Gender Persuasions

– A Comparative Analysis of Commodified Gender Identities in Fashion and Lifestyle Magazine Covers

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Tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kaupallisia sukupuoli-identiteettejä kahden muotilehden, *Glamour* ja *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (*GQ)*, kansissa. Tutkimuksen päämääränä oli kartoittaa ja verrata miehille ja naisille rakennettuja identiteettejä mahdollisimman monipuolisesti, tarkastellen kansitekstien ja kansien visuaalisten elementtien sisältöä ja rakennetta.

Lehtien kannet muodostavat kuvien, tekstien, värien ja sommittelun kautta yhden viestinnällisen kokonaisuuden. Kansilla on kaksi pääasiallista tehtävää: ne kertovat lehden sisällöstä ja toimivat sen mainoksena. Kansien on siis oltava sekä houkuttelevia että informatiivisia. Tästä johtuen tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin kansien sisällön lisäksi myös sitä miten sisällöllä pyritään vaikuttamaan lukijaan. Tutkimuksessa analysoitiin mitä prosesseja, osallistujia, vuorovaikutuksia ja asenteita kansien kuvista ja teksteistä löytyy. Lisäksi selvitettiin kannen eri osien merkittävyyttä komposition kautta.

Tutkimusaineisto sisältää yhteensä 48 muotilehden kantta vuosilta 2005–2006 ja niitä tarkasteltiin kahden tutkimusmenetelmän avulla. Ne olivat kvalitatiivinen kriittisen diskurssianalyysi ja kvantitatiivinen sisällönanalyysi. Tutkimusnäkökulma oli multimodaalinen, näin ollen kansitekstien lisäksi analysoitiin myös kansien visuaalisia elementtejä. Tavoitteena oli, että eri tutkimusaspektien avulla saadaan mahdollisimman monipuolinen kuva kaupallisten sukupuoli-identiteettinen diskurssien rakenteista ja funktioista.

Tutkimuksen tulokset osoittavat, että molemmat lehdet luovat epärealistisia yhteyksiä ulkonäön ja identiteetin välille sekä kansikuvissa että kansiteksteissä. Sukupuoli-identiteeteistä on tehty kaupallisuuden ja kuluttamisen apuvälineitä, joissa miehisyyttä ja naisellisuutta korostetaan eri keinoin. Tästä johtuen sukupuoli-identiteetit ovat esineellistettyjä ja ulkonäkökeskeisiä.

Varsinkin naisten kaupallinen identiteetti keskittyy kehoon ja ulkonäön viehättävyyteen. Kansikuvissa ja -teksteissä korostetaan hoikkuutta, kurvikkuutta, seksikkyyttä, hyvää ihoa ja kauniita hiuksia. Lisäksi naisten vartaloista ja seksuaalisuudesta on tehty objekteja, joilla voidaan myydä sekä naisten että miesten muotilehtiä. Miesten kaupallinen identiteetti puolestaan on enemmän yksilökeskeinen, jossa vaatteet ja kuluttaminen ovat osa statusta, mukavuutta ja aktiviteettejä.

Lehtien kansissa miehiä houkutellaan ja kannustetaan kuluttajina, kun taas naisiin kohdistetaan enemmän vaatimuksia ja velvoitteita. Tämä näkyy esimerkiksi adjektiivien komparatiivi- ja superlatiivimuotojen käytössä kansiteksteissä. *GQ:n* kansiteksteissä käytetään lähes pelkästään superlatiiveja, kun taas *Glamourin* kansissa, varsinkin lukijoihin kohdistuvissa teksteissä, käytetään pääasiallisesti komparatiiveja. Siinä missä lehtien kansien mukaan miehet ovat siis aina parhaita ja heille tarjotaan vain parasta, ovat naiset ikuisesti pakotettuja pyrkimään muuttamaan itseään kohti parempaa.

Avainsanat: sukupuoli-identiteetit, kaupallisuus, kriittinen diskurssianalyysi, multimodaalisuus, muotilehtien kannet, *Glamour, GQ*

1 Introduction

Fashion and lifestyle magazine covers are a genre in which text, image, colors and layout merge to produce communicational whole. It is a genre which is recognizable and fairly homogenous across the market. Take any fashion and lifestyle magazine cover, separate the image and the text. Among other images, even other fashion shots, cover pictures stand out with their saturated colors, highly stylized and retouched content. Similarly, the short coverline texts have distinctive linguistic features that make them recognizable. Cover page is the 'face' of the magazine; it is the page that is seen even by those that do not buy the magazine. Consequently magazine covers are important sales tools that need to both persuade and inform. Many magazine professionals and scholars in the field assert that the cover is the most important page in a magazine (Click and Baird 1974: 168; Holmes 2000: 162; McCracken 1993: 14; McLoughlin 2000: 15).

From the perspective of linguistic research, magazine covers are a form of multimodal persuasive discourse, where it is important to examine both what is communicated and how it is communicated. Fairclough (1992: 86) calls this examining the thematic and schematic structures of communication. In his later work Fairclough (1995a: 188) goes further in stating that content (theme) and form (scheme) are interconnected because contents are realized in forms and thus examining only one impoverishes analysis. Scheufle (2000: 307) maintains that magazine covers can reveal interesting relationships between "social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists." Therefore, considering the impact and importance of magazine covers, it is remarkable how little linguistic or gender research has been done on them.

Perhaps the lack of academic interest can partly be explained by the multimodal nature of the material. In a magazine cover the visual together with the text forms a single semiotic system, where photographic, language, color and layout choices form complex connections (Holmes 2000: 162; McCracken 1993: 13). This is fruitful material for gender identity research, since magazine covers contain such "value-laden semiotic systems … that conflate desire and consumerism. In

most cases, the meaning systems are immensely successful in selling both copies of the magazines and the products advertised inside" (McCracken 1993: 1-2). Therefore, who and what is on the magazine cover and how they are presented there function as indicators of deeper values and meanings of gender identity and body image, especially of commercial gender identity. The magazines' aim is to persuade the readers to adopt certain views on life and gender and express these through appearance: to commit to a certain lifestyle.

The focus of this study is to compare how these commercial discourses are constructed for women and for men. Thus, the emphasis is on persuasive discourse; what is being sold and how it is sold to the readers. The decision to do a comparative analysis was based on two factors: firstly, relatively few studies on gender identity have had comparative focus; and secondly, comparative viewpoint is useful in examining the variations and distinctive features of feminine and masculine representations. In essence, what has been missing is a comparative study that examines how similar or different the commercial identity and ideological constructions are for men and women. My purpose in this study is to delve into this previously ignored niche.

Part of the disconnection between studying women's and men's issues is due to the sometimes fairly political aims and results of gender research, as well as the motivational differences behind the two areas of research. Women's studies arose to point out and combat the disparities and inequalities existing between the two genders, especially by examining the structural hegemony of women in societies. In the studies on women's fashion and lifestyle magazines this work has mainly focused on examining the harmful representation of femininity (Delin 2000: 180; Goldman 1992: 124). Studies in men and masculinity have concentrated on researching similar concerns in men that previously have only been explored in women; partly in real effort to comprehend the male gender and its constructions, but doubtlessly also in a reaction to women's studies and the changing nature of gender roles (Kimmel 2000: 5-6). Both fields of study have found that mass-media has a key role in shaping social reality and masculine and feminine gender

identities with framing. This refers to a media practice where certain qualities and characteristics are emphasized while others are overlooked (Entman 1993: 52, 55; Goldman 1992: 123).

For my core data I have chosen a total of 48 fashion and lifestyle magazine covers catering to female and male readerships. These two magazines are *Glamour* and *Gentlemen's Quarterly (GQ)*, respectively. The analytic methodology is a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis. The quantitative content analysis facilitates the classification and numerical presentation of results, while the qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) enables the closer examination of identity formations, how they are framed, and what type of hegemonic gender constructions are present on the magazine covers. In other words, content analysis allows for systematic and replicable way of examining and describing data and critical discourse analysis aids in the more in-depth exploration of those findings.

My research questions are: what kind of commodified gender identities are constructed for men and women on the magazine covers and how are they 'sold' to the readers? More specifically I aim to discover this by analyzing *representational*, *interpersonal* and *compositional* metafunctions in magazine cover images and language. *Representational*, *interpersonal* and *compositional* features of communication demonstrate the participants and processes, interactions and attitudes, as well as placement prominence of elements in magazine covers. In order to do this I have created a suitable 'tool kit' of methodologies for a comparative analysis of gender identity by using techniques from content analysis and critical discourse analysis. Because magazine covers are a combination text, images, color and layout, the analysis also needs reflect that. Therefore, my study has a multimodal perspective and include some of the extra-lingual features into the examination. In essence, my work can be thought of as a 'kaleidoscope' study, where the shifting focus of approaches is aimed to reveal the various functions and structures of commodified gender identity. The theory behind this is that the analysis of the different components of discourse will lead to a better understanding of the whole.

The structure of the study is as follows: chapter 2 discusses the theoretical concepts of discourse, gender, hegemony and framing in the context of gender and media research and magazine covers. Chapter 3 offers background on the analytical techniques of content analysis and critical discourse analysis and argues their appropriateness for this study and for multimodal research. Chapter 4 looks at the forces that guide the magazine cover construction and reviews previous studies of gender identity on magazine covers. Chapter 5 specifies the data and methods of this study. Chapters 6-8 are research chapters that analyze commodified gender identities in cover images (chapter 6), coverline discursive themes (chapter 7) and clause and lexical structures in coverlines (chapter 8). The final chapter offers a summary of the findings, evaluation of the methodology and explores possible future applications of this study.

The aim is to show that gender identity, both male and female, is framed with ideologies of consumerism and consumption; and both genders are subjected to the hegemony of consumption, as well as objectification and image-driven definitions of identity in magazine covers. However, this study will also demonstrate that commercial female identity revolves much more on bodily appearance than male identity. Men are more likely to be cajoled and encouraged as consumers, whereas women are subjected to demands and obligations. Consequently, male identity is constructed around concepts of pleasure, status and activities and female identity around physical appearance and attractiveness.

2 Central Theoretical Issues

This chapter introduces some key concepts that help define the nature of this study. First I will define what discourse is in regards to this study. The next sections discuss gender and its commodified nature in our modern society and how these gender identities are propagated through hegemony and framing.

2.1 Discourse

Discourse can be said to be many things to many scholars. Indeed, the concept of discourse has been shaped by several diverse academic fields (Schiffrin 1994: 5). Moreover, discourse, as an academic term, has become so commonplace that in fields like critical theory, sociology, linguistics, philosophy and social psychology it is habitually left undefined as piece of common knowledge (Mills 1997: 1). Schiffrin (1994: 42) goes further in stating that in linguistics discourse analysis is one of the most prolific and diverse but also the least defined areas of research. The objective here is to introduce and clarify how discourse is understood in the scope of this study.

In the most general terms discourse can be defined as "all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds" (Potter and Wetherell 1987: 7), "language which communicates a meaning in a context" (Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002: 9) or "meaningful symbolic behavior" (Blommaert 2005: 2). Unfortunately, these rather generalized definitions do not particularly aid in understanding the vastly varied ways that different disciplines and scholars approach the analysis of discourse.

For my work, it is important to acknowledge that the analysis of discourse is closely linked with the analysis communication means and aims where the target is to gather further understanding of the societal values and norms. Therefore, studying discourse means studying "language-in-action, and investigating it requires attention both to language and to action" (Blommaert (2005: 2). This is a more modern approach to the rather traditionalist view often expressed in linguistics that rarely acknowledges the presence of other discursive resources than words, text and utterances. In

essence, discourse is seen as more than just words strung together, it can also be sounds and images (van Leeuwen 2005: 98). Moreover, in a study focusing on the analysis of modern magazine covers (where images, literally, have a central role), it would be careless to ignore the part that the visual plays in propagating discursive messages; especially since semiotic research has shown that meaning is produced not only by the separate items and modes of communication but also through the connections that exist between them (Blommaert 2005: 3).

This work circumvents the long debated issue in discourse studies on whether the focus should be on 'form' or 'content' (Fairclough 1992: 23), by embracing both approaches in analysis. The use of both quantitative and qualitative methods enables to present a more comprehensive description on how gendered identity discourses are constructed from the word up, since language is one component of social practice which both mirrors and constructs our perception of the world (Litosseliti 2006: 1). As Fairclough (1989: 23) explains: "Language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena *are* social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena *are* (in part) linguistic phenomena." The aim of this study, consequently, is to examine discourse as a linguistic device and to acknowledge that language in context comprises of more than just interaction between reader, writer and text (Fairclough 1992: 3).

I find it useful here to also shortly discuss the difference between *discourse* as a mass noun and *discourse/discourses* as a count noun. According to Fairclough (1992: 4-5) the term *discourse* can refer to both language use as a social practice (discourse as mass noun) and to particular discourse types and customs (discourse as count noun). To clarify, he later suggests that the term *discourse* as count noun can be used to refer such elements of texts as content, ideational meaning, topic and subject matter (Fairclough 1992: 127-128). For example, chapter 7 examines and classifies the coverlines according to their subject matter (e.g. what is the content of the coverlines). Fairclough (1992: 4-5) calls these 'discourse types'. The term *discourse* can (and will in this work) also be used in the sense of genre. Genre comprises of certain linguistic conventions, attitudes and actions (Litosseliti 2006: 52). For instance, in chapter 4, I discuss how in magazine coverlines two

genres/discourses come together: magazine editorial discourse and advertising discourse. Fairclough (1992: 5) refers to these as 'discourse practices' of institutions, organizations and societies.

Nevertheless, the main purpose of my research is to discover the discursive patterns that reflect the ways in which the magazine covers portray gender identities. These discourses "may also be a part of a network or 'order' of discourse, by which post-structuralist theories refer to a larger, shifting complex of discursive/social practices" (Litosseliti 2006: 50). In summary, discourses are grouped together for variety reasons, may it be due to their content, style, circumstantial similarity or because of some organizational force, or simply because they are deemed similar in their nature (Mills 1997: 62). Perhaps this complex notion of discourse permits us to examine human communication and thus human character in a more complex and meaningful way.

2.2 Commodified Gender

According to Mills (1997: 17), there are separate sets of discourses that define femininity and masculinity and that this is demonstrated by the differing parameters of behavior that are deemed acceptable for either gender. The idea in this study, therefore, is to use *gender* as an enabling term, which allows for the analysis of comparison in the sense that gender identities can be "considered relationally rather than essentially; so that, when discussing the nature of femininity, it is only possible to do so in relation to other forms of sexual identity" (Mills 1995b: 4). Kimmel goes further in stating that

> the definition of either [gender] depends upon the definition of the other … one cannot understand the social construction of either masculinity or femininity without reference to the other … Put quite simply, this research suggests that although both masculinity and femininity are socially constructed within a historical context of gender relations, definitions of masculinity are historically reactive to changing definitions of femininity (Kimmel 1987: 12, 14).

Gender, therefore, is not something that is stable or unchanging. We are neither born with or grow up to a fixed gender model (Cameron 1997: 49; Edley 2001: 191-2). Gender is rather something that is done collectively through discourses. Gendered discourses help describe,

maintain, reconstruct and even challenge the social practices linked to femininity or masculinity (Litosseliti 2006: 58). In this way, discourses can be *gendering* as well as *gendered* (Sunderland 2004: 22), where meaning can be reproduced continuously and negotiated through culture and language, such as the media's verbal and visual messages. Moreover, as Cameron and Kulick point out that

> having a certain kind of body (sex), living as a certain kind of social being (gender), and having certain kinds of erotic desires (sexuality) – are not understood or experienced by most people in present-day social reality as distinct and separate. Rather, they are *interconnected* (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 5).

Consequently, concepts such as *gender* cannot be examined as a wholly separate category from *sex* and *sexuality*, especially in a fashion magazine cover discourse where much of the content is focused on issues related to the body.

Furthermore, gender identities have become increasingly dependent on commodified descriptions of masculinity and femininity. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 171) explain, the gender differences are not only maintained but also constructed through continuous production, marketing and consumption of gendering products, such as clothes, fragrance, make-up and gadgets. Therefore, commodities are no longer needed to simply fulfill needs, but have become means of expressing gender identity as well as individuality (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 167). In essence, we now construct our lives through commodities, as corroborated by Baudrillard's (1998: 29) rather pessimistic declaration: "We are at the point where consumption is laying hold of the whole of life."

Indeed, the fact that people can learn social practices, values and ideologies through the discourses present in the mass media have not been missed by the media operators and thus identity discourses hold a central place in fashion and lifestyle magazines. This is evident in both advertising and editorial material, which repeatedly make appeals to identity and lifestyle and thus strengthening the role of consumption as an expression of identity and group solidarity in society (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 167, 170). Consequently commodified discourses are a powerful gender identity construction tools and magazines use them to establish a sense of closeness and community

with the reader in order to mold the reader's perception of identity to suit their own commercial purposes.

In magazine discourse, and especially the cover, gender identity typically locates itself in and around the body. As Baudrillard (1998: 129) explains: "In the consumer package, there is one object finer, more precious and more dazzling than any other … That object is the BODY." Roach Anleu (2006: 357) expounds on this notion by explaining that in all past and present societies human bodies have been subjected to different restrictive rules and regulations, which have frequently created inequalities between genders. In today's society

> notions like the healthy body, the beautiful body, and the fit body conveyed via popular culture – magazines, television, billboard advertising, and the Internet – tend to be highly normative, gender-specific, and biased by White Anglo-Saxon middle-class standards of beauty and body shape (Roach Anleu 2006: 370).

Both men and women as consumers are posed in the magazine discourses with a need to have an investment in their bodies, both in an economic and physical sense (Baudrillard 1998: 29). Consequently, men and women may as consumers fashion their bodies into kind of products that are subjected to the forces and trends of consumption.

Especially in women's fashion and lifestyle magazines, women have been strongly identified as the shoppers and operators in the consumer culture (McCracken 1993:10). Men's fashion magazines, however, do follow in the same lines. Although *GQ* expresses their aims somewhat more subtly, their intentions are nevertheless clear, communicating ideologies and identity roles to their readers: "The magazine is fueled by a belief that writer passion leads to reader passion" (*GQ* Mission Statement 2005). Conventionally, women's bodies have been used to sell commodities and services. In short, this means that men have been cast as the viewers and women as the exhibiters. McCracken (1993: 20) agrees that the magazine cover images are often influenced by a veiled male perspective that determines the feminine ideal. This echoes a widespread feminist theory which argues that there is a clear convention of depicting images from the perspective of a heterosexual male (Berger 1972: 47, 63).

Although it seems to be an undeniable fact that the "best selling covers tend to feature the voluptuous female body, which men lust for and women aspire to have" (Johnson 2006: 60), the argumentation for what connotations the female image conveys today is far more complex than that of a mere reflection of male desire. Indeed, an image of a beautiful woman in an advertisement or a magazine cover appeals equally to men and women (McCracken 1993: 6) because it offers women a dream, building desire and anticipations of attainable beauty and success. Goldman (1992: 112) offers proof of this by stating that many marketing surveys in the fashion field reveal how modern women evaluate their appearance in terms of other women and their opinions. In addition, in the advertising directed towards women

> [a] dialectic of desire, envy and power is embedded in … advertisements' form of address … [which] has sublated the judging power of the male gaze into a self-policing narcissistic gaze … [where] autonomy and control can be obtained through voluntary self-fetishization …[and thus] gender power is now partially lived out at the level of appearances (Goldman 1992: 108).

For men and men's magazines, however, definitions of masculine identity have conventionally included the rejection of feminine traits (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 190). According to Craik (1994: 172, 179), men have since industrialization consciously disassociated from the idleness and indulgence of aristocratic behavior by rejecting its values as effeminate. Consequently, representations of utility and practicality have been considered to be masculine and preoccupations with body and appearance have been commonly associated with femininity (Craik 1994: 72; Kimmel 1987: 15).

This pattern of rejection and binary relations corresponds with the view that "the world of the magazine is one in which men and women are eternally in opposition, always in struggle, but always in pursuit of each other" (Ballaster et al. 1996: 87). This study aims to show that this discursive construction of manufactured opposition still holds true; that in order to sell to men, especially in the appearance oriented fashion industry, the producers frequently package their messages with carefully considered dynamic attributes as well as focusing on functionality and comfort, in order to gain distance from the supposed shallowness and frivolity men associated with

appearance related issues. In essence, when it comes to gender and consumerism, differentiation sells (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 190).

2.3 Hegemony and Framing of Gender

Why are commodified gender constructions so powerful in today's society? An easy answer would be to blame their prevalence. However, gender as a discursive construct is by its nature hegemonic in the sense that many of the structures and processes that create it are obscure, unchallenged and unnoticed (Davis et al. 2006: 2). As discussed previously, gender identities are formed in and through discourse. Considering that in every discourse choices have to be made between different meanings and thought positions (Coates 1998: 302), no discourse can be thought as neutral. Thus gender identities cannot be fashioned without involving questions of power (Edley 2001: 196; Hearn and Kimmel 2006: 54). In short, hegemony is a practice of power (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 30) and gender constructions are hegemonic in nature. Blommaert (2005: 99) makes a valid point by stating that although we have a creative freedom in our discursive choices, we are also guided by the societal constrains and pressures; there is a limit to our communicational freedom.

