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**ADVERTISING IMAGES OF WOMEN ATHLETES:
GLAMOUR, SHAPE, AND GOLF FOR WOMEN
1989-2002**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Journalism and Mass Communications

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Jill C. Mason

December 2003

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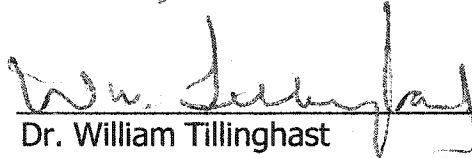
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ABSTRACT

ADVERTISING IMAGES OF WOMEN ATHLETES: *GLAMOUR, SHAPE, AND GOLF FOR WOMEN 1989-2002*

by Jill C. Mason

This content analysis studied the portrayals of women athletes in advertisements from 1989, 1997, and 2002 in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women*. The study predicted that women athletes' success in the 1996 Olympics was a turning point for sportswomen and spurred more athletic depictions in print advertising. Two facets were explored: quantity of advertisements representing women athletes and quality of representations.

The number of women athlete advertisements decreased over time in *Shape* and *Golf for Women*, negating predictions. Only *Glamour's* number of women athlete advertisements increased. In advertisement quality, sexist portrayals of women athletes decreased between 1989 and 2002 to almost 100% non-stereotypical portrayals in *Glamour* and *Golf for Women*, and to 80% in *Shape*. Another key finding was that *Glamour* portrayed women athletes with sex appeal less frequently than did *Shape*. *Shape's* advertisers, therefore, did not accurately reflect its editorial focus on fitness.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in sports is a complex segment of our culture. Since the late 1800s, American women have participated in sports at various levels. Progress in one era, to digress in the next, women's involvement in sports has hinged upon legislation, the media, historical events, paradigm shifts, marketing strategies, products, and more. Many social scientists have explored the portrayals of women in the earlier years of the 20th century. The collective attitude in the early 1900s through the 1960s was that women did not belong in sports (Harris, 1971). For example, the coach of the Tennessee Tigerbelles women's track and field team believed his members were "young ladies first and athletes second" and that the culmination of their track careers in college should be the end of their sports careers (Harris, 1971, p. 3).

Today, the accomplishments of women athletes are celebrated. "Sports have freed women... from restrictive dress, behaviors, laws, and customs—and from the belief that women can't or shouldn't achieve or compete to win" (Nelson, 1998, p. xi). A June 2001 exhibit at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington D.C. featured 182 photographs of women athletes over the years. The exhibit, *Game Face: What Does a Female Athlete Look Like?* included a 1890s-era photo of an unidentified woman in a corset on a bicycle contrasted to

a photo of the 1999 U.S. Women's National Soccer team celebrating their World Cup victory (National Geographic, 2002). High profile, positive portrayals of women athletes in the media draw attention to their athletic skills and continue to shape the belief that women also may be exceptional athletes.

Participation Statistics

The number of women playing competitive and recreational sports has increased in 30 years since the 1960s along with the view of women as athletes (Schell, 1999). (Figure 1). The participation of women in interscholastic sports programs in the United States increased sharply in twenty years, mainly spurred by 1972 Title IX legislation, as discussed in a later section. According to the Women's Sports Foundation (WSF), in 1971, only 1 in 27 high school women—approximately 300,000—played high school sports (Kane, 1989). In 1982, 35% of high school athletes were women (Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999; Leonard, 1988). In 1988, more than two million women played interscholastic sports (Kane, 1989). In 1997, 1 in 3, or 2.4 million women played high school sports, which was an increase of 800% since 1971 (WSF, 1998; Nelson, 1998). This rapid and significant increase in the number of high school women athletes between 1971 and 1997 can be attributed partly to Title IX legislation. Title IX provided a surge of federal funds to support women athletics in U.S. schools, so more athletic programs were developed for women.

Figure 1

Evolution of womens' sports culture by era (Adapted from Boutilier & SanGiovanni 1983)

1880 – 1917: Social Darwinism and Female Sports Activity	1917-1936: First Female Athletic Era	1936 – 1960: The Feminine Reaction to the Athletic Era	1960 – 2003: The Female Athletic Revolution
Sports offered in social clubs and class-exclusive associations, women's colleges	Sports offered in educational institutions, commercial establishments, communities, national/international arenas	Sports offered in intramurals in educational settings, private clubs	Sports offered in community and educational institutions, clubs, and commercial organizations
Typical sports were fox hunting, golf, basketball, field hockey, cycling, tennis	Additional sports included swimming, diving, ice skating, softball, roller derby, track and field	Typical sports were individual, rather than team sports; teams were in the context of play and cooperation only.	All traditional sports available to women
Sports strictly non-competitive and for enjoyment, play, socializing, health	Competitive, elitist	Less competitive than the first era; limited professional women's sports	Many motivations including competition, fun, socializing, sense of accomplishment, to win, money, professional titles

The first Women's Athletic Association (WAA) was founded at Bryn Mawr in 1891 and by 1909, WAAs existed at 80% of major American colleges and universities (Gerber et al., 1974). Furthermore, the formation of the Division of Girls and Women's Sports (DGWS), evolved from the 1920s-era Committee on Women's Athletics (CWA), gave women athletes more support in competitive sports (Spears 1983). The number of women competing at the collegiate level increased ten times between 1972 Title IX implementation and 1999 (Lynn et al., 2002). Women's golf teams were founded in 1894 and 1895 at Vassar, Wellesley, and Westchester (Gerber et al., 1974). On March 30, 1889 at St.

Andrews Club, the first woman was recorded playing golf; by 1895, an estimated 100 American women were golfers (Gerber et al., 1974). Women comprised 30% of collegiate athletes in 1980 (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). In 1996, 100,000 women athletes competed in intercollegiate programs (Hallmark & Armstrong 1999; General Accounting Office, 1996).

Aside from the progress, disparities existed between the number of men and women collegiate athletes. High school women athletes comprised only 7% of 3.8 million high school athletes in 1972. In 2001, high school women athletes were 41% of high school athletes (NCWGE, 2002). In 1972, 15% of NCAA athletes were women. And in 2001, approximately 42% of NCAA athletes were women, after almost 30 years of Title IX support (NCWGE, 2002). Money spent on intercollegiate athletics illustrates the imbalance. For example, in 1981, women's programs spent \$502,000 and men's spent \$4.3 million; in 1999, men's sports were allocated \$9.5 million and the women's \$3.7 million (NCWGE, 2002).

University scholarships for women's athletics have been slow to support the influx of women competitors. In 2000, men's NCAA athletic scholarships were 36% more than women's each school year (NCWGE, 2002). A few years prior to Title IX legislation, each university allocated approximately \$9,300 for women's athletics. In 1972, just after the passage of Title IX, each university allocated more than \$200,000 for women's sports (Gerber et al., 1974). College athletic budgets spent only 2% of funds on women's athletics in 1974, which

increased to 7% in 1977 (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). In 1978, 460 universities awarded athletic scholarships to women, while 700 universities offered funding for women athletes in 1980 (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Women comprised 37% of college athletes in 1999 and received 38% of athletic scholarships (Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999; Naughton, 1997).

Women's participation in recreational sports and fitness activities beyond educational institutions is more difficult to track. The WSF estimated in 1978 that 36 million women participated in a fitness activity at least three times each week. In 2001, the WSF estimated that more than 268 million women participated in a fitness activity (Struna, 2001). Running is one of the fastest-growing fitness activities for women. The first-ever women's marathon was in New York City. In 1972, the race had 78 participants, and only seven years later, 5,289 women competed (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). According to *Women's Sports* (1980), 6.5 million women were runners. The ratio of men to women running marathons was 70/30 in the early 1990s; currently, the ratio is closer to 60/40 (Bridson, 2003). From 1915 to 1930, the number of U.S women golfers increased from 250,000 to 5 million (Gallico 1965). The number of women golfers was 6 million in 2002, up from 4.7 million in 1999, according to the National Golf Foundation. Women currently compose 22% of all golfers (Kinney, 2003). Increasing media coverage of LPGA events and the availability of golf scholarships for women post-Title IX legislation were major catalysts to

attracting more women golfers (Kinney, 2003). As of 2001, women comprised 38 - 42% of all sports and physical activity participants in the United States (WSF, 2001).

Women Athletes and the Media

Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) noted the value of analyzing mass media to research whether the cultural acceptance and media portrayals of women athletes keeps pace with the actual participation of women athletes. They note: "regardless of what actually is happening to the relationship between women and sport, it is the media's treatment and evaluation of the relationship that will shape its direction and content" (p. 184). Women's increasing involvement in sports and fitness spurred an expansion in two women's magazine genres in the early 1980s: sport-specific and fitness publications. Specialized magazines emerged for women including two of the magazines studied in the current content analysis: *Shape* and *Golf for Women*. These women's publications were founded in an era when women were becoming more involved in sports and fitness activities. The fact that the selected women's fitness and sport-specific magazines did not emerge until 1981 and 1988, respectively illustrates two points: a) a significant visible audience did not exist for these publications prior to the 1980s, b) advertisers did not think the product buyer base existed to publish specialized magazines. Magazine publishing is a market-driven industry; with the increasing number of women athletes and product buyers, these

publications subsequently emerged. In addition, mainstream women's magazines, such as *Glamour*, include editorial content about fitness and sports for women. Many forces contribute to the increasing number of women athletes and their representation in print advertising in women's mainstream, fitness, and sport-specific magazines.

Woman Athletes and Print Advertising

Specialized magazines evolved to incorporate advertising. In the 1920s, special interest magazines contained no advertisements (Leiss, 1986). In the 1970s, women athletes in advertisements typically were associated with the aerobics trend, wearing feminine apparel with low-definition muscles. Despite the nature of these portrayals, it was the first era in which advertisements were directed to women athletes (Levin, 1990). Now, advertisers covet activity- and lifestyle-focused magazines as a niche market. Magazine readers are a pre-selected group of the people who buy the products related to magazine content (Leiss, 1986). Magazines profit by providing advertisers with a known demographic of readers (Tuchman, 1978). Women sport-specific and fitness magazine readers, for example, consist of mostly educated, active women. These women are a key target for sports apparel, energy food, and sports equipment manufacturers. Furthermore, to target women athlete readers, advertisers use women athletes as their models in advertisements. In the 1980s, advertisements depicting women athletes as strong and powerful seldom

appeared; currently, women often are portrayed as competent athletes (Levin, 1990). In women's mainstream magazines, fitness is promoted as a healthy lifestyle, so readers also are exposed to fitness products. Based on the increasing number of women athletes, and the phenomenon of women becoming involved in non-traditional athletics, the question remains: has advertising changed to reflect this reality? To address this question, two changes were tracked in the current study: whether the number of advertisements depicting women athletes accurately reflected the actual women athletes' participation levels; and whether the quality of these representations reflected women athletes as athletic rather than sexy.

Quantity of the Representation of Women Athletes

Kane (1989) cites two major themes in the study of women athletes' representations in the media. First, women traditionally are underrepresented; second, when they are represented, the portrayals of women are inaccurate. The current study researched the number of women athletes represented in magazine advertisements compared to the number of women non-athletes. Several studies tracked the *quantity* of women representations. Women athletes, for example, were depicted in active poses less frequently than men's photographs during the Seoul Olympics (Hargreaves, 1994). Venkatesan and Losco (1975) reported that the number of women in advertisements in selected magazines remained stagnant at 40% of total advertisements 1959 through

1971. Women have been over-represented in the feminine sports, defined by Methany (1965) as ice skating, gymnastics, golf, and other sports that require grace and skill, compared to the number of women actually competing in those sports (Daddario, 1998). So the representations historically have not accurately reflected the numbers of women who actually participate in sports and fitness activities.

Quality of the Representation of Women Athletes

Women athletes defy traditional women's sex roles so it has been challenging for the media to reflect women as athletes (Felshin, 1974; Glover, 1981; Harris, 1971; Knight & Giuliano, 2001; Phillips, 1971; Slatton, 1970). Women's stereotypical place in society was the home, as "wife, mother, and household manager" (Green, 1973, p. 5). Women have been portrayed in advertising in many ways: "as homebodies, dependent on men, makers of less important decisions, sex objects, and emotionally unstable" (Buttle, 1989, p. 9). In the early 1900s, the ideal woman was viewed as the buxom, motherly child-bearer who cooked and maintained the home (Sherriff, 1971). The mid-century woman had a curvier figure and was more involved in her community and occasionally had a career in addition to her motherly and household duties (Sherriff, 1971). In spite of progressing women's roles, stereotypical traits occasionally surface: talkative, gentle, feeling-centered, religious, quiet, and needing security (Felshin, 1974). Women's involvement in sports and their

associated images directly contradict most of these underlying feminine stereotypes.

Any woman who participated in sports or fitness activities after puberty relinquished her femininity and was viewed as more masculine (Slatton, 1970). For example, Mildred "Babe" Zaharias named the Woman Athlete of the first half of the 20th century in 1950, often was criticized for her boyish appearance (Gallico, 1965). Alternatively, many women athletes were portrayed in the media as feminine with little athletic skill. The contradiction of woman-as-child-bearer and woman-as-athlete was too complex for many media outlets and the public for the first half of the 20th century. In the 1980s through today, women athletes moved from being portrayed as feminine to more sexy. Historically, women were stereotyped in the media, whether they were shown as tomboys, too sexy, or too feminine. These stereotypes hurt the image of women athletes because their skills are undermined by unrealistic representations (Kane, 1989).

Key Events that Helped to Transform Traditional Depictions of Women Athletes

Several significant historical events contributed to the changing perceptions of women. These paradigm shifts ultimately laid the foundation for perceptions of women athletes.

WORLD WAR II

World War II drew women out of their traditional roles as homemakers and child-bearers (Daddario, 1998). Women began working in record numbers and managed home duties typically considered as masculine tasks (Ogelsby et al., 1998). These changes shattered traditional barriers between the sexes. The 1940s was one of the most significant decades for women in sports (Ogelsby et al., 1998). More women began playing more sports during the war. The All American Girls Baseball League, for example, was founded in 1943 when many male players went to war. Commissioners wanted to communicate that the women maintained their sexual image; thus players' uniforms were skirts and the league was promoted as "femininity juxtaposed with skilled baseball ability" (Ogelsby et al., 1998, p. 201). The professional league enjoyed thousands of fans and several years of play (Edelson, 2002). Schools' physical education programs, which commenced during World War I, and declined in the 1930s, increased in popularity during the 1940s. President Roosevelt's Division of Physical Fitness was established to promote physical fitness to everyone (Slatton, 1970). Most magazine advertisements reflected WWII-era roles of women as efficient workers who also maintained households while the men were at war. However, upon the war's end, many women returned to their roles as homemakers and, likewise, magazines reverted to the 1930s homemaker portrayals (Lont, 1995).

WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS: 1960S AND 1970S

Historically, women were viewed as inferior to men physically and mentally, an idea that was strongly challenged in the turbulent 1960s and 1970s. This movement spurred questions about the portrayals of women in the media, specifically unrealistic depictions. Mary Wollstonecraft's 1792 *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was the first feminist publication, touting the rights and equality of women. Wollstonecraft provided a foundation for the feminist movement. Interestingly, a piece of sporting equipment, the bicycle, was a technology that many attribute to helping spur women's movements. Upon the invention of the "safety cycle" in the 1890s, women gained more freedom of mobility; approximately 30,000 women owned bicycles. Women competed in cycling races as early as 1885 (Nelson, 1998). Bicycle fashion was a factor in women's cultural transformation as well: women could not wear dresses on a bike, so they replaced corsets and dresses with bloomers and knickerbockers (Struna, 2001).

In 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan Brownell Anthony began the fight for woman suffrage and in 1920 declared victory when women were granted the right to vote. Betty Friedan (1963) was a key feminist and critic of the portrayal of women in the media. Friedan argued that media images of women were idealized and detrimental to how women viewed themselves because the media had the power to shape their image. These images, in turn, set a false standard by which the public measured women (Friedan, 1963). The

National Organization for Women (NOW) was instituted in 1966, and by the 1970s, had more than 400 chapters nationwide. Ultimately, women's liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s broke down barriers between women and men which opened doors for female athletes to enter sports and fitness (Columbia Encyclopedia, 2003).

HEALTH AWARENESS TRENDS

In the 1890s through early 1900s, public consensus was that women were biologically limited and thus advised to not participate in physical activities; the exertion would affect their reproductive capacities (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1983; Edelson, 2002; Struna, 2001). Even physical educators limited activities for women (Struna, 2001). No data exists, however, to substantiate these early claims that women should not be active. In fact, current studies show that women athletes are healthier than women who are sedentary (Rarick, 1971).

The next health trends touted that women should exercise so they could successfully complete homemaker duties. Mid-twentieth century health publications encouraged women to exercise, yet justified their recommendations: women needed to be healthy to care for their families (Struna, 2001). The media did not help these perceptions. In the 1928 Olympics, several women falsely were reported to have collapsed after the 800-meter race. As a result of the exaggerated reports, women were banned from running races longer than 200 meters for 32 years, because they physically were unable (Kinnick, 1998;

Wilson, 1996). A study about the function and effects of menstruation published in the book *Woman's Physical Freedom* was one force that began to dispel widespread beliefs about women's physical limits (Mosher, 1923).

Currently, the importance of maintaining fitness is communicated to everyone. The first major stride in emphasizing the importance of physical fitness was the development of the President's Council on Fitness. Presidents Kennedy and Eisenhower endorsed the goals of this program, and subsequently, being in shape was more socially acceptable for all Americans, men and women (Slatton, 1970). Although the United States has encouraged its citizens to be active since the 1950s, in July 11, 1996, the U.S. Surgeon General released the first-ever report on physical activity. The report indicated that 60% of Americans did not participate in regular physical activity and 25% were not physically active. To reverse these statistics, schools, community planners, doctors, and employers were asked to encourage physical activity. The Surgeon General also encouraged the media and entertainment industries to 'sell' physical fitness to the American public ("Physical Activity and Health," 1996).

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS), a division of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), reported on physical activity trends from 1990 to 1998. DHHS and CDC surveyed citizens 18 years or older for moderate-level physical activity for 30 minutes at least 5 times each week, or vigorous-intensity physical activity for 20 minutes at least 3 times each

week ("Physical Activity Trends," 2001). This research revealed that the number of people who participated at standard levels of activity increased from 24.3% in 1990, to 25.4% in 1998. However, the number of people reporting insufficient activity also increased from 45% in 1990, to 46% in 1998 ("Physical Activity Trends," 2001). The Surgeon General's report recommended 30-45 minutes daily of moderate exercise. This, along with other health trends, has boosted the demand for sports and fitness magazines. More women are becoming active.

TITLE IX: 1972

The Title IX ruling was a victory for all women athletes because it provided federal support for women students in K-12 schools and public universities. A provision of the 1972 Education Amendments Act, Title IX states: "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

This legislation evoked a "wave of optimism" not only about the potential for women athletes to become involved in sports and fitness, but also about the social acceptance women athletes gained (Kane, 1988, p. 88). In the early 1970s, prior to Title IX, women were only 7% of high school athletes and no women received college athletic scholarships (Hallmark & Armstrong 1999). Between 1970 and 1979, the decade of Title IX legislation, the number of girls

competing in interscholastic sports increased 600%. Prior to Title IX, only 300,000 women competed in interscholastic sports, compared to 1.8 million in 1988 (Kane, 1988). Despite regulatory changes, no laws, women's associations, the Olympic Committee, or other group can promise that any society will accept women as athletes (Spears, 1978). Title IX, however, was a huge step in a positive direction for women athletes.

