

“SHE’S JUST A NORMAL GIRL”:
ESPN THE MAGAZINE’S BODY ISSUE AND THE
FRAMING OF WOMEN ATHLETES

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Abstract: Although the number of women participating in organized sport has drastically increased since the passage of Title IX, sport media has not necessarily reflected this change. As well as being underrepresented in sport media, women athletes are also portrayed in gender biased ways. When examining photographic media, many studies investigate *Sports Illustrated’s* Swimsuit Issue; however, the present study argues that using this magazine is methodologically flawed. Therefore, I explore an emergent source—*ESPN the Magazine’s* Body Issue—in order to determine how women are represented in this magazine. Using Goffman’s (1974) framing theory and (1979) *Gender Advertisements*, as well as Schipper’s (2007) extension of hegemonic femininity, I utilized content analytic methods to analyze all editions of the annual Body Issue from 2009 – 2014. In total, I studied 143 athletes represented in 146 images, as well as the captions which accompanied these images. Results uncovered that, although women are more highly represented than men in the Body Issue, they are still presented using hegemonically feminine frames. While the Body Issue does occasionally present women in ways which challenge the hegemonic gender structure, these instances are few. Contributions of this study to the body of literature regarding sport media strengthen the suggestion that sport media plays a role in both producing and reproducing the hegemonic gender structure.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In June of 1972, Title IX became law in the United States. According to this law, “no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, P.L. 92-318, 20 U.S.C.S. section 1681 et seq.). Although aimed at all aspects of education, Title IX’s passage resulted in dramatic effects on women’s participation in athletics. According to the High School Athletics Participation Survey conducted by the National Federation of State High School Associations [NFSHSA] (2014), during the 1971 – 1972 school year, little more than 290,000 girls participated in high school athletics compared to well over 3.6 million boys. Since Title IX, that number has skyrocketed and the gender gap in athletic participation rates narrowed, with 3.2 million girls participating in high school athletics in the 2013 – 2014 school year compared to 4.5 million boys (NFSHSA, High School Athletics Participation Survey, 2013). This dramatic shift is not only seen in girls’ participation in high school athletics, but also in women’s participation in collegiate athletics. In 1970, approximately 16,000 women participated in college athletics; however, today, that number is over 200,000

(Acosta and Carpenter 2012). Also in 1970, colleges and universities were home to an average of 2.5 women's teams per school. In 2012, that average reached its highest point in history, with colleges and universities having an average of 8.7 women's teams per school (Acosta and Carpenter 2012).

Accompanying the growth of women's participation in sports was an increase in the amount of media coverage women athletes received. Numerous studies have been conducted over the years which examine these portrayals of women athletes in sports media. Overwhelmingly, it is suggested that women athletes are treated very differently by sports media than are men athletes. Previous studies show that both women athletes and women's sports receive significantly less coverage than men athletes and men's sports (Alexander 1994; Billings and Eastman 2003; Bishop 2003; Adams and Tuggle 2004; Clavio and Eagleman 2011). Further, women athletes are portrayed in stereotypically feminine ways, with sports media emphasizing their femininity over their athleticism (Eastman and Billings 2000; Christopherson, Janning, and McConnell 2002; Billings 2007; Angelini and Billings 2010; Chalabaev et al. 2013). Sports media coverage has not been reflective of the rapid and considerable increase in women's sports participation post Title IX; showing little to no increase in their coverage of women's athletics from the 1970's to today (Fink 1998; Kane 1989; Duncan, Messner, and Willms 2005). In fact, recent studies have suggested that daily news and highlights shows are practically silent when it comes to women's sports (Cooky, Messner, and Musto 2015).

While previous studies have thoroughly covered the topic from various approaches, recent literature has yet to fully integrate a newly emerging source, *ESPN the Magazine's* Body Issue. First published in 2009, the Body Issue proclaims itself "a

celebration and exploration of the athletic form” (ESPN Planning Guide, 2014). Each of the special issues features semi-nude and nude photographs of over 25 elite women and men athletes. An examination of the Body Issue is warranted for two main reasons. First, as previously stated, in depth analyses of this source have yet to be conducted by scholars despite the magazine’s popularity. *ESPN the Magazine* boasts over 14 million readers and has more readers aged 18-54 than their leading competitor, *Sports Illustrated* (ESPN Pocket Guide, 2013; *ESPN the Magazine* Quick Little Update, 2014). This makes the Body Issue one of the most widely circulated—and, therefore, viewed—magazine issues in current sports media; a prime candidate for content analysis.

Secondly, a majority of the available studies examining media photographic portrayal of women athletes in the United States have analyzed *Sports Illustrated’s* Swimsuit Issue. *Sports Illustrated* first began annual publication of the Swimsuit Issue in 1964, although there is some argument that they unofficially began even earlier (Davis 1997). Generally, women athletes in studies of the Swimsuit Issue are compared to men athletes who are appearing in the same issue. A methodological problem arises, however, when we account not for the simple appearance of each athlete, but the *function* of that appearance. Many of the women athletes appearing in the Swimsuit Issue are not serving the function of *athlete*, but of *model*. This is best evidenced in a 2011 study by Kim, Sagas, and Walker. In this study, researchers analyzed *Sports Illustrated’s* swimsuit editions from 1997 through 2009, finding that male athletes *never* appeared alone in photographs featured in the magazine. Men athletes were always accompanied by either women fashion models or their own wives. While the men athletes were photographed dressed in their sports uniforms, the women accompanying them were dressed in

swimsuits. Researchers also found that from 2006 through 2009, no men athletes were featured in the swimsuit issue. During those years, photographs featured a mix of appearances by women fashion models, women athletes, and men athlete's wives. This makes it clear that the women appearing in this issue are doing so not because they are athletes, but because they are "attractive"; they are suitable models. Further, in early swimsuit issues, women athletes were also pictured with fashion model accompaniment, whereas, in the more recent issues, the women athletes are appearing in photographs alone. This indicates a shift in the function of featured women athletes from appearing as an athlete to appearing as a model.

Moreover, other research has found that the athletes and the models featured in the Swimsuit Issue are portrayed in very similar ways (Kim and Sagas 2014). As Kim and Sagas state, "when athletes [are] portrayed as swimsuit models, they [are] obviously spotlighted as fashion models, not athletes" (2014:137). Similarly, it has been found that audiences perceive the women featured in *Sports Illustrated's* Swimsuit Issue to be more model-like than those women featured in *ESPN The Magazine's* Body Issue (Smallwood, Brown, and Billings 2014). The Swimsuit Issue has very little to do with sports; therefore, its content is not appropriate for drawing comparisons between men and women athletes or for understanding the ways in which women athletes are portrayed by sport media. This is especially salient given that those women athletes who do appear in the issue are perceived as serving in the capacity of a model rather than an athlete. By selecting the Swimsuit Issue for examination, researchers neglect to examine the athletic (rather than modeled) representations of women in sport. They also seemingly select a sample which will be reflective of their expected results.

Because of the aforementioned concerns, the Body Issue is ideal for sociological examination. Conducting a content analysis on each of the 6 currently released editions of the Body Issue, the present study seeks to investigate an overarching question: How are women athletes represented in *ESPN the Magazine's* Body Issue and to what extent do these representations reflect the hegemonic gender structure? In answering this question, I examine the quantity of coverage women receive both in comparison to men and in comparison to their representation in regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine*. Using the work of Goffman (1979) as a guide, I also investigate the presence of gendered themes in the images of both men and women athletes featured in the Body Issue. Finally, I also consider potential gendered themes within the captions for each athlete's photograph.

The present study is of practical importance in multiple ways. Primarily, it is suggested that sports media plays a significant role in the development of audience's conceptions of social issues (Kane and Greendorfer 1994). This suggestion has been supported empirically as well, with one such study showing that women athletes featured in articles focusing on athleticism are perceived by audiences as being less attractive than women athletes featured in articles focusing on attractiveness. This implies that readers look to the content of an article to draw conclusions about the featured athlete, suggesting that sports media is shaping audience's perceptions of women athletes (Knight and Giuliano 2001). As a result, the importance of the representations of the athletes which sport media choose to portray and how they choose to frame those athletes is paramount. Uncovering potential inequalities in sport media's framing of athletes contributes to our knowledge of gender inequalities in a broader social context.

Uncovering potential inequalities also allows for improvements in the equity of sport media and, therefore, society in general. As Brace-Govan suggests, “the cultural discourse about femininity that is made available to the generality of women through . . . representations in popular media is important in disseminating values about feminine bodies” (2010:378). This highlights the importance of the images of women in particular that are portrayed by sport media. As women may only choose from what is culturally available to them at the time, limited images of women in sport serve to further restrict or reinforce what is acceptable femininity (Hirschman and Stern 2000).

The available representations of women in sports are of increased importance when considered in the context of a hegemonic gender structure; wherein women are devalued in order to perpetuate the dominant status of men in society (Connell 1987). Connell (1987) suggested that hegemonic masculinity is a fluid concept, subject to change, with the constant factor being that the practices embodying hegemonic masculinity allow men to continually maintain a position of dominance over women. The repeated portrayal of women athletes in ways which imply a very narrow idea of acceptable femininity is further reinforcement for the idea that men hold dominance over women in sports and, given the media’s impact on society, that women are subordinate to men in general.

The increasing involvement of women in the traditionally man-dominated arena of sports has provided scholars with a breadth of novel phenomena to study. A portion of that research has turned its focus to representations and portrayals of women athletes in sport media. Within the expansive library of knowledge focused on this topic, the literature appears to be divided between two major themes: gender differences in the

quantity of and the *quality* of the coverage of women's sports in comparison to men's. In Chapter 2, I will first review this literature, followed by the theoretical base for the present study. Specifically, I argue that framing theory provides a useful lens for understanding the framing of women athletes appearing in the Body Issue and the larger impact of these frames for society. In Chapter 3, I will detail both the data and methods used in the present study including my reasoning for selecting the Body Issue, the coding scheme employed, and my analytic strategy. Chapters 4 and 5 will be dedicated to presentation of my analyses, both quantitative and qualitative, respectively. In the final chapter, I will elucidate these results and how they relate to the research question. I conclude with a discussion of the limitations of the present study, its contributions to the existing body of literature, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, I review the body of literature focused on the representations of women athletes. My discussion of this literature is divided into two sections—the quantity of sports media coverage women receive, and the quality of that coverage. Following, I discuss framing theory, review its use in sport media literature, and its relevance for the present study.

QUANTITY OF SPORT MEDIA COVERAGE

Investigations into the quantity of coverage women's athletics receive in comparison to men's athletics have consistently uncovered that women athletes are significantly underrepresented in sport media (Kane 1988; Alexander 1994; Tuggle 1997; Bishop 2003; Adams and Tuggle 2004). Messner, Duncan, and Cooky (2003) found that in 1999, less than half of the 251 newscasts they analyzed contained any coverage of women's sports; this a slight improvement from 1993 when 70% of newscasts neglected to cover women's sports. A 2002 study found that broadcasts covering women's sports receive fewer lines of commentary than broadcasts covering men's sports (Billings, Halone, and Denham 2002). Further, fewer news articles are dedicated to the coverage of

women's sports (Kian, Mondello, and Vincent 2009), and those articles which are covering women's sports are significantly shorter than those covering men's sports (Lumpkin 2009). In 2012, Weber and Carini's study of the cover photographs of the magazine *Sports Illustrated* from the years 1954 – 1965 and 2000 – 2011 found that from the years 2000 – 2011, women were only depicted on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* 4.9% of the time; a decrease in coverage compared to the 12.6% of the time they were featured on the cover in the years 1954 – 1965. Not only was this an underrepresentation of women's current participation in sport, but it was even *more* of an underrepresentation than it had been in the time prior to the institution of Title IX and women's increased participation in sports. Further, of those 35 covers between 2000 – 2011 which featured women, only 2.5% featured a woman as the primary focus.

Despite these problematic trends, other researchers have found evidence of progress (Kane and Buysse 2005). By examining 24 randomly selected issues of *NCAA News* from the 1999 and 2001 school years, Cunningham and colleagues (2004) found that women received 42.4% of coverage in the analyzed articles. This percentage closely resembled the percentage of collegiate women athletes at the time (42%). Researchers further compared this representation to the percentage from the 1990 – 1991 school year, where women received only 26.5% of the sport coverage but comprised 33% of the student-athlete population. This finding, in combination with women's proportionate representation in photographs, lead researchers to suggest that there was clear indication of improved coverage for women athletes over time. These findings conflict with Weber and Carini's (2012) study highlighted above. One possible explanation for this is the studying of materials intended for the coverage of mostly professional sports (*Sports*

Illustrated) versus materials intended for the coverage of collegiate athletics (*NCAA News*). It may be that because collegiate athletics, in comparison to professional athletics, is more representative of women, so are the news materials surrounding it.

