THE UNIVERSITY
of ADELAIDE

AUSTRALIAN ALCOHOL ADVERTISING, GENDER STEREOTYPES, AND ALCOHOL-INVOLVED SEXUAL ASSAULT

Laurence Cobbaert

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Philosophy

Department of Sociology, Criminology and Gender Studies

School of Social Sciences

The University of Adelaide

April 2019

Table of Contents

Chapter Three: Methodology

Chapter Four: Content Analysis

Chapter Five: Women in Alcohol Advertising

Chapter Six: Men in Alcohol Advertising

Abstract

This thesis aims to investigate the relations between representations of gender and sexuality in Australian alcohol advertisements and the formation and perpetuation of gendered alcohol expectancies which could represent a factor in the high prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assault observed in Australia.

The theoretical framework employed in this work lies firmly within the social constructivist views of gender and sexuality, with notions such as hegemonic masculinity and homosociality playing a central role in the analyses. Noting the literature on representation, particularly of gender and sexuality in advertisements, a comprehensive framework is defined for analysing a sample of Australian alcohol advertisements. A combination of visual content analysis and semiotic analyses are used to uncover the ways in which Australian alcohol advertising promotes a gender-segregated drinking culture, and how such gender-biased notions of alcohol consumption can become problematic. A sample of 74 Australian advertisements published between 2012 and 2017 are considered in the content analysis, with a focus on gender stereotypes associated with hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity. Semiotic analyses informed by Barthesian semiotics are then carried on sub-sections of the sample, with particular interest on the notion of cultural myths.

The analyses reveal that despite considerable criticism of advertising throughout the years, stereotypical representations of men and women remain widespread, cementing gendered attitudes and expectations prevalent in society - particularly with regards to alcohol use. These gender biases, as I argue, play a role in the normalisation and ubiquity of sexual violence in situations involving the consumption of alcohol.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

_____   _____

Laurence Cobbaert   Date

Acknowledgements

I dedicate this thesis to my late uncle Pierre Cobbaert and grandfather Alex Klaver. Pierre and Alex both passed over a year ago but continue to live on in my thoughts and tender memories.

Thank you to my thesis supervisors Dr Anna Szorenyi, Dr Pam Papadelos, and Associate Professor Natalie Edwards for their faith in my ability to successfully undertake this project from day one. I am grateful for their continued support and valuable feedback throughout my candidature. I am also very appreciative that they went beyond their role as teachers and mentors to provide me with emotional support, understanding, and kindness when I experienced challenging personal circumstances.

I would like to acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Adelaide Scholarship International (ASI) by the University of Adelaide.

Thank you to the Department of Sociology, Criminology and Gender Studies, the International Students Services (particularly Seaneen Hopps), and the Graduate Centre for the administrative and technical assistance. Additionally, sharing an office with Zurina, Shawna, and Michelle has been a delightful experience: debates, bursts of laughter, sarcasm, and mutual encouragement. Special thanks to Stephanie and Yasna for their patience and ongoing support.

This research project would not have been possible without Dr Tracey Nicholls' help. She believed in my ability to do research while I was still an undergraduate student at Lewis University (Chicago, USA), and has supported me all along. She has provided me with incredible guidance and friendship.

Of course, I am tremendously grateful for the unconditional love and support I have received from my family and childhood friends, particularly Dad, Mum and Pascal, Alexandre and Kathleen (as well as my adorable nephews Nicolas and Olivier), Maxime, Stefania, Laure, Nathalie, Sarah, Sophie, Christine, Virginie, and Jeremy and Carolina. Je vous remercie tous

3

INTRODUCTION

This thesis utilises visual content analysis and semiotics to explore the link between gender representations in alcohol advertising and gender biases related to alcohol consumption. This correlation is investigated using social constructivist theories of gender and sexuality, alcohol expectancy, and media representations of gender stereotypes. Studies undertaken by Cook et al. (2001) and Wall and Quadara (2014) have demonstrated that alcohol consumption was a factor involved in 45 to 50 percent of all sexual assaults in Australia, while investigations conducted by VicHealth (2013) and ANROWS (2017) have evidenced that gender biases related to alcohol consumption have remained widespread. The importance of this research therefore lies, in part, in the alarming prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assault in Australia (Cook et al. 2001; Wall & Quadara 2014), possibly informed by such gender biases.

Alcohol use has long been associated with the assertion of hegemonic masculinity which focuses on physical strength, emotional restraint, dominance, sexual gratification and conquest, and aggressiveness. Women's drinking, however, is often seen as a transgression of moral standards related to emphasised femininity, and as an invitation citing that women drinkers are 'sexually available.' This perception is partially based on the long-lasting association between women's alcohol consumption and promiscuity or prostitution. The stigmatisation of female drinkers has persisted, with a substantial number of Australian men still inclined to blame female drinkers for their own sexual victimisation (VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017).

In addition to its primary focus on the use of gender stereotypes in Australian alcohol advertising, this thesis also explores the various ways in which the socially constructed pairing of gender with alcohol consumption may be problematic and potentially influence the perpetration of alcohol-involved sexual violence. As noted by Flood (2014), there exists a causal relationship between the upholding of gender norms and men's perpetration of sexual

violence against women. Moreover, investigations related to the psychological profiles of sexual offenders charged with sexually assaulting women in contexts involving the use of alcohol were conducted (see Abbey et al. 2004). Abbey et al. (2004), for instance, have uncovered that men who commit sexual assault in contexts involving alcohol strongly endorse gender-biased myths related to alcohol consumption (e.g. women's drinking is a clear sign of sexual availability and interest, and men's intoxication leads to heightened sexual drive) to justify their actions, as opposed to men who do not engage in sexually coercive behaviours in such circumstances.

MacAndrew and Edgerton (2003) have engaged in anthropological research regarding the societal symbolism surrounding alcohol consumption and the cultural construction of cognitive expectations related to drunken behaviours, also referred to as alcohol expectancies. MacAndrew and Edgerton's (2003) cross-cultural study has evidenced a significant degree of variations in intoxicated behaviours across various societies, which undermines the common assumption that alcohol use universally leads to a given set of comportments exclusively stemming from alcohol's pharmacological effects on the brain. Therefore, learnt expectations regarding the impact of alcohol on behaviour, which are perpetuated, amongst others, by media representations such as those found in advertising, may become self-fulfilling prophecies – in other words, socially constructed guidelines for drunken conduct.

Despite various notable investigations of gender and advertising (see Courtney & Lockeretz 1971; Dyer 1982; Goffman 1979; Van Zoonen 1991), there has not been a focus on the gendering of alcohol consumption in alcohol advertising and its possible relation to alcohol-involved sexual violence through the formation and maintenance of gendered alcohol expectancies. Although advertising, gender stereotypes, and alcohol expectancies have all been studied individually or in pairs, there is limited research into how these factors come together in possibly influencing the perpetration of alcohol-involved sexual violence. In addition, while

there have been investigations related to alcohol advertising's impact on alcohol sales and brand retention rate, and influence on underage drinking patterns (e.g. binge drinking), there has been no noted attempt to investigate portrayals of gender stereotypes in alcohol advertising and the reasons these depictions may further problematic gendered alcohol expectancies (see Jones et al. 2001; Jones 2005; Jones & Reid 2010).

The present study, noting this gap in the literature, primarily aims to elucidate the relation between gender stereotypes in alcohol advertising and gendered alcohol expectancies; and how, in turn, these gender-related expectancies can become problematic. The particular research questions this thesis aims to answer are:

- How is gender stereotyping in alcohol advertising contributing to the formation and maintenance of gendered alcohol expectancies?

- How does alcohol advertising further a gender-segregated drinking culture?

- How may the association between gender (e.g. hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity) and alcohol consumption possibly inform alcohol-involved sexual violence?

To answer these questions, an examination of 74 Australian alcohol advertisements is presented. This thesis uses a combination of visual content analysis and semiotic analysis to offer a clear account of gendered meanings that are perpetuated through Australian alcohol advertising. This research design allows for a manifest-level, as well as an in-depth look into how these advertisements construct, emphasise, and rely upon gendered assumptions. While content analysis provides a broad picture highlighting salience and empirical trends of gender representation, semiotic analyses explore the fine details involved in the creation of myths and associative meanings (Barthes 1972).

Given the multifaceted nature of the problem at hand, various theories and conceptual tools are utilised. The analysis offered in this thesis is situated within the social constructivist

theories of gender and sexuality. On this view, norms around the notions of gender and sexuality are learned and taken for granted. Gender assigns men and women to certain segregated sets of social practices and conducts, and is maintained through platforms such as media, governments, and schools (Lorber 2010). With frequent repetition over time, these learnt notions come to be seen as biologically essential, natural, and inevitable, rather than socially constructed. This can include the hierarchical view of gender in which men are perceived as more sexually active and dominant than women, and the acceptance of heterosexuality as the dominant and therefore normalised form of sexuality. The dominant views of sexuality work alongside the traditionally-held views of gender, maintaining the gender hierarchy and privileging the dominant social status of men at the expense of women or sexual others (Yep 2003).

The abovementioned gender arrangements granting white heterosexual men a privileged status in Western societies are enforced and maintained by hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). Hegemonic masculinity in Western societies (including Australia) is typically paired with heterosexuality, economic autonomy, rationality, professional success, and, among other things, avoiding engaging in seemingly feminine behaviours (e.g. expressing emotions). Hegemonic masculinity is an ideal which most men are not realistically able to fulfil, but strongly aspire to embody. As will be further discussed in chapter six, this inability to reach an idealised version of what it means to be a 'real man' can lead to frustration and insecurity, which may translate into demonstrations of violence as a means to masculine reassertion.

A crucial notion in the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity is homosociality, referring to men's preference for the company of other men (Lipman-Blumen 1976; Flood 2008). Male homosociality upholds hegemonic masculinity as well as men's dominant position in the gender hierarchy by excluding women (thereby restricting their access to social resources and positions of power) and strengthening cohesion between men, thus reaffirming men's dominant social position. Male homosocial interaction supports meanings associated with

identities that fit hegemonic ideals, while suppressing non-hegemonic masculine identities (Bird 1996).

The use of this theoretical framework provides the basis for elucidating the link between the furthering of gender stereotypes in selected alcohol advertisements, and gender-based alcohol expectancies. The bridging of the different theoretical and conceptual tools is enabled further by alcohol expectancy theory. Based on this theory, drunken behaviours, rather than being exclusively shaped by pharmacological reactions, are largely determined by sociocultural attitudes (MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003). Dominant norms and traditionally-held beliefs about gender and sexuality, propagated through different cultural media such as advertising, create gender-biased attitudes and expectations that possibly give rise to an environment in which men's sexual aggression is seen as a natural or justified outcome of alcohol intoxication.

With this contextual background in place, the main body of the thesis is organised as follows. Chapter one presents a thorough description of the theoretical concepts introduced above, laying out the framework for the investigations featured in the later parts. The second chapter is a literature review discussing studies examining the meaning-making processes involved in advertising, and gender representations in general advertising as well as in alcohol advertising. A gap is highlighted in the lack of research specifically focusing on the correlation between alcohol advertising's use of gender stereotypes and gendered alcohol expectancies. In the third chapter, the methodology employed in the investigation of alcohol advertisements is explained. It is shown here how the use of both content and semiotic analyses are complementary, enabling an in-depth investigation. The next three chapters provide discussions of the research findings. Chapter four offers a visual content analysis of 74 sampled advertisements, focusing on patterns of gender-stereotypical representations, including the contexts in which women and men are represented, stereotypes related to hegemonic masculinity and subordinated femininity, and representations of alcohol consumption in

connection with male camaraderie. A smaller selection of these 74 advertisements is then examined in chapters five and six, where an investigation of cultural myths is provided in relation to gender and alcohol consumption. Through the use of semiotic analysis, chapter five details various representational features which portray women as subordinated. Chapter six, in turn, offers an exploration of the diverse ways hegemonic masculinity tends to be upheld in the promotion of alcohol beverages. Chapter six also offers an explanation of some of the possible ways in which gender stereotypes and their representation in alcohol advertising may influence alcohol-involved sexual violence. Lastly, the thesis is concluded with a summary of the findings and recommendations for further investigation of this topic.

CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the theoretical background against which this research is conducted. The theoretical framework presented here discusses the concepts and terms used for investigating the use of gender stereotypes in Australian alcohol advertising, and the reasons such depictions may be problematic, as further discussed in chapter six.

Social constructivist theories of gender and sexuality form the bedrock of the theoretical framework adopted in this work. These theories detail the ways in which norms around the notions of gender and sexuality are learnt and taken for granted in social settings. The hierarchies created by these commonplace notions of gender and sexuality, and the way these hierarchies are maintained in a given culture are explored using the principles of cultural hegemony and hegemonic masculinity in the second section. Next, the ideology of patriarchy and the resulting rape culture are explored. This is followed by an overview of alcohol expectancy theory, which explains how socially constructed cognitive expectations of drunken behaviour are intimately connected with attitudes and comportments, including those regarding gender and sexuality.

I.   SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Gender is commonly understood as a social construct; one that despite appearing natural, is in fact "socially organized" (West & Zimmerman 1987, p. 129). This 'doing' of gender is governed by gender norms, defined as "a set of culturally prescribed rules or ideas about how each gender should behave" (NSVRC 2012, p. 1). As a social construct, gender assigns men and women to certain segregated sets of acceptable social practices and behaviours and is

perpetuated as a norm through various platforms such as media or governments (Lorber 2010). These institutionalised frameworks present gender as biologically essential. Gender attribution starts at birth with the sorting of babies into gendered categories depending on their genitals and the use of gendered language, toys, or activities which children go on to internalise through their interactions with others (Rahman & Jackson 2010). Gender is not, therefore, a sole project over which the individual has complete control.

Gender, according to Messerschmidt et al. (2018, p. 36), is "revealed not merely as individual attributes or styles, but as collective agency, constrained and enabled by social structures." Therefore, to understand gender as socially constituted also means to understand it as socially legitimated, where 'doing gender' is confirmed as 'correct' through interaction with a normative culture which constantly reinforces it (Fienstermaker & West 2002). With repeated iteration over time, these norms and expectations become culturally reified into gender stereotypes. It is in order to rationalise these stereotypes and the hierarchies they produce that they must be framed as natural, universal, inevitable, and immutable (Lorber 2010). By presenting socially constructed notions of gender difference as natural, "the resultant social order, which supposedly reflects natural differences, is a powerful reinforcer and legitimator of hierarchical arrangements" (West & Zimmerman 1987, p. 146).

The perpetuation and reinforcement of gender stereotypes gives rise to dominant notions of femininity and masculinity which shape expectations of appropriate and acceptable thoughts, feelings, professions, clothing, physical appearances, activities, and behaviours. These notions reflect the construction of gender-as-difference, as they are defined in opposition to one another: to be masculine is to be unfeminine; to be feminine is to be un-masculine (Rahman & Jackson 2010). As Connell (2005) explains, the term 'masculinity' is inherently relational: masculinity does not exist except in contrast with femininity (Connell 2005, p. 68).

To define masculinity in a particular way is not to presuppose that only one form of masculinity exists within a given society. According to Beynon (2002, p. 55) "manliness is a

contested territory: it is an ideological battlefield." Indeed, a multiplicity of masculinities exists in relation to one another (Duncanson 2015; Hoel 2015; Connell 2005, 2002; Behnke & Meuser 2002; Kimmel 1993; Kimmel 2017; Alsop et al. 2002; Milestone & Meyer 2012). Numerous scholars have discussed the theory of intersectionality as it applies to masculinity and highlighted the intersections of multiple forms of oppression based on race, class, age, sexuality, and disability status that create a plethora of subordinated masculinities (Crenshaw 1991; Christensen & Jensen 2014; Coston & Kimmel 2012; Bartholomaeus 2011; Donaldson et al. 2009; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Connell 2005).

Like gender, sexuality too can be understood as socially constructed (Ferber 2012; Seidman 2009; Rahman & Jackson 2010). As such, the two concepts are closely related and, arguably, one cannot be fully understood without the other. Yet, they are not synonymous and, as Gagnon and Simon (2005) argue, it is important to avoid conflating the two, especially in discussions on the social construction of desire and of the sexual self. As Jackson and Scott (2010, p. 15) explain, Gagnon and Simon's theorisation of the construction of sexual selfhood and their distinction between sex and gender is of particular relevance for feminist theorists. Individuals become sexual men and women in myriad different ways, meaning there is no inevitable relationship between femininity or masculinity and being heterosexual (Rahman & Jackson, 2010). The association between sexuality and gender therefore, "is a consequence of social processes, not a product of the internal workings of the psyche" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 171).

Gagnon and Simon (2005) explore different elements of the relationship between sexuality and gender, and take an interactionist perspective to sexuality in their work, linking "subjective, interactive and cultural aspects" (Gagnon & Simon 2005, p. 168). The idea of 'sexual scripts' plays a central role in this endeavour (Rahman & Jackson 2010), as "acts, feelings, and body parts are not sexual in themselves but become so only through the application of sociocultural scripts that imbue them with sexual significance" (Jackson & Scott 2010, pp. 9-10). This is in

contrast to the notion that we are "born with innate sexual drives that are repressed and moulded by the *effects* of culture" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 168). Sexuality is thus the culmination of complex learning and cultural processes in which individuals develop the capacity to interpret and enact sexual scripts (Jackson & Scott 2010; Rahman & Jackson 2010), which in turn enables them to interpret emotions, sensations, and situations as sexually meaningful. As such, 'sexual scripts' serve as resources that help people make sense of the sexual, providing a motivation for sexual conduct, while stopping short of *determining* it.

Gender scripts are based on gender identity which "provides the framework within which sexuality is learnt and through which erotic self-identity is created" (Jackson & Scott 2010, p. 25). Distinct from but related to the notions of subjectivity or the self, identity is defined as "our sense of who we are and who we perceive others to be, which is translated into labels with which we *identify* ourselves or others," with gender and sexuality being "particularly significant for our sense of self" and serving as guidelines for social interactions (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 156). Through gender identity, men and women learn to be sexual in different ways and enact different roles in sexual encounters (Ferber 2012). Therefore, sexual desire itself can be understood to be socially constructed, as it is:

> not aroused through a simple stimulus-response mechanism but through the attribution of sexual meanings to specific stimuli, and desire alone will not produce sexual behavior unless the actor is able to define the situation as one in which such conduct is appropriate (Jackson & Scott 2010, p. 47).

Sexual orientation is one dimension of sexuality that is particularly bound up with gender, as the very definition of sexual orientation involves identifying one's own sex and gender and that of one's object of sexual desire. Hence, the social construction of sexual orientation has received considerable attention by scholars; on heterosexuality (Beasley 2015; Beasley et al. 2015; Jackson 2006, 1999; Yep 2003; Rahman & Jackson 2010); homosexuality (Kimmel & Llewellyn 2012; Seidman 2002; Seidman & Richardson 2002) and bisexuality (Haeberle & Grindorf 1998). Like gender, sexuality is intertwined with social hierarchies to the extent that

heterosexuality represents the dominant form, and is therefore normalised and accepted as the only acceptable form of sexuality. An examination of the social construction of heterosexuality reveals how gender and sexuality operate simultaneously to maintain social hierarchies (Rahman & Jackson 2010).

Heterosexuality, understood as a social construct, works to maintain the overarching concept of gender: "heterosexuality privileges, elevates and maintains the dominant social and material status of men at the expense of women and sexual others" (Yep 2003, p. 20). Sedgwick (1990) outlines the construction of the heterosexual/homosexual binary, arguing that it works to legitimise heterosexuality by creating the delegitimised 'other' (the 'non-conforming'). Far from being a stable and autonomous category, heterosexuality relies on homosexuality for its constitution, construction, and affirmation (Yep 2003; Fuss 1991; Sedgwick 1990). Therefore, homosexuality is used to prop up heterosexuality, and to divert attention from the latter's instability as a social category (Alsop et al. 2002; Hammeren & Johansson 2014). Furthermore, heterosexuality must present itself as natural and universal precisely because it is part of a culturally instigated dichotomy. Only then can it achieve the status of being 'compulsory.'

The nineteenth century saw "the relegation of women to the domestic sphere; [the emergence of] the notion that men are sexually active and women sexually passive; and the definition of homosexuality as a perversion" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 53). Heterosexuality was enshrined via the ideology of "the 'healthy' monogamous marriage and the social stability assumed to follow from a solid family life" as opposed to homosexuality which was "defined as both an illness and a crime" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 55). Moreover, changed gender relations at this time were "accompanied by a reconceptualization of sexuality and changes in its regulation," with sexuality increasingly viewed through the lens of the new medical narrative of psychiatry, which sorted sexual acts and orientations into categories of health (associated with normative, monogamous heterosexuality) and deviance or pathology (associated with non-normative sexualities) (Rahman & Jackson 2010). Women's expression of sexual pleasure and

desires, for instance, was pathologised (nymphomania) and the surgical removal of the clitoris and/or the ovaries was thought of as the only cure. This illustrates the repression of women's sexuality. Although clitoridectomy has ceased to be performed due to its reconceptualisation as a violation of human rights (e.g. female genital mutilation), the symbolic and cultural repression of women's sexuality has persisted and remains deeply embedded in today's society. Indeed, women who openly discuss their sexual desires and have had sexual encounters with multiple men are commonly labelled as 'slutty' or 'whores,' whereas men are often congratulated for the same, which furthers the control of women's intimate relations and lives (Flood 2008, 2014; VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017). The interplay between gender and sexuality is manifested in this discussion: being heterosexually active confirms traditional views of masculinity, whilst being perceived as sexually attractive to men confirms femininity. As noted by Rahman and Jackon (2010), these constitute "male-defined views of sexuality" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 183).

Heteronormativity emerges "when the view is that institutionalized heterosexuality constitutes the standard for legitimate, authentic, prescriptive, and ruling social, cultural, and sexual arrangements" (Yep 2003, p. 13), where "heterosexuality is subtly normalized so that it is rarely questioned" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, p. 164). Male dominance, and with it male power, is played out within the concept of heteronormativity which constitutes men as 'real men' (Yep 2003, p. 20) and which places women in a subordinate role (Yep 2003). Those who are deemed to fall 'outside' of these heterosexual norms are marginalised and 'othered' by an "invisible center," which works to reward those who accede to these norms and delegitimise those who do not (Yep 2003, p. 18). The reinforcement and furthering of heterosexuality as the 'norm' is "one of the primary instruments of power in modern society" (Yep 2003, p. 18). Moreover, the consistent pushing of a normative heterosexual agenda by the mainstream media, including advertising, is tremendously violent: "Normalization is a symbolically, discursively, psychically, psychologically, and materially violent form of social regulation and control" (Yep

2003, p. 18). As such, heteronormativity is intrinsically linked to and constitutive of gender norms and stereotypes (Sedgwick 1994; Yep 2003). The concept of heteronormativity is noteworthy here since it allows for the study of heterosexuality in conjunction with gender, not as a sexual preference, but rather as a problematic and restrictive social institution (Rahman & Jackson 2010). Therefore, assumed heterosexuality acts as an institution that maintains women's oppression by keeping them confined within heterosexual relationships that preserve men's domination (Rahman & Jackson 2010).

The exposition above demonstrates that despite appearances, conceptions of gender and sexuality are not necessitated by nature but are instead constructed and maintained within the social world. Importantly, these understandings are normalised through various institutions and particularly by their portrayals and representations in popular culture. These cultural tools, which, as will be seen later in this thesis, include advertising, define how gender and sexuality and their interrelations are perceived.

II.   CULTURAL HEGEMONY AND PATRIARCHY

The second important theoretical tool for the purposes of this research is that of hegemonic masculinity. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed following Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony (1971, [1948]), which sought to explain how positions of dominance are attained and maintained through relative consensus and consent rather than the use of force (Connell 2005; Milestone & Meyer 2012). It therefore serves as an important analytical tool to further investigate and uncover the mechanisms by which dominant ideas and practices around gender and sexuality emerge and are reproduced in society by both dominant and subordinated groups of people.

Gramsci developed his concept of cultural hegemony by drawing heavily on the works of Karl Marx (1998, [1845], 1976, [1867]). As a neo-Marxist, he was particularly interested in

explaining how the dominant economic class maintained its control and achieved a stabilisation of class relations (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). More broadly, he investigated the complex relationships between coercion and consent in democratic capitalist societies and "how the possibility or threat of coercion and subtle uses of it are often integral to shaping and organizing consent" (Ives 2004, p. 98). In this respect, he expanded on Marx's work to better understand how dominant ideas reflect the interests not only of the ruling class but also of the state. Cultural hegemony, according to Gramsci (1971, [1948]), is where the ruling class dominates the subordinate classes by suffusing certain ideologies into the common-sense and everyday practices through institutions such as government, media, and law. This concept has made important contributions to understanding how 'common-sense' is manufactured with respect to the state's activities, how dominant ideas in society reflect state and class interests, and how legitimacy ultimately lies in the realm of culture and ideas. As Mark Stoddart (2007, p. 201) writes:

> Hegemonic power works to convince individuals to subscribe to the social values and norms of an inherently exploitative system that appears as the 'common sense' that guides our everyday, mundane understanding of the world […] Institutions such as the Church, schools, the mass media, or the family, are largely responsible for producing and disseminating hegemonic power.

For Gramsci (1971, [1948]), cultural hegemony emerges when the oppressed groups in society, such as the working class, come to believe that the interests of the state and the ruling class align with their own interests as well (Milestone & Meyer 2012). This occurs by means of ruling class manipulation of culture (beliefs, explanations, perceptions, values) such that its worldview is imposed as the norm, perceived as a universally valid ideology benefitting all of society while, in reality, only benefitting itself.

In light of Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' has been widely influential in gender studies since its introduction in the 1980s, first by Connell (1983), with further developments later on (Kimmel 1994, 2017; Connell 1995, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt 2005; Carrigan et al. 1985; Flood et al. 2007). 'Hegemonic masculinity,'

distinguished from other masculinities, refers to a pattern of practice that enforces and perpetuates white heterosexual men's dominance in Western societies (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005). Messerschmidt et al. (2018, p. 37) explain that "hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women." The concept provides one method for studying the perpetuation of gender inequality as it manifests not only in terms of men's domination over women but also the power that some men have over other men (Jewkes et al. 2015). As Kimmel (2017, p. 119) puts it, "one of the most fruitful areas of research in sociology today is trying to specify exactly how [hegemonic masculinity is] established and how different groups negotiate their ways through problematized definitions."

Western hegemonic masculinity is primarily characterised by heterosexuality, economic autonomy and professional success, emotional restraint (stoicism), rationality, and the avoidance of any behaviour considered 'feminine.' Through this idealisation, any diverging circumstance is considered inadequate or inferior (Alsop et al. 2002; Lindsey 2011). The privileging of whiteness within Western hegemonic masculinity relies on the subordination of "black masculinity" via, for example, the "hyper-sexualisation of the black male body" in order to present it as threatening to white heterosexual femininity (Alsop et al. 2002, p. 151). Hegemonic masculinity also subordinates working class masculinities (Lindsey 2011, p. 245) and homosexual masculinities (Connell 2005, p. 78). The relationship between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities is evidence that there is "a gender politics within masculinity" (Connell 2005, p. 37), and it is precisely upon this recognition of a multiplicity of both dominant and subordinated masculinities that the concept of hegemonic masculinity was developed (Connell 1983, 1995; Carrigan et al. 1985; Flood 2019). Hegemonic masculinity "is fragile and has to be constantly struggled for and maintained against challenges from the subordinate group" in order to "achieve agreement with its ideas and position of power" (Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 18), thereby conserving its ideological dominance. Subtle coercion is often

applied so that the subordinate groups agree to the dominance of the more powerful group through compromise and concessions (Milestone & Meyer 2012).

A concept that plays a crucial role in the construction and maintenance of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity (as introduced in the previous section) is homosociality, first introduced to gender studies by Lipman-Blumen in 1976. According to Lipman-Blumen, homosociality refers to "the seeking, enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex" (Lipman-Blumen 1976, p. 16). Her observation that "men are attached to, stimulated by and interested in other men" and that traditional homosociality is practiced by men more than women, is explained by the fact that men control key resources in society, including those of an economic, political, educational, occupational, legal, and social nature (Lipman-Blumen 1976, p. 16). The greater degree of homosociality among men serves both as a reflection of male dominance as well as a mechanism to maintain such dominance by "excluding women from important realms of society and by strengthening the cohesion among men" (Kimmel & Aronson 2004, p. 396). As such, male homosociality is an important aspect of the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity.

It is also within homosocial settings that "men mutually determine what makes a normal man" (Kimmel & Aronson 2004, p. 396; Flood 2008); they come to agree on the ideal of what it means to be 'a real man.' This has further implications for the construction and maintenance of masculine identities in terms of homosocial enactment (Kimmel 1996; Flood 2008). Male peers serve as socialising agents that play important roles in the process of developing masculine identities partly because acknowledgement by other males confirms and reinforces "a man's masculinity" (Kimmel & Aronson 2004, p. 396).

Embodying hegemonic masculinity in homosocial settings is essentially characterised by an absence of emotional intimacy. Kimmel (2017) also argues that, "to even raise the question of male friendship is to raise the 'spectre' of homosexuality" (Kimmel 2017, p. 384), and that the association of male friendship with homosexuality can result in overt displays of

homophobia (Kimmel 2017). Homophobia is therefore arguably both a constituent element of homosociality and a marker of men's expectation of emotional repression. On the other hand, the fear of appearing 'feminine' also discourages men "from revealing insecurities and vulnerabilities" within homosocial relationships (Lindsey 2011, p. 246). As Rahman and Jackson (2010) put it, men can act towards each other like the 'gender police,' "suggesting that there might be a disjunction between their self-presentation and their subjective sense of self" (Rahman & Jackson 2010, pp. 180-181).

Homosociality also informs men's sexual behaviours with women, as sexual achievement is a prime indicator of manliness (Flood 2008). Given hegemonic masculinity's correlation with competitiveness and aggression, and the pressure for men to be perceived as manly, homosociality is implicated in the perpetration of sexual violence against women as a form of masculine assertion and need for peer approval (Flood 2008). Homosociality is therefore a key concept in the development of my thesis, since the association between alcohol consumption and masculinity, as well as the symbolic notion that alcohol serves as a social lubricant in male homosocial settings may inform the perpetration of alcohol-involved sexual assault.

It is crucial to note that hegemonic masculinity is not fixed and can be subject to change. This observation has two important implications. Firstly, Western hegemonic masculinity is not representative of all cultures, such as those which have very different ethnic composition to that found in Australia. Thus, white heterosexual men do not inherently occupy the hegemonic position simply because they are white and heterosexual. Secondly, in societies where white, heterosexual men do occupy the hegemonic position, men from other ethnic backgrounds, transsexual men or homosexual men become marginalised (Connell 1995). Hegemonic masculinity therefore represents an idealised set of traits, both physical (e.g. muscular strength) and psychological (e.g. stoicism, rationality, self-reliance), to which men aspire to, although as an ideal it is "an uninhabitable goal for the majority of men" (Alsop et al. 2002, p. 143). Because of this 'uninhabitability,' "there is a constant need for men to prove that they are achieving the

goals of masculinity and with it [comes] a permanent insecurity attached to manhood" (Alsop et al. 2002, p. 143).