WOMEN IN THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES (1900 - PRESENT)

The Olympic games have played a major role in showcasing the achievements of women athletes. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympics, opposed female athlete participation in the Olympics (Daddario, 1998). No women competed in 1896 in Greece, the location of the first modern Olympics (Ogelesby et al., 1998). Only 11 women competed in the 1900 Paris Olympics, while 1,274 women participated in the 1976 Montreal Olympics (Boutillier & SanGiovanni, 1983). From 1928 through 1960, women athletes comprised only 10% of total Olympians. Women athletes experienced the most advancement in gaining access to Olympic competition after 1960 (Daddario, 1998).

From 1972, the year of Title IX legislation, to 1996, the rate of increase in the number of women Olympians exceeded that of men (Wilson, 1996). In 1972, women comprised 20% of total athletes, compared to 1996, when women comprised 36% total athletes (Wilson, 1996). The 1984 Summer Olympics

brought twelve new women's events, twice as many women competitors compared to previous Games, and powerful role models such as Florence Griffith Joyner, Jackie Joyner Kersey, and Mary Lou Retton (Hallmark & Armstrong, 1999). Women finally were allowed to run the marathon in the 1984 Olympics, affirming reports that women's bodies are more adept than men at enduring the rigorous training and long distances associated with this race (Daddario, 1998). In the 1992 Winter Olympics, women competitors won nine of the United States' eleven medals and four women earned five gold medals, which were the only golds (Daddario, 1998; Lont, 1995). The coinciding news coverage, however, emphasized men athletes more than women athletes, in spite of the women athletes' successes (Lont, 1995).

The 1996 Atlanta Olympics, the event on which the current study hinges, were touted by *Newsweek* as the "Games of the female athlete" occurring in the "Year of the Woman" (Daddario, 1998; Kinnick, 1998). Women athletes were covered extensively in the media, entering a new spotlight for their achievements (Lynn, 2002). Women comprised 34.4% of total Atlanta athletes, which was a 39% jump from the number of women athletes who competed in Barcelona in 1992, and 1,000 more than the Seoul Olympics in 1988 (Kinnick, 1998; Ogelsby et al., 1998). United States women's gymnastics, soccer, softball, synchronized swimming, and basketball teams earned gold medals in Atlanta 1996. Still, men's events numbered 163 compared to women's 97 events in Atlanta

(Daddario, 1998). At Nagano's 1998 Winter Olympics, women were 36% of total athletes and women's events numbered 45.6% of total events (IOC, 2001). In Sydney 2000, women were 38.2% of total athletes; women's events comprised 44% of total events. For the first time, women competed in the equal number of team sports as men (IOC, 2001). In Salt Lake City 2002, 47.4% of athletes were women—almost half of all athletes. Olympic officials predict that in the 2004 Games, women will comprise half of all athletes (Deacon & McClelland, 2000).

Women's Purchasing Power

Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) noted that in 1972, advertisements seldom depicted women as the decision makers for substantial purchases, such as cars, houses, or investments, under the assumption that women were not involved in this segment of family life. In 1998, however, women made 80% of all purchasing decisions (Veltri & Long, 1998). Part of women's leverage for making purchasing decisions was a result of more women earning a salary. Thirty percent of women worked in 1957. In 1969, more than 40% of women in America were employed (Green, 1973). In 1997, approximately 60% of women over age 16 worked (Columbia University, 2003).

With the increase in the number of career women, athletic equipment and apparel manufacturers realized the potential purchasing power of women athletes and fitness enthusiasts, and thereby began directing more advertisements to women. An article in *Advertising Age* reviewed automakers'

advertising campaigns to attract women buyers in the mid-1990s (Serafin, 1994). Numerous 1990s advertisements reflected the empowered woman: the decision-maker, the executive, the thinker, and the intellectual. In 1989, American women bought \$4.3 billion in athletic shoes and apparel, which was only \$0.3 billion less than what men bought (Levin, 1990). In 1995, significant changes occurred when women spent \$5.4 billion on athletic footwear and apparel, which was more than \$200 million than what men spent (Veltri & Long, 1998).

More women play golf in their careers (Kinney 2003). The golf equipment and services market encompassed approximately \$62.2 billion in 2000, which is larger than the motion picture and sound recording industry (Golf Economy Report, 2002). In 1916, women bought 15% of the golf equipment. Currently, product lines of golf equipment are made especially for women. As of 1998, women purchased more sports equipment and apparel than men (Oglesby et al., 1998). Women compose 22% of all golfers and are picking up golf at a greater rate than men (Kinney, 2003).

Professional Women Athletes

Women have struggled for acceptance in professional sports. Competitive sports paved the way for women's entry into professional sports. Competitive sports are defined as "organized leagues accompanied by... spectators and limited local media coverage" (Bellotti, 1983, p. 97). Women's college physical education departments in the early twentieth century, for example, led the

charge for women to begin competing in sports (Slatton, 1970). Physical education departments offered a broad selection of women's sports. In addition, the Committee on Women's Athletics of the American Education Association was founded in 1917 to support women in competitive sports (Slatton, 1970). Basketball was the sport women first played competitively (Slatton, 1970).

Professional athletes have the highest level of skills, attendance, and media coverage; furthermore, athletes earn salaries and enjoy public recognition (Bellioti, 1983). Professional leagues such as the Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA), Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA), and Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA) bring visibility to the accomplishments of professional women athletes, although these organizations emerged much later than men's. For example, the U.S. Golf Association was founded in 1894, while the LPGA was founded in 1950 (Gerber et al., 1974). There are 27,000 golfers in the PGA, yet fewer than 1,000 are women (Kinney, 2003).

The evolution of professional women's sports provides insight into the current portrayals of women athletes in advertising. Professional women athletes depicted in the media create a standard image of women athletes and reaffirm what is considered to be male or female within a certain time period (Ellison, 2002). In other words, the portrayals of women athletes provide the standard to what the nation's, or even the world's, female athletes 'should look like' and how that look evolves over time. Ellison (2002) questioned whether the

view about women athletes has changed in the previous 50 years, based on women athletes' changing portrayals in advertisements. Sometimes, however, media portrayals contradict the image of woman athlete (Kumar, 2002). One struggle that many professional women athletes share is overcoming media and public criticisms of their participation in sports. Conflicts exist among the traditional roles of women, women's accomplishments in sports, and the acceptance of women as capable competitors (Edelson, 2002). Women were not allowed to compete in the Olympics for years. Today, women aspire for more equal representation in the Games, and in schools and universities.

Trailblazers for women's sports deserve to be noted for their contributions to bringing visibility to talented sportswomen and influencing the social acceptance of women athletes. Babe Didrickson Zaharias, frequently cited as the best woman athlete in first half of the 20th century, excelled at basketball and track and field, winning two gold medals in the 1932 Olympics. In the 1940s and 1950s, Zaharias was known as the best female golfer, winning Associated Press *Female Athlete of the Year* award for golf 1945-47, 1950, and 1954 (Edelson, 2002). Golfer Margaret Abbott was the first woman to win an Olympic gold medal in the 1900 Paris Games (Ogelsby et al., 1998). Elizabeth Robinson, a sprinter, was the first American woman ever to win gold at the 1928 Olympics (Ogelsby et al., 1998). High jumper Alice Coachman was the first African American woman to win the gold in 1948. Althea Gibson was the first African

American woman to win consecutive Wimbledon and U.S. Championships in 1958 and 1959. Others laid the foundation for today's women athletes such as Katherine Switzer, the first woman to compete in the Boston Marathon; Joan Benoit, the first woman to win gold in the marathon at the 1984 Olympics—the first year women were allowed to compete in this race; Gertrude Ederle, the first woman to swim across the English Channel in 1926—completing the distance faster than any male; Sonja Henie, who earned gold medals for figure skating in three consecutive Olympic games; and Ann Meyers of UCLA, the first woman to play Division I basketball on a scholarship in 1974.

Billie Jean King, a tennis player, was one of the most remembered of the pioneer female athletes. King played 56-year old Bobby Riggs in 1973, who, like other Americans at the time, did not take seriously women athletes. King, however, beat Riggs in straight sets and the media generously covered the upset, helping to break down traditional views about women athletes (Edelson, 2002; Ogelsby et al., 1998). In May 2003, at the Colonial Country Club, professional golfer Annika Sorenstam was the first woman in 58 years to play on the PGA Tour. Her participation in the all-men's tournament brought controversy, and also extraordinary publicity to the LPGA, in spite of her failure to qualify for the second round.

Women Athletes and Commercialization

The commercialization of women sports leagues, events, teams, and individual athletes also have affected the portrayal of women athletes in the media. Companies realize that to reach women athlete purchasers, advertising campaigns cannot use methods in those of men's product promotions (Veltri & Long, 1998). Sponsorships draw the public eye to women athletes and also raise awareness of the growing participation of women in sports and fitness (Daddario, 1998). According to Russell (1994) and Burton (1994), "female consumers are more likely to associate with a product that is pitched by a female sports figure than by a male sports figure" (Veltri & Long, 1998).

Professional women athletes are receiving larger endorsements. The 1996 Summer Olympics produced more female endorsers than in any previous games (Veltri & Long, 1998). In 1950, the founding year of the LPGA, only \$15,000 in purse money was available for nine tournaments (Struna, 2001). In 1948, a golf tournament winner earned \$3,400; while the 1972 winner claimed \$65,000. However, the top male golfer won \$320,542 in 1972 (Gerber et al., 1974). Most professional women golfers were not paid well until Ray Volpe became LPGA commissioner in 1975. Volpe solicited large-scale commercial sponsors for better publicity and financial support of tournaments and athletes (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Volpe grew the LPGA from twenty-one tournaments and \$435,000 purse annually in 1971, to thirty-eight tournaments

and \$4.5 million purse in 1981 (Hauser, 1998). The progress within the LPGA does not compare to the PGA, however. In the 1970s, Nancy Lopez, for example, earned \$190,000 in one year. In the 1990s, only two women, Annika Sorenstam and Karrie Webb, earned more than \$1 million in one year, compared to eighteen men, plus two men who earned more than \$2 million in one season (Hauser, 1998). The 1997 U.S. Open winner won \$465,000, while U.S. Women's Open champion earned \$232,500 (Hauser, 1998). In 1998, the majority of PGA tournaments aired on national networks and purse money equaled \$94 million; whereas LPGA tournaments aired predominantly on cable with purses that equaled only \$32 million (Hauser, 1998). In 2003, thirty-seven official LPGA events are scheduled, representing \$39.5 million in total prize money (LPGA, 2003).

Another aspect of the commercialization of women's sports is the use of women athletes as endorsers for products in advertisements. Slatton (1970) recognized that through the first half of the twentieth century, women athletes were not depicted in advertisements as endorsers of products, which was "conspicuous in its total absence" (p. 56). And, women's depictions vary according to the advertised products (Sexton & Haberman, 1974). Gertrude Ederle was the first female swimmer to be offered sponsorships upon her swim across the English Channel (Gallico, 1965). Large-scale sponsors now pay women athletes to promote their products and magazines make space for these

advertisements and women's sports coverage (Oglesby et al., 1998). Advertisers target segments of the population, active women in this case, as does the accompanying editorial content. Nike, Adidas, Liz Claiborne, New Balance, and other product manufacturers recognize that professional women athletes are powerful role models to target products to amateur athletes. Men are ahead of women athletes as endorser money-earners. *Forbes* reported in 1996 and 1997 that no female athlete made the top forty money-earners in professional sports (Veltri & Long, 1998). Furthermore, Nike sponsors more than 250 athletes in the National Football League; Reebok has more than 400 athlete-endorsers who play football, baseball, and soccer. Nike sponsors only fifty women athletes, however (Veltri & Long, 1989).

In spite of the comparison to men athletes, women athletes are making progress. These trends show that a) professional women athletes increasingly are recognized as positive role models for products; and b) active women compose a greater portion of the population and advertisers are changing their strategies to reach this expanding market. Some advertisers opt to appeal to the image of women athletes as sexy, promoting sexy and revealing athletic attire. Most sportswear has retained its utility, but some also has gained sexiness, which is a factor in the commercialization of the woman athlete's body (Hargreaves, 1994). In spite of sexy athletic attire and subsequent advertisement portrayals, the commercialization of women's professional sports

has been a major catalyst to improved support, media coverage, and social acceptance of professional women athletes in the past two decades. This visibility has catapulted the professional and amateur woman athlete into the spotlight and helped to transform our culture.

Barriers for Women Athletes

Sport traditionally was a male territory into which women entered (Koivula, 2001). Women have not always been accepted as competitors (Slatton, 1970). Between 1920 and 1960, coaches of women sports held athletic events where women from different schools played sports together, reducing the amount of competitiveness in women's sports. It was believed that a woman's primary focus should be her future role as wife and mother, and that these duties far outweighed any competitive sport championship in importance (Nelson, 1998.) Another blow to women athletes was when women were depicted as golfers in advertisements for the purpose of fashion during the roaring twenties (Slatton, 1970). In spite of these early associations of women with golf, the competitive side of the sport traditionally is for men only. It is possible that these early portrayals of women golfers as fashion models in magazines affected the long-term views of women as competitive golfers.

"Sport (is) a site for the construction, reconstruction, strengthening, and naturalization of perceived gender differences and roles, and... serves to reaffirm the gender dichotomization..." (Koivula, 2001, p. 378). Sport traditionally

separates the sexes and facilitates sexual stereotypes (Kane, 1988). Women athletes have been questioned about their sexuality and ridiculed for their untraditional body types (Bellioti, 1983). Furthermore, men are more 'easily' portrayed as athletes by the media because athleticism is viewed as a male trait (Coakley & White, 1992). A dichotomous question often is asked: has the media traditionally covered women athletes less because there is little audience or advertiser demand for this coverage; or is the audience or advertiser demand less significant because the media has portrayed women less frequently in sports than men? (Bellioti, 1983).

Historically, the most frequent criticism of women athletes was that sports masculinize them (Corbett, 1997; Phillips, 1971). Gender issues prevented women from being fully accepted into sports because of the belief that sport is a masculine activity (Slatton, 1970). A perception conflict exists: women athletes are perceived to lack femininity (because they participate in a traditionally masculine activity) yet image portrayals highlight women's sexuality (Harris, 1971). During the second half of the twentieth century, female athletes were redefined from incompetent competitors to sexy, aggressive athletes. An undercurrent existed that women's competitive athleticism was not for their personal well-being or empowerment, but for men's enjoyment (Nelson, 1998). In addition, stereotypes of 'Amazon' or 'girl jock' have haunted many women athletes, so they have feminized their looks (Harris, 1971). Currently, images

typically portray women athletes as powerful and sexy. Criticisms since the 1980s focused on the emphasis of a woman athlete's sexuality over her athleticism to 'compensate' for her being a woman in sports.

Women athletes' sexuality frequently is highlighted over their athletic skills in media images; this "hypersexualization" can diminish the significance of women athletes' accomplishments (Media Report to Women, 2002). Tennis player Anna Kournikova and volleyball player Gabrielle Reece, for example, have been portrayed sexually over athletically in many media outlets. The current study researches how the depictions of women athletes in advertisements have changed since 1989, and if differences exist between three women's magazines geared to different audiences.

PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND WOMEN ATHLETES

Many sports capitalize on the natural biological separation between women and men (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983; Koivula, 2001). Furthermore, women typically attract more media attention to their physical appearance over skill or other attributes (Felshin, 1974). The media capitalizes on these fundamental differences by highlighting sporting events as male or female competitions. This, in turn, reinforces the differentiation between physical capabilities of men and women (Daddario, 1998). Athleticism is associated with muscularity, strength, and power, making a more obvious connection between sports and fitness activities to masculinity rather than femininity. For example, in

the late 1800s, doctors warned women of the negative effects of exercise on their reproductive systems, that their skeletons were more fragile than men's, and advised against their participation (Corbett 1997; Struna, 2001). The physiological differences between men and women limited the types of sports deemed acceptable, safe, or even doable for women competitors (Daddario, 1998). However, "women have exploded the myths surrounding female biology and are engaged in a process of reinterpretation of physical ability" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 284). Women athletes are proving that they make great athletes.

History of Magazine Advertising

In the 1890s, the first advertisements appeared in magazines (Lont, 1995). A catalyst to the evolution of magazine advertisements was magazine circulation numbers. The Audit Bureau of Circulation was formed in 1914 as the overseeing agency that verified circulation figures, after the Association of American Advertisers' agency ended its 14-year stint in 1913. By 1900, advertisements composed approximately 50% of popular magazine content. In 1947, advertisements were 65% of magazine content. Furthermore, editors began interspersing advertisements with feature stories and other editorial content, so the appearance of advertisements became more visually appealing. Subtle competition existed between editorial and advertisement content: each inspired the other to become more design-oriented. Color emerged in the 1900s upon the invention of the multicolor rotary press. More than half of mainstream

American magazine advertisements were two-color designs by 1948 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2003). Women entered advertising fields in 1867, and in 1911, the first women's advertising association was founded. From WWI to WWII, 3,000 women worked in advertising, compared to 32,000 men (Lont, 1995). By the 1960s and 1970s women's movements, more women filled executive positions at advertising firms.

The ability of advertisements to communicate societal standards can affect public perceptions of different groups. Erving Goffman (1979) referred to Charles Darwin's concept of natural selection in the "display" of rituals; only mainstream and widely accepted displays survive (p. 1). Goffman (1979) said that physical characteristics in advertisements communicate social standards and stereotypes. Femininity and masculinity are fundamental physical differences within advertisements. Advertisements often reflect women as inferior and frame them in stereotypical or traditional settings (Goffman, 1979). *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping* advertisements between 1950 and 1994, for example, were found to portray women in stereotypical roles that emphasized their feminine traits specifically the way they were dressed (Paff & Lakner, 1997). Goffman (1979) described advertisements as a "truncated view of reality;" just as people associate cultural norms to strangers they see every day, they also attribute these views to strangers in advertisements (p. 6, 22). In photographs, models pose and props are set to imitate reality, which leaves room for interpretation

and alteration by the editor or advertisement art director (Goffman, 1979). Kang (1997) conducted a follow-up study to Goffman's analysis to study what messages are communicated to the public through advertisements depicting women. The goal was to track advertisements, from 1979 through 1991, depicting women athletes and analyze the stereotypes. Kang found little variation from Goffman's research, even after 12 years.