Hegemony as a practice of power, therefore, creates an environment of acceptance and legitimacy for dominance (van Dijk 2001a: 302). Especially, when dominant discourses become accepted as part of everyday conventions, it becomes difficult to see how these routine practices have underlying ideological investments (Fairclough 1992: 87, 90). According to Bakhtin (1981: 341) the "ideological becoming of a human being … is the process of selectively assimilating the words of others." Furthermore, in CDA ideology is understood to hold a key role in creating and upholding unequal, i.e. hegemonic, power relations (Wodak 2001a: 10). Therefore, in today's world with unparalleled freedom of choice and expression, the discursive gender constructions produced by the mass-media still preside over our perceptions. People seek guidance from media established experts by entering into a "mediated quasi-interaction" (Chouliraki and Fairclough 1999: 44), such as browsing the internet, reading magazines and watching television.

Furthermore, ideological discourses intrinsically contain an element of 'us' versus 'them' (van Dijk 2001b: 107). For instance, the purpose for using the inclusive pronoun *we*, at least in magazine discourse, is to emphasize the sense of group identity which makes it easier to entice the readers to accept the norms, attitudes and values, not to mention the products that the magazines are covertly trying to sell. Even the research carried out by the magazine industry supports the theory that magazines build connections with readers' and form reader communities that come together under their preferred magazines (Holmes 2007: 514).

Poynton (1985: 18) explains this cohesion between group identity and ideology by clarifying that ideological meanings are not "separable from the society that has produced them, [rather] they mirror that society back to itself in such a way as to reinforce its own identity." Therefore, every magazine has its own ideological pattern to offer knowledge, pose problems and provide solutions and thus try to capture the readers' heart - and wallet. Indeed, Machin and van Leeuwen (2003: 501) found that problem-solution is the dominant discourse schema on the pages of eight international versions of Cosmopolitan magazine. The magazines use this formula to transform social identities and customs into recipes for successful life strategies (Machin and van Leeuwen 2003: 509).

Media research has named the process of how issues such as gender identities are structured in media as *framing*, identifying how frames are utilized to guide audience response by highlighting certain elements while shrouding others (Entman 1993: 55). Through the use of framing, mass-media is able to have vital impact on building social reality, because it allows media to construct the message they wish to communicate to the public by making it "more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman 1993: 52). Goldman (1992: 123) concurs that gender identity and other ideologically loaded symbols in advertising, and media in general, are structured as much by what they conceal as what they reveal.

Both hegemony and framing can be seen at work in mass-media's representations of women's body image. A study by Kim and Ward (2004) focused on the correlation between the

sexual attitudes of young women and their reading of women's magazines. The results indicated that

> reading magazines specifically for appearance advice was positively related to women's reports of objectifying their own bodies and with a belief that women should be indirect and alluring when attracting men's interest (Kim and Ward 2004: 55-56).

Thus these messages are structured in a way that encourages their readers to alter themselves in order to meet an unreachable ideal. Moreover, the use of magazines, and the way certain messages are framed in these magazines, perpetuate the traditional and stereotyped beliefs on gender issues and the roles men and women play in relationships. Naturally, the scope of this analysis cannot extend to examine the effects of the media on the audiences. It can, however, reveal the ways in which gender roles and behaviors are framed verbally and visually in these magazine covers.

3 Analytic Background

The analytical foundation of this study is built on combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis. These are the quantitative content analysis and the qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA). Content analysis provides a way to classify and present findings in a clear numerical way, thus providing an overview of the contents and making it easier to locate and compare the possible differences induced by the gender of the target audience. CDA, on the other hand, provides a more in-depth look at the identity formations, their framing, and the hegemonic messages broadcast below the surface level of the text.

In essence, content analysis is used to discover the prevalent themes, and CDA employed in text and sub-text level for a more in-depth analysis. In this chapter, I discuss content analysis and CDA as analytical methods, their philosophical underpinnings and how they can be utilized in a multimodal discursive environment. A more concrete description of analytic methods is provided in the discussion of data and methods in chapter 5.

3.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a popular quantitative research method that is used in fields ranging from psychology, sociology and business, to communication studies. Partly this is due to the fact that quantitative content analysis is a method that can be easily applied to different levels of (discursive) analysis and to different modalities, from studies of images and sounds to those of speech or written text. Content analysis can, in brief, be defined "as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf 2002: 1). Although quantitative methods can easily be seen as mere number crunching without any links to the message itself, Ferguson (1983: 212) argues that 'content' refers to meaning and indicates that the research focus is therefore on the communication, its features, intentions and effects. Thus the study of frequency of different content features is relevant and meaningful (Ferguson 1983: 212). In effect, comprehension of the whole comes through investigating smaller, individual units of the data (Bell 2001: 14-5).

The advantage that comes with a quantitative approach is the power and precision of measurement. This makes for a systematic and replicable way of examining and describing communication data (Riffe et al. 2005: 25), which is directly connected with establishing validity and reliability of analysis. Furthermore, content analysis enables the researcher to analyze large, or representative enough, data pools, thus providing a way to ensure an impartial foundation for analysis. This is important since with analytical discoveries and interpretations we can only limit bias, not remove it entirely (Baker 2006: 18).

Moreover, many scholars in the field of critical discourse analysis have acknowledged that in larger bodies of text, the usual approach in CDA of close readings of texts is not a very germane analytical technique. Indeed, eminent CDA scholars like Fairclough and van Dijk have utilized quantitative methods in studies on political (Fairclough 2000) and newspaper (van Dijk 1991) discourses. Unlike theirs, my data pool is not a full corpus, but I feel that it is still sizeable enough to necessitate the use of quantitative methods. Content analysis is used in this study to reveal the pervasiveness of different gendered discursive patterns in magazine covers and also to uncover the components that are part of creating these patterns.

Fairclough (1995: 105) concurs in his assessment of media discourse that if "one wishes to analyse the media coverage of a particular issue …, microanalysis alone will not give the necessary overview. What may also be needed is some form of content analysis" which allows for patterns to be discovered within the data. One very important aspect of content analysis for me is the way it helps to display the methodological process, an aspect that is often absent or poorly represented in CDA work. Furthermore, in a comparative analysis that examines constructions through different modalities, in this case text, design and images, content analysis is not only helpful but necessary tool for unearthing and clearly exhibiting the patterns of gender constructions. Perhaps part of the popularity of content analysis as an investigative device is due to the ease it transports to different modalities. In essence, it is equally easy to count and tabulate details in images or in text.

One of the criticisms directed at content analysis is that the investigation is only 'surface deep', dealing only with manifest content of denotative meanings (Riffe et al. 2005: 36-8). Hence a qualitative level of analysis is needed in order to understand the layers of the broader concepts, ideas and values. Qualitative investigation goes further in explaining the implications of the typical or significant examples found by content analysis and provide a fuller understanding of the findings (Bell 2001: 27).

In my work, content analysis is used as a 'barometer' in discovering areas of investigative interest. In other words, content analysis is used here to create a quantitative base for qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis is often more focused on the straight description on the content, probably due to the demands of the counting process (Berelson 1952: 122). Therefore, it falls on the qualitative analysis to explore the more complex issues, to explain those findings that are not easily categorized or quantified (Ferguson 1983: 213). This is done in the spirit of post-structuralism where "different methodologies can be combined together, acting as reinforces of each other" (Baker 2006: 16), in order to supplement and overcome each other's deficiencies and limitations. For that reason, I believe that by combining content analysis with CDA enables me to provide a more accurate and thorough examination of the data.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

In recent decades, CDA has become a popular analytic technique in examining the interactive relationship between language and society. It is 'critical' in nature because "it aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination, and in ideology" (Fairclough 2001a: 229). Therefore, the purpose of CDA, and this study, is to understand language beyond the mere functional level, to realize the social functions and implications in the discourses. Critical discourse analysis not only aims to describe discursive practices but also to show what constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough 1992: 12).

Furthermore, the critical analysis of discourse involves paying attention to the three-dimensional conception of discourse, which brings together three analytical traditions of discourse. These dimensions are *text* (and other semiotic sources), *discursive practice* (the wider discursive environment within which the text is situated, involving processes like production, transmission and consumption), as well as *social practice* (considering issues like ideology, power and hegemony in the macro-social level) (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 44; Fairclough 1992: 72-3, 78, 86). To sum up, CDA is "discourse analysis 'with an attitude'" (van Dijk 2001b: 96) that enables analysis which examines things in texts as well as things left out of them (Fairclough 1995b: 58).

Due to its interdisciplinary nature, CDA has never rested on a single theory or one specific methodological foundation (Wodak 2004: 186). This diversity has even prompted scholars working within the field to question whether CDA even could be defined as a method, seeing it rather only as a theoretical approach to examining language (Meyer 2001: 14) or as a way to offer different perspective for theorizing and analysis within discourse analysis field (van Dijk 2001c: 352). CDA allows the researcher to apply and adapt different methodologies to suit the data under investigation (Wodak 2004: 187) in order to provide fresh perspectives and ways of synthesizing the social and the linguistic (Fairclough 1989: 16). Even on a purely linguistic level

> CDA presents a diverse picture … The use of systemic-functional linguistics is prominent, but categories and concepts have also been borrowed from more mainstream pragmatics, discourse analysis and text linguistics, stylistics, social semiotics social cognition, rhetoric, and conversation analysis (Blommaert 2005: 28).

Under CDA, text and linguistic features are treated as indicators of social processes and practices, where language is viewed as active and achieving social ends, rather than simply a transmitter of information. This gives justification to accept language as a focus of study in its own right, rather than just examining the underlying ideologies and cognition as is common in social sciences (Lyons and Willott 1999: 286). Furthermore, this approach allows the researcher to demonstrate the dialectic relationship between social practice and language, where discourse is both "shaped and constrained by social structure" as well as "socially constitutive" (Fairclough 1992:

64). In a more direct statement van Dijk (2001b: 118) calls this the "permanent bottom-up and top-down linkage of discourse and interaction with societal structures."

Therefore, analyzing discursive structures in CDA involve a combination of *macro* and *micro* levels of analysis. *Macro* and *micro* processes, respectively, relate to the *thematic* and *schematic* structures. *Thematic* is associated with the content of the text, and *schematic* with the form of the text (Fairclough 1995b: 29). Analysis of *schematic* structures is consequently involved in investigating, for instance, lexical and syntactic properties of data (Fairclough 1995b: 30).Furthermore, van Dijk (2001a: 305) asserts that because communicational decisions are made in a more unconscious way on *schematic* level, it therefore may reveal more subtle patterns of hegemonic constructions. However, disregarding the *thematic* level in analysis fails to demonstrate the connection between power, hegemony, identity and society (van Dijk 2001c: 354). As Fairclough (1992: 86) explains, the *macro/thematic* level of the text, i.e. what is said, is determined by the social practices and *micro/schematic* constructions, i.e. how it is said, shape the text.

Perhaps the most common criticism directed at CDA has been that because it analytically goes beyond the level of the text, examining also social relations of power and ideology, it relies heavily on the insights of the analyst. The question becomes whether the researcher can keep his or her own beliefs and opinions from influencing the work (Litosseliti 2006: 54). These concerns have not been alleviated by the fact that many CDA studies focus on the results and pay very little attention to the methodological processes.

CDA as an approach "draws on work from different disciplines … and on a wide range of analytical levels/foci, such as words, utterances, turns, and discourses" (Litosseliti 2006: 54). The sheer amount of methodological techniques and perspectives on offer within CDA is enough to overwhelm any analyst. The aim of CDA, though, is not to try to exhaustively look at every possible aspect of data and utilize all available research techniques, but to concentrate on those that are the most appropriate for the material at hand.

3.3 Approaching Analysis from a Multimodal Perspective

Multimodal[1] approach to discourse analysis refers to the fact that language and meaning-making is understood in a wider sense, encompassing more than just words. As Scollon and LeVine (2004: 1-2) point out, all discourse should be considered multimodal, since it is always conveyed across multiple modes of communication, whether it is through sounds and gestures in speech; or images, text, layout design and typography in print media. Even Fairclough acknowledges in his book *Media Discourse* that

> [a]nalysis of text needs to be multisemiotic analysis in the case of the press and television, including analysis of photographic images, layout and the overall visual organization of pages … A key issue is how these other semiotic modalities interact with language in production of meanings, and how such interactions define different aesthetics for different media (Fairclough 1995: 58).

It would be a major oversight to ignore the role of image in the analysis of magazine covers, or for any page of a 'glossy' magazine. One only has to glance at a magazine cover to note the prominent position of the image. It usually forms the most predominant and often best remembered feature of a magazine (Johnson 2006: 62).

However, as much as CDA scholars have emphasized the importance of recognizing the role of extra-lingual features in media discourse analysis, more often than not it has been the case of 'do as I say, not as I do', with very few discourse studies actually incorporating the analysis of both the text and the visual in the same work. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001:111), the forerunners in both visual discourse analysis and multimodal analysis, emphasize the role of the visual in CDA and contend that it is no longer tenable to argue the Foucaultian perspective where language is the central means of communicating with some extra-linguistic features attached. Van Leeuwen (2004: 15) goes further to add that images can often realize different or contrasting meanings from the text. In my work, however, the emphasis will be on how all-permeating the consumerist gender messages

[1] Usage of the term adopted from semiotics, but it should be noted that in linguistics *modality* is the term for grammatical expression of need, permissibility and probability. *Modality* is also sometimes used in connection with genre, register or style of text and in image analysis it is used to refer to the realness/unrealness of image settings.

are on all levels and modes of the magazine cover discourse. Due to its scope, this study is mainly focused on two modes: text and image[2].

The premise behind multimodal analysis is that the visual and other modes can be analyzed like text because, like language, they have a grammar. Heavily influenced by the systemic-functional linguistics developed by Halliday, multimodal analysis employs strategies from linguistic research but also incorporates ideas from other disciplines, such as art and design theory (Kress and van Leeuwen 2011: 107-8). Embedded within systemic-functional linguistics is a strong notion of metafunctions that illustrate the need in human communication describe the world around and inside us as well as enact social relationships through it (Halliday 1994: xiii) Halliday (1994: xiii) calls these 'ideational' and 'interpersonal' meanings, respectively. The third metafunction that Halliday calls 'textual' and Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 181) 'compositional' combines 'ideational' and 'interpersonal' metafunctions into a meaningful whole. It must also be noted that in more recent CDA research it is more common to discuss 'representational' meanings rather than 'ideational' (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 13-14; Fairclough 2003: 135).

As an analytic technique, multimodal analysis leans heavily on social semiotics, as it provides it with the vocabulary to discuss the visual and the other extra-lingual features under analysis. Basically, social semiotics allows the researchers to explore different aspects of the research material where "common semiotic principles operate in and across different modes" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 2) and interpret discourse in a sociocultural context, utilizing semiotic tools (Halliday 1986: 2). Matheson (2005: 110), however, points out that the employment of linguistic categories in multimodal analysis means that the visual is still interpreted through theories based on textual analysis. In the language of the multimodal, a magazine cover forms a single multimodal communicative act, where the verbal and the visual, including the stylistic decisions about layout and color, all are integral parts of the message and should be studied in for a more comprehensive understanding of the different discursive themes and structures.

[2] Although I will also have some observations on color and layout in chapters 6 and 7.

4 The Cover Story – Magazine Cover as a Media Genre and Research Subject

The magazine cover could be the single most important page in a magazine. At least it is its most important advertisement (McCracken 1993: 14). A significant amount of fashion and lifestyle magazines' circulations are sold on the newsstand, not through subscription. For example, 40 percent of *Glamour's* magazines sales are through newsstands (*Glamour* Circulation/Demographics 2005). There magazines face a stiff competition "in an environment where the newsagent's customers may be milling around and where there are shelves bearing hundreds of titles including all the competing rivals" (Holmes 2000: 162). Furthermore, third of all magazine purchases are impulse decisions, made in few minutes and often chosen out of hundreds of titles (Holmes 2000: 162). Therefore, the cover of a magazine has a dual function: it needs to both inform and entice – and do it at a glance.

Click and Baird (1974: 168) call the cover "the magazine's face: it creates the all-important first impression." Moreover, the connection between words and images is nowhere more important than on a magazine cover (Holmes 2000: 162). The cover communicates primary and secondary meanings through text, images, color, layout and the complex connections between them (McCracken 1993: 13). The importance of cover and coverlines is demonstrated by Holmes (2000: 163) and McLoughlin (2000: 15), who both report that some magazines and magazine design guidelines promote (and implement) designing the cover as early as possible, starting from the coverlines and then commission feature stories to go with them.

This chapter deals with the cover's function in the magazine, the distinctive linguistic features in coverlines and the role of the image on the magazine cover. I contend that on magazine covers the combination of advertising and editorial headline language, and the restrictions created by space and layout issues, results in a specific genre of its own where image has the central role and sentence structures are often incomplete or even nonexistent. Perhaps this is the reason why linguistic research on the magazine covers has been somewhat limited, despite the covers

significant role. This chapter, nevertheless, also reviews previous studies of gender identity on the magazine covers.

4.1 Magazines as an Expression of Lifestyle

Magazine covers do not come together arbitrarily. Behind the scenes editors and market researchers are hard at work finding out what would make you pick up the magazine and what would draw in the advertising revenue. Fairclough (1995: 42) aptly calls this "selling audiences to advertisers". Since cover prices barely cover the productions costs (Ballaster et al. 1991: 115; Winship 1987: 38), the advertising dollar has inconceivable value and power. Gough-Yates (2003: 6) calls magazine industry a "commercially led, market-oriented industry" that relies heavily on social and cultural processes.

These processes manifest on the pages and cover of magazines as *lifestyle*, where consumption of commodities and experiences defines who you are (Goldman 1992: 54). Gough-Yates (2003: 2-4) explains how women's magazine industry has in the latter part of the 20th century moved from demographic to motivational and onto lifestyle segmentation in their market research. In order to classify readerships, demographics focus mainly on social class and motivational analysis use methods from behavioral psychology. Whereas since the 1980s, lifestyle segmentation techniques have categorized readers in a more diverse way, taking into consideration cultural and social, as well as economic and motivational factors (Nixon 1996: 92-6).

This has been picked up by linguists as well; Machin and van Leeuwen (2005: 577) define style as "the expression of identity and values." They define lifestyle as a combination of individual style (personality and attitudes) and social style (class, gender, age, social relations and interests), where groups are identified by shared consumer behaviors, interests, attitudes and they are, above all, expressed socially through appearances (Machin and van Leeuwen 2005: 582-4). As Matheson (2005: 59) points out "we need not look for a coherent ideal reader projected from the pages of a

magazine … What is coherent, instead, is the ways readers are asked to consume such identities." In short, what we have defines who we are.

Moreover, Machin and van Leeuwen (2005: 578, 587) argue that on the pages of *Cosmopolitan*, lifestyle manifests as a certain linguistic style, through vocabulary and syntax choices. Machin and van Leeuwen (2005: 588) go further to identify five principal styles of language from which the magazine draws

(1) the style of advertising
(2) the style of the fashion caption
(3) the style of expert discourse
(4) street style – the slang of the trendy, and the young
(5) conversational style

This deliberately manufactured mixture of styles help create specific associations and thus aid in communicating the magazine's identity and values (Machin and van Leeuwen 2005: 598).

Therefore, the magazine cover is a combination different language styles and communicational objectives. Its function is to introduce and draw the reader inside the magazine. Winship (1987: 9) aptly calls coverlines "sell lines". Fashion and lifestyle magazines are nowadays less about clothes and fashion and more about general lifestyle interests, because of the demands from marketers but also due to the market research performed on the reading audience by the magazines themselves. In essence, *lifestyle* is the method used in researching the markets and the means the magazines are marketed to the audience. Consequently, we now find ourselves living in a lifestyle society where we define ourselves through what we do and the values we hold and express them through the things we consume.

4.2 Special Features of Cover Language

The light, short and snappy style that characterizes the fashion and lifestyle editorial and advertising writing are also what makes magazine coverline language so recognizable. This and the next section will discuss features, in text, image and design that help make magazine covers a distinctive genre. Genre can be defined as "forms of text which link kinds of producer, consumer, topic, medium,

manner and occasion" (Hodge and Kress 2001: 295). In this section I look at the magazine cover text and the specific linguistic devices used on magazine covers, especially those that feature in creating the consumerist gender identities.

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the magazine cover and its coverlines have two distinct functions: to sell and to inform in order to persuade the reader to pick up the magazine. Furthermore, as space on the cover is at a premium, some special techniques are used in order to carry meaning and attitude in a concise form. Ellipsis is a commonly used space saving device (McLoughlin 2000: 16). In ellipsis, words that are not needed for meaning making are often omitted from coverlines. In "Always hungry? How to fill up & not gain weight" (*Glamour* 11/2005), both the verb and subject are have been omitted from the question. Presumably the question is directed towards the reader, as in: are you always hungry? Similarly, the latter part of the coverline probably suggests how you, the reader, can eat without gaining weight. Consequently, from a purely structural point of view, coverlines are often incomplete as full sentences because of ellipsis. Instead, as McLoughlin (2000: 16-7) states, magazines often prefer minor sentences, which are irregular in form and lack finite verbs. I have found that the use of phrase structures, often noun or adjective phrases, are quite common in coverlines. In an extreme, a coverline can be just a group of words. However, this does not mean that coverlines are always simple or short.