It would seem from the available research that an increase in sport media's coverage of professional women athletes—making it comparable to the coverage of men—would be beneficial for strengthening interest in women's sports and growing participation levels for women in all levels of sport. There are those, however, who question if this is actually true (Bernstein 2002; Weber and Carini 2012). These scholars imply that increasing the amount of coverage women athletes receive is not beneficial unless the quality and content of the coverage is improved as well.

QUALITY OF SPORT MEDIA COVERAGE

The majority of research focusing on the quality and content of sport media's portrayal of women athletes has found that women athletes are frequently portrayed in ways which reinforce stereotypical ideas about gender (Jones, Murrell, and Jackson, 1999; Billings et al. 2002; Curry, Arriagada, and Cornwell 2002); therefore reinforcing the hegemonic gender structure. West and Zimmerman (1987) contended that gender is a social creation; one produced by people in society continually "doing gender." Often, gender is "done" through appearance; the types of clothes a person wears, the way their hair is styled, the shape of their body, and whether or not they are wearing makeup are all gender cues used when "doing gender." By sport media highlighting the stereotypical forms of femininity, women in sports are trivialized and those who do not conform to traditional gender roles are marginalized (Nylund, 2007). They are also, then, set apart from and labeled as "different" than men. When considering gender as a social

construction, Lorber (2004) argued that men and women may engage in the exact same practices, however, the social institution of gender requires that those practices be perceived as different. Therefore, a man's elite athleticism cannot be perceived as being the same as a woman's elite athleticism without challenging the socially constructed concept of gender. Furthermore, while a man's muscular body may be celebrated as an indication of his strength and masculinity, a woman with a similar body type faces negative social sanctions and questioning of her femininity. Dworkin (2001) suggests that, for women, there is a "glass ceiling" on their muscularity. She found that women who lift weights often hold back or adjust their workouts to assure their bodies do not become so muscular that they are "unfeminine." This study, taken with those of West and Zimmerman as well as Lorber, suggests that there is, indeed, a socially acceptable way of "doing" femininity.

In discussing hegemonic masculinity, Connell contrasted the idea with "emphasized femininity," which is considered to be the socially acceptable form of femininity (1987). This term was chosen over "hegemonic femininity" in order to "acknowledge the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005:848). It focuses attention, however, on the dominant status of men while neglecting to examine a plurality of femininities, a hierarchy of acceptable femininities, as well as the ways in which women's practices reinforce their subordinate position. In addressing these issues, Mimi Schippers (2007) modifies Connell's definition of hegemonic masculinity such that it creates a space for her to conceptualize the idea of hegemonic femininity. She defines hegemonic femininity as "the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and

complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women” (2007:94). Like Connell, she further argues that, due to the nature of hegemonic masculinity, there is no form of subordinate femininity in relation to hegemonic femininity—as all forms of femininity are already inherently subordinate to masculinity. Instead, she suggests the idea of pariah femininities, those femininities which embody a characteristic—typically masculine—that then “contaminate” the individual. The women who adopt these pariah femininities are severely socially sanctioned, seen as undesirable, and often a single characteristic becomes their master status.

In the context of sport media, women athletes are rarely portrayed in ways which allow them to embrace one of these pariah femininities. Instead, hegemonic femininity is most often portrayed, superseding women’s athletic abilities (Fink and Kensicki 2002). In comparison to men, they are more frequently evaluated in terms of their appearance (Billings et al. 2002), portrayed in gender appropriate sports (Cuneen and Claussen 1999), pictured in non-sport related scenery (Fink and Kensicki 2002), and portrayed in feminine and passive poses (Buysse and Embser-Herbert 2004).

A portion of the literature in this area utilizes Matteo’s study of how the sex appropriateness of a sport and the sex of an individual affects the type of sports in which one participates (Matteo 1986). Matteo classifies sports as masculine (e.g., basketball, baseball, boxing, football, ice hockey), feminine (e.g., ballet, cheerleading, field hockey, figure skating, gymnastics), and neutral (e.g., bowling, golf, softball, tennis, volleyball) based on participants’ ratings of how stereotypically masculine, feminine, or neutral they were perceived to be by current societal standards. Matteo reported finding that, despite

the arena of sports being perceived as a predominantly male domain, there were no sex differences in the likelihood of sport participation. The types of experiences may vary, however, as males reported participating in significantly more neutral and masculine sports than did females and, conversely, females reported participating in significantly more feminine sports than did males. Given the small number of sports rated as “feminine” (only 12 sports, as compared to 30 “masculine” sports) and the similarities all of the “feminine” sports shared, males were getting much more variety in their sporting experiences than were females.

Matteo’s (1986) findings have been used by researchers to discuss the ways in which sport media reinforces the hegemonic gender structure through the presentation of athletes in sex appropriate sports. For example, Jones, Murrell and Jackson (1999) posited that descriptions of women athlete’s performances are reflective of dominant beliefs about gender in society. Using Matteo’s (1986) findings, the authors performed a content analysis of 769 print media passages describing the 1996 Olympic gold medal winning contests of U.S. women’s basketball, gymnastics, soccer, and softball, as well as the 1998 U.S. women’s hockey team. These sports were categorized as being male appropriate (basketball, hockey, and soccer), female appropriate (gymnastics), and neutral (softball). Jones and colleagues found a higher frequency of non-task-relevant comments in the descriptions of women athletes in male appropriate sports than in the descriptions of women athletes in female appropriate or neutral sports; that is, the descriptions of gymnasts and softball players focused more on performance than did the descriptions of basketball, hockey, and soccer players. Despite finding that women athletes in male appropriate sports were more likely to be compared to men, they also

found frequent comments reflecting female stereotypes. This held true for each of the groups, with stereotypical comments being made 57.6% of the time in coverage of women in male appropriate sports, 66.7% of the time in the coverage of female appropriate sports, and 53.1% of the time in coverage of neutral sports. When female stereotypical comments were present, there was usually a task irrelevant comment as well (51.3%). This discussion of aspects irrelevant to the athlete's actual contest devalues the superior performance level of women athletes in male appropriate sports. Women athletes are then further trivialized by the writers' tendency to use men's sports as the standard to which women's sports are compared. This continually reflects the notion that the sport in which they are participating is a "man's sport" and that women's sport is simply the alternative or is not to be taken seriously. By covering women's sports in this way, sports broadcasters contribute to the trivialization of women's sports.

Some researchers have focused their energy more specifically on sport media's tendency to overemphasize female athlete's femininity. With this goal, Lumpkin (2009) analyzed *Sports Illustrated* magazine from January 1990 through December 1999. Consistent with the research highlighted above, Lumpkin also found disproportionate coverage devoted to men athletes. While women were the focus of only 9.7% of feature articles, she notes that coverage of women did outnumber men in tennis, figure skating, and gymnastics. She also found, though, that *Sports Illustrated* frequently portrays women athletes within the context of stereotypical femininity. With the exception of basketball and soccer, women who were featured most often were participants in individual sports; namely, tennis, golf, track and field, figure skating, gymnastics, skiing, and swimming. *Sports Illustrated* also used gendered language, especially in their

emphasis of women athlete's bodies over their athleticism. Portraying women athletes in these ways further contributes to their marginalization in sports, as well as the overall reinforcement of the hegemonic gender structure.

Femininity can, however, be represented in different ways within sport media. This is best evidenced in Mikosza and Phillips' (1999) study of portrayals of women Olympic athletes in the *Golden Girls of Sport* calendar (GG) compared to *The Atlanta Dream* (AD) calendar. This study concluded that the GG calendar expresses a dichotomy of masculinity and femininity, serving to "other" women athletes and imply their inferiority to male athletes. The women's bodies are presented in hegemonically feminine ways—in direct opposition to masculinity—lacking strength, power, and toughness. Large, posed "pin-up style" photographs of the women are presented in conjunction with smaller photos in the lower corner in which they are actively participating in their sports. The large, focal pictures sexualize the athletes through the use of hairstyling, cosmetics, and sexually suggestive posing. In the GG calendar, the women's sport accomplishments are very literally minimized, as their action photographs are substantially smaller than the more hyper-feminine and glamorous posed photographs. This further reinforces the idea that women cannot be both athletic *and* feminine simultaneously, thereby emphasizing that the world of sports is a man's domain and in it, women are inferior.

While the photographs of athletes in the GG calendar were clothed, the athletes in AD were photographed nude. AD provides not only a picture, but also an interview with each athlete in which their athletic career is discussed; emphasizing that they are, indeed, successful athletes. Unlike the glamour shots in the GG calendar, the photographs in AD "focus on movement and muscle" (1999:12); using body signifiers of 'woman' in

conjunction with muscle and activity signifying ‘athlete’ to create photographs that portray the women as powerful women athletes. The authors conclude their discussion on AD by asserting that “the emphasis in AD is *entirely different* from that in the GG calendar: the athletes’ bodies are used to focus on their particular sports” (1999:13). They note that there are still a few photographs in AD which portray some stereotypical femininity; however, AD presents an alternative to the highly stylized portrayals of femininity found in the GG calendar.

The emphasis of femininity may be one way to combat the idea that women athletes are homosexual and gender non-normative (Knight and Giuliano 2003, Harrison and Secarea 2010). It remains controversial, however, whether sport media should utilize this method (Krane 2001). Concerns have been empirically validated, with one 2010 study finding that women athletes presented in a sexualized and hyperfeminine manner are judged by college students as being less athletic and worthy of greater disapproval (Harrison and Secarea 2010). Similarly, a 2011 study found that young girls preferred images of athletes which they perceived to be “authentic,” i.e. dressed in uniform and playing or preparing to play their sport (Krane et al. 2011). Collectively, these results suggest that while hyperfeminine or hegemonic portrayals of women in sports media may improve upon the “image” of individual athletes, they are more detrimental to women’s sports as a whole; serving to devalue both women’s athletics and women athletes.

FRAMING THEORY

The theoretical approach which forms the framework of the present study is framing theory. This theory is helpful in evaluating, understanding, and analyzing the ways in which women athletes are framed by sport media. It also allows for a discussion

of how images of women presented in hegemonic frames impact not only other women athletes, but also individuals in general society. In this section, I will open with an overview of framing theory, followed by a discussion of its use in sport media literature and relevance to the present study.

In his (1974) *Frame Analysis*, Erving Goffman argues that in order for people to interpret aspects of a scene into something meaningful, they employ the use of primary frameworks. He further divides frameworks into two distinct types: natural—those which are undirected and have no actor continually guiding them—and social—those which “provide background understanding for events that incorporate the will, aim, and controlling effort of a . . . live agency” (1974:22). In the case of social frameworks, the individual employing them is subjected to “standards” or “social appraisal of [their] actions” (1974:22). This brings motive and intent into play in the determination made by the individual as to what social framework is applied.

Goffman also outlines the concepts of keys and keying. He defines a key as a “set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else” (1974:43 – 44). The process of this transformation is called keying. Goffman enumerates five central factors to the process, the first of which is that “a systematic transformation is involved across materials already meaningful in accordance with a schema of interpretation, and without which the keying would be meaningless” (1974:45). Secondly, Goffman explains that “participants in the activity are meant to know and openly acknowledge that a systematic alteration is involved, one that will radically reconstitute what it is for them that is going on”

(1974:45). Thirdly, “cues will be available for establishing when the transformation is to begin and when it is to end, namely, brackets in time within which and to which the transformation is to be restricted” (1974:45). Goffman further details that “keying is not restricted to events perceived within any particular class of perspectives” (1974:45). Finally, he asserts that “the systematic transformation that a particular keying introduces may alter only slightly the activity thus transformed, but it utterly changes what it is a participant would say was going on” (1974:45).

Later in the work, Goffman identifies the five most common types of keys: make believe, contests, ceremonials, technical redoinings, and regroundings. For the purposes of this study, make believe and technical redoinings are most pertinent. Make believe refers to an “activity that participants treat as an avowed, ostensible imitation . . . of [a] less transformed activity” from which a pastime or entertainment is provided (1974:48). One form of make believe is dramatic scriptings, which includes any personal experiences in which an audience is welcome to vicariously participate. Although similar to make believe, technical redoinings involve an activity which is performed out of its usual context, thereby making its purpose “openly different from [that] of the original performance” (1974:58 – 59). One type of technical redoing is demonstrations or exhibitions. In demonstrations or exhibitions, “performances of a task-like activity” occur “out of [their] usual function context in order to allow someone who is not the performer to obtain a close picture of the doing of the activity” (1974:66). These demonstrations or exhibitions are typically performed by someone who is able to provide a skilled performance.