It is crucial to recognise how men's aspirations to embody hegemonic masculinity come with adverse consequences related to gendered violence (Flood 2014, p. 2). Given that hegemonic masculinity is a fantasy that, by definition, involves domination over others, various forms of violence as expressions of domination become associated with hegemonic masculinity. Such associations can lead to the use of violence as a way to perform and assert masculinity. This becomes all the more dangerous when considering the role that compulsory heterosexuality plays in hegemonic forms of masculinity (Alsop et al. 2002; Lindsey 2011). Men may feel compelled to use coercion or physical violence to express their masculinity.

It is also important to clarify that hegemonic masculinity is not solely concerned with men. Emphasised femininity is the term that Connell (1987) gives to the female equivalent of hegemonic masculinity. Inextricably linked to hegemonic masculinity, it "centers on women's compliance with subordination and the accommodation of men's interests and desires" (Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 20). Emphasised femininity thus reaffirms patriarchal tropes of gendered division: that women 'belong' in the home, that they are driven by emotion, are conflict-averse, and are not as intelligent or sexually driven as men (Milestone & Meyer 2012). As noted by Messerschmidt et al. (2018, p. 37), "emphasized femininity is practiced in a complementary, compliant, and accommodating subordinate relationship with hegemonic masculinity."

Emphasised femininity is importantly not termed 'hegemonic femininity,' despite its strong links with hegemonic masculinity, because it "does not exercise institutional or structural power in the way that hegemonic masculinity does, partly because positions of power are usually occupied by men" and "emphasized femininity does not actively negate other types of femininity in the same way as hegemonic masculinity" (Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 21). Emphasised femininity can be understood as more aligned with hegemonic masculinity than

other kinds of femininity, insofar as it upholds patriarchy by, for example, "encouraging women to take on social roles, such as the stay-at-home mother, which are undervalued, involve large amounts of unpaid labour, are detrimental to women's careers and encourage financial dependence on men" (Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 21).

In light of what has been presented thus far, hegemonic masculinity presents a useful means by which to interpret the cultural mechanisms imposing socially constructed norms of gender and sexuality. Because hegemony reflects particular circumstances in which power is won and held, understanding its significance in the context of gender and sexuality demands "an examination of the practices in which hegemony is constituted and contested—in short, the political techniques of the patriarchal social order" (Carrigan et al. 1985, p. 594). According to Hearn (2004), this means examining gendered processes and dynamics at play in various institutions including mass media, advertising, work, the state, law, as well as differing representations of gender. This is precisely the aim of this thesis. This research's goal is to be achieved by tracing the imposition of the values of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity in alcohol advertisements, as an instance of a cultural medium, which works at cementing and maintaining values that sustain a gender-segregated drinking culture. Given the multiplicity of concepts used in conducting this work, it will be helpful to have an exposition of the working definition and significance of patriarchy and rape culture.

The disproportionately high number of men, compared to women, in governing roles highlights a social system which is referred to as a patriarchy (Connell 1987; Brownmiller 1975). A society that operates as a patriarchy privileges men to exert social, economic, intellectual, and political power to their benefits. Patriarchy enables men to define and "set the terms in which events are understood and issues discussed, to formulate ideals and define morality" (Connell 1987, p. 107). One example of patriarchy at work is in mainstream media which is "owned and controlled by the dominant social groups who hold leading positions in government and big corporate businesses"- all influential positions that tend to be taken by men

(Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 17). As a patriarchal institution, the media generates patriarchal ideologies which, in turn, serve to maintain the established patriarchy (Milestone & Meyer 2012).

Although the concept of patriarchy was developed several decades ago, the theory remains relevant for the purposes of the present work. This is since it provides a framework within which various elements analysed here find meaning. As a male-dominated industry, advertising is shown to play a role in portraying and keeping women in the roles defined by patriarchal values and structures while rewarding men for fulfilling the ideals prescribed by hegemonic masculinity.

III.   RAPE CULTURE AND MYTHS

The combination of gender stereotypes, patriarchy, heteronormativity, hegemonic masculinity, and emphasised femininity creates an environment often referred to as 'rape culture.' Rape culture refers to a belief system that contributes to sexual violence against women. Such a system gives rise to an environment where sexual violence is normalised and women are silenced, living in constant fear of victimisation which impacts their daily lives and denies them a sense of agency (Cook et al. 2001; Jackson 1999; Kimmel 2017; Brownmiller 1975). Rape myths are the pillars of rape culture. They represent "normative ideas of sexual violence" aimed at trivialising victimisation and shifting blame onto victims while excusing perpetrators (Guckenheimer 2008, p. 2). Rape myths consist of inaccuracies about what sexual violence is, as well as its causes and wide-reaching consequences. Rape myths may include erroneous beliefs such as that women 'ask' to be raped by dressing seductively, that women say 'no' when they really mean 'yes,' that women commonly make false allegations (out of regret or desire for revenge) when factual evidence such as statistical data provided by governmental agencies consistently proves otherwise, or that men have a 'right' to sexually access their partners

(Cobbaert 2018; Fileborn 2011). Moreover, an argument can be made that these rape myths are in fact rooted in the sexual scripts that men and women learn, shaping their misinterpretation of circumstances as sexual and guiding their behaviour (Jackson 1999).

Rape myths are particularly relevant within the context of this thesis because they inform attitudes towards alcohol-involved sexual violence; for instance, a study conducted by VicHealth (2013) demonstrated that 21 percent of Australian men between the ages of 16 and 24 were inclined towards attributing fault to women for their sexual victimisation if they had been drinking alcohol (VicHealth 2013). In addition, a study by ANROWS (2017) evidenced that, among Australian men of all ages, 19 percent upheld that same attitude. The underlying reasons influencing this shift of blame and an explanation of how this rape myth is problematic are further explored later on.

Rape culture also involves rape jokes which make light of rape, often casting victims as the target of mockery and the rapist as hero. Rape jokes normalise sexual assault and make it something to inspire laughter rather than a crime that should elicit empathy or concern toward victims (Harding 2015). Rape culture thus produces a climate of victim-blaming where not only are victims' experiences of sexual violence considered suspect and laughable, but they are also blamed for bringing the violence on themselves (Jackson 1999). That is, the way they dress, their alcohol consumption, or where they were (e.g. 'not a place a woman should be') are reasons enough to assume that victims were complicit in their own victimisation (Guckenheimer 2008; Jackson 1999). Rape jokes primarily emerge in cultures where there is a masculine 'sexual prowess norm' – meaning that men, as opposed to women, are viewed as "primarily sexual beings living and having ongoing heightened interests in sexuality in all its forms," such that "men's ogling, touching, or sexual remarks or jokes are dismissed as harmless fun rather than as sexual domination or exploitation" (Lindsey 2011, p. 250). This form of misogyny being dismissed as 'mere humour' or 'harmless fun' is discussed in chapters five and six.

Rape culture is not, however, exclusively the result of men's subjugation of women. Lorber (2010, p. 29) notes that, "dominated groups often contribute to their own subordination because of mindscapes that persuade them to accept the legitimacy and inevitability of their subjection and even to defend it." This is particularly evident when considering 'slut-shaming.' 'Slut-shaming' is described as the "practice of maligning women for presumed sexual activity" (Armstrong et al. 2014, p. 1), and is often used by women to label other women in order to distance themselves from perceived 'sluttiness,' which has the potential to significantly impact a woman's social standing and reputation due to gender norms assigning women to strict moral standards of sexual purity (Armstrong et al. 2014, p. 1). Women's involvement in stigmatising and shaming other women is referred to as 'gender policing' and viewed as "evidence of internalized oppression" (Ringrose & Renold 2012, p. 23), which echoes Gramsci's conceptualisation of class subordination.

Rape culture fosters an environment that produces a wide array of negative impacts on women's lives. Pervasive victim self-blame leads to extensive under-reporting (Guckenheimer 2008; Flood & Pease 2006). Normalisation of sexual violence results in low rates of conviction and acts as a deterrent for women to report due to the fear that they will not be believed and suffer public humiliation. Flood and Pease (2006) highlight another aspect involved in women's reluctance to report: their inability to recognise that what has happened to them constitutes sexual violence. This happens either because the sexual assault does not fit the prevalent rape myths (for example, that it is only strangers who rape – as opposed to an acquaintance or partner) and/or because these women have internalised traditional gender stereotypes leading them to claim responsibility for their own abuse (Flood & Pease 2006). Low rates of conviction also create a climate of impunity which leads men to assume that sexual violence is acceptable, and women to become sceptical of their own victimisation, resulting in a strong sense of male entitlement (Courtois 2008; Guckenheimer 2008; Herman 1984; Cobbaert 2018).

Supporting this view, VicHealth's (2013) study evidences an alarming prevalence of gender-biased and victim-blaming attitudes among Australian men with, for example, two in five believing that "rape results from men not being able to control their sexual urges" and 20 percent believing that "women often say 'no' when they mean 'yes'" (VicHealth 2013, p. 41). The study also underlined, as mentioned earlier, a culture of victim-blaming regarding alcohol-involved sexual violence, with 21 per cent of young Australian males aged 16-24 years believing that if a "woman is raped while drunk/affected by drugs," she bears responsibility for her victimisation (VicHealth 2013, p. 42). A 2017 study conducted by ANROWS, *Australians' attitudes towards violence against women and gender equality*, led to similar findings, with, for example, 33 percent of Australian men believing that "rape results from men not being able to control their need for sex," or 42 percent of Australian men assuming that "it is common for sexual assault accusations to be used as a way of getting back at men" (ANROWS 2017, p. 12).

Flood and Pease (2006) argue that attitudes regarding sexual violence against women in general are intimately related to attitudes towards women specifically, as well as gender and sexuality more broadly. Those attitudes are such that men are more likely to commit violence against women and women are less likely to report their victimisation if they hold inflexible and traditional views of gender (Flood & Pease 2006). Flood (2014) further notes that the relation between gender norms and sexual violence is one of causality, given the fact that men perpetrating acts of sexual aggression against women hold strict understandings of hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity. On the other hand, men with more flexible or distant attitudes towards gender norms are not likely to engage in controlling and sexually aggressive behaviours toward women.

One of the central aspects of this thesis is that Australian alcohol advertising may contribute to the high prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assault by propagating gender-biased messages and normalising gender stereotypes in relation to alcohol use. The mainstreaming of an association between alcohol consumption and hegemonic masculinity informs a gender-

segregated drinking culture, whereas the sexual objectification of women may induce the notion that male drinkers are inherently entitled to sexual gratification. Gendered expectations related to alcohol use are discussed further in the next section.

IV.   ALCOHOL EXPECTANCY THEORY

Expectancy theory begins with understanding how and why expectations are formed. According to Olson at al. (1996, p. 213), "expectations affect how people think, feel, and behave. Expectations affect how people behave in many areas, such as choice of tasks, amount of effort exerted, drinking alcohol, […]" Individuals often behave in ways that align with their expectations of how their future will unfold, for example, people usually direct more effort toward activities that they expect to be able to complete such as work-related tasks that are associated with earning wages and maintaining their livelihood. Olson et al. (1996) claim that positive expectations linked with drinking alcohol (e.g. increased social abilities or better sexual performance) are related to higher alcohol consumption. This is in line with arguments made by Jones et al. (2001) suggesting that people who associate alcohol consumption with positive outcomes are more likely to drink to excess than those with less positive associations. Jones et al. (2001, p. 63) therefore argue that "alcohol expectancies can and should be an integral part of treatment and prevention efforts targeting alcohol problems."

The use of alcohol expectancy theory is crucial here, given the aim of this thesis as one examining the relationship between gender stereotypes in alcohol advertising and the formation and maintenance of gendered alcohol expectancies. The importance of alcohol expectancy theory is seen through its central claim that the effect of alcohol on behaviour is mainly learnt through various channels including media, peers and family practices, rather than solely resulting from alcohol's interference with brain activity (Smith & Goldman 1994; SIRC 1998;

MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003; Lemle & Mishkind 1989; Heath 1958; Miller et al. 2014; Hall & Kappel 2018). As noted by Wall and Quadara (2014, p. 9, p. 12),

> Alcohol expectancies in relation to sex are the beliefs one holds in relation to how the consumption of alcohol will affect their sexual behaviour. These beliefs may be tied in with social scripts around gender roles in relation to alcohol and sexual behaviour. […] Men who reported perpetrating sexual assault have been found to be more likely to have beliefs that are tied to traditional stereotypes about men, women and gender roles. They were also more likely than other men to have stronger sex-related alcohol expectancies.

Alcohol is entrenched in social mores, and is therefore imbued with symbolic and cultural meanings (SIRC 1998). There are social rules governing its consumption, and different types of alcoholic beverages are attributed specific social meanings; for instance, champagne is often associated with celebration (e.g. wedding, house warming, graduation), and wine commonly accompanies a meal, with red wine primarily consumed during the main course and white wine as part of the dessert. In addition to rules surrounding consumption, alcohol's effects on behaviour can also be understood from a socially constructed perspective through expectations, also referred to as 'alcohol expectancies.' Such alcohol expectancies are often paired with notions of gender (e.g. drinking is a form of masculine assertion, men who drink to excess are deemed more 'manly' than those who drink with moderation, male drinkers are likely to experience an increase in sexual drive, women who drink are 'sexually available' and immoral) (SIRC 1998). It is this pairing of alcohol use with gender norms in alcohol advertisements and its possible effects on the prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assault that is being investigated in this thesis.

MacAndrew and Edgerton (2003) have analysed the ways alcohol expectancies affect inebriated behaviour. Whilst accepting that alcohol affects sensorimotor skills, they take issue with the so-called 'common-sense' position (also referred to as 'disinhibitory' theory), that "alcohol depresses the activity of the higher centres of the brain, thereby producing a state in which neither man's reason nor his conscience is any longer capable of performing its customary directive and inhibitive functions" (MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003, pp. 13-14).

Instead, they suggest that there is no inevitable association between alcohol consumption and disinhibition, drawing attention to a range of cultural examples where this assumed corollary does not actually manifest and where displays of intoxication are not characterised by disinhibition, such as in many Latin American societies (MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003). They therefore assert that "what people do when they are drunk is almost everywhere situationally variable, and it is often dramatically so" (MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003, p. 53). This observation challenges the long-held conventional views regarding alcohol as a substance which "impairs man's normally operative controls that he becomes a mere creature of impulse, inexorably doing things that he would not do under normal conditions" (MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003, p. 36). MacAndrew and Edgerton's (2003) conclusions have also been corroborated by Wall and Quadara (2014, p. 8):

> Theories around disinhibition incorporate the fact that alcohol acts pharmacologically on the brain to disarm the part associated with impulse control and inhibition. However, this theory cannot be applied across the board as an explanation for aggression because it doesn't explain why only some people become aggressive when drinking.

During their research, George and Marlatt (1986) led a sample of men in a controlled laboratory setting to believe that they had been given alcoholic beverages. The men who were told that they had consumed alcohol, but had not, acted with greater aggression than they had prior to consuming the non-alcoholic beverages (George & Marlett 1986). George and Marlett (1986) concluded that "the aggression manifested by drinkers may stem in part from cognitive expectations associated with alcohol, as opposed to its pharmacologic effects" (George & Marlett 1986, p. 102). In another study that utilised balanced placebo design as a methodology in which male participants consumed a liquid that they believed to be alcohol (but was not), results indicate "altered psychological and behavioural outcomes, including increased aggression" (Bartholow & Heinz 2006, p. 30). These evidentiary findings highlight an association between the consumption of alcohol and aggressive behaviour, and reveal aggression resulting from the consumption of alcohol is through cognitive expectation (Bartholow & Heinz 2006; George & Marlatt 1986). Gendered alcohol expectancies also vary

30

between women and men in that "men, as compared to women, expect to feel more powerful, sexual, aggressive, and disinhibited after drinking alcohol" (Abbey et al. 1998, p. 170). As further noted by Towns et al. (2012, p. 216):

> The implication is that our culture has such strong masculine expectations about drinkers that men become more likely to feel and act in traditionally manly ways when they drink. Thus, men who drink are viewed as manly not solely because they drink, but also because of their embodiment of performative elements of macho male behaviours while consuming alcohol.

In Western cultures like Australia, drinking alcohol is closely associated with tropes of hegemonic masculinity such as "unconventionality, risk taking, and aggressiveness" (Lemle & Mishkind 1989, p. 216), and "men may adopt masculine scripts such as risk-taking, emotional restraint, power over women, and violence as a way to establish their masculinity" (Iwamoto et al. 2011, p. 906). Alcohol has, therefore, long been culturally identified as the preserve of men (Lemle & Mishkind 1989; Hall & Kappel 2018; Gutzke 2014) and a threat to "women's virtue" (MacAndrew & Edgerton 2003, p. 8). Western societies also view alcohol use as an essential rite of passage into adult masculinity, with the level of consumption inscribed as a hierarchical indicator of 'manliness:' "the more a man tolerates his alcohol, the manlier he is deemed" (Lemle & Mishkind 1989, p. 214; Hall & Kappel 2018).

This cultural association is problematic because the upholding of traditional gender norms are central to the perpetration of gender-based violence (Flood & Pease 2006; Flood 2014; Flood 2019). Indeed, "hegemonic masculinity that privileges patriarchal control" and normalises male aggression has been correlated with sexual violence against women (Towns et al. 2012, p. 216). The endorsement and upholding of rigid gender norms and stereotypes has a "fundamental and causal relationship to the perpetration of violence against women" (Flood & Pease 2006, p. 18). Men who identify "with traditional images of masculinity and male privilege" have been found more likely to sexually assault women (Flood & Peace 2006, p. 18). Gender stereotypes are also associated with a greater level of rationalisation, normalisation, and justification of gender-based violence (Flood & Pease 2006; Flood 2014).

Given the strong cultural link between asserting masculinity and consuming alcohol, destructive, aggressive, antisocial, and sexually violating behaviours can become codified as natural outcomes of male intoxication. As highlighted by the aforementioned studies (George & Marlatt 1986; Bartholow & Heinz 2006), the socially constructed association between alcohol use and hegemonic masculinity leads to overt displays of traditional hyper-masculinity, which includes aggressiveness.

Another problematic gender-related alcohol expectancy is that alcohol is assumed to act as an aphrodisiac, and that men who drink are therefore understood to experience an increase in sexual drive and abilities (Abbey et al. 2004; Hall & Kappel 2018). This socially constructed relation between men's sexual urges and alcohol consumption has no medical validity given the fact that alcohol is a depressant inhibiting sexual performance through its impact on the central nervous system and that heavy alcohol consumption is likely to cause erectile dysfunction, decrease sexual satisfaction, and negatively impact libido (Schuckit 1984; Miller & Gold 1988). Therefore, the paradoxical belief that intoxicated men are more inclined towards acting in overtly sexual ways may well be rooted in the association between traditional masculinity, male entitlement toward sexual gratification, and alcohol consumption. The danger presented by this myth lies in the fact that "men who believe that alcohol increases sexual arousal may feel more comfortable forcing sex when drinking because they can tell themselves that it was the alcohol that made them act that way and that the woman was also sexually aroused" (Abbey et al. 2004, p. 281). In addition, women who have been the target of sexually aggressive conduct from intoxicated men cited alcohol as the main contributing factor for men's coercive behaviour, undermining their attacker's responsibility for the incident, sometimes to the point of excusing the behaviour because of alcohol intoxication (Testa & Livingston 1999; Abbey et al. 2004; Hall & Kappel 2018).

<u>Conclusion</u>

The aim of this chapter has been to offer an overview of the literature shaping the theoretical framework of this thesis. This chapter discussed the large body of scholarly work investigating the social construction of gender and sexuality, both as a means of defining a shared common-sense understanding of notions of gender and sexuality, as well as defining related hierarchies maintained through social institutions. Similarly, there is a significant body of literature on the ways these ideas are reaffirmed in different cultural media including advertising. Despite such extensive previous research, a gap remains which this thesis aims to fill. Namely, a closer examination of the role played by cultural representations of gender norms and scripts, as seen particularly in Australian alcohol advertising, in shaping and maintaining gendered alcohol expectancies. The analyses presented in this work show that the different theories reviewed in this chapter, far from being separate and distinct, work together to illuminate the question at hand. Although previous research has documented a correlation between alcohol and sexual assault (see Abbey et al. 1998; Abbey et al. 2004; Hall & Kappel 2018), a theoretical framework for discerning the various origins and nature of this relation using a social constructivist paradigm had remained lacking.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Following the theoretical framework introduced in the previous chapter, I hereby review the literature on media and advertising that shapes the background to the present research. As will be shown, although advertising, gender stereotypes, and alcohol expectancies have all been studied individually or in pairs, research into how these factors are bound up together remains lacking.

The body of literature discussed in this chapter gives an exposition of the role played by advertisements in constructing and maintaining the dominant culture, through the manipulation of meanings associated with different views and attitudes. As Shields notes, "advertising is a key institution of socialization in modern society … bombarding us with snapshots of what we supposedly lack and what we need to fill the void" (Shields 1994, p. 1). Given the focus of the present research on gender representations in advertising, of particular interest in this review are the ways in which advertisements help to maintain gender stereotypes. Furthermore, through a look into existing literature on tangible impacts of advertising, the basis for assessing links between representations of gender in alcohol advertisements and alcohol expectancies will be laid. The literature considered here not only shows the ways in which advertising, as a form of representation, influences the commonly-held views in a given culture, but also lays the groundwork for the arguments presented in the rest of the thesis.

In the first section, an exposition is given of the influences of advertising on culture, particularly the production of meaning and ideologies that govern dominant understandings and attitudes. Following this broad analysis, in the second section, I focus on representations of gender in advertising, while also reviewing the literature on alcohol advertising more specifically.

I. MEANING PRODUCTION AND IDEOLOGY IN ADVERTISING

a. Myths, Language, and Meaning

In analysing the influence of advertising, the notion of meaning production is of key importance. Saussure (2011, [1916]) argues that language is key in the production of meaning, for it is through language that ideas come into being. Introducing the field of structural linguistics, Saussure formalised a systematic approach to the study of language, with a synchronic perspective that emphasises the relationship among the interconnected units of language, seen as the source of meaning. He argues that the sign—that which actually generates meaning for the reader—is composed of two elements: the signified and the signifier. While the signified refers to the abstract concept or idea, the signifier represents the perceived sound or visual image. Signs gain their meaning from their relationships and contrasts with other signs. For Saussure, "language is a system of signs that expresses ideas" (2011, [1916], p. 15). Saussure is a key figure in the field of semiotic analysis, which, concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign (including advertisements), scrutinises meanings in systematic ways by employing the analytical tools of codes and signs (Džanić 2013; Burton 2010).

Building on Saussure's work, Barthes developed his semiotic methods of reading signs as seen in cultural settings. In his work on mythology, Barthes (1972) proposes that, in addition to the notions of signifier and signified, all signs contain another layer of meaning: the deeper mythological meaning, or cultural subtext, of the entire sign. For Barthes (1972), myths give a unifying sense of reality, thus building consensus in a given sociocultural context for understanding and action. Hence, not only do myths frame the social, political and ethical boundaries of a sociocultural context, but they also give a framework for discerning meanings related to our life-world, connecting our past understandings to the present (Trifonas 2001). Barthes' (1972) account of myths, therefore, reveals another level of meaning production,

providing a framework for analysing signs in culture, and particularly in advertisements. A Barthesian semiotic analysis of advertising, for example, reveals the culturally constructed meanings contained within the image, or 'visual text,' and how signification is used to communicate and promote social myths (Barthes 1972).

The notion of myths as developed by Barthes (1972) enables the understanding of the meaning of a given message on two particular layers of interpretation. The primary level, termed the 'signifying plane,' contains the factual system of representation which aims to highlight reality as it is, as well as keeping the form and content of representation separate (Barthes 1972). The secondary level, containing a symbolic system of associations, enables the production of meaning that goes beyond mundane, matter-of-fact interpretations, and persuades an interpretation imbued with value judgements and emotional associations (Barthes 1972). Barthes (1972) calls this secondary plane 'empty signified,' and it is through this notion that the ideological component of myths is made manifest.

A myth "naturalises the idiosyncrasies of culture, universalises them, and makes them social norms through its rhetorical flourishes" (Trifonas 2001, p. 10). As such, myths encourage unreflective practices based on acceptance of mythical truths, which are characterised as 'what-goes-without-saying.' Parallels can be seen between this characterisation of myths as norm-building, and the previous discussion on Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, where certain claims become norms viewed as natural, universal, and necessary. Myths play on spectacles of human experience, encouraging identification with characters which ensures emotional and prejudiced engagement with the myth, promoting the unquestioning acceptance of them (Barthes 1972; Trifonas 2001). The ideological effect of myths is therefore seen in the distorted reality they give rise to: the mythical spectacles rely on the viewer's biased and emotional judgments to discern their symbolic meaning. It is through this mechanism that myths "turn bias and prejudice into history" and reality (Trifonas 2001, p. 11). Similar to Gramsci's stance

on hegemony, it is the perception of myths as natural and the unquestioning faith in their veracity that maintains dominant views and status quos.

The relationship between myth and ideology can also be found in the concept of binary oppositions (Lévi-Strauss 1995, 1961). Binary oppositions refer to the notion that the meaning of something depends on its opposite (Burton 2010). As stated by Fourie (2007, p. 249), "the nature of human kind is to think, interpret and make sense of the world and others in terms of binary oppositions." Lévi-Strauss (1995) argues that it is through binary oppositions that mythical thought operates in the construction of the collective existence of society, which is bound by a set of norms and values. This collective existence directs the individual's thinking and behaviour. Anyone who threatens or challenges norms and values is seen as challenging the collective as a whole, which oftentimes results in marginalisation (Fourie 2007). In this sense, parallels can be drawn with the previous discussion on Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony, since the notion of binary oppositions hereby defined can be understood as a medium through which hegemonic power and reification of gender norms occur: masculinity versus femininity, and heterosexuality versus homosexuality.

b. Representation as Meaning-Production

The exposition presented here indicates the important role of representation in the perpetuation of ideology through language (Hall 1997a; Hall et al. 2013). Representation is the production of meaning through language (Hall et al. 2013), and since language cannot be separated from ideology, "representations do the work of ideology" (Burton 2010, p. 13). Language, as a medium through which meaning is produced, shapes culture as a space of shared meanings. From a constructionist perspective, language constructs meaning—in other words, it sustains dialogue between participants, which, in turn, enables them to have shared understandings and interpret the world similarly. Therefore, language externalises the meanings individuals make

of the world (Hall 1997b), and it does this through its representational power. It is given this powerful role of language that Hall (1997a, p. 1) notes that "representation through language is therefore central to the processes by which meaning is produced."

Although the term 'representation' may seem to imply a re-presenting of an object (or event), whereby an inherently held meaning is represented, as Hall (1997b) argues, the meaning of an object or event depends on how it is represented: it has no fixed meaning until it is represented, and the meaning may shift with changing representations over time. Accordingly, representation is constituent of the object and part of the condition of its existence. The question then arises as to how meanings are assigned to objects, events, or people. This, for Hall (1997b), is the essence of cultural studies. For it is this process of representation and giving meanings to the objects, people, and events, that enables the sharing of concepts and ways to participate in a shared culture. Culture can thus be defined as a shared 'conceptual map' (Du Gay et al. 1997).

Noting the concept of binary oppositions, particularly their operation in mythology as Barthes (1972) conceives it, meanings are most often produced through opposition, which speaks to the relationship between power, ideology, and difference. Myths tend to construct differences in the service of ideology (Durham & Kellner 2009). Binary conceptions of gender (masculine/feminine) and sexuality (heterosexuality/homosexuality) are examples of such oppositions that serve ideologies (e.g. gender stereotypes). As Hall (1997b) argues, meaning can sometimes depend on the relationship between what an individual expects to find in an image and what is actually in the image. Thus, absence, as well as presence of an element in a portrayal is significant in production of meaning. Therefore, such meaning is about one's subverted expectations. The indication is the fact that part of the process of conveying meaning involves a process of identification and recognition.

Importantly, however, meanings can never be fully fixed, since while media texts such as advertisements exist to produce meanings, the actual meaning produced depends on a negotiation between the media producer and the reader (Hall 1980). The traditional conception

of the circulation of meanings as a circuit or loop has been criticised for its oversimplification of the relationship between producer and audience, assuming a linear and direct relationship between the sending and receiving of messages (Hall 1980). Utilising a semiotic paradigm, Hall (1973, 1980), instead, proposes an alternative model of communication by which advertising's messages are produced, disseminated and interpreted. His highly influential encoding/decoding model suggests that audiences decode, or interpret, media messages differently depending on their sociocultural backgrounds, resources and experiences (Hall 1973, 1980).

One of the key contributions of Hall's model is his assertion that "decodings do not follow inevitably from encodings" (1980, p. 125). For Hall (1980), consumption is dependent on whether the message has meaning for the audience, and for the message to have meaning, recipients must engage in a process of interpretation and translation of the coded information into a form that is comprehensible to them. This process of interpretation can result in different outcomes, based on positions that individuals can take upon decoding messages: dominant-hegemonic, negotiated, and oppositional (Hall 1980). The dominant-hegemonic position represents cases of "perfectly transparent communication" in which the recipient takes the meaning "full and straight," as the sender intended (Hall 1980, p. 125). The negotiated position contains a mixture of accepting and rejecting elements: "it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules—it operates with exceptions to the rule" (Hall 1980, p. 127). Lastly, the oppositional position reflects occasions where the recipient understands the intended meaning of the message but "decode[s] the message in a globally contrary way" (Hall 1980, p. 127). In these instances, the recipient places the message in an alternative framework for understanding than the one intended by the sender.

c. Consumerism and Advertising

In discussing the production of meaning in advertisements, consumerism, as an ideology that owes much of its dominance to advertising ought to be noted (Ewen 1977). Defined as consumption to the point of excess, consumerism privileges commodity exchange and the market above all other kinds of meaning-making (Ewen 1977; Cronin 2004). Advertisements play a role in the dominance of consumerism since they fundamentally deal in commodification, as purveyors of myths designed to persuade consumers to buy, thus remaking "the meaning of goods in order to sell them" (Burton 2005, p. 222).

Advertisements often trade in myths that connect the consumption of the promoted product with a positive outcome, such that buying the product would enable consumers to be a better version of themselves, or live better lives (Sheehan 2004). This transformative form of advertisement is often associated with particular brands, where for instance, a rise in status will ensue from the purchase of a Rolex watch (Burton 2005). Here, not only is the watch's meaning remade from merely an object to tell time to a signifier of status, but this meaning is further associated with the transforming power of a particular brand. Such advertisements, rather than being concerned with product specifics, attempt to appeal to values, beliefs, and emotions. Yet, as noted previously, representations in advertising are concerned with creating meanings, ones that go beyond the material and utilitarian value of the product advertised. As such, branding can be thought of as another way in which meanings and associations are created in advertising.

Commodification and consumerism central to advertising go hand in hand with the representation of women as objects of male desire. Representations of women are often used as a selling point for products by purveying the myth of desirability attached both to the woman and the product to be sold (Burton 2005; Sheehan 2004; Strinati 2004; Cronin 2004). This is visible in alcohol advertising where women's sexuality and bodies are associated with the promotion of an alcoholic product, with the assumption that men are entitled to sexual

gratification by virtue of consuming the beverage advertised. These elements seen in alcohol advertisements will be more closely examined in chapters five and six.