"Christina Aguilera >white heat" (*GQ* 06/06)
"A rape victim's revenge / Her beyond-belief courage" (*Glamour* 04/05)
"Love, sex & madness" (*GQ* 04/06)
"Yes! Sexy dresses for your shape / Not a size 4? So what! Miracle clothes for all bodies" (*Glamour* 12/06)

Table 1 Examples of coverline phrase structures from *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006)

Even though the subject can often be omitted from a coverline, the use of determiners, such as possessive or indefinite pronouns, is fairly common. Determiners not only serve to make the meaning of nouns more specific, but they also often provide a point of contact between the magazine and the reader. Determiners are part of what Fairclough (1989: 37) calls "synthetic personalization", where something mass produced is being sold as individual in its engagement.

Moreover, as a relationship making device, determiners have an even wider application. They can also be used to create spirit of togetherness, a feeling of us the readers or us women/men. For example, "Living large / the 10 looks *every man* needs for spring"[3] (*GQ* 01/06) invites the reader to take part in a community of men that understand how to dress well, especially since the same message could have been delivered by simply stating: "10 looks for spring".

In addition to different forms of address, such as pronouns, the magazines engage the readers in synthetic personalization also through use of through use of presupposition, where the coverlines contain assumptions about the reader (McLoughlin 2000: 69). For instance, in "Secrets of your sex drive / Why you want it when you want it… and how to want it more" (*Glamour* 06/05) the magazine assumes to know quite intimate details about the reader's personal life. Another technique for creating synthetic personalization is the conversational style, as identified by Machin and van Leeuwen (2005). This discourse practice, familiar from the advertising world, not only aids in creating a feeling of familiarity between the text producer and the reader, it also helps lessen the power difference between the two participants (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 180).

For space economy as well as for the need to entice the readers, the nouns in magazine coverlines tend to be heavily modified (McLoughlin 2000: 15). Modifiers are words and phrases that define, describe and add to the noun's meaning. In "The 10 best suits under $500" (*GQ* 10/06) the head noun *suits* is pre-modified by the determiner *the*, numeral *10* and adjective *best* and post-modified by the prepositional phrase *under $500*. In another example, "Everyday amazing hair …for <u>every</u> woman" (*Glamour* 04/06) the different modifiers seem to imply that the magazine has hairstyles not only for every woman, but that they can be done every day and are will look amazing. Adjectives and adverbs are popular modifiers in coverlines due to their descriptive and evocative nature. Especially superlative forms of adjectives and adverbs help in creating a "vocabulary of excess to emphasize the fun and entertainment value" (McLoughlin 2000: 21) of magazines.

[3] Italics mine

Moreover, as Cook (1992: 101) notes, it is a common advertisement strategy to "distract from or add to the literal meaning (denotation, reference or logical content) of language."

The commodified character of coverlines is demonstrated by the use of various other linguistic tricks as well. Even though Holmes (2000: 163) declares that the desire to use clever wordplay should be resisted, as the meaning of the coverline needs to be understandable at a glance. McLoughlin (2000: 21-3) lists several linguistic tricks that are commonly used on magazine covers, including poetic devices (such as rhyme, alliteration and assonance), intertextuality, puns and idiomatic phrases. Out of these, intertextuality has been of particular interest among CDA theorist, especially to Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995 and 2003); given that through intertextuality, it is easy to demonstrate one of the key tenets of CDA: the way language, culture and society interrelate.

From this brief look at cover language features, we have learned that in addition to the informative function, the linguistic choices made on coverlines are also greatly influenced by spatial and commercial considerations. When these linguistic tricks and devices are examined from a promotional point of view, it is clear that they approach the reader both from the hard sell and soft sell perspectives. Hard sell refers to items that make a direct appeal whereas soft sell persuades by evoking on moods and feelings (Bovée et al. 1995: 230-1; Cook 1992: 10). Using modifiers, such as adjectives, is a classic soft sell technique, as are conversational style, poetic devices, puns and other linguistic tricks. They aid in creating light, fun and positive feeling. Hard sell approach makes use of devices like presupposition and pronouns. Especially using pronouns referring to the 2nd singular *you* or *your*, but also using pronouns like *all* and *every*, particularly when combined with the modal auxiliary verbs *should* or *must*, create compelling hard sell expressions. McLoughlin (2000: 70) explains that by examining expressions of grammatical modality, one can detect part of the texts producers' identity and motivations through the level of certainty and force they use on their coverlines.

The facts presented here show how even the smallest components carry meanings that go beyond their purely denotative function on the magazine cover. Furthermore, Matheson (2005: 58)

suggests that magazines are "the key site within contemporary culture where identities come to be accorded legitimacy and power, and that they … often position readers strongly gendered ways" and where "gender identity itself s realised largely through processes of commodification" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 190). Therefore, systematic analysis of language features will offer answers to how commodified gender identities are constructed in cover texts and how the text producers position the readers and themselves in this gendered arena.

4.3 The Role of the Image and Design on the Magazine Cover

The most prominent part of a fashion and lifestyle magazine cover is the image. It is the single feature that most people remember in order to identify different magazine issues (Johnson and Christ 1995: 216). Moreover, Click and Baird (1974: 170) illustrate that although skillfully used color and type may attract readers to the magazines, it is the photographs most producers rely on to "draw attention to the magazine … If there is such a thing as a basic cover design, it is one that employs a single, striking photo to catch the eye." In order to understand the key role that image has on the cover, we only have to look at the magazines at hand. While, the magazine's nameplate (i.e. title) is its key distinguishing factor "a repeating symbol, like a trademark" (McLean 1969: 6), out of 24 covers of *Glamour* in the data, 23 covers had images partly blocking the magazine's nameplate – and for *GQ* 15 out of 24.

From a design point of view, the fashion and lifestyle magazines utilize low-modality settings in their cover images. This refers to the lack or blurriness of the image background. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 154-5) have pointed out that this absence of background produces images that are more schematic and idealized in nature. Machin and Thornborrow (2003: 460) go further in stating that lowered modality of unarticulated backgrounds, minimal props and saturated colors in fashion and lifestyle cover images create an idealized setting, a fantasy world of "advertising land" where "lipstick, nail polish and shampoo can take powers of magic amulet." Nevertheless, it is also a practical considerations for a magazine which competes for attention in the newsstands; the image

as a key sales tool must be clearly observable from a distance. Thus design needs to be simple but striking with clearly distinguishable colors (McLean 1969: 6).

What rules then govern the choices made about the cover model, which Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 114) call the represented participant? Sumner (2002) has summarized some of the conventional wisdoms about magazine covers found in professional literature. These can be condensed to five generally accepted principles:

1) Covers with women sell better than covers with men. Even women's magazines portray mostly women on their covers.
2) Covers with people on them sell better than covers with other objects.
3) Movie stars and entertainers sell better than politicians, business leaders, or sports celebrities.
4) Sex sells.
5) Good news sells better than bad news. Most covers emphasize positive, upbeat themes and cover lines.

Moeran (2002: 16) and Daly et al. (1997: 102) also confirm that for magazine sales a smiling famous beauty on the cover appears to be a must. Perhaps one of the most famous quotes on what a magazine cover image should and should not contain has been expressed by the former editor of *People* magazine Richard Stolley, who asserts that

> young is better than old. Pretty is better than ugly. Rich is better than poor. TV is better than music. Music is better than movies. Movies are better than sports. Anything is better than politics. And nothing is better than the celebrity dead (in Johnson and Prijatel 2000: 240).

It seems that there are some established practices, governed by marketing research and sales monitoring, that guide the image selection in the magazine covers. The person chosen on the cover, becomes the 'face' of the issue and, therefore, of the magazine. But beyond marketing and sales considerations, the people featured on the covers also indicate what attributes are considered to have value and significance in the society (McCracken 1993: 60).

Even more interesting is what these image choices reveal about the relationship between people who produce and those who consume the magazines, the interactive participants (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 114). It is people who create language, text and images. Furthermore, meanings in these cultural artifacts are often produced on an unconscious level. Even the creation of a cover image is a collaborative cultural undertaking. There is no single producer, but a whole horde of

them, from the photographer who takes the picture, the assistant who processes it and the editor who chooses it to the layout artist who crops and positions the image on the cover (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 114). Understanding the rules that govern visual and linguistic customs enables us to identify the power of words and images as signs and symbols (Holmes 2000: 160-1). Moreover, it allows us to examine images and text from the same premise, because both convey similar information through their own ways of expression.

4.4 Studies on Gender and the Magazine Cover

Compared to the articles and advertisements in the magazines, the cover has received little attention from gender researchers. Indeed, what is inside magazines has for decades been one of the key areas of interest in studies on hegemonic discourses on women and men. The way the magazine cover has been ignored in these studies is even more glaring when we consider its vital role for the magazines and the level of exposure and influence the cover holds compared to any other page in the magazine. In addition, as I stated in chapter 2, the comparative analysis of men's and women's identities or the use of multimodal perspective have also been infrequent in gender identity research. I will briefly review in this section a few studies that have combined these features and have had an influence on this study.

Malkin et al. (1999) did a content analysis of gendered weight messages on women's and men's magazine covers. The study included a total of 123 covers from 21 different magazines (Malkin et al. 1999: 650). Through the analysis of image and text content, as well as the placement of each, they found that while men's magazine covers contained no weight related messages (such as dieting, exercise and cosmetic surgery), women's magazine covers seemed to focus on producing gendered messages regarding weight and bodily appearance (Malkin et al. 1999: 651). Sometimes women's magazines even produced conflicting messages by placing dieting advice next to pictures or text on fattening foods (Malkin et al. 1999: 653). The analysis of cover images in this study was limited to only examining the gender, celebrity status and general physical condition, i.e. thinness,

of the cover model. They found that all magazines, for men and for women, prefer to feature famous, young and thin female cover models (Malkin et al. 1999: 651-2).

A similar study was conducted by Brinkley (2002) and it investigated 392 men's and women's fashion magazine covers on how the importance of physical appearance was framed to the readers. For analysis, the cover models' clothing was categorized as either demure, suggestive, partially-clad or nude; and the content of coverlines as appearance-related, self-improvement, political or feature article (Brinkley 2002). The results of this study confirmed that "women's magazines do place a greater emphasis on the importance of appearance than do men's magazines. Women's magazines contain significantly more appearance related textual messages, physical self-improvement messages, and 'same sex' appearance messages" (Brinkley 2002).

In the article "Promoting Easy Sex without Genuine Intimacy," Johnson (2006) analyzed the sexual discourses presented on the coverlines and images of *Maxim* and *Cosmopolitan* magazines and the harmful effects on the consumers who read them. The results indicated that

> overwhelmingly, the cover lines [of both *Maxim* and *Cosmopolitan*] promoted easy and wonderful sex without real intimacy. The important values of constancy and commitment in a relationship were ignored. With the emphasis on the physical attractiveness of the women shown on the covers, the magazines also set up standards of beauty that were unrealistic (Johnson 2006: 71).

In a continuation study, Johnson and Sivek (2009) looked at the framing of sex, romance and relationships in *Maxim* and *Cosmopolitan* covers. Using content analysis they examined a total of 24 covers of the magazines from 2002 and had a checklist of eight criteria on the features of the image (Johnson and Sivek 2009: 7). These included choices on the cover models clothing, poses (such as position of the body, placement of hands and direction of gaze) and level of the model's celebrity status as well as editorial choices about the cropping of the image; the coverlines were classified as being about sex, romance or relationships (Johnson and Sivek 2008: 7-8). The findings confirmed that both magazine prioritize sex in their content and present it in a way that reduces it to a mere physical act (Johnson and Sivek 2008: 10). Moreover, both magazines "persist in creating a simplistic and stereotypical image of men's and women's sexuality" (Johnson and Sivek 2008: 13).

Additionally, there exists an unrealistic connection between appearance and identity that objectifies both women and men (Johnson and Sivek 2008: 14).

Matheson (2005) did not investigate magazine covers, but rather did a short survey of the opening paragraphs of two interviews featuring female television stars. One interview was from *Cosmopolitan* and the other from *FHM* magazine. The method employed was transitivity analysis and it was used to compare how language features describing these two women differed between men's and women's magazines (Matheson 2005: 70). A further purpose was to demonstrate how the lifestyle magazines produce and position gendered identities for the reader within a consumer culture. Both texts were found to "spend a good deal of time discursively producing women in relation to men, and little producing male identities" as masculinity was left to perform "himself through the consumption of the women he sees" (Matheson 2005: 80). Furthermore, female readers were offered strong social messages in the *Cosmopolitan* text, inviting them to be members of a certain social group, whereas men were not (Matheson 2005: 81).

As can be seen from this brief review, these studies, although critical in nature, do not really present any strong linguistic insights, apart from Matheson. Their textual analysis components provide only a rather generalized level of discussion on the discourse contents because the researchers' backgrounds are in media studies and other fields of social sciences. My study aims to provide a more thorough account of the different discursive levels in magazine covers. Moreover, this study not only focuses on appearance and sexuality, although both are important in commodified identity creation, but offers a more extensive view of commercial rhetoric and the aestheticization of gendered selves.

Nevertheless, my work and its results echoes the findings of these studies and other writings on the performance of gendered identities in magazines. The magazine cover is highly schematized and cohesive as a genre and the messages in them fairly homogenous in nature. Stereotypical presentations of gender in magazines persist because of financial pressures to lure and retain advertisers but also because journalists write stories that conform to the conventions of the genre

(Johnson and Sivek 2009: 13). Effectively, the commercial considerations lead magazines to create more homogenized messages where consumption is transformed into representations of the personal.

5 Data and Methods

In this section I explain, in more detail, my data selection decisions, the methods I have chosen for this study and how I have adapted them to my data.

5.1 The Magazines

For my data, I have selected to examine all covers from 2005 and 2006 of one women's and one men's fashion and lifestyle magazine. These are *Glamour* and *Gentlemen's Quarterly* (*GQ*). I have chosen these as representatives of a commodified society and the cultural and ideological trends that can found in them. Part of the selection process was guided by the access to the magazines and their covers, as well as finding a men's magazine that also featured men in their cover images. The overall aim, however, was to find two magazines that have wide distributions, possess a strong readership position in the market and are otherwise well established in their genre and roughly share similar demographic traits in terms of age, education, income, and attitude. Therefore, the primary difference between the magazines is in gender and the expectation that go along with being male or female. Both selected magazines are published by Condé Nast Publishing, aiming for the higher end consumer markets, and have a long, established history of delivering print journalism to the American public; *Glamour* since 1939 (*Glamour* magazine 2013) and *GQ* from 1957 onwards (*GQ* 2013).

According to the circulation and demographic data provided in 2005 media kits, the median reader age for both *Glamour* and *GQ* was 33.5 years and both, likewise, possessed a reader base in which well over 50% of their readers reached a household income (HHI) of over $50,000 per annum data (*Glamour* circulation/Demographics 2005; *GQ* Circulation/Demographics 2005). In total paid circulation *Glamour* outsold *GQ* by more than twice over, the numbers being *Glamour's* 2,397,508 to *GQ's* 814,804 per issue in 2005. However, *Glamour* also had to face a more strident competition for its sales with over 40% of them being through newsstands. *GQ*, on the other hand, had a more established reader base with almost 74% of its sales through subscriptions. Although

Glamour and *GQ* have been labeled as representatives of women' and men's fashion and lifestyle magazines, it must be noted that 9% of *Glamour* readers were men and similarly *GQ* had a 29% female readership according to the 2005 audit.

On the ideological front both magazines claim to be an authority in fashion and style and to have "news-making coverage of beauty, fashion, health and relationships" (*Glamour* Mission Statement 2005); as well as having magazine content that "informs, empowers and inspires" (*GQ* Mission Statement 2005). Furthermore, both *GQ* and *Glamour* declare in their mission statements that they are not mere fashion magazines, but cover a wide range of other lifestyle topics as well, from travel, food, work, money, and politics to pop culture. Thus both magazines place themselves firmly within the field of lifestyle, and promote in their pages a certain style and standard of living.

For this study, I have included *Glamour* and *GQ* covers spanning two years, 2005 and 2006, containing a total of 48 magazine covers. Due to the nature of how the images were acquired, any possible double covers were excluded from the data. The selection of these particular years was in part determined by the availability of the magazines covers. In addition, *GQ* had leadership change in 2003, when Art Cooper retired after two decades as editor-in-chief. Jim Nelson, as the new editor-in-chief, oriented the magazine towards a younger audience and a more casual style (*GQ* 2013). Therefore, sampling few years after this change should be a sufficient time for the magazine to start to reflect the style of its new editor-in-chief. At the same time *Glamour* experienced editorial success in 2005 and 2006. It was nominated for General Excellence in National Magazine Awards both years, and won the award in 2005. It was also named in *Adweek's* 'Hot List' of top 10 magazines both years, which ranks magazines by their advertising performance and the feedback from the media directors (Hot List 2006 and 2007). *Glamour* first entered the list in 2005 at 9th place but managed to climb to 6th by the next year, although its circulation decreased by 4.2%, with the "beauty advertisers call[ing] it a 'staple' with an edit that delivers 'lifestyle with substance'" (Hot List 2007).

5.2 The Methods

In order to compare the commodified gender identities present on the covers of *Glamour* and *GQ*, I have adopted a multimodal quantitative and qualitative approach to the analysis of the data. The purpose is to observe the emerging patterns that are part of a broader context of commercial identity creation. In order to achieve this, I have applied several linguistic investigative devices. The premise for the selection of methods has been that one cannot understand the whole without understanding its constituent parts.

Therefore, this analysis focuses on what Fairclough (1995: 29-30) calls the *thematic* structures, i.e. the content, and *schematic* structures, the form (i.e. syntactic and lexical characteristics) of the text and images on the magazine covers. I want to analyze gender identity discourses and to discover how these discourses are constructed. The purpose is to focus on content that is more closely linked with commercial gender identity and body image. Since this study looks at commodified gender identities, the focus will also be on persuasive content; what is being sold and how it is sold to the readers.

Therefore, this study examines *representational*, *interpersonal* and *compositional* meanings in images and text. This helps in understanding the ways magazine covers try to interact with the reader and the compositional whole that they form. For instance, *representational* metafunctions examine who are the participants and the processes present in images and text. In the analysis of clause constructions this is called transitivity (Halliday 1994: 101). *Interpersonal* meanings display interactions and attitudes towards the reader and are realized through grammatical modality and mood, such as imperatives and interrogatives. In magazine cover images *interpersonal* functions are realized through smile; direction of the gaze and body; and angle and cropping of the image. *Compositional* features can be examined through the placement of elements and whether some of them have prominence over others in the magazine covers (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 183).

In the analysis, chapter 6 focuses on the images and examines who is selected on the cover, editorial choices made in the production of the image and what this reveals about the differences in

the way men and women are portrayed. In chapter 7, I examine what type of topics the magazines present in their coverlines and the emphasis they place upon the different contents and what differences there are between men's and women's magazines in this respect. Chapter 8 examines lexical and semantic features in coverlines, especially transitivity and the use of adjectives and pronouns. The purpose is to analyze how gender identity is fashioned on this micro level and what differences exist for men and women.

6 Shiny Happy People Smiling – Analysis of the Magazine Cover Images

Fashion and lifestyle magazine cover images create a fantasy world of their own, where people are beautiful, well-groomed with toned bodies and, more often than not, hold a celebrity status. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the role and importance of images in magazine covers. To look at the abstractions of reality that are created in the cover images and to explore how it is done differently for men and women. The objective here, therefore, is to examine the denotative features of the images in order to understand the connotations underneath. Indeed, as McCracken points out

> all images are polysemous, that is, they present a number of meanings from among which the viewer can choose; as a result, the originators of mass cultural messages often add a linguistic message to encourage viewers to select the desired meanings on the levels of both denotation and connotation (McCracken 1993: 27).

Hence, pictures can never be purely denotative or objective. In magazines they carry connotations of commodification and gender.

In chapter 4, I discussed some of the general issues of cover design and the role of image in it, as well as reviewed some of the previous findings in fashion magazine image analysis. In this chapter, I examine the lowered modality, i.e. unreal nature, of the cover images and what differences exist between portrayals of men and women. In the content analysis section, I focus on the person(s) on the cover and analyze different representational, interpersonal and compositional features present in the photographs. The idea here is to offer "broadened critical discourse analysis" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 14) by utilizing similar semiotic modes that are also used in the analysis of text.

6.1 Analysis of Image Background and Setting

How are the cover images created in these magazines? What differences in color scheme and background choices can be observed between *Glamour* and *GQ* and, most importantly, what some of these choices reveal about differences in gender identity?

The creation of a lowered modality fantasy world on magazine covers begins with color choices and extends to the lack of background setting. Colors are used in both magazines in highly

saturated tones. The colors are rich and deep[4], from the deepest black to the brightest of reds, creating a feeling of otherworldliness, something more than mere 'reality'. Rich, saturated tones also help to create a feeling of sensuality and intimacy and the well-coordinated flow of colors from the nameplate and model's clothes to coverlines add sheen of elegance and stylishness. *Glamour* has a more varied color palette in its covers. The nameplate color changes from issue to issue, ranging from whites, pale yellows, blues, turquoises, to the most striking of fuchsias almost neon in hue[5]. *GQ* utilizes a more narrow range of colors and hues in its nameplate, making it seem more masculine. Its nameplate also varies in color from issue to issue, always carrying the two letters in different colors. Quite often one letter is in grayscale (black, white and grey) and the other in color, often a bright red or blue.