Within sport media literature, Goffman's framing theory has largely been used in examinations of print media, however, those studies examining sports broadcasting have perhaps been most impactful (Angelini, Billings, and MacArthur 2013; Billings et al. 2014). Halbert and Latimer (1994), for example, employ framing theory when examining the commentary broadcasters used during a male vs. female tennis match. They found that broadcasters frequently undermined, trivialized, and minimized the woman's performance through the use of gendered frames. For example, they found evidence of a gender hierarchy of naming—where the man athlete was often referred to by his full or last name, whereas the woman by her first name only. There was also a significant difference in the amount of praise and criticism given to each athlete. The man athlete was much more likely to be given praise from broadcasters, while the woman more likely to be criticized. Similarly, Billings (2004) utilized framing theory in his examination of broadcaster commentary regarding quarterbacks during collegiate and professional football games. He sought to examine whether there was a difference in the ways broadcasters framed white quarterbacks and black quarterbacks. He found that black quarterbacks were more likely to be characterized as succeeding due to their innate athletic abilities, whereas white quarterbacks were more likely to be characterized as having failed due to a lack of innate athletic skill; however, many of the other stereotypes found in previous research have improved. For example, in an earlier study, researchers analyzed broadcast coverage of the 2000 Sydney Olympics for the presence of disparate coverage based on gender and ethnicity. Overall, they found that women were framed in stereotypical ways. Women athletes were seen as less athletic and less committed to their sport than were men athletes and they received less coverage time than men athletes.

Furthermore, black athletes were also framed in stereotypical ways. They were framed as being physically superior and less modest than white athletes, and they received far fewer mentions during the telecasts than did white athletes.

Gitlin (1980) argues that media framing has three functions: selection (who is shown), emphasis (how much they are shown), and exclusion (who is *not* shown). This makes studies of visual, textual, and broadcast sport media particularly salient. Messner, Duncan, and Jensen (1993) argued that the way in which sport media frames a program impacts the audience's social construction of meaning; therefore, by continually framing athletes in stereotypical ways, sport media is both reinforcing and contributing to the maintenance of social inequalities. To date, sport media has continually produced differing portrayals of athletes based on their gender. As reviewed above, women athletes are consistently underrepresented, trivialized, marginalized, and objectified in sport media. Recent literature, however is conflicted as to whether this situation is improving (Heywood and Dworkin 2003)—making the present study particularly relevant in contributing to the base of knowledge on the subject. The present study will examine the ways that the Body Issue, specifically, frames women athletes. The findings of this study can be used to provide recommendations for how media may change their practices in order to provide more equitable coverage for both men and women athletes.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will review both the data and the methods used in the present study. First, I will detail the data, including my rationale for selecting the Body Issue for examination. Next, I will outline my coding scheme, specifying the categories upon which the coding sheet was created. Finally, I summarize my analytic strategy.

DATA

ESPN the Magazine's Body Issue was first published in 2009 and has been released annually since. The present study analyzes all 6 currently released editions, 2009 – 2014. Excluded from analysis is a 5th anniversary special edition, the Body Issue Portfolio 2009-2013, as it is composed entirely of images that have been featured in previous issues. Only hard copies of the Body Issue are analyzed. Because of this, cover images are also excluded from this analysis. Each year, the Body Issue is released with 4 – 8 different cover photographs, with each subscriber unaware of which cover photograph they will receive. Despite the differing cover images, however, the inside content of the magazine remains the same. Therefore, I chose to only analyze this content as it is most representative of what each reader experiences. Furthermore, within each magazine only those images appearing in the “Bodies We Want” section of the magazine

are analyzed, as this section is the main feature of the Body Issue. All other articles, images, and advertisements appearing in each issue are excluded from analysis. Unlike the “Bodies We Want” feature, the other content in the issue does not always focus explicitly on athletes’ bodies and resembles the content featured in regular issues of the magazine.

The athletes appearing in the Body Issue represent a global population, as not all athletes featured are American or compete in sport organizations located in America. For the purposes of this study, I do not seek to define what constitutes an athlete or a sport, rather, I rely on the Body Issue’s assertion that the people featured within this magazine are what they consider to be athletes. In the Body Issue, each athlete is typically given a single-page spread which features one photo, a caption which indicates demographic information about the athlete such as their sport and age, as well as a quote about the athlete or from the athlete themselves. There are a few exceptions to this, however, as some athletes are featured in multiple photographs across multiple pages or photographed as a team instead of individually. I analyze all of this content, resulting in 143 athletes depicted in 146 images. (Appendix A for a full list of athletes and sports across issues.)

I chose the Body Issue for examination for two main reasons. First, scholars have yet to fully explore this source despite its popularity and widespread circulation. Secondly, a large portion of the studies examining the photographic portrayal of women athletes have analyzed *Sports Illustrated’s* Swimsuit Issue; an issue where, in recent years, only women have been featured—the vast majority of whom are models—and those women athletes who are featured have been portrayed more often as fashion models rather than as athletes (Kim and Sagas 2014). This makes drawing comparisons between

the men and women athletes featured difficult, as their appearances in the same magazine serve very different functions. The Body Issue, however, features strictly athletes and claims to be a “celebration and exploration of the athletic form” (ESPN Planning Guide 2014) rather than a magazine focusing on “captur[ing] the world’s most beautiful women in exotic locations around the globe” (SI 2015). Therefore, I chose the Body Issue purposefully, as its self-purported goal stands in stark contrast to that of *Sports Illustrated’s* Swimsuit Issue.

Despite its enormous popularity, the Swimsuit Issue has drawn many critiques from scholars when considering the equality of representations of men and women. One common critique is that regular issues of *Sports Illustrated* contain very little feature content on women and women’s sports, yet numerous women appear in the pages of the Swimsuit Issue specifically (Lumpkin and Williams 1991, Daddario 1992, Bishop 2003). Recognizing that this phenomenon could also occur between regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine* and the Body Issue, I also analyze 12 regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine* for supplemental analysis. I chose only issues published between 2009 and 2014—the same years as the currently released editions of the Body Issue. When deciding which months of the year to draw issues from, I first considered the season schedules of the “big four” men’s sports leagues—Major League Baseball, National Basketball Association, National Football League, and the National Hockey League. When including pre- and post-season time, the NBA, NFL, and NHL largely share the same season—with the NBA and NHL being in season between October and June, and the NFL from September to February. Major League Baseball, however, has a season that runs from April to October. This season aligns more with the season for the WNBA—the Women’s National Basketball

Association, arguably the most popular professional women's sports league—which runs May through October. Other popular sports for both men and women such as golf or tennis have seasons which are practically year round. Because of the overlap in the men's seasons, I chose to select two issues per year; one from a month which fell outside of their overlapping seasons—July—and one from a month approximately in the middle of their overlapping seasons—January. Given that *ESPN the Magazine* is released biweekly, only the first issue released in each month was analyzed. I examined only photographs of athletes, excluding any photograph of non-athlete people such as musicians, celebrities, or models. This supplemental analysis is described more fully in Chapter 4.

CODING SCHEME

In order to analyze the photos and captions appearing in the Body Issue, I employ both quantitative and qualitative content analytic strategies, utilizing a coding sheet and semiotics. Content analysis and semiotics are not only complimentary forms of content analysis (Schreier 2012), but they are also appropriate for this type of study. While more obtrusive methods, such as interviewing, could be utilized in order to examine how audiences perceive the images in the Body Issue, participants would bring with them socially constructed norms and values. A content analysis, however, allows for a critique of how the images featured either reproduce or challenge the ways in which gender differences are socially constructed. Qualitative content analysis, in particular, allows for the examination of themes or patterns present in the Body Issue which may be reflective of larger social processes (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011).

Semiotics is fitting for this research as it allows for an examination of “how meaning is constructed within a given text by the placement of...images next to each

other or images and words together” (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011:238). Given that the images featured in the Body Issue appear together in the magazine, as well as in conjunction with a caption, it’s imperative to consider intertextuality. In order to accurately capture (and, subsequently, analyze) meaning, the overall presentation must be considered holistically. Furthermore, semiotics posits that there is no natural or inevitable relationship between the image on the page and the mental image derived from the photograph. The photographs are cultural constructs which derive their meaning from their learned, social, and collective use (Gill 2007). It is important to examine both their denotative meaning—their most literal meaning—as well as their connotation; as it is this which provides the photographs with meanings that imply the relationships are natural. I focus on the connections among the representations of athletes, their underlying meanings, and the construction and reproduction of the existing social order.

In designing the coding sheet, I focus largely on the six themes outlined in Goffman’s *Gender Advertisements* (1979)—Relative size, Feminine touch, Function ranking, The family, Ritualization of subordination, and Licensed withdrawal—as well as categories which emerge from the data itself. The coding sheet includes both closed and open-ended questions, allowing for the description of any noteworthy aspects of an image or athlete which may not be directly addressed in other areas of the sheet. (See Appendix B for a sample coding sheet.)

Relative Size

Goffman proposed that, in images, “differences in size will correlate with differences in social weight. . .” (1979:28). In Goffman’s study, this was most frequently demonstrated when men and women were pictured together and the man was pictured as

taller or bigger than the woman and/or took up more space in the image. In the Body Issue, it is rare to see opposite sex athletes pictured together, therefore, I conceptualize relative size simplistically—when one individual occupies more space than another. Thus, the coding sheet features questions regarding the amount of physical space athletes occupy in each image. Further, I extend Goffman’s definition to include not just the physical space occupied by individuals within images, but also the amount of space they occupy within the overall magazine itself. The coding sheet, therefore, also features questions which examine the overall size of the images and the number of images dedicated to each athlete.

Feminine Touch

Feminine touch occurs when individuals are pictured as “just barely touching” themselves or an object. This is opposed to “the utilitarian kind [of touch] that grasps, manipulates, or holds” an object (Goffman 1979:29). As indicated by the category name, Goffman found that this phenomenon occurs most often for women. To measure feminine touch, I code whether as individuals are featured touching themselves or other objects in a non-utilitarian manner—such as caressing, cradling or tracing.

Function Ranking

In Goffman’s study, function ranking was most commonly evidenced when men, more so than women, were pictured performing an executive role or lending women a “body addressed help or service” (Goffman 1979:35), such as being fed or being shown how to hit a golf ball. In instances where a man was shown performing a feminine task, he was portrayed as incompetent or child-like. As the vast majority of the photos in the Body Issue feature athletes individually, I remove the requirement that men and women

be pictured in the photograph together and instead compare athletes across images. Coding sheet questions are thus constructed to analyze the relationship between who is quoted in the captions, descriptions of the ways in which the body was achieved, and activities occurring in photographs.

The Family

Goffman argued that images often present the nuclear family as a basic unit of social organization. Oftentimes, a “special bond” is suggested between mothers and daughters and fathers and sons; however, women are frequently depicted as being more like their child while men are shown as relatively distant and protective. I maintain Goffman’s description of this category in its entirety and examine whether there are any markers present in a photograph or caption which indicate an athlete’s role as a parent or spouse/partner.

Ritualization of Subordination

The fifth category, and perhaps the largest, is ritualization of subordination. This occurs when individuals are portrayed showing deference or dependence—by lowering themselves physically, canting of the head or body, or leaning against or holding another person or object for support. I maintain this definition throughout. Codes for ritualization of subordination are fairly extensive and highly focused on body positioning—such as whether an athlete is pictured lying down or whether an athlete is displaying any head or body canting.

Licensed Withdrawal

Goffman’s final category is licensed withdrawal. In his study, this was evidenced by images in which women are portrayed as being removed psychologically from the

social situation at hand. To capture this theme, I code for whether athletes are pictured covering their faces with the hands, their face is otherwise obscured, or their gaze is turned away from the camera.

Critique of Goffman's Gender Advertisement

Despite being used frequently, there are some critiques to be made of Goffman's work. First, Goffman's methodology is flawed due to purposive sampling. Because he selected images which he felt best represented the relationship between gender and advertising, the results of his study most likely do not generalize to advertising broadly. Another critique is that, having been written in the late '70s, this work is outdated. Given the gains made by the women's movement, it is arguable that gender norms and their representations in media have changed significantly since Goffman's research was conducted. Since the publication of *Gender Advertisements*, however, other scholars have conducted research which utilizes both Goffman's strategies and his categories to examine depictions of gender in visual media, while also improving upon his methodology by using enhanced sampling techniques. Generally, they find that there have been few changes in images since Goffman's time (e.g., Belknap and Leonard 1991; Kang 1997; Bell and Milic 2002). While these studies reinforce many of Goffman's overall findings, mixed results have been found in regards to some individual categories. In an analysis of advertisements from several different magazines, Belknap and Leonard (1991) found that while feminine touch, ritualization of subordination, and licensed withdrawal occurred regularly, there were very few instances of the family, function ranking and relative size. Similarly, Kang (1997) posited that the categories of function ranking and relative size were evidenced so infrequently that they no longer applied.

More recently, Döring and Pöschl (2006) found that, in mobile phone advertisements, feminine touch was still widely used, whereas function ranking and relative size were found sparingly. This finding may suggest that Goffman's categories are more useful for some forms of advertising or images than others.