As Sheehan (2004) notes, the meanings perpetuated in advertising help to create worldviews, and even guidelines related to the ways buyers are expected to behave while consuming the advertised product. This influence is captured by expectancy theory, which suggests that "advertising portrayals build or reinforce expectations and influence social reality" (Sheehan 2004, p. 83). Consequently, advertisements can consolidate myths and stereotypes already prevalent in society by representing them unchallenged, including gender stereotypes. The maintenance of gender norms by alcohol advertisements further links with alcohol expectancy theory discussed in the previous chapter: by maintaining gender stereotypes and expectations arising from them as related to situations involving alcohol consumption, these advertisements can be shown to legitimise gender biased alcohol expectancies.

II.   ADVERTISING, GENDER, AND ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION

The section above demonstrates the crucial role that advertising, as a form of representation with meaning-making and ideology-consolidating powers, has on culture. Of especial importance for the following discussion, is the different ways in which advertising contributes to the formation and maintenance of gender norms more specifically. In this section, some of the literature examining the relational nature of the influence of advertising on gendered understandings will be reviewed.

As noted in the previous section, representation of gender in advertisements is one of the ways through which gender norms become reified and internalised in sociocultural contexts. As Milestone and Meyer (2012, p. 8) argue, "gender hierarchies and inequalities are maintained, among other factors, by meanings and belief systems, and these are in turn generated through representation." Representations in advertisements are cast as truthful and objective,

purportedly "showing and telling things as they really are to their audiences," and thus have an especially persuasive influential power (Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 7). Through exposure to, and resulting internalisation of such portrayals, women and men are invited to view themselves in ways that confirm gender norms. Women are prompted to view themselves submissively as "sexual beings, as beings that exist for men" (Alsop et al. 2002, p. 121), while men are influenced toward perceiving themselves as being "hard, physically powerful and mentally strong, competitive, aggressive, dominant, rational, unemotional and objective" (Beynon 2002, p. 56).

In his acclaimed work *Gender Advertisements* (1979), Goffman conducted a systematic investigation using a combination of semiotic analysis and visual content analysis to examine gender representations in advertisements. Of particular interest to this thesis is Goffman's (1979) exploration of the ways in which advertising's portrayals of women further gender stereotypes and notions of subordination. Goffman (1979) argues that advertisements do not depict 'natural' expressions of gender and gendered behaviours. Rather, such expressions can be shown to be "illustrations of ritual-like bits of behavior which portray an ideal conception of the two sexes and their structural relationship to each other" (Goffman 1979, p. 84). This 'ritualisation' of gendered expressions and behaviours is enacted through standardisation and exaggeration of norms already prevalent in society (Goffman 1979). In other words, what is represented in advertisements reflects and distorts the 'ritual idioms' already employed in various sociocultural environments, making them appear natural. Goffman's (1979) argument is noteworthy since it lays bare the relational nature of influence between advertisements and society: it demonstrates how advertisements contribute to the maintenance of gender stereotypes by presenting depictions based on norms and attitudes already present in culture. Indeed, once advertising is viewed as a representational system with meaning-making powers, it becomes clear that it both "reflects and contributes to culture" (Grau & Zotos 2016, p. 763).

Recent studies show that a high level of gender stereotyping remains present in advertising in different parts of the world. Studies show that male portrayals continue to reflect traditional masculine values (Gentry & Harrison 2010), that family-related advertisements in women's magazines uphold traditional masculine paternalist roles and values (Marshall et al. 2014), and that prevalent gender stereotypes find considerable representation in TV advertisements (Knoll et al. 2011). Whereas the degree to which these stereotyped portrayals are prevalent and their influences vary cross-culturally, a meta-analysis of the literature has revealed that gender stereotyping continues to be seen in Western societies (Eisend 2010). Although occupational gender stereotyping has slightly dwindled since the 1970s, it remains consistently found to be highly pervasive, despite significant changes in women's access to education and increased presence in the workplace (Loreck 2016). This form of stereotyping in advertisements has been subject to debate for several decades. For instance, Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) found in their content analysis, which will be discussed in greater details in the next chapter, that advertisements in the United States of America routinely represent men in professional working roles, while women are mostly portrayed in nonworking roles. According to Courtney and Lockeretz' research (1971), men, contrary to women, are also portrayed as images of success, resilience and independence. Indeed, in advertisements portraying women exclusively, either individually or as a group, "90 percent were in nonworking roles and of these, 70 percent were in the nonactive, decorative role" (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971, p. 93).

The portrayal of men and women in different roles is significant for its upholding of gender norms and shows the manner in which advertising is dominated by a male gaze which "empowers men and objectifies women" (Loreck 2016). Women in this sense are presented as sexual objects to be looked at by male subjects who, in turn, derive sexual pleasure from this looking (Mulvey 1975). The dominance of the male gaze in advertisements means that women continue to be represented as uneducated and more concerned with their appearances for the sake of being attractive to men: "women have beauty but men have character, women look good

but men have careers, women are in tune with their emotions but men have the brains" (Milestone & Meyer 2012, p. 96; Grau & Zotos 2016). In a study on gender stereotypes related to advertisements in the United States of America, the dominating role of the male gaze has also been noted, as women tend to be "positioned clearly for visual gratification of a male gaze, and the pose is one of complete passivity" (Shields & Heinecken 2002, p. 7). The differences in how male and female bodies are represented is also noteworthy. As Dyer (1982) argues, media agencies use a variety of strategies to circumvent the risk of objectifying male bodies in order to "maintain the illusion of power and activity, even if the body is represented in repose" (Dyer 1982, p. 32). Muscularity is one of the techniques used in advertisements in opposition to "traditional feminine iconography," as physical strength is commonly perceived as a natural and biological male attribute and signifier of hegemonic masculinity (Richardson & Wearing 2014, p. 34).

The advertising industry's reluctance to align their representations of gender with broader societal trends (e.g. women in the workplace, increased social acceptance of women's consumption of alcohol) has not gone unnoticed. Although it can be seen that lives led by men and women in the 21st century are highly complex and different from the 1950s, as Sheehan notes, advertising in Western societies still clings to older value systems "where societal roles were much more specific: men were the breadwinners, and women were the homemakers" and "advertising has firmly held on to this traditional portrayal of women" (Sheehan 2004, p. 93). This prevalence of gender stereotyping is also observed more specifically in Australian advertisements. In a 2004 study, Milner and Higgs found not only that men and women are portrayed in restrictive roles in Australian advertising, but further, "that over time, the portrayals are actually becoming more stereotypical in a way that emphasizes traditional roles for women" (Milner & Higgs 2004, p. 89). This analysis shows that, bar a few exceptions, "female advertising role portrayals are retrograde, both socially and economically" (Milner & Higgs 2004, p. 89).

As will be discussed further in chapter five (see Midori advertisements), today, the body is portrayed in advertising as the primary source of women's capital. Women's bodies are evaluated, scrutinised, and dissected. In the recent past, women's cooking or housekeeping or interior design skills were the focus of advertisers' attention to a much greater extent than the surface of the body. Instead of caring or nurturing or motherhood, it is now possession of a 'sexy body' that is presented as women's key source of identity (Gill 2007). As further noted by Gill (2007, p. 149),

> In a shift from earlier representational practices it appears that femininity is defined as a bodily property rather than (say) a social structural or psychological one. The body is presented simultaneously as women's source of power and as always already unruly and requiring constant monitoring, surveillance, discipline and remodeling in order to conform to ever narrower judgments of female attractiveness.

However, this trend has drawn substantial criticism due to advertising presenting "an alternative stereotype of the cool, liberated women to accommodate new attitudes in their campaigns, often missing the point and equating liberation with a type of aggressive sexuality and very unliberated coy sexiness" (Dyer 1982, pp. 185-186). Therefore, whereas women are now slightly more likely to be represented in working roles as compared to the 1970s (Gill 2007; Strinati 2004), their portrayal remains entrenched in notions of sexual objectification and subordination echoing Goffman's findings (1979).

Given the previous arguments regarding meaning-production in advertisements, it is worth pointing out some of the literature on the influence of gender representations in advertisements on social attitudes. Various studies suggest that such biased depictions are associated with more rigid views of gender relations (see MacKay & Covell 1997; Harker et al. 2005), which are themselves linked to the perpetration of sexual violence against women (Flood 2014; Flood & Pease 2006). MacKay and Covell (1997) have confirmed the connections between representations of women in advertisements and attitudes toward gender. In their study, "participants who were shown the sex image advertisements, compared to those who saw the progressive image advertisements, across gender showed greater sex role stereotyping, rape

myth acceptance and adversarial sexual beliefs" (MacKay & Covell 1997, p. 580). The influence of gender-biased advertisements on individual attitudes also vary based on gender. Harker et al. (2005, p. 254), for instance, note that, among a sample of Australians, "men are less concerned than women" about gender stereotypical images. Such findings demonstrate not only that gender-stereotypical representations in advertisements influence social attitudes, but also that they play a role in the internalisation of already prevalent gender norms.

The exposition presented here has important consequences for the main focus of the present research, namely the portrayal of women in alcohol advertisements, and these images' contribution to gender-related alcohol expectancies. Australian drinking culture has a history rooted in notions of traditional gender norms, as it emerged from the "tradition of English alehouses where men imbibed their masculinity," and the forced early closure of bars may have further maintained the exclusion of women from drinking venues (Kirkby 2003, p. 245). In March 1916, the first legislative measure forcing drinking venues to close at six o'clock in the evening rather than eleven or eleven thirty was passed in South Australia, followed by New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania. In these regions, the phenomenon whereby men would rush to the bar after work and engage in a race to reach intoxication was referred to as the "six o'clock swill," during which time men consumed alcohol at a quickened pace to "reach their daily quota" before closure (Kirkby 2003, p. 245). This frantic drinking pattern led to extreme states of inebriation resulting in displays of boorish and rogue insouciance which involved "sexually charged language" (Kirkby 2003, p. 245). The six o'clock swill reinforced a "masculinist conception" of Australian drinking culture from which women as drinkers were rendered invisible and inadequate (Kirkby 2003, p. 245).

Early closure restrictions were abolished by the mid-1960s, with demographic changes brought on by waves of European immigration reshaping Australia's drinking practices. For instance, wine, as opposed to beer, gained popularity and was consumed during meals, and expectations of more sophisticated drinking behaviours emerged (Kirkby 2003). These shifts

engendered substantial anxiety amongst some Australian men due to the perceived loss of a distinctively Australian drinking culture (Kirkby 2003). Reinforcement of Australian drinking culture, in an attempt to uphold drinking venues as the exclusive male sanctuary, resulted in an increase in "pronounced manliness, patriarchal attitudes and sexism" (Gutzke 2014, p. 91). As Gutzke (2014) notes, alcohol manufacturers and promoters viewed the representation of women's sexualised bodies as a way of appealing to Australian male consumers, and thus reinforced the sexes as 'monolithic groups.' As such, overtly masculinist images emphasising men's virility became the "staple of beer advertisement" in the 1960s and 1970s (Gutzke 2014, p. 96).

Although this study is focused on Australian advertisements, the broader topic has received some attention in the literature. For instance, Hall and Kappel (2018) have examined the portrayals of men and women in 77 alcohol commercials in the United States of America using a content analysis model, and found that "alcohol advertisements portray deeply gender-specific messages about social life through the following ideal types: hotties, bitches, losers, and buddies" (Hall & Kappel 2018, p. 517). Hall and Kappel (2018) also argue that alcohol advertisements remain by and large purveyors of gender scripts and norms, and further state that "alcohol commercials and their messages provide a mechanism that subtly displays gender-normative behavior surrounding a social activity" (Hall & Kappel 2018, p. 517). As such, these advertisements play a role in maintaining gender-normative attitudes, judgements, and behaviours, and therefore become "a lingering force in the minds of all individuals" (Hall & Kappel 2018, p. 577). In another study, Jung and Hovland (2016) have investigated how gender differences are used as marketing strategies in American magazine alcohol advertisements. Their findings mainly align with that of Hall and Kappel's (2018).

Various studies, noting the influence of representation in advertisements on the normalisation of behaviours, have also attempted to investigate the practical influences of alcohol advertisements on youth drinking patterns. The main focus in these investigations has

been on links between youth exposure to alcohol advertising and underage drinking (see Morgenstern et al. 2011; Ellikson, et al. 2005; Snyder et al. 2006). These studies, conducted in various countries, consistently show that exposure to alcohol advertising correlates with an early onset of underage drinking (Morgenstern et al. 2011; Ellikson, et al. 2005; Snyder et al. 2006). For instance, in their study of adolescent drinking in Australia, Jones and Magee (2011) demonstrate that almost all (94 percent) of underage drinkers had been exposed to alcohol advertisements on television (Jones & Magee 2011, pp. 632-633).

The role of alcohol advertising in perpetuating gender-related alcohol expectancies, themselves possibly informing alcohol-involved sexually aggressive behaviours, has been largely neglected. However, the investigation by Towns et al. (2012) on gendered representations in alcohol advertisements and its implications for the perpetration of domestic violence should be noted as one constituting the background for the present research despite its different aim and focus. Here, attention is drawn to alcohol advertisements' complicity in the construction and maintenance of hegemonic masculinity as a factor contributing to the prevalence of intoxicated men's perpetration of domestic violence against women (Towns et al. 2012).

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to review the literature that forms the background of the present research. The sources hereby considered lay the analytical foundations for the arguments presented in the thesis. Semiotics and content analysis described in the first section shape the main methodology of the work, and the sampled alcohol advertisements will be analysed against the backdrop of the tools noted here, including representation and myths. Furthermore, the analysis presented in this work finds its significance against the existing body of literature on the mechanisms through which meanings, including those regarding gender and sexuality,

are created in advertisements and work to influence audiences. Given the known links between such meaning-production process and the normalisation of behaviours and attitudes, the literature discussed here lays the groundwork for this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The investigation of culture is crucial to expose and challenge dominant narratives and stereotyped representations. Texts, whether written or visual, are cultural artefacts that represent an integral component of popular culture. As argued by Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2007, p. 245), "cultural artefacts do not simply reflect social norms and values; texts are central to how norms and values come to be shaped." According to semiologists, texts consist of a wide array of signs, which can be arranged in specific ways to produce meaning (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2007). Advertising is a prime factor involved in the creation of meaning, as it is a site "where ideas are created, disseminated, and consumed" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2007, p. 225). Hence, interrogating culturally produced material such as advertisements has become an important aspect of the work of feminist researchers whose goal is to shed light on the furthering of gender norms and social stratification involved in the perpetuation of gender inequalities (Hesse-Biber & Leavy 2007; Van Zoonen 1994).

Both representations of men and women are analysed in this research project, as "to study women in isolation perpetuates the fiction that one sphere, the experience of one sex, has little or nothing to do with the other" (Scott 1986, p. 1056). My work recognises that gender "is as much an issue of masculinity as it is of femininity" (McClintock 1995, p. 7). The simultaneous focus on portrayals of masculinity and femininity therefore provides a better understanding of the inherently interconnected dynamics underlying the gender segregation of Australian drinking culture.

This thesis uses a combination of visual content analysis (chapter four) and semiotic analysis (chapters five and six). This specific multimethod design is aimed at uncovering the

various ways in which the sampled images promote a gender-segregated drinking culture, and how the furthering of gender-biased notions of alcohol consumption discussed in chapter one can become problematic. It is hypothesised that Australian alcohol advertising pervasively engages in gender stereotyping in its portrayals of women and men, and that the differential representations contribute to the construction and maintaining of a gender-segregated drinking culture where alcohol is associated with masculinity as well as the sexual objectification of women. A content analysis provides an insight into the frequency and extent of gender stereotyping, while the subsequent semiotic analyses "unravel structures of meaning" (Van Zoonen 1994, p. 74).

The first section of this chapter discusses the use of a content analysis to uncover broad patterns of gender stereotyping in the sampled Australian alcohol advertisements. The categories featured in the content analysis are described here, and the influence of works produced by Goffman (1979), Flood (2008), as well as Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) in the elaboration of these categories is also explained. The second section discusses the usefulness and relevancy of semiotics in reaching this research project's aims of identifying latent meanings featured in 14 Australian alcohol advertisements selected from the larger sample used for the content analysis. The third section elaborates on the benefits of combining content analysis with semiotics before addressing the research design's scope.

I.   CONTENT ANALYSIS

Van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2001) describe content analysis as a research methodology in which media messages are systematically examined and their characteristics summarised by categorising the data into carefully constructed types or groups. The usefulness of this research method to gender and cultural studies lies in its ability to identify broad patterns (manifest) of

social meanings (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt 2001). Since the goal of this thesis is to explore the furthering of gender stereotypes by Australian alcohol advertising, the undertaking of a content analysis is crucial, as this method is commonly used to identify patterns of stereotypical or biased representations and test "hypotheses about the ways in which media represent people" or groups of people (Van Leewen & Jewitt 2001, p. 13).

For the purposes of this study, research measurement was conducted through human coding (with the student researcher being the sole coder), and a single advertisement was chosen as the unit of visual analysis. As explained in greater details below, some of the categories have been informed by the works of Goffman (1979), Flood (2008), and Courtney and Lockeretz (1971). The sample was gathered through online searches exclusively using Google. The search terms used are as follows: "alcohol advertising Australia"; "alcohol ads"; "alcohol promotion Australia"; "alcohol brands Australia"; "alcohol Australia"; "alcohol advertising"; "vodka Australia"; "vodka advertising"; "rum Australia"; "beer advertising"; "wine advertising"; "wine Australia"; "wine ads"; "wine advertising Australia"; "beer advertising Australia"; "beer Australia"; "beer ads"; "tequila Australia"; "Bundaberg advertising"; "Heineken Australia." All the advertisements appearing as a result of online searches that met the criteria of product (alcohol), location (Australia) and timeframe (2012-2017) were selected for analysis. In total, 74 alcohol advertisements produced between 2012 and 2017 targeting an Australian audience were sampled and used to investigate gender stereotyping. As stated by Van Leewen and Jewitt (2001, p. 13), "the kind of hypotheses which content analysis usually evaluates are comparative." This aligns with my research as I attempt to identify how and to what extent Australian alcohol advertising uses gender stereotypical representations segregating men and women into distinct gendered expectations of drinking behaviours and patterns.

My content analysis (chapter four) is organised in the following manner:

  I.   **<u>Gender Disparity</u>**

       a. Disparity

       b. Outdoors/Indoors

  II. **<u>Gender Stereotyping</u>**

       a. Hegemonic Masculinity

       b. Subordination of women

  III. **<u>Homosociality</u>**

The under-representation of women in advertising was investigated at length by Courtney and Lockeretz (1971). Their study analysed 372 American magazine advertisements for sex composition and gender stereotypes using three main categories: male(s) only, female(s) only, and both sexes shown (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971). Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) uncovered that women tended to be under-represented in advertising. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) also found that the few instances where women were depicted in outdoor settings, they were primarily in the company of men. Through my own research, I intend to correlate the broad patterns of representation involving the sex composition of my sampled Australian alcohol advertisements with the gender segregation of behavioural patterns associated with the consumption of alcohol.

While the investigation of sex distribution in alcohol advertisements allows for the underlining of a broad pattern of gender-segregating related to the use of alcohol, the exploration of subtler aspects of gender stereotyping also provides a deeper insight into the maintenance of the connection between hegemonic masculinity and alcohol consumption. Muscularity is conceptualised here as an emphasis placed on a well-developed musculature. This category includes advertisements where men's muscles are visible, and the muscular

strength is highlighted through prominent biceps and/or abdominal and pectoral muscles. There is a strong link between hegemonic masculinity and men's body image (Leeth 2012). In Western societies such as Australia, large muscle mass tends to appear more masculine because it is perceived as the ideal masculine body type (Leeth 2012; Kimmel & Mahalik 2004). Indeed, muscles are interpreted as a sign of physical prowess and mental strength, both of which are inherently associated with traditional masculinity (Leeth 2012). As noted by Reilly et al. (2011, p. 245), "musculature is analogous to masculinity and is the essence of manliness in many of today's Western or industrialised societies; by contrast, lack of musculature is viewed as weak or feminine." Dyer (1982) also points out that muscularity is often assumed as the predominant biological signifier and attribute of maleness, perpetuating the belief that masculinity is essentially 'active' (Dyer 1982).

The following two images are examples illustrating muscularity:

Abdominal and pectoral muscles   *Biceps*

Physical activity and hard labour are defined by men represented engaging in physically demanding activities, such as sports, hiking, or construction work. This category underlines the

depiction of men as inherently active in opposition to passive women. Examples include the following images:

Sports

Hiking: physical activity and risk-taking

The category labelled 'professional achievement' was informed by the work of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971). As discussed in the previous chapter, according to Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), women were seldom depicted in working roles, whereas almost half of

55

their sampled print advertisements showed men in working roles (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971). Contrary to men, women were more likely to be represented in family contexts or in a nonactive, 'decorative' role through sexual objectification (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971). I have chosen to include this category in my research to determine whether this pattern of gender-biased representation was still ongoing, particularly in alcohol advertising, and how this practice is connected with the symbolic and cultural gendering of alcohol consumption in Australia.

The 'feminine touch' was first introduced by Goffman (1979). This form of ritualistic touching, cradling and caressing involves the use of fingers and hands to trace the surface of an object, reflecting the passive nature of women in advertising as it contrasts with the more utilitarian aspects of touching such as grasping, manipulating, or holding firmly (Goffman 1979). Self-touching, which falls under Goffman's (1979) broader concept of the 'feminine touch,' more specifically refers to the representation of women touching their own bodies rather than objects. Self-touching can be read as "conveying a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing," and can also emphasise women's sensuality and sexuality (Goffman 1979, p. 31).

Goffman also identified the physical lowering of oneself to be predominant in advertising portrayals of women, which he deemed a "classic stereotype of deference" (Goffman 1979, p. 40). Men, as opposed to women, tended to be represented holding their body erect and their head high, interpreted by Goffman as a stereotypical sign of "unashamedness, superiority, and disdain" (Goffman 1979, p. 40). Amongst the various ways advertisers drew on this ritualistic technique of gender stereotypical representation are the 'bashful knee bend' and canting postures (Goffman 1979). Both configurations (bent knee, tilted head or body) can be read as "acceptance of subordination, an expression of ingratiation, submissiveness, and appeasement" (Goffman 1979, p. 40).

I chose to include 'homosociality' as a category based on Courtney and Lockeretz' as well as Michael Flood's works (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971; Flood 2008). Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) note that "women were rarely shown interacting with other women [whereas men] were more likely to be shown interacting with other members of the same sex" (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971, p. 94). Flood's work (2008) is an in-depth investigation of the concept of homosociality and the influence homosocial bonds have on the perpetuation and policing of gender norms, particularly in relation to hegemonic masculinity and men's heterosexual behaviours (Flood 2008). Flood (2008) notes that homosocial relationships between men played an important role in the construction of 'manhood' and informs the conceptualisation of sexual aggression as a means to perform and assert one's masculinity. Using the concept of homosociality within the context of drinking therefore seemed particularly relevant, considering this allows for exploring the perpetration of alcohol-involved sexual violence through the pairing of hegemonic masculinity, 'gender policing,' and alcohol consumption.

Although the works of Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) and Goffman (1979) were conducted several decades ago, they remain of relevance for this research. The theoretical frameworks that were developed through their studies are valuable as indicators of gender stereotyping used to gauge the extent of unequal representations, and can still be used today to evaluate disparities in portrayals of men and women.

II.   SEMIOTICS

Semiotics is an approach that was pioneered in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and later developed in relation to mass media texts by theorists such as Roland Barthes (Hodkinson 2017, p. 58). Semiotic analysis can be used to qualitatively break down, contextualise and describe meanings embedded in visual content produced by media texts such as advertisements. The

semiotic analyses presented in chapters five and six are primarily informed by Barthesian semiotics, building on concepts such as codes, denotations, connotations, and most importantly myths. As argued by Bignell (2002, p. 31), "the semiotic analysis of the signs and codes of advertisements has also often been used to critique the mythic structures of meaning which ads work to communicate." Myths, according to Barthes (1972, p. 140), work to "transform history into nature," divorcing culturally and historically fixed meanings from their contextual social conditions in order to make them appear universal. Barthes refers to this process of socially constructing reality as "signification" (Barthes 1972, p. 140).

Semiotic analysis of advertising investigates the mythic meanings generated through advertisements which "endow products with a certain social significance so that they can function in our real social world as indexical signs connoting […] ideologically valued qualities" such as those related to hegemonic masculinity (Bignell 2002, p. 36). More specifically, advertisements may also draw on mythic meanings to transfer codes of sexuality onto commodities such as alcohol beverages. As Shields and Heinecken (2013, p. 71) write:

> The transfer of codes of sexuality to commodities in this culture is widely accessible to both males and females because the transfer has become "naturalized" in our popular iconography. More specifically, the transfer of codes of ideal female beauty or attractiveness to commodities has become common sense, even though the relationship between, say, a woman in a swim suit and a can of beer is in itself arbitrary. […] When the woman in the swimsuit appears in an advertisement for beer, the relationship between the sexuality of the female body and the commodity (beer) does not appear to be arbitrary. The sexuality of the female body has lent its general exchange value to the value of beer.

It is this process of signification and myth-making upholding associations between hegemonic masculinity, emphasised femininity, and alcohol use that my semiotic analyses investigate. Indeed, as noted by Belknap and Leonard (1991, pp. 105-106), "instead of focusing on the more manifest content of an advertisement, the focal points may be the (sometimes) more subtle details of an ad that provide important clues to gender relations [because] the most innocent

gesture, familiar rituals, or taken-for-granted forms of address enhance the understanding of relations between the sexes and the social forces at work behind those relations."

Similar to Goffman's (1979) sampling strategy, I deliberately selected the images discussed in chapters five and six. My focus for this purposive sample was on the depiction of traditional gender stereotypes as I intended to explore the "regulative influence gender plays in social interactions" involving the consumption of alcohol (Belknap & Leonard 1991, p. 106). The 14 advertisements analysed in chapters five and six were selected from the 74 advertisements used for the content analysis. Chapter five investigates seven alcohol advertisements featuring women, whereas chapter six explores the representation of men through the semiotic analysis of seven advertisements promoting alcohol products. I selected this set of images to have each individual advertisement illustrate different aspects related to the representational gendering of alcohol consumption. This careful selection provided me with an avenue for individually discussing a wide range of categories used in the content analysis, albeit from a perspective focused on latent meanings and social myths. The advertisements analysed in chapter five allow for an investigation of the ritualistic subordination of women (e.g. self-touch, bashful knee bend, canting of body or head). On the other hand, images featured in chapter six provide a basis for an exploration of how hegemonic masculinity and homosociality are emphasised (e.g. muscularity, physical activity, professional achievement, and outdoors). Therefore, the advertisements have been specifically chosen and organised to enable a thematic investigation building on and complementary to the content analysis.

III.   ADVANTAGES OF COMBINING SEMIOTICS WITH CONTENT ANALYSIS

It has been argued that semiotic analysis tends to be unsystematic and relies on personal interpretations that are subjective in nature (Weerakkody 2009). However, my thesis aligns with the more nuanced understanding that this research approach may also represent a means "through which we can hope to make detailed, contextualised sense of textual meaning" (Hodkinson 2017, p. 65). Through its flexibility and focus on details, "semiology shows us every element of a text is of significance, that no part of a message is coincidental or neutral and, most of all, that it is the complex relationships between signifiers which generate meaning" (Hodkinson 2017, p. 65). The lack of generalisability inherent to semiotic analysis is addressed in this thesis with the use of content analysis, which reduces the "potential for bias through the rigorous application of [...] procedures" and systematisation (Hodkinson 2017, p. 69). As argued by Van Zoonen (1994, p. 69):

> The focus of manifest media content forms an important limitation of content analysis since the researcher is prevented from reading between the lines of media output and is expected not to 'dig' below the manifest level of analysis or to descend to the level of latent meanings and associative conclusions. Only the explicit words, sentences, texts, images – the signs that actually appear in the media text – are taken into account. To many this might seem like an unacceptable limitation, [...]. However, this limitation can also be considered an asset of content analysis, since it enables a methodology that fulfils traditional scientific requirements for 'objectivity'. [...] A focus on manifest content ensures that different investigators will reach a level of agreement about the message under study and that a repetition or replication of the same project will produce roughly similar results.

This strategic combination allows for an examination of both manifest and latent meanings in order to gain a broader insight into the different levels of meaning-making involved in the construction of a gender-segregated drinking culture in Australian alcohol advertising. While the content analysis presented in chapter four addresses the question of salience and frequency of gender stereotyping in the sampled Australian alcohol advertisements, semiotic analyses

featured in chapters five and six provide "an in-depth or qualitative explanation of the content of media texts and the implications of that content" (Hodkinson 2017, p. 68).

IV.   SCOPE OF RESEARCH DESIGN

The relationship between media texts and impact on audience members is complex and multidimensional (Newbold et al. 2002). Content analysis and semiotics alone are not able to "support statements about the significance, effects, or interpreted meaning of a domain of representation", thus, "claims about the effects of what is shown raise questions which need to be addressed by further, different kinds of research" (Newbold et al. 2002, p. 80). While ideally my research would be enhanced by an audience study, it still offers valuable insight into trends of gender-biased representations in alcohol advertising and a detailed analysis of the representational disparity between men and women. My study also provides a theoretical framework for further research exploring the connection between alcohol-involved sexual violence and the gendering of drinking culture in alcohol advertising. Due to the sampling process being conducted exclusively using online searches, there may be print advertisements that did not appear in cases whereby electronic editions do not exist or were not posted online. In addition, while search algorithms may have led to personalised results, I attempted to mitigate this effect by using a wide array of search terms as illustrated above.

Conclusion

Combining content analysis with semiotics enables a clear account of gendered meanings generated in Australian alcohol advertising. While content analysis provides a broad picture highlighting empirical trends of representation, semiotic analysis explores the fine details

involved in the creation of myths and associative meanings. What was found through content and semiotic analyses is how alcohol advertisers' depictions of traditional gendered behaviours, attire, sociability, and presentations perpetuate an artificial association between alcohol consumption and gender norms through imagery and text. The present research offers an examination of the extent to which the sampled alcohol advertisements rely on representations that reflect a gender-segregated drinking culture, and an explanation of the potential for such gender-stereotypical representations to act as contributing factors in the high prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assaults observed in Australia.

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTENT ANALYSIS

Introduction

A majority of sampled Australian alcohol advertisements remain anchored in notions of alcohol consumption as a gender-specific activity. This is achieved through means of ritualistic portrayal, and representation aligning with an ideological agenda that supports patriarchal arrangements, such that women are rendered invisible in contexts involving alcohol consumption. Gender stereotyping is recurrently employed in the sampled Australian alcohol advertisements. The subordination of women takes on different forms, such as women's substantial under-representation, and the sexual objectification of their bodies. Advertisers also associate gender and alcohol consumption through the emphasising of tropes of hegemonic masculinity. Men in the alcohol commercials hereby sampled tend to be depicted in a manner that idealises physical embodiments of hegemonic masculinity, such as muscular strength and an affinity for physically demanding activities. These recurrent depictions may contribute to the reproduction of gender stereotypes that reinforce existing societal norms and maintain gender-biased attitudes and expectations in relation to alcohol consumption. Indeed, according to Harker et al. (2005, p. 254),

> repeated exposure to such gender stereotyping contributes to the development and reinforcement of sexist attitudes and beliefs. Sexist advertising has been associated with sexual harassment, violence against women, negative self-evaluations, distorted body images, eating disorders, and stereotyped perceptions of, and behaviour toward, men and women.