History of Women's Mainstream Magazines

Women's mainstream magazines cover topics such as children, education, employment, fitness, and fashion. A popular image used to market products was the 'all-American sportswoman.' Positive images of athletic women, distributed to general audiences, helped paved the way for women's serious participation in sports (Oglesby et al., 1998). The first women's magazine was *Gentlemen and Lady's Town and Country* published in 1784, forty-three years after the first magazine was published (Lont, 1995). Godey's *Lady Book* was a popular women's magazine in the 1800s, focusing on manners and morals, and portraying the woman as a "happy homemaker" (Lont, 1995, p. 69, 72). In the 1890s, publishers reduced subscription prices to increase circulation so they could attract advertisers for the first time and hence, the women's magazine medium boomed. Known as the 'big six,' the most successful early women's magazines were: *The Delineator*-1872, *Ladies Home Journal*-1883, *Good Housekeeping*-1885, *The Woman's Home Companion*-1897, *Pictorial Review*-

1899, and *McCall's*-1897 (Lont, 1995). This magazine era emphasized romance

in addition to existing homemaker themes. The 'seven sisters' emerged as:

Ladies Home Journal, *Better Homes and Gardens*-1922, *Family Circle*-1932, *Good Housekeeping*, *McCall's*, *Redbook*-1929, and *Woman's Day*-1937 (Lont, 1995).

Between the 1950s and 1980s, homemaker themes decreased, making room for more practical topics for the "modern woman" (Lont, 1995, p. 73).

Glamour, a women's general interest magazine, was founded in 1939 and in spite of its focus on beauty and sex, "evolved into a more issue-oriented publication" (Calvacca, 1993). *Glamour's* circulation increased by 17% in 1993, and again in January 1994 by 19% (Huhn, 1994). The audience is classified as general adult, academic, with at least a high school diploma. *Glamour's* average of 1,800 advertisement pages annually (Calvacca, 1993) was a basis for the magazine's comparison with *Shape* and *Golf for Women* because women's mainstream magazines more visibly reflect and set trends, possibly more so than the targeted publications. *Glamour's* editorial mission is:

Glamour offers expert advice for young women on fashion, beauty, careers, love, and relationships. *Glamour* shows you how to get your body in shape. How to get the pros' best makeup tips and techniques. How to eliminate bad hair days forever. How to get ahead in your career. What the stars are wearing, how they are wearing it, and how YOU can get the look of the moment. In short, *Glamour* shows readers how to do just about everything better. Prettier. Smarter. Sexier. Plus, get Jake: A Man's Opinion, *Glamour's* Personal Shopper, *Glamour* Dos and Don'ts, and *Glamour* Horoscopes.

History of Women's Sports Magazines

Targeting a more specific audience than the seven sisters, women's sports publications emerged to cover women's sports including basketball, volleyball, soccer, softball, hockey, golf, tennis, gymnastics, weightlifting, running, fishing, and auto, bicycle, and horse racing (Ulrich's Web, 2003). The increasing involvement of women in sports meant more potential readers for sports-related topics. The majority of women's sports magazines began publication in the 1980s, with a few exceptions. The first, *Hockey Field*, was published in 1901 in England (Nelson, 1998). *Women's Sports Reporter* emerged in 1970, but did not last long (Gerber et al., 1974). *The Sportswoman*, a thirty-page quarterly magazine, emerged in 1973 and still exists today. Content included high school, intercollegiate, and professional women's sports, amateur sports, introductions to less popular sports, and regional sports news (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Editors assumed the audience was sports-savvy.

WomenSports magazine emerged in 1974, and merged with *The Sportswoman* in 1977. *WomenSports* had better circulation, namely because of its financial support, content, and ownership by tennis star Billie Jean King (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Furthermore, *WomenSports* attracted higher-powered commercial advertisers already linked professionally to King. However, King transformed the magazine into the WSF's member publication when circulation began to suffer in 1979 (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). In 1998,

Conde Nast acquired *WomenSports* and added 'Fitness' to the title and content, which doubled its circulation (Kerwin, 1999). *Women's Sports and Fitness* currently is a sports and fitness magazine, its scope expanded to attract more amateur women fitness gurus and women sports fans. Many feminists critiqued the transformation of the magazine as upholding negative stereotypes of women athletes (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983).

Historically, women's sports magazines had difficulty attracting enough readers to publish and this still is the case. For example, *Sports Illustrated Women* was short-lived; the sports magazine for women was launched in 1999 and closed its doors in December 2002 (Ulrich's Web, 2003). Currently, *Women's Sports and Fitness* is the only popular sports magazine directed to women readers. *Women's Sports and Fitness* experienced a circulation increase of 37.5% to 475,000 in January 1999, in mid-1999 to 550,200, and again in March 2000 to 650,000 subscribers.

History of Women's Sport-Specific Magazines

Women's sport-specific magazines emerged in 1977 with the publication of the now-ceased *Woman Golfer*, published by Hi-Torque Publications. By comparison, the first men's sport-specific magazine, *American Cowboy*, emerged in 1931. The first women's team sport magazine was *Women's Track and Field World*, which began publishing in 1978. While the first men's team sport magazine emerged in 1973 with *American Hockey Magazine* (Ulrich's Web,

2003). The subject of the current study, *Golf for Women*, was founded in 1988 as a counterpart to its men's *Golf Digest*. The audience is classified as general adult. In 1972, women comprised 20% of 360,000 readers per issue of *Golf Digest*, according to Simmons Audience Research (Felshin, 1974). As a result of these statistics, in July 1972, the men's golf magazine produced a 12-page section entitled: "The Liberation of the Woman Golfer." Approximately ten years later, *Golf for Women* was released to meet the demand of its readers. *Golf for Women* covers instruction, equipment, tournament announcements and results, and vacations for women golfers. As of 2003, *Golf for Women* reported more than 400,000 subscribers. The editorial mission is:

Golf for Women gives you instruction that's tailored to your needs—tips from playing editor Nancy Lopez and other top pros, plus secrets and advice that can set your handicap on a satisfying downward course! We also cover the latest equipment, fitness, new courses, and more. Get the only golf magazine devoted to women and how they play. Increase your skills and confidence on the golf course!

History of Women's Fitness Magazines

The first women's fitness magazine, Gruner + Jahr USA Publishing's *Fit*, emerged in 1982. While Weider Publication's *Muscle and Fitness* came out in 1939 as the first men's fitness magazine (Ulrich's Web, 2003). The fitness magazine niche expanded rapidly, reflecting widespread lifestyle changes. For example, forty-eight new fitness magazines were launched between 1995 and

2000 (Diaz, 2000). Prior to the late 1980s, fitness was viewed as a special interest activity and now fitness is viewed as a lifestyle. What were fitness 'trends' in the 1980s and early 1990s, now are a regular part of many Americans' lives; fitness magazines responded to this transition by expanding the content from aerobics, to mental, physical, and whole health and fitness (Diaz, 2000). *Self*, established in 1979, was the first women's magazine to focus on mind and body fitness (Lont, 1995). In the first half of 2002, *Self* earned almost \$1.3 million in circulation (Magazine Publishers of America, 2002).

The women's fitness magazine analyzed in the current study is Weider Publications' *Shape*, released in 1981. The publication covers health and nutrition for active women. The audience is classified as general adult, academic, with at least a high school diploma, similar to *Glamour*. *Shape's* editorial mission is:

She has more on her mind than her body. Sure, she's passionate about physical challenges, but today's woman also strives to enrich her mind and nourish her spirit. *Shape* is a reflection of today's active woman, guiding her in every aspect of her life. Far from a trend, the active lifestyle is revolutionizing the way consumers think, live, and spend. We at *Shape* see it as our mission to provide readers with smart, straight-talking content. Giving them the knowledge they need to make intelligent life choices, enabling them to reach their physical and mental goals. *Shape* stands apart: our inspiring yet reality-based editorial empowers today's woman to feel good about herself, to shape her active life with style.

In 2000, *Shape* was the third-largest women's magazine with 1.5 million in circulation, behind general women's magazines *Cosmopolitan* and *Glamour*

(Diaz, 2000). *Shape* was one of the 2001 top fifty Audit Bureau of Circulation magazines, reporting a 3.5% increase in circulation from 2000 to 2001, with 1.6 million. *Shape* reported 1.7 million in circulation from January to July 2002 (Magazine Publishers of America, 2002).

DEFINING TERMS

The Merriam Webster Collegiate Dictionary (1993) defines 'athlete' as "a person who is trained or skilled in exercises, sports, or games requiring physical strength, agility, or stamina." The word 'athlete' originates from the Greek word 'athletes' or 'athlein,' which means "to contend for a prize," which originates from 'athlon,' meaning "prize" or "contest" (p. 72).

'Fitness' is defined as "good health or physical condition, especially as the result of exercise and proper nutrition" (American Heritage Dictionary, 2000).

Columbia Encyclopedia defines physical fitness as "combined good health and physical development" (2003). Furthermore, goals of physical fitness are to achieve "health, strength, endurance and skill relative to age, sex, body build, and physiology" (Columbia Encyclopedia, 2003). 'Sport' is "a social documentary of aggression toward both excellence and achievement... sport represents the opportunity to prove oneself... (and) reinforces a desirable system of values and behavior" (Gerber et al., 1974, p. 184). For the purpose of the current study, 'woman athlete' encompasses the woman who participates in competitive or recreational sports and fitness activities.

Sex role stereotypes in the media are “set portrayals of sex-appropriate appearance, interests, skills, behaviors, and self-perceptions” (Tuchman, 1978, p. 5). Duncan’s (1990) definitions of sexuality are employed in the current study. Women sexuality is revealed in photographs through body, clothes, “cosmetic perfection,” activity level, hairstyle, and other attributes (Duncan 1990, p. 25). Synonyms for sexuality used by Duncan (1990) include sex appeal, sexual attraction, and sexiness. ‘Feminine’ refers to cultural and historic expected differences between women and men and not to biological differences between women and men. Femininity includes stereotypes and perceptions about the roles, appearances, and behaviors of women (Duncan 1990, p. 25). Femininity also is associated with physical beauty; “women are evaluated according to their attractiveness” (Gerber et al., 1974, p. 198). Furthermore, the separation of men and women—the differences between their portrayed sexuality—“tends to confer power upon men and limit power for women” (Duncan, 1990, p. 25). These traditional differences therefore are contradicted by the progressive portrayals of women athletes.

‘Sport-specific’ and ‘sport-specific magazine’ are terms developed especially for the current research. These phrases imply that the magazine is directed to an audience interested in only one sport. The traditional ‘sports magazine’ for women incorporated content about multiple women’s sports. To clarify this distinction, a typical women’s sports magazine is *Women’s Sports and*

Fitness. Example sport-specific magazines include *Golf for Women* and *Women's Soccer*.

STUDY RELEVANCE

Advertising is a pervasive aspect of American mass media, with the power to uphold dominant ideologies of cultures, as described by communications scholars such as Marshall McLuhan and Paul Lazarsfeld. "Ruled by its overriding imperative to communicate quickly, advertising first raids the ceremonial practices in our daily existence for its material, and then returns them to us in exaggerated forms, accentuating many of their least attractive features" (Leiss, 1986, p. 169). Advertising reinforces existing cultural perceptions of acceptable behaviors for men and women (Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Portrayals in magazine advertisements influence reader perceptions of women athletes (Klassen et al., 1993). The number of sport-specific and fitness magazines is a testimony to the increasing population of women athletes and fitness buffs. Women's mainstream magazines also include fitness editorial content, promoting healthy lifestyles to a general audience of women. Advertisements are responsible for creating need for a product. Products are tailored to more specific athletes' needs, male or female, competitive or recreational, and are promoted to these niche markets.

Women-specific athletic products require women athletes to help market these products to better connect the target audience. On the other hand, large groups of women athletes need to exist to provide a niche for these products.

Because the number of women athletes has increased, the number of products made for women has increased to tap the new market sector of buyers.

Consequently, the number of advertisements portraying women athletes also has increased over many magazines to match evolving products and reflect realities of women in sports and fitness. Companies want to increase sales, so they create the optimum message to reach potential buyers: women athletes speaking to women athlete buyers (Slatton, 1970).

As a result of the women athlete boom, advertisers are willing to buy space in more specific publications to target their products to particular market segments. Thus, the number of women's sport-specific magazines has increased and reflects the increase in the number of women athletes. Research about this genre of women's magazines is sparse.

Women's participation in formerly male-dominated professional sports, such as golf and basketball, affects professional men's leagues. League commissioners and athletes reevaluate rules and standards of play. Advertisements for women's professional leagues appear in conjunction with men's professional sporting events, to tap the already existing sports fan base to gain support for women's sports. New promotional events emerge, such as male-female competitions. For example, the media hype surrounding Annika Sorensen's participation in a 2003 PGA tournament raised awareness about the success of women golfers.

With the focus on health in America, as shown by the 1996 Surgeon General's Report in Fitness discussed above, fitness is a hot topic and sports a way to remain fit. According to Cathcart and Gumpert (1983), when advertisements portray a reality that readers already agree with, readers are more inclined to attempt to match their identity to that image. So the positive images of women athletes in magazines, a medium heavily read by women, can provide strong role models for women athletes. Based on this argument, it is essential that these advertisements accurately reflect women athletes, in both quantity and quality.

Advertisements in women's mainstream, fitness, and sport-specific magazines also contribute to influencing children's fitness. For example, advertisements that depict famous women athletes provide positive, active role models for young women. One message disseminated frequently is that being a woman and an athlete is not only possible, but also common (Duquin, 1977). Advertisements that do not reflect women athletes accurately can debase positive perceptions of women athletes, affecting impressionable young women. Realistically portrayed women athletes illustrate that women's involvement in sports and fitness is an option, an option that was not purported in the mass media consistently prior to the 1970s. Furthermore, "if women do not attain equal fame (media coverage) in sports, then it leads both men and women to think of women as naturally inferior" (Bellotti, 1983, p. 100). The portrayals of

women athletes in advertisements are evidence that women continue to break traditional role barriers in sports and fitness. The repeated images of women athletes in women's mainstream, fitness, and sport-specific magazine advertisements helps reinforce that women are skilled athletes.

What the Current Study Addresses Differently from Existing Studies

Existing studies analyzed the portrayal of women athletes in advertisements in women's mainstream, sports, or fitness magazines, rather than in women's sport-specific magazines. The sport-specific magazine genre was comparatively new, so this update to existing research was valuable to reflect current depictions of female athletes in these magazines. No studies were found that compared the depiction of women athletes in advertisements in women's sport-specific magazines to their portrayals in women's mainstream or fitness magazines. The current study analyzed advertisement depictions' change in light of women athletes' success in the 1996 Olympic Games—a milestone for all women athletes, amateur and professional—and women's subsequent media visibility in 1996. Furthermore, more women professional and amateur athletes existed in the United States since the existing studies were completed.

Previous studies about the portrayal of women in advertising argued that portraying body parts, rather than the whole woman, is degrading to women. They labeled body parts, specifically with no headshot, as sexist images of women. For the current study, however, the mentality of the woman athlete

reader, the product advertised, and the context of the sport were considered. An athlete's "body is the instrument through which sport victories (or tragedies) are achieved" (Duncan, 1990, p. 28). Depicting the most important body part for the athlete's sport, then, illustrates the essence of her activity. Athletes have a keen awareness of their condition level and body performance, regardless of sex. For example, focusing on a woman's leg from her athletic shorts to her tennis shoe-clad feet to advertise a running shoe highlights the most important body parts of a runner—male or female. In the current study, this advertisement would be classified as depicting athletic qualities, rather than sexual, of a woman athlete, specifically of a runner. Likewise, if the image of the woman's body part correlates to the product in the advertisement, the portrayal is not considered as emphasizing the woman athlete's sexuality over her athleticism.

Sullivan and O'Connor's (1988) study addressed a parallel idea: women appearing as "decorative" in advertisements for beauty products were not coded as portraying a sexist role because the photos "illustrated the benefits of using the particular product" (p. 188). In the current study, for example, the depiction of a woman's back to promote a Camelback, a small backpack that carries a liter of water during vigorous activity, is a realistic image of the woman athlete and product. To test this alternative view in the current study, advertisements that depicted women athletes' body parts were analyzed *in context* with the products advertised *and* the athletic activity depicted in the image. Other studies adopted

a limited approach to what constituted a sexual or appropriate depiction of women in advertisements.

The portrayals of women athletes' sexuality compared to athleticism merges two questions from previous studies. Older research analyzed the depictions of the female athlete as feminine. In the past two decades, studies have focused on the woman athlete as sexual. The current study defines a woman's sexuality as encompassing her feminine qualities, or any other attribute that portrays her as proportionately womanlier, than athletic. Tight-fitting, low-coverage athletic attire facilitates easier body movement but also lends itself to sexual portrayals of women athletes (Duncan, 1990). Thus, the athletic activity is considered in the analysis of women athletes' clothing.

The current study analyzes advertisements in magazines from 1989, 1997, and 2002 for depictions of women athletes' sexuality, compared to attributes that emphasize athleticism. The benefit of this comparison is that it condensed notions from the previous century about the portrayals of women in advertising and defined the questions in more modern terms from a more progressive mindset. Based on improvements in the portrayals of women in advertisements, women athletes were predicted to be represented more frequently and with emphasis on their athleticism over sexual qualities.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this section is to review the literature that applies to the portrayal of women athletes in women's sport-specific and fitness magazine advertisements. The literature review is segmented into five sections:

Introduction, Theoretical Framework, Broad Related Literature, Specific Related Literature, and Summary of Key Literature. It is necessary to incorporate a broad perspective because studies about the general portrayal of women in advertisements contribute to the research foundations of the current study.

Theoretical Framework

Feminist sports criticism is one theoretical basis applied to researching the portrayal of women athletes in advertisements. Feminist sports critics analyze the depiction of women athletes in the media "and consider the degree to which sports media contribute to the oppression of marginalized groups, particularly women" (Daddario, 1998, p. 10). This criticism acknowledges the powerful role of the media in upholding traditional roles of women (Daddario, 1998).

Marie-Luise Klein (1988), Margaret Duncan (1990), Michael Messner and Kerry Jensen (1993), Don Sabo and Sue Curry Jansen (1992), Nancy Chodorow (1978), and Carol Gilligan (1982) are feminist sports critics who have contributed to theoretical literature about the coverage of women athletes in the media

(Daddario, 1998). Eleanor Methany (1965) was one of the first researchers to explore feminism in sports. Methany (1965) said that the sports viewed as 'appropriate' for women typically parallel cultural expectations of what is feminine. For example, the sport of ice-skating is graceful, as is the woman.

Methany (1965) believed that images of male versus female originated in 776 B.C. with the Greek gods; each god was known for a certain activity or behavior. Typically, gods possessed masculine traits, and goddesses possessed feminine traits. There were, however, a few exceptions. For example, Artemis, goddess of the hunt, and Athena, goddess of wisdom, were believed to be more masculine because they were intelligent and athletic. Apparently, the Greeks had trouble reconciling these conflicting attributes in women because Athena and Artemis goddesses never were perceived as appealing to men (Methany, 1965).

Feminist sports criticism encompasses four parts. First, researchers observe how the physiological differences between men and women uphold existing separations between feminine and masculine sports and facilitate gender-exclusive sports. Second, the coverage of women and men athletes in the media is compared. Third, feminist sports criticism examines the reinforcement of female stereotypes by media coverage that emphasizes women's sexual appeal, and consequently how it reduces the perceived skill level of women athletes. Fourth, the gender differences between men and women sports spectators are analyzed (Daddario, 1998). To establish a theoretical

framework for this study, the third aspect of feminist sports criticism best applies because it is a framework for researching the stereotypes of women athletes, particularly when sex appeal is highlighted over athletic skill in the media.