These studies evidence that while gender stereotyping may have changed in substance, it has not changed in its frequency. While women in advertisements may not be explicitly portrayed in subordinating ways—such as being pictured only as mothers or only within the context of the home—their position in the social hierarchy is still evidenced in more subtle ways (Lindner 2004). This makes Goffman's strategies particularly strong, as they focus on the more subtle aspects of a photograph which suggest particular gender roles. The ability to examine subtle differences is paramount in investigating images such as those in the Body Issue—images which, on the surface, are quite similar to one another.

The many studies which suggest that some of Goffman's categories are now irrelevant have mainly examined general interest magazines or advertisements which focus on marketing a product intended for the general public. However, I examine a magazine which centers on sports. As previously mentioned, while the number of women participating in sports overall has significantly increased since the passage of Title IX, sports is a realm still largely dominated by men. Furthermore, team sports—particularly organized team sports at all levels—continue to be largely sex-segregated. Because of this, I do not presume that the arena of sports and sports media has seen the same progress in gender equality as has been evidenced in the general population.

Additional Categories

Based on previous studies of the representations of athletes in sports media, I also added two coding categories, athletic focus and equality of representations.

Athletic Focus. Prior studies have shown that women athletes are more likely to be discussed in terms of their appearance rather than their sporting performance while the opposite is true for men athletes—for them, the focus is likely to be on their sporting performance (Knight and Giuliano 2001). This focus on the *appearance* of women athletes—rather than the *performance* of women athletes—has numerous negative consequences. It not only continues to reproduce hegemonic notions of femininity, but it also reinforces women’s continued marginalization in the arena of sports (Nylund 2007). This category examines indicators that a photograph highlights (1) an athlete’s athletic performance—such as being photographed in action, at the location where their sport is performed, or with props that are relevant to their sport—or (2) an athlete’s appearance—such as being photographed with obvious makeup and hairstyling.

Equality of Representations. Numerous studies have shown that men are more frequently represented in sport media than are women (Buysse and Embser-Herbert 2004; Huffman, Tuggle, and Rosengard 2009; Weber and Carini 2012). Sport is a highly gendered institution and, as such, many women’s sports are not offered at a professional level. Those sports which are available for women to play professionally are generally considered less prestigious than the men’s version of the same sport—the NBA compared to the WNBA for example. Therefore, one would not expect to see 50/50 representation within the Body Issue. This category is intended to produce a quantitative analysis of any differences in the Body Issue’s portrayal of men and women athletes when compared to regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine*. Here, the coding sheet focuses on examinations of

the total number of men and women featured in the magazine, the number of individual photographs women and men receive, the number of sentences in each caption, and the overall size of the images.

ANALYTIC STRATEGY

I first completed coding sheets for each image using Microsoft Word. This included analyzing accompanying captions in relation to the image with which they appear. While it is possible that this could influence the later analyses of captions, this initial method most closely represents the way in which readers comprehend the feature. Bovee and Arens (1986) suggest that, when reading advertisements, readers first look at the image, then read the headline, and finally read the text of the advertisement. Therefore, it is likely that when viewing the Body Issue, readers look at the image first and the caption second. After answering each question on the coding sheet, I gave all closed-ended questions a designated code, transferred the codes to Excel, and assigned each answer a nominal numerical value. Ultimately, I analyzed quantitative data using Stata 13 to conduct Pearson's chi-square analyses. This procedure allows for a determination of whether two categorical variables are independent—if the probability of a response in any particular category is the same for both variables. One limitation to using Person's chi-square is that the approximation of the chi-square statistic worsens with small expected frequencies. Although arbitrary, the general rule is that expected frequencies should be five or more. Therefore, I conducted no chi-square tests on any variables with an expected frequency lower than five.

After developing the coding sheet, three graduate student volunteers also coded 15 randomly selected images from the Body Issue. Five images were selected for each

volunteer coder by numbering the images and then using a random number generator to assign images to coders. Employing this method, no volunteer coders received the same image. Because the vast majority of the coding sheet involved nominal level variables, I used percent agreement in order to assessing reliability. I compared my code sheets to those of the volunteer coders in order to calculate percent agreement values with each coder, the values of which ranged from .96 to .98. I discussed with each coder instances where there was disagreement, and we worked together to reach consensus. For example, in one instance there was disagreement as to whether hand wraps were to be coded as sporting equipment or a sport accessory. After discussion with volunteer coders, the operational definition of sporting equipment was changed to reflect that sporting equipment is anything necessary or required by rules in order to participate in a particular sport.

When coding only the captions, considering them outside of the context of their coordinating images, I first entered text into a Microsoft Word document. The only identifying information accompanying the captions were the designated identification numbers. While gender pronouns were left in the captions, proper names were removed to ensure that my own knowledge of particular athletes or their images did not influence the coding process. I first read through all of the captions in order to identify any overarching themes which may be present. In the second read-through, I examined those overarching themes more closely for the presence of subthemes within them. After subthemes were identified, a third pass ensured that, for these subthemes, saturation was reached.

CHAPTER IV

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

In total, 143 unique athletes appear in the Body Issue. These athletes range in age from 20 to 77 years old with an average age of 29. While the majority of the athletes are non-Hispanic white (54.55%), 26.57% of the athletes featured are black, 10.49% are Latino/Latina, and the remaining 8.39% are another race. Sixty-six (46.15%) of the athletes featured are men and the remaining 77 (53.85%) are women. These numbers initially suggest that women are more highly represented in the Body Issue, however, it is important to note that the only two full teams to be featured—U.S. Women’s Water Polo and U.S. Women’s Volleyball—are both women-only teams, accounting for 19 of the women athletes depicted; this despite the fact that 48.25% of the athletes featured participate in a team sport. Dropping these two teams from the sample reveals that men comprise 53.23% and women 46.77% of the remaining total sample.

While most of the athletes featured (72.73%) appear in only one image, 24.48% appear in two images and 2.8% appear in three images. Men and women athletes appearing in only one image are evenly represented, with 52 men and 52 women having only one picture in the Body Issue. Of those appearing in two or more images, 25 are women and 14 are men. Again, however, these numbers are skewed by the two team

photographs, as each team was given two different photographs in the magazine.

Dropping these four photographs reveals that 14 men, compared to only 6 women, appeared in two or more photographs.

Because over a quarter of athletes were depicted multiple times within the Body Issue, the following analyses considers each representation individually; therefore, while 143 individual athletes appeared in 146 images, there were 189 total athlete representations. If any analyses utilize only the initial representation of each individual athlete and/or drop the two team photographs from analysis, it will be noted. In deciding which sample to use for each variable, I first considered expected frequencies. As stated earlier, when expected frequencies are less than five, results of chi-square analyses are significantly weakened; therefore, if reducing the sample resulted in a variable with an expected frequency of less than five, it was not tested. (See Appendix C for all variables tested).

RELATIVE SIZE

In order to examine relative size, I divided the amount of space an athlete occupies within an image into three categories—more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of an image, $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of an image, and less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of an image. In his study, Goffman (1979) found that men frequently occupied more space in an image than did women. The present study found slightly different results. Unlike Goffman, I did not find that men occupied more space in their images than did women. In the full sample, only 38 athletes occupied more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of their image and there was no statistically significant difference between men and women in that category. This result was consistent regardless of which sample was used (see Table 1).

Table 1. Results of Chi-Square Analysis for Relative Size

Variable	<u>Full Sample</u> (Includes All Images)		<u>Reduced Sample A</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes)		<u>Reduced Sample B</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes & Group Images)	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<i>Space Occupied in Image</i>						
3/4 or More	17.48	23.26	22.08	24.24	29.31	24.24
3/4 to 1/3	36.89***	60.47	41.56**	59.09	55.17	59.09
Less than 1/3	45.63***	16.28	36.36***	16.67	15.52	16.67

Notes: For full sample, N=189. For Reduced Sample A, N=143. For Reduced Sample B, N=124. P-levels refer to statistically significant differences between men and women, not to within sex differences across groups. ***P<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

However, 45.63% of women, compared to only 16.28% of men, occupied less than 1/3 of the space in their images ($\chi^2=18.47$, $df=1$, $p <.001$). This result was maintained even when using only the first representation of every athlete. So, while men may not be more likely to occupy most of the space in their images, women are more likely to occupy the least amount of space in their images. One example of this is the image of Ginger Huber, seen in Figure 1, where the landscape occupies the majority of the photograph.

Because images of teams by their nature require each individual athlete to occupy less overall space in the photograph and because the two teams featured were solely women, these results are heavily influenced by the presence of the team photographs. Dropping these images from the sample (as well as duplicate athletes) reveals 15.52% of women occupy less than 1/3 of the space in their images compared to 16.67% of men, a difference which is not statistically significant.



Figure 1. Ginger Huber, cliff diver, occupies less than 1/3 of the space in this image

While there is a statistically significant difference in the $\frac{3}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ category in both the full sample and the sample excluding duplicate athletes, this difference is to be expected given the large number of women who fall into the less than $\frac{1}{3}$ category. Over 60% of men fall into this category, compared to only 36.89% of women. Because this category is also highly influenced by the presence of team photographs, the statistical significance disappears when both duplicate athletes and team photos are excluded in “Reduced Sample B.”

FEMININE TOUCH

Here, I examined whether or not athletes were touching their own bodies in a way which Goffman classified as being typical for images of women. Goffman (1979) found that women were more likely to be pictured “just barely touching” themselves or an object. This type of touch is exemplified in Figure 2. In this image, professional surfer



Figure 2. Stephanie Gilmore embodies feminine touch

Stephanie Gilmore is seen lounging on a beach chair. Her left hand rests gently on her hip. Results of the present study are in agreement with those of Goffman, finding that this type of touch does happen more frequently for women than for men.

As shown in Table 2, over 52% of the women athletes featured in the Body Issue were photographed touching their body compared to only 15.12% of men ($\chi^2=28.51$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). Taking into account that more women are featured in multiple photographs and, therefore may be more frequently shown touching their own bodies, "Reduced Sample A" considered only the first image of each athlete. Still, 48.05%

Table 2. Results of Chi-Square Analysis for Body Touching

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Full Sample</u> (Includes All Images)	<u>Reduced Sample A</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes)	<u>Reduced Sample B</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes & Group Images)
Men	15.12***	15.15***	15.15***
Women	52.43***	48.05***	43.10***

Notes: For full sample, N = 189. For reduced sample A, N = 143. For reduced sample B, N = 124. P-levels refer to statistically significant differences between men and women, not to within sex differences across groups. *** $p<.001$, ** $p<.01$, * $p<.05$

of women were shown touching their bodies ($\chi^2=17.43$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). Moreover, examining only athletes' initial images as well as dropping the two women-only team photographs (see "Reduced Sample B"), the results are maintained, with 43.10% of women touching their bodies ($\chi^2=11.91$, $df=1$, $p<.001$).

RITUALIZATION OF SUBORDINATION

According to Goffman (1979), women are more frequently depicted as being subordinate to men. Their subordination is manifested through multiple subtle ways of positioning the body. In examining these positions, I find similar results.

When examining what Goffman labeled a "bashful knee bend" (exemplified in Figure 3), Table 3 shows that 29.13% of women exhibited this trait compared to merely 6.98% of men ($\chi^2=14.91$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). Reducing the sample, however, resulted in an



Figure 3. Serena Williams demonstrates a bashful knee bend

Table 3. Results of Chi-Square Analysis for Ritualization of Subordination

Variable	<u>Full Sample</u> (Includes All Images)		<u>Reduced Sample A</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes)		<u>Reduced Sample B</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes & Group Images)	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<i>Body Positioning</i>						
Knee Bend	29.13***	6.98	--	--	--	--
Standing	49.51***	75.58	46.75**	72.73	55.17*	72.73
Any Lower Position	25.24***	6.98	22.08*	7.58	29.31**	7.58

Notes: For full sample, N = 189. For reduced sample A, N = 143. For reduced sample B, N = 124. P-levels refer to statistically significant differences between men and women, not to within sex differences across groups. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

expected value for men of less than five. I also analyzed occurrences of head and body canting (exemplified in Figure 4). While there were not enough instances of men exhibiting this trait to run statistical analysis, it is important to note the enormous disparities present. Of the athletes pictured with a body cant, 92.59% of them are women. The numbers are slightly lower for head canting—78.95% are women and 21.05% are



Figure 4. Claire Bevilacqua illustrates head canting

men—however, a pattern is clear.

Finally, I examined the position of athlete's bodies. Positions were divided into five categories—standing, sitting, laying, kneeling, and suspended in motion (either in air or in water). Of the 103 women featured, 49.51% of them were photographed in a standing position, compared to 75.58% of men ($\chi^2=13.43$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). Statistical significance is maintained regardless of sample reduction.

Because Goffman suggests that any lowered body positioning is a marker of submission or deference, I further combined sitting, laying, and kneeling into a single variable labeled as “lower body positioning.” Over a quarter of women (25.24%) were photographed in a lower body position, compared to a mere 6.98% of men ($\chi^2=11.12$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). As shown in Table 3, these gender differences remained statistically significant even when even when considering only athletes' initial representation (see “Reduced Sample A”) and when dropping the two women-only teams from analysis (Reduced Sample B).