This chapter focuses on patterns of gender stereotypical representations reflected in 74 sampled Australian alcohol advertisements that were published between 2012 and 2017. The first section investigates gender-based disparity, focusing on the under-representation of women. The second section investigates patterns of representation reflecting gender stereotypes related to hegemonic masculinity and subordinated femininity, such as those encountered in

Goffman's work (1979). The last section looks at the representation of alcohol consumption as a social lubricant in traditional male homosocial bonding.

I. GENDER DISPARITY

a. Distribution

	Number (out of 74)	Percentage
One man alone	25	34
One woman alone	8	11
Two or more men	15	20
Two or more women	2	3
Mix of women and men	12	16
Not representing a person	12	16

	Number (out of 74)	Percentage
Men only (1 or more)	40	54
Women only (1 or more)	10	13.5
Not representing a person or representing a mix of women and men	24	32.5

Table 1: Unbalanced distribution in the representation of men and women in sampled Australian alcohol advertisements produced between 2012 and 2017

As illustrated by results featured in *Table 1*, the sampled images tend to promote alcohol consumption as an activity over which men have created a culture of exclusivity. Indeed, *Table 1* indicates that 54 percent of the 74 sampled advertisements feature exclusively men, whereas advertisements where only women appear constitute only 13.5 percent. The scarcity of women being represented reinforces the perceived incompatibility of gender equality in drinking practices, rendering women foreign and unwelcomed to the manly world of alcohol

consumption. As noted by Gutzke, "given the ubiquitous masculine culture in virtually every facet of the drinks industry, women remained subordinate, invisible and powerless" (2014, p. 99). The concept of 'symbolic annihilation' of women in advertising developed by Tuchman in 1978 can be used here to highlight a broader social context where drinking has a long tradition of being associated with masculinity and male bonding. As discussed in chapter two, Australia has had a "clearly defined, sexually differentiated drinking culture" since the 20th century, and pubs were perceived as "strictly male preserves" from which women were prohibited (Kirkby 2003, p. 245).

According to the data gathered for this analysis, Australian alcohol promoters' attitudes toward women drinking continue "to combine conservatism with sexism" despite wider societal changes towards an increased acceptance of women's drinking (Gutzke 2014, p. 102). Indeed, women's place in "representations of pub culture has been narrowly restricted" as alcohol advertising continues to "[draw] heavily on Australian rural imagery and it made it clear that men do and women don't drink" (Kirkby 2003, pp. 252-253). Paralleling mass media's unwillingness to align with modern societal trends related to gender, *Table 1* reflects a reluctance from today's Australian alcohol advertisers to represent alcohol consumption in anything other than gender-specific terms, sustaining the "religious trinity" of masculinity, nationalism, and alcohol (Kirkby 2003, p. 253).

Messages found in the sampled advertisements recurrently employ or promote a masculinist lifestyle and environment from which women are oftentimes excluded. This symbolic exclusion of women from a majority of alcohol advertisements elevates men's needs for leisure over women's, producing a distorted representation of women's social status while simultaneously socialising men into a drinking culture built for their near exclusive enjoyment. Based on the data presented in this section, portrayals of drinking culture in Australian alcohol

advertising are anything but gender equitable and evoke a traditional power dynamic of patriarchal privilege.

As De Visser and Smith (2007, p. 598) note, "men may use 'masculine' behaviours such as sexual violence or economic crime to assert their masculine identities when such identities are challenged or questioned." Bars and pubs are mainly depicted as the ultimate male preserve, and men's alcohol consumption is consequently understood as a prime factor involved in the definition and upholding of hegemonic forms of masculine identity. Women's drinking, then, can be perceived as an attack on hegemonic masculinity and men may feel threatened or angered by women seemingly trespassing into their cultural sphere.

The under-representation of women illustrated in *Table 1* appears to be so pervasive that an associative ideological message is constantly implicated. This hegemonic form of representation can be correlated with the undying association between masculinity and alcohol going unquestioned and appearing natural, as opposed to socially constructed. The under-representation of women highlighted here is therefore thematically consistent with the notion that alcohol is a man's commodity.

b. Outdoors and Indoors Discrepancy

	Outdoors	Indoors
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	23; 57.5 percent	17; 42.5 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	2; 20 percent	8; 80 percent
Mix of women and men (out of 12 advertisements)	8; 67 percent	4; 33 percent

Table 2: Sampled Australian alcohol advertisements represent men outdoors more frequently than women

As shown in *Table 2*, the images used for this chapter heavily rely on images of men in outdoor settings, while women, if pictured at all, are primarily portrayed indoors. Of the 40 sampled

advertisements featuring only men, 57.5 percent have an outdoors backdrop. This is in stark contrast with images focusing on women, as only 20 percent of those 10 advertisements have an outdoors backdrop. Examples for the indoor representation of women include the Skinny Blonde Ale, Yellow tail, and Midori advertisements, which are later discussed in chapter five. On the other hand, advertisements for Bundaberg, Hahn Superdry, and Victoria Bitter (discussed in chapter six) all portray men in outdoor settings such as a beach, a mountain top or a rugby field.

The gender-based disparities featured in the images presented here and representations that confine women to the private sphere perpetuate socially regressive stereotypes about gendered spaces of socialisation. The sample used for this analysis illustrates the upholding of popular associations between drinking and masculinity through the under-representation of women as well as the perpetuation of women's seclusion and relegation to the indoors.

Although a small portion of the sampled advertisements did show women drinking alongside men, findings shown in *Table 2* mainly align with the content analysis conducted by Courtney and Lockeretz in 1971. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) state that one of the most prevalent ways in which women were stereotypically portrayed in advertising was related to their confinement within the private sphere. In addition, Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) uncovered that when women were depicted outdoors, they were primarily "in the company of men, […] or portrayed as decorations, […] attractive and elaborately dressed" (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971, p. 93). Advertisements' focus on women's dependency and subordination is also highlighted in Tuchman's work (1978), who argues that mass media are responsible for the "symbolic annihilation of women" (Tuchman et al. 1978, p. 24). Later studies show that this form of gender-biased representation has remained pervasive throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Signorielli 1989, p. 341). As mentioned by Signorielli (1989), the stereotypical representations of women as subordinate to men have been "stable, traditional, conventional

and supportive of the status quo" (Signorielli 1989, p. 341). Therefore, "print media advertisements appear […] to be slow in changing the traditional demeaning roles of women" (Belknap & Leonard 1991, p. 32). As *Table 2* highlights, Australian alcohol advertisements recurrently rely on anachronistic representations, mostly negating societal changes and the reality of modern-day gender relations.

The data in *table 2* related to representations of drinking in indoor and outdoor spaces, 67 percent of advertisements featuring both men and women have an outdoor backdrop, which reflects a drinking etiquette "discouraging most unescorted women from encroaching on men's leisure space" (Gutzke 2014, p. 92). This finding falls in line with Courtney and Lockeretz' (1971) work, who note that, in advertisements, "women rarely ventured far from the home by themselves or with other women" and whenever women were depicted outdoors, they were primarily accompanied by men (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971, p. 93). This is also illustrated in a more recent research conducted by Milner and Higgs called *Gender Sex-Role Portrayals in International Television Advertising over Time: The Australian Experience*, as "the current study shows that men are more likely to be shown in outdoor settings. […] For their part, women are more likely depicted in indoor or store-based activities" (Milner & Higgs 2004, pp. 89-91).

Throughout the 19th and most of the 20th century, women entering bars or pubs unaccompanied were often perceived as seeking sexual encounters with men (Gutzke 2014). This form of stigmatisation was so pervasive that women were prompted to solely patronise pubs when accompanied by a male counterpart in order to reduce "the likelihood of being regarded as prostitutes" (Gutzke 2014, p. 62). Zawacki et al. (2003) mention that this form of discrimination aimed at women's alcohol use has persisted over time, based on the fact that women's drinking remains viewed as a sexual 'cue' – a sign of sexual interest- by perpetrators who commonly describe women who consume alcohol as promiscuous and "appropriate targets

for sexual aggression" (Zawacki et al. 2003, pp. 374-376). Male perpetrators of alcohol-involved sexual assault also tend to refer to women who drink as 'loose' and 'immoral,' illustrating the pervasiveness of such alcohol-related gender biases (Abbey et al. 1996). Under these circumstances, unescorted women are likely to become targets of unwanted sexual attention and their presence perceived as being in the service of male patrons rather than for the sake of socialising.

Due to the enduring association between alcohol and masculinity, a drinking woman is commonly thought of as transgressing gender norms. Hence, women who consume alcohol are often stereotyped both as unfeminine and sexually 'available' (Abbey et al. 2004; Zawacki et al. 2003). This stereotyping of female drinkers falls in line with a larger perception of women who seemingly transgress gender norms as alcohol consumption by women is oftentimes interpreted as a "sexually deviant or defiant action" (Nielsen et al. 2000). Perpetrators of alcohol-involved sexual assault "are particularly likely to derogate their victims and assume that they deserved to be hurt […], and to use these beliefs to justify their behaviour," illustrating how gender-biased attitudes and beliefs related to the consumption of alcohol can influence or inform the perpetration of alcohol-involved sexual violence (Abbey et al. 2003, p. 378).

The alcohol advertisements selected for this content analysis tend to take the history of female ostracisation discussed in the previous chapter and nostalgically perpetuate it in modernity. Although stemming from traditional cultural norms, the stigmatisation of women's drinking as deviant and immoral has persisted and is reflected in both *Table 1* and *Table 2*. The prejudice linking women's consumption of alcohol with promiscuity and lack of morals is also reflected in victim-blaming attitudes and beliefs related to alcohol-involved sexual violence (VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017).

II.   GENDER STEREOTYPING

Stereotypes are a set of traits or beliefs assigned to an entire social category. They often reflect a judgment and normative ideas that uphold social archetypes and generalisations stemming from the reduction of a group of persons to a set of exaggerated characteristics that contribute to the naturalisation and fixation of perceived differences (Odekerken-Schröder et al. 2002). Gender stereotypes assign a label to men and women, reifying differences in expected behaviours, attitudes, and values (Eisend 2010). Eisend has identified the primary four components of gender stereotyping as: "trait descriptors, physical characteristics, role behaviors, and occupational status" (Eisend 2010, p. 419).

Images used for this investigation commonly portray women and men differently, with tropes of gender differentiation being upheld consistently. Such representations have a tendency to reinforce female sexuality and male power through an emphasis on gender stereotypes. One of the most pervasive differences observed in the alcohol advertisements selected for this analysis relates to the 'active male' versus the 'passive female' (Shields & Heinecken 2001). This dichotomy is also referred to in terms of 'action versus appearance.'

Goffman's influential work *Gender Advertisements* (1979) examines the representation of gender in advertising to reveal patterns of stereotyping and gender-product associations, as discussed in the previous chapter. The repetition of hyper-ritualised and distorted images of gender, he argues, work to normalise simplified and exaggerated traits, making them appear natural and real (Goffman, 1979). Gender displays observed in advertisements therefore symbolically reflect "elements of social structure" framed as an achievable social ideal (Walker 1992, p. 4). As argued by Harker et al. (2005, p. 254),

the general consensus of the research literature on gender role stereotypes in advertising over the past 30 years is that women have tended to be shown as decorative objects or as alluring sex objects, passive, submissive, deferential, unintelligent, shy, dreamy, gentle, likely to be manipulated and helpless: in contrast, men have often been portrayed as authority figures, constructive, powerful, dominant, autonomous and achieving.

a. Hegemonic Masculinity

|	Muscularity	No muscularity
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	12; 30 percent	28; 70 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	0; 0 percent	10; 100 percent
	Physical activity/hard labour	No physical activity/hard labour
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	18; 45 percent	22; 55 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	0; 0 percent	10; 100 percent
	Professional achievement	No professional achievement
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	12; 30 percent	28; 70 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	0; 0 percent	10; 100 percent

Table 3: Tropes of hegemonic masculinity recurrently encountered in sampled Australian alcohol advertisements

Alcohol consumption has historically been marketed through the reinforcement of gender stereotypes and tends to be conceptualised "in terms of expression of hegemonic masculinity" (Walker 1992, p. 2; Mullen et al. 2009). As argued by Towns et al. (2012, p. 391), "representations of masculinity and gender relations in advertising reflect and employ identities evident in communities but they also work to produce them through the practices and meanings

associated with alcohol consumption." As illustrated in *Table 3*, advertisements sampled here draw from representations of stereotypical masculinity, meaning that they consistently utilise gender stereotypes related to hegemonic masculinity to promote alcohol products.

An emphasis is placed on muscularity in 30 percent of sampled advertisements exclusively featuring men, whereas women are never represented in such a way. Physical strength is a prominent feature of idealised masculinity, which correlates with the expectation for men to be more inclined to engage in arduous or sport activities than women. The physical strength of a man is commonly used to determine the worth of his masculinity: the more muscular, the manlier he will be perceived. This masculinist stereotype of the 'physically strong man' is antagonistic to physical attributes assigned to femininity. Indeed, women are usually expected to remain thin and to uphold the expectation of being 'the weaker sex.' A muscular woman, for instance, would be stigmatised for transgressing gender norms and deemed 'unfeminine.' Depictions of men as being capable of physically overpowering 'weaker' women reinforces patriarchal dominance and relationships of dependency that confine women indoors. This representation of the 'strong man' and his physical superiority over nature and women, which is observed in advertisements such as the ones explored in chapter six (e.g. Bundaberg and Victoria Bitter), is reminiscent of essential foundations of hegemonic masculinity: competition and dominance (Yep 2003; Kimmel 2017).

Examples of advertisements emphasising the 'strong' and 'active' man include the following images:
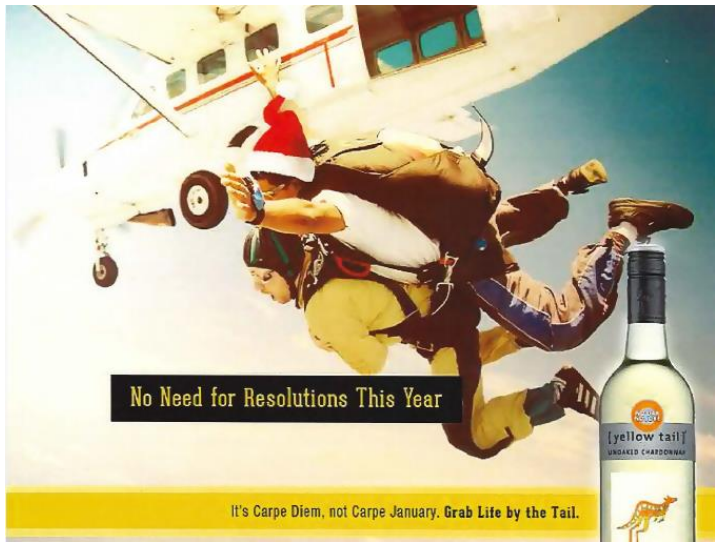
In contrast, women tend to be represented in passive and/or sexually objectified ways, such as in these images:
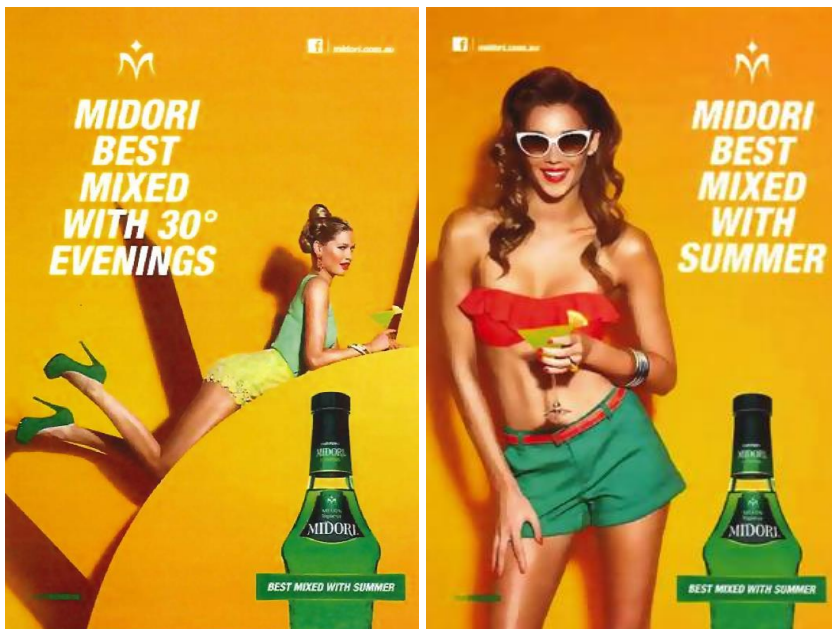
Thirty percent of advertisements focusing on men feature them in a working environment (e.g. in an office, behind a bar, in a cellar, wearing a tie and a suit), and 45 percent portrayed men engaging in physical activity; such as cutting wood, sky diving, trekking, playing rugby, hiking, surfing, or fishing. Despite an increased number of working women today, *Table 3* highlights the maintenance of traditional gender norms in advertisements, as Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) had identified in their content analysis. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971), too, albeit several decades ago, uncovered that "not a single woman was shown as a professional or high-level business executive" (Courtney & Lockeretz 1971, p. 92). These images representing

the active 'public' male often display culturally specific and purposive poses and attire, such as moments of working, thus conveying the idea that men are the intended consumer of the product being promoted, and that they also deserve that said product as a reward for their efforts. On the other hand, none of the advertisements sampled here represent women in either a working environment or engaging in arduous activities or sports, therefore further emphasising the contrast between the active man and the passive woman.

b. Subordination of Women

	Self-touch	No self-touch
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	2; 5 percent	38; 95 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	3; 30 percent	7; 70 percent
	Bashful knee bend	No bashful knee bend
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	0; 0 percent	40; 100 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	6; 60 percent	4; 40 percent
	Canting of body or head	No canting of body or head
Men only (out of 40 advertisements)	2; 5 percent	38; 95 percent
Women only (out of 10 advertisements)	7; 70 percent	3; 30 percent

Table 4: Ritualised representations of women emphasising subordination in sampled Australian alcohol advertisements

While most men featured in the images sampled for this content analysis are portrayed as dominant, authoritative and assertive, women tend to be depicted as passive and lacking

autonomy. Alcohol promoters involved in the creation of the sampled advertisements rely heavily on stereotypical sexualisation and objectification of the female body in order to position the product with a predominantly male target market.

One of the prominent aspects of this representational practice related to the deference of women in advertising images is the physical "lowering of oneself," whether through the bending of the knee, or canting of the body or head (Goffman 1979, p. 40).

Advertisement featuring a woman with both her knee and back bent (body canting), and head tilted backwards (head canting)

Canting of the body or head appears in 70 percent of sampled Australian alcohol advertisements exclusively depicting women, compared to a meagre five percent for those focusing on men. These forms of prostration can be interpreted as an "acceptance of subordination, an expression of ingratiation, [and] submissiveness" (Goffman 1979, p. 46). Sixty percent of sampled images representing women also involved a bent knee – while none

of the advertisements featuring men involved the latter. The displays involving women with a bent knee might refer to the perceived inherent threat to their physical integrity caused by the lack of muscularity and strength commonly associated with femininity. As argued by Goffman (1979, p. 45), "the knee bend can be read as a foregoing of full effort to be prepared and on the ready in the current social situation, for the position adds a moment to any effort to fight or flee."

As can be seen in *Table 4*, the women portrayed in the sample are more likely than men to be depicted engaging in what Goffman (1979) refers to as the 'feminine touch,' (women touching their own bodies rather than objects). Thirty percent of advertisements featuring only women use this representational technique, as opposed to five percent of images of men. This portrayal, conveying women's bodies as being fragile, draws on women's perceived need for assistance due to lack of autonomy, and reliance on men for economic stability and physical protection (Goffman 1979). Representations of women engaging in some form of self-touch therefore signify their inferiority to and dependence on men, as well as connoting their sexuality (discussed further in chapter five).

Through the intentional physical positioning of women in submissive postures, such as canting or self-touching, advertisers engage male viewers in the fantasy of women as delicate and sexually available. What is most strongly established through the placing of women in postures of deference within alcohol advertisements gathered for this chapter's analysis is the reification of males as consumers of both the promoted alcohol products and women's bodies.

III.   HOMOSOCIALITY

	Number (out of 74)	Percentage
Two or more men	15	20
Two or more women	2	3
	Camaraderie or socialising	No camaraderie or socialising
2 or more men (out of 15 advertisements)	11; 73 percent	4; 27 percent
2 or more women (out of 2 advertisements)	0; 0 percent	2; 100 percent

Table 5: The regularity of displays of male homosociality in sampled Australian alcohol advertisements

Table 5 shows how homosociality is a predominant feature in the Australian alcohol advertisements sampled, which echoes Courtney and Lockeretz' findings according to which "[w]omen were rarely shown interacting with other women" as "men were more than twice as likely to be shown interacting with members of their own sex" (Courtney & Lockeretz, 1971 p. 93). According to Bird (1996, p. 121), "homosociality refers specifically to the nonsexual attractions held by men for members of their own sex." In the images used for this content analysis, men are commonly represented enjoying one another's company and relaxing among same-sex peers while consuming alcohol whereas women are never represented in such a way. The sexual segregation of social interactions and friendship observed in this sample is highlighted by the fact that, out of the 74 collected advertisements, 20 percent (15 advertisements) portray two or more men, while only three percent (2 advertisements) depict two or more women. In addition, out of the 15 advertisements involving two or more men, 73 percent have a recurrent theme of male bonding and socialisation, whereas this is not the case

for women who mostly tend to be represented as accessories to men's drinking, such as in this image (further discussed in chapter five):

The emphasis on homosociality in alcohol advertisements can be accounted for through the culture surrounding drinking which, although varying between societies, is typically part of a social enactment whereby there are norms and values associated with who drinks what, where and when (SIRC 1998). In most societies, a wide array of social contexts, whether celebratory or mundane, involve the consumption of alcohol (SIRC 1998). Douglas (2003) argues that drinking is a highly symbolic social enactment that helps construct and mediate social relationships between the drinkers. The symbolic nature of alcohol use can be illustrated by the perception that a man is manlier if he drinks large quantities of alcohol or that a boy's first alcoholic drink, as a rite of passage, marks his entrance into manhood (SIRC 1998). Consuming alcohol in the presence of other men, therefore, underscores the importance of being perceived as 'manly.'

Furthermore, gendered disparities in access to social resources actively works to maintain patriarchal power, through unifying men into same-sex bonds that effectively protect their privilege (Lipman-Blumen 1976). Patriarchy broadly facilitates men gaining a material as well as psychological advantage over women, who are commonly subjugated under this

hierarchical arrangement (Wenner & Jackson 2009, p. 124). According to Lipman-Blumen (1976), both the encouragement of homosocial behaviour from childhood and the greater social appreciation of males over females lead to a form of social stratification that perpetuates the unequal distribution of resources in society. Men benefit from disproportionate control over the economy, politics, education, and the legal system. Men are societally positioned to "have more to offer each other in same-sex relationships than women" (Wenner & Jackson 2009, p. 124), materially as well as financially, and "share a common interest in upholding the patriarchal contract which legitimizes their masculine patriarchal right" (Goodin & Pettit 2006, p. 79).

Homosociality is a dynamic mechanism that goes beyond the sexual segregation of social relations. Homosociality, "also explains the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity" as a social relation conducted through relationship building between men for their own benefit (Sanders 2015, p. 902). As argued by Murrie (2009, p. 75), "the male homosocial order functions to control gendered power relations through the strategies of inclusion, exclusion, authorization and marginalization." The internalisation of gender norms and behavioural expectations associated with hegemonic masculinity, in turn, provides "a base of shared meanings for social interaction" while suppressing "the expression of nonhegemonic meanings" (Bird 1996, p. 122). When culturally imposed ideals associated with masculinity are embodied by individuals and enacted at the group level, this not only leads to the naturalisation of hegemonic masculinity, but it actively suppresses any alternative notion that might pose a threat or undermine it (Bird 1996).

Certain ways of being are off limits in homosocial environments due to fears of being marked as effeminate or homosexual, which means that not only does homosociality subordinate women in relation to men, but it also subjugates men who do not abide by dominant forms of masculinity (Pease 2016). According to Lindsey (2011, p. 246), "males are socialized to adamantly reject all that is considered as feminine" so much so that behaviours traditionally

associated with femininity such as "openness in expressing [intimate] emotions related to vulnerability" or "gestures of intimacy with other males are fiercely reprimanded." As further argued by Bird (1996, p. 126), "emotional detachment is viewed not only as desirable but as imperative."

Homosociality in Australia transpires through the concept of mateship (Flood et al. 2007, p. 400). 'Mateship,' according to Flood et al. (2007), is the homosocial bonding of Australian men that traditionally stresses values of fraternity and solidarity, "which operates at the individual level of men as 'mates' and at the level of the institution as 'mateship', mythologised as a core element of Australian national identity" (Flood et al. 2007, p. 400). Through male bonding and normative rituals among homosocial groups, "Australian men acknowledge and affirm each other as men" (Flood et al. 2007, p. 400). Mateship is used as a powerful instrument of social structuring through inclusion and exclusion of different social groups (e.g. men and women, heterosexual men and homosexual men). In this manner, mateship has served as a tool legitimising normative conceptions of masculinity and homosocial bonding (Sanders 2015).

The concept of mateship can be dated back to the early 19th century when Australian men worked alongside each other, often engaging in arduous labour in rural environments, thus relying on their homosocial peer groups for sustenance (Murrie 2009; Altman & Taylor 1973). Towards the end of the 19th century, the meaning of mateship expanded and the term took on a more political understanding, particularly regarding the organisation of labour and unions (Murrie 2009). The term mateship has also been used to understand the construction of masculinity. Through the exclusion of women and with the purpose of protecting group interests, mateship has been used by men to bestow masculinity onto other men, thereby guaranteeing the continuation of hegemonic masculinity and male privilege and entitlement (Murrie 2009; Sanders 2015). Although the idea of mateship was originally associated with

camaraderie among rural, working class men, mateship has developed into an emblem of Australian nationalism (Altman & Taylor 1973).

Examples of advertisements where camaraderie among two or more men is depicted include the following images:
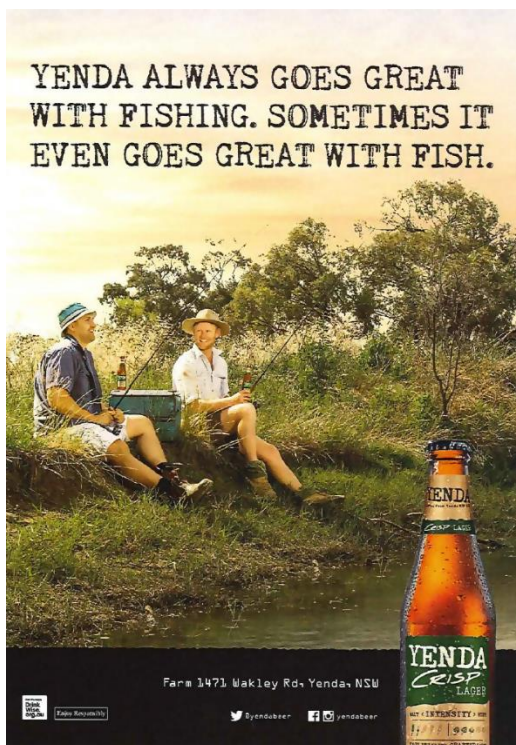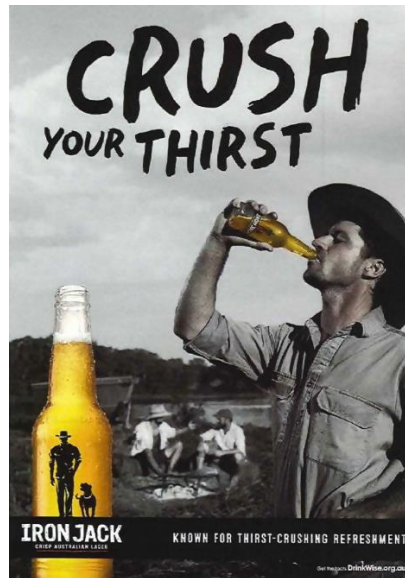
On the other hand, the only two advertisements featuring at least two women are not suggesting any form of socialisation.

Men influence the behaviour of other men through the surveillance and policing of gender performance in homosocial settings, which facilitates and maintains gender norms (Flood 2008). Kimmel (1994, p. 129) further states that "the performance of manhood is in front of, and granted by, other men. […] They attempt to improve their position in masculine social hierarchies using such 'markers of manhood' as occupational achievement, wealth, power and status, physical prowess, and sexual achievement." Men's behaviour is therefore tailored to a male gaze of sorts, as they are being evaluated by other men on a continuous basis for the sake of upholding gender inequality from which they all benefit. The upholding of hegemonic masculinity through strict gender policing leaves men with rather inflexible avenues for expression and self-affirmation in homosocial settings. Gender identities constructed in the sampled Australian alcohol advertisements strictly abide by normative rules of patriarchal hierarchy indicating that advertising reifies this gendered ordering of society through the reproduction and reinforcement of male homosociality.

Homosociality constitutes a prime factor in the ordering of men's sexual relations with women (Flood 2008). The pervasive norm of masculine dissociation and rejection from any form of behaviour traditionally associated with the feminine promotes the sexual objectification of women and "provides a base on which male superiority is maintained, whereas identification with women helps remove the symbolic distance that enables men to depersonalize the oppression of women" (Bird 1996, p. 123). The sexual objectification of women commonly fuels a sense of competitiveness amongst men who perceive sexual experience as a form of contest. This notion of competition stems from the "association between sexual experience and masculine status" (Flood 2008, p. 342) and is reflected in men's boasting about their sexual exploits and sexual storytelling (Bird 1996). Therefore, men use sexual experience as a means to affirm their masculinity and gain esteem from male peers.

Male sexual relationships with women are shaped by homosociality in other ways too. Flood (2008) argues that men's sexual behaviour is influenced by an 'imaginary audience' consisting of male peers (Flood 2008). Some men tend to fantasise about the praise they would receive from male friends if those were witnessing their sexual achievements (Flood 2008). Men collectively engaging in sexual activity with women can also be conceptualised as a means to achieve male bonding through 'teamwork' (Flood 2008). In addition, "[m]en can also bond through collective involvement in coercive forms of sexual practice or sexualized interaction" such as sexual harassment or gang rape (Flood 2008, p. 342). Men involved in gang rapes describe their behaviour as simply going along with their male friends, and perceive their actions as resulting from a sense of unconditional entitlement to women's bodies which reflects "power differentials between women and men" (Kimmel 2017, p. 146). As explained by Pease (2016, p. 50):

> Violence against women is a vehicle by which men locate themselves in relation to other men. Violence against women is thus a way in which men reproduce through their practices a particular form of masculine self. Men demonstrate their manhood in relation to other men more than in relation to women. This also explains men's violence towards other men as well as violence towards women.

To demonstrate men's performance of manhood and associated competitiveness to one another, Kimmel (2017) uses the example of a group of teenage boys in Southern California who were convicted of multiple date rapes and acquaintance rapes. Kimmel describes the teenage perpetrators as having "kept score of their 'conquests' using athletes' uniform numbers – which only the other members could understand" (Kimmel, 2017, p. 146). In carrying out acts of sexual assault and maintaining a group tally, the male teenagers' acts of sexual violence demonstrated manhood to their male peers.