Glamour uses more color in its backgrounds as well, usually from a lighter tonal palette, with shades of pinks, peaches, blues, greens and mauves[6]. Indisputably, all *Glamour* cover images are shot in studio settings. They come across as very clean and detached from reality in their absence of background other than color. *Glamour* covers also seem to give out sense of narrowness and crowding, with the cover model swathed in color, leaving her without even a shadow, and surrounded by, and sometimes almost enveloped by, the coverlines in front of the image. *GQ*, on the other hand, has more space for the model on its covers, partly thanks to the use of smaller fonts in coverlines. Hence, the models tend not to be as smothered by the coverlines as those in *Glamour*.

GQ also has more variety in its image background choices and props. Rather than use a block color as their background, *GQ* usually employs a gradated color scheme in its studio shots, where grayish color tones fade to pure white[7]. Another common technique is a completely blank background of white floating purity[8], an epitome of 'unrealness', since this kind of pure white can only be achieved on the photo editors table. On the other end of the spectrum, *GQ* also does use

[4] Except for May 2006 issue of *GQ* which is black and white, with some tan accents.
[5] *Glamour* August 2005
[6] For *Glamour* background color examples see: pink (October 2005), peach (January 2005), blue (May 2006), green (May 2005) and mauve (June 2006).
[7] For example, see *GQ* March 2005.
[8] For example, see *GQ* September 2006.

some background settings[9] but they "are not clearly articulated … [and] slightly out of focus" (Machin and Thornborrow 2003: 460), as is typical for fashion magazines.

Gradation of the image background to white is also another typical way of lessening the modality of the background. This is done to the extent that it is often difficult to tell whether the background is a set staged in a studio or perhaps an actual outside shot. This sort of background staging is typical when a woman appears on the cover of *GQ*. The settings of beds, baths and beaches[10] seem to be there to explain the skimpy clothing or downright nudity of the women. For men, a rough and textured wall appears to be the most common background set[11], when one is recognizable. To summarize, the use of color and background on cover images help to lower the modality of the images, creating a sense of otherworldliness, but also to emphasize an atmosphere of all pervasive girliness or rough and tumble masculinity.

6.2 Content Analysis of Images

This research focuses on the main feature of the cover image, the person(s) on the cover. The aim is to analyze and discuss through content analysis and critical argumentation how certain elements are used to compose cover images so that they make sense "in context of social institutions which, to different degrees and in different ways regulate what may be 'said' with images, how it should be said, and how it should be interpreted" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 114).

The research questions were formulated to comprehend to which degree these magazines conform to the magazine conventions and to the stereotypical cover presentations of gender identity. Also, the purpose is to compare and contrast the two magazines in order to understand their similarities and differences in image composition and thus the different gender presentations. Lastly, the way women are presented in *Glamour* is compared to the way women are illustrated in *GQ*.

[9] For example, see *GQ* November 2005.
[10] For examples, see GQ June 2006, January 2005 and April 2006, respectively.
[11] For example, see *GQ* August 2006.

Following Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) discussion on the semiotic dimensions of images and Goffman's (1976) observations on gender in advertisement, as well as three studies that, at least in part, dealt with content analysis of magazine images (Brinkley 2002; Johnson 2006; Johnson and Sivek 2009), a checklist with 12 criteria was formulated:

1) How many people on cover? Is the cover model male or female?
2) Is the person on the cover famous (mentioned in a coverline)? What is he/she famous for?
3) What is the ethnic background of the person on the cover?
4) What kind of clothing is the person wearing in the image?
5) How much body exposure is there?
6) Where are the person's hands in relation to the body?
7) What pose is the person positioned to?
8) Is the person smiling in the picture?
9) Where is the person in the picture looking?
10) What view of the head and body is shown?
11) What is the angle of the shot in relation of the person on the cover?
12) How is the shot cropped?

Questions one to three deal with the issue of *who* is chosen on the cover. The rest of the criteria have more to do with the photographic and editorial choices made in the production of the image. These questions also aid in examining the representational, interpersonal and compositional discursive metafunctions present in the images.

Some of the categories above are easily quantifiable, since they are relatively physical and unambiguous in nature. However, some contain more 'subjective' variables, requiring the coder to make subjective judgments (Bell 2001: 17). To verify the reliability of all the findings the material was checked by intra-coder examination performed ten days apart. The reliability was calculated in per cent values. The overall reliability for both magazines and all variables was 96%. This included analysis of 48 covers with 16 variables, containing altogether 768 value determinations. Per magazine reliability was 95% for *Glamour* and 96% for *GQ*. The reliability per variable was also checked in order to verify the reliability of all variables. The results varied from 100% to 88%. The lowest relativity value (88%) was found in categories determining clothing (questions 4 and 5 in the checklist) and head angles (question 7 and 10), mainly due to the subjective and gradational nature of these variables. However, all results were deemed to be reliable enough for valid analysis.

6.2.1 Who is on the cover?

Similar to previous studies, the results here show that fashion magazines favor images with a single person on the cover. Only one *Glamour* and one *GQ* cover contained more than one person[12]. Furthermore, the prevalence to favor women on magazine cover images was also confirmed. *Glamour* covers had only women depicted and 35% of cover models were women in *GQ*. This is a relatively low number, especially when compared to newer 'lad mags', such as *Maxim* and *Loaded*. However, this was an expected result since the magazine had been specifically chosen to enable the comparison between how men and women are depicted in magazine cover images.

Another common trait for both magazines was to favor famous people on their covers. Practically all models in the images was famous, one of the criteria being that they were also mentioned in one of the coverlines. Both magazines seemed to favor actors in their covers, with 19 (73%) actors in *Glamour* and 18 (69%) in *GQ* covers. *Glamour* also had 6 singers as its cover models and *GQ* had 3 singers[13], 1 female model and 2 male sports figures (one per year) on its covers.

Being white was another common trait for the cover models in both magazines (*Glamour* 77%, *GQ* 73%), although this category was somewhat spurious, since ethnicity, at least in the United States, is rarely definable by only one ethnic characteristic. Therefore, the determination was made according to what the famous person identifies with himself/herself with or is identified by the media. For example, Halle Berry (*Glamour* June 2006) was deemed African American and Christina Aguilera (*GQ* June 2006) as Hispanic in ethnic background.

6.2.2 What are they wearing?

GQ seemed to favor a more casual look in its cover models. As many as 18 of 24 (75%) *GQ* covers were styled with a more casual look (in comparison to a more formal/festive look), whereas 14

[12] *Glamour* issue from September 2006 featured Emmy Rossum, Eva Longoria and Sheryl Crow on its cover and *GQ* July 2006 issue had Will Ferrell on its cover together with two female models.
[13] This at least disproves Richards Stolley's assertion of music being better than movies on the magazine covers (see chapter 4.3 on the role of the image in magazine covers).

(58%) of *Glamour* covers had a casual look. Another dimension that was considered was the 'street wearability' (i.e. could the clothes be worn in a city street in a western society without raising disapproval) of the outfits. All clothes, except one cover model wearing a bikini[14], were deemed street wearable in *Glamour*. This confirms similar findings made by Johnson (2006: 64-5) in *Cosmopolitan* magazine. For *GQ*, however, the results were more complex. Although the majority of outfits were deemed street wearable, eight cover images had models wearing clothes not considered street wearable. Out of these eight almost all had women as cover models[15]. However, a more detailed treatment on clothing and their sexual suggestiveness will be provided in the discussion section.

6.2.3 How are they posed?

Women seemed to bring more attention to their clothes and/or bodies by the placement of their hands. In many of the *Glamour* cover images the women's hands were often touching some part of their torso (such as waist and hip) or their thighs and legs. Two of the images even featured hand/hands placed on top of the head[16]. Similar tendency was discovered in *GQ* covers featuring women. Out of the 8 covers featuring women, 5 women were touching some part of their body at least with one hand or arm[17]. Goffman (1976: 31) asserts that this self-touching conveys "a sense of one's [woman's] body being a delicate and precious thing" and conveys pleasure in "woman's privileged access to her own sensual body surface" (Goldman 1992: 146).

However, hand placement can also be used to create curves to a woman's body (Hoyer 2008: 37), or emphasizing her sense of independence and power (Johnson 2006: 69). For men in *GQ*, due to the cropping, the position of their hands in relation to their body could be observed in much fewer cases. Out of the 17 covers featuring men, only in seven images the position of the hands was

[14] *Glamour* May 2006
[15] Except November 2006 cover of *GQ* with a shirtless NBA all-star Dwyane Wade and Will Ferrell in a t-shirt and shorts surrounded by two bikini-clad female models (*GQ* July 2006).
[16] *Glamour* October 2005 and August 2006 issues.
[17] However, only in two pictures women could be detected not touching their bodies. *GQ* July 2006 and June 2006 (where Christina Aguilera is holding a pillow to cover her breasts).

discernible, but five men were found to be touching some part of their body. However, these poses were typically masculine: One hand in pocket, hands clasped behind back, forearms resting on thighs/knees or crossed over the chest[18].

Similarly, due to cropping, the poses were more difficult to detect in *GQ* than *Glamour*. 21 poses could be observed in *Glamour* compared to 13 in *GQ*. The preference for standing poses was clear in *Glamour*, 15 (71%) of the models were posed standing, the rest sitting down. Standing poses were also favored in *GQ* where there was seven (54%) standing poses. When comparing men's poses to women's in *GQ*, and interesting observation was made that there was preference to have men pose standing and women in sitting down or reclining positions. Only two men could be detected sitting down (and four standing) and in both cases they were leaning forward[19]. Conversely, only in two images women could be observed standing[20], and in the other five images women were posed in some ways lowered position, such as sitting or lying down or standing on knees. The power relations of these poses will be discussed in the next section.

6.2.4 Hard and soft sell features in images

The rest of the examined criteria explore how the person in the image relates and connects, or disconnects, with the viewer, what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 114) call the relationship between the represented participant (person on the cover) and the interactive participant (the producers and viewers of images), or what in marketing texts would be called the hard and soft sell characteristics of the image (Bovée et al. 1995: 230-1; Vuokko 2003: 217). These include such features as: smile, direction of the gaze, angle of the head and body as well as the angle and cropping of the shot.

[18] *GQ* issues: August 2005, June 2005, November 2005, March 2006 and February 2005, respectively.
[19] *GQ* November 2005 and March 2006 issues.
[20] *GQ* April 2005 and July 2006 issues.

6.2.4.1 Smile

"Smiles, it can be argued, often function as ritualistic mollifiers, signalling that nothing antagonistic is intended or invited …[and,] indeed, the other [i.e. the viewer] is approved and appreciated" (Goffman 1976: 48) and is thus invited "to enter into relation of social affinity" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 118) with the person in the image. Goffman (1976: 48) also maintains that in American commercial culture women smile more and have wider smiles than men. This is reflected in the results, where *Glamour* and *GQ* cover women tend to smile more often. In all 24 images in the *Glamour* covers the women were found smiling, compared to the 14 smiles found in *GQ*, six of those smiles provided by women. Additionally, the expansiveness of the smiles was also measured (value: smiling/not smiling, additional value: open or closed mouth). The results for male and female cover models in *GQ* are also shown separately in the table 2, in grey background.

		Glamour	***GQ***	*GQ*/male	*GQ*/female	**TOTAL**
smiling	open	**19** (73%)	**9** (35%)	4 (15%)	5 (19%)	**28** (54%)
	closed	**7** (27%)	**5** (19%)	4 (15%)	1 (4%)	**12** (23%)
not	open		**7** (27%)	4 (15%)	3 (12%)	**7** (13%)
smiling	closed		**5** (19%)	5 (19%)		**5** (10%)
TOTAL		**26**	**26**	17	9	**52**

Table 2 Smiling in the magazine covers (*Glamour* and *GQ* 2005-2006), with the position of the mouth (open/closed). Additionally, for *GQ* these values are also represented separately for the male and female models (in grey background). The percentages refer to ratios per magazine, except in total percentages.

Clearly smiling is the predominant expression in a magazine cover with a total 40 (77%) smiles in both magazines, although men are an obvious minority here with only eight (20%) of all smiles provided by them. Women do seem smile more widely in magazine covers, especially in women's magazines. Indeed, it seems women rarely are able to close their mouths, whether they are smiling or not.

6.2.4.2 Direction of gaze, head and body

Perhaps the most important category in establishing a connection between the person in the image and the person viewing the image is the direction of the gaze in the cover picture, since

> [the] depicted person may be shown as addressing viewers directly, by looking at the camera. This conveys a sense of interaction between the depicted person and the viewer… [where]

> vectors, formed by participants' eye lines, connect the participants with the viewer. Contact is established, even if it is only on an imaginary level (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 43, 114).

Connection certainly appears to be what the magazines want; in *Glamour* all the cover models gaze directly at the camera and in *GQ* only four of the models do not gaze at the camera. These are what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 118) describe demand images[21]. By gazing directly into the camera, the person in the image demands something from the viewer. What that is, is usually determined by other factors, such as facial expressions, postures and gestures. Furthermore, a direct gaze also "creates a visual form of direct address. It acknowledges the viewers explicitly, addressing them with a visual 'you'" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 117). This establishes a hard sell demand to 'buy this magazine now!' Whereas when the gaze is turned away, it gives us license as viewers to observe the images with an impersonal and detached focus (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 43).

Another way of detaching from direct communication is by turning head and torso away from the viewer. Therefore, although the person may be gazing toward you, if his/her head and/or body are angled away from you, the contact can be construed to be less direct. The results for angling cover images in *Glamour* and *GQ* are represented in table 3:

		Glamour	***GQ***	*GQ*/male	*GQ*/female	**TOTAL**
direction	straight	**18** (69%)	**11** (42%)	8 (31%)	3 (12%)	**29** (56%)
of the head	angled	**8** (31%)	**15** (58%)	9 (35%)	6 (23%)	**23** (44%)
direction	straight	**12** (46%)	**14** (54%)	12 (46%)	2 (8%)	**26** (50%)
of the body	angled	**14** (54%)	**12** (46%)	5 (19%)	7 (27%)	**26** (50%)

Table 3 Angling of the head and body in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006) covers.

As can be seen, both heads and torsos are at an angle toward the camera and the viewer in approximately half of all the images. When *Glamour* and *GQ* are looked at separately, it is noticeable that women in *Glamour* tend to have their head directed straight toward the viewer more often, especially when compared to women, but also men, in *GQ* covers. The low results for women facing the camera in *GQ* could also be explained by the 'flirtatious' pose, where woman typically angles her body and/or head away from the direction of her gaze and looks at the viewer through lowered lashes. Another interesting difference between male and female models in *GQ* is that there

[21] Following Halliday's (1985: 68) description of language 'acts' in his *Introduction to Functional Grammar*.

is a clear preference for women to angle their bodies away from the camera. Again, this could be part of the pose of flirtation and coyness, or simply an attempt to make their torsos seem narrower, i.e. thinner, by turning them slightly. Hence, it seems there is pressure for women to appear to be as thin as possible in images.

6.2.4.3 Angle and cropping of the image

Vertical point of view of the camera in relation to the cover model establishes the power relationship between the viewer and the person on the cover. Unsurprisingly, both *Glamour* and *GQ* heavily favor the straight angle where "the point of view is one of equality and there is no power difference involved" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 140). Only one picture in both magazines use a slight high angle[22], which usually indicates that "the interactive participant has power over represented participant" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 140). However, the differences here are so small as to be irrelevant for analysis.

Cropping is the last interpersonal metafunction analyzed in the visual discourse. Cropping refers to the perceived distance created between the person on the cover and the viewer through the way the cover model is cut-off in the image (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 124, 130). Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) actually talk of 'size of frame' or the 'framing of the shot', I however have deliberately chosen to use the word 'cropping' as not to confuse with the term 'framing' from media research[23]. Furthermore, I believe that cropping is a more appropriate term to use in here since after the photograph is taken, it usually goes through some dramatic changes in the lay-out editor's desk (including cropping the image to suit the purposes of the cover) before appearing on the cover of the magazine. The values I have used here are taken from Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) where

> the *close-shot* (or 'close-up') shows head and shoulders of the subject, and the *very close shot* … anything less than that. The *medium close shot* cuts of the subject approximately at the waist, the *medium shot* approximately at the knees. The *medium long shot* shows the full figure (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 130).[24]

[22] Additionally, GQ covers also had one image with a slight low angle.
[23] Framing in media research refers to how certain issues and their audience response are directed in mass-media. For further discussion see chapter 2.3.
[24] Italics mine

The results for cropping in the magazine covers are shown in table 4:

	Glamour	***GQ***	*GQ*/male	*GQ*/female	**TOTAL**
VCS		**6** (25%)	6 (25%)		**6** (13%)
CS	**2** (8%)	**3** (13%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	**5** (10%)
MCS	**3** (13%)	**5** (21%)	3 (13%)	2 (8%)	**8** (17%)
MS	**15** (63%)	**8** (33%)	5 (21%)	3 (13%)	**23** (48%)
MLS	**4** (17%)	**2** (8%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	**6** (13%)
TOTAL	**24**	**24**	17	7	**48**

Table 4 Cropping of cover images in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006). VCS= very close shot, CS= close shot, MCS= medium close shot, MS= medium shot, MLS= medium long shot.

Although the most popular cropping distance for both magazines is the medium shot, it is almost twice as popular in *Glamour* magazine. Furthermore, a clear trend is shown here in the cropping practices of images featuring female or male cover models. When 80% of women in *Glamour* are cut off at approximately the knee level of lower, the over half (59%) of the images in *GQ* tend to feature people shown from no lower than the waist upwards. Similar results are found when male and female cover images are compared in *GQ*. Simply put, the focus for images featuring women is in the body, whereas the focus for featured men is the face. This contention is also supported by Archer et al. (1983) work on differences in facial prominence between sexes.

In the discussion section, I will examine the implications these image cropping practices create in the identity construction for men and women. I will also discuss in more detail the clothing and poses and their functions as markers of femininity and masculinity. As well as explore some of the more interesting anomalies found among the cover images. In addition, I will offer a description of the typical *GQ* man and *Glamour* woman in the magazine cover images.

6.3 Discussion

The people that appear on the covers of *Glamour* and *GQ* are famous, predominantly white, with well-toned bodies. They are almost always perfect examples of conventional western beauty standards. They are also well-groomed, whether they are dressed in casual or in more formal wear. Typically, the men (and women in *GQ*) wear darker and more subdued and conservative colors,

whereas women in *Glamour* shine in brighter and more varied color palette. Both magazines also emphasize traditional feminine and masculine traits in their overall color scheme, *Glamour* swathing women within bubblegum colored cocoons and *GQ* using more austere backgrounds.

Glamour women emphasize their femininity through their clothes and poses. Nearly all wear dresses or very feminine tops that leave their arms bare and show a fair amount of cleavage. Moreover, the focus on the cleavage is sometimes enhanced by a low hanging jewelry between the breasts[25]. Indeed, all *Glamour* cover clothes are more revealing than the least revealing *GQ* covers featuring women. The difference is in the suggestion of nudity. Where all *Glamour* women are clothed, albeit revealingly, *GQ* women are implied to be unclothed in a bubble bath or on the bed[26].

Moreover, the magazine often references these sexually charged images in the accompanying coverlines. For example, the cover where Christina Aguilera appears naked on a bed with white sheets, the accompanying coverline reads "Christina Aguilera >white heat" (*GQ* 6/2006). The intertextual connection between the image and coverline can be interpreted in several ways, probably intentionally. *White heat* could be a play on the white sheets, also the word *heat* can refer to hotness, i.e. looking good, or being in heat, a state of sexual arousal. Another good example of sexually laden intertextuality is cover of Jessica Alba wearing only frilly underpants, covering her breasts with her arms. The coverline reads "Wake up to Jessica Alba" (*GQ* 4/2005). *Wake up* here reads as a suggestion for the reader. Question then becomes what is called to wake up when the male reader looks at a near nude woman.

In *Glamour* the hegemony of 'highlighted femininity' seems also to manifest itself in the obsession for achieving the look of the most perfect, curvaceous and slim body, accomplished with strategic placement of hands and angling of the body. . "Gender – especially femininity - is worn through clothes. But although clothes allude to persons as sexual beings, they do not automatically denote sexuality" (Craik 1994: 56). Rather, the female bodies are seen "malleable surfaces that can be adorned with objects that carry desired attributes via commodities' powers of signification"

[25] i.e. *Glamour* January, February, July 2005; October, November, December 2006 issues.
[26] *GQ* January 2005 and June 2006 covers.

(Goldman 1992: 121). For women, therefore, gender power and identity does seem to locate itself, again and again, at the level of clothes and appearance

For men, who have traditionally been the givers rather than the receivers of the 'male gaze', seem to have a different orientation to clothes and their bodies. The clothes they wear could hardly be described as revealing, sexual or enhancing their sexuality. Furthermore, on the covers of *GQ* the whole problem of body and clothing is often bypassed by a tighter cropping of images. What the *GQ* man typically wears, is a suit or a jacket, shirt and a tie – which often has been deliberately loosened, and the top button of the shirt left open; indicating that here is a man who is successful and knows himself and his business, but is still a relaxed and 'a regular guy' underneath. Hence, unlike women's, men's "appearance has been calculated to enhance their active roles (especially occupation and social status)… [and to] display attributes of strength and power rather than male sexual desire" (Craik 1994: 176, 192).

