

MEN'S EVALUATION OF "HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY" ROLES IN TURKISH TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS PORTRAYING MEN

Derya GÜL ÜNLÜ

ABSTRACT:

Television advertisements are one of the most important areas in which gender roles that are considered 'suitable' for women and men provide a continuation of gender relations. In addition to problematic representations of women in television advertisements, it is possible to see gender roles of men, whose characters are reflected in a way that reinforces gender relations. Considering the current scholarly opinions on this matter, we describe the dominant role of men by the concept of "hegemonic masculinity". Conceptualisation of "hegemonic masculinity" represents the dominance of men within gender relations over both women and 'other' men. From this point of view, the study aims to reveal opinions of males about hegemonic masculinity representations included in advertisements and their views on the reality of this problematic representation. In this context, first of all we reflect on Connell's conceptualisation of "hegemonic masculinity" and thus we refer to the forms of representation of hegemonic masculinity roles used in television advertisements. After that, we present results of in-depth interviews, conducted via semi-structured interview scheme with 20 men, regarding the roles of "hegemonic masculinity" in television advertisements. The research reveals the opinions of men who are from different educational backgrounds, of different ages and professions. Pointing out the results of the empirical study, we determine that male television viewers in Turkey are aware of the fact that men are featured in advertisements mostly through their bodies; the role of women is shown in terms of domestic relations. Men do not have to make decisions on domestic matters, women are preferred in relation to purchasing decisions, and roles of women are more effective in emotional relations. Moreover, the results suggest that in Turkish television advertisements, group relations between men are not based on hierarchy.

KEY WORDS:

gender, hegemonic masculinity, social relations, social structure, television advertisements

Introduction

Gender is produced within social structure, in socio-cultural terms, maintaining power relations which are established through patriarchal structure. This hegemonic structure, which is constructed by those



Derya Gül Ünlü, MA
Faculty of Communication
Istanbul University
Kaptanı Derya İbrahim Paşa Sokak
34116 Beyazıt Fatih – İstanbul
Turkey
derya.gul@istanbul.edu.tr

Derya Gül Ünlü is a doctoral candidate studying at the Istanbul University, the Faculty of Communication, Public Relations and Publicity Department. She graduated from the Istanbul University, the Faculty of Communication, Public Relations and Publicity Department and Journalism Department. Her Master's thesis focused on gender discrimination in the Public Relations sector in Turkey. Her research interests include gender issues in media production, gender discrimination, and gender identity in the communication field. She has worked as a Research Assistant at the Istanbul University since 2012.

who hold the power within these power relations, produces and reproduces both the secondary position of women and the power of men through its apparatus. One of these apparatus is media and, along with them, advertisements. Since advertisements reflect cultural characteristics of a society, they are not produced separately from the hegemonic relations in the society, but rather make these forms of relationships visible. Advertisements are designed to attract the attention of target audience and create the desired effect; therefore, they frequently refer to social values and norms via their content, ideas and messages. Hegemonic masculinity roles presented in television advertisements also come into prominence within this context.

Hegemonic masculinity roles represented in television advertisements provide each new individual who joins the society with an opportunity to observe and learn behavioural patterns related to preferred gender roles, which plays an important role in the socialisation process. Media turn into a repertoire which provides unique practices for developing masculinity, thereby making it easier for male children to choose which behavioural patterns to imitate and how to act accordingly. Media products continuously provide the practices and symbolic language, which signify a masculine character, by means of imagery included in the content.¹ This situation continues during the adulthood of males, and suggestions about how an exemplary male should be (what kind of body he should have, what kind of parent he must be or how he should treat his wife) continue to be transferred through male characters. Within this context, revealing the opinions of male audience on hegemonic masculinity roles in television advertisements is based on understanding the views of highly educated male viewers, who are expected to watch advertising content from a certain critical distance.

In the study, which is centred upon Connell's "hegemonic masculinity" conceptualisation, social gender relations constructed by television advertisements are addressed first; the general framework of the representation forms of hegemonic masculinity roles used in advertisements is drawn upon as well. Following these theoretical outlines, the findings obtained by means of semi-structured interviews that map the male viewers' awareness of hegemonic masculinity roles in television advertisements are discussed in detail.

Social Gender Relations Constructed by Television Advertisements

One of the most important spheres of media production, in which social gender roles accepted within the social structure and transferred to new generations are presented (thereby maintaining their continuity), is the sphere of television advertisements. The society maintains its basic values and norms by transferring various behavioural patterns within its own cultural structure. All kinds of advertisements – and therefore, television advertisements as well – are also not fictionalised independently of the values shaping the social structure, in which they are formed. What is more, including these social values and norms in the advertising content is considered one of the aspects which usually contribute to success of an advertisement. These issues have been influentially discussed by many authors, e.g. by Gilly (sex roles in advertising),² Budd (television in terms of commercial culture),³ Straubhaar (global and local aspects of television production),⁴ De Mooij and Hofstede (global branding and advertising strategies)⁵ or De Mooij (cultural paradoxes of global marketing).⁶ For this reason, redesigning and reproduction of social values in advertising are used as factors that help promote products and services, and after that, increase sales. Therefore, as Schroeder and Zwick argue, "advertis-

ing discourse both reflects and creates social norms".⁷ Considering the fact that the social gender perspective is also made visible through these represented values, it can be suggested that advertising is one of the most important means of maintaining the social status quo.

Schroeder and Zwick regard advertisements as aesthetic objects, socio-political artefacts and a system of visual representation. This characteristic of advertisements also implies that it is a system of representations, which carries the values of social structure, enables the re-propagation of these values to the society, and is constructed with aesthetic concerns.⁸ On the other hand, according to Timisi, when considered from the social gender perspective, symbolic content of the media is not symbolic by any means. In other words, media and advertisements in the media are not presented in a given reality, but construct their own reality. Symbolic content is never objective. The event, the phenomenon which is subject to content, cannot be defined with an empiricist perspective.⁹ Therefore, the symbolic content in the media is a preferred version of reality.

Based on this perspective, it can be suggested that television advertisements also construct their own fictionalised social gender relations. These problems have been addressed by numerous studies and other scholarly texts, for example by Coltrane and Adams,¹⁰ Craig,¹¹ and in Turkey by Uray and Burnaz.¹² Although characters presented in advertisements are different from individuals we meet in the real life, they do exist – in the constructed reality of television advertisements. These characters actually appeal to, and even influence and direct the individual recipients, as pointed out by Lavine, Sweeney and Wagner¹³ or Hergreaves and Tiggeman.¹⁴

Within this context, Lippke explains the determining power of advertisements over the individual as follows: "The ways in which individuals habitually perceive and conceive their lives and the social world, the alternatives they see as open to them, and the standards they use to judge themselves and others are shaped by advertising, perhaps they even being conscious aware of it."¹⁵ Therefore, advertisements fulfil a significant role in terms of defining and perceiving both cultural and individual identity. The way in which roles of women and men are fictionalised in advertisements comes into prominence in this regard; in a sense, many advertisements imply that the society expects women and men to undertake specific roles and thus portray how each individual perceives her/his own gender roles. Starting to interiorise the expectations of the society related to gender roles since birth, every individual shapes her/his own personal and social identity within this context.