The notion that drinking alcohol serves as a binding force or agent between men in homosocial relationships is particularly visible in the hereby sampled Australian alcohol advertisements and can be problematic provided the above demonstrated correlation between homosociality and sexual violence against women. As observed in the images used for this

content analysis, drinking is symbolically linked to three main aspects associated with the homosocial performance of gender, as it "confirms one's sense of masculinity, solidifies one's membership in a community of men, and positions men as consumers of sexy women" (Messner 2002, p. 127).

Conclusion

Australia's drinking culture and alcohol advertising have a history of emphasising the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and alcohol consumption (Kirkby 2003; Gutzke 2014). In the Australian alcohol advertisements sampled for this content analysis, alcohol consumption is associated with the assertion of traditional forms of masculinity. Despite cultural shifts towards greater acceptance of female alcohol consumption, the data presented in this chapter indicate that Australian alcohol advertising continues to perpetuate alcohol-related gender stereotypes.

While a significant proportion of Australian men remain inclined to blame female victims of alcohol-involved sexual assault while absolving intoxicated men for perpetrating sexual aggression (VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017), the gender stereotypes prescribed in the Australian alcohol advertisements sampled here indicate little concern for challenging problematic alcohol expectancies related to hegemonic masculinity or emphasised femininity.

CHAPTER FIVE: WOMEN IN ALCOHOL ADVERTISING

Introduction

This chapter addresses the various ways gender stereotypes associated with the subordination of women and emphasised femininity are conveyed in the selected Australian alcohol advertisements.

According to the data gathered in the previous chapter, a majority of the images sampled portray the woman's body in a sexualised and objectified manner, as women often appear deferent to men, positioned submissively through the positioning of their body, attire, and camera techniques, as described by Goffman (1979), such as bent knee and canting of the head or body. These techniques strip women of their individuality, autonomy and agency, while reducing them to objects of sexual gratification and consumption.

As evidenced in the previous chapter, the alcohol advertisements sampled for the content analysis have a tendency to pair alcohol consumption with the consuming of women's bodies through sexual objectification, contributing to cognitive expectations that alcohol consumption will inherently result in sexual gratification for male consumers. Normalising this gender-biased association has far reaching implications for gender relations in a context involving the consumption of alcohol, as highlighted by statistical figures pertaining to sexual victimisation and beliefs associated with gendered violence in Australia (VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017; Cook et al. 2001).

In this chapter, depictions of women are investigated through individualised semiotic analyses. The advertisements have been selected from the sample used in chapter four to propel a detailed exploration of a broad range of representational features relating to women's subordination. This selection therefore strengthens the connection between content analysis and

semiotic analysis, creating a sense of complementarity. The portrayal of women is categorised into the following themes: the virgin myth, cropping, sexualised and objectified bodies, and seduction.

I.   THE VIRGIN MYTH

This James Boag beer advertisement was part of a print media campaign created by the agency Publicis Mojo in 2013. The model in this image is wearing a flimsy white dress, connoting innocence and virginity. Attire is one way that women are infantilised and made to appear sexually submissive and therefore dependent upon men's sexual initiation and desires. Standing in thigh-deep water, the female model depicted in the Broag's advertisement clutches the dress and gazes intensely into the distance. Snowflakes fall around her, and clouds hovering over dark mountains towering in the background. The woman is bent over in a submissive and vulnerable pose (see Goffman 1979), her cleavage visible, yet her dark eyes and slightly furrowed brow signify that she is evil and needs to be conquered or tamed. In the lower left

corner stands a bottle of beer in full colour, contrasting the icy coolness of the rest of the image. The text on the left-hand side of the advertisement anchors the connotations of the image.

The heading, "The Ice Maiden of Great Lake vs. A Man Who Stands His Ground," sets up the story for the prospective consumer. The text featured in the Boag advertisement signals a mission of masculine territorial conquest, of "The Ice Maiden of Great Lake Vs. a man who stands his ground." In the fifteenth and sixteenth century expansion of mercantile capitalism, European powers such as Portugal, Spain, Britain, and France began to explore unknown territories in order to expand trade routes. As argued by McClintock, "knowledge of the unknown world was mapped as metaphysics of gender violence […] and was always validated by the new Enlightenment logic of private property and possessive individualism. In these fantasies, the world is feminized and spatially spread for male exploration" (McClintock 1995, p. 30). This myth of virgin land positions both women and territory as objects to be "discovered, entered, named, inseminated, and, above all, owned" (McClintock 1995, p. 31). Imperial territory, it was imagined, could be transformed into property through conquest and cultivation; subordination of women served to inform the process of colonisation. Thus, "the Imperial unknown was gendered and borders or newly discovered territories ritualistically feminised, understood as virgin lands awaiting masculine penetration, the 'colonial journey into the virgin interior of the land'" (McClintock 1995, p. 30). Therefore, the 'virgin' space or territory was feminised by male explorers. Furthermore, the text signals that a battle over Great Lake between man and woman is about to take place, presenting an opportunity for man to gain territorial dominance and to secure the source of Boag beer. In the Boag advertisement hereby presented, the woman is the anthropomorphic representative of the 'virgin' land. The text's signalling of masculine entitlement to territorialisation and resource security -in this case, of beer- suggests that gender plays a distinct role in the expansion of both capitalism and colonisation. Thus, as McClinktock explains, this "feminizing of the land represents a ritualistic moment in imperial discourse" that produces and reinforces a distinct gender hierarchy (McClintock 1995, p. 24).

The advertisement invites the viewer to identify as the "man who stands his ground." The text reads: "In the winter months, Great Lake in Tasmania can completely freeze over. Often within the blink of an eye. Some say they have seen a beautiful woman out there who turns the lake to ice with just the brush of a finger." This story has the quality of legend or myth - a genre in which, as Roland Barthes (1972) states, meaning is often gleaned. Here, the genre of myth heightens the narrative of a masculine conquest over a resistant or sinister-yet-sexually appealing woman. As noted by Winship (1980, p. 219),

> The ideology of sexuality in the ad context admits both to a passive, virginal and innocent sexuality – waiting for men, typified by the image of a young woman in long white robes and flowing blonde hair – and to an active experience of sexuality. However, the active experience of sexuality only takes place in a fetishistic mode.

This trope is one that both belongs to fairy tales and to the femme fatale of the film noir genre analysed by Laura Mulvey (1975) in her work on male spectatorship and female objectification. In the context of mainstream film, Mulvey (1975) understands the act of looking at an objectified person as stratified by gender: active and pleasurable for men and passive for women. Mulvey (1975) also suggests that the woman can either be an object for characters on the screen or an object for viewers. In this advertisement, the model is an object that the viewer is encouraged to tame.

The slogan "Greatness rarely comes easy" appears at the bottom of the image. This syntagm portrays the "man who stands his ground" as capable of achieving greatness, while the woman, a metaphor for freezing weather, is the challenge that must be overcome to achieve this greatness. She threatens to freeze the water used to make the beer, and thus threatens men's ability to fulfil their masculinity through the consumption of the alcohol product being promoted. Furthermore, the phrase 'ice maiden' connotes a woman who is resistant to a man's advances. Coldness is a metaphor for frigidity in women, a form of withholding sexual pleasure and perceived entitlement to sexual gratification from men. The advertisement suggests not only that this woman's powers over the lake can be conquered by the man who stands his

ground, but also that the man who stands his ground can conquer this woman's coldness- in other words, that he can 'humanise' the frigid woman through sexual awakening.

The woman is referred to as "beautiful" in the text, while the word "greatness" is attributed to the male consumer. Indeed, the word maiden connotes a girl rather than a woman, which conveys inferiority and deference to men through infantilisation. A maiden is an unmarried girl, who is not yet possessed by a man but has the potential to be possessed in marriage. The maiden's virginity is connoted by both her white dress, and her ability to freeze over entire lakes with just "the brush of a finger" – an image which suggests not only the impenetrability of the lake but the symbolic sexual impenetrability of the woman. Signified by the woman's appearance and posture is maliciousness, but paradoxically, also virginity and vulnerability. As discussed in the literature review, the woman's self-touching creates "a sense of one's body being a delicate and precious thing" (Goffman 1979, p. 31). Thus, her relation to power is signified as vulnerable and deferent to any man who "stands his ground." This message of masculine dominance is further amplified by the angle from which the photo is taken; viewers see the woman from above, as if they were advancing towards her. The woman's powers to control the weather are represented as deviant and deserving of punishment. This advertisement is designed to enthral consumers in a story of conquest, and any man who consumes this product is made to feel capable of conquest over women and the natural world.

The high contrast used in this picture works to accentuate the woman's fair complexion, emphasising her as a visual spectacle against the dark and moody backdrop. Mulvey (1975) writes that in mainstream film, women are included as a spectacle; she is to be looked at rather than an agent in the narrative. For Mulvey (1975), women are often portrayed as isolated and on display. The shade contrast between the woman and the backdrop in this image heightens her position as a spectacle, and effectively contours her image in a spotlight. As Winship argues, white clothing on women in advertising, and particularly white dresses connotes "a passive,

virginal and innocent sexuality-waiting for men, typified by the image of a young woman in long white robes and flowing blonde hair" (Winship 1980, p. 24). However, the woman's exposed cleavage, wild hair and crumpled dress all signify the possibility of an untamed, fetishised and active sexuality that must be tamed by a man. In this way, the woman connotes the "double bind" meted out to women, where the feminine ideal is to be both sexy and innocent, aware but also unknowing, sexually alluring but also sexually pure. The woman in the image combines both the trope of the 'fair maiden' and the 'dark lady' (Barthel 1988). The ice maiden is made into the object of the gaze which marks her out as "the bearer of guilt" and hence worthy of punishment by the male consumer (Mulvey 1975, p. 11). Mulvey suggests that "this process is typified by the devaluation, punishment, or salvation that follows from the treatment of the female image as guilty" (Mulvey 1975, pp. 13-14). In this James Boag advertisement, there is a combination of invalidation of the woman's power and punishment for her abilities: the male viewer is invited to "stand his ground", and not allow her to triumph over him, therefore amplifying the image's motif of masculine dominance, power, and righteousness (Walker 1992). Additionally, the advertisement promises that, in his conquering endeavour, the man will be rewarded with alcohol as well as sexual fulfilment, a tactic that is used by alcohol advertisers to incite male consumers' identification with masculinity and sexual fulfilment through product consumption (Courtney & Whipple 1983; Barthel 1988; Moog 1990, Cronin 2004).

II.   CROPPING

This 2014 Twitter advertisement for beer is a prime example of the use of cropping, which in this case straightforwardly pairs the dehumanisation and objectification of women with alcohol consumption. This advertisement was released in anticipation of Oktoberfest, a traditional German beer festival originating in the celebration of Bavarian royalty. Oktoberfest has gained worldwide visibility and fame and is now celebrated in a wide range of countries, including Australia. This image contains a strategically cropped photograph of a woman wearing a traditional low-cut German dirndl in stereotypically feminine colours of pink and white. Only her breast cleavage, part of her arm and hand are visible. In her hand, she holds a large jug of beer. She does not consume the beer, but holds the beer with an open palm, seemingly offering it to the viewer. This advertisement confirms the stereotypical servile mode associated with women – that she exists to serve others, particularly men, and that this servility is where she draws her esteem (Berger 1972; Barthel 1988). The text above the image asks the viewer to agree that "bigger is better." This slogan both refers to the size of the woman's breasts but also connotes the association of high beer consumption with masculinity. The ellipsis before the word 'fun' implies that 'fun' is a euphemism for something risqué, in this case: breasts. Thus,

the woman's breasts are objectified; they are not just a body part but also an object with which the viewer can play—they are fun. This calling on a language of fun can also be interpreted as a tactical, anticipatory message to any consumers who might complain about the advertisement, the syllogism being that, if breasts are fun, then anyone who does not receive this advertisement as 'just a bit of fun' does not get the joke (Kerry 2016; McKay et al. 2009; Deans et al. 2016). In this manner, the advertisement 'others' anyone who does not find its brand of 'laddish' humour funny, and particularly those that would find it offensive.

The strategic use of cropping in this image suggests that the woman is offering her own body as an object for consumption along with the mug of beer (signified by her open palm). The image signifies the submission of women to men; she is doing the serving and men are doing the consuming. By cropping the photograph to focus on the woman's breasts and the beer, the producers sexualise the woman's breasts and isolate the sexualised body part from the rest of her physical and mental being. Kilbourne (1999) argues that cropping contributes to a general climate of violence toward women. Stripped of her humanness, the woman is as consumable as the beer—and, like the beer, she is being offered to the prospective male consumer. The absence of the woman's head also connotes the absence of a brain; consent is not necessary from a woman who has no mind of her own, no agency or autonomy. As Shields and Heinecken argue (2002, pp. 41-42):

> Using female body parts to represent the entire woman in advertising is an often used and hyper-ritualized convention. The practice of photographic cropping only became politicized in the 1970s when scholars such as Jean Kilbourne […] proposed that the repetition of this practice across time helps reproduce a cultural climate where it seems 'natural' to view women in terms of their body parts. In this climate, Kilbourne (1999) argues, a woman, seen as an assemblage of parts, is more object than human. […] When stripped of humanness, the woman is undifferentiated from other objects that one might not think twice about committing violence against.

The violence of this image is undercut by the text above it – again, with the implication being that anyone who experiences this image as violent towards women is not 'fun' and will not experience the levels of gratification promised by the beer and the woman's breasts. While the

signification in the image analysed in the previous section is that of conquering the woman in a white dress, the denotation in this image is that of consuming the woman. In fact, the consumer is invited to feel entitled to possess the large breasts by virtue of being able to consume a large quantity of beer, both symbolically perceived as forms of masculine affirmation.

Whilst the cropping of the picture emphasises that breasts are the most appealing part of a woman, the inclusion of her hand underneath the pint suggests the notion of the 'feminine touch.' As Goffman has identified: "[w]omen, more than men, are [often] pictured using their fingers and hands to trace the outlines of an object or to cradle it or to caress its surface" (Goffman 1979, p. 41). This element of the advertisement allows male viewers to imagine that they are also being touched by the hand that is cradling their beer, extending the sensual touch of the woman to the consumer of the beer, and creating a continued sense of the woman's sexual availability. The proximity of the woman's hand to her breasts, and to the beer creates a chain of association. The prospective male consumer is invited to touch the beer, the breasts and the rest of the woman's body. The open palm also signifies the woman's willingness to touch and be touched: it is a posture of supplication, just as the exposed breasts suggest the woman's 'to-be-looked-at-ness' (Mulvey 1975).

Cropped images in advertisements often symbolically capture and reflect women's social status in society. By reducing women to isolated and sexualised body parts, with no representation of a whole agentic subject, patriarchal dominance is reinforced through product association. Using cropping, the woman in this advertisement is headless and legless which Shields and Heinecken suggest implies the woman "is completely immobile and available, in both a visual and physical sense" (Shields & Heinecken 2002, p. 43). The woman is in a position of complete servility, pinned in the male gaze. As with every instance where the male gaze is at work, "females are the objects as opposed to the subjects of the gaze" (Shields & Heinecken 2002, p. 74).

In common with the Bundaberg images later discussed in chapter six, this Löwenbräu advertisement also uses humour to normalise its laddish, sexist advertising aesthetic (Beynon 2002). The deployment of humour is often an attempt to frame deeply ideological messages as apolitical or neutral whilst also keeping the disciplinary structures of ideology in place. Those who object to an advertisement such as this could be accused of failing to have a sense of humour, a charge designed to shut down critique of and any objection to hegemonic forms of power (Billig 2001). 'Lad culture' particularly uses the strategy of irony as a way of undercutting accusations of misogyny (Beynon 2002; Billig 2001), often by presenting such misogynistic commentary as mere 'banter' (Phipps et al. 2018). The Löwenbräu advertisement foregrounds the notion of a "mischievous masculinity," a comedic trope used to legitimise misogyny (Phipps et al. 2018, p. 5). 'Lad culture' is a concept that is useful for thinking about how women are objectified under the pretence of "harmless fun," as in this advertisement (Phipps & Young 2015, p. 460). The entitlement of lad culture embodies the belief that men may isolate and sexualise parts of women's bodies for their enjoyment without having to acknowledge the woman in her entirety.

III.   SEXUALISED AND OBJECTIFIED BODIES

This Skinny Blonde ale advertisement appeared on product labelling and on the manufacturer's website from 2009 to 2012. In this case, women stand in as a symbolic representation of the alcohol that is to be consumed by viewers. Six thin, young, and blonde women are shown standing inside a case of beer and act as a metaphor for beer bottles. Their bodies are ritually sexualised through their attire. They all bear a resemblance to the cartoon woman featured on the label of Skinny Blonde ale who appears on the six-pack case in which the women stand. She, like the six women, wears only a red bikini. The label model's head is tilted in a coy gesture, gazing submissively upward at the viewer; likewise, the women's heads are slightly tilted, and they all smile at the prospective consumers. All of them have a flower in their hair, a metaphor for delicateness, which is a prominent attribute of femininity. Since "flowers are the sexual apparatus of a plant," there is also a "hint of sexuality" in its use (Berger 2018, p. 149). The legs of one woman are visible through the side of the beer case, and her right leg is bent at the knee; a posture that Goffman declares a ritual of subordination and categorises as "the bashful knee bend" (Goffman 1979, p. 45). The image communicates that these women's sexualised bodies, standing in the place of beer bottles, are there for men's consumption to the same extent a beer would be. The beer comes with the promise that the male drinker will also be sexually gratified (Vestergaard & Schrøder 1988).

None of the women's hands are visible; their arms are at their sides and come together as they approach the waist, giving the impression of having their hands over their genitals. The combination of the 'come-hither' head-tilt and the hands clasped over the genitals conveys that these women are teases. This posture, as well as the overall aesthetic of the advertisement, codifies the women as pin-up or glamour girls (Courtney & Whipple 1983). The pin-up, a term that originated in the early 1940s, designates an image of a model from a magazine or newspaper, usually female, to be pinned-up on the wall. The 'pin-up' girls of the 1940s and 50s were attractive and highly stylised women, usually posed flirtatiously like the ones above and often partially clothed. Images of pin-ups were mass-produced, such as Betty Grable and

Marilyn Monroe who were labelled as 'bomb-shells' or 'blonde bomb-shells' – a term which connoted the women's startling vitality or physique (Creswell et al. 2007). Often, as with the women in the Skinny Blonde ale advertisement, the women referred to as 'blonde bomb-shells' had platinum coloured hair, rather than natural blondes; an aspect that heightened the sense that these were women constructed for men's pleasure. This notion of constructing beauty for male viewers is amplified using bright red lipstick, which connotes female genitalia and sexual availability, also used in the costuming of the women's red underwear (Danesi 2002). The decorative aspect of the female models in this image is intended to attract the prospective male consumer's sexual interest and, concurrently, his interest in the beer. Decoration is more commonly represented by using objects to explicitly represent humans (Walker 1992). However, in this type of representation, humans (women) are being used to reflect objects (bottles of beer in a case); a reversal that also metonymically represents these women as simultaneously themselves as well as objects for men's consumption.

The smiling faces of the models "seem more the offering of an inferior than a superior" position, according to Goffman (Goffman 1979, p. 48). Thus, the male viewer is invited to have his pick of these six women, and to possibly share the rest with his friends. On one hand, one bottle of beer can be enjoyed as much as another; here, the uniformity of the women is dehumanising and anonymising. Meanwhile, the consumer can participate in the scenario by choosing among the women, and then choosing again. As 'pin-up girls,' these women come without individual stories or individually defining features and the male consumer can grab whichever one of them that he wants, like a bottle of beer. This particular message is underlined by both physical similarity, hence interchangeability, and a small amount of difference to give the consumer the illusion of choice. Therefore, to possess this product is to buy into the myth of sexual prowess. These women's 'grabbability' is exaggerated both by their scaling-down to the size of a beer bottle and by their positioning at eye-level, akin to a beer on the shelf of a

fridge. Men are thus invited to feel entitled to take any woman they want, associating alcohol consumption with inherent sexual gratification.

These two companion images, designed by Integer, are from a 2012 advertising campaign for Midori melon liqueur. In both pictures, thin and dark-haired women are positioned holding cocktails which appear to be for their own consumption – that is, the drinks are not being overtly offered to the viewer. These advertisements invoke the consumption of both alcohol and female sexuality. Both women are ritually objectified through the use of revealing clothing designed to highlight their legs, buttocks, and cleavage. Both of them are also wearing high-heeled shoes, emphasising their long, tan, bare legs, which are positioned with a bended knee, a ritualised representational technique that Goffman (1979) conceptualised as a position of subordination and deference. In addition, the two women wear bright red lipstick, a highly symbolic colour commonly used to denote sexual desire (Danesi 2002).

In the left image, a thin, brunette woman has her backside turned toward the viewer, suggesting an offering. Her torso is angled toward an oversized, old-fashioned, bright orange radio that sits in the background. Her weight is shifted solely into her right foot, causing her

back to arch. This canting causes her height and gaze to be lowered in deference, indicating her submissiveness, even as she maintains eye contact with the viewer (Goffman 1979). Her shoes and accessories are colour coordinated with the Midori liquor in the foreground alongside the text of the bottle of Midori bottle that reads "Best Mixed with Summer." In her right hand is a glass filled with a green drink and garnished with an orange. Unlike most advertisements sampled, this woman seems to be consuming her beverage, rather than offering it to the viewer, potentially complicating the gender of the intended audience of this advertisement, as is also evident by the text. The main caption reads "Midori Best Mixed with Short Shorts" in bold white letters, referencing the attire of the woman in the image, thus suggesting to the consumer that this beverage should be paired with females wearing sexually suggestive attire. It is not clearly indicated whether that means a female consumer should pair the consumption of the promoted product with the short shorts or if a male consumer should pair the drink with a woman wearing short shorts, or both. However, regardless of the ambiguity surrounding the gender of the intended audience, the advertisement still manages to prioritise the male gaze and perpetuate women's subordination, as is evident in the woman's positioning and submissive posture and attire (Mulvey 1975; Goffman 1979). Either men are invited to combine the consumption of the product with the consumption of women wearing short shorts, or women are instructed that they are to wear short shorts for male viewers' pleasure when consuming the drink; in other words, women consuming this beverage should be dressing for and inviting the male gaze. In both propositions, women remain objectified as the emphasis is placed on male's pleasure in relation to women's physical appearance and sexual appeal.

In the image on the right, the woman's hair is covered in a colourful swim cap and her robe is draped over her shoulders, gaping open to reveal her torso. She is wearing a green swimsuit that matches the green heels. Her left arm is resting against a surfboard, while her back and head arch away from it. This head-canting diminishes her height, causing her too to appear in a position of ritualised submissiveness (Goffman 1979). In her right hand, she is

holding a glass filled with a green liquid decorated with a pineapple. This woman is also depicted as the consumer of the cocktail; she is not offering the drink to the viewer but appears to hold it for herself. It is clear from her posture and the fact she is wearing high heels that she is not intended to be read as the one who will be using the surfboard. Rather, she is read as an accessory to the surfboard. The main text reads "Midori Best Mixed with Sand in Your Cossie" alluding to how to the pairing of Midori liquor ought to be paired with beaches, water sports, and swimming attires. Again, the gender of the intended audience of the text is unclear. However, this messaging (the implication that Midori leads to "sand in your cossie") may imply that consuming the product is to be associated with sexual encounters on a beach. This, again, connotes an association between drinking and sexual activity, echoing the perceived sexual promiscuity and availability of women who drink discussed in the previous chapter, and the male consumption of their bodies.

The text anchors the objectifying connotations of the advertisements. The word 'mixed' has sexual connotations, such as 'mingling.' The word 'mixed' thus invites the prospective male consumer to gaze at the woman in the advertisements, while simultaneously encouraging the prospective female consumer to drink Midori in order to increase her sexual appeal. In both images, the word 'mixed' appears within the context of female clothing items that draw attention to the women's legs. The model's "short shorts" and "cossie" act as metaphorical ingredients in a Midori mixed drink, and signify a woman who is sexy, available, and worthy of the male gaze. As the woman on the left maintains eye contact with the viewer, it becomes clear that she is complicit in the asymmetrical power dynamic inherent in the advertisement. This advertisement campaign thus fulfils the male fantasy of a world in which not only are consumers empowered to unabashedly ogle women, but the women are aware of and complicit in the act. The women's dresses and postures cast them as modern-day 'pin-up girls,' serving to both nostalgically reference past imagery of women in advertisements while simultaneously updating the trope to fit the modern era (Pimenta & Natividade 2013). This element of nostalgia,

also evident in the old-fashioned radio used as a prop in the left image, creates a connection to a mythologised time of male dominance and female submission.

Advertising has been at the centre of feminist critique and scrutiny ever since the 1970s and 1980s. As noted by Dines and Humez (2011, p. 255), "for the last four decades the notion of objectification has been a key term in feminist critique of advertising […] media representations help to justify and sustain relations of domination and inequality between men and women. In particular, processes of objectification were held to be the key to understanding male violence against women." According to Strinati (2004, pp. 165-166), "[a]nalyses of advertisements have suggested that gender was routinely portrayed according to traditional cultural stereotypes," which involves men being shown as "dominant, active, aggressive and authoritative, performing a variety of roles which often require professionalism, efficiency, rationality and strength to be carried out successfully [whereas] women by contract are usually shown as being subordinate, passive and marginal." Feminists have therefore demanded that advertisers portray women in a less prejudicial manner, and that social changes be taken into account to create more realistic and empowering representations. As argued by Van Zoonen, advertising should avoid representing women using stereotypes that perpetuate the "unequal position of women in society" (Van Zoonen 1991, p. 35). As a result of unrelenting criticisms, some advertisers have, to some extent, incorporated the demands of feminist scholars to apply "principles of liberty and equality" (Van Zoonen 1991, p. 35). As discussed in the literature review, some changes have been observed in terms of a slight increase in women being represented in working roles as opposed to mothers and housewives. However, this shift came with an increase in the sexualisation of women's bodies which has drawn heavy criticism (see McRobbie 2007; Strinati 2004; Pimenta & Natividade 2013). Therefore, although there have been subtle changes in the way women tend to be represented today compared to the 1970s, those changes have not been able to overhaul the pervasiveness of prejudicial and subordinating portrayals of women. These changes are hereby illustrated in the Midori images through the

depicting of women as consumers of the alcoholic product being promoted as well as seemingly complicit in their sexual objectification. In addition, despite the Midori models having brown hair, which contrasts with the 'blonde bomb-shell' stereotype featured in the Skinny Blonde Ale advertisement, they remain young and thin. The Midori campaign takes "feminism into account by showing it to be a thing of the past, by provocatively enacting sexism" which ultimately works to 'undo' feminism (McRobbie 2007, p. 258). Advertisers give the illusion of a more liberated female, while still focusing on women's appearance and (hetero)sexual appeal, and ritualistic aspects of subordinated representations persist (e.g. bent knee, canting of body and head). According to Dyer (1988, p. 36), "the way the message is structured might lead us to believe that it is an example of the co-option or incorporation of feminist images – which are used in such a way as to empty them of their progressive meaning."

Depictions of women in this section range from the personification of beer bottles in the Skinny Blonde advertisement, to women consuming cocktails in the Midori Liquor promotional campaign. Models in these advertisements are positioned and costumed to attract a male viewer, but also to be the objects of desire as well as the very product the images are intending to sell. Regardless of ambiguity in the Midori images, the pairing of alcohol consumption with the consumption of women remains consistent.

IV.   SEDUCTION

This Hahn advertisement is part of a 2015 campaign designed by Ogilvy that appeared both online and on billboards. As with many advertisements, there is an intended 'double entendre' in the text: the man 'collects' sexual encounters with women, among other things. The man's positioning suggests ownership of the woman as he rests his hand on the inside of her knee. Since it is unclear whether the bottle placed on the floor next to the man is empty, it is possible that the woman is either consuming a beer or offering the bottle to the man sitting next to her as a reward for his hard work related to renovation. This image features a man and woman sitting down on a dust sheet, leaning against a wall surrounded by painting supplies. The supplies as well as the dust masks around their necks allow the viewer to infer that they have been working. The man has one knee up and a resting arm over the extended leg of the woman sitting next to him. He has a subtle smile and has his eyes closed. His expression could be

interpreted as one of satisfaction. The woman is looking at him while smiling more broadly. She is holding a bottle of Hahn SuperDry in her right hand. Her left leg is bent, mirroring the man's right leg but hers is also crossed underneath. They are both dressed casually. She is wearing faded jeans and a tank top over a shirt, and a t-shirt, shorts and work boots. The tag line reads "Are you an experience collector?" An image of the Hahn SuperDry bottle is positioned on the left-hand side of the image, and the "Experience Collectors" stamp is in the bottom right corner with the accompanying 'Drink Wise' insignia in the top corner.

Unusual for a beer advertisement, this image features both a woman and a man as though to speak to two audiences while also normalising heterosexuality. Indeed, the man and woman may be renovating a house they recently purchased, symbolising the 'heteronormative dream.' In addition, this advertisement reiterates gender stereotypes in several more ways. For example, the man's posture suggests he is infantilising the woman by giving her his approval – most explicitly for a job well done in having painted the wall – a type of work that is typically associated with men. This rendered approval can be observed in both his satisfied expression and his resting of his hand on her knee (Goffman 1979). More implicitly, the man's posture can be interpreted as one of sexual approval which also renders the woman as an object to be owned and consumed. The man's possession over the woman's body is illustrated in the placement of his hand on her leg, which suggests that he has staked claim marking her as his property (Goffman 1979). The woman's smile is broader than his and her expression much more attentive to the man's than his is to her (Goffman 1979). As Goffman (1979) argues, the broad smile of a woman typically signifies inferiority. That the woman's smile is broader than the man's symbolically renders her as inferior to him (Goffman 1979). Similarly, although both models have their knees bent, the woman's knee is also crossed under her body, suggesting defensiveness (Goffman 1979). As discussed earlier in the analysis of the Boag beer model adorned in the delicate white dress, the female model in this advertisement is also adorned in white clothing, suggesting virginal purity. The man is also further in the foreground in the image

than the woman and appears taller, thus amplifying his position of dominance in this scene (Goffman 1979).