A second theoretical framework, a facet of the study of sports sociology, is the 'feminine apologetic.' This theory says that women athletes compensate for the masculinity of sports by appearing, or being depicted as, more feminine, which highlights their sexuality (Felshin, 1974). Consequently, a paradox exists in advertisements' depictions of women athletes because their athleticism competes with their womanly traits. "The identification of sport with masculinity means that the benefits and attributes accorded to athletes, such as teamwork, muscularity, and sweat, can be seen as anomalous to femininity" (Ellison, 2002). Despite evidence that women athletes are equally aggressive, goal-oriented, and committed to their fitness as men athletes, women who appreciate social acceptance may subconsciously bring attention to their feminine traits; thus "minimize(ing) the anomaly" of women as athletes (Felshin, 1974, p. 204). Women athletes "can appear feminine... ; are feminine... ; and want to be feminine which... legitimates the woman's role in sport" (Felshin, 1974, p. 204).

A third theoretical perspective used to frame the current study is Gaye Tuchman's (1978) "symbolic annihilation." This theory says that mass media rely on symbols of reality. However, reality changes faster than the symbols, which creates misleading messages. A primary effect of symbolic annihilation is the

under-representation of certain groups, such as women. These representations have the power to uphold societal beliefs about what is important in society, so the under-representation of women in the media, or "social lag," creates a false reality for women audiences about what is socially supported (Tuchman, 1978). The current social acceptance of women as athletes, and the increasing number of women athletes, seems to outpace the quality and quantity of representations in the media.

Broad Related Literature

GENERAL PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

Magazine advertisements are recognized by scholars as valid indications of social change (Busby & Leichty, 1993). Advertising, however, has been slow to accurately reflect the evolution of women and women's roles in American society (Green, 1973). According to Tuchman (1978), if the advertisement depicts old societal values and stereotypes, the women audience is viewing "a world that no longer exists" (p. 6). For example, in 1970, approximately 40% of workers were women, yet images of women as housewives persisted in the media which potentially limited the awareness of options available for women (Tuchman, 1978). Results of forty years of research show that women less frequently are portrayed in homemaker roles, more frequently portrayed in working roles, and more frequently portrayed as sexy or alluring—one trend analyzed in the current study. Two themes in advertisements relating to the current study are: a)

women's beauty or sexuality emphasized over true skill or societal role, and b) women represented in activities, such as sports, in fewer numbers than actually involved. The following studies illustrated and explored these themes.

Using a feminist criticism theoretical approach, Green (1973) researched the portrayals of women in women's magazine advertisements to test the women's rights movement beliefs that females were presented unrealistically in advertisements in relation to their changing societal roles. In spite of the open sexual culture in the 1960s and 1970s, advocates felt advertisements were poor reflections of women (Green, 1973). The study sampled advertisements from 1942 through 1972 and noted the woman's activity, product advertised, and setting. Green's (1973) content analysis revealed that women depicted as sexual decreased between the 1950s and 1970s, as did the traditional role representations of women. The largest number of women portrayed in advertisements sexually occurred in the 1950s and on a comparatively smaller scale in the late 1960s (Green, 1973). Green's results showed that there was general improvement in advertisements' portrayals of women between 1942 and 1973.

Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) conducted a content analysis of the portrayal of women in print advertisements. The study attempted to gauge social change as reflected in advertisements depicting women. Advertisements were viewed from the perspective that the media reflect reality so if they change

over time, the researchers assumed that the culture was changing. Despite improvements to women's status during the thirty years covered in their research, Belkaoui and Belkaoui (1976) found that "advertisements have not adequately matched... social change and with few exceptions, tend to portray women in unrealistic settings and in under-representative numbers" (p. 172). This research paralleled the current study in that quality and quantity of representations of women in advertisements were analyzed.

Busby and Leichy (1993) studied the portrayals of women in traditional and non-traditional women's magazine advertisements from the 1950s to the 1980s. The content analysis measured the impact of the feminist movement on the images of women in advertisements in selected magazines. The main question was whether advertisements reflected the "goals of the second feminist movement in the 1960s" (Busby & Leichy, 1993, p. 248). Also, the researchers asked whether different magazine types or products yielded different treatment of women in advertisements, two questions which the current study borrows. Busby and Leichy (1993) looked at three main variables: time and product advertised and traditional versus non-traditional magazines. The roles of women in magazine advertisements did change over time; traditional magazines more often depicted women in decorative or alluring roles, whereas non-traditional magazines more often depicted women in the workplace. They also found that products advertised influenced the roles of women.

Venkatesan and Losco (1975) reported that although the number of women's magazine advertisements depicting women as sex objects decreased between 1959 and 1971, the most frequent depictions of women remained as sexual object and physically beautiful. The study hinged upon three significant eras for women historically: 1959 – 1963, pre-women's movement period; 1964 – 1968, civil and equal rights social changes period; and 1969 – 1971, awareness period when societal changes became embedded in the culture (Venkatesan & Losco, 1975). Male, female, and general audience magazines were content analyzed to research the portrayal of women's roles in print advertising. The method used to define attributes of the women in advertisements was based on advertiser guidelines developed by the National Organization of Women's (NOW) Committee for the Image of Women in the Media. In agreement more than twenty years later, Artz, Munger, and Purdy (1999) claimed that women frequently are portrayed in advertisements as sex objects and their beauty used to attain audience attention. The current study considers these methods and studies the portrayals of women athletes as sexual versus athletic.

Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) studied a sample of 729 print advertisements in eight mainstream magazines: *Life*, *Look*, *Newsweek*, *Saturday Review*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, *Reader's Digest*, and *The New Yorker*. To research whether the media fostered stereotypes of women, they analyzed women's working and nonworking roles in print advertisements. In

1970, women comprised 33% of full-time workers in the United States, yet only 12% of workers depicted in the advertisements were women. Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) found four stereotypes of women in advertisements: 1) "women are home-makers or non-workers;" 2) "women do not make important decisions;" 3) "women need a man's support;" 4) "women are sex objects or eye candy" (p. 95). Many other researchers use these four inaccurate stereotypes of women in advertising portrayals.

Wagner and Banos (1973) completed a subsequent study two years later, which revealed that women were portrayed more often as workers in advertisements than they were portrayed as workers in the original Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) study, but women still were depicted as dependent. The research revisited the original four questions about the roles of women as noted above. Improvement was discernable only 20 months after the original 1970 study. The number of women shown as working doubled, which was interpreted as a substantial change in a short time period (Wagner & Banos, 1973).

Sexton and Haberman (1974) content analyzed *Good Housekeeping*, *Look*, *Newsweek*, *Sports Illustrated*, and *TV Guide* between 1950 and 1971 to study the portrayals of women associated with products used by men and women. Their work illustrated that 16% of analyzed advertisements portrayed women in nontraditional roles (Sexton & Haberman, 1974). Furthermore, the

study revealed that the number of advertisements depicting women as housewives or mothers decreased over time (Sexton & Haberman, 1974).

Sullivan and O' Connor (1988) content-analyzed eight general audience magazines from November 1983, six of which were studied in the Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) study, to track the portrayal of women's social roles in advertising. Coding (product types, number and sexes of adults, occupations, and activities) was borrowed from the Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) study revisited for a third time. Sullivan and O'Connor (1988) revealed that women were depicted more independently than Courtney and Lockeretz's (1971) original study. Precisely, the study disproved all four of the original theories: that "a woman's place is the home; women do not make important decisions; women are dependent and need a man's protection; and women are sex objects" (Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988, p. 187). Overall, the advertisements' depictions of women improved to be truer to reality between 1970 and 1988 (Sullivan & O'Connor, 1988).

Klassen, et al. (1993) revealed that negative women portrayals in advertising decreased since the 1980s. The research drew on Goffman's (1976) methods and focused on three types of advertisements: reverse-sex role, traditional, and equality. These methods highlighted subtler visual aspects of advertisement photos (Klassen et al., 1993). Results indicated that more advertisements portrayed women in traditional poses than women and men in

equal poses. Women's traditional role depictions, however, decreased between the 1980s and 1993, and equality depictions increased (Klassen et al., 1993).

A recent paper presented about gender stereotypes in sport advertisements by Cuneen and Claussen (1999) noted that women athletes in 'sport advertising' most often are depicted in leisure activities, seldom are depicted in same-gender competitive sports such as soccer or basketball, and when they are portrayed in competition, women are engaged in individual sports such as tennis or swimming (Lynn et al., 2002).

PORTRAYALS OF WOMEN ATHLETES IN THE MEDIA

Studies about the representations of women athletes in the general media also provide insight into the portrayal of women athletes in advertisements. Advertisers were not always convinced that potential consumers wanted to read about women athletes, which drove media content to focus on men's sports. "The inattention given to women in sport is a subset of the inattention paid women generally throughout the media" (Rintala & Birrell, 1984, p. 235). Women athletes first appeared in the media in the 1830s (Oglesby et al., 1998). Men athletes typically are covered ten times more than women athletes in broadcast events or print sports coverage (Daddario, 1998). This unequal representation of women athletes had negative effects on the perceptions of women athletes. The WSF (2001) said the advertising industry has not

appropriately reflected cultural changes that render women athletes as mainstream.

Reid and Soley (1976) analyzed the coverage of women athletes in *Sports Illustrated* during Olympic years between 1956 and 1976, spanning the women's movement and Title IX legislation. With the passage of Title IX, the feminist movement, and more interest in health and fitness, women's involvement in sports increased. The researchers chose to analyze Olympic years based on the assumption that women athletes gain more media attention during this event. The current study's timeframe hinges upon the 1996 Olympics, to test the changes before and after one Olympic year, based on Reid and Soley's (1976) model. In spite of major cultural shifts and the increased number of women participating in sports and fitness activities, the representation of women in the media remained stagnant and portrayed stereotypical images of women athletes between 1956 and 1976. Advertisements mirror social change, but much of this change is slow to be incorporated into themes of advertising (Buttle, 1989; Glover, 1981; Reid & Soley, 1976).

Boutilier and SanGiovanni (1983) conducted a content analysis of *Sports Illustrated's* 1979 photo essay, encompassing 119 photos, out of which 12 photos depicted women only. The eight women's sports represented were all individual sports, and in 58% of photos, sportswomen were posed non-athletically, versus 44% of men in non-athletic poses.

Likewise, Rintala and Birrell (1984) compared athletic participation of young women to representations in *Young Athlete Magazine*. The researchers also analyzed the number of depictions of young men athletes compared to young women athletes in the cross-gender magazine. According to Rintala and Birrell (1984), young women athletes were underrepresented in team sports; overall, less than 30% of the athletes depicted in the magazines were women, which did not reflect actual participation rates of women athletes. Men athletes more often were portrayed in "high-risk" activities and only 9% of women were portrayed in vigorous activities. Women athletes, 64% of women, typically were displayed in "aesthetic" sports (p. 239). Although Rintala and Birrell (1984) recognized that specialized sports magazines, such as *Runner's World*, represented women athletes more frequently (p. 237).

In another study of a young athlete's sports magazine, *Sports Illustrated for Kids*, researchers analyzed the portrayal of young women athletes in the three years following the 1996 Olympics. Young women athletes were portrayed in photographs most often as participants in gender-stereotypical sports, despite women's breakthrough in the 1996 Olympics (Lynn et. al, 2002).

Kane's (1988) research of *Sports Illustrated* magazine analyzed the extent and type of feature article coverage of women athletes between 1964 and 1987. The research goal was to analyze the social acceptance of women athletes before, during, and after Title IX legislation. Kane (1988) analyzed women's

portrayals in athletic and non-athletic roles, and second, the sport covered by each article per Methany's (1965) feminine sport theories. Methany's (1965) theories said that women athletes more likely were socially supported if they were involved in sports that involve a) "aesthetically pleasing body movements; b) application of force using a light instrument; and c) overcoming resistance of a light object" (p. 50). Kane's (1988) study found that there was an increase in coverage of women in athletic roles, yet more feature articles covered women athletes in sex-appropriate sports, despite Title IX (Kane, 1988). Similarly, Lumpkin and Williams (1991) found that in thirty-three years, only 9% of feature articles covered women athletes in *Sports Illustrated*.

Women's sexuality highlighted over athleticism

A distinction needs to be made regarding the relationship between a woman athlete's sexuality and her athleticism. The current research maintains that women athletes depicted with sexual traits, as long as these traits do not overpower the woman's athletic qualities, are acceptable depictions of women athletes. These dichotomous depictions of women athletes are positive because they reflect the belief that women can be athletic and still maintain their sexuality. "The portrayals of... female athletes as women who are not only beautiful but also physically powerful clear the way for other images of powerful women" (Duncan, 1990, p. 40).

A woman athlete can be a stellar competitor and still look like a woman—this is reality. After Title IX, views of women athletes transformed from

complete non-acceptance to acceptance, where women athletes were so “trendy and socially acceptable” that they were considered sexy (Kane, 1989, p. 58). Today, more women participate in sports and fitness as part of their weekly routines, often including careers and children. Also, the increasing number and circulation of women-specific sports- and fitness-related magazines are evidence that women can be athletes, yet also maintain a positive distinction from men athletes. Advertisements depicting women in versatile roles are positive images of women athletes, contrary to many viewpoints, as long as athleticism is highlighted over sexuality.

Women athletes unfortunately have been portrayed more sexually than athletically in many media outlets. Often, women’s “strength and bodily contact are de-emphasized in favor of skill and grace” (Methany, 1965, p. 53). Pearson (2000) conducted a study comparing the portrayal of women in sport feature films before and after Title IX. He found a slight increase in the number of women depicted as heroines since the legislation. These films, however, belittled the abilities of women athletes by emphasizing their femininity rather than their skill. Boutilier and SanGiovanni’s (1983) exploration of *Sports Illustrated* photography revealed that women athletes were depicted in sedentary poses, versus male athletes who were shown in action. Even *women’s* sports magazines, such as *Women’s Sports and Fitness*, portray women athletes stereotypically, such as sedentary poses on cover photos from 1987-1988 (Kane,

1989). The media also tend to highlight non-athletic issues or stories that trivialize women athletes' skills (Artz, Munger, & Purdy, 1999; Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983).

Duncan's (1990) research found that photographic news coverage during the 1984 and 1988 Olympics depicted women athletes whose appearances most evidently set them apart sexually from men. The coverage neglected women athletes who were not as feminine despite their sports success. Duncan (1990) used two categories of analysis: photograph content and context to explore how photographs emphasized sexual differences between men and women athletes. *Life, Sports Illustrated, Newsweek, Time, Ms., and Maclean's* magazines were analyzed. The woman athlete's skill, though noted, often was dwarfed by references to her sex appeal (Duncan, 1990). In addition, many women athletes' sexually inviting poses in photographs drew attention to their sexuality over their athletic prowess (Duncan, 1990).

Davis' (1997) study about *Sports Illustrated* swimsuit issues discussed the notion that women models were athletic-looking, but not athletes; they were fashion models. The poses, muscle tone, and level of activity in most of the photos were not authentically 'athletic' (Davis, 1997).

STEPS FORWARD

After years of under representation and sexuality highlighted over athleticism, the coverage of women athletes in the media is improving. For

example, the 1974 National Magazine Award for Outstanding Editorial Achievement in Service to the Individual was awarded to *Sports Illustrated* for its coverage of the sexual inequalities in American sports which brought attention to women's increasing involvement in sports (Boutilier & SanGiovanni, 1983). Several studies also revealed improvements in the portrayals of women over time, as discussed in this Literature Review. Kinnick (1998), for example, analyzed five American newspapers' coverage of female and male Olympic athletes during the 1996 summer games in Atlanta. Her research revealed the news coverage of women athletes was improving and was less biased compared to the results of previous studies.

In 1994, WSF published "Words to Watch," a guide for reporters, advertisers, marketers, and other media representatives to help avoid sexist portrayals of women athletes in the mass media. "Words to Watch" was a modified version from a guide printed by the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sports (Oglesby et al., 2001). "Images to Watch" was added to the guide in October 1995. A section of this guide, "Image Guidelines for Female Athletes," educates women athletes about their rights as models and endorsers, and the ways they are portrayed visually and verbally. This publication was approved by fifty professional women athletes (Oglesby et al., 2001).

Specific Related Literature

Limited research has been conducted about the portrayal of women athletes in print media targeted to women, versus the more explored questions of how women athletes are depicted in print media directed to the general public, and to men (Schell, 1999). In sports magazines such as *Sports Illustrated*, women typically are portrayed as "sexual spectacles for men" in the advertisements depicting women athletes (Davis, 1997, p. 60; Duncan, 1990).

The media trivialize women athletes' skills when women's sexuality is emphasized (Knight & Giuliano, 2001). Oglesby, et al. (2001) agreed that "athlete and non-athlete models are portrayed in sexually-provocative or non-athletic poses instead of moving or posing as authentic athletically-skilled performers." Messages that show women athletes as feminine and beautiful undermine the perceived skill of the athlete (Oglesby et al., 2001). Likewise, the athletic activity in which the woman athlete is depicted can imply sexual qualities that overshadow her skill level. Susan Birrell as cited in Duncan & Hasbrook (1988) categorized sports according to "strength, risk, and aggression" and according to the levels of competitiveness inherent in team versus individual sports. Birrell linked team sports to masculinity and individual sports to femininity (Daddario, 1998).

Another contributing factor to the sexual portrayals of women athletes in advertising are "body-isms" or "camera shots focusing on specific parts of the

body,” rather than the whole person (Hall & Crum, 1994, p. 332). Some argue that portraying women using only certain body parts is sexually degrading (Hall & Crum, 1994; Incantalupo 1992; Kane 1988; Kilbourne & Lazarus, 1987; Kilbourne & Wunderlich, 1979). Dodd, et al. (1989), for example, researched the amount of women’s faces versus bodies shown on United States magazine covers. Results revealed that women’s bodies were highlighted more frequently than their faces and men’s depictions were found to be the opposite.

However, in the current study, this type of criticism may not be justified because it does not consider the context of the advertisement. Images of the back muscles and arm of a discus thrower, or the knees, calf muscles, and running shoe-clad feet of a woman runner may have the opposite effect. Athletes have a keen awareness of their muscles, condition level, and body performance, regardless of sex. So an advertisement for women’s discus apparel, for example, can better reflect true athlete mentality by picturing a close-up of the strong back muscles and arm of the thrower, moving freely in the advertised shirt. Existing research standards may classify this image as sexist; but by most athletes’ standards, depicting the most important body part for her sport depicts the essence of her activity. Therefore, the current study employed the idea that body parts (only) were not negative traits in advertisements depicting women athletes. To test this alternative view, advertisements that

depicted women athletes' body parts were analyzed in context with the products and the athletic activity.

Five related studies, two of which were unpublished theses, explored the portrayal of women athletes in women's magazine advertisements. Poe (1976) and Slatton (1970) studied the portrayals of women athletes in women's general interest magazines. Duquin (1989) and Incantalupo (1992) studied portrayals of women athletes in women's fitness and women's sports magazine advertisements, in addition to women's general interest magazine advertisements. Schell (1999) content-analyzed portrayals of women athletes in a women's sports magazine. No research to date, however, analyzed portrayals of women athletes in a women's sport-specific magazine; nor had any studies compared the depictions in a women's sport-specific magazine to a women's fitness magazine.