LICENSED WITHDRAWAL

Goffman's (1979) work revealed that women were more likely to be shown as psychologically drifting from a scene, most often from obscuring the visibility of their face or turning their gaze away from the camera. Results of the present study, however, contradict this idea.

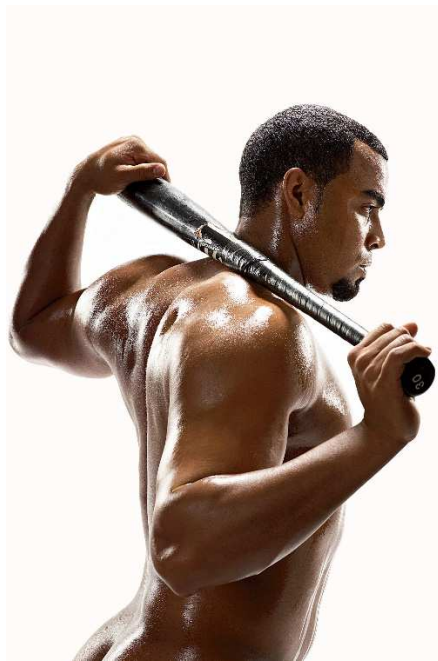
I first analyzed the amount of an athlete's face that is visible in a photograph. This was divided into two categories, more than half of the face visible, and less than half of the face visible. As shown in Table 4, my findings coincide with those of Goffman;

Table 4. Results of Chi-Square Analysis for Licensed Withdrawal

Variable	<u>Full Sample</u> (Includes All Images)		<u>Reduced Sample A</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes)		<u>Reduced Sample B</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes & Group Images)	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<i>Face Visibility</i>						
Less than ½	21.36**	6.98	--	--	--	--
More than ½	55.34	54.65	54.55	54.55	56.90	54.55
<i>Gaze Direction</i>						
At Camera	49.51*	34.88	48.05	36.36	43.10	36.36
Away from Camera	50.49*	65.12	51.95	63.64	56.90	63.34

Notes: For full sample, N = 189. For reduced sample A, N = 143. For reduced sample B, N = 124. P-levels refer to statistically significant differences between men and women, not to within sex differences across groups. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

women were more likely than men to be pictured with less than half of their face visible ($\chi^2=7.68, df=1, p<.01$). Next, I analyzed the direction of an athlete’s gaze—either towards or away from the camera (See Figure 5). For women, gaze direction was divided



almost evenly, with

Figure 5. Nelson Cruz gazing away from the camera

49.51% of women having a gaze focused at the camera, and 50.49% focusing away ($\chi^2=4.10$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). For men, however, 65.12% have a gaze focused away from the camera versus 34.88% focused directly at the camera ($\chi^2=4.10$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). This is in opposition to Goffman's finding, as in the present study men were more likely to be gazing away from the camera than women. When reducing the sample, however, the statistical significance of this result is lost.

OTHER GOFFMAN CATEGORIES

As in other studies (Belknap and Leonard 1991; Kang 1997), I, too, found some of Goffman's categories did not apply in the context of the Body Issue. While multiple variables related to function ranking were included in coding, there were very few instances actually present within images. So few, in fact, that that it was not possible to conduct chi-square analyses on any of these variables. Similarly, instances of familial marking were scarce. Only six athletes were marked as parents—3 men and 3 women. Slightly more were marked as partnered—13 athletes, 5 women and 8 men—however, conducting chi-square analyses with such small numbers in each group would produce unreliable results. Beyond the categories developed by Goffman (1979), I also considered two additional themes: athletic focus and equality of representations.

ATHLETIC FOCUS

In examining the athletic focus of a photograph, I first analyzed items that appeared in images with athletes. The types of items I considered were sporting equipment (baseball bats, boxing gloves, hockey stick, etc.), sporting accessories (batting gloves, athletic tape, uniforms, etc.), and props (tire swing, bench, etc.). Results, presented in Table 5, showed no statistically significant differences in men and women

Table 5. Results of Chi-Square Analysis for Athletic Focus

Variable	<u>Full Sample</u> (Includes All Images)		<u>Reduced Sample A</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes)		<u>Reduced Sample B</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes & Group Images)	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<i>Athlete Pictured with...</i>						
Sport Accessories	5.83*	17.44	6.49	16.67	8.62	16.67
Props	5.83*	16.28	6.49	15.15	8.62	15.15
<i>Athlete Photographed...</i>						
Sport Relevant Pose	16.50*	30.23	19.48*	34.85	22.41	34.85
Sport Irrelevant Pose	61.17**	40.70	58.44**	34.85	56.90**	34.85

Notes: For full sample, N = 189. For reduced sample A, N = 143. For reduced sample B, N = 124. P-levels refer to statistically significant differences between men and women, not to within sex differences across groups. ***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

athletes being featured with sporting equipment, however, men were more likely to be photographed with sporting accessories ($\chi^2=6.40$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). For example, in Figure 6, former Olympic swimmer Jeff Farrell is pictured wearing two of his Olympic gold medals.

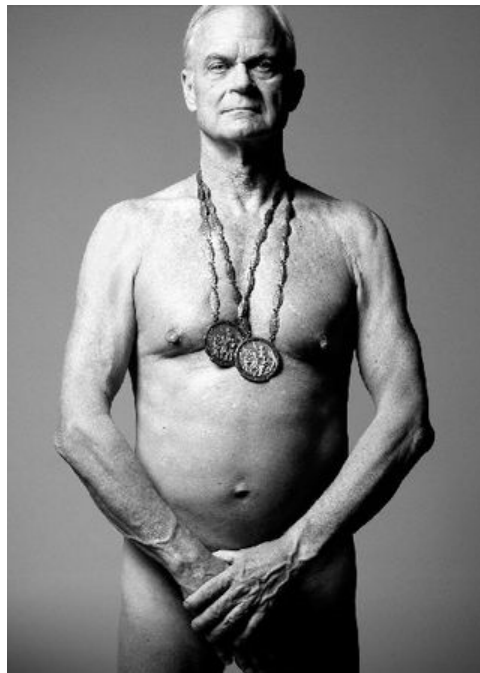


Figure 6. Jeff Farrell pictured with sporting accessories

Men were also more likely to be photographed with props than were women ($\chi^2=5.41$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). Rob Gronkowski, tight end for the New England Patriots of the National Football League, for example, is pictured in a two-image spread where he is shown interacting with a football-shaped piñata (see Figure 7). When reducing the sample, however, these results do not maintain significance.

I also examined whether the athlete was photographed in a pose or in motion, and whether the pose or motion was related to the athletes' sport. Historically, women are more likely to be depicted passively and in ways which are irrelevant to their sport (Fink and Kensicki 2002; Buysse and Embser-Herbert 2004). The present study found mixed results. There were no statistically significant differences between men and women photographed in motion, regardless of whether that motion was sport relevant or non-sport relevant.

While there were also no significant differences between men and women photographed posing, differences emerged when analyzing whether the pose was sport



Figure 7. Rob Gronkowski photographed with props

relevant or non-sport relevant. Of the women featured, 61.17% of them are shown in a pose which is not relevant to their sport, this happens for only 40.7% of men ($\chi^2 = 7.86$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$). This is partially in agreement with previous research. While men are more likely to be posed in sport-relevant manner and women more likely to be posed in a non-sport-relevant manner (see Figure 8 of Michael Phelps and Sylvia Fowles, for example), there is no statistically significant difference between men and women being posed rather than in motion.

EQUALITY OF REPRESENTATIONS

Numerous studies have indicated that women are less likely to be represented in sports media than men (Kane 1988; Tuggle 1997; Bishop 2003). As I argued earlier, however, because there are more men participating in sports at a professional level, one would not necessarily expect equal coverage of both men and women athletes. In order to determine whether the Body Issue represents women athletes as equally as occurs in regular issues, I also analyzed 12 regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine*. To recall, men



Figure 8. Sport Relevant Posing vs. Non-Sport-Relevant Posing

make up 46.15% of the athletes featured in the Body Issue and women the remaining 53.85%. In my sampling of *ESPN the Magazine*, on average, each issue contained approximately 100 photographs. In total, 1195 images were examined. Of those, 1037 (86.78%) were images of men athletes and only 151 (12.64%) were of women athletes. Clearly, these percentages suggest vast differences in the representation of women athletes in regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine* and the Body Issue, with women appearing far more regularly in the Body Issue than in regular issues.

CHAPTER V

QUALITATIVE RESULTS

As with the quantitative results, analysis of the qualitative data also uncovers heavily gendered patterns. Below, I discuss one theme in particular, the paradox between femininity and athleticism. I first outline the three subthemes which uncover how women athletes manage the paradox between femininity and athleticism, followed by an in-depth analysis of each subtheme individually. Finally, I will discuss the absence of this same paradox for men athletes.

“Women don’t have to trade their femininity for athleticism” – Ronda Rousey

Many of the women in the Body Issue expressed the paradoxical nature of their athleticism and their femininity. Ronda Rousey, a champion mixed martial artist, stated:

When I was in school, martial arts made you a dork, and I became self-conscious that I was too masculine. I was a 16-year-old girl with ringworm and cauliflower ears. People made fun of my arms and called me “Miss Man.” It wasn’t until I got older that I realized: These people are idiots. I’m fabulous. [. . .] I’m like a Monet. From far away I can look like a prissy model, but when you come closer you see the wear and tear of a fighter. Women don’t have to trade their femininity for athleticism. And you don’t have to look like an anorexic 8-year-old to be considered beautiful. Skinny girls look good in clothes, but fit chicks look good naked.

This single quote contains each of the three subthemes that were found throughout quotes from women athletes regarding how they manage the paradox of femininity and athleticism—by embracing, rejecting, or transforming hegemonic femininity—each of which is described more fully below. It was not uncommon for the women athletes in the Body Issue to move between two of these themes in a single quote, however, only Rousey and Hope Solo touch on all three. Most commonly, moving from one theme to another—typically embracing to rejecting—occurred with aging. Athletes may have utilized one method as a child or teen and shifted to another method as an adult. In guiding my discussion of these three themes, I will break down Rousey’s quote within each applicable theme and also include relevant quotes from other athletes.

EMBRACING HEGEMONIC FEMININITY

In managing the paradox of athleticism and femininity, many women in the Body Issue chose to embrace the hegemonic form of femininity and celebrate it. Rousey does this by pointing out that she is capable of “*look[ing] like a prissy model.*” When one thinks of a “prissy model,” they imagine a woman who is beautiful, thin, and hyper-feminine. For the ideal type model, her beauty positions her as an object of masculine desire, her waifish appearance implies that she is physically weak and vulnerable. She is not a threat to masculinity. Rousey, on the other hand, is a champion athlete in a sport which is considered highly masculine. Mixed martial arts requires incredible strength and is physically violent. By highlighting her ability to look like a prissy model, Rousey strips herself of these characteristics, which not only insures that, while she may have some masculine characteristics, she still embraces the ideal form of femininity, but also protects her from negative social sanctions for embodying features of masculinity. While

Rousey follows her “prissy model” statement with one contradicting her embracement of hegemonic femininity—“*when you come closer you see the wear and tear of a fighter*”—other women seem wholly content to simply embrace hegemonic femininity.

One way women athletes embrace hegemonic femininity is by wearing makeup while participating in their sport. Natasha Hastings, Olympic medalist sprinter, noted: “*I can still be a girlie girl and an athlete. I put on eyelashes and a full face of makeup before a meet.*” Michael Carter, father of Olympic shot putter Michelle Carter, explained that “*before a competition, Michelle gets her hair, nails, and toes done. She does it to feel confident, so she can focus in front of large crowds.*” The concept of a “girlie girl” is very similar to Rousey’s “prissy model.” A girlie girl is typically one who is the epitome of femininity. She presents herself in a way which makes her particularly physically attractive to the male gaze, most often through the use of clothing and makeup. With these statements, both Hastings and Carter turn the conversation from sport and athleticism to bodily aesthetics and attractiveness, a method frequently used by media when discussing women athletes (Billings et al. 2003). The embracement of hegemonic femininity through ensuring heteronormative attractiveness overshadows masculine characteristics which may be perceived as threatening to masculinity.

Occasionally, the women featured in the Body Issue explicitly defend their femininity against suggestions that they are masculine. Tarah Gieger, professional motocross racer, remarked, “*People assume I’m this gnarly, badass tough chick who wants to beat people up or show the guys that I’m stronger than they are, but that’s not the case. [. . .] I’m a lover, not a fighter.*” Here, Gieger protects her feminine status by clearly reassuring readers that she embraces hegemonic femininity. She rejects physical

violence and emphasizes that she is a lover. Although her sport, her athleticism, and her muscular body all make it possible that she could be stronger than a man, it is not something she seeks to prove, protecting masculinity by the assumption that women are inherently weaker than men. In this way, Gieger avoids negative social sanctions by minimizing her physical strength and emphasizing her emotionality.

