more attention a mind pays to a meme, the more neurological connections will be made entrenching the meme more densely in the body's neural network (Pradeep 36). Thus, the attention paid to memes alters the individual's internal environment. Key to this neurological transmission is the concept of neuroplasticity.

Neuroplasticity is the capacity of neurological tissue to rewire itself in response to external and internal stimulus. External stimulus is defined as everything covered by physics, while the internal stimulus is everything covered by psyche. The holistic neurological system is responsive to the mind and grows according to the attention paid to things. Neuroplasticity provides material

evidence for the existence of theoretical constructs such as Butler's performative gender, by developing the idea that concepts such as gender or body image are neurologically malleable things which change in response to our attentive reification of them (Schwartz and Begley 362-363).

The second important concept which Dawkins provides is model rules (Dawkins, *The Greatest* 19). Model rules are not a concept which Dawkins pioneered, but he does apply their use to biological and by extension mimetic evolution. Model rules are a concept which initially springs from computer usage but has since been branched out to explain biological phenomena, such as the flocking behaviours of birds (Dawkins, *The Greatest* 220).

When applied to biology, model rules explain how large groups of organisms can move as one without the need of a defined leader. In this case what occurs is that the individual animal contains a number of rules which aid the animal's behavioural paradigm in determining where it is supposed to be in the collective. With flocking behaviour these rules might determine things like how close a bird should get to other birds before moving away. Because every bird in the flock has a similar set of rules (the birds that did not follow the rules had an increased chance of dying, and making it unlikely that they might pass on their inability to follow the rules necessary for survival), the flock is able to move as one leaderless, collective entity. By extending this concept just a little bit further than Dawkins, we can utilize it as a means of understanding human collective behaviour.

> The key point is that there is no choreographer and no leader. Order, organization, structure – these all emerge as a by-product of rules which are obeyed locally and many times over, not globally... No conductor of the orchestra. No central planning. No architect. In the field of development, or manufacture, the equivalent of this kind of programming is self-assembly. (Dawkins, *The Greatest* 220)

The use of model rules combines the models of Baudrillard with a regulatory element that better explains the leaderless nature of the gendered body image phenomenon. While there are certainly members of all the sexes that act as role models, these members can not be said to be

unilateral leaders of any particular sex. There is no king of mankind, nor a queen of womankind, nor a monarch for those of other sexual natures. Model rules answer the question of how gendered body image develops and maintains itself as a cohesive concept without a sentient designer. Rather than a single or handful of creators, masculine body image is continuously created by anyone who interacts with the paradigm, including the men themselves. Men act upon their own masculinity through the maintenance, generation, and transformation of their own model rules. This occurs by cycling through mimetic series from the collective culture. The collective cultural memes come from the collective contributions of the countless model rules found within the countless men, and others, involved in the process of masculine image cultural generation.

This conceptual cycle allows us to better understand Butler's concept of performative gender, for the model rules influence what the gender actors are performing. Similar to symbolic interaction, the model rules provide definition to the dynamic mimetic combinations of a gender performance. These model rules are symbolic and provide a legalistic framework for the significant symbols which make up social life. This legalistic frame allows for the quantitative observation of gender performance regulation by identifying rules found within the cultural artifacts such as men's magazines and the advertisements they contain. This study will address the issue of collective gender performance by identifying the model rules which temper and define the gesture of generating a body image.

Model rules are relevant because they simplify the process of generating a body image. A body image can be thought of as a series of questions, with model rule answers regulating the interactions and boundaries for the image, triggering the reification of the image. These rules embody the gendered image entrenching the image as part of the psyche by granting the image neurological space.

Ideally model rules are handy stereotypes that are frequently true (Cialdini 3-8). For example, males are usually taller than females. This is not true when comparing all examples of the

human spectrum to all other examples, but it is frequently true of people from the same social and biological background. If a mind presumes that, all else removed, men are taller than women, said mind will usually be right, so it is effective to establish a rule which biases the mind to presume male tallness. This rule might even seep over and influence the belief that tallness is a masculine trait, persuading the mind to view all tall people as slightly more masculine than before. In reality evidence shows that a tallness bias does exist in the West and that this bias enhances the overall competitiveness of tall male genes and memes. In short, Western society usually operates under the assumption that males should be tall and therefore rewards those males who obey the rule. This is not a pattern of infinite growth for it is possible for a male to become too tall, so instead it is best if he is within a certain height, around 6 feet tall, for example (Hakim 217-220).

As the above example illustrates, the process of rule construction biases the brain, but does so for the purposes of conserving conscious thought. Conscious thought can not be used for every action of the human mind; there simply isn't enough of it (Pradeep 1-3). Instead the consciousness acts as the ruler of the mind, supreme monarch to be fooled into feeling it is obeyed by all. Like a privileged monarch, the conscious mind is the focal point of a vast amount of resources, with the decisions of the consciousness weighing heavily, but not supremely, upon resource distribution of the mind.

The consciousness relies on the results the subconscious provides, but the consciousness is alienated from the perspective necessary to understand how the subconscious produces all that it provides. In this same vein the consciousness influences many of the rules governing the mind, as it is the primary source of grand decisions, but the subconscious contains the rules which keep everything running (Cialidini 3-5). Collectively the subconscious and consciousness create and maintain the rules which define body image.

The subconscious mind regulates biological signals which individuals are rarely conscious of. It also handles the countless calculations and micro decisions which regulate everyday living

(Gladwell 11-17). Like an iceberg, the instincts and answers provided by the subconscious mask enormous mental constructs hidden from conscious view. However, like the powerful rays of the Sun, the conscious can use choices to melt away the unnecessary information provided by the subconscious, rendering decision making possible. These systems interact and can override each other (Schawrtz and Begley 290-322). As it turns out, the subconscious can be used to implant memes without first alerting the conscious. Emotions such as fear frequently cause people to react without first consciously thinking about their actions. As Paul Ekman, renowned emotions and facial expert, states in *Emotions Revealed*:

> Since we don't need to divert our conscious attention to watch for the events that have become emotional triggers, we can use our conscious processes to do other things. (It is a sign of mental disorder, as I will explain later, if our conscious mind is preoccupied with the possibility that emotional events may occur.) Once we have learned to drive a car, we do so automatically, free to focus our awareness on a conversation, listen to the radio, think about some upcoming event, and so forth. When we make a left turn, we don't stop listening to the radio to go to the correct lane after the turn. And yet, if danger occurs, we will still do the right thing. This is one of the great strengths of emotions, why they are functional. (Ekman 30)

Memes achieve the most success when they are incepted voluntarily, by persuading some part of the mind to accept the meme's presence and grant it neurological real estate in the form of attention (Schawrtz and Begley 360). To allow this idea to take root simply imagine a world where our everyday activities were ruled by coercion. In this world human beings would have to force each other, from birth, to perform even the simplest of involuntary actions. One generation would not survive to the next if babies had to force their parents to raise them from moment to moment; instead the most helpless amongst us are the most persuasive (Pardeep 18). A babe's cry causes a storm of neurological activity. Humans in general, and females in particular, have evolved to be

alert for an infant's cry, while the infant's high pitched cries have evolved to be easier to hear yet travel only short distances. We are not only persuaded from birth, but are born persuaders (Dutton 47-50). From the first moment our mind notices being noticed, we are involved in a network of mimetic exchange based on persuasion (Dutton 17-18).

This fundamental persuasion links to the notion of performative gender by demonstrating the means by which performative gender reifies itself. People are persuaded rather than forced to understand and reify the gender memes they are being presented with. The symbolic gestures used to communicate performative gender exist largely to persuade others of the existence of gender whilst providing commentary on individual examples of gender, such as the performer (Butler 185). Our gender is something which we must persuade ourselves and other people to believe in, in order for it to become real. If an individual decides to be a man, but no one else within society will acknowledge or accept his choice, he is an incomplete man. His gender still exists but it is written upon his body in such as way that others refuse to comprehend it. Thus, it is of extreme importance that one's gender be communicated in a way that is acknowledged and accepted by society. To gain this acceptance one must chose memes which society acknowledges. The act of choosing allows for individual expression, with the collective society determining the boundaries of that expression by defining the options from which the individual might choose.

> Choosing one car over another may perhaps personalize your choice, but the most important thing about the fact of choosing is that it assigns you a place in the overall economic order. According to John Stuart Mill, choosing such and such an object in order to distinguish oneself from other people is in itself of service to society. Increasing the number of objects makes it easier for society to divert the faculty of choice onto them, so neutralizing the threat that the personal demand for choice always represent for it. Clearly 'personalization', far from being a mere advertising ploy, is actually a basic ideological concept of a society which 'personalizes' objects and beliefs solely in order to integrate persons more effectively.

(Baudrillard 152)

Consumerism constitutes an important part of the gender performance process by facilitating the trade of memes. Memes are produced by one host to be exchanged with another host; both hosts consume the new memes to produce construction material for the production of models and other memes which will be exchanged with other hosts. One of the most important exchanges is that between money for goods or services, such as magazines. The symbol of money allows consumers to exchange a symbolic resource for a material artifact (a magazine) whose material value exists primarily in its symbolic content. Within the magazine, the desire for money fuels the mimetic content by providing objects and symbols which the consumer can purchase to construct a masculine body image to be performed. This material exchange of money is important to consumerism, but in the case of magazines and the mind there is still a deeper resource being consumed, attention. Attention is needed to generate money and magazines, attention must be paid to the consumption of the memes found within the magazines and the consumers, attention is required to respond to the memes exchanged by the consumer and the magazines. Memes purchase neurological real estate with attention rather than money, the same can be said at the cultural level, where money is more potent but is still not the primary component of the exchange, advertisements exchange the attention of the client, advertisement creator, magazine, and consumer. Money has a catalytic effect in the cultural world, causing reactions which exchange the attentions of various elements, but is never the true physical component but instead a symbolic representation of effort, this effort can be more holistically summed as attention paid. Thus, the primary material resource being exchanged in mimetic consumerism is attention not money. This need for attention drives the mimetic exchange between various gender performers, be they human, magazine, or advertisement. By focusing on attention rather than money, we create a system of mimetic consumerism which can be applied to other animals based on what those animals pay attention to.

The best way to ensure that a gender performance reaches its target audience is to use

memes which the audience will understand and appreciate. These memes can come from a variety of gendered sources, such as men's lifestyle magazines. These magazines exist for the purpose of commenting on and providing information regarding how one might live as a man. The magazines influence masculinity by providing some of the raw materials which the minds of both men and women utilize to construct their individual assessment of what masculinity means (Crawshaw 1610-1616). By measuring the population of various memes we can assess the regulatory models being constructed by the magazines and advertisements involved, from this information we can ascertain what kinds of body images men are likely to believe are stereotypical.

A single page of a single magazine is covered with memes. In order to get anything sensible out of this mimetic plethora, we will use a quantitative sampling of images in men's magazines. This sampling will allow us to observe statistical trends which mark model rules that can be observed and commented upon. For this study, we will look at rules regarding muscles and hair. Like genes, memes can come in a variety of sizes and levels of complexity. The designs of muscle and hair are not just a duet of solitary notions, but a combination of smaller ideas, much like how the section of chromosome making up a gene is composed of multiple smaller DNA molecules, or how a sentence is composed of words. By sticking to these more specific rules, we will be able to observe evolution over time as the mimetic rules respond to natural selection. Beginning with the muscular body, let us look at why each of these mimetic constructs was chosen.

Muscle displays are interesting for a variety of reasons. Biologically speaking, visible muscles are an advertisement regarding the overall health and utility of the body (Frederick and Haselton 1168). Time, energy, appropriate genes and specific nutrition (Parasecoli 22-35) are all required to build big muscles. Large muscles are a costly investment and one that Westerners, as largely sedentary homo sapiens, no longer need. A male does need muscles to find food in the city, but he doesn't need big muscles. Muscles are grown, because muscles communicate.

Muscles communicate both to other people and to the man who has them. Big muscles can

be a sign of a number of things. Big muscles are used as a sexual display. By showing some toned

and buff skin, males can display a body that is ready and available for sex. Having a fit body does

help males to attract potential mates (Frederick, Fessler, and Haselton 84), but it is men themselves

who pay the most attention to muscles and who are the most influenced by their display. Women

rarely require that a man be hyper-muscular, although men often think otherwise. It has been

demonstrated that men frequently overestimate how much musculature a woman finds desirable

(Grossband 196).

Muscularity plays a role in the appearance of the male body in a way that it does not for

females. In the West, the patriarchal hegemonic beauty model supports the idea that women should

be thin and small, whereas men are told to be both large and thin (Morrison 2-3). This oxymoronic

state is achieved by increasing the overall musculature while reducing the fat which often times

covers said muscles. This link can be so close that some extremely desirable muscles, such as the

clearly defined abdominals of the proverbial six/eight/ten-pack, can only be seen once layers of

difficult fat have been removed.

The development of large musculature is also a sign of age in both directions. Start to mid-

pubescent males usually have to wait for the larger muscles developed by their late to post-

pubescent counterparts (Smolak and Stein 121-129). At varying ages males go into a muscular

decline, but usually by the end of andropause an adult male will face a biological difficulty

producing the large muscles of his post-pubescent to pre-andropausal years. This difficulty stems

from the drop in testosterone and other androgens in the post-andropausal male's system (Diamond

87). These androgens are one of the keys to male muscular development.

The scientific replication of these muscle growing androgens has resulted in a boom

industry. Steroids and other artificial androgens represent both a miraculous breakthrough in the art

of body alteration and an insidious threat to the psyches and bodies of men everywhere. One of the

miracles of artificial androgens is that they work. Males in the bodies of females can use artificial

androgens as part of a reifying metamorphosis into their chosen sex. Other artificial androgens are used to promote the growth of muscle tissue at the potential cost of long term physiological and psychological damage (Litt and Dodge 346-351). These muscle growing androgens allow people, men in particular, to grow lean muscle mass far more quickly than nature alone permits. The androgen user can also break the physiological limits of sober males growing greater quantities of lean muscle than would be possible without pharmacological assistance (Pope et al. 29-31).

Steroids are not the only biological ingredient that science has attempted to replicate and mutate. Nutritional supplements are a profitable industry. Feminist work with the body predicts a dietary shift that accompanies regulatory discipline of the body (Johnson, McCreary, and Mills 95). The concept of patriarchy helps to explain the further regulation of muscle displays amongst males. Patriarchy is not just a force which seeks to elevate men above women, but also a force which enforces hierarchy amongst men. Muscles can enhance male status by acting as threat, productivity, wealth, and gender displays. These displays help to assert patriarchal dominance over other males. Even in today's more civilized age, muscles advertise the ability to defend yourself or promote your will physically. The logic is simple; the bigger the arm the more powerful it is. Thus, male muscles let everyone around, but mostly other males, know that this is not a good person to fight, but that he is strong enough for physical labour.

That physical labour can also include sex with the implication that a muscular body will be more capable of sexual vigour. Beyond mere physical vigour there is evidence to support that muscles act as displays of inheritable health. Muscles require an increase in testosterone and too much testosterone reduces the immune response of the individual, therefore healthy males with visible muscles can be assumed to have healthier immune systems, an inheritable quality (Frederick and Haselton 1168). Therefore within reason, muscles act as a primal sexual signal, which can be observed by potential mates resulting in muscular men having more sexual partners than less muscular men (Frederick and Haselton 1175).

These sexy, intimidating, productive muscles can also be a display of wealth, as they are largely unnecessary, and difficult to obtain (Frederick and Haselton 1178). Firstly, there is the investment of time spent exercising. Muscles must be damaged and repaired in order to grow, and that requires not only the discipline to begin a fitness routine but also the time to see that routine through. The bodies found in magazines represent not just months, but years of hard work, and this work is not limited to exercise (Dotson 113-123).

The second key factor in a visibly muscular physique is diet and nutrition. It requires a great deal of the right kinds of foods to build lean muscles. Not all people can afford the amount or types of food needed to grow an idealized body, let alone afford the training and wisdom to know what to eat when (Parasecoli 17-37). Being able to afford assistance such as a dietician or a trainer can make all the difference. The months and years of expensive effort required to get them are the reason that muscles are a wealth display amongst males. A muscled male is one who elevated himself through the powers of consumerism and self-discipline (Stibbe 31-51).

Finally, these sexy, intimidating, productive, expensive muscles also act as secondary sexual characteristics. Statistically speaking males generally grow muscles faster and larger than females. Males also produce and store less body fat than females, which makes muscular definition easier to see. This differentiation enhances the contrast principle, wherein having a high contrast body image is considered masculine and low contrast, feminine (Macknik 52). In combination, these factors make muscularity more highly associated with masculinity than femininity. Western patriarchy encourages men to become hyper-muscular to help distinguish themselves from women. Thus muscles are sexy, intimidating, productive, expensive, and manly, providing numerous reasons for the production, consumption, and trade of muscular memes.

Like muscles, the amount of hair one has helps to define one's sex, depending on where that hair is. For all hair, except the scalp and genitals, the very presence of it stereotypically defines one as a western man. In Britain and North America, women are usually instructed to remove all leg,

facial, armpit, back, chest, stomach, buttock, and sometimes genital hair. With the exceptions of leg, armpit, buttock, and genital hair, this practice makes some sense. Physiologically speaking, females do not usually grow large amounts of facial, or torso hair, but men do. Thus, the act of removing one's facial or torso hair can help western women to reify the idea that they are feminine (Ricciardelli 182). Appropriation of female depilatory practices combined with pre-existing masculine cultural products, such as the razor, has left men with a number of options when it comes to grooming and hair removal. Where there's choice, there's change; thus, the presence of hair on the torso and face are of particular interest to this study.

Having a bald torso and face is not just a feminine feature, but also a function of age. Prepubescent males do not grow facial or torso hair. Once the glands fire the opening shots of adulthood, a mixture of hormones, genes, and diet begins deciding how much hair a man will have and how quickly he will get it (McHale 2-3, 19). In the case of facial hair, most males will eventually be able to grow a full beard, but the process may take months and may not occur for decades. In the absence of menstruation, facial shaving is a common rite of passage for Western males. For many Western males the growing of a beard is considered a sign of masculine adulthood, even if the beard is only a temporary thing. What matters most is the masculine capacity to grow the beard in the first place.