On the two male images that can be considered 'revealing' in *GQ* covers, one depicts Will Ferrell dressed in somewhat skimpy shorts and a t-shirt[27]. However, two things assuage "the problematic issue of men looking at other men" (Jewitt and Oyama 2001: 146). In the first place he is a noted comedian, so this play on clothing is easily read as humorous. Secondly, he surrounded by, and partially obscured by, two bikini clad female models, thus diverting attention and making it acceptable for men to gaze at the image. The other 'revealing' image shows NBA all-star Dwyane Wade shirtless with just athletic pants or shorts on[28]. Here, also, the 'pressure' of looking at another man is moderated for the male viewer. In the image, Wade does not look at the camera, but off to the side of the image, thus disconnecting from the viewer. Furthermore, as an African-American he might be considered as the 'other' to white, middle-class Americans. Nixon (1996: 183) asserts that there is "a popular representational regime" with a long historical background for depicting black with "hyper-masculinity … shaped by a pathologizing of blackness and is the site of pronounced fantasies about black men's sexuality and physical prowess." Finally, he is depicted in an exercise

[27] *GQ* July 2006
[28] *GQ* November 2006

setting (emphasized by a few droplets of sweat), which is considered a place where one male can legitimately gaze upon another (Miller 1990: 82).

Women in the covers of *Glamour* and *GQ* have clear differences in their poses. Although women in *Glamour* and men in *GQ* are often posed standing self-confidently, women in *GQ*[29], and those women in seated positions in *Glamour* covers[30], are often subjected to what Goffman (1976: 40-1) refers to "the ritualization of subordination". It refers to a practice where people are placed in poses and places, such as beds and on the floor or ground, where they will be naturally lower than anyone sitting on a chair or standing. This leads them to be more vulnerable against an attack, sexual or otherwise, and thus less powerful. Furthermore, women's poses are playful and flirtful, even in the cover of *Glamour*, compared to the more somber and serious men in *GQ*. An excellent example of a flirtful pose directed to women is the *Glamour* April 2006 cover image of Teri Hatcher. In the picture her body is almost completely turned away from the camera, but she gazes the viewer over her shoulder, smiling. This is a pose reminiscent of the wholesome 'good girl' pin-up poses from the 1940's and 50's.

Finally, I consider one of the key findings of this research, namely the cropping differences between cover images of men and women. As was established earlier, there is clear tendency to crop women showing more torso and men showing only shoulders and head, or less. According to Hall's model of 'proxemics' introduced in Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 125), the cropping of the images mimics the differences in face to face interaction customs where "close personal distance we take in the head and the shoulders. At far personal distance we see the other person from the waist up. At close social distance we see the whole figure." Jewitt and Oyama propose a slightly different classification where a

> close-up (head and shoulders or less) suggests an intimate/personal relationship; a medium shot (cutting of the human figure somewhere between the waist and the knees) suggests a social relationship … and a 'long shot' (showing the full figure, whether just fitting in the frame or even more distant) suggests an impersonal relationship (Jewitt and Oyama 2001: 146).

[29] e.g. *GQ*: January, July 2005; April, June 2006
[30] e.g. *Glamour*: April, May, June, September, October 2005

These cropping differences create a made-up relationship of friendship or unfamiliarity between the person on the cover and the viewer (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 125). Therefore, hegemonic power inequality leads to men being represented in a friendlier and closer terms in cover images. Their faces and expressions are featured in detail and consequently their personality and individuality is emphasized (Jewitt and Oyama 2001: 146). Women, on the other hand, tend to be seen as strangers or even as objects, rather than persons. They are depicted in more impersonal way, as characters without individuality or personality (Jewitt and Oyama 2001: 146). This is the opposite of the findings concerning other contact features, such as gaze direction and smiling.

Another study that considered the implications of facial prominence is the study by Archer et al. (1983). Their findings support the contention that there is a historical and cross-cultural tendency to depict women with less facial prominence in both magazines and art. They found that

> anatomic differences in sex images may have important effects. If the unique qualities of men are associated with the face, these qualities are likely to be conceptualized in terms of intellect, personality, character, wit, and other dimensions of mental life. If the unique qualities of women are associated less with the head and more with the body, these qualities are likely to be conceptualized in nonintellectual terms like weight, physique, attractiveness, or emotion (Archer et al. 1983: 733).

Zuckerman's (1986: 226) follow-up study also corroborates that there is a tendency for images featuring men to have higher facial prominence, at least in traditional magazines. However, he goes further in stating that higher facial prominence pictures tend to produce higher dominance, i.e. connotations of dominance and assertiveness, and lower facial prominence associates itself more with positivity, i.e. warmth and kindness (Zuckerman 1986: 220-1). Interestingly, the two men with the least facial prominence in *GQ* covers are two comedians, Will Ferrell and Jack Black[31], known for their less than intellectual roles. Zuckerman (1986: 226-7) makes a further interesting observation, that it is the photographer (or editor) who, through cropping, can express their power over the person depicted on the cover.

The lower facial prominence for women seems to be part of *Glamour's* strategy to make their female readers conscious of their bodies, whether on the cover of a magazine or in real life.

[31] *GQ* January and July 2006 covers.

However, the body-led identity that the magazines create for women also allows them a wider range of self-expression. Consequently, women are able to feel more relaxed about their sex and sexuality, as evidenced by their clothes, expressions and poses. Whereas men in the cover images of *GQ* must depict themselves in way that is commercially appealing, while not appearing feminine or homosexual.

All in all, the emerging pattern here seems to be that both magazines offer hegemonic representations of gender in their cover images. Women's femininity and men's masculinity is emphasized in many subtle, and less subtle ways. The gender depictions are framed fairly traditionally: women are portrayed as being gentler, more sexual, and less powerful, whereas men are depicted in a more intensive, powerful role. Men are always individuals, whereas women's identities seem to be formulated through their bodies.

7 Covering the Coverlines –Discourse Themes in Coverlines

In this chapter, I examine the coverline contents and the themes that arise from them. Coverlines are the short textual keys on the cover that are used to sell the magazine and its contents. This study of the coverline contents will serve a starting point for the more in-depth survey of the language features in chapter 8. The quantitative content analysis was used to calculate, by using a code sheet, the prevalence of the different themes present in the coverlines. Critical discourse analysis was used to broaden understanding of what further connotations of identity were present in these themes. Attention was also paid to placement and visual elements in coverlines and how they aided in highlighting certain themes. The analysis in this chapter gives an overall review of the coverlines and the gender identity discourses present within them. It also offers an introductory understanding of the textual constructions of identity present in the *Glamour* and *GQ* covers.

7.1 Content Analysis of Coverlines

In the data, both *Glamour* and *GQ* possessed roughly the same number of coverlines. Also, the average and median numbers showed remarkable similarity between the magazines. When the numbers are examined more closely, it is apparent that *Glamour* seems to have a more stable format in the coverline distribution per magazine. Each issue of *Glamour* magazine contained between six to nine coverlines, the most common amount being nine coverlines with eleven occurrences. In *GQ*, on the other hand, the coverline amounts varied between four to eleven per magazine, and the most common amount of coverlines was nine with only five occurrences.

	Glamour	***GQ***
total amount of coverlines	174	179
average per magazine	7,25	7,46
median	7,00	7,50

Table 5 The distribution of coverlines in *Glamour* and *GQ* 2005-2006 covers in total, average and median amounts.

Consequently, *GQ* issues contained both the smallest and also the greatest amount of coverlines, although it must be noted here that some of the coverlines only contained lists of

celebrity names. Furthermore, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish in both magazines where one coverline ended and the next began. The decisions here was done with as similar classification process as possible, between the magazines and from issue to issue. Also, three *Glamour* coverlines were omitted from the classification process, since the same item, e.g. competition announcement, appeared twice on the cover and it was therefore classified only once.

The development of theme discourse categories began with the examination of Hennessy's (1989: 61) classification of feature article types. However, a clearer and more detailed category distribution of the coverline contents emerged from the close reading of the data. These are the themed discourse categories that were found:

1) beauty/grooming – a coverline promoting physical self-image and beauty through hair and make-up
2) career – coverlines oriented toward professional or work issues
3) celebrities – items with strong focus on celebrities, from news to interviews
4) fashion/style – coverlines presenting fashion trends and topics
5) health/fitness – items displaying issues dealing with health and body
6) romance/relationships – coverline dealing with relationship issues
7) money/finances – coverline with a monetary theme
8) news/issues – coverlines dealing with current events
9) sex – a coverline focusing on sex and sexual gratification
10) leisure –coverlines about pastime activities including travel
11) entertainment – items with a focus on sports, music and movies (without a celebrity tie in)
12) self-improvement – coverlines that focus on self-help of both of the mind and body (without any specific focus on health and fitness)
13) other – items with vague topics or multiple topics in one coverline

All the coverlines were analyzed using a code sheet containing categories 1-10 and 13. Afterwards, all coverlines in the category *other* (13) were re-examined, in order to discover previously overlooked theme patterns. Out of this re-evaluation two new categories came forth, namely *entertainment* (11) for *GQ* and *self-improvement* (12) for *Glamour*. The validity of the results was confirmed by intracoder analysis of four of the covers, two from each magazine. The overall reliability was 97%. The results of the analysis are presented in table 6. The top three theme discourses found in *Glamour* were *health/fitness* (19%), *sex* (16%) and *beauty/grooming* (15%), whereas *GQ* promoted topics like *fashion/style* (25%), *celebrities* (25%) and *news/issues* (12%) on

its covers. As can be seen in table 6, *Glamour* has a more evenly distributed topic base, whereas half of *GQ's* coverlines are about fashion or celebrities.

	Glamour	***GQ***	**TOTAL**
beauty/grooming	**26** (15%)		**26** (7%)
career	**2** (1%)	**8** (4%)	**10** (3%)
celebrities	**23** (13%)	**44** (25%)	**67** (19%)
fashion/style	**22** (13%)	**44** (25%)	**66** (19%)
health/fitness	**33** (19%)	**8** (4%)	**41** (12%)
romance/relationships	**7** (4%)	**8** (4%)	**15** (4%)
money/finances	**3** (2%)	**1** (1%)	**4** (1%)
news/issues	**8** (5%)	**22** (12%)	**30** (8%)
sex	**27** (16%)	**6** (3%)	**33** (9%)
leisure	**1** (1%)	**10** (6%)	**11** (3%)
entertainment		**13** (7%)	**13** (4%)
self-improvement	**9** (5%)		**9** (3%)
other	**13** (7%)	**15** (8%)	**28** (8%)
TOTAL	**174**	**179**	**353**

Table 6 Distribution of coverline themes in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

Table 7 contains examples of coverlines from *Glamour* and *GQ* in all the themed discourse categories.

beauty/grooming	"Beauty rescue / look sexy in 11 minutes flat" (*Glamour* 12/05)
career	"50 ways to make your life easier at work" (*Glamour* 11/06) "Why you should talk s#!% to the boss" (*GQ* 9/05)
celebrities	"Desperate housewife Teri Hatcher – uncensored! No publicist, no B.S." (*Glamour* 7/06) "Heath Ledger / Hollywood maverick" (*GQ* 2/06)
fashion/style	"Figure-flattery special! 102 ways to dress <u>your</u> body better" (*Glamour* 5/05) "How to look your best every day" (*GQ* 11/05)
health/fitness	"Exactly what to eat to stay slim" (*Glamour* 8/06) "The 20 questions you need to ask your doctor" (*GQ* 10/06)
romance/ relationships	"12 things men want to say to you but don't" (*Glamour* 5/06) "Split the check? Date a friend's ex? Break up via e-mail? Modern manners for the 21st century" (*GQ* 9/06)
money/finances	"Attention shoppers! 95 deals & steals! + exclusive discounts on your favorite fashion & beauty stuff" (*Glamour* 10/06) "Does real estate make you horny" (*GQ* 3/06)
news/issues	"Shunned for life / The tragic story of the world's female outcasts" (*Glamour* 2/05) "The soldiers who (almost) stole Saddam's millions" (*GQ* 3/05)
sex	"Your best sex at 20, 30, 40 / What works & doesn't for you … and for him" (*Glamour* 9/05) "How young is too young? Lolitas in our midst" (*GQ* 11/05)
leisure	"12 Life experiences every woman should have" (*Glamour* 12/06) "Dining out (again) in New Orleans" (*GQ* 11/06)
entertainment	"In praise of Swayze / The best bad movies of all time" (*GQ* 5/05)
self-improvement	"12 things to stop giving yourself grief over" (*Glamour* 1/05)
other	"The reality issue / 504 untold secrets of great sex, style, hair, abs & more" (*Glamour* 4/06) "A story by David Sedaris" (*GQ* 8/05)

Table 7 Examples of coverlines by theme category in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

7.1.1 Appearance Driven

It is understandable that for magazines focused on fashion, appearance is a central discursive theme. However, when the overall theme contents of *Glamour* and *GQ* are compared, some intriguing dissimilarities arise in the topic distributions. For example, *beauty/grooming* themed content can only be found in *Glamour*. Mostly these articles consisted of promotional items partly or completely devoted to hair (12 out of 26 coverlines) and how to cut or it style it, e.g. "Make over your hair without cutting it" (*Glamour* 8/2005); as well as providing usage information and tips, e.g. "Hair from hell? Special rescue issue" (*Glamour* 6/2006). *GQ*, however, compensates this lack by having twice as many *fashion/style* themed coverlines than *Glamour*, when total distributions are compared. Interestingly for a magazine that claims to be a fashion magazine, *Glamour* only managed to produce 22 *fashion/style* themed coverlines in the two-year data. That is less than one coverline per magazine cover.

Both magazines, as fashion oriented magazines, are concerned with informing and educating the reader in the current trends, e.g. "Spring preview / the best in men's fashion" (*GQ* 1/2005), "500 spring looks for all shapes and sizes" (*Glamour* 3/2006). *Glamour* also seems to, at least on the surface level, be concerned with offering advice on individual shape and style, as well as how to enhance sexuality through appearance and being price conscious. *GQ*, however, opts to combine its fashion content with what is currently in fashion and combine it with advice on correct clothes in different climates or occasions. Comfort is another common orientation found in *GQ*'s appearance related coverlines. Examples in table 8 demonstrate the different perspectives in appearance related messages in the two magazines. These examples also show the distinctive ways the magazines address their readers. This, however, will be dealt in more detail in chapter 8.

Glamour	individual shape	"Found! Your body's perfect jeans / sexy-fit winners for sizes 0 to 24 (and everyone in between)" (*Glamour* 8/2005) "Your body's most flattering dress! Find it, buy it, believe it" (*Glamour* 6/2006)
	sexuality	"Look & feel like the sexiest woman in the room / the clothes, the make-up, the hair, the confidence" (*Glamour* 3/2005)
	affordability	"Why pay more?? 150 great looks for under 50" (*Glamour* 6/2005)
GQ	appropriate appearance	"The ultimate cold weather gear"(*GQ* 11/2005) "Are you dressing your age?"(*GQ* 9/2005)
	comfort	"Cooling off / A man's guide to looking and feeling great this summer" (*GQ* 7/2006)

Table 8 Examples of appearance related coverlines in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

7.1.2 Celebrity Driven

As discussed in chapter 4 and revealed in the cover image analysis in chapter 6, a celebrity on the cover is a must for the magazines. *GQ*'s focus on celebrities is also evident in the coverline content data. Altogether 25% of coverlines were celebrity themed in *GQ* (compared to *Glamour*'s 13%). As mentioned earlier, *GQ* even had coverlines that comprised only of lists of celebrity names, without any reference to how they were featured on the magazine pages. Furthermore, *GQ* named 80 celebrities in its covers, compared to 25 in *Glamour*. That means that, on average, every *GQ* cover has over three celebrity names where *Glamour* has one. In actuality, at least one *GQ* cover[32] in the data contained 14 celebrity names.

Glamour's celebrity themed coverlines are tied up with the cover image and frequently point forward to the interview inside, e.g. "The real Nicole on love, fame and all the Tom stuff" (*Glamour* 8/2005). *GQ*, however, appears to consider that a mere mention of a celebrity on its cover is enough, often only making general statements about the celebrity and sometimes referencing the way the celebrity is dressed or posed on the cover image. For example, "Heath Ledger / Hollywood maverick" (*GQ* 2/2006) and "Orlando Bloom >Chills Out" (*GQ* 11/2005) with Mr. Bloom dressed and posed relatively casually in an outside setting.

[32] *GQ* December 2006

GQ also increases its celebrity themed content with entertainment themes, such as reviews. The editor-in-chief of *Glamour* magazine, Cynthia Lieve, has defended the increased celebrity content in magazines by stating in a Los Angeles Times article that the "reason readers know about Valentino is they see pictures of Gwyneth Paltrow on his yacht. For us, celebrity coverage isn't squeezing out fashion coverage; it is creating an increased appetite" (Moore 2005). However, when compared to *GQ, Glamour* tends focus more on other themes, such as health and sex, instead of celebrities.

7.1.3 Health vs. Desirability

Health/fitness is a theme where *Glamour* can claim supremacy with 19% of all its coverlines focusing on it, compared 4% in *GQ*. Primarily the *health/fitness* coverlines in *Glamour* are related to health and weight. Those concerned with health often deal with avoidance and treatment of illnesses. Weight related coverlines mostly focus on diets and food with somewhat lesser focus on exercise. In *GQ* the *health/fitness* themed coverlines concentrate on giving advice on avoiding health problems, improving quality of life and exercise. Table 9 has examples of *health/fitness* coverlines from both magazines.

Glamour	health & illness	"Your personal risk of breast cancer / Get the truth here" (*Glamour* 10/2006)
	weight	"What will you weigh in a year? How to change your weight fate now" (*Glamour* 5/2005)
	diet	"Eat more, weigh less? We chow-test the hungry woman plan" (*Glamour* 3/2005)
	exercise	"A sexier body at any size! The super-easy shape-up plan that works for <u>all</u> women" (*Glamour* 5/2006)
GQ	health & illness	"5 health tests that could save your life" (*GQ* 8/2005)
	quality of life	"How to live the unstressed life" (*GQ* 5/2006)
	exercise	"Is your workout killing you?" (*GQ* 11/2005)

Table 9 Examples of health and fitness related coverlines in Glamour and GQ (2005-2006).

The notable difference in the health and fitness discourses between *Glamour* and *GQ* is how much *Glamour* equates healthier living with appearance by appealing to women's desire to look desirable.

In *GQ*, the only *health/fitness* related coverline that could be construed to appeal to the male 'vanity' was "The new drug that (really) reverses aging" (*GQ* 1/2006).

An interesting observation in the contents of *health/fitness* related articles, as well as fashion and beauty themes in *Glamour*, is the focus that is placed on advising the reader how to present their female form in as pleasing way as possible. Tips from dieting to exercise are directed towards creating the perfect shape. Therefore it is not surprising that women often experience body dissatisfaction, particularly a desire to be thinner (Cohn and Adler 1992; Harrison 2000). In essence, for women thinness equals attractiveness and a successful in life. Whereas for men exercise is only a way to avoid weight related illnesses, at least in the magazine cover discourses.

7.1.4 Sex, Romance and Money

Another interesting find that rose from the content analysis was the fact that there were more *money/finance* coverlines in *Glamour* than in *GQ*. However, as can be seen from the examples in table 10, *money/finance* coverlines in *Glamour* have more to do with finding the best bargains rather than any 'hard-core' financial matters. On the other hand, *GQ* (4%) even surpassed *Glamour* (4%) in *romance/relationship* related coverlines by one. However, the examples in table 10 demonstrate that where *GQ* coverlines tend to discuss romantic travel destinations for couples and relationship 'etiquette', all *Glamour romance/relationship* coverlines focus, in one way or another, on understanding men and their behavior. Similarly many *sex* themed coverlines in *Glamour* focus on understanding men.

Glamour	understanding men	"Aren't you curious? What guys say about us when we're not around"(*Glamour* 1/2006) "The 8 worst things you can say to a man" (*Glamour* 7/2005) "Men & cheating / Who will, Who won't and Why (Jude Law, explained)" (*Glamour* 10/2005)
GQ	travel	"Where to take her this summer" (*GQ* 6/2005) "Where to take her > The most seductive places on planet" (*GQ* 4/2006)
	relationship etiquette	"How to have an office affair" (*GQ* 4/2006) "Split the Check? Date a Friend's Ex? Break Up via E-mail? Modern manners for the 21st Century" (*GQ* 9/2006)

Table 10 Examples of romance and relationship related coverlines in Glamour and GQ (2005-2006).

Another reason for the relatively small amount of *romance/relationship* coverlines in *Glamour* could be explained by the relatively sizeable amount of *sex* coverlines. It seems that sex has surpassed romance in the women's magazine covers. Indeed, each of the 24 *Glamour* covers contained at least one sex themed coverline, while *GQ* only managed a total of 6. Moreover, where most *Glamour* coverlines focused on sexual gratification, e.g. "The illustrated guide to a great sex life (Don't open this on the bus)" (*Glamour* 6/2006), only one was found in *GQ*: "We finally found the G-spot! Complete map on page 260" (*GQ* 10/2006). *GQ* covers, however, do have other sexually suggestive content. Sexual overtones are frequently added to other coverline themes, such as fashion: "Underwear so sexy you'll have hard time keeping it on" (*GQ* 09/06). Consequently, according to front covers of *Glamour*, sex seems to be one the key pleasures in woman's life (perhaps only surpassed by shopping) and a defining part of her femininity, whereas men can even claim to be "bored with sex? You're not alone" (*GQ* 2/2005). Numerically, it seems that *GQ* discusses news/issues where *Glamour* focuses on sex.