Finally, hegemonic femininity is embraced by the friends and family of women athletes through their suggestion that, despite the fact that these women are professional athletes, they are no different than non-athlete women. Scott Bieri, sparring partner of mixed martial artist Gina Carano, insisted that “*she’s just a normal girl. To me, that’s what’s inspirational.*” He defines her as a “normal girl” because “*she enjoys hanging out with her family and eating Italian food.*” Bieri even goes so far as to say that Carano’s ability to be a “normal girl”—her ability to embrace hegemonic femininity—is what he finds inspirational about her, completely undermining her athletic achievements.

In sum, there are multiple ways that hegemonic femininity is embraced by women athletes in the Body Issue. Whether this is done through managing their physical appearance or minimizing their physical abilities, it always involves a reassurance of the dominance of masculinity. In a piece discussing gay men athletes, Eric Anderson (2002) suggested that gay men’s remarkable athletic abilities served as a form of “masculinity insurance,” allowing for their hypermasculine athletic trait to overshadow their gay identity. The women athletes in the Body Issue who embrace hegemonic femininity are using the characteristics of this form femininity as a type of “femininity insurance.” They are avoiding the “pariah femininity” label by reassuring readers that, despite the fact that they possess some masculine characteristics, those characteristics are minimal and are

outweighed by the number of feminine characteristics they embody. Therefore, the paradox between femininity and athleticism is managed by minimizing athleticism and highlighting hegemonic femininity.

REJECTING HEGEMONIC FEMININITY

When discussing U.S. Women's National Team soccer player Natasha Kai, tattoo artist Katt Von D claims she's "*seen a lot of women get criticized for being this fit, as if that somehow took away their femininity.*" The criticisms she references are an example of the negative social sanctions that result from a woman rejecting hegemonic femininity and thereby adopting what Schippers (2007) called "pariah femininity." Despite these criticisms, many women in the Body Issue utilize the rejection of hegemonic femininity as a means of managing the paradox between their femininity and their athleticism. They not only reject hegemonic femininity, but they also simultaneously adopt a new femininity, a pariah femininity. In the example of Natasha Kai, beneath her heavily tattooed skin exist large, rippling muscles. These muscles operate as visual proof of her physical strength. With her body, Kai is seen as flaunting her masculine characteristics, contaminating the complimentary relationship between hegemonic femininity and hegemonic masculinity. She rejects the body ideals of hegemonic femininity, challenges the tenets of hegemonic masculinity, and, therefore adopts a version of pariah femininity.

The types of criticisms Katt Von D references, however, are not only coming from others. Women frequently internalized the same criticisms. In a statement which exemplifies many women athlete's feelings about athleticism and femininity, Hilary Knight, member of the U.S. Women's National Hockey team, commented: "*I had this idea that muscular isn't feminine.*" This is because muscularity, and the physical strength

associated with it, are characteristics assigned to hegemonic masculinity. That a woman embodies those characteristics, however, does not make her masculine. She is still a woman, just enacting masculine characteristics. Schippers (2007) argues that this is the driving force for the creation of pariah femininities. In order for masculine characteristics to maintain their dominant position in hegemonic masculinity even when enacted by women, they must be contained in a form of femininity, as femininity is subordinate to masculinity. Therefore, pariah femininities are constructed, allowing for masculine characteristics to first be feminized and then stigmatized and devalued.

This stigmatization and devaluing is evident when Rousey's states, "*When I was in school, martial arts made you a dork, and I became self-conscious that I was too masculine. I was a 16-year-old girl with ringworm and cauliflower ears. People made fun of my arms and called me "Miss Man."*" Martial arts is a sport which requires both physical violence and physical strength, each of which are considered masculine characteristics. Rousey's ringworm and cauliflower ears are aesthetic manifestations of these traits, as they are derived from her participation in martial arts. The ability to use physical violence effectively and possessing physical strength are both qualities which, in men, are celebrated—as they indicate dominance and superiority. When these traits are enacted by a woman, however, they no longer hold the same value. Whereas a man with muscular arms would be praised, Rousey is teased and called "Miss Man." Her masculine characteristics become her defining traits, and because these traits threaten both the complimentary relationship between hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity, as well as men's exclusive access to dominant traits, Rousey is subjected to the negative social sanctions—in this case, teasing—given to a woman who rejects hegemonic

femininity and embraces a pariah femininity. While Rousey moves beyond this to suggesting a transformed version of hegemonic femininity, other athletes choose to reject hegemonic femininity entirely and maintain their place in a pariah femininity despite the social sanctions.

Occasionally, women athletes in the Body Issue reject hegemonic femininity by embracing their larger, more muscular bodies. Abby Wambach, another U.S. Women's national soccer player, expressed, "*Female athletes are getting very, very thin, but I'm a bigger woman—I have bigger muscles, and that's okay.*" With this statement, Wambach positions herself as different from other women athletes—different from the ones who are "very, very thin," the ones who embrace the hegemonically feminine body type. Her satisfaction with her larger, more muscular body is interpreted as evidence of her rejection of hegemonic femininity and her enactment of a pariah femininity.

When rejecting hegemonic femininity, women athletes most frequently adopt a pariah femininity by embracing their athleticism. Carmelita Jeter, Olympic medalist sprinter, expresses this most concisely when she says, "*I'm not here to look cute, I'm here to be powerful.*" By saying she is not here to look cute, Jeter shuns the notion of being physically attractive in order to appeal to the sexual desires of men. Her rejection of hegemonic femininity is amplified by the statement that she is here to be powerful. Powerful, here, can be read in multiple ways. I interpret it as being a statement of her physical strength, athletic prowess, and authority over her own body. All of these characteristics are masculine and by unapologetically enacting them, Jeter embraces her position within a pariah femininity.

As can be seen, pariah femininities are typically embodied by women via embracing their athletic bodies and/or embracing their athleticism in general. This is done despite the fact that adopting a pariah femininity leaves these women athletes subject to harsh social sanctions. By welcoming the shift in master status from “woman” to “athlete,” these women manage the paradox of femininity and athleticism by rejecting the hegemonic gender structure.

TRANSFORMING HEGEMONIC FEMININITY

The final way that women in the Body Issue manage the paradox between femininity and athleticism is by suggesting that hegemonic femininity should be or has already transformed to include athleticism. This differs from rejecting femininity because these women do not necessarily embrace their position in a pariah femininity, rather, they either consider themselves hegemonically feminine or hope that they will be considered hegemonically feminine in the future after some transformation of the concept. “*Women don’t have to trade their femininity for athleticism.*” Here, Rousey hints at a transformed version of femininity; one where athleticism and muscularity are simultaneously considered feminine. She acknowledges that women have previously felt the need to reject hegemonic femininity in order to become an elite athlete and implies that now, however, this exchange isn’t necessary. That a woman is athletic can be considered a part *of* her femininity rather than a challenge to both it and to hegemonic masculinity.

Other athletes make statements which also suggest this transformation—paralympic rower Oksana Masters suggests that her “*man forearms*” are “*pretty badass,*” for example—but none so clearly as U.S. Women’s National soccer team’s Hope Solo. She begins by discussing the insecurities she felt between her athletic/muscular body and

her femininity, stating “*Growing up, I felt insecure about my build. Guys would say, ‘Look at those muscles! You can kick my ass!’ I didn’t feel feminine.*” Solo’s muscular build does not fit within the confines of the hegemonically feminine body—one that is both smaller and weaker than that of a man. Initially, she struggles with the paradox between athleticism and femininity and, as Rousey implied, felt as if her athletic body was at odds with her femininity, the same struggle detailed by Hilary Knight above.

Solo’s insecurities improved, however, once she began to focus on the functionality of her body:

But that’s changed in the past four years. I saw the connection between my body and my accomplishments. I couldn’t have been a great goalkeeper without power, agility, and quickness. I was so self-conscious about my broad shoulders in college that I’d avoid weight lifting, but now I’m most proud of that part of my body. After shoulder surgery threatened to end my career last year, I learned to strengthen my wrists and hands to stop 50 mph shots instead of relying on my shoulders.

Here, Solo ventures into the realm of rejecting hegemonic femininity and adopting a pariah femininity by embracing her athletic and masculine characteristics. She embraces the functionality of her body rather than the visual appeal of her body to men.

She moves into the idea of transforming hegemonic femininity, however, when she closes with “*Confidence goes a long way—although I still don’t buy the idea that I’m a sex symbol. Sure, I’ve had marriage proposals, invitations to military balls and prom offers. But my entire purpose is trying to be the best, and if that exudes beauty too, that’s pretty powerful. It means the image of the typical female body type is finally evolving.*” In these statements, her sentiments are similar to that of Jeter’s “I’m here to be powerful.” Solo maintains that her purpose is to be the best at soccer, a feat which requires extraordinary strength and athletic ability—masculine characteristics which she now

happily embraces. We also see evidence, however, that despite her embodiment of a pariah femininity, these characteristics are still seen as desirable by men. The masculine characteristics which accompany her athleticism have not deterred men from extending marriage proposals or invitations to military balls and prom. Therefore, Solo suggests that—at least in terms of bodily attractiveness—perhaps the hegemonically feminine body ideal has evolved to include fit, athletic women.

While the majority of the women athletes in the Body Issue manage the paradox of femininity and athleticism by embracing one and minimizing the other, there are those women such as Rousey and Solo who propose a combination of the two. As such a combination would require a radical shift in the hegemonic gender structure, very few athletes explicitly suggest that the two *already* exist simultaneously. Most frequently, the transformation of hegemonic femininity to include athletic characteristics is an idea that is merely suggested as being possible or is mentioned hopefully. This hope, however, allows women athletes to manage the paradox between femininity and athleticism by maintaining each and combining them to form a single identity.

For the men athletes featured in the Body Issue, there is no paradox between masculinity and athleticism. Whereas many women labeled themselves as both a woman and an athlete—Hilary Knight calls herself a “*proud female athlete*,” for example—this only happens once for men—when Danell Leyva, gold-medal Olympic gymnast, labels himself as “*a male gymnast*.” Because most sports—particularly team sports and high contact sports—are already coded in society as masculine (Matteo 1986), the concept of a “male athlete” or a “man athlete,” is redundant; he is simply an athlete. Therefore; it is

not surprising that the only man who labeled himself this way was a participant in a stereotypically feminine sport.

Though multiple women used the term feminine/femininity, masculine/masculinity appears only a single time and when it does, it is used by a woman athlete concerned that she is too masculine. As mentioned above, the characteristics which often accompany elite athleticism—physical strength, muscularity, physical violence—are the same characteristics already assigned to hegemonic masculinity. That men athletes embody these characteristics is not at all challenging to their masculinity, rather, it is reinforcing to it. This means that men athletes do not have to reconcile or choose between their masculine identity and their athletic identity, as the two are already united. Instead, men (or the people speaking about them) make references to fear (“*You must have no fear when fighting another man*”), abnormal or superhuman abilities (“*[. . .] he’s a video gamer’s dream, the create-a-player guy you’ve always wanted to exist in real life*”), and their physical strength (“*It was a surprise for guys in the NBA when they realized how strong I was*”). Although not included here, these themes will be further explored in an extension of this study.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

With this study, I sought to investigate how women athletes are represented in *ESPN the Magazine's* Body Issue and to what extent these representations reflect the hegemonic gender structure. In doing so, I investigated the quantity of coverage women athletes receive, the presence of gendered themes in images, as well the presence of gendered themes within the captions accompanying the images.

In terms of the quantity of coverage within the Body Issue, overall, women athletes are given equal representation within the pages of the Body Issue. This, however, stands in stark contrast to their lack of representation in regular issues of *ESPN the Magazine*. The well-known adage of “sex sells” cannot be dismissed here. Numerous studies have consistently found that women are more likely to be portrayed in a sexualized manner than are men athletes (e.g., Messner, Duncan, and Cooky 2003; Schultz 2005; Clavio and Eagleman 2011). It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in a magazine feature dedicated to the observation of athlete’s nude bodies—and published to a readership which is 77% male—women are highly represented (*ESPN the Magazine* Quick Little Update, 2014). What makes the Body Issue unique, however, is that alongside nude images of women athletes are nude images of men athletes. This is not the

case in special editions such as the Swimsuit Issue, making it all the more imperative to examine the ways in which women athletes in the Body Issue are represented.

It is also important to note, though, that no other general sports magazine has been found to have such a high percentage of women athletes represented in their pages. Previous studies consistently find that women athletes are covered in less than 20% of sport media's content (Alexander 1994; Bishop 2003; Adams and Tuggle 2004; Buysse and Embser-Herbert 2004; Duncan, Messner, and Willms 2005). Furthermore, the Body Issue falls into a sort of "middle space" in terms of genre. It is not a magazine dedicated solely to the objectification of women's bodies, such as the Swimsuit Issue; however, it also cannot be considered general sports coverage. There are very few magazines, if any, which focus on the bodies of both men and women athletes while simultaneously reporting on their athleticism. Examining the overall quality of the representations of women athletes, therefore, is particularly crucial.