Once a male has demonstrated the ability to grow facial hair, the styling of that hair can be used as additional statements. Culturally the growing of facial hair has been used in the past to express status, sexuality, political, religious, and style tribe affiliations. In the realm of sexuality, we see that gay men have used facial hair styling as a way of communicating their sexuality covertly to other gay men. Gay men have used specific styles of facial hair to identify themselves to one another (Peterkins 128); however, over time these homosexual styles are often co-opted by masculine culture in general and become too normative to communicate their original message (Peterkins 135).

An example of status can be seen in the previous association of scruffiness, specifically a five o'clock shadow, with poverty, laziness and low social class. This is partly due to unshaved faces of the poor to be found during poverty periods such as the Great Depression. Another good example of the impact of scruffiness can be seen in the negative responses to Nixon's unshaven face during the first televised presidential debates (Peterkin 169). This stigma existed because until the 1980s it was unfashionable and difficult to maintain light facial hair, so appearing to be unshaven was seen as slothful and unappealing. A change in consumer shaving products assisted a change in cultural regulation. This change freed many men to add a face lightly shadowed with facial hair to the repertoire of their gender performance (Peterkins 185).

Political associations based on facial hair can be seen in the fact that no Westerner in their right mind still wears a 'Hitler moustache'. Another association is that beards or facial hair in general are a sign of leftist leanings. We find that the Iron Lady herself made it clear that no Tory would rise in her cabinet without first shaving his face (Peterkin 147). Whilst this leftist association is not universal, there does appear to be an active discrimination against beards in American politics, the last American president to have a full beard was William Taft and he left office nearly a century ago (McHale 23). Political regulation in the West is still coming to terms with alternative facial hair performances.

On the religious front, three major religions require or promote beards as part of their regulatory authority. For Sikhs a beard is required (Peterkin 89), for Muslims it is desired (McHale 25), and for Jews it is traditional (McHale 24). Sikhs in particular have gone to great lengths to fight facial-hair-based discrimination in the work place (Peterkin 144). The religious scriptures of all three of these religions provide specific stories relating the loss of facial hair with deep humiliation and symbolic castration. Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, and Pagans all share a unified front of diverse facial hair styles, with no specific scriptures determining how these men should keep their facial hair (Peterkin 91-95).

While once it was religion, political, or social status which dictated one's facial hair, now that task falls largely to style tribes and corporate culture. Corporate culture in the West is one of the last bastions of the required shave. Shaving before an interview is one of the most important and least relevant parts of the interview process (Cialdini 171-172). The man behind the beard is no different than the baby face but corporate preferences still maintain a politician-like shave. Outside of work, and even sometimes inside of it, the style tribes we affiliate with have a great deal of influence on how men style their facial hair. Style tribes are formed around particular idols, such as Kurt Cobain's goatee or Clark Gable's moustache, or trends, such as Bear Beards or the Fu Manchu. While tempered by the necessity of having to go to work, these style tribes provide a wide menu from which the post-modern male may chose his a la cart facial hair performance (Peterkin 190-195).

Males also grow beards because we are not just humans, but Homo Sapiens who still engage in the animal behaviours of our evolutionary ancestors. In the case of male primates, the facial hair makes the jaw seem larger. This illusion of size cheaply amplifies the chin-jut gesture which is important to primate communication, without going to the cost of evolving males with significantly larger chins. The influence of our animal side should not be underestimated as our instincts often communicate at the subconscious level (Peterkin 114).

Scalp hair length, colour and style are affected by similar forces as facial hair. To begin with, long hair is still considered to be a feminine trait. In the West, men are generally encouraged to have shorter hair than women, but this may be beginning to change (Ricciardelli 183-184). The countercultures of the 1960s opened up a variety of hair lengths and styles to 20th-century men. Since then, long hair can be found among men from almost all walks of life. The exceptions are for those who must cut their hair for corporate, political, religious or other reasons. Corporate reasons might include work in the military or some branches of law enforcement. Most politicians have short to medium length hair, with very few being able to grow enough hair to braid or form a pony

tail. It is not uncommon in monastic/aesthetic orders for men to shave part or all of their head.

Despite all the above pressures, post-modern men have greater freedom in hairstyles, colours and lengths than their earlier twentieth-century counterparts.

The discussion of male hairstyles would not be complete without addressing the subject of baldness. Although some women do go bald, the trait is usually associated with males. For men the event of balding can be likened to a form of castration. It is a symbolic loss of their power and virility. A bald man is less of a man all around. He is also getting older.[1]

Memes allow people to communicate their gender via their behaviours. Most behaviours are learned, and can be learned from masculine media, such as men's lifestyle magazines. Therefore looking at the rules found within these magazines can provide insight into the regulatory pressures governing masculine body image. This study will focus on *Men's Health, Gentlemen's Quarterly, Out* and *Attitude*. Despite their differing subject matter, all four of these magazines share a common thread. They each represent a lifestyle magazine which takes the enhancement or importance of personal appearance as part and parcel with the rest of the message that they sell (Riccardelli, Clow, and White 64-78).

These men's magazines trade mimetic series in exchange for the attention they need to survive. The magazines are able to make this trade by playing off of the authority which they and their audiences have invested in them. *Gentlemen's Quarterly* is an authority on the art of being a gentleman as defined by *GQ*. The *GQ* gentleman, like the *Out* or *Attitude* queer, represents a specific paradigmatic lifestyle, inspired in part if not in full by the contents of these magazines. *Men's Health* presents an even broader category as it claims authority in matters pertaining to the health of all men, including queers and gentlemen (Crawshaw 1606-1618). By recording the ten-year-long trends found within these magazines, we intend to catch a glimpse of some of the

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[1]   Ironically, baldness is linked to high testosterone. This makes it a distinctly masculine trait, but also shows that increased testosterone levels do not always produce evolutionarily attractive traits. In this case the desirable high testosterone levels would be inherited alongside the gene for baldness, thus making them less desirable.

regulatory trends found in the mimetic series which influence masculine body image evolution.

Gentleman's Quarterly is a well known men's fashion magazine, which has an illustrious history going back to 1958 (Tungate 118-122). It remains a well-known and well-distributed men's magazine in both North America and the UK. *Gentleman's Quarterly* will represent a more fashion orientated side of the manufactured male image due to this being the magazine's primary narrative (MacKinnon 96-97). In this case Gentleman becomes a form of style tribe which *GQ* provides the means of joining. As a fashion magazine, *Gentlemen's Quarterly* provides model rules which help men to decide how to dress. Style of dress influences many aspects of masculine culture; however, for this study fashion will be viewed in the framework of nudity: the amount of muscle being covered by clothing. Fashion also extends into the governance of hair style, which in this study, influences the length, colour, presence, and shaping of the body's hair.

Men's Health was chosen as it is one of the largest distributed and more popular of the fitness-related men's magazines (Alexander 540) and is distributed in both the UK and North America. This magazine is aimed at the men's fitness lifestyle including instructions on exercise. As such, it will be used as an example of the new bodybuilding/fitness lifestyle, which has been marketed to men since the early 1980s, and has grown in popularity since the 1990s. *Men's Health* was selected in part based on its circulation which increased 6-fold in only 7 years in the early 1990s, going from only 250.000 in 1990 to more than 1.5 million in 1997 (Pope 35). It was also selected to represent the new fitness lifestyle which has been promoted from the beginning of the 1970s, as the desire to be muscular is still actively associated with masculinity (Dotson 113-124). The presence of muscularity is of great regulatory value to fitness magazines; however, the regulation of the body's hair is also in play. Body hair can distract from or enhance the muscular displays which are the magazine's primary focus; therefore, the model rules found within *Men's Health* are an important source of regulatory information regarding both muscles and hair.

Out and *Attitude* are lifestyle magazines aimed at the queer men. The reason that a queer

lifestyle magazine was chosen for each continent is that gay/queer men represent a unique perspective on the issue of male attractiveness (Fallon 90-94). It is important to include a queer magazine because mandatory heterosexuality often times comes part and parcel with men's lifestyle magazines (Benwell 3); thus magazines which openly acknowledge the queer male perspective must be included to provide a more balanced and holistic view of men.

The use of cultures from two continents allows us to observe things which otherwise might be missed due to cultural bias. The absence of a trait in one culture's magazines can illuminate its presence in the other culture. Those things which we find in both cultures also reveal globalizing influences affecting both countries. An example of such intercultural exchanges is metrosexuality, the term for which was developed in Britain but describes a phenomenon which is shared by both continents (Coad 18-21).

Another reason to use both continents is that two out of the three North American magazines, which were chosen, have a direct UK equivalent. The presence of *Men's Health* and *GQ* in both the UK and North America allows for a level of homogenization which would not otherwise be possible. If there is a difference in the way UK *GQ* men are presented, then this is likely a difference in culture rather than a difference in the style, editing, or format of the magazine itself. This cross-continental synchronicity also allows the magazines *Out* and *Attitude* to act as variables to prevent over-standardization. If, for example, there is little variation between the men in *Men's Health* UK and *Men's Health* US, but there is a large difference between the men in *Out* and *Attitude* as well as the men in *GQ* UK and *GQ* US, then we can suspect that globalization is affecting the content of *Men's Health* by homogenizing the images found in it.

Magazines are not a closed system, but instead are influenced by the greater culture in which they operate. Thus, the memes extracted from the magazines will originate from numerous sources. Individual memes may have a diverse parentage as several sources donate the same meme to a magazine's content. To help isolate some samples of external memes, this study will identify which

of the images come from advertisements. By separating those memes found only in specific advertisements, we can glimpse the external pressures being levered against the magazine in the hopes of persuading it to shift its paradigm.

In human beings, individuality acts as an evolutionary pressure. This pressure has influenced our species to favour persuasion. Whether by begging or bullying, we convince each other to participate in society, a cooperation which is integral to the process of social construction. The evolution of persuasion has allowed our species reconcile society and individuality. While all social interaction furthers the evolution of persuasion, advertising elevates persuasion from the level of necessity to one of art. As Baudrillard notes, advertising is shifting its focus towards persuasion:

> Advertising sets itself the task of supplying information about particular products and promoting their sale. In principle this 'objective' function is still its fundamental purpose. The supplying of information has nevertheless given way to persuasion – even to what Vance Packard calls 'hidden persuasion', the aim of which is a completely managed consumption. (179)

This shift, however, signifies a failed attempt at mind control. The attempt to control inevitably fails as the advertisements, as well as the memes found within them, are in constant competition with other advertisements for the limited attention of the audience. This competition creates a mimetic cacophony which prevents any one advertisement from becoming the sole source of memes:

> The supposed threat this poses of a totalitarian conditioning of man and his needs has provoked great alarm. Studies have shown, however, that advertising's persuasive power is not as great as had been supposed. A saturation point is in fact soon reached: competing messages tend to cancel each other out, and many claims fail to injunctions and exhortations give rise to all kinds of counter-motivations and resistance, whether rational or irrational, among them the refusal of passivity, the desire not to be 'taken over', negative reactions to

hyperbole, to repetition, and so on. In short, the discourse of advertising is just as likely to

dissuade as to persuade, and consumers, though not entirely immune, appear to exercise a

good deal of discretion when it comes to the advertising message. (Baudrillard 179)

The truest art of advertisements is in their ability to replicate and transmit their message.

Like beautiful flowers, advertisements exist to present an enticing sensory experience in the hopes

that a mind will come along to act as pollinator and soil for the advert's many memes. This artistic

expression is once again subject to evolutionary pressures in the form of an audience. To begin with,

an advertisement must reach its target audience. It is important to note that in the twenty-first

century most North American/British citizens are exposed daily to a large number of

advertisements, most of which are not aimed at them (O'Reilly and Tennant 96). Because most of

the information we are bombarded with is irrelevant, people are likely to ignore advertisements.

Thus, the ad must not only find a receptive audience, but also capture and retain the audience's

attention. Adding to the advertiser's woes, an advertisement rarely has very long to plead its case.

Most people do not stop and stare intently at most advertisements. If they did, society would cease

to function efficiently. By being appealing, the advertisement stands a better chance of being

noticed, remembered, and having its memes retransmitted by the new host. By measuring the

amount of space occupied by particular memes (such as clothed or nude) and mimetic categories

(such as arms or upper torso), we can track how appealing the memes were to the magazine. This

appeal allows us to define model rules based on the popularity of the given memes.

My study will proceed as follows: Chapter 1 will focus on a combination of knowledge

review and argument. The goal for the chapter will be to show what research has been done on the

subjects of magazines, advertisements, and gendered body image. I intend to demonstrate why the

images in magazines and adverts are important and how said images might be affecting male body

images. This chapter will make the case for gendered body image being a cyclical process of

mimetic exchange involving individuals and the collective. Part of this case will be to use the

concept of memes to trace the trade route between the individual and the magazine, and in doing so lay out the pathway by which individuals and society communicate to develop the rules which structure both the individual and collective gender performance behind masculine body image.

Chapter 2 will cover the study itself. In order to bring a real world element to the theoretical frame work which I have provided, we must produce useable data, and this chapter explains the process of data collection and analysis. First there will be a review of the overall methodology. There was a large amount of diverse data, so it required a number of interesting processing methods to produce meaningful results. From there I will discuss the model rules which I observed, including sketching a portrait of what a stereotypical magazine man would look like in 2002 and in 2011. These rules allow us to comment on the overall masculine body image being portrayed by the magazines. The rules found within these magazines alter the viewer's perception of masculinity; in this way the magazines influence their audience to replicate their memes and thus spread the memes beyond the confines of the physical medium of the paper magazine.

Chapter 3 will include a discussion of the results followed by a summary of the arguments and will include how the data generated by the study reifies said arguments. I will show how a theoretical approach based on evolution and persuasion can be used to interpret quantitative mimetic data to extract meaningful rules for masculine gender performance from media such as men's lifestyle magazines.

Finally, I will use an example from the magazines to show what a stereotypical metrosexual male will look like. Following the analysis of this image, there will be a summary of the authors whose works were critical to this study. The paper will end with suggestions on how both the rules discovered in this study along with the theoretical framework can be used to improve masculine culture.

Chapter 1

Let us further clarify the concept of performative gender and how it relates to this study.

Judith Butler's conception acknowledges that gender is not a static object but an active process. One

does not carry around a physical pound of gender, instead one is a gender. Gender is a function of

the act of being, as in to be a man, or to be a specific person such as Carol. This state of being is

achieved through the performance of memes; for example, the maintenance of long hair or the

revealing of the nude arm. In both of these cases other options are available; thus the selection of

specific memes results in the performance of specific communication.

> In other words, acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or
>
> substance, but produce this on the surface of the body, through the play of signifying
>
> absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as cause.
>
> Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are performative in the sense that
>
> the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications
>
> manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. (Butler
>
> 185)

The discursive means of gender performance link Butler's work to that of Michel Foucault.

In the *The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, Foucault makes the case for sex being not an object in and

of itself, but instead a mimetic (specifically linguistic) tool that allows people to encompass a wide

range of biological and cultural features under one heading. By categorizing and bringing together

such diverse topics as genitals and facial hair, people can more readily discuss the subject of sex

without having to constantly reference the various topics found within the category. This self-

referential sexual discourse refers to the category of sex which is generated by the discourse for the

purposes of having something to regulate (Foucault 53-55). The production of an object to regulate

generates the need for further discourse to define these new regulations. These regulations further

define the subject which is being regulated, which in turn changes future regulations. This cycle of

discourse links sexuality and societal regulation (Foucault 3-13). This form of regulation reifies the

notion of using rules to define gender performance thus further legitimating the use of model rules

for the purposes of studying gender evolution.

Expanding on this regulation is the work of George Mosse which examines the concept of

collective manly stereotypes. Mosse's The Image of Man provides valuable insights into the

construction of gender by exploring how large scale stereotypes have affected the historical Western

image of man. These manly stereotypes covered how a man should behave, but more importantly

they covered how he should look. The strong jawed, muscular youth is a stereotype that remains

with our society as a holdover from the ancient Greeks if not further back.

> As the male body assumed ever-more importance as symbolic of true masculinity, greater
>
> attention had to be paid to its development, as well as to setting a specific standard of
>
> masculine beauty. The development of the male body and the standard to which it was to be
>
> held are interrelated, for the manner in which the body was developed depended upon the
>
> perception of how outward appearance might reflect inner worth. That the ideal of
>
> masculinity should be held to a definite set standard that determined its bodily structure was
>
> new. But what, then, was the standard to which the male body should aspire – and ideal of
>
> masculine strength and beauty that would vary surprisingly little during the next century and
>
> a half? The ideal of masculine beauty took its inspiration from Greece; it must stand as one
>
> of the chief examples of the influence that ancient Greece exercised over European thought.
>
> (Mosse 28)

In the modern era the word stereotype has a negative connotation which Mosse is quick to

acknowledge and dismiss from his definition. For Mosse, the dominant stereotype is considered

positive with the countertype being considered negative (Mosse 4-6). The stereotype exists to

inform men of how to behave and how to look with the countertype providing the opposite information. For example, the present stereotype is that men should be muscularly built (Mosse 29), with the countertype being men who are either too skinny or too obese. Those who embody the stereotype will likely see reward, whilst those who become the countertype will face punishment for their failure to comply, even though that failure is part of the game. If the countertype did not exist, then the stereotype could not be the ideal, the countertype must fail for the stereotype to succeed.

These manly stereotypes have a cyclical relationship with performative gender. The individual performs a gender, drawing on the collective nurturing stereotypes and countertypes, with both influencing the generation of the other. Thus a man performs his gender based on a stereotype/countertype which his performance helps to maintain. Over time changes in performances will change the stereotype/countertype which will in turn change the performances, and so forth, in a never ending cycle of mutual replication and reification that much resembles the cycle between series and models mentioned by Baudrillard. Butler links the replication and the performance of gender in a way that reifies the idea of legitimating gender through repeated public action.

> As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is repeated. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form if their legitimation. Although there are individual bodies that enact these significations by becoming stylized into gendered modes, this 'action' is a public action. (Butler 191)

In this cycle of mutual replication and reification the advertisements, magazines and consumers are each self-referential material systems in communication with each other. This communication is a conversation of suggestion for none of the systems involved possesses the power to force the acceptance of their message on to the whole. This persuasion is part of a symbiotic relationship between the three stake holders in the conversation. The advertisements and

magazines need the funds and attention provided by the consumers to sustain their existence, whereas the consumers require the memes/images provided by marketing to turn into raw materials for their gender performances. In the case of adverts people prefer more to less even if having more might mean having too much. This is because there is an association between a wealth of advertising information and the perception of free choice. As options are reduced so too is the sense of freedom associated with choosing one's identity from the plethora of options (Baudrillard 189). Less diversity of ideas results in less diversity of people; therefore, a cacophony of information is of greater value than the silence of no information at all.