Though this image could suggest gender equality and equal agency it repeats a common trope in the sampled alcohol advertisements in which the rare instances where women are presented consuming alcohol, they do so "within the context of a love or sexual relationship" with a man (Walker 1992, p. 114). In this manner, women in alcohol advertisements such as this one are understood as accessories to male consumption and defined by their relationship to men, appearing as "vehicles through which men define themselves" (Beynon 2002, p. 35). When read in combination with the slogan "are you an experience collector?" this image also suggests that the woman is another experience for the man to have. This advertisement is part of a wider campaign where men are encouraged to achieve their aspirations and fantasies in order to 'collect experiences.' Read within this larger context, the woman appears as just another experience; an object that further shores up the man's collection of accomplishments or endeavours associated with hegemonic masculinity.
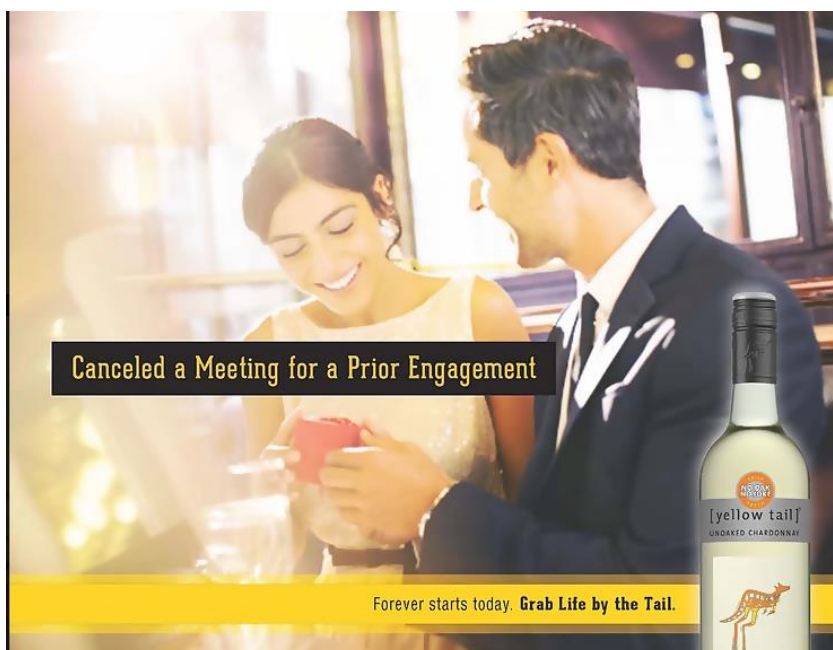
This 2016 Yellowtail advertisement ran as a billboard campaign and features a woman having a glass of wine with a man. The man is extending a jewellery box to the woman, which she is opening and looking into. The man is angled away from the camera and only his profile is visible, but he appears to be smiling at the woman. The woman's head is dipped and she is smiling broadly as she looks down into the box. The man is wearing a dark suit, white shirt and tie, and a silver wristwatch, just visible underneath his cuff. The woman is wearing a cream lace sleeveless cocktail dress, with a dark belt around her waist. The setting is somewhat indistinct: there are windows with sun streaming through and blurred wine glasses in the foreground, suggesting that this is a bar. Each of these details draws on normalised aspirational benchmarks of femininity, from the presentation of a ring which suggests having been selected for marriage, to the wine, and dashing male provider. A black banner with yellow writing runs through the middle of the image, reading "Cancelled a Meeting for a Prior Engagement." Another banner at the bottom of the advertisement reads "Forever starts today. Grab Life by the Tail." Next to this banner is a cropped image of a bottle of Yellow Tail wine.

The image depicts the moment of the marriage proposal – further suggested by the play of words in the text of the advertisement suggesting an 'engagement.' The woman does not appear to be dressed for the corporate workplace and her cream lace dress suggests that she is already rehearsing to be a bride. Heteronormative temporalities are further implicated by the slogan "Forever starts today" which suggests life-long heterosexual monogamy. The woman's tilted head position suggests her subjugation to the man, which also suggests she trusts this man to protect her (Goffman 1979). The man is further forward in the image and is also taller than the woman, implying his dominance (Goffman 1979). The woman appears to be suffused with happiness – both suggested by her smiling expression but also the lighting of the advertisement; the sun streams over her face and body, casting her in angelic light. The use of alcohol in socially acknowledged life milestones, such as an engagement, a toast at a wedding, or the

purchase of a home all indicate that alcohol plays an affirming presence in the achievement of markers of commitment between partners (SIRC 1998).

These last two advertisements depict women in terms of their relationship with men. Women in most of the advertisements sampled for the content analysis tend not to be depicted as autonomous individuals or agents, but instead in relation to men, most commonly a sexual or romantic partner. As noted by sociologist Dominic Strinati, women represented in advertising "are likely to be depicted as being married and receiving some type of sexual advance as compared with men" (Strinati 2004, p. 168). Women are hereby represented as needing men's supervision or/and approval for their alcohol consumption. Women in these two images gain male approval either through participation in a male dominated activity involving physical labour or by receiving a marriage proposal.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter has discussed the ways in which women are portrayed in the sampled Australian alcohol advertisements. Through the employment of the virgin myth, the cropping of imagery, sexualised and objectified bodies and seduction, each advertisement can be read as upholding stereotypical, heteronormative, and hierarchical conceptions of gender in association with alcohol consumption. Women are defined by their relationships to men, whether through submissiveness, as sexual objects for consumption, or as objects to be conquered. Strinati further notes that women in mass media are primarily "confined to their sexuality, their emotions and their domesticity" (Strinati 2004, p. 166). Across the advertisements featured in this chapter, women are displayed expressly for a heterosexual male gaze. Such depictions of women appeal to and reinforce hegemonic masculine ideals of the active and dominant man versus the passive, deferent and inherently sexually available woman. Male viewers may read these advertisements as a reinforcement of the idea that women exist to fulfil men's sexual

needs. Other traditional beliefs about women are also incorporated, such as that women lack agency and autonomy, that men can ignore women's minds and focus solely on their bodies for sexual gratification, and that women welcome and are complicit in their sexual submissiveness. Given the context of alcohol consumption, these advertisements also signify a problematic and potentially harmful correlation between the consumption of alcohol with the consumption of women; suggesting that men can engage sexually with women by virtue of being alcohol consumers, and that both affirm masculinity. This cognitive expectation of drunken behaviour can prove harmful if it becomes normalised and reified as a promise of alcohol consumption.

CHAPTER SIX: MEN IN ALCOHOL ADVERTISING

Introduction

Clutching two thick logs, a saw swung across his back, a man hoists one dirty foot onto a crate. A professional football player scores a goal while his teammates cheer from the side-lines. What do these seemingly separate images have in common? Each is carefully designed to sell alcoholic beverages to Australian men by playing into tropes of hegemonic masculinity. Despite the expansive variance between the men depicted in the advertisements hereby discussed, all fulfil common tropes of traditional masculinity. This chapter consolidates typically masculine traits and behaviours into four categories: physical features, professional success and authority, male socialising, and sports and risk-taking. As noted by Richardson and Wearing (2014, p. 34), "masculinity is a precarious identification and, as such, is heavily guarded and policed by mainstream representations." This chapter surveys alcohol advertisements' depictions of masculinity across the four categories by conducting semiotic analyses of images selected from the sample used for the content analysis in chapter six. As for chapter six, the advertisements in this chapter were selected to allow for the exploration of the diverse ways hegemonic masculinity tends to be upheld in the promotion of alcohol beverages.

These semiotic analyses explore each advertisement's use of imagery, *mise-en-scene*, text, clothing, and humour to determine how ideals of masculinity have been embedded into advertisements, and the ways those messages subsequently inform masculine socialisation in relation to alcohol consumption. Following these semiotic analyses, the discussion shifts toward the relationship between gender stereotypes in Australian alcohol advertisements and alcohol-involved sexual violence. Therefore, this chapter aims to explore and understand how gender stereotypes and hegemonic masculinity associated with alcohol consumption, both

communicated and reinforced through the sampled alcohol advertisements, relate to the perpetration of alcohol-involved sexual violence.

I.   PHYSICAL FEATURES

This section explores three advertisements that amalgamate a host of traditional masculine tropes to promote alcoholic beverages, and features advertisements from Bundaberg Rum and Ketel One. The pairing of a wide number of masculine features culminates in a stereotypical representation of masculinity, with emphasis placed on physical strength and muscularity. All three images were designed by the Leo Burnett advertising agency for an Australian audience. The Bundaberg Rum billboard advertisements were produced for a 2014 campaign. The Ketel One advertisement is extracted from a 2013 campaign, which appeared both on billboards and on the internet.

These two advertisements are presented side by side. In both pictures, a large muscular man with facial hair and an unsmiling, stoic facial expression carries heavy-looking objects. In the left advertisement, the man carries a large log underneath each arm and has a saw strapped

across his body. In the second image, the man carries a large mallet and a large peg in his hand. They each stand, staring into the distance. Both men are outdoors (a predominant aspect of male representation in the sampled Australian alcohol advertisements, as highlighted in chapter four) and appear to be unclean and unshaven which conveys the sense that these men are hard workers, are generally tough and are unconcerned with their appearance (which contrasts with the way women tend to be portrayed). Both men appear much larger than anything else in the image. These advertisements are simultaneously humorous, satirical and parodic, gently mocking tropes of hegemonic masculinity, whilst also reinforcing these tropes as to-be-aspired-to. In this way, they belong to the larger category of 'lad culture,' a culture using fashion, drinking, humour, self-referentiality and irony (Beynon 2002). Whilst the masculinity represented in these images is impossible to replicate, making a joke out of the caption "men like us/like rum/Bundaberg rum," the advertisements' aesthetic still renders signifiers of hegemonic masculinity as desirable traits.

In both images, the central signifier is a large man holding heavy objects, with ostentatious muscular strength, a presumably good work ethic, toughness, independence, and dominance; in other words, all that hegemonic masculinity entails. The men stand metonymically for the hegemonically masculine man as an ideal type, playing on societal notions of what masculinity should be, and thus the attributes men are supposedly all inherently admiring and aspiring to. In Western societies such as Australia, there is an emphasis on the "physical destruction of the body" through arduous labour, for instance, as 'the site of masculinity' and a "way to demonstrate and perpetuate masculinity itself" (Hinote & Webber 2012, p. 304). In large block letters at the top of each picture, the caption "men like us like rum" appears. The phrase "men like us" works here to interpolate the viewers into an image of traditional masculinity, represented by the large men in the photographs (Magalhães 2005). In this way, the advertisement employs the strategies of masculine display, where a certain kind

of man is portrayed with a causal link implied between the kind of man he is and the type of alcoholic beverage he drinks (Walker 1992).

Both advertisements also promise this version of masculinity to men who, perhaps, do not feel they already embody these characteristics. To possess and consume the product, then, is to buy into the myth of hegemonic masculinity, a connection that the images enforce through the combination of the visual representations of hegemonic masculinity in combination with the textual strategies of (perhaps aspirational) interpellation represented by the phrase "men like us." This sequential, syllogistic logic is also emphasised by the different blocks of coloured font used for sections of the phrase: "Men like us/like rum/Bundaberg Rum." The colour shifts in each block from amber to brown to red, with the red block of text "Bundaberg Rum" also appearing in a larger font to intensify its impact as a brand. This shift in colours draws the eye to the different sections of the text, breaking its logic into component parts, whilst the tonal similarities of the colours used group them together. The use of red (the most intense colour used here) for the phrase "Bundaberg Rum" signifies the intensity of the reward that follows the hard physical challenges suggested by the images, simultaneously signifying as true and credible that such efforts should be rewarded with Bundaberg because of the greater depth of the shade of red, relative to the other colours used (Pimenta & Natividade 2013). Additionally, the colour red also suggests the figure of the "red-blooded male": an informal shorthand for hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, the colours are all earthy in their hue, which further highlights the outdoorsy, natural trope that the advertisement is attempting to convey. The colours of the phrases "Men like us/like rum" are also in the same tonal range as the colours of the rum in the bottle pictured at the bottom right of the advertisement, amplifying the association that men drink rum that looks like Bundaberg Rum.

A reading of dress codes is also crucial to understanding these images. Dress codes are structures of meaning defined and mutually understood within a culture. Advertisers draw on

these codes to construct a product's meaning (Jhally 1987). The Bundaberg advertisement relies particularly on dress codes to construct the message that this rum is the rum consumed by 'real' men, even though the advertisement also undermines this message with its combination of signifiers of hegemonic and queer masculinity and the hyperbolic, surreality of these combinations (Pease 2002). The man portrayed on the left is wearing a Breton-style t-shirt (called the marinière in French), a familiar fashion item featuring horizontal stripes that originated as an item of clothing for French sailors towards the end of the nineteenth century. As such, it connotes hegemonic masculinity via the myth of blue-collar work as the masculine ideal, as well as reinforcing the long historical association of rum with sailors. This association also exists between pirates and rum—both images suggest a kind of piratical lawlessness and the adventurousness of living a life at sea. In this way, the images combine a variety of masculine archetypes. However, in keeping with the advertisement's parodic style, the Breton-style t-shirt also connotes effeminacy in Australian culture, associated as it is with both queer identities (particularly the figure of the 'gay bear'—a hirsute, stocky homosexual man) and cultures. The t-shirt's coding, then, undermines the association of Bundaberg with hegemonic masculinity, as hegemonic masculinity in Australia is primarily heterosexual. The hyper-masculinity connoted by this image, in its suggestion of blue-collar work and physical skill might further suggest queer masculinity (Pease 2002). This reference to queer masculinity as subtext within an image that also appears to promote hegemonic masculinity could be interpreted as a version of 'new lad' irony, predicated on an "unrelenting omnipresence of a certain knowingness, self-referentiality and humour" (Benwell 2000). Alternatively, this could be an attempt by advertisers to broaden the audience in order to promote this product to a wider range of communities, such as gay men, hipster guys, or gender-aware individuals.

The advertisements' nautical theme is amplified by the backdrop of the sea and highlighted by the stature of the men in the foreground, suggesting that they have the power to tame the natural elements. The *mise-en-scène* of these images confirms Strate's argument that

"[d]rinking […] is rarely presented as an isolated activity, but rather is associated with a variety of occupational and leisure pursuits, all of which, in one way or another, involve overcoming challenges" (Strate in Craig 1992, p. 80). With regards to the left advertisement, the challenge is potentially two-fold: that of mastering the waves (as an accomplished sailor would), and that of wood-chopping. This sense of overcoming a physical challenge is emphasised by the man's raised knee, a pose which suggests having conquered a task or natural elements, which is further intensified by the other components of the man's outfit: a pith helmet, a chainsaw (strapped diagonally across the man's chest), a pair of lederhosen, a pair of working boots, what appear like socks worn by rugby or soccer players, and two chopped logs held under each man's arms. The helmet, which has what appears to be a miniature colonial Indian building attached to the front of it, is strongly associated with British colonialism. The colonial project has long been viewed by post-colonial scholars as a large-scale example of Western hegemonic masculinity at work (Levine 1994; McClintock 1995). In combination with the nautical coding of the man's t-shirt and the ocean front setting of the image, the helmet magnifies the myth of masculinity bound up with the colonial mission of conquest.

The advertisement's coding of colonial attire is further extended by the man's footwear: chukka boots, which were originally worn by British soldiers in the Desert Campaign during World War II (Snodgrass 2015). The colonial tones of this image also fit in with the contemporary concerns of 'lad culture' which seek to "[reclaim] territory in the context of recession and increased competition between the sexes" (National Union of Students 2013; Phipps 2015). In addition, drinking spirits in Australia is associated with the colonial period due to a lack of an internal infrastructure to support the production of other kinds of alcohol (Hall & Hunter 1995). The advertisement's emphasis on masculine appropriation of wild territory and settler colony fits in with the wider trouping of Australian masculinity as frontier, territorial and colonial masculinity, which was highlighted in the previous chapter through the myth of the virgin land (McKay et al. 2009). As further argued by Wenner and Jackson (2009,

p. 209), "the heavily mythologized attachment of (mostly male) Australians to remote 'outback' environment is a recurrent motif in Australian alcohol-related promotional culture as manifestations of the 'Bush' and 'Pioneer' myths. The Bush Myth depicts a struggle for mastery over the natural landscape."

The two-person saw that the man carries is not mechanised, amplifying the message of arduous physical effort. The suggestion is that the man has sawn the large logs he carries under his arms using this old-fashioned technology; and furthermore, that he can do the work of two men and does not need anyone to help him. Strate (in Craig 1992, p. 78) argues that this portrayal of the physically self-sufficient man,

> is often emphasized in these ads. But the key to work is the challenge it poses, whether to physical strength and endurance, to skill, patience, and craftsmanship, or to wit and competitive drive in the business world. Men do not labor primarily out of economic necessity nor for financial gain, but rather for the pride of accomplishment.

Muscular physical stature and depictions of manual labour constitute part of hegemonic masculinity, demonstrating men's ability to triumph over adversity and to meet and surpass challenges (Strate in Craig 1992). As argued by Lindsey (2011), the ideal of toughness commonly associated with hegemonic masculinity "tells men and boys to be strong, confident, self-reliant, brave, and independent. Any male must express confidence in his ability to carry out tasks that appear insurmountable. He must do so with a sense of stoicism that shows he is in command of the situation" (Lindsey 2011, p. 248). Both the chainsaw and the logs underline the act of physical labour, with the man's proud yet contained facial expression and stance connoting what Strate (in Craig 1992, p. 85) calls the "pride of accomplishment."

Over the Breton t-shirt, the man is wearing lederhosen which was once an item of workwear in central Europe (particularly in Germany and Austria), now viewed more as a form of regional or folk attire to be worn at events such as the Oktoberfest. The lederhosen is an item that connotes national myth-making—both in its country of origin (Germany) where it is associated with masculinity and physical strength—and in Australia, where its European origins

115

strengthen the advertisement's invocation of settler narratives (also connoted by the pith helmet and the Breton t-shirt). However, further highlighting the image's queer connotations and its knowing undermining of hegemonic masculinity, the lederhosen is also a popular item of clothing for gay men, particularly within leather communities (Whisnant 2012).

The rugby socks work to amplify the message of hard masculine physicality that the advertisement tries to convey. This physicality connotes the positively-viewed attributes of masculine competitiveness, risk-taking and triumph—here, the rugby socks signify the notion of sportsmanship and mastery "over others in good-natured combat" (Strate in Craig 1992, p. 82). Additionally, the rugby socks add a recognisably patriotic code of masculinity, as they are very similar to the socks worn by the Wallabies, Australia's national rugby team. The signifying of leisure activity is also extended by the Ray-Ban type sunglasses that the man has attached to the front of his chainsaw strap; although, in a further underlining of this image's ironic stance with regards to hegemonic masculinity, Ray-Bans are also associated with hipster culture, the suggestion here being hat these accoutrements of sport and leisure activity are worn for effect, rather than for any real use-value. While the use of irony in this image may be interpreted as a departure from traditional gender norms upholding heteronormativity and celebrating hegemonic masculinity, it may also be understood as a mockery of alternate masculinities (e.g. queer, homosexual) and intended to 'bring back' and reinforce hegemonic masculinity.

Overall, the clothing and apparatus of the man depicted on the left contains a combination of highly coded signifiers of hegemonic masculinity. The items of clothing selected for the advertisement's model are out of place, in that there would be no situation in 'real-life' that would require one to wear an outfit of this kind; however, they do belong together in the sense that they capture what Shields calls "a model of meaning production," where meaning "arises out of a struggle or negotiation between competing frames of reference, motivation, and experience" (Shields & Heinecken 2002, p. 133). Here, several sartorial signs

of hegemonic masculinity and its associated qualities—hard labour, tradition, sportsmanship, challenge, and dominance—have been grouped together. As noted by Leeds-Hurwitz (1993, p. 51), "[s]igns do not occur singly; they occur in groups." The grouping of these signifiers is supposed to reflect a timeless masculinity—one which simultaneously invokes and transcends signifiers of regional and historical contexts. The Breton t-shirt and lederhosen are both items that belong to particular historical moments and geographical locations but have transcended these contexts to signify masculine roles, more broadly.

The image on the right contains the same slogan, typeface, and a similar colour scheme to the image on the left. Through different items of clothing, the advertisement also groups individual signifiers of normative masculinity. Rather than a lederhosen, the man on the right image wears a traditional Scottish item referred to as a kilt, first worn in the sixteenth century and exclusively intended to be worn by men of Scottish heritage, dually calling upon cultural attire of colonial states. In a similar mixing of signs, the man is wearing a faded t-shirt with the kilt, on which there is a VW campervan motif. This could be interpreted as a reference to the liberated masculinity of surfer culture (further amplified by the seascape backdrop), and a gesture toward Australian culture which is compounded by the shark-tooth necklace the man wears around his neck that suggests mastery over nature and danger. The man is wearing a beanie, which strengthens the surfer code, but which also represents blue-collar labour as beanies were worn for kinds of work like welding, particularly in America, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The reference to blue-collar masculinity through physical labour is also in keeping with a version of Australian masculine identity, tied to a perception of the country's working class and rural roots (McKay et al. 2009; Hall & Hunter 1995). The coding of blue-collar labour and long-standing traditional heritage continues in nineteenth-century style nails strapped around the man's waist, and in the mallet clasped in his left hand and held above his right shoulder. Whilst emphasising physical labour and man's self-sufficiency, these objects also connote the man's inviolability more broadly (Walker 1992). There is an owl perched on

this large mallet-type tool. The owl connotes intellectual mastery and wisdom. In addition, the owl connotes non-Western spiritualties, particularly shamanic traditions of ancient knowledge and circumspection (Stutley 2003). The owl's ability to see a wide circumference implies further mastery over the landscape. Owls are also nocturnal birds of prey and could be interpreted here as signifying masculine predation and domination—over nature in this context, but, within the logic of hegemonic masculinity, this could imply domination over women as well. The fact that the owl is perched on the man's mallet suggests that he has tamed the wilderness (Vestergaard & Schrøder 1988). The inclusion of an owl in this image could also suggest that men's sexuality is animalistic and wild.

Both men have prominent facial hair and share signifying hirsute virility and muscular stature, but not in a way that appears artificial: these men do not have 'gym bodies'; if anything, there is the suggestion of slight beer (or rum) guts in both images, suggesting hedonism. As Kerry (2016, p. 222) argues, "darkness and dirt [portrays] masculine brute force, rather than femininity and delicacy." The images present a version of masculinity predicated on physical power, independence and adventure, all motifs common in male-directed advertising (Barthel 1988). Because of both the angle of viewers' sight-line onto these pictures and the men's poses, these images suggest the viewer's subordination to these men which could be intended to produce a sense of yearning, particularly in male consumers who desire to occupy positions of hegemonic masculinity. The position of the men in the advertisement could also be designed to emphasise their abilities as providers. Both men pictured have a proud and conquering posture, with straight backs and heads held high (Kerry 2016). Moreover, both men display set jaws and fixed gazes, representing a "stoicism in the face of adversity" that connotes masculine strength, represented by the informal idiom "the strong, silent type" that both men embody in these images (Nakayama 1989, p. 17). Dyer's work (1982) aligns with Goffman's (1979) as both agree that the male model's facial expressions, and particularly the gaze, are ritualistically represented in order to avoid subordination. The gaze of the male model appears as a crucial

component in the iconography of representing men in contemporary media (Richardson & Wearing 2014). Dyer argues that the male model tends to elevate his gaze which implies that he is indifferent and that his "mind is on higher things" (Dyer 1982, p. 185). This also works to signify that male models, unlike female ones, are not complicit in their own objectification, and that they are just "using their bodies to get a specific job done – whether this be manual labour or valiant warfare" (Dyer 1982, p. 185). Dyer further notes that not only are male models' gaze uplifted, but they also appear to "return the gaze of the camera in a confrontational fashion" which aligns with features of traditional masculinity (Dyer 1982, p. 186).

Along with the slogan, which highlights inclusion (but only for the 'right' kind of man who is 'like' those pictured, although the sheer hyperbole of these images simultaneously suggests that such a man does not exist), these images suggest that Bundaberg rum is the reward for hard masculine labour, for having overcome challenges and mastered one's environment. The phrase "Welcome to Bundaberg" also implies that Bundaberg is a location, a destination that a man can reach if he embodies hegemonic masculinity successfully enough and that will be rewarded with acceptance (by other men 'like' him) and with rum. Drinking Bundaberg rum signifies consumers' inclusion into a group of men who work hard, and men who are able to signify hegemonic masculinity in a myriad different ways. These advertisements use a blended strategy of textual interpellation and strong imagery to promote the product. The images also deploy humour, connoted by the sheer hyperbole of these images of masculinity, their 'laddish' self-referentiality, and by their mythic and amalgamated qualities, to police and categorise an idea of the drink's 'ideal' consumer (Mean 2009). Whilst the combination of signifiers in these images gestures towards an impossible masculinity to emulate (there can be no "men like us", as the men pictured in these images are constructed from a combination of over-exaggerated, anachronistic and mythic set of signifiers), the advertisements nevertheless play on consumers' aspirations towards hegemonic masculinity.
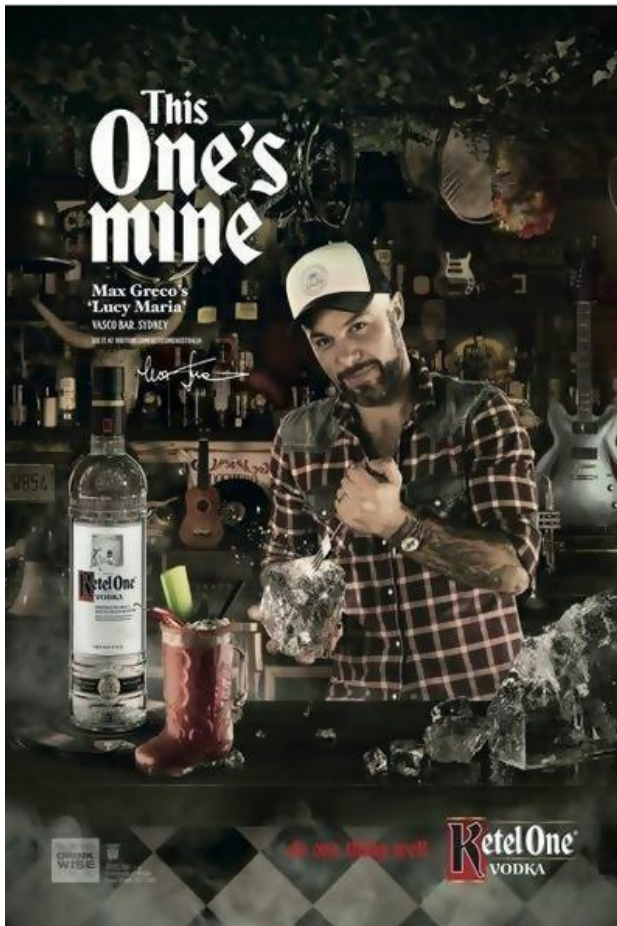
This image is part of a series of advertisements produced by Leo Burnett's agency in 2013. Each advertisement showcases an expert bartender in his own bar; bars selected for this campaign are located in Melbourne and Sydney. This specific image features a bearded, tattooed man (Max Greco in his Sydney bar called Vasco Bar), wearing a black and white baseball cap and a checked, and brown and red lumberjack-style shirt. He is standing behind the bar in what looks like a rock bar (there are guitars and other instruments in the background, interspersed with bottles of nondescript alcohol). Max Greco is stabbing a fork into a block of ice that he is holding in his hand, suggesting that he is breaking the ice. In the foreground is a tall bottle of Ketel One vodka placed on the bar, next to Max Greco's signature drink "Lucy Maria", some of which appears to have spilled onto the bar. There is a large hunk of ice on the man's right-hand side. A light suggestion of dry ice fills up the bottom of the image and wafts up the side of the Ketel One bottle. In a bold white Gothic script, the main caption, positioned

in the top left-hand corner, reads "This One's Mine," with "Max Greco's 'Lucy Maria', Vasco Bar, Sydney" and Max Greco's own signature, underneath that. In the bottom right-hand corner is the Ketel One logo in red, white, and black, with the phrase "do one thing well", in red Gothic script, next to it. The bottom left corner has the "Drink Wise" stamp, which is semi-transparent and much less prominent than all of the other objects within the advertisement, suggesting that this message is far less important.

The man portrayed here is clothed in the signifiers of the rock musician: the workwear, the tattoos, and the beard. His musician status is further confirmed by the instruments in the background, most of which are electric guitars, suggesting that he is a rock musician and lending to the vodka the kind of glamour, hedonism and appeal that is associated with musicianship (Breed & Defoe 1979). However, the clothing also connotes manual labour and outdoor work, signified particularly by the lumberjack shirt. Whilst the *mise-en-scene* of the advertisement is clearly urban, Greco's workwear suggests that he would be as comfortable in the woods, perhaps chopping logs, as he is in the bar, spearing ice with a fork. In this way, the image signifies that Ketel One is a drink for the 'outdoorsy' man, as well as the man who likes to drink in urban bars. In addition, the man's facial hair is a typical signifier of masculinity (Reeser 2010, pp. 30-31). The man's shirt is slightly open at the top, revealing a hairy chest which further highlights this signifier of masculinity. Male body hair is typically associated with male sexual virility which is implicitly referenced by the association of proprietorship ("This One's Mine") with a drink that has been given a woman's name ("Lucy Maria"). This is in line with Bourdieu's (2001) argument that men are inclined to view sexuality as an act of conquest, appropriation, and domination (Bourdieu 2001). This association suggests, metonymically, that Max Greco 'owns' the woman who has inspired 'his' drink and, similarly, that the male consumer can 'own' a woman through consuming Ketel One.

The image further suggests that Max Greco is also a mixologist. By implying that he has concocted and mixed this drink, the advertisement connotes de-alienated labour, highlighting, too, the authenticity of this product and autonomy of the man (Hochschild, 1983). His status as a man of importance—singled out for recognition and to give his stamp of approval to *this* vodka as the one he mixes his signature drink with—underlines the hegemonic masculine attributes of financial power, self-sufficiency and identification (Berger 1972; Walker 1992). The phrases "This One's Mine" and "do one thing well" suggest specialism and elitism, appealing to the consumer who is motivated to purchase the luxury-seeming item for social credibility and affirmation.

The patriarchal conquest of European expeditions into unknown territories was signified as an expression of domination through the use of feminine names, to stake claim over indigenous lands by settler merchants. McClintock states that through the act of "flamboyantly naming 'new lands,' male imperials mark them as their own"; and in this naming, claims of control over the bodies of women are rescaled onto the lands of not-yet colonised peoples (McClintock 1995, p. 29). This male prerogative of naming as an act of colonial domination signified "territorial rights to her body" (McClintock 1995, p. 26). The naming of Max Greco's signature drink, the "Lucy Maria" denotes the same material practice of settler merchants naming colonial vessels used in expeditions. Feminine names were assigned to ships used to expand trading passages and to seek out raw materials not yet traded among imperial powers, just as they were assigned to the lands reached by merchant vessels. In their symbolic and mythical linkage to the natural world, women's bodies much like the land become subject to claims of property and as objects of possession (McClintock 1995).

This man is in control: over the ice, over the drink, and over the bar, and he also occupies the position of masculine and authoritative professionalism traditionally represented in alcohol advertising (Marsteller & Karnchanapee 1980; Jacobsen et al. 1983; Craig 1992). Greco's facial

expression further connotes that he is in control of his environment, that he has possession of it, and that he does not need to please. Unlike in female-focused advertisements, where women are often pictured as smiling broadly, men are more rarely represented with full smiles (Goffman 1979). The man's half-smile and his physical demonstration of strength (he appears muscular; he can break ice with just a fork) both emphasise his seriousness and self-confidence. The advertisement suggests that these feelings of control, power and proprietorship, represented by the man's facial expression and posture can also belong to the consumer. In this way, the man's emotions are turned into commodities attached to Ketel One vodka (Hochschild 1983). The image promises that the vodka will generate these feelings in the male consumer who may be consuming the product because of consumer associations with the hyper masculine image of Max Greco (Walker 1992). In this way, the advertisement creates expectations of status in the consumer experience, in which the consumer may aspire to look as confident and multi-skilled as Greco once having consumed the Ketel One vodka (Emrick et al. 1985; Beynon 2002).

The Gothic-type font on the Ketel One label suggests the brand's tradition and roots, it being a Dutch brand. By counter-posing the Gothic aesthetic with a highly modern image of masculinity, the advertisement suggests that Ketel One has been able to transcend its historical roots and appear as relevant to contemporary male drinkers. This nod to the drink's origins also echoes some of the imperialistic valences of the Bundaberg advertisements. This emphasis on tradition and longevity can also be interpreted as a marker of esteem and loyalty. Furthermore, in combination with the suggestion of dry ice in the image and the block of ice which could also be mistaken for a treasure chest, this image suggests that Ketel One brings with it mythical, mystical, and slightly dangerous associations.