7.2 Use of Visual Elements in Coverlines

Previously in the coverline content analysis section, I examined the discursive themes evident in the magazine coverlines, by mainly focusing on their general numerical distribution. However, a magazine cover is a composition where the textual and visual elements are interacting and affecting one another, integrating into meaningful whole. Therefore, it is important to analyze how visual

means can be used to enhance the prominence of coverlines. In effect, editors have the means to make some coverlines stand out, through placement, color, size and other visual elements. Since "Western visual communication is deeply affected by our conventions of writing" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 3), the coverlines on the top of the page are more likely to receive attention first in that very short time that the consumers spend glancing at a magazine cover. In addition to placement, other visual means such as color and size can also be used to draw attention to certain coverlines. Therefore, using the same topic categories, I examined the coverlines, this time focusing on the key visual elements.

I selected to examine the first coverlines from the text 'columns' usually formed on left and right side of the image. Western convention of reading from left to right and from top towards the bottom of the page gives significance to top positioned coverlines. Additionally, on newsstands the lower part of the magazine is frequently obscured by other magazines. I also found that play on typography, especially font size, was often and effectively used to highlight coverlines. Therefore, coverlines that distinguished themselves from others by its size were included in the examination. Color, however, was rarely used in the fonts to highlight any particular coverlines. More typical usage for color was separating coverlines from each other, or as a curious practice (especially in *Glamour*) to emphasize numbers. But colored background shapes and borders were used fairly regularly (especially in *Glamour*) to draw attention to coverlines and were thus included in the examination.

When all the data was tabulated, *Glamour* used visual means to promote *beauty/grooming* 23 (24%), *sex* 22 (23%) and *fashion/style* 19 (20%) discourses; and *GQ* focused on *celebrities* 40 (51%), *fashion/style* 22 (28%) and *news/issues* 5(6%). For *GQ* these were the same categories that were also preferred in numerical distribution. In the case of *Glamour*, however, some changes emerged since visual emphasis was used only twice on *health/fitness*, its most frequent coverline category.

When the visual categories were examined individually, the results showed that *Glamour* was more set in its ways, placing sex related coverline all but three times to top left position. Furthermore, this was almost the only means by which *sex* coverlines were emphasized. In size and background/border emphasis, *fashion/style* and *beauty/grooming* discourses were the most popular, and size was used only once to highlight a *sex* related coverline. So it seems that although sex is deemed to be an important part of women's life by the magazine, its importance is highlighted by judicious placement rather than with big and bold letters.

In *GQ* covers its popular *celebrity* items were emphasized both by the size (20 items) and placement (17 items) of the coverlines. However, it must be noted that these findings are influenced by the fact that size and placement overlapped in many of the coverlines. For example, only six of the 24 coverlines were accentuated by their size alone. This does not, however, mitigate the fact that *GQ* covers are extremely, almost aggressively, celebrity driven. It could be argued that *GQ* tries circumvent the tricky relationship between masculinity and consumerism is by veiling or 'sweetening' it with celebrity content.

7.3 Discussion

What interpretations can be made from the different discourse themes present in the magazine covers? What kind of an impression do we get of the men and women reading these magazines? It is evident from the covers of the magazines that both women and men are seen as consumers and thus *Glamour* and *GQ* are steeped at every level with overt and covert hegemonic consumption messages. *GQ* creates an image of a more egocentric, pleasure-driven man who enjoys his comfort, leisure time, and the different entertainments on offer. He is not forced to define himself through similar body ideals than women. The *Glamour* woman, on the other hand, is a continual 'work in progress'. She is always trying to find a better hairstyle, better fitting clothes for her body, better bargains, better sex life, and better (i.e. slimmer and healthier) body. Discourses construct women as always striving towards improving themselves, in order to be more pleasing to themselves and to

others, including men. Malkin et al. (1999: 647) found similar results in their study of gender and weight messages, which states that "men's magazines focus on providing entertainment and expanding knowledge, hobbies and activities; women's magazines continue to focus on improving one's life by changing one's appearance."

Men, therefore, still have the power position and traditional hegemonic ideologies still hold sway in fashion magazine cover discourses. Men are still seen as the subjects or observers, who classify and rank everything, and women are relegated to the position of objects. Moreover, women are exposed to conflicting messages. One issue may claim that there are "12 things about you that are perfect just the ways they are" (*Glamour* 11/2006), but in another cover you are encouraged to "Improve your body in exactly 2 seconds / A genius trick whether you're size XS or XL" (*Glamour* 10/2006). The evidence indicates that there are extremely harmful discourse constructions in women's magazines. Indeed, media exposure may lead to negative body image. At least among women, exposure to various types of media promotes an extreme ideal body image and creates body dissatisfaction that leads to increased eating disorder symptomatology (Nemeroff et al. 1994: 168).

From this analysis of the fashion and lifestyle magazine coverlines and their constructions of feminine and masculine identity discourses, it is clearly discernible that real differences exist in the focus and rationales that are built for women and men around consumption and identity in the covers of *Glamour* and *GQ*. Traditional American gender roles are being reflected and reproduced in the different foci in the coverline themes that the magazines provide for their readers.

8 What's in a Word – A Closer Look at Language Features

This chapter takes a more detailed look at the data through some of the language features of magazine covers discussed in chapter 4. The aim is to get a better understanding of the language that creates the coverline discourse themes examined in chapter 7. So where conventional CDA studies tend to be content with the discourses they discover, I also want to understand the building blocks that help construct them. Moreover, this analysis demonstrates how gender identity formations are present at every level of the data, from micro to macro level. The purpose here is not to examine every word in the magazine covers but focus those that have the most meaningful role in commercial identity formation. Therefore, the lexical and semantic categories that have been chosen for analysis are those which best represent the characteristics of power and gender and how they are influenced by promotional language.

I will begin the analysis by examining the semantic structures of the clauses in coverlines by using the transitivity model. It is particularly useful method for examining coverline language since it allows the researcher to investigate "what is *in* texts, but also for analyzing what is *absent* from them" (Simpson and Mayr 2010: 66). As discussed in chapter 4, ellipsis is a common technique used in coverline language, where subjects and verbs are often omitted from clauses. Transitivity allows a look into these structures and provides a way to understand how these items, concealed or visible, play a part in creating ideologically loaded gender representations (Goldman 1992: 123; Matheson 2005: 66).

I also analyze some of the lexical categories that have a key role in coverline language. Adjectives and adverbs are by sheer numbers alone among of the most important lexical categories in the magazine cover language. As modifiers adjectives and adverbs also have strong soft sell characteristics. In comparison, determiners like possessive and indefinite pronouns often have strong hard sell traits and also aid in revealing the way the magazines address their readers in addition to personal pronouns. Furthermore, all lexical and semantic findings in this chapter have also been examined in relation to the discursive themes discussed in chapter 7.

8.1 Transitivity analysis – Examining Representational Meanings

Transitivity analysis is, in simple terms, concerned with who does what to whom and what are the circumstances. The original theories on transitivity developed by Halliday (1994) in his systemic-functional linguistics are rather cumbersome and overly detailed in relation to the less complex nature of the magazine cover language. Therefore, in my analysis I use a somewhat simplified version employed by Matheson (2005: 66-81) in his research of the women's magazine articles. For analysis all coverline clauses were identified and divided into *participants*, *processes* and *circumstances*.

Processes were further divided by type into *doing*, *saying*, *sensing* and *being processes*. Similarly *participants* were further categorized as *actors* or *acted upons,* and in the case of being processes *qualities*. This process is illustrated in table 11. In a regular sentence, like example one in table 11, *actor* usually refers to the subject, *process* to the predicate and *acted upon* to the object. *Circumstance* is usually an adverbial group or prepositional phrase that describe where, when or how something happened (Simpson and Mayr 2010: 66). Additionally, all clauses were also coded with the issue identification and the theme discourses from chapter 7, enabling comparisons of differences in semantic structures between themes.

	actor	*process*	*acted upon/quality*	*circumstance*	
1	Salma Hayek	confides in	Ashley Judd	about love and life	(*Glamour* 1/06)
2	every woman	should know	30 things	by age 30	*(Glamour* 9/05)
3	[you/reader]	make over	your home	25 cheap ways	(*Glamour* 3/06)
4	[you/reader]	feel	like the sexiest woman	in the room	*(Glamour* 11/05)
5	what everyone you	know is doing	in bed	really	*(Glamour* 7/05)
6	Leo	shines		in our men of the year issue	(*GQ* 12/06)
7	real men (complete instructions	wear [are]	pink inside)		(*GQ* 5/05)
8	[you/reader]	[look → buy]	the 10 best suits	under $500	(*GQ* 10/06)
9	[you/reader] [you/reader] [you/reader] [you/reader]	look dress spend look	well wisely like a million bucks	without blowing it	(*GQ* 4/05)
10	[you/reader] you	[are] [a]re not	bored alone	with sex	(*GQ* 2/05)

Table 11 Examples of clause breakdowns in transitivity analysis of GQ and Glamour (2005-2006) coverlines. [Ellipsis is indicated by square brackets]

The examples in table 11 show that transitivity analysis is less focused on the mood of the clause or its organization, as the first part of the coverline in last example in the table is in reality an interrogative and examples four and nine in table 11 are really imperative forms. Nevertheless, I wish to present here some observations on the clause constructions and their actional meanings that arose while tabling the coverline clauses; especially since grammatical mood and other interpersonal functions of the clause are parallel to its representational meanings (Halliday 1994: 101). As can be seen in table 11, a coverline can contain one clause or several clauses. Frequently coverlines have no clauses because they only contain lists of celebrity names or are only made of phrase structures and thus do not have *processes* or *participants*.

Phrase structures can be contrived into sentences with the magazine name as the *actor* and verb present/reveal as the *process*. For example, "[Glamour] [reveals] the war's deadliest day for women" (*Glamour* 6/2006) or "[GQ] [presents] America's greatest steak houses" (*GQ* 3/2006). *GQ* had 29 and *Glamour* 67 of this type of phrase structures. In *GQ* these were found most often in *fashion* themed coverlines, which is not surprising since it was overwhelmingly the most popular coverline type (see chapter 7). In Glamour 70% of these phrase structures were fairly evenly distributed between *beauty, fashion, health/fitness* and *sex* themed coverlines. However, these

somewhat artificial sentence structures were left out of further investigation into *processes* and *participants*, as they offered very little added information into the gender identity analysis. In addition, in few noun phrases in *GQ*, such as example eight in table 11, there can be detected a clear, but unmentioned, *actor* of you/the reader as well as *process* which requests, indirectly, to look[33] at the suits inside the magazine which, hopefully, leads to a purchase decision.

Besides phrase structures, the data also had several clause constructions that deviated from the typical subject-verb-object configuration. The most obvious of these were interrogatives, which invite the reader to take part in a rhetorical exchange (Biber et al. 2002: 252); and imperatives that usually demand something from the reader, even though they lack a subject and thus *actor* (Biber et al. 2002: 254; McLoughlin 2000: 19). *Glamour* had 20 interrogative and 20 imperative coverline structures[34] and *GQ* had 18 interrogatives to 13 imperatives. From this evidence it would seem that both magazines engage the reader roughly equally with inquiries, with *Glamour* making demands somewhat more frequently than *GQ*.

However, imperative clauses are just one technique magazines use to assert their authority over the readers. More often than not, the coverlines in both magazines invoke the style of the expert, as discussed in chapter 4, where the discourse is structured to pose problems and provide solutions, e.g. "The real reasons you're gaining weight & how to stop" (*Glamour* 9/2006). Additionally, 'how to', 'dos & don'ts' and 'wh-word' coverline constructs are also popular ways for the magazines to presuppose to have knowledge and to create a degree of synthetic personalization with the readers. Even coverlines with questions offer direct or implied understanding that the magazine will provide answers and advice within its pages, e.g. "Can you handle the new bachelor party?" (*GQ* 1/2005).

Perhaps the most intriguing unconventional clause construct, however, is the fronting of objects and other nominal structures. It is also perhaps the most distinguishable feature of the

[33] And in today's magazines it is very much about looking since, apart from purchase information, the pages have very little text to read.
[34] *Glamour* even had one coverline that due to ellipsis can be understood as both an interrogative and imperative: "Eat more, weigh less?? We chow-test the hungry-woman plan" (*Glamour* 3/2005).

magazine cover language, since it appears relatively frequently in coverlines – but not in English language (Biber et al. 2002: 400). Examples of fronting[35] are: "The summer cancer warning every woman should read" (*Glamour* 6/2006), "The 20 questions you need to ask your doctor" (*GQ* 10/2006). *Glamour* uses these structures in its coverlines much more frequently than *GQ*. In the two-year data *Glamour* had 23 and *GQ* 8 occurrences of fronting. As can been seen from the examples above, fronting gives the first or last part of the clause special focus and emphasis (Biber et al. 2002: 412). In the language of promotion and advertising, it focuses the attention on the most 'selling' part of the message. Another function is the 'softening' effect it has on the sometimes quite strict statements. For instance, compare

> "30 things every woman should know by age 30" (*Glamour* 9/2005)
> → Every woman should know 30 things by age 30.

After this brief look at the clause constructions in coverlines and the way they interact with the readers, I now focus on the content of the clauses through their components – or what can be called focusing on the representational meanings of the clauses (Fairclough 2003: 135). First I take a look at the *processes* since they are a central element in a clause. They express the 'goings-on' in the clause to which the other clausal elements relate (Halliday 1994: 101).

8.1.1 The Processes

As previously mentioned, the *processes* were divided into four categories similar to Matheson's (2005) study and somewhat modified from Halliday's (1994) process categories. These categories are *doing*, *saying*, *sensing* and *being processes*. All of these categories have distinct semantic functions:

1) *Doing processes* are different kind of actions and happenings, either physical or abstract (Halliday 1994: 104).
2) *Saying processes* are processes of expression, verbally or in writing. They cover "any kind of symbolic exchange of meaning" (Halliday 1994: 129).
3) *Sensing processes* are similar to saying processes but they project attitudes, thoughts, perceptions and other mental processes (Halliday 1994: 107).

[35] Fronting occurs also in the original clause structures in examples two and three in table 11. In example two the *acted upon* is fronted and in example three the *circumstance*.

4) *Being processes* convey "the qualities or identity of something and usually involve the verb 'to be' or 'to have'" (Martin and Rose (2003) quoted in Matheson 2005: 69)

It must be noted that these categories are not precise because there is some 'fuzziness' between them. For example, the verb *to look* in the coverlines can mean a process of 'seeing' in which case it is a *sensing process* or it can be used in the meaning 'to seem' which makes a *being process*. Therefore, the processes and their context were carefully studied in order to determine which process category they belonged to.

The data contained altogether 421 processes. Out of these *Glamour* provided 225 and *GQ* 196 processes. These numbers include the inferred processes that were absent due to ellipsis, of which *Glamour* had 13 (6%) and *GQ* 21 (11%). A more detailed breakdown of the coverline processes is shown in table 12.

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
Doing processes	**116** (52%)	**102** (52%)	**218** (52%)
Saying processes	**23** (10%)	**18** (9%)	**41** (10%)
Sensing processes	**37** (16%)	**21** (11%)	**58** (14%)
Being processes	**49** (22%)	**55** (28%)	**103** (25%)
TOTAL	**225**	**196**	**421**

Table 12 Distribution of processes in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

As can be seen from table 12, both magazine use the different process types with roughly the same frequency. The only difference between the magazines is that *Glamour* uses slightly more *sensing processes* and *GQ being processes*.

However, for both magazines *doing processes* is clearly the main process type. This is unsurprising since the promotional aim of the magazines necessitates the use verbs that evoke action. *Doing processes* are a dynamic category. They are there to persuade readers and to help create the upbeat and trendy feeling present in the magazine covers. Halliday (1994: 102-3) calls these *material processes* as they involve a doer and often a done to. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 176) go further in stating that "[t]ransformation is clearly the lifeblood of consumerism since it relies on consumer products or objects for its facilitation." When the distribution of *doing processes* were examined through the theme discourses from chapter 7, *Glamour* used them most frequently

in *health/fitness* and *fashion/style* coverlines, while *GQ* used them in *fashion/style* and *celebrity* coverlines. These categories covered nearly half of the *doing processes* in both magazines.

Being processes were the second most popular process category in both magazines. This is a stative category, again appearing most often in *fashion/style* and *celebrity* coverlines in *GQ* and, interestingly, *sex* related coverlines in Glamour. However, in *sex* coverlines most of these processes either referred to 'having' something or was used in an interrogative. *Saying* and *sensing processes* were minority processes in both magazines. Predictably, *saying processes* were used most frequently in those theme discourses that often contained exchange of information. For Glamour this was *celebrity* discourses and GQ *news/issues* discourses. And finally, *sensing processes* were most often found *sex* coverlines in *Glamour* and *fashion/style* coverlines in *GQ*.

Another feature of the magazine cover language is the lack of negation. It is part of creating the upbeat feeling of the language. Out of all processes, *Glamour* had 22 (10%) negative process structures and *GQ* 9 (6%). In both magazines negation was distributed though all process categories and different theme discourses. When these negative structures were examined closer, they often negated something negative or undesired in *GQ*. For example, they advised how <u>not</u> to get robbed when buying a suit (*GQ* 9/2006) or find a suit that does <u>not</u> scream business (*GQ* 4/2005). In *Glamour* negation was also used in comparative structures, such as what kind of men will and <u>won't</u> cheat (*Glamour* 10/2005) and what should and <u>should not</u> be done in holiday fashion (*Glamour* 12/2005).

Similarly to interrogative and imperative clauses, *processes* also portray interpersonal functions through the use of modals and semi-modals. Grammatical modality offers information about the writer authority (Fairclough 1989: 126). In addition, with grammatical modality the magazines can present a stance or evaluation that they and the reader should have toward the process (Fowler 1991: 89). These include possibility, ability, volition, prediction, obligation and necessity (Biber et al. 2002: 176). Again *Glamour* used modals slightly more frequently than *GQ*. *Glamour* had 30 (13%) and *GQ* had 17 (9%) modal and semi-modal structures in their processes

and once more there was no clear preference towards any process category or theme discourse. A more detailed breakdown of modals by their function is illustrated in table 13.

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
possibility/ability	**4** (13%)	**7** (41%)	**11** (23%)
volition/prediction	**16** (53%)	**6** (35%)	**22** (47%)
necessity/obligation	**10** (33%)	**4** (24%)	**14** (30%)
TOTAL	**30**	**17**	**47**

Table 13 Distribution of modal and semi-modal constructions by function in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

As can be seen from table 13, *Glamour* had a preference to modals of *volition* and *prediction*. All of them were formed by using the modal auxiliary 'will' and most of them addressed the reader. Hence, *Glamour* woman will get healthy[36], get a great body and it will take only 15 minutes[37]. Clothes will transform their shape[38] and body[39] and they will succeed at work[40]. *GQ* had a more even distribution between the different modality functions with the modals of *possibility* and *ability* at a very slight lead. Of the *possibility/ability* and *volition/prediction* modals, 9 were addressed to the reader. *GQ* man, therefore, can learn from the best tailor[41] or Robert Duvall[42] and shall look so good[43] in clothes that will never go out of style[44] that they will get lucky[45] and, indeed, have a hard time keeping their underwear on[46].

However, where the first two modality categories offer optimistic and encouraging interactions with the reader, the last category of *necessity/obligation* is more dictating and compelling in nature. In both magazines these were usually directed towards the reader or all women/men. *GQ* had very few of this type of modals, only four, and of those in one the compelled actor was a suit (*GQ* 2/2006) and another was ironic statement about why the reader "should talk

[36] *Glamour* 1/2005
[37] *Glamour* 1/2006
[38] *Glamour* 5/2006
[39] *Glamour* 7/2006
[40] *Glamour* 3/2006
[41] *GQ* 5/2005
[42] *GQ* 6/2006
[43] *GQ* 5/2006
[44] *GQ* 7/2005
[45] *GQ* 4/2006
[46] *GQ* 9/2006

s#!% to the boss" (*GQ* 9/2005). In the end *GQ* had only two clauses that issued demands towards the reader: one about knowing (*GQ* 10/2006) and the other about asking (*GQ* 10/2006).

Glamour, in contrast, issued every demand toward their readers, most of them (7) urging them to read, know or have something or some experience dictated by the magazine. Consequently, a case can be made here that, again, women tend to be dictated to more often than men. In the next section I take a closer look at what kind of participants the magazine coverline clauses have and compare and contrast them between the magazines and against the process types and theme discourses.

8.1.2 The Participants

Participants are elements in the clause that are grammatically related to the main verb (Halliday 1994: 131). In critical analysis, certain kind of participants and the accumulation of certain groups as agents or goals reveal ideological constructions that the writer may not be aware about but seem more appropriate if "syntax aligns with ideology" (Matheson 2005: 66).

In traditional linguistics the participants are usually represented by the subject and the object; or one who is doing the process (i.e. *actor*) and to whom it is being done to (i.e. *acted upon*). These may be people, things or even abstract concepts (Simpson and Mayr 2010: 66). Therefore, I examined how many human and non-human *actors* and *acted upons* were in coverline clauses. I also examined how gender was present in participant functions and how these related to the different process types and themed discourses.