In addressing the quality of women athlete's representations in the Body Issue, I focused on the presence of gendered themes. For the images in particular, I chose to first utilize the categories put forth in Goffman's (1979) *Gender Advertisements*. Despite arguments that Goffman's methodology was flawed or that his work is outdated, the present study produced similar results. Women were more likely to take up the smallest amount of space in their images, to be shown touching their own bodies, and to have their bodies positioned in a way which suggests they are subordinate. As many studies have also suggested that coverage of women athletes focuses on characteristics other than their

athleticism (Fink and Kensicki 2002; Billings et al. 2002), I further examined the athletic focus of the images. Here I found that men were more likely to be photographed with sport-related accessories and that women were more likely to be posed in ways which were not relevant to their sport. These results are indicative of the continuation of a larger pattern within sports media, one that has been well documented empirically, where women are represented in ways which deemphasize their athletic performance and reinforce their hegemonic femininity (Kane 1989; Jones, Murrell, and Jackson 1999; Huffman, Tuggle, and Rosengard 2004).

To further investigate the presence of gendered themes, I examined the captions which accompany the photographs of athletes. One theme that emerged was the paradox between femininity and athleticism—wherein women athletes felt as if their femininity and athleticism were contradictory to one another. I found that women managed this paradox using three different methods, sometimes shifting between methods at different points in time. In the first method, women embraced their hegemonic femininity by wearing makeup, managing their physical appearance, and/or minimizing their physical abilities. Women also managed this paradox by rejecting hegemonic femininity and embracing what Schippers (2007) refers to as a pariah femininity. This was accomplished most often by celebrating their athletic bodies and their athleticism in general. The final method for managing the paradox was transforming hegemonic femininity, where women athletes hopefully suggested that hegemonic femininity would evolve to include athleticism. In what solidifies this as a heavily gendered theme, there was no evidence for

a similar paradox between masculinity and athleticism. Because the characteristics associated with elite athleticism are already considered a part of hegemonic masculinity, there was no need for men to merge the two and form a single identity. This finding is in alignment with suggestions from other scholars that sport is a “cultural center of masculinity” (Messner 2002) and is consistently identified with men (Duncan 1990; Kian, Vincent, and Mondello 2008).

Taken together, these results suggest that the Body Issue, like other forms of sport media before it, still relies on heavily gendered frames when representing women athletes. In images, women are overwhelmingly presented in a frame concordant with hegemonic femininity. Agnieszka Radwanska, for example, is shown sitting poolside in a lounge chair, her toes dipped into the water, two tennis balls cupped in her hands as others float in the pool (See Figure 9). If the tennis balls were removed from this photograph, it would be impossible to discern what sport this woman plays.

By publishing photographs such as these, the Body Issue continues to minimize women’s athletic performances and achievements, therefore fortifying the arena of sport as decidedly masculine. The Body Issue further perpetuates the masculinization of sport through the presentation of statements from women athletes which uncouple their femininity and their athleticism—treating them as two distinct pieces of an identity which must be managed by emphasizing one and minimizing the other. Consistent with sociological research on the social construction of gender, the Body Issue overwhelmingly frames women in ways which suggest they are “doing gender”

appropriately (West and Zimmerman 1987). Even in instances where the women are



Figure 9. Agnieszka Radwanska in a hegemonically feminine photograph shown in very similar ways to men, the caption serves as a place to assure the women are still *perceived* by readers as being different from the men, maintaining the larger gender order (Lorber 2004).

This is not to say, however, that the Body Issue in no way challenges hegemonic femininity. In some instances, such as with Ronda Rousey (see Figure 10), the Body Issue pairs a hegemonically feminine photograph with a caption challenging the concept. Also, there are images in the Body Issue—such as that of Carmelita Jeter (See Figure 11)—which highlight women’s strong, muscular bodies and their athletic performance. These types images, however, are too few and their presence is minimized when they are paired with a caption reifying hegemonic femininity. So while the Body Issue may—in

some instances—challenge hegemonic femininity, it also diminishes the strength of these

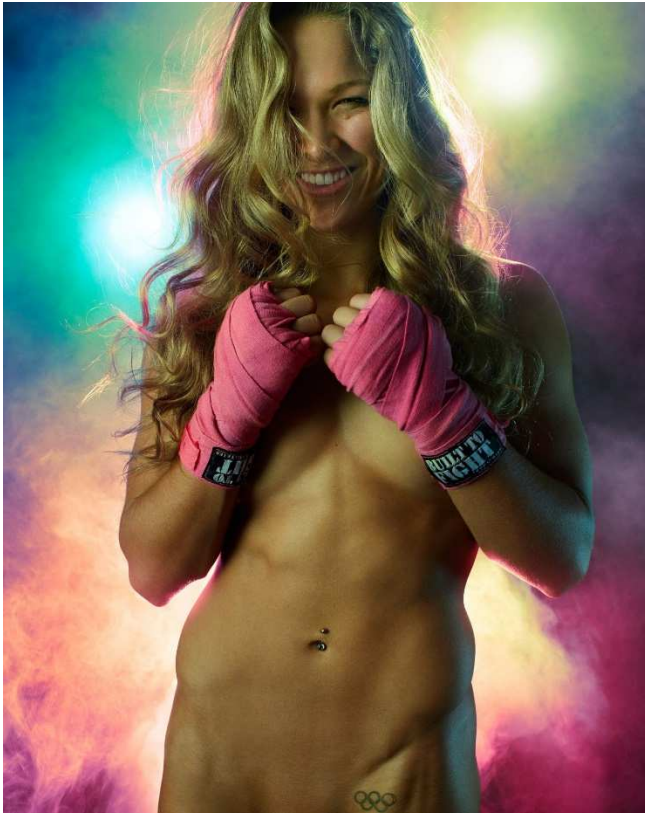


Figure 10. Ronda Rousey



Figure 11. Carmelita Jeter

challenges by surrounding them with images and words epitomizing hegemonic femininity.

These findings are of practical importance given the potential impacts media has on larger society. In accordance with framing theory, the images appearing in the Body Issue are keyed. In posing for these photographs, athletes' normal, everyday activities are altered. In a normal day, athletes may train for, practice, or participate in their sport; however, it is not typically done in the nude, nor is it typically photographed in this manner. For those athletes not pictured actively participating in their sport, it is probably equally as rare that they are being photographed in the nude while performing their given activity. Furthermore, there are cues which indicate both the beginning and end of the transformation involved in keying. For the athletes appearing in the Body Issue, these bounded spaces are twofold: first, the duration of the photoshoot, and second, the space on the page where an athlete's image appears. The argument that the keying associated with each athlete's photograph begins and ends with the space their image occupies on the printed page, however, is problematic. The meanings produced by these keyed images have the potential to become primary social frameworks. If hegemonically feminine frames are continually utilized by the Body Issue, then it may result in readers carrying these frames to other situations. Prior studies have suggested that sport media has a powerful influence on audience perceptions (Bernstein and Kian 2013), and Goffman argues that "what the individual does in serious life, [they do] in relationship to cultural

standards established for the doing” (1974:562). This highlights the possibility that the continual manufacturing of keyed images in particular frames may contribute to the production of cultural standards—creating a circular relationship between sport media’s production of images of women framed in accordance with hegemonic femininity and the societal reproduction of the hegemonic gender structure.

There are, however, some limitations to the present study. Firstly, I do not take into consideration which athletes were extended an offer to appear in the Body Issue. There may be a self-selection bias in athletes who agreed to appear in the magazine versus those who turned the offer down. Furthermore, I cannot attest to the role of the athletes themselves in dictating how they were portrayed. Each athlete worked with an individual photographer, making it entirely possible that some athletes had more say in the way they were portrayed than others. Also, the captions included in the Body Issue are excerpts from larger interviews. It is possible that within the context of the larger interviews, more themes would have emerged—including some relating to a paradox between masculinity and athleticism. Moreover, quotes taken from coaches or family members may not reflect the athletes’ own perceptions of their behaviors or bodies. It is important to note, however, that these limitations make what actually appears in the magazine extremely pertinent, as the editing process speaks to the exclusion function sport media framing.

Secondly, the Body Issue (and *ESPN the Magazine* broadly) is accompanied by an abundance of additional content across various platforms. On their website, ESPN

hosts additional images from the Body Issue photoshoots as well as complete interview transcripts. Moreover, the Body Issue is heavily promoted not only online, but also through television programming. While these additional materials fell outside the scope of the present study, future research should investigate available content in its entirety for the presence of the aforementioned themes.

Michael Messner argued in 1988 that the female athlete had “become a contested ideological terrain.” He concluded by stating, “Organized sport [. . .] will continue to be an important arena in which emerging images of active, fit, and muscular women are forged, interpreted, contested, and incorporated. [. . .] And the media’s framing of male and female athletes will continue to present major obstacles for any fundamental challenge to the present commercialized and male-dominated structure of organized athletics” (1988:208). Unfortunately, despite the gains made in women’s participation in athletics, this statement is as relevant now as it was 27 years ago. While the Body Issue may be progressive in terms of the percentage of women represented and in *some* of the representations of women athletes, overall women are presented in ways which reinforce the hegemonic gender structure. In order for women to truly make progress in athletics, and for this progress to be reflected in the general society, sport media must begin to both challenge and subvert the hegemonic gender structure more frequently.

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APPENDIX A – Athletes and Sports Represented in the Body Issue

<u>Sport</u>	<u>Publication Year</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Athlete(s)</u>
Baseball	2009	M	Nelson Cruz
	2010	M	Hanley Ramirez
	2011	M	Jose Reyes
	2012	M	Jose Bautista
	2013	M	Matt Harvey
		M	Giancarlo Stanton
	2014	M	Prince Fielder
Basketball	2009	M	Dwight Howard
	2010	M	Amar'e Stoudemire
		F	Diana Taurasi
	2011	F	Sylvia Fowles
		M	Blake Griffin
	2012	M	Tyson Chandler
		F	Candace Parker
	2013	F	Swin Cash
		M	Kenneth Faried

		M	John Wall
	2014	M	Serge Ibaka
		F	Angel McCoughtry
Billiards	2010	F	Jeanette Lee
BMX	2014	M	Nigel Sylvester
Bobsledding	2010	M	Steven Holcomb
	2014	F	Aja Evans
Bowling	2011	F	Kelly Kulick
Boxing	2009	M	Manny Pacquiao
	2011	M	Sergio Martinez
	2013	F	Marlen Esparza
	2014	M	Bernard Hopkins
		F	Danyelle Wolf
Cliff Diving	2014	F	Ginger Huber
Drag Racing	2013	F	Courtney Force
Fencing	2012	M	Tim Morehouse
Figure Skating	2010	M	Evan Lysacek
Football	2009	M	Adrian Peterson
	2010	M	Patrick Willis
	2011	M	Steven Jackson
	2012	M	Rob Gronkowski
		M	Maurice Jones-Drew
	2013	M	Vernon Davis
		M	Colin Kaepernick
	2014	M	Larry Fitzgerald

		M	Marshawn Lynch
Golf	2010	M	Camilo Villegas
	2011	F	Belen Mozo
	2012	F	Suzann Pettersen
	2013	F	Carly Booth
		M	Gary Player
Gymnastics	2011	F	Alicia Sacramone
	2012	M	Danell Leyva
Hockey	2009	M	Zdeno Chara
	2011	F	Julie Chu
		M	Ryan Kesler
	2012	M	Brad Richards
	2013	M	Joffrey Lupul
	2014	F	Hilary Knight
Horse Racing	2009	M	Alex Solis
	2012	M	Mike Smith
Mixed Martial Arts	2009	F	Gina Carano
	2010	F	Cristiane Santos
		M	Evangelista Santos
		M	Herschel Walker
	2011	M	Jon "Bones" Jones
	2012	F	Ronda Rousey
	2013	F	Miesha Tate
Indy Car Racing	2011	M	Helio Castroneves
Motocross	2013	F	Tarah Gieger

NASCAR	2009	M	Carl Edwards
RallyCross Racing	2014	M	Travis Pastrana
Rock Climbing	2009	F	Steph Davis
	2013	F	Daila Ojeda
		M	Chris Sharma
Roller Derby	2011	F	Suzy Hotrod
Rowing	2009	F	Susan Francia
	2012	F	Oksana Masters
Sailing	2012	F	Anna Tunnicliffe
	2014	M	Jimmy Spithill
Skateboarding	2014	F	Lyn-Z Pastrana
Skiing	2010	F	Julia Mancuso
Snowboarding	2011	F	Gretchen Bleiler
		M	Louie Vito
	2013	F	Elena Hight
	2014	F	Jamie Anderson
		F	Amy Purdy
Soccer	2009	F	Natasha Kai
		M	Oguchi Onyewu
	2010	M	Tim Howard
	2011	F	Hope Solo
	2012	M	Carlos Bocanegra
		F	Abby Wambach
	2013	F	Sydney Leroux
	2014	M	Omar Gonzalez