The Concept of "Hegemonic Masculinity"

The term "hegemonic masculinity" basically refers to the condition in which men, who have a specific set of characteristics, hold power over women and 'other' men. This concept, which is also referred to via different names such as "patriarchal masculinity", "sovereign masculinity" or "masculine virility", was conceptualised by Connell. Especially in his studies *Gender and Power*¹⁶ and *Masculinities*,¹⁷ Connell argues

1 SCHROCK, D., SCHWALBE, M.: Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts. In *The Annual Review of Sociology*, 2009, Vol. 35, p. 283.

2 For more information, see: GILLY, M. C.: Sex Roles in Advertising: A Comparison of Television Advertisements in Australia, Mexico, and the United States. In *The Journal of Marketing*, 1988, Vol. 52, No. 2, p. 75-85.

3 See: BUDD, M.: *Consuming Environments: Television and Commercial Culture*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

4 See also: STRAUBHAAR, J. D.: *World Television: From Global to Local*. Los Angeles, London: Sage Publications, 2007.

5 For more information, see: DE MOOIJ, M., HOFSTEDE, G.: The Hofstede Model: Applications to Global Branding and Advertising Strategy and Research. In *International Journal of Advertising*, 2010, Vol. 29, No. 1, p. 85-110. [online]. [2017-08-22]. Available at: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2501/S026504870920104X>.

6 See also: DE MOOIJ, M.: *Global Marketing and Advertising: Understanding Cultural Paradoxes*. California: Sage Publications, 2013.

7 SCHROEDER, J. E., ZWICK, D.: Mirrors of Masculinity: Representation and Identity in Advertising Images. In *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 2004, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 24.

8 SCHROEDER, J. E., ZWICK, D.: Mirrors of Masculinity: Representation and Identity in Advertising Images. In *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 2004, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 24.

9 TIMISI, N.: Human Development of Women, Education and the Role of Media. In TUNÇOKU, M. (ed.): *Studies on Turkish-Japanese Women in Social Development, Panels and Research Results*. Ankara: Pozitif Publishing, 2010, p. 91-92.

10 See: COLTRANE, S., ADAMS, M.: Work-Family Imagery and Gender Stereotypes: Television and the Reproduction of Difference. In *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 1997, Vol. 50, No. 2, p. 323-347.

11 See also: CRAIG, S.: The Effect of Television Day Part on Gender Portrayals in Television Commercials: A Content Analysis. In *Sex Roles*, 1992, Vol. 26, No. 5, p. 197-211.

12 For more information, see: URAY, N., BURNAZ, S.: An Analysis of the Portrayal of Gender Roles in Turkish Television Advertisements. In *Sex Roles*, 2003, Vol. 48, No. 1, p. 77-87.

13 See: LAVINE, H., SWEENEY, D., WAGNER S.: Depicting Women as Sex Objects in Television Advertising: Effects on Body Dissatisfaction. In *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 1999, Vol. 25, No. 8, p. 1049-1058.

14 See also: HERGREAVES, D., TIGGEMAN, M.: The Effect of "Thin Ideal" Television Commercials on Body Dissatisfaction and Schema Activation During Early Adolescence. In *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 2013, Vol. 32, No. 5, p. 367-373.

15 LIPPKE, R. L.: *Radical Business Ethics*. Maryland, London: Rowman and Littlefield Inc, 1995, p. 108.

16 For more information, see: CONNELL, R. W.: *Gender and Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987.

17 See more: CONNELL, R. W.: *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

that what brings different masculinities on the same ground is the power established on women (repressing and subjugating women). According to this, “hegemonic masculinity” is, in the most general sense, the name of a system which ensures that masculine values and structures are imposed on the rest of the society, men and women alike, through different means such as encouragement, coercion, exclusion or participation.¹⁸ Adopting a different view on the issue, Carrigan et al. explain the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” as follows: “It is particular groups of men, not men in general, who are oppressed within patriarchal sexual relations, and whose situations are related in different ways to the overall logic of the subordination of women to men.”¹⁹

However, Donaldson argues that hegemonic masculinity is both a personal and a collective project, and underlines the fact that the common sense, which is associated with being a man and breadwinning, is a culturally idealised form.²⁰ Therefore, hegemonic masculinity actually suppresses all other forms of masculinity and imposes a single form of masculinity to exist in the male world.²¹ Within this context, Connell further explains “hegemonic masculinity”: “To say that a particular form of masculinity means that it is culturally exalted and that this exaltation stabilized the gender order as a whole. To be culturally exalted, the pattern of masculinity must have exemplars who are celebrated as heroes.”²² In other words, hegemonic men are actually normalised by being turned into heroes.²³

Therefore, hegemonic masculinity is both one of the basic mechanisms produced within the framework of gender inequalities and a popular construct, in which the social power relations shaped on the basis of conflicts such as class, ethnicity and religion are articulated.²⁴ In other words, rather than a gender, “hegemonic masculinity” is an identification process, which is approved by performing a wide range of rituals, overcoming and moulding griefs and challenges, and which must be reapproved.²⁵

However, this identification process is based neither on the psychological existence nor on the body of an individual. It is based on the individual’s inferences from what is attributed to her/him during the process of a masculine individual’s interaction with other individuals.²⁶ On the other hand, Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon suggest that “hegemonic masculinity” is located in a framework of characteristics such as heterosexuality, economic autonomy, capacity to take care of one’s family, being rational, controlling feelings, and in addition to all these, lacking all possessions that are considered feminine.²⁷ According to Selek, what Connell implies in the concept of “hegemonic masculinity” is not a physical and vulgar power, but rather a social superiority, which penetrates organisation of the private life and cultural processes, and which is gained in the game of social processes. Connell does not solely mention men’s superiority over women.²⁸ Donaldson claims that “hegemony” is symbolised by masculinity and by this means, the public quality of “hegemonic masculinity” is emphasised. Also, the public aspect of “hegemonic masculinity” does not only show how powerful men are, but also motivates men because they take advantage of this situation.²⁹

On the other hand, Cengiz et al. argue that masculinity functions as a habitus; yet, masculine behaviours learned in this habitus are not stable. According to the researchers, being a man sometimes means fighting well, but in another context, it might be equivalent to drinking alcohol excessively. Furthermore, since it is

directly related to the class context, it leads to significant differences in the manifestations of masculinity.³⁰ It can be suggested that masculinity is envisaged specifically for each society and different class structures.