> No object is proposed to the consumer as a single variety. We may not be granted the material means to buy it, but what our industrial society always offers us 'a priori', as a kind of collective grace and as the mark of a formal freedom, is choice. This availability of the object is the foundation of 'personalization': only if the buyer is offered a whole range of choices can he transcend the strict necessity of his purchase and commit himself personally to something beyond it. Indeed, we no longer even have the option of not choosing, of buying an object on the sole grounds of its utility, for no object these days is offered for sale on such a 'zero-level' basis. Our freedom to choose causes us to participate in a cultural system willy-nilly. It follows that the choice is simply to be less sensible of the fact that it is imposed upon us as such, and that through it society as a whole is likewise imposed upon us. (Baudrillard 151)

The public nature of the action of gender performance necessitates the use of persuasion. An individual must persuade the public along with himself, that he is a man. Meanwhile society must provide stereotypical evidence of what a man is, selling the individuals on this collective idea. To better understand the nature of persuasion we turn to Robert Cialdini's *Influence: The Psychology of Persuasion*. Cialdini outlines six key factors in primordial influence which affect how persuasive people and things are. These factors are referred to all fixed-action patterns (FAP) because they are

ancient subconscious programs which influence our actions without the necessity of our conscious knowledge. These six human fixed-action patterns defined by Cialdini will act as the natural selection pressures forcing the memes to evolve. It must be acknowledged that these six human fixed-action patterns are not the only possible natural selection pressures; they are simply the lens through which the study will comment on natural selection operating on the masculine body image memes found within men's lifestyle magazines. The six fixed-action patterns are: Reciprocation, Social Proof, Liking, Authority, Scarcity, and Commitment & Consistency (Cialdini 3).

We will look at these regulations not just as psychological FAPs but as social laws which help to regulate the natural selection process governing the evolution of ideas. As social laws, these laws are more symbolic than those of physics. Giving someone a gift does not automatically cause them to give you something in return, the way that dropping a ball causes it to fall. Instead the level of causality associated with these laws varies based on the willingness of people to reify the laws. Carrying on with this theme, we will now look at six of these laws based on the FAPs proposed by Cialidini, along the way providing examples of how these laws influence the production of both magazines and body image. Starting with reciprocity, let us look at what these laws mean and how they might influence the perception and construction of magazines and body image.

The first law is reciprocity. "The rule says that we should try to repay, in kind, what another person has provided us" (Cialdini 17). The law of reciprocity allows for the exchange of attention and permits trade to exist. If people did not trade with one another, then the entire social system would break down. While the law of reciprocity is powerful, it is not overly specific allowing it to regulate a wide range of topics, but also allowing for the law to be exploited by others. Ideally if person A gives person B a gift, then person B will provide a gift of identical value in return; however, in reality person B isn't likely to have an item which is identical to the one A is giving him, or B wouldn't need it. This problem is solved by focusing not on the objects being given but on the act of giving. If an individual is given a gift, then they become more likely to present a gift to

the person or organization who gave them a gift, regardless of the nature of either of the gifts. In this way symbolic items such as credit, can be exchanged for a concrete item, such as a house. This facet of reciprocity forms the basis of advertising, magazines, and commerce in general.

The nature of the advertising-client relationship is one of reciprocity. The advert offers the mind something, be it amusements or information, in exchange for gaining the attention and hopefully cash of the consumer (O'Reilley and Tennant 27-47). Adverts that fail to live up to their end of the reciprocity agreement often fail as they are forgotten or remembered in a negative light attaching ignominy or notoriety to the product they represent (O'Reilley and Tennant 102-106). In order to help ensure the success of their campaigns, advertisements can make use of our baser instincts for good or ill. This same system also applies to the magazines and people. Once an individual makes the decision to share of his paradigm with the whole from whence he harvested his ideas, he renews the mimetic cycle by contributing to the collective rules.

The mimetic competition for reciprocity is competition to be exchanged. When a reciprocal relationship is engaged, the memes transfer between host mediums, be they cultural or neurological. If a meme becomes permanently confined within a host, then said confinement will reduce the capacity of said meme to replicate and thus compete in the evolutionary race; therefore, memes strive to be exchanged using reciprocal relationships (Dawkins 192). The successful replication and exchange of a meme allows that meme to generate more social proof that it is true.

Social proof is the law that if one person can do something, then another person can do the same thing. The law of social proofs represents the ability of people to draw meaningful information from comparing themselves to others. This social comparison is the result in part of mirroring behaviours and mirror neurons. This process is key to learning as it allows the mind to imagine the experiences of others without first having to experience everything for itself (Pardeep 95-96). This underlies our ability to walk, talk, and other more complex social behaviours. Social proof provides the mind with evidence that an idea is not only possible, but perhaps a good idea. If the mind is

unsure how to vote, then the knowledge of how other people voted can be helpful in making the decision. This applies to numerous decisions including gendered body image. Men learn how to perform their genders by observing men and male media (McCabe, Butler, and Watt 101-118).

In the case of magazines, the images found within are each examples of various gendered social proofs. The images of men demonstrate how men should look, with each image counting as a separate proof (Grogan 114).These images help to sell products or ideas by providing an example of the idea already in use. In this way the mind knows what is best because many people already seem to agree with one of the options (Pope 5). Mead outlines two stages in the development of identity:

> At the first of these stages, the individual's self is constituted simply by an organization of the particular attitudes of other individuals towards himself and toward one another in the specific social acts in which he participates with them. But at the second stage in the full development of the individual's self is constituted not only by an organization of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the generalized other or the social group as a whole to which he belongs. (Mead 158)

Throughout the individual man's life, he will look outwards upon men and women and gather data, constructing his own identity by reflecting himself off of the norms of other people. These reflections travel along special neurons known as mirror neurons which allow our brains to mimic other people inside our own minds without having to physically mirror their actions. By cloning the actions of another within our mental selves, we can create simulations of them which allow us to predict, understand, and learn from the actions of others (Macknik 71-72).

This mimicry is a crucial part of the development of human intellect and society for it allows us to build and to test things without having to actually try them. It also allows us to construct our identities out of the available memes without having to reveal which of these memes were taken in. This internal construction permits the existence of cultures wherein the sexes and the individuals within them can differ in their desires for each other without being aware of the discord (Pradeep

99-100).

The mimetic competition for social proof is the competition to be popular. The popularity of memes determines how many hosts (again both cultural and neurological) the meme is occupying space in, and this is where magazines & advertisements come in. Magazines and advertisements act like cultural hosts for the memes along with being vectors for the transmission of said memes to new hosts.

The law of authority helps to explain why this transmission takes place. People do not simply do anything which they see other people doing; instead they must select which memes apply best to any given situation. One of the ways that this decision is made is by appealing to authority. This appeal to authority is one of the ways in which a social proof is lent further relevance. For example, an advertisement for a drug gains relevance if there is an image of a doctor in the advertisement, even if the person in the ad isn't a real doctor. What matters is the symbol of medical authority (Cialidini 221). Magazines and advertisements exploit the law of authority by portraying their content as coming from an authoritarian source. For example, *Men's Health* portrays itself as an authority on the health and fitness of men. *GQ* presents itself as an authority on being a gentleman, specifically a fashionable gentleman. *Out* and *Attitude* both present their content being authoritarian regarding the queer lifestyle. This appeal to authority simplifies decision making by giving the consumer a reason to trust the content of the image.

The instinctual craving to submit to or become authority provides the force behind hierarchical competition. Authority can be thought of as the engine, powering hegemonic hierarchy. The competition for the resource of authority is the competition to be in control. Even the most rebellious of us has built in the need to submit to some kind of authority as this hierarchy is ingrained in all large scale social relations, whilst even the most submissive amongst us wants some kind of control in life. Authority begins with the adult child relationship, wherein the adult expects the child's obedience, and the child learns to obey. At some point in their lives, the majority of

human beings learn to obey the majority of society's rules.

Magazines make an appeal to become authorities in order to encourage men to purchase magazines based on the belief that the content of the magazines will help them become better men. By putting their faith in the authority of the magazines men reduce the number of decisions they have to make. Authority simplifies the decisions by authorizing some magazines to be men's magazines so that men seeking masculine memes can know which magazine is for them. As mentioned earlier, the specific magazines involved each claim to be an authority in a certain arena of masculinity. *Gentleman's Quarterly* and *Men's Health* advertise their authoritarian expertise in their titles, whilst *Out* and *Attitude* are more subtle in title but still authorities on masculinity.

The simplification provided by authority is that the suggestions provided by authority are often correct in more than just the legal sense. Authority is gained not just through self-promotion, but also attained through skill and accomplishment. Becoming an expert in a field grants a certain amount of authority as people can logically assume that an expert knows more than an amateur and therefore will be right more often (Cialidini 220-226).

Authority grants things value by ranking them against each other, generating inequality and hierarchy. By being the source of the hierarchy authority figures are granted the power to authorize or deny new social changes, speeding up or slowing those changes (Cialdini 208-237). One of these new social changes is metrosexuality.

In his book, *The Metrosexual*, David Coad presents the resurgence of metrosexuality as a term used to describe the visually appealing male, a trait which authorizes men to access more gender memes for their performances. More specifically metrosexuality refers to the inversion of the modern gaze; wherein the patriarchal male observes the female, the metrosexual man welcomes the gaze of both man and woman alike (Coad 18-36). This most recent gaze inversion gained speed in the 1980s and is believed to be inspired by queer men (Coad 20). The rise of metrosexuality represents a regulatory shift, wherein the authorities, in this case, magazines and their advertisers,

have begun to back the image of the beautiful man.

The empowerment of women has been a major factor in the rise of metrosexuality. With more power comes more authority, with more authority comes the power to authorize pleasing social trends such as metrosexualy beautiful men. Beautiful men of all sexual orientations gain an obvious advantage when dealing with hetero-, bi-, or pan-sexual women, as well as homo-, bi-, and pan-sexual men. What is less obvious is that metrosexuals tap into an asexual advantage that our society applies to all people it considers beautiful; this is known as the beauty bias (Cash 54-57). While it may not be consciously obvious, minds behave as though a beautiful person was doing the world a favour by choosing to be part of the environment,like living artwork. The presence of a beautiful person makes life and the environment more appealing, much like how a beautiful piece of decor can liven up an otherwise unappealing room (Cialdini 171-172). This bias can be materially expressed as erotic capital:

> Erotic capital combines beauty, sex appeal, liveliness, a talent for dressing well, charm and social skills and sexual competence. It is a mixture of physical and social attractiveness. Sexuality is one part of it, a part that is easily overlooked as it applies only in intimate relationships. However, sex surveys carried out around the world show that people in affluent societies are now having more sex, with more partners, than was generally feasible before the invention of modern contraceptives. So sexuality plays a larger role in modern life than before, increasingly pervading literature, popular culture and advertising, as well as fuelling a massive expansion in sexual entertainments of all kinds. (Hakim 12)

Money links with beauty as money is often exchanged for beauty. Beauty is something which is consumed by the observer often in exchange for some kind of remuneration resulting in erotic capital. Beauty trade workers of all varieties are the best examples of this. Be it a street walker or a movie star, the appearance of the body is parlayed into cold hard cash (Hakim 154-167). But sex appeal is far from the only beautiful thing that people pay for. Being pleasant and well

dressed is expected of virtually all levels of the hospitality industry, and the employees are paid to do this (Hakim 203-215). The power of erotic capital and the beauty bias are explained by the law of liking.

The law of liking can be summed up as the tendency of people to say yes to requests made by people that they like, even if they do not know the person involved. Liking is similar in appearance but fundamentally different from social proofs. One does not need to like someone to learn from them. Drinking water which has made my enemy sick will also make me sick. Liking instead flavours our interactions with the people, objects and ideas which surround us. The law of social proof demonstrates that it is possible to purchase the product, whilst liking grants the product additional appeal; this is an example of the halo effect (Cialdini 171). The halo effect is like the beauty bias, wherein objects, people, and ideas gain additional worth based on their association with a likeable person. In a real sense, the objects, people, and ideas, are made more likeable by the presence of a likeable person. This links with beauty as beauty makes us more likeable.

One of the easiest to prove examples of liking is the beauty bias towards symmetry. Symmetry is a favoured trait, and this choice results from biological health cues. Biological symmetry represents both genetic and environmental health. A body whose blueprint follows a symmetrical growth pattern is likely to have healthier genes than one that uses an asymmetrical pattern. As the body ages, it interacts with its environment; this interaction can interrupt or enhance the genetically intended symmetry of the body. Thus, symmetry tells the body's tale (Pincott 9-11). So if an individual wished to invest their monetary capital into the production of a child or a long-term relationship, they could use symmetry as part of the analysis.

These liking based interactions do not require an appeal to authority to increase their exchange, instead liking is often based on personal and sometimes subconscious reasoning. An example of this would be a teacher who becomes fond of a student who resembles the teacher's son. This student will be granted the halo effect of association with the teacher's son without having to

become an authority on the teacher's son. The teacher invests part of her affection for her son into the student simply because the student is similar in appearance to said son. Similarity is critical to liking as familiar memes are easier to process than novel ones, requiring less scarce attention be spent on processing the meme (Cialidini 173-174).

The limited resources of attention help to define the law of scarcity. Scarcity is the mimetic recognition that nothing is permanent nor infinite. There is only so much time, space, attention available for the taking. Regardless of the nature of the resource, it is the nature of resources to be limited. The law of authority has already enforced the idea within resource categories that some resources will be more valuable than others, with scarcity adding the pressure that ideally those resources will not be available for all who want them. Scarcity adds value to things based on their rarity, in a way it is the opposing force to the power of social proofs. In the case of scarcity being popular is a bad thing, as it makes a meme less valuable. As Baudrillard explains, the frustration felt by those who wish to own scarce objects, but cannot, drives the production of more common serial objects. In this case the scarce object acts as model for a series of more attainable objects. In this same way, the luxury bodies shown in magazines may be objectified and broken into attainable series. In this case a reader might not believe that he can have all aspects of the model's body; however, he may believe that he could attain some aspects, such as the look of the arms or legs, and therefore consumes the attainable mimetic series based on the luxury mimetic model.

> Naturally he perceives such things as part of a world of luxury and status from which he is almost inevitably excluded by money; yet he also feels that today this exclusion is no longer underwritten by any class-based legal statue, by any transcending social rationale buttressed by laws. This conviction is of paramount psychological significance, because it means that despite the frustration, despite the material impossibility of acceding to the model object, the use of serial objects invariably embodies an implicit or explicit reference to models.
>
> (Baudrillard 149)

Ironically the slim and muscular, mesomorphic bodies found within men's magazines are examples of both social proofs and scarcity. The bodies are social proofs within the context of the magazine environment where they are common; however, outside of the magazine the bodies of everyday people rarely match the athletic proportions found within magazines, thus making them scarce. The real life scarcity of slim mesomorphic male bodies makes the sight of these bodies a rarity which increases the value of seeing them (Cash 53-57). This rarity helps to explain why many of the popular Western magazine images of both sexes often do not resemble the general population. The additional weight granted by the body image's physical rarity, results in a mimetic advantage, which increases the likelihood of the image being exchanged. This increase in the exchange likelihood provides a proof to observers that the body image is good at attracting attention. The additional attention results in the body image becoming a social proof which is further replicated in other examples. This replication helps to spread body images, such as those of celebrities, across a vast array of mimetic media. These body images are consumed by numerous people and cultural items; however, in order to be remembered, the ideas must gain some kind of commitment from their hosts, bringing us to the final law.

The final law is consistency and commitment. Consistency and commitment represent the tendency of the majority of humans to maintain the majority of the commitments that they make, or at least the intention of said human majority to consistently maintain their commitments. The human need to fulfil our commitments drives trust, which allows society to function. Without consistency no one could be relied upon to do the things that they promised that they would, resulting in the prompt collapse of society (Cialdini 57-67).

The mimetic competition for commitment and consistency is the competition for stability. Once a meme is committed to it gains the equivalent of shelter, with consistency increasing the relative safety, the longer the meme stays committed to, the less likely it is that it will be deleted. Commitment and consistency represent the strength and durability of the hold the meme has on the

host.

Consistency is critical to our identities as we maintain a certain level of commitment to being ourselves. Such commitments save valuable mental energy in the long run. This same consistency can be applied to gender, as in the case of committing to be a man, or having a manly body image (Karazsia and Crowther 105-112). When applied to body image, this internalization can be particularly devastating as individuals may commit to the idea that their body does not meet a certain standard, and this commitment may carry forward well past the point where the standard (assuming it was reachable in the first place) has been reached, resulting in body dysmorphic disorders such as Anorexia or Muscle Dysmorphia (Cafri, Olivardia and Thompson 374-379). In a world of gender choices, the commitment we make to our genders is all that keeps them with us; therefore, said commitment is important and violation of said commitment can be perceived as a breach of our trust in our identity.

Gender consistency is never static but instead is a continuum of active commitments to various rules and memes. Individuals commit to their gender performances resulting in the reciprocal exchange of memes and the generation of social proofs. These proofs are influenced by authority, liking, and scarcity to form a discourse which fuels the collective commitment to gender exchange. The collective commitment to gender discourse results in the generation of manly stereotypes and countertypes which help define the terms of the discussion. Within this discussion of manliness, there exists the topic of body image. As individuals exchange gender memes with society, their body images are being defined. Via persuasion the memes of this discourse take root in individual neurology, resulting in gendered performance of those memes. These performances influence the collective significant symbols which then generate stereotypes to transmit memes back to individuals. This cycle results in the self-referential advertisement of gendered body image; therefore, gender body image is not a static-concrete-object but an active-cyclical-process which systematically refers to itself.

Symbolic Interactionism explains how people can interact and be influenced by images, while the work of gender studies scholars have begun to explore the specific impact these images have on body image and identity. One of the ills which our media can expose us to is unachievable but no less desirable body images. The impact of an overabundance of too perfect bodies can skew the self image as individuals contrast themselves against an ideal which may not be possible or healthy to achieve.