In one of the first-ever studies about the representation of women athletes in the media, Slatton (1970) content-analyzed five women's interest magazines: *Life*, *Look*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Saturday Evening Post*. The goal was to "trace the role of woman in sport from 1900 through 1968" in women's and general interest magazine advertisements (Slatton, 1970, p. 5). Pictorial and verbal advertisements depicting female athletes were analyzed and classified by size, product, sport, and theme. Results showed that the magazines contained more advertisements that portrayed

women athletes in non-competitive activities. Between 1918 and 1928, the number of advertisements depicting women athletes almost doubled (Slatton, 1970). Women were depicted as participants in individual sports and leisure activities more than in team sports. Women were depicted more often as sexual over athletic and product spokeswomen were almost non-existent. The most popular sports by number of occurrences in all magazines, in order, were golf, tennis, swimming, skiing, and equestrian events. These sports were the culturally accepted sports for women at the time (Rintala & Birrell, 1984).

In Slatton's (1970) golf analyses, results showed very few competitive depictions of women golfers and no women golfers endorsing products advertised. The portrayals and number of advertisements depicting women golfers reveal that women's participation in golf was accepted, but their abilities questioned (Slatton, 1970). Slatton's (1970) research revealed the number of advertisements portraying women athletes was less than 1% of total advertisements. Slatton found that out of 1,400 total advertisements in each year of *Ladies Home Journal*, only twenty depicted women athletes each year. The current study borrowed quantitative methods from Slatton (1970), including the total number of advertisements depicting women athletes, type of sport associated with women athletes, and products in each advertisement.

Poe (1976) content-analyzed *Life*, *American*, and *Saturday Evening Post*, and women's mainstream magazines *Cosmopolitan* and *Ladies Home Journal*

from 1928, 1956, and 1972. The current study's selection of years is based on Poe's (1976) historical event-based year selection. Poe coded advertisements for activity level but did not rely on Duquin's (1989) activity scale that the current study uses. Poe (1976) tracked the sports portrayed, product, and advertising sponsor in each advertisement. Poe (1976) found that women more often were portrayed in sexual versus athletic advertisements. Surprisingly, more advertisements portrayed women athletes as active in 1928 than in 1956 or 1972. Women athletes were depicted more frequently in recreational than competitive athletics. Furthermore, the number of advertisements depicting women athletes declined between 1928 and 1972. Representations of swimming, skiing, golf, tennis, and riding were used most frequently. These are the same sports Slatton (1970) found to be most associated with women athletes. Overall, Poe's (1976) research revealed that advertisements in the selected magazines did not reflect the true reality of women's participation in sports and fitness activities.

Duquin (1989) content-analyzed a sample of spring 1985 and 1988 issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Essence*, *Glamour*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Mademoiselle*, *McCall's*, *Ms.*, *Redbook*, *Self*, *Seventeen*, *Shape*, *Women's Day*, *Women's Sports and Fitness (WS&F)*, and *Working Women*. The research used the premise that sexual imagery in advertising was increasing, especially with portrayals of women (Duquin, 1989). Duquin's study was conducted during the late 1980s

fitness boom. She wanted to know if women's magazine advertisements reflected women's growing interest in health and fitness compared to 1970s advertisements. Research revealed minimal change in the depictions of women athletes in advertising between 1985 and 1988. Based on Duquin's (1977) activity level scale, few advertisements in her 1989 study depicted women in athletic roles, contrary to the fitness and health trends of the mid-1980s. Approximately 72% of women were depicted in sedentary poses. Like Slatton (1971) and Poe (1976), Duquin (1989) revealed that most advertisements focused on women's sexuality more than their athleticism. Duquin (1989) believed that women's magazine advertisements sold the look of a woman athlete rather than the idea of being an athlete—a notion that could be detrimental to the progress of women athletes. The current study started where Duquin's (1989) research ended, in 1989.

Incantalupo (1992) conducted a content analysis of the portrayal of "sporting women in advertisements" in *Shape* and *WS&F* magazines between 1985 and 1990. Her primary hypothesis was that the "portrayal of the sporting women in sport-related advertising in *WS&F* and *Shape* magazines would be more realistic and less stereotypical in 1990 than it would be in 1985" (Incantalupo, 1992, p. 12). Results indicated that the portrayal of women athletes in both magazines improved between 1985 and 1990. *Shape's* advertisements depicted women as less active, more frequently sexual, more

frequently with body parts only, and more likely to be in swimsuits and not near water than *WS&F*.

Using a sociological perspective, Schell (1999) researched the media representations of active women in thirteen issues of *WS&F*. Schell (1999) performed a content analysis of the visual attributes of cover and article photographs from October 1997 through January/February 1999. The research followed the rationale that because the number of women athletes increased since Title IX, their subsequent representations in advertising should reflect the cultural shift. Schell framed her study in two phases, as borrowed in the current research: the quantity and quality of representation of women athletes. Schell's (1999) research questions were:

1. How are women's sports, women athletes, and active (fitness) women represented in covers, photographs, feature articles, and editor's letters of the magazine?
2. What kinds of women are depicted and in what ways?
3. Do these representations support or contradict the messages provided by the magazine's editor?
4. What, if any, implications do the representations in the magazine have for women's sports, women athletes, active women, and feminist sport researchers?

Schell's research revealed that, although some images of women clearly depicted athletes, most representations promoted a universalized image of women that lacked diversity in race, age, physical ability, and body type.

Furthermore, by emphasizing sexuality, visual representations of the ideal woman athlete's body was apparent. Schell (1999) found that most articles about fitness emphasized women's sexuality over their athleticism.

Summary of Key Literature

Studying the portrayal of women athletes in advertising is one way to gauge the media's reflection of changes to women's participation in sports and fitness activities. The current study researched two facets of women athletes' portrayals in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women*: the quantity and quality of women athlete image representations. These changes were analyzed within each magazine and comparatively across magazines in 1989, 1997, and 2002.

Existing literature revealed that the portrayals of women athletes in the media de-emphasize women's athleticism (Davis, 1997; Incantalupo, 1992; Duncan, 1990; Duquin, 1989; Knight & Giuliano, 2001; Poe, 1976; Schell, 1999). First, female athletes typically are underrepresented in the media compared to male athletes. This theme is supported by the theory of "symbolic annihilation:" sparse representations of women athletes in the media imply that women are not as involved in athletic activities (Tuchman, 1978). Second, pictorially emphasizing women athletes' sexuality over their athleticism misrepresents the woman athlete. Often women athletes are portrayed as sexual objects rather than competitors. When women models replace 'real' women athletes this creates a false image of a woman athlete (Schell, 1999). Another notion in

Schell's research was that the woman athlete simultaneously can be competitive and have sex appeal. As Schell (1999) framed her research, the current study analyzed how the "quantity and quality of media coverage of women athletes has contributed to a strict and narrow representation of the female athlete" (p. 3). A consequence of unrealistic portrayals is that women athletes' true skills and perceived capabilities are undermined (Oglesby et al., 2001).

The magazine audience is a key factor for comparing women's mainstream, fitness, and sport-specific magazines. The audience of *Golf for Women* primarily is composed of women golfers, while women readers of *Shape* are not oriented to one specific sport. Even more general are the readers of *Glamour*. Incantalupo (1992) used a similar rationale in her research. These publications were selected to track whether there was a difference between the advertising portrayals of women athletes to three different audience groups: women who read about a specific sport, women who read about general fitness, and women who read about many topics, including fitness. The broad hypotheses relating to this rationale is that advertisements in *Golf for Women* focus more frequently on women athletes' athletic skill over their sexuality. Advertisements in *Shape* and *Glamour*, on the other hand, probably depict women athletes in broader terms, highlighting sexuality over athleticism more frequently than in *Golf for Women*. In the change over time analysis, the research prediction was that there would be more change in the advertisements'

depiction of women athletes in *Shape* and *Glamour* than in *Golf for Women*.

Tuchman (1978) said that women's magazines can easily transform the editorial content, rather than advertisements, to match audience needs and respond to societal changes. *Shape* and *Glamour* had more time since their founding years to change their scopes, and the broader coverage of each magazine yielded more freedom to adjust the editorial content. Women golfers, the audience of *Golf for Women*, most likely maintained a consistent image through the years; these athletes are associated with the sport of golf, so the advertisements most likely consistently targeted the woman golfer. Whereas the audience for *Shape* and *Glamour* consisted of women involved in many fitness activities or topics besides fitness; thus, the researcher predicted that advertisement portrayals of women in these magazines most likely would have more flexibility.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Studying the quality and quantity of women athlete portrayals in magazine advertisements helps to gauge whether the media accurately reflects the levels of women's participation in sports and fitness activities. The current study researched women athletes' portrayals in advertisements in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women*. (Appendix A). Changes were analyzed within each magazine and comparatively across magazines in 1989, 1997, and 2002.

Research Questions

The research questions were based on the fact that many more women participated in sports and fitness activities in 2003 versus twenty years ago (Schell, 1999). The quantity of women athletes represented in advertisements was predicted to have increased in the three selected magazines (Poe, 1976). Likewise, the researcher hypothesized that women athletes' athletic skills would be highlighted more than their sexuality in advertising (Belkaoui & Belkaoui, 1976; Kane, 1988). In other words, the woman athlete as represented in advertisements would possess more athletic qualities than sexual qualities. An example variable used to test the sexual versus athletic portrayals of women athletes was Duquin's (1977) activity level scale to measure women's levels of exertion in photographs. Furthermore, women have been depicted more often in

individual sports over team sports, particularly because socially accepted activities for women have been individual sports (Slatton, 1970). The current study, however, based on social changes discussed in the *Introduction*, predicted that the number of women athletes portrayed in team sports increased between 1989 and 2002. Based on existing research, two general research questions were addressed:

1. How does the quality of image-only portrayals of women athletes in advertisements in *Glamour*, differ from *Shape*, and differ from *Golf for Women*? Do the advertisement depictions of women athletes typically portray athletic qualities or sexual qualities more frequently? How has the quality of portrayals of women athletes in each magazine changed over time?
2. How does the number of advertisements depicting women athletes in *Glamour*, *Shape* and *Golf for Women* compare to the number of advertisements depicting women non-athletes? How have these ratios changed over time and within each magazine?

Hypotheses

- H1a: *Shape* will publish more advertisements that highlight women athletes' sexuality.
- H1b: *Shape* will publish proportionately more advertisements that highlight women athletes' sexuality than *Golf for Women* will publish.
- H1c. *Golf for Women* will publish fewer advertisements that focus on women athletes' sexuality.
- H1d. *Glamour* will publish more advertisements that highlight women athletes' sexuality.
- H1e. *Glamour* will publish more advertisements that highlight women athletes' sexuality than will *Golf for Women* or *Shape*.

- H1f. In *Shape* advertisements, women athletes' sex appeal will increase over time.
- H1g. In *Golf for Women* advertisements, women athletes' sex appeal will increase over time.
- H1h. *Shape* advertisements depicting women athletes will portray women athletes with more sex appeal than *Golf for Women* advertisements depicting women athletes.
- H2a: *Shape* advertisements will portray women athletes proportionately more frequently in individual sports and general fitness activities, and less frequently in team sports.
- H2b. *Shape* advertisements will portray women athletes as involved in team sports proportionately more over time, and decreasing general fitness and individual sport representations over time.
- H2c. *Glamour* will portray women athletes proportionately more frequently in individual sports and general fitness activities, and less frequently in team sports.
- H2d. *Glamour* will portray women athletes proportionately more frequently in individual sports and general fitness activities, than will *Shape*.
- H3a: The activity levels of women athletes depicted in *Shape* advertisements have become more vigorous over time, highlighting women's athletic qualities more frequently than their sexual qualities.
- H3b: The activity levels of women athletes depicted in *Golf for Women* advertisements have remained fairly constant between relatively- to vigorously-active levels over time, consistently portraying women's athletic qualities proportionately more than their sexual qualities.
- H3c: The activity levels of women athletes depicted in *Shape* advertisements will be proportionately less vigorous than the

activity levels of women athletes depicted in *Golf for Women* advertisements.

- H3d. The activity levels of women athletes depicted in *Glamour* advertisements have become more vigorous over time, highlighting women's athletic qualities more frequently than their sexual qualities.
- H4a. *Shape* advertisements will depict women athletes' body parts more frequently than it will depict women athletes' entire body.
- H4b. *Shape* advertisements will depict women athletes' body parts proportionately more frequently than will *Golf for Women* advertisements.
- H4c. *Golf for Women* advertisements will portray women athletes' entire body more frequently than it will portray women athletes' body parts.
- H4d. When women athletes' body parts are portrayed in *Golf for Women* advertisements, the body parts depicted will most often relate to the athletic activity in the advertisement, more so than to the product advertised.
- H4e. When women athletes' body parts are portrayed in *Shape* advertisements, the body parts depicted will most often relate to the product advertised in the advertisement, more so than the athletic activity portrayed.
- H4f. *Shape* advertisements depicting women athletes' body parts will less often relate to either the product advertised or the athletic activity portrayed, than will *Golf for Women*, thus more frequently highlighting women athletes' sexual qualities over athletic qualities.
- H4g. Overall, *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements will highlight women's body parts more frequently than the entire body.
- H4h. *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements will highlight women's body parts that relate either to the athletic activity or the product advertised, proportionately more than depictions of body parts that do not relate to either the activity or product.

- H4i. Overall, *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements will highlight women's body parts that relate either to the athletic activity or to the product advertised, proportionately more than in *Glamour* advertisements.
- H5a. In *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements, women athletes will be depicted in moderately sexist roles, trending towards no sexist roles, over time.
- H5b. In *Shape* advertisements, women will be portrayed in moderately sexist roles, compared to *Golf for Women* which will depict women athletes in non-stereotypical roles.
- H5c. In *Glamour* advertisements, women athletes will be portrayed most often in moderately sexist roles, trending towards no sexist roles, over time.
- H6a. The ratio of the quantity of advertisements depicting women athletes to women non-athletes in *Golf for Women* will be proportionately higher than the ratio of women athletes to women non-athletes in *Shape*.
- H6b. The ratio of the quantity of advertisements depicting women athletes to women non-athletes in *Shape* will increase over time, portraying more women athletes.
- H6c. The ratio of the quantity of advertisements depicting women athletes to women non-athletes in *Golf for Women* will remain relatively consistent over time.
- H6d. The ratio of the quantity of advertisements depicting women athletes to women non-athletes in *Golf for Women* and *Shape* will be proportionately higher than the ratio of women athletes to women non-athletes in *Glamour*, (i.e., the sports and fitness magazines will depict more women athletes in their advertisements that depict women than will the women's mainstream magazine).

Content Analysis

Content analysis is recognized as a valid method in the social sciences for data gathering and was used by many researchers in similar mass communication studies (Leiss, 1986). Content analysis is “the study of recorded human communications” and yields data that can be analyzed using qualitative and quantitative methods (Babbie, 2001, p. 304). There are four parts to content analysis: objective description, systematic description, descriptive categories, and surface content. Objective description says that different coders classify attributes of advertisements in similar ways, with a small degree of variance. Second, systematic description means that identical criteria are applied to every advertisement analyzed. Third, descriptive categories are linked to quantitative measuring methods. Fourth, the most important aspect of content analysis is that only the text of each advertisement is analyzed because reading between the lines limits objectivity (Leiss, 1986).

The analysis included selecting three non-consecutive years for three genres of magazine: women’s mainstream, women’s sport-specific, and women’s fitness. The unit of analysis was one advertisement. Variables of each advertisement were numerically coded and analyzed (Babbie, 2001). Analytic induction, as employed in the current study, is defined as beginning with observations of data and further exploring the relationships among the variables

(Babbie, 2001). This study also followed Berg's (1989) guidelines by including multiple advertisement examples with coding results (Babbie, 2001).

Advertisements depicting photographs of women athletes in *Glamour*, *Golf for Women*, and *Shape* were content-analyzed for images only. *Glamour* and *Shape* each were published twelve times annually; *Golf for Women* was published six times annually. Change-over-time methods were incorporated to add a comparison of evolving portrayals of women athletes in women's magazine advertisements. *Glamour* was selected as a comparison against the less-mainstream magazines. *Shape* was selected based on previous studies' use of this magazine and its high circulation, at the time, compared to other women's fitness magazines. *Golf for Women* was selected because it was one of the few successful women's sport-specific magazines. The women's sport-specific magazine was a relatively new genre, which made the current research a valuable update to existing literature about the portrayal of women athletes in advertisements. A women's golf magazine was selected also based on Slatton's (1970) research that revealed golf as the most frequent sport associated with women athletes in magazine advertisements between 1900 and 1968. *Golf for Women* also was selected because the first women's sport-specific magazine was a golf publication (Ulrich's Web, 2003).

All issues of *Shape*, *Glamour*, and *Golf for Women* magazines were reviewed for the years 1989, 1997, and 2002. The selected years were chosen

around the 1996 Olympic Games, a similar method to Poe's (1976) selection of content analysis years. Previous studies covered the first 80% of the century; the current study drew from these conclusions (Poe, 1976). New research about the portrayal of women athletes in women's sport-specific and fitness magazine advertisements in the last 20% of the century and the beginning of the 21st century complements existing literature. All magazines analyzed were published after the passage of Title IX, and were expected to reflect the influx of women into sports since previous studies.

The year 1996 was a significant year for modern women's sports, primarily due to the women's domination of the Olympic Games and the 'year of the woman' propaganda. Thus, 1996 was predicted as a key point for the portrayal of women athletes in advertisements; the content analyzed for the current study was structured around 1996. The year 1989 provided a benchmark prior to the 1996 Olympics and after Title IX was active for over a decade. Advertisements from 1997, the year after the Olympics, showed indirect effects of the Olympics on advertisements; 2002 was included to gauge whether the predicted changes were maintained several years following the 1996 Olympics. It should be emphasized that prior to the early 1980s, *Golf for Women* and most other sports-for-women magazines did not exist, which illustrated women's recent advances in sports and fitness. The analyses of 2002 issues also provided data about the current depictions of women athletes in

advertisements and insight into future advertising portrayals of women athletes in women's sport-specific and fitness magazines.

The cumulative number of advertisements in the qualitative analysis equaled 664. (Figure 2). In *Glamour* magazine, 84 advertisements depicting women athletes were analyzed, or 13% of advertisements depicting women in 1989, 1997, and 2002 issues of all three magazines. Advertisements depicting women athletes in *Shape* totaled 363, or 54.4% of advertisements depicting women in 1989, 1997, and 2002 issues of all three magazines. In *Golf for Women*, advertisements depicting women athletes equaled 217, or 32.5% of advertisements depicting women in 1989, 1997, and 2002 issues of all three magazines.