“Hegemonic masculinity” is “a question of how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance.”³¹ Connell answers these questions based on the gender structure, which creates male domination on a universal scale. Accordingly, division of labour, power structure and cathexis structure are the main aspects of gender organisation:

- **Division of labour:** in social structuring, there is a division of labour, which is based on gender differences. Women acquire professions, which are considered to be suitable for their gender, and they are responsible for housework.³² Women also work at occupations of lower status, and do the housework (for example, the proportion of illiterate women in Turkey is five times higher than that of men. While the participation rate of men in work force is 71.6% in Turkey, the participation rate of women in work force is 31.5%. Unemployment rate is 9.2% for men and 12.6% for women. The first two sectors in which women are most active in Turkey are the service sector and the agricultural sector. Moreover, in Turkey, women make up 71.8% of ‘the household workers’ who work for free. In addition, according to a study conducted in Turkey through companies operating locally and internationally, the proportion of women who work at the entry-level is 42%, the proportion of women who work at the upper management level is 25% and the proportion of women who work at the general manager level is 15%).³³ On the other hand, men are usually employed at senior duties, and deal with commercial and managerial works. Therefore, the root of the problem lies not only in the division of labour, but also in the nature and organisation of the work. For instance, certain professions (e.g. a stewardess, a nurse, a teacher, etc.) are considered feminine. Various cultural industries, particularly fashion and theatrical art, are associated with homosexual masculinity. On the other hand, business management is associated with masculinity which is organised around interpersonal sovereignty. In the world of business, the ‘tough’ appearance associated with sovereignty evokes admiration and expressions such as ‘aggressive marketing’ are used in business jargon as terms of acceptance. Therefore, organisation based on this difference of perception of women’s and men’s professional skills extends the power relations as a justification for male dominance.³⁴
- **Power structure:** According to Connell, if we define “authority” as a legitimate power, it can be suggested that this power structure, which accommodates gender relations, is in fact the major axis of authority’s general connection with masculinity. This situation also becomes more complicated and partly contradictory with a secondary axis. The secondary axis in question is certain male groups’ denying the authority, or in a broader sense, establishing the hierarchy of becoming the authority and locating oneself in the centre, among basic social gender categories. As Connell claims, there is a ‘core’ in the power structure, which accommodates gender relations, and this core has four significant components that are interrelated: 1) hierarchies and work forces of institutionalised violence (military forces, police, prison systems, etc.); 2) hierarchy and work force of heavy industry (steel and oil companies etc.); 3) planning and control mechanisms of central state; 4) circles that emphasise the importance of physical strength and men’s cooperative union with machinery. Therefore, the power structure, which already exists in gender relations, is not independent of other power relations (such as class, race and ethnicity); as a matter of fact, it is interwoven with these relations. This ideology, which ‘approves’ the constitution of the patriarchal ‘core’ and complete subjugation of women, also paves the way for the creation of a gender based hierarchy among men.³⁵

18 SANCAR, S.: Erkeklik. In ECEVIT, Y., KARKINER, N. (eds.): *Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmaları*. Eskişehir : Anadolu University Publishing, 2013, p. 173.

19 CARRIGAN, T., CONNELL, R. W., LEE, J.: Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity. In *Theory and Society*, 1985, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 586.

20 DONALDSON, M.: What is Hegemonic Masculinity? In *Theory and Society*, 1993, Vol. 22, No. 5, p. 645.

21 AKÇA, E. B., TÖNEL, E.: Erkek(lik) Çalışmalarına Teorik Bir Çerçeve: Feminist Çalışmalardan Hegemonik Erkekliğe. In ERDOĞAN, İ. (ed.): *Medyada Hegemonik Erkek(lik) ve Temsil*. İstanbul : Kalkedon Publishing, 2011, p. 13-14.

22 CONNELL, R. W.: An Iron Man: The Body and Some Contradictions of Hegemonic Masculinity. In KAREN, D., WASHINGTON, R. E. (eds.): *Sociological Perspectives on Sport*. London, New York : Routledge, 2015, p. 147-148.

23 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul : Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 325.

24 YÜKSEL, E.: Bir Savaş Anlatısı Olarak Nefes: Vatan Sağolsun ve Hegemonik Erkekliğin Krizi. In *Fe Dergi: Feminist Eleştiri*, 2013, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 15.

25 OKTAN, A.: Türk Sinemasında Hegemonik Erkeklikten Erkeklik Krizine: Yazı-Tura ve Erkeklik Bunalımının Sınırları. In *Selçuk Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Akademik Dergisi*, 2008, Vol. 5, No. 2, p. 155. [online]. [2017-07-03]. Available at: <http://josc.selcuk.edu.tr/article/view/1075000188/1075000182>.

26 SCHROCK, D., SCHWALBE, M.: Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts. In *The Annual Review of Sociology*, 2009, Vol. 35, p. 279.

27 ALSOP, R., FITZSIMONS, A., LENNON, K.: *Theorizing Gender: An Introduction*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2002, p. 141.

28 SELEK, P.: *Maskeler Sivariler Gacılar Ülker Sokak: Bir Alt Kültürün Dışlanma Mekanı*. İstanbul : Ayızı Books, 2014, p. 48.

29 DONALDSON, M.: What is Hegemonic Masculinity? In *Theory and Society*, 1993, Vol. 22, No. 5, p. 646.

30 CENGİZ, K., TOL, U. U., KÜÇÜKURAL, Ö.: Hegemonik Erkekliğin Peşinden. In *Toplum ve Bilim*, 2004, Vol. 101, No. 1, p. 57.

31 CARRIGAN, T., CONNELL, R. W., LEE, J.: Toward a New Sociology of Masculinity. In *Theory and Society*, 1985, Vol. 14, No. 5, p. 592.

32 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul : Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 141-156.

33 SEC, UYGUÇ, N.: Cinsiyet, Bireysel Değerler ve Meslek Seçimi. In *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2013, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 93-103. [online]. [2017-08-23]. Available at: <https://tibfdergi.deu.edu.tr/index.php/cilt1-sayil1/article/view/142/pdf_131>.

34 TURK SMITH, S.: Obstacles for Women on the Way to Management: A Study of Business Students’ Images of the Ideal Manager. In *The Journal of Contemporary Management*, 1990, Vol. 3, p. 175.

35 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul : Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 141-156.

- **Cathexis:** As Connell further explains, all social relations have an emotional, and even erotic aspect. These ‘social sexual relations’ refer to the emotions that are organised around one’s emotional devotion to another person. Connell calls this structure, which organises such devotions, “cathexis structure” and generalises this concept to the extent that social relations involving emotions are established with ‘objects’ (that is, other humans). Therefore, sexuality also involves the inequality of women and men and contributes to the continuity of male hegemony; forms of sexual intercourse are also determined by male hegemony.³⁶

Hegemonic masculinity, which is reproduced and sustained through the practices in social power relations, also becomes visible in advertisements, which are designed to promote products and services and increase sales in various forms. As characters in advertisements never cross the boundaries of the framework established by gender roles, they reproduce the problematic female and male representations and convey these representations to the society. Therefore, each masculinity role – fictionalised in television advertisements within the scope of gender roles – offers suggestions on how a hegemonic man should be.

Male characters in television advertisements act within the framework of hegemonic male conceptualisations and influence consumers, suggesting which product or service they should prefer, and how the men, who will use the product or service in question, should be or act. Concerning this, Kepekçi suggests that types of masculinity demonstrated in the mainstream media correspond with the hegemonic masculinity completely; types of masculinity presented are those featuring men who are successful, heterosexual, earn a living for their family by making great efforts even if they do not own a business, and who are always alert in case of any threats in relation to their ‘honour’.³⁷ On the other hand, Schroeder and Zwick argue that advertisements play a significant role in defining dual gender roles and gender identities, and disseminating them to the public. Within this context, many advertising campaigns basically make use of stereotyped masculine and feminine icons while including gender identity in the content. Therefore, a significant difference system is provided for representation and consumption practices in relation to advertisements. Within this system, the iconic masculine activities such as shaving one’s face, driving fast cars, having a hearty appetite, smoking cigars and drinking liquor are juxtaposed to feminine visions of applying make-up, driving a minivan, eating ‘light’, doing the laundry and decorating houses.³⁸

However, it can be suggested that the iconic practices emphasised by Shroeder and Zwick change along with social transformations. One of the important indicators of this fact is the inclusion of men in terms of advertisements promoting products and services, which primarily address women. As a consequence of this, the established image of men in the advertisements has changed as well. Past television commercials used to portray men as ‘Marlboro machos’ or as ‘idiots’; contemporary viewers see men cooking, feeding babies and shopping.³⁹ Therefore, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that advertisements integrate ‘hegemonic male’ identity roles with ‘metrosexual male’⁴⁰ identity.