The difficulty with muscular definition (as with many other beauty markers) is that it cloaks itself in the illusion of possibility (Dotson 113-115). Especially in the case of magazines like *Men's Health* the goal is to sell the possibility of the body ideals being demonstrated whilst hoping to associate the necessity of purchasing *Men's Health* and its advertised products to the act of achievement of body ideals. The same can be said of the other magazines which complete with their own unique flair and motives. Along with the personal body ideal, the queer magazines also provide a romantic incentive. Because of their homosexual nature, *Out* and *Attitude* will advertise the body ideals needed to both obtain and be the perfect romantic partner (Saucier and Caron 510-522). Meanwhile *GQ* will advertise the fantasy of the clothes and lifestyle accessories that make up a perfect heteronormative existence. The body slots in as just another accessory beneath but not separate from the trappings of material success. To have the "you've made it" lifestyle of the *GQ* gentleman, one must also have the body of such a gentleman even if the necessity of that body is no more concrete than the need for specific clothing found in the magazine (Pope et al. 52).

As Baudrillard points out, our resistance to the imperative function of advertising has grown our capacity, the indicative nature of the adverts has declined (180). In this way we are able to refuse the information provided by individual advertisements but are less resistant to the ubiquitous presence of the adverts. In order to reject the imperative message, the mind must still reify the message enough to acknowledge it as something to be rejected. Each time an advert is rejected or accepted, the concept of advertisements is reified. As complex messages adverts can be partially

rejected by the mind. For example, an advert for underwear featuring a semi-nude man modelling the product may have its particular brand rejected, but the mind may accept the image of the man to use it as material for the viewer's self construction of their body image. The viewer in question may not even be consciously aware of this process as the subconscious mind gathers data to compare to its existing rules regarding body image.

These comparisons can have deleterious effects on the viewer causing eating, exercise, and other image-based disorders, muscle dysmorphia is a recent example of such disorders. Muscle dysmorphia, an affliction wherein the sufferer losses perspective regarding their size and musculature, becoming convinced that they are smaller than they are or that they are simply too small (Pope et al. 10-12). Regardless of how large the individual becomes, their self-referential perspective does not change too match and provide body satisfaction resulting in damaging behaviours such as disordered eating (as lean muscle gain may require regimental food consumption to produce results), disordered exercising (wherein the individual applies the same regimenting to exercise often to the point of injury and exclusion of important activities), or the use of potentially dangerous artificial substances to help with the process. Men seem to be particularly vulnerable to muscle dysmorphia likely due to the masculine drive for muscularity combined with society's increasing demand that may pay personal as well as commercial attention to the body (Pope et al. 12-13).

Research has shown that, like women, men draw upon mass media images to help develop their sense of body image (Grogan 108-135). When these images present narratives which are unachievable by the reader, they may have a negative impact on the reader's body image and overall self-esteem. Even when the narratives present an achievable goal, they still impact how the person sees themselves by helping to define the self-image goals which they strive for. For example, if men's magazines were to focus upon a specific style of chest, such as cleanly waxed, then observers might take in and transmit the memes regarding this new style of masculine chest. In men in

particular, these memes may result in an internally or externally provoked desire to alter their chest to match the design, or if their chest is already appropriately configured, to maintain its current style. Other genders will also be affected by these memes, as their conception of what a man's chest looks like may change. In response to this change, the non-men may pressure the men they know to observe the cultural change and change themselves to match the new image of man (Grogan 81-107).

For this study, the concept of decisions holds particular relevance as we should be reminded that the majority of the image content in the magazines could be different. For example, there maybe no need to include black-haired men in the magazines; via numerous artificial avenues hair colour can be changed; therefore, the reification of the old genetic standards of hair colour is a choice being made by the magazines and can be analyzed as such. In the same vein red hair need not have appeared, but does in every magazine on every continent.

Through rational observation we can suggest which powerful forces might be influencing the magazines to make the choices that they are making, much as how we can suggest from the magazines which choices men themselves will be making. As mentioned earlier, the holistic attention of the mind is required for the memes which compose model rules to replicate into mimetic series which occupy space in human minds and cultures. By adjusting their memes based on model rules, the meme producers (magazines and advertisers) can influence how their message is received. By the same token, the paradigms of the potential meme receivers (audience) influences the decisions made by the meme producers.

The human mind is constantly taking things in and categorizing them, and the less energy/time consuming an answer is to obtain, the more likely it is to be taken in. That being said assumptive answers continue to play an important role as they allow us to create model rules for our subconscious to follow so that we do not have to engage consciously with all aspects of life. We pay as little conscious attention to some of the ingrained aspects of our social realities as we do to the

individual muscle movements of walking. This does not mean that the rules can not be changed, only that doing so often requires a conscious effort which is not usually made by individuals, for there is a limited amount of conscious attention which the mind tends to conserve where possible. We do not consciously reify our walking with every step or we would never get anything done; however, if we consciously learn to dance, the new attention paid to our step and gait will adjust the subconscious program that covers walking. By dancing we change the rules for walking. In order to dance a new gender performance, we must first observe the rule for constructing the current performance. Thus we shall look at the models rules behind the mimetic series being produced in magazines, by the internal magazine staff and external advertisers, to be consumed by men in exchange for attention paid to the magazine; this attention fuels the production of future magazines thus renewing the material-mimetic cycle.

Chapter 2

Over the next chapter we will discuss why and how the data was collected and analyzed along with presenting the data itself. The data was collected to observe changes in the body image memes over time. Evolution can only be seen through the effects of natural selection; therefore, to observe evolution one must isolate a sample from the time stream and observe how the malleable objects within that sample are changed by natural selection. In the case of this study, the objects to be isolated were the images in men's lifestyle magazines, and we seek to observe evolutionary trends in imagery of the male form[2].

Methodology

Let us begin by explaining how the magazines were studied and then move on to how the individual images were assessed. Each magazine was reviewed over a ten year period during its run. The primary reason for this is that, although in the past men's fashion has changed over a span of decades, presently men's awareness of their own looks is on the rise, and with it the changes to the men's image industry are now occurring at a greatly enhanced rate (Grogan 81). Because of this enhanced rate of change, a study spanning ten years will be of sufficient length to capture some of the changes.

In order to compensate for the variation in fashion by season, four months were chosen for each year. A single issue of a magazine, especially if the same month was chosen over and over again, may be subject to a repetitive bias resulting from particular features of that month. For example, if we had selected only the month of June for the study, then each magazine would be subject to a significant seasonal bias. Being the spring/summer season, June represents a warmer month making it more likely that the men shown will be in a greater state of undress than in other

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[2] Aside from those used as examples, individual images were not analyzed; instead, the images were looked at as populations of memes. Because the study relies on population data, the images were only analyzed in aggregate.

colder months. Thus, four months spanning over all seasons were selected; when available, this study used issues from the months of February, May, August and November. However, due to the lack of availability of some of these issues in the earlier publications of the magazines, substitutions were made as necessary. When a month was missing from the catalogue, then the next month was used. On rare occasions, a whole season of a whole year was unavailable, but in each instance only a single season was lost so the year was still valid. Also, as two of these magazines were analyzed from near the beginning of their run, any issues which combined another month with February, May, August or November were used. Thus, when February was not available, March was used, and when January and February were combined into the same issue, then the whole of said issue was used. In combination, these measures resulted in a diverse sample of images found within these magazines.[3] The content of the images themselves was divided into two categories: hair and body.[4] These categories were further subdivided based on their content.

Hair

During this study, the feature of hair was reviewed and assessed in three different ways. The first was based on scalp hair, the second was facial hair, with body hair being noted when it appeared on the upper and lower torso (arm and leg hair were assumed to be present). Scalp hair was dealt with as follows. First, we looked at the length of the hair. Hair length was broken down into four groups; bald and partially bald, short, medium, and long. The *bald and partially bald (B)* group included those men who no longer had any hair on their head or whose heads were devoid of hair in some areas, but still possessed hair in others. An example of this would be a combover or a monk's bald spot. Those men who chose to grow their remaining hair longer fell into this group. The *short (S)* group was where the hair was grown long enough to completely cover the scalp, but was not long enough that it had grown down below the ears. The *medium (M)* group was defined by hair

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[3]   In total over 13000 images were sampled for mimetic content.
[4]   The category of race was avoided due to the difficulty of quantifying it and because it is not just a meme. Hair length and colour as well as skin visibility are all alterable through behavioural memes; race is not.

which extended past the ears but did not pass beyond the shoulders. The final group was the *long (L)* group, and it encompassed all hair which was grown to a length which extended below the shoulders. The second method by which hair was assessed was based on its colour. We used the following groups of hair colour as our standard: *Black (BL), Brown (BR), Blonde (BD), Red (R), and White/Grey (W)*. However, this category remained fluid to allow for non-natural hair colours, resulting in the inclusion of colours from across the rainbow. When these colours appear in the photos, they were given a separate group and included in the final results. Also; in situations where the hair colour can not be clearly defined (such as in black and white photos) the result were labelled as *Not Shown (NS)*.

The next feature which was analyzed was facial hair. Facial hair was broken into six groups; *Shaven (SN), Shadowed (SH), Moustache (MU), Chin (CH), Goatee (G),* and *Beard (BE)*. The first group requires the least explanation, the shaven group encompassed all men who had shaven off all of their visible facial hair. Membership within the shadowed group fell to men whose face displayed a day or more growth in the form colloquially known as a five-o'clock shadow. The third group was the moustache where hair was present in large quantities on the upper lip, but was either shaven or lightly shadowed everywhere else. The fourth was the chin group where hair appeared in large quantities only on the chin, and remained shaven or lightly shadowed everywhere else. The goatee group was a combination of the third and fourth groups and consisted of men who had large quantities of hair on both their chin and upper lip. For the sake of simplicity, all styles of facial hair, which fell within the above criteria, were placed under the goatee group. The beard group was composed of those men whose facial hair covered the entire lower face in large quantities, representing several weeks or even months of growth.

The Body

The following body parts will be addressed: arms, upper torso, lower torso, pelvis, and legs. The first feature to be dealt with was the arms. The study of the arms was based on how much of the

naked arm is visible within the photograph. The arms were divided into three groups: *Nude (Nu)*, *Half-clothed (H)*, and *Clothed (C)*. The nude arm is the arm that is not covered by any clothing so that the skin from the hand to the shoulder is clearly visible. Models, who were dressed in tank tops or who had their shirts removed, are good examples of the naked group. The half-clothed group is for those arms where a portion of the arm is covered, but the wrist and forearm are still seen. Models dressed in tee shirts or other short-sleeved shirts are an example of this. The final group is the clothed arm, and these arms are defined by being covered from the shoulder all the way to the wrist, with only the hands being visible. Models wearing long-sleeved shirts are an example of this group.

The analysis of the leg region is similar to the analysis of the arms, with the categories of nude, half-clothed, or clothed. In this case, the nude category included all photos where the legs were unclothed up to a point past the knees. A man wearing underwear is a good example of this. The half group contained those images where either the calf/ankle was shown but the thighs were not. Long shorts are examples of this. The clothed group is reserved for those images where the whole of the leg is covered with clothing, such as in the case of a man wearing pants.

After the study of the leg region, we will move up to the review of the pelvis. Here only the categories of clothed or nude were used. The nude category included any and all nudity of the pelvis region regardless of whether the shot was from the front or the rear. It is rare but not unheard of to see male nudes in non-erotic magazines; thus, the necessity of such a category. No assessment of the genitalia occurred as they were never shown.

The next region is the upper torso, which begins at the neck and ends past the chest. This region made use of the nude, half-clothed, and clothed categories. Nude included those men who were shirtless or had this area completely exposed. The half-clothed, men dressed in clothing such as tank tops which show some, but not all of the chest/upper back. Finally, the clothed category covered men who were wearing shirts.

The lower torso region begins where the upper torso ends, and ends where the pelvis begins. As this area covers the lower back and stomach, only the nude and clothed categories were used. Men who were not wearing a shirt fell into the nude category, with the clothed men falling naturally into the clothed category. If any hair was present in either the lower or upper torso, then this was marked with an *'H'*.

Advertisements

The subject of advertisements was dealt with by distinguishing those images which came from advertisements and those which came from the magazines themselves. Here, we applied a "Y/N" system, *"Y"* for an advertisement, *"N"* for an image from the magazine itself. This helped to isolate the more specific content of the magazine from the more general content of the advertisements found within.

Analysis

Our analysis began by summarizing the data. Dealing with individual memes would be fruitlessly exhausting. Why an individual meme, such as a clothed arm, exists within a specific image has more to do with the message found within the image than the overall tone of the magazine or that of male culture itself. From there the summed memes were combined into a larger document based on the results within each magazine month for each year. Table one shows an example of what this looked like using the arm data of August for *GQ* North America. By refining the data into these tables, we were able to look at the effect of time on the image memes.

Table 1

Arms	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
C	98	88	86	143	144	109	170	167	71	114
H	26	28	34	34	48	42	51	37	25	42
NS	24	26	9	29	44	33	38	14	23	20
NU	12	11	37	14	9	37	12	26	12	21

From these tables we generated numbers based on the amount of magazine the individual

memes took up. Given that each magazine has a different number of total pages, the raw data could

not be used as it would not be able to demonstrate a change over time in a meaningful way, but by

providing a percentage of the space used, we can track an increase or decrease in the attention the

magazine pays the individual memes. Table two shows an example of what this looked like using

the same arm data as before.

Table 2

Arms%	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
C%	61.25	57.52	51.81	65	58.78	49.32	62.73	68.44	54.2	57.87
H%	16.25	18.3	20.48	15.45	19.59	19	18.82	15.16	19.08	21.32
NS%	15	16.99	5.42	13.18	17.96	14.93	14.02	5.74	17.56	10.15
NU%	7.5	7.19	22.29	6.36	3.67	16.74	4.43	10.66	9.16	10.66

The above tables still included the Not Shown memes which provoked the need for a second

series of tables. In this case the raw data was taken and turned into percentage data as above;

however, in this case the NS row was eliminated, resulting in a table much like table Three.

Table 3

Arms Shown%	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
C%	72.06	69.29	54.78	74.87	71.64	57.98	72.96	72.61	65.74	64.41
H%	19.12	22.05	21.66	17.8	23.88	22.34	21.89	16.09	23.15	23.73
NU%	8.82	8.66	23.57	7.33	4.48	19.68	5.15	11.3	11.11	11.86

The creation of these tables allowed us to visually isolate the shown memes and view the

impact the memes were having on each other once through the gauntlet of editorial rejection.

The above process was repeated for the isolation of advertisement images from non-

advertisement images. For the advertisement isolation, an additional step was added at the

beginning of the process: using a function to organize the rows based on whether the advertisement

category was "Y" or "N". These newly organized rows were separated into new sheets effectively doubling the data. Once these sheets were created, the aforementioned processes for making tables were applied to creating data tables containing the raw and shown percentages for those images which came from an advertisement and those that did not. By doing so, we allow ourselves to distinguish those evolutionary trends which come from within and without the magazine, as well as allowing us to observe those instances where a mimetic trend is shared by both the magazine and the advertisements found within it.

The numerous sets of percentage tables were turned into graphs as this allowed the researchers to see changes more easily. In the end this resulted in over a hundred graphs. Providing all of these graphs would make the thesis overly large, but some will be included. Like the magazines themselves, we will be selecting which tables to include based on their relevance and ability to capture the attention of the reader. It is expected that not all of the data will provide a meaningful high or low as some ideas will prove resistant to change. This does not mean that the unchanging ideas are immune to natural selection, only that they failed to change significantly during the allotted time frame.

Finally, the memes were categorized into model rules based on their popularity. For example, when black hair was more populous than blonde hair, the model rule would be as follow BL > BD, to indicate that black hair is the more popular. In combination with the other memes we get something like this: BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART(standing in for artificial colours). These rules were then catalogued and placed into tables exemplified by the following:

Table 4

Magazine: *Out*	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH	SN > SH > MU > G > BE > CH

Arms	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > NUH > H > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

The following tables and graphs present data summaries of the obtained results.

Data Summary for *Out*

Table 5

Magazine: *Out*	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH	SN > SH > MU > G > BE > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > NUH > H > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 6

Magazine: *Out*	Month: August	Month: November
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > H
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Scalp Hair

Within *Out* magazine 80% to 98% of the images of men contained scalp hair.

Facial Hair:

Regardless of the specific meme involved, the facial hair category was almost always

shown. At the lowest point 75% (Feb 2005) of all the images in the magazines showed facial hair, at

the peak the category took up 99% (Nov 2003) of all images in the magazine. The low point of

February of 2005, proved to be an exception with most of the data being above 86% shown.

Arms:

Arms were less popular than facial hair with the largest peak being 95% (Aug 2010) and its

lowest point being 65% (May 2011). Unlike the facial hair category, the arm category varied evenly

between low 70s and mid 90s in space occupation.

Upper Torso:

The upper torso category varied between 64% (May 2011) and 97% (Aug 2011) of all the

images in the magazine. Seasonal variation had a role to play in this category with February and

May providing excellent examples of mimetic competition, as seen in February, and more stable

patterns such as in May. In February we see how a rise in the population of nude memes results in a

drop in the clothed memes; therefore, the nude and clothed memes are competing for space within

the magazine. In the case of May, the memes are still in competition, but the clothed meme has

taken a poorly challenged lead over all the other memes.

Figure 1

Upper Torso Shown
OUT February

Figure 2

Upper Torso Shown
OUT May

Year
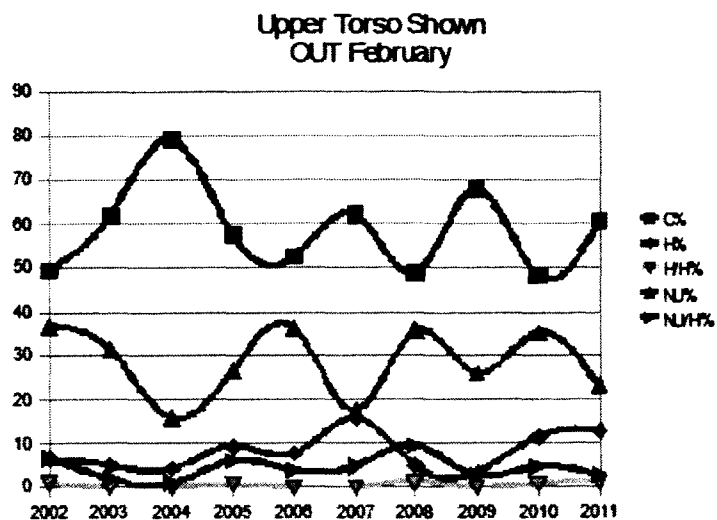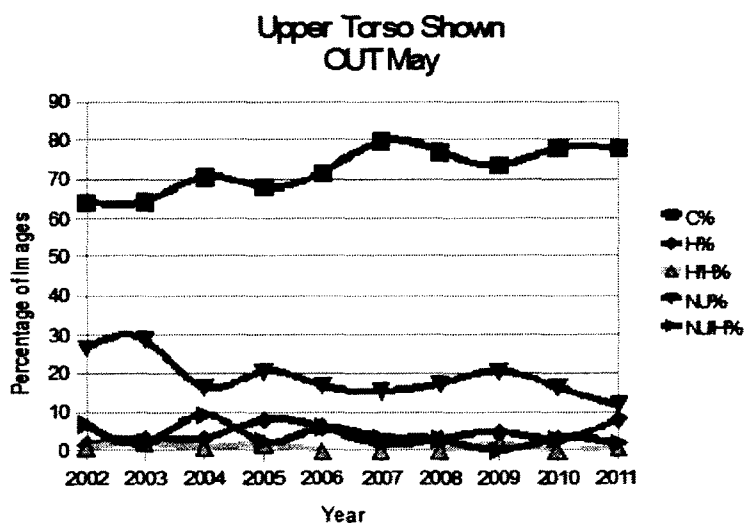
Lower Torso:

In the lower torso category, we see the percentage of the magazine occupied by the memes

take a significant dip. At the lowest point, only 50% (Nov 2002) of the magazine images featured a

lower torso. At the high point, no more then 83% (Feb 2008). Overall, most of the category

remained in the 70s, high 60s, and rarely the low 80s.