Figure 2

Number of advertisements analyzed in the current study

	Women non-athlete advertisements	Women athlete advertisements	Total advertisements
Glamour	1,949	84	2,033
Shape	707	363	1,070
Golf for Women	67	214	281
TOTAL	2,723	661	3,384

The total number of advertisements in the quantitative comparison of woman non-athletes to woman athletes encompassed 2,723 advertisements in 36 issues of *Shape*, 36 issues of *Glamour*, and 17 issues of *Golf for Women*. The July/August issue of *Golf for Women* was unattainable. All advertisements were

photo-copied from each magazine, filed beneath a copy of each magazine's cover to record the magazine's month and year; each advertisement was numbered to distinguish between multiple advertisements depicting women athletes in each magazine. This method was similar to one employed by Kolbe and Albanese (1996). Photos were analyzed based on Goffman's (1976) research focusing on visual traits in photos; a portion of Duncan's (1990) methods which analyzed content within each sports photo; and Artz, Munger, and Purdy's (1999) study that reported stereotypes were more prevalent in images rather than text accompanying the images. Advertisements that appeared multiple times in a magazine within one year were coded each time the advertisement appeared. Identical advertisements across magazine titles were included in the sample because they reached a different audience through each of the selected magazines. These were variations of methods used by Kolbe and Albanese (1996).

Advertisement photos were analyzed that showed one or more woman athlete of any age, including unknown, amateur, or professional athletes, and excluding pictorial representations of women athletes, such as cartoons or sketches. This rule was contrary to Duquin's (1989) research that analyzed *all* images and representations of women athletes. Photos, however, are the most realistic portrayal of women athletes and the only depiction of women analyzed in this study. Furthermore, photographs "project... a sense of naturalness,

realism, and authenticity" (Schell, 1999, p. 74). If multiple athletes were pictured in one advertisement, the most prevalent woman was analyzed; if no dominance could be established, one woman was selected randomly for analysis (Ferguson, et al., 1990). Promotional sections, labeled as such, with articles and other content were excluded because they resemble magazine editorial content. Only advertisements greater than one page were included in the study, including half-page advertisements that spanned a magazine's 2-page spread horizontally (if total advertisement area equaled one 8 ½ x 11 page). Visual montages or groups of photographs depicting women athletes were analyzed and the most prominent woman coded.

In the analysis of the quality of depictions of women athletes in *Glamour*, *Golf for Women*, and *Shape*, the study assessed a few general points:

- Number of advertisements depicting women athletes versus women non-athletes in each magazine;
- Changes in depictions of women athletes between 1989 and 2002;
- Magazine audience types: women's mainstream, fitness, and sport-specific;
- Sport- or product-related body parts;
- Activity levels of women athletes;
- Sex appeal; and
- Sexism, or stereotyped roles depicted.

Three general coding categories were used in the current study, borrowed from Kolbe and Albanese (1996): the nature of depictions or roles (including activity); appearance characteristics; and frequency of depictions. Numerical values were applied to each coding category, using Likert scales for many attributes. Likert scale was developed by Rensis Likert and is a method to measure "relative intensities" of answers to various questions (Babbie, 2001, p. G6). The researcher first defined and tested codes by coding all advertisements depicting women athletes from 1989, 1997, and 2002 issues of *Glamour*, and 1989 and 2002 issues of *Shape*.

Then, four volunteers separately coded approximately thirty-four advertisements selected from *Shape* in 1989, 1997, and 2002 to test the researcher's definitions: Larry Mason, Daniel Mason, Joanne Mason, and Erin Standley. Two coders, Joanne and Erin, were women involved in sports and fitness. On July 20, 2003, the four coders were oriented as a group to the researcher's Codebook prior to their coding. (Appendix B). Oral instructions were for the coders to evaluate the attributes of women athletes in each advertisement based on their understanding of definitions in the researcher's codebook. Erin and Daniel teamed to code some advertisements, and Larry and Joanne teamed to code a separate group of advertisements.

Prior to reviewing coding results, the researcher coded the same advertisements to gather data for Scott's Pi to calculate the rate of agreement

and inter-coder reliabilities. Scott's Pi considers the probability of chance coder agreements in its formula. Daniel Mason developed a MS Excel spreadsheet with Scott's Pi formulas embedded so upon data entry, the calculations were completed automatically to ten decimal points. Upon analysis of the data, the researcher redefined a few of the variable definitions for the individual variables that failed Scott's Pi in individual magazine months; re-coding was conducted with these more clearly defined variables to check for clearer definitions. The final Scott's Pi rate of agreement was an average of 86%, ranging from 81% to 90% among the three tested magazines. (Appendix D).

In the first phase of analysis, advertisements in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women* were counted in 1989, 1997, and 2002, to obtain the ratio of women athletes to women non-athletes depicted in each magazine over time. In the second phase of analysis, advertisements were measured for the quality of women athlete representations.

In the first phase, to test the number of advertisements depicting women athletes to advertisements depicting women non-athletes in each magazine over time (H6), the researcher counted the number of advertisements depicting women athletes in each magazine for each year, and compared this number to the number of advertisements depicting women non-athletes. The advertisements portraying women non-athletes were not used in the study for any other variable. This method was contrary to Slatton's (1970) research in

which the number of pages in each magazine was counted. The number of total magazine pages was not relevant to the images of women depicted. For example, if a magazine contained twenty-five advertisements of women non-athletes and two of women athletes, regardless of number of pages in the magazine, the same message is communicated: women non-athletes are communicated as more important than women athletes.

A Likert scale of sex appeal analyzed the general sex appeal of the woman athlete in each advertisement (H1): 1) No sexual appeal; 2) Moderate sexual appeal; 3) Extreme sexual appeal. The researcher coded women athletes who made eye contact with the camera, while engaged in an athletic or fitness activity, as having moderate sex appeal. Eye contact implied that the athlete was performing the sport or fitness activity for the camera or audience, and not focused, as mentioned in the activity level variable.

To test the hypothesis about women athletes' body parts and the contexts in which advertisements portray women athletes' body parts versus their entire bodies (H4), relationships among magazines and over time were analyzed. If certain body parts were shown, rather than the woman's whole body, coders determined if the parts were vital to the athletic activity or product, both, or neither. This body parts data also contributed to the women's sex appeal variable that hypothesized about the general sexual portrayals of women athletes in advertisements (H1). Women athletes' body parts portrayed were rated in the

context of each advertisement, considering the context of the sport and product promoted. The activity and product in each advertisement was coded and the relation to the woman athlete's portrayal was rated on a Likert scale. For example, if a runner's legs, or the running shoe-clad feet for a Nike shoe advertisement were pictured, the body parts portrayed were classified as a four on a Likert scale of 1-5: 1= Not vital to the sport or product depicted in the advertisement; 2 = Vital to the product only depicted in the advertisement; 3 = Vital to the sport only depicted in the advertisement; 4 = Vital to both sport and product depicted in the advertisement; 5 = Full woman's body portrayed in advertisement. The coder had to make a decision between codes 2 and 3: if the body parts depicted related more to the product being promoted or to the sport depicted in the advertisement. When multiple photos were in one advertisement and some depicted women's full bodies and some depicted body parts only, the most dominant photos were coded.

To test the hypothesis about women athletes' activity levels and their subsequent athletic or sexual portrayals (H3), relationships among magazines and over time were analyzed. Duquin's (1977) scale for activity levels was used. (Appendix C). Coders rated women athletes' levels of exertion to classify the level of athleticism versus sexuality depicted in each advertisement photo. Research has shown that women more often are portrayed in sedentary or supine poses over men, which implies they are sexier than they are athletic

(Duncan, 1990). For example, Duquin (1977) analyzed twenty-four children's textbooks for the activity levels of men, women, and children to explore the sex role socialization of physical activity. Although Duquin (1977) used four levels of exertion, a better method for the current study was to use three levels of activity defined as: 1) sedentary; 2) relatively active; and 3) vigorously active. Non-active, the original second level of exertion was discarded in this research. In all advertisements, if the woman athlete made eye contact with the camera but obviously was involved in a sport or fitness, the advertisement was coded as relatively active. Eye contact implied that the athlete was not focused on her sport or fitness activity, unless the photo was blurred as if she was moving fast or toward the camera. For golf, if a woman was pictured in mid-swing with any club, or walking on a golf course, the advertisement received an activity level of vigorously active. If a golfer was in the vicinity of a golf course fairway, green, or in a cart, and not using her golf club to hit a ball, but obviously playing golf, she was coded as relatively active. Women not shown with golf equipment, not on or near a golf course, and in a golf clubhouse or other location that was not on the playing field, were coded as sedentary.

Another variable that contributed to researching women athletes' general sex appeal (H1) was women athletes' clothing coverage. This variable analyzed women's clothing *in context* with the activity and products depicted in each advertisement. For example, a swimmer athlete posing in an advertisement for

swimwear was coded as within the appropriate context. Women athletes were coded on a Likert scale: 1= Partly dressed/attire does not equal sport; 2 = Dressed/attire does not reflect sport/fitness; 3 = Partly dressed/attire does not equal product; 4 = Partly dressed/attire equals sport; 5 = Partly dressed/attire equals product; 6 = Dressed for sports/fitness; 7 = Cannot tell. For four of the variable choices: 1, 3, 4, and 5, the coder had to decide if the clothing (or lack of) were more relevant to the sport or to the product.

In addition, clothing type was considered. Duquin (1977) said the clothing in advertisements contributed to the depictions of women's athletic activity. The variables included leisure or general fitness apparel, sport-specific, or team uniform. Running clothes were coded as sport-specific and sports bras with shorts were, depending on the sport depicted, typically considered leisure apparel. Aerobics attire was coded as leisure apparel. Golfing attire was classified as sport-specific.

Advertisements were analyzed for their depiction of a woman athlete's sexuality over her athleticism (H1) through five other variables. First, the coders rated muscle tone that provided evidence for level of athleticism on a Likert scale of 1-3: no muscle tone, moderate muscle tone, or pronounced muscle tone. Second, women athletes were analyzed for evidence of sweat. Third, women athletes' hairstyle was coded based on practical styles for women athletes. For example, a woman athlete with long hair typically pulls it back to play a sport.

Short hair below the ears or short, styled hair was coded as non-athletic. Fourth, the background of each advertisement was noted, whether it was an athletic environment, non-athletic environment, or blank background. This contributed to the sexiness variable because if a woman was placed in a sport or fitness environment, the audience would more likely interpret her as an athlete and not a model. Fifth, the researcher noted whether women athletes were celebrities or not. It was acceptable to employ the text of the advertisement when the coder was not familiar with the sport's professional athletes or other celebrities.

The sexism in advertisements was analyzed to test the hypotheses relating to the sexist roles of women athletes as depicted in advertisements (H5). This part of the research classified the extent to which women athletes in advertisements were treated as sex objects or portrayed in stereotypical women's roles. An adapted version of Butler-Paisley's (1974) scale of sexism was employed to rate the sexism of women athletes in each advertisement. The scale of sexism originally contained five categories (Busby and Leichty, 1993; Ferguson et al., 1990). The scale illustrated repetitive stereotypical images of women in advertisements and measured the advertisements' latent content (Ferguson et al., 1990). The current study, however, followed Ferguson et al.'s (1990) updated application of Butler-Paisley's scale of sexism, measuring for three levels: 1) extremely sexist role portrayed as a sex object; 2) moderate

sexist role portrayed as "keep her in her place;" and 3) no sexist role portrayed as women in multiple roles in one advertisement or in a non-stereotypical role.

Also supporting the research about sexist role portrayals in advertisements, the athletic activities women athletes played were questioned (H2). To test the hypothesis about advertisements depicting women athletes in team sports, individual sports, or general fitness activities, relationships among magazines and over time were analyzed. The team sport category included advertisements in which the woman athlete was depicted as being associated with a team sport. Team sports require athletes to be a member of a team in order to compete, such as basketball, volleyball, or soccer. The individual sport category included advertisements in which the woman athlete was associated with an individual sport, such as track and field events, running, golf, boxing, dance, or swimming. Individual sports do not require teammates in order to participate; the athlete's primary competition or focus is herself, and other individual athletes. The general fitness category included the remaining advertisements in which the sport was not explicit, such as a woman in active attire, with no obvious association to a specific sport. Weight training was classified as general fitness. If an advertisement was coded as multiple sports and fitness activities, this means that multiple women in the advertisement were engaged in various activities, or one woman in the advertisement was engaged in many sport or fitness activities. Thus, the researcher analyzed whether

women athletes were portrayed more frequently in 'stereotypical' general fitness activities, or in individual or team sports.

The software SPSS Version 11.5 and MS Excel were used to analyze all data. To test the research results' significance, crosstabs and frequency distributions were used. Chi square analysis and T-tests also were used. These tests were used to determine if there were statistically significant differences in the change in advertisements between *Glamour*, *Golf for Women*, and *Shape* and over time. The significance level was established as $n < .05$.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

The current study researched the changing portrayals of women athletes in advertisements from *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women* magazines from the years 1989, 1997, and 2002. As previously discussed, the general prediction was that 1996 was a turning point in the history of United States women's sports; therefore, media portrayals of women athletes would subsequently evolve to reflect women's increasing athletic accomplishments and acceptance.

Two research questions framed the study. First, the quantity of advertisements depicting women athletes compared to women non-athletes in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women* were analyzed over time and comparing each magazine. Second, the quality of portrayals of women athletes in advertisements in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women* were analyzed for the level of sex appeal depicted and how this changed over time.

The six hypotheses can be divided into three groups: quantity, sexist roles, and sex appeal. H6 and its subsets predicted that the number of advertisements depicting women athletes would either increase or remain consistent over time in *Shape* and *Golf for Women*. Also, *Shape* and *Golf for Women* would depict more women athlete advertisements than would *Glamour*. H2 and H5 and their subsets predicted the level of sexism shown in

advertisements depicting women athletes in each magazine over time, with H2 questioning the athletic activities portrayed in advertisements, (i.e., whether women athletes were portrayed more frequently in 'stereotypical' general fitness activities, or individual or team sports). H1, H3, and H4 predicted the level of sex appeal portrayed in advertisements. H3 and H4 predicted activity levels, (i.e., vigorous to sedentary), and body parts shown in context, while H1 depended on a Likert scale of overall sex appeal.

In the quantitative results (H6), the number of advertisements depicting women athletes decreased over time in both *Shape* and *Golf for Women*, while surprisingly increasing slightly over time in *Glamour*, contrary to predictions. For the qualitative sexism results (H2, H5), in *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements, women athletes were rated at moderately sexist roles, trending toward almost 100% no sexist roles over time, which is in line with previous studies about women in the media and the steady decrease in stereotypical depictions. In the qualitative sex appeal results, *Golf for Women* advertisements more frequently portrayed women athletes with no sex appeal compared to the other two magazines. Although *Glamour* advertisements depicted women athletes' overall sex appeal slightly more frequently than did *Shape*, the sex appeal subset variables revealed *Shape* as consistently highlighting sex appeal the most. The significant and unexpected relationship between advertisements in *Glamour* and *Shape* became apparent.

Quantitative Results: Number of Women Athlete Advertisements

The researcher compared the number of advertisements depicting women athletes to women non-athletes over time and across magazines (H6). (Tables 1-3). Both *Glamour* and *Golf for Women* experienced a surge in the number of women athlete advertisements in 1997. *Shape*, however, continued to decrease the number of women athlete advertisements since 1989, contrary to research predictions. *Shape* and *Golf for Women* results were statistically significant as shown in the tables. In 1989, 1997, and 2002 issues, *Glamour* contained between 0 and 7 advertisements per issue depicting women athletes; *Shape* contained between 1 and 15 advertisements per issue depicting women athletes; and *Golf for Women* contained between 2 and 25 advertisements per issue depicting women athletes.

Table 1

Advertisements depicting women in Glamour over time

Year	Women Non-Athlete Ads (1949)	Women Athlete Ads (84)
1989	36%	27%
1997	38	43
2002	26	30

$\chi^2 = (2, N = 2033) = 2.62, p < 1$ (not significant)

Table 2

Advertisements depicting women in Shape over time

Year	Women Non-Athlete Ads (707)	Women Athlete Ads (363)
1989	23%	42%
1997	33	39
2002	44	19

$\chi^2 = (2, N = 1070) = 73.59, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 3

Advertisements depicting women in Golf for Women over time

Year	Women Non-Athlete Ads (67)	Women Athlete Ads (214)
1989	2%	13%
1997	49	58
2002	49	29

$\chi^2 = (2, N = 281) = 14.29, p < .001$ (significant)

The researcher analyzed the percentage of women athlete advertisements as percentages of the total number of advertisements for each year and each magazine. (Tables 1-3). As hypothesized (H6a), the number of advertisements depicting women athletes in *Golf for Women* was higher than that in *Shape*. Furthermore, in spite of the overall increase in women's participation in sports and fitness activities in America, the percentage of advertisements portraying women athletes in *Shape* decreased over time from 42% in 1989, to only 19% in 2002. So the hypothesis (H6b) that predicted the quantity of advertisements depicting women athletes in *Shape* would increase over time was incorrect. In

Golf for Women, an interesting surge occurred, which may be attributed to the missing 2002 magazine: the percentage of advertisements depicting women athletes increased between 1989 and 1997, yet decreased from 58% in 1997 to 29% in 2002. These results were somewhat contrary to the hypothesis, which predicted the trend would remain consistent over time (H6c).

The researcher correctly hypothesized (H6d) that *Golf for Women* and *Shape* would depict proportionately more total advertisements that pictured women athletes than did *Glamour*. A surprising discovery, however, was that most recently in 2002, *Glamour* depicted the highest percentage of women athlete advertisements when compared to the other two magazines. *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements became more targeted to the mainstream woman, rather than the athlete, based on the decreasing number of women athlete advertisements between 1989 and 2002. *Shape* decreased from 39% to 19% of advertisements depicting women athletes. Similarly, *Golf for Women* decreased from 58% to 29% of advertisements portraying women athletes. Although *Glamour's* number of women athlete advertisements was the highest ratio in 2002, its numbers did decrease between 1997 and 2002: 43% to 30%. Based on the magazines' different audience types and editorial missions, the researcher predicted correctly that *Glamour* would contain the fewest advertisements representing women athletes, while *Golf for Women* would contain the most. It is interesting, and contrary to the main hypotheses,

however, that over time substantially fewer advertisements depicted women athletes in the sport-specific (*Golf for Women*) and fitness (*Shape*) magazines.

It was unexpected that the women's fitness magazine (*Shape*) had a declining number of advertisements representing women athletes, especially because the publication was compared to a women's mainstream magazine (*Glamour*) whose editorial content was not as focused on fitness. One explanation for this may be societal paradigm shifts. After the late 1990s, fitness became more of a lifestyle than simply a hobby for many women in America. As discussed earlier, mainstream women's magazines began to reflect the 'whole' woman, including fitness; while fitness magazines began to shift their content toward mainstream publications. The end result in the future could be that the two genres, fitness and mainstream magazines, ultimately blur the lines so much that they combine.

Qualitative Results Overview: The Quality of Women Athlete Portrayals

Each section of the following analysis provides a synopsis of overall representation of women athletes in advertisements prior to dissecting the data into specific years and magazines. This presentation illustrates big-picture trends in the quality of advertising depictions of women athletes in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women* magazines. Valid percentages were used in all cases.

Women Athletes' Sex Appeal

The sex appeal variable contained multiple subset variables that helped to define 'sex appeal' in more concrete terms. Therefore, this section is divided into multiple analyses of individual variables that reflect women athletes' sex appeal: activity level, body parts, clothing type and coverage, hairstyle, advertisement backgrounds, muscle tone, and sweat. The first subsection reviews overall sex appeal results as a stand-alone variable.