The media, being a highly influential space of modern iconography, have made visible the commercialisation and commodification of modern (young) men with projected notions of the “New Man”, the “New Lad” and the “New Father”.⁴¹ Gill defines this “new man” as a generally sensitive, emotionally conscious and respectful to women, equalitarian, narcissist, mostly white, heterosexual, professional person aged between twenty five and an indefinite age, who spends plenty of money for his physical appearance.⁴²

36 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 141-156.

37 KEPEKÇİ, E.: (Hegemonik) Erkeklik Eleştirisi ve Feminizm Birlikteliği Mümkün Mü? In *Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2012, Vol. 2, No. 11, p. 79-80. [online]. [2017-07-05]. Available at: <<http://www.journals.istanbul.edu.tr/iukad/article/view/1023022482/1023020998>>.

38 SCHROEDER, J. E., ZWICK, D.: Mirrors of Masculinity: Representation and Identity in Advertising Images. In *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 2004, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 20-21.

39 DONALDSON, M.: What is Hegemonic Masculinity? In *Theory and Society*, 1993, Vol. 22, No. 5, p. 652.

40 In recent years, the concept of “ubersexual male” has been used as an alternative to femininity embodied by the “metrosexual masculinity” image. According to this, being distinct from the “metrosexual male” conceptualisation, “ubersexual male” expresses a return to traditional masculinity and corresponds to the idea of a man becoming an ideal male by remaining within the ‘traditional’ masculine value systems without ‘becoming feminine’ (remark by the author).

41 GHAILL, M. M., HAYWOOD, C.: *Gender, Culture, and Society*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 70.

42 GILL, R.: Power and the Production of Subjects: A Genealogy of the New Man and the New Lad. In *The Sociological Review*,

Male bodies used in the advertisements published in newspapers or magazines that promote products such as clothes, shaving foam or automobiles, have been commercialised and commoditised especially since the 1990s.⁴³ In addition to the concept of a beautiful woman, the concept of a well-groomed man has emerged, and as a result of this, men have started to take interest in cosmetic products and thus be portrayed in the advertisements of these products as well. This situation involves the manifestation of social transformation in the advertisements. The concept of “metrosexual male”, which was not on the agenda of the society in the past, has become one of the most visible features of today’s advertisements. Patterson and Elliot argue that hegemonic male roles also evolved with the social change and explain this process as follows: “*the increasing feminization of masculinities, as men are encouraged to partake in the carnival of consumption, to become concerned about their appearance, to get in touch with their emotions, and as male bodies become objects of display subject to the male gaze.*”⁴⁴

One of the most important aspects of this change is that it is accompanied by changes, which affect gender adjustment. The society has moved from the traditional pattern, in which men gaze at women and only women are objectified, to a different pattern, in which men are also objectified and subject to the gaze.⁴⁵ Therefore, it is seen that products which used to be marketed by addressing women, are now also presented to male target audiences. This new image of masculinity is part of the new consumption culture which now includes men. Thus, it can be seen that the consumption habits or cultural patterns, which are supposed to appeal to women, can be conceived as manly actions as well (e.g. curious and meticulous men in car advertisements, men who eat healthy food without dieting in diet products advertisements, men who care for their appearance in deodorant or razor advertisements).

However, although the male role has been transformed through the metrosexual masculinity images, several basic characteristics, which define a hegemonic male (heterosexual, earns a living for the family, successful, industrious, holds a job) are still the same. Moreover, practices within the framework of hegemonic masculinity (well-groomed, careful nutrition), reconstruct the new framework for male body; within medical discourse rather than discourse related to beauty and aesthetics. Thus, it is more appropriate to suggest that the values of hegemonic masculinity are reproduced in a manner that hegemonic structure is maintained in accordance with the social changes than argue that male body is now evaluated through women’s eyes. In this process of reproduction, physical performance and health of men are emphasised more than their physical beauty, and home is mostly associated with ‘professionalism’ on a discursive level.⁴⁶ Hegemonic males in television advertisements also evolve on this level. In other words, hegemonic masculinity is preserved, only the content of this hegemony is changing. For example, in kitchen appliances advertisements broadcast in Turkey, men are shown while trying to help their wives with housework. However, it is generally understood (from the knowledge of women) that almost all responsibility for domestic work is still held by women. Men are usually involved in assistive roles in such advertisements. Similarly, men in advertisements promoting personal care products tend to be more masculine; they use these products and women are more easily affected by their charms. Therefore, although the way in which men are positioned in advertisements has changed, it does not mean that they have lost their hegemony. The hegemonic men in advertisements are shaped by new images of masculinity.

Men who live in cities, who take care of themselves, who are highly educated are portrayed in advertisements using various products, even performing tasks which are generally considered ‘feminine’. However, it can be suggested that certain tasks of ‘feminine’ quality, which men help with, are essentially different from

2003, Vol. 51, No. 1, p. 37. [online]. [2017-07-06]. Available at: <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2003.tb03602.x>>.

43 ÖZTÜRK, A.: Erişim Bedenselleşme: Hegemonik Erkek Bedeninin İnşası. In *Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2012, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 46. [online]. [2017-07-05]. Available at: <<http://www.ilsfdergisi.com/sayi13/39-53.pdf>>.

44 PATTERSON, M., ELLIOTT, R.: Negotiating Masculinities: Advertising and the Inversion of the Male Gaze. In *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 2002, Vol. 5, No. 3, p. 241. [online]. [2017-07-04]. Available at: <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10253860290031631>>.

45 GILL, R., HENWOOD, K., MCLEAN, C.: Body Projects and the Regulation of Normative Masculinity. In *Body & Society*, 2005, Vol. 11, No. 1, p. 39.

46 ÖZTÜRK, A.: Erişim Bedenselleşme: Hegemonik Erkek Bedeninin İnşası. In *Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2012, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 47. [online]. [2017-07-05]. Available at: <<http://www.ilsfdergisi.com/sayi13/39-53.pdf>>.

other obligations of women. For instance, Demir argues that the changing social conditions also put men to work in the kitchen, but the man is not portrayed as the person who performs the task, but as an assistant who assumes his role in the kitchen awkwardly and clumsily just for the sake of providing help. In television advertisements, men do not tend to be successful in terms of housework; they are focused on their professional life, and the woman is the first authority in the sphere of housework.⁴⁷

Men's success in the business world thus continues to be emphasised; women are not positioned at higher ranks or they can achieve success only in relation to jobs which are considered female-specific. The 'new man' that comes at us through the media seems to reinforce the social order without challenging it. And he brings with him, too, a new con for women. In their increasing assumption of breadwinning, democratic and skilled worker occupations, the line goes, women render themselves incomplete. They must 'give up' their femininity in their appropriation of male jobs and power, but men who embrace the feminine become 'more complete'.⁴⁸ Like the man himself, the activities he carries out with other men also continue to possess the masculine content. Men are portrayed while watching a sport event, giving advice to each other about women or how to tackle with the challenges of life. We cannot see any homosexual individuals in this circle of men, and none of them have any 'marginal' features although they all have different characters.