All three of these advertisements, although primarily focusing on men as being ideally muscular, combine many elements of masculinity—urban and outdoors, heteronormative and

queer, hipster and traditional—to promote an ideal for viewers to embody, through the consumption of the promoted alcoholic beverage and modelling of masculine aesthetics. The Bundaberg images bend more towards exaggeration and hyperbolism, using a festival of every possible masculine signifier—with that excess being the fun of it as well as another signifier of hegemonic masculinity. It is worth noting, though, that the 'humour' or exaggeration observed in the Bundaberg advertisement may involve some form of mockery of queer masculinity and gender fluidity, nostalgically referring to a time when men where 'real' men. On the other hand, the Ketel One image blends its elements associated with the masculine ideal more seamlessly and with fewer identifiable tropes. The notion of manliness in these advertisements communicates that alcohol consumption is an activity for those men whose performance of masculinity recognisably demonstrates independence, physical skill, ruggedness, and conquest or appropriation both of nature and of women's bodies.

II.   PROFESSIONAL SUCCESS AND AUTHORITY

This second Ketel One advertisement, which was also designed by Leo Burnett's agency in 2013, conveys hegemonic masculinity through its association with professional success and financial accomplishment against a backdrop symbolising historical significance. This advertisement was featured on billboards throughout Australia and on the internet. Contrary to the usual anonymising, sexualised, and objectifying way women are represented in alcohol advertising, men tend to be depicted in a more authoritative way, exemplifying their financial or professional successes primarily through dress code, posture, and surroundings. This image replicates the same format as the previous Ketel One advertisement, albeit with different internal signifiers. We see a man with cropped hair and a beard, looking directly into the camera, with a half-smile connoting self-sufficiency and satisfaction. He is wearing a white shirt, striped dark red and grey braces, and a dark red tie. He is leaning forwards with his left arm resting on an old-looking book on top of the bar. His right arm is bent at the elbow, and on his right-hand rests a hawk which looks like it has just landed or is about to take off. In the background there is a bar, darkly lit and well-stocked with unidentifiable bottles. There are also several other objects visible in the background: a candelabra with lit candles, an open book which appears old, a gramophone, a bust, frothing potion, and a small metallic globe. In the foreground is an ornate box resting on the dark wood bar. On the left-hand side of the foreground is a large book with dark red binding in a similar shade to the man's tie and braces, angled towards the camera. On top of the book is a glass with about an inch of orange liquid in it and a slice of lemon fixed to the rim. Next to the glass is displayed a bottle of Ketel One. The main caption reads "This One's Mine with "Piotr Kuzmicki's 'Element of Fire'", and "Alchemist Bar, Melbourne." The bottom tagline is the same as in the previously discussed Ketel One advertisement featuring Ketel One's insignia and slogan "do one thing well." The "Drink Wise" branding is displayed, again small and faint in colour.

As a whole, the image connotes magic, mysticism, and alchemy, intended to underline the bar's theme which is also suggested by its name. This reinforces Ketel One's branding as a

Gothic, exotic, and as a long-established European drink. Objects such as the old books, antique-looking objects in the *mise-en-scene* and the hawk, all amplify connotations of tradition, mystique, wealth and decadence. These items, along with drink-mixing and alchemy all suggest that Ketel One has a long and mythical past. As in the Bundaberg advertisement, the hawk symbolises wisdom, foresight, and control, whilst also suggesting that the man is in touch with his 'wild side', but also maintaining the role of the successful businessman (Stutley 2003). Wisdom and intellection are further symbolised by the old books that appear both in the foreground and the background.

The caption "This One's Mine" can be interpreted as signifying the man's pride in his work and his sense of accomplishment. In addition, his clothing aligns with the aesthetic of a young but yet experienced and successful professional. The man looks straight into the camera, and has a faint smile, suggesting his power, authority, self-sufficiency, and command over his environment (Nakayama 1989). The promise to the targeted male consumer is that he will embody this man's qualities if he purchases a bottle of Ketel One vodka (Vestergaard & Schrøder 1988). Finally, the fact that this Ketel One advertisement takes place in a real bar establishes the bar as a location of homosociability, masculine performativity, and as a domain reserved for men's leisure.

III.   ALCOHOL AND MALE SOCIALISING

This advertisement for 'XXXX Gold' beer is part of a 2016 online and billboard campaign. This image signifies male homosociality, exemplified by male bonding in the absence of women. The image depicts a group of five men gathered together at a bar, holding pints of beer in their hands and smiling at each other. Fishing nets hang casually from the rafters and a beach scene fills the background through the open windows of the bar. The advertisement depicts the bar and the outdoors together—two familiar masculine tropes in beer advertising (Strate in Craig 1992). Four of the men are wearing short-sleeved shirts, shorts, and flip-flops. One man wears swim trunks and a full business jacket, shirt, and tie. They appear happy, relaxed and like they are having a good time 'with the boys' with no women present. This group of men stands metonymically for how men 'should' relate to each other in group settings, playing on fears of homoeroticism codified in the absence of physical touching, affection or strong displays of emotion. This reinforces the heteronormative nature of homosocial bonding. Through his work, Strate (in Craig 1992, p. 85) has found that this symbolic connection between beer and homosociality is pervasive:

Having proven that he can act out the masculine role, the initiate is rewarded with beer. As a reward, beer symbolizes the overcoming of a challenge, the fulfilling of the requirements for group membership. The gift of beer also allows the adult male to show his acceptance of the initiate without becoming emotional. Beer then functions as a symbol of initiation and group membership.

The *mise-en-scene* marries two popular settings for alcohol advertising: the pub and the outdoors by the construction of a bar with a beach backdrop. The bar setting reinforces a theme common across beer advertising: that the bar setting is as central as the beer being advertised (Strate in Craig 1992). The bar in this commercial is in a topical haven in part implying that the absence of women is constitutive of a form of social paradise and enables homosociality (Fiske et al. 1987; Kirkby 2003). Away from the rest of the world, "[the] bar is shown as a self-contained environment, one that, like the outdoors, frees men from the constraints of civilization, allowing them to behave irresponsibly" (Strate in Craig 1992, p. 85). Here, this association draws from the bar's beach-side location, emphasising the sense of freedom from constraints and the possibilities for irresponsible behaviour. The beach bar setting maintains the gendering of advertisements more broadly, where men are more often pictured in outdoor or corporate environments, whereas women are generally tend to be pictured in the home and very rarely depicted as working (Dominick & Rauch 1972; Schneider & Schneider 1979; Courtney & Lockeretz 1971; Wagner & Banos 1973; Sexton & Haberman 1974; Venkatesan & Losco 1975).

In this image the men's gazes and smiles are directed towards the man wearing the suit jacket and swim trunks who has his back to the camera. This particular man also appears to be older than the others, suggesting authority that is also conferred on him by the attention of the other men. The incongruity of this man's attire is also intended to connote his greater authority—here is a man that is managing to simultaneously achieve both homosocial leisure time and professionalism. The composition of this image speaks to Strate's argument that "[i]n the world of beer commercials, boys become men by earning acceptance from those who are already full-fledged members of the community of men. Adult men are identified by their age,

their size, their celebrity, and their positions of authority in the work world and/or status in a bar" (Strate in Craig 1992, p. 88). The suited man's position, his age, as well as his attire suggest his greater authority over the other men. Additionally, the position of his pint in relation to the other men suggests that this man is giving a toast, which is potentially symbolic of his status as the leader of this group.

This advertisement effectively signifies a particular epitome of male homosociality, from which women are excluded. This gendered socialising is centred on the consumption of alcohol as a social lubricant (SIRC 1998). Although a sense of camaraderie is conveyed through men enjoying themselves outdoors, emotional and intimate restraint remains a primordial feature. Wenner and Jackson (2009, p. 207) note that "[alcohol] advertisements in Australia […] tend to be conservative renditions of an imagined homosocial life within a nostalgically conceived male-dominated society under challenge from a range of directions, including the decline of male manual labor and the advancement of gender equality."

IV.   SPORTS, ADVENTURE AND RISK-TAKING

Ogilvy created this 2015 Hahn SuperDry beer advertisement for billboards and social media platforms. This image invokes aspirational masculinity in the form of risk taking and control over nature. Adventure, fearlessness and domination represent a common combination of idealised masculine features in alcohol advertising. This image features a man at the top of a mountain-range, looking out to sea. He has his back to the camera and his hands on his hips. He is wearing shorts and a hiking backpack. Most of the image is comprised of a deep expanse of blue sky, over which is written the phrase "are you an experience collector?" The "Drink Wise" stamp is in the top right-hand corner. In the bottom right corner is a black and white stamp that says "experience collectors" with a web address underneath it. In the bottom left corner, extending up into the first third of the image is a bottle of Hahn SuperDry.

The advertisement associates adventure, 'experience-collecting', solitary male travel and rugged landscapes with its product, Hahn SuperDry. In its suggestion of adventurous and potentially hazardous activity, the image evokes a common theme in male-directed alcohol advertising (Jung & Hovland 2016) that reifies travel, experience, and conquering nature as signs of masculine dominance (Beynon 2002). In its choice of question, "are you an experience collector?", the advertisement interpellates the viewer to identify with the man in the image and concurrently with the beer. In this way, the image appeals to the consumer's ego; their desire to make a strong statement about 'who they are' (Jung & Hovland 2016). This advertisement also speaks to the specific privileging of adventurer and explorer-masculinity in Australia (McKay et al. 2009; Rowe & Gilmour 2009) whilst, more broadly, operating within the mode of male-directed alcohol advertising which tends to define men by their activity (Walker 1992). Furthermore, the man's physical prowess is expressed in that he is strong enough to climb a mountain. The image suggests his control and claim over the land, where he is the only inhabitant to be seen (Rowe & Gilmour 2009). Such versions of the Australian landscape potentially 'clear out' indigenous inhabitants, whilst simultaneously representing the outback as the white man's playground and frontier (Rowe & Gilmour 2009). Australian life is

represented as hedonistic, active, and outdoorsy, even though this is far from the reality of many Australians' actual lives (Rowe & Gilmour 2009). In this way, this image is both highly aspirational and reiterative of stereotypical images of hegemonic masculinity.

This advertisement for Victoria Bitter is part of a 2015 campaign that appeared both on billboards and online. Sports imagery in general promotes competitiveness, domination, and male homosocial camaraderie, which are predominant features of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, there is a strong correlation between homosociality, sports and alcohol consumption, particularly beer, as both are perceived as ways for men to assert their masculinity or 'manliness.' Here, a player is depicted in the foreground as he scores a goal. The pictured player is muddy, muscular, and clutching the ball victoriously. In the background, another player runs towards him with his fingers in the air to signify triumph. Other players from both teams are visible in the background, of whom one is flat on his front, suggesting that he was tackled by the victorious player on his way to scoring. A crowd on tiered seating is also visible in the background and the *mise-en-scene* is a stadium. The image forms half of the advertisement, while the other half features Victoria Bitter's logo over a bold, white phrase within a white banner: "hard earned effort of the week." The watching and spectating of sports are strongly associated with tropes of hegemonic masculinity. Sports, such as rugby, reward aggression and brutish force, physical strength and pain, competition, and violence; all attributes associated

with hegemonic masculinity (Pease 2002; Wenner & Jackson 2009). Games like rugby valorise the idea of a man being 'number one,' represented here by the second player's hand gesture in this image. This image highlights homosociality among members of a team, although they also emphasise rivalry and domination (Salisbury & Jackson 1996; Reeser 2010). As Reeser identifies, the relationship between sport and masculinity is performative and forged through reiteration: "the more I practice football, the more I believe that sport and masculinity are related, and the more I convey that belief to others" (Reeser 2010, p. 24). This reiteration leads to the naturalisation of the connection of sports to hegemonic masculinity, with the implication that 'real men' play sports and reap the rewards of victories (Wenner & Jackson 2009).

The gender composition of the world of sports is demonstrative of the protective boundaries that reinforce both the gender binary and the unequal power dynamics underlying gendered performance. Wade and Ferree (2015, p. 177) express that "both women and men play hockey, for instance, but whereas men are allowed to 'check' (body slam) one another, it is against the rules for women to do so and punishable with penalties. Likewise, tackle football is the province of 'real men'; women are allowed to play 'flag' (also sometimes called 'powder puff') football." Such deliberate and physiologically unnecessary modifications to the regulation of gendered performances of sport alter the nature of games so extensively as to have the effect of sequestering genders into incomparable and hierarchically ordained performance measurements. This acts as justification for the continued division of genders in sports by ensuring comparability of performance is grounded foremost in distinctions of regulation rather than in talent, strength or skill. Whereas male professional athletes are understood to play 'pure' versions of sport, female athletes are partitioned into the realm of physical accommodation that misrepresents female athleticism as inferior to their male counterparts. As Wenner (1998, p. 308) further contends,

> Much of the cultural power of sports is linked to its functioning as male rite of passage and the role sports spaces and places play as refuge from women. Sports explicitly naturalize "man's place" in the physical. Implicitly, it also appropriates "women's place as 'other', inherently inferior on the yardstick of the physical, and thus life. These dynamic elements allow sports to play a fundamental role in the construction and maintenance of patriarchy.

Since the institutionalisation and professionalisation of sports in the nineteenth century, the gendered segregation of athleticism in competition has been a major contributor to normalising gendered expectation of physicality and strength. As Carter et al. say "Sex-based classification is integral to many, if not most, forms of sport, which in turn is the foundation of constructions of gender that, in the main, privilege dominant forms of masculinity over those of femininity" (Carter et al. 2014, p. 395). The historical legacy of sports as a sociocultural domain has centred male performance through contested superiority, and demonstrate a covert positioning of femininity as subordinate, sexualised, and peripheral to the professional sphere of sports entertainment. Today the world of professional athletics remains a male-dominated sphere – "institutionally, economically, ideologically, and culturally – despite policies dedicated to eradicating sexual and gender inequality" (Carter et al. 2014, p. 395).

In both slogans and images, alcohol advertisements directed toward male consumers convey that hard work deserves to be rewarded. Masculinity tends to be correlated with men's moral stock, and boys are taught that physical development and its associated pain are key to their masculine identity (Wenner & Jackson 2009). According to Lindsey, the 'toughness norm' associated with hegemonic masculinity is embodied in sports, telling men and boys to be "strong, confident, self-reliant, brave, and independent" and to remain stoic in the face of adversity showing they are in command of the situation at all times (Lindsey 2011, p. 248). As further argued by Wenner and Jackson (2009, p. 3), "Failure to display such traits in competition called into question one's manhood and raised the spectre of being the other, feminine, a sissy, or homosexual. […] Sport brought men together to celebrate their shared manliness and develop strength, competitiveness, efficiency." This advertisement also fits the pattern of male-directed

alcohol advertising, which frequently encourages men to "seek self-reward and/or display power" (Walker 1992, p. 30) and to seek satisfaction and "time out moments" in alcohol (Walker 1992, p. 100). The consumption of beer in this advertisement is associated with the reward for the hard work, further aligning beer drinking with sports, and mapping both as predominant 'masculine activities' (Messner 2002). Beer is suggested here as the thing a man should celebrate with when accomplishing victory. In the categories of adventure and sports, the idea of risk-taking and conquering and succeeding is emphasised. 'Real men' it seems, are not only professionally successful, but also conquerors and winners. In all these advertisements, alcohol is portrayed as a reward to be won, just as the mountain summit or the rugby match was won. The underlying message is that men ought to be rugged, driven, and independent, yet are there 'for the lads' when needed. Alcohol is a reward to be won and is well-deserved by and reserved exclusively for the truly masculine risk-taker, sports hero, office mates at the end of a long workday or workweek, or the rugged outdoorsman.

V.   MASCULINITY AND ALCOHOL-INVOLVED SEXUAL VIOLENCE

Much of the messaging from alcohol advertising directed toward Australians is heavily coded in ideas of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity encompasses the socially rewarded traits found within society's construction of an idealised man. Typically, these traits include (but are not limited to) sexual prowess, confidence, aggression, and dominance (Lindsey 2011; Miller et al. 2014; Towns et al. 2012; Hall & Kappel 2018; Connell 2005). In addition, as stated by Lindsey (2011, p. 249), "abundant research indicated that males who adhere to traditional masculinity norms are more aggressive in the worlds they inhabit – whether in school, in the workplace, or in their families, compared to men who adhere less to these norms." Flood (2014, p. 2) also notes that:

The most well-documented determinants of violence against girls and women can be found in gender norms and gender relations. One key factor here is men's gender-role attitudes and beliefs.

As noted in the theoretical framework, the images presented in this chapter may contribute to individuals being socialised into gendered ideas about alcohol use and drunken behaviours. Bearing in mind that there is no universal form of drunken behaviour, MacAndrew and Edgerton (2003, p. 88) argue that "drunken comportment is an essentially learned affair": different within and between cultures. They caution that the impact of alcohol use on behaviour is largely influenced by cultural and social factors, and not exclusively a result of alcohol's pharmacological effects on the brain (MacAndrew and Edgerton 2003). If indeed drunken behaviours were solely the results of alcohol's interaction with brain activity as opposed to socially constructed cognitive expectations (alcohol expectancies), there wouldn't be substantial contrasts across cultures; rather, we would observe more homogeneity and universality (MacAndrew and Edgerton 2003).

Aggressive and violent behavioural displays in contexts where alcohol consumption occurs in most Western societies are contrasted by research into alcohol consumption amongst the Camba people living in Eastern Bolivia. There, researchers found that, despite consuming large quantities of an alcohol twice as strong as bourbon, drinking amongst the Camba "does not lead to expressions of aggression in verbal or physical form; neither is there a heightening of sexual activity: obscene joking and sexual overtures are rarely associated with drinking" (Heath 1958, p. 501).Taking as his premise that drinking is a male domain and male identified, Capraro (2000) argues that problem drinking among men occurs as a performance of masculinity. In their study on male bar room aggression among Australian men, Miller et al. (2014) investigated the relationship between male alcohol-related aggression (MARA) and drinking. They found that expected positive consequences of MARA, such as increased feelings of power, status, pride, and attention contributed to its occurrence (Miller et al. 2014). This demonstrates how alcohol expectancies associated with hegemonic masculinity can influence men's drunken

behaviour. As argued by Lemle and Mishkind (1989, p. 216), "the aggression manifested by drinkers may stem in part from the cognitive expectations associated with alcohol, as opposed to its pharmacologic effects." These expectations also help shape subsequent rationalisation of problematic displays of drunken comportment: "In cultures where there is an expectation that alcohol will lead to aggression, for example, people appeal to the fact that they were drunk in order to excuse their belligerent conduct" (SIRC 1998, p. 12).

Rarely, when alcohol advertisements do portray women, it is usually as sexualised objects seen through the male gaze, existing only to fulfil men's sexual desires or fantasies of domination. Such images signify that women exist only for male pleasure. In stark contrast with the way men are typically represented in alcohol advertisements as dominant, authoritative, adventurous, successful, self-confident, and self-sufficient, women are often positioned in passive and submissive postures (e.g. head-canting, bent knee, deferent to men, under-represented), cropped to draw attention to a specific sexualised body part, and depicted as ornaments, or in essence, as objects of consumption rather than people (Goffman 1979). This is exemplified by the advertisement for Skinny Blonde ale, the imagery of which relegates women to the same status as beer bottles, signifying the ability for men to possess a woman in the same way they would possess a bottle of beer. The Löwenbräu advertisement similarly objectifies women by cropping the image to show only her breasts and a stein of beer. Both the breasts and the beer are offered up for the male viewer to take at will, further highlighting the association between alcohol consumption and entitlement to women's bodies as inherently intertwined in the affirmation of masculinity through alcohol consumption. Such imagery also serves to strip women of their agency, as objects without emotions, desires, or plans of their own. These depictions can signify to men that women lack the capacity to make empowered decisions—thus negating the importance of obtaining consent. Additionally, if alcohol advertisements signify that men are entitled to a woman's body as part of the drinking

experience, men may also infer that obtaining consent before a sexual act within the context of alcohol consumption is superfluous.

The notion that women bear the responsibility for their victimisation in cases where they were under the influence of alcohol, whereas men are often excused for sexually assaulting women because of their intoxication, demonstrates how alcohol consumption and gender stereotyping go hand-in-hand and privilege men even when their behaviours are violating (Abbey et al. 2004; Zawacki et al. 2003; VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017). Echoing the historical stigmatisation of female drinkers as promiscuous discussed in chapters two and four, this stereotyping of women's use of alcohol falls in line with a larger perception of women who seemingly 'violate' gender norms; that is, when women engage in activities or behaviours that do not abide by 'respectable feminine traits,' they can be perceived as overtly sexual (Nielsen et al. 2000). In this way, rapists may rationalise their behaviour by stating that they were too drunk to stop themselves, that they were unable to resist their increased sexual urges, or that the woman was 'asking for it' based on her alcohol use (Engstrom 2012).

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter used semiotic analyses of various alcohol advertisements depicting men to demonstrate how alcohol advertising upholds and plays upon the construction of hegemonic masculinity to promote and sell beverages. This is done through depictions of specific physical and sartorial features, professional success and authority, homosociality, and adventure, risk-taking, and sports. Despite aesthetic differences—such as in imagery, text, or setting—each advertisement in this chapter associates the consumption of alcohol with ideal masculine traits, both in appearance and performance, and in both personal and professional spheres. This finding aligns with Strinati's (2004, p. 165) stance on mass media's furthering of gender

stereotypes: "men and women [are] represented by the mass media in conformity with the cultural stereotypes which serve to reproduce traditional sex roles."

Men are shown here as being in control, successful, confident, and hard-working. Hegemonic masculinity is upheld, communicated, perpetuated and encouraged in the hereby analysed alcohol advertisements through the portrayal of men as dominant authority figures, whilst women's representations most often involve some form of subordination as implied by sexually suggestive clothing and the positioning of women's bodies as well as facial expressions. Associating alcohol consumption with such gender stereotypes and perpetuating the notion that alcohol consumption is a typically masculine endeavour as well as a way to perform and embody idealised masculine traits are problematic because gender stereotyping and the upholding of patriarchal beliefs have been linked to the perpetration of sexual violence (Flood 2014). As demonstrated in this chapter, alcohol is oftentimes portrayed as a product aimed for heterosexual, and sometimes queer, males, but only those who agree to embody features of and align themselves with hegemonic masculinity. According to the gathered data, alcohol consumption is represented as an activity reserved for men who are able to exert control over their environments, who have achieved success, and who are victorious in competition and conquest. Paramount is the idea that alcohol consumption is for men often as a reward for their uniquely masculine achievements in both work and leisure.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been one of investigating the ways in which alcohol advertising in Australia perpetuates a gender-segregated drinking culture. While the link between gender stereotypes in alcohol advertising and the prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assault was not the primary focus of this thesis, some explanations as to why such gender-stereotypical representations may be problematic when considering their role in the upholding of gender-related alcohol expectancies were provided as well. A large body of literature forms the background against which this study was conducted. As noted in the literature review, this body of scholarly work includes those concerning the social construction of gender and sexuality, as well as those exploring ways in which these constructed notions are represented and reaffirmed in cultural texts such as advertising. This body of work demonstrates that these gender-biased representations help to perpetuate a gender hierarchy that serves patriarchal domination. Despite considerable contributions in this field, the more specific question regarding the relationship between such gendered representations of alcohol consumption and gendered alcohol expectancies had remained unanswered.

To carry out this study a sample of 74 Australian alcohol advertisements was examined through a combination of visual content analysis and semiotics analyses. First, the content analysis in chapter four examined representational trends within the whole sample, while the semiotic analyses in chapters five and six focused on 14 of those advertisements. The multimethod nature of the research design enabled a more comprehensive approach in order to uncover the ways in which the sampled advertisements promote a gender-segregated drinking culture, and how the perpetuation of gender-biased notions of alcohol use can become problematic. Furthermore, to provide a holistic understanding of the interconnected dynamics

of the gendering of alcohol consumption in Australia, representations of both men and women were included in the investigation.

The following criteria used in the content analysis helped to shed light on trends of gendered representations: (1) the under-representation of women; (2) gender stereotyping, including the illustration of tropes associated with hegemonic masculinity as well as the subordination of women; and (3) homosociality, showing men engaging in same-sex camaraderie while consuming alcoholic beverages. Using these categories, a correlation can be drawn between the symbolic gendering of alcohol consumption and gender-related alcohol expectancies.

Gendered views of alcohol consumption have been shown in this content analysis to be encountered in most of the selected images. The under-representation of women in these sampled advertisements can be seen as reaffirming alcohol consumption as a predominantly masculine activity, often situating it outside the realm of acceptable feminine behaviour. Messages found in the sampled advertisements also recurrently promoted a homosocial male drinking environment from which women were usually excluded.

Aside from the under-representation of women, the content analysis also uncovered a stark contrast in the representation of men and women. Figures in chapter three highlighted a significant disparity in such portrayals. One of the most prevalent differences seen in these depictions is the representation of the active male versus that the passive or objectified/decorative female. Men were typically shown as physically strong, professionally successful, and engaging in physically demanding or risky activities such as sports or construction work, while women tended to be depicted as deferent through attire, facial expression, and body positioning and posture. Such discrepancies serve to perpetuate notions of gender hierarchy and solidifies the association between hegemonic masculinity and alcohol consumption.

Semiology was also used alongside visual content analysis to contextualise and describe the symbolic meanings and myths embedded within the advertisements. The semiotic analyses featured in chapters four and five, primarily informed by Barthesian semiotics, focused in particular on concepts such as codes, denotations, connotations, and social myths. Specifically investigated was the process of signification and myth-making as it involves the constructing and upholding of a correlation between gender and alcohol consumption. Through the use of semiotics, a detailed description was given of the different ways men and women are represented in the selected alcohol advertisements.

The analysis revealed a broad range of patterns of representation relating to women's subordination as well as those upholding tropes of hegemonic masculinity. The investigation of women's portrayals in the images selected for chapter five suggested that women were presented as commodities to be consumed alongside the alcohol beverages being promoted. Through the employment of the themes such as the virgin myth, cropping, sexualised and objectified bodies, and seduction, these advertisements can be seen to uphold and perpetuate gender stereotypes as well as presenting women either as submissive (placed in a deferential position to men) or as sexual objects to be consumed (being paired with alcohol in a way that suggests commodification). On the other hand, the investigation concerned with the depiction of men revealed that the selected advertisements mostly uphold and play into the association of hegemonic masculinity and alcohol use. This is done particularly through depictions of specific physical and sartorial features, professional success and authority, homosociality, as well as adventure, risk-taking, and sports. Contrary to women's, men's portrayals involved a sense of being in control, successful, confident, assertive, muscular, and hard-working. Such differential representations show how alcohol consumption is typically linked with gender stereotypes, perpetuating the idea that alcohol consumption is a traditional masculine endeavour. This is an important finding, given the established causal relationship between the upholding of gender norms and the perpetration of sexual violence against women (Flood 2014).

Although the alcohol advertisements considered in this study were limited in number, the findings of this project are making a valid claim regarding the problematic representations of gender relations in alcohol advertising and could be expanded upon in future research, which may include a broader, wider array of examples. Another related aspect of the current study deserving of further investigation, is one examining the ways in which individuals exposed to media's representations of gender understand and interpret those messages in relation to alcohol consumption. Although this aspect of advertisements and their representations has not been the focus of the present study, its exploration would offer further insights, especially in illuminating different ways those depictions are interpreted by audiences. Such a study would be beneficial and could offer further examination of the impact of gendered representations in Australian alcohol advertisements, and inform changes in public policy and outreach campaigns aimed at lowering the prevalence of alcohol-involved sexual assault.

Despite cultural shifts towards an increased acceptance of female drinking in Australian society, the data gathered in this research demonstrates that alcohol advertising mostly continues to perpetuate gender stereotypes through the production of images conveying differential gender displays that are rooted in gender norms. This disparity serves to reinforce the association between alcohol, hegemonic masculinity and sexual gratification, and contributes to the stigmatisation of women who consume alcohol. The notion that women who consume alcohol bear the responsibility for their sexual victimisation, whereas men under the influence of alcohol are often excused for sexually assaulting women, demonstrates how gender biases correlated with alcohol use can perpetuate rape culture through victim-blaming (VicHealth 2013; ANROWS 2017).

The advertisements presented in this thesis show exaggerated, hyper-ritualised representations of gender, which conceptualise the connection between gender norms and alcohol consumption as immutable and natural. Through the gendered representation of women as passive and submissive sexual objects and men as active and domineering, these gendered

scripts can become internalised and potentially acted out. Analyses of advertisements selected for this study have evidenced a championing of hegemonic masculinity at the expense of women's autonomy. The imagery of woman-as-object which was noted throughout this research strips women of their agency, signalling to men that women lack autonomy, making them targets for objectification and degradation in social contexts involving the consumption of alcohol. It is this mechanism of associating masculinity and emphasised femininity with alcohol consumption that can become problematic as it may contribute to a social environment in which sexual assault and violence against women in contexts involving alcohol use is explained away as an inevitable and expected outcome of alcohol's interaction with brain activity, rather than a broader social issue in which gender ideology plays an important role.

REFERENCES

Abbey, A, Clinton-Sheerod, A, McAuslan, P, Zawacki, T, Buck, PO 2003, 'The Relationship Between the Quantity of Alcohol Consumed and the Severity of Sexual Assaults Committed by College Men', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 18, no. 7, pp. 813-833.

Abbey, A, Zawacki, T, Buck, P, Clinton, M & McAuslan, P 2004, 'Alcohol and sexual assault', *Alcohol Research & Health,* vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 43-51.

Abbey, A, McAuslan, P, Thomson-Ross, L 1998, 'Sexual Assault Perpetration by College Men: The Role of Alcohol, Misperception of Sexual Intent, and Sexual Beliefs and Experiences', *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 167-195.

Abbey, A, Ross, L, McDuffie, D & McAuslan, P 1996, 'Alcohol, misperception, and sexual assault: How and why are they linked?' *Sex, Power, Conflict: Evolutionary and Feminist Perspectives*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 138–161.

Alsop R, Fitzsimons, A & Lennon, K 2002, *Theorizing Gender*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Altman, I & Taylor, DA 1973, *Social penetration: The development of interpersonal relationships*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS) 2017, *Australians' Attitudes towards Violence against Women & Gender Equality*, viewed 4 February 2019, < https://ncas.anrows.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/ANROWS_NCAS_Summary_Report.pdf>.

Armstrong, EA, Hamilton, LT, Armstrong, EM & Seeley, JL 2014, 'Good Girls': Social Class, and Slut Discourse on Campus', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, vol. 77, no. 2, pp. 100-122.

Barthel, D 1988, *Putting on appearances: gender and advertising*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

Barthes, R 1972, *Mythologies,* Noonday Press, New York.

Bartholomaeus, C 2011, 'What it means to be 'manly': gender, sport, and primary school students', *Outskirts*, vol. 24, pp. 1-14.

Bartholow, BD & Heinz, A 2006, 'Alcohol and Aggression without Consumption. Alcohol Cues, Aggressive Thoughts, and Hostile Perception Bias', *Psychological Science*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 30–37.