SEX APPEAL

The three tables below (4-6) produced significant results. Women athletes were pictured with no sex appeal in 46% of total advertisements across the analyzed years and magazines. Less than 16% of advertisements portrayed women athletes with extreme sex appeal. As the researcher hypothesized (H1a), 59% of *Shape's* women athlete advertisements highlighted athletes' moderate and extreme sex appeal—more often than *Shape* advertisements highlighted women athletes with no sex appeal (41%). (Table 4). Contrary to the hypothesis (H1g), the number of *Shape* advertisements portraying women athletes' sex appeal decreased over time; consequently, the number of advertisements depicting women athletes with no sex appeal increased. Approximately 38% of 1989 *Shape* advertisements portrayed women athletes with extreme sex appeal, which decreased to 9% in 2002. In 1989, 23% of advertisements contained women athletes with no sex appeal, compared to 2002

when 56% of advertisements depicted no sex appeal. (Table 5). In the comparison of *Shape* and *Golf for Women* depictions of women athletes' sex appeal, the prediction was accurate (H1b) that *Shape* highlighted women's sexuality more so than did *Golf for Women*. (Tables 5-6). The hypothesis (H1c) that *Golf for Women* would portray more women athlete advertisements with no sex appeal than it would portray women athlete advertisements with sex appeal was affirmed; 58% of *Golf for Women* advertisements portrayed women athletes with no sex appeal. (Table 4)

Table 4

Level of sex appeal of women athletes in advertisements, by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Extreme sex appeal	11%	21%	8%
Moderate sex appeal	50	38	34
No sex appeal	39	41	58

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 664) = 30.01, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 5

Level of sex appeal of women athletes in Shape, over time

	1989 (151)	1997 (142)	2002 (70)
Extreme sex appeal	38%	9%	7%
Moderate sex appeal	39	36	37
No sex appeal	23	55	56

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 441) = 24.58, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 6

Level of sex appeal of women athletes in Golf for Women, over time

	1989 (27)	1997 (128)	2002 (62)
Extreme sex appeal	19%	9%	2%
Moderate sex appeal	0	40	37
No sex appeal	82	51	61

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 217) = 21.38, p < .001$ (significant)

The hypothesis (H1h) that *Shape* would print more advertisements depicting women athletes' sexuality than would *Golf for Women* was correct. Only 8% of *Golf for Women* advertisements showed women athletes with extreme sex appeal, compared to 21% in *Shape*. (Table 4). Results for the hypothesis that women athletes' sex appeal would increase over time in *Golf for Women* (H1g) were mixed. In 1989, 82% of *Golf for Women* advertisements pictured women athletes with no sex appeal but this number dropped substantially in 1997, to only 51% with no sex appeal. (Table 6).

On the flip side, only 19% of *Golf for Women* advertisements showed women athletes with sex appeal in 1989; this number jumped to 49% in 1997, and went back down to 39% advertisements depicting women athletes with sex appeal in 2002. One explanation may be that golf gained momentum in the early 1990s, as did fitness, so clothing manufacturers advertised golf apparel to tap into the expanding buyer base, not using actual golfers in their advertisements. A better explanation for the boost in 1997 may be the number

of women athlete advertisements in *Golf for Women*. In 1989, there were only 27 advertisements depicting women athletes; in 1997, there were 128; and the numbers dropped again in 2002 to 62.

Glamour advertisements portrayed women athletes with the most sex appeal when combining moderate and extreme sex appeal rankings (61% of its advertisements), which was slightly more total sex appeal than *Shape* (59%) or *Golf for Women* (42%). (Table 4). This result confirmed the hypotheses that predicted *Glamour* would print more advertisements portraying women athletes' sexuality (H1d) and that *Glamour* would print more advertisements that highlighted women athletes' sexuality than did *Shape* or *Golf for Women* (H1e). The hypothesis that *Shape* advertisements would increase over time in their sexual depictions of women athletes (H1f) was negated. (Table 5). In 1989, a combined 90% of advertisements depicted women athletes with moderate to extreme sex appeal. This number significantly decreased to 73% in 1997, and again slightly to 71% of advertisements in 2002. These results showed a downward (positive) trend in the number of advertisements in *Shape* depicting women athletes with sex appeal.

Overall, *Golf for Women* advertisements more often portrayed women athletes with no sexual qualities compared to the other two magazines. (Table 6). The nature of golf, with its strong traditions, lends credibility to these results. For example, golf courses and country clubs have strict rules for players,

from conservative dress codes to appropriate conduct on the course. Women who play naturally must be serious about the sport because golf is such a mental game. Thus, it would be difficult for advertisers to present an overtly sexy woman golfer and have their golf product be taken seriously by readers.

Glamour advertisements portrayed women athletes with the most sex appeal over all years (61% of advertisements), which was slightly more sex appeal than *Shape* (59%) or *Golf for Women* (55%) over all years. (Table 4). The Chi Square significance value for Table 4, the comparison of the three magazines over time was 30.01. The closeness of these percentages across magazines suggests that their advertising content was more similar than expected. The researcher incorrectly guessed that the advertising would more profoundly reflect different editorial missions in each magazine. Although *Glamour* advertisements depicted women athletes' sex appeal more frequently than did *Shape* as illustrated above, the sex appeal subset variables below revealed *Shape* as consistently highlighting sex appeal the most. The significant and unexpected relationship between advertisements in *Glamour* and *Shape* became apparent. Based on the further, more concrete measures of the sex appeal variable, *Glamour* portrayed women athletes with sex appeal less often than did *Shape*. *Shape's* editorial focus on fitness, therefore, was not accurately reflected by its advertisers.

ACTIVITY LEVEL

Shape results were somewhat ambiguous; future research may be necessary to get a more concrete answer. (Table 7). The hypothesis that activity levels of women athletes in *Shape* advertisements have become more vigorous over time (H3a) was partly correct because advertisements' vigorous activity levels increased between 1989 and 1997 from 29% to 47% but decreased slightly in 2002 to 44%. *Golf for Women's* relatively and vigorously active levels followed this same trend over time, disproving the prediction that activity levels in *Golf for Women* advertisements remained relatively consistent over time (H3b).

When comparing the vigorously active activity levels of women athletes in *Shape* and *Golf for Women*, *Shape's* increased from 29% in 1989 to 44% in 2002; whereas *Golf for Women's* remained relatively consistent from 41% in 1989 and 39% in 2002. This negates the hypothesis that said *Shape's* activity levels would be less vigorous than those in *Golf for Women* (H3c). These trends across the two magazines may point to the proximity of 1997 to the 1996 Olympics as discussed in the Introduction. Was it possible that the activity level representations in *Shape* and *Golf for Women* increased as a result of the media buzz surrounding women's successful competition in the Games? (Tables 7- 8).

Glamour, on the other hand, experienced a different trend. Its vigorously active levels increased from 35% in 1989, to 56% in 2002. These results lend credibility to the prediction that *Glamour* advertisements highlighted women

athletes in more vigorous activities over time (H3d). *Glamour* advertisements' sedentary levels also dropped consistently over time (Table 9). Possibly *Glamour* was removed from the 1996 events, yet still reflected increasing popularity of the health trend in America.

Table 7

Activity level in Shape over time

	1989 (151)	1997 (142)	2002 (70)
Sedentary	38%	11%	15%
Relatively active	33	43	41
Vigorously active	29	46	44

$X^2 = (4, N = 365) = 33.95, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 8

Activity level in Golf for Women over time

	1989 (27)	1997 (128)	2002 (62)
Sedentary	33%	20%	27%
Relatively active	26	36	34
Vigorously active	41	44	39

$X^2 = (4, N = 217) = 3.89, p < 1$ (not significant)

Table 9

Activity level in Glamour over time

	1989 (23)	1997 (36)	2002 (25)
Sedentary	22%	19%	16%
Relatively active	44	36	28
Vigorously active	35	44	56

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 84) = 2.22, p < 1$ (not significant)

BODY PARTS

The current research held that when women athletes' body parts only were pictured in context with the product or a sport, the advertisement should not be labeled as a sexual depiction. Across all magazines and years, 58% of advertisements depicted women athletes' full bodies. Almost 20% of advertisements did not portray a woman athlete's entire body, but showed parts that were vital to both the sport and product depicted, (such as a woman's running leg and foot to sell a running shoe). Thus, previous studies would have classified 39% of advertisements as sexist portrayals of body parts because they didn't evaluate the context of each advertisement. These results illustrate the importance of considering the activity and product prior to drawing negative conclusions about sexist portrayals of women athletes.

All three magazines depicted women athletes' entire bodies most often out of the variables, which supported the prediction that *Golf for Women* would portray full bodies more often than body parts only (H4c); and negated the

hypotheses that *Shape* and *Golf for Women* would show more body parts only (H4a, H4g). Ranked in the order of positive depictions of body parts, *Golf for Women*, *Glamour*, and *Shape* advertisements were decreasingly adept at justifying the portrayal of women's body parts only, disproving the hypothesis that *Shape* and *Golf for Women* advertisements would focus on women athletes' body parts that highlight either the product or athletic activity more than *Glamour* (H4i). So *Glamour* advertisements, more often than *Shape*, justified the portrayal of women athletes' body parts with a link to the product or athletic activity.

The body parts portrayed in *Golf for Women* advertisements related more (28%) to the sport and product than those in *Shape* (14%) which agreed with the prediction that *Golf for Women* advertisements would contain fewer sexual depictions of women athletes' body parts only (H4f). *Shape* advertisements highlighted women athletes' body parts for no apparent reason more frequently (5%) than did *Golf for Women* advertisements (1%) which also affirmed this hypothesis (H4f). (Table 10). *Golf for Women* advertisements that depicted body parts were almost equally as likely to show parts that related to the product advertised as the sport, negating the prediction that body parts pictured in its advertisements would link to the athletic activity more so than the product advertised (H4d). *Shape* and *Golf for Women* highlighted body parts that related

either to the sport or product more often than they highlighted body parts that did not relate to either, affirming the hypothesis (H4h).

Table 10

Women athlete body parts in the context of sport/product, by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Body parts not vital to sport or product	5%	5%	1%
Body parts vital to product only	13	16	7
Body parts vital to sport only	8	6	6
Body parts vital to both sport and product	21	14	28
Full body portrayed	52	60	58

$\chi^2 = (8, N = 668) = 30.55, p < .001$ (significant)

CLOTHING TYPE AND COVERAGE

In all magazines and years, 64% of advertisements portrayed women who were appropriately dressed for their sport or fitness activity. And 10% of advertisements depicted women athletes partially dressed with no apparent reason for their lack of clothing. Half of all advertisements portrayed women athletes in sport-specific attire and 40% portrayed women athletes in general fitness or leisure apparel. (Table 10). In agreement with previous studies, less than 4% of advertisements pictured women athletes in team uniforms.

Lending support to the hypothesis that *Golf for Women* advertisements would most seldom depict women athletes with sex appeal (H1c), this magazine

most frequently pictured women athletes in advertisements as fully dressed for their sport across all years (94%). (Table 10). As previously noted, despite *Glamour's* more frequent overall depictions of women athletes with sex appeal, *Shape* advertisements depicted more sex appeal in the individual sex appeal variables, including this clothing coverage variable. *Glamour's* advertisement portrayals of women athletes focused less on sexual qualities of the athletes than did *Shape's*. For example, 62% of *Glamour* advertisements contained women athletes who were fully dressed for their sport, compared to only 46% of *Shape* advertisements. As further evidence, 17% of *Shape* advertisements depicted women athletes who were partly dressed for no apparent reason, versus only 7% in *Glamour*. (Table 11). These results supported a negation of the hypothesis that predicted *Glamour* would print more advertisements portraying women athletes' sexuality (H1d). The hypothesis that *Glamour* would print more advertisements highlighting women athletes' sexuality than did *Shape* or *Golf for Women* (H1e) was only partially confirmed by the clothing type test. As noted, 94% of *Golf for Women* advertisements contained women athletes fully dressed for their sport, while only 46% of *Shape's* did. (Table 11).

Table 11

*Women athlete clothing type by magazine**

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Leisure/general fitness	47%	58%	10%
Sport-specific	37	32	85
Team uniform	11	2	3

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 626) = 168.29, p < .001$ (significant)

*The July 1997 issue of *Glamour* contained a special advertising section to promote the women's NBA. The data for clothing type, therefore, reflected an abnormal number of advertisements that depicted women athletes in team uniforms. Likewise, *Golf for Women* advertisements typically depicted women in a golfing capacity so the majority of women athletes in these advertisements were fully dressed in sport-specific attire.

Table 12

Women athlete clothing coverage in context of sport/product, by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Partly dressed/attire doesn't equal sport	1%	11%	0%
Dressed/attire doesn't equal sport	0	3	2
Partly dressed/attire doesn't equal product	6	6	0
Partly dressed/attire equals sport	11	17	2
Partly dressed/attire equals product	14	10	0
Dressed for sport	62	46	94

HAIRSTYLE

A woman's hairstyle contributes to her image as an athlete and whether she is portrayed as sexy. To participate in athletic activities, hair must be out of the line of vision or off the neck to prevent the athlete from getting too hot

during an activity. Women athletes shown with their hair in an athletic style were depicted in 69% of all advertisements from all years, while women with non-athletic hairstyles were depicted in 23% of all advertisements from all years. In *Shape*, 59% of advertisements showed women athletes with athletic hairstyles, while only 27% were non-athletic which helps to disprove the hypothesis (H1a) that predicted *Shape's* women athlete advertisements would highlight athletes' moderate and extreme sex appeal more often than they would highlight women athletes with no sex appeal. (Table 13). Approximately 83% of *Golf for Women* advertisements depicted women with athletic hairstyles, more than *Shape*, which supported the hypothesis that said *Golf for Women* advertisements depicting women athletes would highlight sex appeal less frequently than would *Shape's* advertisements (H1b).

Glamour hairstyle results helped to disprove the hypothesis that stated *Glamour* would publish more advertisements that highlighted women athletes' sexuality (H1d) because over 70% of advertisements pictured women with athletic hair. Furthermore, more *Glamour* advertisements contained athletic hairstyles than did *Shape* (59%), which was surprising, given *Shape's* focus on fitness. These results partially rejected the prediction that *Glamour* would have the most advertisements depicting women athletes with sex appeal (H1e) because *Shape* had more than *Glamour*, yet *Golf for Women* did contain more advertisements depicting women with athletic hairstyles.

Table 13

Women athlete hairstyles by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Non-athletic hairstyle	24%	27%	16%
Athletic hairstyle	70	59	83

$\chi^2 = (2, N = 606) = 15.44, p < .001$ (significant)

BACKGROUND OF ADVERTISEMENTS

The background of advertisements also contributes to the level of sex appeal of a woman athlete. If a woman athlete is not pictured in an environment conducive to sports or fitness activities, then she may be portrayed in a scene that does not highlight her athletic skill. Advertisements contained athletic backgrounds in 58% across all magazines and years; 36% used a plain or neutral background; and only 6% were in a non-athletic environment. In *Golf for Women*, 69% of its advertisement backgrounds in all years were athletic, compared to 51% from all years in *Shape*, which affirmed the hypothesis that *Shape* would publish more advertisements that highlighted women athletes' sexuality than *Golf for Women* would publish (H1b). (Table 14). Furthermore, the hypothesis that *Golf for Women* would publish fewer advertisements that focused on women athletes' sexuality was supported (H1d). *Glamour* magazine's advertisement background data again partially disproved the prediction (H1e) that *Glamour* would publish the most advertisements highlighting women athletes' sexuality over both *Shape* and *Golf for Women* because *Shape* had the

least number of advertisements with athletic backgrounds (51%), lending validity to the notion that *Shape* is not as athlete-focused as it appears.

Table 14

Women athlete advertisement backgrounds by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Non-athletic background	2%	4%	10%
Athletic	60	51	69
Plain	38	46	21

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 664) = 42.84, p < .001$ (significant)

MUSCLE TONE

The amount of muscle tone on women athletes in advertisements provides visible support that the model in the photo actually is a woman athlete. Most advertisements (38%) in the three magazines pictured athletes with moderate muscle tone. Approximately, 29% of advertisements showed no muscle tone, and 11% had pronounced muscle tone. In *Shape* advertisements, 55% pictured women athletes with muscle tone. This variable helped negate the prediction (H1a) that *Shape* would contain more advertisements portraying women athletes' sex appeal because more advertisements than anticipated pictured women athletes with muscle tone. (Table 15). Likewise, *Golf for Women* advertisements included only 35% with women athletes who had muscle tone. Most advertisements in *Golf for Women* pictured women athletes playing

golf, so golf being a less vigorous sport must be considered when realizing that the hypotheses about *Golf for Women* having fewer sexual advertisements (H1c). *Glamour* magazine pictured women athletes with muscle tone in 62% of its advertisements, surpassing both *Shape* and *Golf for Women*, which disproved the hypotheses that predicted *Glamour* would portray women athletes' sex appeal the most (H1d, H1e). Again, *Glamour* shattered stereotypes of women's mainstream magazine advertising.

Table 15

Women athlete muscle tone portrayed by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
No muscle tone	17%	31%	29%
Moderate	35	42	33
Pronounced	27	13	2
Muscles not visible	21	14	36

$\chi^2 = (6, N = 664) = 75.23, p < .001$ (significant)

SWEAT

Sweat on an athlete's body is evidence of a significant level of exertion. Based on this rationale, women athletes were not exerting themselves in 75% of all advertisements. Interestingly, these results were almost exactly opposite of the activity level results where women athletes were portrayed at least relatively

active in 78% of advertisements. This could have been a flaw within the research definitions, or simply a data anomaly. The hypothesis that (H1a) *Shape* would print more advertisements depicting women athletes' sexuality was supported because 68% of *Shape* advertisements pictured women who were not sweating and therefore, by the current study's definitions, not reflected as athletic. *Golf for Women* contained fewer advertisements than *Shape* that portrayed women athletes sweating which disproved the hypotheses about *Golf for Women* having fewer sexual advertisements (H1c). The hypothesis that *Shape* would publish more advertisements that highlighted women athletes' sexuality than *Golf for Women* (H1b) also was negated by the sweat test. Again, the nature of golf as a less vigorous sport not requiring the physical power and exertion of other sports must be considered in these depictions. *Glamour's* depictions of women athletes who were not sweating represented 62%, which helped to affirm the prediction that *Glamour* advertisements would portray more women athletes with sex appeal (H1e).

Sexism

The sexism variable contained one subset variable that helped to define sexual stereotypes in more concrete terms: the activities performed by women athletes in advertisements. Previous studies found that women athletes often are portrayed in stereotypical sports or fitness activities, so the second variable touches upon this topic. Overall, 73% of advertisements pictured women

athletes in non-stereotypical roles, or as not conforming to traditional sexist roles. It is logical that most advertisements depicted women athletes in non-stereotypical roles because as discussed earlier, women athletes inherently have broken down barriers of the traditional roles of women.