Objectives and Methodology of the Research

The research aims to reveal the attitude of highly educated men (of different ages and professional backgrounds) towards hegemonic masculinity representations, which are fictionalised through male roles in television advertisements. The framework for fulfilling this goal is based on Connell's critical analysis of "hegemonic masculinity"; the research questions below have been chosen accordingly. The study seeks answers to the following research questions:

RQ1: *According to male audience, which features of men are most obviously highlighted in television advertisements?*

RQ2: *According to male audience, what kinds of differences are there between female and male roles in television advertisements in terms of social division of labour?*

RQ3: *According to male audience, in which spheres of life is the hegemony of men most visible in case of television advertisements?*

RQ4: *According to male audience, what kinds of emotional relations between women and men are fictionalised in television advertisements? In their opinion, which side determines these relationships?*

RQ5: *According to male audience, what kinds of relationships are there within male groups in television advertisements? Does a specific form of masculinity come into prominence in these groups?*

Semi-structured interviews with 20 male audience members were conducted for the purpose of revealing the men's awareness of the hegemonic masculinity representations in television advertisements. All the interviews conducted within the scope of the study were made between 10th March 2017 and 20th April 2017. In total, 20 face-to-face interviews were held; with each participant separately. All these interviews were conducted in a meeting room where only the investigator and the participant were present. Each interview that was made during the research took 25-30 minutes. The interviews were recorded via a voice recorder and notes

47 DEMİR, N. K.: Kültürel Değişimlerin Reklamlarda Kadın ve Erkek Rol-Modellerine Yansıması. In *Firat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2006, Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 303.

48 CHAPMAN, R.: The Great Pretender: Variations on the New Man Theme. In CHAPMAN, R., RUTHERFORD, J. (eds.): *Unwrapping Masculinity*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988, p. 243.

were taken as well. The criteria for selecting the participants were that they must have watched television for at least 1 hour a day on average, and they must have been graduates of high school (or higher) education as we worked with the assumption that they could view male roles in advertisements with a certain amount of critical distance.

In order for the participants to be able to provide a consensus on Turkish advertising and its portrayals of men, certain types of advertisements were shown to them:

RQ1: cosmetic and car advertisements;

RQ2: household equipment advertisements for the division of labour in terms of housework and bank products advertisements for the occupational division of labour;

RQ3 and RQ4: advertisements promoting simple consumer products of daily use such as food and beverages;

RQ5: product advertisements where male groups were shown.

The selected ads were associated with advertising campaigns for both global and local products. Advertisements for household equipment, bank products and food and beverages were selected from local advertisement production. Cosmetic and car advertisements were selected from globally known product advertisements. However, in order to reflect the specifics of Turkish culture, the chosen variants of these advertisements were those produced in Turkey and featuring Turkish actors.

The researcher also had an exchange of ideas with two academicians who have extensive experience with data collection based on internal validity; the data analysis was controlled and compared with related scholarly literature and similar analyses. For external validity, statements of the participants, who were interviewed for the purposes of this study, were directly quoted.

On the other hand, in order to achieve internal reliability within the scope of the study, the data obtained from the participants was recorded, joint interview protocol was applied during the interviews, data was collected under common headings, and results were gathered. An academician, who is expert on the subject in question, reviewed the obtained data and interpretations to achieve external reliability within the scope of the study. Findings, which were obtained from the semi-structured interviews, are presented below.

Findings

The participants were first asked questions about their sociodemographic backgrounds, and after this initial phase, various topics were addressed in order to answer the given research questions. The findings related to age, marital status, educational background and occupational distribution of the selected 20 participants are specified in the following tables.

Table 1: Age of the participants

Age	Number of the participants
25-30	1
31-35	5
36-40	6
41-45	3
46-50	-

51-55	2
56-60	2
61-65	1
Total	20

Source: own processing

Table 2: Marital status of the participants

Marital status	Number of the participants
Single	5
Married	15
Total	20

Source: own processing

Table 3: Educational level of the participants

Educational Level	Number of the participants
High school graduate	15
Master's degree	4
Doctorate	1
Total	20

Source: own processing

Table 4: Profession of the participants

Profession	Number of the participants
Academician	2
Lawyer	1
Doctor	1
Business owner	3
Engineer	2
Expert (in a private company)	5
Manager (in a private company)	2
Human resources specialist	1
Teacher	1
Policeman	1
Psychologist	1
Total	20

Source: own processing

RQ1: Highlighted Features of Masculinity Roles in Television Advertisements

The image, which is intended for people who are the target audience of a product or service advertised on television, is presented to the target audience through behaviours of female and male representations in advertisements. Whereupon these representations do not merely 'express' masculinity, rather, they play a central role in forming conceptions of masculinity and help construct market segments.⁴⁹ For this reason, it can be suggested that specific features of male characters are highlighted in advertisements in accordance with the product, service or the image, which is created in the advertising content. In this context, the question "According to male audience, which features of men are most obviously highlighted in television advertisements?" was addressed by the participants.

Connell notes that in addressing the body of adult men, we are supposed to highlight the differential importance within three realms: work, sexuality and fatherhood.⁵⁰ When this statement is considered, it can be suggested that the answers given by the participants point to the same features. 11 participants state that male roles in advertisements come into prominence with their muscular bodies, physical strength and handsomeness, 5 participants claim that men are generally shown in the father role, 2 participants argue that, depending on the product, men are either portrayed as handsome males who show their bodies, or positioned as fathers. There are 2 participants who state that men are highlighted within their success in the business world and their 'industriousness'.

In this context, some of the most remarkable statements of the participants, who are of the opinion that men are highlighted through their handsome features and bodies, are given below:

"I think that healthy men, who are fond of fashion, do physical exercises, are highlighted. In my opinion, since commercial spots generally address women, these men are featured in advertisements in order to sell products to women more easily." (M. S., 50, a business owner)

"I think that they are mainly highlighted with their physical powers and masculine bodies. They bring their own bodies and masculinity to the forefront. For instance, a smart, intelligent man is never emphasised. They want to dominate everything, their word is generally considered as the truth. That is, we always see men as men. It is as if they are all heroes." (T. N., 65, a doctor)

"Men are portrayed as popular persons, with their bodies on the foreground." (C. C., 38, an expert in a private company)

"The first example that comes to my mind is Mr. Muscle. The bald man in white T-shirt. A muscular, strong character who handles difficult tasks. It is so much so that women can get through housework, which they normally cannot do, thanks to him. For instance, the woman cannot take off the dirt, but Mr. Muscle comes and acts in a complementary role when the woman comes short at a task." (M. A., 27, an academician)

"Masculine manners, hard features, muscular body, that is, successful male model is in the foreground." (Ö. Z., 37, a manager in a private company)

"For instance, I remember Biscolata advertisements. In the past, advertisements were mainly based on female body, but now they tend to demonstrate sexual appeal of men more. Sexual appearance of men also comes to the forefront." (A. B., 33, a psychologist)

⁴⁹ SCHROEDER, J. E., ZWICK, D.: Mirrors of Masculinity: Representation and Identity in Advertising Images. In *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 2004, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 22.