Pelvis:

The pelvis category continued the earlier decline in attention. The pelvis was shown even less than the lower torso and here we see a category frequently dip below 50% of the total mimetic population. At the height of its population, the pelvis category only managed to occupy 63% (Nov 2004 & Feb 2005) of the available space. At the lowest point, the category only managed to occupy 32% (Feb 2011) of the population. The majority of the time, this category occupied between 40% and 60% of the magazine.

Legs:

The legs category was the weakest; it never managed to occupy more than 60% (Feb 2005,2008) of the population and managed to dip as low as 27% (Aug 2002, Feb 2011); most of the time, it occupied between 30 and 50 percent of the available space.

Data Summary for *Attitude*

Table 7

Magazine: *Attitude*	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > BE >G > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	NU > C > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	NU > C > NUH	NU > C > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Table 8

Magazine: *Attitude*	Month: August	Month: November
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > CH > MU

Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	NU > C > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	NU > C > NUH	NU > C > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Within *Attitude* magazine, 80% to 93% of the images of men contained scalp hair. *Attitude* magazine proved to be a cornucopia of artificial hair colours with all the colours of the rainbow present including rainbow itself. In total the following artificial colours were found: rainbow, blue, yellow, pink, purple, green, and orange. While some of these colours appeared more than once, no artificial colour was more numerous than the natural redheads.

Facial Hair:

As with *Out* magazine above, within *Attitude* magazine the facial hair category was almost always shown. Unlike in *Out* magazine, the facial hair category in *Attitude* never dropped below 80% occupancy of the magazine. The lowest point was 82% (Aug 2004) and the peak was a full 100% (Aug 2003). Both the magazine's high and its low were somewhat anomalous as the majority of the category was between 85% and 95%.

Arms:

The arms were less popular than facial hair with a peak of only 93% (Nov 2011) and a low of 76% (Feb 2010). Overall, most of the time the category was within the 80s, with only the occasional rise into the 90s (this only happened 3 times), and the more common but not quite normative dips into the 70s (this occurred 5 times).

Upper Torso:

The upper torso category was shown a similar amount to the arm category with a peak of 94% (Aug 2011) and a low of 75% (Feb/Aug/Nov 2002). Most of the time, the category took up between 75% and 90% of the total images. There was no significant seasonal variation at the category level. Within the category itself, things became more interesting, with the nude meme

being dominant at first, but between 2008 and 2010 there was a major shift wherein the clothed meme became dominant. This means that sometime between 2008 and 2010 there was a dramatic magazine-wide shift from a nude upper torso to a clothed upper torso. The reason for this shift will be addressed in the discussion later.

Lower Torso:

The lower torso category saw a drop in how often it was shown, but was still shown most of the time. At its peak the category managed to occupy 83% (Nov 2011) of the available space. At the low point, the category occupied 60% (May 2011) of the available space. On the whole, most of the category was found within the 65% to 75% range.

Within the lower torso category, the nude meme was dominant until 2008 when a shift occurred resulting in the clothed meme becoming dominant. The chart below shows a fine example of how dramatic this change over was. The nude-hair meme was never very popular with a peak of 8% (May 2005 & Feb 2004) but most of the time the hairy lower torso made up no more than 5% of the total mimetic population.

Figure 3

Lower Torso Shown
Attitude November
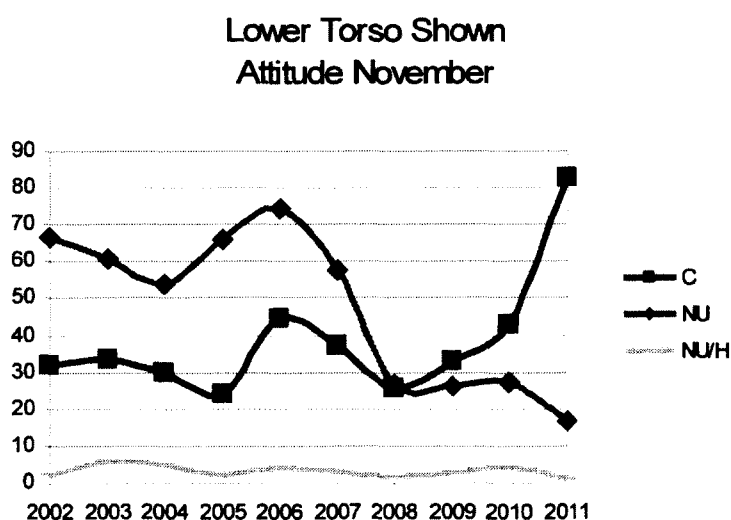
Pelvis:

The pelvis category was shown about half of the time. At its peak the category absorbed

71% (Nov 2011) of the available space, but this was a fluke as the majority of time the memes were

below 60% occupancy. At the lowest point, the category absorbed 45% (Aug 2008 and Nov 2009)

of the available magazine space. The majority of the time, the category absorbed between 45% and

60% of the available space.

Within the category itself, the clothed meme was always dominant. The nude meme did

appear but was never more than 49% (Nov 2005) of the total mimetic population. As with the above

categories, we see here that around 2008 the nude category begins to drop significantly. Going from

36% (Nov 2007) to a low 9% (Nov 2008), and by 2009 the meme was around 3% (Feb and Nov

2009).

Legs:

With three exceptions (Feb 2007, Nov 2006 and 2011), the legs category was shown less

than 50% of the time. At the peak the category occupied 59% (Nov 2011) of the available space. At

the low point, 21% (Feb 2011).

Within the category, the nude meme was dominant most often, but here again there was a

shift around 2008 which saw the clothed meme rise to become dominant for all months except for

August. August consistently favoured the nude meme, and during no years was the clothed meme

ever dominant. After the initial switch over in 2008 the memes seemed to stabilize with the nude

meme gaining strength in 2010.

Data Summary for *GQ* North America

Table 9

Magazine: *GQ* NA	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL >BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART

Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 10

GQ NA	Month: August	Month: November
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Within *GQ* North America, 85% to 95% of all the images of men contained scalp hair.

Three artificial colours were found: yellow, blue, and green.

Facial Hair:

The facial hair category was the most populous category. This particular category was almost always shown. The peak occupancy of this category was in August 2006 when it took up 98% of the available magazine space. The low point, was in May 2011 when it occupied 85%. On average the category ranged from 85% to 95% occupancy.

Arms:

The arms category appeared less often than facial hair, but was almost always shown. At its low, the category managed to occupy 75% (Nov 2009) of the available space. At the high point, 96% (Feb 2003). The majority of the time it occupied between 75% and 95% of the available magazine space.

Upper Torso:

The upper torso category appeared approximately as often as the arms category. The peak of the category's occupancy occurred in February of 2011 when it occupied 95% of the available magazine space. The lowest point occurred, in November 2009 when the category dipped to 72% occupancy. The low point in this case is misleading as the majority of the time it occupied between 80% and 95% of the available space.

Lower Torso:

The lower torso appeared less often than the upper torso. The low point of the category's occupancy occurred in November 2009 when it dropped to 55% of the available space. The peak occurred in August 2004 when it grew to 80%. Most of the time the category occupied between 65% and 80% of the magazine images.

Pelvis:

The pelvis category appeared less often than the lower torso category, but was still present more than half the time. The high point of the category's occupancy occurred in February 2011 when it took up 68% of the available space. The low point, was in August 2009 when it dropped to 39% occupancy. Most times the category occupied between 40% and 60% of the available space.

Legs:

The legs category appeared less often than any other category and was present on average less than half of the time. The exception to this was in August of 2004 when the category spiked to 65% occupancy. The low point, occurred in November 2009 when it occupied only 29% of the available space. Overall the category stayed between 30% and 50% occupancy.

Data Summary for *GQ* United Kingdom

Table 11

Magazine: *GQ* UK	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules

Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 12

Magazine: *GQ* UK	Month: August	Month: November
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Within *GQ* United Kingdom 80% to 95% of all the images of men contained scalp hair. Two artificial colours were present: green and blue. Surprisingly, the blue haired meme was found in all the months, except for November, but not all the years. Green hair was present only once in August and was of medium length. Blue hair was always short.

Facial Hair:

As with *GQ* North America, facial hair was the most populous category. At the peak the category absorbed 98% (Feb 2005) of the available space. The low point in the category was in February of 2004 when it fell to 86% occupancy. Overall it usually had over 90% occupancy.

Arms:

The arms category was shown less frequently than facial hair, but usually occupied 70% or

more of the available space. The exception to the 70% rule occurred during the low point, when it

occupied only 66% (Aug 2005) of the available space. The peak of the category's occupancy

occurred in May of 2010 and November 2007 when it occupied 91% of the available space. Overall,

the majority of the time the category occupied between 70% and 90% of the available space.

Within the category itself, the clothed meme held an unchallenged dominance making up

between 50% and 80% of the total mimetic population. Within the remaining 20% to 50%, the half-

clothed meme was consistently dominant over the nude meme. The one exception was in the month

of August when the half-clothed and nude memes competed actively.

Figure 4

Arms Shown
GQ UK August
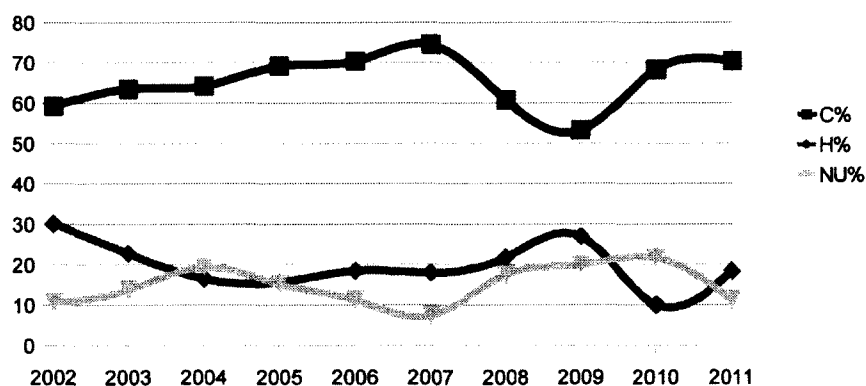
Upper Torso:

The upper torso category was shown to a similar degree as the arms category above. The low

point, was in August 2005 when it occupied only 64% of the available space. The high point for the

magazine occurred in November 2011 when it rose to occupy 92%. As with the arm category above,

the low point for upper torso is misleading as the majority of the time the category occupied

between 70% and 90% of the available space.

Lower Torso:

The lower torso category was shown significantly less than the upper torso or arms. The low point for the category was in February of 2011 when it dipped to only 60% occupancy. The high point occurred in November of 2007 when the category rose to 81% occupancy. The high point is somewhat misleading as on average it ranged between 60% and 77% occupancy.

Pelvis:

The pelvis category was shown less than the lower torso, but usually appeared more than 50% of the time. The two exceptions to this occurred during the low points of August 2005 and February 2009 when it slipped to only 44% occupancy. The height of the category's occupancy was in November 2007 when it rose to 68% occupancy. Despite these more dramatic highs and lows, the majority of the time the category was within the 50% to 65% range.

Legs:

The legs category was shown the least of all the above categories as it frequently occupied less than 50% of the available space. The low occurred in August 2005 when it slipped to 37% occupancy. The high point was in November 2003 when it occupied 55% of the available space. On average the category occupied between 40% and 50% of the available space.

Data Summary for *Men's Health* North America

Table 13

Magazine: Men's Health NA	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH

| Pelvis | C > NU | C > NU |
| Legs | C > NU > H | NU > C > H |

Table 14

Magazine: Men's Health NA	Month: August	Month: November
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > MU > G > BE > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	C > NU > H

Within the North American edition of *Men's Health*, 75% to 95% of all the images of men contained scalp hair. Of the non-genetic hair colours, pink/blue-haired memes were found within the magazine; however, they each appeared during one year and were gone in the next.

Facial Hair:

The facial hair category was almost always shown. At the lowest point, the category occupied only 77% (May 2006) of the possible space. At its peak, it occupied 99% (Nov 2003, 2006, 2011) of the available space. The majority of the category could be found between 80% and 95% of the available space.

Arms:

The arm category was shown less than facial hair but was still shown most of the time. At the peak it occupied 93% (May 2011, Aug 2007 and 2010) of the available space. The low point, was 75% (Feb 2003) with most of the memes falling between 75% and 90% of the available space.

Within the category, the memes displayed great competition. The nude meme was dominant overall but was not dominant in each year. Most of the time, the clothed meme replaced the nude meme as dominant; however, in November 2008 the half-clothed meme became dominant over all

the other memes, but just for that year. As the graph below shows, the competition between the

memes was fierce.

Figure 5

Arms Shown
MH NA February
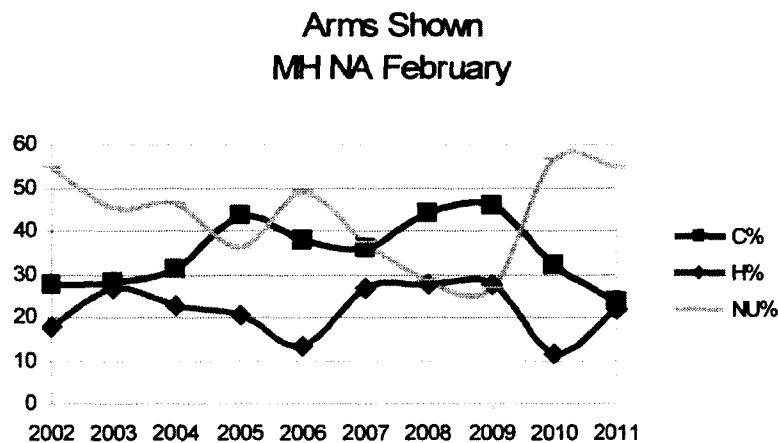
Upper Torso:

The upper torso category was shown slightly less often than the arm category. The category

had a high of 92% (Aug 2007) and a low of 71% (Feb 2005). In total, most of the category occupied

between 70% and 90% of the available space.

Lower Torso:

The lower torso category was shown less than all of the above categories, but was still

shown more than 60% the time. The low, was in February of 2003 and 2005 when the category fell

to 62% of the total available space. The high, was in May of 2011 when it grew to occupy 83% of

the available space. The majority of the time the category occupied between 65% and 80% of the

magazine images.

Pelvis:

The pelvis category was shown less than all of the above categories, but with one exception

was still shown more than half the time. The low point for the category occurred in February 2005

when it occupied 46% of the available space. The peak of the category's occupancy occurred in

November of 2011 when it occupied 72% of the available space. Year to year, the category usually

occupied between 50% and 70% of the magazine space.

Legs:

The leg category was shown the least of all the categories. The peak of its occupancy

occurred in November 2010 when it took up 63% of the available space. The low, occurred in

February of 2007 when it occupied only 38%. Overall it occupied between 40% and 60% of the

available space.

Within the category there was significant mimetic competition depending on the month

observed. As we can see in the below graph, the month of February shows a wave-like pattern as the

nude and clothed memes fluctuate in dominance. Other months, such as August, were more stable

with the nude becoming dominant in 2005 and remaining dominant. The half-clothed meme was

only a small portion of the overall mimetic population; at no point in time did it ever make up more

than 10% of said population.

Figure 6

Legs Shown
MH NA February
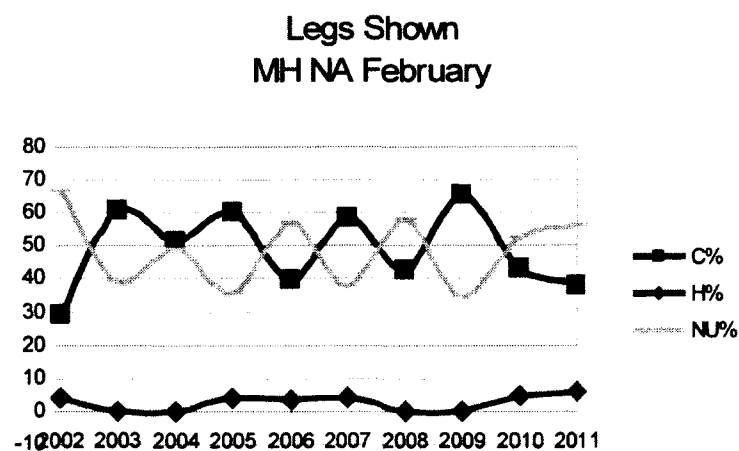
Data Summary for *Men's Health* United Kingdom

Table 15

Magazine: Men's Health UK	Month: February	Month: May
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > BE > MU > G > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Table 16

Magazine: Men's Health UK	Month: August	Month: November
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	NU > C > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Within the UK edition of *Men's Health*, 75% to 90% of all the images of men contained

scalp hair. The least populous meme was the orange-haired meme which appeared once in February

2002, but then disappeared never to be seen again.

Facial Hair:

The facial hair category was featured in the majority of the images of men found within

Men's Health UK. The high point was in May 2006 when it occupied 96% of the available space.

The low point was in November 2008 when it occupied 74%. The low point is misleading as it is

the only instance where the category dips below 80% occupancy. On average the category occupied between 80% and 95% of the available magazine space.