Beasley, C 2015, 'Libidinal heterodoxy: heterosexuality, hetero-masculinity and 'transgression'', *Men and Masculinities,* vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 140-158.

Beasley, C, Holmes, M & Brook, H 2015, 'Heterodoxy: challenging orthodoxies about heterosexuality', *Sexualities,* vol. 18, no. 5, pp. 681-697.

Behnke, C & Meuser, M 2002, 'Gender and Habitus' in B Baron & H Kotthoff, (eds), *Gender in interaction: perspectives on femininity and masculinity in ethnography and discourse*, pp. 153-70, John Benjamins Publishing, Amsterdam.

Belknap, P & Leonard, WM 1991, 'A Conceptual Replication and Extension of Erving Goffman's Study of Gender Advertisements', *Sex Roles*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 103-118.

Benwell, B 2000, 'Ironic Discourse: Masculine Talk in Men's Lifestyle Magazines', unpublished conference paper for 'Posting the Male', John Moores University, Liverpool.

Berger, AA 2018, *Media Analysis Techniques,* 6th edn, Sage Publications, London.

Berger, J 1972, *Ways of Seeing*, Penguin Modern Classics, London.

Beynon, J 2002, *Masculinities & Culture*, Open University Press, Philadelphia.

Bignell, J 2002, *Media Semiotics: An Introduction*, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Billig, M 2001, 'Humour and Embarassment: Limits of 'Nice-Guy' Theories of Social Life', *Theory, Culture, and Society*, vol. 18, no. 5, pp. 23-43.

Bird, S 1996, 'Welcome to the men's club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity', *Gender & Society,* vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 120-132.

Bourdieu, P 2001, *Masculine Domination*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Breed, W & DeFoe, JR 1979, 'Themes in magazine alcohol advertisements: A critique', *Journal of Drug Issues*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 511-522.

Brownmiller, S 1975, *Against Our Will: Men, Women & Rape*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

Burton, D 2005, 'Marketing Theory Matters', *British Journal of Management*, vol. 16, pp. 5-18.

Burton, G 2010, *Media and Society: Critical perspectives*, 2nd ed., Open University Press, England.

Byers, E & Eno, R 1992, 'Predicting Men's Sexual Coercion and Aggression from Attitudes, Dating History, and Sexual Response', *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality*, vol. 4, pp. 55-70.

Capraro, RL 2000, 'Why college men drink: alcohol, adventure, and the paradox of masculinity', *Journal of American College Health,* vol. 48, no. 6, pp. 307-315.

Carrigan, T, Connell, RW & Lee, J 1985, 'Toward a new sociology of masculinity', *Theory and Society,* vol. 14, pp. 551-604.

Carter, C, Steiner, L & McLaughlin, L 2014, *The Routledge Companion to Media and Gender*, Routledge, New York.

Christensen, A & Jensen, S 2014, 'Combining hegemonic masculinity and Intersectionality', *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies,* vol. 9, pp. 60-75.

Cobbaert, L 2018, 'Campus Rape and Sexual Violence' in M Smith (ed), *Encyclopedia of Rape and Sexual Violence*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, California, pp. 25-61.

Connell, RW 2005, *Masculinities*, 2nd edn, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Connell, RW 2002, *The Men and the Boys*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney.

Connell, RW 1995, *Masculinities,* University of California Press, California.

Connell, RW 1987, *Gender and power: society, the person, and sexual politics,* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Connell, RW 1983, *Which Way Is Up?*, Allen & Unwin, London.

Connell, RW & Messerschmidt, JW 2005, 'Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept', *Gender & Society*, vol. 19, no. 6, pp. 829-859.

Cook, B, David, F & Grant, A 2001, 'Sexual violence in Australia', *Australian Institute of Criminology — Research and Public Policy Series,* vol. 36, Elect Printing, Canberra.

Coston, BM & Kimmel, M 2012, 'Seeing privilege where it isn't: marginalized masculinities and the intersectionality of privilege', *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 97-111.

Courtney, AE & Lockeretz, SW 1971, 'A woman's place: an analysis of the roles portrayed by women in magazine advertisements', *Journal of Marketing Research*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 92-95.

Courtney, AE & Whipple, TW 1983, *Sex Stereotyping in Advertising*, Lexington Books, Lexington.

Courtois, CA 2008, 'Rape trauma syndrome' in CM Renzetti & JL Edelson (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Interpersonal Violence*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, pp. 587-588.

Craig, S 1992, *Men, Masculinity and the Media,* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

Crenshaw, K 1991, 'Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color', *Stanford Law Review,* vol. 43, no. 6, pp. 1241-1299.

Creswell, JW, Hanson, WE, Clark Plano, VL & Morales, A 2007, 'Qualitative research designs: selection and implementation', *The Counseling Psychologist*, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 236-264.

Cronin, A 2004, *Advertising Myths*, Routledge, New York.

Danesi, M 2002, *Messages, Signs and Meanings: A Basic Textbook in Semiotics and Communication Theory*, Canadian Scholars Press, Toronto.

Dean, KE & Malamuth, NM 1997, 'Characteristics of men who aggress sexually and of men who imagine aggressing: Risk and moderating variables', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* vol. 72, no. 2, pp. 449-455.

Deans, E, Thomas, S, Daube, M, Derevensky, J & Gordon, R 2016, 'Creating symbolic cultures of consumption: an analysis of the content of sports wagering advertisements in Australia', *BMC Public Health*, vol. 16, no. 208.

De Visser, RO & Smith, JA 2007, 'Alcohol consumption and masculine identity among young men', *Psychology & Health*, vol. 22, no. 5, pp. 595-614.

Dines, G & Humez, JM 2011, *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Critical Reader*, Thousand Oaks, California.

Dominick, JR & Ruch, GE 1972, 'The image of women in network TV commercials', *Journal of Broadcasting,* vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 259-65.

Donaldson, M, Hibbins, R, Howson, R, & Pease, B 2009, *Migrant men: critical studies of masculinities and the migration experience*, Routledge, London.

Douglas, M 2003, *Constructive drinking: Perspectives on drink from anthropology*, Routledge, London.

Du Gay, P, Hall, S, Janes, L, Mackay, H & Negus, K 1997, *Doing cultural studies: the story of the Sony Walkman*, Sage Publications/The Open University, London.

Duncanson, C 2015, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the possibility of change in gender relations', *Men and Masculinities,* vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 231-248.

Durham, MG & Kellner, DM (eds.) 2012, *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords,* 2nd ed., John Wiley & Sons, London.

Dyer, R 1982, 'Don't look now', *Screen*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 61-73.

Dyer, R 1988, 'White', *Screen*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp. 44-65.

Džanić, M 2013, 'The semiotics of contemporary advertising messages: Decoding visuals', *Jezikoslovlje*, vol. 14, no. 2-3, pp. 475-485.

Eisend, M 2010, 'A meta-analysis of gender roles in advertising', *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science,* vol. 38, pp. 418-440.

Ellickson, PL, Collins, RL, Hambarsoomians, K and McCaffrey, DF 2005, 'Does alcohol advertising promote adolescent drinking? Results from a longitudinal assessment', *Addiction*, vol. 100, no.2, pp.235-246.

Emrick, CD, Hansen, J, Maytag, JC 1985, 'Cognitive-behavioral treatment of problem drinking', in HB Milkman & HJ Shaffer (eds) *The addictions: multidisciplinary perspectives and treatments*, Lexington Books, Lexington, pp. 161-174.

Engstrom, C 2012, 'Yes…, but I was drunk": alcohol references and the (re)production of masculinity on a college campus', *Communication Quarterly,* vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 403-423.

Ewen, S 1977, *Captains of consciousness: advertising and the social roots of consumer culture*, McGraw-Hill, New York.

Fejes, FJ 1992, 'Masculinity as Fact: A Review of Empirical Mass Communication Research on Masculinity, in S Craig (ed) *Men, Masculinity and the Media,* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, pp. 9-22.

Ferber, A 2012, *Sex, Gender & Sexuality: The New Basics,* Oxford University Press, New York.

Fienstermaker, S & West, C 2002, *Doing Gender Difference: Inequality, Power and Institutional Change,* Routledge, New York.

Fileborn, BK 2011, *Sexual assault law in Australia*, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Fiske, J, Hodge, B & Turner, G 1987, *Myths of Oz: Reading Australian Popular Culture*, Oxford.

Flood, M 2008, 'Men, sex, and homosociality: how bonds between men shape their sexual relations with women', *Men and Masculinities* vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 339-359.

Flood, M, Kegan Gardiner, J, Pease, B, & Pringle, K (eds) 2007, *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, Routledge, London.

Flood, M & Pease, B 2006, 'The factors influencing community attitudes in relation to violence against women: a critical review of the literature', *VicHealth*, Carlton South, viewed 16 February 2017 <https://dro.deakin.edu.au/eserv/DU:30010424/pease-factorsinfluencingcommunity-2006.pdf>.

Flood, M 2014, 'Preventing violence against women and girls', in RJ Burke & DJ Major (eds), *Gender In Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement?*, Edward Elgar Publishing, United States, pp. 405-427.

Flood, M 2019, *Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Fourie, PJ 2012, 'The Effects of Mass Communication' in PJ Fourie (ed.), *Media Studies: Media History, Media and Society*, Juta & Co., Cape Town, South Africa

Fuss, D 1991, 'Inside/out' in D Fuss (ed), *Lesbian theories, gay theories,* pp. 1-10. London, Routledge.

Gagnon, JH & Simon, W 2005, *Sexual conduct: the social sources of human sexuality*, 2nd edn, Aldine Tranaction, London.

Gentry, J, & Harrison, R 2010, 'Is advertising a barrier to male movement toward gender change?' *Marketing Theory*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 74-96.

George, W & Marlatt, GA 1986, 'The Effects of Alcohol and Anger on Interest in Violence, Erotica, and Deviance', *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, vol. 95, no. 2, pp. 150-158.

Gill, R 2007, 'Postfeminist media culture: elements of a sensibility', *European journal of cultural studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 147-166.

Goffman, E 1979, *Gender Advertisements*, Harper Torch Books, New York.

Goodin, R & Pettit, P 2006, *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, Wiley-Blackwell, New Jersey.

Gramsci, A 1971 *Selections from the prison notebooks,* Lawrence & Wishart, London.

Grau, SL and Zotos, YC 2016, 'Gender stereotypes in advertising: a review of current research', *International Journal of Advertising*, vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 761-770.

Guckenheimer, D 2008, 'Rape culture' in CM Renzetti & J. L. Edelson, (eds), *Encyclopaedia of Interpersonal Violence,* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, pp. 1-4.

Gutzke, DW 2014, *Women drinking out in Britain since the early twentieth century,* Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Haeberle, J & Grindorf, R (eds) 1998, *Bisexualities: the ideology and practice of sexual contact with both women and men*, Continuum, New York.

Hall, G & Kappel, R 2018, 'Gender, Alcohol, and the Media: The Portrayal of Men and Women in Alcohol Commercials', *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 571-583.

Hall, S, Evans, J and Nixon, S (eds.) 2013, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 2nd ed, Sage Publications, London.

Hall, S 1973, *Encoding and decoding in the television discourse*, University of Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Stencilled Paper no. 7.

Hall, S 1980, 'Cultural studies: Two paradigms', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 57-72.

Hall, S 1997a, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage Publications, London.

Hall, S 1997b, *Representation and the media: featuring Stuart Hall*, Produced by Media Education Foundation and directed by Sut Jhally Media Education Foundation.

Hall, W & Hunter, E 1995, 'Australia' in *International Handbook on Alcohol and Culture,* D Heath (ed), AB-CLIO, Santa Barbara, California, pp. 7-18.

Hammeren, N & Johansson, T 2014, 'Homosociality In Between Power and Intimacy', *Sage Open*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-11.

Harding, K 2015, *Asking for it: the alarming rise of rape culture*, DaCapo Press, Boston.

Harker, M, Harker, D and Svensen, S 2005, 'Attitudes towards Gender Portrayal in Advertising: An Australian Perspective', *Journal of Marketing Management*, vol. 21, no. 1-2, pp. 251-264.

Hearn, J 2004, 'From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men', *Feminist Theory*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 49-72.

Heath, DB 1958, 'Drinking patterns of the Bolivian Camba', *Journal of the Study of Alcohol Quarterly*, vol. 19, no. 3, pp. 491-508.

Herman, DF 1984, 'The Rape Culture' in J Freeman, (ed), *Women: a feminist perspective,* Mayfield Publishing Company, Mountain View, California, pp. 45-52.

Hesse-Biber, SN, & Leavy, PL 2007, *Feminist research practice*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

Hinote, B & Webber, G 2012, "Drinking toward manhood: masculinity and alcohol in the former USSR", *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 292-310.

Hochschild, AR 1983, *The managed heart: commercialization of human feeling,* University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Hodkinson, P 2017, *Media, culture and society: an introduction,* 2nd edn, Sage Publications, London.

Hoel, AS 2015, 'From 'difference' to complexity in men and masculinity studies: exploring research methods', *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 5-19.

Ives, P 2004, *Language and hegemony in Gramsci*, Pluto Press, London.

Iwamoto, DK, Cheng, A, Lee, CS, Takamatsu, S, & Gordon, D 2011, 'Man-ing up and Getting Drunk: The Role of Masculine Norms, Alcohol Intoxication and Alcohol-related Problems among College Men', *Addictive Behaviors*, vol. 36, no. 9, pp. 906-911.

Jacobsen, RH, Lahey, BB & Strauss, CC 1983, 'Correlates of depressed mood in normal children', *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 29-39.

Jackson, S 1999, *Heterosexuality in question*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

Jackson, S 2006, 'Gender, sexuality and heterosexuality: the complexity (and limits) of heteronormativity', *Feminist Theory*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 105-121.

Jackson, S & Scott, S 2010, *Theorizing sexuality*, Open University Press, New York.

Jewkes, R, Morrell, R, Hearn, J, Lundqvist, E,.Blackbeard, D, Lindegger, G, Quayle, M, Sikweyiya, Y & L, Gottzén 2015, 'Hegemonic masculinity: combining theory and practice in gender interventions', *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 96-111.

Jhally, S 1987, *The codes of advertising: fetishism and the political economy of meaning in the consumer society*, Routledge, London.

Jones, BT, Corbin, W & Fromme, K, 2001, 'A review of expectancy theory and alcohol consumption', *Addiction,* vol. 96, no. 1, pp. 57–72.

Jones, S & Magee, C 2011, 'Exposure to Alcohol Advertising and Alcohol Consumption among Australian Adolescents', *Alcohol and Alcoholism*, vol. 46, no. 5, pp. 630–637.

Jones, S 2005, 'Beer, boats and breasts: responses to a controversial alcohol advertising campaign', in S Purchase (ed), *Proceedings for the ANZMAC Conference*, pp. 77-83, University of Western Australia, Perth.

Jones, S & Reid, A 2010, 'The use of female sexuality in Australian alcohol advertising: public policy implications of young adults' reactions to stereotypes', *Journal of Public Affairs*, vol. 10, no. 1-2, pp. 19-35.

Jung, AR & Hovland, R 2016, 'Targeting gender: A content analysis of alcohol advertising in magazines', *Health Mark Quartely,* vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 221-38.

Kanin, EJ 1984, 'Date Rape: Unofficial Criminals and Victims', *Victimology,* vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 95-198.

Kerry, VJ 2016, 'The construction of hegemonic masculinity in the semiotic landscape of a CrossFit 'cave'', *Visual Communication*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 209-237.

Kilbourne, J 1999, *Can't Buy My Love: How Advertising Changes the Way We Think and Feel,* Simon & Schuster, New York.

Kimmel, SB & Mahalik, JR 2004, 'Body Image Concerns of Gay Men: The Roles of Minority Stress and Conformity to Masculine Norms', *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, vol. 73, no. 6, pp. 1185-1190.

Kimmel, MS 2017, *The Gendered Society,* Oxford University Press, New York.

Kimmel, MS 1996, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, The Free Press, New York.

Kimmel, MS 1993, 'Invisible masculinity', *Society*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 28-35.

Kimmel, MS 1994, 'Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity' in H Brod and M Kaufman (eds.) *Theorizing Masculinities*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 119-141.

Kimmel, MS & Aronson, A 2004, *Men and masculinities: a social, cultural, and historical encyclopedia, volume 1*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, California.

Kimmel, MS & Llewellyn, C 2012, 'Homosexuality, gender nonconformity, and the neoliberal state', *Journal of homosexuality*, vol. 59, no. 7, pp. 1087-1094.

Kirkby, D 2003, ''Beer, glorious beer': Gender politics and Australian popular culture', *The Journal of Popular Culture,* vol. 37, no, 2, pp. 244-256.

Knoll, S, Eisend, M. and Steinhagen, J 2011, 'Gender roles in advertising: Measuring and comparing gender stereotyping on public and private TV channels in Germany', *International Journal of Advertising*, vol. 30, no. 5, pp. 867-888.

Koss, MP, Dinero, TE, Seibel, CA & Cox, SL 1988, 'Stranger and acquaintance rape: are there differences in the victim's experience?' *Psychology of Women Quarterly,* vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-24.

Leeds-Hurwitz, W 1993, *Semiotics and communication: signs, codes, cultures*, Indiana University, Laurence Erlbaum Associates.

Leeth, C 2012, *The relationship between traditional masculinity and drive for muscularity in college-age men*, The University of Texas at San Antonio, San Antonio.

Lemle, R & Mishkind, M 1989, 'Alcohol and Masculinity', *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment,* vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 213-222.

Levine, P 1994, *Victorian feminism, 1850-1900,* The University of Florida Press, Gainsville, Florida.

Lévi-Strauss, C 1961, *A World on the Wane, 1st edition,* Vancover, Criterion Books.

Lévi-Strauss, C 1995, *Myth and Meaning: Cracking the Code of Culture*, Schocken Books, Inc, New York.

Lindsey, L 2011, *Gender roles: A sociological perspective*, 5th edn, Routledge, New York.

Lipman-Blumen, J 1976, 'Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 15-31.

Lorber, J 2010, *Gender Inequality*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Loreck, J 2016, 'Explainer: what does the 'male gaze' mean, and what about a female gaze?', *The Conversation*, accessed 15 February 2017 <http://theconversation.com/explainer-what-does-the-male-gaze-mean-and-what-about-a-female-gaze-52486>.

MacAndrew, C & Edgerton, RB 2003, *Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation*, Percheron Press, New York.

MacKay, NJ and Covell, K 1997 'The impact of women in advertisements on attitudes toward women', *Sex roles*, vol. 36, no. 9-10, pp. 573-583.

Magalhães, I 2005, 'Critical discourse analysis and the semiotic construction of gender identities', *Delta*, vol. 21, pp. 179-205.

Marx, K 1998, *The German Ideology,* Prometheus Books, New York.

Marx, K 1976, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume 1*, London, Penguin Books.

Marshall, D, Davis, T, Hogg, MK, Schneider, T, & Petersen, A 2014, 'From overt provider to invisible presence: Discursive shifts in advertising portrayals of the father in Good Housekeeping', *Journal of Marketing Management*, vol. 30, no. 15-16, pp. 1654-1679.

Marsteller, P & Karnchanapee, K 1980, 'The use of women in the advertising of distilled spirits', *Psychedelic Drugs*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-12.

McClintock, A 1995, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, Routledge, New York.

McKay, J, Emmison, M & Mikosza, J 2009, 'Lads, Larrikins and Mates: Hegemonic Masculinities in Australian Beer Advertisements', in LA Wenner & SJ Jackson (eds), *Sports, Beer, and Gender: Promotional Culture and Contemporary Social Life*, Peter Lang, New York, pp. 163-180.

McRobbie, A 2007, 'Post-feminism and popular culture', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 265-274.

Mean, L 2009, 'On the lite side? Miller Lite's men of the square table, man laws, and the making of masculinity', *Sport, Beer, and Gender: Promotional Culture and Contemporary Social Life*, pp.143-162.

Messerschmidt, J, Martin, P, Messner, M and Connell, R 2018. *Gender reckonings*. New York University Press, New York.

Messner, A 2002, *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Milestone, K & Meyer, M 2012, *Gender and Popular Culture*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Miller, NS & Gold, MS 1988, 'The human sexual response and alcohol and drugs', *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment,* vol. 5, no.3, pp. 171-177.

Miller, P, Wells, S, Hobbs, S, Zinkiewicz, S, Curtis, A, & Graham, K 2014, 'Alcohol, Masculinity, Honour and Male Barroom Aggression in an Australian Sample', *Drug and Alcohol Review,* vol. 33, pp. 136-143.

Milner, LM and Higgs, B 2004, 'Gender sex-role portrayals in international television advertising over time: The Australian experience', *Journal of Current Issues & Research in Advertising*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 81-95.

Moog, C 1990, *Are they selling her lips?: advertising and identity*, William Morrow and Co, New York.

Morgenstern, M, Isensee, B, Sargent, JD and Hanewinkel, R 2011, 'Exposure to alcohol advertising and teen drinking', *Preventive medicine*, vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 146-151.

Mosher, DL & Anderson, RD 1986, 'Macho personality, sexual aggression, and reactions to guided imagery of realistic rape', *Journal of Research in Personality*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 77-94.

Muehlenhard, CL & Linton, MA 1987, 'Date rape and sexual aggression in dating situations: Incidence and risk factors', *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 186-96.

Mullen, PE, Pathé, M & Purcell, R 2009, *Stalkers and their Victims,* 2nd edn, Cambridge University Press, New York.

Mulvey, L 1975, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', *Screen,* vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 6-18.

Murrie, L 2009, 'The Australian legend: Writing Australian masculinity/writing 'Australian' masculine', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 22, no. 56, pp. 68-77.

Nakayama, TK 1994, 'Show/down time: 'race,'; gender, sexuality, and popular culture', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 162-79.

National Union of Students (NUS) 2013, 'That's what she said: women students' experiences of 'lad culture' in higher education', University of Sussex Press, Sussex.

Newbold, C, Boyd-Barrett, O & Van Den Bulck, H 2002, *The Media Book*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Nielsen, AL 2000, 'Examining drinking patterns and problems among Hispanic groups: results from a national survey', *Journal of Studies on Alcohol,* vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 301-10.

National Sexual Violence Resource Center (NSVRC) 2012, *It's time … talk about gender norms,* viewed 15 November 2017, <http://www.nsvrc.org/sites/default/files/SAAM_2012_Gender-norms.pdf>.

Odekerken-Schröder, G, De Wulf, K and Hofstee, N 2002, 'Is gender stereotyping in advertising more prevalent in masculine countries? A cross-national analysis', *International Marketing Review*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 408-419.

Olson JM, Roese NJ & Zanna MP 1996, 'Expectancies', in ET Higgins & AW Kruglanski (eds), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles*, Guildford Press, New York, pp. 211-238.

Pease, B 2002, *Men and Gender Relations*, Tertiary Press, Victoria.

Pease, B 2016, 'Critical Social Work With Men: Challenging men's complicity in the reproduction of patriarchy and male privilege', *Social Alternatives,* vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 49-52.

Phipps, A, Ringrose, J, Renold, E & Jackson, C 2018, 'Rape culture, lad culture and everyday sexism: researching, conceptualizing and politicizing new mediations of gender and sexual violence', *Journal of Gender Studies*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 1-8.

Phipps, A & Young, I 2015, ''Lad culture' in higher education: Agency in the sexualization debates', *Sexualities*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 459-479.

Pimenta, SM & Natividade, C 2013, 'The semiotic construction of masculinity and affect: a multimodal analysis of media texts', *A Journal of English Language, Literatures in English and Cultural Studies*, vol. 64, pp. 173-198.

Rahman, S & Jackson, S 2010, *Gender & Sexuality: Sociological Approaches,* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Rapaport, K & Buckhart, BR 1984, "Personality and attitudinal characteristics of sexually coercive college males", *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, vol. 93 no. 2, pp. 216-221.

Reeser, TW 2010, *Masculinities in Theory*, Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester.

Reilly, A Yancura, L & Young, D, 2011, "Three Predictive Variables of Social Physique Anxiety among Gay Men" *Psychology & Sexuality*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 244-254.

Richardson, N & Wearing, S 2014, *Gender in the Media*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Ringrose, J & Renold, E 2012, 'Slut-shaming, girl power and 'sexualisation': thinking through the politics of the international SlutWalks with teen girls', *Gender and Education,* vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 333-343.

Rowe, D & Gilmour, C 2009, 'Lubrication and domination: beer, sport, masculinity and the Australian gender order', *Sport, Beer, and Gender: Promotional Culture and Contemporary Social Life,* pp. 203-221.

Salisbury, J & Jackson, D 1996, *Challenging macho values: Practical ways of working with adolescent boys*, Routledge, London.

Sanders, K 2015, 'Mean girls, homosociality and football: an education on social and power dynamics between girls and women', *Gender and Education*, vol. 27, no. 7, pp. 887-908.

Saussure, F 2011, *Course in general linguistics*, Eds. P Meisel, & H Saussy, Trans. W Baskin, Columbia University Press, New York.

Schneider, KC & Schneider, SB 1979, 'Trends in Television Commercials', *Journal of Marketing*, vol. 43 (summer), pp. 79-84.

Schuckit, MA 1984, 'Subjective responses to alcohol in sons of alcoholics and control subjects', *Archives of General Psychiatry*, vol. 41, no. 9, pp. 879-884.

Scott, J 1986, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review,* vol. 91, no.5, pp. 1053-1075.

Scott, R 1976, *The female consumer*, Hoboken, Wiley, New Jersey.

Scully, D 1991, *Understanding Sexual Violence: A Study of Convicted Rapists*, Unwin Hyman, Boston.

Sedgwick, EK 1994, *Tendencies*, Routledge, London.

Sedgwick, K 1990, *Epistemology of the Closet*, University of California Press, Berkeley, California.

Seidman, S 2002, *Beyond the closet: the transformation of gay and lesbian life*, Routledge, New York.

Seidman, S 2009, *The social construction of sexuality*, WW Norton, New York.

Seidman, S and Richardson, D 2002, *Handbook of lesbian and gay studies.* Sage Publications, London.

Sexton, DE & Haberman, P 1974, 'Women in magazine advertisements', *Journal of Advertising Research*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 41-46.

Sheehan, K 2004, *Controversies in Contemporary Advertising*, Sage Publications, London.

Shields, VR 1994, *The constructing, maintaining and negotiating of gender identities in the process of decoding gender advertisements* (Doctoral dissertation, The Ohio State University).

Shields, VR & Heinecken, D 2002, *Measuring Up: How Advertising Affects Self-Image*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Signorielli, N 1989, 'Television and conceptions about sex roles: Maintaining conventionality and the status quo', *Sex Roles*, vol. 21, pp. 341-360.

Social Issues Research Centre (SIRC) 1998, *Social and Cultural Aspects of Drinking*, viewed 11 February 2017, <http://www.sirc.org/publik/drinking3.html>.

Smith, G & Goldman, MS 1994, 'Alcohol Expectancy Theory and the Identification of High Risk Adolescents', *Journal of Research on Adolescence,* vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 229-247.

Snodgrass, ME 2015, *World Clothing and Fashion: An Encyclopedia of History, Culture, and Social Influence*, Routledge, Oxford.

Snyder, LB, Milici, FF, Slater, M, Sun, H and Strizhakova, Y 2006, 'Effects of alcohol advertising exposure on drinking among youth', *Archives of pediatrics & adolescent medicine*, vol. 160, no. 1, pp. 18-24.

Stoddart, MCJ 2007, 'Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: a Critical Review of Theories of Knowlede and Power', *Social Thought and Research,* vol. 28, pp. 191-225.

Strate, L 1992, 'Beer commercials: A manual on masculinity', in S Craig (ed), *Research on men and masculinities series,* Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California, pp. 78-92.

Strinati, D 2004, *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture,* Routledge, London.

Stutley, M 2003, *Shamanism: An Introduction*, Routledge, New York.

Testa, M & Livingston, JA 1999, 'Qualitative Analysis of Women's Experiences of Sexual Aggression: Focus on the Role of Alcohol', *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 573–589

Tomsen, S 1997, 'A top night: social protest, masculinity and the culture of drinking violence', *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 37, no. 1, pp. 90-102.

Towns, AJ, Parker, C, Chase, P 2012, 'Constructions of masculinity in alcohol advertising: Implications for the prevention of domestic violence', *Addiction Research and Theory,* vol. 20, no. 5, pp. 389-401.

Trifonas, P 2001, *Barthes and the Empire of Signs*, Icon Books, United Kingdom.

Tuchman, G, Daniels, AK and Benet, J (eds.) 1978, *Hearth and Home: images of women in the mass media*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Van Leeuwen, T & Jewitt C 2001, *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*, Sage Publications, London.

Van Zoonen, L 1994, *Feminist Media Studies*, Sage Publications, London.

Van Zoonen, L 1991, 'Feminist perspectives on the media', in J Curran and M Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society*, Edward Arnold, London, pp. 33–54.

Vestergaard, T & Schrøder, K 1988, *The language of advertising*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Venkatesan, M & Losco, J 1975, 'Women in magazine ads: 1959-1971', *Journal of Advertising Research,* vol. 15, no. 5, pp. 49-54.

VicHealth 2013, *Young Australians' attitudes to violence against women,* viewed 2 February, <https://www.vichealth.vic.gov.au/media-and-resources/publications/2013-national-community-attitudes-towards-violence-against-women-survey>.

Wade, L & Marx Ferree, M 2015, *Gender: Ideas, Interactions, Institutions*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York.

Wagner, LC & Banos, JB 1971, 'A women's place: a follow-up analysis of the roles portrayed by women in magazine advertisements', *Journal of Marketing Research*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 213-214

Walker, SJ 1992, *Gender ideology and drinking norms: content analysis of alcohol advertisements in selected magazines, 1973 to 1988*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Wall, L & Quadara, A 2014, 'Under the influence? : considering the role of alcohol and sexual assault in social contexts', *Australian Institute of Family Studies*, vol. 18, viewed 20 February 2019, < http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-400989057/view> .

Wansell, G 2009 'The remarkable story behind Rudyard Kipling's 'If'- and the swashbuckling renegade who inspired it', 15 February, *Daily Mail Online*, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1146109/The-remarkable-story-Rudyard-Kiplings-If--swashbuckling-renegade-inspired-it.html>.

Weerakkody, N 2008, *Research Methods for Media and Communication,* 1st ed, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Wenner, LA 1998, *Mediasport*, Routledge, New York.

Wenner, LA & Jackson, SJ 2009, *Sport, Beer, and Gender: Promotional Culture and Contemporary Social Life*, Peter Lang, New York.

West, C & Zimmerman, D 1987, 'Doing Gender', *Gender & Society*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 125-151.

Winship, J 1980, 'Sexuality for Sale' in Hall, S, Hobson, D, Lowe, A and Willis, P, *Culture, Media, Language*, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, pp. 210-218

Whisnant, CJ 2012, *Male Homosexuality in West Germany: Between Persecution and Freedom, 1945-69,* Palgrave MacMillan, London.

Yep, GA 2003, 'The Violence of Heteronormativity in Communication Studies', *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 45, no. 2-4, pp. 11-59.

Zawacki, T, Abbey, A, Buck, P McAuslan, P & Clinton-Sherrod, M 2003, 'Perpetrators of Alcohol-Involved Sexual Assaults: How do They Differ From Other Sexual Assault Perpetrators and Nonperpetrators?', *Aggressive Behavior*, vol. 29, pp. 366-380.