⁵⁰ HEARN, J.: From Hegemonic Masculinity to the Hegemony of Men. In *Feminist Theory*, 2004, Vol. 5, No. 1, p. 56.

Some participants think that male characters featured in television advertisements are highlighted only through their paternal roles or, depending on the product, male body or paternal role. Their statements are as follows:

"I generally see family men. Honest, reliable men who appreciate and approve their wives." (Y. Ü., 43, an engineer)

"We see a family man or a muscular man who does bodybuilding. If the advertisement addresses the whole family, he looks like a family man; but if the advertisement directly addresses men, we can say that these are muscular, hunky men. Because men want to look like those characters." (E. L., 38, a business owner)

"Two types of men are featured in advertisements: the first is the father, the other is the handsome man, whom women admire and cannot be indifferent to him. I think that fathers are the target audience in advertisements, in which father roles are used. For example, the father figure in car advertisements is fond of his father, interested in all activities of his child, and does the housework. In my opinion, there is no macho man, but these fathers are mostly tradesmen or small and medium sized enterprise owners, who make a living the hard way." (G. R., 42, an academician)

Finally, statements of the participants, who think that men are brought into the foreground with their industriousness and successes in the business world, are as follows:

"Generally, the image of a man who is highly efficient, competent and hard-working is highlighted." (H. K., 34, a teacher)

"I think that men, who take a loan from the bank for their work, think about the future of their business, and act cautious in their monetary plans, are demonstrated." (H. Ü., 60, a manager in a private company)

RQ2: Division of Labour between Women and Men in Television Advertisements

Connell argues that the social division of labour between women and men has changed because women are responsible for housework and at the same time they are employed, doing jobs which are deemed appropriate for them. However, this may not always be portrayed in television advertisements expressly.⁵¹ In many television advertisements, men are portrayed while helping their wives with various kinds of housework and taking care of their children. On the other hand, it can be suggested that these men, men who are portrayed as less competent than women, generally try to share tasks with women although they are not good at housework. According to Connell, men are mostly employed in the top positions of public or private organisations, work in the fields of commerce and management, while women are generally employed in the lower positions compared to men or in the top positions in areas which are considered appropriate for women.⁵² Similarly, Seidler argues that the public world is the field of men; women have access to this field only if they prepare themselves in the same standards as men.⁵³ A manifestation of this situation can also be seen in television advertisements. Therefore, within the scope of the study, the question *"According to male audience, what kinds of differences are there between female and male roles in television advertisements in terms of social division of labour?"* was addressed by the participants in the context of both division of labour in housework and occupational division of labour.

51 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 141-156.
52 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 141-156.
53 SEIDLER, V. J.: *Man Enough: Embodying Masculinities*. London: Sage Publications, 1998, p. 51.

All of the participants state that in television advertisements, women are considered responsible for housework. In addition to this, while 16 of the participants point out that men in advertisements tend to help their wives with the housework but they are not very good at it and thus generally take various supporting roles, 3 other participants state that they do not see advertisements portraying men helping their wives at home. 1 participant claims that in the advertisements, men seem to be helping their wives, but this does not reflect the real life, and men actually do not help their wives with housework in the real life. Within this context, some of the participants' statements about their observations on the division of labour between women and men in advertisements are as follows:

"The man is generally shown with his son/daughter in the kitchen when the woman is not at home. When the woman comes home, she gets mad at them, because they have turned the kitchen into a mess. That is, men are clumsy. In other words, man is the minister of foreign affairs, while woman is the minister of internal affairs; this is actually the case in real life." (E. L., 38, a business owner)

"You can never see equal sharing in advertisements. It is the woman who organises the activity, and the man provides help in the supporting role." (G. R., 42, an academician)

"As far as I can remember, in the advertisements, women always shout 'The dinner is ready!' and they are responsible for nutrition and housework. On the other hand, men generally try to reduce the work load of women so that women can spare some time for themselves." (M. A., 27, an academician)

"In the advertisements, division of labour between women and men is presented as an ideal picture. As a matter of fact, the woman is the dominant character in the house. Modern men are not as skilful as women. I can even say that clumsiness of men is in the foreground." (H. K., 34, a teacher)

"Actually, advertisements are disconnected from reality. Men are always genial; they are more than willing to help. And this doesn't look realistic. (...) Of course the man is in the supporting role, and this may be related to the value the advertisements attribute to society. Woman is the real 'owner' of the housework, the man 'does the favour' to help her." (B. T., 36, an expert in a private company)

"In advertisements, women are not portrayed as persons who have professions. Only women, who are more attractive and elegant, are always shown while doing housework. These houses are palatial, and each woman looks like a Hollywood star. A very beautiful woman, who has nothing to do with reality, is cleaning the house. On the other hand, men are helping their wives in overly polite and elegant manners. There is no such masculinity in real life. Anyway, the audience does not believe in this either." (M. S., 50, a business owner)

"In advertisements, the way division of labour in the house is generally portrayed is fictitious. Because no Turkish man cooks at home or cleans the house. But in advertisements, they are helping their wives. Just like in the real life, in advertisements, women are essentially in charge of housework, and men are busy with their work outside." (T. Y., 55, a policeman)

"Women are doing the housework. In my opinion, men do not help women. But when women do something successful such as preparing a meal or buying something for a good price, men appreciate them and think highly of them. The man is more passive, the advertisement is fictionalised around the woman." (Y. Ü., 43, an engineer)

When the occupational division of labour in advertisement is considered, 11 participants note that the primary duty related to women's roles featured in advertisements is housework; they are not shown in terms of the business life as much as men; the business environment is mostly fictionalised as the field of men. Some of these answers are presented below:

“Men are generally business owners, managers and rich persons. Women, on the other hand, generally work with them. That is, in occupational terms, we see women who help men.” (T. N., 65, a doctor)

“I think that women are generally housewives. (...) But men look like middle-income workers and civil servants. Like in the campaign advertisements of supermarket chains or credit card advertisements.” (C. S., 38, an expert in a private company)

“The concept of a working woman is not seen in advertisements. (...) A vast majority of women in advertisements are those responsible for the house, and even housewives; the father is mostly busy earning money at work. For instance, when we see only a woman in the advertisement, we think that her partner is probably busy earning money outside. (...) For example, we do not see a woman in advertisements which feature men portrayed as tradesmen who make a living the hard way. We see men who earn money and struggle for their families within these stereotypes.” (G. R., 42, an academician)

“I think that there are differences between men and women in terms of participation in the society and contributions they make to the society. Men always work at more qualified positions. Women, on the other hand, are portrayed as if they cannot exist without men. Women are generally featured in roles which support men’s work.” (M. A., 27, an academician)

“It is generally the housewife who does the housework. It is the man, who brings money to the house, as the head of the household. In this way, advertisements, which the society wants to see, can be produced.” (M.Y., 59, a lawyer)