Arms:

The arms category was shown almost as much as facial hair with the only difference between them being that facial hair had a slightly higher peak and arms had a slightly higher low point. The peak for the arms category was in November 2011 at 95% occupancy. The low point was in February 2006 when it dropped to 76%. As with the facial hair category above, the 76% low is misleading as the majority of the time the category fell between the 80% and 95% occupancy range.

Upper Torso:

The upper torso category was shown less often than the above categories, but not by a large amount. The low point, was in February 2006 when it occupied only 73% of the total space. Unlike the previous categories, the upper torso category dipped below 80% on several occasions. The high point, was in November 2011 when it occupied 97% of the available space. This high point is misleading as the category never again rose above 92% occupancy. The majority of the time, the category occupied between 75% and 90% of the available space.

Lower Torso:

The lower torso category was shown less often than any of the above categories. At the lowest point the category occupied only 63% (Nov 2002) of the available space, at the high point, 88% (Nov 2011). Overall, the category usually occupied between 65% and 85% of the available space.

Pelvis:

The pelvis category was shown less than the preceding categories, but was shown more than 50% of the time. The exception to this was the low point of 48% (Nov 2002), but this was a statistical anomaly. The high occurred in May 2011 when it occupied 80% of the available space. This too was a statistical anomaly as the majority of the time it occupied between 60% and 70%.

Legs:

The legs category was shown less than the preceding categories, but was usually shown

more than 50% of the time. The exceptional low point of 36% (Nov 2002) represents a statistical

anomaly linked solely to that year. The high point of 71% (May 2011) was another anomaly.

Overall, the category ranged from 50% to 60% occupancy with a few outliers on either side.

Differences and variations in images found in magazines are also observed in

advertisements. The following presents a comparative study of the two types.

Comparative Data Summary for *Out*

Table 17

Magazine: *Out* Month: February	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S >M > B > L	S >M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > MU > G > BE > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	NU > C > H

Table 18

Magazine: *Out* Month: May	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH	SN > SH > MU > G > BE > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > NUH > H > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU

Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 19

Magazine: *Out* Month: August	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > MU > BE > G > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > H/H	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 20

Magazine: *Out* Month: November	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	NU > C > H

The advertisements category was unique and showed that most of the images of men in *Out* magazine were from the magazine itself not from advertisers. Occasionally this changed, such as during May 2009 when the advertisements comprised 61% of the images, but for the most part, the magazine provided the majority of the image content found within its pages.

The first difference to notice between the two is that hair is more likely to be shown in magazine-generated images than it is in advertizing-generated images. Both facial and scalp hair

were shown more often in the magazine-generated images than in the advertisements. While the difference was slight, at times it was repeated for all the months in *Out*. The hair lengths showed little variation between the two sources. As well, the hair colours remained in sync even to the point of advertisers demonstrating as many artificial hair colours as the magazine.

Out magazine provided a difference between how the body is shown by the magazine and the advertisers. The advertisers of *Out* have chosen to show significantly more skin than the magazine itself: however, when bare skin is shown, it is more likely that the magazine images will have a hairy body. Even though the advertisers provide far more nude images than the magazine, the magazine produces a greater number of hairy images. For example, in the month of November, the advertisers provided a total of 242 nude images of which only 22 showed hair, meanwhile in the same month range, the magazine provided 127 nude images of which 27 showed hair.

Comparative Data Summary for *Attitude*

Table 21

Magazine: *Attitude* Month: February	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BD > BR > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	NU > C > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	NU > C > H

Table 22

Magazine: *Attitude* Month: May	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L

Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	NU > C > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	NU > C > H

Table 23

Magazine: *Attitude* Month: August	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > CH > MU
Arms	C > NU > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	NU > C > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	NU > C > H

Table 24

Magazine: *Attitude* Month: November	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BD > BR > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > NU > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	NU > C > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	NU > C > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	NU > C > H

Advertisements:

The advertisement category showed the same change around 2008 that was found in the rest

of the magazine. As the below graph illustrates, before 2008 the majority of the images come from

advertisements, while after 2008 from the magazine itself.

Figure 7

Advertisment %
Attitude November
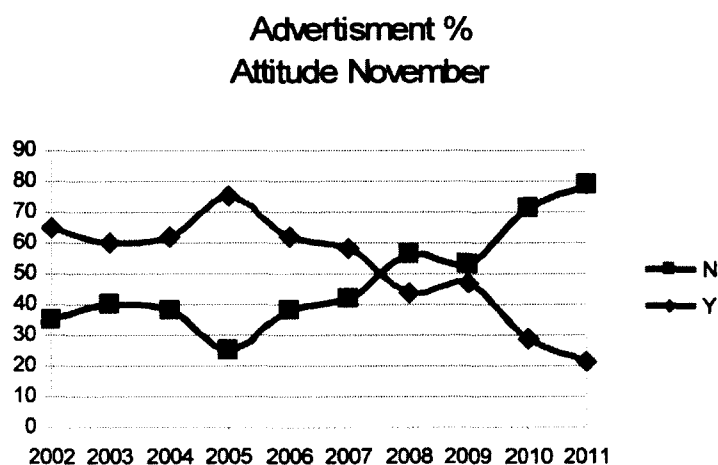
Beginning with hair, we see some important differences between the messages of the

magazine and the advertisements. Hair is shown more often in the magazine than in the

advertisements. The magazine chose to reify the scalp hair category more often than did the

advertisements. While the difference between the two was often slight, it was continuous through all

months and years. Despite the differences in scalp showing, the advertisers and the magazine

produced similar lengths of hair, with short, medium, bald and partially bald being very close:

however, long hair was shown slightly more often in the magazine images than in the advertiser

images. The biologically normative hair colours did not vary wildly from each other: however, the

artificial colour spectrum revealed a definite selection bias. Whilst the magazine produced images

with hair colours from the entire rainbow, the advertisers failed to produce many human-made

colours at all. In fact, the advertisers produced artificial colours only during the months of

November and August.

The face along with the scalp was shown more by the magazine than by the advertisers. The

facial hair memes were initially very similar, with the advertisers and the magazines showing little

difference during the months of February and May. August and November saw a rise in the shaven

meme amongst the advertisers, whilst the magazine retained its earlier diversity.

Continuing with hair but moving to the body, we find that body hair was more frequently

shown in the magazine images than in the advertisements: however, the body itself is a different

story. The advertisers favoured nude memes, while the magazine tended to cover models up, at least

comparatively speaking.

Comparative Data Summary for *GQ* North America

Table 25

Magazine: *GQ* NA Month: February	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > MU > G > BE > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > H > NU > HH > NUH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 26

Magazine: *GQ* NA Month: May	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH >BE > G > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > H > NU > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 27

Magazine: *GQ* NA Month: August	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL >BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 28

Magazine: *GQ* NA Month: November	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

GQ North America reversed the trend in scalp hair: this time the magazine showed scalp hair less often than did the advertisers: however, this did not carry over unilaterally to facial hair. In the facial hair category, in some months, November and May, the magazine showed more facial hair than in the other two months than the advertisers did. When the face was shown, both the magazine and the advertisers favoured a smooth face: however, the advertisers had more examples of the shadowed look, whilst the magazine showed a greater diversity of facial hair styles.

Scalp hair came in biological colours with none of the dazzling artificial colours found in *Out* or *Attitude*, these colours continued the darker to lighter pattern with black hair being the most

common, and white then red hair being the least common. The hair lengths showed seasonal variation in the baldness category with the earlier months of February and May showing more bald men in the advertisements than in the magazine, but nearer the end of the decade, the advertisers and the magazine begin to show around the same percentage of bald heads. Aside from the baldness deviation, the scalp hair maintained a reasonably synchronous pattern of short to medium to bald/partially bald, with long hair being the least common. The body hair was consistently present in even amounts with little variation between the advertisers and the magazine.

Moving on to the subject of the body, we find some interesting features, one of which is how little the body was shown. With the exception of August, all the other months featured bodies which were clothed for the majority of the time. This seasonal variation went even further with February and November being months where the advertisers and the magazine were in sync. By this we mean that their mimetic populations differed very little from each other. The other two months varied in opposite directions. In May the advertisers showed significantly more skin than the magazine, and in August the magazine showed more skin than the advertisers.

Comparative Data Summary for *GQ* United Kingdom

Table 29

Magazine: *GQ* UK Month: February	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 30

Magazine: *GQ* UK Month: May	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 31

Magazine: *GQ* UK Month: August	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

Table 32

Magazine: *GQ* UK Month: November	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH
Arms	C > H > NU	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU

Legs	C > NU > H	C > NU > H

The non-advertisements were more populous than the advertisements. While sometimes it was a close fight, there was only one occasion (May 2008) when the majority of the images came from advertisements rather than from the magazine itself.

In *GQ* United Kingdom we see the return of the earlier trend of magazines producing more images with hair in them than did the advertisers. For all the months involved, the advertisers showed scalp hair less often than did the magazine. Whilst both the magazine and the advertisers maintained the short to long hair length pattern seen earlier, the magazine showed a greater diversity of hair length memes, using bald men and long-haired men more often than did the advertisers. The hair colours remained in sync and continued the black to red pattern mentioned earlier.

The face was also shown more often by the magazine than by the advertisers. In both cases the men were usually shaven, then shadowed, followed by the other variations: however, in this case the advertisers favoured a shadowed look more often than the magazine which showed a greater favour towards the shaven look: thus, on the whole the advertisers may have shown more actual facial hair.

In reference to the body, the advertisers continued the earlier trend of showing more skin than the magazine images. Once more the difference between the two groups was significant. What differed this time was that it was the advertisers who produced the images with the hairiest bodies.

Comparative Data Summary for *Men's Health* North America

Table 33

Magazine: *Men's Health* NA Month: February	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	C > NU > H

Table 34

Magazine: *Men's Health* NA Month: May	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > CH > MU
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Table 35

Magazine: *Men's Health* NA Month: August	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Table 36

Magazine: *Men's Health* NA Month: November	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART

Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	C > NU > H

Most of the images found within the magazine were produced internally, coming from the magazine itself with advertisements rarely becoming the dominant source of images. A change was beginning to occur as near the end of the study; the advertisements appeared to be gaining ground and even surpassing the non-advertisements.

The majority of the time, the images came from a non-advertisement source: however, on rare occasions the memes would reverse. Since these reversals did not carry over from year to year, it is likely that they represent specific advertisement campaigns which featured a large number of male images.

Beginning with scalp hair, we see an equalization which was not present in the previous magazines. In the above examples, either the magazine or the advertisers were producing significantly more images of hair: however, in the case of *Men's Health* North America, the magazine and advertisers show little variation in how many images of the scalp they are producing. This harmonization of message continues into the facial hair which is balanced between the magazine and the advertisers. Even the body hair appears in approximately the same amount for both. One of the few points of difference is that the advertisers shied away from showing images of bald men. Aside from the change in bald men, the hair lengths and colours remained largely harmonized.

A major difference is that *Men's Health* is the first magazine where the magazine favoured nude images more than did the advertisers. Both groups showed a significant interest in the nude male form, but because *Men's Health* promotes a fit body, the magazine showed more skin than did

its advertisers.

Comparative Data Summary for *Men's Health* United Kingdom

Table 37

Magazine: *Men's Health* UK Month: February	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	C > NU > H

Table 38

Magazine: *Men's Health* UK Month: May	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > B > M > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > BE > MU > G > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	NU > C > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	NU > C > H	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	C > NU > H

Table 39

Magazine: *Men's Health* UK Month: August	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > B > M > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Upper Torso	NU > C > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	NU > C > H	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Table 40

Magazine: *Men's Health* UK Month: November	Image Source: Magazine	Image Source: Advertisements
Memes	Model rules	Model rules
Scalp Hair Length	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
Scalp Hair Colour	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Facial Hair	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
Arms	NU > C > H	C > NU > H
Upper Torso	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Lower Torso	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Pelvis	C > NU	C > NU
Legs	NU > C > H	C > NU > H

The non-advertisements made up the vast majority of the mimetic population, ranging from 60% to 80% of the total population.

The scalp hair levels were very consistent with little difference between the magazine and the advertisements. Unlike the North American edition, the advertisers in *Men's Health* UK did not shy away from showing balding men, and did so approximately as often as the magazine. As to hair colour, the magazine and the advertisers remained in sync, and maintained the black to brown to blonde to white to red pattern. The magazine and the advertisers also produced around the same amount of facial hair images, but used different memes. The advertisers showed mostly a clean shaven face, but also the shadowed look as well as the goatee, the magazine showed images of shaven faced men almost to the exclusion of all other facial follicular arrangements. The body was shown more often overall by the magazine; also, as with *Men's Health* North America, the magazine focused more of its attention on the nude male form than did the advertisers. Men in the advertisements were significantly more likely to show body hair than the image produced by the

magazine.

The above models represent the holistic rules being provided by the advertisements and magazines, but in order to better show change over time we also summed the models for the first year of the study and the last year. This will allow us to sketch a description of the stereotypical man found in men's lifestyle magazine from the beginning and end. The summed rule models are as follows.

Table 41

Scalp Hair	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	S > M > B > L	S > M = B > L
Attitude	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
GQ NA	S > M > B > L	S > M > B > L
GQ UK	S > M > B > L	S > M = B > L
MH NA	S > B > M > L	S > B > M > L
MH UK	S > B = M > L	S > B > M > L

Scalp Colour	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
Attitude	BL > BR > BD > W > ART > R	BL > BR > BD > W > R > ART
GQ NA	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
GQ UK	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART	BL > BR > W > BD > R > ART
MH NA	BL > W = BR > BD > R = ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R = ART
MH UK	BL > BR > BD > W > R >ART	BL > BR > BD > W > R = ART

Facial Hair	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	SN > MU > SH > G >BE > CH	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH
Attitude	SN > SH > G > MU > CH = BE	SN > SH = BE > G > MU > CH
GQ NA	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH	SN > BE > SH > G > MU > CH
GQ UK	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > BE > G > MU > CH
MH NA	SN > SH = G > BE > MU > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > MU > CH
MH UK	SN > SH > G > MU > BE > CH	SN > SH > G > BE > CH > MU

Arms	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	NU = C > H	C > NU > H
Attitude	NU > C > H	NU = C > H
GQ NA	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
GQ UK	C > H > NU	C > H > NU
MH NA	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
MH UK	NU > C > H	NU > C > H

Upper Torso	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
Attitude	NU > C > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
GQ NA	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > H = NU > NUH > HH
GQ UK	C > NU > NUH > H > HH	C > NU > H > NUH > HH
MH NA	C > NU > H > NUH > HH	C > NU > H > HH > NUH
MH UK	C > NU > H > NUH = HH	NU > C > H = NUH > HH

Lower Torso	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
Attitude	NU > C > NUH	C > NU > NUH
GQ NA	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
GQ UK	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
MH NA	C > NU > NUH	C > NU > NUH
MH UK	C > NU > NUH	C = NU > NUH

Pelvis	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)
Out	C > NU	C > NU
Attitude	C > NU	C > NU
GQ NA	C > NU	C > NU
GQ UK	C > NU	C > NU
MH NA	C > NU	C > NU
MH UK	C > NU	C > NU

Legs	Beginning (2002)	End (2011)

Out	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
Attitude	NU > C > H	NU > C > H
GQ NA	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
GQ UK	C > NU > H	C > NU > H
MH NA	NU> C > H	NU> C > H
MH UK	NU> C > H	NU> C > H

In total these images paint a fairly consistent portrait from beginning to end. At the beginning of the study, the stereotypical man had short, black hair, a shaven face, and was wearing clothes most of the times, but revealed his nude limbs more than any other parts of his body. When the body was shown, it was hairless and usually nude not half-clothed. At the end of the study, all of the above was still true. The real differences shown over time were small (such as the increase in the popularity of beards) and often times magazine specific, the hegemonic stereotypes found throughout the magazines remain consistent.

The increase in the popularity of beards proved interesting as it made its way all the way into high fashion. A fine example of this is the May 2011 cover of *GQ North America Digital* edition, which features a comedian with a full beard. The existence of a face that is neither shaven nor shadowed, on the cover of a high fashion magazine leads me to believe that the increased popularity of beards is a trend that will continue into the future. The cover of the magazine is the face it transmits to the world. Even those who do not come in direct contact with the magazine, by purchasing it or picking it up, might come into indirect contact with the cover ,by seeing it on a news stand or some other source.

Chapter 3

Analyzing the data using a meme-based paradigm allows us to isolate long term evolutionary patterns that act as consistent model rules for male body image, producing both stereotypes and countertypes, as well as a third, variable-normative type. The stereotypical and countertypical represent poles on the spectrum of male image, the stereotype is the most popular model, while the countertype is the least. The variable-normative male is a type I envisioned to cover the spectrum between the two polar types. It is variable because the category contains numerous options, none of which are overly popular but still popular enough to be considered normal under most circumstances. Having white hair is an example of a variable-normative meme because it in neither the alpha nor the omega, but still a part of the hierarchy of stylistic options.

By using three types instead of the traditional binary, we can comment on a broader range of topics. The trinity of types allows us to represent the impact of the laws of authority, liking, and scarcity, on the triadic resource system of reciprocal consumptive exchange, replicating social proofs, and reifying commitments, through the long term observation of model rules. By looking at ten years, we can see a pattern of commitments which generates stereotypes, variable-normative types, and countertypes.

As the statistically dominant type, the stereotype is the representative of the authoritarian law. This is not to say that the other laws are not involved in the stereotype, but that the authority law is the dominant law for this type. As the most populous of the model rules, the stereotype sets the bar by which the hierarchical standards are established. The stereotype is the most observed model so it must be the official model. But not everyone wants the official model, yet these same people still want a model that is somewhat popular; this is where liking and the normative-variable come in. Liking links up with the normative-variable type as it represents a popular but not too

popular set of model rules which is more diverse than either the authoritarian or scarce types. Scarcity is linked to the countertype as the countertype has become unpopular enough to be rare. A fine example of this can be found in the data on hair colour.

The stereotypical hair colour in magazines is black. This stereotype was global and authoritarian. Black hair was the dominant hair colour is every magazine and advertisement, on every continent, in every year. The variable-normative hair colour was a range between brown, blonde, and white. These three hair colours are perfectly normal, but more novel than the black-haired rules. Red hair and artificial hair colours are the countertype example because they are scarce by nature. Red hair is the most approved of the countertypes as it held at least a token presence in all of the magazines, the same can not be said of the artificial colours.