The first sexism hypothesis that predicted *Golf for Women* and *Shape* advertisements would experience a downward trend from moderate to little or no sexism was supported (H5a); in *Shape's* and *Golf for Women's* advertisements, women athletes were rated at moderately sexist roles, trending toward no sexist roles over time. This reflects continual improvements in the acceptance of women athletes since Title IX, and of women filling non-stereotypical roles. *Golf for Women* advertisement depictions significantly improved between 1989 and 2002, more so than did *Shape*, moving from 52% advertisements containing no sexist role to almost all advertisements (97%) in 2002. These results confirmed the prediction that *Golf for Women* advertisements would improve more drastically from sexist to non-sexist roles over time than would *Shape* (H5b). *Glamour* also improved over time and was the only magazine to reach 100% compliance by 2002 with no sexist roles portrayed. The third sexism hypothesis that stated *Glamour* would move from moderate to no sexism over time was strongly negated. In all three years, the majority of advertisements depicting women athletes contained no sexist roles. In 1989, 70% of *Glamour* advertisements portrayed women athletes with no sexism, 86% in 1997, and

100% in 2002. In summary, for all magazines over time, the majority of women athletes were pictured in non-sexist roles. This finding complements previous studies that note steady improvements since the 1950s. (Tables 16 -18).

Table 16

Sexist portrayals in Golf for Women over time

	1989 (27)	1997 (128)	2002 (62)
Sex object; extremely sexist role	19%	7%	0%
Moderate sexist role; "keep her in her place"	30	13	3
No sexist role; multiple roles/non-stereotypical	52	8	97

$X^2 = (4, N = 219) = 25.75, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 17

Sexist portrayals in Shape over time

	1989 (151)	1997 (142)	2002 (70)
Sex object; extremely sexist role	29%	10%	6%
Moderate sexist role; "keep her in her place"	18	18	14
No sexist role; multiple roles/non-stereotypical	53	72	80

$X^2 = (4, N = 363) = 29.68, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 18

Sexist portrayals in Glamour over time

	1989 (23)	1997 (36)	2002 (25)
Sex object; extremely sexist role	4%	6%	0%
Moderate sexist role; "keep her in her place"	26	8	0
No sexist role; multiple roles/non-stereotypical	70	86	100

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 84) = 10.56, p < .05$ (significant)

TYPE OF ACTIVITY DEPICTED

Across all magazines and all years, women athletes were represented in individual sports in 59% of advertisements, and 35% in general fitness activities. Women athletes portrayed in team sports virtually were non-existent at only 4% of advertisements. These results coincided with previous studies that revealed women athletes seldom are portrayed in team sports.

The hypothesis that *Shape* advertisements would present women athletes in individual sports and general fitness activities (H2a) was affirmed. *Shape* advertisements portrayed women athletes the least in team sports. (Table 19). The second activity type hypothesis (H2b) was correct in two parts: *Shape* pictured more women athletes in team sports (1% to 9%) and fewer in general fitness over time (74% to 34%). The hypothesis (H2b) was disproved in part because the representations of women athletes in individual sports actually increased over time from 20% to 57% of depictions. (Table 20). These results were positive because they accurately reflect the shift women athletes have

made from general fitness involvement in 1989, to individual sports participation now.

The prediction that *Glamour* advertisements would mostly portray individual sports and fitness activities (H2c) was confirmed. The team sport percentage was higher than normal because of the special advertising section promoting the Women's NBA in July 1997. The hypothesis that *Glamour* advertisements would portray women athletes more frequently in individual sports and general fitness than would *Shape* (H2d) was correct in part. *Glamour* advertisements depicted more athletes in individual sports (50%) than did *Shape* (39%); but *Shape* showed more athletes in general fitness (57%) versus *Glamour's* 25%.

Table 19

Activity type by magazine

	Glamour (84)	Shape (363)	Golf for Women (217)
Individual sport	50%	39%	95%
Team sport	18	3	1
General fitness	25	57	4
Multiple sport and fitness activities	7	2	0

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 655) = 226.87, p < .001$ (significant)

Table 20

Activity type in Shape over time

	1989 (151)	1997 (142)	2002 (70)
Individual sport	20%	51%	57%
Team sport	1	1	9
General fitness	74	49	34
Multiple sport and fitness activities	5	0	0

$\chi^2 = (4, N = 357) = 53.70, p < .001$ (significant)

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

This study's primary purpose was to track the portrayal of women athletes in *Glamour*, *Shape*, and *Golf for Women* advertisements over time. Trend variations through the years and magazines were predicted to be tied to cultural and historical changes women athletes have experienced. As more women enter sports and fitness activities, more women appear in the media. Women's sports development has coincided with many changes including the increased "commercialization of the female body and of sexuality" in the media (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 158). So, it is useful to research the reflections of these societal changes on the portrayals of women athletes in advertisements.

The most significant discovery was that the women's mainstream magazine advertisements, in many cases, contained less sexual depictions of women athletes than the women's fitness magazine advertisements. The relationship between advertisements in *Glamour* and *Shape* was significant and unexpected. *Glamour* portrayed women athletes with sex appeal less frequently than did *Shape*. *Shape's* editorial focus on fitness, therefore, was not accurately reflected by its advertisers. As noted earlier, each magazine may be moving toward a more common ground and advertisers are mirroring these editorial changes. In 1989, fitness was viewed as a hobby. It was not until the early

1990s that being in shape started to become part of a woman's lifestyle.

Another possibility is that advertisers in *Glamour* attempted to reach a broader base of readers by appealing to the athlete, as well as the non-athletes. On the flip side, advertisers in *Shape* may have attempted to reach a broader base of readers by appealing to the non-athlete in addition to the athlete.

Another notable discovery was the sexist portrayals results. Multiple communications studies have focused on the historical overblown stereotypes of women that have been reflected in the media. In *Glamour* and *Golf for Women*, sexist portrayals of women athletes improved (decreased) immensely between 1989 and 2002 to almost 100% non-stereotypical portrayals. One caveat is that women athletes inherently break the mold of several typical women stereotypes analyzed in previous studies. However, the amount of improvement in less than 20 years (up to 50 percent) validates the progress. On the other hand, the subset variable of sexist portrayals—the type of activity in which women participated in advertisements—agreed with previous research about women in the media. This study revealed that women rarely are portrayed as participating in team sports and most often are portrayed in individual sports. This is an area for improvement in advertising. In reality, more women play team sports yet they still are proportionately misrepresented.

Third, to consider the progress made by women in the media, the researcher studied the portrayals of women athletes' body parts in

advertisements differently from previous studies. The results in the body parts section of the current study may be more important for establishing an alternate method to analyze women's portrayals in advertisements. As mentioned above, previous research would have classified 39% of the current study's advertisements as sexist portrayals of body parts because the context was ignored. Whereas the current study found that only 11% of all advertisements reviewed used women's body parts as sexual portrayals. These results illustrate the importance of considering the activity and product *contexts* prior to drawing negative conclusions about portrayals of women athletes' body parts. Furthermore, the researcher considered the mindset of many athletes—certain body parts are more valuable than others. This means if an advertiser can 'get into' a woman athlete's mind by depicting the most valuable body part to a runner—her legs, for example—the advertiser may have more success in selling the product. Further research about audience perceptions may complement these results.

Fourth, the quantitative section of the research revealed that the number of advertisements depicting women athletes declined overall between 1989 and 2002 in *Golf for Women* and *Shape*. This is ironic, especially because their content is targeted to the active woman, more so than *Glamour*, which printed slightly more advertisements depicting women athletes over time. The surge in the number of advertisements depicting women athletes in 1997 also was

interesting. This could be a reflection of the surge in media attention to women's sports after their successes in the 1996 Olympics.

Current Media Buzz

The *San Francisco Chronicle* (2003) discussed the declining support of women's professional sports and the cultural changes since the 1996 Olympics shed media light on the woman athlete. One interviewee suggested that the 1996 boom of public interest in women's sports was temporary "curiosity" which now falters (p. B10). Women athlete participation is increasing each year, while the money to fund intercollegiate and professional women's sports is dwindling. The precarious financial support is a result of an uncertain economy and general lack of fans, which means poor advertising support. So how will the current sports environment affect future advertisements depicting women athletes?

These issues are reflected in the media coverage of women athletics. The higher profile women athletes of 2003 compete in individual sports, such as tennis (the Williams sisters and Anna Kournikova) and golf (Annika Sorenstam and Michelle Wie). Women in the LPGA and WTA receive more media attention than women's soccer or basketball, and also are beating men's golf and tennis in television ratings (Smith, 2003). Possibly this can be attributed to the age of the sports leagues in which they play: the LPGA was founded in 1950; the WTA was founded in 1971, while the WNBA and WUSA were not founded until 1996 and 1999. The history of women's participation in sport and the cultural acceptance

of women as athletes may be another factor of this noticeable difference in media and fan support of different activities. Women have been playing golf and tennis since the 1800s.

Study Limitations

The relatively short period women's sport-specific and fitness magazines have existed limits the study because the change before and after Title IX legislation cannot be analyzed within this magazine genre. Because so many women's sports and fitness magazines arose after Title IX, however, is a strong indication that the legislation provided women athletes more opportunities, and thus, a specific audience developed to purchase the magazines.

Second, interpretations of advertisements can vary based on each magazine reader's life experiences, cultural beliefs, social knowledge, and other factors. The researcher agrees with Duncan (1990) who suggested that research should not attempt to define how media texts are interpreted; instead, studies can shed light on possible perceptions of the portrayals of women (p. 27).

Suggestions for Future Research

First, further research looking into the advertising trends around the Olympics in the latter half of the 20th century would be valuable. The current study unearthed a peculiar surge in the number of advertisements reflecting women athletes more frequently in 1997, but dipping almost to 1989 levels in

2002. It would be interesting to discover a primary force for the content of advertisements and how they depict women athletes.

Second, a study focusing on the other side of the coin could complement this research. Students may want to develop a scheme for defining women athletes' athletic qualities and apply this scheme to a complementary content analysis of advertisement depictions of women athletes' athletic qualities. The current study references a limited list of select athletic qualities in images such as: sweat, activity level, hairstyle, and clothing; a more defined or closer to exhaustive list may be useful tool to develop in the future.

Third, this study had a broader focus on female athletes with no distinctions made as to age, ethnicity, or socio-economic status. A partial reason for the wide scope was that women athletes, as a group, only recently began to be recognized in the mass media. So, as the primary group of women athletes grows, more content will emerge that represents subset groups within this larger group. Thus, a study about female athletes of various cultures and other groups may be useful to better understand the challenges faced by women athletes with specific characteristics, and how they are portrayed in women's sport-specific and fitness magazine advertisements.

Fourth, a study about the portrayal of women athletes in international sports and fitness magazines would give academia a more global understanding of advertising portrayals of women athletes. This would be especially

interesting if related to women's professional sports and their competition with men's sports for an audience. Several women's professional sports organizations are struggling for funds and advertising endorsements to maintain their teams.

Fifth, one could research men's fitness and general-audience sports magazine advertisements depicting women athletes. During the current study, in 2003, very few women athletes were depicted in men's fitness magazines and general sports magazines, such as *Men's Health*, *Sports Illustrated*, or *Surfer* magazines. The original intention was to compare depictions of women athletes in a men's fitness magazine to their depictions in a women's fitness magazine. At the time of the study, this idea was not feasible because of the limited number of women athletes represented in men's magazines. The lack of women athlete representation, however, may not change because the audience is primarily men.

Implications of the Current Research for Women Athletes

Most fascinating is that *Glamour* consistently depicted women athletes in a more accurate light across multiple variables and years than did *Shape*. This discovery promotes broader academic questions: Are the readers of fitness magazines receiving a false impression that the magazine is a step above mainstream magazines in its portrayals of women? Are the common perceptions of women's mainstream magazines as conforming to women's stereotypes

justified? What spurred the role reversal between the women's fitness magazine and mainstream magazine? Were advertisers in *Glamour* appealing to the increasing numbers of active women making fitness a lifestyle and not just a hobby? On the other side, were advertisers in *Shape* appealing to the well-rounded woman rather than simply the fitness buff? What, if any, editorial decisions were made at each magazine to influence the change in advertising strategies to women athletes?

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE ADVERTISEMENTS



Golf for Women magazine advertisement

NIVEA
body

**GIVE YOUR
FIRMING ROUTINE
A POWERFUL
BOOST.**

**SKIN
FIRMING
LOTION**
with
Q10 plus licorin

New

When it comes to firming, exercise can only go so far. So Nivea Body created Skin Firming Lotion with coenzyme Q10. It has the same Q10 that helps give young skin firmness and elasticity. So it adds a real boost to your firming exercise routine.

www.nivea.us.com

Glamour Magazine

© 2009 Nivea
Bayer Consumer Care

Glamour magazine advertisement

FOR JOY.

PROTEINPLUS
MOCHA ALMOND FUDGE

Skip sugar without skipping taste. Our Sugar Free PowerBar® ProteinPlus™ bar blends the delicious taste of almonds and mocha fudge with 16 grams of protein, plus vitamins and minerals. You'll feel great and ready to take on whatever the day puts in front of you.

What makes a great protein bar? Check out powerbar.com to find out. **PowerBar** So great.

Shape Magazine

Shape magazine advertisement

APPENDIX B: CODEBOOK

Variable	Definition
Magazine	The publication in which the advertisements appear: Glamour, Shape, Golf for Women
Year	One of the three years analyzed in the current study: 1989, 1997, 2002
Product	The product promoted in each advertisement, e.g., shoes or food. Codes were: Athletic clothing; Athletic shoes; Athletic equipment/ accessories; High performance foods; Sports event; Vacation destination; Beauty product; Sports associations for women; Vehicles; Other
Activity	The sport or fitness activity performed by a woman athlete. Individual sports allow women to compete without a teammate, such as running, boxing, track and field, golf, dance, or swimming. Team sports require athletes to coordinate with teammates to compete, such as basketball, volleyball, or soccer. General fitness is when the sport is not explicit, such as a woman in active attire. Weight training and aerobics were classified as general fitness. Multiple sports and fitness activities meant that multiple women in one advertisement engaged in various activities.
Activity Level	Characterized women athletes' level of activity. Classified the level of athleticism versus sexuality in each advertisement. When multiple women were in one advertisement, an average score was applied. If the athlete made eye contact with the camera but obviously was involved in a sport or fitness, the advertisement was Relatively Active. If the photo was blurred as if she was moving fast and toward the camera they were coded as Vigorously Active. To receive a Sedentary rating, athletes had to be blatantly posing, similar to a portrait and obviously not participating in a sport at the time of the photo. In Golf for Women: Vigorously Active=player in mid-swing with any club; walking on a golf course. Relatively active=player in the vicinity of a golf course, or in a cart and not using her club, but obviously playing golf. Athlete made eye contact with the camera. Sedentary=players with no golf equipment; not in the vicinity of a golf course or in a clubhouse.
Clothing	Rated the woman's clothing in context with the activity and products depicted in each advertisement. For four of the variable choices: Partly dressed/attire doesn't equal sport; Partly dressed/attire doesn't equal product; Partly dressed/attire equals sport; Partly dressed/attire equals product, the coder had to decide if the clothing (or lack thereof) were more relevant to the sport or to the product being sold in the advertisement.
Clothing type	The category of clothing type worn by the woman athlete in the advertisement. Running clothes were coded as sport-specific. Sports bras with shorts were, depending on the sport depicted, considered leisure apparel. Aerobics attire was coded as leisure apparel. Golfing attire was considered sport-specific.
Body parts	When a woman athlete in an advertisement was depicted with only certain body parts showing, rather than her whole body. When multiple photos were in one advertisement and some depicted women's full bodies, and some depicted body parts only, the most dominant/prominent photos were coded. Women athletes' body parts were rated on a Likert scale, in the context of

	each advertisement, considering the sport depicted and product promoted. For the two choices: vital to the product or vital to the sport, the coder had to decide if the parts shown were more relevant to the sport or to the product promoted in the advertisement.
Sex Appeal	This variable rated the general sex appeal of the woman athlete. For the moderate sex appeal rating, athletes made eye contact with the camera, during their participation in a sport or fitness activity. Eye contact implied that the athlete was performing the sport or fitness activity partially for the camera or audience, and was not fully focused, as mentioned in the activity level variable definitions.
Sexism	Explored the extent to which women athletes were portrayed as sex objects or in stereotypical women's roles. Variables were borrowed from Butler-Paisley's (1974) Scale of Sexism, as updated by Ferguson (1990): Extremely sexist role portrayed as a sex object; Moderate sexist role portrayed as "keep her in her place; and no sexist role portrayed as women in multiple roles in one advertisement or in a non-stereotypical role.
Muscle Tone	Rated the amount of muscle tone possessed by women athletes, whether no muscle tone; moderate muscle tone; pronounced muscle tone; or can't tell/no body parts with muscles showed in photo.
Sweat	Coded if sweat was visible on women athletes in advertisements. If the athlete was too far from the camera to see sweat, then no sweat was portrayed.
Hairstyle	Rated the hairstyle on women athletes in advertisements as either athletic or non-athletic styles. Typically, to play a sport, women's hair must be pulled back or secured, such as by a baseball cap or rubber band. Short hair below the ears, or any short hair that was obviously styled was non-athletic.
Background	Coded the background of each advertisement, whether it was an athletic facility or not.
Celebrity	Coded whether the model in each advertisement was a celebrity or not.

Other Criteria and Coding Instructions

- Only code advertisements with photographs of one or more woman athletes of any age, including unknown, amateur, or professional athletes; disregard pictorial images such as cartoons, sketches or silhouettes of women athletes.
- Do not code promotional sections that look like editorial content.
- Ignore text unless you need to read it to find out if the model is a professional athlete (if you are unfamiliar with the sport she represents.) You may also read text to determine what product the advertisement is

selling. Do not rank the woman athlete based on the message of the copy.

- If multiple athletes are pictured in one advertisement, analyze the most prominent woman; if no dominance can be established, select one woman randomly for analysis.
- Evaluate the attributes of women athletes in each advertisement based on your understanding of definitions in the researcher's codebook.
- Code all advertisements that appeared multiple times in each magazine within one year. Also code all identical advertisements across magazine titles and years.

APPENDIX C: DUQUIN'S 1977 ACTIVITY LEVEL SCALE

Level A—Sedentary

Faces

Faces, shoulders (no arms or legs)

Faces, torso, arms (no legs)

Sitting quietly, not obviously engaged in work or play

Level B—Non-Active (excluded for the current study)

Standing (not working or playing, more often standing as an observer or listener)

Level C—Relatively Active

Walking

Working at a sedentary task (sales person, scientist, teacher, barber)

Playing activities that are relatively quiet (painting, playing a musical instrument)

Level D—Vigorously Active

Running, jumping, or climbing

Engaged in any sport (modified for the current study)

Doing work requiring physical exertion (laborer, farmer) or physical risk

(firefighter, lifeguard)

Falling (usually a result of physical risk or activity)

APPENDIX D: SCOTT'S PI CALCULATIONS

Shape Scott's Pi test agreements in select issues

	Product	Activity	Activity Level	Clothing	Clothing Type	Body Parts	Sex Appeal
February 1989	88%	100%	88%	81%	72%	87%	73%
January 1997	100	100	63	100	100	80	81
January 2002	77	100	67	100	100	77	63
February 2002	100	40	100	100	100	100	67

Shape Scott's Pi test agreements in select issues (continued)

	Sexism	Muscle Tone	Sweat	Hairstyle	Background	TOTAL PI AVERAGE
February 1989	100%	85%	78%	86%	100%	87%
January 1997	70	84	75	100	78	86
January 2002	67	63	100	63	100	81
February 2002	100	77	100	100	100	90