On the other hand, 8 participants state that roles of women and men featured in television advertisements do not differ in occupational terms, and men are not shown at higher positions than women. Some of the statements are specified as follows:

“As a matter of fact, there is no male dominance in occupations shown in television advertisements; to me, the advertisements I see on television do not have any connotations of gender inequality.” (Ö. Z., 37, a manager in a private company)

“In the past, we used to see only men in the business environments portrayed in advertisements. Lately, I have seen both women and men. In my opinion, this shows a non-sexist advertisement perception, and points to a sense of partnership.” (S. Y., 35, a human resources specialist)

“When I watch advertisements with a perspective that is not too radical, I do not see a sexist attitude in occupational terms. I think that women and men are not portrayed as different from each other in terms of their occupations. Society is rather sensitive to such issues, and advertisers also take this into account.” (A. B., 33, a psychologist)

“In advertisements which feature women as working and successful individuals, women and men are vocationally equal. As a matter of fact, women are even portrayed as more successful in order to draw further attention, because the woman is used as a visual element.” (B. A., 36, a business owner)

On the other hand, 1 participant believes that such a difference does not draw his attention since jobs of men featured in television advertisements are “larger than life”. The participant explains this as follows:

“Men in television advertisements are portrayed as persons who own a company like in Europe, or work at plazas which are like the ones that we see in American movies. In reality, there are very few men who have jobs like these. Moreover, jobs in these advertisements do not reflect the occupations in real life. For this reason, the fact that women and men are featured differently in occupational terms did not attract my attention.” (M. S., 50, a business owner)

RQ3: Men’s Areas of Dominance in Television Advertisements

Gender relations exist and continue with the power relations, which are produced according to gender. In this context, the participants were asked due to which qualifications male roles could have more dominance compared to women, and to evaluate these forms of dominance in terms of the man’s authority in the family, the sector he works in, his professional status and physical strength. According to this, while 4 of the interviewed participants state that primary reason of men’s dominance is their jobs (and financial possibilities gained through the jobs), 3 participants are convinced that men’s dominance stems from their physical strength. 2 participants argue that male dominance is due to men’s professional status. In this context, some of the statements of the participants, who are of the opinion that men possess at least one of the above-mentioned areas of dominance, are as follows:

“In advertisements, physical strength of men is always highlighted more than other aspects. For instance, men perform all tasks that require strength; they break and tear things to pieces. Therefore, women remain in the background in terms of physical strength.” (T. N., 65, a doctor)

“Men in advertisements have a much higher professional status than women. However, it is shown as if all decisions are taken jointly in the household.” (M. S., 50, a business owner)

“I think that men’s authority gives the impression that they maintain the family’s well-being.” (B. A., 36, a business owner)

“What I see most is the man who earns a living for the family; his financial power.” (R. İ., 41, an engineer)

“Men’s dominance is based on physical strength. After all, there is a male-dominant structure and this is a historical process. Man is the source of power in the household; he directs the relations by earning money.” (H. K., 34, a teacher)

However, 4 participants state that they do not think that men have a different area of dominance than women, 6 participants say that men are more influential in the household, but women are more dominant in relation to the purchasing decisions associated with advertisements; men even assume a convincing role. Some of the statements of these participants are as follows:

“In advertisements, men generally assume the role of the decision-makers, while women and children assume the roles of the persuaders. Because they know about campaigns, instalment plans, opportunities. The man makes the decision, but he is persuaded by them.” (E. L., 38, a business owner)

“I cannot say that men have more authority. I think that, despite male representations such as machos or upright men, men do not directly have a say in a specific decision phase. There is an environment which allows taking decisions together. But this is normal. Because an advertisement cannot be based solely on a man. It can flatter the target audience by showing a man as an authority; but the spot cannot place a woman to a secondary position completely.” (G. R., 42, an academician)

“Man is more authoritative in the family; important decisions are mostly taken by men. Woman is more active in terms of purchasing specific products; she is more familiar with the subject.” (M. A., 27, an academician)

“Women are more influential in the purchasing decisions associated with certain products.” (B. T., 36, an expert in a private company)

"I think that they are both in the same situation, but money is under the man's control, and the man also has the concerns related to monetary issues. The woman is generally trying to persuade the man." (Ö. Z., 37, a manager in a private company)

"For instance, you can never see a concerned woman in holiday advertisements. It is always the man, who is concerned about money. There is a perception which implies that woman's money is her own, but man's money belongs to the household." (Ö. Ö., 31, an expert in a private company)

RQ4: Relationships Men in Television Advertisements Establish with Women

Emotional relations that develop between men and women within the framework of emotional attachment may determine other forms of social relations since they are also generalised to these relations. Based on this perspective, the question *"According to male audience, what kinds of emotional relations between women and men are fictionalised in television advertisements? In their opinion, which side determines these relationships?"* was addressed by the participants.

11 participants are convinced that women are the determining side in the emotional relationships between men and women and they attribute this to women's sentimentality, men's persuasive skills and 'ability' in the household. Within this context, some of the remarkable statements of the participants are as follows:

"In my opinion, women are the determining side for emotional relations and sexual attraction in advertisements. Women are shown as having power to influence and convince men. Things, which women do not want, cannot take place at home." (R. İ., 41, an engineer)

"Women are more influential, and act as the decision-makers in emotional relations. Because they are more romantic compared to men." (B. A., 36, a business owner).

"A woman does something for a man in an advertisement. The man appreciates the woman. I think that the emotional relationship between them is based on this." (Y. Ü., 43, an engineer)

"Women are more influential in the emotional process of the relationship. They show coyness or attitudinise to their partners. In this way, a woman tries to make a space for herself as an alternative to the dominant power in the household." (H. K., 34, a teacher)

However, there are also 9 other participants who state that the forms of emotional relationships established between women and men do not stem from any of the genders; related portrayals become different according to the structure of the product or service:

"Basically, except for certain product groups, there is not an emotional or sexual relationship between women and men. If it is not an advertisement promoting a special product, sexual attraction is of secondary importance. But we can say that women are more influential in social relations." (G. R., 42, an academician)

"In my opinion, advertisements portray the relationships between women and men as extremely emotional. They try to associate this emotional relationship with the quality and functionality of the product, but I don't think that any conscious individuals believe in such tactics. (...) Because the truth changes from society to society. But our advertisements are just a modified form of advertisements in Western countries. For this reason, they do not fit into our social structure, that's why no one believes in advertisements." (M. Ş., 32, an expert in a private company)

RQ5: Relationship Forms of Men within Male Groups in Television Advertisements

The masculinity, which is constructed via television advertisements, is not just presented through women and men, but also shaped through the relations between men in male groups. Discussing this, Connell suggests that interaction between different forms of masculinity is an integral part of social order.⁵⁴ Similarly, Selek emphasises the fact that the construction of masculinity takes place within the hierarchy between men through sexist arguments, in addition to the relationships between men and women.⁵⁵ Therefore, questions such as *"According to male audience, what kinds of relationships are there within male groups in television advertisements? Does a specific form of masculinity come into prominence in these groups?"* need to be addressed as well.