The process of observing a magazine causes us to observe the model rules that the magazine has chosen to compose its message with. Applying the above concepts to hair colour provides an answer as to why black hair remains the dominant meme at all times, for black hair is the genetically most populous hair colour due to the dominant nature of its genes. This genetic dominance results in a larger number of black-haired people occurring naturally, and although many might go through the effort of changing their hair colour, such an effort must be justified to the accountancy of the mind.

The inclusion of a majority of black-haired people will cause less cognitive dissonance than would a rarer colour such as red hair. A magazine which obeys the black-haired dominance rule would produce social proofs which can be quickly confirmed with existing hegemonic evidence. On the contrary, a majority of red-haired images is counter to what the mind is expecting to see and thus requires more effort to understand creating cognitive dissonance. This additional effort is the weakness of the other hair colour memes as the additional effort may cause a mind to simply skip over the image before the memes of said image have finished communicating themselves. Given the deep biological and cultural roots of hair colour, it is understandable that the magazines did not take

the risk of defying the authority of the hegemonic conception of black-haired popularity.

Being the most popular hair colour does not grant black hair a supremacy over the subject of hair colour. The reason the popularity of black hair doesn't turn supremely monolithic is based on novelty and scarcity. Our minds crave new stimuli (Pradeep 29); those same minds also increase the value attached to scarce resources. When black hair becomes too popular, the audience grows accustomed to the ubiquitousness of black hair: at the same time, the presence of the rarer hair colours, such as blonde hair, becomes more potent. The mind greedily consumes rare experiences, such as seeing a blonde head, and savours them for longer. The scarcity of alternative images causes individual examples of those images to occupy more memory as they are one of a few references, as opposed to the hegemonic one of many references.

Blonde hair provides a genetic example of the power of scarcity and novelty. The genes for blonde hair are recessive, just as the memes for blonde hair are subordinate to the more popular hair colours. The recessive nature of the gene means that when blonde people mate, they are unlikely to produce a blonde child unless they mated with a fellow blonde or red head, and yet blondes continue to exist. The reason blondes exist is based on a mate selection pressure which defines the novelty of having blonde genes in terms of scarcity which renders them more valuable because of their rarity. Blonde genes have a harder time expressing themselves, but when they do, they have an easier time reproducing themselves (Pincott 82-87). In a similar fashion, the blonde memes reproduced themselves throughout every magazine in every month in every year, yet were never the most popular or dominant meme.

Looking at white hair, we see that it is less a comment on genetics (most people get white hair eventually) but instead it is about ageing. The young rarely have white hair, although it does occur naturally in some people and could be generated artificially by the rest, but instead of the young dying their hair white, it is the old who tend to dye pigment back into their hair. The removal of white hair isn't the only ageing-based colouring that goes on; fair haired people such as blondes

and red heads often need to dye their hair as they age, because their natural hair colour will darken as they get older (Pincott 82-87). A child with platinum locks may grow into an adult with naturally brown hair. The presence of fair-haired people combined with the absence of white-haired people can be explained by a push towards youthfulness in the male beauty culture.

This anti-ageing trend might exist in each magazine for differing reasons. Beginning with the most obvious, *Men's Health* is a fitness magazine and it is a well-known fact that as men's bodies age, muscle definition becomes more difficult to maintain. This maintenance difficulty is especially acute in men who have passed through andropause, for they no longer have the testosterone necessary to develop nor retain the lean muscle mass of their youth. This is not to say that older males can not develop muscle mass, but that said muscle mass is often lacking in youthful size, and frequently is covered in fat which prevents the visible definition of muscles so valued in photos. A seventy-year-old man might be perfectly healthy, even physically fitter than a younger counterpart: however, it would be a rare find for said seventy-year-old to have retained the visibly defined abdominal muscles which fitness magazines are so fond off (Diamond 87).

It would be simplistic, but still accurate, to say that queer men have a youth culture obsession due to the fact that the male gaze is hard to bear. While simplistic this statement does jive with the comparison of queer men to women in general. The youth obsession of queer men seems to mirror previous and extant youth obsessions in the culture of women. This youth obsession stems from the same male gaze which both women and queer men are forced to bear (Saucier and Caron 520). Largely this is a sexual matter as younger women are more fertile and thus evolutionarily would have been more desirable; also older women may have gained the wisdom to obtain real power unless sufficiently ignored by society. Similar statements can be made of queer men, but with significantly less accuracy. Older gay men have learned things from society and thus are harder to oppress unless ignored. Younger queer men likely benefit from an evolutionary youth bias, which has been held over from the days when human life expectancy was much shorter.

Queer men are not only battling the beauty industry pressures women face, but also have a health related concept which is emergent from within queer culture. AIDS changed everything, and part of the youth obsession is that a youthful or muscular appearance is often confused with being healthy. People who are dying of AIDS often have hollowed out bodies with little muscle mass and thinned faces which look older than their years. For queer men looking young and muscular is also about looking HIV negative as well as looking beautiful. Given that queer culture defines its nature using sexual memes, it makes sense that said culture would quickly pick up on the signs of a sexual plague, especially if that plague is linked symbolically with the existed queer culture (Grogan 12).

The youth bias found within *Gentlemen's Quarterly* is more mysterious as it is less prevalent overall, as well as less obvious in its sources. As a franchise *GQ* used the white-haired memes more often than did the other three franchises. Part of this preference must stem from the nature of the magazine's content, for *GQ* features a number of luxury items. One path to gaining access to luxury items it to acquire wealth over a long period of time, resulting in much wealth being in the hands of the old. This well worn path is still used to reach the white-haired audience of the magazine who want to see themselves represented within its pages.

Yet white is not the most popular hair colour in *GQ*: that is black hair, therefore a youth bias is assumed to exist. This bias likely comes from a number of hidden places, but the most overt source is that being old is not presently in fashion. In previous ages, being old was a distinguished thing. Gaining white hair was a sign of competency, of someone who had been around long enough to know what they were doing; things have changed. No longer do corporations look for a man of white hair and expanding waist line to lead; instead the new man must appear young to indicate to the postmodern world that he has both the energy and adaptability (Luciano 104-106).

Youth is not necessary for this adaptation. Many older people understand the virtual and technological world better than their younger counterparts, but the stereotype of requiring a younger person to do it remains. The recent rise of internet and technology success stories, such as Mark

Zuckemberg, have helped to carry this trend forward into the future.

The act of artificially changing one's hair can do more than just identify one as young or old, but also helps to define the lifestyle one might be leading. For evidence of this, we return to *Attitude* magazine and its artificial hair colours. *Attitude* magazine displayed more artificial hair colours than did any other magazine: however, most of these colourful images stemmed from the magazine itself rather than from the advertisers. Why this might be leads to an interesting point regarding diversification vs specialization. In an ironic arrangement, the magazine is providing a greater diversity of images in hopes of reaching a specific audience, whereas the advertisers are providing a more specialized approach in the hopes of reaching a more diverse audience. In the case of *Attitude*, the primary market can be presumed to be queer people; this is important because the majority of the colourful hair styles were found on drag queens. The act of drag, while not intrinsically gay, is definitely queer as it blurs the lines between male and female (Butler 187-189). By showing queer-specific images (no drag queens were found either in *Men's Health* nor in *GQ*), the magazine hopes to appeal strongly to its primary readers, queer people. If along the way the presence of drag queens offends the eyes of the narrow-minded, then *Attitude* has no real reason to care as these people were less likely to read a queer magazine in the first place.

Advertisers rarely have the luxury of appealing to only one group, especially if that group is as small as the queer community: therefore, they rarely make advertisements which will run in only one type of magazine. An advertisement featuring a fabulous pink-haired drag queen might play well in magazines such as *Out* or *Attitude*, but it would be needlessly risky to utilize that same advertisement in *GQ* or *Men's Health*. This risk is less about prejudice towards queer people, and more about overusing novelty. A pinked-haired drag queen is harder for the average mind to deal with than is a black-haired man. There are more men with black hair than pink, so it will be immediately easier for most men to identify with the black-haired man. The mind does enjoy new things (Pradeep 29), but in this case the mental amusement gained from the pink hair would have to

outweigh the cognitive dissonance of having unexpected pink hair which is harder to identify with. Amongst queer people drag queens are more normative so their presence causes a reduced dissonance; also, the presence of drag queens within the queer community grants non-drag members of said community the ability to better identify with drag queens. On average a gay man may never wear a dress but he will be more likely to identify with a man in a dress (due to the queer nature of the act) than a straight man would, simply because drag queens and other gender bending is a more ubiquitous part of queer culture than it is of straight culture. Thus, in a largely hetero-normative advertising culture, it makes logical sense not to risk the effort of including the scarcer hair colours of masculinity. An advertisement found on page 33 of the June 2002 issue of *Out* demonstrates that certain topics remain distinctly queer. The advertisement is for a gay film festival and features a drag queen, and a man looking lustfully at another man. Both of these topics are taboo amongst hetero-normative magazines such as *Men's Health*, and *GQ*. The queer community remains a small market resulting in a lack of direct advertising from the mainstream masculine culture. If queer people want to read *Men's Health* or *GQ*, then they must read between the lines. By treating a minority perspective as normative, queer magazines offer alternative ways of expressing masculinity. While queer-normative and hetero-normative magazines had great differences in the depiction of hair colour, these magazines showed fewer differences in how the type of hair length was presented. This lack of difference helps to demonstrate that the queer-normative perspective and hetero-normative perspective can share memes which compose mainstream masculine culture.

Hair length is another matter where there is little variation in theme from magazine to magazine. The usual pattern of short then medium then partially bald/bald followed by long hair was found in each of the magazines, and with the exception of baldness, did not differ when the memes were isolated based on their source. While looking solely at short, medium and long hair, a definite pattern of reification emerges wherein men are receiving a message to reduce their hair length. This message is so potent that baldness was preferable to having long hair. This preference is

not some biological reality: men can grow long hair and have in the past; instead, this represents a social reality wherein men are being told to adjust their model rules governing hair length to meet the standard or risk being thought unmanly.

Manly hair length is being used to reinforce a symbolic dichotomy between men and women. However untrue, the stereotype of long-haired women and short-haired men remains with us to this day, and is reinforced by the images provided in magazines. The natural inclination to accentuate one's sex is further exacerbated by patriarchal forces that may punish those men who do not meet the standard by assigning them a feminine nature even when doing so runs counter to blatant biological truths. The act of cutting one's hair to match the prevailing gender norms is one of the many ways a gender can be performed. By cutting his hair, a man can reify to himself that he is a man and not a long-haired woman. This is not to imply that all men throughout all time have had short hair, but instead to say that men in the West have inherited a modern stereotype regarding hair length which remains with us now (Fallon 84).

Cutting the hair short also serves a capitalist function by reifying short hair as both fashionable as well as manly. Short hair is stereotyped as being practical. The theory being that it will not get in the way of work related activities such as working closely with machinery, or wearing helmets. While some professions, such as the military, have an official dress code, the magazine data reinforces the notion that this dress code has been unofficially adopted by the rest of fashionable masculinity. Well-groomed short hair can require frequent hair cuts, resulting in an a overt profit motive behind the perpetuation of the short hair trend.

Another trend which was popular with all the magazines was the shared focus on the face. The face was the most shown of any of the categories, the legs were the least shown, with the memes declining in number as the gaze drifted down from the face to the feet. This up down gaze is related to how we evolved. The human face contains a wealth of information for anyone to see. Our emotional pallet is written across our faces in far bolder letters than the more subtle emotional cues

found within the body (Ekman 214-215).

Our emotional intent is not the only feature which makes the face so valuable. Our faces are unique to us and allow others to recognize us. This can be true even for identical twins, for even though their genes may be the same, their life experiences are not. For example, the amount of UV light one receives can alter how the face ages; if one twin receives more light than the other, then their faces will differ visibly.

For reasons such as these, the human brain has evolved a specific portion for the sole purpose of recognizing faces (Haxby et al. 923). Based on this neurological information, it makes more and more sense that advertisers and magazines would chose to present the human face more than any other group. By taking advantage of our innate facial recognition software, the meme producers can enhance the likelihood that someone will pay attention to the memes they are producing. Moving the camera's gaze away from the face towards the feet is a risky move which might result in the audience simply skipping over the image entirely, or their minds registering the information as unimportant. By using the face, the meme producers are guaranteed an easy pathway deeper into the observer's mind.

The model rules surrounding the nude category provided some predictable but no less important results. To begin, we find that the nude category was most favoured by *Men's Health* then by *Out* and *Attitude*, with *GQ* providing the least amount of nude images. This result stems largely from the nature of the magazines in question. In the case of the fitness and queer magazines, the body can be shown in large amounts while still retaining the audience's attention as a skin show is something that an audience member can reasonably expect from a magazine of either of these natures.

For the queer magazines, the nude male form holds a unabashed sex appeal. By providing their audience with an opportunity to have a good long look at men being posed specifically for queer benefit, the magazine can increase the likelihood of retaining the gaze of the viewer. The nude

male form holds appeal for both of the sexes; however, two forces collide to enhance the appeal these forms will have to queer male viewers. The first force is the visual nature of the male sexuality, wherein it is easier to turn men on using visual aids, and men respond more rapidly to the showing of skin as their brains have evolved to respond to such stimuli (Pincott 194-197). Perhaps the best example of this is in a test wherein men and women are shown pictures of a nude body and a baby; in most instances, the eyes of women will flick and dilate for the baby first and the body second; men have the opposite reaction (Pease 168).

The second force is that of scarcity. Although the societies involved have made progress towards orientation equality, queer men are still on the outside looking in, so their opportunities to observe images of unclothed males do not yet rival the heterosexual male's access to nude images of women. Part of this is due to the differing sizes of the populations involved: part of it is that women have not had the opportunity to objectify men as women have been objectified, and finally because heteronormativity reduces the opportunities for queer men to objectify men in public to the same degree that heterosexual men can with women. Whilst in their minds queer men might be objectifying their coworkers, friends, and strangers, they lack access to the same opportunities to discuss this objectification publicly with men of the same ilk. However avoidance of the queer gaze by heterosexual males may be in the decline (Coad 35). One of the key features of the decline is the metrosexual tendency of the men involved to accept and encourage the queer gaze much as they do the gaze of women; however, it is still easier for a heterosexual male to publicly evaluate the appearance of a woman than it is for a queer male to do the same in regards to men. The courtesy of being titillated in public is one of the reasons why the queer magazines are still providing these images to their audience.

Out magazine provides an excellent example of this titillation, through the exposure of a gay male athlete's body. The August 2005 issue of *Out* from pages 54 to 60 is an article featuring a gay Olympic gymnast. During the interview the gymnast is shirtless for five of the six pages, his body

placed in a variety of athletic poses which show off his muscular physique. Whilst the image is meant to titillate queer men the athlete's body is still an impressive sight and one which heterosexual men with metrosexual tendencies might appreciate and try to emulate.

Gentlemen's Quarterly might also benefit from the appeal of the nude male form but not enough to run counter to its primary purpose. Unlike the other magazines, *GQ* is primarily a fashion magazine, and were such a magazine to focus upon the male nude, they would have to remove the clothing which is the source of the magazine's nature and identity. How could a fashion magazine hope to succeed if it never shows any clothes? This connection to fashion is so important that every issue of *GQ* contains a fashion spread, created by the magazine to advertise items available from retailers listed in the back of the magazine. The November 2011 issue of *GQ* UK provides an example of one of these photo shoots. The six page spread is found in the middle of the digital edition of the magazine. The promotion features underground artists dressed in high fashion, with the names of the clothes and the retailers who supplied them appearing in one of the corners.

There are also issues of etiquette to consider. *GQ* is considered to be an upscale fashion magazine (Gentleman is even in the name); should it deign to show a large amount of skin, it risks crossing the line into the graphically sexual. Even if the images are impeccably produced, the audience may still be turned off as the images refuse to jive with the expectation of a magazine full of clothing and lifestyle tips. This is not to say that *GQ* never used nudity; it just did so tactfully during a single season. The August months of *GQ* showed more skin than all the others, marking it as one of the few seasonal variations of note in *GQ*.

Men's Health will be showing off the body as the creation of a beautiful body is the primary indicator of health provided by fitness magazines. If the reader can develop the large arms, broad chest or tight waist shown in the magazine, then the magazine has succeeded in its goals. There would be little benefit to *Men's Health* generating a rule that encouraged men to cover up as this would eliminate displays of the very muscles which the magazine hopes to produce in the reader

(Pope et al. 3). In fact the act of covering up might well work against Men's Health as a covered body does not have to meet the same lean muscle fitness standard as a nude one. A covered stomach might be a six pack or it might be keg; it is often hard to tell under baggy gym clothes.

An interesting point to observe is that, aside from two noteworthy exceptions, the advertisements in all the magazines showed more skin than did the magazines themselves. The most overt aspect of showing skin is the sex appeal it represents. Naked skin is almost intrinsically linked with sexuality; thus, the act of showing skin may be interpreted as sexual even if that isn't the stated goal of the display. To clarify, a display of skin may not be sexual in intent, but the audience may interpret said display as sexual regardless. This intrinsic sexuality will alter the memes involved. That being said, the majority of the audience for the majority of the memes will be straight men; therefore, in the interest of mimetic exchange, overt sexuality can not be the only thing causing the production of these memes.

Men look at other men to determine how they themselves should look. As mentioned earlier, the male gaze is drawn to the sight of nude skin; however, this gaze may be evaluative in nature, even amongst queer men. When selling an idea, it is not always the case that the people used to sell the item must resemble the people buying the item. The selling people should have something in common with the buying people to allow the mind to latch on to the image in the first place; however, the images may be of men that the audience wants to look like as opposed to images of average people. Men value the display of musculature; therefore, an advertiser hoping to appeal to these men may use the idealized images of the male form in the hopes of convincing the audience that purchasing an advertised product may cause the purchaser to gain the body of the man in the advertisement. A good example of this can be found on the cover of the August 2011 issue of *Men's Health* UK Digital Edition. On the cover the model is shirtless and dripping wet,having just emerged from a pond. The magazine's dedication to muscularity can be seen in the model's well sculpted physique which features a fully visible six pack, and very little body fat. Despite the water

the image is not presented as sexual, but more of an asexual fantasy wherein the male viewer imagines himself as emerging from the water complete with the muscles gained from following the advice found in *Men's Health*.