It must be noted that when compared to *processes*, the ellipsis of the *actor* was notably more prevalent in both magazines. In both magazines nearly a third of all *actors* (*Glamour* 28% and *GQ* 31%) were absent due to ellipsis. Moreover, in most cases (*Glamour* 90% and *GQ* 70%) the missing *actor* was [you/the reader]. This is of course understandable since every message on the cover is directed at the reader. In addition, in some clause constructions, like passives, imperatives and interrogatives, the subject is often naturally absent. The reader was the overall most popular

participant that assumed agency in both magazines. In *Glamour* 74 (35%) and in *GQ* 62 (31%) of all *actors* was the reader. However, only 24 cases in *Glamour* and 18 in GQ these were actually not missing due to ellipsis. Matheson (2005: 81) explains that this prolific use of 'you' demonstrates the level that the magazines speak to and on behalf of their readers.

Other human participants were the named celebrities, the magazine 'we' and other unspecified women, men and groups thereof. With the magazine 'we' I refer to instances where the magazine is the *actor* or includes itself as among the ones doing the process, usually by marked by the pronoun 'we'. Neither magazine, however, did not emphasize its role here; *Glamour* had eight (4%) and *GQ* seven (4%) cases where the magazine was in the subject position. Non-human *actors* (such as products, places and services) also had equal popularity in both magazines (*Glamour* 22% and *GQ* 20%) and was the second most popular group taking up agency.

Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 183) explain that in consumer writing the product frequently assumes agency because then "the product *serves* the consumer: it does things *for* you but also *to* her making her the *beneficiary*." Indeed, in both magazines over 60% of the time the product or service *actors* are there to do something to the reader or all women/men. However, there is a clear difference whether the reader is the *target* or the *beneficiary* of the process. *Glamour* was much more likely to structure these clauses in a way where the reader was the target of sometimes even harmful things, e.g. "The new foods that are making you fat" (*Glamour* 6/2005). In *GQ*, on the other hand, the reader or men were more likely to benefit someway from the product, e.g. "The clothes that … will get you lucky" (*GQ* 4/2006).

Lastly, I want to look at frequency of gender related terms, both male and female, in the in the magazines. Therefore, all mentions gender, in noun phrases and pronouns, were tabulated and examined. A breakdown of gender references is presented in table 14:

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
Female references	**49** (63%)	**10** (27%)	**59** (51%)
Male references	**29** (37%)	**27** (73%)	**56** (49%)
TOTAL	**78**	**37**	**115**

Table 14 Amount and frequency of gender references in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

Of the two magazines, *Glamour* used gender references much more frequently and had a total of 78 references to gender in the data, compared to 37 in *GQ*. There was also a clear difference in the way the two genders performed in the participant functions in *Glamour* and *GQ*. In *Glamour* there were 36 gendered *actors* (17% of all *actors*) present in the coverline clauses and 13 (6%) of all *actors* were male, whereas in GQ there were 14 gendered *actors* (7% of all *actors*) and only one of those was female. Therefore, in *GQ* women were much more likely to be on the receiving end of the action as the *acted upons*, usually of a *doing process*.

In *Glamour* men were, in comparison, nearly equally present both as *actors* and *acted upons*. There were even four instances where *Glamour* combined both men and women in a participant function. Nearly all male references were found in coverlines that dealt with interactions between men and women in *love/relationships* and *sex* themed discourses. From this evidence it is clear that women in *Glamour* are clearly interested in what men do, say and think (especially about them); whereas for *GQ* men women are objects of their actions, not active participants.

8.2 Lexical Categories – Examining Interpersonal Meanings

In this section, I examine lexical categories that have a central role in the coverline language and create strong interpersonal links between the magazine and the reader. I have already briefly discussed the use of pronouns in participant functions in the transitivity analysis but the purpose here is to examine them and their interpersonal functions in more detail. Another group that has been studied is adjectives and adverbs. These are key components in creating emotive language on the covers by adding meaning and description to the coverlines and thus evoking moods, feelings and desires. One could even contend that pronouns, adjectives and adverbs are the lexical categories, more than any other, where the commodification of gender resides.

8.2.1 Forms of Address: Pronouns

I begin my analysis of the use of pronouns in magazine covers by focusing on two questions posed by Fairclough and Johnstone:

> Are the pronouns *we* and *you* used, and if so, how? (Fairclough 1989: 111)
> How do pronouns help 'position' speakers, adressees and characters in discourse? (Johnstone 2008: 61)

Therefore, in my analysis I concentrate on those elements that most directly dealt with address and gender: personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns and possessives (possessive pronouns and determiners). Some of the issues raised in the questions above have already been touched upon in the analysis of participant functions. There we discovered that both *Glamour* and *GQ* fairly frequently address 'you' the reader, where the reader is either given agency or is the recipient of different processes, but less frequently insert themselves as part of the discourse in the coverline clauses. In addition, *Glamour* made gendered references in much greater amounts than *GQ*. Although many of these were in the form of noun phrases, also some gender specific pronouns were included in these references.

When all pronouns were extracted from the data, *Glamour* had 123 and *GQ* 87 pronouns in the investigated classes. The breakdown of the different pronoun classes is illustrated in table 15.

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
Personal pronouns	**61** (50%)	**50** (57%)	**111** (53%)
Possessives	**44** (36%)	**30** (34%)	**74** (35%)
Indefinite pronouns	**16** (13%)	**7** (8%)	**23** (11%)
Reflexive pronouns	**2** (2%)		**2** (1%)
TOTAL	**123**	**87**	**210**

Table 15 Pronouns and determines by class in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006). (Possessives include both possessive pronouns and possessive determiners).

As can be seen from the table, *Glamour* used, once again, more pronouns on its covers. Both magazines had a clear preference for personal pronouns. Their popularity, as well as possessive pronouns and determiners, can be explained by the magazines' need to direct their messages toward the reader and thus 56% of all pronouns in *Glamour* and 48% in *GQ* referred to the 2nd singular 'you'. Table 16 presents a more detailed distribution 'you' and 'we' pronouns in the magazines.

		Glamour	GQ
2nd singular	Personal pronouns 'you'	**39** (64%)	**24** (48%)
	Possessives 'your'	**30** (68%)	**18** (60%)
	TOTAL	**69** (56%)	**42** (48%)
1st plural	Personal pronouns 'we'[47]	**6** (10%)	**6** (12%)
	Possessives 'our'	**1** (2%)	**5** (17%)
	TOTAL	**7** (6%)	**11** (13%)

Table 16 Distribution of 2nd person singular and 1st person plural pronouns and possessives in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006). The percentages refer to their frequency when compared to other pronouns from that class (e.g. 39 out of 61 (64%) of all personal pronouns in Glamour are 2nd singular 'you')

As previous findings have shown, magazines can, and regularly do, construct their coverlines without the ubiquitous pronoun 'you'. Nevertheless, sometimes the magazines flood the coverlines with references toward the reader, e.g.

> Secrets of your sex drive / Why you want it when you want it… and how to want it more (*Glamour* 6/2005).
> How to ditch your job, disappear from your life, and find a new you (*GQ* 7/2006).

It seems that, in addition to being a handy tool for presupposition and a classic hard sell instrument, the use of 2nd singular 'you' in the coverlines acts as a kind of exclamation mark, bestowing them with special emphasis towards the reader. In *Glamour* 'you' pronouns were especially concentrated on *sex* (22) and *health/fitness* (21) themed coverlines and in *GQ fashion/style* (18) and *health/fitness* (9) coverlines.

I also investigated what was attributed with the possessive 'your' by the magazines. Although *GQ* almost exclusively used the possessive 'your' in the appearance related coverlines mentioned above, their reference was rarely related to men's bodies. More often the reference was used to clothes or internal qualities, such as memory. In *Glamour*, on the other hand, over half of the references were to women's bodies, their shapes and weight. The only reference to any internal quality in *Glamour* was to a sex drive in "Secrets to your sex drive" (*Glamour* 6/2005). Therefore, it seems both magazines use 2nd person singular forms to highlight appearance related issues, with *Glamour* focusing especially on body image.

[47] It must be noted that I included in this category only 1st plurals that made general references that included the reader and/or the magazine in the reference, i.e. the magazine 'we' discussed earlier in the chapter. Both *Glamour* and *GQ* each had one case where the reference was more specific and these were excluded from this data. In Glamour (10/2005) "We [→ two sisters] put a molester behind bars…" and in GQ (2/2005) "We [→the US army] regret to inform you…"

However, perhaps the most interesting finding in table 16 is that *GQ* uses 1st person plural, especially in its possessive form, more frequently than *Glamour*. After all, the pronoun 'we' suggests feelings of camaraderie and unity, a very important function in the reader-magazine relationship. Where *Glamour's* 'we' pronouns were distributed fairly evenly across the different coverline discourses, GQ claimed clear ownership of their *celebrity* discourses, especially with the possessive forms. Then again, the low number of the 1st person plural 'we' expressions in *Glamour* is probably explained by the fact that the magazine constructs togetherness in its cover language in other ways. For instance, over 50% of its indefinite pronouns were constructed to group women together, e.g. 'all women' and 'everyone'. Moreover, *Glamour* also used near synonymous noun phrases 15 times on its covers, e.g. 'every woman'. *GQ* also used similar 'every man' construct three times on its cover but none of its indefinite pronouns were used to group men together.

Therefore, it is evident that *Glamour* uses expressions of togetherness, as well as addresses the reader 'you', much more frequently than *GQ*. *Glamour* even reinforces this by literally underlining this type of pronouns on six occasions. There also seems to be an inherent need for the magazine the emphasize femininity since it prefers constructions that allow it to express gender. Another benefit of these types of gendered groupings is that they really combine 'you' and 'we' address. For example, the pronouns in the coverline "A sexier body at any size! / The super-easy shape-up plan that works for <u>all</u> women" (Glamour 5/2006) invite the female reader, whatever size she may be, to be a part of a group of *Glamour* women getting fit and at the same time presupposes that as a woman she will and should want to get fit and to be sexier. One feature that is similar in both magazines is the preference to use indefinite pronouns that denote inclusivity, such as *all*, *everyone* and *everything*. These all-encompassing words represent a distinctive feature in magazine language that McLoughlin (2000: 21) calls vocabulary of excess. The next section on adjectives and adverbs takes a closer look at this aspect of cover language.

8.2.2 Offering Further Meaning: Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs typically function as modifiers adding meaning, mood and feeling to the coverlines. Machin and van Leeuwen (2005: 590) go further in contending that in promotional language the descriptive powers of adjectives extend beyond the text because through deliberate use of referential ambiguity the readers are meant to attribute the same qualities to themselves. Therefore, adjectives and adverbs have an important role in formulating gender identities. For example, in phrases like "the sexiest jeans" (*Glamour* 7/2006) and "the sharpest suits" (*GQ* 1/2006) the nouns refer to clothing but the adjectives supply them with completely different associations and connotations that also extend to the person wearing the clothing, or perhaps even reading about the clothing.

For analysis, all adjectives and adverbs were extracted from the coverlines in the data. The hypothesis was that *Glamour* would, once again, contain more and have greater variety in its adjectives and adverbs. First, adjectives and adverbs were tabulated and their frequency examined in the different coverline themes. This is illustrated in table 17:

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
beauty/grooming	**33** [1.3]		**33**
career	**1**[0.5]	**3** [0.4]	**4**
celebrities	**15** [0.7]	**32**[0.7]	**47**
fashion/style	**23** [1.0]	**49** [1.1]	**72**
health/fitness	**49** [1.5]	**5** [0.6]	**54**
romance/relationships	**5** [0.7]	**4** [0.5]	**9**
money/finances	**3** [1.0]	**1** [1.0]	**4**
news/issues	**6** [0.8]	**17** [0.8]	**23**
sex	**42** [1.6]	**7** [1.2]	**49**
leisure	**1** [1.0]	**12** [1.2]	**13**
entertainment		**16** [1.2]	**16**
self-improvement	**9** [1.0]		**9**
other	**19** [1.5]	**10** [0.7]	**29**
Adjectives total	**190**	**140**	**330**
Adverbs total	**16**	**16**	**32**
TOTAL	**206**	**156**	**362**

Table 17 Distribution of adjectives and adverbs by coverline type in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006). Numbers in square brackets indicate the frequency of adjectives/adverbs in that coverline type, e.g. *beauty/grooming* coverlines in *Glamour* have on average 1.3 adjectives/adverbs per coverline.

Adjectives were also classified according to their semantic function. Another feature that was examined was the use of comparative and superlative forms in coverlines. The number of adverbs was fairly low in both magazines, but the adverbs were examined as a group and compared between the magazines.

As can be seen from table 17, adjectives dominate over adverbs in both magazines. In addition, table 17 gives a good overall view of the distribution of adjectives and adverbs through the coverline themes. What this table reveals is that the numerically popular coverline types (*Glamour: Health/fitness* and *sex*; *GQ: fashion/style*) also have greatest frequency of adjectives and adverbs. As these are also the same coverline types that had the most 'you' pronouns, it seems that these coverlines contain meanings that both magazines want their readers to notice and internalize. In addition, *GQ* also used adjectives and adverbs frequently in activities related coverlines: *sex*, *leisure* and *entertainment*.

I also examined adjectives with sexual meanings and their distribution across the coverline types. Sexuality is an important device in which the magazines use to sell and validate certain choices to the extent that

> [t]he power of consumer magazines can be reframed as not just that of sketching out lifestyles for us… but more importantly of writing sexualizing discourses which define who we are. Women in particular are bombarded with advice on how to achieve fulfillment in sexual relationships, to the extent that almost all pleasure, happiness, success, and beauty are presented in relation to sexuality (Matheson 2005: 62).

This is also evident in my data. *Glamour* had noticeably more sexually related adjectives. 17% (32) of *Glamour* and 9% (12) of *GQ* adjectives had sexual associations. Moreover, most of these adjectives modified clothing and other appearance associated nouns in *Glamour*, as well as being common in *sex* themed coverlines. *GQ*, on the other hand, also used sexual adjectives to describe appearance - women's, but also things like cars and songs. The only male appearance related coverline with sexual reference reads: "Underwear so sexy you'll have hard time keeping it on" (*GQ* 9/2006).

As was previously mentioned, adjectives were also tabulated according to their semantic function. These were Tobin's (1990: 240-3) categories of *size, time, dimension, position, qualities* and *number*. The breakdown is illustrated in table 18.

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
size	**12** (6%)	**5** (4%)	**17** (5%)
time	**12** (6%)	**15** (11%)	**27** (8%)
dimension		**1** (1%)	**1** (0%)
position	**1** (1%)		**1** (0%)
qualities	**132** (69%)	**96** (69%)	**228** (69%)
number	**33** (17%)	**23** (16%)	**56** (17%)
TOTAL	**190**	**140**	**330**

Table 18 Breakdown of adjectives according to their semantic functions in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

As can be expected, *qualities* overshadow all other semantic categories with 69% of all adjectives falling into this group in both magazines. Of course the previously discussed adjectives associated with sexuality fall into this category. After all, promotional language thrives on emotive and positive evaluative descriptions. As Fowler (1991: 85-7) explains, the use of evaluative adjectives and adverbs create modalities of truth and desirability.

When *qualities* category was examined closer both magazines frequently used adjectives 'great' and 'special', also evaluative 'better' and 'best' were popular. However, there were also some slight differences between the magazines. For instance, *Glamour* used more descriptive adjectives other that 'great' and also used more adjectives that made references towards the reader, such as 'personal', 'private' and 'secret'. Naturally, several of *Glamour's* descriptive adjectives had distinct feminine connotations, e.g. 'gorgeous' 'gutsy' 'dream' 'chic' and 'flattering'. In *GQ* descriptions were more neutral in nature, e.g. 'modern', 'cool' and 'casual'. In addition, *GQ* tended to have several evaluative adjectives that indicated significance, e.g. 'ultimate' 'complete' and 'exclusive'.

The other categories of *size, time* and *number* favored adjectives that denoted the extreme of something in both magazines. The same also applies to adverbs. In the *size* category adjectives that denoted 'bigness' and in *Glamour* also 'diminutiveness' were the most popular. With *time* it was 'newness' and 'youngness' and in *number* category there was a clear preference for adjectives that

denoted ‘comprehensiveness’. Therefore, it seems that McLoughlin’s (2000: 21) statement about vocabulary of excess being a central characteristic of magazine language once again rings true. In a language that needs to be simple and succinct, adjectives and adverbs are a clear exception.

Perhaps one of the most startling findings, however, came when the comparative and superlative forms were tabulated. For once, *GQ* had more of these gradable forms. Moreover, out of the two magazines *GQ* had very a clear preference for the superlative form. The numerical breakdown is illustrated in table 19.

	Glamour	**GQ**	**TOTAL**
comparative	**16** (47%)	**4** (10%)	**20** (26%)
superlative	**18** (53%)	**38** (90%)	**56** (74%)
TOTAL	**34**	**42**	**76**

Table 19 Comparative and superlative forms in *Glamour* and *GQ* (2005-2006).

McLoughlin (2000: 24) mentions the superlative form as one the techniques to capturing readers’ attention. It is interesting that *Glamour* which to this point seems to have systematically utilized every attention grabbing device in language, does not seem to avail itself with the use of the superlative form.

When the distribution of these gradable adjectives was examined across the coverline themes, *Glamour* appeared to distribute these forms more evenly throughout the different coverline types. By a narrow margin the magazine had a slight preference for *beauty/grooming*, *health/fitness* and *sex* coverlines. The superlative forms were most numerous in *beauty/grooming* and *sex* coverlines. *GQ*, in contrast, used these gradable adjectives especially in *fashion/style* and *leisure* coverlines.

In addition, when the contexts of comparative and superlative forms were examined in the magazines, it was clear that *Glamour* repeatedly used the comparative form to modify things related to the reader and especially her body, e.g. “6 rules for dressing your shape sexier” (*Glamour* 2/2005). Superlatives, on the other hand, were most frequently applied to describing the magazine’s content, e.g. “Our best sex secrets ever” (*Glamour* 9/2006). Conversely, men in *GQ* seemed to be

the best[48], wear the best things[49], know the best things[50] and go the best places[51]. Even the comparative forms aimed to offer the *GQ* reader better things, e.g. "lighter shirts" (*GQ* 3/2005).

Here we come again back to the notions of transformation and surface appearance introduced by Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 176). *Glamour* used the comparative adjectives to strengthen its message that its readers need to change themselves and especially their physical appearance. *GQ*, on the other hand, with the use of superlative forms persuades the reader to believe that the magazine will provide them with the best information. Consequently, although both magazines aim to influence their readers, *GQ* cajoles where *Glamour* compels.

8.3 Discussion

This chapter has explored the different features of language that are part of creating gendered persuasive language in magazine covers. What has become evident is that the magazines structure their interaction in a way that place them in a position of power. Magazines do not communicate *with* the reader but rather *at* them, thus they rarely place themselves in the discourse or use verbs of *sensing* or *saying*. The magazines assert their hegemonic authority over the readers by using imperatives, through presupposition and modality. They build up the significance of the coverlines by using 'you' pronouns and adjectives. The magazines also frame the need for transformation by using verbs that evoke action and in *Glamour* also by the use of comparative adjectives. This need is also further amplified with the use of the vocabulary of excess, illustrated by the use of all-encompassing indefinite pronouns and superlatives.

The clause constructions, language features and their frequency were strikingly similar between the two magazines. Giving strength to my argument made in chapter 4 where I described magazine cover language as a genre. Although the differences in almost every examined category were relatively minor, it nevertheless looks as if *Glamour* consistently constructs its messages

[48] e.g. *GQ* 7/2005, *GQ* 11/2005
[49] e.g. *GQ* 1/2005, *GQ* 3/2005, *GQ* 8/2005, *GQ* 3/2006
[50] e.g. *GQ* 5/2005, *GQ* 12/2005, *GQ* 3/2006, *GQ* 10/2006, *GQ* 11/2006
[51] e.g. *GQ* 1/2005, *GQ* 8/2005, *GQ* 4/2006, *GQ* 6/2006

towards its female readers in a more adverse and forcing manner. For instance, the use of imperatives, comparative negation (e.g. dos and don'ts), *necessity/obligation* modals and comparative forms of adjectives all communicate that not only is the woman's work is never done but the magazine will provide the best advice how to do it. In essence, where persuasive messages for men in *GQ* are more supportive and cajoling in nature, women reading *Glamour* are more frequently exposed to demands and obligations.

This is especially apparent in the way *Glamour* constructs its messages about the body. On the surface Glamour's messages may appear to be helpful and empowering but the way the magazine keeps bringing attention to the female body and its shape over and over again, often combining it with the possessive 'your' or comparative adjectives, creates subtle and insidious message that female identity is continually being constructed on the level of appearance. In essence, the magazine's relationship towards its readers can be described as that of a 'frenemy': offering friendly and supportive exchanges on the surface that in reality create harmful ideas and desires about body image. This molds readers into "subjects of the force of consumption, fashioning themselves into a kind of product" (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 170).

Objectification of the female form and women in general is also evident in *GQ*, on the few occasions women enter into its discourse. Women, if they are not a named celebrity, do not have agency on *GQ* covers; rather they are there as passive recipients of male actions. This clearly echoes the way images as said to frame femininity through the 'male gaze' and thus render women as objects (Berger 1972: 63). Matheson (2005: 80) had similar findings in that women are often produced in relation to men and male identities are discussed relatively rarely. In *Glamour* there was a much greater focus on gender, both male and female. There were twice as many references to gender in *Glamour* than in *GQ*; and over third of the gender mentions in *Glamour* were references to men.