A considerably large portion of the research sample (16 participants) think that there is no hierarchical relationship between male groups who are featured in television advertisements; 3 participants say that they do not have any such observations, and 1 participant states that he is of the opinion that there is a hierarchical structure among the featured groups. On the other hand, 5 participants believe that these male groups featured in advertising content are standardised, and emphasis is placed only on certain features of masculinity. Within this context, we offer some of the remarkable statements of the participants:

"I don't think that there is too much competition between men. But, in my opinion, advertisements are represented completely through stereotypes. (...) Male groups I see in advertisements are generally groups that reinforce masculinity; they are not represented accurately. For instance, even a child, who watches advertisements on a mainstream television channel, thinks that masculinity portrayed in these advertisements is problematic." (G. R., 42, an academician)

"Emphasised in advertisements, this type of man, who wants to be among his group of friends or avoid spending time with his wife, has become classic. Men are portrayed as having more fun with their male friends in order not to be subject to various emotional fluctuations of women. This image is also used as a special marketing element." (C. C., 38, an expert in a private company)

"I think that all men are equal. After all, something, which is consumed collectively, is sold; if we think that there is inequality among men, that advertisement cannot encourage the target audience to buy the product. So, I don't think that this is the case." (M. A., 27, an academician)

Cengiz et al. suggest that this type of exaggerated manifestations of masculinity, or at least masculinity narratives can be widely observed in environments such as coffee houses, pubs, billiard parlours, gyms, martial arts schools and pavilions where men are the majority of regulars. In this context, it can be seen that advertisements also use such masculine environment's images and associate this 'entertaining' environment with their products depending on their target audience.⁵⁶ Similarly, some of the participants state that in advertisements, which feature male groups, manners of men are exaggerated, and these environments are portrayed as more entertaining than they really are:

"Generally, when an entertaining, enjoyable setting is depicted, we see male groups. In this way, it is shown as if men had more fun through male bonding." (C. S., 38, an expert in a private company)

"It is shown as if men are having more fun among themselves. Like spending time with male friends is very enjoyable." (T. Y., 55, a policeman)

54 CONNELL, R. W.: *Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve İktidar*. İstanbul : Ayrıntı Publishing, 1998, p. 245.

55 SELEK, P.: *Sürüne Sürüne Erkek Olmak*. İstanbul : İletişim Publishing, 2014, p. 210-211.

56 CENGİZ, K., TOL, U. U., KÜÇÜKURAL, Ö.: Hegemonik Erkekliğin Peşinden. In *Toplum ve Bilim*, 2004, Vol. 101, No. 1, p. 57.

"There is a relaxed atmosphere. (...) We don't see women like this. They use foul language. They don't care about what they eat or drink, they don't act responsibly." (Ö. Z., 37, a manager in a private company)

Discussion and Conclusions

"Hegemonic masculinity" refers to the dominance of men, who possess certain features deemed 'appropriate' by the society, over both women and men who are not like them. Although this form of masculinity has changed along with the changing values of the social structure, sovereignty is still in the hands of a specific class of men.

Production of this sovereignty takes place in many advertisements. A significant increase has been observed in the presentation of male bodies in magazines, advertisements or similarly popular cultural and media products since the end of the 1990s. As muscular male bodies are featured on the covers of various magazines and television screens, male bodies are also shown in advertisements, which mostly featured female bodies in the past. While these figures of media or popular culture create a new representation of masculine body, they also idealise, sexualise and commoditise it.⁵⁷ Based on this perspective, it is not surprising that most of the interviewed respondents participating in this study think that men come to the forefront with certain features such as their bodies, physical strength and handsomeness. Because in the construction process of masculinity, body is a project site, on which masculinity performance is written, hegemonic *mise en scène* is constructed, and features, which do not fit to this pattern, are removed to sub-fields of other masculinity categorisations.⁵⁸

When our findings related to the social division of labour in Turkish television advertisements are considered, we can see that the participants regard female roles as responsible for housework; male roles try to support their wives in terms of the household chores, but they mostly remain in these supporting roles. The findings suggest that, within the scope of the study, the concept of "hegemonic male" is in accordance with the constructed metrosexual image and with the idea that the primary duty of women is housework, while the fundamental duty of men is working outside the house. This is also the manifestation of gender identity.

Moreover, we conclude that the participants think that men gain their sovereignty mostly as a result of their financial possibilities, but they are not in the position of decision-makers in the house; women are more influential in the purchasing decisions related to watching advertisements. Similarly, most participants believe that female roles in television advertisements are more determinant in the emotional relationships between women and men featured in advertising; they attribute this to women's sentimentality, men's persuasive skills and 'abilities' in the household. The participants also think that group relations between men featured in television advertisements are not hierarchical; in the advertisements which feature such male groups, manifestations of masculinity are exaggerated, and these environments are portrayed in a much more entertaining way than they really are.

Therefore, when the findings of the study are taken into account, it can be suggested that highly educated Turkish men are aware of the highlighted features of men in television advertisements, as well as of the way the inequality between women and men in terms of the domestic and occupational division of labour is depicted. However, male viewers mostly point out that women are fictionalised as more determinant and even 'persuasive' in terms of men's areas of dominance and emotional relationships between women and men in television advertisements. This can be interpreted as a manifestation of women's attempts to convince dominant men, but the participants' statements do not refer to this fact. In addition, the participants state that there is not any hierarchical relationship among the male groups featured in advertisements. This suggests that the concept of "hegemonic masculinity", which was explained in the theoretical outlines of the study, is not present in the statements of the participants based on their views on the dominance of "hegemonic masculinity" over other forms of masculinity.

57 ÖZTÜRK, A.: Eril Bedenselleşme: Hegemonik Erkek Bedeninin İnşası. In *Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2012, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 46. [online]. [2017-07-05]. Available at: <<http://www.ilsfdergisi.com/sayi13/39-53.pdf>>.

58 ÖZTÜRK, A.: Eril Bedenselleşme: Hegemonik Erkek Bedeninin İnşası. In *Felsefe ve Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 2012, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 49. [online]. [2017-07-05]. Available at: <<http://www.ilsfdergisi.com/sayi13/39-53.pdf>>.

The study offers a cultural perspective as it aims to raise awareness of the hegemonic male roles in commercials broadcast in Turkey. For example, unlike Connell's notions, the participants state that they think that women have more decisive, even 'persuasive' qualities in relation to the dominant areas of men's activities in advertising and in terms of the emotional relationships between women and men. It is possible to say that this example follows the cultural characteristics of Turkey. For this reason, we believe that the study would present largely different perspectives when implemented in different countries.

As we have mentioned above, this perspective, as framed by Connell's definitions and similar opinions of other interested authors, requires the participants to possess knowledge of media literacy so that they can make a critical assessment of television advertisements. For this reason, we think that for the research to continue it is necessary to construct other research questions, but in a different way, via another study which will involve participants with different sociodemographical characteristics.

Finally, when the results of the study are reflected on in detail, it is difficult for us not to wonder why men do not react to these patterns of hegemonic masculinity imposed to them, and why at least some of them do not stand outside these patterns. Selek explains this situation as follows: "*Men sometimes develop resistance points and strategies against their own 'fate'. But this generally doesn't lead to a complete confrontation. Due to the bonds that they establish with power, men cannot find that mental and emotional gap that will help them get rid of the official requirements of their roles, and put off their masks on their own.*"⁵⁹ For this reason, it would be adequate to suggest that the results of this study are indicative of the masculinity in crisis.

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