This does not mean that the technique can not be overused. As mentioned earlier, an overuse of the nude form risks becoming pornographic in nature and this is precisely what happened in *Attitude* magazine. The majority of the advertisements in the earlier issues of the magazine were promoting the purchase of pornographic material; however, around 2008 there was an editorial change and the pornographic section of the magazine was greatly reduced, taking with it the dominance of the advertising images in Attitude magazine. This change likely occurred because of a number of reasons. The first reason is that the internet now provides easy, and often times free, access to a wide variety of pornographic material; therefore, it makes little sense for a magazine to continue attempting to profit from theses sorts of materials. The second reason is that by reducing and isolating its pornographic content, the magazine is able to enhance its mainstream appeal. In this case, sex was being overused causing the audience to reach a saturation point early, while at the same time giving offence to more conservative viewers. A prime example of this is that *Attitude* magazine produces an issue each year dedicated to queer youth. Before the change over, the back of these youth issues contained advertisements for hardcore pornography that often times encouraged negative lifestyle choices, such as sex without condoms. Pornographic content, which encouraged young men to engage in the dangerous practice of having sex without a condom, needed to be removed so that the magazine might better its overall message while giving itself a more mainstream appeal.

An important question emerges as we consider the use of body hair as well as facial hair: why remove it? In both cases there is the point of skin visibility. With the body, the absence of body hair allows the viewer an unobstructed view of the body and the muscles it contains. With the face, the same unobstructed view is provided but the need for communication is greater in this region

than in the body: remember the attentions of the magazine and advertisers focused on the face first, the body second and for good reason. With a shaven face, the mouth and jaw line open up for the viewer's inspection. Whilst facial hair is a masculine trait, so are certain jaw lines and lip formations. A fuller set of lips is considered more feminine than a thinner set. These same lips are important for more than just verbal communication; for example, the thinning of the lips can indicate anger (Ekman 135-142), the tilting of them may mean happiness or sadness depending on the direction of the tilt, and finally the lips become flushed and engorged during arousal, which is one of the reasons women are encouraged to wear lipstick (Pincott 157).

The jaw line is a male indicator as the presence of testosterone helps to shape the male face during puberty. These jaw line changes can prove important to reproductive decisions as, statistically speaking, women have evolved differing subconscious uses for the variety of male faces (Pincott 14). Men with baby faces are considered less masculine, but not necessarily in a bad way, for those same faces are believed to belong to men with higher fidelity than men with stronger jaw lines. However, men with strong jaw lines are considered to be better mate choices as far as breeding is concerned as their testosterone laden jaws indicate strong genes. This genetic strength comes from the immuno-weakening effects of testosterone which makes it harder for men with larger testosterone to survive disease; thus, those that have will have stronger genes. All told, there exists a subconscious evolutionary bias amongst most females to mate with men with strong jaws, but for men with weaker jaw lines to raise the baby as their lower testosterone levels makes them less prone to philandering as well as aggression (Pincott 125-126). This lowering of aggression tendencies may be one of the reason why men's testosterone levels drop when holding a baby; the baby cannot be reproduced with and should not be killed, thus the hormone which enhances sex drive and aggression is reduced in those males who chose a mate and have a child.

Baby-faced men also gain advantage through a process of infantilization. Men do not gain chest nor body hair until such time as they have begun puberty; therefore, those men who have

shaven their faces or chests have infantilized their body by making it appear more prepubescent than it was before. A similar phenomena is believed to affect the desire for women who have removed all hair surrounding their genitalia. This should not be interpreted as a universal pedophilic desire amongst humans, but instead may stem from a more subtle evolutionary trend. Humans have been trending towards the baby face for thousands of years (Dawkins The Greatest Show 205).

Our species has been continuously selecting for baby-like traits in adults not as a grand design but instead as the result of a series of subtle model rules playing themselves out over time. There are social advantages to having a baby face. To begin with, there is the earlier mentioned appeal of baby-faced men as parents. Yes, baby-faced men are less desirable as short-term sperm donors but their appeal as long-term parents may overwhelm the initial desires of women to reproduce with the manliest-looking man in the room. Women are not slaves to their instincts and are perfectly capable of choosing moderate long-term gain over gross short-term gain. There are non-reproductive advantages to having a childish face, one of them is that those with baby faces are less likely to be blamed for things that may be their fault. Provided that the misdeed is not one based on incompetence or neglect, the baby-faced individual will be less likely to be found guilty, the flip side being that baby-faced individuals are more likely to be convicted of misdeeds resulting from incompetence or neglect (Dutton 67).

The most important of the advantages provided by the infantilized face is that it encourages the compassion of others. People are hardwired to care for babies; if they weren't, we wouldn't still be here as a species, but this wiring is also based on model rules which can be applied in adults. One of these model rules is that babies have soft small chins, something which baby-faced low testosterone men bring with them into adulthood. The small chin is also a trait which is concealed by the presence of too much facial hair. The illusion of increased chin size to be found with increased facial hair helps to enhance the chin jut gesture found in primates; however, as this gesture is dominant, it reduces the effectiveness of traits aimed at making the male seem more

vulnerable and therefore in need of care.

The counterpoint to the potency of the baby face is that it makes the person possessing it harder to distinguish as male. Although there may be differing opinions on the attractiveness of facial hair (apparently many people find kissing a hairy face scratchy and unpleasant), there is no doubt that the presence of facial hair helps to distinguish one as a man. Based on this, there is an example of facial grooming which may provide some of the best of both worlds. While the shaven face was always the most popular style, the second most popular style was the shadowed look. This look allows the wearer to maintain a small jaw line, but also allows them to demonstrate visibly that they are male. The shadowed look will reduce the disadvantages of facial hair by not increasing the size of the chin, and not providing the same unpleasant sensation when kissing, but does not go so far as to reduce them completely. There is always a trade off and because of this, the shaven face remains the dominant style in all of the magazines.

Infantilization is hardly the only force at work here as consumerism likely has a greater role to play. Men are persuaded to shave so that they will purchase the products necessary to maintain the beauty of their groomed faces. The act of shaving is repetitious as is the purchase of the products involved in it, making both examples of gender performance. Each time a man grooms his facial hair, or purchases the products required to groom said hair, he reifies himself as a man. The act of shaving the face is so associated with manhood that the first shave is one of the common modern rites of passage for young men. Having enough hair to shave off is a way that a youth can know he is that much more a man.

Turning now to the issue of sexuality, we see a telling similarity found between the national manly stereotype and the national queer countertype. The existence of large scale similarities between the two supposed poles, in two different national cultures, likely represents further destabilization of the polarized collective gaze. Enhanced media attentions being placed upon the male body have increased the desire for more beautiful men, resulting in increased demand for

memes of attractive male objectification, and who better to provide these memes than queer men? The once shameful queer eye is now in demand for the straight guy hoping to adapt to a rapidly changing world where previously concrete patriarchal rules are now questioned (Coad 35). Modern patriarchal methodologies no longer hold the same consistent results in the post-modern world. As the previous patriarchy wanes in authority the minds of men wander in search of replacement rules by which to live their manhood. This does not mean that the various egalitarian forces of the post-modern world have suddenly brought about a level playing field, but instead men go forth to seek those memes which provide them with advantage in life; some of these memes will be based on egalitarian ideals as the growing power of marginalized groups has increased the need to truck with them in a respectful manner.

An abundance of choices has resulted in a homogenizing of masculinity evolving into a heterogeneous masculine spectrum that is more inclusive of queer-nurtured memes and model rules. This does not mean that masculinity is all inclusive, but instead masculinity shows an adaptation of gender to accommodate the post-modern norms.

In the post-modern world of the new millenium, queer body image memes are providing novel evolutionary advantages through their scarcity. Increasing queer visibility has provided increased social proofs of the normativity of certain queer activities (such as grooming habits) resulting in an increased perception of similarity between queer men and the greater national masculine stereotype. This increased similarity increases the opportunity for the law of liking to be applied to queer memes. This similarity liking can result in a greater chance of mimetic appropriation. As appropriation increases, the scarcity of queer memes becomes an advantage promoting further desire for their consumption. The desire for consumption puts pressure on the existing masculine hegemony to authorize the further use of these memes via the authoring of rules which adapt to the influx of previously countertypical memes. This authorization/authoring adds the weight of authority to the perception of queer normativity. The legalization of gay marriage exists as

a classic example of the hegemony authorizing/authoring an aspect of queer normativity. Once gay marriage has been authorized, the previous rules which relate to gay marriage must be updated to accommodate the new normativity. This process is not instantaneous, nor universal, but instead is viral in nature, with the fall of each persuasion domino-triggering the fall of its neighbour. In some cases the regional social proofs will reify the rules later provided by the authorities, whilst in others the rules of the authorities will reify previously marginalized social proofs. In short, the discursive authorities adapt to the new memes by authorizing alteration to the rules of discourse, resulting in the availability of new masculine stereotypes which can be normatively committed to.

In relation to gay men in particular, there have been great strides in visibility and acceptance made over the past decade. These strides have allowed men to take advantage of the wisdom of the gay male gaze without as much fear of assimilation. The belief that homosexuality can be transmitted has faded, allowing straight men to assume homosexually pioneered behaviours without worry of becoming gay.

Queer culture nurtures certain memes. For example, gay men did not invent metrosexuality but they have nurtured it by greater cultural participation than straight individuals. By nature gay men gaze at men in a way which straight men do not, the sexual objectification of men provides additional reasons for the memes of male beauty to occupy additional neurological space. This sexualization of the gaze will also influence the performance of manhood by gay men, adding a sexual element that was less prevalent in straight men. This does not mean that straight men have never had to involve a sexual element in their dress and appearance, but instead that until recently straight man culture has had other behaviours which were more effective, such as making money. Now that women can provide for themselves, they no longer need the same level of providing to be performed by masculinity in general; therefore, straight men must look elsewhere to top off their inter-sexual relational memes. The natural objectification of the male form results in gay men being perfect candidates for the mimetic contributions needed for consumption by straight men to form a

new more inclusive masculinity. Shared media, such as men's lifestyle magazines, help to promote

the exchange of memes by providing a platform for the reification of collective male body image

rules.

Conclusions

The October 2006 cover of the magazine shows off the body of a young actor. This image is of particular importance as it demonstrates a meterosexual paradigm. The actor's looks are ideal. As a black and white image, his hair is automatically black, but also cut short. His face is shadowed, adding to his appeal by allowing him to stand out while still being normative. Facial hair makes it even easier to distinguish him as masculine. The actor is dressed in only swim trunks, leaving his highly muscled torso bare for all to admire. What makes this image different from the previous *Men's Health* example is that the actor's body is turned to the side, instead of facing the audience head on. Instead of a wall of chest and abdominal muscles, the audience is treated to an accentuation of the male curves. The chest and abdominal muscles are still in view, but now at an angle that allows for more mystery, instead of a full lite exposure, the muscles are distinguishable by the shadows they cast, making their outline all the more enticing. His arm flexes down the body, guiding the gaze down between the valley of chest, back and stomach, until the eye reaches the hips, buttocks, and groin. The addition of the pelvis region covered only in clingy thin material clearly sexualizes the image making the man even more desirable, this is where metrosexuality comes in.

Metrosexuality allows the memes involved in the construction of the sexualized actor image to be broken down by individuals and turned into body images. For most of the male viewers the image represents either a rival or a fantasy. The rivalry comes from a natural sense of mate competition, the fantasy is where things get interesting. For heterosexual men this image can be used as an asexual description of men, including the viewer himself. The viewer need not identify with all the memes in the image, perhaps he only admires the stomach or arms, but some of the memes will be taken in, and processed to be used in the construction of new models of masculine

appearance.

The solitary nature of the image allows the sexualized element of the actor to be more fully realized for there is no presumption of hetero-normativity within the image. Given the actor's sensual pose, and the absence any clear target for the sexual display, it is logical for the mind to fantasize that the viewer is the target of the sensual gaze. This puts homosexual men in a bind as these men are left with the desire to be both the actor and the subject of the actor's gaze, providing a double role for gay men to play. This cover invites both gay and straight men to enjoy the memes provided by *Men's Health*.

In the end the globalizing capitalist homogeneity of metrosexuality allows for images such as the sexualized actor to transcend gender orientation boundaries and transmit themselves to a greater portion of men. Because of this common thread the images in all six of the magazines proved to be largely homogenous, demonstrating that the viewers of these magazines are consuming approximately the same memes. In order to uncover the homogeneity rules surrounding male body image I had to rely on a number of other theorists.

My examination of the process of gendered body image evolution based on mimetic acquisition of model rules from evolving magazine images significantly draws on Butler's concept of gender performance, turning gender from an attribute of biological sex, to a performance enacted by the individual. Foucault's work provided me with the idea of discursive sex, wherein the category of sex is itself just a mimetic prop being used to link numerous smaller concepts into one larger whole which can then be discussed. Foucault's work points to a near obsessive discussion within society on the subject of sex and sexuality. Hegemonic forces ranging from religion to science are constantly probing, discussing, and in the process defining the nature of sex, and by extension gender. This discussion of gender leads to the creation of stereotypes, and to the work of Mosse. Mosse's work demonstrated existing manly stereotypes which represent how society as a whole is performing gender, with the collective stereotypes influencing the individual gender performances

proposed by Butler, all of which combine to perform the sexual discussion proposed by Foucault.

The works of Herbert Mead, Richard Dawkins, and Jean Baudrillard were instrumental in bridging the gap between discursive theory and observable phenomenon. Mead proposed the existence of gestural phenomenon known as significant symbols. The use of significant symbols permits the lexicon and grammar of the gender/sex discussion. By applying significant symbols to gendered images, the mind can make sense of otherwise meaningless data, in much the same way as these symbols turn three lines into a capital A. Whilst Mead proposed these symbols he does not provide a way of measuring them. However the use of Dawkins' memes turn the significant symbols into measurable phenomena. In addition Dawkins' appropriation of model rules permits the combining of multiple smaller memes into one larger model rule, turning the mimetic words into a model rule sentence. The use of these model rules allows us to demonstrate rules which help to define both the individual gender performances and the larger gender stereotypes. Baudrillard's work on models adds to this by explaining how theoretical symbols and memes can become attached to concrete objects such as magazine images, through the production of models and series. Butler, Foucault, Mosse, and Mead all inform my discussion of gender whilst the model rules allow the content of this discussion to be recorded and analyzed. Most important to this analysis is the idea that over time the gender ideas of the individual and the collective can be reified to change or remain the same. By encapsulating Mead's significant symbols in the concept of memes and models, Dawkins and Baudrillard grant us a way to observe how significant symbols, and with them our genders, evolve over time.

Cialidini's work helps to explain the persuasion laws which act as natural selection pressures for this mimetic gendered body image evolution. Given that both the individual and collective genders are performative in nature, they must rely on persuasion in order to convince others that the ephemeral memes of gender are in fact real things. This process involves the reification of gender through the persuasion of the self and others that gender in fact exists at all, and that a specific

person or behaviour is gendered. By outlining six primordial laws of persuasion, Cialidini defines natural selection pressures which will affect how memes are exchanged.

Reciprocity, commitment and consistency, social proofs, liking, authority, and scarcity describes the nature of the system of exchange between individual, magazine, and advertisements. These laws proved to be invaluable description tools in the observation of gendered body image evolution. The laws provided a paradigmatic lens through which natural selection pressure might be reduced to an observable form.

Through the use of memes, rules, and laws this study has demonstrated that the images found in magazines are changing over time in a manner consistent with the evolution of memes. By utilizing the concept of model rules we have been able to establish the messages which the magazines are providing for their readers. These rules differ from magazine to magazine, continent to continent, magazine to advertiser; however, these images were more similar than they were different, and it is this homogeneity which is of greatest interest, as it relays the impact of our society on our individual efforts of gender performance. The balancing act between homogeneity and heterogeneity was a consistent theme throughout the magazines.

In conclusion, we see that the greater the target population to see the image, the more homogeninized it will be. Despite their differing content, the images in the magazines followed model rules which were more similar than different. That being said the few differences which did exist were telling, demonstrating biases which separated the magazines and cultures based on the varying gendered body images they chose to reify.

Gendered body image is like a self-referential advertisement constantly performed. The continuous repetition of the memes of the gender performance results in the replication and transmission of those memes, allowing them to evolve. Whilst individuals have a variety of options available to them, the magazine and advertisements have less as they have to repeat their gender body image performances for a greater audience. The greater the audience, the greater the

homogeneity as the gender performance must conform to rules which apply to a greater number of people. A single individual can dye their hair green and have that advertisement go no further than the local level; however, if a company such as Gucci were to dye the hair of the models in their advertising campaign green, then this meme would be spread to a much wider audience and risk a much greater disapproval. The nature of risk is what makes these rules so important. By following the simple patterns laid out by these rules, the individual, the magazine, and the advertisements can increase the likelihood that their memes will fit in with the dominant manly stereotype rather than be labelled a countertype. These rules also assist those looking to become the countertype as they provide guides to fitting in at various levels. Take for example hair length, if a man/organization wanted their body image to fit in better, then they might cut their hair short, as this is the most populous meme. If they wanted to stand out, then they might grow their hair long as this is the least populous meme. Even a middle ground is possible as the example of hair colour demonstrates. If a man or organization wanted to fit in, but did not wish to be completely common, then they might take action to change their hair to a brown colour. If they wanted to stand out but not too much, then they might dye their hair blonde. By obeying the model rules, gender performers have a choice in how normative their performed memes will be, with those with the greatest audience performing the most homogeninized memes.

This still leaves us with a homogenous culture whose model rules are often times damaging to their performers. One approach to solving this problem could be to provide model rules which teach individuals to better adapt to the ubiquitous advertising which surrounds us, allowing us to form healthier body images despite the homogeneity of the manly stereotypes. As the rules spread, they will allow individuals to adjust their gender performances. As the power of individual performances increases, so too does the impact of their contribution to collective culture. Power being not just a measure of the number of individuals providing social proofs, but the level of commitment to the new rules. The new model rules will spread via discourse. By changing the

conscious decisions made at the individual level, we can change the model rules being followed by masculinity in general.

The above finding impacted me personally, as did the study in general. I learned that my gender is made up of the choices that I have made, including the media I chose to consume. I have also been impacted by the understanding that like a magazine, my gender performance is a source of memes for other people to use in trying to define masculinity. By changing my personal definition of masculinity, possibly by changing the sources of the memes which I consume, I can change the memes which I help propagate and in the process influence the model rules for the local masculine behaviour. Gender requires the reification of an audience; as audience members we have choices in what we reify and how gender plays out over time.

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