This raises questions as to why women's magazine covers are so interested in not only emphasizing femininity but also in producing male identities. This echoes the 'highlighted

femininity' of the *Glamour* cover images. The presence of men in *Glamour's* cover discourses reveals that *Glamour* women partly construct their identities through the male perspective. Here we come back to the idea that female identity is constructed through her body and (heterosexual) sexuality is an important part of that identity work. For example, both magazines reserve sexual descriptions exclusively for the female physical appearance. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 172) identify the female body and its sexualized presentation as a promotion vehicle for commodities as well as an item of consumption on itself. Undeniably, magazine covers in both *Glamour* and *GQ* are deeply hegemonic constructions. However, in both magazines it is women and their bodies that are constantly reduced to the level of objects, whereas male identity remains comparatively unscathed by such harmful identity construct.

9 Conclusion

This study has had two equal but separate aims: to examine commodified male and female gender identities, and to utilize analytical techniques in a fashion that allows the process and methodology become transparent in a way that is not common in critical studies. I chose to conduct a comparative analysis of men's and women's fashion and lifestyle magazine covers because previous work on gender identities in magazines had largely focused only on one gender at a time and I felt that a comparative analysis would offer deeper insight into the similarities and differences that exist in the gendered discourses. Magazine covers were chosen as data because they offer an intriguing combination of persuasive and informative multimodal functions that create a specific genre, which up to now has been largely ignored by linguists.

In addition, although magazines prepare their covers with those in mind who buy or could potentially buy the magazine, the readership of magazine covers is many times that. It also includes all those who casually browse through magazine covers in newsstands or at the supermarket check outs. Therefore, the covers have an impact that outweighs that of all other magazine content. For editors and journalists working in a magazine, the cover is first and foremost a selling tool; they do not consider that they have larger role as a potential shapers and reflectors of societal values and norms (Johnson and Sivek 2009: 3). This is why the focus in this study has been on persuasive communication and on the commodified depictions of male and female identities that emerge from it.

Because in persuasive communication both what is communicated and how it is communicated to the reader is important, this study has examined representational, interpersonal and compositional features in images and text. Although each research chapter has examined the magazine covers from a different perspective (e.g. chapter 6: images, chapter 7: coverline content and chapter 8: language features of coverlines), all of them have dealt, to differing degrees, with these three discursive metafunctions.

9.1 Summary of Findings

From the results of this study, it is evident that both men and women are subjects of the hegemony of consumption. Both *Glamour* and *GQ* are steeped at every level with overt and covert consumption messages. Furthermore, both the male and female identities have been subjected as vehicles of consumerism; that is to say, without the correct attire and the 'right' look, it is not possible to succeed. Both genders, therefore, are exposed to "an unrealistic connection between appearance and identity" (Johnson and Sivek 2009: 14). Gender identity has been reduced to a tool for consumerism and consumption, thus giving rightful justification to seek pleasure, desire and superficial, 'skin-deep', fulfillment, thus confirming and enforcing the ethos in American popular culture of being overtly body and image driven.

However, the results also show that women in both magazines tend to be subjected to much more stringent levels of objectification; and female identities are frequently framed with attributes related to the body. Nemeroff et al. (1994: 173) assert that fashion magazines are the most body-oriented and body image driven magazine type, women's fashion magazines more so than men's. Moreover, Malkin et al. found that the

> messages sent out by the media regarding bodily appearance are quite different for women and men. A strong emphasis has been placed on the bodily appearance of women that equates a thin body to beauty, sexuality, and social status; less focus has been placed on the bodily appearance of men (Malkin et al. 1999: 648).

Indeed, images, coverline content and language features in *Glamour* and *GQ* are all geared to place the focus on women's physical appearance. However, if female identity revolves around appearance, male identity is focused on pleasure. On the covers of *GQ*, from images to the choice of adjectives in coverlines, appearance related messages are more likely to be framed around arguments related to well-being, comfort, and individuality, instead of looking desirable.

When the findings are observed through the different discursive metafunctions, it is easy to see how hegemonic commodification of gender and identity are part of the compositional whole on every communicational level. *Representational* metafunctions, that reflect the participants and processes in discourse, expose the importance of fame for both *Glamour* and *GQ*. Beautifully

groomed famous people are ever-present in the magazines, both in the cover images and numerous coverlines. Fame appears to be a key tool in selling the magazine and its contents. This is especially evidenced in *GQ*, which sometimes only lists celebrity names on its covers, without any mention to their function within the pages. In addition, female sexuality and physical appearance appear to be important sales devices. In nearly all cover images, for both magazines, the female cover models display ample proportions of their skin in figure enhancing poses, especially when compared to their male counterparts. Moreover, the importance of the female form in the magazine market is emphasized by the fact that there are only few magazines directed to male audience that feature men in their cover images. Even out of the 24 analyzed *GQ* covers, eight cover images contained female models.

The focus on physical appearance is undeniable in the coverline content as well. Coverlines not focused on appearance related matters are quite marginal in number in both magazines. Of course, the magazines' fashion and lifestyle orientation understandably leads them to have appearance related content, such as clothes, beauty and fitness. Nevertheless, the importance of appearance, especially in *GQ*, is also evident in many other coverline themes, such as *celebrities* and *news/issues* content, e.g. "Jihad? Ji-hottie! > Meet the sexy Bin Laden" (*GQ* 1/2006). Again, the attention to physical appearance in these coverlines is *only* focused on the female form.

The *representational* level of discourse also highlights some of the linguistic devices that *Glamour* and *GQ* employ to sell their magazines and the products within. Processes used in coverlines are generally dynamic, urging the readers to transform themselves in some way. The use of negation is very limited in both magazines. The attempt is to create positive, inspiring and inclusive feeling in the coverlines. Vocabulary of excess is also a common device that adds to the fun and entertainment value of the coverlines. Thus 23% of all adjectives in both magazines are comparative or superlative forms; and indefinite pronouns and adjectives indicating number nearly always suggest 'inclusiveness' or 'completeness'. The reader is the most popular party in both magazines to be attributed a participant role, even though the words indicating agency in coverline

texts are often absent due to ellipsis. Both *Glamour* and *GQ* want to address the reader and, moreover, they want the reader to assume agency over the coverline contents.

Here we begin to move towards to the *interpersonal* metafunctions of discourse that explore the interactions and attitudes displayed in the coverline texts and cover images. Another common promotional technique employed in both magazines is product agency, where products or things appear to serve the reader in some way in the coverline texts. Over 60 % of products in an actor role in coverline phrases were doing something to or for the reader. However, there was a clear tendency for *Glamour* to structure these clauses in a way where women were a target and *GQ* to place men in a beneficiary role.

Women are exposed to higher levels of objectification and demands in other ways as well. For instance, *Glamour* uses more imperatives and grammatical modals indicating necessity and obligation than *GQ*. Women are also challenged to assume agency over their bodies. This is indicated by the way *Glamour* highlights the importance of physical appearance to their female readers by using the possessive pronoun ‘your’ or noun phrases such as ‘every woman’ repeatedly in connection with women’s bodies. The magazine also seemed to suggest that this work is never finished by repeatedly placing the comparative forms of adjectives to modify things related to the reader and especially her body. Furthermore, *Glamour* frequently uses adjectives with sexual associations to describe clothing and other appearance related content. In comparison, *GQ* hardly ever uses comparative forms of adjectives. The pronoun ‘your’ or sexual adjectives are rarely used when describing men’s bodies. Sexual adjectives are, however, applied in *GQ* to describe women’s bodies and things connected with leisure pursuits. To add to the female objectification in *GQ*, women (if not a named celebrity) are rarely given agency in *GQ*’s coverlines; rather they are relegated to be the objects of male attention.

From the promotional perspective, the *interpersonal* level of discourse can be divided into hard sell and soft sell attitudes that the magazines display towards their readers. From the results, it is evident that women as magazine readers were subjected to hard sale tactics more than men, as

was seen in the use of several language features, such as pronouns, adjectives, imperatives and grammatical modals. A similar tendency was evident also in the cover images, where women both as cover models and producers and viewers of images tended to display and receive more hard sell demands. Gaze functions to establish contact and a demand to look at the magazine cover, therefore nearly all cover models, apart from four cover models in *GQ*, gazed towards the reader. Female models also smiled more and more widely, especially on the covers of *Glamour*.

Although female models were more likely to establish direct contact through gaze and smile, their bodies were more likely to be angled away from the camera in both magazines. This may be interpreted as expression of coyness, flirtation or as an effort to enhance the slimness and curves of the female figure, but at the same time it distances the body for the viewer and thus objectifies it. The importance of the female form was also emphasized by how images of male and female models were cropped. Cover images of male models tended to be cropped from the waist up, whereas of female models most of the body was usually shown. This, again, functions as a distancing technique and highlights how the female identity is body-led in fashion magazine covers.

Through *Compositional* level of discourse, which examines how elements are placed and what is given prominence on the cover, it is easy to perceive that the focus for images featuring women was in the body, whereas the focus for featured men was the face. This was emphasized by the fact that female models tended to touch their bodies in some way much more frequently than their male counterparts. Similarly, the results also reveal that when women were placed in seated or otherwise lowered positions in the cover images (in five covers in *Glamour* and four in *GQ*), they were portrayed in submissive and less powerful poses. In addition, the placement and size of coverlines allowed *GQ* cover models more space, whereas *Glamour* has a tendency to crowd, even overwhelm, its models with coverlines and background color.

It seems that the commercial manipulation and objectification of the female body and identity creates a form of subordination on the magazine cover. Consequently, the commodified female identity needs to be framed, both in images and text, with hegemonic suggestions of woman as a

weaker, less powerful gender. This helps to make female identity and body those malleable surfaces that can be loaded with commercial meanings called on by Goldman (1992: 121).

The *Compositional* metafunctions of discourse also draw attention to some of the other ways the magazines promote certain items over others. For instance, through placement color, size and other visual elements *Glamour* enhanced the prominence of body related coverlines such as *beauty/grooming, fashion* and *sex*, but not its numerically most popular coverline type *health/fitness*. *GQ* also used visual elements to promote its already numerically popular coverline types: *celebrities* and *fashion/style*, with special focus on celebrity content.

Similarly, both magazines also used certain language features, such as adjectives, adverbs and 2nd person pronouns to further bring attention to their numerically most popular coverlines (*Glamour: Health/fitness* and *sex*; *GQ: fashion/style*). As I stated in chapter 8, the use of 2nd singular pronoun 'you', either in personal or possessive form, had a quality of an exclamation mark in magazine cover language, because it created special emphasis for the reader. Particularly since pronouns were frequently missing in other coverlines due to ellipsis. Finally, a compositional technique distinct to coverline language, especially on the covers of *Glamour*, was the fronting of objects and other nominal structures that focused the attention on the most salable parts of the message.

From these findings, it is evident that female identity and the female body are commercial vehicles that have no comparison. This leads femininity to become a ritualized and highly performative act on the magazine cover, much more so than masculinity. These decisions are promotionally motivated. Quite simply, women's bodies and sexuality sell and men's do not. Lambert and Reichert (quoted in Johnson and Sivek 2009: 4) contend that magazines construct covers that contain sexually provocative messages and are attention-getting precisely because they know that these stimuli will most likely increase sales. If the covers do not meet the advertisers' expectations, or the magazines lose readers for any reason, a catastrophic fall in revenue is usually imminent (Johnson and Sivek 2009: 14).

Therefore, women are fashioned into objects and products of highlighted femininity, which not only sell the magazines but promises women that by emphasizing their femininity they will become happy and successful in their endeavors. As a result, images of women in magazine covers, even those directed to female readers, show much of the body, usually in very feminine attires that leave the arms bare and show a fair amount of cleavage that is occasionally accentuated by low hanging jewelry. Similarly, the poses tend to emphasize femininity and sensuality, with flirtful smiles and hands that caress some part of the figure. Moreover, there seems to be a basic need for *Glamour* to emphasize female sensuality in the texts as well. The magazine frequently describes female appearance with words that have sexual associations. *Glamour* also has a clear preference for constructions that allow it to express gender. In fact, *Glamour* covers have references to gender over twice as frequently as *GQ*. In addition, much of *Glamour's* cover content and linguistic techniques are used to direct the readers' attention to their physical appearance and the ways to change it; preferably to something sexier. But sexiness and sensuality in the highlighted femininity are not necessarily understood as a way of attracting men. They are to be read simply as looking better.

Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 176) assert that due to female identity being defined by a constant need to transform, it leads to a form of self-consumption; women become defined and define themselves through the products they buy. This is achieved in the magazine covers by simultaneously offering morality building slogans and fostering the readers' insecurities, especially about their appearance. Consequently, at least according to *Glamour's* covers, it is not women's minds, their sense of humor or other inner qualities that will carry them through in life but their bodies and their appearance. Female identity and gender power truly are only 'skin-deep' on the covers of magazines.

Men, on the other hand, are more likely to be portrayed as individuals, to whom consuming is about their status and activities. Although physical appearance is an important part of *GQ's* discursive content as well, the messages are more likely to be framed around arguments of

rationality and comfort. Therefore, *GQ* covers tend to depict clothing in terms of work or leisure pursuits, rather than focusing on appearance simply as means of looking better. Furthermore, on the covers of *GQ* appearance is purely about clothing. It does not really address male bodies, their shapes or grooming. Even fitness related coverlines in the magazine generally focus on health and improving the quality of life, not physical appearance.

Consequently, male commercial identity is constructed to display more personality and individuality, albeit not very deep or meaningful ones. Because men are not forced to define themselves through their physical appearance and their bodies are not commodities like women's, masculinity is less emphasized in the cover discourses of *GQ* magazine. Therefore, unlike in *Glamour*, there seems to be less need to call attention to gender. Moreover, *GQ* men do not feel the need to define their identity in relation to their own gender or to femininity the way *Glamour* women do.

In essence, men and masculinity do not appear to be entwined with mores of consumption the way women and femininity are. This reveals a manifest difference in the discursive structures of how gender is commodified in the two magazines. Thus *GQ* has created the identity of the pleasure-seeking men, whereas *Glamour* has fashioned the identity of the appearance-driven women. According to the magazine covers, men's consumerist decisions are more based on enhancing their status, comfort and pleasure. Women, on the other hand, are led by their obsession to appear as physically attractive as possible.

On the whole, it seems that traditional hegemonic ideologies still have a strong presence in fashion and lifestyle magazine covers. Men are still seen as the individuals and observers, who are cajoled and encouraged as consumers. Women, in contrast, are more likely to be exposed to demands and obligations as consumers. Furthermore, women are frequently objectified in the discourses and their bodies relegated to the position of commodities. Nonetheless, were the messages in the covers *Glamour* and *GQ* to be taken at face value, it would without a doubt lead to a deep sense of dissatisfaction in the reader. Both magazines present in their cover images and texts

an idealized world comprised of unrealistic representations of gender identity, sexual relationships, physical excellence and leisurely lifestyle that are unattainable for the majority of the readers.

9.2 Evaluation and Suggestions for Further Research

In this study, I have demonstrated how the choices of who and what is placed on the magazine covers and how they are presented there reflect the deeper values and meanings of gender identity. Furthermore, I have shown how these commodified descriptions of masculinity and femininity are inherently hegemonic and can be found in all levels and modes of communication. For this reason my work has moved on different levels of discourse, offering evidence that these hegemonic gender constructions exist in both content and form of discourse. In the introduction, I called my work a 'kaleidoscope' study; the idea has been to provide through the shifting focus of modes, functions and structures a multifaceted view of commercial gender identities.

The guiding hypothesis throughout this study has been that one cannot understand the whole without understanding its constituent parts. Therefore, I have not only analyzed gender identity discourses but also examined how these discourses are constructed on the magazine covers. The study combined both quantitative and qualitative techniques in researching the data. The quantitative content analysis provided a solid understanding of the discursive trends in the data as well as offering a systematic way of investigating and describing both images and text. In addition, I believe that the numerical evidence that content analysis provided was essential in a comparative analysis like this one. It ensured a less subjective underpinning for qualitative analysis and aided in revealing the analytic process in a way that is generally not apparent in CDA studies. Furthermore, it also substantiated the validity and reliability of the findings in a way that would not have been possible with purely qualitative CDA analysis.

The qualitative CDA, in contrast, provided deeper understanding of the findings and gave the whole study its critical perspective on the way gender identities are constructed on magazine covers. With CDA, linguistic and image features could be treated as indicators of social processes

and practices, where language is understood as active and achieving social ends, rather than simply as a transmitter of information. Furthermore, CDA, as a flexible analytic approach, allowed me to apply and adapt different methodologies to suit the data under investigation. In fact, Fairclough (2001: 230) has stated that CDA is a transdisciplinary approach to analysis and thus it should be committed to finding new ways of theorizing and researching data though different disciplines.

Therefore, unlike many critical studies on gender, especially in social sciences, that only focus on describing the underlying ideologies and cognition in discourse (Lyons and Willott 1999: 286), my study has also explored how to bring the methodological process forward to more fully display how the social and the linguistic interact and interrelate. A somewhat crude description of the differences between these approaches would be to call the former results-oriented and the latter process-oriented. This gives justification to accept language as the focus of studying the social, where both content and form offer valuable information. Especially, since I agree with Blommaert (2005: 28) that CDA should principally be a linguistically oriented methodological approach, despite contributions from a wide range of social scientific schemes.

In the research chapters of this study, chapter 7 focused on the content of the coverlines and is closest in its approach to the conventional CDA studies on gender, where a strong emphasis is placed on the thematic constructions. Chapter 6, on image analysis, combined analysis both on thematic and schematic levels. However, I contend that out of the two, the schematic level offered more startling insights into the way commodified identities are created in the cover images and how they differ for men and women. For example, differences in cropping practices, as well as in poses, highlighted the way women's bodies are objectified. Chapter 8, on language features, investigated language characteristics mainly from the schematic viewpoint. The coverlines were analyzed using the transitivity mode. Furthermore, this chapter examined two lexical categories, adjectives/adverbs and pronouns, which were most closely related to persuasive content. This chapter also provided some surprising findings of the differences on how male and female identities are treated on magazine cover texts. For instance, one of the key findings in this study was *GQ*'s preference for

using superlative over comparative forms of adjectives, whereas *Glamour* used superlatives much less frequently, especially in describing anything related to the reader.

In addition, this study took into consideration the multimodal nature of the data and thus examined some of the extra-lingual features, i.e. images and composition, of the data. This showed how the hegemonic gender messages are present in every level and mode of communication in both magazines. Therefore, I believe that this study's strength and contribution to gender research is in its structuring and methodological approach. For example, as the theoretical background of this study demonstrates, several books and academic articles have previously discussed the objectification of women and their bodies in art and popular culture, including magazines. However, few studies have looked at the gender constructions comparatively or examined how these are created across different modes. This study has by necessity been a long and laborious process but I hope that it has offered fresh perspectives on how to do CDA. Hopefully, it also offers a starting point to possible further research by revealing the most salient features in magazine cover discourses in regards to comparative work on gender identity formations.

Finally, I want to discuss some of the ways in which commodified gender identity could be examined further in the magazines. There are several directions this research could be taken. One direction would be to go inside the magazines to examine how well the cover reflects what is inside the magazine. However, I find that this would be a somewhat unfruitful avenue, since what is inside today's magazines are mostly advertisements and advertisements poorly disguised as editorial content. Furthermore, as McCracken (1993: 33) notes: "the magazine can claim success when consumers merely flip through the pages, glancing at the ads… [even if] the cover suggests that what follows will be read, not merely seen."

One of the more constructive directions would be to widen the research data timeline and examine magazine covers from a range of decades; even include covers from other magazines in the data and thus get a more comprehensive understanding of the magazine covers as a genre. I believe that by sampling a few decades would produce meaningful shifts in the way gender identities have

been constructed in the magazine covers. By examining a wider variety of fashion and lifestyle magazine covers, especially more sexually blatant ones like *Cosmopolitan* and *Maxim*, would also reveal how magazines structure their discourses to distinguish and differentiate themselves in a highly competitive marketplace.

Another interesting research avenue would be to investigate how commodified male and female identities are constructed across different cultures. Especially since many American fashion and lifestyle magazines have international editions. For instance, *Glamour* has 14 and *GQ* 18 different international editions (Condé Nast International). Machin and van Leeuwen (2003, 2004 and 2005) as well as Machin and Thornborrow (2003) have conducted research on gender discourse on the different international versions of the *Cosmopolitan* magazine. However, their studies have focused on discussing global discourse schemas, media homogeneity, linguistic style of lifestyle and branding, respectively. Therefore, I consider that comparative investigation into male and female gender constructions on a global scale is similarly warranted.

Indeed, due to the flexibility of CDA as an analytic approach, the blend of techniques I have developed could be adapted to compare gender constructions in any and all multimodal media. That is, perhaps, the strongest reason why CDA is such an appealing way to do research. However, its greatest failing lies in its difficulty, and in the hands of many researchers a willing omission, to display the analytic process. For me, research is as much about the process as it is about the results. Both contribute unique information into the study. I trust that this research has been able to demonstrate the importance of displaying the process in CDA. I also hope that in an increasingly multimodal world, this study has shown how discourse can be understood and examined as a wider phenomenon in linguistics, in favor of just focusing on the text.

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