		F	Megan Rapinoe
Speed Skating	2011	M	Apolo Anton Ohno
Sumo Wrestling	2009	M	Byambajav Ulambayar
Surfing	2009	F	Claire Bevilacqua
	2010	M	Kelly Slater
	2011	F	Stephanie Gilmore
	2012	F	Maya Gabeira
	2014	F	Coco Ho
Swimming	2009	M	Ryan Lochte
	2010	M	Jeff Farrell
	2014	M	Michael Phelps
Table Tennis	2009	F	Biba Golic
Tennis	2009	F	Serena Williams
	2010	F	Esther Vergeer
	2011	F	Vera Zvonareva
	2012	F	Daniela Hantuchova
	2013	M	John Isner
		F	Agnieszka Radwanska
	2014	M	Tomas Berdych
		F	Venus Williams
Track & Field	2009	F	Michelle Carter
		F	Lolo Jones
		F	Sara Reinertsen
	2010	F	Philippa "Phil" Raschker
		F	Rachel Yurkovich

	2011	M	Jeremy Campbell
		M	Ryan Hall
		F	Natasha Hastings
	2012	M	Walter Dix
		M	Ashton Eaton
		F	Carmelita Jeter
Volleyball	2010	F	Kim Glass
	2012	F	Cynthia Barboza, Heather Brown, Alisha Glass, Megan Hodge, Destinee Hooker, Nellie Spicer, Stacy Sykora
	2013	F	Kerri Walsh-Jennings
Water Polo	2010	F	Betsey Armstrong, Anne Belden, Forel Davies, Emily Feher, Erika Figge, Tanya Gandy, Courtney Mathewson, Heather Petri, Kelly Rulon, Lauren "Lolo" Silver, Lauren Wenger, Elsie Windes

Notes: Multiple athlete names per row indicates several athletes on a team pictured together.

APPENDIX B – Sample Coding Sheet



Athlete(s): Sarah Reinertsen

1. Feature number (chronological within issue): 1
2. Number of images in feature: 1

CAPTION INFORMATION

“WHY WE CHOSE HER: She is the first female amputee to complete the Ironman.
TAKE IT FROM HER MOM: ‘We never coddled her. And she’s always been gutsy. At age 10, she ran her first race, a 60-meter against other amputees. In the middle of it, the strap holding up

her prosthetic leg snapped, so she had to hold it in place while she ran. Can you imagine? No one would have blamed her for giving up at that point. But she kept going—and won.”

3. Who is quoted in the caption (check all that apply and include gender where known)?

the athlete(s)

a member of the athlete’s family: Mother

a friend of the athlete

the athlete’s trainer/coach

other

4. How many words are in the caption?: 86

5. How many sentences are performance-related?: 3

Describe:

- First female to complete the Ironman [Ironman is a triathlon; swim, bike, marathon.]
- At age 10 she ran her first race.
- But she kept going—and won.

6. How many sentences are appearance-related? 0

Describe:

7. How does the caption describe how the body was achieved (check all that apply)?

not included in the caption

workout/training routine

highly regimented

free-style or casual description

other physical activity

eating habits

natural, good genes, comes easy, etc.

other:

8. How many times does sex or gender marking occur (e.g., “women’s” or “men’s” basketball)? 1
Describe:
- “She is the first **FEMALE** amputee to complete the Ironman.”
9. How many statements signal congruent gender performance (e.g., childhood socialization, family roles, masculinity/femininity, “doing” gender) or ideals?: 0
Describe
10. How many statements signal incongruent gender performance (e.g., childhood socialization, family roles, masculinity/femininity, “doing” gender, etc.) or ideals?
3
Describe:
- “We never coddled her” {female children more typically coddled?}
 - “And she’s always been gutsy” {women not usually described as gutsy/brave}
 - “She kept going” {despite the fact that she wouldn’t have been blamed for giving up. Giving up a more feminine trait? Perseverance = masculine?}
11. How many statements relate to sexuality (e.g., romantic relationships, sexual identity, sexual innuendos, heteronormativity)? 0
12. How many statements reference functionality of the body?: 0
- Describe those statements that relate to how athletes view themselves?
 - Describe those statements that relate to how athletes are viewed by others?
13. How many statements reference aesthetics of the body (how athletes view themselves)?: 0
- Describe those statements that relate to how athletes view themselves?
 - Describe those statements that relate to how athletes are viewed by others?

IMAGE #1 (repeat as necessary for multiple images within a single spread)

I. IMAGE PRODUCTION

14. Image size:

- Full two-page spread
- More than one page
- 1 full page
- About ½ page
- less than ½ page

15. Total number of athletes pictured? 1 (if one, skip to question 19)
- Number of males
 - Number of females

16. If more than one, how are they associated with each other? (check all that apply)
- same sport
 - teammates
 - romantically linked (married or dating)
 - biologically related (siblings, across generations, etc.)
 - other:
-

17. Use of color:
- In color
 - Black and White

18. Lighting:
- Natural Color
 - Artificial Color
- Additional comments:

II. IMAGE BACKGROUND & PROPS

19. How much physical space does the athlete(s) take in the image as a whole?
- the vast majority (about ¾ or more)
 - about 1/3 or more (about 33% to 75%)
 - less than 1/3

Additional comments:

20. Is the image taken indoors or outdoors?
- Indoors
 - Outdoors
 - Inconclusive

21. Is the image shot on location?
- No

Yes: _____ Is the location relevant to the athlete's sport?
No
Yes

22. Is the athlete photographed against a solid background?
 Yes
 No

23. Is the background a dominant focus of the image?
 Yes
 No If no, what else is the focus? Athlete
Is it relevant to the sport?

24. Is the athlete pictured with sporting equipment (excluding clothing, gloves, etc.)?
 No
 Yes If yes, is the equipment used in the athlete's particular sport? Yes
 No

Describe: Her prosthetic leg is used specifically for racing. It is not the type of prosthetic that is used in daily life.

25. Are props used in the image?
 No
 Yes Are the props relevant to the athlete's sport? Yes
 No

Describe:

26. Any additional comments, particularly for images featuring more than one athlete (e.g., are some athletes more prominently featured than others, patterns or formations for groups as a whole):

III. ATHLETE CHARACTERISTICS (repeat as necessary for multiple athletes within a single image)

27. Name: Sarah Reinertsen

28. Sport: Triathlon

29. Is this sport...

Team

Individual

30. Sex:

Male

Female

31. Racial Identity/Ethnic Descent: White

32. Age: 34

33. Height: Not listed

34. Weight: Not listed

35. Visible Physical Disability?

Yes

No

Is it referenced elsewhere (e.g., in the caption)? Yes

No

36. How is the skin portrayed (e.g., tone, shine, etc.):

- Unremarkable. No sheen or glare.

37. Hair (e.g., length, worn up/pulled back or down, straight or curly, styling):

- Very long. Blond. Appears to be windblown despite the fact that she is standing still.

38. Makeup (e.g., light or heavy):

- Clearly wearing eye makeup. Natural colors.

39. Body Modifications (e.g., tattoos, piercings):

- None visible

40. Other Body Characteristics (e.g., bruises, tan lines):

- None

41. Jewelry and Other Non-Sport Related Accessories (e.g., cowboy hat, sunglasses):

- None

42. Sport-Related Accessories (e.g., gloves, medals, uniform, sport paraphernalia):

- None

43. Would the body be considered overweight/underweight outside of the sport context?

____ Yes. Overweight.

____ Yes. Underweight.

No.

Describe.

- But, would definitely be considered thin. Very little body fat.

44. Discuss overall muscularity, flexing, etc.?:

- Her upper-body is very muscular. Her shoulders and back are especially well defined. Her right leg appears to be muscular also, but it is mostly shadowed by her prosthetic limb in front of it.

45. Is the athlete in motion?

No

____ Yes

Is the motion related to the athlete's specific sport?

____ No

____ Yes

Describe:

46. Is the athlete posed?

____ No

Yes

Is the pose related to the specific sport?

No

____ Yes

Is action implied?

No

____ Yes

Describe:

47. Athlete's body positioning:

____ Backwards

Profile

____ Left quarter turn

____ Right quarter turn

48. How much of the athlete's face is visible?

- 100%
 51-99%
 50%
 49-1%
 0%

49. Is the athlete's gaze focused directly at the camera or away from the camera?

- Directly at the camera
 Away from the camera

Describe: Her gaze is profile and looking upwards.

50. Is the athlete displaying any body canting?:

- Yes
 No

Describe: Her body is bent at the waist, her torso at an approximately a 45 degree angle.

51. Is the athlete displaying any head canting?

- Yes
 No

Describe: Her head is tilted back, chin lifted.

52. Is the athlete displaying a bashful knee bend?

- Yes
 No

Describe: Her bashful knee bend comes not from the bend of a physical knee, but from the bend of her prosthetic leg.

53. Is the athlete smiling?

- Yes
 Partially
 No

54. Are the athlete's lips parted or together?

- Parted
 Together

55. Describe the athlete's body (how is it angled, are body parts cut from the image, is the athlete standing, lying, sitting, etc.)?

- Athlete is standing
- Her body is bent at the waist, sloped slightly, emphasizing her rear.

- Body is left profile so that her left leg, the prosthetic, is in the foreground of the image.

56. How are the athlete's breasts/genitalia covered?

- Breasts are covered by her crossed arms, genitalia is covered by profile position and slightly raised left leg.

57. Is the athlete touching their body?

Yes

No

If yes, describe: Her arms are crossed in front of her body, as if she were hugging herself. Her left hand rests gently on her right shoulder. Her right arm crosses under her left, leaving her right hand to gently rest just under her left shoulder blade. It does not look like she is applying any pressure. Her pinky is extended such that it looks like she's caressing her own body.

58. Are there markers of the athlete's role as a parent?

Yes

No

Describe.

59. Are there markers of the athlete's role as a spouse or partner?

Yes

No

Describe.

60. Additional comments (e.g., how the image matches or contradicts the caption, other noteworthy aspects of the image/athlete)?

None.

APPENDIX C – Results of Chi-Square Analysis for All Variables

Variable	<u>Full Sample</u> (Includes All Images)		<u>Reduced Sample A</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes)		<u>Reduced Sample B</u> (Excludes Duplicate Athletes & Group Images)	
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
<i>Race</i>						
White	68.93***	36.05	67.53***	39.39	62.07*	39.39
Black	17.48**	36.05	19.48*	34.85	20.69	34.85
Other	13.59*	27.91	12.99	25.76	17.24	25.76
<i>Athletic Focus</i>						
<i>Sport Type</i>						
Team	56.31	48.84	48.05	48.48	31.03	48.48
Individual	43.69	51.16	51.95	51.52	68.97	51.52
<i>Pictured...</i>						
Sport Equipment	42.72	47.67	44.16	54.55	51.72	54.55
Prop	5.83*	16.28	6.49	15.15	8.62	15.15
Sport Accessories	5.83*	17.44	6.49	16.67	8.62	16.67
In Motion	20.39	29.07	22.08	30.30	20.69	30.30
Sport Relevant	15.53	19.77	18.18	18.18	15.52	18.18
Sport Irrelevant	4.85	9.30	--	--	--	--
Posed	77.67	70.93	77.92	69.70	79.31	69.70
Sport Relevant	16.50*	30.23	19.48*	34.85	22.41	34.85
Sport Irrelevant	61.17**	40.70	58.44**	34.85	56.90**	34.85**
<i>Relative Size</i>						
<i>Amount of Space</i>						
More than 3/4	17.48	23.26	22.08	24.24	29.31	24.24
3/4 to 1/3	36.89***	60.47	41.56*	59.09	55.17	59.09
1/3 or Less	45.63***	16.28	36.36**	16.67	15.52	16.67
<i>Feminine Touch</i>						
Body Touching	52.43***	15.12	48.05***	15.15	43.10***	15.15
<i>Ritualization of Subordination</i>						
Bashful Knee Bend	29.13***	6.98	--	--	--	--
Body Canting	--	--	--	--	--	--
Head Canting	--	--	--	--	--	--
<i>Body Location</i>						
Standing	49.51***	75.58	46.75**	72.73	55.17*	72.73
Lower Positions	25.24***	6.98	22.08*	7.58	29.31**	7.58
<i>Licensed Withdrawal</i>						
<i>Face Visibility</i>						
More than ½	55.34	54.65	54.55	54.55	56.90	54.55
Less than ½	21.36**	6.98	--	--	--	--
<i>Gaze Direction</i>						
At Camera	49.51*	34.88	48.05	36.36	43.10	36.36
Away Camera	50.49*	65.12	51.95	63.64	56.90	63.64

VITA

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